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SPATIAL RE-DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION IN AFRICA  
(Colonization, Resettlement and Urbanization)

(SESSION II & XI)

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## INTRODUCTION

All human settlements represent not only attempts at emphasizing territoriality but also adjustments to the internal dynamics of a society at a given point in time. These adjustments or spatial redistribution of population is a phenomenon of considerable antiquity and widespread incidence. It could take the form of the colonisation of new areas, the resettlement of a group after a disaster or catastrophic dimension, the peaceful migration of individuals into or out of an area or the drift of rural folks into cities. On the other hand, it could be an enforced affair resulting from war. The desolation of wars leaves its marks on the pattern and distribution of human settlements. In some cases, it stimulates new forms of settlement design or new conception of how settlements are to be distributed.

This paper is not concerned directly with the act or fact of people moving into new areas but with the resultant manifestations of their acts, especially where they involve a fairly permanent re-location of significant members of the population. With respect to Africa, it examines various aspects of the phenomenon in terms of their implications for population growth and economic development. The paper is divided into seven parts. The first examines the processes of spatial re-distribution and distinguishes between their manifestations in the pre-colonial and later times. For each period, it also attempts a typology. The second part deals with one of the most important of these processes, namely that of internal colonization. After reviewing briefly direct European colonization of certain areas of the continent, it concentrates on real African efforts in this field distinguishing between the spontaneous activities of individuals and groups and various government induced programmes. The third part is concerned with resettlement schemes which are undertaken by governments or public bodies to rehabilitate sections of the population which have been displaced either through natural catastrophes, local insurrections or gigantic public works such as hydroelectricity dams. The fourth part briefly reviews the growth of urbanization, its peculiar conformation in Africa and some of the problems arising from this. Both the fifth and sixth parts evaluate the policy implications of the pattern of spatial re-distribution resulting from the operation of these various processes and the nature of the programmes that is required to make them consistent with the goals of economic development. A concluding section emphasizes that these issues are some of the more important ones with which population policies in Africa should be concerned.

## PROCESSES OF SPATIAL RE-DISTRIBUTION

Although spatial re-distribution in Africa has gone on for centuries as a continuous process, it is possible to distinguish between on the one hand the pre-colonial and, on the other, the colonial and post-colonial manifestations of the phenomenon. The latter represents not only continuations of preceding trends but also a significant change in scale and objectives.

In pre-colonial times, spatial re-distribution occurred in response to one or other of the following situations:

(a) internal demographic adjustments to growing population. This operated on a micro-scale. New hamlets or farmsteads were established as population grew and the land available to existing settlement became too small or as increasing diseconomies set in with greater distances to be traversed by some members of the settlement to get to their farms. The daughter-settlement often bore names which emphasized their acceptance of common ancestry and in some cases, common rights and obligations. Good examples are to be found in the Ibo country of Eastern Nigeria. <sup>1/</sup>

(b) internal adjustment to social stress resulting from quarrels, disputes, or unorthodox religious evangelism. The effects might be similar to the former. However, the special circumstances of the break from the older settlement often served as motivation for innovative activities. This may be reflected in new design of settlement lay-out, new infrastructural activities such as building new road links, wells or markets or even completely new community organization as happened at Aiyetoro in the lagoon areas of Nigeria.

(c) Colonization. This was a larger scale attempt to settle an empty area. It often involved whole communities and could be occasioned by exhausted land resource, epidemic or other physical catastrophes such as floods. Sometimes, communal control was exercised over the act of colonization. More often, individual families operated on their own, laid claims to as much of the area as they could farm or pre-empt from the activities of others. The colonization of the Lobi across northern Ghana from the Ivory Coast provides a good example of traditional colonization movements.

(d) Urban formation. In pre-colonial period, the volume of rural-urban migration was seriously affected by the ability of the rural areas

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<sup>1/</sup> See, for instance, R.K. Udo, "Patterns of Population Distribution and Settlement in Eastern Nigeria", Nigerian Geographical Journal, vol.6, no.2, December, 1963, pp. 73-88.

to support non-farming population in towns and cities. This, however, did not constitute a sufficient deterrent against situations in which a town had to increase its population rapidly especially for defence purposes. When this happened, villages and hamlets around the town were destroyed and their population forced into the city. Numerous evidence of such re-distribution are to be found in the history of Yoruba and Hausa urbanization in Nigeria. <sup>1/</sup> It is particularly remarked upon in the formation of cities like Ilorin, Oyo and Sokoto.

