



UNITED NATIONS  
**ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL COUNCIL**

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Distr.  
GENERAL

51854

E/ECA/PSD.5/27  
11 December 1987

Original: ENGLISH

ECONOMIC COMMISSION FOR AFRICA

Fifth Session of the Joint Conference  
of African Planners, Statisticians  
and Demographers

Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 21-28 March 1988

EVALUATION OF POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND REDISTRIBUTION  
POLICIES IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

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## I. INTRODUCTION

1. The recurrent drought in Africa and its profound consequences on population trends have brought into focus the pressing problems of population distribution and redistribution and the need for governmental action to address them. Recent African development plans have called attention to the problems and proposed strategies to solve them. This paper attempts an assessment of the various strategies, especially rural development programmes.

2. In this context, it is pertinent to note that uneven spatial population distribution is perceived by a majority of member States of the Economic Commission for Africa as their prime population problem, more important than fertility and natural population growth rates. Explicitly, according to monitoring report by the United Nations Population Division, by 1980 73 per cent out of 51 African countries indicated that they found the spatial distribution of their populations inappropriate. <sup>1/</sup>

3. At the time of the fifth United Nations inquiry in 1982, the position remained substantially the same. <sup>2/</sup> Out of the 38 ECA member States that provided responses in the inquiry to the question on population distribution, 72 per cent indicated that they were not satisfied with the existing spatial patterns of their populations. Table 1 below shows that among the countries, a majority in each sub-region expressed the wish for a change in the spatial distributions of their populations, with all five of the North African, 4 of the West African, 3 of the Central African and 5 of the East-Southern countries opting for drastic changes.

4. In Africa, the common population distribution and redistribution problems include the following: the disproportionate concentration of the urban population and development in a single metropolitan centre, the high rates of rural-to-urban migration and the uneven spatial distribution of the rural population. Over the years, several African countries have adopted policies to explicitly or implicitly tackle these problems. These can be classified into three groups: strategies to contain or accommodate metropolitan growth; strategies aimed at dispersing urban growth by the promotion of, for example, secondary urban centres; and programmes focussed on rural areas such as land settlement schemes and integrated rural development programmes aimed at addressing the problems of maldistribution of rural population (Table 2).

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<sup>1/</sup> UN, World Population Trends and Policies - 1981 Monitoring Report, Vol. II, Population Policies, (ST/ESA/SER.A/79/Add.1) (New York: 1982), Table 49.

<sup>2/</sup> ECA, Fifth Population Inquiry among Governments: ECA member States' Perceptions on Demographic Trends in Relation to Development as of 1982, ECA/PD/MP/1984/3.

Table 1: Perceptions on population distribution: ECA member States, 1982

Type of Perception	Subregion				Total
	North	West	Central	East-Southern	
1. Major changes in present population distribution desirable	5	4	2	3	14
2. Minor changes in present population distribution desirable	-	4	3	5	12
3. No view formulated on present population distribution	-	3	3	6	12
Total	5	11	8	14	38

Source: Adapted from ECA, op.cit., Table 1.

Table 2: Examples of policies and programmes aimed at population redistribution

Urban-oriented	Rural-oriented
- Close city programmes	- Land settlement programmes
- City growth limiting programmes	- Rural development programmes (including service centre development, villagization)
- Slum and squatter settlement	
- Dormitory towns and satellite city programmes	- Water projects (dams, irrigation, etc.) Reallocation from disaster/war areas
- Growth-centre strategies	- Natural resource conservation programmes - Squatter relocation

Source: L.A. Kosinski, «Development Projects and Their Demographic Impact», J.I. Clarke, et alia, Population and Development Projects in Africa, CUP, 1985.

5. At the outset, it has to be pointed out that the problems of population maldistribution are not susceptible to simple solutions for reasons such as, the lack of coordination and inconsistencies in the application of programmes; and more important, because of the present poor understanding of the interrelationships between spatial population distribution and spatial development processes. <sup>3/</sup>

## II. TYPES OF POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND REDISTRIBUTION PROBLEMS IN AFRICAN COUNTRIES

6. This section briefly reviews the three major population distribution and redistribution problems in African countries identified above: the disproportionate concentration of urban populations and resources in a single metropolitan centre; the high rates of rural-to-urban migration; and the uneven spatial distribution of the rural population.

### 2.1 The disproportionate concentration of urban populations in a single metropolitan centre <sup>4/</sup>

7. The countries of Africa are gradually becoming characterized by the increasing concentration of their population in urban areas. According to Table 3, the population living in urban areas in Africa has increased from about 15 per cent in 1950 to around 32 per cent in 1985.

8. An aspect of urban development in Africa which is considered a problem relates to the disproportionate size and rate of growth of the largest cities of many countries. The rapid growth of urban localities is considered by many as involving substantial social costs over and above social and private benefits. For instance, the modern sector of African urban centres has increasingly been able to provide employment for only a small fraction of the even expanding urban labour force. A basic reason is that industrial development in Africa within the past few years has resulted in slow growth of employment in the modern sector.

