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POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF RURAL-URBAN
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EFFECTS ON HOUSING

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ABSTRACT

POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN CALABAR, NIGERIA: THE RELATIVE EFFECTS ON HOUSING

By

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This study concerns the migration of people in Calabar Division from rural areas to Calabar City, and the impact of the migration process on housing. The historical significance of migration in this Division has been well recognized. Migration in the area dates back to the pre-colonial era. The major differences today, especially after the Civil War which marked the constitution of Calabar as the State Capital, are that the volume of the people involved, the diversity of motives behind the movement, and the magnitude of problems generated by migration have greatly increased.

To facilitate understanding of the phenomenon of migration and its effects on housing, this study involved the collection of data on the demography, economy, housing conditions, the social and environmental contexts of a sampled population of the city and its rural hinterland, using formal interview schedules. The analysis reveals that of the numerous and complex combination of causal factors, economic factors represent the major lure to Calabar. Lack of employment opportunities was the most frequently mentioned (by 73.0 percent of the respondents) of the four major reasons why people are migrating from rural Calabar to

the city. The spatial disparities in the distribution of amenities and economic growth, therefore, represent the single most potent force in the selective drift of largely the ambitious, the educated, and young people to Calabar City.

Rural-urban migration and its impact on housing was found to constitute a threat on the human, social and economic well-being of the Calabar environment. Because of the unabated influx of rural people to the city, the housing shortage has become more an urban than a rural problem. Although the physical structure of housing in the city was found to be closely and positively correlated with the degree of migrant's satisfaction in their urban housing, housing density showed no well-defined pattern or direction of correlation. The level of migrant's education was found to be positively related to housing quality; that is, the educated householders are most likely to live in the permanent, well-furnished dwellings, rather than in the thatch and poorly-furnished ones. The extended family plays a role in the residential absorption of migrants. Thus, even as late comers in a tight housing market, recent migrants still have an equal chance as permanent residents to high quality housing.

A wide range of migration and housing policy options already tried in other countries exists. But since it is unbalanced development which largely results in rural-urban migration, the conclusion was that only policies which are perceived within a systems framework, and are directed to both the rural and urban sub-systems, have the greatest potential for controlling migration and providing decent housing for the bulk of the population.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In both colonial and recent times migration has played an important role in the development process and social change. It is generally theorized that by ensuring the mobility of labor and its associated human capital between regions and occupations, migration accelerates economic growth. Initially migration in Africa was largely a response to the pressures of colonial taxation. The need to earn money to pay the taxes introduced by colonial governments served as the major driving force behind movements of people to centers with "money economies". Such labor movements can be considered a form of spatial interaction in which regions of varying levels of social and economic development are connected by streams of persons moving from one locality to another in search of real or perceived opportunities.

This pattern of labor flow from the less developed areas to economic growth points is a common characteristic of rural-urban migration. More recently, rural-urban migration with its increasing complex motivations and concomitant social and economic problems, has become the most visible and dramatic phenomenon affecting African cities. Nigerian cities are now growing only slowly through natural increase, the excess of births over deaths; most of their great population increase comes from rural-urban migration. Although accurate statistical data on

the overall rate are not available, it is estimated that more than half of the growth rate of most Nigerian cities may be attributed to immigration from the less developed rural areas (Byerlee: 1974, and Abasiokong: 1977).

Calabar is no exception. The rapid rate of urban growth results largely from the influx of people from underdeveloped rural areas. According to Mabogunje (1970), Calabar grew at an annual rate of 4.5 percent in 1953, and now, 24 years later, due primarily to the change in status of the city from a Provincial to a State Capital as well as the concentration of government and private development programs, the rate has increased to over 5.0 percent. Compared with the world average rate of 2.9 percent for urban areas, Calabar represents one of the faster growing cities of the world.

Clearly the change in status of Calabar is a major source of its unchallenged attraction to rural migrants. As the state capital, Calabar is undergoing a remarkable transformation. Major infrastructural investments have been proposed, roads are being reconstructed and widened, modern and imposing office buildings have been erected, industrial, educational, commercial and administrative activities with their attendant job opportunities have increased. These and other factors help to raise the attractiveness to potential migrants of Calabar over other possible receiving centers in the Cross River State. Evidently modern Calabar has inherited what Berry (1973: 78) describes as an intentionally centralized administration in which government involvement is more likely in the urban than in the rural area.

Obviously, the rate of rural exodus generated by the attractive force of Calabar is too great for both economic and social realities of the city. In this context, migration can be seen not only as a drain from the rural areas, but also as a waste of potential talents in a city deficient in job opportunities. Hence, although migration has been recognized as a distinguishing feature of the development process, the planners and policy makers in Calabar have come to view it with considerable anxiety; and an awareness of the importance of migration for economic development and social change will ever continue to precipitate research activity. It appears to be man's fate to live in cities, and the people of Calabar are no exception. But, the important question is what form the cities shall take and under what conditions man shall make his home in them. Because of its political status and consequent attractive force, rapidity of its development, and the paucity of detailed demographic analysis of migratory process in this area, Calabar is an ideal location for the study of such population movement and particularly its impact on housing.

Statement of the Problem

The thesis of this study is that rural-urban migration has aggravated urban housing problems, producing an increasing lack of adequate housing, overcrowding with corollary health problems, deterioration of existing housing stock, and high rental and purchase costs. Calabar exactly fits the description of Laison et al. (1969) of African cities as "... growing much too fast in the slum sectors." As a basic human

need housing represents an important element in the health, welfare and efficient productivity of migrants. Yet, the Cross River State has neither adequate research on the pervasive phenomenon of uncontrolled urban growth, and the relationships between the migration process and the housing delivery system, nor definite government policies to mitigate the mounting housing problems resulting from the influx of people to the cities. It should be noted that the location, quantities, qualities, and functions of housing should have an impact on the welfare, not only of the migrants, but of the community at large.

Generally this study seeks to facilitate understanding of the problems of urbanization and its impact on housing as well as rural/urban development in the Calabar region. The need for a 'new' geography of development which integrates population movements and progressive rural development in Calabar is timely. This study which focuses on the needs to monitor the quality and quantity of housing in this study area should aid in the formulation of national policies about the provision of programs capable of promoting human welfare. Such policies should contribute to planners' efforts of utilizing migration to benefit rather than retard socio-economic development in the area. Since the basic human drive is to improve one's welfare, a strategy of balanced development should ensure the participation and welfare of all able citizens, irrespective of their spatial location.

Specifically, the study seeks to:

1. Identify and analyze the significant spatial, social, economic, psychological, political features and processes associated with rural-urban migration in the Calabar region.

2. Determine the impact of internal migration on urban and rural housing supply.
3. Determine the quantity, quality and spatial distribution of housing among migrants of different ethnic origin and educational level in the study area.
4. Investigate alternative housing policies, and the role of governments, institution, and the extended family system in monitoring the quality and quantity of housing in the area.
5. Recommend policies for the solutions of migration and housing problems.

Study Area: Calabar Division

This research focuses on Calabar City: the capital of the Cross River State, and its surrounding rural area. It will embrace the boundaries of what formerly was known as Calabar Division, an area of 2,850 square miles (Figure 1-1). According to the 1963 census, the Division as a whole had a population of 267,015, while Berger's (1975: 218) estimate for 1975 puts it at 364,571. The area had an average density of 94 persons per square mile in 1963, or lower than the State average density of 331 persons per square mile (Nigeria, 1968:3). While the greatest population density of the Division can be found on the southeastern section of the Cross River in the vicinity of Calabar, the Northwest and the higher parts of Oban Plateau are almost uninhabited. This low population density, particularly of the rural areas, makes the region suited for this research because the analysis can be focused on

specific causes of rural-urban migration, such as unbalanced spatial development, ruling out the widely postulated argument of "population pressure" on land and resources as a major force pushing people to the cities.

Calabar city itself has the highest population of all the other urban centers in the State. In 1963 its population was 76,418, and Berger's 1975 estimate put the population at 91,266; as compared with 364,571 for the Division and 3,837,592 for the State in 1975. While the State's urban population is estimated to be 12.9 percent, Calabar Division has 25.0 percent of urban population. Furthermore, its 5.4 percent annual growth rate exceeds that of its rural hinterland (3.0 percent), and that of Cross River State urban areas (3.8 percent).

Generally the physiographical setting of Calabar Division can be described as a gradual slow ascent from the Cross River estuary in the Southwest to the Cameroon mountains in the North-East. The mangrove swamps of the estuary region merge into the coastal plain, followed by the rolling plateau of over 800 feet towards the North and North-East. The only steep slopes are found within the crystalline complex of the Oban hills beyond the rolling plateau. Thus, in his description of the topographic background of the area, Karmon (1966:18) concludes that "topographic obstacles to mobility of population and cultivation of land are minimal."

Agriculture remains the major occupation and mainstay of the area's economy and Morgan (1959:49-51) pointed to this area of the "Guinean vegetational zone" as being well suited for the production of

plantation crops for export. Oil palm is a major cash crop of the area. Food crops such as cassava, yam, maize and plantain are commonly grown, while chickens, goats and sheep play a minor part in the people's economy. According to the 1972 general economic survey of the South-eastern State, about 65 percent of the total employed population were in agriculture, which sector contributed 62.6 percent of the gross domestic product (Southeastern State, 1975:55). But the sizes of the farms are usually under three acres per farming family, due in part to the restrictive land tenure, low capacity or a lack of suitable tools, techniques and equipment for operating large farms. The drudgery and hazards of agriculture are evidently some of the major repulsive factors in the rural areas. Agriculture thus tends to repel rather than attract people, particularly the young "school leavers".¹

The administrative status of Calabar is another important factor in understanding the forces behind rural-urban migration in the Division. The city started as a trading post set up by the Portugese in 1588. Owing to its protected position on a hill it became the capital of the Oil Rivers Province, and the main port on the estuary of the Cross River. By 1830 the area of the "oil rivers", the area between the Niger and the Cross, was the largest single trading area in the whole of Africa. From its inception Calabar, like many colonial cities in Africa, was intended to serve, not just as a seat of administration but as a principal entrepot facilitating the exploitation of human and economic resources of its

¹A school leaver is one who has completed six or more years of education.

hinterland. With the choice of Calabar as the capital of the South-Eastern State, in May 1967, it was obvious that Calabar had the potential to become the most attractive spot in the State, demanding the attention of administrators and policy makers, and attracting people and resources from its hinterland, and beyond.

Organization of the Study

The rest of the study is organized in six inter-related chapters. Chapter II reviews the pertinent literature on the general concepts, and theoretical and methodological foundations of the migration process. The chapter includes a summary of the historical background and typologies of migration in Africa as well as a discussion of some specific and current studies of rural-urban migration in Africa as well as Calabar. The review provides a basis for hypotheses to be tested. Chapter II also discusses research design, data limitations, methods of collection and analysis of the data.

Chapter III provides an historical background of migration in Calabar Division, followed by a discussion of the determinants of migration, and an examination of rural-urban linkages. Chapter III also includes the exploration of the migration process in Calabar, with detailed information about the socio-economic characteristics of the migrants.

In Chapter IV the focus is turned to the impact of migration on housing. Ongoing Federal and State government housing policies are presented, and their relevance to migration problems evaluated.

Also explored in this chapter are the various variables associated with housing supply and demand in the study area. After an analysis of the qualities and spatial distribution of housing among migrants and non-migrants, some housing policy alternatives for solving rural and urban housing problems are discussed.

Chapter V presents a two-pronged policy recommendation arising from the study. Policy affecting both the migration process and the housing delivery system in the Division is outlined. Finally, in Chapter VI, concluding statements on this study are presented.

CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

Introduction

Though a formidable bibliography can be compiled of African migration studies in general, relatively little work has been done on rural-urban movement per se. Besides, research has so far tended to be largely descriptive rather than analytical, providing knowledge of migrant characteristics but little understanding of why they move.

The literature on migration also demonstrates the paucity of detailed analysis of the migratory process in the Cross River State (C.R.S.) of Nigeria, suggesting the need to expand demographic research in all parts of the State. Pool's observation is no less instructive to the C.R.S. than to Africa as a whole:

... the study of migration in Africa is piecemeal which creates problems for basic demographic analysis.... Thus among the priorities in African demography should be listed the collection and analysis of data on the volume and nature of migration flows (1969:168).

The general literature on migration is quite enormous. As Reul (1974) puts it, migration affects all people regardless of where they live or their economic situation. Therefore, migration has given rise to a relevant body of literature which is both widely dispersed and highly varied in the nature and level of the problems, concepts and methods discussed. To provide the foundation for this study, this

review will focus on some specific aspects of migration studies. Materials related to the following seven categories will receive attention: (1) Definitions of migration; (2) Historical movements of people in Africa; (3) Typologies of migration in Africa; (4) Theoretical and methodological studies; (5) Studies by social scientists; (6) Recent rural-urban migration studies; and (7) Migration studies in Calabar.

Definition of Migration

The word migration derives from the Latin migrare, meaning to change one's residence. By current definition however, it means more than that, since a person who moves from one home to another in the same neighborhood and thus retains the same social framework is not deemed a migrant. Therefore, migration is generally defined as "a relatively permanent movement of persons over a significant distance from one geographic place to another" (Peterson, 1968). To distinguish migration from other types of movement the United Nations (1971:1) postulates that it is mobility that involves a sustained or permanent sojourn in the place of destination that is envisaged by the concept of migration. The United Nations, considers removal for one year or more as "permanent" and thus as migration, while a stay for a shorter period is classified as a visit. But because no particular specification of duration of stay suits all purpose, Sills (1968:286) points out that the exact meaning of "permanent" and "significant" remains to be specified. It should, however, be noted that whether or not short-term mobility should be included in the concept of migration depends on the purpose

of the statistics. In Africa, for instance, the temporary separation of male industrial or mine workers from village life has been institutionalized into the standard pattern of migration (Mitchell, 1961).

Elaborating on the definition of migration, Mangalam (1968) indicates that "it is often preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrant that results in change in the interactional system of the migrant". In his definition, Schwarzweller brings out more clearly this point of the migration process as a disturbance on the interactional system:

Migration is a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity called migrants from one geographical location to another, preceded by decision-making on the part of the migrants on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends and resulting in changes in the interactional system of the migrants.... It is, of course, both a tension-manager for the system where it originates and a tension producer for the system where it terminates (ND).

Likewise, Mabogunje states that rural-urban migration represents:

A basic transformation of the modal structure of a society in which people move from generally smaller, namely agricultural communities to large, mainly nonagricultural communities (1970).

The significance of these last definitions is in their emphasis on the impact of the migration process on the society as a whole. Moreover, looking at migration as a social system process interlinking two subsystems at both the points of origin and destination can better facilitate understanding of the migration phenomenon, and otherwise make the formulation of control policies more feasible.

Two forms of migration are often recognized--internal, that is, the migration of people within a country; and international, that is,

the migration of people among countries. Considered spatially, internal migration, the focus of this study, can be subdivided into rural to rural, urban to rural, urban to urban and rural to urban.

Obviously, the list of definitions of migration is inexhaustible. Each researcher seems to add new insight to the definitions. This difficulty in finding a universally accepted definition has contributed to the current lack of generalized theory encompassing migration phenomenon.

This is a study in rural to urban migration, and migrants were defined on the basis of both space and time dimensions. A migrant was defined as a person who had moved from his village or former place of residence to settle in Calabar for at least six months. Those who moved from other towns were asked to give reasons why they left their villages. The limitation of the definition to those who have resided in the town for at least six months was meant to eliminate the problem of classifying visitors and holiday-makers as migrants. Non-migrants were defined as individuals who have resided in Calabar all their lives.

Historical Movements of People in Africa

Migration in Africa is not a new phenomenon. What is new, however, is the high rate of rural-urban migration. Hance's (1970) well-known work on the historical movements of people in Africa traces the early history of migration in Africa. He discusses early migration through the precolonial times, such as the Fulani expansion in

West Africa, and migration in the colonial period. Giving insight into the nature of those early movements, Caldwell observed:

Such movements were not individual movements in the sense that one man could decide upon a very different destination from his fellows, for it was dangerous in most parts of tropical Africa to go beyond the bounds of one's own ethnic group. Hence those who saw beyond their immediate surroundings often moved in groups (1968:201).

Clearly movements and interaction among the peoples outside their ethnic areas had been going on as far back as the eighth century A.D. during the rise of the Ghana empire (Mabogunje, 1972:4).

It should be noted that pioneer studies of African migration were mainly concerned with sociological questions related to the African adjustment to city life and to the routine of the industrial, economic system. Among such early studies, which were concluded before the end of the Second World War, were those of Hellmann (1937), Wilson (1941), and Gluckman (1945). Gluckman's observation that the African is detribalized the moment he leaves the rural area is an evidence of the orientation of those early studies toward sociological questions. Other early studies include those by Ibbots (1946:73) in Southern Rhodesia, Jones (1953:37-44) in South and Central Africa, and Miner (1953:12) in West Africa. They all emphasized the African adjustment to urban life.

Another significant point about early migrations is that they too were economically motivated, becoming moreso in the colonial era. According to Mabogunje (1972:4) movements of people "involved trading activities across the desert and within the Sudan." The Landers wrote in 1832 concerning the town of Kishi in Yorubaland:

A great number of emigrants from different countries reside here: there are not a few from Borgoo, Nonffie, Hausa, Bornou, and two or three Tuaricks from borders of the Great Desert (Lander et al., 1832:204).

Colonialism brought many significant changes in African migration. The imposition of taxes by colonial government has been widely recognized as a major factor which generated new streams of migration. In addition, by providing more sophisticated institutions and technologies, colonialism reactivated the movement of people. For instance, in the colonial period a more permanent situation of peace and order was established, and transportation by rail, road, sea and air was improved. The peaceful conditions expanded opportunities for innovative activities and migrants came to play a very prominent role in resource development all over West Africa. Under these conditions migration involved more individuals as opposed to the group movements of precolonial times. Thus, by the end of the colonial period, the stage was set for the continuing pattern of modern migrations in Africa.

The foregoing review demonstrates that even before the colonial era, migration has been going on in Africa. In some ways, the movements were similar to those of today. Even then migration involved what Schwarzweller describes as a "disturbance of the interactional system", or a basic transformation of the modal structure of a society. Economic incentives also played a part in the directions, and motivations behind early movements of people in Africa. The major difference, however, is that today the volume of people, the complexity of motives, and the magnitude of problems generated by migration, have increased

so considerably that the need to study this complex human phenomenon in Africa is greater than ever before.

Typologies of Migration

The desire to understand the intriguing issues posed by the migration process, and to evolve measures of prediction has long occupied the minds of many social scientists. Classifications of population mobility have been considered as one step in the direction of understanding the ever complex migration phenomenon. For instance, a well-known scholar interested in typologies of migration, has indicated that the use of typological methods would enhance our ability to evolve measures to counteract migration:

... it would increase understanding of the process (of migration) merely to ask whether this is conservative or innovating migration: Do these agriculturalists want better conditions within their present way of life, or do they move to cities for the sake of urban amenities? (Petersen, 1958:290).

Based on the assumption that migration can best be analyzed on the bases of cultural, psychological and relevant social factors, Petersen identified five typologies of migration. These comprise primitive, forced, impelled, free, and mass migrations. He said that primitive migration results from such "migratory forces" as ecological push. Forced migration occurs in situations where, because of "migration policy", the migrant has no power to decide to stay or move. But, in impelled migration, the migrant still has the power to decide whether or not to move. In the case of free migration, "higher aspirations" drive the migrant to move. Mass migration is a class in which individual motivations are no longer relevant. In this type, pioneers

blaze the trails, others follow, and emigration becomes a social pattern. Furthermore, he classified migrants as either "innovating" or "conservative". Innovators are those who move in order to achieve something new as in pioneer movements, while "conservative" migrants are those who move in response to a change in their circumstances, thereby hoping to retain their way of life in another locus. Nomadic movements are an example of this latter typology.

Gould et al. (1973:2) have pointed out the limitations of Petersen's classification. They note that spatial aspects are implied in the classification but that they are not explicitly considered. Furthermore, Petersen does not take account of temporal dimensions in his classification.

Beltramone (1965) elaborated a typology of geographical mobility which takes into account both spatial and temporal dimensions. The bases of his differentiation was a major distinction between "deplacements definitifs", that is, permanent movements involving departures from one place to another; and "deplacements temporaires", that is, temporary movements where there is a retaining of attachment to a particular place with periodic return to it. In the category of temporary movements he distinguished between those which are regular in time (daily, weekly, seasonal) and also in space, as well as those which are irregular in both time and space.

Many other scholars (Fairchild, 1925; Kant, 1943; Isaac, 1947; Gupta, 1959; Herbele, 1955) have attempted to construct typologies of migration. Kant, for example, has reviewed a number of classifications,

including one of his own, which are all of a generalized nature. He identified two broad categories of migrations: intra-local, and inter-local migrations. Such generalized categories of migration, it should be noted, are of little assistance in understanding the complexity of human mobility.

Fairchild differentiated four typologies of migration; namely, invasion, conquest, colonization, and immigration. The best example of invasion is the Visigoth's sack of Rome. Conquest was defined as a type in which the people of a higher culture uses its technical and organizational superiority to subjugate relatively less advanced peoples. In the colonization type a well-established, progressive and physically vigorous State settles what to them are newly discovered countries. Immigration is characterized by individually motivated movements between well-established countries at approximately the same stage of civilization. While Fairchild's classification and explanations illustrate international migrations, it is Isaac's fourfold classification: invasion, conquest, colonization, and migration (basically derived from Fairchild's typologies), which provide relevant explanations and examples to illustrate an internal migration pattern.

In tropical Africa the desire to increase knowledge of the migration process through a systematic appraisal of mobility phenomena has also generated interest in the formulation of migration typologies in recent years. Contemporary migration flows in Africa have been classified mainly in temporal and spatial dimensions. According to Byerlee:

In the temporal dimension, African migrations include (a) seasonal migration, (b) short-term migration for a period of two to five years, and (c) long term or permanent

migrations. Spatially, migration may be rural to rural, rural to urban or urban to urban (1972:1).

Gould et al. (1972) have given a detailed description of the typologies of migration in Africa, basing their classifications on the temporal and spatial dimensions. They point out that the fundamental points in the dimension of time are the distinctions between mobility, migration and circulation. Mobility is a sufficiently broad term and includes all movements of those which are repeated several times each day to inter-continental movements over several thousand miles; whereas, movements which do not involve permanent change are usually designated as circulation. The principal difference between migration and circulation lies in the permanence of the former and the non-permanence of the latter.

It should be noted, however, that because no broad specification of duration of stay suits all purposes, "the period of time implied by the term permanence cannot be generalized in all instances of migration, but has to be considered individually in each specific case" (Mangalam, 1968:8). But as Gould et al. go on to explain, if there is a specification on the part of the individual or group of individuals who are moving to return to their place of origin, and when before leaving in the first place this intension is clear, then the movements may be considered circulation rather than migration. They also emphasized that this distinction between circulation and migration is not directly related to the duration of each movement, for circulatory movement may last longer than migratory ones. The distinction is rather directly related

to the long-term changes in distribution of population that result from the movements. For instance, "circulation" changes in the distribution of population in the long-term are not significantly different from those in the short-term; whereas, with "migration", changes in the long-term are quite different from changes in the short-term.

The basic framework for typology of population mobility, as provided by Gould et al. considers space in four categories of rural/urban relationships and time in the span of each movement (Figure 2-1). This typology indicates that all African population movements--such as movements associated with cultivation, pastoralism, fishing, laborers, traders, pilgrims and refugees, can be accommodated in one of six major time categories, and within the framework, each movement type can be identified by one of the four spatial components. Taking rural-urban movement as an example, on the time scale, commuters are identified with daily movements, pilgrims with periodic, laborers with seasonal, laborers with long-term, refugees with irregular, and laborers with permanent migrations.

Gould et al. describe seasonal mobility as a particular type of periodic movement which is rigidly defined by marked seasonality in physical and/or economic environment. Seasonal movement from rural to urban areas involves mainly laborers. But seasonal migration between rural areas, involving pastoralists, laborers and cultivators has been important in areas of Africa with a pronounced dry season. Beals and Menezes (1970) have analyzed this phenomenon in Ghana, using an inter-regional programming model to demonstrate the role of seasonal migration in

Figure 2-1. Typology of population mobility in Africa: examples.

	CIRCULATION				MIGRATION	
	Daily	Periodic	Seasonal	Long-term	Irregular	Permanent
Rural-rural	Cultivators Hunters Traders (rural markets)	Cultivators Hunters	Pastoralists Labourers Cultivators	Labourers	Pastoralists Gatherers Shifting cultivators. Refugees	Spontaneous colonizers. Sponsored settlers.
Rural-urban	Commuters Cultivators to market.	Pilgrims Labourers	Labourers	Labourers	Refugees	Labourers
Urban-rural	Cultivators		Labourers Cultivators		Labourers Refugees	
Urban-urban	Intra-urban commuters.	Pilgrims Traders Civil servants.	Traders	Traders	Refugees (Elite)	Residential change.

Source: Gould et al., 1973.

augmenting incomes of farmers of the Savannah Zone in the dry season and peak labor demands in the tree crop zones.

While seasonal migration is particularly important in West Africa, long-term migrations occur throughout tropical Africa, particularly in East and Central Africa (Gould et al., 1973:53). Long-term movements involve absence from home for longer than one year.

Perhaps the most comprehensive typology of African mobility is the one offered by R. M. Prothero (1967). He distinguished between economic and non-economic migratory movements (Figure 2-2). Of the non-economic movements, he listed religious pilgrims, and political and ethnic refugees. The economic category comprised pastoralists, fishermen, farmers and traders, all of which he carefully identified with the different types of movements; such as, seasonal, short-term, long-term, etc. For instance, the pastoralists engage in long-term, seasonal-cyclic, or short-term movements, while farmers traverse long distances in search of new lands or new employments, to escape the impact of the deleterious effects of shifting cultivation or overpopulation.

The diversity of patterns and points of emphasis in the foregoing classifications indicate that no generally accepted typology of migration exists. It is clear, however, that the construction of typologies of migration can enhance our understanding of the phenomenon, by providing the framework for the provision of migration policies. Though work has only recently begun in the construction of typologies of migration in Africa, the emphases on spatial and temporal, as well as economic and non-economic dimensions, will not only clarify our knowledge of

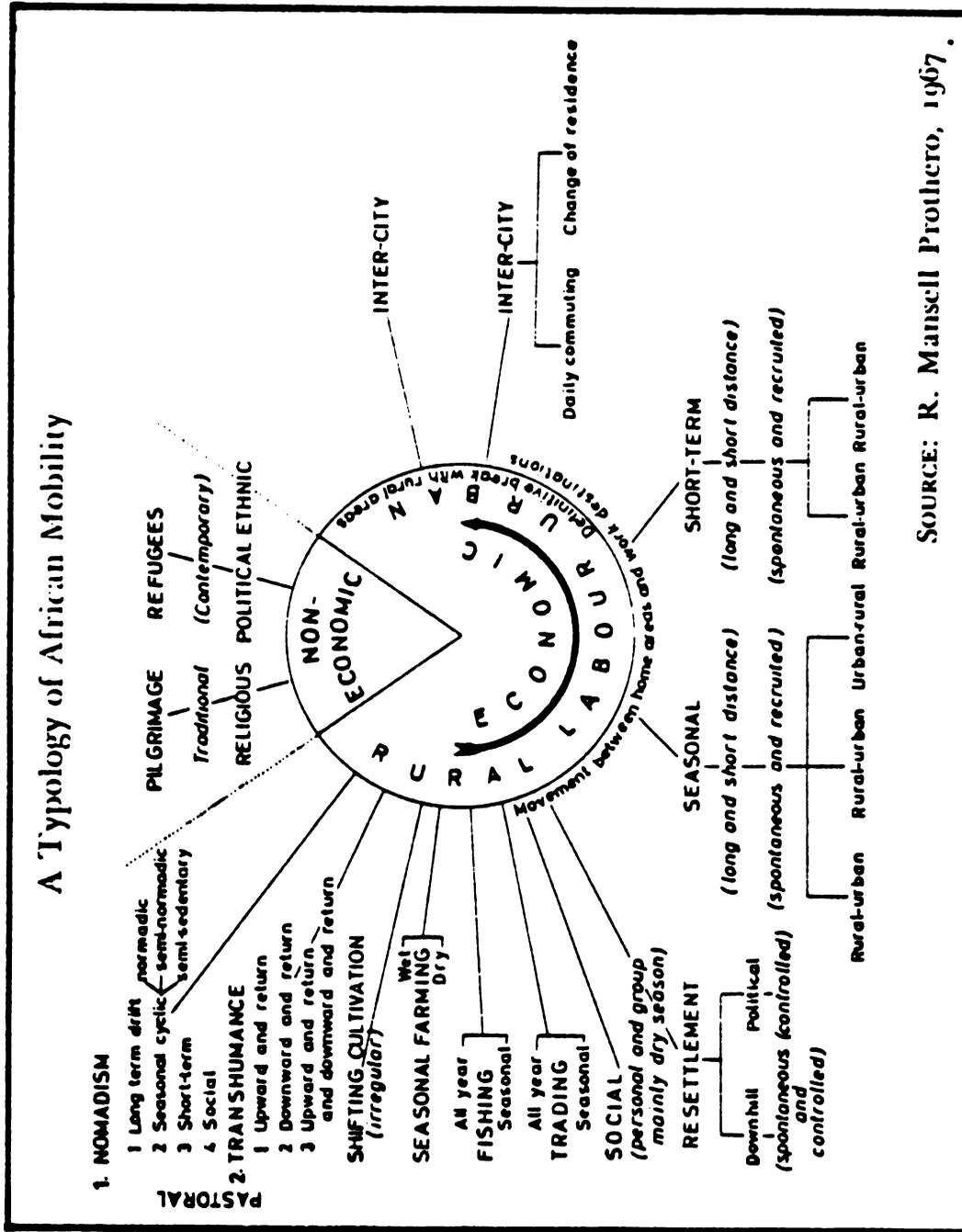


Figure 2-2

migration flows, in the different African countries, but will be significant for policy implications.

Theoretical and Methodological Studies

Until now, migration studies in Africa have tended to be largely descriptive rather than analytical, thus failing to "yield an established theory for analyzing rural-urban migration in Africa" (Byerlee, 1974). However, a large number of migration models and theoretical formulations; such as, the deterministic and probabilistic models (summarized by Morrill, 1965), and the pull-push theory (Lee, 1966) have been developed outside Africa. Generally, these formulations have been applied to the developed countries of the world. Yet, as Mabogunje (1970) points out, in Africa: "Their relevance for handling movements from rural and urban areas has hardly been considered."

The "pull and push" theory is often used in explaining the causes of migration. According to the theory, the push results from deteriorating conditions in rural areas forcing migrants to seek a better life in towns, and the pull is exerted by the towns, which attract rural migrants because of increasing job opportunities. In his A Theory of Migration Everett Lee observed that:

No matter how short, or how long, how easy or how difficult, every act of migration involves origin, a destination and intervening obstacles, among these is the distance of the move which is always present (1965:48).

He went on to classify the factors influencing migration as: (1) pull factors or those associated with the destination area; (2) push factors or those associated with the source area; (3) intervening obstacles,

such as, ethnic barriers, distance from other possible receiving centers and cost; and (4) personal factors.

But, indicating that we should use the pull and push concept with caution, Essang and Mabawonku have argued that "pull" or "bright light" factors may attract the "curious" but not the "economic man" in Nigeria. Clearly, the source and destination areas are both likely to have a mixture of attractive and repulsive elements; and rarely can a single reason explain the variations in a phenomenon as complex and changing as migration. Thus Mitchell (1961:262) states that "single factor explanations of migrations are totally inadequate and that listings of possible motivations are also not very helpful".

Yet classification of factors influencing migration such as the "pull-push" factors can aid in identifying the dominant of the numerous causes of migration in individual cases. Cyprian Ekwensi provides an example of uneconomic motivation, or the so-called "pull effect" on migration in Nigeria. He notes that, to a typical migrant, the city, no matter what conditions, is a symbol of power and high standard of living--a center of civilization better than any level of rural life:

Better for her point of view, the squabble of Lagos slum so long as there are sophisticated people around her, the bright lights of a night spot, a 'high life' band--she would be glad to walk about the city hotels--rather than marry a farmer with a thousand pounds a year for his income, and no spice of life.... (1965:57).

An analysis of migration conducted by McCain (1972) reveals "push effect" as the dominant cause of migration in Nigeria. The study indicated that regions of Nigeria characterized by a small active population with a large inactive population produce higher dependency

ratios and serve to push individuals to migrate to other regions where the prospects of employment may be better. Thus, the Northern Region of Nigeria, with a dependency ratio of 20.6 in 1963, was interpreted as a region which pushed out more of its people than the Western Region with an 11.1 dependency ratio.

The concept of intervening opportunities mentioned in Lee's theory was first propounded by Samuel Stouffer, who in 1940 introduced the concept of intervening opportunities to provide an explanation for the observed spatial mobility of people. He hypothesized that the number of people going a given distance from a point was not a function of distance directly but rather a function of the spatial distribution of intervening opportunities (Stouffer, 1940). In testing the hypothesis, Stouffer encountered problems of measuring "opportunities". To improve on his model, in 1960, he proposed the concept of "intervening opportunities and competing migrants" and suggested that distance scale should not necessarily be measured in terms of miles but rather in terms of "economic distance" (Stouffer, 1960).

Ravenstein (1885:1889) was the first to offer "Laws of Migration" most of which still form the foundation for migration studies today. His seven laws of migration can be summarized as follows: (1) most migrants move a short distance, those who move a long distance proceed to large commercial and industrial centers; (2) migrants move by stages, growing cities absorb surrounding population, leaving gaps in villages and small cities to be filled by people from far areas; (3) there are streams and counter streams of migration, in which each main current of

migration produces a compensating counter current; (4) there are urban-rural differences in propensity to migrate, as natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural areas; (5) there is a predominance of females among short distance migrants; (6) an increase in the level of technology leads to an increase in the rate of migration; and (7) there is a dominance of economic motives in migration.

It has been argued that "not all of these findings are very true today even among industrial societies" (Nabila, 1974:20), and he doubts, for example, if in the African context it can be said with certainty that most migrations are only short distances. But some researchers have proved that several of Ravenstein's hypotheses are still relevant in contemporary migration studies (Redford, 1926; Sjaastad, 1962; Stiglitz, 1969). Sjaastad's findings that "gross migration in one direction is the best single indicator of the amount of backflow" supports Ravenstein's theory of "streams and counter streams" in migration. Stiglitz's analysis revealed that "migration results from mainly perceived differences in economic opportunity in the rural and urban sectors and it continues until these differences are eliminated". This and other such findings support Ravenstein's theory of the "dominance of economic motives" in migration.

