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PERI-URBAN ECONOMIC GROWTH IN AFRICA

PERI-URBAN STUDIES IN AFRICA
Annotated and General Bibliographies



A COLLABORATIVE EFFORT AMONG:

ACCESS TO LAND, WATER, AND NATURAL RESOURCES
LAND TENURE CENTER (LTC), UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN-MADISON

EXPERIMENTAL APPROACHES TO RURAL SAVINGS MOBILIZATION
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PERI-URBAN STUDIES IN AFRICA

Annotated and General Bibliographies

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Table of Contents

Preface	i
Part I-Annotated Bibliography.....	1
Topical Index to Key Words.....	81
Geographical Index to Key Words.....	83
Part II-General Bibliography.....	85

Preface

This bibliographic review represents a collaborative effort between three cooperative agreements: **Access to Land, Water, and Natural Resources**, Land Tenure Center (LTC), University of Wisconsin, **Experimental Approaches to Rural Savings Mobilization (EARS)**, Ohio State University, and **Systems Approach to Regional Income and Sustainable Resource Assistance (SARSA)**, the Institute for Development Anthropology (IDA), Clark University, and Virginia Polytechnic Institute. The report is intended to document the important literature on peri-urban economies in Africa and to annotate the most important of these. It is produced by the cooperators under a joint research project on "Economic Growth in Peri-Urban Areas of Africa". The purpose of the research program is to gain a deeper appreciation and understanding of the diversity, role, function, and interaction of land, labor, and financial markets in peri-urban areas of Africa.

The bibliographic review is not intended to be comprehensive. Its primary objective is to gain an understanding of the peri-urban literature as it relates to the three factor markets of labor, land, and finance in sub-Saharan Africa. This implies covering literature related to several different disciplines, including anthropology, economics, demography, geography, urban planning, and public administration. Because the literature on peri-urban economies in Africa is very uneven and ill defined in many cases, it is necessary to address several topics that only deal in part with peri-urban areas and to examine literature of other world regions. Such topics include urban housing, the informal sector, and economic planning, while some literature on Asian and Western countries is also reviewed. Much theoretical work on peri-urban economies that attempts to address definitional and methodological issues is not based on African materials nor is it always relevant to the African context.

Several brief observations can be made from the literature on peri-urban economies in Africa. First, many sources related to peri-urban economies only address the topic in a tangential manner. For example, some of the references on urban employment or urban land use deal very little with peri-urban areas. The peri-urban zones thus may be addressed only in so far as they help explain phenomena in urban, or in some cases, rural areas. Second, the peri-urban zone is not explicitly modeled nor analyzed in a rigorous fashion that would yield (1) a precise definition of the concept and (2) useful methodologies for

research. Francophone researchers have gone the furthest in utilizing the peri-urban framework for organizing data collection and analysis.

A third observation from the African literature is that geographic coverage of peri-urban economies is uneven. Based on an analysis of the long ("general") bibliography, the countries where there has been the most research are (in order of magnitude): (1) Nigeria; (2) Kenya; (3) Zambia; (4) Senegal; (5) Uganda; (6) Ghana; and (7) Cameroon. Within these and other countries there are certain peri-urban zones that are well covered. These include the surrounding areas of Lagos and Kano in Nigeria; Accra in Ghana; Bangui in Central African Republic; Brazzaville in the Congo; Lusaka in Zambia; Buake and Abidjan in the Ivory Coast; Dakar in Senegal; Yaoundé in Cameroon; Kampala in Uganda; and Nairobi in Kenya. The coverage of peri-urban economies in certain countries also corresponds to particular time periods. For example, most of the research on peri-urban economies in Uganda was carried out during the 1950s and 1960s; in Ghana, during the 1960s; in Malawi, during the 1950s and 1960s; and in Zambia, during the 1960s and 1970s.

A fourth finding of the literature review is that certain institutions have emphasized peri-urban research and have built up significant data bases. The objective of much of this research was to understand the process of urbanization and how this affected zones surrounding cities. In Francophone west and central Africa, ORSTOM [Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer], in collaboration with African Universities, has carried out detailed studies of several peri-urban areas. Many of these studies date back to the 1960s and thus provide an excellent basis for time-series studies. Government universities at Ibadan, Kano, and Lagos also have carried out different studies of peri-urban areas in Nigeria. In east and central Africa, the Makerere Institute of Social Research (Uganda), the Rhodes-Livingston Institute (and its successor, the Institute of African Studies, Zambia) and the Department of Geography, University of Zambia, have conducted research on peri-urban economies.

The following bibliography is presented in two parts. The first part (I) provides over 100 annotated references. These are selected from a general listing of over 500 sources that is presented in part II. In the general compilation, the annotated selections are marked with an asterisk. The selection of key words accompanying the annotations, for which an index is provided at the end of part one, reflects the aforementioned focus on land, labor, and finance.

The libraries consulted for the bibliographic review include those at the Institute for Development Anthropology, the State

University of New York at Binghamton, USAID Office of Housing and Urban Programs, University of Wisconsin-Madison, Ohio State University, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Indiana University, The World Bank, and the U.S. Library of Congress. Many individuals generously offered their time and advice to facilitate this literature review. We extend our thanks to Nancy Schmidt and Patrick O'Meara at Indiana University; Kenneth Swindell at the University of Birmingham; Bish Sanyal at the Department of Urban Studies and Planning at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Joan Atherton, Leonard Rosenberg, and Gloria Steele, U.S. Agency for International Development; Jeff Boyer and Ken Caplan at the Office of Housing and Urban Programs, USAID, and the Interlibrary Loan Service at Virginia Polytechnic Institute.

Peter Little and Marion Pratt

Part I
Annotated Bibliography

1

1. Adams, Dale, Douglas Graham, and J. D. Von Pischke, eds.
1984 Undermining Rural Development with Cheap Credit.
Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

This book is organized in four parts, each of which includes a number of research papers that elaborate on the focus of the particular section. These are: problems in rural finance, interest rate policies, politics and finance, and new directions for rural financial markets. The authors summarize in five points the major arguments presented in the papers. First, the view that credit is an input is criticized because it supports policies and projects that are detrimental to rural financial market performance. Second, traditional assumptions about agricultural credit are challenged. Third, cheap-credit policies are pinpointed as the most important factor causing poor performance in agricultural credit programs. Fourth, it is argued that political considerations often block rural financial reform. And fifth, it is concluded that the results of recent research and evaluation can contribute to the improvement of rural financial market performance. In the overview of new directions for rural financial markets, the authors suggest learning from the informal lender, stressing savings-deposit services, downgrading the importance of agricultural credit, opening rural financial markets to non-farm rural firms, creating a more healthy environment in rural areas for financial innovation, and making major adjustments in the way external donors relate to these markets.

Key Words: Asia; Rural Financial Markets; Financial Services

2. Akorede, V. E. A.
1979 The Impact of Socio-Cultural Changes on the Patterns of Urban Land Use: The Case of Ilorin. African Urban Studies 5:71-84.

The author examines the effects of sociocultural factors associated with Hausa/Fulani and Yoruba cultural groups of Ilorin, Nigeria, on urban land use and spatial distribution of urban functional areas, on the basis of background information, interviews, and housing questionnaires.

He uses several urban ecological concepts (models of the stages of settlement growth) as an analytical framework for a study of three periods of development of Ilorin: (1) early history, (2) the period of European influence, and (3) the period since the creation of states. The transformation of Ilorin from scattered settlement to military citadel in the 18th century, punctuated by Hausa/Fulani "invasions" of Yoruba wards, resulted in the creation of a multiethnic society. During British rule, three separate settlements with distinctive populations formed:

(1) the indigenous area, (2) Sabongari (inhabited by non-Ilorin Africans), and (3) the Government Reservation Area, a suburban city area based on 20th-century English town planning whose building-free green belt separated it from other residential areas in the city. Since 1967, when Ilorin was made capital of the Kwara State, (1) diffusion of the various cultural populations across town sector barriers has broken down socioeconomic barriers, (2) open zones have been developed for housing, and (3) industrial development has been located by the railway and commercial center, while small-scale industry has grown in urban residential areas. Presently the town is characterized by preindustrial (traditional) and industrial zones. The author concludes with an assessment of the applicability and inapplicability of ecologists' models of stages of settlement growth to an analysis of the development of Ilorin.

Maps are provided.

Key Words: Nigeria; Urban Planning; Housing; Migration; Ethnicity

3. Ancey, G.

1974 Relations de voisinage ville-campagne: Une analyse appliquée à Bouaké: Sa Couronne et sa région. Cote d'Ivoire Memoires ORSTOM No. 70. Paris: ORSTOM.

The paper is a detailed study of the impact of the city of Bouake (which had 115,000 inhabitants at the time of the study) on the rural area in its immediate vicinity. The author set out to develop an understanding of the "economic mechanisms of the peri-urban crown" (p. 257). That is "the area where the signals sent by the agglomeration should be most legible, or ...where the present structures of the external environment are most profoundly influenced [by the city]". The author characterizes the outcome as the result of deciphering weak signals, which were difficult and hazardous to interpret.

The influence of the city on the surrounding area was found to be diffuse and ambiguous. Its growth has caused minor changes in the immediate environment, and often not in the directions which the author's theories would predict. For example, market gardening and vegetable growing appear to become more common, the farther from Bouake, whereas oil plants are commoner nearer the city. The proximity of the city seems to increase the density of animal farming between 10 and 25 km from the city; beyond that, it has no impact. The clearest impact is the relative rarity of "activités para-agricoles" (principally animal raising and emigration) in the immediate vicinity of the city. Subsistence farming is also relatively less frequent in the ring closest to the city.

The distribution of housing types (traditional vs modern or modernized..) does not vary significantly with distance from the city (in the range 10 to 25+ km from the city), though more of the traditional dwellings are plastered in the immediate peri-urban zone. The village producer-consumer does not seem to be directly influenced by the proximity of urban phenomena. Interactions between the city and villages are characterized as peaceful cohabitation; Bouake has not served as a growth pole for its region; rather, the region has contributed to the efficiency of the city's growth.

Key Words: Ivory Coast; Housing; Labor Markets; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Rural-Urban Linkages

4. Anderson, Dennis, and Mark W. Leiserson
1979 Rural Nonfarm Employment in Developing Countries.
Economic Development and Cultural Change 28(2):227-248.

Contrary to predictions of "z-good" and similar models, the authors assert that agricultural development can induce rapid expansion of non-farm activities ("NFA") in rural areas. NFA contribute to development by providing income opportunities for the landless, by supplying goods/services that increase farm output, and by stimulating decentralized urban growth in rural towns. Using census data and survey data from 15 countries (1 African, 1 Middle Eastern, 6 Southeast Asian, 1 South Asian, 6 Latin American), the demographic, subsectoral, and spatial composition of NFA were examined.

Generally, a minimum of 20-40% of rural workers are engaged in NFA; inclusion of seasonal and secondary employment (typically in repair, construction, irrigation and maintenance) raises the estimate to 75%. The subsectoral distribution of NFA remains relatively constant as economic development evolves: 20-30% manufacturing, 20-35% services, 15-30% commerce, 5-15% construction, and 5% transportation. Apprenticeship programs tend to produce small business owners, not provide a springboard to formal sector employment.

NFA tend to concentrate in rural towns in response to infrastructural improvements and market growth. Spatial distribution of non-farm employment tends, however, to shift away from rural areas as the greatest proportion of primary employment leaves agriculture. The level of concentration of total (urban and rural) employment in rural NFA -- 66% in Africa, 50% in Asia, and 25% in Latin America -- masks the continued expansion of rural NFA employment in absolute terms despite increasing urbanization. Notwithstanding a lack of data on rural wages and incomes, it is inferred that NFA are most important to the landless. Increases in rural labor income and in skill

development are expected to follow growing demand for non-farm labor; this demand would stem from local producers, income-induced increases in rural consumption, and external markets.

Key Words: Nonfarm Enterprises; Labor Markets; Urbanization

5. Antipolo, Sopherniano B.

1989 Strengthening Urban-Rural Linkages as an Alternative Strategy for Regional Development: A Survey. Draft copy. World Bank Working Paper, Urban Development Division. Washington, D.C.: World Bank.

This study has three objectives: (i) to review and synthesize current knowledge concerning urban-rural, as well as farm and non-farm linkages; (ii) to explore ways of strengthening these linkages and draw some recommendations for development policy interventions; and (iii) to identify some gaps in the current state of knowledge on the subject which might be considered for further research. It is organized into two parts; part one is an extensive survey of literature on the subject, and part two focuses on the subject of urban-rural, and farm and non-farm linkages in the context of the Philippine economy. In the first part, the study attempts to explain the relationship between urbanization and rural-agricultural development and how the strengthening of these relationships promotes employment. The author focuses on the potential roles of small and intermediate cities in promoting rural-agricultural development. Linkages between urbanization and rural-agricultural development suggest that regional development policies should seek to stimulate agricultural productivity and strengthen the economies of the urban centers outside the primate city. These can serve as markets for surplus agricultural products and rural labor and as sources of agricultural supplies and inputs. Furthermore, the author discusses the dynamics of farm and non-farm linkages, the crucial role of infrastructure in development, particularly spatial development, and its impact upon regional development. Finally, policy conclusions are outlined in the form of statements of policy principles. The presentation of the second part runs parallel to the first, encompassing a review of the spatial development of the Philippines, an examination of growth linkages and an analysis of the objectives of donor agencies-assisted projects. The study ends with policy conclusions and a research agenda.

Key words: Rural-Urban Linkages; Urbanization; Migration; Employment; Nonfarm Enterprises; Economic Policy

6. Appleby, Gordon
1988 The Informal Sector in Sahelian Market Towns: Its Organization and Operation in Temporal and Spatial Perspective, with Recommendations for Feasible Development Interventions. Washington, D.C.: Robert R. Nathan Associates, Inc.

The paper deals with three topics of development activity for regional development strategy. First is a clarification of the extent, structure and operation of the informal sector that has resulted from the research in the past decade. Second, possibilities of entrepreneurial activity are explored, particularly productive economic endeavors. Third, the importance of market town evolution is analyzed, which in essence focuses on the relationship between rural development and urban evolution in a regional context; however, this approach fails to deal with the systematic changes in the economy of such centers. The author examines how effective rural demand fosters urban or market town development and encourages savings mobilization, low transaction costs, and informal banking sectors.

Key Words: Sahel; Rural-Urban Linkages; Marketing; Informal Sector; Financial Services

7. Aryee, George
1981 The Informal Manufacturing Sector in Kumasi. In: The Urban Informal Sector in Developing Countries: Employment, Poverty and Environment. S. V. Sethuraman, ed. Pp. 90-100. Geneva: International Labour Office.

A sample of 298 enterprises, focusing on non-household-based manufacturing, was taken in the secondary city of Kumasi, Ghana. Tailoring, fitting and leatherwork comprised 75% of the sample. Over 30% of the enterprise heads were migrants from other areas of Ghana. Most of the labor force was aged 15-44 with 40% under 24 years old. There was an unusually high proportion of mid-level education, especially among younger participants. Migrants tended to be less educated than their Kumasi-born counterparts.

Almost all proprietors had been apprentices; 10% had been wage laborers in the formal sector but had opened their businesses in the informal sector. An overwhelming majority of enterprises did not have access to water and/or electricity and most were in rented locations. Most enterprises (85%) had at least 1 worker in addition to the proprietor and well over half reported between 2 and 5 workers. Of the 1,329 persons employed in the sample, 86% were apprentices who typically paid a lump-sum fee in return for training, pocket money, food and shelter.

Proprietors' income levels were reportedly much higher than the legal minimum and varied directly with the number of workers, with education level, and with prior involvement in the formal sector. Younger enterprises (1-3 years old) tended to be in less capital-intensive activities than older enterprises. Similarly, new entrants tended to move into low-capital activities whereas more senior entrepreneurs were situated in higher-capital activities.

Key Words: Ghana; Employment; Informal Sector

8. Auger, Alain and Pierre Vennetier

1976 La Croissance périphérique des villes: Naissance et développement d'une banlieue Brazzavilloise. In: Croissance périphérique des Villes: Cas de Bangkok et de Brazzaville. Alain Durand-Lasserre, Alain Auger, and Pierre Vennetier, eds. Pp. 225-282. Bordeaux: Centre d'Etudes de Géographie Tropicale, CNRS.

The paper reports on the development of a new urban residential area after 1955 on what was formerly a "peri-urban zone" (p. 231). Much of the population growth of Brazzaville from 160,000 in 1961 to 306,000 in 1974 was accommodated in neighborhoods within the existing urban boundary, whose density increased sharply.

In contrast, the Mfilou quarters, a completely new suburb which had 18,000 inhabitants by 1974, was formerly **outside** the urban perimeter. In 1955-60 it was an area of traditional agriculture, land cultivated by women from the city supplementing their family food supply, and market gardening. Urban influence had taken the form of large institutions (a water treatment plant, a cemetery, a seminary...), a resort and some weekend homes. The overwhelming majority of the population of this area in 1974 worked in the city of Brazzaville, but they were administratively part of Ngamaba district, and they received no urban services from either the city or the district.

The process of formation of the new suburb is described in some detail: subdivision, sale of lots, land prices, and the process by which new dwellings were constructed on the lots. Credit sources are described (many residents participated in "tontine" rotating credit organizations).

The authors argue that housing in this peri-urban area is significantly different from housing in more central parts of the city: households fence their lots and continue to grow fruits and vegetables on their lots. Most residents are long-standing inhabitants of Brazzaville (over half of those surveyed had been there for over 10 years) who moved here from other quarters of the city.

Key Words: Congo; Urbanization; Urban Planning; Credit; Land Tenure; Land Markets; Urban Agriculture; Gender Roles

9. Barnes, Sandra

1979 Migration and Land Acquisition: The New Landowners of Lagos. African Urban Studies 4:59-70.

Data collected in Mushin, a densely settled suburban area of Lagos (now the largest urban center in tropical Africa) reveal that migrants who invest in land and housing are more likely to become permanent residents than those who do not. Controlled largely by the private sector, much of the Lagos housing market lies in the hands of migrants who have arrived during the last several decades. Low-income residents and self-employed entrepreneurs obtain land for different reasons, but both groups must contend with constraints associated with competition, risk, and title procurement in response to which neighborhood landowner associations have developed. Important variables related to land ownership include relative income, preexisting contacts in Lagos, age of migrants, and ethnic group membership, while education, sex, and religious affiliation appear to be less crucial. In contrast to tenants, house and land owners gain economic security, obtain access to government circles, maintain larger families, have a higher level of descent group and voluntary association involvement, and maintain a higher density of social relationships.

Key Words: Nigeria; Migration; Housing; Land Tenure; Social Networks; Urban Planning

10. Bettison, D. G.

1958b Migrancy and Social Structure in Peri-urban Communities in Nyasaland. In: Present Interrelations in Central African Rural and Urban Life. Proceedings of the 11th Conference of the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute for Social Research, January 14-17, 1958, Lusaka, Northern Rhodesia. R. J. Apthorpe, ed. Pp. 24-39. Lusaka: Rhodes-Livingstone Institute.