9. Another feature of urban development in Africa which is viewed as a problem is the dominance of a single city within the urban system-urban primacy-with dominance defined here in terms of population size and resource distribution. In recent years, urban primacy has become pronounced in a number of African countries.

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<sup>3/</sup> C.J. Demko and E.J. Fuchs, "Population Redistribution: Problems and Policies", Populi Magazine, Vol. 7, No. 4 (1980), p. 35.

<sup>4/</sup> For more on this, see: A. O'Connor, The African City (London: Hutchinson University Library for Africa, 1983); and A. Gilbert and J. Guiller, Cities, Poverty and Development (New York: Oxford University Press, 1982).

**Table 3: Levels of urbanization and average annual rates of population growth, Africa and major regions, 1950-1990**

Period	Africa	World Total	More Developed Countries	Less Developed Countries
<b>A. <u>Levels of urbanization</u></b>				
1950	14.54	28.95	52.54	16.71
1960	19.15	33.89	59.73	21.95
1970	22.85	37.51	64.68	25.92
1975	25.67	39.34	67.49	28.03
1980	28.85	41.31	70.15	30.53
1985	32.28	43.60	72.51	33.50
<b>B. <u>Average annual rates of population growth</u></b>				
1950-1960	4.42	3.35	2.44	4.68
1960-1970	4.85	2.91	2.05	3.94
1970-1975	4.97	2.84	1.75	3.95
1975-1980	5.10	2.93	1.68	4.06
1980-1990	5.00	2.93	1.50	4.02

Source: United Nations, Patterns of Urban and Rural Population Growth, Population Studies, No. 62, New York, 1980, pp. 11 & 16-

10. For example, in the 1980s, it has been estimated that 60 per cent of Togo's urban population, 57 per cent of Kenya's, 83 per cent of Mozambique's lived in the largest cities of their various countries. <sup>5/</sup> Also in Ghana, the capital, Accra, in 1970 had a population size about twice that of Kumasi, the second largest city. However, by 1984 Accra's population had grown to two and half times that of Kumasi. Regarding the distribution of economic and social resources, Accra in 1960 accounted for 51 per cent of the country's total electricity consumption, compared with 18 per cent in Kumasi. By 1970, Accra's share had risen to 68 per cent compared with 11 per cent for Kumasi. <sup>6/</sup>

11. The quality of life in African cities is also counted among the problems of urbanization in Africa. The reason is that the vast majority of the inhabitants of cities in the region live in poverty in slums and shanty quarters and earn their living by working in the low productivity and low income sector.

12. These various problems of urbanization argue for the formulation of soundly based urban development policies. In this context, Arthur Lewis, for example, posits that since urban as opposed to rural development is relatively more expensive in especially the provision of infrastructure, governments in LDCs such as in Africa, are spending heavily for the upkeep of their cities to the neglect of rural areas. <sup>7/</sup> Moreover, Linton has forcibly argued that in most of these countries an ordinate proportion of resources financial, physical and human are diverted to urban areas, away from rural areas, a practice that cannot be justified on the grounds of either efficiency or equity. <sup>8/</sup>

13. With respect to urban primacy, when a single urban centre monopolises the distribution of jobs, wage incomes and social facilities at the expense of other smaller urban centres as well as rural areas, issues of equity and efficiency arise.

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<sup>5/</sup> T.J. Collier, "Sub-Saharan Africa: Population Pressures on Development", Population Bulletin, Vol. 4, No. 1 (February 1985).

<sup>6/</sup> O'Connor, idem, p. 131.

<sup>7/</sup> W. Arthur Lewis, "The Evolution of the International Economic Order", Discussion Paper No. 74 (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Woodrow Wilson School, Research Programme in Development Studies, 1977), pp. 39-40.

<sup>8/</sup> Michael Linton, The Poor People Stay Poor: Urban Bias and World Development (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1979).



## 2.2 The high rates of rural-to-urban migration 9/

14. Although urban population proportions are low in Africa, rates of urban population growth in recent years are among the highest in the world (Table 3). One of the factors making a substantial contribution to this growth is rural-to-urban migration. For instance, it has been estimated that during the 1960s and 1970s about 60 per cent of the urban population growth of Cote d'Ivoire was contributed by rural-to-urban migration. The comparable percentages within the same period for Liberia and Burkina Faso were 60 and 55 per cent respectively.

15. It has been suggested that migration from the rural areas has become so intense in many African countries that the number of migrants far exceed the absorptive capacity of urban areas in terms of social services and provision of employment. Moreover, given the selective nature of the migration, dominated by young persons, it is the view of many authorities that the movements adversely affect rural development.

16. An underlying cause of the migration is economic and structural imbalances existing between urban and rural localities. Rather than help narrow these rural-urban structural imbalances, internal migration contributes to its widening in two ways. Firstly, with respect to the supply of labour, while migration swells the rank of the urban unemployed and underemployed, rural areas are deprived of one of their most precious and scarce resources, young, and sometimes educated, migrants. Secondly, with respect to demand, because of the heavier costs involved in creating urban jobs compared with rural ones, and also because of the more substantial complementary resources needed for industrial production along with pressure for increasing urban wages, only few jobs are created annually in the urban modern sector, for less than the supply of labour.