(e) War and strife had been a major factor in the spatial re-distribution of population in Africa. Apart from the desolation of large areas occasioned by the slave-raiding from the 16th to 19th centuries, wars or the fear of hostilities had forced many communities to establish settlements in relatively difficult and inaccessible areas such as hill tops. The return of peace especially with the establishment of the colonial administration in many parts of the continent witnessed a widespread abandonment of these hill settlements and a re-colonisation of more accessible lowland areas. <sup>2/</sup> It has also been noted that this change in settlement location was often accompanied by a relaxation of farming standards; a recourse to a more exploitative and extensive cultivation system and, in consequence, considerable environmental deterioration resulting in some cases in widespread soil erosion.

With the exception to the last two, these various causes of spatial re-distribution continued to be important in the colonial and post-colonial period. Indeed, during this period, they all gained in momentum. To these traditional processes of spatial redistribution, however, two others came to be added. These are: resettlement and urbanization. Resettlement is distinguished from colonization on the basis that it is often a compensation to a community for the loss of their land, farms, houses, shrines and other infrastructure in the process of constructing a major public works such as a dam or establishing some public institution such as a university or a plantation. It could also result as in Rhodesia and South Africa from the operation of some iniquitous legislations which re-define areas where particular communities can settle. Urbanization is also distinguished from urban formation both because of the considerable freedom of choice involved in the movement in modern times and the significantly different scale in the volume of movement and the resultant size of settlement.

In terms of real impact, it is these three processes of colonization, resettlement and urbanization which are most critical for the spatial re-distribution of population in Africa. Their magnitude and scope especially in the last fifty years have been unparalleled in the history of the continent.

<sup>1/</sup> See, for instance, A. L. Mabogunje, Urbanization in Nigeria, London, 1968, pp. 76-7.

<sup>2/</sup> See, for instance, M. B. Gleave, "Hill Settlements and their abandonment in Tropical Africa," Institute of British Geographers, Transactions no.40, December, 1966, pp. 39-49.

In order to provide a clearer conspectus of their varying character and importance each of them would be considered in greater details below.

## II

### INTERNAL COLONIZATION MOVEMENTS

There can be no doubt that the European penetration in the latter part of the 19th century and their establishment of various forms of administration was a significant factor in stimulating a more rapid rate of internal colonization in various parts of Africa. Especially in the southern, central, eastern and northern parts of the continent, immigrating European settlers had themselves directly undertaken the colonization of extensive areas of land. 1/ In Kenya, for instance, although only 38,000 square miles (out of a total 220,000) were regarded as suitable for arable farming and forestry, about 30 per cent or 7.6 million acres were set aside for white colonization and designated "Scheduled Areas" or "White Highlands". This came to be settled by no more than 3,600 European farmers on the basis of dispersed agricultural farmsteads, each surrounded by large extensive farms operated by machines and local labour.

In South Africa, the pattern of appropriation and exclusion came to be elevated to the status of the inhuman social system of "apartheid" and buttressed by all the forces of law and order. According to Lord Hailey, 2/ some 89 per cent of the territory came to be alienated from the Africans and reserved exclusively for European occupation. In Southern Rhodesia and Swaziland, the figure was 49 per cent; in Belgian Congo, 9 per cent, in Bechuanaland 6 per cent, in Nyasaland 5 per cent, in Northern Rhodesia 3 per cent and in Ruanda-Urundi 2 per cent. No precise information is available for Portuguese or Spanish Territories but here too the amount of land taken was known to be considerable.

In North Africa, the French colonization efforts were particularly significant. It involved both private and state-directed movements of people. It was reckoned that by 1950, nearly 11 million acres were colonized by Europeans of which 6.75 million were in Algeria, 2.13 million in Tunisia and 1.93 million in Morocco. 3/ The number of European farms on this land were 26,000 in Algeria, 4,000 in Tunisia and 6,000 in Morocco.