This is a loosely structured preliminary report and appended discussion based on a socioeconomic survey of peri-urban communities (villages in peripheral zones between towns and residential reserves) of Blantyre-Limbe in Nysaland (now Malawi) in the late 1950s. In contrast to South Africa and Southern

Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), towns in Nyasaland have grown in or near African tribal areas or "reserves." The existence of these reserves appears to have reduced the compulsion of employers to provide housing for their workers.

A survey of the demographic and social structure of 18 peri-urban villages, based on the hypothesis that the number of observed unrelated nuclear families would increase with increasing proximity to the urban area, was conducted. Three zones were designated for the study:

- 1) the peripheral zone (a radius of 4 miles from the built-up area of Blantyre-Limbe, demonstrating the greatest population density)
- 2) the extra-peripheral areas (a radius of 4 to 8 miles)
- 3) the "rural" area (beyond the 8-mile radius)

The author describes a number of characteristics shared by the villages in the peri-urban zones. Despite the lack of land tenure and ecological analyses, the author tentatively concludes that his original hypothesis was not completely supported. Villages in all zones seemed to be retaining their traditional social structure, but were being increasingly influenced by accretions (unrelated village sections) and by nuclear families of migrant laborers. Problems associated with the displacement of village communities by the expansion of built-up areas of Blantyre-Limbe provoked a decision by the new planning authority to require licensing for new houses.

Key Words: **Malawi; Migration; Labor Markets; Housing; Households; Gender Roles**

11. Botswana, Republic of
 1974 A Social and Economic Survey in Three Peri-Urban Areas in Botswana. Gaborone: Central Statistics Office, Ministry of Finance and Development Planning.

The development of industry and mining in Botswana has spurred rapid urban growth and the expansion of peri-urban settlements. This two-month survey conducted in 1974 investigates the demographic, economic, and social characteristics of 300 households in the three largest peri-urban areas in Botswana. It pays particular attention to the role of the informal sector in providing income opportunities for peri-urban inhabitants.

Compared to the country as a whole, populations in the three peri-urban settlements had smaller households, a higher male/female ratio, a higher median age, and a higher concentration of working age groups. Despite higher levels of education, unemployment has been a significant problem.

Most peri-urban inhabitants consider themselves to be permanent or semi-permanent settlers, citing economic reasons for having migrated. Low-cost housing and the possibility of building a traditional house attracted people to the outskirts of the urban area, but with little of the correlation between housing types and income found in modern sections of town. Employment income within the peri-urban areas was low, and income in general was unequally distributed. Half of households had an unsatisfactorily low standard of living. About three-quarters of the average household income was derived from wage employment.

Eight appendices include questionnaires, data on household assets and income, demographic statistics, and recommendations for future peri-urban studies. Many maps, tables, graphs and charts accompany the text.

Key Words: Botswana; Urban Planning; Labor Markets; Informal Sector; Housing

12. Bouquet, Christian
1977 Les Champs extra-urbains des citadins de N'Djamena (Tchad). In: Nouvelles Recherches sur l'alimentation des Villes. Travaux et documents de géographie tropicale No. 28. Pp. 181-201. Bordeaux: CEGET [Centre d'Etudes de Géographie Tropicale], CNRS [Centre national de la recherche scientifique].

The paper reports on a survey of heads of compounds in three urban quarters of N'Djamena and in several villages in the adjacent rural area. The objective of the survey was to identify the townspeople's means of food supply.

The rural cantons immediately adjacent to the urban boundary of N'Djamena are described as almost indistinguishable from rural areas more remote from the capital. Living conditions there are almost unchanged by urban influences: "on quitte brutalement la ville pour pénétrer sans transition dans le monde rural le moins acculturé" (p. 185). Yet the density of cultivation of this area in the rainy and cool seasons is inconsistent with the low population density. The explanation is that the fields are cultivated by (or for) urban households in N'Djamena.

The study found that from 22.4% to 74.9% of the population of the areas surveyed get part of their food supply from fields which they cultivate outside the city. Peri-urban cantons account for 69.3% of the output (principally of millet and sorghum) from these fields, while another 16.1% comes from "suburban" cantons. The remoter parts of Chari-baguirmi province provide 8.9% of the tonnage and 5.8% comes from other provinces. In 1975 the holders of these fields harvested more grain than they needed; the surplus was sold in urban markets.

Other sources of food supply (essentially millet and sorghum) were market purchases (sole source for 34.2% of the population) and transfers from family members or the State (used by 12.3% of the population) to supplement market purchases.

Households cultivating fields in the peri-urban area were more likely to be headed by traders and least likely to be headed by public sector employees (functionaries, soldiers, police or customs officials). Arab, Bornu and Hausa merchants constitute the majority of the owners of fields outside the city (which are cultivated by workmen). Household heads cultivating peri-urban fields are likely to be relatively long-standing urban residents.

An urbanite wishing to cultivate fields in the peri-urban area will "buy" the land from the customary chief after obtaining the permission of the chiefs of the canton and village where the land is located. The terms on which such land can be sold are unclear. Some fields are cultivated by the household members; others hire laborers from the nearest village. The first such "purchases" by urbanites appear to date from 1969 to 1972.

Key Words: Chad; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Households; Land Tenure

13. Bricker, Gary, and Soumana Traoré
1979 Transitional Urbanization in Upper Volta: The Case of Ouagadougou, a Savannah Capital. In: Development of Urban Systems in Africa. R. Obudho and Salah El-Shakhs, eds. Pp. 177-195. New York: Praeger.

Although only 5 percent of the population of Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) are urban dwellers, the agricultural productivity of such regions as the central Mossi plateau, where the capital of Ouagadougou is located, is currently being strained by increasing population density, especially in peri-urban settlements. Most of the population growth in Ouagadougou is represented by young migrants settling in semi-urban neighborhoods and participating in trading and farming.

Neighborhoods of Ouagadougou are described as residential or traditional. One of several types of squatter settlements, peri-urban communities are characterized by makeshift housing, the production of garden crops for town markets, and precarious land tenure. Severe water provisioning problems and conflict between municipal authorities and immigrants over control of land currently face the city. The authors predict that the overall city growth rate will soon approach that of squatter settlements, which in themselves will eventually represent the major land use.

Initiated in response to a need for new policies for residential shelter, the United Nations Development Programme Habitat Project was undertaken to combat the deteriorating

condition of Cissin, a two-zone neighborhood on the outskirts of Ouagadougou. Emphasizing grassroots participation, land entitlement, minimal use of government resources, and decentralization of the decision-making process, the project is considered to be a successful model upon which to base future attempts to upgrade urban neighborhoods.

Key Words: Burkina Faso; Urban Planning; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Migration; Demography

14. Camara, Camille
1972 Les Relations villes-campagnes autour d'Abeokuta, Nigeria. In: La Croissance urbaine en Afrique noire et à Madagascar. Colloque international du CNRS, 29 Septembre - 2 Octobre 1970, Talence. Vol. I. Pp. 375-400. Paris: CNRS.

Abeokuta is located in Yorubaland, the most urbanized area of tropical Africa, where more than half the population lives in towns. The city owes its existence to intertribal wars: it was populated first in the nineteenth century by Yoruba and Egba refugees. As the population grew the cultivated land within the city walls became inadequate, and some residents started to cultivate land in the immediate environs of the city walls. The Egbas gradually started creating farms round the city which they cultivated during the day, returning to the city at night. Rural communities have gradually grown up, particularly in the East of the city, but the city remains the favored marketplace and source of urban services for the population of the surrounding villages, despite the relative proximity of Ibadan and Lagos.

Key Words: Nigeria; Rural-Urban Linkages; Ethnicity; Marketing

15. Champaud, Jacques
1983 Villes et campagnes du Cameroun de l'Ouest. Paris: ORSTOM [Office de la Recherche Scientifique et Technique Outre-Mer].

The densely populated region of West Cameroon, which represents 15 percent of the national territory, contains 45 percent of the country's total population. It is a geographically and socially heterogeneous area with a complex history. This three-part volume focuses on the circulation of people and goods in this region in its examination of the nature of the relationship between rural and urban areas and the role of

cities in national development. The first part discusses regional geography, the origin and development of cities, and communication networks. The second part looks at migration, demography and social structure, markets, export agriculture, and the organization of commerce. The last part describes transformations of rural life, urban employment, space and morphology, city and regional organizations, and a typology of cities and urban systems.

The present emigration from densely populated rural plateau areas will soon be followed by economic recession in some of those regions. Curtailing the exodus can only be accomplished by increasing rural income opportunities, perhaps through the establishment of cooperative production of non-export crops. The unique character of urban areas in Cameroon is a function of a dyarchy (in which power is shared by both Yaoundé and Doula), regionalisation, and the role played by the national bourgeoisie. The state could help animate rural areas by emphasizing decentralization and political freedom, and by delegating power to local elites.

Peri-urban considerations surface in descriptions of the heavily used peri-urban network of roads linking rural and urban areas and the transformation of rural life, and in discussions of the morphology of the generally underprivileged, densely settled, devegetated residential quarters surrounding city centers.

Key Words: Cameroon; Urban Planning; Migration; Labor Markets; Income Strategies

16. Chanadavakar, Anand G.
1985 The Financial Pull of Urban Areas in LDCs. Finance and Development 22(2):24-27.

The phenomenon of urban bias in LDCs is evaluated with respect to its financial aspects, implications, and possible corrections in light of empirical evidence from some selected Asian countries. Financial dualism as reflected in the concentration of net credit in urban bank offices and net deposit in rural bank offices, is mainly due to higher effective interest rates and greater credit rationing in rural areas and higher average credit/deposit ratios in urban areas relative to rural. The resultant transfer of rural savings into urban investment creates an uneven distribution of capital, income and welfare. Conventional flow-of-funds tables classify financial sector data; little information is available on interregional and territorial aspects of financial intermediation. The available evidence is supportive of the hypothesis of financial urban bias; however, this phenomenon has to be viewed in proper perspective. That is, first, deposits are not the only form of savings and therefore excess deposits are not the same as excess savings; second,

interregional transfers of deposits might reflect absence of local rural lending outlets; third, urban bias could reflect the effect of a market-oriented financial system where bankers treat the bank as a one unit and apply the criterion of maximum return in allocating deposits. Some institutional mechanisms, in addition to fiscal and other incentives to redress financial urban bias, are presented. The author concludes by recognizing that the basic policy issue is not financial urban bias per se, but whether it is excessively regressive, and if so, what is an appropriate concerted strategy to redress it.

Key Words: **India; Thailand; Urbanization; Rural-Urban Linkages; Financial Services**

17. Chanadavakar, Anand G.
 1988 The Role of Informal Credit Markets in Support of Microbusinesses in Developing Countries. Paper prepared for the World Conference on Support for Microenterprises, 6-9 June 1988, Washington, D.C.

The author analyses the role of informal credit markets (ICMs) in relation to microbusinesses (MBs) in developing countries with special reference to Asia and Africa, and attempts to draw relevant conclusions for policy and an agenda for discussion. The paper draws on the available literature and on the field experience of the author. Its main focus is on finance for non-farming businesses with appropriate references to the experience of agricultural credit, which in many respects is relevant for small and microenterprise financing. The author concludes that the share of ICMs in the total finance of MBs is large, the availability of working capital is scarce, and ICMs are better retailers of credit than collectors of savings. ICMs provide efficient and flexible credit to productive sectors which are not catered to by institutional finance because of cost, risk and related factors. Intermediate financial technology along the lines of Grameen Bank in Bangladesh, and enhancing the efficacy of ICMs on a disaggregated basis to serve the MBs better are recommended, and attempts to formalize the informal credit sector are discouraged.

Key Words: **Asia; Africa; Informal Sector; Financial Services; Microenterprise; Nonfarm Enterprises**

18. Colson, Elizabeth, and T. Scudder
1975 New Economic Relationships Between the Gwembe Valley and the Line of Rail. In: Town and Country in Central and Eastern Africa. D. Parkin, ed. Pp. 190-212. London: International African Institute.

The paper contrasts two villages housing villagers resettled in the Lusitu area of Gwembe District in 1958 as a result of the Kariba Dam Project. The authors discuss reasons why the two villages developed different modes of life, arguing that "elsewhere in Zambia and throughout Africa a comparable diversification among rural populations appears to be taking place. This suggests that we ought to abandon the old rural-urban dichotomy as a working concept."

Musulumba, "has little to do with towns per se and the town is foreign terrain to most of its people...people...have adapted to what can be called a **peri-urban** environment within Lusitu. Many of its men work on construction jobs to which they commute on a daily or weekly basis. Wage-work dominates village life and allows many of its people to support an urban standard of living. The same employment base...attracts immigrants...[who] help to support a trading center near the village which caters for both local and immigrant workers and for passing tourists." Mazulu village responded to resettlement by developing urban foci in Kafue and Lusaka (50 and 90 miles away respectively). "People flow from village to town and back again to work, shop or visit,...see Kafue, Lusaka and the village as part of the same social field. They remain within the same social network...ideas originating in the village or the urban foci are easily transferred from one to the other." Mazulu has better land and more livestock than Musulumba. The authors argue that the villages' different responses reflect pre-resettlement differences and differences in the location and land at the resettlement sites.

Key Words: Zambia; Rural-Urban Linkages; Nonfarm Enterprises; Labor Markets; Employment

19. Deblé, Isabelle, and Philippe Hugon
1982 Vivre et survivre dans les villes africaines. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France.

In response to a lack of formal employment opportunities for growing urban populations, the informal or 'nonstructured' sector has burgeoned in African cities. A seminar held in Paris in 1979 entitled "Petty Commodity Production in the African Urban Setting" attracted over 100 participants, some of whose contributions on forms of dependent production, accumulation in the artisanal sector, segmentation of labor markets, and

marginality and the labor reserves are reproduced here. Part one documents the perceptions and attitudes toward, and knowledge and recognition of small-scale urban activities. Part two presents case studies of Abidjan, Yaoundé, Accra, Bamako, and Tunis. Part three looks at small producers in the urban and economic systems, and part four reviews new approaches and potential fields of research.

Rapid urbanization and the development of the informal sector has been accompanied by a concomitant proliferation of settlements on the periphery of cities, which are sites of various forms of exchange, production, and transactions, where the poorest populations congregate. On average, the growth rate in African cities has averaged 6-7 percent per year since 1945, but the rate in the peripheries has averaged 12 percent. For example, in 1980 more than half of the population of Abidjan inhabited the city's peripheral quarters; by 1990 it is predicted that 65 percent of its 3.4 million people will be living in these areas. The complexity of the urban reality in Africa defies simple definition and quantitative analysis.

Key Words: **Africa; Urban Planning; Informal Sector; Labor Markets**

20. Dowall, David E.
 1989 Karachi Land and Housing Study. Institute of Urban and Regional Development. Berkeley: University of California.

This study characterizes changing land use and demographic patterns in Karachi, Pakistan, one of the world's fastest growing cities. It draws on data from a 1981 government census as well as a survey of 6,280 urban area households performed by the University of Karachi. Dowall notes that between 1972 and 1981, two thirds of the population growth in Karachi took place between 10 and 20 kilometers from the city center on the urban fringe.

Low income households typically acquire housing land by simply occupying land previously vacant, or by purchasing land illegally subdivided by developers. Security of tenure is often achieved through political patronage rather than title. Housing is typically owner built (62%) and self-financed. Land price is a function of infrastructure as well as proximity to riot-prone areas of the city. The rate of inflation of land prices is increasing over time fastest at the city center. Rental units constitute only 13% of housing, while owner purchased housing constitutes the remaining 25%. Little difference in these figures is seen between informal and planned housing sectors.

The growth of housing in the informal sector is disparaged, and the report recommends raising the price charged by the government for planned settlements in order to better finance

infrastructure development in the formal sector. Government mortgage assistance should be targeted at the poor.

Key Words: **Pakistan; Land Use; Land Acquisition; Housing;
Land Security; Financial Services**

21. Doxiades Associates
 1973 Zambia: The Lusaka Peri-Urban Area and Kafue New
 Town. Ekistics 214:193-204.

The paper is a study of the peri-urban area around Lusaka. It identifies the directions of growth and hierarchy of places within the peri-urban area. The master plan of Kafue, one of the centers within the area, is discussed. Urban areas in Zambia have tended to develop along the railway line and the copper belt which is the hub of the country's mining activity. The bulk of the agricultural production comes from areas along the railway line. Lusaka and its peri-urban area lie around the junction of two inter-territorial roads and one main road which together link Lusaka and its peri-urban area with the rest of the country.

The paper reviews characteristics of the area (population, in-migration, sex ratio). It then analyzes a measure of "centrality value" based on accessibility and availability of social, administrative, commercial and retail services, in order to identify a hierarchy of places in the peri-urban area. Kafue is one of three Grade I centers around Lusaka; its development is based mainly on the industrial sector. The second part of the paper discusses projections made and design principles adopted in preparing the master plan for the development of a planned new town in Kafue.

Key Words: **Zambia; Urban Planning; Housing; Income Strategies**

22. Egan, Mary Lou, and Marc Bendick
 1986 The Urban-Rural Dimension in National Economic
 Development. The Journal of Developing Areas
 20:203-221.

The authors' perspective is that of cities as economic entities, as locations of economic functions and as contributors to economic growth. This perspective carries two major implications for spatial development policies. The first is that both host governments and donors need to be aware of the fact that urban growth may be part of the natural process by which a nation grows and develops. The second is that when they intervene in the process, they should do so in ways designed to build upon

economic forces already at work. A set of rules is presented suggesting ways in which some development activities conform to this principle while others do not.

Key Words: **Economic Policy; Urbanization**

23. Elkan, Walter
 1967 Circular Migration and the Growth of Towns in East
 Africa. International Labour Review 96(6):581-589.

In this essay, the author demonstrates that the growth of towns in East Africa has differed in character from the growth of towns in Europe in the 18th and 19th century. In Africa, migrants' close connections with their villages of origin have resulted in a circular pattern of migration back to the countryside. Few urban wage earners remain as permanent town dwellers, and they do not necessarily constitute a 'working class.' Since the 1950s, however, the growth of towns in East Africa has been characterized by an increase in the number of permanent inhabitants and by longer stays by migrants. In the 1950s, because income from cash crops was high, many migrants attempted to save capital through wage labor with a view towards setting themselves up as independent farmers. More recently, a rise in urban wages and decline in crop prices have changed the nature of migration. Villages provide less security and potential for supplemental income than they have in the past, but because of inadequate wages and unsatisfactory employment, most migrants still do not remain in urban areas as permanent employees. As conditions improve in towns, this situation will change. Increasing numbers of permanent settlers have begun to create urban employment problems. Efforts should be made to balance the supply and demand for new jobs in urban areas by improving the profitability of agriculture.

Key Words: **East Africa; Migration; Labor Markets; Rural-Urban Linkages**

24. Fapohunda, O. J.
 1981 Human Resources and the Lagos Informal Sector. In:
 The Urban Informal Sector in Developing Countries:
 Employment, Poverty and Environment. S. V.
 Sethuraman, ed. Pp. 70-82. Geneva: International
 Labour Office.

