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OFFICIAL VIEWS ON RURAL UNEMPLOYMENT, RURAL -
URBAN MIGRATION, POPULATION GROWTH, INCOME DIS-
TRIBUTION AND AGRICULTURAL MECHANIZATION: A
SUMMARY REPORT AND OBSERVATIONS.

BY

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This report summarises the views of some high ranking officials in the Federal and State Ministries of Agriculture, Economic Development and Reconstruction as well as Industry, on such socio - economic problems of relevance to the labour market as rural unemployment, rural - urban migration, population growth, agricultural mechanization and income distribution.

Before dealing with the main conclusions and observations, a word or two on the origin of the report would seem in order.

The interviews and the resulting report arose from the author's conviction that in a country where the Universities are often criticised for failure to relate their teaching and research to the pressing development issues of the time, it is essential that policy makers be

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The officials who were interviewed came from the following governments (1) Federal Ministries, State Ministries of Midwest, Lagos, Western-Nigeria, Kano and Kaduna.

acquainted with the areas and topics of research of interest to the faculty or staff. This enables the researchers to recognise the degree of the policy makers' awareness of the problems in which they (the researchers) are interested; the difference, if any, between the policy makers' and the researchers' perception and ranking of the problems; the possibility of reconciliation through discussion and, most important of all, the line of approach likely to be of greatest help to policy makers.

B. Official Views

The officials interviewed displayed awareness of some of the problems in which the team is interested. The highest priority was accorded unemployment and rural - urban migration. The lowest priority went to population. In some cases, the latter was not considered a problem at all.

(1) Unemployment:

(a) In most rural areas of the country, the problem is not unemployment as such, but rather, underemployment which reflects, primarily, the existence of uneconomic farm size, lack of alternative employment opportunities in most villages and, in places such as Kano and North Central States, lack of complementary inputs such as water, improved tools and labour which limit the average size

of farm cultivated by a family.

(b) The cure to rural underemployment and even seasonal unemployment lies in raising the productivity of agriculture through the supply of complementary inputs such as fertilizer, water, improved tools, extension services and high value cash crops. For this reason, except in the Western State, where the joint ILO - Western State Government project at Otta specifically sets out to increase employment possibilities through a combination of vocational training in non agricultural skills and agricultural extension services, all the other governments have no projects aimed, primarily, at labour absorption. Their solution to the rural underemployment problem appears confined almost exclusively to agricultural productivity improvement as is evident from the minor role expected of small scale rural industries even in a state like Kano which is relatively short of land. Moreover, throughout the discussion with these officials, they showed no awareness of the possible influence of fiscal and monetary policies on the strategy of agricultural investment and the degree of labour absorption in the rural areas.

2. Rural - Urban Migration

(a) This was regarded as a serious problem because

it aggravates the open unemployment in urban areas, and sometimes ~~leads~~ not only to labour shortage in the rural areas but also to a rapidly aging agricultural population with adverse effect on agricultural output.

(b) The central cause of rural - urban migration is regarded as the concentration of amenities in the urban areas at the expense of the rural areas. A few officials in Kano, North Central and Lagos States also mentioned the essentially economic factors behind rural - urban migration such as the lure of high and rising urban wages and the possibility of acquiring industrial skills associated with higher earnings.

(c) Since most of the officials looked upon the concentration of amenities in the towns as the most important determinant of rural - urban migration, they naturally regarded the provision of similar amenities in the rural areas as the solution to the rural - urban migration problem. However, quite a few stressed the provision of rural income earning opportunities and the reduction of the rural - urban income gap.

(d) Unlike the case with rural underemployment, the officials pointed to specific projects designed to arrest the tide of rural - urban migration. These included Farmers Crusade project in the Midwest State, which is

aimed at producing high productivity and quality food crops on community land with the aid of government subsidies on inputs such as fertilizer, tractor services and extension advice to farm families; Farm Institutes in Western, Lagos and North Central States and the proposed establishment of National Youth Corps in certain parts of the country to give vocational training to school leavers in art, craft and new farming techniques.

3. Mechanization of Agriculture:

(a) Generally, this was viewed in a very favourable light as the most dependable way to (i) eliminate the drudgery of farming (ii) make agriculture attractive to young school leavers (iii) break the labour bottleneck in some northern states during the crucial planting and harvesting period and (iv) facilitate the expansion of cultivable land in much of the middle belt region.