17. To be sure, a substantial percentage of those seeking employment in urban areas often resort to the informal sector. But, some writers have argued that employment in the informal sector is not without both private and social costs. In this context, Guiler, for example, argues that African rural-urban migrants engaged in casual work or self-employed in the unregulated urban sector are worst off than if they had stayed in or returned to the rural areas. 10/

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9/ See e.g. M.E. Todaro, Internal Migration in Developing Countries. A Review of Theory, Evidence, Methodology and Research Priorities (Geneva: ILO, 1976); S.E. Findlay, Planning for Internal Migration (Washington, D.C.: US Department of Commerce, 1977); and K.C. Zachariah and J. Condé (eds.), Migration in West Africa (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

10/ Josef Guiler, "Migration to Urban Centres of Unemployment in Tropical Africa", in A.H. Richmond and D. Kubat (eds.), Internal Migration: The New World and Third World (London: Sage Publications, 1976).

13. An important aspect of the consequences of rural-urban migration, one which must be taken into account when designing policy, is that in certain cases, probably the majority, the movements have been found to be beneficial to the individual migrant, his household or family. For example, a Kenyan survey in the late 1960s came out with the finding that a vast majority of the men in the sample had obtained some form of gainful employment within the first year of urban residence. Also an ILO survey in Sudan in 1974 reported that the employment status of migrants improved with increased duration of stay. 11/

19. However, taking into account not only private benefits and costs, but also social costs and benefits, it would appear that generally the employment and social absorptive capacities of urban localities in African countries are not effectively able to cope up with the phenomenal rates of growth of their populations brought about mainly by migration. This has created problems in the fields of economic, social and administrative planning.

### 2.3 The uneven spatial distribution of the rural population 12/

20. Rural settlement patterns in a number of African countries in Africa are characterized by a mismatch between the distribution of population and the distribution of resources. Areas of low population density (for example, parts of Northern Ghana) though fertile are sometimes not cultivated because of factors such as the existence of diseases such as sleeping sickness or river blindness and/or lack of technological knowledge for the harnessing and mobilization of resources. On the other hand, there are very densely settled and over-farmed rural areas (for example, the Mossi region of Burkina Faso and parts of Eastern Nigeria) which are distinguished by such features as acute shortage of farm land, reduced fallows and fragmented land holdings.

21. A number of factors have also contributed to the uneven spatial distribution of the rural populations of African countries. These include the physical conditions of the natural environment, historical, political and economic factors. In this connexion, aridity is considered as one of the major environmental determinants of rural spatial mal-distribution.

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11/ For these and other examples, see S.E. Findlay, op.cit.

12/ See P.K. Udo, "Size, Distribution and Characteristics of Population in Africa", in P.K. Udo (ed.) Population Source Book of Sub-Sahara Africa (Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books, 1979), pp. 62-74; R.M. Prothero (ed.) People and Land in Africa South of the Sahara (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); and S.I. Abumere, "Distribution Policies in Africa South of the Sahara", Population and Development, Vol. 7, No. 3 (September 1981), p. 423.

22. Another problem of rural population maldistribution in Africa relates to the growth in the absolute size of the population. The average current annual growth rate of around 2 per cent per annum of these areas translates into large absolute numbers given their present sizeable populations in many countries. The consequences are that rural-to-urban migration continues at a high rate while population pressure is increased on rural resources, already precarious in some areas of a number of countries.

### III. EVALUATION OF AFRICAN DISTRIBUTION AND REDISTRIBUTION POLICIES

23. Against the background of the discussion in the last section on the spatial maldistribution problems, this section attempts an evaluation of population distribution and redistribution policies contained in African development plans. In this context, Mahomunje's distinction between "direct" and "indirect" population distribution and redistribution policies seems relevant.<sup>13/</sup> He describes the "direct" policies as those measures that aim at affecting the configuration and density of population in particular areas or the direction and volume of migration flows; and the "indirect" as those measures aimed at achieving some other objectives but which exert strong influence on the pattern of population distribution. Unlike countries in South-East Asia that have "direct" policies, attempts by most African countries to influence population distribution are usually of the "indirect" type.

24. Population distribution policies can be evaluated by: (a) using indicators of policy performance; (b) making a comparison between actual changes in population in the absence of the policy, attributing the difference to the policy impact; and (c) by social cost-benefit analysis. In view of problems such as lack of the relevant data and the unstructured nature of population distribution policies, none of these methods have been used to evaluate population distribution and redistribution policies in Africa.

25. Rather the four major recent population distribution and redistribution evaluation studies on Africa that have been published based their evaluations by focussing on selected population distribution programmes, especially settlement schemes and rural development programmes. Population distribution and urbanization by ECA had as its objective the presentation of knowledge about population distribution and urbanization in Africa for the period 1974-1984.<sup>14/</sup> Evaluation of Popula-

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<sup>13/</sup> A. Mahomunje, "Effectiveness of Population Re-distribution Policies: The African Experience", Paper presented to IUSSP International Population Conference, Manila, 1981.