Concentrating on human resource use in the Lagos informal sector, a sample of 2,000 enterprises was drawn of which 40% were

in manufacturing, 15% in services, and 31% in trade. Most entrepreneurs in the sample were migrants from rural areas of Nigeria. Most female entrepreneurs were involved in petty trading but only 15% of the proprietors were women. Entrepreneurs generally did not have schooling above the primary level and learned job skills through apprenticeships or on-the-job training. Workers were generally less well-educated than proprietors. The fact that fathers of most migrants owned and farmed their land and that 45-70% of migrants were unemployed before migrating to Lagos seemed to indicate a strong generational shift in job-preference from rural agriculture to urban, non-agricultural work.

Size of enterprises ranged from 1 to 3+ workers. The overwhelming majority of workers were male. Proprietors reported incomes that exceeded the legal minimum, but the median indicated that more than 50% earn below that minimum. Employees' wages were significantly below the legal rate. Despite 7% unemployment and loose hiring criteria, recruitment was difficult. Most enterprises were individually owned, in fixed residential locations, with little access to water and electricity.

Backward linkages (for raw materials) were to households and other small enterprises; forward linkages (sales) were to households and small businesses within a 20 minute walking distance. A sense of competition from the formal sector was stronger than in Freetown. About 2/3 of enterprises were willing to change locations within Lagos or relocate altogether given adequate incentives.

Key Words: Nigeria; Employment; Informal Sector; Migration; Gender Roles; Credit.

25. Fowler, D. A.
1981 The Informal Sector in Freetown: Opportunities for Self-Employment. In: The Urban Informal Sector in Developing Countries: Employment, Poverty and Environment. S. V. Sethuraman, ed. Pp. 51-69. Geneva: International Labour Office.

A simple random sample of 967 enterprises in Freetown, Sierra Leone was used to evaluate the informal sector in a primary city. About 2/3 of the sample enterprises were in petty trade and restaurant activities. More than 1/3 of the informal sector entrepreneurs were migrants, primarily from Guinea. Migrants tended to be less educated than Freetown-born entrepreneurs, overwhelmingly male, younger than the sector average, and in farming or unemployed prior to migration.

Participation in enterprises was correlated to age and sex, but not education. Three times as many men as women were heads

of enterprises. Women tended to concentrate in retailing and to move into non-trade areas as they grew older. Men tended to move from retail into more capital-intensive activities (tailoring, motor transport, construction) with age. Older participants tended to be better-educated than younger participants. However, apprenticeships and on-job learning typically compensated for lack of formal education and/or of previous work experience. Most, particularly female and older respondents, strongly preferred to stay in the informal sector. The best and worst educated, respectively, preferred self-employment and wage work.

Enterprise size varied by activity, ranging from 1 to 3 persons. Most enterprises had invested in inexpensive, locally-made equipment with capital from personal savings or family loans. Most profits were reinvested, but without access to bank loans, firm expansion was very difficult. Backward linkages (for raw materials) were commonly to the formal sector, but forward linkages (sales) were mostly to households. Proprietors overwhelmingly complained of too much competition from comparable enterprises.

Key Words: Sierra Leone; Guinea; Migration; Gender Roles; Employment; Informal Sector

26. Franqueville, André
1984 Yaoundé: Construire une capitale. Paris: ORSTOM.

Conducted at the request of the Government of Cameroon, this study concentrates on problems associated with the growth of the capital city of Yaoundé. Six major topics of discussion include: urban growth and demographic factors, the utilization of urban space, employment, provisionment of the city, living conditions, and the nature of the urban society.

The population of Yaoundé (500,000 at the time of the study) is doubling every seven to eight years. Though one of the smaller capitals in Africa, it is experiencing increasing difficulty providing employment for its growing number of workers, a situation exacerbated by the stagnant cocoa economy. Both the limited capacity of the artisanal and trade sectors to continue to absorb labor, and the current feminization of labor within the services and administration sectors are acting to reduce the potential employment opportunities for young men.

Restructuring the agricultural economy of Northern Cameroon away from export production and toward the provisioning of urban areas would not only help feed the densely populated areas in the southern regions but may help to stem rural-urban migration. The report estimates that up to 80% of Yaoundé households spend at least 40% of their income on food. To reduce their food costs, workers whose native villages lie close to the capital transport food from the rural areas weekly or monthly. Other families

raise food quasi legally in open areas ("public gardens") in the city itself.

The morphology of the city is undergoing both decorative and functional changes manifested in the redesign of the of the city center, and in the restructuring of the densely populated, underserviced peri-central areas. With the advent of the expansion of a market or the widening of a road, these residential areas near the city center are destroyed and some of the real estate bought up by speculators, rebuilt, and reserved for a privileged minority. The original inhabitants typically resettle on municipal lands in the eastern and northern peripheries of the city. This process, a common symptom of "the politics of urbanism," results in a Western-based model city with privileged central areas surrounded by disadvantaged suburbs inhabited by the work force that supports the city's economy.

Numerous maps, charts, and diagrams accompany the text.

Key Words: **Cameroon; Urban Planning; Labor Markets;
Households; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Housing**

27. Gerry, Chris
 1978 Petty Production and Capitalist Production in
 Dakar: The Crisis of the Self-Employed. World
Development 6(9/10):1147-1160.

The author analyzes small commodity production in Dakar and the constraints to its development found within the structure of urban production and its dominant and subordinate components. He departs from the popular focus on the marginalized state of small producers, and examines rather the mechanisms by which they are exploited.

Using as an example the footwear industry of Dakar, the author asserts that though petty producers in this business (most of whom come from a region in Dakar's immediate hinterland) are said to have actively resisted attempts by capitalist businessmen to control their production, it is in reality the capitalist domination of the industry which restricts their transformation into large entrepreneurs. The prerequisites for the difficult process of transition from petty producer to capitalist manufacturer is reviewed, and two examples of transitional forms (subcontractual relations) provided.

Government intervention has a strong effect on the development of small businesses. Policies advocating the discriminating promotion of a selected few impoverish the majority of small producers. The combination of underutilized human and material resources, increasing competition and differentiation, and the reduced need by capitalist enterprises for a growing labor force

do not portend future improvements in the standard of living of the majority of petty producers.

Key Words: Senegal; Labor Markets; Economic Policy; Informal Sector; Nonfarm Enterprises

28. Granotier, B.
1980 La Planète des bidonvilles. Perspectives de l'explosion urbaine dans le Tiers Monde. Paris: Seuil.

Squatter settlements concentrated in peri-urban "belts of misery" encircling major cities are estimated to comprise a third of the total urban population in developing countries. This study of squatter settlements throughout the world is divided into three sections. The first provides an analysis of the marginal urban sector as an integral part of the urban structure, and presents quantitative data on and causes of urban growth. A discussion of the dualism of urban structure is followed by a description of the formation of marginalized urban quarters. The second part of the book provides case studies from the Arab world, Sub-Saharan Africa, Latin America, and South Asia. The final section reviews pilot projects intended to promote popular participation in efforts to improve the urban environment.

The urban population of sub-Saharan Africa will have quintupled between 1975 and 2000. Up to half of the urban population in some African cities currently inhabit squatter settlements and shanty towns. A brief description of living conditions in peripheral urban settlements throughout Africa is followed by more detailed studies of two cities in particular: Dakar and Nairobi.

The history of a number of suburban settlements in Dakar is accompanied by detailed descriptions of familial settings and daily lives of individuals, elicited to emphasize the precarious existence of the city's marginal inhabitants. In Nairobi, the extremely rapid growth of the violent and squalid suburb of Mathare Valley resulted in a doubling of its population between 1969 and 1970. Inadequate housing, lack of services, family instability, and other social ills plaguing the community are countered by very strong sociopolitical organizations of squatters forced to negotiate for basic rights with the municipality of Nairobi.

Key Words: Kenya; Senegal; Squatter Settlements; Urban Planning; Migration

29. Gray, William H.
1984 Peri-Urban Agriculture in Western Washington: An Identification of Factors of Potential Influence to the Development of Metropolitan Food Policy (Planning). Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Portland State University.

This research uses the European construct of 'peri-urban agriculture' as a framework in which to address the issues confronting both farm producers and metropolitan areas. The study (1) reviews the characteristics of farmer types in the peri-urban area, (2) verifies the difference between rural and peri-urban farmer characteristics, (3) analyzes incentives necessary to increase production by the part-time peri-urban farmer, (4) catalogues recent local food policy initiatives, and (5) reviews the proposed policy alternatives for conformance with farmer perception of production obstacles. The investigation has demonstrated that agricultural producers in the peri-urban area are a heterogeneous group, comprised of a small group of larger, commercial (residual) farmers, and a larger group of part-time farmers. A model was found to approximate the decision-making processes of peri-urban farmers. Survey data confirmed that this farming sub-group places higher value on quality of life factors and less on profit maximization than other farmers. The survey results also revealed that land use concerns were identified as production obstacles more frequently by the peri-urban farmer than traditional, commercial farmers. The research concludes that this greater sensitivity to land issues and a decision approach that includes variables beyond profit maximization may be key factors in the development of food policies designed to affect production in the peri-urban area.

Key Words: United States; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Labor Allocation; Land Tenure

30. Gugler, Josef and William G. Flanagan
1978 Urbanization and Social Change in West Africa.
Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gugler and Flanagan synthesize research on urbanization and social change in West Africa and interpret the often disparate findings. Two chapters are especially valuable in the context of peri-urban issues:

Chapter 3, "Rural-Urban migration"

Several factors contribute to the maintenance of ties between urban migrants and their rural families: the need to supplement urban salaries, the lack of economic opportunities for women in

urban areas, and low level of existing formal social security systems. Those least likely to return home regularly or upon retirement are often civil servants, for whom maintenance of home ties may represent more of a financial drain than an asset. Indeed, transfers of goods and cash from urban to rural areas help to ease the serious inequalities between the two milieux. One estimate, made in 1967, was that 10 percent of all income earned in Accra, Ghana, flowed out into the rural areas in the form of savings, remittances, or goods (p. 70).

Gugler and Flanagan admit that we have as yet little data to enable us to assess the variations in the strength of rural-urban ties, but they present several hypotheses that merit investigation: 1) the strength of rural-urban ties varies according to the system of land tenure; where land holding is individualized, there will be less dependence on the rural community and, thus, weaker ties; 2) the structure of the rural society affects rural-urban ties in that if urban success can be converted into rural prestige (e.g. through membership in secret societies), then links are more likely to remain strong; 3) second-generation urban residents are less likely to maintain close ties; 4) rural development reduces the gap between rural and urban areas and thus contributes to stronger ties; 5) transportation and communication facilities affect rural-urban links, as does distance; and 6) the level and security of urban income sources inversely affects the strength of ties to the rural home.

Chapter 8, "Changes in the position of women"

With less education and fewer economic opportunities for employment in the formal sector, the position of women in the urban areas differs markedly from that of men. Despite the lack of employment prospects, Gugler and Flanagan assert (somewhat questionably), women have a certain amount of bargaining power in urban areas "because the sex imbalance allows them to be particular in selecting more or less permanent partners" (p. 138).

Those women who have made themselves financially independent in urban areas most often operate in the informal sector, usually as traders; some have even managed to parlay petty trade-related activities into large, multi-faceted financial operations. In some areas women have established associations akin to guilds to monitor and control trade. One factor which has often worked to the advantage of trade women is the custom as regards division of household income; in many places (and under Islamic law) husbands are responsible for the support of the household while wives are permitted to keep and allocate income from their activities as they choose. Gugler and Flanagan provide several examples from Dakar of wealthy women and poor husbands, but also note that often couples may agree on a specific, less traditional division of expenses.

Key Words: Migration; Gender Roles; Rural-Urban Linkages; Employment; Informal Sector; Household's

31. Gutkind, Peter C.
1962 Accomodation and Conflict in an African Peri-Urban Area. Anthropologica 4(1):163-173.

Past anthropological studies, many of which have focused on tribalism, have underemphasized the rapid structural changes that occur within social systems in urban areas. The socially heterogeneous region surrounding Kampala, Uganda, is comprised of 30 to 40 hierarchically ordered ethnic groups. Basing his views on an analysis of Mulago, a peri-urban parish in this region, the author proposes that the strains and instabilities characterizing urban societies reflect intra- as well as inter-subgroup tensions. The economic and political dominance of Ganda traders in Mulago is echoed by a spatial patterning of residence in which centrally located Ganda dwellings are surrounded by peripheral settlements of subordinate, non-Ganda groups. The ethnocentrism found within Ganda and non-Ganda communities is argued to be an adaptive strategy by which dominant groups exercise local control and subordinate groups adapt to that control.

Key Words: Uganda; Social Networks; Informal Sector; Traders

32. Guyer, Jane
1987 Feeding African Cities: Studies in Regional Social History. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.

The contradictory nature of conclusions drawn from past studies on the nature of the food supply in Africa reveals a need for a clearer picture of both the functioning and political context of food supply across the continent. Written in response to this need, this volume conjoins four chapters in regional social history framed by an introduction and epilogue by the editor. The stated goal of the book is to explore the historical connections among (1) income/price relationships for producers and consumers (2) organizational forms in production and trade, and (3) the interface between regional social organization and colonial and post-colonial policies.

The introduction presents British, French, and American traditions of research and an outline of the history of African urban food supply. In the first chapter, Michael Watts describes how feeding Kano City is tied up in mercantile accumulation in Northern Nigeria and colonial and post-colonial politics. Jane Guyer, in the second chapter, examines Yaoundé's food supply in

light of the growth of social differentiation and the circumstances of limited agricultural labor productivity, the use of force, and food subsidies. Next, Deborah Bryceson looks at current food deficits in Dar es Salaam in relation to fluctuating food supplies in an underindustrialized country in which technological change has not kept pace with social change. In the final chapter, Paul Mosley links the inadequacy of the food supply in Salisbury (Harare), Zimbabwe, to government control of markets, low purchasing power of unskilled workers, and the nature of the food supply system. Maps, tables, figures, and appendices accompany each chapter. In conclusion, the editor warns against simplistic causal relationships and directionality and emphasizes the complexity of the courses of growth in market relations.

Key Words: **Africa; Urban Food Supply; Marketing; Migration, Labor Markets**

33. Haggblade, Steve
 1978 Africanization from Below: The Evolution of
 Cameroon Savings Societies into Western-Style
 Banks. Rural Africana 2: 5-55.

The study presents evidence that Cameroonian savings associations provide an excellent base for the mobilization of local sources of financial capital. These societies have been flourishing in the urban areas, often providing young Cameroonian businessmen with their sole source of start-up capital. These organizations, starting originally as family institutions, have been transformed into larger, integrated, sophisticated credit institutions. The author hypothesized that as associations with rotating funds reach some upper limit in deposits they are no longer workable and will evolve into formal banks. The ultimate growth of an urban 'njangis' has generated an official chartered bank. This is thought to be the logical conclusion of their evolution and represents an integration of the two credit systems, the 'njangs' and the banks. This process of Africanization from below may lead to the formation of a custom-fitted financial system.

Key Words: **Cameroon; Financial Services; Informal Sector; Local Organizations**

34. Haggblade, S., P. Hazell, and J. Brown
1989 Farm-Nonfarm Linkages in Rural Sub-Saharan Africa.
World Development 17(8):1173-1203.

Studies in Asia have shown that farm-nonfarm linkages can spur agricultural growth and also stimulate growth in local and national output, employment and income. The authors evaluate the transferability of these conclusions to Sub-Saharan Africa. "Rural" is defined by function, i.e, orientation toward supplying goods and services to agricultural areas, not by location or size. The minimum share of rural employment in nonfarm enterprises (NFE) is 10-20% in Africa vs. 20-30% in Asia. Fifteen percent to 40% of total family labor in Africa go to income-generating NFE; and 25-30% of total income and nearly 50% of cash income comes from NFE. This difference arises because NFE tend to be more monetized than agricultural production.

NFE are overwhelmingly small, 95% employing 5 people or less. Women account for 60% of management and employment positions in NFE although precise activities vary by region and culture. While NFE are typically household-based at first, different activities tend to split off from the household economy at different rates. Different activities also face variable degrees of competition, ascendancy and decline due to external markets; rural services remain the most insulated.

Backward (production) linkages appear to be fewer in Africa than Asia, possibly because African agriculture uses relatively fewer mechanical and purchased inputs. Forward (consumption) linkages in Asia were double those in Africa, in part because Africans seem to spend far less on processed food than do Asians. Models comparing Asian and African scenarios estimate higher multipliers from agricultural development in Asia, but this is speculated to be a distortion reflecting the lower level of monetization of the African economy.

Key Words: Asia; Africa; Nonfarm Enterprises; Employment;
Labor Allocation; Marketing

35. Hammam, Sonia
1984 Informal Financial Circuits in West Africa.
Occasional Paper Series, Office of Housing and
Urban Programs. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Agency for
International Development.

This study is an exploration of the variety of informal mechanisms through which resources are mobilized to meet credit needs in five West African nations. It is recognized that a very large percentage of credit and savings activity in West Africa flows through financial circuits which operate outside of the framework of financial institutions. Some of the basic

characteristics of West Africa's urban informal financial circuits are: (1) they operate outside the regulatory arena, (2) they depend largely on local resources for credit funds, but may have links to formal institutions, (3) they are highly localized and respond to a diversity of needs, and (4) their operations fulfill economic needs, but are carried out in a social context. Previous assumptions about the informal sector credit were that it is mainly largely unsecured, high risk, costly and short-term. All failed to be valid, except for the loan term, in the findings of the report. The author describes the profile of the target group as the majority of the urban poor population whose savings patterns are vastly dominated by the rotating savings and credit associations. The preliminary findings and conclusions presented highlight the merits and demerits of informal sector finance.

Key Words: Ivory Coast; Liberia; Niger; Senegal; Togo; Financial Services; Informal Sector; Local Organizations

36. Hansen, Karen Tranberg
1975 Married Women and Work: Explorations from an Urban Case Study. African Social Research 20:777-799.

The Mtendele township, the site of a government resettlement scheme for low-income families on the eastern periphery of Lusaka, provides a context for the author's discussion of Zambian married women's lack of participation in wage labor. Despite the economic hardships experienced by many of the households in Mtendele and the desire of many wives to work, urban job opportunities for women in Lusaka and its environs are limited. Without formal education and with child-care duties incompatible with many urban employment opportunities, married women are restricted to frequently illegal and precarious participation in entrepreneurial petty trading activities. The difference between wives with work experience and wives without work experience appears to be linked to the wider urban experience and history of mobility of the former. Constraints to the participation of women in entrepreneurial activities include the institutionalized nature of female trades, the illegality of many informal businesses, high start-up costs, and competition.

Key Words: Zambia; Housing; Labor Markets; Gender Roles; Informal Sector; Urban Planning; Households

37. Hart, D. M., and C. M. Rogerson
1989 Hawkers in South Africa's Small Urban Centers:
Planning and Policy. Development Southern Africa
6(3):295-310.

