

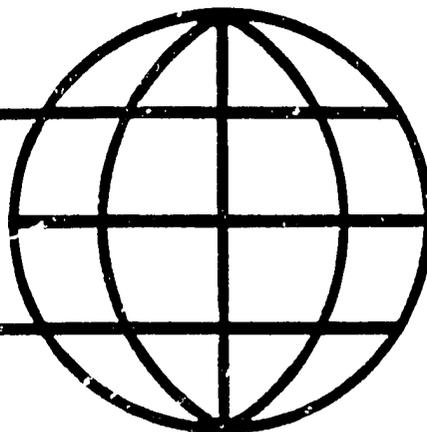
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**COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT ON HUMAN SETTLEMENTS
AND NATURAL RESOURCE SYSTEMS ANALYSIS**

RURAL/URBAN DYNAMICS IN AFRICA:
COMMON THEMES INITIATIVE
Background, Issues and Concepts

edited by
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PREFACE

The Rural/Urban Dynamics in Africa Common Theme Initiative (RUDA/CTI) has been a successful institutional collaboration involving the Office of Rural and Regional Development in the Bureau of Science and Technology (USAID), the Africa Bureau (USAID), and the Settlements and Resource Systems Analysis Cooperative Agreement (Clark University). The original intent of the initiative was to assist the Africa Bureau (USAID) with the design, management, and implementation of projects sensitive to the rural/urban dynamics theme. One part of this collaborative effort included a series of discussions held with key representatives of the Africa Bureau, Near East Bureau, PRE/H Bureau, and Science and Technology Bureau to ascertain the primary concerns of immediate importance to the RUDA/CTI. Three sets of concerns emerged from these discussions:

1. migration and the related issue of remittances;
2. marketing and distribution systems;
3. employment generation in market towns and secondary cities.

This document consists of a concept paper which describes the context for the RUDA/CTI and presents an approach for consideration of these concerns in the design of future development programs in Africa. In addition, four background papers which were commissioned to help frame the Common Themes Initiative are presented. Each of these background papers reviews the relevant literature, summarizes the major research conclusions, and identifies questions and conceptual issues which have policy implications. One paper approaches the three sets of concerns from a macro-perspective; the others provide specialized treatment of each respective theme.

The paper presented by Lawrence Brown and Victoria Lawson comprehensively looks at migration, marketing, and distribution in the context of market towns and secondary cities, and focuses attention upon the key elements common to each. The authors explore the evolution of research relevant to rural development and note that rural/urban dynamics, as a research theme, is the most recent step in this evolution. They report that a large portion of the research to date on rural/urban dynamics has been more interested in the form rather than the processes which are involved in these relationships. Relatively little has been done, they point out, to illuminate the interaction and functioning of the numerous actors involved in a development region. Consequently, the authors assert, research is needed to better understand the dynamics of this synergy between rural areas and urban places. They offer five examples of research topics which focus on these interactions: technology transfer or innovation diffusion; rural credit mechanisms; small-scale enterprise; non-cash economics; and human resource retention and attraction.

In concluding, Brown and Lawson suggest that emphasis should be given to research which (1) focuses on the nature of the complementarities in a development region and (2) develops an understanding of the differential impact of development policies in regions which are morphologically similar but different in other respects. Moreover, they suggest that policy initiatives should focus on the conditions which foster growth rather than the development of specific growth programs.

David Sly's paper deals with the concern of migration and remittances and how they relate to rural/urban dynamics in Africa. Working from an excellent bibliography, Sly observes that researchers really do not know very much about either topic and how it relates to rural/urban dynamics in the African

development region. In fact, according to Sly, we are not really sure whether rural/urban linkages are the causes or consequences of migration. The author proceeds to identify and discuss key conceptual issues which need to be addressed.

First, Sly indicates that most of the work which has been done within an African context has been based upon census-type surveys. He believes that these research devices fall short in revealing important information about the total migration picture. Census-type surveys which deal only with traditional (residential change) migrational patterns do not consider other forms of mobility involving rural/urban population transfers. Sly discusses why he believes that the latter may be much more important to gaining an understanding of the nature of rural/urban dynamics in Africa.

Secondly, Sly criticizes the use of western-oriented models in migration research, noting that researchers assume the presence of a rational decision-making process along western lines. He states that inference prevails rather than actual measurement, and he argues for the development of models based upon African migrational contexts.

On the matter of remittances, Sly reports that the literature has little to say about how remittances fit into the migration picture or, for that matter, how they relate generally to rural/urban dynamics in Africa. He then offers several research suggestions which might clarify the role of remittances as a dynamic factor in the African development region.

Lillian Trager's paper deals with marketing and distribution systems as factors in rural/urban dynamics in Africa. While her discussion centers on "internal marketing systems," she points out that much of the current research concludes that all components of national distribution systems tend to be

integrated. She presents the primary research issues and policy implications found in two parallel avenues of investigation in the literature: (1) the spatial analysis of marketplace systems and (2) the social organization of marketplace trade. Trager points to what she believes to be the key questions in each area of investigation which need further clarification.

Trager argues that more research needs to be focused on the nature of the integration of distributional systems in African nations. She cautions researchers against isolating the "internal marketing system" component or, for that matter, any other component from its larger context. Moreover, Trager calls for investigators to assess the impact of policies designed to impact one part of the distribution system upon the others.

She identifies four areas of concern which are not dealt with frequently in the literature on African marketing and distribution systems, all of which center on the integrated nature of the systems. With each, she identifies the basic issues which need to be explored and the importance of each issue to development policy.

Simon Fass, in his discussion of market towns and secondary cities, discusses the notion that most researchers have overlooked the important relationships which exist between agricultural production and the dynamics of a region. He notes that many studies to date have concentrated on explaining hierarchies of towns, the structure and growth of towns, and the relationship between urban functions and rural development. According to Fass, the dynamic forces in a region will be revealed if studies approach the subject from a sectoral perspective. He argues this point by focusing his discussion on dynamic forces as they are manifest in three different types of centers in a region: (1) trade centers, (2) industrial centers, and (3) administrative centers. For each one

Fass describes the nature and complexity of its interaction with the surrounding production area.

Fass cautions investigators that studies designed to explore rural/urban linkages in development regions which concentrate on market towns and secondary cities per se may obscure the more fundamentally important intersectoral economic relationships which should be considered in the development process. He offers for consideration, therefore, a five-step approach for researchers which embodies a sectoral perspective.

The concept paper included in this document, attempts to incorporate these ideas while at the same time acknowledging the interests of the various bureaus of USAID. As such, then, the concept paper is presented as a first stage of a continuing dialogue between USAID/Washington, USAID missions, interested scholars and practitioners, and the SARSA Cooperative Agreement.

Rickie Sanders

Editor

The editor wishes to acknowledge the assistance provided by Ben Howatt of Clark University in preparing these materials for publication.

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RURAL URBAN DYNAMICS IN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT
A COLLABORATIVE RESEARCH INITIATIVE

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Introduction

The most recent Africa Bureau Strategic Plan (ABSP) departs from traditional guidance by arguing that "increasing agricultural productivity" may be one of several approaches to successful rural development. This new perception was prompted in part by the persistence of low rates of economic growth and extreme poverty in the region. It is in line with attempts by donor agencies to come to grips with the realities of African development problems. In large part, it stems from an effort to devise a broader development strategy for the region by examining Mission defined problem areas about which relatively little is known.

One such area is rural/urban dynamics or the relationships and links between rural and urban areas in Africa. They influence both rural and urban development and can inhibit or stimulate national economic growth. For example, countries with growing urban centers and depressed agricultural regions are experiencing developmental tensions that could hamper their economic growth. On the negative side, cities place heavy demands on resources and have growing food requirements. These needs are not met internally because of a lack of agricultural surplus. Thus, scarce foreign exchange is used to import large quantities of food, altering urban consumption preferences and also depriving rural areas of investment capital that might contribute to production of a surplus in agriculture. It is a serious development problem about which far too little is known.

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On the positive side, urban areas can be supportive of rural and agricultural development -- by relieving population pressures on rural land and resources, serving as centers for distribution and marketing of agricultural inputs and produce, as sources of seasonal employment and cash remittances, and as centers for transfer and dissemination of new ideas and technology. The key is to exploit the positive linkages and try to eliminate the negative ones. To do this in Africa, we need far more insight into the problems than we now have.

The AFR and S&T Bureaus, through a S&T/RD Cooperative Agreement¹, have begun a common theme research initiative to investigate these and other issues concerning the dynamics of rural and urban relationships and their implications for development programs. By exploring these issues, knowledge is gained which could be key to producing and implementing more effective development strategies.

The purpose of this paper is to guide missions as they begin to focus on some of the problems of the rural/urban dynamic as they pertain to their specific countries, and get missions to consider examining them with the collaboration of the AFR-S&T common theme research initiative. The Bureau hopes to gain new insights into these problems through a coordinated program of research involving several countries in the region and S&T support. At the same time, missions should gain valuable information from these studies that will feed policy level discussions and possibly influence program development.

This paper examines issues and opportunities, and particularly looks at the importance of rural/urban linkages in development. It considers how issues relating to rural/urban dynamics are relevant to Bureau programming. The paper is presented in five parts. The first part puts forth a rationale for a collaborative AFR-S&T research initiative on this topic. Part Two summarizes that

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section of the Africa Strategic Plan which describes past trends in Africa's overall development. It highlights the performance of the agricultural sector over the past decade and lays a foundation for moving beyond a singular definition of rural development. Part Three describes the process by which specific research topics were selected and Part Four discusses three specific research areas which are illustrative of rural/urban links. The final section outlines the proposed plan for implementing the research initiative.

Rationale For A Collaborative Research Initiative On Rural/Urban Linkages

There is an important distinction between the emphases of traditional urban development programs and the strategy which the Africa Bureau deems appropriate. In the former, emphasis has been on urban development per se; e.g., through development of physical infrastructure. The Africa Bureau sees an examination of the interactions between urban and rural areas as potentially more rewarding at this time. This is because in a general sense, we know that our rural development policies have implications for urban areas and that urban development policies affect rural areas. We have not, however, found a way to incorporate this into our policies. In some cases, this has not had serious consequences. In others, the failure to recognize the dynamic nature of elements in the African environment may have exacerbated existing ills. For example, in the case of migration, we are not certain whether our rural development programs stimulate rural out-migration or inhibit it. The empirical evidence is markedly divided and one AID study suggests that much of what donor agencies do in rural areas actually stimulates rural/urban migration.