In all of these cases, the factor of expropriation and forced exclusion of the Africans from their land built into the colonization movement a certain degree of instability. In virtually every case, strong resentment grew and exploded in rebellions, and nationalist struggles. In Kenya,

1/ See Lord Hailey, *An African Survey*, 1956 Edition, London, pp. 685-774.

2/ Ibid., p. 687 (map).

3/ See R.J. Harrison-Church *et al.*, *Africa and the Islands*, London, 1964, p. 116.

the Mau-mau uprising set the stage not only for the independence of Kenya but for the eventual recovery of much of the land from European colonisers. The same was true of North Africa where the most bitter struggles against the European settlers were waged in Algeria. In other parts of the continent whether in Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia or South Africa, colonising settlers are now confronted by belligerent Africans determined to retrieve their birth-right not only to their freedom but also their land.

How important in retrospect European colonization of Africa would appear by the end of this century is, of course, not easy to predict. In its heyday, however, it was a major factor in the spatial redistribution of population. Africa owes to it the founding of many of its present important cities such as Johannesburg, Cape Town, Salisbury, Nairobi, Kinshasa, Dakar, Algiers and Tunis. To this colonization is also due the opening up to economic activities of large tracts of African land, the establishment of many hamlets and villages, the cultivation of extensive acreage to crops like sugar, wheat, maize, citrus, sisal, cotton, coffee and tea and the distribution of modern social services like schools, dispensaries, hospitals, post offices and public utilities especially roads throughout many rural areas.

In terms of continuing importance, however, emphasis must be placed on the colonizing activities of Africans themselves. In this respect, it is possible to provide a two-fold typology as shown in Table I.

Table I

Typology of colonizing activities in Africa

- |                |   |                                |
|----------------|---|--------------------------------|
| I. Spontaneous | - | (a) Individual Families        |
|                |   | (b) Group Movement             |
| II. Induced    | - | (c) Agricultural Improvement   |
|                |   | (d) Ideological Rehabilitation |
|                |   | (e) Sedentarization of Nomads. |

(a) Spontaneous Colonization by Individual Families

Spontaneous colonization of relatively empty land by individual families has been a most potent factor of spatial re-distribution in Africa. It is not possible to provide details of such spread of people or statistical information to indicate the numbers involved. For reasons which will presently be stated, it can, however, be argued that this form of spontaneous colonization is today numerically the most important form of spatial redistribution of population in Africa.

Four factors in particular have in recent times operated in Africa to encourage many farmers to seek out formerly empty land, establish new farms and houses and thereby extend the frontier of human settlement. The first

of these factors is the pax established by various European colonial powers. This has meant greater personal safety for individuals who seek to move out of their villages or towns and to live directly on their farm lands with a view to maximizing their input of time and labour in agricultural activities.

More important than this safety factor is the effect of the demographic revolution brought about by the colonial administration. The improvement of sanitation and provision of medical facilities, the establishment of law and order, the expansion of education, the improvement of agriculture and food supplies, all this not only brought down the death rate very sharply but more significantly raised the survival rates of many of the children born. The result is a significant rise in the average size of African family and greater pressure on land and resources to feed and support them. In such a situation, not only do the young adults migrate long-distances in search of employment but many families move short distances in search of relatively empty land to open up.

Among the Nyakyusa in Tanzania, for instance, Gulliver reports that the normal means for young men to gain access to land was not by inheritance but by forming coeval settlements on unused land. <sup>1/</sup>

Sometimes, the move is not particularly short. One of the other important element in the activities of the colonial administration in many African countries was the establishment of a transportation network especially of rail and road. This network of routes, apart from aiding the rapid evacuation of export commodities out of a country, also provide lines of colonization into empty areas for a large number of families. It is thus not without reason that maps of population distribution in many African countries today usually show ribbon-like extension along route-ways from the traditional high-density areas. In Senegal, for instance, extensive development of settlement along the railway line went hand-in-hand with the expansion of groundnut cultivation. The same is obvious from an examination of the population map of North Africa or Tanzania.