The authors focus on one key aspect in the evolution of appropriate management strategies in South Africa's smaller urban centers, namely the policy attitudes and practices toward hawkers. They briefly review the international experience of changing attitudes toward street traders, and present empirical material on local policies and planning regarding hawkers in a cross-section of smaller urban centers. The findings indicate considerable geographical variability in hawker planning and policy. Moreover, there are few signs that the attempts to open up expanded opportunities for hawkers are being replicated in the smaller urban centers. They conclude that the resistance to planning for rather than against street traders is a continuation and reinforcement of a set of long-established attitudes, often conditioned by racial prejudice. Administrators of South Africa's smaller urban centers might reflect upon the international experience concerning innovating a positive policy package toward the informal sector as part of a programme of appropriate urban management.

Key Words: **Urbanization; Economic Policy; Informal Sector**

38. Hart, Keith
1973 Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment
in Ghana. Journal of Modern African Studies
11(1):61-89.

The informal and formal income structures of urban employment in Accra are examined on the basis of fieldwork conducted from 1965-8 among the Frafras of Northern Ghana, a group inhabiting a slum on the northern outskirts of Accra.

Limited opportunities in the formal sector and declining real incomes oblige most of the city's wage earners to hold several jobs and/or to supplement their incomes through informal means. The author proposes a typology of the wide range of urban income opportunities in Accra with descriptions of multiple entries under three categories: formal income opportunities, and legitimate and illegitimate informal income opportunities. He notes an uneven distribution of economic opportunities between regional or ethnic groups which he attributes to varying exposure to colonial rule and the spread of western education. For most of the workers, who are interested in retiring with their savings to the country, long term, not short-term, residence in the urban areas of southern Ghana is the norm.

Migrants to cities are attracted not only by wage-labor positions but by the multiplicity of employment opportunities. The author asserts that the distinction between formal (wage labor) and informal (self employment) income is misleading since combining income sources within and between sectors is a common survival strategy of urban inhabitants. Informally produced goods and services must be included in economic analyses in order to determine the relationship between the formal and informal sectors in urban areas. The establishment of an input-output matrix of formal and informal activities based on surveys of income and expenditures is suggested.

The following passage (p. 70) is of particular relevance to peri-urban studies:

Many urban dwellers purchase, rent, or occupy plots of land to farm on as a sideline. One migrant even once remarked that 'the trouble with Accra is that there is not enough land to farm on!' Despite this, a good number manage to find a small place on the outskirts of the city to grow corn and vegetables. The high cost of food makes gardening, whether for one's own consumption or for sale, a profitable business. Cannabis is also grown openly in city gardens. Similarly, many raise fowls and small livestock even in the heart of a slum like Nima. Access to these income sources is limited primarily by the availability of space.

Key Words: Ghana; Labor Markets; Ethnicity; Informal Sector

39. Harvey, David
1972 Society, the City and the Space-Economy of Urbanism. Commission on College Geography Resource Paper No. 18. Washington, D.C.: Association of American Geographers.

The author reviews the historical theoretical urban studies literature in sociology and economics before proceeding to a schematic discussion of economic models of urban spatial structure. According to Harvey, "Urbanism rests on the successful production and appropriation of a socially produced surplus product." Reciprocity, redistribution, and market exchange are modes of thought by which the basic forms of urbanism can be characterized. In its simplest spatial form, and that which was most dominant in the world prior to the industrial revolution, a city center is supported by its agricultural hinterland. Following the Christaller-Losch principle, space is structured hierarchically so that the impact of distance on the process of extracting surplus is kept to a minimum. With industrialization, cities became much more independent of their hinterlands, with concomitant spatial differentiation from within. This differentiation can be understood as a sociological

as well as an economic phenomenon, in the sense that, for example, housing spatial patterns reflect efforts to separate social classes in ways that cannot always be explained in terms of economic efficiency. Von Thuenen's 1828 agricultural location theory is used to construct schematic spatial models of urban housing based on transportation costs. Interpreting these costs in terms of travel-time as opposed to cash expenditures yields fundamentally different results, leading to a regressive impact from infrastructural development.

Key Words: **Urban Market Systems; Methodology; Theory; Land Use; Economic Models**

40. Hemmer, Hans R., and C. Mannel
 1989 On the Economic Analysis of the Urban Informal Sector. World Development 17(10):1543-1552.

The authors examine the links and interactions between the formal and the informal sectors in developing countries. It is argued that both the factor and the product markets show these links. An example of this is the links that the informal sector shares with the formal economy via several intermediaries. Since informal sector employees do not have access to formal credit, they demand credit on the informal credit market. The informal credit market is dominated by wholesalers, transport entrepreneurs and money lenders who have access to the modern sector. This group thus operates in both sectors of the economy, and benefits from interregional price differences. Based on the assumption that for most products demand consists of a specific and nonspecific demand, the paper presents an analysis of the product and labor markets and discusses the effects of shifts in demand on development strategies. It concludes that successful measures have to include the informal as well as the formal sector.

Key Words: **United States; Informal Sector; Financial Services; Marketing; Labor Markets; Migration**

41. Hepner, George F.
 1985 Locational Factors and the Urban Fringe Land Market. Journal of Rural Studies 1(4):359-367.

Proposing that "conventional concepts" of urban spatial organization do not adequately explain the urban fringe market and land conversion process, Hepner uses regression analysis on data collected from the Toledo, Ohio, area to explain the effects

of various factors on demand for undeveloped parcels in the urban fringe. "Undeveloped areas" are defined as parcels for which development plans have not been submitted. Using a least squares approach and a micro point-in-time model, the effects of parcel size, zoned use, actual use, and distances from the nearest urban centers, highways, and commercial centers on land price were estimated.

The sample was predominantly residential and showed an inverse relationship between parcel size and land prices. This result was intuitively appealing both because larger parcels tended to be in non-residential (agricultural) use and because distances tended to increase with parcel size, thereby increasing "interaction costs" with shopping centers, highways, and urban centers. Intensity of land use was found to be positively correlated with land price, with prices declining from commercial to residential to agricultural areas. Zoned residential use proved to be a more important indicator of land price than de facto residential use, a possible cue that greater investment protection is perceived on zoned parcels. Interactive variables created from the factors mentioned supported the results obtained and confirmed that "accessibility" to infrastructure and public services was key to land prices.

Key Words: **United States; Land Markets; Theory; Land Use**

42. Hesseling, Gertie
 1984 Land Law in a Semi-Urban Context: The Case of
 Ziguinchor (Senegal). In: Aspecten van Staat en
 Maatschappij in Afrika. Pp. 367-390. Leiden:
 African Studies Centre.

As part of a study of the nature and interaction of the customary and national land tenure systems in a semi-urban area, Hesseling describes the process of obtaining newly demarcated urban land from the State. Implemented in the 1970s in Ziguinchor, the program aimed in particular at the regularization of land rights in the lower-class compounds of the town. An applicant first went to a land allocation board, from which he received a "ticket" with the plot name and number written on it. Any person who could prove that he was a family head and that he lived in the compound with his family was entitled to a plot approximately 400 m². The next step required the applicant to obtain an official occupancy permit, an expensive and time-consuming procedure. It was at this point that most people stopped. By the early 1980s less than 3 percent of ticket holders had acquired the official permit, believing that the ticket conferred title.

Hesseling provides examples of four cases from Ziguinchor in which customary notions of land tenure are at odds with the

modern, statutory system and shows how these four individuals respond differently to challenges to their land rights.

Key Words: Senegal; Land Tenure; Land Registration

43. Hill, Polly
1975 Some Socio-Economic Consequences of the High Population Density in Rural Areas near Kano City. In: The Population Factor in African Studies. R. P. Moss and J. A. Rathbone, eds. Pp. 198-207. London: University of London Press Ltd.

The study provides much interesting empirical information relevant to land tenure and other factors in an area within Kano's economic zone of influence. Dorayi, the study village, is within bicycle commuting distance of Kano. Issues of population density and its effect on migration and markets are discussed.

While high population density and limited land for farming greatly limits economic opportunities for the young, emigration is rare in Dorayi. Evidence is presented from a survey of all farm plots in a 3 square mile area of the community, using an aerial photograph and prominent physical boundary markers to establish a sampling frame. A land market exists under a tenurial arrangement which recognizes individual transfer rights, but prices are much higher than most farmers' ability to pay. Land borrowing, typically for only a nominal fee, is common among both the rich and the poor, and mitigates the effect of landlessness which is common.

Population density of resident farmers was found to be high at 1,200 per square mile. Actual density is higher if non-resident farmers are included. These latter tend to be either rich urbanites having purchased land, or former Dorayi residents who have migrated to the urban center. Farm holdings per household head average about one half acre; manure from Kano is imported to increase yield. The rich, by local standards, tend to be older and to have acquired wealth through farming. Young men tend to work as hired laborers or on their fathers' farms, but do not typically emigrate. There are many bicycle commuters to Kano (17% of married men). Virtually no unmarried men emigrate or commute. Emigration is typically permanent and occurs after a father's death. Immigration by women balances emigration, and is due primarily to marriage.

Key Words: Nigeria; Migration; Employment; Land Markets

44. Hofman, Michael
1986 The Informal Sector in an Intermediate City: A Case in Egypt. Economic Development and Cultural Change 34(2): 263-277.

The author examines the structure of the informal sector in Fayoum, a city of 200,000 people some 100 kilometers south of Cairo. Factors important for an analysis of employment generation capacity are examined. Unlike many studies which loosely use the term 'informal sector,' the author here provides a precise definition: workshops with annual turnover of less than 30,000 Egyptian pounds, employing fewer than 10 workers, using labor intensive methods, and without government regulatory promotion. This sector, which employs some 10% of the total work force, is distinguished from the 'self-employment' sector in which the entrepreneur employs no workers. In terms of employment, agro-processing is insignificant, while furniture manufacturing employs one quarter of informal sector workers. Tailoring, shoe repair firms, construction materials manufacture (bricks, welded and wood doors and windows, etc.), and vehicle and electrical appliance repair are also important. Labor shortages in Fayoum are cited as a problem. Migration to the capital and abroad is proposed as the reason why wages between Fayoum and Cairo have been equalized. Remittances from overseas family members play an important role in local demand. Local manufacture and service firms rely heavily on middle and upper income clients, while inexpensive imports from Cairo and abroad appeal to the poor. Despite its distance from the capital, excellent transportation infrastructure places Fayoum within Cairo's sphere of economic activity, with commuting and competition in the manufacture of consumer goods becoming increasingly important phenomena.

Key Words: Egypt; Employment; Informal Sector; Migration; Microenterprise

45. Hosier, Richard H.
1987 The Informal Sector in Kenya: Spatial Variation and Development Alternatives. Journal of Developing Areas 21:383-402.

The urban informal economic sector is described both as capable of growth, poverty alleviation and improved income distribution (evolutionist theory) and as a captive and exploited element of the capital-intensive formal sector (involutionist theory). Empirical evidence from two cities in Kenya suggests that locational characteristics influence the nature and potential of the informal sector and thus the applicability of these two schools of thought.

Manufacturing firms within the informal sectors of Nairobi (a primary city) and Meru (a secondary city) showed different patterns of competitiveness, entrepreneurship, private ownership, input use, clientele-formation, and profit-formation. No significant locational differences were evident in production techniques, firm longevity, proportion of individual vs. family-ownership, tendency to hire labor, or wages. A relatively higher cost of living in Nairobi with no wage differential implied a higher standard of living for informal sector employees in Meru, however. Relative to Nairobi, Meru firms showed a higher proportion of custom work, a more repetitive client base, and higher gross revenues. Nairobi firms hired more family workers and Meru more casual workers, but the average number of family workers per firm was the same for both cities while the average number of casual workers per firm was higher in Nairobi.

The qualitative differences observed between Nairobi and Meru suggest that Meru has a higher concentration of "petty commodity producers" while Nairobi has a higher concentration of "petty capitalists." Thus the evolutionist view is better suited to the Nairobi case and the involutionist view to Meru.

Key Words: Kenya; Employment; Informal Sector; Manufacturing; Microenterprise; Labor Markets

46. International Labor Organization
1985 Informal Sector: Employment and Jobs Programme.
Geneva: ILO.

This two-part report provides an assessment of 52 country studies on the informal sector in Africa. The first part includes an overview of macro- and micro-characteristics, informal and formal linkages, the role of the government, and problems and constraints. The second part provides country-specific data concerning employment, income, linkages, and growth prospects of the informal sector in 22 African countries.

The informal sector is described as dominating the urban economy in West Africa (representing 60% of the urban labor force), emergent in East Africa (due to stricter zoning laws and urban planning), and negligible in southern African countries (due to the absorption of labor by South African mines). Where it exists, the informal sector provides both employment opportunities and basic needs for the urban poor.

Despite lip service paid to the importance of employment creation, most African governments enact anti-informal sector policies. (One example of this is the drive by the Nairobi City Council to restrict open-air businesses at city boundaries). In general, informal sector operators face insecurity concerning location. Harassment in the name of urban development and town planning results in constant movements to empty lots and city

boundaries, thus breaking up the relationship between supply and demand (the city center being an important source of wage-earning customers). The sector is efficient because of its informality, but its informal aspects also prevent it from being included in development plans.

Though the informal sector employs much more labor than the formal sector with the same amount of capital, it cannot be expected to absorb the increasing rural-to-urban migration in Africa, so efforts must be taken to reduce the rural/urban income gap.

Key Words: Africa; Informal Sector; Labor Markets; Urban Planning

47. Jamal, Vali, and John Weeks
1988 The Vanishing Rural-Urban Gap in Sub-Saharan Africa. International Labour Review 127(3):271-292.

The wide rural-urban gap, often postulated as an intrinsic characteristic of African economies, has narrowed in most African countries and even disappeared in some. Eight trends, all closely related and interactive, are identified in four selected countries in this study. It is noted that the important dynamic distributional relationship has been between rich and poor within both the urban and the rural sectors. Although the crisis in the Sub-Saharan countries began in the agricultural sector, the living standards of wage earners have been the hardest hit. The minimum wage is no longer sufficient to support an average family in towns; thus, urban families have turned to a number of occupations, including farming, in order to survive. Most workers straddle both the rural and the urban sector ("circulatory migration") and the formal and the informal sector. An urban wage earner in Africa today is most likely to be simultaneously a part-time farmer and/or a petty trader in the informal sector. Moreover, the authors recognize the fact that it is the family rather than the individual that is considered as the decision-making unit.

Key Words: Nigeria, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Uganda; Informal Sector; Labor Markets; Migration; Nonfarm Enterprises

48. Jeannin, Maurice
1972 L'Agriculture et les habitants de Makelekele (Un quartier récent de Brazzaville). In: Dix Etudes sur l'approvisionnement des villes. Travaux et documents de géographie tropicale No. 7. Pp. 19-46. Bordeaux: Centre d'Etudes de Géographie Tropicale (CEGET), CNRS [Centre national de la recherche scientifique].

The Makelekele quarter in Brazzaville had developed in the ten years preceding the study (1959-69). A high proportion of women in the quarter are engaged in regular agricultural activity, cultivating land either in the quarter or in the peri-urban zone, and even in their villages of origin. The wives of functionaries farm as much as or even more than the wives of the unemployed. The paper suggests that the activity is a response both to material needs and to the women's preference for financial independence from their husbands.

The land is either rented or purchased. Rights to the land in the area cultivated by residents of Makelekele are contested and buyers sometimes pay several owners, or owners sell to more than one buyer. The would-be farmers are found where land is not yet subdivided or lots are not yet sold. "L'ensemble du quartier que P. Vennetier présentait en 1957 comme un vaste terrain de culture ne laisse guère qu'une cinquantaine d'hectares encore disponibles, dont près de 6 ha sont consacrés au maraîchage et 9 ha à la culture du manioc." (p. 24).

Farming is considered shameful by some households: one fifth of the household responses of no farming activity were subsequently found from a sample follow-up survey to be false. 79.6 percent of all women in Makelekele reported that they do some farming activity. Yet wives of functionaries as well as of the unemployed engage in it. Manioc is the most common crop, and the quantities produced meet a substantial part of households' subsistence needs. Truck gardening (maraîchage) is almost exclusively a male occupation. It is highly profitable, yet the gardeners do not put in consistent efforts. Traditional vegetables and some fruits are cultivated by women in the city, on waste land and vacant lots.

Key Words: Congo; Urban Agriculture; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Land Tenure; Urbanization

49. Jenkins, D. P.
1987 Peri-Urban Land Tenure: Problems and Prospects. Development Southern Africa 4:582-586.

Jenkins, head of the Department of Surveying and Mapping at the University of Natal, argues that informal settlements such as

those surrounding Durban in South Africa are areas which fulfill critical housing and commercial needs and that they should be upgraded rather than razed. Essential to improving these settlements is the provision of a secure system of land tenure. Components of such a system would include: security of title, permanent and accurate recording of individual rights, maintenance and administration of the system by a trained staff, and implementation of a fee schedule set according to land values. In addition, to the extent possible, the system should both attempt to preserve and not disrupt what is good in existing custom and yet be adaptable; it should also encourage development and lead to efficient and economic land patterns. Existing land tenure systems in informal settlement areas in South Africa are not able to afford the occupant any degree of permanence or security or to permit that individual to profit from, or even recover the costs of, investments. Jenkins suggests that priorities be established for their improvement, with some settlements slated for permanent and immediate upgrading of infrastructure, administration, and tenure systems and others designated for only temporary upgrading. The new tenure systems need to cover "the whole range from tenancy, through registered leasehold to freehold" and should allow "mobility, by choice, both up and down the scale. They should also ensure that the occupational rights are negotiable so that capital investment and reasonable interest can be recovered" (p. 586).

Key Words: **South Africa; Land Tenure; Land Registration;
Urban Planning**

50. Jiggins, Janice
 1989 How Poor Women Earn Income in Sub-Saharan Africa
 and What Works Against Them. World Development
 17(7):953-963.

Rural Sub-Saharan African social and economic conditions are documented reflecting tremendous levels of rural poverty specifically distinguished in six areas: cash, resources, range of resources, labor supply, labor demand, and health. The role women play in household-based agricultural activity is becoming increasingly significant for survival; however, they have little access to services and few opportunities to become more productive. Their situation is aggravated by continuing male dominance and unequal household responsibilities. The informal sector offers opportunities for entrepreneurship, especially in trading or small-scale agroindustry, but unlicensed activity is discouraged in many countries. Some women also find themselves competing with businesses that are state-run or licensed. Several micro level interventions are identified that support women's

income-earning activities and may halt further deterioration in rural livelihoods.

Key Words: **Africa; Gender Roles; Income Strategies;
Microenterprise**

51. Johnson, James H., ed.
 1974 Suburban Growth: Geographical Processes at the
 Edge of the Western City. London: John Wiley &
 Sons.

This volume looks at present trends in the urban fringe, the "zone at the edge of the city into which urban growth of various kinds is extending," in the context of western Europe and North America.

Chapter 1, "Geographical Processes at the Edge of the City"

Changes at the edge of cities during the 20th century, the nature of which has been difficult to define, involve the manipulation of a large area of land of sharply increasing value and may reflect future patterns in the behavior of contemporary urban society. New employment opportunities have contributed to changes in residential land use, including the development of low-density "village" clusters of professional workers, the broadening of social groups, and the spread of socially and geographically peripheral squatter settlements. The author predicts a continued growth of dispersed cities, with specialized suburbs and satellites spreading at the expense of inner cities.