<sup>14/</sup> ECA, "Population Distribution and Urbanization: ECA member States", African Population Studies Series, Number 7, E/ECA/SPD.A/5, 1983.

tion Redistribution Policies and Programmes in Selected African Countries, also by ECA undertook a detailed review and evaluation of two African population settlement schemes: the Tanzanian villagization scheme and resettlement programmes in Ethiopia. 15/

26. The other two evaluation studies are by Adepoju and Mabomunje. Adepoju made an evaluation of four types of population schemes in Africa: rural development, resettlement schemes, youth programmes and growth poles along with administrative decentralization; 16/ while Mabomunje also evaluated four types: land colonization, resettlement schemes, rural development strategies and new town and other policies. 17/

### 3.1 An evaluation of population distribution and redistribution policies of African development plan

27. Since differences exist among African countries with respect to the degree of uneven population distribution, urban primacy and rates of growth of urban and rural populations, a diversity of population distribution policies should be expected. While the stemming of rural-to-urban migration seems to be a common concern, different emphasis in policies can be discerned from country to country. For example, in Burundi, Cameroon and Lesotho, the major concern is to enhance the current patterns of spatial distribution by relieving pressure on high population density areas; while in Kenya it is the development of a particular region of the country, the West, that experiences excessive out-migration to Nairobi and Mombassa.

28. The development plans of the undermentioned countries will be examined using the following typology: (1) rural development strategies; (2) settlement schemes; (3) promotion of growth poles, industrial and administrative decentralization; and (4) urban-oriented policies (see Annex 1). The countries are Algeria (1980-1984); Burundi (1979-1982); Cameroon (1981-1986); Côte d'Ivoire (1976-1980); Kenya (1979-1983); Sierra Leone (1981/82 - 1985/86); and Tanzania (1976-1981).

29. In order to evaluate the population distribution and redistribution policies in the above-mentioned African development plans, in Annex II, their policy attributes were summarised as follows: nature of policy specifications: whether an explicit

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15/ ECA, "Evaluation of Population Redistribution Policies and Programmes in Selected African Countries", ECA/PD/VP/1986/17, December 1985.

16/ A. Adepoju, "Population Redistribution: A Review of Governmental Policies", in J.I. Clarke and L.A. Kosinski (eds) Redistribution of Population in Africa (London: Heinemann, 1982).

17/ Idem.

or implicit strategy: linkages to other policies and development programmes; linkages to development goals, programmes and projects and other population policies; spatial orientation; details with respect to direction, regional scale and urban-rural focus. 18/

30. An advantage of the approach adopted here is that it takes cognizance of the fact that a population policy is "a statement of important goals accompanied by a specified means to achieve them". 19/ National development plans, among government documents, best specify "important goals" such as population distribution objectives, and sometimes, the "specified means to achieve them". It should be mentioned that despite differences in the methods of evaluating population distribution and redistribution policies, the findings and recommendations of the above-mentioned cross-sectional studies should be complementary to those of this sub-section.

31. The descriptive analysis that follows in the next sub-section highlights the overall development objectives and major population distribution and redistribution policies of the development plans.

#### (a) Algeria: The 1980-1984 Algerian Five-Year Plan

32. The plan advocated that more attention should be given to improving the standard of living of the average Algerian. To this end, the need was expressed for extensive job creation and for improvement of basic educational and vocational skills. Priority was also assigned to major investment in further industrialization, education and training as well as social infrastructure in order to provide adequate housing and other public and community services.

33. With respect to population redistribution and distribution policies (Annexes I and II), the Government acknowledged the problems of rural-to-urban migration especially the heavy pressure on accommodation and public services (e.g. transportation, water supply and sewage) and stated its determination to stem the flow. For this purpose a new Ministry of Planning was given the responsibility for planning and supervision of the construction of a series of new towns in the High Plains, south of the more developed coastal regions, where most of the population lives or seeks to live. In this respect, it observed that:

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18/ For a similar analysis based on countries in South-East Asia, see P.J. Pryor, "Population Redistribution Policies and South-East Asia Development Plans" in P.J. Pryor (ed.) Migration and Development in South-East Asia (Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1970).

19/ J. Pavone Stycos, "Population Policy" in International Encyclopedia of Population (New York: The Free Press, 1973).

If the present trends in land use are perpetuated, the magnitude of the concentration of the population in the agricultural North and around the big cities of the interior will prevent the development of the High Plains and accelerate the migration from the mountainous regions. The water and agricultural potential of vast regions of the North would be more and more reduced by encroachment of urban growth.

(b) Burundi: Plan quinquennal de developpement economique et social du Burundi, 1978-1982

34. The plan accorded high priority to programmes and projects which enhance the solutions of problems of poverty, inequality and social justice.

35. The Government's population distribution policies emphasized agricultural development, decentralization of industries, the establishment of growth poles and the continuation of the programme of resettling populations in villages. The resettlement programme attempts to install young households in regions where the carrying capacity of the land was still good away from areas with heavy population pressure.