However, the most critical factor encouraging spatial re-distribution of population especially during the colonial period was the rise of export agricultural production. Both the establishment of a transportation network and the introduction of exportable crops led in many African countries to the emergence of regional specialization. Those areas of a country which were well-suited and favourably located to produce the export crops became major centres of attraction drawing people to them from considerable distances. Although the literature on the subject has placed too great emphasis on the labour migration aspects of this development, it is necessary to stress that massive colonization of such favoured areas went on

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<sup>1/</sup> See P.H. Gulliver, "Land tenure and social change among the Nyakyusa", East African Studies, no.11, E.A.I.S.D., Kampala, 1958.



simultaneously. The Ivory Coast provides very good example of colonization movement by Mande farmers at a time when the majority of their migrant labourers were coming from Upper Volta. <sup>1/</sup> In Nigeria also, the cocoa belt was a zone of considerable colonization movement by Yoruba farmers from outside of the Cocoa producing areas. But it was the seasonal migration of Hausa into this belt that attracted much attention from scholars. <sup>2/</sup>

The concentration of attention on producing crops which were not locally consumable as well as the growth of many urban centres meant a tremendous rise in the demand for food crops. Some areas which were not so well suited for export crops became major centres of colonization specifically for the production of food crops. Such colonization has been particularly important for the expansion of rice production in many African countries. The swampy areas where rice can be most productively grown were traditionally areas of very sparse or no population. Nigeria provides many examples of such colonization especially in the valleys of the Anambra and Cross Rivers. Other countries could show many examples of colonization movement based on providing food crops for the growing markets in the export agricultural areas and the cities.

(b) Spontaneous Colonization by Groups

Unlike spontaneous colonization by individual families, group colonization involved a certain degree of organization and is underscored by some ideological commitment or consensus among members of the group. Tanzania provides some of the best examples of this form of colonization. In 1960, strongly motivated by the ideology of socialism, a group of political activists in the Tanu Youth League under Ntimbanjoyo Millings decided to use the setting of co-operative type settlements and the opening up of new lands in the Ruvuma area of Southern Tanzania as a technique of national consolidation. <sup>3/</sup> The first of this settlement was Litowa village established in 1960 by 15 members of TANU Youth League who decided to cultivate communal gardens. In the following year, they built their own independent settlement close to the gardens they had already opened up. Later, some of the members left but new ones joined and by 1968, the population of the village stood at 121 individuals distributed among some 19 household.

In 1962, Millinga helped by an Englishman by name Ibbott incorporated this colonization movement as the Songea Development Association. This

<sup>1/</sup> Marguerite Dupire, "Planteurs autochtones et etrangers en Basse-Cote d'Ivoire Orientale", *Etudes Eburneennes*, vol.8, 1960, pp. 7-237.

<sup>2/</sup> See, for instance, R.M. Prothero, Migrant Labour from Sokoto Province, Northern Nigeria, Kaduna, Nigeria, 1959; also "Migrant Labour from Northwestern Nigeria", Africa, vol.27, no.3, July 1957, pp. 251-61.

<sup>3/</sup> For a critical review of the development, problems and achievements of this colonization programme, see Norman Long, "Co-operative Enterprise and Rural Development in Tanzania", in R.J. Apthorpe (ed.), Rural Co-operatives and Planned Change in Africa, UNRISK Vol.4, Geneva, 1970, pp. 287-361.

was to facilitate the work of propagating their ideas on communal living as well as to provide an organization to oversee the operation of new settlements. Ibbott, in fact, had been recruited through the instrumentality of the War on Want to provide much-needed managerial expertise for the successful development of this programme. As the number of member villages increased, the name of the association was changed to the Ruvuma Development Association.

The main function of the association was to assist in the development and planning of various services for the villages in the association. Emphasis was on those projects such as schools, dispensary and flour mills which would normally be beyond the financial and management capacity of individual villages. In 1965, a further development occurred. The young, more-educated members of the villages formed themselves into the Social and Economic Revolutionary Army which whenever needed, could assist in village development projects through providing certain technical and managerial skills. By 1968, some 15 settlements had been established. However, a year after, by a decision of the TANU Central Committee both the RDA and SERA were disbanded.