Chapter 2, "The Urban Fringe: Approaches and Attitudes"

City fringes, where urban-rural interaction is at its maximum, were not looked at in detail until the 1940s and have presented researchers with problems of definition. It appears that land use more than social or employment factors provides an analytical guide to the study of peripheral areas. Characteristics of the fringe--the nature of residential growth, recreational demands, and institutional factors--are described. Reviewing the literature on current processes at the fringe, the author mentions a tendency toward social and spatial segregation, selective immigration into and the changing commuting character of the fringe, and the collapse of geographical and social hierarchies. Stemming from competing interests over land use, problems of the fringe include a tendency of farms to decay, a need to reserve recreational land, high costs of services, and the intermixing of different social groups.

Key Words: **Land Use; Urban Planning; Methodology; Theory**

52. Katzman, Martin T.
1974 The Von Thuenen Paradigm, the Industrial-Urban Hypothesis, and the Spatial Structure of Agriculture. American Journal of Agricultural Economics 56:683-696.

Two neoclassical models of regional variations in agricultural structure and income are formulated and tested empirically on data from the Goias State of South Central Brazil. Under the von Thuenen model, access to commodity markets, as reflected in transportation costs, is used to explain why prices for land, labor, and commodities decline with distance from a principal market center. Under the Industrial-Urban paradigm, market imperfections due to monopoly and monopsony power in urban centers is emphasized.

Coefficients and standard errors from some 20 regressions on cross-sectional data, each repeated for 1940, 1950, and 1960, are presented. Results of the empirical study indicate that distance to market is negatively related to product prices, land values, capitalization, and rates of land utilization. Access to urbanized centers on the other hand appears to affect only the use of machinery per hectare and per unit of labor. Nevertheless, the author concludes that both distance to market and access to urbanized centers should be considered in any analysis of agricultural structure and income.

Key Words: Brazil; Economic Models

53. Kerner, Donna
1988 "Hard Work" and Informal Sector Trade in Tanzania. In: Traders Versus the State: Anthropological Approaches to Unofficial Economies. G. Clarke, ed. Pp. 41-57. Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press.

This chapter discusses the Human Resources Deployment Act, known as the Nguvu Kazi or Hard Work campaign conducted by the Tanzanian government in 1983-4 to ensure the engagement of Tanzanian citizens in productive labor. Distribution forces were restructured by integrating the informal sector into channels of trade controlled by the government. Initially aimed at relocating the urban unemployed back to rural areas and agricultural activities, the Nguvu Kazi developed into a campaign of detention, registration, and resettlement of the urban jobless, traders, vendors, workers, and housewives to rural government-owned sisal, tea, and sugar plantations experiencing labor shortages.

Unlicensed petty traders and casual laborers congregated in core and satellite urban areas, and "loitering" blue and white collar workers, became targets of netting, "repatriation", and registration, although individuals promising to cultivate plots in the city's periphery would be allowed to remain. A requirement for engagement in farming activities by all urban workers was debated by the government then abandoned due to popular protest; many of the bureaucratic elite were already involved in urban agriculture to supplement inadequate official wages.

Nguvu Kazi is interpreted by the author as an attempt to extract surplus labor from rural production by converting peasants and petty traders into rural casual laborers. The continuing economic crisis in Tanzania threatens to undermine government control. Current structural adjustments imposed by the World Bank and the IMF to stabilize the situation include: currency devaluation, elimination of price controls, increase in producer prices, revitalization of peasant cooperatives, encouragement of private businesses and investment, and relaxation of foreign exchange restrictions.

Key Words: **Tanzania; Informal Sector; Rural-Urban Linkages; Economic Policy; Traders**

54. Kimani, S. M.
 1972 Spatial Structure of Land Values in Nairobi, Kenya. Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie 63:105-114.

Using property assessments for different sections of Nairobi, Kimani sought to test Western-generated concepts that urban land values are a function of centrality and accessibility. He found that land values are indeed affected by distance from the city center and the transportation and road network, with population density playing a minor, though significant, role as well. Population density in cities such as Nairobi is very much related to race, and thus racial variation can be connected to land values as well. His conclusion is that these Western propositions hold true for Nairobi and thus for African cities in general, although he warns that they cannot be applied uncritically to an African context. On a more practical level, he recommends that the Nairobi municipal authorities acquire land as it becomes available that will be needed for urban expansion.

Key Words: **Kenya; Land Markets; Ethnicity; Urban Planning; Infrastructure**

55. Lasserre, Guy
1972b La Dynamique de l'espace urbain à Libreville: Réglementation foncière et morphologie des quartiers. In: La Croissance urbaine en Afrique noire et à Madagascar. Colloque international du CNRS. Vol. II. Pp. 739-761. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique.

Lasserre's contribution is a recounting of the growth of Libreville from its establishment in the first half of the nineteenth century to 1970. It is largely descriptive and has little to contribute in terms of information or methodology. Lasserre expresses surprise that the new settlements on the outskirts of Libreville have not been planned or carefully laid out and suggests that the government should plan for the city's expansion.

Three quarters of the population of Libreville were born outside the city. Aerial photos depict rapid growth between 1960 and 1967. Regulations pertaining to the size of residential lots and acceptable construction materials apply to four classes of land. Of particular interest is the fourth class (land located primarily on the periphery of the city); lots of 500 m² are allocated legally for a fee of CFA 3,000 (1972 price), with title awarded upon completion of a structure of more or less durable materials. It is not clear what rights this title bestows.

Urbanization is defined in terms of access to urban services such as electricity. In the 'village' (suburb) of Glass, located 2,000 meters from the city center, some 39% of homes have water and electricity, with 3 to 3.5 homes per hectare. Europeans and non-M'Pongoué have difficulty obtaining land for construction in the area due to traditional institutions regulating the local land market. Land is ostensibly available, however, at a price of CFA 1,000-2,000 per m² along the coast or CFA 50-200 in the village interior, compared to as much as CFA 6,000 in the city center. Squatter zones exist without regulation, with roughly 15 residences of temporary construction and about 80 inhabitants per hectare. Only 2% of squatter residences have city services. These zones tend to be concentrated around swampy areas, in some cases very close to the city center, or on the outer periphery some 3000 meters from the city center.

Key Words: Gabon; Land Markets; Urbanization; Economic Policy

56. Laurent, Olivier
1972 Dakar et ses banlieues. In: La Croissance urbaine en Afrique noire et à Madagascar. Colloque national du CNRS, 29 September-2 Octobre 1970, Talence. Vol. II. Pp. 763-784. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique.

Laurent is more descriptive than analytic in his discussion of Dakar and its outlying areas, but he does make several points worth noting. First of all, and perhaps most obvious, not all peri-urban areas are alike. Some are residential in character, others industrial, and still others predominantly rural in terms of economic and social organization. In a number of these areas, urban expansion contrasts strikingly with customary settlements, leading to conflict and confusion in such matters as land tenure. In the areas around Dakar, for example, the customary land rights, to some extent altered by the 1964 and 1972 National Domain Laws, may exist side by side with formal, registered rights; land speculation is not uncommon, and the result is that many transactions have gone unrecorded and some are actually illegal.

Key Words: Senegal; Land Tenure; Land Use; Urbanization; Social Organization

57. Liedholm, Carl
1989 The Dynamics of Small Scale Industry in Africa and the Role of Policy. Draft. East Lansing: Michigan State University.

This paper examines the dynamics of small-scale manufacturing enterprises in Africa. The limited number of existing dynamic analyses are classified as either macro studies, which examine aggregate changes in the size, location, and sector of such firms, or micro studies, which focus on the birth, growth, and disappearance of individual firms. The macro studies indicate that small scale firms are evolving over time; in particular, there is a secular shift toward somewhat larger firms producing more modern products in larger localities. The micro studies provide insights into how the transformation is taking place; new firms and microenterprises appear increasingly in larger localities, disappearance rates are highest for micro firms and lowest for largest firms. In terms of expansion, most remain micro firms, and larger firms do not emerge out of a pool of microenterprises but originate as such. The effects of policy on the expansion of individual firms is still unclear; evidence suggests both positive and negative impacts. The author concludes that careful attention must be paid to avoiding negative policy discontinuities that would act as a disincentive to firm

expansion, and more studies are needed to ascertain exactly how policies influence the evolution of firms in Africa.

Key Words: Africa; Microenterprise; Nonfarm Enterprises

58. Lipton, Michael
1977 Why Poor People Stay Poor: A Study of Urban Bias in World Development. London: Temple Smith.

The author argues that urban bias is the moving force behind needlessly slow and inequitable growth in contemporary developing countries. The main propositions in the book are that: (1) the main explanations of economic and political phenomena within Third World countries are to be found in relationships internal to individual countries; (2) countries can be clearly divided into rural (agricultural) and urban sectors; (3) there are major conflicts of interest between these two sectors; (4) the sectors are each internally divided into two main stream class categories whose interests may diverge and conflict; (5) groups designated by sectoral and class location appear as solidary political actors pursuing group interest in politics; (6) the urban sector is generally more successful in politics, but only through 'buying off' the rural elite; (7) the resultant pattern of resource allocation is inefficient in terms of aggregate growth, and inequitable to the cost of the rural poor. A significant factor fostering the process of investment in the farming sector is the need for savings. Moreover, the author questions the savings argument which concentrates upon the relative poor capacity of farmers to save. It is noted that remittances, both rural/urban, do not exhaust the impact of rural-urban migration on the flows of cash between the two sectors; rural savings are used in the city as investment or for financing consumption. Last, he poses the question of what can be done and proposes some policy recommendations and research priorities.

Key Words: Urbanization; Rural-Urban Linkages; Migration; Financial Services

59. Mabogunje, Akin L.
1986 Backwash Urbanization: The Peasantization of Cities in Sub-Saharan Africa. In: World Pattern of Modern Urban Change. M. P. Conzen, ed. Pp. 255-272. Chicago: Department of Geography, University of Chicago.

The author of this five-part essay defines backwash urbanization as the movement of peasants to cities in response to the undermined vitality of agricultural production in rural areas where the state allocates fewer resources. The attraction of colonial cities to rural populations in Sub-Saharan Africa was limited. Later, during periods of political independence, import substitution led to international indebtedness with concomitant disastrous effects on peasant agriculture, and a resulting asymmetry in urban-rural relations. State intrusion into peasant economies was met by resistance; rural producers simultaneously maintained control over their land and participated in the urban economy, primarily within the informal sector. The author interprets the current expansion of African cities to be not a result of economic growth but a by-product of state policies that have destroyed the productive capacity of rural areas. Inadequately serviced slum and squatter settlements represent the most tangible manifestation of backwash urbanization, but Mabogunje questions the cost-effectiveness of donor-supported programs for peasant-produced housing established in response to the deplorable living conditions of the urban poor. He warns that if declining agricultural production and worsening conditions in rural regions are not effectively dealt with, then economic collapse in many African countries is imminent.

Key Words: Africa; Urbanization; Squatter Settlements; Economic Policy; Demography; Theory; Rural-Urban Linkages; Employment

60. Mabogunje, A. L., and M. O. Filani
1981 The Informal Sector in a Small City: The Case of Kano. In: The Urban Informal Sector in Developing Countries: Employment, Poverty and Environment. S. V. Sethuraman, ed. Pp. 83-89. Geneva: International Labour Office.

Data from a sample of 505 enterprises in Kano, Nigeria, a secondary city, were used to study the structure of manufacturing activities in the informal sector. The sample frame included 52 activities of which trade enterprises comprised 60%. Less than 1/3 of the participants in the informal sector were migrants, nearly all from within Nigeria. Migrants tended to be better educated than local entrepreneurs, overwhelmingly male, and

younger than the sector average. Migrant settlement patterns tended to be linked to places of origin.

Most participants in the informal sector were men, yet women dominated certain activities (sewing, milling and hairdressing). Most enterprises were individually owned, but there were slightly more migrants than natives as proprietors. Most enterprises were in fixed locations in residential areas with access to water and electricity. Backward linkages (raw materials) were common to the formal sector through middleman traders, but forward linkages (sales) were mainly to households. Initial capital for business investment came from personal savings or family loans. Without access to bank loans firm expansion was difficult.

More than 2/3 of enterprises were sole proprietorships but size varied by activity up to more than 5 persons. The average wage was competitive with the formal sector and met the legal minimum, except for women. The age range of participants was considered low with 75% between 15-44 and 15% below 14. As in Freetown, younger entrepreneurs were engaged in retail trade and as apprentices and older entrepreneurs in more capital-intensive trades. Of the 903 persons employed in the sample, 16% were apprentices, 63% entrepreneurs, and 21% journeymen. Slightly more than half the respondents, especially in the 14-24 age range, were willing to change jobs if training were available, yet wanted to stay in the informal sector.

Key Words: **Nigeria; Migration; Employment; Informal Sector; Microenterprise; Credit**

61. Maldonado, C.

1989 The Underdogs of the Urban Economy Join Forces: Results of an ILO Programme in Mali, Rwanda and Togo. International Labour Review 128(1):65-84.

The author reviews the design, achievements and impact of the ILO's World Employment Programme to assist small-scale activities in Mali, Rwanda and Togo. The aim of the programme is to encourage small-scale urban producers to organize themselves in order to secure better access to production resources, acquire occupational skills and so improve their earning capacity. Unlike traditional methods which rely on decisions taken by outsiders, this programme emphasizes the participation of the disadvantaged in the decision-making at all stages. One of the principal achievements of the programme has been to assist small-scale producers' self-organization to form associations and earn negotiating power. Support workshops and training allow craftsmen groups easier access to production facilities; groups that raise their own funds are less vulnerable and less dependant on outside assistance than borrowing groups. The financing of micro-

enterprises faces mainly two problems: their saving capacity and credit facilities; problems persist in Mali while innovative financial mechanisms promoted the success of these two sources of financing in both Rwanda and Togo. Apart from a few exceptions, evaluations reflect positive effects on the participants' incomes and employment. The conclusion reached is in support of grass-roots initiatives and the mobilization of local resources as effective means of promoting micro-enterprises.

Key Words: Mali; Rwanda; Togo; Employment; Microenterprise; Local Organizations; Financial Services

62. Mazambani, D.
1982 Peri-Urban Cultivation within Greater Harare.
Zimbabwe Science News 16(8):134-138.

Peri-urban cultivation in and around Harare has increased in extent from 267 ha. in 1956 to 4,762 ha. in 1980. Factors which have contributed to its expansion include population growth, unemployment, and increased family size. Peri-urban cultivation, an illegal activity practiced often on municipal land by low-income families, is a cause for concern for several reasons. Firstly, it damages natural resources, contributing to soil erosion on slopes and along river banks. Similarly, because it creates rural landscapes in an urban environment, peri-urban cultivation destroys wild plant communities and prevents the regeneration of woody vegetation where land has been deforested. Secondly, it indicates increasing economic hardship among low-income families. And thirdly, it has generated conflict between these families and both municipal authorities and private landowners. On the other hand, peri-urban agriculture provides cultivators, male and female alike, with critical sources of food and income; it also is a source of income for juveniles who set up as hawkers of surplus produce. The most popular crops are, first, maize, followed by pumpkins, rice, sweet potatoes, and cowpeas. Mazambani concludes that because it is an important activity, peri-urban agriculture needs to be carefully controlled rather than prohibited outright. This will require the demarcation of prohibited areas (e.g., stream banks) and the provision of "some form of agronomic supervision."

Key Words: Zimbabwe; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Land Use; Informal Sector; Households

63. McClintock, Hugh
1973 The Planning of Kisumu's Peri-Urban Areas. The Planner 59:328-9.

The paper discusses the approach adopted by the Kenyan government in responding to the development of unplanned and unanticipated growth in the peri-urban areas of Kisumu, the third largest settlement in Kenya. "Until 1972, Kisumu could quite easily disclaim any responsibility for the problem as the areas lay outside the Municipal Council's jurisdiction. But since mid-1972 its boundaries have been enlarged..."

The spontaneous settlements which had grown up are described as "an obstacle to the pattern of orderly growth which the town must achieve by the end of the century". There are "three of these large 'peri-urban' areas round the former municipal boundary" with a total population in 1972 of 33,000. The quality of housing varied from "permanent construction...often as good as those anywhere else in the town" to "more typical of what one associates with the term 'squatter colony.' Residents work or are seeking jobs in Kisumu and the areas have long been de facto if not de jure parts of the town.

The paper points out that as places where land could be acquired fairly close to sources of employment and dwellings erected cheaply, they have played a very important role in making up some of the great dearth of low-cost accommodation in the town. Before incorporation into the municipality, planning was virtually non-existent in the peri-urban areas. Certain tracks were generally acknowledged as main thoroughfares, but they are narrow, unpaved, and impassable after heavy rain. Markets are sparse - only three are of reasonable size and layout. Schools and other public services are described as substandard or inadequate. Most occupants do not have clear claims to their land, which was 'Native trust land' in colonial days.

The second part of the paper reviews planning policies proposed for the area. New construction has been banned. The standards to be adopted for roads and facilities are modified from those "that would normally be stipulated for new urban areas": narrower roads, communal watering kiosks, and communal latrines; owners of land who lose their plots are to be compensated.

Key Words: Kenya; Urban Planning; Urbanization; Peri-Urban Services

64. Mead, Donald C., and Carl Liedholm
1989 Policies to Promote Industrialization, and the Role of SMEs: The Case of Low-income African Countries. Draft chapter of monograph, Employment and Enterprise Policy in Economic Development. East Lansing, Michigan: Michigan State University.

This chapter comprises five main sections. First, SMEs (small and medium enterprises) are discussed with emphasis on their context and setting from static dimensions as portrayed in the current situation, and from dynamic considerations relating to growth patterns. It is recognized that the economies are dominated by agricultural sectors that are growing only slowly, if at all, and the prevailing situation in which small non-agricultural enterprises operate is a very difficult one. In terms of the structural change, the data reflect a heavy concentration of manufacturing activity in the food processing industry. Second, the authors examine the nature of small enterprises in the industrial sector in Africa. Analysis covers the overall magnitude of small enterprise with a focus on manufacturing firms, composition, location, growth patterns, demand factors which constitute a constraint, and supply factors and the measurement of their efficient use. In the third section, two case studies, Malawi and Rwanda, are examined in detail. General policy implications are drawn in the fourth section with particular elaboration on each of demand and supply side priorities. A number of concluding remarks are presented in the fifth section highlighting key policy issues for a complete structural change and development process.

Key Words: **Microenterprise; Nonfarm Enterprises; Employment**

65. Metsch, Reinhard
1990 Urban Market Gardening in West Africa--An Answer from "Below" on Some Problems of the Fast Growing Town? The Example of Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso. M.A. Thesis. (In German, with a summary in English). Freiburg, Germany: Institut für Kulturgeographie der Albert-Ludwigs-Universität.

A system of highly intensive urban market gardening is operating in Ouagadougou, the capital of Burkina Faso. Metsch examines the location and spatial structure of the gardens, the characteristics of the gardeners, and the reasons behind the development of market gardening in this city.