Recently, there has been a growing interest in the formulation of theories and methodologies of migration in Africa. Considering migration from a sociological perspective, Gugler (1969) demonstrated that while economic motives dominate, it is the interaction of economic and non-economic factors which most affect the decision to migrate.

He attached key importance to strong rural-urban ties in explaining African rural-urban migration.

While sociologists, demographers, geographers and anthropologists have long dominated migration studies in Africa, economists have only recently pursued systematic research on the subject in an attempt to formulate a theory of migration in developing countries. Their studies focus on the impact of migration on employment problems and the economic motive behind migration. Studies by Lewis (1967); Frank (1968); Eicher et al. (1970); Todaro (1973); Rouke et al. (1971); and Byerlee (1975) demonstrate the existence of a large gap between urban and rural earnings as a common feature of several African countries. The Todaro Theory explicitly treats economic variables to explain rural-urban migration in the face of urban unemployment. He hypothesizes that rural-urban migration is determined by the rural-urban differential in the present value of expected earnings, computed from the probability that some migrants will be unemployed in the urban area. That is, he took into consideration the fact that not all who move in search of higher urban earnings will find any job at all.

The essential elements of the Todaro model of migration have been empirically tested in the United States and other developing countries (Bishop, 1961; Johnson, 1971; Rempel, 1970; Godfrey, 1973;66-78). The empirical evidence from Africa is rather inconclusive. For instance, Rempel's test of the model in Kenya showed no consistent evidence of the importance of a rural-urban expected income differential as an attractive force in urban centers. Johnson refined the model to include

the rate of urban job turnover and the rate of creation of new jobs as additional factors affecting the probability of obtaining a job.

Other studies have indicated that economic variables may not be the only important ones influencing rural-urban migration. In his review of Todaro's hypothesis, Godfrey drew some interesting conclusions. He noted that by excluding certain important variables Todaro has mis-specified the economic variables. The fact of having been to school may indeed be more important than what is taught there, as far as schools' influence on migration is concerned. For a variety of reasons parents want their children to escape from the traditional/rural into the modern/urban environment. Godfrey points out that the means of escape is the educational system, and that education itself has an effect on migration quite separate from its influence on expected income. According to Byerlee (1974:553) the Todaro's model still needs to address such questions as the determinants of rural incomes, the role of rural education and information, as well as non-economic variables--all of which are important in policy analysis. In an attempt to fill this gap in Todaro's model, Byerlee provides "a theoretical schema of the decision to migrate" which takes into consideration noneconomic variables with particular emphasis on the rural environment in which that decision is made.

Another contribution along the same line as Todaro is Harris' (1970) "two-sector" model of rural-urban migration. He recognizes the existence of politically determined minimum urban wages at levels substantially higher than agricultural earnings as a major factor in the

decision to migrate. He notes that migration will continue so long as the expected urban real income exceeds real agricultural product. Hence, Warimer (1970) concludes that "migrants go to cities to find jobs, irrespective of employment situation in urban areas".

Perhaps the best known work on the methodology of migration in Africa is the one offered by Akin L. Mabogunje (1970). In his "Systems Approach To a Theory of Rural-Urban Migration" he treats migration as the result of the aggregate of collective forces. Viewing migration as a spatial process with dynamic spatial impact, he states that it "can best be understood within the framework of a general systems theory". He defines a system as an entity consisting of specialized interdependent parts, with subsystems. Rural-urban migration is, therefore, concerned not only with why people migrate but all the implications and ramifications of the process. As a very complex phenomenon involving not only the migrants but a number of institutional agencies, there exist highly varied adjustments everywhere in a region, and a complex interaction between the migrant and the system. Thus, he concludes that in studying migration, attention must be focused not only on the migrant but also on the various institutions and the social, economic and other relationships which are an integral part of the process of the migrants' transformation. Likewise Nabila (1974:19) regards the migration process "as a continuum with highly interrelated or interconnected parameters". Clearly, an approach which sees migration not as unidirectional, but as "a circular interdependent, progressively complex and self-modifying system in which changes in one part generates changes in

another", is needed to formulate meaningful migration policies in Africa.

Recent Rural-Urban Migration Studies

Migration studies which deal strictly with movements from rural to urban areas are only beginning to gain momentum in modern Africa. Most of the studies focus on the selective nature of rural-urban migration with respect to education and age of migrants, and the resultant burden on the rural as well as the urban centers (Callaway, 1969:58-68; Rempel, 1970; Ominde, 1968; Sabot, 1972; Imoagene, 1975; Abasiokong, 1976). According to Callaway, three quarters of the migrants to Ibadan in Nigeria are school-leavers between 15 and 25 years of age, while Abasiokong's study reveals a modular age of 25-34 years and 82.2 percent "functional literates" of the migrants in Calabar. In Kenya, Rempel estimates a peak in the 20-25 age group. A survey in Ghana revealed that 65 percent of respondents with no education had never migrated and did not intend to migrate, compared to only 17 percent for those respondents with some secondary schooling (Caldwell, 1969:62).

Selectivity is considered an important concept in understanding the impact of migration on the economy (Mabogunje, 1968:212). As Browning and Feindt (1969:72) observed, "the degree of selectivity is of obvious relevance in the interpretation of the effect of migration on the community of origin and on the potential success of the migrant at his destination." Because migrants are often young and motivated people, imbalance between rural and urban human resources is often

intensified. A massive exodus of the young, abler, brighter, more courageous, venturesome, and creative individuals can drain the rural population of entrepreneurs and innovators needed to pioneer new techniques in the rural areas (Byerlee et al., 1975:6; Green et al., 1972:14). Todaro (1969:138) also associates selective migration with "a possible reduction of agricultural output". In examining the consequences of migration on the Urban Revolution in Nigeria, Imoagene also demonstrates how "the huge exodus of the most productive age-groups from the rural hinterland to towns causes further disorganization and poverty which in turn constitutes push factors from rural to urban areas". Other researchers have commented on the extent of aggregate aging of rural populations and imbalance of sex ratio (Hunter, 1967; Dema, 1968; Van Velsen, 1961; Henin, 1969; Lorimer, 1960; ILO, 1970; Ominde, 1965). For instance, in his studies of population movements to the main urban areas of Kenya, Ominde (1965) concluded that because the age group 20-45 forms an important proportion of the rural population, their absence in the source regions constitutes a burden on those left behind. In the light of these observations, one can wonder to what extent Berg's (1960) idea of migration as an effective adaptation to the economies of West Africa is valid.

Among other contributors to the current literature on rural-urban migration in Africa are Little (1965), Page (1965), Kuper (1965), Skinner (1965), Wallerstein (1965), McNulty (1966), and Gulliver (1965). They all see economic motivation as the most impelling force behind rural-urban migration in Africa. Little entitles his first chapter

"The Lure of Town" in which he emphasizes the effect of social and economic change on migration. He comments: "In the main, however, Western contact having erected needs and aspirations impossible to satisfy in the countryside, migration means a flight from land ... in many areas the town was the obvious place to earn cash."

Since rural-urban migration has given birth to organized groups of people in the urban areas, "organized groups" have also attracted the attention of many African urban scholars (see for example: Little, 1965; Southall, 1966; Richards, 1963; Epstein, 1958; and Wolpe, 1974). Little has provided a very comprehensive description of the role of voluntary associations as adaptive mechanisms linking social relationships which arose from pre-colonial subsistence economies with those evolving in contemporary West African societies based on the market economy. He sees voluntary associations; that is, formally organized ethnic groups, as the most unique core feature of urban social organization, social change and modernization. He draws attention to how voluntary associations in various West African cities function to integrate recent migrants from rural areas and give economic and social assistance to urban dwellers. Also contributing to the issue of migration and ethnic groups, Southall made the interesting observation that the townsman passes through three stages: First, his "tribal" ties are stronger than any other ties; then, he begins to form urban tribal associations; and thirdly, he joins new associations based entirely on his new work in the urban area.

Conditions in modern African towns are such that the network of ties are still mainly based on ethnic affiliation in the rural areas,

in the urban areas, and also between the two. As Richards (1963:49) noted: "... we find everywhere a variety of forms of social groupings and social ties which could be loosely classified as "multi-tribalism".

Migration Studies in Calabar

Though extensive studies of African migration exist, there have been only very few descriptive studies of migrants into Calabar city in recent years. In 1973, Udofot examined the impact of migration from the mainland part of the South Eastern State of Nigeria to Calabar. Among other relevant observations, he found a decline in supply, and a rise in the price of building materials such as mats (locally hand-made roof covers) in the villages, as a result of marked migration of youths to cities. This finding is in keeping with Udo's (1970) conclusion that as "a result of selective migrations, jobs formerly done by young men have suffered in several regions". That Udofot also found in the city "overcrowded schools and unemployed youths" underline the fact that uncontrolled rural-urban migration to a city yet unprepared to accept the migrants can exasperate problems both at the city and at the already poor rural areas.

Other migration studies which relate to Calabar include:

(1) Ekanem's (n.d.) study of the characteristics of migrants to Calabar from the surrounding areas; (2) Udo Amanam's (1971) study of the impact of migration and unemployment on the economic development of the three Eastern States; (3) Udo's (1970) analysis of migration in Nigeria, which focused on the economic, social and demographic aspects of movements of people from one rural to another rural area;

(4) Mabogunje's (1970) study which found Calabar as one of the major regions in Nigeria "taking more migrants than expected"; and

(5) Abasiokong's (1977) two studies which focus on daily paid migrant workers, and the rural-urban socio-economic links of urban workers in Calabar. Abasiokong sees the constitution of Calabar as a State capital during the Civil War as a major attractive force in "the unprecedented migration of people from rural to urban areas notably to the state capital ... with attendant problems of housing, water and electricity supplies, roads, schools, and health facilities." In recognition of the imminent policy implications of this "unusual influx of migrants" to Calabar, he concludes:

To avert this continuous, and undesirable influx of migrants into Calabar with its attendant social, political and economic problems, it is suggested that efforts be made to develop Local Government Headquarters, other smaller cities and rural areas in general to attract migrants, thereby relieving Calabar of its present and future burden of overpopulation and its negative impacts on the general development and planning (1977:21).

One limitation of Abasiokong's suggestions is that they fail to indicate what should be done to ameliorate the problems created by migration at Calabar. The unanswered question still remains: Should social and economic planners intensify the exodus of people from rural areas or should a balanced policy of investment be encouraged to reduce the pressure of job seekers in the urban centers? Nobody seems to be sure as yet. Perhaps the answer is most likely to depend on a systematic analysis of the entire migration process. It will, therefore, depend to what extent planners can handle not only employment problems but the mounting urban housing deficits, and congestions that have resulted from rural-urban migration (Harrison, 1967; Harvey, 1968,1969).

Housing-Related Studies

We shape our buildings and afterwards our buildings will shape us (Winston Churchill).

One thorny problem of rapidly growing urban centers in Africa is housing. On arrival in the urban center, one of the most critical questions is where the migrant shall stay. This matter is important because (1) housing is a basic human need which serves as a significant point from which its occupants interact with different social and economic scenes; and (2) most migrants on arrival, have neither property nor job, nor even a clear idea about the labor and urban housing market. As Grimes (1976:3) puts it, "Housing not only provides shelter for a family but also serves as a center for its total residential environment." Thus, the Eastern Nigeria Housing Corporation (1964) recognized that "the provision of adequate housing is essential to the vital development of the social, political and economic progress of the Region and the inculcation of healthy and sanitary habits among the people of the Region."

Because the housing deficit is closely related to rural-urban migration, it is a problem more in the urban than in rural areas. Dwyer (1975) directs attention to the "squatter hut" as the most striking physical symptom of the general housing problem in the Third World. Another report described the types of housing commonly found in urban areas in Africa. They are:

(1) Large, low-cost housing estates provided by municipal and governmental authorities; (2) houses built by Africans with local

material on plots made available by municipal authorities; (3) camp or barrack-type houses, consisting largely of dormitories built for transient workers; and (4) slums, overcrowded settlements which have grown up without any particular plan or street layout (United Nations, 1957).

In his study of Lagos, Sada (1971:9) identified three grades of residential land use: (1) the high-grade residential districts which fell into 4 groups: government housing, and private housing, quasi-government housing and private housing; (2) the medium-grade residential districts--characterized by a higher density of housing, a higher occupancy ratio, and a lower percentage of houses with social amenities than in the higher-grade districts; and (3) the lower-grade residential districts--found in two areas: the blighted area in the central city, and a ring of newly developed areas immediately outside of the city boundary.

The shortage of housing, with its corollary overcrowdedness, is widely known as the most serious urban problem in Africa (Sutherland, 1958; Koenigsberge, 1970; and Abrams, 1966). Nash (1974:8) notes that Ajeromi, a typical slum in Lagos "is crowded with migrants." Wolpe (1974:20) reports how in 1965 over 80,000 persons were crowded into a space of less than one square mile in Diobo, Port-Harcourt, while newly arrived immigrants were still moving into the area. According to Adeleye (1976) the high demand for good housing, both industrial and domestic, "has been aggravated in recent times by the rising tempo of our socio-economic development, and has no doubt resulted in urban congestion, slums and rising house rents."

Problems of slum clearance and rehousing have been raised. Marris (1962) contends that effective rehousing programs must fulfill two conditions: (1) the people must be able to afford the cost of new housing whether for rent or for purchase; and (2) they must be able to re-establish their patterns of life in the new surroundings. Turner (1967 and 1968), however, presented a forceful case for a different approach to physical planning and slum clearance. "The basic problem of slums," he maintained, "is not how to eradicate them but how to make them liveable." He, therefore, advocated the abandonment of the current orthodox modern "project approach to urban development and the substitution of a service approach." In other words, "government influence on development will be proportional to its understanding of ordinary people's needs, and its ability to work, not for them but with them."

Other recommendations have been suggested to improve housing and general living conditions. Attention is called to the need for more research and interchange of ideas between the social researcher and the town planner (Report 1959: and Inter-American Labor Institute, 1959). Hazemann (1958) stressed the importance of psychological factors in the planning of urban housing, while other authors (Sutherland, 1956, and Grime, 1976) suggest that more houses be built at different income levels, more loans be made available, more firms be encouraged to house their employees, and more regulations be effected to define and control overcrowding in large rooming houses. The literature on housing conditions in Africa demonstrates the needs for research in this aspect of the urbanization process.

One pertinent question that often receives only passing attention in migration studies is: What role does the extended family play in ameliorating the problems of the tight urban housing market? It is sometimes hypothesized that the extended family is incompatible with urban living and values (Brown, 1963), but Eames (1967) provides a counter hypothesis which indicates that the "joint family is the facilitating mechanism in the process of rural-urban migration. This hypothesis is supported by many scholars (Litwark, 1960; Caldwell, 1969; Firth, 1956), who have contributed to the concept of migration and the extended family. Historically the extended family has been known to encourage migration as a means of extending the opportunities of the family or kinship group. Because of the recent mounting urban housing problems, the role of the extended family to provide housing to migrants deserves very close attention.

In Africa, the extended family has played a notable role in urban housing since the inception of cities. As Mabogunje (1962) pointed out, "Before the 20th century the extended family was the unit of town settlement...." Crooke also indicated how in Yoruba land, "emigrant populations traditionally maintained their urban residential rights even when conditions allowed them to settle closer to their farmlands." Today the long-established Yoruba towns still contain the "compounds" of large extended family groups, whose members and descendants regard the compound as "home" even though they may live mainly in the town's rural area or elsewhere. Thus, to a migrant from a Yoruba village, securing a place to live with relatives in the urban center is more an assured traditional privilege than a mere uncertain expectation.

This Yoruba example is a special case of urban housing in which migrants can claim rights to living quarters by means of kinship ties. Even in areas where there are no such claims to ancestral urban houses, most African migrants still rely on the extended family to house and feed them, free of charge, until they find jobs. In his extensive survey of both migrants and extended families in the villages and towns of Ghana, Caldwell found a significant level of reliance on the extended family for providing accommodation and housing information to migrants. For instance, he related:

More often than not the migrant already knows when he dismounts from the mammy lorry in the lorry park, with whom he will be staying. Often he does not know how to get there. He will seek advice from bystanders, often from people from his own area (Caldwell, 1969:129).

His rural survey indicated that over half the potential migrants expected initially to stay with relatives, and most rural households agree that town relatives are happy to help the new arrivals from the village; whereas, in the urban survey, of all types of help, housing ranked highest.

The dominant role of the extended family over other sources of assistance is in keeping with the norm of the African family system where one's perception of who should help in time of need is in the form of a hierarchy. Often the order is from parents to immediate relatives, to friends, ethnic members, and others (Nabila, 1974:193-198). This system of providing accommodation by extended family can be held accountable for the spatial allocation of migrants in easily definable ethnic clusters in African cities.

The point to note is that the absorption of the migrant at the urban end is not only "occupational" but "residential" (Mabogunje, 1970). Calabar is blessed with housing studies and programs such as: (1) the Louis Berger's (1975) "Study of Housing Needs and Demand in Urban Development in the South Eastern State of Nigeria"; (2) the Cross River State of Nigeria (1975) "Housing Enquiry"; (3) the South Eastern State of Nigeria (1973) "Staff Housing Rules"; and (4) the Cross River State Housing Corporation. But none of these studies and/or programs have any specific policies that deal with the "residential absorption" of migrants in Calabar.

Policy on migration should be directed not only to alleviating employment problems, as has more often been the case, but to the solving of urban housing problems. Over-crowded and inadequate urban housing means that policies toward rural-urban migration should be accompanied by efforts not only to improve urban housing conditions and supply, but to stem the uncontrolled rural-urban migration. "The city administration can ensure availability of relatively cheap and adequate housing in quantities which could make the transition of the rural migrant either difficult or easy" (Mabogunje, 1970).

Finally, it must be remembered that such a combination of forces is involved in the migration process that housing policies should not be considered in isolation but as part of a system of inter-related parameters in the planning of population distribution and economic development. For instance, efforts to provide adequate urban housing should be coordinated with well-planned rural development

programs which aim at restricting the rural exodus. Job opportunities in rural areas must be accompanied by amenities to satisfy both the curious and the "economic" man. Unless rural inhabitants have jobs and income, amenities such as hospitals, schools, cinemas and electricity, will exert little attraction. On the other hand, an urban job and income without decent urban housing is a degradation.

There is also a need for careful coordination and administration of the urban housing suppliers, namely: (1) private house owners and landlords; (2) private employers; and (3) government employers and government housing programs. These sources along with the "popular" government housing program have been inadequate in solving the growing urban housing problems. As Harrison (1967) observes, the Libyan government's low-cost housing project is "not enough to solve the housing problem." The Nigerian government has earmarked 2.7 billion dollars for attacking the housing issue. Of the 60,000 residential units proposed to be built for middle and low income groups, only 15,000 units are ready for use; and, considering the acute housing problem, this has been described as "a drop in an ocean."

Clearly, any government housing program which is not integrated with private efforts to stimulate the private housing market will continue to be "a drop in the ocean." Also, due to the high rate of African rural-urban migration, even the grandest urban housing scheme which does not consider the impact of individual migration would be self-defeating.

The literature review has stressed the role of education in migration as the aspect of social life which relates most closely to the quality of housing in which a man lives. According to Jilly (1961) since education is a process that includes tastes and standards of judgment, it is no surprise to find that quality of housing is a variable affected by degree of exposure to education. Other points of emphasis in the literature review included the role of the extended family in the migration process and housing, and the acute housing deficiencies resulting from rural-urban migration in the developing countries. Based on the literature review and research objectives previously stated, the following hypotheses are, therefore, derived:

- H: 1 There is a positive relationship between the size of household and the number of migrants from the family.
- H: 2 In the rural areas, there is a positive relationship between the number of migrants from a household and the level of education; that is, the higher the education level of a household, the more the number of migrants from it.
- H: 3 There is a positive relationship between a migrants' level of education and the quality of his housing.
- H: 4 In the urban area, the duration of a migrant's stay in the city is positively related to housing quality; that is, the longer the duration in years of a migrants' stay in the city, the better the quality of his housing. This is derived from the hypothesis that since migrants are often late-comers in a competitive housing market, they have to

take poor quality accommodations which are left over by permanent residents.

H: 5 Kinship is positively related to the provision of accommodations for migrants. The closer the relationships of the urban host the more willing he or she is to provide accommodation to a migrant.

H: 6 Room density is negatively related to satisfaction in housing; that is, the higher the room density of a house, the less satisfaction such a house gives to its residents.

Research Design and Method of Analysis

Rationale for Using Survey Methodology

The research involved the collection of data on demography, economy, housing conditions, and the social and environmental context of a sampled population of Calabar and its rural hinterland. In the absence of adequate and accurate data on migration and housing in the study area, a sample survey methodology was used for the bulk of the data. Specifically, the following methods were used in obtaining data on which this study is based: (1) field observation, (2) field interviewing, (3) questioning officials and other authorities, and (4) consulting published materials.

The basic research instrument was, therefore, a formal interview schedule (Appendix 1). Open interview schedules which allowed respondents to provide their own answers were largely used, instead of questionnaires. The main difference between interview schedules and questionnaires is that while schedules are administered by an interviewer who asks the question and writes down the answers, questionnaires

are self-administered; that is, they are completed by the respondents (Peil, 1972).

There are other special advantages for using the survey method for the study. Consideration of the objectives of research are critical for the methods used in collecting data; in this case, the survey method provided an opportunity for in-depth probing and examination of problems related to the objectives of this research. Donald Bogue (1959) has emphasized the need to "expand the list of factors affecting migration ... little, if any of this information is available from official sources." Wilkie (1971) adds that in "expanding this list of variables through a case study method, factors are placed in the context of a real situation and not left out of context as most frequently happens." He describes the interview schedule method as "... participant observation where the researcher knows the subjects personally, and helps the investigator to eliminate random erroneous results in the interpretation of the data." It is specially quite relevant and pragmatic, as Hance (1970) concluded: "Emphasis in migration should be placed on the design of studies to collect data not available from census and other administrative sources, and to exploit new opportunities that are arising as by-products of human population study."

Data Limitations

It should be noted that data, especially on migration, are not easy to come by in Nigeria. Although "conventional population censuses provide the most accessible source of data for demographic research" (Robertson, 1969), their adequacy, accuracy and reliability for purposes

of migration studies in African countries have been questioned by many demographic and development scholars such as Hance (1970), Stolper (1967), Adepoju and Ekanem (1975), and Uyanga (1975). Nigeria, for instance, has had up to three well-known censuses in the last quarter of the century, but none of them has been of sufficient level of reliability to enable one to make accurate statements about the general population characteristics of the country, let alone, about migration in specific localities. As Mabogunje (1970:248) puts it: "The Nigerian censuses are never set up to collect migration data." The faults of the 1963 Nigerian census have been critically discussed by Ekanem (1972). Chief among the errors of the census include: (1) inflated settlement population; (2) the creation, or pseudo-creation of fictitious settlements; and (3) omission of some settlements altogether. Clearly, the use of lists of settlements in such census reports for sampling can be quite misleading. The deficiencies of census and survey data have imposed such considerable limitations on the systematic analysis of migration that Pool (1969:169) argues that "for migration ... we have skeleton, and some flesh." On the grounds of the inadequacy and inaccuracy of the Nigerian censuses on the whole range of information needed for research on migration, many migration experts in Nigeria-- Prothero (1959), Ejiogu (1968), Oluşanga (1969), Adepoju (1974), and Abasiokong (1976) have resorted to ad hoc sample surveys for data on migration. The research presented here is no exception; that is, it also relies on the survey method for the bulk of the data.

Field Research Strategies

Reconnaissance Survey and Research Assistants

The first part of the field work was used for a reconnaissance survey of the study area and the hiring of research assistants. Considerable time was spent on studying maps, basic documents and directories of the study area, to determine the routes, and villages, parts of the town, and persons to visit. Then, one week was spent travelling through the town and villages observing the general physical and socio-economic conditions of the area. During that time conversations were held with different classes of rural and urban people. In the town different institutions were visited, including the University of Calabar. Some members of the staff in the Geography and Sociology departments of the University were quite willing to read through the interview schedule and offer useful criticisms and suggestions on the basis of their experience in the area. As a result of such input, as well as the observations, casual encounters, and informal interviews, some modifications were made to the interview schedules. Talking to the traditional chiefs, teachers, and peasants in the rural areas also gave an idea of possible problems to be expected in the rural survey.

It would have been difficult to carry out a research project of this type and magnitude without assistance. Field assistants were therefore used for interviewing purposes. The selection of such assistants was critical for the success of the study. Especially in the rural area, where research of this nature is still largely unknown, it was necessary to hire assistants with ability, interest, and familiarity

with the local people. Grade 11 teachers working in the rural areas were found to be especially suitable for the rural survey. Their familiarity with the local people and environment was considered an important qualification for the maintenance of a rapport with typically rather suspicious rural peasants. With the help of different headmasters of primary schools, in the villages visited during the reconnaissance survey, it was possible to recruit such teachers.

The selection of assistants for the urban survey was on the basis of their familiarity with the assigned sectors of the city, as well as personal interest and experience at census data collection. All of the four assistants finally selected for the research were Efik speaking men with a good knowledge of the English language. Their duties involved interpreting and explaining (where necessary), and completing the interview schedules.

Prior to the actual field work an intensive interviewer training session was conducted. The assistants were introduced to both the principles of interviewing, and the purpose of the sample survey. They were given detailed instructions, and practice on how to translate and complete the schedules properly. Before starting them on their own, I visited and supervised each assistant as he interviewed a few householders in the respective sectors.

Sample Design

Given the spatial variations of migrants and other phenomena under study, to obtain an adequate sample in the various sectors of the study area, a stratified random sample design was used to select householders

for the research. A stratified sample is one in which the study area is subdivided into strata. Sampling points within each stratum are then chosen randomly, systematically or in an aligned fashion (Berry and Baker, 1968). Stratification of the study area has the advantage of ensuring the representation of specified sub-groups within the overall sample (Sjoberg and Nett, 1968).

The first step in the sampling was to examine a street map of Calabar city, and also a map of Calabar Division. The divisional map is sub-divided into Development Areas and Villages. The sub-divisions were used as the basis for the stratification of the study area. Secondly, a list of the villages in the 13 Development Areas which make up the study area was made. The map of Calabar city, showing streets and residential density, was used for the urban sample. The city was divided into zones, and the zones were subdivided into 22 blocks for a systematic sampling of the householders on the selected streets.

Since exclusive emphasis on studying migration at either the rural or urban end of the process alone gives only a one-side picture, data were collected in both rural and urban areas. This procedure was intended to facilitate direct comparison of rural and urban responses, and also attitudinal characteristics.

Rural Survey

A simple random number table was used systematically to select 20.3 percent of the villages in the 13 Development Areas. Thus, out of a total 334 villages, 63 were selected. From these selected villages about 10 householders per village were chosen for interviewing.

Because of the diversity in both village size and the spatial distribution of houses within the villages, no fixed number, or uniform selection technique was used in selecting houses or householders. However, the guiding principle was to interview a cross-section of the sampled village, selecting only one household per house. For instance, large villages were divided into sectors, and householders selected randomly from the different sectors. In some cases, a system of selecting householders in every other house, or in every two houses, etc., was adopted. Up to 20 householders were interviewed in a very large village; whereas, about 5 interviews were considered enough in a small village. The rural survey covered a total of 729 respondents.

Urban Data Collection

Using a simple random numbers table, thirty percent of the city blocks were selected. Then a list of the streets in the sampled blocks was made for a systematic sampling of thirty percent of the streets in each block. In each of the selected residential buildings on the sampled streets one householder within it was interviewed. Altogether 896 householders were interviewed in the urban survey, thus covering 4.7 percent of the estimated urban households.

The interview schedule for the urban survey contained items ranging from background questions, to questions regarding migration history, housing conditions, perception of rural and urban life, and policy suggestions. The rural survey questions were, in most parts, consistent with those of the urban survey, though they included specific questions

about the destinations of rural migrants, and about return migrants in the households (see Appendix 2).

Special Interviews

In order to obtain information of specific policy significance it was necessary to conduct special interviews with persons in some key decision-making positions in the study area. Among such persons who provided expert, policy-relevant information on migration and housing problems were: (1) Dr. P. E. B. Inyang, Head, Department of Geography, University of Calabar; (2) Dr. Edet Abasiokong, Department of Sociology, University of Calabar; (3) Mr. E. A. Etuk, Chief Town Planning Officer, Urban Development Division, Calabar; (4) Mr. D. E. Udo, Chief Statistician, Ministry of Finance and Economic Development; (5) Mr. A. Deb, Chief Architect, Cross River State Housing Corporation; and (6) Mr. Uko Inoyo, Assistant General Manager, Cross River State Housing Corporation.

Methods of Analysis

Three statistical techniques are used to analyze the data: (1) the chi square, (2) multiple regression, and (3) incidence factor analysis. The chi square statistic is particularly useful in the test of difference between the rural and urban responses. Multiple regression is useful in testing the relationship between the independent and the dependent variables of the hypotheses. Incidence factor analysis, using ones to denote the presence, and zeros the absence, of 27 housing characteristics (Appendix 1), is used to determine housing categories

and their spatial distribution in Calabar. These selected statistical techniques are further explained where they are used in the text.

CHAPTER III

THE MIGRATION PROCESS IN CALABAR

Historical Background

The Importance of Calabar

The importance of Calabar lies in its past which can help both in the understanding of the present, and in the planning of the future. Owing to its favorable location on the east bank of the Cross River which forms the major drainage system of the area, Calabar was naturally well placed to control trade over a large area, in the days when long distance trade in Nigeria was carried on by water. In the 18th and 19th centuries, Old Calabar, as it was then known, controlled the trade of the whole of the Cross River Basin (Jennings, 1966). By the 1830's the palm oil trade had made Calabar famous. For twenty years, 1885-1906, it was the capital of the Oil Rivers Protectorate (then of the Niger Coast Protectorate) and of the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria. During that period, the whole of Southern Nigeria was administered from Calabar. The Cross River had then become a busy commercial highway, as "exports via Calabar port constituted a major part of the total Nigerian exports up to and including the First World War" (Ekong, 1974:5).

Writing on the impact of the international economy upon a traditional society (that is, old Calabar from 1600 to 1891), Latham (1973) indicates how in those early days the palm oil trade in Calabar expanded

from 1,000 tons per annum to over 7,000 tons in about eighty years (Figure 3-1). He also cites the demands of the expanding international economy as the main force which acted to change Calabar society. Until the arrival of the Europeans the inhabitants of this area were fishermen. But the advent of the Europeans radically changed the social and economic life of the people. The people of Calabar quickly adapted to the English ways of life, acting as middlemen in the flourishing trade. Concerning such trade connections, the former Military Governor of the South Eastern State concluded:

The ancient City of Calabar has had over four centuries of connections with what is usually called the Modern World. Traders, missionaries, colonial agents, and administrators did flourishing business (Esuene, 1976).

But thereafter, Calabar underwent a systematic decline, falling from its historical, political and economic position of pre-eminence to a position in the background. Its future was initially ruined by the amalgamation of Southern Nigeria and Lagos in 1906, as Lagos became the new seat of government. Between 1920 and 1966 Calabar passed through three stages into complete stagnation. The first stage began after the First World War, when a period of stagnation set in. During and after the Second World War, from 1939 to 1954, the area passed through another critical stage in which major economic shifts were made by traders to areas west of Calabar. As Latham (1973:150) put it: "During the forties and fifties, Calabar remained a backwater." But between 1954 and 1966, it was in its last stage of decline in which little if any of the export-import trade passed through the Cross River waterways. "The port (thus) became almost a ghost town" (Ekong, 1974).

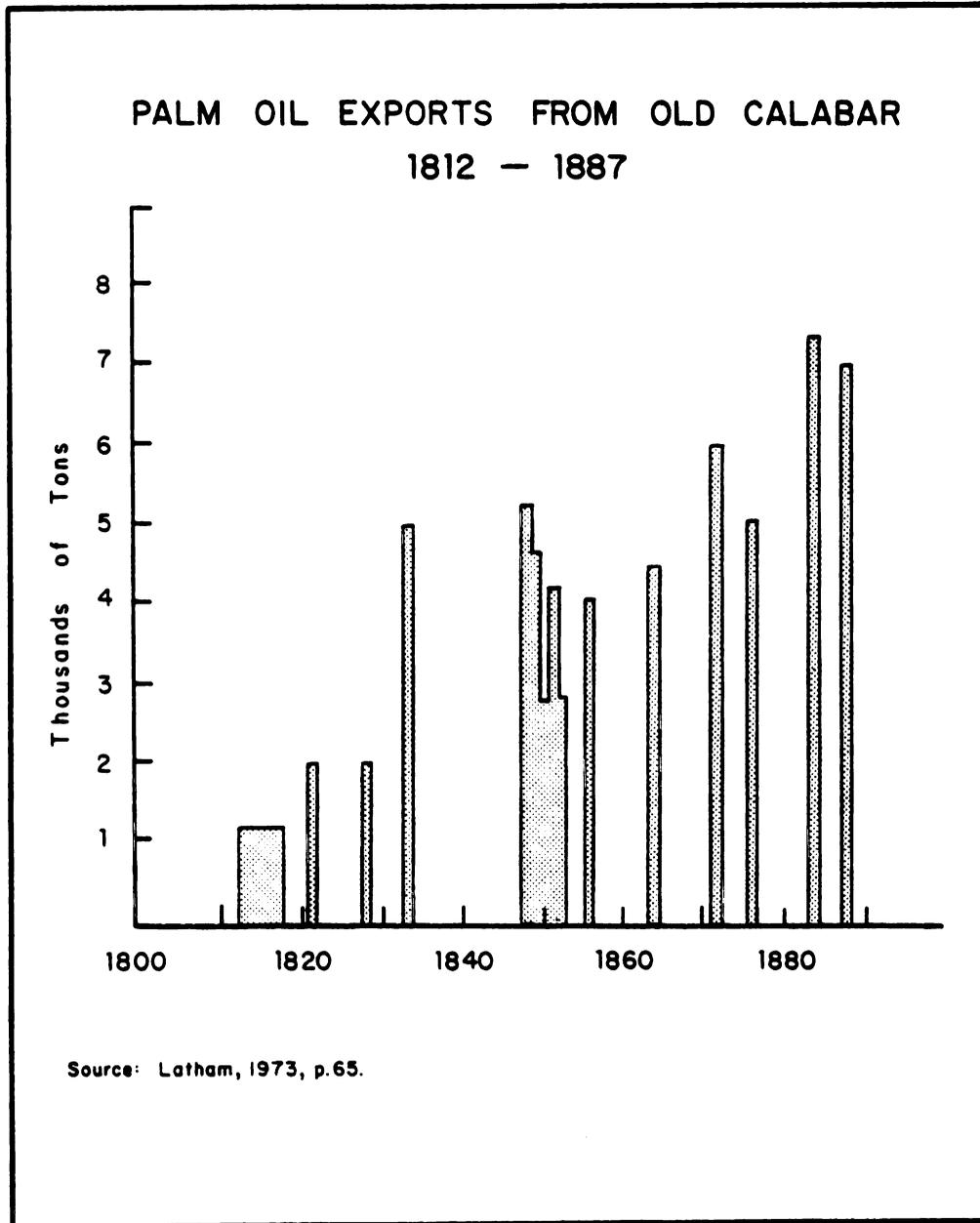


Figure 3-1

Latham attributes this utter decline of Calabar to the "political wranglings of the post-independence era of the sixties which made matters worse. Because Calabar chose to back the Action Group rather than the National Council of Nigeria and Cameroon, it was largely excluded from the latter's economic policy." The growth in the importance of land transport was another significant factor in the decline of Calabar. Prior to the establishment of the South Eastern State, this area was part of Nigeria's Eastern Region, whose capital was in Enugu, and Calabar's connection with other parts of the region was based on river transportation. Its few road connections are impeded by the spurs of the granite mountains that reach the Cross River and the absence of bridges over that river. Its main contact with the rest of the region is by a ferry to Oron where a road leads to centers of population in the mainland areas. With the discovery of a deep-water harbor at Port Harcourt in 1913, and the decision to develop it as the railway terminal for the country east of the Niger, Calabar's hopes of development as an entreport were destroyed. Thus, the development and improvement of railways and highways in other parts of the region, and the neglect of Calabar in such road improvement supplanted the river as a primary means of communication, contributing to the decline of Calabar as a port city and center of commerce.