An earlier and equally impressive spontaneous group colonization movement is provided by the activities of marabouts of the "mourides" islamic faith in Senegal. The operation of this religious group is based on two fundamental principles: the sanctity of agricultural labour and submission to the marabout. It is argued that with their followership numbering nearly 400,000 in Senegal, this group constitutes almost a state within a State. 10 per cent of the houses are roofed with corrugated iron sheets and have a chair, a table and a wardrobe, more than a third have beds with spring-mattresses and two-thirds have kerosen lamps.

Realising the economic significance of export agricultural production, the marabout from the very beginning had concentrated the activities of their followers on the production of groundnuts and millet. They were said to have brought under cultivation as much as 300,000 acres in Diourbel district and another 170,000 acres in the district of Louga. Their single-minded devotion to groundnut cultivation with relatively little regard for long fallow regeneration or manuring has opened them to accusations of exploitative agriculture. According to the report of a mission sent out in 1953, the mourides are said to have "ravaged the forests and the land and destroyed the heritage of future generations". 1/ This, of course should not detract from their great importance to the economy of Senegal. In most years, they are said to account for nearly half the export of groundnuts from the country. 2/

1/ See R. Porteres, Rapport du mission sur l'aménagement de l'économie agricole et rurale au Sénégal, mars-avril, 1953, Gouvernement général de l'A.O.F.

2/ Jacques Brochier, La Diffusion du Progres Technique en Milieu Rural Sénégalais, Paris, 1968.

It is possible to list other examples of this type of colonization activities from other parts of Africa. In Nigeria, for example, there is the story of the Aiyetoro apostle's who moved out of their village to establish a thriving collectivistic community in the creek and lagoon area of Western Nigeria. Their point of disagreement with their previous community was religious. In their new abode, they not only practised common ownership but have succeeded in achieving a fairly high standard of material wealth based on fishing and transportation on the lagoon.

(c) Induced Colonization Programmes - Agricultural Development

The major distinction between spontaneous and induced colonization is the fact that the latter takes place in response to governmental initiative and its development is guided and controlled by some agency of government. These schemes of colonization are often multi-purpose in their conception. Very often, the underlying idea is to use them to reduce population pressure in certain parts of a country. In doing this, it is felt that the opportunity must be taken to improve both the structure and productivity of agriculture.

Because of this economic element, a major concern of this form of colonization is with the most efficient strategy of action. Two schools of thought have emerged. The first is the self-help school which insists that the chances of success of a settlement are greater when government provides the new settlers with the minimum of basic needs and leaves them to depend essentially on their own initiative and effort. It is argued that this calls forth from them a degree of commitment and a growing sense of achievement that guarantees the success of the scheme. The other school of thought is the high-capitalization school. This argues that a large injection of capital from the start ensures a certain scale of operation that would provide returns adequate not only to repay the loan of the initial capital but to afford the settlers a much higher standard of living. The capital provides funds for investment usually in machines, animals and sometimes hired labour.

From the very beginning of government interest in internal colonization movement in Africa, the cause of these two schools of thought have always been championed by one official or the other. This controversy began in the colonial period and continues to be heard in a number of African countries till today.

The earliest examples of induced colonization especially of the self-help type are to be found in the activities of various colonial administration in relieving population pressure in areas where this has reached serious dimensions with attendant environmental deterioration. 1/ In Southern Rhodesia, for instance, a colonization movement was begun by the agricultural department in the early thirties with a view to rehabilitating

1/ For details of many of these schemes, see Lord Hailey, An African Survey, 1956 Edition, London, 1957, pp. 906-912.

extensive areas suffering from over-grazing and loss of topsoil. The programme was based on a "centralization" policy and was designed to achieve not only soil conservation but a certain degree of community development. It involved the regrouping of scattered African homesteads into central positions; the separation of arable from grazing lands and the allocation of fixed holdings in the arable area. By 1950, about 9 million acres or over half the cultivable land in the Reserves had been brought under this scheme. In Swaziland, a land settlement scheme was initiated in 1952. It involved the purchase of 346,000 acres from part of the large area previously alienated to Europeans. This was made possible by a grant provided under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. The Swazi were encouraged to take up the 1,800 arable holdings into which the area was divided and operate the large area of pasture land as a commons. In Tanganyika, a scheme involving 3,000 acres at Kingolwira in the Eastern province received its first 25 settlers in 1936. 1/ Also, at Urambo, on land transferred in 1955 from the Overseas Food Corporation to the Tanganyika Agricultural Corporation, a tenant farmer's scheme was launched adjacent to an experimental farm.