Market gardening, a subsistence activity that comprises part of the informal sector, is seen in the context of the process of urbanization and its related problems. The number of market gardens--300, with an average size of 0.2 hectares--is limited

according to water availability. Urban market gardeners produce most of the vegetables consumed in the city. While men do the gardening, women sell the crops, of which lettuce, cabbage, carrots, and strawberries are the most important. Households with gardens depend on them as their sole source of income, which is comparable to that earned in the formal sector. As yet there are no legal regulations controlling urban vegetable production. The author considers urban market gardening to be a self-reliance strategy shaped by both "modern" and "traditional" elements. (Condensed from a summary by the author).

Key Words: Burkina Faso; Urban Agriculture; Urban Market Systems; Informal Sector; Households; Gender Roles

66. Moore, Mick
1984 Categorizing Space: Urban-Rural or Core-Periphery in Sri-Lanka. The Journal of Development Studies 20(3):102-122.

The author proposes that the notion of a clash between distinctive urban and rural interests does not provide a convincing explanation of either the pattern of public resource allocation in Sri Lanka, or of the political conflicts which underlie these allocations. This is largely due to the diversity of farming interests consequent to the existence of export and food crop production, and estate and smallholder farming. The concept of a core-periphery continuum, centered around a densely populated urban and rural region incorporating the capital city, does furnish a useful framework for the analysis of the politics of agricultural policy. Intra-rural variations in population density, occupation, access to services, cropping patterns and farm structure characterize the core-periphery spatial pattern. This study is peculiar to Sri Lanka; however, the use of the framework to analyze the politics of agricultural policy does illustrate the importance of certain principles of political analysis which have been ignored in the quasi-Marxian treatment of the political dimension of rural-urban relations.

Key Words: Sri Lanka; Theory; Rural-Urban Linkages; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Political Economy

67. Moore, Mick
1984b Political Economy and the Rural-Urban Divide. The Journal of Development Studies 20(3):5-27.

This paper attempts first to provide a critical survey of the work of a few recent theorists who have identified in the pattern of rural-urban relations the prime cause of slow economic growth and/or continuing mass poverty in the contemporary Third World. It attempts secondly to reveal the extent of their debt to classical and Marxian political economy and the analytical problems to which this gives rise. An implicit critique is the belief that the rural-urban dichotomy has been asked to bear too heavy a burden. In terms of economic activities there is often more overlap between and differentiation within the two sectors than the theorists' models would imply. They have been too ready to assume and define away the complexities of actual patterns of political action by reducing politics to a set of conflicts between a few large social categories defined in an a priori fashion on the basis of their relationships in the processes of production and distribution. However, as with deficiencies of excessive simplification and generalization, the work of these theorists does provide a solid foundation for understanding the prevalence of a certain pattern of policy-induced resource allocation throughout most of the Third World.

Key Words: Rural-Urban Linkages, Political Economy.

68. Morinière, Jean-Louis
1972 La Région maraîchère intra et péri-urbaine de Yaoundé. In: Dix Etudes sur l'approvisionnement des villes. Travaux et documents de géographie tropicale No. 7. Pp. 47-78. Bordeaux: CEGET [Centre d'Etudes de Géographie Tropicale], CNRS [Centre national de la recherche scientifique].

Yaoundé is a city which has grown rapidly, from 6,000 residents in 1926 to 170,000 in 1970. Farming activities are widespread in and near the city. The presence in Yaoundé of a group of willing buyers has brought about the growth of the production of "European" vegetables in the city and its regions. About 400 of the 600 tons are produced and consumed annually in and around the city.

The area surrounding Yaoundé is forested, with a relatively high population density - 45 to 75 people per km². Unemployment was high in Yaoundé at the time of the study - 20 % for males aged 20 to 24. Subsistence agriculture is a female occupation, and they have increasingly been growing produce for sale in the city. Land is increasingly becoming privatized - in the area

immediately around the city. Where farmers could earlier cultivate any land they cleared, would-be market gardeners must now rent plots. Market gardening has nevertheless become a source of income for some of the unemployed youth, using land which has little or no value for other crops or for construction. It is often viewed a temporary expedient or a supplementary source of income for the poor and unemployed who exploit the low-lying swamp regions.

The market gardens are located in the urban and suburban zones, where they are very small, producing principally salads and short-growth vegetables, as well as in remoter rural areas. In the rural sector, the gardeners are in general very young and energetic. While plots are often small, the largest (numbering about a hundred) average 25 ares, require family or hired help and provide more than half of total vegetable production. Villages producing vegetables are concentrated along the tarred North-South road (but on lands 1 or more km away from it), stretching up to 70 km from the city, while they are at most 20 or 30 km away along dirt roads. On the North-South road growers share transportation. The market gardeners are untrained, and have no access to technical assistance. Marketing is poorly organized; as a result prices are high.

Key Words: **Cameroon; Urban Agriculture; Peri-Urban
Agriculture; Marketing; Rural-Urban Linkages;
Employment; Transportation**

69. Morrison, M. K. C., and Peter Gutkind
 1982 Housing the Urban Poor in Africa. Syracuse:
 Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs,
 Syracuse University.

This volume presents a collection of eight papers delivered at the Annual African Colloquium at Syracuse University in April of 1980, whose theme was "Housing the Urban Poor." Among the issues discussed in the volume are: traditional indigenous patterns of housing, colonial housing policies, landlord/tenant relations, types of housing, and policy structure in East Africa (specifically Kenya and Tanzania) and West Africa (specifically Nigeria).

Most relevant to peri-urban studies is Muwonge's contribution on intra-urban mobility and low-income housing in Nairobi. The author concluded from a survey of overcrowded, low-income settlements stretching from the city center to the urban fringe, that migrants entered in all areas of the city, but concentrated in the intermediate zones between the urban periphery and the city center to take advantage of inexpensive, minimally restricted housing and opportunities for casual employment. Government sites and services schemes encouraged migrants to move

to peripheral areas and to upgrade their dwellings, but little overall improvement in the housing situation has resulted. Among the reasons offered for this are migrants' continued consideration of rural areas as home, their limited access to and qualifications for loans, and their perception of home improvements as a low-priority investment. Muwonge predicts that until these circumstances change, low-income residents in all zones in Nairobi will continue to live as tenants rather than become house owners.

Key Words: Africa; Kenya; Housing; Migration; Labor Markets; Urban Planning

70. Mortimore, M. J.
1970 Population Densities and Rural Economies in the Kano Close Settled Zone, Nigeria. In: Geography and the Crowding World. W. Zelinsky, L. A. Kosinsky, and R. M. Prothero, eds. Pp. 380-388. New York: Oxford University Press.

With a population density exceeding 140 people per square kilometer, the Kano Close-Settled Zone is a large, fertile area of intensively used land surrounding Kano, Nigeria, whose growth has been stimulated by economic ties between town and country. The paper explores the relationship between the population density of various settlements in this region and agricultural economies, suggesting that increasing population pressure has led to the disappearance of fallow, subdivision and sale of landholdings, intensification of agriculture, and increased cultivation of cash crops. In some settlements, inadequate agricultural resources stimulate dry season migration of young men to urban areas, and/or investments in secondary, non-agricultural occupations. In contrast to more outlying settlements, the densely-populated Central Area of the Zone is experiencing a serious shortage of agricultural land and depletion of woodlots, as witnessed by the frequency of land sales, reduction in size of land holdings, the phenomenon of rented or "borrowed" land, and the purchase of land outside village boundaries.

Agricultural intensification, the utilization of hired labor, and the commercialization of agriculture characterize the Central Area. The development of trading and diverse secondary sources of income is also greatest in this area, some of which tends to concentrate in certain villages although the economic benefits of these activities to the overall population appears to be limited.

The author considers population density to be a primary determinant of rural economic systems. He warns, however, that an agricultural system similar to that of Kano may not be readily

duplicated elsewhere given the specific geological and historical context of the Kano region.

Key Words: Nigeria; Urban Planning; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Nonfarm Enterprises; Migration; Demography

71. Mortimore, M. J.
1975 Peri-Urban Pressures. In: The Population Factor in African Studies. R. P. Moss and J. A. Rathbone, eds. Pp. 188-197. London: University of London Press Ltd.

The peri-urban fringe is defined as the "zone of spatial contact between town and country." Three sets of pressures are examined in the peri-urban areas of Kano and Kaduna: competition for land, for markets, and for non-agricultural employment. The chief determinant of the difference between the two cities is seen to be historical. Kano originated from a tradition of urban-rural social, economic, and political relationships, while Kaduna was established in a sparsely populated area by the colonial power.

In Kano, traditional tenure frequently recognizes individual rights to land, and the land market is active. Wealthier urban dwellers compete with poorer residents of the peri-urban zone for agricultural land. Full-time farmers are often dispossessed of land by speculators, particularly in areas where individual tenure is not as entrenched. Markets for wood and dung are especially strong in the peri-urban fringe, while food tends to be imported from much greater distances. Wage employment in the industrial sector of the city center is common among peri-urban commuters, but is not available to all. The peri-urban fringe of Kaduna is characterized by a much sharper drop in population with increasing distance from the city center. Land is not a constraint in agricultural production, but food supplies nevertheless originate as in Kano from outside the area. Low population to produce the food is cited as an explanation.

Key Words: Nigeria; Urbanization; Employment; Land Markets

72. Mthawanji, Ralph
1971 Urbanization in Malawi. In: Shelter in Africa. Paul Oliver, ed. Pp. 190-199. New York: Praeger.

Discusses the extent to which the indigenous population of Blantyre, Malawi has been urbanized, with extensive quotations from the field survey of seventeen peri-urban villages round

Blantyre carried out by the Zambian Institute of Social Research (formerly Rhodes-Livingstone Institute) and originally reported by D.G. Bettison (see bibliography).

The author defines urbanization in Malawi as the assimilation of the indigenous community into the money economy. The Bettison study contrasts the market participation of residents in three divisions of the peri-urban area: 0-4 miles (peripheral), 4-8 miles (extra-peripheral zone) and 8-15 miles (rural zone). Women's market participation (beer brewing, trade, and purchases of maize) increases with proximity to the city. The nearer the city the higher the proportion of men whose income derives from paid employment or self-employment and the lower the percentage of absent husbands.

Key Words: Malawi; Employment; Gender Roles; Housing; Nonfarm Enterprises

73. Ngwa, Nebasina E.

1987 Time and Land Space Utilization within an Urban Confine: The Case of Buea Town Gardeners in the Republic of Cameroon. Geojournal 15:77-81.

Ngwa reports the results of a inquiry into the farming activities of urban residents of Buea, a town of 25,000 situated on the slopes of Mount Cameroon. Buea has grown rapidly since 1960, and many of the newcomers are civil servants. Land values have risen, and family budgets are often strained by the urban cost of living. Urban agriculture has become an important secondary activity for civil servants and their families, providing both supplementary income and food. A critical factor in the rising popularity of urban agriculture, Ngwa believes, is the schedule of office hours: government offices are open from 7:30 to 2:30 Monday through Friday and from 7:30 to noon on Saturday, providing large blocks of off-office hours which can be devoted to cultivation. The most popular crops are those which require relatively little investment of time and land to produce a good return--tomatoes and lettuce are the two most frequently grown. These families tend to avoid more time-demanding operations such as poultry or small livestock management; where these have been started, responsibility for them is often turned over to house servants or close relatives. Ngwa also notes that urban cultivation is an important recreational activity for civil servant families.

Key Words: Cameroon; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Households; Labor Allocation

74. O'Connor, Anthony
1983 The African City. London: Hutchinson.

O'Connor, a geographer by training, has written a book which synthesizes much of the research that has been done in the various urban areas of sub-Saharan Africa. Several chapters are of particular interest in the context of peri-urban concerns:

Chapter 2, "Urban traditions, distribution and growth"

Cities in Africa may be classified as one of six types: 1) the indigenous city; 2) the Islamic city; 3) the colonial city; 4) the European city; 5) the dual city; and 6) the hybrid city. Although O'Connor acknowledges that these categories are by no means hard and fast and must instead be considered as points along a continuum, he believes that the varied historical origins of cities implicit in this classification are important guides to patterns of urban expansion and present-day spatial and structural characteristics. Indigenous cities, such as those in Yorubaland in Nigeria, are based on an agricultural economy, and their populations are ethnically homogeneous and relatively undifferentiated both from each other and from rural inhabitants in economic and social terms. Islamic cities, on the other hand, are more likely to be organized hierarchically, to contain a distinct elite group. The largest category, colonial cities, is comprised of urban centers established in this century for purposes of political and economic control. The populations of colonial cities include large numbers of African residents, in contrast to European cities, established as administrative and trading centers for colonies with large settler populations (e.g. Harare and Nairobi). Dual cities, such as Kano or Khartoum/Omdurman, combine two (or more) of these functions, with separate quarters dedicated to the different roles, while in hybrid cities, these functions are spatially integrated.

Chapter 6, "Housing"

Types of housing in African cities are as varied as ownership patterns and the land tenure systems. Most housing is built by private individuals, and may range from a single-room dwelling with no amenities constructed on someone else's land to a large, luxurious residence built on freehold land. Some houses are owner-occupied while others are built expressly for the rental market. O'Connor points out that many prefer to rent rather than buy housing since they do not intend to settle permanently in the city. In peri-urban areas, construction of one or more small outbuildings for rent is often an investment decision, a response by enterprising farmers to increasing scarcity of land and housing in the urban center. In cities such as Lagos and Kampala, where colonial regimes did not prevent Africans from acquiring land, owner-occupiers and landlords are likely to own the land on which they build, but elsewhere the issue of land

ownership is often clouded and confused, especially in peri-urban areas outside the city limits.

Chapter 7, "Spatial structures"

Contrasting urban traditions give rise to varying spatial structures. European cities such as Nairobi and Harare have, in addition to distinct residential districts, wide peri-urban zones, while in pre-colonial cities, such as Ibadan and towns in northern Nigeria, these areas are less clearly defined. The trend, however, is that these distinctions are becoming blurred, and contrasts between types of cities are no longer as sharp as they once were. Almost all African cities contain central business districts, but in some cities retail trade is also dispersed, carried out in a number of smaller sub-centers.

O'Connor identifies four critical relations of man and land: land ownership, provision of physical infrastructure, circulation within cities, and the general significance of the natural environment. In discussing land ownership, he points out several characteristics that may shape land transactions: separate ownership of land and buildings, increasing speculation, conflicting tenure systems, uncertainty over property rights, and large numbers of unrecorded and even illegal transactions. All of these factors may constrain development. On the other hand, good road and transport systems encourage dispersal of economic activities, which O'Connor favors: "...both the proliferation of local shops and the growth of small-scale employment within spontaneous housing areas are to be welcomed" (p. 231).

Chapter 9, "Urban-rural relationships"

O'Connor argues strongly against the many studies which have characterized cities as parasitic, surviving on the labor and goods produced in the countryside. The relationship is not one-sided, he points out, and in exchange for their manpower and agricultural products, the rural areas benefit from the cash income, goods, and, less tangibly, ideas circulated from the cities. Continuing ties of urban residents to rural kin are an important aspect of rural-urban linkages, for they help shape both the social and economic life of the two milieux. Patterns of urban migration vary widely, from semi-permanent residence, to seasonal migration, to daily commuting. Investment patterns, kinship networks, and various other economic and social conditions may be affected by how strongly the migrant maintains rural links. Urban-generated income, for example, may influence the structure and scale of rural land markets.

Key Words: **Africa; Urbanization; Housing; Rural-Urban
Linkages; Migration; Land Markets**

75. Ohio State University
1987 Rural Finance in Niger: A Critical Appraisal and Recommendations for Change. Report submitted to U.S. Agency for International Development Mission, Niamey, Niger. Columbus, Ohio: Ohio State University.

This study of rural finance in Niger includes a review of both formal and informal credit and formal and informal savings activity in rural Niger. The nature, role and performance of these formal and informal channels of finance are investigated through household surveys at the village level, extensive interviews with bankers, merchants, and credit officials, as well as with cooperative and government leaders and with village level tontine organizers and money keepers. The analysis focuses on financial institutions per se, as well as on non-bank credit programs in the rural development projects. Results are reported for the macro-financial system as a whole as well as for the key formal and informal components of that system. The authors found an urban bias in the loan portfolio of the banking system to the detriment of the rural sector. The only recourse for the latter remains the informal financial sector. Among recommendations, the authors call for: 1) an end to CNCA (Caisse Nationale de Credit Agricole) which may never grow to assume the intermediation role much needed in the rural sector; 2) the maintenance of productivity projects with agricultural credit components; and 3) the creation of savings and credit unions at the village level.

Key Words: Niger; Rural Financial Markets; Financial Services; Informal Sector

76. Ouedraogo, Marie-Michèle, and Pierre Vennetier
1977 Quelques Aspects de l'approvisionnement d'une ville d'Afrique noire: L'Exemple de Ouagadougou. In: Nouvelles Recherches sur l'approvisionnement des villes. Travaux et documents de géographie tropicale No. 28. Pp. 203-228. Bordeaux: CEGET [Centre d'Etudes de Géographie Tropicale], CNRS [Centre national de la recherche scientifique].

In Ouagadougou, urbanites supply part of their own food, both in the immediate urban area (farming and small animal raising), and in the area surrounding the capital. Those employed in this activity are mainly people already exercising a trade for whom gardening serves as supplemental income.

About 16% of adult males in the city are employed full time in agriculture, but many other urbanites cultivate on plots in the city, on plots in the peri-urban area, and sometimes on land even more remote from the city. Residential areas in the city

used to be green with millet and corn in the rainy season. The city authorities banned cereal growing within the city boundaries "for reasons of public health" but the regulation is hard to enforce. Similarly, livestock is banned, but the ban is only enforced for larger animals. Some cows and pigs can be seen on the streets; chickens are common: about half of the families surveyed reported raising poultry; a few also raise goats or sheep. Other cultivation takes place on land at the edge of reservoirs, on land subject to flooding (used for mangoes and market gardening).

The most important component of the urban agriculture practiced is the cultivation of peri-urban and more remote plots. The proportion of households cultivating such plots rises with length of stay in the city, and with household size. They typically have a household head employed in the public or private sector, frequently in a salaried position. Both market gardening and poultry farming grew sharply in the period before the study. They are undertaken as commercial activities.

Key Words: **Upper Volta; Urban Agriculture; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Employment**

77. Pean, Leslie
 1989 Working Paper on the Urban Informal Sector in the Sahel. Washington, D.C.: World Bank (Sahelian Department).

This paper offers a detailed examination of the employment opportunities in urban areas and the microenterprises of the informal sector in the Sahel. The urban labor market of developing countries is characterized by the duality of coexistence of a formal, small and modern sector, and a large, growing and informal sector. Evidence demonstrates that the modern sector will not be able to absorb the flow of new entrants into the labor market. The rate of growth of the formal sector is too weak to integrate the rate of growth of the labor force. As a result, the informal sector has been gaining a strategic importance in absorbing the structural excess supply of labor. The informal sector is composed of a variety of very small economic units called microenterprises. The dynamism of microenterprises proves the profit-making opportunities within low income urban areas. The author reviews a number of studies which are based on two broadly grouped definitions of informal microenterprises; these general definitions are the operational definitions that refer to the organizational characteristics of the micro-units, and the functional definitions that put emphasis on the relationship between the informal sector and the rest of the economy. Highlights of the effectiveness of microenterprises include their efficiency as channels for mobilizing grassroots

savings into productive investment, and being the training ground for migrants who are first entrants into the labor market.