People and Migration History

Ethno-linguistically, Calabar is regarded as semi-bantu. The original inhabitants of the region comprise the Efik, the Qua and the Efut (Figure 3-2). Although they are known to have arrived at different times,

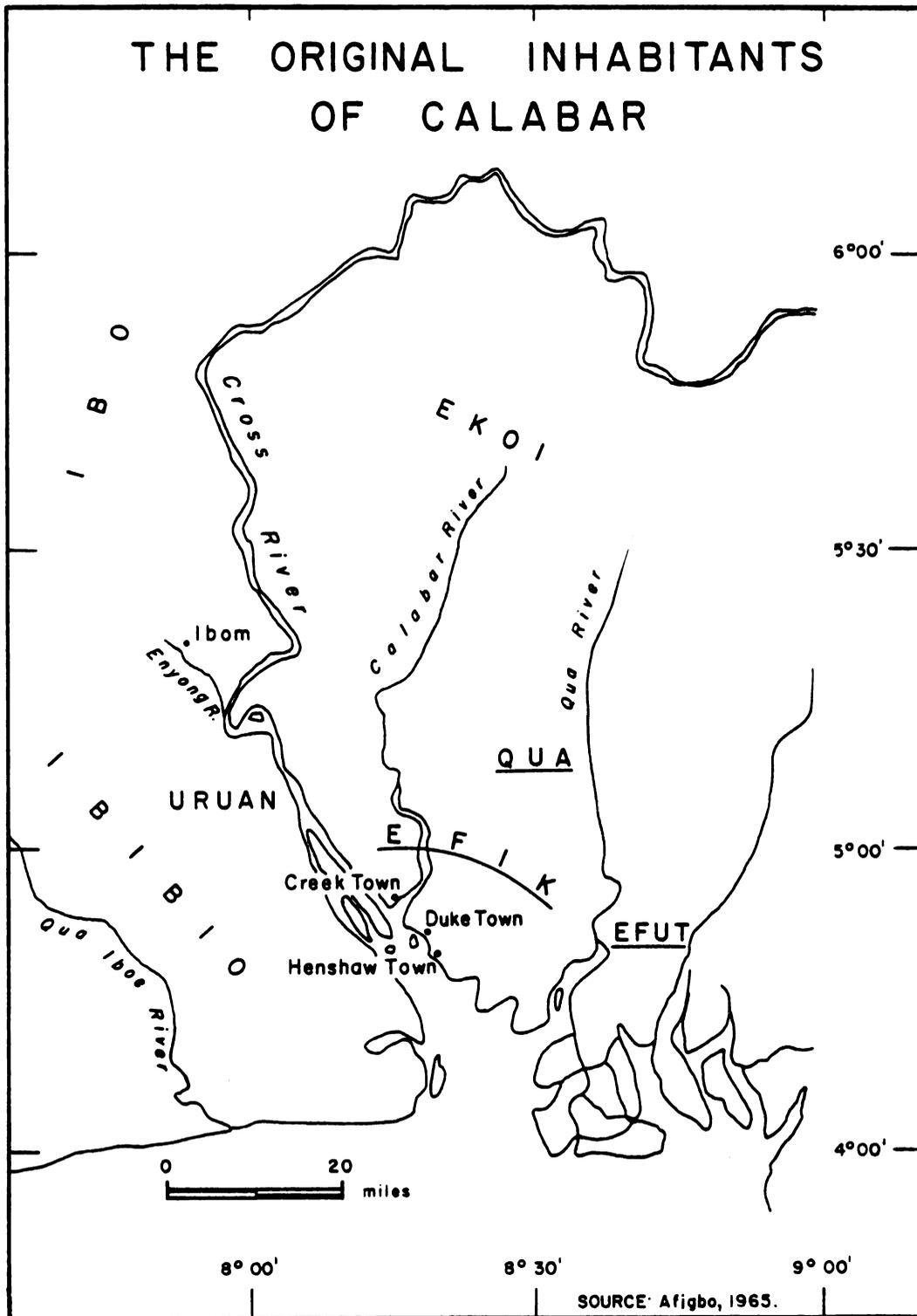


Figure 3-2

the main settlement pattern was established before the end of the sixteenth century (Lathan, 1973:5). In the 18th and 19th centuries Old Calabar consisted of the trading republics of Henshaw Town, Duke Town and Greek Town.

It is still uncertain which of the three groups first settled in Calabar. Sometimes it is assumed that the Qua and the Efut arrived before the Efik. As one report puts it:

The Qua people were the original holders of Kalabar.... The Kalabar (Efik) authorities pay a yearly tribute to the Qua people for permission to reside in their territory ... the whole territory on the east of the Cross River belonged to the people of Qua (Hutchinson, 1858:128-99).

Afigbo (1965) offers a comprehensive discussion of the controversy about the origin and settlement of the three groups. His review merely underlies the "vehement disagreement which exists between assumptions and surviving Efik traditions" about the Efik origin and migrations.

But in spite of this controversy, it is generally recognized that while the Qua and Efut are essential elements that constitute the original inhabitants of Calabar, "the Efik are the dominant ethnic group" (Ogar, 1976). Besides, the Efik has had a reputation for oppressing their neighbors; the very word "Efik" means "oppressors".

According to oral Efik tradition and some written documents (Waddell, 1863; Goldie, 1901), the Efik came out of Ibibio, a territory which extends from the Cross River to the Ibo land on the Niger, to settle at Calabar. Though the Efik admit that their last place of settlement before they moved to Calabar was Uruan, an Ibibio Clan, they deny that they are Ibibio. In the words of a prominent Efik man:

We the Efik settled first at Ibom in Aro District and for this reason the name "Ibom" has been used by the Efik man to describe whatever to him is mighty.... Owing to defeat in war we left Ibom and settled in Uruan from where we were driven again by the Uruan who said we oppressed them. It was after this that we split into two main groups, one of which came down to Calabar (Henshaw, 1965:269).

Internal wars of the 17th century also sent the Qua and the Efut fleeing to Calabar. The Qua are a segment of the Ekoi people who were driven to Calabar by the Mbokang War. The Efut were linked with the Cameroon until they migrated to their present home to escape an internal war.

The outcome of the Nigerian civil war has resulted in marked improvement in the position of modern Calabar. With the constitution of Calabar as the capital of the new State the area has entered another stage in its development, assuming new forces of attraction. "There seems to be every reason to suppose that now that the development of South Eastern State is in its own hands, Calabar will recover its former prominence" (Afigbo, 1965:150). Clearly, for more numerous and complex reasons than just the drive of internal wars, Calabar is now destined to attract more than three ethnic groups. Already the area is reputed as one of the major destination regions in Nigeria taking more migrants than expected (Udo, 1970:Figure 6). The remaining section of this chapter will, therefore, attempt to identify the main causal factors that help to explain the magnitude of rural-urban migration in Calabar.

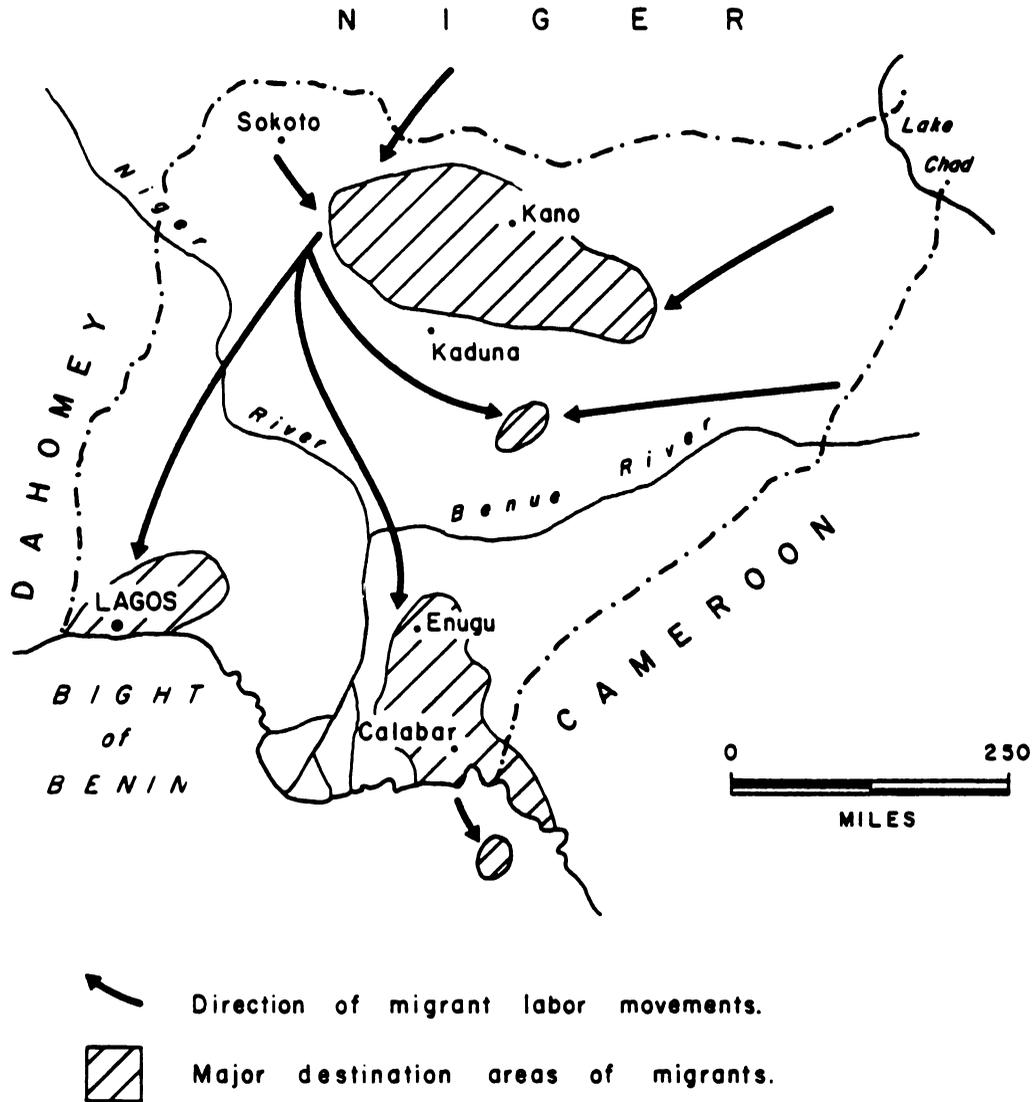
Determinants of Migration

Attempts at understanding causative factors are an essential step in any study of policy implications of rural-urban migration. The search for the causes of migration is not a search for the obvious, as it appears on the surface. It is true that "Behind the simplicity of the causes of migration lies a complexity which has not yielded easily to analysis" (Mitchell, 1959:13). People decide to move or stay at home for diverse, interconnected reasons. No two individuals, for instance, arrive at the decision to migrate or stay at home by the same combination of reasons. Clearly, the causes of migration are complicated, ranging from economic opportunities to mere curiosity to move, with various mixes of motives. Thus, in order to appreciate the process of causality in migration, we must attempt to identify and link together the salient multiple causes and relate them in some framework. The search for the causes of migration is important, especially from the policy point of view, because uncovering the root causes of migration is one way in which to ameliorate the undesirable consequences of the phenomenon.

Rural-Urban Push and Pull

A recurring question in migration is: Why do migrants pour into urban areas when the chances of their finding jobs and adequate housing for their families are quite limited? The answer to this question generally takes the forms often referred to as "push" and "pull" (Ross, 1973:39). Because the interrelationship of many factors are involved in migration decisions, Morse (1965) has pointed out that push factors

MAJOR DESTINATION AREAS OF MIGRANTS IN NIGERIA



Adapted from Prothero, 1962, p151.

Figure 3-3

alone cannot explain the whole migration process. To him, migration is not necessarily a demographic response to specific social and economic conditions, but a direct and an overt behavioral response. This observation suggests the need to tie push-pull factors to attitudes and decisions of individuals.

The push-pull theory is still a useful framework for discussing the determinants of rural-urban migration. The push factors suggest that life is so bad in the rural areas that individuals know there is no chance for improvement. This condition was obvious during the present rural survey in Calabar. Such push factors include all the negative aspects of rural life--the low productivity, resulting from, among other factors, lack of modern farm tools and use of poor methods of cultivation; limited job opportunities and the attendant poverty; the lack of infrastructure, social amenities, medical facilities, water and good housing; family difficulties, hatred and witchcraft. These push factors operate by pushing people out of the rural areas to towns. Thus people leave the rural areas for the following categories of reasons:

1. When it becomes impossible to earn enough for subsistence on their land. This may be due to diminishing productivity of farmland, division of farmland into unproductive units through inheritance, economic reversals, or natural disasters.
2. When it becomes impossible to earn enough money for subsistence as individuals working as laborers on large farms or plantations are displaced by technological innovations.

3. If they are deviants in the local social structure. They may be women who are barren, or men who have been branded publicly as thieves or outlaws.
4. If they are victims of the social distortion caused by wars, revolution or social ferment. The last Nigerian civil war helped to push people seeking protection and means of subsistence into Calabar.
5. If they want to escape traditional tribal obligations and taxes.

Respondents in the sampled villages were asked to give reasons why people are moving from their villages to Calabar. Lack of employment opportunities represents the most frequently mentioned (73.0 percent of the respondents) of reasons offered as the major causes of rural-urban migration (Table 3.1).

A question seeking reasons for migration was also directed to the migrants in Calabar city. Various combinations of reasons selected from eight factors were given by the respondents as the factors which pushed them to the city (Table 3.2). It should be noted that transfer cannot be considered as strictly a push factor, as it refers mainly to people who moved as a result of official or institutional transfers with little or no personal input by the mover in the major decision to move. As in the rural survey, lack of employment opportunities (with 46.6 percent) was the most popular in the mixes of reasons given by the urban respondents. Table 3.2 also indicates that about 5 percent of the

Table 3.1. Percent distribution of responses to the question:
Why are people moving from this village to Calabar?

Responses	Percent Distribution	N
Lack of employment opportunities	73.0	529
Lack of amenities	10.7	78
Lack of trading facilities	9.8	71
Lack of educational facilities	6.5	47
Total	100.0	725

Table 3.2. Percent distribution of responses to the question:
What were your reasons for migrating to Calabar?

Responses	Percent Distribution	N
Lack of employment opportunities	46.6	368
Lack of educational facilities	12.4	98
Transfer	9.8	78
Lack of trading facilities	9.4	74
To get civilized	7.9	62
Lack of amenities	4.9	39
To avoid hatred	4.6	36
War	4.4	35
Total	100.0	790

respondents left the rural area to avoid hatred. Apart from the general conflict between individuals, "ifot", that is, witchcraft, was mentioned as part of the rural conflict which pushes some people to Calabar. It should be noted that the study area has had a notorious history of witchcraft. There is no wonder that "ifot" also plays some part in rural-urban migration in this part of Nigeria.

The "pull" answer looks at the causes of migration from the urban angle and emphasizes reasons why the city attracts immigrants. The focus is on the prospects for a steady cash income, the existence of better schools, all those necessities of life that are lacking in the rural areas, or simply the "bright lights" theory. Briefly, the "bright lights" theory as postulated by Gulliver (1957:58) stresses the excitement of being "where the action is". It describes the exciting attractions of city life, with its brightly lit shop windows, the hustle and bustle of urban living, the cinemas, the entertainment, the sporting and welfare facilities, as against the dull, dark and boring rural areas. Though economic factors play an important role, bright lights still play a part in the decision to migrate.

People are attracted to the city for the following reasons:

1. They believe they can earn income that is higher than that available in the rural areas.
2. They feel that there will be better opportunities for education and employment for their children.
3. They have heard stories of urban life from relatives and friends and want to experience it themselves.

4. They wish to enjoy the technological features of modern society which are mainly confined to the urban areas.

Thus, Ross (1973:39) describes the city as "a magnet". The pulling effect of Calabar is so great that though migrants to the city may not generally be under the illusion that they will become rich by living in town, they generally contend that while only a few "make it" in the city, almost no one in their position in the rural community will see any change in his life at all. Consequently, regardless of its numerous problems and repulsive features, as perceived by most respondents (Tables 3.3; 3.4; 3.5), Calabar still stands out as the most attractive spot in the region.

Table 3.3. Percent distribution to the question: What do you dislike about Calabar?

Responses	Percent Urban Respondents	Percent Rural Respondents
1. High cost of living	37.5	58.6
2. Housing problems	18.5	13.5
3. Unemployment	17.2	4.1
4. High rent	10.4	8.8
5. Other (pollution, thieves, etc.)	16.0	14.8
6. No answer	0.4	0.2
Total	100.0 (895)	100.0 (725)

Chi Square = 15.814 4 df Sig. = .001

Table 3.3 shows that both urban and rural respondents recognize high cost of living as the most outstanding source of hardship in Calabar. But rural respondents dread high cost of living in Calabar more than the urbanites. Other reasons why they dislike Calabar include housing problems such as congestion; unemployment; high house rent; prevalence of thieves; accidents and pollution. Table 3.4 reveals that up to 73.1 percent of urban respondents and a lower proportion of rural respondents (62.2 percent) perceive Calabar as the place where people worry more about having money to care for themselves and their families. Very few respondents (1.2 percent in the urban and 0.1 percent in the rural areas) are not sure where people experience more financial hardships.

Table 3.4. Percent distribution of responses to the question: Where do people worry more about having money to care for themselves and their families? (Rural and urban surveys)

Responses	Percent Urban Respondents	Percent Rural Respondents
Town	73.1	62.2
Village	25.7	37.7
Not sure	1.2	0.1
Total	100.0	100.0

As Table 3.5 indicates, to most migrants the realities of town life do not match their hopes. Up to 81.8 percent of urban respondents

are not as satisfied with town life as they had hoped; whereas, only 54.8 percent of rural respondents think that migrants in towns are not satisfied. This indicates that rural people with lack of personal experience still have a more inflated opinion about urban life than the urbanites.

Table 3.5. Percent distribution of responses to the question:
Do migrants in towns generally find town life as satisfactory as they had hoped?

	Percent			Total
	Yes	No	Uncertain	
Urban responses	16.1	81.8	2.1	100.0
Rural responses	45.1	54.8	0.1	100.0

However, in spite of the foregoing negative aspects of city life, most respondents still admit that in comparison with the rural area, Calabar city has such better living conditions that village youths are better off in town than in the rural areas (Tables 3.6 and 3.7).

Over 80 percent of the urban and rural respondents indicated that in terms of economic, social, and physical facilities, Calabar provides better living conditions than rural areas. Consequently, as Table 3.7 shows, 62.8 percent of the urban and 56.0 percent of the rural respondents are in favor of village youths moving to towns. Mayer's (1963) idea of "cities as paradoxes" is true of Calabar. The city may produce from its growth poor local environment for its inhabitants, but it still has more in-migrants than out-migrants.

Table 3.6. Percent distribution responses to the question:
Where are better living conditions? (Urban and rural
surveys)

Responses	Percent Urban Respondents	Percent Rural Respondents
Town	81.2	88.3
Village	18.0	11.3
No difference	0.8	0.4
Total	100.0	100.0

Table 3.7. Percent distribution responses to the question:
Is it a good thing for village youths to move to town?

	Percent			Total
	Yes	No	Uncertain	
Urban responses	62.8	35.5	1.7	100.0
Rural responses	56.0	44.0	0.0	100.0

One problem with the push-pull theory is that it fails to consider town and country as one socio-economic field in which to analyze the forces operating within it. However, it is still useful to look at the sources and destination areas of migrants to identify the attractive and repulsive elements which operate to push, pull or retain people. As outlined by the members of the Inter-African Conference on Housing and Urbanization (C.S.A. 1959:30), it is easy to sum up the many causes

of migration into two segments: (1) "Unattractiveness of the rural areas"; and (2) "attractiveness of the town"; and these are not too dissimilar from Lee's theoretical factors.

Rural-Urban Imbalance

The foregoing section viewed causal factors in migration from the source-destination perspectives. It thus set the stage for another significant feature in the determinants of rural-urban migration in Calabar--that is, the role of rural-urban imbalance. This, a visible characteristic of Calabar and its hinterland, describes the disparities in the spatial distribution of physical, social and economic facilities in the region. If people in Calabar city are poor, those in rural areas are poverty stricken. If urban infrastructure, education, health and social facilities are inadequate, in the rural areas they are almost nonexistent. "Even when conditions are seen as bad in the city, rural alternatives are perceived as worse" (Leeds, 1970), and Calabar region is no exception.

Rural-urban imbalance, is basically a symptom of economic under-development. It is not only a major factor in the decision to migrate but can have a paralytic effect on the development of the less fortunate sectors of the economy. The writings of Boeke (1953), Furnivall (1956), and Singer (1964) on dual economies analyze the mutual interaction of economic and noneconomic forces under the special condition of colonialism the transactions between the European, commercial-industrial sector and the traditional tribal or peasant hinterland. It should be noted that much of this analysis remains relevant for the

post-colonial period in those underdeveloped regions where there exists sharp dichotomy between the urban-commercial-export sector and traditional, village subsistence economies. Porter's observation is also relevant for Calabar:

Maldistribution is the central fact in underdevelopment. Distortions in resource use have been increasing ... between the already wealthy and the poor (1974:18).

Clearly, the underdeveloped nature of the socio-economic system of African rural areas on the one hand, and the existence of "exploding", "parasitic" cities on the other hand is greatly perpetuated by the maintenance of the structure of inequalities.

In Nigeria the limited structure of privileges has been known to be accessible to a very small percentage of the population. Speaking of inequalities at the University of Ife, Chief Awolowo (1973) declared: "Poverty, ignorance, and disease are in evidence everywhere, more particularly in the rural areas." Professor F. Olu Okedji (1974) also pointed to the existence of: "... urban-rural differentials to the extent that students from the better secondary schools in the urban areas are more represented proportionately than students from rural areas." Calabar finds itself in this situation where the good things of life are assured to a small minority and usually denied to the vast majority, the consequence of which is the drift of people to the town, in the struggle for the limited privileges.

Agricultural practice and management also contribute to rural-urban imbalance. Though over 63 percent of the rural, and less than 2 percent of the urban population, are employed in agriculture, the tools

and methods used are not conducive to high productivity. Hence, agriculture fails to appeal to ambitious, progressive youths. Crude, primitive tools such as machetes, axes, hoes and sticks are still used in clearing the bush and digging the ground.

Shifting agriculture, or slash and burn, is the popular technique; the bush is cleared and left to dry, and fire is set to the cleared bush before various crops are inter-planted. After harvesting, the area is left fallow for a set number of years during which time cultivation process is shifted to other areas. Though Gourou (1965) has described shifting agriculture as an excellent adaptation to tropical environment, its problems and limitations are many: (1) since the technique invests nothing in the form of manure in the soil, the result is often low yield and subsistence level of production; (2) it seldom succeeds for more than a few years in one spot, because of erosion, declining soil fertility, rapid increase of weeds and pests; (3) difficulties of clearing the bush and weeding with crude tools; (4) the absence of draft animals to aid human efforts; (5) the lack of insect and rodent control; and (6) as a result of the above limitations, the general low status of agriculture and its unpopularity among youths and the educated elements of the Nigerian society.

Furthermore, the wealth generated by the agricultural sector has been known to be largely gravitated to urban areas. Even the very marketing boards, which should have served as a vehicle for agricultural price stabilization as well as reducing rural-urban income gap, are known for promoting the spatial disparities in economic development by

"investing a substantial proportion of the funds they accumulate in projects which largely benefit the nonfarm sector" (Essen, 1971). Though they were originally established for the benefit of the producers, marketing boards have become what Prest (1962:19) calls: "... a permanent instrument of taxation of the producer group it is supposed to represent." The poor conditions of Nigerian rural areas, particularly of the peasant farmers, were recognized as a factor in migration by the respondents to Essang's (1972) interview with sampled policy makers. They, therefore, suggested the need to provide specific projects to raise the standard of agricultural practice and the well-being of farmers while at the same time reducing the concentration of amenities in towns, as one means of "arresting the tide of rural-urban migration."

The relatively poorer conditions of the rural areas in Calabar are strikingly evident in the rural-urban income differentials. According to the surveys the mean annual income for rural respondents was only \$508; whereas, for the urban respondents it averaged \$1756--over three times higher than that of rural respondents. Though cost of living is relatively lower in the rural areas, considering the opportunity costs of foregoing many urban amenities, rural inhabitants are still worse off than the urbanites in terms of income. Because of the difficulties in obtaining detailed, accurate data on rural income, one has to be careful in using rural-urban income differentials as an index of rural-urban migration. The basic problems include: (1) measurement of the relevant rural income, (2) measurement of the relevant urban income, and (3) comparing the two incomes (Byerlee, 1972). Also demonstrating

the problems involved in comparing rural and urban incomes in developing countries, Knight observed:

... we need a fine classification of rural and urban incomes by all the socio-economic characteristics which distinguish migrants and nonmigrants; both for rural and urban populations as a whole, and also for intending rural and recent (urban) migrants (1972:208).

In spite of the difficulties in measuring the degree of differentials, the low income earning capacity of people in rural Calabar whether in paid jobs (which are very few) or full-time farming is well documented (Udo, 1971; Udo, 1964; Udofot, 1973).

The dwindling interest in rural life and the growing interest in urban life was well brought out by a migrants answer to the question: "Why do you think people are moving from villages to Calabar?" He declared: "People are losing interest in farm work whereas interest in town work is soaring. In the villages one has to wait for farm products to grow until harvesting seasons. The mad rush for Naira means that one has to know where to go for regular income." Another migrant succinctly replied to the same question: "Town conditions generate progress faster than rural conditions." The town conditions referred to here include facilities such as better educational institutions, better housing, more and better medical facilities, a better transportation system and means of communication, a good water supply, electricity, better market facilities, and social and entertainment facilities such as bars, cinemas, dance clubs, sporting facilities, and so on. The lure of Calabar will remain quite irresistible to a great number of rural people until the wide gap between rural and urban conditions is reduced.

Socio-economic Characteristics of Migrants

An analysis of the forces affecting migration requires information about who the migrants are and usually leads to the realization that there is a great deal of diversity within the migrant population. In the African migration literature it is generally agreed that migration is highly selective with regard to age, sex, education, occupational contrasts and marital status (Hance, 1970; Southhall, 1961; Hunter, 1965:280). This section will, therefore, focus on these diverse characteristics of migrants in Calabar.

Age and Sex

Age and sex have long been known as prime determinants of propensity to migrate. The rural survey shows that a majority of migrants from rural areas are young (Table 3.8), most between the ages of 20 and 35. Over 80 percent of the migrants are below 34 years of age; whereas, only 5 percent are above 45 years. Only 1.4 percent of the migrants are over 55 years old. The urban survey also reveals that it is predominantly young adults who make up the recent migrants. Of those who moved to Calabar during the last ten years, 48.1 percent of them are in the 20 to 29 age group. Thomilson's (1965) explanation for the predominance of the young in migration streams is that mobility is easier for the young because their social ties are usually not well-established, their commitments are fewer and weaker, and the spirit of independence prevails.

Concerning migration selectivity by sex, males have historically dominated migration streams in Africa. As ascertained by the present

Table 3.8. Percent distribution of age of rural outmigrants (Rural survey).

Age Group	Distribution Percent	Cumulative Percent
10-19 years	31.9	31.9
20-24 years	26.4	58.3
25-34 years	25.8	84.1
35-44 years	10.8	94.9
45-54 years	3.7	98.6
55 and over	1.4	100.0

*The 276 outmigrants comprise those born in the sampled villages but reported by the rural respondents to have migrated from the sampled households to different Nigerian towns.

survey a large proportion of the urban respondents, over 70 percent, are males. This large percentage of males among the migrants in Calabar should be interpreted with caution, for it reflects the higher degree of willingness by males to participate in the author's research. Nigeria is a male dominant society, where females still refer important decisions to the males. Even in this study many females referred the interviewer to the male members of their household. However, the rural survey data which contains no such bias, still reveals the predominance of males (58.7 percent) in the migration stream.

Marital Status

Of the 78.4 recent migrants interviewed in Calabar city, 63.3 percent were single, 34.6 percent married, 1.9 percent widows, and only 0.3 percent divorced. The proportion of single migrants would be even greater if the number of married migrants who moved without other members of their families were added. Part of the reason for this predominance of single migrants is that they are more flexible and capable of dealing with the difficult urban milieu such as high cost of food, rent and other housing problems. The large number of single migrants points out the magnitude of the urban housing needs; for most likely they will place greater strain on urban housing when they marry.

Education

The role of education in inducing rural-urban migration has received wide attention in African migration studies (Caldwell, 1969; Sabot, 1972; Rempel, 1970; Hurd, 1967:226-9; Imoagene, 1975:14; Callaway, 1967). Callaway estimates that three-quarters of the migrants to Ibadan in Nigeria are school-leavers. In their study of the Western region of Nigeria, Essang et al. (1974) found education as an important factor in the rate of rural-urban migration. Rather than prepare people for their diverse occupations and lives, education in Nigeria has been largely about foreign ways of life or about aspects of life found only in towns. Education, is, therefore, looked upon as a passport to clerical and non-farm occupations which are identified with towns. Thus, in many aspects of his life, the educated Nigerian becomes a misfit in the rural setting.

Table 3.9 reveals the higher propensity to migrate of educated persons, especially in recent years. Though a majority of the migrants have moved to Calabar in the last ten years, the proportion of such recent migrants is higher (ranging from 86 percent to over 90 percent) among migrants with over six years of education than among illiterate migrants. The propensity to migrate of literate persons is steadily increasing over time as primary and secondary school-leavers come to form a higher total proportion of rural-urban migrants. When the proportions of rural and urban illiterates; that is, those with less than five years of formal education, are compared, it becomes obvious that migration is selective in terms of education. While 77.8 percent of rural respondents are illiterates, only 18.3 percent of urban respondents fall under this category (Table 3.10). Up to 46 percent of rural respondents, as compared to only 10 percent of urban respondents, have never been to school.

This large proportion of illiterates in the rural population reflects migration selectivity by education. However, since a relatively large number of these illiterates are also moving to Calabar, this indicates that the effect of education is not the only driving force behind migration. Many forces, including poverty and the need for "civilization" push and/or pull migrants, and the uneducated, still move to town even though opportunities for higher paying jobs obviously favor those with educational qualifications.

To test the effect of education on migration a correlation analysis of migration with education was run. The result showed no

Table 3.9. Percent distribution of years of education by years of migration (Urban survey).

Recency of Migration	Years of Education			
	0-5	6-10	11-15	16 and over
Recent	77.4	86.6	93.	93.8
Intermediate	14.6	9.7	5.8	4.2
Old	4.3	3.2	0.4	0.0
Very old	3.7	0.5	0.0	2.0
Total	100.0 (164)	100.0 (403)	100.0 (278)	100.0 (50)

Key: Recent = 0-10 years; Intermediate = 11-20 years; Old = 21-30 years; Very Old = 31 years and over.

Chi Square = 39.728 12 df Sig. = .0001

Table 3.10. Percent distribution of responses to the question: How many years of education have you?

Years of Education	Rural		Urban	
	Percent Distribution	Cumulative Percent	Percent Distribution	Cumulative Percent
0	46.3	46.3	9.7	9.7
1-5	31.5	77.8	8.5	18.2
6 and over	22.2	100.0	81.8	100.0

Chi Square = 71.301 2 df Sig. = .001

correlation ($R = 0.1510$ --urban data). Though an analysis of the "very old" to "recent" migrants (Table 3.9) indicates an increasing propensity to migrate of literate persons over time, this lack of correlation between migration and education reflects the existence of a large proportion of rural illiterates in the migrant stream. But with the introduction of the Free Primary Education Program which went into effect in 1977 throughout Nigeria, the effect of education is likely to change. Unmatched, as the program is, with efforts to improve rural living conditions and re-orient education to also suit rural life, or increase and diversify rural job opportunities, not only will the future rate of rural-urban migration increase considerably but the effect of education will become more pronounced, as the proportion of rural illiterates is dramatically reduced. However, if properly planned the program should serve not only as a source of manpower for both farm and non-farm jobs but also as a means of regulating the spatial distribution of population. This observation will be discussed further in Chapter V.

Occupation

An important aspect of rural-urban migration in Calabar is the occupational contrast between village and town. In the village most people (63.7 percent) are farmers, while town occupations comprise a wide variety of jobs, with farming as an insignificant (1.8 percent) activity occupation (see Table 3.11).

The larger proportion (49.9 percent) of urban as compared with 11.2 percent of rural activities under "other" in Table 3.11 means that urban occupations can be further deduced into many other categories of

Table 3.11. Urban and rural occupational distributions.

Occupation	Urban		Rural	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Civil servant	194	21.7	-	-
Trading	116	13.0	103	14.2
Teaching	37	4.1	20	2.8
Driving	30	3.4	-	-
Tailoring	26	2.9	19	2.6
Farming	16	1.8	462	63.7
Fishing	16	1.8	39	5.4
Nursing	11	1.2	-	-
Lawyer	3	0.3	-	-
Other	446	49.8	81	11.2
Total	895	100.0	725	100.0

Chi Square = 27.877 9 df Sig. = .001

workers such as doctors, builders, washermen, typists, printers, shoe repairers, etc. Clearly, while the paucity of opportunities push people from rural areas, because of the diversity of its occupational types the urban center attracts all types of rural people from all occupations.