36. Explicitly, three major strategies were proposed to address the problems of population maldistribution, namely:

- the creation of growth poles;
- the regrouping of villages;
- the encouragement of migration from regions where population pressure on resources was already high to areas such as the Plains of Imbo and, especially Bosso, where population pressure was low.

(c) Cameroon: The Fifth Five-Year Economic, Social and Cultural Development Plan, 1981-1986

37. The plan had as its major objectives the furthering of planned liberalism, self-reliant development, social justice and balanced development. Two major population maldistribution problems - the alarming rate of increase of the urban population and rural areas losing a high proportion of their labour force - were identified.

38. The Government's population distribution policy was intended to encourage the harmonious growth of towns and rural areas by a coherent and co-ordinated rural development programme which will lead to a better organization of settlements, harnessing of water resources and the rational exploitation of the land.

(d) Cote d'Ivoire: Five-Year Plan for Economic, Social and Cultural Development, 1976-1980

39. The plan had, as its main objectives, the maintenance of a high rate of economic growth, greater participation of nationals in the country's economic activity, the individual and collective advancement of Ivorians.

40. The population distribution strategies of the Plan include: planning of regional development with a view to a better, balanced distribution of people, resources and activity; concentration of resources in a limited number of growth poles to boost regional development and counteract the pull towards Abidjan; and a town planning strategy geared to the development of a coherent network of medium-sized towns. In addition, the Plan called for the reduction of the proportion of foreigners in the total population by supervising immigration, a measure which would influence population distribution, given the huge number of foreigners in the country participating especially in the rural economy.

(e) Kenya: Development Plan, 1979-1983

41. The plan's main objective include raising general economic growth in the country. It called attention to the fact that less than one fifth of the country's total land area was considered arable, and thus emphasised the need to increase agricultural yields in the face of population growth. It was noted also that the highest average population densities were in districts and areas with the highest proportions of arable land but limited employment opportunities, a situation that has exacerbated the population distribution problem.

42. The plan argued that the national objectives of balanced development and alleviation of poverty required an urban development strategy that controls polarization towards Nairobi and Mombasa. The development of other centres with potential for supporting rural development was, therefore, advocated.

43. Explicitly, the plan proposed three population distribution strategies:

- (i) the promotion of the productivity of the land in every pastoral and rural areas so that the economic pressure of migration elsewhere are reduced in magnitude;
- (ii) encouragement of migration to areas of the country where opportunities and productivity are increasing, but ensuring that movements are not so significant as to exceed the opportunities available, leading to frustration and dissatisfaction; and
- (iii) encouragement of return migration to rural areas for persons wishing to take early retirement.

(f) Sierra Leone: National Development Plan, 1981/82 - 1985/86

44. The main objectives of this plan include the acceleration of the process of economic recovery and stabilization, reactivation of the growth process in the commodity producing sectors and enhancement of the standard of living of rural communities by the implementation of integrated rural development programmes.

45. With reference to population distribution, the Government's policies attempted to achieve an improved spatial distribution of the population, through the following strategies:

- (i) ensuring that movement to urban areas were not in such large numbers that they exceed the opportunities available;
- (ii) encouragement of migration to areas of the country where opportunities are increasing more rapidly;
- (iii) promotion of integrated rural development so that the economic pressures for migration elsewhere are reduced in magnitude; and
- (iv) putting greater emphasis on technical and vocational education oriented towards opportunities in the rural areas.

(g) Tanzania: The Third Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1 July 1976 - 30 June 1981

46. The plan had, among its objectives, the raising of the standard of living of the population, self-reliance, emphasis on the development of forms of economic activity which encourage collective and co-operative effort and the extension of economic co-operation with other African countries.

47. The plan's population distribution policies were as follows:

- (i) narrowing the economic and developmental differentials among regions, especially urban and rural areas;
- (ii) development of regional towns as a nucleus for regional and village development; and
- (iii) strengthening the economic and social basis of nucleated (the Ujamaa) villages.

48. It should be recalled that the country had implemented a large-scale resettlement programme, the Ujamaa villagization scheme, and the current policies aimed to strengthen this project and other population distribution programmes.



### Conclusions

49. From the above review of African development plans, the following conclusions about population distribution and redistribution policies contained therein can be made:

(a) Though concern about spatial population distribution and redistribution problems is common to all the plans, explicit measures about solving these problems were frequently absent;

(b) Measures pertaining to population distribution were dissipated in many sections of the plan and, therefore, not well focussed;

(c) The measures are not usually explicit in the sense of clearly delineating the area and population size affected, and in the case of migration, the direction of out-migration. Nor was a time-frame specified for the implementation of the programmes;

(d) A historical perspective was not adopted as policies proposed in past plans were not explicitly referred to in the current plans;

(e) The demographic spatial content of the plans, that is, relating policies to take account of the demographic characteristics of, for example, migrants and non-migrants, or place of origin or destination, was weak.