Key Words: Informal Sector; Labor Markets; Migration; Microenterprise; Financial Services

78. Peil, Margaret

1975 Social Life in the Burgeoning Suburbs. In: The Population Factor in African Studies. R.P. Moss and R. J. Rathbone, eds. Pp. 171-178. London: the University of London Press.

The social life of individuals residing in the rapidly expanding slums on the outskirts of African towns is examined, based on surveys in four suburbs located near Legon and Tema (Ghana), Kaduna and Lagos (Nigeria). Town size, age, marital status, nationality, heterogeneity, and other factors are examined. Unlike suburbs in Western countries which tend to house middle and upper income commuters, African suburbs are home to the poor, manual laborers, and single or young married couples. Although rents are lower in the suburbs, transport to employment in the urban center is expensive, and amenities are limited, making the suburbs less desirable to higher income groups.

Tenant occupants of housing tend to be from diverse backgrounds, unlike in many Western countries. Inter-ethnic frictions tend to be minor, with prejudice less prevalent here than among those who have never migrated or lived near migrants. Lack of indoor plumbing increases the likelihood of social interaction among residents (e.g. around the community water source). Tenants move in and out of a given house as frequently as annually, resulting in a lack of community cohesiveness. Leadership for community improvements is frequently lacking, especially in larger suburbs.

Key Words: Ghana; Nigeria; Housing; Gender Roles; Households

79. Peil, Margaret

1981 Cities and Suburbs: Urban Life in West Africa. New York: Africana Publishing Company.

The author examines the social and economic life of West African urban dwellers with respect to demographic characteristics, challenging the assumption that migration from rural to urban areas is permanent. She cites purchase of housing

as a key indicator of the decision to maintain permanent residence. Economic success can increase the likelihood of rural retirement. Successful individuals who rent in the central city and then choose to acquire ownership rights to housing tend to move to the suburb. The uneducated tend to own more housing than the educated.

Housing in the suburbs tends to differ from more centrally located housing in several ways. Housing in the suburbs is newer, so that ownership by inheritance is less prevalent. Since women tend to acquire housing primarily through inheritance, ownership of housing by women is less prevalent in the suburbs. Suburban housing title tends to be easier to adjudicate for the same reason, since tracing the history of ownership transfers for newer housing is less complicated. Suburban housing landlords were found frequently to live outside of the suburb, perhaps in nearby towns. Traders and entrepreneurs were most likely to be resident owners regardless of where the housing was located, perhaps due to limited alternative investment opportunities.

Key Words: West Africa; Housing; Migration; Gender Roles

80. Prioul, Christian
1972a L'Evolution de la propriété foncière dans la région de Bangui. In: La Croissance urbaine en Afrique noire et à Madagascar. Colloque international du CNRS, 29 September-2 Octobre 1970, Talence. Vol. II. Pp. 955-960. Paris: Centre national de la recherche scientifique.

Using land registration figures obtained from the Office du Cadastre in Bangui in 1969, Prioul shows that since independence the nature of applications for land registration has changed. Whereas before independence it was almost exclusively Europeans who applied to register large tracts of coffee land, since then the uses, areas, and even the applicants themselves are new. Now it is more frequently middle-class Africans who apply to register land, and the uses they intend are more likely to be oriented to internal rather than export production. Moreover, the newly registered land is likely to be located in the Bangui peri-urban area along one of the major roads leading out of the capital.

Key Words: Central African Republic; Land Registration

81. Prioul, Christian
1972b Villes et agriculture vivrière en République
Centrafricaine. In: Dix Etudes sur
l'approvisionnement des villes. Travaux et
documents de géographie tropicale No. 7. Bordeaux:
CEGET [Centre d'études de géographie tropicale],
CNRS [Centre national de la recherche
scientifique].

The urban residents of central Africa, the paper argues, are growing food in their communities and in the surrounding areas, first because the great majority of them cannot afford to buy food at market prices and because "the exchange structures between city and countryside are insufficient". This case study of Bangui, based on data from 1959 and 1968, illustrates the argument.

About half of the domestic foodstuffs consumed in Bangui is produced in the immediate vicinity of the city, where one in three urban families cultivates at least one plot of land. Two thirds of the food grown there in 1968 was marketed in the capital and the proportion of households cultivating peri-urban plots fell from 39% in 1960 to about 21-23% in 1968. Thus, peri-urban farming is no longer only a subsistence activity: "to engage in peri-urban food growing requires but a minimum of contacts, organization and micro-capital that established citizens alone possess." Moreover, with urban growth, land uses are changing in the area immediately adjacent to the capital, producing new kinds of suburbs. The output of these peri-urban farms was inadequate to meet all the city's needs and with commercialization, output prices rose.

Two changes have ensued. Urban agriculture has become more significant, and at the same time land formerly used for export crops in more rural areas is being converted to allow the growing of food for relatives in the city. "Nearly all households of Bangui grow food within a radius of 15 km from the city center." Provincial agro-urban communities have been established by in-migrants along roads leading out of the city.

The paper notes the intertwining of newer residential areas and cultivated land, which is sometimes bought, sometimes taken and cleared by the household which then cultivates it over a period of six years or more, often walking three to six kilometers to reach the land. Wealthier households use paid workers on their land and travel to it by minibus. The author argues that urban agriculture on vacant plots of land inside the city has ensued as workers decide to save the time taken travelling to remoter plots. The households with plots are typically established in the city; they rarely are recent immigrants or the unemployed. The wives of manual workers undertake urban farming for subsistence, mainly on vacant lots in the city. The paper ends with a discussion of peri-urban agriculture in provincial cities of the Central African Republic, each of which has a ring of land farmed by city dwellers. One

third of the plots are within the urbanized area, and 46% in the zone 5 to 10 km from the city center; it is followed by a 'pioneer' area in which urbanites are encroaching on rural areas.

Key Words: Central African Republic; Urban Agriculture; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Urbanization; Transportation; Marketing

82. Pryor, R. J.
1968 Defining the Rural-Urban Fringe. Social Forces
47:202-215.

The rural-urban fringe or periphery of urban areas, defined generally as the residual zone between two more readily defined poles, is analyzed in its Western context. A review of relevant literature and sixty case studies is presented, leading to an overview of related terminology. Differentiating between the urban fringe and the rural fringe, the author develops a process-response model which diagrams processes of urbanization resulting in responses of land use conversion, transition, and invasion. The remainder of the paper is divided into three sections covering, respectively, (1) characteristics of the residents of the fringe (income, socioeconomic status, size of household), (2) the accessibility factor in the fringe (the incomplete range and network of utility services and public transport), and (3) land and dwellings in the fringe (the irregular transition from farm to non-farm land and zoning regulations). Despite the emphasis on Western countries, the theoretical and analytical concepts presented in this paper are valuable, from a comparative and conceptual point of view, to studies of rural-urban fringes in other parts of the world.

Key Words: Land Use; Urban Planning; Demography; Households; Rural-Urban Linkages

83. Rakodi, Carol
1988b Urban Agriculture: Research Questions and Zambian Evidence. Journal of Modern African Studies.
26(3):495-516.

Urban agriculture is proposed as an alternative form of urban development potentially "less greedy of financial and natural assets, capable of satisfying the basic needs of the population and of reducing the vulnerability of the poorest." Women perform most subsistence cultivation in Africa although their role in decision-making is uncertain. Women's urban economic activities

are concentrated in the informal sector and tend to earn the lowest remuneration. Main themes of intra-household analysis are reviewed, emphasizing distributional aspects of labor, income benefits, productive and reproductive activities, and decision-making authority.

Surveys from Zambia show that the "tendency to cultivate" is positively related to increasing family size, declining per capita income, urban birth, length of residence, and low-level schooling among wives. Its negative correlation to recent migration is attributed to the difficulty of obtaining land for newcomers. Each Zambian city revealed land allocation customs that generally reflected rights to usufruct, not title ownership. Urban agriculture produce is used for consumption and sale, but marketing patterns are unknown. Urban population growth and development pose land access problems for urban farmers.

Key Words: Zambia; Households; Labor Allocation; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Gender Roles

84. Rondinelli, Dennis A.
1983b Secondary Cities in Developing Countries: Policies for Diffusing Urbanization. Beverly Hills, California: Sage Publications Inc.

In the course of his analysis of urbanization in secondary cities, the author discusses the characteristics of their peri-urban areas. Two chapters are of particular interest.

Chapter 2, "Defining 'Secondary Cities.'"

Population size, density, proportion engaged in non-agricultural occupations, city size, and other physical characteristics may be used to define a city as 'secondary'. Population data are easiest to obtain, however, and so secondary cities are defined to be those having populations above 100,000 up to the size of the country's largest city. These populations are defined as those residing within political boundaries, even if these boundaries change from time to time.

Secondary cities tend to grow, but at rates slower than both primary cities and smaller urban places. Migration from rural areas is one source of growth in secondary cities, though it does not occur to the extent it does in primate cities. In Africa, secondary cities have grown at a rate of about 6.5% in the 1970s. Only in Nigeria, Zambia, and Morocco do secondary cities have a large percentage of the country's total urban population. Smaller secondary cities are heavily engaged in agro-processing and farm services. Incomes and access to services tend to be higher than those in the surrounding rural areas and smaller urban places, but lower than those in the primary cities.

Chapter 4, "The Functions of Secondary Cities"

Case histories are cited which point to the intensification of agricultural production in areas surrounding secondary cities, as agro-processing, marketing, and other farm service industries grow. Surrounding patterns of land tenure change, land markets develop, and agricultural practices shift to take advantage of these services. Secondary cities are frequently centers for cultural change where ethnic relationships are redefined, and women take advantage of new opportunities, particularly in marketing, as traders, brokers, and lenders.

Farmers living close to secondary cities improve their managerial skills and experiment more with new crops and techniques. Small scale manufacturing is limited in scope, with firms typically employing less than 10 workers. Large secondary cities, such as Ibadan, develop few large-scale manufacturing enterprises. Transportation infrastructure stimulates the growth of secondary cities, which can in turn stimulate demand for greater infrastructure development, as secondary centers become marketing hubs.

Those who choose to migrate to secondary cities are typically absorbed by the informal sector. Many of these workers later find employment in the formal sector. Migrants often initially receive financial support from their former rural homes, and later remit earnings. Ethnic associations often provide crucial first assistance in locating housing and employment.

Key Words: **Secondary Cities; Employment; Gender Roles; Urbanization**

85. Sanders, Rickie, ed.
 1985 Rural/Urban Dynamics in Africa: Common Themes Initiative, Background, Issues, and Concepts. Cooperative Agreement on Human Settlements and Natural Resource Systems Analysis. Worcester, Massachusetts: Clark University and the Institute for Development Anthropology.

The report consists of a concepts paper by the editor which describes the context for the Rural/Urban Dynamics in Africa and presents an approach for consideration of three sets of concerns in the design of future development programmes in Africa. These concerns are: first, migration and the related issue of remittances; second, marketing and distribution systems; third, employment generation in market towns and secondary cities. In addition, four background papers which help frame the Common Themes Initiative are presented. Each paper reviews the relevant literature, summarizes the major research conclusions, and identifies questions and conceptual issues which have policy

implications. One 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. David Sly's paper deals with the concern of migration and remittances and how they relate to rural/urban dynamics in Africa. Lilian Trager's paper deals with marketing and distribution systems as factors in rural/urban dynamics in Africa. Simon Fass, in his discussion of market towns and secondary cities, discusses the relationships which exist between agricultural production and dynamics of a region. The concepts paper attempts to incorporate these ideas while assisting the Africa Bureau (USAID) with the design, management, and implementation of projects sensitive to the Rural/Urban dynamics theme.

Key Words: Rural-Urban Linkages; Marketing; Migration; Secondary Cities

86. Sanyal, Bishwapriya
1986 Urban Cultivation in East Africa: People's Response to Urban Poverty. Paper prepared for the Food-Energy Nexus Program of the United Nations University, June 1986.

This paper includes a fuller description of the survey of 250 low-income urban households in Lusaka to document the extent of urban agriculture, much of which takes place in peri-urban areas, in East Africa. The author emphasizes that urban cultivation is not practiced by recent migrants. The frequency of cultivation of rainy-season gardens on the urban periphery decreases with rising per capita income. Current national government responses are discussed. The author argues that intensive cultivation of urban and peri-urban land is a valuable source of food for African cities, and discusses policies which would facilitate access to cultivable land for the urban poor.

Key Words: East Africa; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Urban Planning; Land Use

87. Sanyal, Bishwapriya
1987 Urban Cultivation Amidst Modernization: How Should We Interpret It? The Journal of Planning Education and Research 6(3):197-207.

Urban agriculture in Lusaka comprises cultivation of both plots within the city ("plot gardens") and "rainy season gardens"

on the periphery of the city. This paper is based on a survey of low income households in Lusaka. Nearly 45 percent of the low-income families surveyed cultivated one or both types of garden. Of the households cultivating gardens, 80 percent identified lack of purchasing power as the primary reason. Plot gardens are preferred as an investment. Security of tenure is greater; less time is spent on travel to the plot, and the gardens can be cultivated year-round. The rainy-season gardens on the urban periphery are cultivated by poorer households (living on smaller urban plots). Urban cultivation provided the equivalent of 37 percent of monthly income and 50 percent of expenditure on food for the poorest group, with incomes below K54, or half the median income for low-income households in the city.

The author argues that urban food-growing, like squatter housing, is an innovative survival strategy which reduces the vulnerability of the urban poor to economic fluctuations. This view is contrasted with the views of "proponents of modernization" who view urban cultivation as a manifestation of rural habits which is predominantly relied upon by recent migrants who are not yet integrated into the urban economy and culture, and the "New-Marxist critics" who condemn such activities as "double exploitation of labor" maintaining the current capitalist production relations.

Key Words: **Zambia; Urban Agriculture; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Economic Policy; Land Tenure; Urban Planning**

88. Saul, Mahir
 1988 Money and Land Tenure as Factors in Farm
 Differentiation in Burkina Faso. In: Land and
 Society in Contemporary Africa. R. E. Downs and S.
 P. Reyna, eds. Pp 243-279. Hanover, New Hampshire:
 University Press of New England.

Although Saul Mahir's focus is on land tenure and agricultural production in rural areas, he makes two points that are significant in the context of peri-urban economies. The first is that while farm size of smaller units correlates with the developmental cycle of the family, for the larger farms it is more often related to "stronger links with the wage sector of the larger national economy" (p. 249). Some (although not all) of this off-farm income stream may be invested in agriculture, in equipment such as ox plows, carts, and sprayers. His second point is that as peri-urban areas are developed, customary landholders and their rights may be disregarded altogether. Citing the example of a neighborhood outside Bobo-Dioulasso where orchard growing has become increasingly prevalent in recent years, Mahir notes that while those who had planted trees on land that was not theirs were often compensated for having developed the land, the

original holders were ignored. The individuals who are best placed to take advantage of such opportunities are most likely to be those who have the means to make the initial investment: merchants, retired salary earners, bureaucrats, or politicians, i.e., the same people who invest in expanding agricultural production in the rural areas. In both situations the critical factor is urban-generated income.

Key Words: Rural-Urban Linkages; Land Tenure; Employment

89. Schrieder, Gertrude
1989 Informal Financial Groups in Cameroon: Motivation, Organization and Linkages. Unpublished Master's thesis. Department of Agricultural Economics and Rural Sociology, Ohio State University.

This study explores and analyses the characteristics of the informal savings and lending groups in Cameroon. The author identifies a range of different types of financial self-help groups and specifically reports on the rotating and non-rotating savings and credit associations. An analysis of interviews, done in late 1988, reveals that more than three-quarters of all adults in the country participate in these associations. The study reflects a number of factors that influence the behavior of individuals regarding: (1) their activity in financial self-help groups; (2) the level of their informal savings; and (3) the level of their informal borrowing activity. Different degrees of financial sophistication in terms of the group's monetization and degree of financial intermediation are observed. The findings of the thesis support the view that financial intermediation between the formal and informal financial institutions, and not transformation of the financial self-help groups, is the appropriate response for the strongly fragmented Cameroonian financial market.

Key Words: Cameroon; Financial Services; Informal Sector; Local Organizations

90. Seibel, Hans Dieter
1988 Financial Innovations for Microenterprises:
Linking Informal and Formal Financial Institutions
in Africa and Asia. Paper prepared for the World
Conference on Support for Microenterprises, 6-9
June, Washington, D.C.

The author stresses that in developing countries financial services are grossly underdeveloped, particularly in the urban and rural informal sector. Entrepreneurs have solved their deposit and credit problems by establishing self-help organizations (SHO). Two types of SHO are widespread among entrepreneurs: informal financial institutions (IFI), such as rotating and non-rotating savings and credit associations and daily deposit collection, and business associations. Through linkages between IFI/SHO and banks, a financial intermediation is created with greatly enhances financial services to microenterprises in the informal sector. This intermediation cuts substantially on transaction costs with regard to depositing savings, credit delivery and repayment collection, for both clients and banks. Savings mobilization among microenterprises is an essential basis for credit delivery within the linkage program. The author proposes upgrading the practices of IFI/SHO by learning from banks, and downgrading banks by simplifying their procedures while learning from IFI/SHO. The paper is concluded with five messages directed to policy makers.

Key Words: Africa; Asia; Informal Sector; Financial Services; Microenterprise; Local Organizations

91. Sirven, Pierre
1972b L'Evolution des villages suburbains de Bouaké.
Contribution à l'étude géographique du phénomène
de croissance d'une ville africaine. Travaux et
documents de géographie tropicale No. 4. Bordeaux:
CEGET [Centre d'Etudes de Géographie Tropicale],
CNRS [Centre national de la recherche
scientifique].

The town of Bouake, in central Ivory Coast, is at a crossroads between roads between Abidjan, Upper Volta, Guinea and the frontier of Ghana. The city grew rapidly between 1950 and 1970, to a population of 120,000. It is a Mandingue town where the Baoule account for only 19% of the total population, though there is a recent trend towards Baoule immigration. In the larger district, the Commune of Bouake, about half the area is occupied by various urban services; the other half, with a population of 5,366 people, is one of the most densely populated areas in the country, an area divided into 32 small districts or hamlets

attached to eight villages. The villages have grown at a more rapid natural rate than the city itself, but in-migration to the city makes its overall growth rate higher.

Two types of villages stand out: the traditional and the urbanizing. In the traditional hamlets, we find few factory workers and a majority of agricultural workers or farmers. Cash income is earned from sale of bangui (palm-wine), firewood and vegetables, but housing remains traditional and the money earned is spent mostly in social and religious meetings.

Some of the urbanizing villages are inhabited by young people coming from Baoule country (hosting hamlets); others (farm-hand villages) have a population of salaried people who still cultivate their land on returning from the factory; the city-type villages are so-called because of their many European-style houses.