(b) While some officials associated the term with tractorisation, most officials tended to broaden the meaning of mechanisation to include the use of animal power, water pumps, small scale, hand operated machines such as the screw or hydraulic press used in the palm oil areas and the cocoa breaking tools used by cocoa farmers.

(c) With such a broad interpretation of mechanisation,

it is not surprising that, on the whole, the officials saw no conflict whatever between increasing mechanisation and increasing employment opportunities. On the contrary, they believed that mechanization has employment generating potential by (i) facilitating greater use of land in the middle belt (ii) encouraging the processing of agricultural raw materials, and (iii) raising the productivity of agriculture.

4. Income Distribution:

(a) This was regarded as distribution between the urban and the rural areas. All the officials showed an awareness of the gap between urban and rural incomes due to the concentration of development projects, amenities and other income generating jobs in urban areas as well as the taxation of export crop producers.

(b) There was also evident a recognition of the connection between unemployment and income distribution and a belief that a strategy which expands employment especially for the low income in the rural as well as urban areas has implication for a more equitable income distribution.

(c) It was, moreover, suggested by many officials that because of the overwhelming dominance of the small farmers in the agricultural sector of Nigeria, the country

faced little problem of inequitable distribution of the fruits of agricultural development.

(d) With all this, it is hardly surprising that no specific programme for dealing with income distribution was mentioned.

5. Population Growth:

(a) It was the almost unanimous opinion of the officials that Nigeria faced no population problem because of the existence of surplus land. Any population problem that might arise, it was argued, could be no more than a food problem which would be dealt with by expanding food supply as indicated earlier and by improving the distribution system.

(b) Accordingly, nothing was said in connection with a population policy.

C. Some Observations on the Official Position

In some respects, the views expressed by the officials above are in agreement with those of this writer and the Team which sponsors the project as is clear from the following:

(i) The officials' accorded the highest priority to unemployment and rural - urban migration.

(ii) They indicated their awareness of the relationship between unemployment and income distribution and of the

fact that policies which expand employment for the low income group also lead to greater equity in income distribution.

(iii) Most officials were sharply critical of a view which equates mechanization of agriculture with tractorisation and gave a much broader interpretation to the concept. Also, their view that mechanisation could be used to break the labour bottleneck in the northern states is in substantial harmony with the position of this writer and the Team

(iv) Many would not quarrel with the belief that a combination of productivity increasing measures such as the supply of fertilizers, irrigation water, improved tools, access to markets, drainage, soil conservation, and land reclamation can both raise agricultural output and expand rural employment opportunities. This is particularly true of the situation in the northern states where the provision of these has the greatest output and employment generating potential.

Yet in other important respects the official views are largely at variance with those held by the Team.

(i) While it may be substantially correct to regard the rural areas as characterised, primarily, by under-employment, there are cases in which unemployment exists

if we define employment as working on jobs which bring in cash earnings. In this connection, it must be stressed that the mere fact that a person spends his time on unpaid household services does not mean that he is employed in the sense above. Indeed, where money is the medium of exchange, a person should really be considered employed only if he is able to earn money which gives him some command over goods and services. Viewed in this sense, much of rural labour which may turn up as employed in the agricultural statistics may in fact remain virtually unemployed.

(ii) It is not valid in every case that productivity increasing measures increase employment, and that specific measures to deal with employment creation directly are unnecessary. It is now generally conceded that both in the industrial and the agricultural sectors of the less developed countries, output increase has not been matched by employment increase and that specific measures be devised to deal with unemployment. This is the experience of Kenya, a sister African country which had started on the path of economic development assuming that productivity increases would take care of employment.

(iii) Unlike the officials, we do not regard the concentration of amenities in the urban areas as the central

or most important determinant of rural - urban migration, though we recognise it as one of the explanatory variables. Rather, we would hypothesise that rural - urban migration is a reflection of and a response to inequality of economic opportunities as between the rural and urban areas, whether this inequality takes the form of wage differentials, greater employment opportunities or greater opportunity to acquire more sophisticated skills essential to movement up the income ladder. Accordingly, though we agree that the provision of amenities like hospitals, electricity and cinema houses in the rural areas is an essential element in rural transformation and, in the case of electricity, could be a pre-requisite, we do not consider this a central solution. The simple reason is that without an economic or income base, it is difficult to see how the rural communities can either support these services financially or even actually enjoy them. The failure of rural electrification attempt in some parts of Eastern States before the Military rule bears out the validity of this view. We believe that in a circumstance of limited funds, priority should be given to the provision of income earning opportunities. Where, as in Kano, Midwest and Rivers States, finance is not a serious constraint, it is reasonable to combine income opportunities with

the provision of amenities in the rural areas.