### 3.2 An assessment of the migration effects of rural-oriented strategies in African countries

50. A growing number of African countries have responded to the problems of spatial population maldistribution by instituting rural-oriented strategies which have as one of their objectives the containment of rural-to-urban migration. The containment of rural out-migration, it is believed will come about by strategies that enhance the attractiveness of rural areas by the provision of jobs and social amenities and improvement of agricultural incomes and productivity. However, recent studies have shown that the planned migration outcomes of rural-oriented strategies do not, in many cases, materialise. 20/

51. In this connexion, the following three major types of rural-oriented strategies contained in the development plans of the above-selected countries are assessed, by a brief review of the available literature and empirical research, to ascertain whether their objectives of containing rural out-migration were soundly based. The

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20/ S.E. Findley, "Rural Development Programmes: Planned Versus Actual Migration Outcomes", in UN, Population Distribution Policies in Developing Planning (United Nations: Department of International Economic and Social Affairs Population Studies, No. 75, ST/ESA/SER.A/75, New York, 1975).

three strategies reviewed were: (i) integrated rural development programmes (Sierra Leone, 1981/82-1985/86; Tanzania, 1976-1981); (ii) pricing policies for agricultural commodities (Burundi, 1979-1982; Cote d'Ivoire, 1976-1980); and (iii) training and education for rural development (Sierra Leone, 1981/82-1985/86).

(i) Integrated Rural Development Programmes (IRDPs)

52. These programmes are a prominent feature of current African development strategies. They include a mix of the following components: supported land reform projects, supervised credit for small farmers, labour intensive agricultural innovations, rural vocational training and development. In addition to the objectives of increasing aggregate incomes and productivity, the IRDPs also strive to enhance equitable distribution of income and employment opportunities along with influencing the patterns of rural-to-urban migration.

53. Three types of African IRDPs are evaluated below for their impacts on rural out-migration.

(a) ZAPI de l'est in the United Republic of Cameroon, 1975-1976

54. At the start, the ZAPI de l'est project was concerned with only the development of cocoa and coffee. Later, it included other projects such as women's credit groups, health and food crop components, which qualified it as an integrated rural development programme. 21/ The project resulted in substantial increases in incomes, although bottlenecks such as transport and limited coffee-processing facilities arrested its further expansion.

55. With respect to migration, it would appear that the project led to a decrease in rural-to-urban movements for both men and women.

(b) The International Labour Organization pilot project, 1969-1974, Nigeria 22/

56. The ILO project in Nigeria comprised three components: agriculture, infrastructure and industrial development. An evaluation of the migration impact of the industrial development component showed that the vocational training programme

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21/ United Republic of Cameroon, Société Regionale de développement de Zones d'Actions prioritaires intégrées de l'Est (ZAPI de l'EST), "Project de Programme Exercice 1975-1976", B.P. 132, Berona, 1976 and Findley, Idem.

22/ V. Austin, "Approaches to Rural Development: Lessons of a Pilot Project in Nigeria", International Labour Review, Vol. 114, No. 1 (July/August 1976); and Findley, Idem.

provided long-term benefits for the young. Nonetheless, due to factors like the lack of capital and limited consumer demand, only about 20 per cent of the young graduates stayed on. The fulfilment of two other conditions, namely, the better matching of training with rural demands and the provision of capital, would have resulted in the retention of a large number of new graduates.

(c) The Vihiga special rural development project in Kenya, 1970-1976 23/

57. The Vihiga special rural development project in Kenya, which had among its objectives, the amelioration of rural out-migration, comprised a number of components. It failed in reducing out-migration and other objectives mainly because of limited co-ordination. Other factors such as the granting of credit to persons who did not need them, and the distribution of income gains mainly in favour of richer farmers also contributed to the failure of the project.

(ii) Pricing policies for agricultural commodities

58. Agricultural export taxes have been imposed in African countries, especially on labour-intensive primary products. It has been observed that these taxes have often had adverse consequences on rural development by, for example, reducing the incentive to expand production of the crops and also fomenting rural out-migration.

59. It has, therefore, been argued that one important strategy to ameliorate the incomes of rural residents and diminish rural-to-urban migration is to pay farmers reasonable prices for their crops. This viewpoint has been well articulated by Colvin: "The greatest single step that could improve the situation of the rural resident and diminish his need to migrate is an increase in the price of his crops ....". 24/

60. However, others have pointed that this strategy usually achieves its objectives of stemming rural out-migration mainly in rural areas where the bulk of the farming community, as opposed to a minority of large-scale farmers, market a sizeable proportion of their products. Therefore, the impact of this strategy on rural out-migration is also not unambiguously positive. 25/

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23/ E.D. Harmon, Jr. and T. Zalla, "An USAID Sponsored Evaluation of the Vihiga Special Rural Development Project, Kenya", Washington, D.C., United States Agency for International Development, 1974.

24/ L.G. Colvin, The Uprooted of the Western Sahel: Migrants' Quest for Cash in Senegambia, (New York: Praeger, 1981).

25/ A. Rahman, "Variations in Terms of Exchange and their Impact on Farm Households in Bangladesh", Journal of Development Studies, Vol. 17, No. 4 (July 1981).