Ethnic Distribution

Ethnic group is an essential element of African demography (Blanc, N.D.). As was discussed previously in this chapter, originally the ethnic composition of Calabar comprised only three groups, but due to the continuous influx of migrants, the number and distribution of its ethnic composition has considerably changed (Table 3.12).

Table 3.12. Ethnic distribution in Calabar.

Ethnic Group	N	Percent Distribution
1. Ibibio/Annang	605	67.6
2. Efik/Qua/Efut	166	18.5
3. Ekoi/Ejagham/Etung	41	4.6
4. Oron	34	3.8
5. Other	49	5.5
Total	895	100.0

Today the Ibibio and Annang, from the mainland part of the Cross River State, constitute 67.6 percent, and form the majority of the ethnic groups in Calabar, pushing the original ethnic groups to a second place. The "other" ethnic groups, 5.5 percent, are migrants from other parts of Nigeria. It will be seen in the next section of this chapter, and in Chapter IV, that allegiance to one's ethnic origin and clan remains psychologically so strong that it is an important factor in the process of migration, and the search for urban housing.

Migration Flows to Calabar

The historical foundations of migration, the causal factors, and the characteristics of migrants, as discussed above, are essential for understanding the process and rate of rural-urban migration in Calabar. In addition, the size and spatial distribution of the population, with its elements of change, constitute the basic factors in migration flows.

Table 3.13 is an illustration of the State's projected rural and urban population change, as compared to that of Calabar Division. With a 5.4 percent annual growth rate, Calabar is the fastest growing urban area in the State, and this demonstrates its unrivalled attractive force. The lower rates of growth in the rural areas reflect the rural-urban migration which is expected to continue in the future. Also, the larger proportion of rural population demonstrates the existence of a seemingly inexhaustible reserve of potential city dwellers in Calabar. At its current rate of 5.4 percent annual growth, the city may double its present population in less than 13 years.

Table 3.13. Cross River State and Calabar divisional population distribution and projections--1975-1985.

Area	1975	1985	Annual Growth Rate (Percent)
Cross River State	3,837,592	4,896,122	2.5
Rural	3,341,078	4,176,762	2.3
Urban	496,514	719,360	3.8
Percent Urban	12.9	14.7	-
Calabar Division	364,571	521,720	3.7
Rural	273,305	367,299	3.0
Urban	91,266	154,471	5.4
Percent Urban	25.0	29.6	-

Source: Berger (1975), p. 218.

It has already been noted that the establishment of Calabar as the capital is a factor in the city's resurgence. However, with the completion in 1977 of the direct highway connection (the Calabar-Itu road) to the Western part of Calabar, the desirability of the city as a commercial center is likely to increase.

Another development likely to enhance the commercial function of Calabar is the proposed modernization of the port. These, and other innovations, will further accelerate the current rate of migration to this already "exploding" city.

In the rural areas where rural-urban migration originates it is often hypothesized that population pressure on land is a major factor that pushes people to town. As was established in Chapter I, because of the low population density in rural Calabar, this hypothesis does not hold true in this study area. We, therefore, turn to the role of family size in rural-urban migration. In general, the propensity to migrate increases steadily with family size (Caldwell, 1968:371). Caldwell explains this as "the probable result of the interaction of two factors." That is, with the increasing number of siblings the chance that at least one will have chosen to migrate to town arises, and once some migration has occurred, the chance of others going is raised. To test the role of family size in migration flows from rural Calabar, it was hypothesized that there is a direct relationship between the size of household and the number of migrants from the family. A simple correlation coefficient of 0.4377 at the significance level of 0.01 was revealed (urban data). This reflects the combination of many factors which operate to push or retain people in all levels of rural

homes. Family size is only one of the numerous factors in migration, but it is clearly important.

The prior presence of relatives and friends in town is not only a factor in migration flows but is almost essential to the migrants' successful adjustment to town life. According to Hulton (1970) "migrants choice of destination is largely influenced by the presence of relatives and friends already in town." In this study migrants were asked: Who most influenced your principal reason for migrating to Calabar? Their responses reveal that relatives (48.2 cumulative percent), and especially parents in that group (20.1 percent), play a significant role in encouraging migrants to move (Table 3.14). While 28.8 percent of the migrants moved to explore "unknown opportunities", 10.0 percent of them mentioned their educational background as the main influence behind their reason for migrating, and 9.4 percent were driven mainly by the Nigerian Civil War. Friends account for 3.8 percent of those who play a part in the migration decision process.

In an attempt to assess the importance of relatives and friends in the successful adjustment of migrants to town life, migrants were asked: (1) With whom did you first stay upon arrival? (Table 3.15), and (2) How did you find your first job? (Table 3.16). On arrival, most migrants (60.9 percent) are likely to stay with close relatives. Some (26.5 percent) stay with friends, others (4.8 percent) with countrymen, and only 7.8 percent are able to stay on their own. Those who are able to stay on their own comprise largely civil servants, some company workers and a few private individuals who had secured jobs and prearranged accommodations prior to their arrival in Calabar.

Table 3.14. Percent distribution of responses to the question:
Who most influenced your principal reason for migrating to
Calabar?

Responses	N	Percent Distribution	Cumulative Percent
Parents	158	20.1	20.1
Brother or sister	127	16.1	36.2
Other relatives	95	12.0	48.2
Personal exploration	227	28.8	77.0
Educational upbringing	79	10.0	87.0
Friends	28	3.6	90.6
Other--mainly war	74	9.4	100.0
Total	788	100.0	100.0

Table 3.15. Percent distribution of responses to the question:
With whom did you first stay in this town on arrival
(mention relationship)?

Responses	N	Percent Distribution
1. Relative	492	60.9
2. Friend	214	26.5
3. Countryman	39	4.8
4. On my own	62	7.8
Total	808	100.0

Since economic factors play a major role in migration flows, it is important to find out how migrants manage to secure urban jobs. Apart from providing accommodations, relatives and friends help migrants in the search for jobs, especially at the initial stage (Table 3.16). However, friends do better than relatives in helping the migrant search for a job than in the provision of accommodation. This must occur since migrants feel freer to approach relatives rather than friends for housing help. Table 3.16 indicates that some migrants still explore the urban job market all by themselves.

Table 3.16. Percent distribution responses to the question:
How did you find your first job?

Responses	N	Percent Distribution
1. By myself	255	37.4
2. Through government	154	22.6
3. Friend	103	15.1
4. Relative	93	13.6
5. Employment agent	77	11.3
Total	682	100.0

The duration of migrants' stay with their urban hosts varies considerably--ranging from a few months to ten or more years. Often some migrants are accommodated until they can find employment and are able to

pay for rent and food. In return for the free room and board, migrants render various domestic services such as house cleaning, laundry work, cooking, baby sitting, gardening, and where able, contribute money for board and rent. Considering the fact that high cost of living and rent are the outstanding problems of urban living in Calabar, it must be observed that the act of helping newly arrived migrants is never altogether a palatable service. However, by the norms of the extended family system, it is almost mandatory for relatives to provide these services to their peers in difficult situations. It will be interesting to see how long urban hosts will continue to assist their migrant relatives as cost of living continues to skyrocket and accommodations become scarcer.

Another important factor in migration flows is the availability of information. The primary influence of urban relatives is likely to be in providing information on urban jobs (Byerlee, 1972:11). To assess the role of information in migration flows to Calabar, migrants were asked: Before deciding to move to Calabar did you have any information about a job? Only 43.5 percent of the respondents had any information about a job before they left home. In his book, Planning Without Facts, Stolper (1967) has clearly documented the importance but paucity of basic information in Nigeria. Table 3.17 is a distribution of the sources through which the respondents gained information about the urban job situation in Calabar. Again, urban friends (30.5 percent), more than family members (20.4 percent), serve as a major source of information. The other sources of information include newspaper, radio and others such as countrymen and rumors.

Table 3.17. Percent distribution of sources of information about job.

Sources	N	Percent Distribution
Friends	117	30.5
Newspaper	83	21.7
Relatives	78	20.4
Radio	50	13.1
Other	55	14.4
Total	383	100.0

One remarkable feature of migration flows is that many migrants follow a step migration pattern, first migrating to the nearest town and then to a larger urban area (Collins, 1952; Gregory, 1971).

Discussion of this process can be traced back to the late 1800's when migration was first observed to proceed by stages (Ravenstein, 1895).

In this research 50.7 percent of the respondents have lived in other towns before moving to Calabar, and the remainder had moved directly to the city. This rather large proportion of direct rural-urban movement can be explained as the result of kinship ties, development of highway networks in recent years, and the special attraction of this capital city.

In order to appreciate the increasing magnitude of the problems arising from migration flows and the need to relate the process with economic development and human welfare, it is important to examine how

the volume of migration has changed through the years. The question about the number of years since migrants first moved to Calabar reveals that, on the average, they moved in the last six and a half years. This period of time coincides with the end of the Nigerian civil war and the change in status of Calabar which accelerated the movement of people to the city. Apart from those who directly moved into Calabar as war victims, many have decided to migrate into the city due to the rising expectations which marked the creation of the Cross River State during that war. The people of the State had, since the 1960s, yearned for and struggled to have a separate State of their own. At last, its creation radically turned their attention away from Enugu as the seat of their government--the center of their hopes for civilization, modernization, social and economic progress, and focused it on Calabar.

Though migration to Calabar is an old phenomenon, the sharp increase in its volume in recent years is a new experience. As Table 3.18 shows, only 1 percent of the migrants have over thirty years of residency; whereas, 86 percent of them are recent migrants; that is, those who arrived less than ten years ago. It can be argued that return migrants have helped to reduce the proportion of the very old, old, and intermediate migrants. But as the rural survey indicates, only 10.6 percent of the interviewed households had any return migrants.

One should, therefore, interpret with care the urban migrants' hopes to return permanently to their villages. Over 32 percent of them indicate that they will return to their village for good. Though this willingness to return underlines migrants' commitment, loyalty, and interest in their village homes, the realities of rural conditions mean

Table 3.18. Percent distribution of responses to the question:
How many years since you first moved to Calabar?

Categories	N	Percent Distribution
Recent	679	85.9
Intermediate	81	10.3
Old	21	2.7
Very old	9	1.1
Total	790	100.0

that only very few of them will fulfill their ambitions of a permanent return. Of course, to most of them, such a return will be largely contingent upon the materialization of their expressed reasons for planning to return (Table 3.19).

As Table 3.19 shows, 32.3 percent of the migrants base their hopes of a permanent return on the eventual availability of a rural job opportunity, and only 7.9 percent base it on retirement from their urban job. Preference for village life is the second in importance of the reasons for permanent return; it reflects the degree of rural-urban interaction that could very likely become the number one reason. Temporary visits serve to link the urban and rural areas. Though only few migrants in the urban area return permanently to their village homes, the volume of temporary visits is quite large. On the whole, of course, there is a net migration flow from rural to urban areas.

Table 3.19. Percent distribution responses to the question:
Will you ever permanently return to your village?
If yes, why?

Responses	N	Percent Distribution
1. Whenever opportunity offers itself in the village	217	32.4
2. Preference for village life	153	22.8
3. After completing my building in the village	91	13.6
4. Lack of success in town	87	13.0
5. After making enough money in town	69	10.3
6. On retirement	53	7.9
Total	670	100.0

Rural-Urban Linkages

Rural-urban migration involves "spatial interaction processes" (Soja, 1969:284). That is, migration can be viewed as the ways in which space is organized and articulated through the circulation of people, goods, and ideas. According to Gould (1969:281) "The rural areas are tied over more tightly to the urban nodes as people, goods and messages flow and grow recursively to feed back information through geographic space".

Evidently, in Calabar, the migration process is not a "one shot" operation; for it does not necessarily mean a permanent separation between those who have moved and their rural kin and environment.

Rather, even if firmly established in town, the migrant from the rural area retains very close ties with the rural area through visits to his village. The situation is not far different from what Little (1965:21) described as "constant coming and going of traders, as well as the movement of migrants ... town people frequently visit or are visited by rural relatives." Besides, as another observer indicates: "It appears that the level of interaction and movement between rural and urban areas is higher in Africa and Asia than in Latin America" (Ross, 1973:43).

Calabar Division is unique in the high level of interaction between the rural and urban areas. Traditionally, the Efik of Calabar have always claimed that, irrespective of the spatial location of their homes in the Division, they belong to both the rural and the urban areas. There is an Efik saying: "mutoho inwang utoho Efik", which means, if you do not hail from the rural plantation you are not a true Efik. It therefore implies that practically all the larger Efik settlements have some blood links with the vast cultivable lands (inwang) north, east and south-east of Calabar city and Creek Town. Almost every Efik family in Calabar is connected with its "inwang", the source of its economic strength; and the origin of these connections is "buried deep in Calabar history" (Aye, 1967). After the slave trade "inwang" became a place of economic security and freedom from political and social molestations of the town. Consequently, most rural migrants of Efik origin resist the idea of being "branded" migrants in Calabar. In answer to questions about migration control, they retorted: "How can anybody ever restrict one's freedom of choice to visit or live in either one's rural or urban home?"

Today a vast majority of migrants in Calabar identify themselves with their rural families through periodic visits. Migrants visit home frequently, especially during holidays such as Christmas and Easter, special ceremonial occasions, family and village events, and during annual leave (see Table 3.20). Over 90 percent of the respondents indicate that migrants in towns visit their rural homes at least once a year. Over 30 percent of the migrants visit village homes as often as once every month; whereas, only 5.7 percent of the urban, and 6.6 percent of the rural respondents indicate migrants that never visit village homes.

Table 3.20. Percent distribution of responses to the questions:
How often do you visit your village home? (Urban survey)
How often do members of your household who live in town visit home? (Rural survey)

Responses	Urban Survey			Rural Survey		
	N	Relative Percent	Cumulative Percent	N	Relative Percent	Cumulative Percent
Monthly	284	35.1	35.1	98	38.0	38.0
Twice a year	336	41.6	76.7	126	48.8	86.8
Once a year	142	17.6	94.3	17	6.6	93.4
Never	46	5.7	100.0	17	6.6	100.0
Total	808	100.0	100.0	258	100.0	100.0

Further investigations reveal that incidence of home visits varies with factors such as age--the major variable of migration. The older

migrants with no surviving parents or close relatives are less mobile and are more tied to their present residence by their family responsibilities than the younger ones. Those who migrated from rural areas because of family quarrels or what they called "rural hatred" scarcely visit home or plan to return to the village. Some respondents also hinted that "one cannot expect migrants who moved because of criminal offences to ever show up in their villages." Among migrants who rarely visit, or have broken contact with their village homes, can be added the unemployed or unsuccessful migrants--those who have nothing to show as a sign of their achievements in town. Migrants in this group, are generally those who scarcely send money or other gift items to their rural families.

An important aspect of rural-urban linkages is the flow of money and gifts from urban to rural areas (see Table 3.21). In economic terms, remittance of money and other items of gift is often considered as the most important aspect of rural-urban migration (Caldwell, 1968). Urban-rural remittances in Calabar include not only money but items such as clothing, trinkets, watches and other imported goods; whereas, rural-urban remittances are largely food items. Because only money flows are easy to measure, migrants were asked if they send money home, and 70 percent answered yes. They spend an average of \$187, ranging from \$8 to \$1527 to rural homes. Table 3.21 is a distribution of financial remittances by migrants in Calabar. A large proportion of the respondents (over 80 percent) send less than \$305 to relatives in rural areas. The low average amount of remittances from migrants indicate that when the cost of educating migrants as well as the inestimable counter-flow of

gifts from rural areas is considered, the impact of out-migration can be viewed as a net loss, in both physical and financial terms, to rural areas.

Table 3.21. Percent distribution of responses to the question:
How much money do you send to your family in the village annually?

Categories of amount (in US dollars)	N	Percent Respondents	Percent Cumulative
0-152	268	57.8	57.8
154-304	118	25.6	83.4
306-458	44	9.3	92.7
460-610	19	4.1	96.8
613-764	9	1.9	98.7
766 and over	6	1.3	100.0
Total	464	100.0	100.0

Summary

Observations in this chapter demonstrate that the dynamic historical development of Calabar is important in understanding the process of migration in this study area. In its development, this ancient city has passed through various stages which affect the aspirations of its people and, consequently, the volume and direction of migration flows. Originally, internal wars pushed people into the city, but today the overriding forces in migration flows to the city are economic, and employment provides the major lure to Calabar.

Pulls and pushes operate in both rural and urban areas. But to many migrants and nonmigrants the sharp contrast between the dearth of economic as well as social facilities in the villages, and their presence in the town, is obvious. Added to this rural-urban imbalance has been the change in political status of Calabar. These and other factors have led to a remarkable increase in the volume of migration flow, as well as changes in the ethnic and socio-economic make-up of the migrants, especially since the last Nigerian Civil War. To most of these migrants "home is sweet home", and though their remittances have no net benefit to rural development, town dwellers' loyalties are to their village places of birth rather than to the town where they earn a living. The close ties which migrants maintain between the city and their villages mean that instead of being confined to the city, ideas and practices are diffused over a much wider area, thus making the city "a pace setter for the society" (Little, 1965). These observations are critical in both rural and urban planning policies.

Ironically the Civil War led to the destruction of many houses in Calabar. But its end marked the resurgence of the city. We now turn to the impact of migration, which has been dramatic since that War, on housing in Calabar.

CHAPTER IV

THE IMPACT OF MIGRATION ON HOUSING

Introduction

The people of old Calabar showed early interest in "modern" European buildings. Their rulers asked for the erection of "solid" type of buildings to replace their mud and wattle houses. As far back as 1785 some of the chiefs possessed European built storey houses. Nearly all of these were prefabricated in Britain and shipped to Calabar. Notable among such buildings are those of the old Consulate now used as the State Governor's Residence, the Old Residency, and the Chief Justice's Residence. However, during the Civil War of 1966-9 some 80,500 residential buildings were destroyed in the Cross River State; Calabar suffering the heaviest toll.

In Nigeria as a whole, adequate and appropriate shelter has become a primary problem especially in the rapidly urbanizing areas, and Calabar is no exception. As a result, "no ready-made accommodation awaits those who come into these urban areas" (Sabowale, 1977). Thus, before migration, and on arrival in town, the primary concern of the migrant is often where he will live. The search for housing, therefore, presents a greater challenge to migrants on arrival than the search for jobs. In this study, about 60 percent of the respondents indicate

that finding an accommodation, rather than a job, was their number one problem on arrival.

More to the point, rural-urban migration is a persistent cause of the urban housing deficit. Many authors and researchers support the view that it is largely the influx of rural migrants that aggravates urban housing problems (Harvey, 1968; Asika, 1974; Inoyo, 1974; Ebong, 1975; Honsby-Odi, 1975:7; Achunine, 1977:3; Grimes, 1976:91). Grimes' remark is instructive:

SOME HIGH-INCOME COUNTRIES have found housing--and more generally urban development--difficult to organize efficiently and equitably, even though they have not had to deal with the same explosive city growth as developing countries. It is therefore not surprising that most developing countries, with low incomes and limited resources, find housing a nearly intractable policy area (1976:91).

Because rural-urban migration and its impact on urban and rural housing constitute a threat on the human, social, and economic wellbeing of the Calabar environment, this chapter will analyze these features as a means of establishing a framework for policy recommendations on migration and housing.

Migration and Impact on Housing

A Scheme of the Impact of Rural-Urban Migration on Urban Housing

The intricate nature of the impact of rural-urban migration on housing is best portrayed in model form (Figure 4.1). No matter where he resides, every individual is influenced by the environment where he lives. The degree of such influence is dependent upon the individual's personal characteristics. In this model, the rural environment is

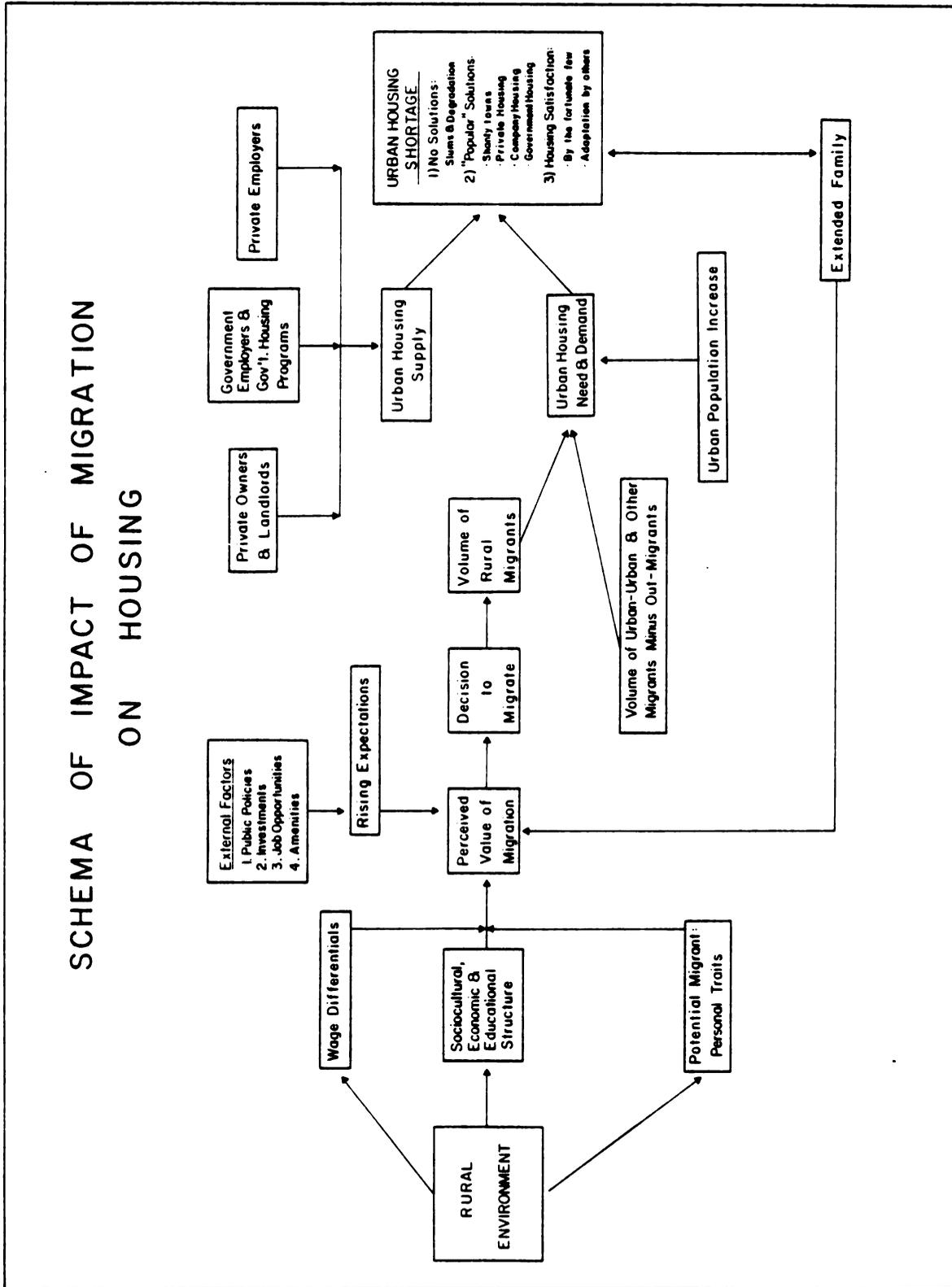


Figure 4-1

Source: Author.

segmented into (1) wage differentials or the monetary conditions in the rural, as compared with urban environment; (2) socio-cultural, economic, and educational structures; and (3) the personal traits of the potential migrant. These environmental features provide continuous stimuli to which individuals respond. At times the response can be one of stress (Whitelaw et al.; 1972). Geographers often use the concept of "Place Utility", borrowed from economists, to explain the stress situation in which an individual migrates in response to stress exerted by his environment. Place utility is based on the notion that an individual can subjectively place a utility rank on alternatives available and known to him. The concept "may be expressed as a positive or negative quantity, expressing respectively the individual's satisfaction or dissatisfaction with respect to that place" (Wolpert, 1965:162). Place utility is, therefore, the measure of attractiveness or unattractiveness of an area, relative to alternative locations as perceived by the potential migrant. The motivation to migrate often becomes manifest when the environmental stimuli cause place utility to fall below a certain critical level generally known as the "threshold level". In rural-urban migration the threshold of utility defines the degree of differentiation of place utility between the place of origin and all possible destinations. This concept of place utility is reminiscent of the concepts of push-pull, as well as rural-urban imbalances as causal factors in migration.

The model shows that the individual's reaction to stress is one of the factors in his assessment of the value of migration.

Because the utility of site varies with the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the individual, depending on the personal traits of that potential migrant, he can either: (1) adjust his needs to effect compatibility with the stress imposing stimuli; (2) restructure the environment to overcome the stress; or (3) migrate to avoid the stress imposing environment. These alternative responses correspond to Wolpert's (1965) "adaptation" and "adjustment" to perceived changes in the environment. An individual who cannot adapt or adjust to the rural environmental stress has reached the threshold level where he perceives greater value in migration than rural life.

Whether or not a potential migrant will reach that level depends not only on his reaction to rural environmental stress but also on his assessment of the urban environment. By providing information about jobs and urban housing, as well as through visits to rural areas, the extended family members and friends in urban areas serve as models and links in the potential migrant's perception of the value of migration. Other external factors such as public or government policies on development, investments, spatial locations of job opportunities and amenities affect the expectations of a potential migrant, and consequently, his assessment of the value of migration. The higher the expectations the greater the value (real or imagined) he is likely to associate with migration. The model recognizes the complex combination of factors which lead to the decision to migrate. As was discussed in Chapter III the dichotomy between rural and urban Calabar is so sharp that powerful push and pull factors exist to drive many rural people below the

threshold level of satisfaction in rural life to the city. The effect of this on the volume of rural migrants is obvious.

The impact of migration on urban housing depends on the volume of rural migrants resulting from the decisions to migrate. But the actual urban housing shortage is a function of the needs, demand and supply of urban housing. The size of urban housing demand is derived from three sources: (1) the volume of rural migrants; (2) the volume of migrants from other urban areas; and (3) urban population increase, excluding out-migrants. Whereas, the size of urban housing supply comes from (1) private owners and landlords; (2) government employers and government housing projects; and (3) private employers. Urban housing shortage results where the supply of housing falls below the rate of urban housing needs and demand. When this occurs popular solutions such as the increase of housing supply by private persons, companies and the government are called for, otherwise a lack of solutions result in slums and degradation. In time, a few rich and fortunate people continue to enjoy real satisfaction in housing, while the poorly housed people are forced to adapt to the harsh and inescapable housing conditions in which they find themselves.

Need and Demand for Housing

Need relates to the requirement for housing regardless of households' ability to pay. Need, therefore, implies a social consideration in the acquisition of shelter under conditions of minimum, but humanly acceptable standards. The term need has many connotations. It refers to a shelter unit in which a given household should be housed, based on

household size and the number of rooms required to accommodate its members at a given room occupancy norm. Need, as a description of housing inventory, defines overcrowding. Since room density is a handy yardstick for determining the degree of congestion or overcrowding, this method will be used to estimate housing need.

But, opposed to mere need, demand for housing is determined by the ability of the household to pay the market rate of housing. Demand for housing can be derived by applying the purchasing power (annual income) of households to total need. Such an exercise is useful in deriving subsets showing the need groups that can afford market priced housing. A knowledge of the demographic and socio-economic variables is necessary to objectively estimate housing needs and demand; the next sections deal with these factors and the major constraints in the housing delivery system in Calabar.

Urban and Rural Housing Shortages

As is reported in the Cross River State Housing Enquiry: "There had been acute shortage of accommodation in the urban centres" (1975). In Calabar, as in most fast growing cities of the developing countries, population growth through migration produces significant urban concentration. Consequently, many people lose their capacity to produce shelter in their traditional manner.

Apart from the role of migration, major constraints in residential construction in Calabar can be cited. First, it is difficult for potential builders to secure land with a clear title. In the

Cross River State there is no land registry.¹ The right to the control and disposal of native land is traditionally held by villages or village groups and within these by the lineages. The traditional land tenure system recognizes several classes of land, among them are: sacred, lineage, personal, borrowed and pledged land. The parceling out of lots by village councils and lineage heads is a complex procedure which must take account of this intricate mosaic of established rights and traditions of land.

Government land acquisition in Calabar is so difficult that often negotiations for land break down and the government unilaterally enforces a solution. With the gradual breakdown of the traditional land tenure system, caused, in part, by the proliferation of private ownership, this method of acquiring public land from communal bodies will become more difficult, as private "land speculators" will come to dominate the land market. Though Nigeria has an enabling legislation for the purpose of land acquisition for public uses, the compensations claimed by land owners have generally been much higher than the real "opportunity costs" and the "use value" of such land. Scarcity and exorbitant land prices will compound the problem of bridging the gap between supply and demand for housing, unless a redefinition of land property rights is undertaken to tackle the increasing incidence of land speculation.

¹The Calabar Master Plan contains a land use map which does not delineate any government land, even though the government has some land in the city.

The second constraint to residential housing construction relates to the erratic supply and high cost of building materials. The most important building material is cement. While the Cross River State is fortunate in having its own cement industry, the production capacity of the Calabar Cement Company is limited and cannot at present satisfy the total demand for cement in the State. Furthermore, to circumvent the Price Control Policy, the distributors artificially create scarcity, thereby encouraging an illegal market system where they are able to sell their products at triple or more the factory price. While many building materials are now produced in Nigeria, it is still necessary to import re-inforcing steel, non-ferrous metal products, sanitary fittings, electrical fixtures and sheet glass--all of which add to the cost of construction materials.

The third is the delay involved in securing approval for residential construction and renovation. A lengthy submittal and approval process is required by the planning authorities. This includes submission of lot surveys and building plans to various authorities. All information must be complete, and in the proper form before action is taken. The lack of standard plans, the low literacy level of potential builders and the rigid enforcement of regulations extends the approval process. Yet construction may not begin until approvals are received. Planning authorities estimate that even when the submission is generally in order, the approval process may take up to six months. When the construction begins, there are a series of inspections by various ministries to ensure compliance with the regulations. The same

"red tape" is applicable in the process of housing renovation. The author met one householder in a dilapidated building who complained that he had waited over one year for an approval to renovate the crumbling walls and the sagging roof of his house. It should be noted that a rigid enforcement policy by the government is neither fair nor practicable, especially if that government cannot alleviate the housing problem by actively participating in the construction of houses.

Lack of finance is the fourth major constraint in residential construction. Both the government and the governed are frustrated by this problem. Since finance is a critical factor in the delivery of housing and housing services it will be discussed in greater details in another section of this chapter.

Another significant point of the housing delivery system in Calabar is that the general shortage of housing units has forced many rural migrants into overcrowded quarters. Overcrowding is an index of housing shortage and needs. Many authors have defined optimum room requirements; for instance, Dr. Sofoluwe and Margaret Peil (1972:165) consider a room to be overcrowded if there are more than 2.5 persons, counting children under five years as half. The United Nations Mission to Kenya (1964:15) describes overcrowding as just any room density above 3 persons. According to Duncan (1967) and Berger (1975) overcrowded units are those which house more than 2 persons per room. This definition will be used in the estimation of housing shortage in this study.

Using the two persons per room as the threshold density, a majority of housing units in Calabar, 60.3 percent, are overcrowded (Table 4.1).

Some 24.9 percent of the housing units have 2 persons per room, while only 14.8 percent have 1 person per room.

Table 4.1. Room density and housing units required.

Room Density	Housing Units	Percent Distribution	Required Housing Units
1	132	14.8	-66.0
2	223	24.9	0.0
3	197	22.0	98.5
4	115	12.9	115.0
5	72	8.1	108.0
6	52	5.8	104.0
7	40	4.5	100.0
8	23	2.6	69.0
9	39	4.4	136.5
Total	893	100.0	665.0

In order to determine the number of housing units required to meet the recommended standard density for the different overcrowded units, the following formula was used to derive the figures under housing requirements in Table 4.1:

$$N \frac{d - S^d}{S^d} = RH$$

Where d equals the room density in the different housing units, S^d , the set standard density, N , the number of housing units of each d , and RH ,

the number of housing units that would be required to enable the overcrowded householders in the different housing units to live in accordance with the optimum density. The result indicates that, to attain such density for all, 665 more units, or over 74 percent of the 893 housing units would have to be constructed.

The housing problem is not confined to the urban area only, it is also a rural phenomenon. However, excluding financial constraints, the rural housing shortage does not suffer from the same constraints that hinder urban residential constructions. The problem of rural housing is not characterized by scarcity of land vis-a-vis land speculation, unrealistic building standards, over-rigid regulations, delays in the process of approval for construction. Every African peasant is able to build his own house, and to assist in the construction of houses for relatives and friends, and this is no exception in rural Calabar. Yet, because rural Calabar constitutes a significantly larger population than the urban area, rural housing shortage also deserves close attention. Rural Calabar is evidently characterized by lack of good quality housing. The problem of rural housing is less complex than that of urban housing (Vogale, 1971). These observations will be clearer when we discuss the quantitative and qualitative distributions of housing.

On the basis of the optimum density as used in the estimation of urban housing shortage, quantitatively there is rather a housing surplus in rural areas (Table 4.2). The highest room density in the rural areas is 3, as compared with 9 in the urban area. Over 73 percent of the

Table 4.2. Rural room density and housing requirement.

Room Density	Number of Housing Units	Percent Distribution	Housing Units Required
1	534	73.7	-267.0
2	174	24.0	0.0
3	17	2.3	17.0
Total	725	100.0	-250.0

rural householders live in housing units with below the standard density, indicating a surplus of 267 housing units. Even if we exclude the 17 housing units required to bring the 17 overcrowded units up to the standard, the rural areas still have room to accommodate many more people. It is in this respect that some respondents to the issue remarked: "The housing shortage is more an urban than a rural problem. Rural houses are not only rent-free but are so under-crowded that one can even be paid to live and keep empty rooms warm for the owner."

Demographic Consideration

The size and characteristics of the population and its elements of change can help greatly in determining the magnitude and character of the demand for housing and other services. As was evident in the population studies of Calabar in Chapter III, a high proportion of young people characterize both the migrant streams, and the population of Calabar. This indicates large families, rapid population increase, and hence a demand for more and larger houses. The forecast of

demographic need for shelter should be based on the expected new household formations which occur as a result of an area's natural and migratory population growth.

The projection of the housing needs for Calabar can be simply estimated by dividing the population projection figures by 5.2, which is the average household size according to the 1965-66 Rural Demographic Sample Survey in the South Eastern State. This method was used with the population projection figures of Chapter III, to derive Table 4.3.

Table 4.3. Projected population and households for Calabar Division and the City--1975-85.