(iv) A central assumption behind the view that the concentration of amenities in ~~the~~ urban areas is the primary determinant of rural - urban migration is that, in much of rural Nigeria, there are obvious economic opportunities which remain unexploited because the rural-urban migrant looks solely for a white collar job. While it may be true that some school leavers are attracted to urban areas by the glamour of town life, several considerations lead to the conclusion that a majority of them are propelled by economic factors. In many areas of Nigeria, the excessively small size of family holdings, the low productivity per man in agriculture, the insufficiency of effective and sustained demand for agricultural products and the low export prices ensure that, even when heavily discounted, the expected earnings from an urban job is higher than that from job on the farm especially in these days of strong trade unions.

(v) We do not think that income distribution is essentially a matter of a gap between urban and rural areas and that it is not a serious problem.

Within agriculture itself, it would be exceedingly surprising if empirical investigation did not reveal serious inequality between the incomes of food crop pro-

ducers and those of export crop producers and among export crop producers themselves.⁽²⁾ Further, in the urban areas, the relative emphasis on capital intensive investments, the existence of large scale urban unemployment, the escalation of wages and salaries for the small proportion of the working population in the modern, mainly urban sector regardless of its impact on the economic position of the mass of non wage earners on the farm and in the urban areas, aggravate the income inequality problem.

(vi) Nor is the view that Nigeria has no population problem tenable. It is true that we have not yet come to a Malthusian situation, but does it mean we have to wait complacently until that state arrives? Also, the notion that the existence of a land 'surplus' economy in Nigeria implies absence of a population problem can be criticised on several grounds. First, the concept of 'land surplus' raises many unresolved conceptual and statistical questions such as the measurement of actual cultivable area, the treatment of bush fallow, the accessibility of land, and

2/ c/f. S. M. Essang, "The Distribution of Earnings in the Cocoa Economy of Western Nigeria, Implications for Development." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Mich. State University, 1970.

the opportunity cost of making some land in the country cultivable. There are, in addition, problems related to the nature of land use, and the institutional restraints on mobility of resources which cause the coexistence within the same administrative unit of a state of acute pressure on land and a situation of abundant underutilised land. Even if the conceptual and statistical questions were resolved and Nigeria were unequivocally a land surplus economy, that would not necessarily imply absence of a population problem. This is because rapid population growth such as characterises Nigeria in recent years has implications for savings, employment, the cost of social services, the quality of social services and income distribution. Moreover, the belief that Nigeria is a land surplus economy with no population problem has unfortunate consequences for this country's strategy of development. It accounts, in part, for the absence of conscious efforts to relate development strategy to the realities of unemployment and rapid population growth, as can be seen from the emphasis on large scale, capital intensive agricultural projects in both the 1962 - 68 and 1970 - 74 development plans. It probably explains, partly, the fact that though the government officials interviewed were unanimous in recognising the urgency of

unemployment and the critical role of agriculture as an absorber of labour, no strategy has been articulated to make agriculture play this role effectively. In many states, even though agriculture provides upto 80% of employment and income, less than 10% of the total estimated public expenditure during the 1970 - 74 plan ⁽³⁾ is earmarked for the agricultural sector. Furthermore, this idea that there is a surplus agricultural land to which any school leaver can return and engage in farming explains why, despite the cry of "back to land", nothing is being done to determine the viability of farming as an occupation in many parts of the country. Finally, the land 'surplus' notion underlies the view expressed by some officials to the effect that population problem, where it exists at all, is a food problem to be tackled by stepping up the supply of food and improving the efficiency of the food distribution system.

(vii) Generally speaking, most of the officials looked upon agricultural mechanization from the perspective of the agronomist or any technical scientist. Inadequate weight was placed on the distinction between private and social benefits/costs of mechanization and the possible

3/ North Central State, First Development Plan, 1970 - 74
p. 33.

alternative methods of mechanising agriculture.