(iii) Training and education for rural development

61. It has also been argued that relevant education, for example, agricultural and vocational education that is supportive of rural life-styles, may slow rural out-migration. Thus, in certain African countries, curricula have been adapted towards rural job opportunities and vocational education has been advocated in some of the development plans analysed above.

62. However, the available evidence indicate that the planned migration outcomes of this strategy do not in all cases materialise. For example, in Burkina Faso, past students of a rural agricultural school remained in rural areas because they had co-operatively purchased oxen which several utilised for improved ploughing. 26/ On the other hand, in Basse Cassamance region of Senegal, the out-migration of youths, including graduates of the local small technical institute continued partly because of the non-availability of suitable employment. 27/

Conclusions

63. The above review of three African rural-oriented population distribution and redistribution strategies lead to the conclusion that their planned migration outcomes do not always coincide with their actual outcomes for various reasons, especially the lack of inadequate knowledge of the population sub-groups and/or areas directly affected by the measures. Consequently, to design appropriate population distribution and redistribution policies, rural planners and economists should attempt an assessment, however rudimentary, of their consequences, both intended and unintended. To be able to effectively perform such an exercise, socio-economic and especially demographic data about the concerned population sub-groups and/or areas should be made available to them.

IV. CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

64. This paper has attempted an examination of the population distribution and redistribution strategies contained in selected African development plans and programmes. It strongly argues in favour of explicit governmental measures to alleviate the problems of uneven spatial population distribution and redistribution of African countries.

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26/ F.J. Lethem, «Innovation in Education in West Africa», Finance and Development, Vol. 11, No. 4 (December 1974).

27/ Klaas de Jonghe and others, «Las Migrations en Basse Casamance, Senegal», Provisional Report, Leyden, Netherlands, Centre for African Studies, 1976.

65. However, formulation and implementation of viable population distribution policies by governments are fraught with problems such as: (a) incomplete knowledge of the redistribution process; (b) the overriding of the effects of explicit policies by the hidden effects of implicit policies; and (c) failure to employ redistribution measures that were matched to the redistribution process. 28/

66. These problems affected in varying ways the African population distribution and redistribution strategies evaluated in this paper. Explicitly, a content analysis of selected African development plans concluded that though concern about the issues of population distribution and redistribution was common to all, explicit measures were frequently absent. The analysis also revealed the lack of comprehensiveness in their treatment of population distribution and redistribution measures. The review also indicated that the demographic-spatial contents of the plans were fragmentary.

67. Also, in a review of the migration consequences of three rural-oriented strategies, it was established that they resulted in varied and unexpected migration consequences, mainly because the demographic characteristics of the affected population sub-groups and/or areas were not properly taken into account during the formulation of the projects.

68. Nonetheless, integrated rural development programmes in as much as they address the problems of polarization of resources - an underlying cause of population maldistribution - have much to recommend them, provided they conceive of migration consequences not just within the narrow objective of «keeping them in the rural areas».

69. With respect to the above proposal, it should be noted that one of the three main recommendations of the Kilimanjaro Programme of Action on Population to redress the problems of population maldistribution in African countries pertains to the revitalisation of rural economies and the provision in rural areas of socio-economic services which stimulate and sustain balanced and self-reliant development. 29/ The other two measures relate to: (a) strategies aimed at reducing current migration to capital cities and other large urban centres; and (b) the development of medium-sized towns.

70. From the findings of this paper, the following policy recommendations are proposed with reference to the formulation, implementation and monitoring of

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28/ United Nations, Population Distribution Policies in Development Planning, Papers of the United Nations/UNFPA Workshop on Population Distribution Policies in Development Planning, Bangkok, 4-13 September 1979 (New York, 1981).

29/ Kilimanjaro Programme of Action on Population, Second African Conference, Arusha, United Republic of Tanzania, 9-13 January 1984 (UNECA/ST/ECA/POP/1).

population distribution and redistribution strategies in African countries, to enhance their relevance and effectiveness, namely:

(a) More emphasis should be put on direct, as opposed to indirect, measures to help ensure the convergence between the intended and actual outcomes of the strategies;

(b) In the formulation of the strategies, an indication in quantitative terms, however approximate, should be provided of the socio-economic characteristics of the target population as well as the likely outcomes, intended and unintended, of the measures;

(c) More generally, the quantitative basis for formulating, implementing and monitoring of population distribution and redistribution strategies should be improved in African countries. Explicitly, more high quality, disaggregated socio-economic data on population sub-groups and/or areas should be made available to regional and rural planners and economists to enable them to design realistic strategies, understand complex spatial problems, monitor and evaluate spatial programmes and projects;

(d) An attempt should be made to situate the population distribution and redistribution strategies within the overall development policy of the country to minimise conflicts between the objectives of national and regional policies; and

(e) Since population distribution and redistribution problems have both demographic and development components, more attention should be assigned to the former component than had been the practice in the past. This is because the consequence of rapid population growth, for example, may override the effects of explicit policies in many African countries.