At the same time, we are trying to find ways to maximize the positive role played by flows of people, energy, money, goods and services, and ideas. For

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example, when donors assist small scale entrepreneurs in rural areas to expand their market by bringing their goods into the urban centers the result is positive for the entrepreneurs and also for urban residents who supply them with services. This is also likely to be the case when urban migrants are assisted in sending money back to rural areas, e.g., through banking arrangements, savings societies or village groups. Information, though scant, suggests that gains can be achieved when these links are exploited; but first, they must be understood.

Within this context, the rural urban dynamics research initiative should contribute in a number of ways to our understanding of rural development. Only part of what is happening in rural areas can be explained by internal factors such as population growth, increased educational levels, and changing agricultural practices. One must look to external forces or linkages with non-rural institutions to explain the remainder. Migration, for instance, is an example of a link between the countryside and the city that is contributing to rural change. Rural out-migration has altered the pattern of production, governance, and family relations; return migration from the city has brought new consumer products, skills, knowledge, ideas, and changing values and aspirations. Furthermore, rural household survival strategies often change dramatically as remittances from migrants contribute to greater income and become more important in family operating expenses.

Most of Africa's population still live in rural areas, so links between rural and urban areas tend to be overlooked. As this scenario changes and more and more people move to cities, an examination of the links become more important because of their role as conduits of change. Since this rural/urban

interaction is newer in Africa than in other regions, less is known about these relationships and their impact on development in rural areas.

This AFR/S&T Bureau research initiative seeks to address these sorts of issues. As a backdrop for discussing the research topics being considered, the next section briefly reviews sections of the Bureau's Strategic Plan which describe past trends in Africa's overall development effort.

The Africa Bureau Strategic Plan - 1984

In presenting its case for expanding efforts beyond the "increasing agricultural productivity" model, the Strategic Plan notes that the past twenty years for Africa have been characterized by a mixture of successes and failures. On the positive side, there have been dramatic increases in education level, life expectancy and, of course, the remarkable transition from colonial status to independent statehood. On the negative side, however, the prognosis has been grim. In a recent report, the World Bank concluded that "on average, Africans are as bad off at the end of the decade (1970) as they were at the beginning." Further, ". . . sub-Saharan Africa has the most disturbing outlook of any region in the Third World and even more compelling, will likely experience a decline in average incomes during the 1980's."

Growth in Africa's agricultural sector, which is the mainstay of economic activity in most of Africa, has been virtually insignificant. This is particularly disturbing because at least 70 percent of Africa's estimated 350 million people derive their livelihood from agriculture. During the last two decades, per capita food production in Africa actually declined and lagged behind population growth rates. This poor performance of the agricultural sector occurred in spite of a tripling of official development assistance and increased

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commercial borrowing during that period. Significantly, the Bureau notes that "donors, having provided the financing for most of the developmental investments since 1960, share the responsibility for the strategies, policies, and project selection which contributed to, or failed to affect, the poor economic growth patterns characteristic of Africa today." The extent to which this is true is an open question. It is clear, however, that there are no easy five or ten year solutions to Africa's problems of poverty, malnutrition, and lagging food production. We now have increased awareness of the interrelated nature of these problems and the obstacles to their solutions. In response, the Bureau would like to lay the foundations for a move to a broad based definition of rural development. The plan notes that "We have recognized that many key aspects of the African scene are imperfectly understood by us. We believe that there is an urgent need for us to expand our knowledge base in these key areas regardless of whether we can now identify specific projects."

The dynamics between rural and urban areas is identified in the plan as one of those subjects about which our understanding is limited. The remainder of the paper highlights specific research issues intended to help overcome this knowledge gap, and the way these topics were selected.

Issue Selection

In a series of papers commissioned by offices in the AFR and S&T Bureaus during the latter part of 1983, it was noted that rural and urban areas are linked through flows of people, money, information, goods and services, and energy. It was then that we began to recognize the importance of rural urban dynamics. By way of defining likely topics to be addressed under this initiative, the first step in the issue selection process was to translate the

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"flows" highlighted in the commissioned papers into problem areas or research issues. Flows of people translated into migration; flows of money translated into the issue of remittances; and flows of goods and services translated into marketing and distribution. Other important research areas identified were resource degradation and environmental management, urban food consumption and rural food production, off-farm employment generation, and intermediate size cities.

Step two in the issue selection process was to find out which issues were perceived as most pressing. A round of reviews and interviews suggested that migration and the related issue of remittances and marketing and distribution (primarily urban food vending/street foods) were areas of high priority.² There was also widespread concern about our understanding of intermediate sized cities and their role in the African rural/urban dynamic.³ For example, what is their role in enhancing rural/agricultural development? Do they play an exploitative role in some instances?

The criteria for weeding out some of the above issues were: (1) they were less significant as a rural and urban linkage than those selected, (2) AID already had research efforts underway which would have made additional efforts duplicative, or (3) there was a perception that in the final analysis, AID could do little to remedy the problem with some of the issues. These criteria were applied to all the topics, and topics were rank ordered by AID/W interviews. After this screening only migration and the related issues of remittances, urban foods vending, and the role and functioning of intermediate sized cities in rural and agricultural development remained. These issues are discussed below. However, it should be noted that inasmuch as these issues represent only the views of AID/W, missions are now being asked to comment on their

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importance in their own host countries and to suggest other relevant issues needing research -- either from those excluded by the AID/W review or new issues not dealt with in this paper.

Research Priorities Identified For The Rural Urban Dynamics Initiative

Developing an understanding of African rural/urban dynamics is going to take a long time. It is a complex issue and the present knowledge base is weak. There are any number of starting points so it is important to begin where there is some consensus about the relative priority of the research for the Bureau. The three topics discussed here -- migration and remittances, urban street food vending, and secondary cities and market towns -- are good starting points. They have been screened against a logical set of criteria, are broad enough to build a general sense of what is happening in rural/urban dynamics in Africa, yet are specific enough to translate eventually into policy and program initiatives at the country level. Of course, in order to create a broad understanding of these issues for the region, this research will have to be pursued in enough countries to represent the range of African experience. Again, Mission input, guidance, and direction is essential.

Migration and Remittances

These issues are important as an element of rural/urban dynamics for a number of reasons:

- (1) The rapid rate of migration to Africa's cities is putting tremendous strain on urban infrastructure and institutions and is further creating social and economic stresses in cities that threaten political stability.

- (2) In rural areas specifically, the out-migration of young males and the most educated people is causing serious labor shortages with consequent reductions in production and productivity. In some cases, rural areas have been, for all practical purposes, abandoned.
- (3) While the developmental benefits of rural/urban migration are well known, the general observation is that in many regions of Africa, the process is out of balance. Further, the impacts are not well understood and even more importantly, we are unaware of how these processes might be used to increase benefits to rural areas.

Thus, more study is needed of migration in order to develop a knowledge base that will allow us to influence the process. The first step in any country specific research should be to determine what information is available from secondary sources, national census, and surveys. Beyond this, a sampling of the kinds of questions that might be considered are:

- What proportion of urban growth is due to migration?
Is this percentage increasing or decreasing?
- What are the significant characteristics of rural out-migrants, e.g., family status, marital status, etc.
What are the major factors stimulating their migration?
- What cities are the principle destinations of migrants?
What regions are the major sending areas? Are there identifiable impacts on the sending regions? If so, what are these impacts? Do migrants tend to move from smaller to larger urban centers or do they come directly to larger cities from rural areas?
- Is there evidence of a reverse migration from urban to rural areas? What are the significant characteristics of these reverse migrants?
- To what extent are migrations seasonal, cyclical, permanent, etc? Can these be associated with other attributes of migrants?

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- How important are migrant remittances to rural households incomes?⁵
Is it a growing practice?
- Are they regular or sporadic? How are remittances sent? Is this reliable? What are the problems?
- How are remittances being used? What impact do they have on the local economy?
- What are the policy and programmatic implications of the study results?

Urban Street Food Vending

This topic is seen as important to the rural/urban dynamics initiative for a number of reasons.

- (1) It represents a potential entry point for understanding the backward and forward linkages between urban and rural areas in Africa. It involves few or no import commodities and generates employment and increased income in both rural and urban areas.
- (2) It is a ubiquitous phenomenon in African cities -- a process which touches a large segment of the population, and in particular the poor population in most African countries.
- (3) Relatively little is known about its role in development -- its employment and income effects, its role in nutrition, its importance to the role of women in the urban and rural economies, etc.
- (4) It is an important yet neglected aspect of marketing research in Africa.

Research into this subject will yield information at both the policy and program levels. Questions that need answers, for example, are:

- How important is the contribution of street food vending to the income of rural households? What proportion of rural households participate? What factors go toward explaining participation, e.g., distance to market, access to transportation, family connections, etc.?
- How does participation vary among producers of Major food types? Does it influence rural production of certain crops? Is the market relationship between food producers and vendors direct or are there intermediaries.
- Does urban street food vending represent an entry point for rural migrants into the urban labor market?

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- Approximately what proportion of urban food consumption do street foods represent for various income groups? Is this proportion growing or declining? If declining, what is being substituted?
- What are the policy and program implications of the findings?

Secondary Cities

The roles of secondary cities and their associated regional town systems in national development have been receiving increased attention in recent years. This is because of a growing awareness that within them may lie the keys to greater balance in rural and urban development. A recent analysis of 31 secondary cities in developing countries worldwide, for example, identified the following major categories of functions provided by them and their linked regional town systems:

- provide economies of scale for services otherwise not sustainable in rural areas;
- bases for informal sector activities;
- centers for a wide range of regional marketing-related functions;
- environments for small and medium size enterprise development;
- agroprocessing and agricultural supply centers;
- vehicles for commercialization of agriculture;
sources of off-farm employment, off-season employment and remittances to farm households;
- mechanisms for decentralizing public services such that there is greater access to them by both rural and urban populations;
- regional transportation and communication centers;
- alternative destinations to the metropolitan center for rural to urban migrants;
- centers of social transformation and institutional development;
- channels of information diffusion.