Area	1975		1985		Percent Increase of Households
	Population	Households	Population	Households	
Calabar Division	364,571	65,102	521,720	93,164	43
Calabar City	91,266	16,297	154,471	27,584	69

While the Division as a whole shows an increase of 43 percent in the number of households, Calabar city shows an increase of 69 percent during the ten year forecast period. This demonstrates a high proportion of additional housing units are required to meet the city's natural and migratory population increase during the ten years. This projection neglects such serious problems as rehousing the population living in substandard dwellings. Even excluding this limitation, the projection

makes the housing need so vast that solution seems impossible, especially if we consider the low priority given to the housing problem in the Federal and State budget. The role of the State and Federal governments in housing will be discussed later in this chapter.

Economic Consideration

The need and demand for dwellings in any particular area is, in large measure, a function of the economic circumstances of the people in the area. It has already been established that need is not synonymous with demand for housing, because the ability of an individual to translate his need for housing into "effective demand" for dwellings is largely dependent upon the level of his income, or the financial resources at his disposal. Demand in economics terms represents both needs and purchasing power; whereas, need does not necessarily imply the ability to pay for housing. When people cannot produce the purchasing power required to obtain what they need, "such needs are ineffective" (Bellow, 1975:3). Because low earning capacity renders many people in Calabar unable to own a home in their lifetime, or even rent sufficient rooms, the economic parameter of the people should be taken into account in determining effective demand for housing.

Effective demand is what can induce large increase in housing supply which meets publicly accepted standards. Income qualification or ability to purchase or rent housing is an important component that defines housing demand. This study reveals such low earning capacity of households that need far outnumbers demand for housing, and this can be considered as a constraint in housing supply in the area.

Berger has, in his consideration of need and demand for housing, classified the population into three income groups: (1) the Subsistence Group which comprises those whose annual income is below \$1,600, or the lowest income group which cannot be considered a potential market for housing, (2) the Need Group whose annual income ranges from \$1,600 to \$3,894 is virtually on the fringes of the "effective demand sector" for housing; Berger calls the group "a potential force that cannot be ignored, since its need for shelter is almost twice as high as those in the effective demand group, and (3) the Demand Group which earns over \$4,000 annually, and can therefore afford to purchase or rent housing-- according to Berger, this group accounts for about 7 percent of the total housing need in the Calabar Urban Development Area.

This study also supports the view that, in economic terms, very many people in Calabar Division cannot translate their needs for housing into effective demand. Over 90 percent of the rural, and 66.1 percent of the urban respondents fall within Berger's "subsistence income group". It is this group which should be heavily subsidized, with government supported programs initiated to facilitate their accommodation.

The rest of the rural respondents (8 percent), and 23.8 percent of the urban respondents, fall within the need group. Like those in the subsistence income group, because of their income constraints, they cannot qualify to purchase housing outright. It is to these low income groups that the observations by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa (1960) is relevant: "it is undoubtedly low wages which make impossible the purchase and upkeep of decent homes." However, given

long-term financing, the need group can edge into the future housing market, but at present the Nigerian financial market for housing is not within the reach of the poor person. For instance, the Federal Mortgage Bank, which is the chief financing house for housing in Nigeria, operates under conditions that scare away any member of the subsistence or need groups. To qualify for a loan, an applicant must meet these, among other, requirements:

- (1) have a title to a leasehold or a freehold of property to serve as a security for the mortgage loan, by producing a land certificate or a deed of conveyance/lease of occupancy;
- (2) produce evidence of a reasonable regular income.

Yet, as this study reveals, only 10.1 percent of the urban respondents, and none in the rural survey, fall within the demand group.

Residential Analysis of Migrants

From the need and demand for housing we now turn the focus onto the living conditions and spatial distribution of the different types of housing occupied by migrants. This section also deals with the spatial distribution of the ethnic groups and their housing types.

Generally, most of the residential sectors in Calabar are located in the Central Zone lying between the Western and Eastern Zones (Figure 4-2). Figure 4-2 also illustrates the residential densities in these sectors. Three broad housing types can be identified in the area: (1) the traditional housing units with mud and wattle walls and thatch roofs; (2) the permanent structures with cement walls and corrugated

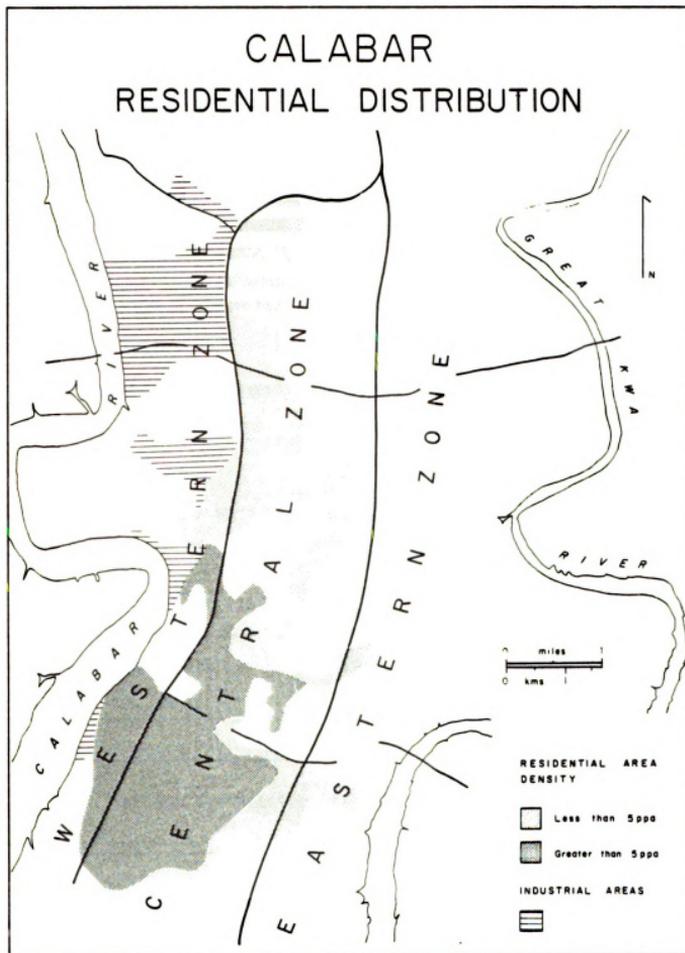


Figure 4-2

Source: After Calabar Master Plan.

iron roofs; and (3) units which are constructed with a combination of materials used in the traditional and permanent structures; that is, houses with either cement walls and thatch roofs, or mud walls and zinc roofs. The traditional unit has been transplanted from its rural environment into the urban setting. Because its building materials are not of the quality that ensures durability (the mats used in roofing being particularly susceptible to fire) it is often considered incompatible with minimum human requirements. Though these units are being gradually replaced by permanent structures, they still form a significant proportion (over 30 percent) of the urban housing stock (Tables 4.4 and 4.5).

Table 4.4. Percent distribution of roofing material for housing.

Responses	N	Percent Distribution
Corrugated Iron Sheets	594	66.4
Mats	300	33.6
Total	894	100.0

Table 4.5. Percent distribution of wall types for housing.

Responses	N	Percent Distribution
Cement	550	61.5
Mud	339	37.9
Other	5	0.6
Total	894	100.0

Table 4.6 shows that there is no significant difference between the post- and the pre-war migrants in the types of housing they occupy. But breaking the migrants into five time periods of their arrival in town shows a significant difference in the housing distribution among the migrants (Table 4.7). Recent migrants who have less than one year's residency have the highest proportion, 45.3 percent, living in thatched houses, as compared with migrants of 6 to 10 years with 28.9 percent.

Table 4.6. Percent distribution of roofing material by post-civil war and pre-war migration periods.

Period	Roofing Materials		Total Percent
	Corrugated Iron Sheets	Mats	
Post-war migrants	66.7	33.3	100.0 (783)
Pre-war migrants	64.9	35.1	100.0 (111)

Chi square = 0.0723 1 df Sig. 0.788

Table 4.7. What is the roofing material made of? Controlling for five time periods.

Year(s)	Roofing Materials		Total Percent
	Corrugated Iron Sheets	Mats	
0-1	54.7	45.3	100.0 (201)
2-5	70.6	29.4	100.0 (364)
6-10	71.1	28.9	100.0 (218)
11-15	68.6	31.4	100.0 (51)
16 and over	61.7	38.3	100.0 (60)

Chi square = 18.047 4 df Sig. 0.001

Spatial Distribution of Quality Housing

Housing in Calabar is characterized by not only quantitative but qualitative inadequacy. "Housing quality", implies something about the environmental surroundings and physical characteristics which promote the health, convenience and well-being of the occupants of a house. Because quality is a subjective value, the term defies universal definition, as "each individual has his own idea of what constitutes quality in housing" (Sheaffer, 1967). Thus, in his comprehensive review of the difficulties inherent in attempting to measure housing quality, Fisher points to the particular difficulty in finding "measures that are comparable between geographic and climatic areas as well as between rural and urban areas" (1972:41). This difficulty becomes worse if we try to use, without modification, the criterion used for housing quality in developed countries to evaluate housing conditions in developing countries. The 1975 Cross River State Housing Enquiry used only electricity, water, kitchen, washroom and toilet facilities as "indicators of housing conditions" (1975). We still have a need to provide a more adequate measure of housing conditions which contains more of the dimensions of housing than the 1975 housing "indicators". Housing, it must be remembered, is a complex of many physical and environmental factors. "The more complex the thing being evaluated the more difficult quality assessment become" (Fisher, 1972:15). Chapin also points to the intricacies of factors in housing analysis:

... the influence of housing operates as a combination of space occupied, space for ease of circulation, noise, or

insulation, and other factors, all forming a pattern that is extremely diversified (1951).

As an improvement on the former housing study in Calabar, 27 housing characteristics (Table 4.8) were used for the evaluation of housing quality in this study. The basic questions are: What patterns are in the data and how do they overlap? What characteristics are involved in what pattern and to what degree? To answer these questions the incidence factor analysis procedure is used to organize the characteristics into components to facilitate the identification of distinct structural housing categories and their spatial distribution.

Factor analysis is capable of collapsing a set of intercorrelated variables into a smaller number of valid dimensions or factors (Rummel, 1967:487; King, 1963). It is also a method of determining the number and nature of the underlying variables among larger numbers of measures (Kerlinger, 1959). The widespread application of factorial analysis in human geography is evident in the works of Berry, 1960 and 1971; Ahmed, 1965; Janson, 1971; Bourne, 1971, and King, 1963. Being a means of discerning patterns and distinct regularities in complex features the factor analytic method is particularly useful in the evaluation of housing quality.

In this study the R-mode factor analysis is applied to delineate patterns of variation in the 27 characteristics of housing quality, and the focus is upon the observed correlation between variables measured over N cases. These variables are more correctly housing characteristics or facilities ($m = 1, 2, 3, \dots, 27$), and cases are the sample houses ($N = 1, 2, 3, \dots, 895$). The objective is to factor the correlation

matrix $m(R)m$ in such a way as to extract r independent factors ($r < m$), these being linear combinations of the original m variables, which account for as much as possible of the co-variance among these m variables. Thus, parsimony of description is achieved through the reduction of the 27 variables to common and fewer factor patterns.

The variance associated with each of the six factors extracted, the contribution which each factor makes to explaining the total variance, and the correlations or "loadings" between the m variables and the r factors are given as part of this report. It was necessary to use the varimax rotation which is capable of delineating distinct groups of orthogonal or uncorrelated factors (Table 4.8).

Six factors were extracted from the 27 variables. To aid in the interpretation of these factors the highest loadings on each factor are underlined. For instance, chimney, bath-tub and shower, toilet facilities and pipe-borne water are the housing characteristics which load the highest on factor 1. This factor thus represents the "high standard" houses which are supplied with internal water system and related amenities. Factor 2 represents the so-called permanent houses which, as the low loadings on these characteristics indicate, are scarcely supplied with internal water system and amenities. Factor 3 represents houses characterized by such "luxury" facilities as refrigerators, closets, air conditioning and food storage facilities, and separate dining rooms; whereas, showing low and even negative loadings on the "luxury" facilities, factor 4 defines houses characterized by just doors and windows. The characteristics that load highest and lowest on factor 5 indicate the "traditional" houses which, in spite of their low room density,

Table 4.8. R-mode varimax rotated factor loadings.

Variable	Factor					
	1	2	3	4	5	6
Electric cooking fuel	0.17	0.17	0.10	0.02	-0.09	0.23
Kitchen sink	0.43	0.19	0.10	0.09	0.12	0.14
Chimney	<u>0.57</u>	0.06	0.19	-0.02	-0.05	-0.04
Electric light	0.30	<u>0.62</u>	0.09	0.04	0.24	0.14
Ceiling	0.36	<u>0.65</u>	0.17	0.06	0.13	0.06
Pipe-borne water	<u>0.51</u>	0.15	0.08	0.15	0.14	0.12
Bath tub or shower	<u>0.53</u>	0.33	0.23	0.05	0.18	0.07
Toilet facilities	<u>0.79</u>	0.10	0.10	0.03	0.10	0.05
Corrugated iron roof	0.14	<u>0.72</u>	0.15	0.11	-0.00	0.03
Cemented walls	0.10	<u>0.66</u>	0.17	0.17	0.01	0.13
Cemented or tiled floor	-0.06	<u>0.55</u>	0.21	0.02	-0.03	0.27
Carpet	0.24	0.35	0.30	0.02	0.17	0.31
Outside decoration	0.28	0.13	0.27	0.03	0.17	0.16
Recreation facilities	0.27	0.01	0.30	0.01	0.04	0.03
Refrigerator	0.33	0.23	<u>0.56</u>	0.02	0.32	0.03
Drainage facilities	0.23	0.10	0.39	0.05	0.08	0.08
Food storage facilities	-0.08	0.24	0.51	-0.09	0.09	0.12
Closets	0.17	0.17	<u>0.62</u>	0.04	0.10	0.09
Separate sleeping room	0.08	0.03	0.28	0.07	<u>0.56</u>	0.03
Separate dining room	0.16	0.09	<u>0.45</u>	0.07	0.37	0.07
Separate living room	0.16	0.10	0.18	0.11	<u>0.49</u>	0.10
Air conditioning facilities	0.22	0.25	<u>0.52</u>	-0.01	0.27	0.08
Painted walls	0.27	<u>0.51</u>	0.14	0.11	0.28	0.14
Furniture	0.09	0.30	0.11	0.19	0.29	<u>0.52</u>
Trash can	0.10	0.38	0.22	0.10	0.25	<u>0.44</u>
Doors	0.11	0.13	0.01	<u>0.86</u>	0.09	0.05
Windows	0.06	0.15	0.01	<u>0.87</u>	0.11	0.11

attract only few people, generally lacking such urban amenities as electric cooking fuel, and light. Factor 6 represents houses that are distinguished just by furniture like cushion chairs and tables and trash cans.

Now, concerning the relative strength of these factors, as the eigenvalues (column 2) indicate, the first factor accounts for over one-half of the total variance, while factor 2 accounts for about 14 percent (Table 4.9). The first four factors account for over 90 percent of the variance. Successively, each factor explains less of the total variance, and the last factor explains only a small proportion (2.8 percent) of the variation.

Table 4.9. Eigenvalue summary.

Factor	Eigenvalue	Percent Variation	Percent Communality
1	7.08	59.3	59.3
2	1.64	13.7	73.0
3	1.30	10.9	83.9
4	1.09	9.1	93.0
5	0.49	4.1	97.2
6	0.34	2.8	100.0

Another question is, which of the housing characteristics are most helpful in the classification of housing units in Calabar into distinctive groups? Communality is a measure of the proportion of each variable's total variation that are explained in the factors extracted.

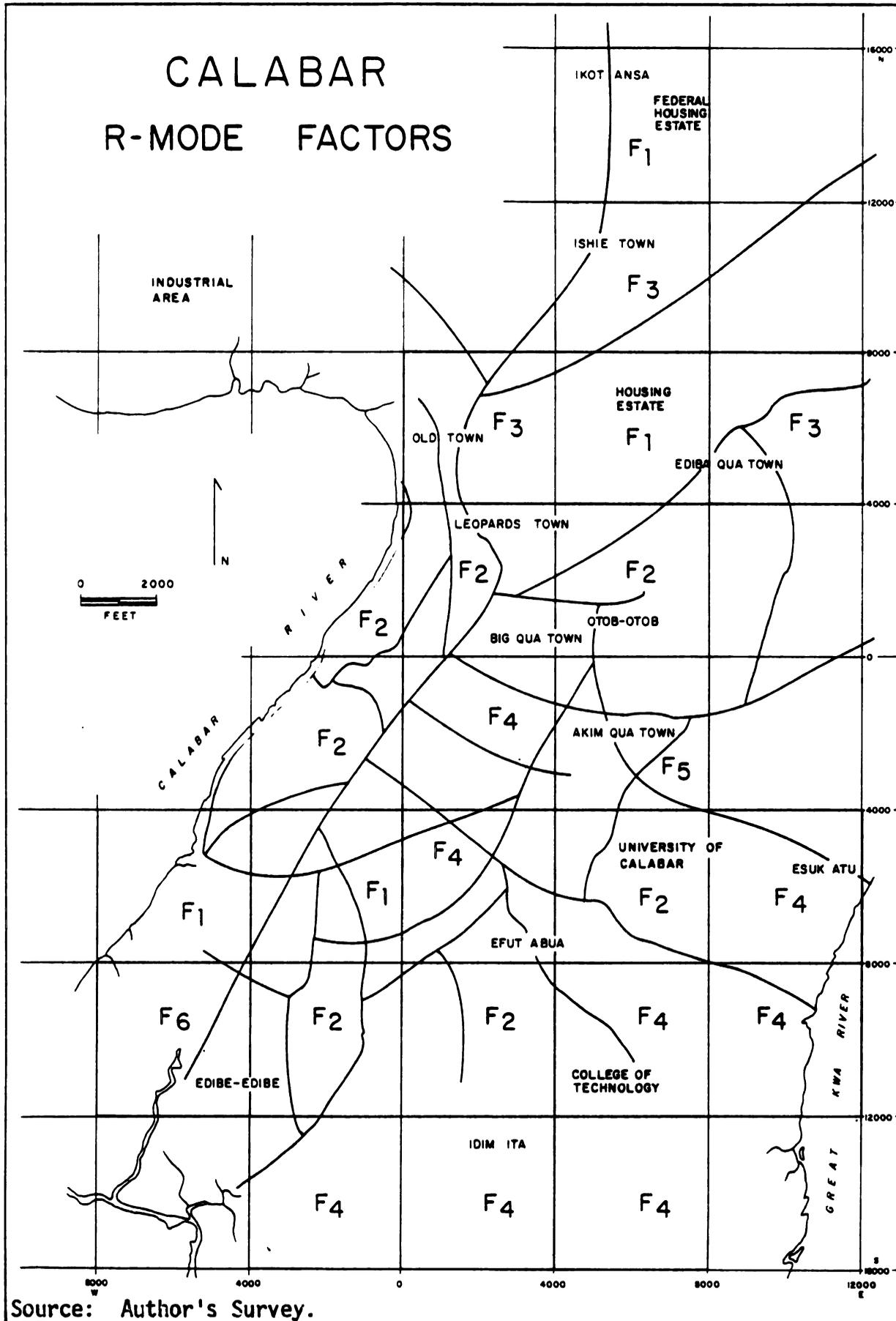
Table 4.10 shows 9 variables with higher than 50 percent communality. As their relatively high values indicate, electric light, ceiling, toilet facilities, corrugated iron roof, cemented walls, refrigerator, furniture, doors and windows are the variables which contribute most to the pattern of factors extracted.

Table 4.10. The important variables and communality.

Variable	Communality
Windows	0.80
Doors	0.77
Toilet facilities	0.66
Ceiling	0.60
Refrigerator	0.58
Corrugated iron roof	0.57
Electric light	0.56
Cemented walls	0.53
Furniture	0.50

Having identified the relative strength of the factors and the variables which contribute most to their patterns, the next question is, which sectors of the urban area are most characteristic of which factors? Whenever the concern is to analyze the variation in spatial distribution between variables, the R-mode factorial analysis is required and maps provide the best means of illustrating such distribution (Figure 4-3).

Figure 4-3 shows that factors 1 and 2 are restricted to four main areas: (1) the Federal Housing Estate at Ikot Ansa in the Northern part



Source: Author's Survey.

Figure 4-3

of the map; (2) the State Housing Estate in Ediba area; (3) most of the central zone; and (4) the areas adjacent the University of Calabar and the College of Technology in the South-eastern part of the city. This distribution, based on factors 1 and 2, reflects the parts of the city most characterized by permanent housing units that are supplied with pipe-borne water and electricity. Akim Qua Town area, and the peripheral section in the South and South-east, characterized by factors 5 and 4 respectively, are the areas where the traditional housing units predominate.

But for the system of land tenure and the role of the extended family system which restrict the development of squatter settlement, in the sense of migrants invading public land, this peripheral section of the city is where such settlements would very likely develop in Calabar. Most of the settlers in this area are those who can afford to buy or lease the land for the construction of cheap, thatched houses. One of the town planning officers offers as a reason for the lack of definite squatter areas in Calabar: "the culture of the people which forbids any intrusion in another person's property." With the current plans by the University of Calabar and the College of Technology to provide infrastructure and set up living quarters for their staffs in this section of the city most of the mud and thatched housing units in this area will soon give place to the type of units characterized by factors 1 and 2.

In an analysis of housing quality it is essential to take into consideration the varying degree of people's satisfaction in the

housing units they occupy. This is essential because, while a wattle and thatched dwelling, or any other "inferior" category of housing, may be branded as "low quality" by a researcher, these units could very well be considered as excellent dwellings by some of their occupants. To investigate the realities of this point in Calabar, respondents were asked to indicate their degree of satisfaction in the conditions of their housing units (Figure 4-4). Over a half of the respondents consider their housing conditions as only fair. Those who are totally dissatisfied with their housing conditions (26.4 percent) are almost twice as numerous as those who describe theirs as excellent.

However, satisfaction in housing is closely related to the quality of housing.¹ Evidently, about 90 percent of those who expressed unqualified satisfaction in their housing conditions live in quality housing units; whereas, over a half of those who described their housing conditions as poor live in the "traditional", low quality housing (Figure 4-4). As an indication of the role of individual differences in the assessment of quality housing, over 10 percent of those who describe their housing units as excellent live in the traditional housing units and this proportion rises to almost 30 percent among those whose housing conditions are only fair.

Though the physical structure of housing, as illustrated above, is closely and positively correlated with the degree of satisfaction in

¹Quality of housing here is defined in terms of the building materials used in the construction of the roofs and the walls. Cement and corrugated iron sheets being the higher, and mud, wood, and thatch being the lower quality materials.

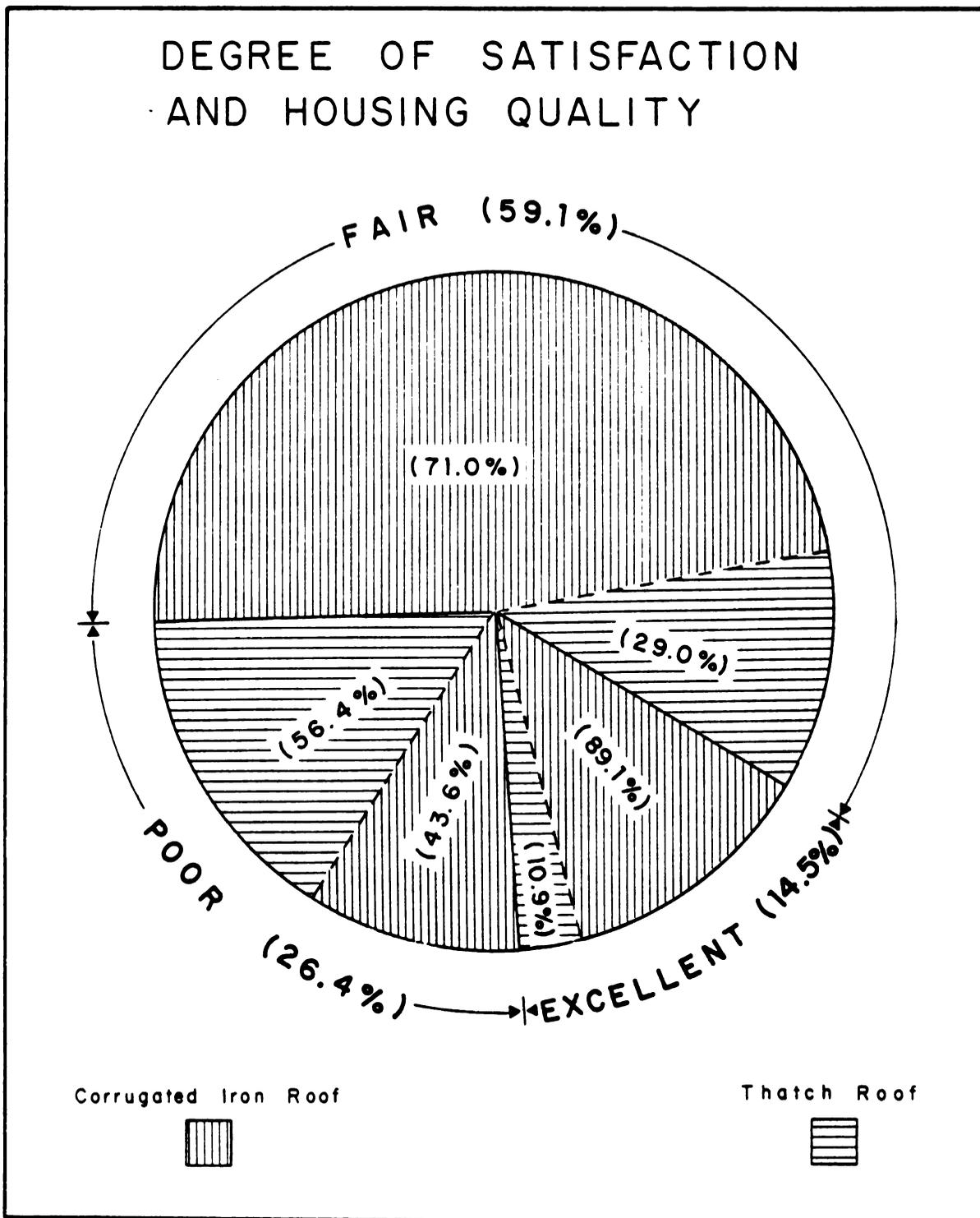


Figure 4-4

Source: Author's Survey.

housing, housing density shows no well-defined pattern and direction of correlation. The result of a correlation analysis between the two variables shows that there are about as many people in the high density housing units as in the low density ones who are either perfectly satisfied or grossly unsatisfied with their housing conditions. This renders the hypothesis, that there is an inverse relation between housing density and satisfaction in housing, irrelevant in this study. Part of the explanation to this is that people in this area do not as yet consider the physical presence of many children, relatives, and countrymen in their houses, as a burden, or as a derogatory factor in the quality of their housing. The customary idea of being one's "brother's keeper" which is the essence of the extended family system still prevails. Sule's (1976) study of Western Nigeria has also shown that because of the practices and ethics of the extended family system, overcrowding is not considered a nuisance by the householders.

Another hypothesis which has also proved irrelevant in this study area, is the one which postulates that recent migrants are correlated with low quality housing. To test this hypothesis, a multiple regression procedure was used. Multiple regression, is a direct measure of relations, capable of explaining the combined effect of more than one independent variable (X)¹ on the dependent variable (Y). In this study

¹These independent variables were derived from the 27 housing characteristics used in the factor analysis. The characteristics were aggregated into ratios, in accordance with their association with each of the 6 factors extracted. Thus names 1 to 6, as used here for the two regression analysis, are based respectively on scores in the following housing characteristics: Name 1: chimney, sink, water bath-tub, toilet facilities and outside decoration. Name 2: electric cooker,

the regression measures the degree of relation of 6 independent variables on changes in the dependent variable--duration (measured in years) of migrants' stay in Calabar. A stepwise regression method was used to identify the most important of the independent variables in explaining changes in the dependent variable.

In the first step of the regression, the independent variable entered the Name 5, and the multiple R was only .112 and the R^2 (or coefficient of determination) was .013. This means that the relationship between the X and the Y is virtually nil. According to this coefficient of determination only about 1 percent of the variations in Y was associated with the variations in X. Even the entering of the other X's added very little to improve our explanation of the variations in the Y (Table 4.11). As the final step of the regression indicates, with the entering of Name 3, the R^2 was .044, indicating that only 4 percent of the overall variations in the Y was associated with variations in the 6 X's. This suggests that in communities where the extended family system plays a part in the residential absorption of migrants, even as late comers in a competitive housing market, most recent migrants are not forced to take poor quality accommodations which are left over by permanent residents. However, the relative importance of Name 5--a variable derived from factor 5 which showed negative loading on electric light, cement

ceiling, corrugated iron roof, cemented walls, cemented or tiled floor, carpet, and painted walls. Name 3: refrigerator, drainage facilities, storage facilities, closet, dining room and air condition facilities. Name 4: door and window. Name 5: separate sleeping room and separate living room. Name 6: electric light, furniture and trash can.

Table 4.11. Summary of multiple R and R square.

Step	Name of Variable	R	R ²
1	5	.113	.013
2	6	.117	.031
3	4	.188	.035
4	2	.196	.038
5	1	.209	.043
6	3	.210	.044

walls and corrugated iron roof, indicates that recent migrants who are not absorbed by relatives are very likely to resort to the traditional housing units.

Another stepwise regression analysis based, on the hypothesis that there is a positive relationship between migrants' level of education and the quality of their housing, showed that Name 2 was entered in the first, and Name 5 in the final step (Table 4.12). This result of the analysis, using years of education as the dependent variable, shows a stronger relationship between the Y and X's than in the first regression analysis. In the first step 26 percent of the variations in Y is explained by Name 2. The proportion of improvement in the prediction of Y gradually increases, with the entry of each of the other independent variables, to 31 percent, with the entry of Name 5 at the final step. This finding emphasizes the role of elitism in the housing delivery system in Calabar. It indicates that the educated householders are least likely to live in housing units lacking basic

Table 4.12. Summary multiple R and R square.

Step	Name of Variable	R	R ²
1	2	.512	.263
2	1	.535	.286
3	6	.552	.305
4	3	.556	.309
5	4	.557	.310
6	5	.557	.311

amenities such as electric light, internal water system, refrigerator and furniture.

Another means of illustrating this relationship between the level of education and the housing quality is by the use of a map of residuals. Residuals are the distributions separating observations from the predicted line in regression analysis. They indicate the degree of accuracy in our prediction of the correlation between the dependent and the independent variables. The higher the correlation the smaller the deviations from predicted values, and thus the more accurate the prediction. Negative residuals indicate overprediction, and positive residuals indicate underprediction.

The question is, where in the city does there seem to be a great deal of residual variation? In other words, where in the city does the education-housing variables equation seem to give significant over- or underestimate of housing quality? Figure 4-5 is a map showing the spatial distribution of the deviant cases. One can see how the South

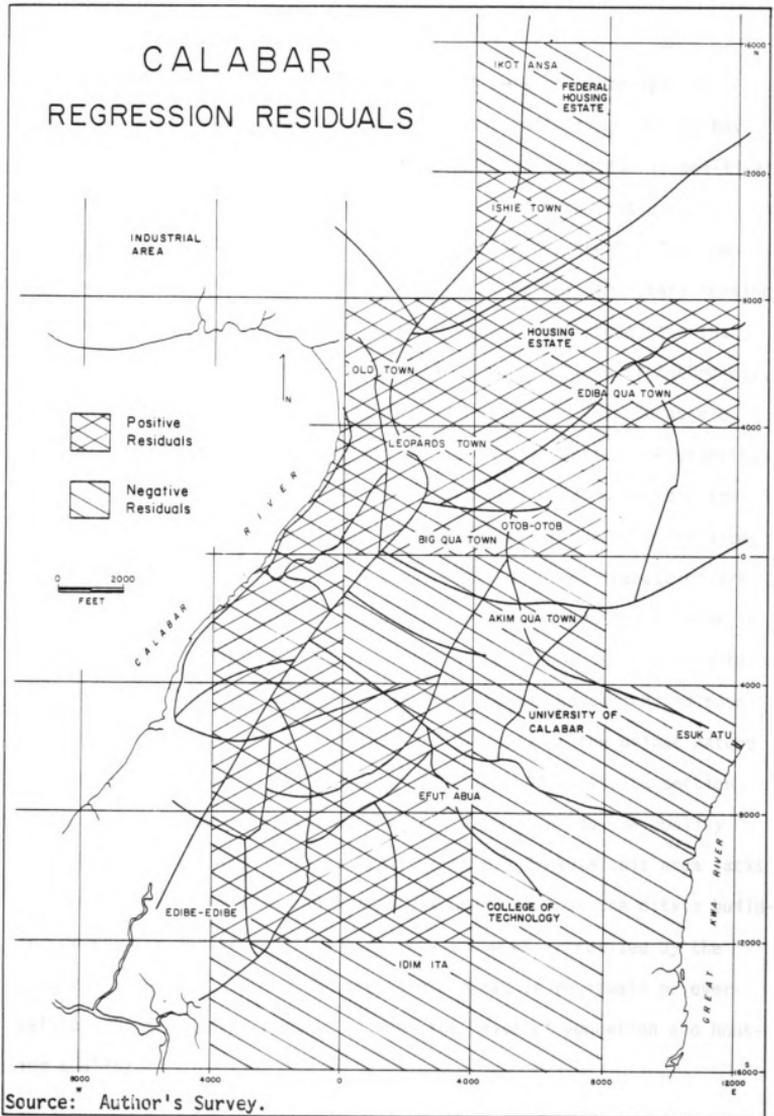


Figure 4-5

and South-eastern sectors of the city which were characterized by Factor 4 stand out as negative deviant areas, indicating that we have overpredicted the sectors in our assumption that education is positively related to housing quality. Other overpredicted areas include: (1) the Magnus Henshaw area in the South-west zone; and (2) the Big Qua Town area which is characterized by Factor 5. The Federal and State Housing Estates, most of the residential areas of the Central zone, and the areas adjacent the University of Calabar and the College of Technology, are among the areas characterized by positive residuals. Because a regression analysis cannot take all the factors affecting the distribution of any phenomenon into consideration there is bound to be over- and underestimation of relationships between variables. For instance, this analysis could not take into consideration the deliberate government policy in the allocation of housing in the two Housing Estates in favor of the elite groups of the society which can be seen as a factor in the underestimation of the relationship between education and housing quality in these areas. Neither did it consider the unique nature of the peripheral areas in the vicinity of the University, a section which can be seen as a special ecological area favoring low quality housing and attracting many illiterate people. Because this area lacks infrastructural amenities, and is as yet unaffected by the city's building codes, its housing units are largely those characterized by the Factor 4 variables. Thus, the area shows negative residuals or overestimation of the relationship between the level of education and housing quality.