## ANNEX I

TYPOLOGY OF POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND REDISTRIBUTION POLICIES-  
SELECTED ECA MEMBER STATES

Type of Policy	Algeria, 1980-84	Burundi, 1979-82	Cameroon, 1981-86	Côte D'Ivoire 1976-80	Kenya, 1979-83	Sierra Leone 1981/82- 1985/86	Tanzania 1976-81
1. Rural Development	Encourage the Agricultural potentials of the High Plains to enhance its position as an alternative in-migration node. Comprehensive rural development.	Reduction of inter-regional differences in the standards of living and utilization of the economic potentials of rural areas; and payment of reasonable agricultural prices - all partly aimed at reducing rural-urban migration.	A harmonious rural development programme which will lead to a better organization of settlements. Harnessing of water resources and the rational exploitation of the land.	Enhancement of employment and income in rural areas; improvement in the status of farmers aimed at enhancing balanced regional development.	The promotion of the productivity of the land in every pastoral and rural area so that the economic pressure of migration elsewhere are reduced in magnitude.	Increasing rural income through productive employment, emphasis on technical and vocational education oriented towards employment opportunities in the rural areas; promotion of integrated rural development to reduce economic pressures for migration.	Strategies strengthening the economic and social bases of neglected villages (Villages).

Type of Policy	Algeria, 1980-84	Burundi, 1979-82	Cameroon 1981-86	Côte D'Ivoire 1976-80	Kenya, 1979-83	Sierra Leone 1981/82-1985/86	Tanzania 1976-81
2. Settlement schemes	The transfer of the population especially of young households to areas still with available land, in order to stem the rural-urban flow.						The Ujamaa village scheme involving extensive regrouping of rural population to be restrengthened

3. Growth Centres	Construction of a series of new towns in the High Plains.	The creation of growth roles i.e., strategic towns, which will act as foci of development for selected areas.	Urban hierarchy compatible with the development of industry and regional utilization of resources.	A town planning policy geared to the development of a network of medium sized towns. Decentralization of Govt. activities. Development of secondary cities.	Designation of service-centre hierarchy where private and public investment will be concentrated.	Creation of a wide range of growth poles in the villages in order to facilitate the shifting of development planning and plan implementation towards the rural areas.	Development of regional towns as a nucleus for regional and village development
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Type of policy	Algeria, 1980-84	Burundi, 1979-82	Cameroon 1981-86	Côte D'Ivoire 1976-80	Kenya, 1971-83	Sierra Leone 1981/82-1985/86	Tanzania 1976-81
4. Urban-oriented policies		Creation of low cost housing and encouragement of commercial house construction in especially rural but also urban areas.			Development of other urban areas to enhance their potentials to serve as alternative in-migration nodes.		

## ANNEX II

## POLICY ATTRIBUTES OF POPULATION DISTRIBUTION AND REDISTRIBUTION POLICIES - SELECTED ECA MEMBER STATES

	Algeria, 1980-84	Burundi, 1979-82	Cameroun, 1981-86	Côte d'Ivoire 1971-75	Kenya, 1979-83	Sierra Leone 1981/82- 1985-86	Tanzania 1976-81
1. Specific- cation	The develop- ment of the High Plains as a major centre of future development explicit population distribution policy.	The major measure relates to the encouragement of rural out-migra- tion through rural develop- ment especial- ly from areas experiencing high popula- tion density to areas where densities are relatively low- implicit policy.	Population mal-distribu- tion problems- alarining rate of the urban population and rural depopulation well stated. But measures to solve them implicit not explicit.	Major policies regional plan- ning aimed at achieving balanced distribution of resources and people - implicit policy.	Promotion of rural develop- ment and designation of service hierarchy - implicit policy.	The major goals such as the improvement of spatial distribution and emphasis on technical and vocational education well stated, but strategies to achieve them implicit.	Policies in plan meant to strengthen previous wide range measures - especially the extensive Ujamaa settlement schemes.

	Algeria, 1980-84	Burundi, 1979-82	Cameroon, 1981-86	Côte D'Ivoire 1971-75	Kenya, 1979-83	Sierra Leone 1981/82- 1985/86	Tanzania 1976-
2. Linkages	Policy related to country's national strategy to redistribute resources in a balanced way.	The policies to influence migration by instituting both rural and urban development is in conformity with the national development philosophy of social justice.				The policies are related to the national strategy of advancing of integrated rural development and balanced development.	
3. Spatial orientation	A specific region, High Plains, designated as an in-migration node.	Special areas delineated as in-migration areas.		Reduction of in-migration to Abidjan.	Discourage- ment of migration to Nairobi and Mombasa.		

4. Policy relevance	Algeria, 1980-84	Burundi, 1979-82	Cameroon, 1981-86	Côte d'Ivoire 1971-75	Kenya, 1979-83	Sierra Leone 1981/82- 1985-86	Tanzania 1976-81
	To bring into the high about 1.5 to 2 million persons over a 10 year period. To this end, major construction of housing community facilities and relations of indus- tries.	Although no specific number indicated, implicit policy to influence the transfer of people from high to low population pressure areas.	Implicit population distribution policies.	Implicit population distribution policies.	Implicit population distribution policies.	Implicit population distribution policies.	Explicit population distribution policies.

ANNEX III

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