In Africa, secondary cities and their associated regional town systems have special importance. In much of Africa, secondary cities remain more closely tied to the regional hinterland in terms of two-way flows rather than to the metropolitan area. Moreover, in Africa, the primacy of metropolitan cities has not generally reached the overwhelming magnitude that it has elsewhere, and there is still an opportunity for secondary cities to lay a major role in achieving more balanced national development. At the same time, Africa is the continent where least research has been conducted, and least is understood about secondary cities and their actual and potential contributions to national development objectives.

The preparatory work for this concept paper suggests the following key research issues related to the secondary cities theme:

- What are the key roles, both positive and negative, played by secondary cities and their linked regional town systems in rural development in the African context? What are the key linkages among secondary cities and their regional town systems, and between them and agricultural areas? What linkages should and could be strengthened to foster a more developmentally beneficial rural/urban dynamic?
- What are the critical interventions in secondary cities and their regional town systems for stimulating agricultural productivity and generating offfarm employment opportunities? What investments in secondary cities is critical to coordinate with traditional rural development investments? How can the coordination be accomplished?
- How can the economic and administrative environment in secondary cities be improved so that private sector decisions will promote linked and balanced rural and urban development?
- What are the policy and programmatic implications of these findings?

Implementation

A number of steps are involved in implementation of this common theme research initiative. Steps already taken include:

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- Assignment to AFR/TR of a technical person to help coordinate and provide technical backup to the separate research activities that emerge from the program.

- Technical backup for that person from the SARSA Cooperative Agreement and S&T/RD.

- Provision of initial budget for the initiative jointly by AFR and S&T. This covers the technical person in AFR for 18 months, travel and per diem, selected research, and a small fund for startup or matching grants for Mission sponsored research.

We envision the next steps as follows:

- (1) Missions will review this concept paper and indicate to AFR whether or not the Mission is prepared to initiate research in one or more of the problem areas discussed above or some other related area. As indicated in the cover memorandum, Missions should get back to AID/W before October 15, indicating the nature of the research to be undertaken.

- (2) After receiving Mission responses, an AFR/S&T team (two or three people) will visit those Missions that wish to participate. The purpose of these visits is to:
 - (a) Assess the nature of the problem the Mission has identified for research.
 - (b) Determine the extent of existing information in country and elsewhere on the problem.
 - (c) Seek out local expertise to work on design of the research problem.

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- (d) Develop specific and appropriate research methodology, approach, and time frame.
 - (e) Identify the expertise needed and available to carry out the study, including assessment of local research capacity.
 - (f) Develop a financial plan for the research.
- (3) Determine the need for startup or matching funds. (This will be constrained by the common theme budget.) Although a limited amount of startup funds are available in the funding provided by AFR/S&T, the bulk of the research costs will be assumed by missions. Missions should be prepared to issue a PIO/T allocating mission funds for the desired research activity to be carried out under Project No. 931-1135, the AFR/S&T Cooperative Agreement funded through the Human Settlements and Natural Resource Systems Analysis (SARSA) project.
- (4) Negotiate an implementation plan that stipulates the extent of AFR and Cooperative Agreement support the Mission feels is necessary.

In addition to assisting with startup activities in the manner described above, AFR/S&T will also:

- Provide backup technical support including field visits, bibliographic searches, computer analysis of data, methodical problem solving, etc.
- Help find training situations for participating host country researchers as needed.
- Seek technical expertise in the U.S. as needed for mission research.
- Serve as a clearinghouse and dissemination point for relevant technical and bibliographic material.
- Review and synthesize research results for AFR and missions.
- Sponsor a workshop of key researchers and AFR personnel if this is appropriate. Whether or not a workshop is desirable or feasible can be determined at a later date.

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Precise time schedules for the research activities cannot be determined at this time, however, it is anticipated that a series of short term (3-6 months) exploratory efforts would be preferable to longer term efforts.

Evaluation

Prior to the expiration of the present common theme agreement in June 1985, an evaluation will be held, with participating mission involvement, to determine whether or not the common theme research initiative on rural/urban dynamics should be continued.

AFR and S&T are coordinating with and will solicit the support of PRE/H in this overall program. RHUDOs in participating regions will be kept apprised of research results because of their implications for PRE/H supported programs in the field and in AID/W.

Footnotes

1. Human Settlements and Natural Resources Systems Analysis (SARSA) Cooperative Agreement with Clark University and the Institute for Development Anthropology.
2. For purposes here, it is important to note that individuals interviewed were chosen from the various Desks of the Africa Bureau, S&T/RD, S&T/AG, AFR/TR, AFR/DP, PRE/H, PPC/PDPR, AFR/RA, IBRD, IAB, PPC/WID, and NE/TECH.
3. While considerable literature has been devoted to operationally defining a secondary city, this paper employs the term in its generic sense and here it refers to all places in a spatial settlement system which fall between primate cities and rural villages. Thus, "intermediate" sized cities as well as smaller market towns are included.
4. The writer should emphasize that the three topics discussed here are not exhaustive of the set of issues to be treated. Further input and suggestions are not only welcomed, but encouraged.
5. Any study of remittances is subject to question of reliability since any conclusions are based on information that can rarely be verified. This initiative will, however, make special efforts to compensate for these difficulties.

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THE RURAL-URBAN INTERFACE IN THIRD WORLD SETTINGS:
A DISCUSSION OF CURRENT ISSUES

by

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This paper pertains to the USAID initiative on African rural/urban linkages and dynamics. The initiative identifies three sets of concerns warranting further attention: migration and the related issue of remittances; marketing and distribution of non-agricultural goods and services, and creating market towns and secondary cities. Our discussion of matters related to these concerns is divided into three parts: (1) background observations pertaining to the rural/urban linkage focus in general; (2) specific research questions and related considerations pertinent to carrying forward USAID initiative and translating it into courses of action; (3) statement of the mindset which ought to be adopted in reappraising previous research and designing future studies if USAID efforts under the present initiative are to take actionable and yet meaningful directions.

Background Observations

USAID's concern with rural/urban linkages, particularly as manifest through the intermediate size city, may be seen as the most recent step in an evolution of development policy focus. Initial approaches reflected a dual economy/core-periphery/growth-pole philosophy (Miller 1979; Richardson 1979; Renaud 1981) advocating a concentration of development efforts in primate or major cities under the assumption that growth impulses would "trickle down" to

other regions, although perhaps only after "polarization reversal" (Richardson 1980). Reacting to this with charges of "urban bias" in policy and research, the "decentralization school" proposed focusing on rural development, including "rural nonfarm" enterprises (Lipton 1976, 1980; Anderson and Leiserson 1980; Anderson 1982).

The present USAID focus represents a synthesis of these implicitly complementary approaches. Its genesis probably lies in classical central place concerns with middle tiers of the urban system and the association between development and rank ordered city size distributions. However, the rural/urban linkage initiative has gone well beyond such beginnings to the point of (a) encompassing a broader focus, and (b) demonstrating empirically the importance of this segment of Third World development scenarios. This transition has occurred because those persons emphasizing intermediate size cities and hinterland linkages are knowledgeable about and sensitive to Third World settings; accordingly, their pronouncements are well grounded in actualities (Johnson 1965, 1970; Mabogunje 1975; Ginsberg 1970; Hackenberg 1980; Lentnek 1980; Rondinelli and Ruddle 1976, 1978; Rondinelli 1983).

Thus far, research and policy statements have been oriented towards establishing the topic's importance, listing the qualities intermediate places/interfaces should have, and inventorying what actually exists. Examples of such research includes studies by Rondinelli and Evans (1983) on Bolivia; Rondinelli (1979) on the Phillipines; Pannell (1973) on Taiwan; Osborn (1974) on Malaysia; Kim (1978) on Korea; and other by Rivkin (1976); Rondinelli (1983); and Belsky, Heckenberg, Karaska, and Rondinelli (1983).

In more general terms, previous efforts seem primarily concerned with the morphology of intermediate places and their hinterland linkages. Now knowing a

considerable amount about the form issue, it seems prudent to address the functioning of these places in development.¹ As a step in that direction and paralleling an earlier classification by Hoselitz (1960), Rondinelli (1983) distinguishes developmental places, which promote widespread growth in their hinterlands, from exploitative ones which drain resources to promote their own expansion and return few positive impacts to the local economy. Elaborating the differences between these city types and understanding how these can be intelligently melded into policy is the current research theme we believe most important. There are, of course, many areas of potential research through which this question might be addressed; a few are described below.

Research Questions

In elaborating specific research areas, two general points must be made. First, an overriding concern is the establishment of complementarity in rural and urban activities since this will most directly benefit local development conditions. Second, understanding the differential impacts of policies in morphologically similar settings must be a broad objective of any research undertaken. With this in mind, five examples of research topics are now outlined. These are offered to illustrate the approach advocated here but not as a research agenda in their own right. Further, to varying degrees these topics touch on all three areas of concern under the present USAID initiative: migration-remittances, marketing-distribution, and marketing towns-secondary cities.

1. Technology Transfer or Innovation Diffusion. Although policy and research once operated under the assumption that this was universally beneficial, recent efforts acknowledge differential effects. For example,

"peasant" versus "landlord biased" innovations roughly correspond with developmental versus exploitative impacts (Brown 1981: ch. 8). That innovations should be selected accordingly, is obvious. Just as important, how would the impact of an innovation differ if employed in a developmental or exploitative setting? This might be addressed by considering that all elements of an innovation "package" (e.g., high yielding variety seed, fertilizer, irrigation, special agronomic knowledge) must converge on the same locale and at specific times.² The probability of there being a failure in this process must vary by type of innovation and context (developmental or exploitative) within which it is employed. In this sense, then, "appropriate" technologies would be defined by characteristics of the setting.³

2. Rural Credit Mechanisms. This is one element of many innovation packages studied extensively under USAID (Rural Savings Mobilization Project, Agency for International Development, Science and Technology Bureau, Multi-Sector Development Office). Credit availability should be an element of rural/urban linkages, but one also might consider the varying effectiveness of different credit mechanisms in developmental and/or exploitative contexts. The object of credit also may vary by such settings. For example, crops and/or production units that sell in rural or local markets, rather than in primate cities, could be favored to stimulate intermediate city/hinterland linkages. An additional criterion for favoring particular rural activities might be the degree to which their multiplier effects enhance local market systems.