Ethnic Considerations

Ethnic clusters are a common feature of African cities, and Calabar is also an example of ethnic diversity. Thus, it is important to know the spatial distribution of these ethnic groups and their housing conditions. To know in which of the 21 blocks each of the five groups had the highest concentration of their total number, as compared to the concentration of the other ethnic groups in the same blocks, a cross-tabulation analysis of the ethnic groups with blocks was done.

The Ibibio group, constituting 68 percent of the total respondents are fairly scattered all over the study area. They form the majority (not less than 50 percent) in every block. It is interesting to note that, but for the presence of a few Efiks, the Ibibio group is almost the only one occupying that special ecological zone in the vicinity of the University of Calabar and the College of Technology (Figure 4-6). Of particular interest is the concentration of the Efiks in Akim Qua Town area which, as we saw already, is characterized by housing units associated with Factor 5. Why this is of interest will be clearer in the next section where the relationship between satisfaction in housing and quality housing among the ethnic groups is examined.

Ethnic patterns are an important determinant of attitudes toward housing. Like individuals, the different ethnic groups tend to display varying degrees of satisfaction in their diverse housing conditions. A cross-tabulation of housing satisfaction statements with the ethnic groups reveal that while over a half of the Efik, Ibibio, Oron and Ekoi describe their housing as fair, less than 50 percent of those

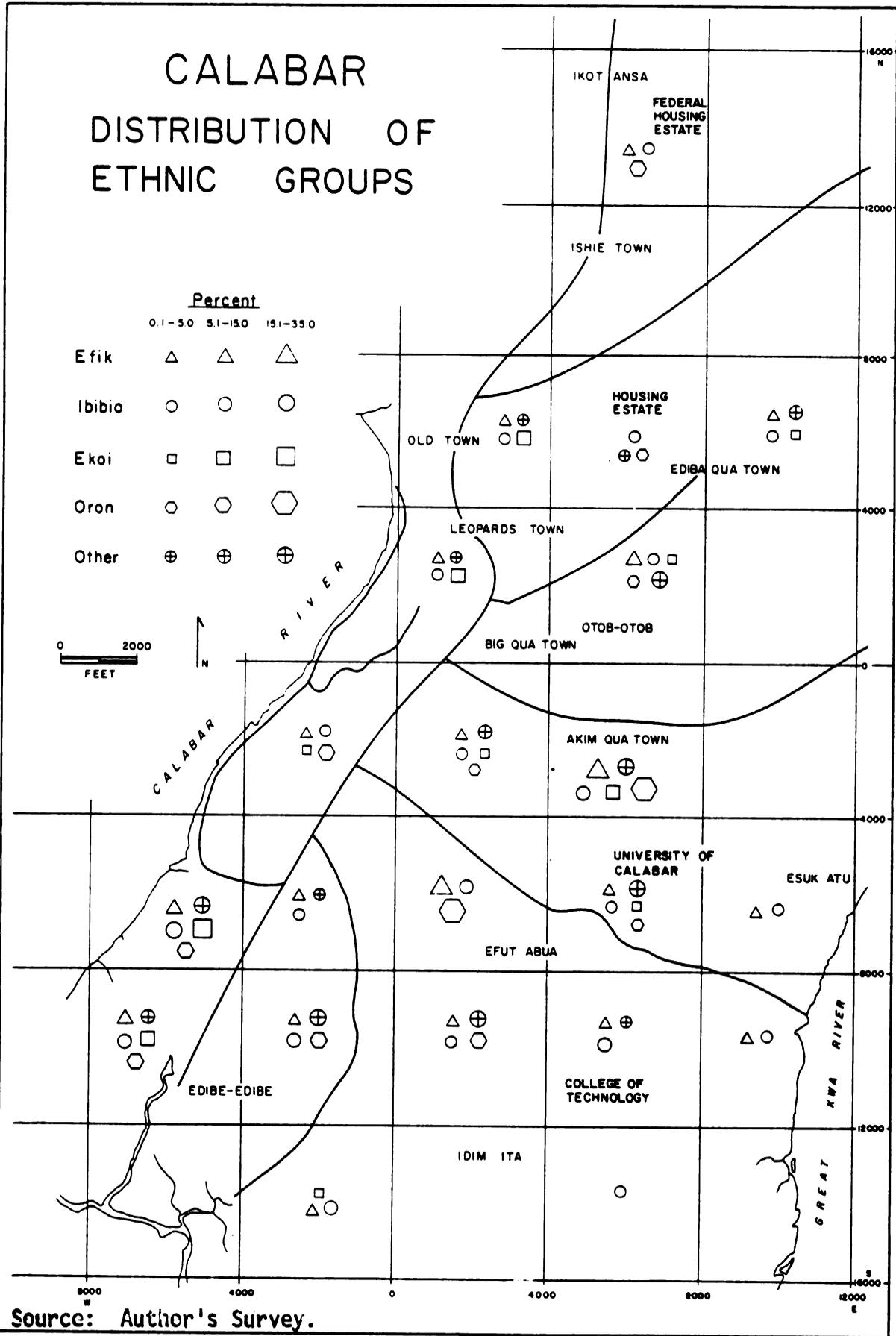


Figure 4-6

in the "other" group describe theirs as such (Table 4.13). Those in the "other group constitute the highest proportion (37.5 percent of their population) of those who describe their housing conditions as poor, followed by the Ekoi group (35.3 percent of their population) who are also the least (5.9 percent of their population) of those describing their housing conditions as excellent. The Efik, on the other hand express, respectively, the highest and the lowest (23.7 and 23.0 percent) degrees of satisfaction in their housing conditions. The relatively highest satisfaction among the Efik may not necessarily mean that they live in the best quality housing in Calabar, as their association with Factor 5-related housing reveals above. Probably their customary belief in both rural and urban Calabar as their home is the psychological factor behind their assessment of their urban housing as "home sweet home", no matter what conditions.

Table 4.13. Percent expressing degree of satisfaction with housing by ethnic group.

Ethnic Group	Degree of Satisfaction (percent)			Total
	Excellent	Fair	Poor	
Efik	23.7	53.3	23.0	100.0 (165)
Ibibio	12.5	61.3	26.2	100.0 (604)
Oron	9.8	65.8	24.4	100.0 (41)
Ekoi	5.9	58.8	35.3	100.0 (34)
Other	14.6	47.9	37.5	100.0 (48)

When housing satisfaction by the ethnic groups is controlled for sex, males show no significant difference from the general observation; whereas, there is a significant difference in the way the females assess their housing. More Efik women (25.7 percent) than their men (22.1 percent) describe their housing as excellent, and but for Ibibio women none of the women in the rest of the ethnic groups describe their housing as excellent (Table 4.14).

Table 4.14. Percent expressing satisfaction with housing by ethnic groups, and by service.

Ethnic Group		Degree of Satisfaction (percent)			
		Excellent	Fair	Poor	Total
Efik	Male	22.1	50.5	27.4	100.0 (95)
	Female	25.7	57.1	17.1	100.0 (70)
Ibibio	Male	11.9	60.8	25.3	100.0 (470)
	Female	14.9	56.0	29.1	100.0 (134)
Oron	Male	12.9	61.3	25.8	100.0 (31)
	Female	0.0	80.0	20.0	100.0 (10)
Ekoi	Male	7.7	57.7	34.6	100.0 (26)
	Female	0.0	62.5	37.5	100.0 (8)
Other	Male	17.1	43.9	39.0	100.0 (41)
	Female	0.0	71.4	28.6	100.0 (7)

Chi square (for male) = 12.139, 8 df, Sig. 0.139

Chi square (for female) = 14.199, 8 df, Sig. 0.077

The Role of Extended Family in Migrant Housing

Most housing policies stress the necessity to provide a decent home at a reasonable price for the general population. In advanced countries governments not only recognize and acknowledge a responsibility in the delivery of housing and housing services but they initiate programs to fulfill such a responsibility. However, this is not the case in Nigeria, where the Cross River State Government has no functional housing policy directed towards helping the poor, or in particular, the residential absorption of migrants in their transition from rural to urban life.

The traditional social security system which performs most of the roles government should undertake has rather been conferred by the extended family. Under this system members of each family, such as brothers, sons, daughters, uncles and sons-in-law; particularly those who are well-off, have an obligation by custom to assist other family members. Grown-up children are expected to assist parents as well as younger brothers, sisters, and other close relatives. The extended family plays a significant role in the residential absorption of migrants not only in Calabar but in other cities in Nigeria. In Chapter III the role of the extended family in the migration process was analyzed. Specifically the extended family provides up to 60 percent of the shelter to migrants upon arrival. Achunine's study in Lagos reveals that the extended family provides approximately 40 percent of shelter. This lower proportion seems to reflect the greater cosmopolitan nature of the national capital, where rural migrants may have difficulty in

locating relatives, and the fact that the general housing market in Lagos is much tighter. In Calabar, overcrowding has been viewed as a salient component of housing shortage. Therefore, it will be interesting to discover how much pressure the extended family can bear in order to provide housing relief to newly arrived migrants.

In Calabar, migrants generally spend an average of one year with members of the extended family. As soon as they secure a job and can afford to pay rent, they find their own houses.

Though the extended family plays a vital role in the initial adjustment of most migrants to urban life, one cannot consider the system as a panacea to the growing housing problem in Calabar. The role of the extended family in providing housing for migrants is a temporary service and cannot be considered a lasting solution to housing problems (Table 4.15). About 90 percent of the respondents attest to the willingness of their urban hosts to accommodate them while only 9 percent indicate that their hosts had reservations. In spite of this, and as was indicated in the Lagos study, urban relatives may tire of the responsibility to accommodate migrants. Even if they are not, in the face of the short supply of housing, the extended family can be viewed as an underlying factor in overcrowding and rapid deterioration of existing houses through overuse. Furthermore, the extended family system renders help in a discriminatory form, in that it is provided largely to close relatives. These, and other limitations of the system suggest the need for government to play a more active role in providing housing services in Calabar. The government should not use the extended

family as a means to shirk its responsibility, as continued taxation of this valued cultural component of the society could lead to its demise.

Table 4.15. Distribution of responses to the question:
How would you describe the willingness of your urban host to accommodate you?

Response	Number	Percent Distribution
Very willing	447	61.1
Somewhat willing	217	29.6
Unwilling	68	9.3
Total	732	100.0

Government Response to Housing

Federal Government

1. Historical Role

Until the early 1970's, housing was solely a state matter. But, since that time, the subject has generated such discussion that the National Council on Housing called all levels of the Nigerian government to give greater priority to the housing problem and to allocate at least 10 percent of their annual budget to housing. Also, by a series of meetings held throughout Nigeria, the Association of Housing Corporation¹ has succeeded in both stimulating national consciousness

¹The Association was founded by the Housing Corporation of East, Midwest, Western and Northern Nigeria and the erstwhile Lagos Executive Development Board in 1964.

in the matter of housing development, and in motivating the Federal Government to promote a national housing policy. At its Kano Conference of 1971 the Association called on the Federal Government to regard housing as both an economic and social project like health and industry, and therefore provide significant funds to stimulate growth of housing.

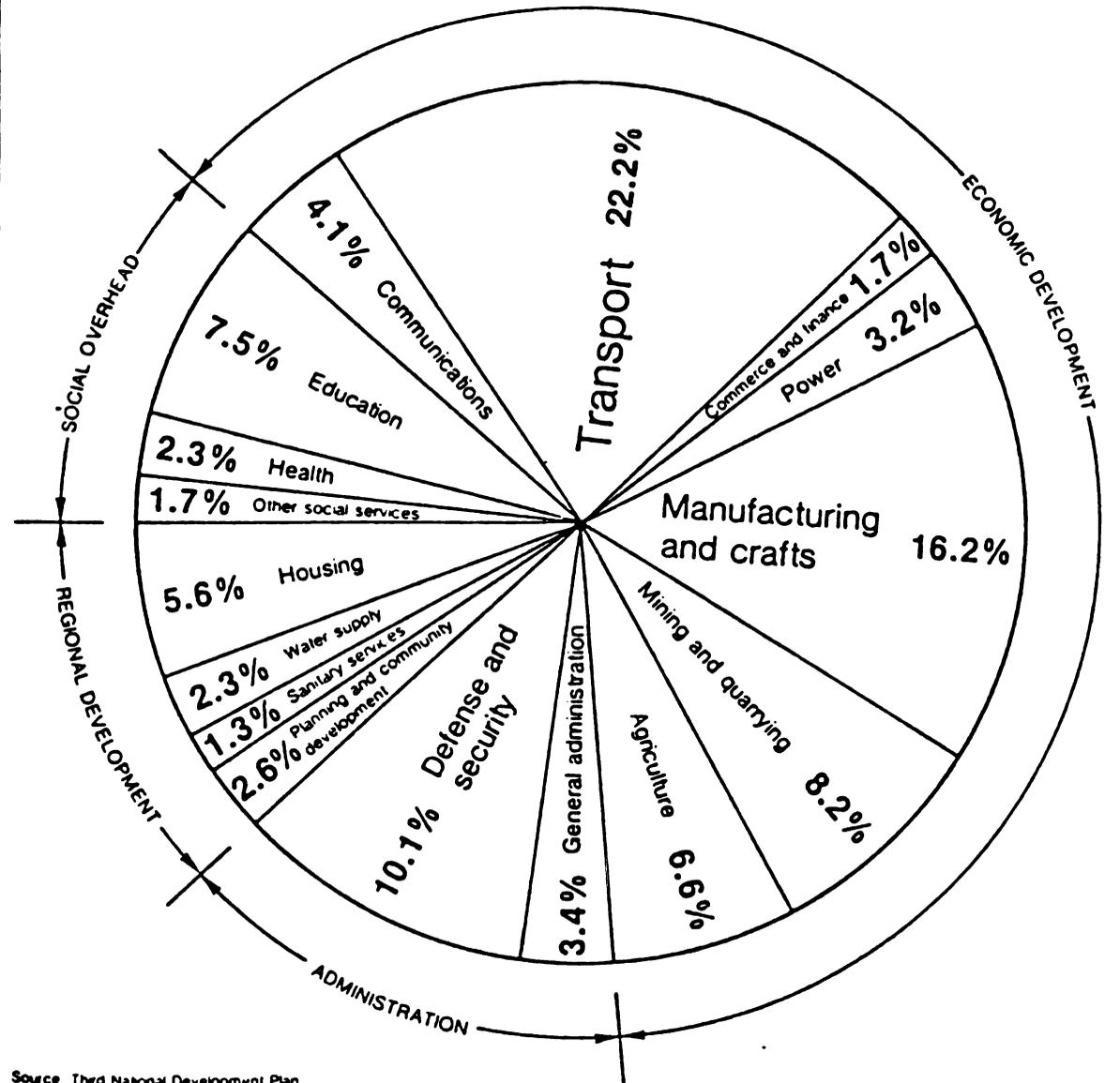
The planners of 1962-68 and the 1970-74 Development Plans neither defined a National Housing Policy, nor gave adequate importance to the problem of housing. In the 1962-68 Development Plan, out of a total sum of \$67.2 million allocated to Town and Country Planning (which included housing) only \$31.36 million; that is, about 47 percent of the allocation, was actually spent. The highest percentage of planned investment allocated by the Federal Government to housing was in the 1975-80 Development Plan (Figure 4-7). This relatively higher proportion of investment reflects the growing concern, and recognition of housing deficiency as a universal problem in the country. However, the proportion is still far below the recommendations of the National Council of Housing, and definitely insufficient to initiate resolution of the mounting housing problem in the country.

2. Present Role

The establishment of the Federal Housing Authority (FHA) in 1973 was a milestone in the growing concern by the Federal Government in housing problems. The FHA serves as the agent, through the appropriate Ministry of the Federal Government, for the implementation of the National Housing Program. The aim of the Federal Government is to participate actively in increasing the supply of housing especially to

THE NATIONAL BUDGET

—Public spending priorities under Third National Development Plan



Source: Third National Development Plan

Figure 4-7

the low-income groups who are the most affected by the current acute shortage.

According to the guidelines of the National Housing Program, each State, irrespective of its population size, is to provide 8,000 housing units during the 1975-80 Plan Period. The Federal Government, through the FHA, is responsible for financing 4,000 of the 8,000 units, as well as the infrastructure, in each State.¹ The remaining 4,000 units is to be financed solely by the State on land which the Federal Government also pays for the infrastructure provided.

3. Shortcomings

The existing Federal housing scheme is not only extremely limited in the scope of its housing activities but it is grossly mismanaged and definitely indifferent to the needs of the masses and migrants in particular. Specifically the shortcomings of the ongoing Federal housing policies and practices include: (1) indiscriminate allocation of building plots and housing, as revealed by the present probe investigating corrupt practices by public officials; (2) public servants who take loans to build their own houses which they subsequently sublet at exorbitant rates while continuing to live in government quarters; (3) speculative prices of building plots; (4) high and rising cost of building materials which makes the possibility of owning a house impossible for many. Thus, Olayide (1976:98) points out the implications of

¹No rationale for suggesting the 8,000 units as a requirement for financing housing in the states is offered in the Guide Lines.

these problems. For instance, the mismanagement provides the opportunity for specific class of people to claim ownership of specific areas of the building plots in designated areas of towns in the country, and this is likely to result in social stratification and class distinction. The existing housing corporations have been viewed as "glorified money-lending, semi-governmental organizations (which) are extremely limited in scope of their housing activities" (Vagale, 1971:9). The elitist nature of the Nigerian housing situation is also documented by Sule: "The market for new housing is almost entirely dominated by the upper-income, governmental bureaucrats and the intellectual elites--the university lecturers and professors" (1975). Thus, Odepitan warns that "if Nigeria is to develop the highest type of civilization, if its industry is to thrive permanently, if its government ministries are to serve their highest purposes, the policy makers and the private investors must think of providing a home life for every family, rich or poor" (1974). There is, therefore, the need to undertake a comprehensive reappraisal and reorganization of the current housing delivery system in Nigeria, if it is to have an effective role in the State and National housing endeavor.

State Government

1. Historical Role

The Cross River State has long recognized shelter as one of the absolute essentials for physical survival of man. Inadequate housing has been noted as a social evil which affects the health and well-being of a population. One approach to the housing shortage in the urban

areas of the State has been the Staff Housing Scheme which provides quarters to senior staff and a few civil servants. This scheme, a hold-over from the colonial system, is a policy in which the government acquires a parcel of land, builds housing units and makes them available to civil servants for a fixed proportion of their salary. This system acts as a subsidy since it supplies housing units at a fixed cost below the market rate. The State's Third Development Plan calls for the construction of 300 staff housing units in Calabar and 20 each in other divisional headquarters.

As part of the scheme, the "Staff Housing Fund Rules" was instituted to provide loans to "persons to whom these Rules apply for the purpose of building or completing the building, or purchasing houses for residential purpose" (SES 1973). In 1973 a board was established to manage and control the said fund. According to the rules of the fund:

A person is not eligible to apply for a loan under these Rules unless at the time of the application he is a duly confirmed holder of a pensionable appointment in the service of the Government of the State, or in a Statutory Corporation, or in a State-owned Company, or in a Voluntary Agency, Medical or Educational Institution by virtue of which he is entitled to receive an annual allowance on completion of service (SES 1973).

2. Present Role

The current policy objectives of the State in the area of housing are outlined in the Third National Plan. They comprise the following:

- (1) the expansion of the services of the Housing Corporation in Calabar and to other parts of the State;
- (2) the implementation of the low cost housing scheme;

- (3) the expansion of the staff housing scheme;
- (4) the introduction of other measures to increase the number of modern houses in the State;
- (5) the increase in supply of building materials in the State;
- (6) the obtaining of adequate statistics concerning housing.

In order to achieve the above objectives, the Government hopes to expand the activities of the State Housing Corporation. The Corporation will undertake, among other things (1) the construction of 1,500 housing units, and (2) the implementation of the Federal Government Housing Scheme.

3. Shortcomings

Like the Federal Government, the Cross River State is extremely limited in the scope of its housing activities, and indifferent to the housing needs of migrants. The proportion of the State planned investment in housing is far below the 10 percent recommendation by the National Council of Housing. The effectiveness of the amount in relieving housing problems of the poor becomes almost nonexistent when it is observed that out of the \$16.0 million devoted to housing, \$9.6 million, or 60 percent, is allocated for the construction of residential quarters for senior civil servants. Worse still, the State Housing Corporation, the only supplier with any known estimate, completes only an average of about 50 housing units for the 15 urban centers in the State each year. Furthermore, though Calabar receives the greatest attention in all of the State housing projects, there are no specific housing policies for this growing city.

Housing Policy Alternatives

The discussion in this chapter finally lead us into the consideration of how other countries of the world tackle their housing problems. Calabar, like all developing countries, has a wide range of housing strategies on which to draw in designing its housing policy. Any public authorities wishing to improve their housing policy can usually learn from the failures and achievements of others. This section is, therefore, devoted to a review of some of the housing policy alternatives available for ameliorating the mounting housing problems in this study area.

All over the world, food, shelter and clothing are recognized as some of man's basic needs. But, even in an affluent society such as the United States, where one could expect that these basic needs would be supplied, some citizens in that society do not enjoy satisfaction of their basic needs (Fisher, 1972:1). However, public officials in the United States have demonstrated their awareness of the fact that fulfillment of these basic needs is important both to the individuals directly involved and to society as a whole. Thus, as part of the housing strategy, American policy makers' continuing interest in the quality of man's environment is evident from activities such as zoning, parks, public utility systems, streets, city ordinances, welfare schemes, etc. They approach the provision of adequate and decent housing through building codes, Federal Housing Authority (FHA) interest subsidies, rent supplements, slum clearance, urban renewal and provision of low-rent housing.

The FHA was created as part of the New Deal's efforts to insure mortgages under certain circumstances, to eliminate the worse housing, to provide public housing for the poor, and above all, to help in priming the pump of the economy. By 1950, 17,000 dwellings had been provided for low-income families under this program. However, in many respects the FHA policies and practices have been so detrimental that its critics now describe it as "Federal Hell's Acres (responsible for) the destruction of our urban communities" (Bryan, 1978:6). According to Mayor Richard Daley, from 1940 to early 1960 the FHA encouraged suburban development but did nothing for the city of Chicago. The FHA has also been associated with abuses such as block busting and disinvestment, or redlining--that is, refusal to invest by real estate operators and mortgage lenders solely on the basis of the location of the property, all of which have contributed to the creation rather than the elimination of slums.

Other federal agencies are vitally concerned with housing: Housing and Urban Development (HUD), the United States Public Health, the Farmers Home Administration, Housing Assistance Administration, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Veterans Administration, and the office of Economic Opportunity. This rather incomplete list of federal agencies could be supplemented by lists of state, local agencies, and private groups to whom housing has both "utility" and "investment" significance.

One example of an energetic housing demonstration program initiated by the HUD deserves attention. It was known as "operation breakthrough". According to Jones (1975:540), operation breakthrough was a

program launched to develop, test and promote the best in volume-produced housing systems. It was a program aimed at developing a housing approach to meet the needs of the United States and to effectively mobilize that nation's resources toward an increase in housing production and control of its cost. To do this, the HUD strived to create a working partnership of Federal, State and Local Government, Labor, Industry, the financial community, home builders and consumers.

One significant feature of operation breakthrough was the application of recent planning concepts in its various demonstration programs. The development illustrated breakthroughs in modern planning concepts such as cluster units, mixed house types, aggregation of open space, separation of pedestrian and auto-traffic, economy in utilities layout, reduction in densities and costs. Many of the developments showed advances in industrialized building techniques. The most used housing type was the modular box units which are placed in a checkerboard fashion to form residential blocks varying from 3 to about 18 floors.

One cannot say that the United States has found a panacea for its mounting housing problems, let alone offer housing strategies that can be adopted without modifications to suit other local conditions. The Federal housing policy has so far consistently emphasized production goals to the detriment of equitable distribution of housing services. "Home ownership for the poor," and "decent home for all Americans" are still illusory concepts. As a housing strategy, HUD's operation breakthrough, contains many positive features, but lacking sufficient controls, it was a failure. Thus HUD has been described as the most

"insensitive", "blundering" and "incompetent" of federal agencies perpetuating urban blight. The United States urban renewal technique has also been subject to a series of criticisms. As a critic points out, "urban renewal has failed to effectively relocate the dispossessed tenants in standard housing within their means" (Gans, 1967). Clearly, there is still a great deal of unfinished housing business in the United States. But, the limitations of the United States housing policy, as well as its positive features, can serve as instructive lessons to planners groping for effective housing policies in Calabar where the housing problem is evidently more acute than in the United States, and strategies for solution are grossly inadequate and ineffective.

The European countries also operate various housing strategies that are worthy of consideration by any developing country wishing to improve the housing conditions for its people. The First World War brought vast changes in the urban systems throughout Europe. Among them were housing oriented changes; such as, the freezing of rents by Tenement Protection Laws, the 'social rent' of the welfare housing programs, non-profit construction by cooperatives, and the economic rent of the freehold apartment--all of which made the housing market more accessible to the needy.

In Britain, for instance, nearly all public housing is subsidized by the British Exchequer. The important point is that subsidized dwellings are usually allocated on the basis of needs for dwelling and local resident qualification criteria. Many of the devices implemented by the local authorities in Great Britain include: (1) the building

and administration of public or council housing; (2) the provision of a system of means-tested rent subsidies (rent rebates for public housing, tenants and rent allowances for the private rental section); (3) rent control and regulations in the private rental sector, coupled with legislation providing security of tenure, at least, for residents of the private unfurnished rental sector; (4) power to enforce minimum basic standards in private housing through compulsory purchase and repair orders; (5) the availability of improvement grants to rehabilitate or improve privately owned or public housing; (6) direct mortgage for low-income people; (7) a system of temporary accommodation for the homeless; (8) welfare payments (supplementary benefits) for housing purposes to the poor; and (9) a system of Housing Advice Centers designed to provide free advice and assistance to anyone in the local authority with housing problems. Whereas, in Calabar, though housing problems are evidently enormous, the minimal governmental housing policy that exists is not, as in Great Britain, directed to help the "needy".

In France three popular housing programs are worthy of note-- social, cooperative and private housing programs. Social housing, also known as "habitation à loyer" (moderate rental housing) is a non-profit, publicly organized housing program, basically designed to serve the needs of the low and moderate income people. The cooperative housing system is also organized to eliminate the profit motive. Generally, the program provides less expensive housing, compared with social and private programs; whereas the private housing program is motivated by the desire of private house investors to make a profit through renting or selling of completed units.

The French have also evolved a planning technique which has been found useful in ameliorating housing problems; that is, the French Z.U.P. (zone à urbaniser de priorité), a technique of development, aimed at decentralizing Paris. Z.U.P. is a housing zone--"a semi-satellite" but not "a new town" (Kinsey, 1969). It is a technique which coordinates and organizes the housing zone from its earliest planning stages in such a way that the life of its inhabitants remains as normal as possible, unlike the American urban renewal which pays no attention to the "dispossessed tenants". The technique also uses a mix of public and private sectors to provide funds and loans for land acquisition facilities, infrastructure, social, private and cooperative constructions.

The cooperative housing concept which is popular in France is pertinent to the consideration of housing policy and administration in Calabar Division, because of the limitations imposed by overhead building construction cost, the small median family income, and particularly the traditional interest of the people of Calabar in cooperative or communal organizations--locally known as "asusu". The cooperative Housing Movement had its origin in 1869 in Denmark, 1870 in Sweden, and in 1889 in Germany (Fuerst, 1974). Cooperative housing is a form of home ownership in which the residents and their neighbors own their property jointly, the overall policies of the project being determined and controlled by its members (Libit, 1964:71). In America, for example, a single cooperative housing corporation is organized, which owns and operates, on a non-profit basis, the entire housing

development for the benefit of all its members. The corporation has title to the property and undertakes responsibility for the mortgage debts.

Many reasons can be offered for the significance of cooperative housing in developing countries. It has long been felt that because cooperative housing societies pool their resources in a building fund--often obtained at low interest through public loans, they can be an effective method of providing housing for low-income families. In addition, the technique facilitates the initiation of "housing solutions tailored to local needs and using private sector resources while at the same time encouraging a sense of community responsibility for finance, public services, and other components of housing that families cannot provide for themselves" (Grimes, 1976:103). More to the point, a Nigerian author has declared:

... that cooperative housing has the potential for creating process in which government, business and citizens will be able to work as equal partners in providing housing on a very meaningful basis to those citizens who cannot otherwise afford to own their own homes in our growing urban centres (Aradeon, 1969:24).

Sweden, like modern Calabar Division, once faced a chronic housing shortage resulting from migration and population growth. According to Bengstron (1974:99), the 1945 Swedish census showed that 40 percent of all housing units in Sweden were substandard--overcrowded, deteriorating, or lacking sanitary facilities. Rural-urban migration reached its peak then, family formation increased, mortality rate and full employment decreased--and all culminated in greatly augmented housing demand. Today, housing delivery service in Sweden has become largely the social

responsibility of the government. Not only is housing controlled, land use is controlled; the ownership of land carrying with it no inherent development rights--an issue yet unsolved in Calabar.

Developing countries also offer useful housing policy alternatives. Hong Kong and Singapore stand out among the most successful in public housing operation directed to meet the housing needs and demand of their people. Some 40 percent of the population of these cities live in public housing units. Between 1960 and 1972 the Singapore Housing and Development Board constructed 155,000 self-contained housing units--a higher number of such dwellings completed per capita than any other country. In addition to using public land for low-income housing, the Board coordinated an extensive program of land reclamation, urban renewal, and slum clearance. Private construction for middle- and high-income groups were encouraged by a mix of policies relating to zoning, taxation, and the construction materials industry.

Hong Kong also represents an effective use of a mix of general as well as housing-related public policies to provide efficient housing for the bulk of the population. Large-scale public housing efforts are also a part of Hong Kong's total development strategy. A notable feature of Hong Kong's housing projects, which is relevant to the Calabar situation, is that they were begun during a period of relatively low per capita income, and most were carried out at a period when the city's population doubled from 2 million to more than 4 million. Housing, therefore, was largely designed to reach low-income families, contrary to the "elitist" housing policy in Calabar. It was only after

the low-income families were fairly housed that programs were initiated to assist high-income families.

Another notable feature of the Hong Kong project is that at the early stages standards adapted for the projects were well below limits previously considered acceptable in the city. Large families, for example, were allowed to occupy single, small rooms, and many families shared water supply and sanitary facilities. Rather than geared to what was desirable, the standard was geared to what was affordable by the public purse, and by families with limited incomes. Assuming that a gradual rising of housing standards should reflect the benefits of industrialization and future rising per capita income, buildings were, therefore, designed for easy conversion in anticipation of future economic improvement.

Of particular significance in this review of housing policy alternatives are housing strategies that have been found useful in other African countries, for they represent strategies that take into consideration the financial and cultural realities of the African scene. In Ghana, for example, the major constraints in the provision of housing are not different from what we have seen in Calabar. Hornsby-Odoi (1975) points to low per capita income and high birth rates, "compounded by the rural urban migration on the one hand, and the exposure to higher standard of living from abroad...." as the major problems effecting housing provision in Ghana. The Ghanaian Government therefore provides "aided housing" for those earning up to \$4,000 per annum, by acquiring land on which infrastructure is provided for lease.

Financial Institutions are equipped to be more liberal with the granting of finance. For those earning less than \$4,000 per annum, their rents are subsidized on a graduated scale; that is, the higher the salary the lower the subsidy.

To accelerate the supply of housing, the State Housing Corporation and the Tema Housing Development build houses on a hire purchase system. The Bank for Housing Development finances housing development and building materials manufacture. As part of the efforts to boost housing supply, the Building and Road Research Institute and the University of Science and Technology are encouraged to provide extension services in the field of housing and site development. Private ownership of housing is also encouraged through the provision of "roof loans" to those who can prove that they have reached the roofing level in their housing construction. This strategy is consistent with the respondents' expressed interest in a type of "roofing loan" that would enable them to renovate their thatched dwellings, or complete their residential constructions.

Site and service technique, in which infrastructure is supplied a plot for people to construct their own dwellings by direct labor, is useful in areas where income is a major constraint for private residential construction. Two African countries--Malawi and Kenya have employed this technique to provide a planned framework within which the people are encouraged to build their houses as their resources permit. The Malawians, for instance, have shown great versatility in the use of local materials such as mud blocks--made on the site and dried in the

sun, and wooden window frames, doors and roof timbers--bought at the local markets, for their residential construction. Mud plaster provides a surprisingly smooth rain resistant surface. One such service area, opened in Blantyre in July 1972, had up to 510 houses completed in December of the same year. In Kenya the scheme even provides more extensive facilities than this Malawian example, and development by the plot holder, unlike Malawi, is normally controlled to ensure compliance with a design standard.

The site and service housing scheme, because its basic aim is to facilitate the provisions of as many houses as possible, is particularly pertinent in areas of "exploding cities in unexploding economies" such as Calabar. Perhaps the most outstanding significance of the scheme is that planning for site and service housing is planning within the local environment, and using the exceedingly sparse resources available to achieve maximum benefit for minimum cost. As a technique which recognizes the general acceptance of modest shelter by the poor and the needy, given the low income capacity of the people, the site and service housing scheme can serve as a useful housing policy alternative in Calabar, where to some people satisfaction in housing is not a matter of the value of its building materials. Most of all, the scheme can serve as one means of allowing the participation of low income groups in housing development to satisfy their pressing need for adequate shelter.

Aided "self-help" is another housing technique which takes into consideration the low income level of the people, for it permits the

building of homes by their owners using some community help, and thus omitting part of the cost of labor. Like site and service housing, the technique provides a means of meeting housing needs in depressed areas where lack of capital resources and skills allow no other solution. The process permits the use of the traditional family or clan for group construction. In other words, the approach can maximize the unique advantages of the lineage and kinship system of the people in the provision of a decent living environment.

Aided self-help housing is not new in Africa. It is an important rural housing policy in Zambia. The government used the technique for the development of rural housing programs for the communities in Bemba land, Southern Barotseland, and the Northern Province during the period 1961 and 1963. The technique is not limited to Africa, as it is a common rural housing policy in Puerto Rico and Guatemala. On the importance of promoting the technique as a rural housing policy, Vogele states: "A rural housing programme should necessarily be in the nature of an aided self-help programme in which education and guidance play a large part" (1971:15). Aided self-help housing not only provides a means of meeting housing needs but the process offers training channels to rural community people particularly in assuming more responsibility for managing their own affairs through home and land ownership.