(ix) Lacking in the official attitude is the awareness that employment and related problems in agriculture could be aggravated by fiscal and monetary policies such as excessive export taxes, overvalued exchange rate, subsidised tractorisation and that government can use fiscal measures to influence the pattern of agricultural investment in favour of a fuller utilisation of labour resources.

(xi) Some of the programmes meant to keep the youth in farming and so reduce the rate of rural - urban migration are the Midwest Farmers' Crusade which encourages young farmers to produce food crops on community land with the help of government subsidies on inputs and outright grants, the Youth Corpse in the development plan, 1970 - 74, (p. 264) for training young school leavers on vocational skills and the ILO/Western State Project at Otta. While their very conception is evident of governments' concern about the rural - urban migration problem and their determination to deal with it, these projects have limited effectiveness for the following reasons:-

(a) The administrative divisions where these projects are located tend to look upon them as their own share of government's amenities from which outsiders should be

excluded. Thus it is that in Otta, a project for providing employment and stemming the tide of rural - urban migration now faces an acute labour shortage especially with respect to the agricultural enterprises. If people from other divisions in the West had been allowed to take advantage of the project, this labour shortage problem would not have arisen. The same is true, to a smaller degree, of the Midwest Farmers' Crusade scheme, which, by relying on the land donated by the community, ensures that the latter has a veto on who should benefit from the scheme.

(b) The employment creation effects of some projects like the National Youth Corps are unlikely to be large and could in fact be negative because of the possibility that the skilled labour trained by the youth centres displaces those trained at high cost by local craftsmen and artisans. Moreover, given the nature of efficiency characteristic of government operations, there is a strong possibility that the outlay on the Youth Centre, if used in alternative projects, would generate more employment.

(xi) Finally, it was apparent to this writer that most of the views expressed by the officials rested, in the main, on informed opinion rather than on empirical data or theoretical analysis. Even where the policy makers had some data to back their case, the latter were essentially inaccurate

and misleading. A case in point concerns the data from the 1966/67 rural unemployment survey conducted by the National Man Power Board. The conclusions of this survey for all practical purposes, that Nigeria faced no rural unemployment problem since it found 0.48% of the population unemployed. This conclusion resulted from the fact that the problem was virtually defined out of existence by the planners of the survey*. Fortunately, the Man Power Board has no intention of publishing the data because of the obviously large amount of conceptual and

- * A person was regarded as unemployed only if he was actively looking for jobs for two or three weeks. In the type of economy with which the survey dealt, there are several reasons for believing that this definition is misleading.
- (i) Many people in the rural areas regard any effort to search for jobs as degrading especially if they belong to families with ascribed status in the traditional socio - economic setting.
 - (ii) Where the villagers are aware that looking for jobs is a fruitless exercise, they may not make any effort even though they are clearly idle.
 - (iii) Ignorance, apathy and the high costs of search for jobs could prevent a person who is clearly unemployed from looking for jobs.
 - (iv) The survey made no efforts to distinguish between jobs for mere subsistence and jobs for earning income which, as already pointed out, should be the relevant consideration. Nor was there any attempt to take account of seasonal unemployment which is an important characteristic of the rural labour market situation.

statistical errors. Even so, there is no doubt that findings such as the above can have undesirable influence on government attitude to employment in the rural areas.

Besides the problem of absence of or inadequate data, the officials also faced the problem raised by lack of a conceptual frame - work pertaining to the economic and social issues on which the discussion centred. There is no clear definition of unemployment which takes account of the situation in the rural areas of an underdeveloped economy such as Nigeria. No theoretical model showing the relationship between mechanization and employment in agriculture in the context of African economies ⁽⁴⁾ exists, to my knowledge.

D. Implicationf For Research:

The overall research objective should be to provide the policy makers with a body of concepts and empirical data about the current economic and social situation in agriculture in particular and the rest of the economy in general with a view to narrowing the gap between myths and reality and indicating the consequence of alternative development strategy for employment, rural - urban migration, income

(4) I do not think any of the officials is familiar with the interesting paper, "Mechanization, Labour Use and Productivity in Indian Agriculture" by S.S. Johl, Occasional Paper No. 3, Department of Economics and Sociology, Ohio State University.

distribution, population and agricultural mechanization.

Accordingly, the following lines of research are suggested.