3. Non-Cash Economies. Building on the non-cash dimensions of Third World economies is another issue pertinent to rural market systems.

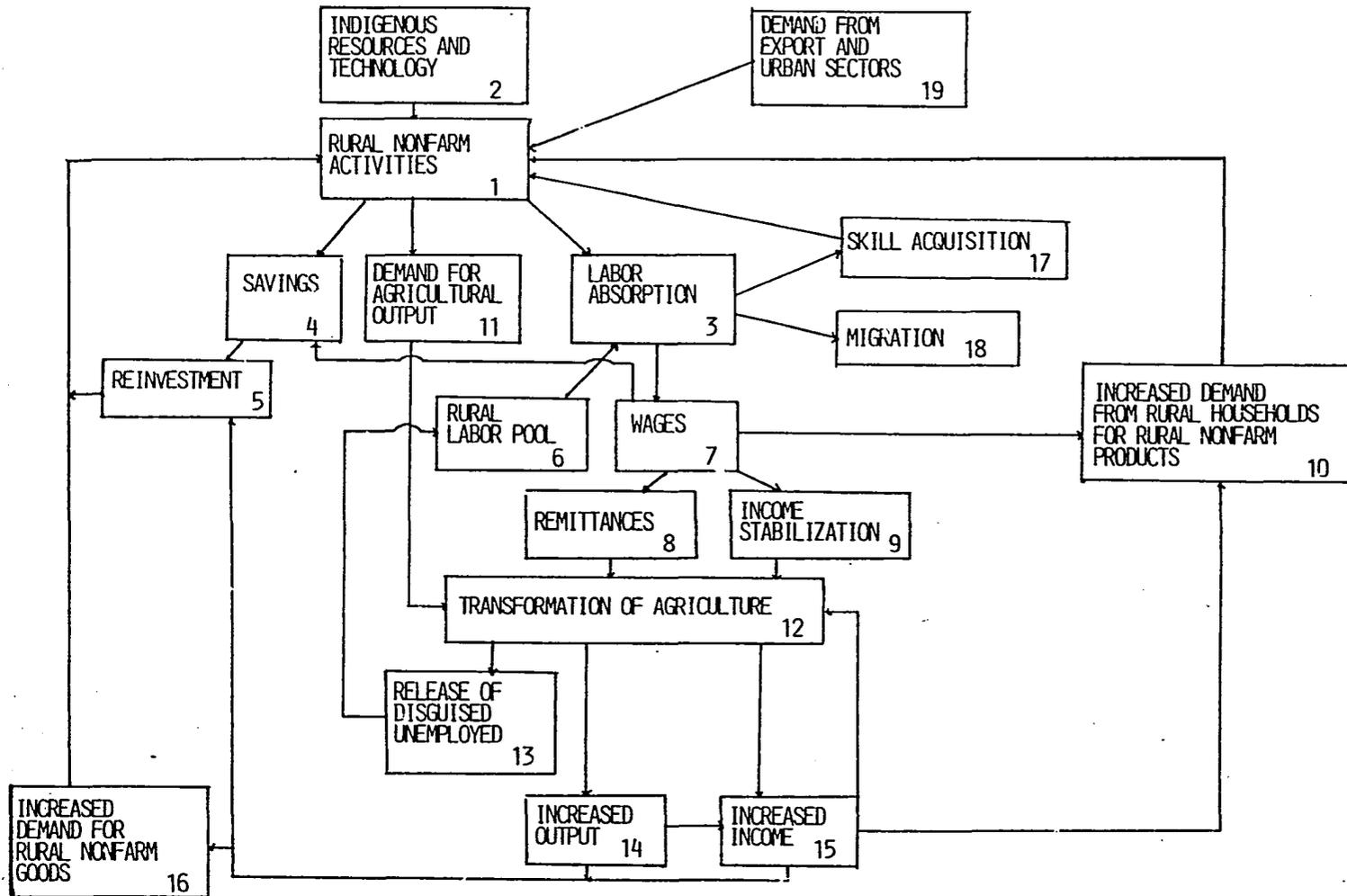
Currently, USAID is studying prospects for marketing the surpluses of subsistence agriculture. Increasing income from this source has obvious development benefits, but the methods for doing so require further elaboration. Previous USAID efforts, guided by traditional innovation-diffusion theory (Rogers 1982), implies it may be sufficient to persuade peasants of this strategy's wisdom. However, recent works indicate that it is equally important to strengthen rural/urban linkages and rural markets, actions clearly successful with cash crop farmers (Garst 1974; Brown 1981, ch. 7). Alternatively, one might transform subsistence surplus to high value, less bulky or perishable goods that compensate for inadequacies in linkage/market systems. One historical example of this strategy was the conversion of grains to liquor by American frontierspersons. More fundamentally, building upon non-cash economies moves towards integrating the formal and informal labor sectors, which itself is developmental (Hackenberg 1980).

4. Small Scale Enterprise. Stimulation of small scale enterprise is the broad set of actions under which much of the above falls. This is a "bottom up" strategy which parallels the way development "percolated" through the United States in its growth phases. Accordingly, and because "trickle down" strategies have been disappointing in their effects, small-scale enterprise has received increasing attention as a policy device (Anderson and Leiserson 1980; Anderson 1982; Schneider-Sliwa 1982). These activities build on resources that are relatively cheap in Third World settings; labor and second-hand capital draw upon and stimulate the mining, agricultural, and other resources of proximate hinterlands and these, in turn, foster related activities in the city. Hence, multiplier

and local linkage effects are considerable, as illustrated in Figure 1 for rural non-farm activities, a subset of small-scale enterprise. Starting with the rural nonfarm activity itself (Box 1), direct or primary effects include increased savings (Box 4), demand for agricultural output (Box 11) labor absorption (Box 3), and wages (Box 7). These aspects then give rise to indirect or secondary effects such as remittances (Box 8), income stabilization (Box 9), transformation of agriculture (Box 12), migration (Box 18) skill acquisition (Box 17), and additions to the labor pool (Box 6). The result is a number of feedback or multiplier effects such as increased demand from rural households (Boxes 10 and 16) for both agricultural and rural nonfarm goods, and reinvestment (Box 5). Finally, the system is fueled by external or exogenous effects, such as indigenous resources and technology (Box 2) and demand from the export and primate city sectors (Box 19).

Consideration of this example illustrates that complex ramifications of policy actions cannot be construed by linear reasoning processes; one must instead employ a systems perspective that takes account of the multiplicity of effects indicated in Figure 1. Furthermore, omitted from Figure 1 are contextual considerations, an omission symptomatic of previous development efforts. More specifically, and paralleling our discussion of technology transfer above, (a) different small-scale enterprises might be suitable for exploitative settings, other for developmental; (b) a triage approach might be needed whereby highly exploitative areas are ignored by policy; or (c) small-scale activities themselves may differ in the exploitative/developmental dimension (e.g., by generating few/many backward or forward linkages).

FIGURE 1. INTERCONNECTEDNESS AND MULTIPLIER EFFECTS OF RURAL NONFARM ENTERPRISE



Source: Schneider-Sliwa (1982)

FIGURE 1

5. Human Resource Retention and Attraction. This occurrence is inherently developmental, and should occur more in developmental settings, less in exploitative ones.⁴ Diversified economies, including labor intensive small-scale enterprises and robust rural markets, provide incentives for potential or actual migrants of higher quality to remain in the intermediate size city/hinterland (Figure 1, Boxes 3, 6, and 18). These activities also increase human resources/skills through apprenticeship systems (Figure 1, Box 17), and by combining informal with formal employment (Hackenberg 1980; Schneider-Silwa 1982).

General Research Orientation

Three general points emerge from this discussion. First depicting developmental or exploitative tendencies is facilitated by employing a "systems" framework to identify the presence or absence of synergistic city/hinterland relationships. This provides conceptual mechanisms for considering feedback, actions/reactions, and the like, which are central to the developmental/exploitative dichotomy. Specifically, interactions of a developmental nature are reciprocal, rather than uni-directional as earlier theory suggests (Hoselitz 1960; Friedman 1966; Berry 1969). Figure 1 embodies this system's view. A city develops and sparks growth in its hinterland, thus improving productivity and rural incomes, altering consumer preferences, generating demand for new economic activity in the city itself (Parr 1976).

Second, developmental/exploitative dynamics have important implications for policy efforts. Policies will be differentially effective depending upon (1) the developmental/exploitative tendencies of the development region, (2) the inherent developmental/exploitative tendencies of specific programs, and

(3) the interaction effects emerging from (1) and (2). To elaborate, placing a developmental or peasant biased innovation in a developmental intermediate city is likely to be positive and growth promoting. Requiring investigation, however, are the effects in situations where the type of place is not compatible with the policy instrument (e.g., a developmental innovation operating in an exploitative city).

Finally, one must be impressed with the Third World person's instinct for preserving and maximizing their economic position with their individual entrepreneuriality (Yapa 1976). Examples are found in Roberts' (1976, 1977) report of innovative reactions in Huancayo, Peru to changes in government regulations pertaining to private enterprise; and in Pollard's (1982) account of farmer responses to rural marketing boards in Jamaica. Considering this, together with the intricacy of Third World systems and their ability to generate self sustaining growth, as indicated by Figure 1, suggests an important lesson. Specifically, policy actions should focus on providing conditions for growth rather than supposed growth programs which actually constrain initiative.

NOTES

- 1 Concern with the form-function dichotomy has a long history in geographic research (Amedeo and Golledge 1975; Harvey 1969; Chorley 1962). The most important lesson of that work is probably the slight correlation between these two properties, summed up in the concept of "equifinality," i.e., that different processes may readily lead to similar patterns.
- 2 This problem has received attention through the "time geography" of Torsten Hagerstrand; see, for example, Carlstein (1982).
- 3 One definition of appropriate, for example, might be a balance between risk and productivity, which generally are inversely related (Goldberg 1975).
- 4 The issue's importance derives from the direct relationship between human resource level and development (Brown and Lawson 1984; Brown and Kodras 1984).