Conclusions

This review represents a tiny scratch or selected survey of the numerous and diverse housing techniques already in use in both the

advanced and developing countries of the world. Clearly housing shortage is widely recognized as a problem which taxes the intellects of planners and various governmental and private housing agencies everywhere, demanding the mobilization of every available resource and conceivable model for solution. Every community has its own unique ways of tackling housing problems, but in all situations where the housing development lags behind the rising needs, the demand for better dwellings, no community can ignore the powerful hand of planning, without restricting the choices of housing consumers and consequently jeopardizing the human and socio-economic well-being of its people.

The acute housing shortage in Calabar suggests the urgent need for policy makers to take a keener interest in developing better housing programs. In initiating such programs they cannot dismiss as impracticable, foreign ideas, models and concepts as applicable to housing. However, whether borrowed or initiated from scratch, for any housing policy to be effective, it must take into consideration the economic realities, as well as the socio-cultural content of the community for which it is formulated.

CHAPTER V

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

This chapter deals with policy options for controlling the migration process, and for ameliorating housing problems. Examples of migration control strategies from other parts of the world are presented and evaluated. Emphasis is placed on measures such as rural development, agricultural modernization and restructuring of education to suit rural occupations, to bridge the gap between rural and urban socio-economic conditions; as a better means of arresting the drift to Calabar than forced migration control. Then follows a discussion of policy options to alleviate the quantitative and qualitative inadequacy of housing. Finally, the suggested migration and housing policy options are examined in a systems context, as none of the suggestions can effectively function in isolation.

Migration Policies

The dilemmas created by the existing spatial patterns of population resulting largely from migration--urban blight, rural-urban imbalances and its attendant rural stagnation and poverty, environmental and aesthetic pollution, have often been the concern of policy makers. Many countries of the world, wishing to enhance certain socio-economic and political goals, have initiated various forms of population

distribution policies which aim at modifying the natural migration patterns, in order to distribute the population in a more rational and desirable manner.

One example is the Chinese Hsia Fang (i.e., the downward transfer of non-agrarian personnel to farms) policy which, in the quest to create a classless society, was used to move urban literati away from the city for manual labor and rural living in the countryside (Salter, 1972:97). Unlike the popular African "back to land" exhortation to migrants, which has so far yielded no known significant response, the Chinese policy for "turning one's back to the city" has generated a significant migration stream from urban to rural sectors. Between 1969 and 1971, for example, approximately over a half of the people of the mainland of China were involved in the hsia fang migration stream.

There is also the Soviet Union's policy of combating "irrational migration". The concept of "irrational migration" defines flows that result in lowering the overall national income. In the context of this study the concept also refers to the mass movement of potentially talented youth from rich agricultural lands into unemployment and housing problems in a parasitic city yet unprepared to utilize them. Using the concept, the planners identified the regions of Siberia and the Far East in Russia as the areas where the out migration of 1,000,000 people resulted in the loss of 500,000,000 rubles (\$67,500,000) in national income. Believing that effective utilization of resources is determined to a considerable extent by systematic population movement in the country's regions, they initiated the following measures as a

means of accelerating rise in the standard of living of the population in the affected areas:

- (1) Steps to increase the real income of the working people of the regions, by introducing wage differentials.
- (2) Plans to construct well-appointed housing, children's pre-school, institutions, hospitals, schools; and trade and service enterprises at priority rates.
- (3) A comprehensive territorial plan for raising the standard of living.
- (4) An increase in the proportion of capital investment going into the modernization of production in regions that differ in economic, natural and other conditions.
- (5) More effective recruitment (including better information to the out-migration areas).

In Britain, Gee (1972) provides a comprehensive examination of the motivations of people to the Industrial Selection Scheme which is designed to relieve congestion and housing needs in conurbations such as London by helping people find housing and employment in new and expanding urban areas. He found out that most people would respond to the program only if: (1) the level of pay for jobs in the new towns was high enough; (2) a wider variety of jobs was provided; and (3) more information about vacancies and the towns--in terms of facilities, schools, houses, etc., was made available.

In Africa, a good example of a policy of population redistribution is the Tanzanian Ujamaa program. Ujamaa is interpreted broadly as "involving the traditional family communal obligations and sharing of all things" (McKay, 1967:3). As a migration diffusion process, Ujamaa vijijini (i.e., socialism in the villages) is founded on the principles of the 1967 Arusha Declaration by President Julius K. Nyerere:

"All citizens together possess all the natural resources of the country on trust for their descendants." This implies that land, for example, is a national property, and every citizen must live Kijamaa (socialistically) in one of the ujamaa villages. Though TANU's approach is described by Bakinikana (1974:1) as "one of persuasion as opposed to compulsion," Harris (1968) has pointed out that individuals in urban areas who cannot prove with a card and residence permit that they are presently employed are "subject to being returned forcibly to their homes (rural areas)." Recently, the government had to round up the unemployed in Dar es Salaam and give them three choices: (1) settle in agricultural villages outside the city; (2) take one of 3000 jobs available in sisal production; or (3) join agricultural work in their own home area.

West Africa also offers many examples of efforts at population redistribution. During the post-colonial era, when territorial boundaries became the expression of nationalism and foreign policy, many African countries resorted to the compulsory expulsion of migrants of other nationalities as a method of population control. Examples of such measures include: (1) the expulsion from Senegal of people of Guinean origin in 1967; (2) the repatriation of Ghanaian fishermen from Sierra Leone in 1968; (3) the expulsion of 800 Nigerians from Cameroons in 1967; and (4) the 1977 expulsion of all Nigerians from Equatorial Guinea. While these stringent population measures seem easy to operate at these international levels, their effectiveness at the internal level, as the Tanzanian example has already illustrated, still remains to be seen.

Migrant Stream Control

It is still a moot question whether or not internal migration could, or should be directly controlled. Basing his argument on the conventional marginalist economic theory, Eyoma doubts the feasibility of directly controlling migration:

Rural to urban area migration has been decried as if it can be discouraged. There is a principle underneath the mobility of populations which is like the economic principle of supply and demand. People are likely to move out to where they can get abundant and more convenient living (1974).

Such a combination of factors is involved in the decision to migrate that it would be unrealistic to expect the Nigerian government's usual "back to land" policy or any other type of exhortation, let alone coercive measures, to have any lasting effect on reducing the rate of rural-urban migration.

The people of Calabar are so sensitive to the ethical issues involved in any restriction of individual freedom and choice that there should be grave reservations about the Tanzanian type of policy which attempts to restrict migration through physical control from rural areas. We have already seen that over 60 percent of the respondents agree that it is a good thing for village youth to move to towns. About the same proportion of respondents say that the government should not control migrations. They offer various reasons for saying that the government should not directly control migration, such as: (1) "It would not only be a very unwise regulation, but a tremendous task for the government." (2) "They (migrants) have their reasons for migrating to towns. We should give each and everyone the chance, if they like,

to gain experience. Each and every migrant has his/her own way of contributing to the happiness of others in town." (3) "It would be against our democratic principles to restrict an individual's freedom of choice and mobility."

Most of the respondents who approve the idea of directly controlling migration do so only on condition that the government should provide job opportunities and amenities in the rural areas. In essence, they are also of the opinion that it is unwise to control migration, as long as the rural-urban imbalance still prevails. Their rationale for favoring direct control of migration is founded on their concern over the needs to reduce urban congestion, crime, truancy, other urban ills, and the urban high cost of living resulting from the dwindling interest in farming. As one of them explained:

Migration, if not controlled makes things more difficult for those already in cities, leaves the villages deserted, and contributes very much to the shortage of foodstuff and other essential commodities--and people take to imported items. Our very culture is at stake if migration is left uncontrolled; for migrants do forget, or worse still, lose interest and dexterity in their cultural performances (Imeh, 1977).

Because it is neither simple nor just enough to reduce the rate of rural-urban migration through direct migrant stream control, policies should be directed to both the areas of origin and to areas of destination of migrants, to ameliorate the problems of migration. As it is underemployment, accompanied by low productivity, which often induces most inhabitants of rural areas to emigrate to the cities where unemployment already prevails, this vicious circle could be broken by an economic development policy which aims at benefiting both rural and urban areas.

Perhaps less emphasis on industry as a whole and more emphasis on agriculture which is more labor-intensive might result in a more favorable overall trend in employment.

Rural-Urban Imbalances

The most significant implication of a study of rural-urban migration is that the solutions to problems arising from this phenomenon are largely concerned with spatial reorganization. Since migration is spatial interaction, the root of the human and economic problems, which it brings about, is also spatial, requiring spatial solutions.

The spatial disparities in the distribution of amenities and economic growth is the single most potent force in the drift of people to Calabar. Therefore, one of the major tasks facing this Division is how to evolve a coherent strategy of development capable of bringing about a full integration of the divisional territories in which every community becomes an organic part of the unified spatial system. The idea is to direct efforts towards securing better functional relationships within and between the city and its rural hinterlands in order to foster Divisional economic growth. By such means the rural areas--those "backwaters" characterized by poverty, low levels of literacy and heavy dependence on hand labor and low income economy agriculture--can be galvanized into action. Development can be accelerated where concerted efforts are made to mobilize the masses and assimilate them into the Divisional society. A policy which seeks to reduce rural-urban imbalances is not only capable of regulating "irrational migration" but

can provide the "inducement mechanisms necessary to enlist for development purposes resources that are hidden, scattered, or badly utilized" (Hirschman, 1969:105).

Rural-urban imbalances call for a policy which accelerates increased investment in the form of extension services and settlement schemes designed to make rural life more attractive. A rural settlement scheme is a suitable policy option in Calabar, because respondents in this study have stressed the need to make the following available in the rural areas: electricity, small scale industries and farm plantations, good roads, more and better educational institutions, medical centers and facilities, market facilities, social amenities, and rural housing projects; all as a means of making the rural areas more attractive.

Rural Development

The Kenya government policy statement on rural development is relevant to the situation in Calabar Division:

There is still a steady drift of people from the rural areas to towns. The labor force is growing faster than it can be absorbed.... Rural development is one of the answers to this vicious circle. Make the rural areas more prosperous and the steady flow of people to towns could be reduced to a trickle (Rosser, 1974:67).

The concept of rural development is not only useful in generating economic development but is particularly needed for the improvement of "rural conditions so as to reduce the factors actively impelling people to migrate from rural to urban areas" (United Nations, 1962). The former Eastern Nigeria government made use of this concept in its efforts to (1) eradicate poverty and stagnation in the rural villages;

and (2) create in the masses a sense of responsibility and involvement in the development of the Region.

Rural development, otherwise known as community development, derives its concept from the following definition of the term:

The term Community Development has come into international usage to connote the process by which the efforts of the people themselves are united with those of governmental authorities to improve the economic, social and cultural conditions of communities, to integrate these communities into the life of the nation, and to enable them to contribute fully to national progress (Nigeria, The Government Printer, 1963:1).

Rural development is, therefore, made up of two essential elements:

(1) the participation of the people themselves in efforts to improve their level of living with as much reliance as possible in their own initiative; and (2) the provision of technical and other services in ways which encourage initiative, self help and mutual help and make these more effective. It can be expressed in programs designed to achieve a wide variety of specific improvements such as rural industrialization, extension of educational services, agrarian reform and improved rural housing.

Uneven distribution of industries between the rural and urban areas has been a major factor in rural urban imbalances in Calabar, and the tendency to concentrate industries in the city is very likely to perpetuate such imbalances. Because the spatial distribution of industries can affect the motivations of people, the rate and direction of mobility, and the overall economic development involved in urbanization, there are powerful social, and political reasons, and even economic grounds, for deliberately fostering a more decentralized pattern of development than would occur "naturally".

Decentralization is often ignored on the grounds that it is a deceptively simple formulation. Another argument against decentralization is often that industrial production will suffer from the absence of external economies--that is, cost reducing advantages which result from the clustering of economic activities where there are concentrations of well-developed markets for finished products and for supplies, a pool of trained labor, repair shops and other services, rapid communications, as well as the social and cultural opportunities which make it possible to attract and hold skilled managerial, technical and professional personnel. In his study of manufacturing in tropical Africa, William Alonso (1965) points to these external economies as the rationale why investors often seek to locate manufacturing enterprise in cities. It is this unfortunate adherence to the advantages of external economies with its well-known cumulative effect which severely limits the geographic distribution of industries to capital cities such as Calabar.

Yet there is no need why external economies should completely restrict industrialization to a few centers, when there is a middle way for industrial development between the villages and the super-city. In their book Modern Small Industry for Developing Countries, Stanley et al. (1965:5) have discussed a three-point strategy for geographic decentralization of industrial development. As summarized below, the strategy has relevance in rural development policy: (1) deliberate encouragement of the development of industry in urban communities of intermediate size; (2) comprehensive promotion of development of the growth points, which includes, nurturing civic spirit, at the selected centers, and the

provision of special incentives and disincentives to influence location of new industry; and (3) promotion of linkages from these growth points downwards to village development programs, and upwards to those of major cities. This "middle way" strategy would take advantage of reasonably low cost industrial facilities like power and transport, provide the important external economies associated with urban locations, and still bring some industry and associated service occupations substantially closer than otherwise to the masses of the people who now live in villages and smaller cities. After all, to restrict migration and involve the masses, development should work both from the village upwards and from the metropolis down.

Johnson (1971:256-262) has shown considerable interest in how developing countries can best create a spatially dispersed hierarchy of rural growth centers to counter-balance the pull of their metropolitan centers. He provides a model of industrial decentralization which is capable of bringing country people into a regional market economy in a truly functional way. The model illustrates how "key industries" can be used to create an interlocked spatial industrial hierarchy which can "serve as nuclei for much needed new central places." For instance, a wide range of choices of inter-firm relations exists between large and small industrial enterprises in the "functional area". If we designate large enterprises by capital letters (A,B,C,...) and small ones with arabic figures (1,2,3,...), firm A, for example, could have two major activities: (1) producing semi-finished material which is purchased by firms 1, 2, and 3 in order to manufacture components for

firms C and E and for "export"; and (2) which employs two subcontracting arrangements between firms 4 and 5. This kind of spatial planning in which small industrial establishments are reciprocally interrelated in a larger spatial configuration has the potential not only to reduce the high manufacturing costs and waste of resources often caused by less than optimal use in completely centralized manufacturing operations but likely to contribute to far reaching transformation of an economic landscape in which employment is expanding not merely at a few important nodal points but in the whole functional area. Because this kind of intermeshed industrial planning has a potential for forestalling some of the handicaps and misgivings about the wisdom of an atomistic dispersion of small industries in villages or minor central places, despite the likely organizational problems, it seems to be a potentially effective model in rural development, and as a migration control policy.

However, industrialization alone can provide no panacea for economic backwardness, poverty and the unattractiveness of our rural areas. As Mountjoy (1966:56) observes: "industrialization is but one form of development and its advance is closely related to that of other sectors of the economy." Agriculture is that other sector of the economy which has a major role to play in rural development and migration control.

Agriculture is so closely related to the influx of rural people to Nigerian towns that Barber (1967) declared: "When students of a generation hence seek to understand the phenomena of urbanization in this part of Africa, they will be well-advised to begin their studies

with the cause of events in the agrarian sector." Apart from its direct impact on rural-urban migration, peasant agriculture contributes to urbanization in four principal ways:

(1) through the provision of food, particularly to the growing population which lives in urban areas; (2) through the provision of labor for other "modern" sectors; (3) through the provision of linkages with domestic manufacturing; and (4) through the provision of markets for developing industry (Helleiner, 1966: 21-27).

It is, therefore, true that "without a technical revolution in agriculture, the prospects for production of the surplus needed to support generative urbanization¹ ... seem grim in most of tropical Africa" (Rosser, 1972).

Like most other parts of Nigeria, Calabar Division has an overall population which is interested in rural life and agricultural modernization. Karmon's observation applies to the population of this Division as well: "While it is characteristic of rural population to adhere to traditional methods and customs and to give way to change slowly, it may be remarked that the population of Eastern Nigeria has responded to changing conditions more readily than other areas in Africa and has been ready to accept to a certain degree new crops and new ways of

¹Generative urbanization, as opposed to "over-urbanization", refers to an urban system in which the process of urbanization has a favorable impact on economic growth. It is characterized by generative cities which are more conducive to economic development, than "parasitic" cities which rather serve to exploit and "waste" the human and physical resources of a region or country--in other words, cities that are merely growing in size and density and not contributing to development--"exploding cities in unexploding economies" (Green, 1972).

cultivation" (1966). In her study, Grace Ekpo (1975:73) also found that in spite of the decline in the political and economic life of the Cross River Region and the lack of incentives to farmers, farmers' attitudes did not change for the worse.

To test their interest in agriculture, the urban respondents in this study were asked: Which of these alternatives would you recommend for your son--(a) Working as a farmer and realizing a monthly average sum of 60 Naira or (b) Working as a clerk in Calabar on a monthly salary of 50 Naira? Over 70 percent of them indicated that they would recommend working as a farmer in rural areas to their children. This gives us the clue to the high magnitude of interest in agriculture, especially if it brings some income which is comparable with urban earning. But, the clue to the significance of agricultural modernization as a means of stimulating interest in agriculture comes from the reasons offered by the rest of the respondents to explain why they would not, irrespective of the higher rural income, recommend agriculture for their children. Their reasons comprise the following: (1) Farm work is too difficult. (2) Farm work is not as dignifying as clerical work. (3) It will be difficult to convince him to like farming. (4) His education prepares him better for clerical work. (5) He must enjoy urban amenities in addition to his job. These respondents are really directing our attention to the key to the constant "flight" from rural areas.

One cannot brand those who "abhor" agriculture as it is generally practiced in Calabar Division as "lazy". A look, for example, into the tedious process of producing garri from cassava which is the staple

food of the area reveals why some parents would describe farm work as "too difficult". Excluding the tedious task of planting cassava in the shifting cultivation system, the process in the production of garri is not only cumbersome but slow. It ranges from the harvesting--using crude tools like sticks, machets, or even bare hands; the conveyance of the cassava roots in a container on the head--often over a long distance, through winding and rough bush tracks; the peeling of the rind off the roots; the grating--often chopping off parts of the worker's fingers; to the frying, which involves sitting behind open flames to stir little bits of garri at a time, using a small piece of calabash, until it is dry. Though the principles of division of labor have long been known for effectiveness in speeding up production and easing the tasks of individual workers, the subsistence farmers of rural Calabar still undertake most of their basic daily chores from start to finish.

In terms of the human energy expended, time spent, and tools used, garri production, like most other agricultural activities in this Division, needs a technical revolution, to become attractive to youth. Until this happens, the question will remain: Which school leaver, or which ambitious illiterate youth, who is aware of the existence of "push button" types of jobs in cities, would condescend to the drudgery of such farm work, or resist the temptation to move out to explore "better" job opportunities?

If the migration of the agricultural population in Calabar is to become more rational, and if agriculture is to contribute to generative urbanization, the mechanization of agriculture must be accelerated.

The term, mechanization, as used here, should not be equated with tractorization. Rather, it should be broadened to imply agricultural modernization which includes: (1) the use of small-scale, hand-operated machines such as the screw hydraulic press, animal power to aid production, and water pumps; and (2) the improvement of the old farming methods and tools, as well as the development of new ones that suit local needs and conditions. Such a broad interpretation of mechanization would remove the usual conflict between increasing mechanization and decreasing employment opportunities.

Evidently, premature mechanization of agriculture through the adoption of the most modern techniques of large-scale farming will pose a serious problem for labor absorption, but any agricultural mechanization which is within the reach of the poor masses can be viewed as having employment generating potentials in several ways such as: (1) facilitating greater use of land; (2) making it feasible to process more easily various agricultural materials; (3) stimulating interest in research into the improvement and development of better farming methods and tools; and (4) raising the production of labor and consequently the attractiveness of agricultural activities. In his study of the relationship between mechanization and employment in Latin America, Abercrombie (1972) has cited cases where agricultural mechanization has had positive effects on employment by expanding the cultivable area and raising output. However, he emphasized that the overall employment effect was greatest in countries where machines were manufactured locally and mechanization adapted to the ecological conditions and existing endowment factors.

Education

Education, it has been observed, plays a significant role in the African migration process. In this study, the level of education among recent migrants, has been closely related to the volume of migration. With the introduction of Free Primary Education for all education is very likely to exert a greater impact on the volume of rural exodus. In the light of these observations, the most significant educational policy implication seems to be the need to reorient the content of the Nigerian educational curriculum to be more applied than theoretical, to suit rural living in particular, and thus mitigate against irrational migration. A policy which seeks to establish a meaningful relationship between theory and practice in our educational system is called for, to modify the traditional elitist system which has, for instance, produced Agricultural Extension Agents who, though they expect illiterate farmers to do as they say, consider it degrading to scratch the ground. Education is a basic factor in human development, being "the most important factor affecting the quality of human beings as agents of production" (United Nations, 1962), and, if tactfully planned, it is capable of producing people who come to understand, respect, and accept manual work as part of their lives.

As part of this policy on a reformation of the educational curriculum, attention should be given to vocational training. Byerlee (1976: 107) considers that a policy which increases returns to education in rural areas by reorienting curricula toward rural vocations is a more "palatable" approach than discouraging educational investment for

reasons of reducing migration. At present, Nigeria still imports not only food products, building materials and manufactured goods, but skilled manpower in numerous fields. Producing indigeneous, skilled manpower requires not only the establishment of more vocational schools but a tactical move toward an educational system which facilitates public acceptance of the fact that all people, including farmers, tinkers, tailors, and architects, need preparation for their tasks through exposure to formal education. Once this idea is accepted, and once education is oriented to prepare people for their diverse occupations and lives, the dispositions of school leavers will change considerably and formal education will cease to be looked upon as only "a passport to clerical and non-farm occupation" (Imoagene, 1975:14).

Any migration policy which ignores the role of education in the overall national development and population distribution will very likely fail. We must regard education as both a consumer good and a capital good in development. That is, education should be both a means of enriching an individual's knowledge and developing his full personality, and as a means of preparing him to undertake specific tasks and employment functions which are essential for the profitable transformation of its environment. This concept of education as a capital good is linked with the concept of human capital which attaches high premium to human skills as a factor of production in the development process. Therefore, human skills or productive capability are just as important inputs as finance, natural wealth and physical plant, in the process of development. Because education can play such an

important role in the creation and improvement of "human capital", its relevance in the effective utilization of the potentially rich human resources, by stifling irrational migration, should be fully recognized in development planning.

Housing Policies

In Calabar Division, housing is virtually an intractable policy area. At both the national and local levels one cannot boast of a housing policy that can be regarded as adequate and appropriate. We only have programs in search of policies.

To treat housing as a non-priority item is to ignore the dynamic impact of housing on overall development, its employment creating attributes; its potential contribution to training of skilled workers; and what is more, its satisfaction of human needs. If a large segment of the population of any country is inadequately housed, that country will face a steady decline in health and productivity, leading to dangerous inroads on political instability. Obviously, improvement in policy can make a substantial contribution to better housing without a major commitment of additional resources. The dire need for comprehensive policies, in which housing is a part of the efforts in the planning of population distribution to achieve a better standard of living for people in all geographical locations, cannot be overstressed.

Because housing in Calabar is characterized by quantitative and qualitative inadequacy, increasing the dimensions of the housing supply and improving housing quality represent the most pressing policy areas. For any policies in these areas to be meaningful and effective, they

have to take into consideration the roles of the Federal, State and Local governments, as well as the needs and aspirations of the people. It is also true that because of the varying legislative, financial and administrative variables involved, no housing policy can be considered the exclusive responsibility of either the Federal, State or Local government. Each government needs the assistance and cooperation of the other levels of government, and even of the people, for the effective implementation of all aspects of any particular policy. However, policy recommendations in this section are discussed under the levels of government in which they are considered most likely to function effectively. The policy options discussed in Chapter IV, and the urban respondents' suggestions (Table 5.1) for improving the quantity and quality of housing in Calabar are also used as bases for the recommendations.

Table 5.1. Percent distribution of responses to the question:
What should the government do to improve the quality of housing?

Responses	N	Percent
Build more houses	422	47.4
Enforce rent control	171	19.2
Provide housing loans	102	11.4
Provide infrastructure	67	7.5
Reduce cost of building materials	67	7.5
Enforce repairs, building and sanitation standards	62	7.0
Total	891	100.0

Federal Responsibility

1. Social Housing

More than 50 percent of housing production in Nigeria is still on the basis of a laissez-faire housing concept. The common housing system in Calabar can be described as individualized, that is private. In Calabar over 60 percent of the housing stock is provided by private landlords, charging exorbitant rents. In a situation where there is a large proportion of low income households whose incomes can hardly purchase basic needs, social housing, in which the government comes to play a significant role in supply of housing services, should form the basis of housing policy.

The notion of social housing, therefore, calls for the need to abandon the myth of the marketplace (especially in a tight housing market) as the efficient medium for the distribution of the society's resources. Rather, we must search for more reliable instruments in the housing policy market for the production and fair distribution of housing services. The need for direct redistribution of income for housing assistance purposes is one of such instruments. It will be recalled that social housing, taking the forms of housing subsidies, rent rebates and shelter allowances, is popular policy in many European countries, the United States, and even Ghana. Housing unit subsidies, administered strictly on the basis of needs, have the effect of ensuring that all low income households are able to acquire decent housing for an expenditure which represent a reasonable proportion of their low income. Shelter allowances consist of government contributions to shelter costs, aimed

at reducing shelter-to-income ratios for all households to about 20 percent.

We have seen how in Britain a "means-tested rent subsidy" technique is used to determine "rent rebates for public housing" and "rent allowances for the private rental sector"; while the Ghanaian government uses a "graduated rent subsidy" to determine housing assistance to the different income groups below \$4000. Production subsidies in the form of lower interest rates and capital grants are also used in European countries and the United States, and the Ghanaian "roof loan" has been used to encourage private ownership. As part of a social housing policy in Calabar, the foregoing examples, in addition to site and service programs, could be used to distribute housing services and even increase the stock of housing. In particular, the best form of social housing should include the people's participation in the construction of their homes individually or in cooperative associations, the government providing technical assistance and infrastructure in such cases.

State Responsibility

1. Cost of Housing and Rent

Land, labor, building materials and finance represent the major determinants of the cost of residential construction. Therefore, these elements represent key policy areas in any efforts to improve the supply and quality of housing in Calabar.

Because the rising land prices tend to favor urban residential land development for wealthy landlords, a policy of public land assembly

and land banking should be instituted. As early as the eighteenth century the Prussian Kings realized that an effective urban planning demanded the power to dispose of land freely. Thus, purchasing one lot after another they acquired up to 40 percent of the land area of Berlin. In Sweden, as we have seen, the ownership of land carries with it no inherent development right. Hence, the public finds it easy to direct the course of housing development. The government of Calabar can acquire unused lands in close proximity to the Calabar Metropolitan area, paying appropriate compensation to their original owners on extensive lease arrangements rather than full capital payments. Such public lands could then be used for the site and service programs, sold, or leased to the private sector for residential purposes, and for regulating land prices by flooding the market to depress land prices whenever it is necessary to do so. However, land nationalization is difficult to implement since the policy makers are the owners of most of the urban land.

Building materials are expensive largely because of over-reliance on imported materials. Yet, Calabar has a wide range of renewable local resources, such as timber and agricultural fibers. A direct government encouragement of research into the development and integration of local materials into the construction industry should lead to the availability of low-priced building materials as well as an increase in the supply of housing. The need to develop inexpensive substitutes for some of the current building materials is specially crucial in Calabar. Possibilities include the treatment of local building materials to

withstand environmental damage. For instance, the surfaces of stabilized earth blocks can be treated with silicone to increase longevity. These innovations have been applied with notable success in other low cost housing programs, particularly in South America.

To promote such innovations in Calabar, cooperation with the proposed Federal Building Material Institute and other research organizations should be encouraged. Already a Burnt Brick Industry has been proposed by the Cross River State government. The bricks should be a useful supplement to the largely imported, and costly, cement. Reducing the cost, and increasing the supply of materials for construction, should lead to a building boom in the future, and even reduce the government's burden of direct social housing.

Labor policy should form an integral part of the building material and construction industries. Training programs in construction management skills can benefit local contractors. Depending on how it is managed, labor policy can either hinder or promote the development of housing. Unduly rigid skill requirements are sometimes combined with restrictive entry conditions into building trades. In Calabar, inappropriate inspection procedures and red tape have already created monopolistic and oligopolistic privileges for a few "expert" construction firms which have no commitment to training programs. Far from protecting the rights of the workers, restrictive labor policies limit housing construction and thereby reduce employment below the level that can be sustained with more liberal policies.

Monetary policy is another key factor in the availability of housing finance. A lack or shortage of grass-roots types of mortgage institutions and funds often retard the provision of adequate housing. This problem is not so much one of housing as of development of the financial sector. As of now, the financial system in the C.R.S. is dominated by commercial banks which lend on terms that require repayment in a short period of time. So far, the Federal Mortgage Bank which was established to "encourage and promote the development of mortgage institutions at State and National levels" has neither been accessible to most individuals in Calabar nor succeeded in promoting any other long-term financial institution in the State.

A long-term improvement in the monetary and capital market policy, particularly the creation of a mortgage loan insurance institution, would be an important method to implement a home finance policy in Calabar. The creation of mortgage insurance is an important means of reducing the usual risks of the mortgage market and thereby providing a conducive home finance environment for private institutions interested in offering mortgage loans to the moderate- and low-income people. A mortgage Insurance Institution is thus capable of: (1) stimulating the housing industry by encouraging other financial institutions to offer mortgage loans to potential homeowners; and (2) making homeownership accessible to persons who have a regular income but lack the accumulated savings required for a downpayment of from 30 to 40 percent by providing mortgage loans on more generous interest rates and amortization period. A mortgage insurance program places housing within the

reach of many families who desire new homes but cannot afford the more stringent borrowing terms associated with conventional finance. Removal of the specific hindrances to housing finance would thus allow housing to better compete with other claimants for long-term institutional finance.

Some people in Calabar have insisted on rent control as a means to alleviate the pressing and unreasonable burden of house rent on tenants. The use of rent controls to prevent private individuals from capturing socially caused gains and to mitigate the imperfections of housing markets has a long but unsuccessful history in both the advanced and developing countries. Rent controls have been effective only for limited periods of strong social cohesion, as during wartime, and when applied in combination with strict controls on other incomes and prices. In Nigeria where the government is still unable to implement its general price control policies, and where the legislative and necessary organizational framework for rent control still have loopholes, rent control seems very likely to retard rather than accelerate the provision of housing.

The limitations of rent control, in a country such as Nigeria are many:

- (1) The poor may be driven out of much of the controlled housing.
- (2) Because rent control forces legal returns on housing that are below market levels, it leads to disinvestment and deterioration of housing through lack of maintenance.
- (3) It inhibits additions to housing stock, particularly for private investment in housing, as limits on profits chase private money out of the rental housing sector into uncontrolled areas.

- (4) It can lead to illegal rationing systems by which payments such as "key money" becomes a substitute for proper rents, and thus reduce the amount available from taxation since such illegal payments are not taxed. As long as prices are not effectively controlled, other measures which have the potential for accelerating the supply of housing (as have been discussed already in this chapter) represent better policy options than a rather inequitable policy of rent control.

2. Environmental Quality

Various social problems associated with urban development in Tropical Africa have received considerable attention by social scientists, but less attention has been paid to the physical problems involving the environment. Environmental deterioration now counts among the important world crises. Though still vaguely defined, "environment" has rapidly become a vogue word in many parts of the world, attracting the attention of many scholars, private and governmental agencies. The concern about environmental quality has already brought the ideas of "conservation" and "wise use" into vogue, and has aroused world experts to consider the need for a world-wide environmental surveillance and warning agency. Many countries have already introduced regulations for the control of environmental quality, though none has reached the sophistication of the American system. For instances in the United States, restriction of air pollution from light vehicles has already been used to significantly reduce the amount of pollutants; and in some States vehicles are even permitted to make right turns at red light signals, as part of the efforts to maintain environmental quality. Whereas:

Till now many Nigerians consider the hue and cry in other countries about environmental problems, especially pollution and degradation, as a voice in the wilderness, and therefore as

something distant and irrelevant to the Nigerian situation.... But the fact is that our country is replete with conditions that actively promote environmental pollution and degradation (Ojo, 1972:10).

Calabar, for instance, is a specimen of environmental pollution and degradation. Apart from the predominance of poor quality housing per se, solid waste disposal and poor drainage represent the most conspicuous environmental problems which plague the city. Because many houses still do not have toilet facilities, inmates usually go to any nearby bush or stream to dispose of human waste. Popular toilet facilities are still pit latrines or the pail system. The pit system is made simply of dry bore-holes in enclosed areas into which the untreated human waste is deposited, and the pail system comprises the collection of untreated waste from individual houses in metal pails which are removed by workers to some depot where they are buried. Often these systems are shared by many households. Sometimes the workers go on strike leaving the pails to over-fill and spill, emitting an unbearable stench. From the health and environmental point of view, these methods of human waste disposal are clearly undesirable in the urban area, and call for policies to ameliorate the situation.

In most parts of the city, one can see large heaps of uncollected garbage which overflow from the roadside to the road center, the spread being done not only by the increasing debris but also by wandering goats, dogs, vultures and chickens scavenging for food. Even in parts of the city where refuge depots are provided, it is common to see leaves, pieces of paper and other forms of solid wastes littering the streets, residential dwellings and neighborhoods.

Open drains are offensive in every respect. Gutters designed for the smooth flow of liquid wastes are commonly strewn with solid wastes such as bottles, tins and unwanted furniture. Calabar also lacks an integrated drainage network. Residential areas and many streets, therefore, become flooded during the heavy equatorial downpours, rendering some streets unpassable. Where there are no gutters, and especially in congested areas, water is often spilled just outside the door onto the road to form stenchy, slippery swamps. The types of environmental pollution in Calabar are more numerous than are mentioned here and constitute an affront on man's health and general welfare.

There is an urgent need to formulate an environmental policy that will protect the people of Calabar from utter environmental deterioration. First of all, a local environmental surveillance and warning agency should be established. Its duties may include: (1) a research into the attitudes and needs of the people concerning environmental quality; (2) the arousing of community and public awareness to the importance of aesthetic appreciation and maintenance of environmental quality; (3) the collection and storage of pertinent information concerning environmental quality; (4) the setting of local environmental quality standards; and (5) the determination of control and regulatory strategies for maintaining the quality of the environment. Because environmental problems are not confined to local boundaries, such a local agency should coordinate its activities with branches of the Federal Government such as the Federal Department of Urban Development and Environment. To be of use to the local agency, the federal agency

must, of course, be more committed to the goal of maintaining environmental quality than it is at present. However, the ultimate goals should be to improve the quality and quantity of housing, the environment and urban services in both the urban and rural areas, paying immediate attention to the development and maintenance of adequate and efficient solid waste and water disposal mechanisms.