(i) Investigation of income distribution among export crop producers in the Northern States and the Mid-west State with a view to confirming or rejecting the hypothesis of an equitable distribution of income in the rural areas of Nigeria because of the overwhelming predominance of small farmers in export crop production.

(ii) Investigation of the employment effects of some agricultural/community development projects with a view to spotlighting the effects of administrative, economic and political factors on employment generation.

(iii) Investigating the effects of fiscal policy on the pattern of input use and hence on employment in some agricultural industries.

(iv) Studying the determinants and consequences of rural - urban migration in different geographical regions of the country in order to compare the relative importance of economic and non economic factors.

APPENDIX I.

Employment Effects of Selected Agricultural
Projects In Nigeria.

A Research Proposal

by

S. M. Essang*

Introduction

In recent years, a number of considerations have compelled policy makers in Africa to the view that unemployment cannot be reduced appreciably by single-minded emphasis on the industrialisation of urban areas. Among these considerations are the rapid growth of both urban and rural population; the failure of industrialisation to generate commensurate employment opportunities and rural - urban migration. The result is that with the agricultural sector regarded as the most important current and potential absorber of labour, many agricultural investments are undertaken and located away from the large towns with a view to increasing productivity and (indirectly) employment opportunities.

Objectives.

The present study seeks to determine, principally, the contribution which these projects have made towards employment of agricultural and non agricultural labour. It will focus attention on the following:

APPENDIX I Contd.

- (i) The relationship between growth in output and growth of employment.
- (ii) The effects of wage increases on the employment situation
- (iii) The relationship between availability of skilled labour and employment generation.
- (iv) The relationship between mechanization and employment.
- (v) The employment effects of public and private projects..

3. Hypotheses:

This study will be used to throw light on the following hypotheses relating to the labour market situation in Nigeria:

- (i) Subsidised mechanisation limits the employment impact of agricultural investments.
- (ii) High capital/labour ratios characterise agricultural projects in African countries and limit employment generating possibilities
- (iii) Government wage policy hinders employment expansion in agricultural projects by encouraging the substitution of capital for labour.

Methodology:

Data Collection: This will proceed in three stages.

APPENDIX I Contd.

- (i) Collection from private large scale farms
- (ii) Collection from a sample of farmers as a whole.
- (iii) Collection from government directed projects -
plantations..

During the field investigation, questionnaire filled in situ operandu will be used. But greater efforts will be made to obtain crucial data on wages, expenditure on capital equipment etc. from records.

APPENDIX II

The Distribution of Earnings in Rural Nigeria:
Implications for development

A Research Proposal

BY

Introduction.

For many developing countries, an increasingly important problem is how to devise a strategy which strikes appropriate balance between attention to the technical factors geared to increased output and modification of the institutional frame - work within which development takes place to make possible a more equitable distribution of development benefits. While there are many obstacles which explain the lack of official interest in tackling the distribution problem, it is our belief that the virtual dearth of data on the pattern of income distribution, its determinant and consequences as well as the type of policy required, remains a single most important reason for the relatively lukewarm attitude of governments towards the income distribution problem. This lack of data encourages the perpetuation of some ideas about the agricultural economy, which has adverse effects on policy formulation. A case in point is the belief that in the northern states, distribution problem does not arise because of the relative equality in the distri-

APPENDIX II Contd.

bution of land. Further, the absence of data on income distribution prevents some policy makers from full awareness of the role of institutional arrangements such as research, the banks, the extension net work and political factors on the pattern of income distribution.

Objectives:

The overall objectives of the study are:

- (i) to present some information on the distribution of cash incomes among the farmers of export crops,
- (ii) to investigate the factors that underlie the distribution pattern
- (iii) to find out the relationship, if any, between income distribution pattern and the pattern of employment in the rural areas.
- (iv) to study the relationship between income distribution and savings pattern,
- (v) to find out the connection between political and other institutional factors on the one hand and distribution pattern on the other.

Hypotheses

This study will throw light on the validity or otherwise of the following set of proportions:

APPENDIX II Contd.

- (a) Export production rests on small farmers the distribution of whose plots is even. There is, therefore, no redistribution problem.
- (b) The greater the degree of inequality in income distribution the less employment of labour is generated.
- (c) The greater the degree of income inequality, the higher the ratio of savings to consumption. Hence, aggregate savings will be reduced by any policy which makes the distribution less uneven.