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MIGRATION IN AFRICA:
THE STATE OF RESEARCH AND CONCEPTUAL ISSUES

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Most research on migration in Africa has been census-based and/or based on surveys employing census-type questions to identify migrants. These questions have inherent limitations, and these accordingly permeate a great deal of what we do and do not know about internal migration in the countries on the continent. First, these questions are useful for identifying migrants (after the move has taken place), but they are not useful for obtaining direct information about the migration process and the antecedents of migration. Second, they are similarly not very useful for studying the consequences of migration at the individual or family level because although it is possible to obtain information on the characteristics of migrants at the time of the census or survey, it is virtually impossible to obtain comparable information for migrants for periods prior to the move. Third, traditional census-type questions tend to lend themselves to traditional conceptualizations of migration itself, and it may well be that in the African context the traditional notion of migration (involving change of residence with some intent of permanency) may at best be only one of the important forms of mobility and at worst not even one of these.

What census-type information is useful for is describing the broad patterns of migration between areas in a country and for providing data on the characteristics of migrants at their place of residence (at the time of the census or survey). This can generally only be compared to natives of this place and occasionally to the natives at places of origin. When special surveys focused on migration have been conducted in African countries, these have

tended to have a relatively narrow geo-ethnic coverage and, therefore, are probably not generalizable.

Indeed, one of the most important elements to remember in looking at any dimension of migration and how it relates to rural-urban linkages in African countries is that the chances are very good that there is likely to be a great deal of diversity from country to country. While there should be no doubt in anyone's mind that rural to urban and urban to rural migration (and other forms of mobility) help to establish rural-urban linkages, there should also be no doubt that we have little idea of the diversity of these linkages from country to country and the diversity of factors and their effects which influence migration. With these general comments in mind, there are three issues which bear on the migration-rural-urban linkages question which need to be addressed because they are fundamental to a wide range of far more specific questions.

Traditional Migration and Other Forms of Mobility

As noted above, the vast majority of research on rural-urban migration in African countries is based upon censuses or surveys which employ census-type questions to identify migrants. These questions are useful for identifying traditional (residential change) migrants and the data that they yield lead to one generalizable conclusion: rural to urban migration contributes substantially to urban growth, but the rate of rural to urban migration is very low (seldom exceeding two to three percent). Although we do not have a very complete understanding of this type of mobility, and how it influences rural-urban linkages, there is increasing evidence to suggest that other forms of mobility involving rural-urban population transfers are substantially higher and may play an even greater role in establishing linkages between urban and rural

areas. For example, routinized commuting for a number of reasons is surely substantially higher (in rates) than is rural-urban migration, and it is likely that commuters get a substantial dose of urban life and spend considerably more time in rural areas. This, in turn, may afford them greater opportunity to establish urban ways in rural areas, or it may increase the chances that urban goods, cash or norms will be introduced or accepted in rural areas. Similarly, other forms of mobility (such as circular and seasonal migration) likely not to be captured by traditional migration questions need to be considered for the role that they may play in forging rural-urban linkages.

From a policy perspective it may well be that more permanent rural to urban migrants are more likely than commuters to avail themselves of urban services (health and/or family planning devices or education, for example), but that commuters (even holding constant the distance from origin) would be more likely to get other family members, kin, and villagers to such services than the permanent migrant. Similarly, different types of mobility are very likely to have different consequences for the migrant, the family, the village, and the urban destination, and each of these are likely to result in different effects on how rural and urban areas relate to one another. Specific examples of this are too numerous to mention, but undoubtedly include a very broad range from the amount and how income gets circulated between rural and urban areas to family structure and types of crops grown to markets and access to services.

Migration Models and the African Context

Many of the currently most popular and most widely accepted models used to study rural-urban migration in an African context are either implicitly or explicitly tied to the rational decision-making models of migration developed in the West. These models assume that individual rational elements play the

major role in determining who moves and who does not, and that those who do so in the expectation that they will be better-off as a result of moving. A fundamental conceptual issue basic migration research in nearly all African countries comes from the fact that these types of models have been tested employing aggregate data on migrants, and this forces researchers to deduce the process from (1) the act and (2) the characteristics of migrants (or their areas of destination or origin). If we look at a population at one point in time, we will find that some people are considering a move and others are not. If this population is observed over time, we will find that migration occurs to (or migrants come from) both groups. Micro theories of migration are designed to explain the behavior of the first group, but "conventional migration data" does not allow the researcher to analytically segregate "premeditators" from "nonpremeditators"; but rather mixes the "decision-making migrants" with the "nondecision-making migrants" and the "nonmigrant decision-makers" with the "nonmigrant nondecision-makers."

The importance of this point cannot be overemphasized in any research dealing with the individual (or household) causes and consequences of migration and how these might relate to rural-urban linkages. The error produced from our failure to recognize and take account of these basic dimensions is directly proportional to the misclassification by default of migrants and nonmigrants along the decision-making dimension at best, while at worst, it is possible that entirely different factors operate on decision processors and nondecision processors. In terms of obtaining valid information on the consequences, of migration the situation is essentially the same if one begins from the likely assumption that planned moves are likely to have different consequences than unplanned moves.

In short, our understanding of the causes of migration in African countries and of the processes that lead to migration are severely retarded because these are always inferred rather than measured. Data we collected in Kenya show that only about 35 percent of a rural sample were going through a decision-making process when first interviewed and that of these only 30 percent did move over a period of nine months. Decision-making models are useful for understanding the migration of this group. The problem is that for every person who was a decision-making migrant there was 1.5 people who moved over the same period of time who did not go through the decision-making process. For this latter group which makes up about 60 percent of all migrants the causes of migration and the process leading to migration is far more difficult to determine. The policy implications surrounding this issue are many for it interrelates with every policy issue which is predicated on the idea that we know and understand the causes and/or process of migration as well as its consequences.

Remittances

Third, for some time it has been assumed that one of the primary functions of rural-urban migration (particularly of the young) in many African countries has been to remit cash and goods to family and kin in rural areas. Indeed, this assumption has become so widespread that a number of authors have argued not only that it underlies a great deal of rural to urban migration in the various countries, but also that more often than not it makes the migration of individuals more a family, household and/or kin decision than a matter of purely individual choice. A careful review of the literature, however, will reveal that remittances are more frequently assumed than measured, and that we really know remarkably little about the issue. For example, very little is known about the structure of remittances; is money sent (or taken) home

regularly in a routinized way for specific purposes, or are remittances more likely to be made on an ad hoc and less routinized basis? Are remittances likely to be for specific purposes (such as taxes, school fees, health or water needs) or are they general and to be disposed of in a manner determined as "need" arises? Do remittances increase monetary circulation in rural areas, or do they get disposed of in urban centers? To what extent do remittances inhibit (or influence) marriage and family formation among rural-urban migrants, and how might the latter interrelate with the former to alter the pattern of remittances and the linkage they establish. How long does it take rural-urban migrants to achieve a wage level sufficient enough to support themselves and pay a remittance? To what extent does the payment of remittances inhibit migrant participation in urban life styles, and the reverse, to what extent do they keep the migrant integrated into the home environment?

Summary of Policy Implications

Gaining a better understanding of the range of mobility transfers between rural and urban areas and their causes and consequences is vital to the development of policy for both types of areas. While it would be impossible to even list these in a single page, a number can at least be implied (in addition to those already mentioned) through the observation that at first thought macro studies (of the type now being done) seem more useful for the development of policy because they identify the problems which policies can be developed to influence. These types of studies are useful to identify problems, but researchers are treading in dangerous waters when they move from these descriptions to causal prescriptions. To merely assume that rural to urban migration is caused by the relatively better prospects of wage employment in the latter from the observations that this is where major migration streams go and where

jobs are leads to the overly simplistic conclusion that the flow could be reduced by creating job opportunities in rural areas. Indeed, many planners and policy makers are currently emphasizing just this view. What this view fails to recognize is that if the data were available the same association could be demonstrated between this migration stream and television viewing, beer consumption, the availability of a whole host of services and goods (non-durable and durable) as well as a range of behaviors not related to income and its disposal.

For example, if we knew where and how remittances were disposed of, it might be possible to increase their circulation within the rural sector and increase their capital value to this sector. Similarly, if we knew what factors and conditions made nondecision processing migrants move and how these were different from the factors and conditions impacting decision-processing migrants, policies might be launched which would not merely attempt to influence the size of migration flows but also their composition. It is also possible that rural-urban linkages are themselves important causes and consequences of migration so that gaining a better understanding of the former may lead to the ability to influence the latter.

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MARKETS, MARKETING, AND DISTRIBUTION IN AFRICA

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Introduction

This paper examines current major research and policy issues regarding markets, marketing and distribution in Africa. It is divided into four parts. Part I provides an overview of major research conclusions that apply, in general, to market and distribution systems in Africa. Part II examines two current research directions, briefly describing some of the results of each and pointing out key questions resulting from this research, especially with regard to policy issues. Part III points out additional research and policy questions that have not been examined in detail in the African context. Finally, Part IV summarizes the major policy issues that arise out of the literature discussed. The attached bibliography contains brief annotations of those works considered most significant.

I. Background and Overview

Within African countries, widespread distribution networks link rural and urban areas and one region of a country with other regions. These distribution systems provide for the movement of goods, services, and information from place to place. Usually there are several components to the distribution system including (1) the institutions involved in transfer of rural agricultural commodities produced for export; (2) permanent retail establishments (usually small shops) in rural and urban areas; and (3) systems of market places in both rural and urban areas. These last may be termed internal marketing systems and are, in general, the most important institutions for internal distribution of

both agricultural produce and manufactured goods. Therefore, much of the discussion in this paper will focus on internal marketing systems, though noting links to other distributive mechanisms where they are relevant.

The distinctive component of internal marketing systems is the market places, which meet in specified localities on a regular schedule; marketplaces may be either daily or periodic (Mintz 1959; R.H.T. Smith 1979,471). Usually rural markets are periodic while urban markets tend to be daily. The basic economic functions of internal marketing systems are as follows: (1) exchange of locally produced goods within the local area; (2) the bulking of agricultural produce in rural markets for internal trade to larger, urban markets; (3) the distribution of both locally-manufactured goods and imported goods from urban to rural areas (Eighmy 1972,299-300; R.H.T. Smith 1979,485).