Key Words: Ivory Coast; Labor Markets; Ethnicity; Employment; Urbanization; Peri-Urban Services

92. Sommer, J. W.
1972 Illicit Shops in an African Suburb: SICAP, Dakar, Senegal. African Urban Notes 7(1):62-72.

The communities of SICAP (Société Immobilière de Cap Vert) established in the 1960s on the northern edge of Dakar comprise a modern, Western-style suburb of 40,000 primarily middle- to upper-middle income families. In 1966 Senegal adopted an urban code whose trade restrictions (designed to minimize sanitary problems) reflected a serious misunderstanding of the social and economic context of the suburb. Modern retail stores were left facing stiff competition as consumers, constrained by limited mobility and attracted by the friendlier atmosphere and availability of credit, patronized small, illicit neighborhood shops that had mushroomed in response to local need.

The author compares SICAP to Grand Dakar, an adjacent neighborhood lacking similar trade restrictions, in terms of their respective size, population, socio-economic characteristics, housing, land use, retail trade, and shops.

The discrepancy presented in this paper between Western-influenced urban planning policies and local realities should serve as a warning that to be efficient and productive, urban development should be predicated on local needs and activity patterns.

Key Words: Senegal; Urban Planning; Trade Restrictions; Informal Sector

93. Southall, Aidan, ed.
1988 Small Towns in Africa Revisited. African Studies Review 31(3):1-132 (entire issue).

Contrary to earlier projections that small urban centers in developing countries would act as catalysts for more efficient productivity and equitable distribution of goods and services, experience has revealed that in fact they have been contributing to rural underdevelopment. This collection of eight studies draws from research conducted in Nigeria, Uganda, the Sudan, Zambia, Zaire, South Africa, and Morocco.

Several of the authors highlight positive aspects of small-scale urbanization. For example, Onigu Otite shows how within changing patterns of domination and exploitation in Nigeria, definite benefits for both immigrant and indigenous populations in small urban areas have emerged. Lillian Trager perceives a social and economic dynamism in Nigeria that could be harnessed through development of infrastructure. For the most part, however, negative aspects of small-scale urbanization dominate the papers. The destruction of rural areas by commodity production and capitalist ethics has encouraged migrants to look at urban areas as avenues to social and economic opportunities, even though these aspirations are rarely met. Examples of this are provided in John Burton's description of the fight for control of small towns in war-torn southern Sudan, and in Brian Siegel's account of the forced movement in the 1920s of Lamba peoples from peri-urban areas of Katanga, Zambia.

Ironically, small-scale urbanization developing spontaneously with little outside interference appears to be less exploitative than urbanization initiated and/or supported by outside agents (e.g. foreign aid development projects). Mukhoya Vwakyankazi shows how control of urban areas by powerful constituencies in the Shaba region of Zaire has suppressed local development. Thomas Park describes in similar terms the exploitative character of the commercial sector in Essaouira, Morocco. The editor uses USAID development policies as an example of misguided outside interference. Based on what is ideal and potential rather than on the reality of specific urban circumstances, they mistakenly assume that Western-style, economy-stimulating small towns can be recreated in developing countries.

Key Words: Africa; Urban Planning; Labor Markets; Ethnicity; Economic Policy

94. Sporrek, Anders
1985 Food Marketing and Urban Growth in Dar es Salaam.
Lund Studies in Geography No. 51. Lund, Sweden:
Royal University of Lund.

This study of an urban food system and how it is linked to formal and informal sectors complements urban research more commonly focused on housing, employment, welfare, and migration. A brief outline of aspects of city growth in tropical Africa is followed by a description of central regions, subareas, and planned and unplanned residential settlements in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania. Since independence there has been a great increase in interaction between this city, which is experiencing a ten percent annual growth rate, and other parts of the country. Various facets of food trade in Dar es Salaam--including wholesale systems, market structure, retail food trade, and the characteristics of shops and shopkeepers--are described in detail. The main focus of the book is an analysis of a six-month survey of market and street trade of foodstuffs conducted in 1976 based on observations and interviews with stallholders. The author describes the characteristics and quantity of vendors and market places, factors influencing places of sale and products sold, patterns of distribution, and supply sources. He notes that the historical domination of the city by men and the pervasive influence of Islam have restricted women's participation in food trade in the city. He concludes that the informal sector market and street trade and the more formal shop sector are directly linked in mutual dependence. Limited control by the government, intense competition, and low prices have worked together in the past to produce an efficient food supply system from the consumer point of view, but the precarious economic situation in Tanzania coupled with soaring transport costs may alter the situation in the future.

Extensive maps and figures accompany the text.

Key Words: Tanzania; Urban Food Supply; Urban Market Systems; Migration; Traders; Informal Sector; Marketing; Urban Planning; Urban Market Systems

95. Spring, Anita
1989 Gender Issues in Rural-Urban Marketing Networks.
Paper presented at Sub-Saharan Africa Conference
on Market Towns and Rural Growth: Economic and
Social Linkages, 1989, Yamoussoukro, Cote
D'Ivoire.

The principal message of this paper is the need to consider African women's crucial roles as agricultural producers and

processors, traders and wholesalers, household managers and decision makers. This consideration is of great importance in the development of market centers as links between rural and urban areas in Africa. The author discusses women's role in agricultural production briefly and then focuses on gender issues in agricultural marketing systems. In the urban retail market trade, especially in the informal sector activities, women tend to predominate and control much of the trade activity. In addition, it is pointed out that rural-urban linkages are in fact traders' skills, knowledge, and resources involved in the distribution of commodities as well as basic infrastructure and institutions. Limited access to credit is a major problem for producers and market traders throughout Africa, especially for women and small-scale traders who are rarely targeted. The author offers recommendations to assist in the planning of agricultural intensification, infrastructure, market location, transportation, credit and micro-enterprise programs, and regulatory policies.

Key Words: Africa; Marketing; Rural-Urban Linkages; Gender Roles; Financial Services; Informal Sector; Traders

96. Swindell, Ken
1984 Farmers, Traders, and Laborers: Dry Season Migration from Northwest Nigeria: 1900-1933. Africa 54(1):3-20.

Swindell interprets the origins and development of dry season labor migration from Sokoto in north-west Nigeria in the early 20th century to be more than the result of the effects of colonial influence. Through an examination of the nature of exchanges of labor, capital, and expertise, he asserts that there was a continuum rather than a break between precolonial and colonial economies. Occupations undertaken by migrants involved in both short- and long-distance migration included driving, building and repair, agricultural labor, trading, and fishing; populations and movements of goods were seasonally determined. Although the effects of the colonial system of taxation are often offered as an explanation for the increasing volume of migration during the 20th century, Swindell downplays this explanation, claiming that there was already a pre-existing tax system established in Nigeria during the precolonial period. He asserts that it was the combination of a significant increase in taxes effected by the colonial powers in the 1930s and the gradual abolition of domestic slavery that led to increased rates of migration. The alteration in the system of labor control and allocation represented by the abolition of slavery created a large mobile labor force directed primarily into commercial farming areas.

Key Words: Nigeria; Nonfarm Enterprise; Households;
Migration; Labor Markets; Traders; Rural-Urban
Linkages

97. Swindell, Ken
1988b Agrarian Change and Peri-Urban Fringes in Tropical
Africa. In: Rural Transformation in Tropical
Africa. D. Rimmer, ed. Pp. 98-115. Athens: Ohio
University Press.

This chapter describes urban fringes as geographically and historically specific loci of intersecting rural and urban interests which are manifest in various forms of agricultural production and exchange. Short sections drawing on a wide range of peri-urban studies in sub-Saharan Africa describe:

- gender-specific production roles and the exploitation of women involved in urban agriculture in peripheral zones;
- the commoditization of land, changing urban land use patterns, and their effects on laborers, capitalists, and speculators;
- the income structure of both more affluent producers and marginalized migrant communities involved in peri-urban farming.

The author outlines the historical development of peri-urban farms, urban food markets, and non-farm employment in close-settled towns in Nigeria. Determinants of food prices, constraints to production, changes in the value and accessibility of land, power relations between producers and traders, and the relationship between off-farm employment and farm maintenance are discussed.

Conflicts in the peri-urban fringes among marginalized producers, petty commodity producers and semi-capitalist farmers, and capitalist farmers over access to land, labor, and capital are escalating. Inefficient use by the state of appropriated lands hinders the productive efforts of small farmers, who produce the bulk of local foods destined for urban markets. More information is needed concerning the relationship of these producers to buyers and sellers according to particular crops marketed.

Key Words: Africa; Nigeria; Labor Markets; Peri-Urban
Agriculture; Migration; Land Tenure; Marketing,
Households; Urban Planning; Employment

98. van den Berg, Leo M., ed.
1982 In the Shadow of Lusaka: Land and People under Pressure of Urban Growth. Lusaka: University of Zambia.

This report on the peri-urban area of Lusaka, Zambia, is divided into three parts. The first part, comprised of four papers supplemented by case studies of individual farmer households, examines the multiple uses of so-called "vacant" land at the city fringes, of which part-time farming by low-income residents appears to be the most significant. The second part presents data from surveys of three small-holding schemes in an examination of the patterns of land use in peripheral areas, and the social and economic profiles of their inhabitants. The final part outlines findings from two research teams investigating the concept of the 'metropolitan village.' The focus of the first of these studies was to document how rural areas gradually come under urban influence. In the second, the researchers reveal how the marginal location of a squatter settlement, little threatened as yet by the expansion of Lusaka, led to its neglect.

Key Words: Zambia; Land Use; Squatter Settlements; Urban Planning; Land Tenure; Theory; Methodology

99. Vennetier, Pierre
1976 Les Villes d'Afrique tropicale. Paris: Masson.

The author describes first the physical structure of African cities, noting the important role played by topography and historical factors. He then turns to a characterization of the nature of urban life, with particular attention paid to employment.

Primary agricultural production is found to be quite important, taking either the form of gardens in the urban interior, or grain and vegetable production for consumption and sale on the urban periphery where land is more abundant. Surrounding villages often specialize in production for sale to urban residents. Artisans, frequently employing as many as 20 apprentices and assistants, play an important role in such secondary sector activities as weaving, brickmaking, photography, and printing. Official data sources vary widely in the manner in which they distinguish artisans from industrial manufacturers. In the tertiary sector, administration, transportation, domestic service, and marketing are principal employers. Marketing firms include internationally managed, second or third generation immigrant firms (Lebanese, Indian, Portuguese), or firms managed by ethnic Africans. These latter may market on blankets laid on sidewalks, in open-air markets, or in small shops. The diversity

of employment opportunities in the tertiary sector renders problematic the delineation between unemployed and underemployed.

Traditional land tenure is seen as an impediment to improvement of urban infrastructure, and persists primarily on land of lower value (e.g. around swamps) or in areas recently annexed on the periphery. Informal tenure security arrangements based on political patronage are an emerging phenomenon. Cities of colonial origin are typically divided into residential zones for elites and the poor, with haphazard development in the latter instance again seen as an important impediment to urban infrastructural development.

Key Words: Land Tenure; Employment; Informal Sector; Marketing; Peri-Urban Agriculture; Infrastructure

100. Von Pischke, J. D., Dale Adams, and Gordon Donald
1983 Rural Financial Markets in Developing Countries.
Baltimore, Maryland: Johns Hopkins University
Press.

This book includes essays on rural finance written by critics of conventional views. Problem identification and issue clarification are the major emphases of the collection. Some analysis is also provided, and the concept of rural financial markets is explored. The articles are organized into five groups, subdivided by subject or problem. The first group treats the role of finance in development with special attention to rural financial markets. The second group deals with farms and nonfarm firms, treating the rural family as both consuming household and production unit. The third and fourth groups of papers discuss the institutions that operate as lenders and savings mobilizers in rural areas. There are two major types: urban-based institutions operating in rural areas and formal and informal rural financial institutions. The fifth group of papers deals with national policies related to rural financial markets, with considerable attention being paid to interest rate regulation and savings mobilization. The editors' view is that a well-functioning rural financial market should mobilize savings as well as disburse credit; it should grow to meet the expanding opportunities without continually requiring subsidized inflows of outside funds; and it should have an expanding array of vehicles for attracting savings and offer varied and flexible lending terms and conditions. There should be active competition among both formal and informal borrowers and lenders. The costs of financial services should fall as a result of financial innovation. More effective intermediation to deal with the range and variety of sources and uses of funds is required for integration on a national scale.

Key Words: Rural Financial Markets; Financial Services;
Informal Sector

101. World Bank
1986 Cameroon Financial Sector Report. Washington,
D.C.: World Bank.

The report encompasses a comprehensive review of the performance and elements of the Cameroonian financial system. The review details public resource mobilization and asset management, private resource mobilization and financial intermediation, flows of funds, central banking, and the money and capital market. With the exception of the near-insolvency of the banking system, resulting from certain structural weaknesses that enforce heavy dependence on the central bank, there are no gross problems that threaten Cameroon's financial system. A very important role is played by the informal sector; this system developed early in Cameroon's history as a source of financial development outside the colonial sector. For the period studied (1979-1984), a flow of funds analysis showed that the informal sector played a substantial role in the provision of credit to the domestic economy. A list of recommendations presents institutional views for sector reforms which touch on all aspects of the system.

Key Words: Cameroon; Financial Services; Informal Sector

102. World Bank
1989 Issues in Informal Finance. In: The World Bank Development Report 1989, Financial Systems and Development. Pp. 112-121. London: Oxford University Press.

This report includes a brief review of recent trends in the world economy and their implications for future prospects of developing countries, as well as a detailed examination of the role of financial systems in development. One of the main points of the report is that informal financial institutions have proven able to serve the household, agricultural, and microenterprise sectors on a sustained basis. It is recommended that measures that link informal institutions to the formal financial system will improve that service and ensure a competitive environment. The chapter offers examples of informal financial arrangements, mainly covering three main sorts of transactions: short-term finance to smooth a fluctuating income stream, and finance for larger, long-term stream. Informal arrangements and their limitations are then examined. Two types of semi-formal lending

arrangements which are thought to have some potential are discussed: these are the group lending schemes and the cooperative financial institutions. Recommendations for improving finance for the noncorporate sector include: improving the legal environment, links between informal and formal finance, and formal intermediation for the noncorporate sector.

Key Words: **Financial Services; Informal Sector;
 Microenterprise**

Topical Index to Key Words
(by annotation number)

Credit:	8, 24, 60,
Demography:	13, 59, 70, 82
Economic Models:	39, 52
Economic Policy:	5, 22, 27, 37, 53, 55, 59, 87, 93
Employment:	5, 7, 18, 24, 25, 30, 34, 43, 44, 59, 60, 61, 64, 68, 71, 72, 84, 88, 91, 97, 99
Ethnicity:	2, 14, 38, 54, 91, 93
Financial Services:	1, 6, 16, 17, 20, 33, 35, 40, 58, 61, 75, 77, 89, 90, 95, 100, 101, 102
Gender Roles:	8, 10, 24, 25, 30, 36, 50, 65, 72, 78, 79, 83, 84, 95
Households:	10, 12, 26, 30, 36, 62, 65, 73, 78, 82, 83, 96, 97
Housing:	2, 3, 9, 10, 11, 20, 21, 26, 36, 69, 72, 74, 78, 79
Income Strategies:	15, 21, 50
Informal Sector:	6, 7, 11, 19, 24, 25, 30, 31, 33, 35, 36, 37, 38, 40, 45, 46, 47, 53, 60, 65, 75, 77, 89, 90, 92, 94, 95, 99, 100, 101, 102
Infrastructure:	54, 99
Labor Allocation:	29, 34, 73, 83
Labor Markets:	3, 4, 10, 11, 15, 18, 19, 23, 26, 27, 32, 36, 38, 40, 45, 46, 47, 69, 77, 91, 93, 96, 97
Land Acquisition:	20
Land Markets:	8, 41, 43, 54, 55, 71, 74
Land Registration:	42, 49, 80
Land Tenure:	8, 9, 12, 29, 42, 48, 49, 56, 87, 88, 97, 98, 99
Land Use:	20, 39, 41, 51, 56, 62, 82, 86, 98
Local Organizations:	33, 35, 61
Manufacturing:	45
Marketing:	6, 14, 32, 34, 40, 68, 81, 85, 94, 95, 97, 99
Methodology:	39, 51, 98
Microenterprise:	17, 44, 45, 50, 57, 60, 61, 64, 77, 90, 102
Migration:	2, 5, 9, 10, 13, 15, 23, 24, 25, 28, 30, 32, 40, 43, 44, 47, 58, 60, 69, 70, 74, 77, 79, 85, 94, 96, 97
Nonfarm Enterprises:	4, 5, 17, 18, 27, 34, 47, 57, 64, 70, 72
Peri-Urban Agriculture:	3, 12, 13, 26, 29, 48, 62, 66, 68, 70, 73, 76, 81, 83 86, 87, 97, 99
Peri-Urban Services:	63, 91
Political Economy:	66, 67
Rural Financial Markets:	1, 75, 100
Rural-Urban Linkages:	3, 5, 6, 14, 18, 23, 30, 53, 58, 59, 66, 67, 68, 74, 82, 85, 88, 95, 96
Secondary Cities:	84, 85
Social Networks:	9, 31
Social Organization:	56
Squatter Settlements:	28, 59, 98
Theory:	39, 41, 51, 59, 66, 98
Traders:	31, 53, 94, 95, 96
Transportation:	68, 81

Urban Agriculture: 8,48,65,68,76,81,87
Urban Food Supply: 32,94
Urbanization: 4,5,8,16,22,37,48,55,56,58,59,71,74,81,
84,91
Urban Market Systems: 39,65,94
Urban Planning: 2,8,9,11,13,15,19,21,26,28,36,46,49,51,
54,63,69,70,82,86,87,92,93,94,97,98

Geographical Index to Key Words
(by annotation number)

Africa:	17, 19, 32, 34, 46, 50, 57, 59, 74, 90, 93, 95, 97
Asia:	1, 17, 34, 90
Botswana:	11
Brazil:	52
Burkina Faso (Upper Volta):	13, 65, 76
Central African Republic:	80, 81
Chad:	12
Congo:	8, 48
East Africa:	23, 86
Egypt	44
Gabon:	55
Ghana:	7, 38, 78
Guinea:	25
India:	16
Ivory Coast:	3, 35, 91
Liberia:	35
Kenya:	28, 45, 54, 63
Malawi:	10, 72
Mali:	61
Niger:	35, 75
Nigeria:	2, 9, 14, 24, 43, 60, 70, 71, 78, 96, 97
Pakistan:	20
Rwanda:	61
Sahel:	6
Senegal:	27, 28, 35, 42, 56, 92
Sierra Leone:	25, 47
Sri Lanka:	66
Tanzania:	47, 53, 94
Thailand:	16
Togo:	35, 61
Uganda:	31, 47
United States:	29, 40, 41
West Africa:	79
Zambia:	18, 21, 36, 83, 87, 98
Zimbabwe:	62

Part II
General Bibliography

Previous Page Blank

85 -

(Those entries marked with an asterisk * are annotated in the previous section).

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