Methodology:

- (A) This research, which will last 3 years, will proceed in stages.
 - (i) In stage one, the distribution of earnings among Midwestern Rubber producers, Palm oil producers in the S.E. State together with tobacco producers in the Oyo division of the Western State will be investigated.
 - (ii) In stage II, the research will cover Kano, and North Central States.
- (B) In this research, questionnaires will be combined with efforts to have direct access to records in the case of people like the LBAs who are also farmers themselves.

APPENDIX III

Determinants and Implications of Rural - Urban Migration
In Nigeria.

A Research Proposal

by

S. M. Essang

Introduction: The Problem

An increasingly important by-product of economic development which is causing concern in policy circles is the phenomenon of rural - urban migration. Aware of its effects on urban employment situation, the cost and quality of social services and, worst still, the productivity of agriculture, governments have devised measures such as the Youth Corps, Farmer's Brigade and Community Farms to keep the youth from migrating to the urban areas.^{1/} However, much of the steps taken so far do not rest on empirical study or systematic theoretical insights into the causes and implications of rural - urban migration. The existing empirical work on rural - urban migration, by sociologists^{2/} and economic geographers who have made a

1/ C/F: "Official Attitude to Unemployment, Rural - Urban Migration A summary Report and Observations."

2/ P. O. Olusanya, "Socio - Economic Aspects of Rural - Urban Migration in Western Nigeria." NISER, University of Ibadan, 3rd June, 1969.

significant contribution to the literature on the problem, should be supplemented by economists.

Objectives of the Study.

(i) To investigate the factors influencing rural - urban migration.

(ii) To determine which strategy-the provision of amenities in the rural areas or the provision of income earning opportunities is a better approach to the problem of rural urban migration.

(iii) To suggest policy implications arising from (i) and (ii) above.

Hypotheses:

As far as possible, the data from the study should throw light on the validity or otherwise of two currently held hypotheses regarding the determinants of rural - urban migration.

One of these hypotheses is that the concentration in urban areas of such amenities as electricity, cinema houses, schools etc. is a central cause of rural - urban migration.

The other hypothesis is that rural - urban migration is a reflection of and a response to disparities in income and employment levels as between rural and urban areas.

The validity of the first hypothesis has serious implications for the strategy of economic development in two respects.

APPENDIX III Contd.

(a) It implies that to reduce the rate of rural urban migration, rural areas must be provided with the same amenities available in urban areas. This will not only entail very high costs in terms of money outlay, but also a high opportunity cost measured in terms of the output forgone by using resources for rural amenities. Moreover, even if such amenities were provided, it is doubtful whether the rural inhabitants would sustain them financially or even enjoy them in the absence of an income base.

(b) Another implication of the first hypothesis is that policies such as high wages in urban areas and taxation of agriculture have no appreciable effect on the rate of rural urban migration.

The policy implications of the second hypothesis are also serious, though interesting.

(a) If rural - urban migration is a response to differential economic opportunities whether these take the form of wages or greater employment opportunities, then a policy which fosters high wages for the few in the modern urban sector will increase rural-urban migration regardless of whatever amenities exist in the rural areas.

(b) Moreover, a policy which continues to tax

APPENDIX III Contd.

agriculture heavily for use in establishing urban industries will increase the rate of rural - urban migration despite the availability in the rural areas of basic amenities.

(c) On the other hand, a development strategy which emphasises improvement in the level and distribution of agricultural incomes will reduce the rate of rural - urban migration even if amenities are not adequately provided in the rural areas.

(d) Similarly, a policy which decentralises the location of industries and pays attention to rural small-scale, labour-intensive industries will reduce the rate of rural - urban migration.

(e) Any policy which provides alternative employment opportunities at wages comparable with urban wages will slow down the rate of rural - urban migration.

Methodology.

This study will run up to 3 years and will proceed in 3 stages.

Stage I

A careful review of the literature on rural - urban migration in the context of Africa and its relevance to the contemporary Nigerian situation.

APPENDIX III Contd.

Stage II

Empirical Investigation of the determinants of rural - urban migration from the villages to large metropolitan areas like Lagos, Kano, Ibadan, Kaduna, Enugu, Port Harcourt.

Stage III

Empirical determinant of the causes with respect to smaller towns which are provincial or divisional headquarters.