Research on contemporary market systems in Africa leads to the following general conclusions. Other, more specific conclusions and questions are discussed in Part II.

1. Internal market systems consisting of rural and urban marketplaces are widespread throughout Africa and provide the major institution for the internal exchange of goods (Bohannon and Dalton 1962). There are important historical differences between regions; for example, in some West African countries such as Nigeria marketplaces long pre-date the colonial era (Hodder 1969) whereas in other West African countries such as Liberia and in much of East Africa they are much more recent (Handwerker 1974; Good 1970). Nevertheless, in nearly all areas they are today "the paramount link between food producers and urban consumers" (Handwerker 1981b,6) and in many areas they are also the sites where rural consumers obtain manufactured goods.

2. Internal marketing systems are fully part of the modern distributive economies of African countries, both in those places where they have long

histories and in those where they have evolved relatively recently. Rather than being seen as "traditional" or static, they need to be seen as a major part of the contemporary economy, and, hence, as institutions in which change is on-going, and which are responsive to changes taking place elsewhere in the economy.

3. Market systems operate relatively efficiently for the distribution of goods, both in terms of their location to provide access to markets for rural residents (Wood 1975) and in terms of the effectiveness of distribution of rural produce (Handwerker 1981a; Jones 1976).

4. Contrary to some earlier hypotheses, there is no evidence that either rural or urban markets are disappearing. To the contrary, the number of rural marketplaces tends to be increasing (Handwerker 1981b) and urban markets continue to be the major locale for the purchase of both food and manufactured goods (Vagale 1972).

II. Current Research Directions and Major Issues

This section considers research results from two major research perspectives -- 1) spatial analysis of marketplace systems and 2) analysis of the social organization of marketplace trade and of the roles of marketplace traders. Major policy issues resulting from each are discussed.

Spatial Analysis of Market Place Systems

Spatial analysis of marketplace systems primarily focuses on rural periodic markets and the distribution of agricultural commodities. Studies of the location and timing of periodic markets show that they are in general well-located to meet the needs of rural residents (R.H.T. Smith 1971, 1979; Wood 1975,70). Recent research using regional analysis (C. Smith 1976; Schwimmer

1976; Trager 1981a), however, emphasizes varying types of spatial arrangements of marketplaces and argues that marketplaces are organized on a hierarchical basis related to other features of the economic and social system of the society. Several types of spatial systems have been identified, such as dendritic, solar, and transport central place systems; each has implications for the type of access that rural residents have to markets, and their competitive place in that system. For example, in dendritic systems, a rural market is linked to a single higher level market; hence, rural producers can sell only to buyers from that higher level market and are dependent for manufactured goods on traders from that same market (C. Smith 1976, 34). On the other hand, Schwimmer's study of a marketplace system in Ghana shows how a variety of forces have led to the emergence of "a set of local centers that perform multiple functions and articulate the local, regional, and national systems" (1976, 142); rural residents have access to these centers for various needs.

While regional analysis looks at the location and hierarchical arrangement of marketplaces, others have argued that each commodity has its own spatial organization of trade and that that spatial organization affects the efficiency of movement of goods (Jones 1972; 1976). This perspective has in particular been used to examine price variation and efficiency in the trade in specific agricultural commodities.

The following policy issues and questions arise from research results analyzing the spatial organization of market place systems:

1. How do different spatial systems for different commodities affect the distribution and pricing of these commodities? How do these differences affect the bargaining position of farmers with regard to prices?

2. What kind of access do rural residents -- especially producers -- have to markets, both for selling their produce and for purchasing manufactured goods? How do different types of spatial systems affect access and how can access be improved in those situations where it is poor?

3. There is evidence that rural markets are being transformed into more specialized bulking centers (Gana 1979) as demand from cities increases; how does this affect the spatial organization of trade and the competitive position of farmers?

4. Since marketplaces are central places providing access for rural residents to a variety of goods and services, it has been suggested that they could be used as the basis of central sites for additional services, e.g., locating periodic health clinics in periodic marketplaces (Obudho and Waller 1976; Adalemo 1979; Trager 1979; Imperato 1969). The only actual extensive attempt to do this described in the literature is in a non-African locale (New Guinea) where periodic markets were instituted to provide a variety of periodic services to rural residents (Ward et al. 1978).

Social Organization of Market Place Trade and the Role of Traders

Traders act as key participants in all marketing systems, carrying out a variety of activities and functions. They bulk agricultural produce in rural markets for distribution elsewhere; they buy and sell manufactured goods in rural and urban markets; frequently they arrange the transport of goods from one place to another; sometimes they provide credit for other participants in the market system. In other words, traders function as a major link between different levels in market hierarchies and between various participants in market systems.

There are various types of traders participating in marketplaces systems, ranging from part-time trader/producers engaged in local exchange to full-time intermediaries engaged in the distribution of goods from place to place. In rural markets, one finds producer/traders, local, and regional intermediaries bulking produce, and retailers selling manufactured goods. In urban markets, the intermediaries resell the produce they have bulked to urban retailers, who are usually full-time traders. Other urban merchants sell manufactured goods both on retail and wholesale basis. The intermediaries are the most important participants in these systems. They travel between markets at different levels, bulking rural produce and reselling it in urban markets, and breaking bulk in manufactured and non-locally produced foods and selling them in rural markets (Trager 1976-77).

Research on the organization of trade demonstrates that the social organization of trade varies with the conditions of trade. Schwimmer (1979) shows variation in the social organization of three commodities in a Ghanaian market system and relates this variation to differences in underlying supply and distribution structures. Trager shows that social organization of trade may vary within a single commodity when there is variation in the risks and constraints involved (1981b).

Two particularly important mechanisms in the organization of trade are (1) the establishment and maintenance of regular ties between trader and supplier or between trader and customer and (2) the maintenance of credit relationships (Trager 1981b; Cohen 1969; Yusuf 1975). In some contexts, trade associations and informal cooperative groupings of traders selling the same commodity are also of importance.

Throughout much of Africa, women are particularly important both in local trade -- in both rural and urban areas -- and as intermediaries in the movement of goods from place to place (Simms 1981; Trager 1976-77; Sudarkasa 1973; Jules-Rosette 1982). Trade is an important aspect of urban informal sector activity and an important source of income; in urban Zambia, for example, both male and female traders are people who have few other employment opportunities (Beveridge and Oberschall 1979). For rural-based traders, as well, trade is important as a source of income. In some regions, particular ethnic groups dominate trade activities, especially larger-scale trade in certain commodities (Cohen 1969).

The following policy issues arise from research results on the role of traders and the social organization of trade:

1. Given the importance of intermediaries in the movement of goods, what kinds of policies can aid their distributive roles -- e.g., access to credit, transport facilities, information regarding market conditions?

2. Do the organizational mechanisms such as maintenance of regular relationships affect access to markets? Are producers linked to certain intermediaries who buy regularly from them? What are the advantages and/or disadvantages of such relationship? How do credit relationships between trader and farmer, where they exist, affect the farmer's bargaining position?

3. To what extent do the linkages provided through intermediaries to urban markets help in the distribution of income, as well as goods and services, between rural and urban areas? (See Scott 1981).

4. Traders, rural and urban, local and intermediaries, are self-employed persons working in informal sector activities. Trade is an

important source of income, especially for women. What kinds of policies are likely to enhance the income-earning possibilities of these traders, in a wide variety of circumstances?

5. Traders, especially intermediaries, are frequently seen as villains -- the cause of high consumer prices or shortages of goods, for example. Government proposals often reflect such views, calling for the creation of other types of marketing institutions and the elimination of intermediaries. Yet as we have seen, traders perform essential distributive functions and trade constitutes an important source of income for many people. Is there any basis for the stereotyped view of traders? What types of policies -- if any -- would both aid their ability to carry out important distributive functions and yet also aid the economic situation of the farmers and the consumers?

III. Other Research and Policy Concerns

The following are issues less frequently dealt with in the literature on African marketing and distribution systems, but of considerable importance. The effects of state intervention on internal marketing and other distribution systems

Government intervention in domestic agricultural markets is common (Gerard and Roe 1983) yet there has been relatively little research on the effects of such intervention on the internal marketing systems. Jones suggests that the establishment of state distribution systems are less effective than the private marketing system (1972,271), and that government interventions are most useful in areas such as infrastructure and information (1980). Others argue that state intervention exacerbates problems of the private market system

(Harriss 1979). McKim's study of Tanzania notes the continued importance of the local exchange functions of marketplaces even when the state has taken over most other distribution activities (1981). Each of these studies, however, has a rather limited focus. Given the tendency noted above to see market intermediaries as the source of a variety of economic problems, this issue needs to be addressed more thoroughly. Among the questions that might be considered are: the ways in which state interventions affects 1) access to markets; 2) the roles of private intermediaries; 3) efficiency of distribution; 4) prices of commodities. Other questions concern the types of interventions that might be most useful, such as those suggested by Jones for the marketing of agricultural commodities (1980).

Linkages between rural periodic markets and urban marketplaces.

These are, as we have seen, part of the same internal marketing systems. But research tends to focus either on the system of rural markets or on urban marketplaces rather than on the links. An exception is the research that considers trade in specific commodities, usually agricultural produce. But we need to know more about the relationships of the two sets of marketplaces, especially as the economies become increasingly commercialized (Troin 1975). There are two basic issues here:

1. How is the movement of agricultural produce into large cities organized to meet demand effectively, as it apparently does? A study of markets in the city of Ibadan, Nigeria shows that two-thirds of the traders in the 26 city markets sell foodstuffs (Vagale 1972), but we know relatively little about how they obtain those foodstuffs.

2. Conversely, how do manufactured goods get distributed from urban to rural places? There are few studies of the marketing channels of either

locally-manufactured or imported goods. Dannhaeuser (1983) is an example of such a study in a non-African context.

As African economies are increasingly commercialized and as populations resident in cities increase, the movement of goods in both directions presents major issues. In general, it seems that the distribution of goods is relatively well-organized and demand is met quite well but relatively little is known about how it is carried out or about how changes in the larger economy affect the internal distribution systems.