One potentially valuable instrument of housing quality is zoning. As one of the several legal devices for implementing the proposals for land use development as set forth in the land use plan, zoning is not only important in protecting an aesthetically pleasing residential environment, but useful for grouping commercial, industrial and other activities in an efficient manner. Properly used, zoning can also ensure an ample supply of urban land for well-planned housing construction that takes into consideration the economic and socio-cultural realities of the people as well as environmental quality. However, inappropriate application of zoning regulations suited to developed countries may exclude the poor from areas near industrial, commercial, and high-income residential zones that provide their greatest opportunities for jobs and income earning. But, zoning can still be tactfully used, with an appreciation of the realities of poverty of the masses, to enhance the "liveability" of the people's residential environment. Livability here refers to the sum total of the residential setting which induces a feeling of satisfaction and a sense of well-being among the people living there.

The basic rationale underlying these recommendations for environmental quality improvement is that housing is part of a total environmental system. Housing quality and quality of life are two variables of the same equation. It is true that the housing problem is basically the health problem affecting not only the well-being of the people but also their manner of living and the ordinary decencies of life. Moreover, the term housing connotes not only the housing structure and its facilities but also the environment of the structure. Housing quality cannot, therefore, be determined without reference to the external environmental factors which influence the quality of residential life in the area.

Local Responsibility

1. Blight Prevention

The adage "prevention is better than cure" is a relevant precautionary measure in the formulation of housing policies (to provide decent housing for all). One cannot rely only on the construction of new dwellings to replace existing substandard units. The expense of tearing down dilapidated housing units and rebuilding, and the social and psychological problems inherent in slum clearance programs, have been comprehensively analyzed by Marris. He proves that "blight prevention" is a better housing policy than curative programs.

The terms "slum", "blighted area" and "urban blight" have been used to describe a profusion of urban housing that is offensive to the community. Urban blight is often used to imply deterioration or the existence of deficiencies in the quality of structures and their immediate environment. Implied also are a range of measurable conditions

which can be defined from a set of "standards" which are based on generally recognized criteria of health, safety, and other elements of the public interest. Urban blight designates a critical stage in the functional or social depreciation of real property beyond which its existing condition or use is unacceptable to the community. However, the standards employed in delineating blighted areas and thus the range of conditions to be identified with each type of treatment area are matters of local determination.

Three options in the treatment of blight are open to policy makers in Calabar--(1) redevelopment, (2) rehabilitation, and (3) conservation. Redevelopment is a measure often used in areas where urban blight has advanced to such a degree that by local standards nothing short of clearance is practicable. Often rehabilitation measures are recommendable for an area which is in a stage of incipient blight and is restorable to acceptable local standards. Measures may include the reduction of population densities, the acquisition and clearance of scattered deteriorated buildings, the repair, modernization, and the provision of sanitary facilities, the repair or provision of streets or other public improvement, or a campaign for voluntary cleanup, painting and improved building maintenance standard on the part of property owners. The third type of treatment is often applicable in areas which are in keeping with land use and population density requirements of a comprehensive plan--"good" condition areas that are to be protected from blight. Such areas require strict and continuing enforcement of zoning and minimum housing standards ordinance and vigilance as to the maintenance

of community facilities and private property as key preventive measures.

Enforcement of standards to facilitate the quantitative and qualitative adequacy of housing is consistent with the wishes of the people of Calabar. It must, however, be noted that though "appropriate" building standards can do much to create safe and pleasant housing environment, if regulations are inappropriate and standards are set too high for existing income levels, their primary effect will be to reduce the quantities of housing that are available at prices the poor cannot afford. Policy makers in Calabar should, therefore, set local standards at such a level that the first of the foregoing strategies, the relocation of people, should, as far as possible, be avoided. Experiences in Nigeria and in the United States have shown the social, economic, and psychological limitations of clearance and relocation programs (Marris, 1961; Onokerhoraye, 1977; Hartman, 1975). Even in an advanced country such as the United States, relocation is still, as Hartman puts it "illusory promises and no reliefs."

The problems inherent in clearance programs suggest that, even in blighted areas, the conservation approach in which the best of existing parts of the poor residential areas are retained while the worse parts are removed block by block would be a sound housing policy. This policy is based on the concept of the "boot-strap strategy" which aims to conserve and upgrade existing property, without displacing the occupants. Using this strategy improvement in the blighted areas can be accomplished by some form of an "aided-self-help" housing program. With such a program a large proportion of housing can be improved by

re-roofing, enlarging windows, replacing walls and painting. The government can assist the people to improve the physical environment of the areas by providing needed infrastructure. The conservation approach, using the aided-self-help housing philosophy, has a useful function not only in avoiding relocation but mobilizing and directing human investment in urban housing.

2. Code Enforcement

Arresting blight and deterioration in housing quality are the main target of housing code enforcement. Code enforcement is, therefore, an indispensable policy, within the jurisdiction of any community, for maintaining housing quality and the general community welfare.

Community satisfaction should be the ultimate goal of code enforcement. A sound and effective program should ask the question: What does this program mean to this community? In a relatively poor community such as Calabar, code enforcement should guard against becoming a harmful form of intervention that results in higher rents in the low-income housing market. The benefits of code enforcement should ultimately be directed to the poor who need them most. If code enforcement were accompanied with a grant program to assist landlord and homeowners in completing necessary renovations and repairs, there would be less cause to raise house rents higher than the poor can afford.

Other suggestions for making code enforcement programs practical and responsive include the following: (1) We should use a "preventive" rather than a "punitive" approach. Evidently punitive action alone cannot accomplish the goals of housing code enforcement. It was in

recognition of this fact that a Housing Clinic was created in 1969 to assist the Pittsburgh (Pennsylvania) Housing Court in "hard-core" cases where fines and imprisonment proved counterproductive.

(2) There are needs for citizen participation and education to get the people involved and interested in code enforcement. To be successful the code enforcement program should not only be related to the needs of the community, but its implementation should be more of an education process, rather than a "police" action.

Systems Approach to Migration and Housing Problems

For explanatory purposes each of the foregoing policy options was presented separately. However, the close interaction that occurs between migration and housing renders them inseparable. Policy recommendations, as they are presented in this chapter, should not be interpreted out of the context of the whole, for there are no solutions to an isolated problem of migration and housing, unless they are seen in relation to the whole strategy of development. Because systems analysis can yield insights into the structural characteristics and behavior of interacting phenomena, the systems approach provides an appropriate conceptual framework for handling substantive geographic problems such as those arising from rural-urban migration. Migration for instance, is a phenomenon which is intricately tied with all aspects of human endeavors, operating within other economic, social and political systems. Migration can, therefore, be influenced by economic, social, demographic and political changes and may itself result in a variety of changes or be a

concomitant of these changes. In most African nations, the lack of adequate knowledge about the extent and causes and processes of population movement stem partly from "the paucity of intensive, coordinated or comprehensive empirical work" (Gould et al., 1973). In order fully to appraise the interrelated forces in migration and housing in their totality, it is highly pertinent to approach the study in a multi-dimensional, multi-disciplinary, integrated way. Using such an approach, each specialist can pool together the tools of his discipline to explore other relevant and crucial areas which might guide policy makers and development planners in adopting rational migration and housing policies.

Within a systems framework we can conceive of migration as a process linking two systems of socio-economic organization--the rural and urban systems. Thus, in trying to implement a "back to the Land" policy, for example, knowledge about both systems, whether empirically or historically reconstructed, is essential for an adequate understanding of the intricate socio-economic dimensions or network involved. Migration policies, whenever formulated, should be directed to both the areas of origin and areas of destination of migrants. Otherwise, for instance, any employment expansion programs in the modern urban sector without simultaneous efforts to make rural economy and life more attractive will often be thwarted by rural-urban migration, encouraged by the increased probability of securing urban employment. Schwarzweller's suggestion is instructive in this regard: "One must take into account the recipient system at the place of destination as well as the donor system at the place of origin in order to grasp the systems' entirety."

In the planning of population distribution and economic development we must, therefore, consider migration and housing policies as part of a complex system of interrelated parameters. Figure 5-1, for an example, illustrates how investment in housing, if accompanied with urban and rural development programs, can play an important part in promoting economic growth and curtailing rural-urban migration. The creation and funding of a National Housing Bank can make capital available for loans to State, Local Governments and individuals and thus stimulate the building industry which in turn generates employment and increases the number of dwelling units. As a result of the increase in employment and income levels, demand for household and domestic consumer goods may increase, thus providing opportunities for small-scale enterprises by which local economies can be expanded. If these opportunities are available in both the "donor" and the "recipient" systems, improvement will be ensured of both the rural and urban economies. By using such a comprehensive and coordinated approach in migration and housing policies, pride in rural living can be enhanced, and rural-urban migration curtailed, as even the "back to the land" policy becomes easier to implement, and the overall economic development is likely to accelerate.

Unfortunately, planning in Nigeria is still in a project oriented stage, lacking coordination. Since Nigerian State Governments and their ethnic groups are geographically fixed, there is a tendency for planners to suboptimize their jurisdiction. Even within the States, planning activities are still piecemeal attacks on what are in fact massive environmental, social, technical and spatial problems requiring a more

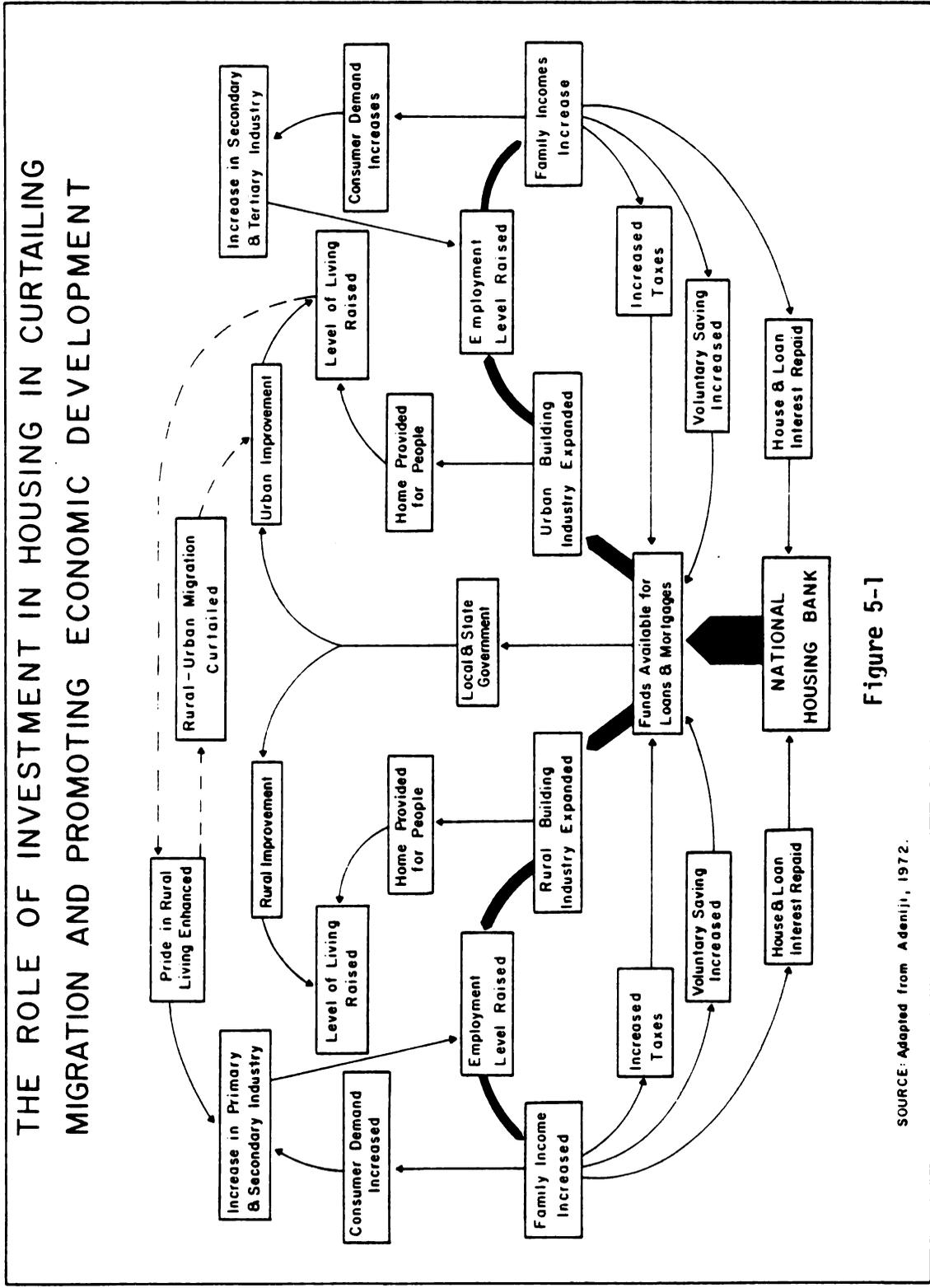


Figure 5-1

SOURCE: Adapted from Adeniji, 1972.

general national plan which integrates and coordinates local regional and State plans at the national level.

Therefore, a more comprehensive approach which seeks to plan for the country as a whole is needed. Three distinct levels of planning urban development which provide a suitable framework for coordinating planning projects in Nigeria can be discerned. The first is the regional or national level--where the planner is concerned with population distribution and with techniques to encourage migrants to settle in areas where they could be most usefully employed and most easily accommodated. The second is the area planning level--which roughly coincides with the State level planning, and the plans seek to bring about an overall improvement of the area in terms of agriculture, industry, water, housing, school, and trade, and are integrated with national objectives. The third is the local level where personal aims and skills are identified and harnessed to the development process. These processes call for the setting up of a National Planning Agency to harness State, Local, and local level programs to overall national development. Such an agency is needed to organize geographic space in order to increase national economic growth and cohesion, thereby ensuring that benefits of such growth are felt in all localities and are consequently passed on to a majority of people. Otherwise, planners will continue to attempt to improve social conditions in areas like health services and education, when the people live in squalor; or initiate policies which deepen the cleavage between the rural and urban socio-economies, thus accelerating irrational migration

which degrades the system. In any pursuit of balanced development, we must recognize the interrelation between urban and rural problems and avoid the temptation to isolate them for individual attack.

CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study recognizes the historical importance of migration in economic development and social change in Africa. In recent years, however, rural-urban migration has become the most visible and dramatic phenomenon frustrating the efforts of development planners in African cities such as Calabar. The problems posed by the process of rural-urban migration are not only numerous but increasing at a rate faster than any known efforts to redress the situation. Of all such problems the greatest concern of this study is that rural-urban migration is seriously aggravating urban housing problems; increasingly producing a lack of adequate housing supply, an overcrowding of present housing, as well as the high cost of housing and rent. As a result of the impact of rural-urban migration, slum areas are slowly engulfing most sections of the city.

The purpose of this study is to facilitate an understanding of the rural-urban migration process and of its impact on housing in Calabar Division. In addition, the investigation offers suggestions that may aid in the formulation of rational economic policies to assist in controlling the movement of people to a city yet unprepared to accommodate them. These call for the need to identify and analyze in the study area: (1) the significant features and processes associated with rural-urban

migration; (2) the impact of internal migration on housing supply; (3) alternative housing policies and other means of monitoring the quantity and quality of housing; and (4) actions toward solving the migration and housing problems.

Observations in the study demonstrate that the dynamic historical development of Calabar is important in understanding the process of migration. The original inhabitants of the area--the Efik, the Qua and the Efut, were forced into the city by local wars. Today, a myriad of other forces operate to drive people of diverse ethnic origin to Calabar. Of all the causal factors, economic reasons represent the overriding force in modern migration flows to the city. As one of the respondents put it "Biong ada mmo usung," that is, migrants are driven by hunger. This "hunger" can be interpreted in the context of all those elements that are lacking or inadequately provided in the rural areas but are in reality, or by perception, abundant in the urban area. Migrants moving to Calabar are also "hungry" for better education, electricity, good roads, better market facilities, better medical facilities, security from rural enemies, and all the other amenities which the urban dwellers take for granted.

Many pulls and pushes operate in both rural and urban areas, but the dearth of economic and social facilities in the villages has been the most obvious factor in the unabatable drift of people to Calabar. Underdevelopment of the rural areas is, therefore, the major reason for the current lack of interest in rural areas. Thus, regardless of the fact that in most cases migrants' dreams have not matched the realities

of life in the city, Calabar still stands out as a magnet attracting the ambitious, educated, and young people from the backwaters of the rural areas. However, once in the city migrants' perceptions of urban life may change. Among the hardships encountered by most of these migrants in the city are high cost of living, housing shortages, high rents, unemployment, environmental pollution, armed robbery, and numerous accidents. In spite of these and other hardships, rural-urban migration remains unabated.

Another significant observation concerning the process of migration is the existence of close ties between migrants in the urban area and their rural families. Almost all migrants send money home to their rural families and visit home on the average of once a year. To most migrants, loyalties are more to their village places of birth rather than to the town where they earn a living, and they expect to return home in the future. Building a house in the rural area is, therefore, the passionate resolve of most migrants. Such rural houses are designed to accommodate an individual's relatives, provide comfortable living arrangements upon his retirement, and enhance the owner's prestige in the village. This strong interest in the rural area should be viewed as a critical issue in both rural and urban planning policies, for it demonstrates how geographic space can be effectively organized and articulated through a rational spatial location of economic and social amenities to benefit the general population.

Designating Calabar as a State Capital after the Civil War marked the resurgence of the city as well as the rise of its housing problems. The history of housing deficits in Calabar can be traced to that war

which led to the destruction of many houses in the city. Though the subject of housing has generated much discussion in the past few years, neither the Federal nor the State government has any discernible government housing policy, except for some ad hoc solutions which are never directed to the provision of housing services to migrants or to low-income people. Because neither Federal nor State government accepts the notion that housing is productive, and should be funded in the same way as other capital projects, investments allocated to housing are far too low to resolve the mounting housing problems.

The existing Federal and State housing schemes are clearly limited in both the scope of their housing activities and their commitments to the needs of the poor and, particularly, the migrant poor. The State Housing Corporation is yet to prove that it can translate its objectives to provide low-income housing to the poor into reality--so that the poor and not the rich or the landlords benefit from the State and Federal housing schemes. The Cross River State also operates a Staff Housing Scheme which can be seen as an elitist housing strategy. It is intended to benefit the privileged few, leaving the unemployed, the poor, and the private workers to compete for the limited accommodations supplied largely by private landlords whose ability to expand the housing stock is by all means very limited.

The resultant acute shortage of urban housing has forced many migrants into overcrowded quarters, and as a result the housing shortage has become more an urban than a rural problem. Four major constraints in urban residential construction to meet the needs of all are identified: (1) the scarcity of plots and difficulties in claiming title to

land; (2) the erratic and high cost of building materials; (3) lack of finance on the part of the government; (4) the lengthy submittal and approval process required by planning authorities for housing construction; and (5) the utter poverty of the people, which renders over 90 percent of them incapable of purchasing or building decent housing.

In the absence of government assistance to migrants, the extended family system plays a significant role in helping temporarily to relieve the acute housing shortage. It is, however, doubtful how far the extended family can continue to bear this burden, as the Calabar housing market grows tighter.

Housing in Calabar is characterized by not only quantitative but qualitative inadequacy. Realizing that housing is a complex of many physical and environmental factors, an incidence factor analysis procedure is used to facilitate the identification of distinct structural housing categories and their spatial distribution in the city. From a total of twenty seven housing-related variables, six factors are extracted. These factors are useful in discerning housing types, ranging from housing categories that are characterized by the provision of internal water system; the luxurious types with refrigerators and air conditioning amenities; the permanent but largely unfurnished types; to the traditional mud and thatched types. There is a distinctive spatial pattern in the distribution of these housing types. While the Federal and State Housing Estate, most of the central zone in the heart of the city, and the areas adjacent the University of Calabar and College of Technology are typified by the good quality houses, the peripheral

section in the south and south-eastern parts of the city, and the Akim Qua area, are typified by the traditional, low quality housing types.

Although the physical structure of housing is found to be closely and positively correlated with the degree of satisfaction in housing, the hypothesis that there is an inverse relationship between housing density and satisfaction in housing proved irrelevant in Calabar Division. That is, most people still base their assessment of housing quality more on the superiority of the building materials and the available amenities than on housing density. Another hypothesis which proves irrelevant relates to the correlation between recent migrants and housing quality. In a community where the extended family system plays such an important role in the residential absorption of migrants, most recent migrants have the chance of living with their kin in good quality housing. However, there is a relatively stronger, and positive, relationship between migrant's level of education and the quality of their housing, underlining the role of elitism in the housing delivery system in Calabar which offers the rich and the educated persons better access to quality housing than the poor.

Calabar Division is not alone in facing acute housing problems; this is a universal issue. Only its nature, magnitude and remedial strategies vary from community to community and from country to country. Fortunately Calabar has a wide range of housing strategies on which to draw in designing its housing policies in the hope of ameliorating its mounting housing problems. It is true that foreign solutions may neither be perfect in themselves nor automatically suitable to the

Calabar conditions, but they should be carefully assessed. Quite possibly they could be adapted to suit the Calabar situation, or used as foundations for new housing strategies.

In conclusion, it should be noted that the dilemma arising from rural-urban migration and its relative effects on housing have immediate policy implications. The solution calls for a two-pronged frontal attack to direct the movement of people, and to provide adequate and decent housing in both rural and urban areas. By these means authorities could use the migration process to promote rather than retard economic progress and human welfare. But experience has shown that it is neither easy nor sufficient to reduce the rate of rural-urban migration through direct migrant stream control. Since it is unbalanced development which results in migration, a policy of decentralizing urban amenities and emphasizing rural development programs represents the best means of stemming migration to Calabar.

Any sound policy affecting rural-urban imbalance must be based on the understanding that developmental activities take place in geographic space and affect the direction of migration flows. The unequal geographic distribution of factors of production determines where people expect to improve their economic status. Because most people move in the direction of the greatest concentration of economic activities, the urbanization trends of any community are neither spontaneous nor unpredictable. Rather, they reflect the aggregate of countless locational decisions of various public, private organizations and individual investors. Herein lies one important clue that government could utilize

to influence the locational decisions of corporate bodies and individuals, thereby promoting public and private interest in a rational and unified population distribution policy. A new geography of urban development, which integrates population movements with progressive rural developments holds better hope for population distribution policy than mere "back to land" exhortation, or any other coercive or physical control. This could include such programs as agricultural innovations, well managed extension services, and reorientation of the educational system to suit rural occupations.

It should be noted that since a combination of forces are involved in the decision to migrate, no one policy can be expected to satisfy all conditions. It is not only economic, but a wide range of factors which drive the migrant to the city. Hence, amenities must be accompanied by job opportunities, to satisfy both the "curious" and the "economic" man. On the one hand, raising wages or increasing income opportunities in any area, without providing ways to spend such income, may only create another reason for outmigration. On the other hand, unless rural inhabitants have jobs and better incomes, amenities such as hospitals, schools, cinemas, housing, electricity and good roads will exert little attraction.

Like migration, housing is a mixture of many factors. Easy and quick solutions are not, therefore, possible for housing related problems. In view of the nature and size of the problem, it may take decades to realize an appreciable improvement in the housing situation of Calabar Division. Any success in overcoming housing problems in the

Division to a large degree will be dependent on public participation in policies and programs. Neither should the role of central government be overemphasized to the detriment of the contribution which local bodies, agencies and individuals can make in accelerating the development of building, and building material industries, and in the expansion of local housing programs. Ultimately housing policies in Calabar Division should aim at a maximum number and quality of houses for the growing population at minimum outlay. Such policies should take into consideration the need for the following:

- (1) The establishment of a central, autonomous agency to formulate and administer housing policies.
- (2) The adoption or adaptation of foreign housing concepts and ideas, as well as the mobilization of all available resources and talents to initiate a breakthrough in housing supply and housing quality.
- (3) Greater governmental involvement in the provision of housing and housing services, especially to the poor, through any one or a combination of these programs: housing subsidies, shelter allowances, rent rebates, and site and service programs.
- (4) Efforts to hold down or reduce the cost of housing and rent through: nationalization of urban land, encouragement of research into the development and integration of local building materials into the construction industry, improvement in the monetary and capital market policy, particularly a mortgage loan insurance, and avoidance of rent control--unless

followed with strict legislation, administration, and effective control of other prices and the general inflation.

- (5) Blight prevention, emphasizing the principles of conservation and rehabilitation rather than slum clearance.
- (6) Tactful enforcement of housing codes, emphasizing more of a preventive rather than a punitive approach.
- (7) The establishment of a local environmental surveillance and warning agency to promote aesthetic appreciation and concern for environmental quality, especially as it relates to housing.

Finally, it should be borne in mind that neither migration nor housing policies can thrive in isolation. The elements of any community are so intricately interconnected that, to achieve optimum results, policy makers should take into consideration the various external forces that can be tapped to strengthen their recommendations. For instance, the pursuit of balanced development as a means of controlling migration calls for efforts to gain pertinent information about both the urban and the rural systems, to understand the whole process of urbanization, and generate a more thoughtful spatial organization of the system. We must accept the view that rural-urban migration cannot be legislated away, except by the introduction of well-coordinated, massive and profound transformation in both rural and urban areas. In the area of housing, even a viable housing enforcement program can become a hindrance rather than a help to sound housing development, unless coordinated with other forms of controls that affect the housing scene.

A systems approach that takes into account most of the highly inter-related parameters of migration and housing is therefore required to provide a solid basis for the formulation of sound policies that can slow down rural-urban migration, ameliorate its corollary impact on housing, and promote economic development and an improvement in human welfare.

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APPENDIX

APPENDIX

URBAN SURVEY

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Name of Migrant: _____ 2. Age ____ 3. Sex: M F
4. Years of Education _____ 5. Marital Status: S M D W
6. Ethnic Group: _____ 7. Permanent home: _____
8. Occupation: _____ 9. Income: _____

SECTION B: MIGRATION

1. When did you leave home? _____ 2. Have you lived in any other towns before coming to settle in Calabar? Yes ___ No __. If yes, which town(s)? (i) _____ (ii) _____
(iii) _____ (iv) _____
V) _____.
2. How many years since you first moved to Calabar? _____
3. What were your reasons for migration to Calabar? List all reasons:
(i) _____ (ii) _____
(iii) _____ (iv) _____
(v) _____.
4. Indicate the three most important expectations you had in moving to Calabar (1) _____ (ii) _____
(iii) _____.
5. Which of these have been achieved?
6. Are you satisfied? Yes ___ No ___ If no, why? _____

7. Who/what most influenced your principal reason for migrating to Calabar? (i) Father ___ (ii) Mother ___ (iii) Brothers/sisters ___
(iv) other relatives ___ (v) Friends ___ (vi) Educational Upbringing ___
___ (vii) Personal Exploration ___.
8. Which was your number one problem on arrival in town? Finding a job or housing? Job _____ Housing _____.

9. How did you get your first job? Through (i) Relative _____
 (ii) Friend _____ (iii) Employment _____ (iv) Agent _____
 (v) Government _____ (vi) Yourself _____.
10. (a) With whom did you first stay in this town, on arrival (mention relationship)? _____
 (b) How long did you stay with him/her? _____
 (c) What is his/her occupation? _____
 (d) How many years of education does he/she have? _____
 (e) What help did you render him/her in return for the accommodation? _____
11. How would you describe the willingness of your urban host to accommodate you? (i) Very willing _____ (ii) Somewhat willing _____
 (iii) Unwilling _____.
12. Will you ever permanently return to your village? Yes ___ No ___
 If yes, why? _____
13. (i) Preference for village life _____ (ii) Lack of success in town _____
 (iii) After making enough money in town _____
 (iv) Whenever opportunity offers itself in the village _____
 (v) After completing my building in the village _____
 (vi) On retirement _____.
14. (a) Do you send money back to your family? Yes ___ No ___
 (b) About how much? _____.
15. Why do you think people are moving from villages to Calabar? _____

16. What are the things you did like about village life? _____

17. What are the things you did not like about village life? _____

18. Tell me a few reasons why you (a) like life in Calabar: _____
 _____ (b) dislike life in Calabar: _____

19. Is it a good thing for village youths to move to towns? Yes ___
 No ___
20. Why do you think so? _____
21. People worry more about having money to care for themselves and their family in the: (a) Village _____ (b) Calabar _____

22. People worry more about adequate accommodation for families in:
 (a) Calabar _____ (b) Village _____
23. If your son had a choice of working on an identical job, realizing the same salary, where would you advise him to work?
 Village _____ Town _____
24. Which of these alternatives would you recommend for your son?
 (a) Working as a farmer and realizing a monthly average sum of 60 Naira _____
 (b) Working as a clerk in Calabar on a monthly salary of 50 Naira _____
 (c) Why? _____

25. Where are the better living conditions? Village _____ Town _____
26. Give two reasons for your choice (1) _____
 (2) _____
27. Do migrants in the towns generally find town life as satisfactory as they had hoped? Yes _____ No _____
28. How often do you visit your village home? (i) Every month _____
 (ii) Twice a year _____ (iii) Once a year _____ Never _____
29. Before deciding to move to Calabar did you have any information about a job? Yes _____ No _____
30. If yes, which of the following gave you the most information about the job? (i) Family members _____ (ii) Friends _____
 (iii) Radio _____ (iv) Newspaper _____ (v) Other, specify _____

31. Do you find life in town as satisfactory as you anticipated?
 Yes _____ No _____
32. Mention three things that would make rural life more attractive to people (i) _____ (ii) _____ (iii) _____
33. Should the government do anything to control the number of migrants to cities? Yes _____ No _____
34. Give two reasons for your choice. (i) _____
 (ii) _____

SECTION C: URBAN HOUSING SURVEY

1. Number of persons per room in the house? _____
2. The age of the house _____
3. Owner of the house (i) Personal _____ (ii) Relative _____
(iii) Friend _____ (iv) Government _____ (v) Employer _____
(vi) Other _____
4. (a) What are the walls of the house made of? (i) Cement _____
(ii) Mud _____ (iii) Other, specify _____
(b) What is the roofing material made of? (i) Corrugated iron
sheets _____ (ii) Mats _____ (iii) Other _____
5. Do your householders feel that their housing condition is:
(i) Excellent _____ (ii) Fair _____ (iii) Poor _____
6. How do you hold your present accommodation (house/room)
(i) rent _____ (ii) Owner occupied _____ (iii) Staying with rela-
tives or friend _____ (iv) Rent-free _____
7. If you rent it, how much is the monthly rate? _____
8. Do you own a house in the village? Yes ___ No ___
9. If no, do you hope to build one after you finally return to the
village? Yes ___ No ___
10. How many of the following do you have in your house?
Mark (1) if you have it and (0) if you don't.
(1) Electric, or kerosene cooking fuel _____ (2) Kitchen sink _____
(3) Chimney _____ (4) Electric light _____ (5) Ceiling _____ (6) Pipe-
borne water inside or within five minutes walking distance _____
(7) Bathtub or shower _____ (8) Toilet facilities _____ (9) Corrugated
iron roof _____ (10) Cemented walls _____ (11) Cemented or tiled
floor _____ (12) Carpet _____ (13) Outside decoration--hedges, flowers,
etc. _____ (14) Recreation facilities _____ (15) Refrigerator _____
(16) Drainage facilities _____ (17) Food storage facilities _____
(18) Closets _____ (19) Separate sleeping room _____ (20) Separate
dining room _____ (21) Separate living room _____ (22) Air condition
facilities _____ (23) Painted walls _____ (24) Furniture _____
(25) Trash can _____ (26) Doors _____ (27) Windows _____
11. What should the government do to improve the quality of housing for
migrants in Calabar?
12. Should the government housing help be extended to rural areas?
Yes _____ No _____

RURAL SURVEY

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Head of household _____ . 2. Occupation _____
2. Income _____ 4. Years of education _____
5. Size of household _____ 6. Number of migrants _____
7. (i) Age _____ Sex _____ When left _____ Destination _____
- (ii) Age _____ Sex _____ When left _____ Destination _____
- (iii) Age _____ Sex _____ When left _____ Destination _____

SECTION B: MIGRATION

1. People are moving to Calabar from this village.
Why do you think they do so? _____
- _____
2. What few things do you like about village life? _____
- _____
3. Tell me a few reasons why you dislike Calabar _____
- _____
4. Is it a good thing for village youths to move to towns?
Yes ___ No ___
5. Where do people worry more about having money to care for themselves
and their family? Village _____ Town _____
6. Where do people worry more about having adequate accommodation to
house their family? Village _____ Town _____
7. If your son had a choice of working on an identical job, realizing
the same salary, where would you advise him to work?
Village _____ Town _____

8. Which of these two alternatives would you recommend for your son?
 (a) Working as a farmer and realizing a monthly salary of N 60.00
 (b) Working as a clerk in Calabar on a monthly salary of N 0.00
9. Have you any householder (15-46) not intending to migrate?
 Yes _____ No _____
10. Any return migrant in your household? Yes _____ No _____
11. Where are better living conditions? Village _____ Town _____
12. Do migrants in towns generally find town life as satisfactory as they had hoped? Yes _____ No _____
13. Mention three things that would make rural life more attractive
 (i) _____ (ii) _____ (iii) _____
14. How often do members of your household who live in town visit village home?
 (a) (i) Every month _____ (ii) Twice a year _____
 (iii) Once a year _____ (iv) Never _____
 (b) (i) Every month _____ (ii) Twice a year _____
 (iii) Once a year _____ (iv) Never _____
 (c) (i) Every month _____ (ii) Twice a year _____
 (iii) Once a year _____ (iv) Never _____
15. Should the government do anything to control the number of migrants to cities? Yes _____ No _____

SECTION C: RURAL HOUSING SURVEY

1. Number of persons per room in this house? _____
2. The age of the house _____

3. What are the walls of the house made of? (i) Cement_____
- (ii) Mats_____ (iii) Other_____
4. Do your householders feel that their housing condition is
- (i) Excellent_____ (ii) Fair_____ (iii) Poor_____
5. How many of the following do you have in your house?
- Mark (1) if you have it and (0) if you don't.
- (1) Electric, or kerosene cooking fuel_____ (2) Kitchen sink_____
- (3) Chimney_____ (4) Electric light_____ (5) Ceiling_____
- (6) Pipe-borne water inside or within five minutes walking distance
_____ (7) Bathtub or shower_____ (8) Toilet facilities_____
- (9) Corrugated iron roof_____ (10) Cemented walls_____ (11) Cement
ed or tiled floor_____ (12) Carpet_____ (13) Outside decoration--
hedges, flowers, etc._____ (14) Recreation facilities_____
- (15) Refrigerator_____ (16) Drainage facilities_____ (17) Food
storage facilities_____ (18) Closets_____ (19) Separate sleeping
room_____ (20) Separate dining room_____ (21) Separate living
room_____ (22) Air condition facilities_____ (23) Painted
walls_____ (24) Furniture_____ (25) Trash can_____ (26) Doors_____
- (27) Windows_____
6. Should the government housing help be extended to rural areas?
- Yes_____ No_____

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