Linkages between marketplace systems and other distributive institutions.

In some regions, marketplaces are the major locale for nearly all distribution; in others, they are one place alongside other distributive channels. It seems that the services provided by rural retail shops -- e.g., the dukas of East Africa -- and by marketplaces are complementary (Wood 1978; R.H.T. Smith 1978), but what are the linkages -- if any -- between these institutions?

In urban areas, there are a number of other ways in which goods are distributed, including permanent retail shops and mobile vendors. Again, what are the nature of the linkages between these institutions and the marketplace system? For example, mobile food vendors are an important source of food for many urban residents. Current research by Equity Policy Center is providing information on the organization of urban street food trade (Cohen 1984; Posner 1984). But we know very little about the linkages between this trade and marketplace trade, for example, in terms of how street food vendors obtain the produce used in their prepared foods.

The development of marketplaces and other central distribution sites as central places for other services.

This may be seen as especially important for extending various urban services to dispersed rural populations, and seems in particular to have potential

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if the services are established on a periodic basis coinciding with the timing of the markets. Periodic markets bring together large numbers of people from surrounding rural areas; this seems to be a potential way to deliver services to them,. Some suggestions have been made for the provision of services in urban marketplaces as well. For example, a recent proposal suggests locating health facilities and training programs for urban vendors -- particularly, food vendors -- in urban marketplaces (Kujore et al. 1983).

Summary

The following are the major research and policy issues arising from current research on market and distribution systems in Africa:

1. The question of access to markets, especially for rural residents, both as outlets for produce and as places to obtain manufactured and non-local food products. Questions of access are related to both spatial arrangement of marketplaces and to the social organization of trade. This concern is related to an ongoing AID project on small farmer marketing access (Miller n.d.).

2. The question of linkages between different types of distribution institutions -- marketplaces, shops, mobile vendors, and between rural and urban distribution systems. Internal marketing systems and intermediaries are most important in establishing and maintaining those linkages, but more research is needed on the nature of those linkages and on policy implications, especially as the economies are increasingly commercialized and as urban populations and demand increase.

3. The important role played by traders as intermediaries. Attention needs to be directed to ways in which policies can aid in the essential

distribution roles played by traders. Many rural and urban residents, especially women, earn incomes through trade activities; while the importance of the urban informal sector has been noted in development policy, less attention has been paid to traders in marketplaces as a part of the informal sector, either in rural or urban areas.

4. The effects of state intervention on internal distribution systems need to be considered.

5. The potential for using marketplace sites for the extension of other services has been noted.

6. Finally, internal market and distribution systems are complex and dynamic institutions. Policies directed towards these institutions need to take into account ways in which they may be changing as conditions in the larger economy change.

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MARKET TOWNS AND CREATION OF SECONDARY CITIES IN AFRICA

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The subject of market towns and secondary city development in Africa, as suggested by the attached bibliography, has been the object of significant attention during the recent past. Anthropologists and economic geographers constitute the primary students of market towns, and the latter have focused considerable attention on applying central place theory to explain the relationship between town hierarchies and patterns of rural development.

Secondary city development has received attention from a broader array of researchers and professionals. Beside economic geographers and urban anthropologists, interested individuals have included regional planners and economists, political scientists, demographers, sociologists, historians, urban economists, and macroeconomic planners. Noticeably absent in the literature are contributions by agricultural and resource economists and by other rural development specialists.

The available literature thus presents a difficulty. Scholars and practitioners who have learned about the structure and growth of towns and cities may not be attuned, at least insofar as their educational backgrounds would imply, to the operational causes and effects of agricultural development. Conversely, scholars and practitioners attuned to the latter, have apparently little to say about rural development in relation to towns and cities. This is a dilemma because, short of the unlikely possibility that a clear relationship between towns and agriculture has simply fallen through the cracks of theory and research, proponents of towns and cities seem to argue that there is a

relationship to agriculture while agriculturalists, through their disinterest, seem to reply that such a relationship is not worth writing about.

In this context one must necessarily be careful about the origins of questions like: "How can services in varying size cities and towns increase rural productivity?" This is apparently a question structured within the framework of economic geography. It, unfortunately, cannot be answered within the same framework because economic geography has yet to reveal adequate depth and breadth of understanding of agricultural or other rural production processes. Since the answer is not evident in the agricultural literature either, the following attempt to clarify the issue of relationship must necessarily be understood as an ad hoc combination of theories and concepts which has yet to achieve widespread currency in the heterogeneous field of development.

Rather than begin with the notion of towns and cities, I have structured the discussion in terms of a temporary and artificial distinction between trade, industrial and administrative "centers." These correspond loosely to notions of regional input-output and economic base concepts, and seem to be useful ways of working towards understanding how towns, cities and agriculture interact with each other.

Trade Centers

Trade-based centers are places where farmers and herdspeople come to exchange goods and services with each other, with intermediaries, with suppliers of manufactured goods, and with providers of economic services. The manufactured goods include the products of large-scale industry (e.g., tools, plows, hybrid seeds, processed foods, petroleum products, clothing, bicycles, agricultural chemicals, cloth and clothing, shoes, motorcycle parts, radios, pharmaceuticals, cement, etc.), as well as the output of local small-scale

manufacturing (e.g., hoes, sickles, clay pots, salt, fishing nets, furniture, prepared foods, etc.). Economic services include those rendered by blacksmiths, butchers, tailors, renters of plows and traction animals, bicycle and motorcycle mechanics, radio repairers, grain mill operators, peanut shellers and oil extractors, and so on.

Trade is in principle an extremely important contributor to agricultural efficiency and, by extension, so are the centers in which the trade takes place. The location of this kind of center with respect to regional and national markets for agricultural output, for example, influences prices paid to rural producers. Other factors constant, the further away a center is from the main national market, because of distance and/or transportation difficulties, the lower will be the price paid to farmers. Conversely, non-locally produced goods and services will cost more at the remote center. The combination of lower price and higher cost has the effect of reducing the level of producer surplus, thus limiting the quantity and variety of inputs that the producer can purchase in order to increase production. Providers of inputs, sensitive to demand and the costs of transport and inventory, will correspondingly bring to the market a smaller quantity and variety of productive goods and services.

Corresponding to a low level of per capita exchange of goods and services is a low level of information exchange. Knowledge about new types of seeds, chemicals, tools, techniques, etc. tends to be scarcer at remote markets. A producer with sufficient surplus and interest is less likely to hear about a non-traditional way of farming at an isolated center and would, therefore, not have a particular incentive to get more information at another center where it might be available. Probabilities of innovation, adoption, and diffusion around an isolated center are thus lessened.

The foregoing discussion has proceeded as if one trade center or market town served the entire needs of a particular surrounding area. In Africa patterns of trade are generally more complex than this. Often, for example, a region is served by a system of markets that function on different days, specialize in different goods at various times of the year, and bring together different combinations of buyers and sellers. A producer might, for example, sell one commodity at one market on Tuesday and another commodity at another market on Thursday. He or she would buy nothing on those two days, waiting instead to sell both commodities at the same time and also buy inputs at a main weekly market on Sunday. Input suppliers might follow the same pattern, offering only basics during the week and a whole stock on the weekend.

The dynamic character of rural trade in much of Africa does not imply that the earlier discussion of the role of a trade center has less relevance. Rather, the systemic properties suggest that one must understand the function of a particular center in the framework of its role in a larger regional network of marketing places and the operating efficiency of the larger system with respect to regional agricultural development.

Central place theory, a concept derived from geography (and used extensively in the United States in locational analyses of shopping centers, hospitals, schools, fire and police stations, and other facilities designed to serve fixed residential populations in surrounding areas), serves as a useful point of departure for thinking about the organization of a regional system of trade centers. The theory, for example, posits the existence of a hierarchy of centers in which places lower down on the hierarchy serve smaller surrounding areas and provide a narrower range of goods and services while places higher up

serve a larger area with more goods and services. In this way the theory helps to focus attention on the network of trade centers in a region, on what is available where, and why.

Notwithstanding its conceptual utility, the theory contains several shortcomings that limit its applicability in developmental analysis. A major shortcoming is that it is static. It cannot, for example, adequately treat a situation in which a lower-order market on Tuesdays and Thursdays becomes a higher-order regional trade center on Sundays. More importantly, the theory cannot adequately treat dynamic price-cost relationships as they present themselves across a region over time. Also, though this is more a comment about misuse of theory than the theory itself, it serves to confuse cause and effect. Analysts often claim, for example, that changes brought about in the goods and services offered by a center or the system of centers can increase rural productivity. This is true to some extent, but it is equally true that autonomous changes in rural production bring about changes in the characteristics of centers. The relationship is a bilateral one and central place theory says little about the relationship between trade and agricultural production. This last is the theory's major shortcoming. It can, however, be overcome by complementing its use with theories of trade, agricultural production and marketing concepts, and other pertinent ideas derived from economics.

Space is too short here to permit elaboration on how various approaches in economics can help elucidate the relationship between market centers (or the system of centers) and agricultural production, but a reading of Eicher and Baker (1982) will place the issue in proper, complex perspective. After reviewing the considerable amount of literature on African research, these authors argue that more attention needs to be given to understanding the

the dynamic interrelationship between production and marketing, particularly with respect to the linkages between production, assembly, processing, distribution, and consumption, and one might add information flow to this list.

In this context the issue of market town creation, per se, is less relevant than attempting to understand the characteristics and properties of regional flows of goods and services. One cannot say in advance of research on this subject that analysis of the towns themselves or the system of towns, as understood by economic geographers, constitute useful points of departure. Large towns may have small marketing roles and major periodic markets may exist where there are no permanent towns. The thrust of research and program activity should be on regional marketing dynamics first and later, if warranted at all, on examining how "market towns" fit into the dynamics.

Industrial Centers

Industrial centers are places where resident populations derive income directly or indirectly from medium and large-scale resource processing and manufacturing activities and from smaller-scale manufacturing that capitalizes on locally available raw materials, skilled workers, infrastructure, and an immediately available producer and consumer market for output. Strictly speaking, the trade and service activities that take place in such a center cater primarily to the demands of the local population.

The location of these centers can be explained historically by the logic of industrial location. Depending on the type of industry in question, they situated themselves near a port or other major transportation facility, near a source of raw material, near a power plant, near a supply of qualified labor, or near a major market. Sometimes, particularly in cases of state-owned or controlled industries, location decisions were determined by political fiat as

a way to promote development of a lagging region or, less rationally, as a way to provide political patronage.

The impact of such centers on agricultural production varies considerably, depending on the types of industry and related services that the center contains. In general, the higher disposable income in such towns creates a local market for agricultural output that may increase prices paid to producers in the immediate vicinity and may lead to agricultural diversification -- production of fruit and vegetables being a good example. By the same token, the higher town income, typically combined with relatively high-grade transport facilities, provides a larger variety of goods and services at lower cost than would otherwise be possible, and rural populations can capture these benefits as well as additional opportunities for seasonal employment. If large enough, or growing fast enough, industrial centers can serve to rearrange a region's marketing system so that one possible effect is that gains to rural producers surrounding the center are offset by losses to those surrounding a declining market town being displaced in the regional system by the center.

In any case, beyond the general increase in goods, services, employment and information that the center can bring to the region by virtue of its growth, specific rural benefits will vary with the type of industry. Plants that purchase grain for beer, hides for leather goods, cotton for textile manufacturing, palm kernel, and groundnuts for oil extraction, etc., generally offer higher prices to surrounding producers than otherwise possible. With their added surplus producers are able to purchase more input goods and services to generate higher production, and are likely to find a lot of what they are looking for in the center.

The centers, however, also have an industrial displacement effect. Traditional rural activities like tailoring, hand processing of grains and oils, blacksmithing, pottery making, beer making, etc., often suffer from competition from industrial goods produced at the center or imported to it. Although many analysts assume the net effect to be positive because rural producer losses are offset by rural consumption gains, there's little proof of it.

What is particularly important in the foregoing is not so much the relationship between an industrial center and its rural hinterland, but rather the relationships between industrial demand for agricultural output, the location of the industry, and the increased purchasing power of agricultural suppliers. Industry that does not increase demand for rural output (e.g., bicycle assembly), has much less effect on rural productivity than a plant that does increase demand. This relationship between agriculture and industry is sufficiently well known in Asia and Latin American that typical industrial development plans make special efforts to identify the types of industries that could yield maximum positive impacts on agriculture, to search for appropriate locations for these industries, and to provide incentives for their establishment. African countries do the same, but with considerably less sophistication or effect.

Administrative Centers

Administrative centers are places where national, state and local governments have located a variety of types of public services. Their most immediate benefit to rural populations, as in the case of industrial centers, takes the form of increased local purchases by government employees that raise demand for surrounding area output, and bring into the center a variety of goods and services that are also available to farming families.

Aside from this effect, which in Africa typically means returning to rural producers a portion of taxes that they provide to the government, the salient contributions of administrative centers to rural productivity arise from the goods and economic services provided by the government. Africa is different than most other regions of the world in that governments directly provide (for better or worse) a large range of goods and services that elsewhere would be provided through private initiative. Agricultural equipment, animal care products, fertilizers, insecticides, herbicides, new seeds, production information, credit, etc., are often monopolized by public agencies.

Criteria for locating distribution points for these goods and services are quite varied. Sometimes they seem well-meshed into regional marketing networks, with government agents following the same circuits as rural producers and traders, and acting as integral parts of established regional trade systems. At other times they seem totally random, with locational criteria appearing to depend more on availability of suitable housing for the agent, on the presence of local amenities like a road, telephone or just something apparently "urban," or the proximity of an important personage like a village or district chief, and so on.

Locations of "non-economic" services like schools, maternities, dispensaries, hospitals, and so on tend to be more structured and generally follow the administrative hierarchy of provincial capitals, district headquarters, administrative sectors, and sub-sectors, etc.

Central place theory, described earlier, has been used to examine the spatial organization of the various public services noted. In application, the concept has proven helpful in identifying areas and populations inadequately served by the fixed, non-economic services. The theory, because of the

shortcomings noted in the earlier discussion of trade centers, has not proven quite as helpful in examining the effectiveness of supply of public economic services.

In general, however, the potential productive contribution of administrative services to rural productivity has much less to do with location than it does with extreme financial and human resource inadequacies of government. Even if administrative centers were distributed optimally with respect to rural producers, the problem would remain that government services would be inadequate everywhere. Looking for ways to improve the distribution of services across a region is valuable but, by itself, is inadequate.

Implications for Research and Program/Project Activities

In reality, major towns and secondary cities can only sometimes be viewed as either trade centers, or industrial centers or administrative centers. They typically combine both trade and administration and, to a lesser extent, industry as well. I have made an artificial separation in order to highlight the different kinds of relationships that secondary activities (i.e., industry) and tertiary activities (i.e., trade and services) can have on the development of agriculture. In making the separation I am also trying to suggest that looking at "urban-rural linkages" or at the interactions between rural productivity and "market towns and secondary cities" may obscure the more fundamental intersectoral economic relationships that are involved in the development process.

I believe that it would be considerably more fruitful to approach the matter in the framework of regional economic development analysis and planning, and on a sector by sector basis. In this kind of framework the first order of business is to analyze the characteristics of agriculture in a circumscribed area, noting what the constraints are at present and what opportunities exist

for the future. Though regional boundary definition has often been questionable, USAID has carried out analyses of the kinds required in several areas.

The second order of business would then be to examine the region's trade system, looking at seasonal price-cost relationships for different major commodities, effects of the existing transport system on the relationships, and the availability and costs of publicly and privately-provided productive goods and services throughout the region. This would provide information on what is where (perhaps also why), and may perhaps yield preliminary ideas about inadequacies in the regional flow of productive goods, services, and information. USAID has supported some work on agricultural marketing done by economists and anthropologists. Unfortunately, the former have tended to focus on the efficiency by which goods move about, and the latter on socio-cultural aspects of markets and marketing. Neither approach has gone very far into examining how to reduce costs of basic inputs, how to introduce into a region inputs that are presently unavailable there, or what the essential relationship is between trade and agricultural progress in the particular region.

The third order of business would be to look at the composition and distribution of regional industry, or, if the region has none, the potential for regional industrialization. A particular attention would be put on industries that make heavy use of the region's output, on the preferable locations for such industries, and on the types of infrastructure that such industries might require. The World Bank has been involved in this kind of work in the past, but USAID (perhaps because of its unfortunate interpretation of "rural" as limited to small farmers exclusive of the secondary activities to which farmers can sell) has not. Fortunately, recent initiatives in the matter of private

sector development (e.g., agro-industry) and multisectoral approaches to development open up USAID opportunities for involvement in this area.

The fourth order of business would be to document the distribution and effectiveness of non-economic administrative services. The economic services would have been examined under the trade systems component. Here one could look primarily at the distribution of health, education, and other services, identifying spatial inadequacies along the way, but focusing more on upgrading the human and fiscal resources available to the region. These last are what would make a difference to rural productivity.

Analysis of towns and secondary cities might be a fifth activity. It would, however, be a variation on the examinations that have already taken place -- a kind of special overlay on the earlier sectoral analyses. Having already looked at the sectors and their spatial characteristics, one might conceivably find that there are "urban" places of opportunity where concentration of investment might be more cost-effective than scattering them all around a region. Certain economies of concentration could be obtained, for example, by supplying industrial power, communications needs, or access roads to one or two centers rather than demanding that each plant invest in its own supply units. Given a power supply, cold storage facilities for agricultural perishables might become situated in the same places, and a government might decide to take advantage of the infrastructure to relocate or expand a public service facility as well. In the long haul an otherwise undistinguished market town could become a kind of secondary city, but that would be a logical outcome of public and private actions rather than an explicit objective of public policy.

In the African context, I think it wiser to think of the creation and growth of market towns and secondary cities as the outward manifestations of

regional development processes rather than as inputs to the process. The great danger of the latter assumption is that it puts the "cart before the horse," and I think research in Africa already contains too many instances of illogical cause-effect inversions.

In summary, I wish to argue that the Urban-Rural Common Themes Initiative will not be well-served by focusing attention on the "creation" of market centers and secondary cities. Standing alone, divorced from any rigorous causal theory linking "towns" per se to agriculture, and obscuring the sectoral interaction between primary, secondary, and tertiary economic activities, this method of addressing rural development will not advance USAID's purposes in Africa. Now that USAID's mandate has broadened to include private sector promotion and multisectoral analysis, the Agency should follow the lead of the World Bank and the UNDP in adopting a regional approach to agricultural development that takes into consideration the interaction of all economic activities pertinent to an area. If and when the Agency decides to pursue this line of approach it will begin to make programmatic sense to focus some attention on the particular roles that towns and cities may play in the development of the region in question.

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The most complete and relatively up-to-date bibliography on urbanization and urban growth in Africa is: O'Connor, A.M. Urbanization in Tropical Africa: An Annotated Bibliography, G.K. Hall: Boston, 1981. This monumental work contains thousands of individual references, including several hundred touching directly on pertinent aspects of market towns and secondary cities. Only a very few of these last attempt to explore the relationship between towns, cities, and rural development.

Research on African urban issues shows no particular trend. Anthropologists continue to do what they've always done, as have geographers, economic geographers, and sociologists. This is not entirely surprising since researchers usually stick quite close to their own particular fields of interest. Soja's article in 1968 identified one crucial issue as a need for considerably more solid research on the developmental relationships between cities, towns, and rural development, but only a very few scholars have moved in this direction. Aside from some of the foregoing references, Mabogunje, A.L. (1979) wrote "Manufacturing and the Geography of Development in Tropical Africa" in Economic Geography, but this type of work is only indirectly structured around the issue of towns and cities per se. It deals with the spatial aspects of sectoral development.

The temptation to reassert Soja's claim that we need more research on urban/rural relationships is compelling, but as I've tried to argue in the text, progress might be quicker if urban scholars were to abandon their total reliance on traditional categories of analysis (e.g., urban, rural) and seek to merge them with categories and concepts drawn from research on agricultural development. In this context I believe that a useful point of departure would be a compulsory review of: Eicher, C.K., and Baker, D.C. Research on Agricultural Development in Sub-Saharan Africa: A Critical Survey, Department of Agricultural Economics, Michigan State University, East Lansing, 1982.