In Kenya, self-help principles were involved in the Makuani project first outlined in 1938 as a scheme to relieve the pressure of population in Kamba area. It entailed the clearance of over 400 square miles of dense and fly-infested bush. By 1953, some 994 families had been settled upon holdings of 20 to 30 acres; the cost of settling a family being about £230. Also in Uganda some 16,500 people from congested hill areas were encouraged to move into the Kigezi District between 1947 and 1950. Their farming system was not regulated in any detail although in their home area they had been taught the practice of strip-cropping which they now established in the new area.

The same principle was involved in the colonization of the thinly populated areas of Shendam district in the Benue Valley area of northern Nigeria. 2/ Similarly, under French Trusteeship, Togoland was from 1926 the scene of government-sponsored colonization in the area between Atakpame and Sokode. Here, people who moved from over-populated areas were allotted land in new villages and were given farming equipment, seeds (especially cotton), animals and about £1 a month until their first harvest. They were also exempt from taxation for the first two years. By 1950, some 30,000 people were said to have moved into this area. 3/

Highly capitalized colonization schemes always have as their basis the introduction of advanced farming techniques or the installation of a major public works such as irrigation dams.

1/ C. Leubuscher, Tanganyika Territory: a Study of Economic Policy under Mandate, London, 1944, p. 47.

2/ See K.M. Buchanan, "Internal Colonization in Nigeria", Geographical Review, vol. 43, No. 4, Oct. 1953, pp. 416-8.

3/ Report by First Visiting Mission of United Nations to French Togoland, 1950.

Perhaps the classic example in Africa of the high-capitalized colonization scheme was the Gezira Scheme in the Sudan. <sup>1/</sup> The scheme took its name from the "Gezira" or "island", a clay plain of some six million acres stretching between the Blue Nile and the White Nile south of Khartoum, capital of the Republic of the Sudan. Before the scheme, this area carried very sparse population of semi-nomadic pastoralists. Today, the total population of the area is close to one million with between 3 and 400,000 casual labourers entering the area during the picking season.

The scheme began with the completion of the Sennar Dam in 1925. The dam is about two miles long and is situated about 18 miles above the irrigated area. This dam served the need of the scheme until 1967 when a second one, the Roseires Dam, was completed at a cost of \$ 89 million and helped to extend irrigation water to the Managil area. Together some 1.9 million acres of land have been brought into the Gezira-Managil Scheme of which about 58 per cent is irrigated each year.

Colonization of the area had two remarkable features which had attracted the attention of other schemes. The first is the tenurial arrangements. At the inception of the scheme, government nationalized the use, but not the ownership of the land. By purchase in the open market, however, it gradually acquired ownership of about 57 per cent of the lands in the Main Scheme and 62 per cent in the Extension. The land was leased out to farmers as tenants but security of tenure was assured only as long as the tenant kept his practices up to prevailing standards. In the ten-year period to 1960-61, only 370 out of a total 85,000 tenants on the scheme had been evicted for not complying with tenancy requirements. The average size of tenancy holding on the Main Scheme was about 40 acres. A number of tenancies has been split so that the average holding is now about 30 acres. On the Managil Extension, size of tenancies was reduced to 15 acres in order to accommodate a greater number of people and hopefully to reduce the dependence on hired workers which was having a depressing effect on productivity and creating a phenomenon almost of absentee landlordism.

The other important aspect of the Gezira Scheme was the tripartite partnership between the tenants, the government and a private managing board. The tenants provided the labour for cultivating the crop, cleaning the cotton fields, and maintaining the minor watering channels. The government financed the construction of the dams and the major canals as well as the preparation of new areas. The managing board, (two companies were involved until 1950 when they were replaced by a public corporation, the Sudan Gezira Board) undertook the general supervision of the scheme, maintenance of the minor canals, provision of seeds, support for part of the research, advancing loans to tenants for the hiring of extra labour, financing the transport, ginning and market of the cotton crop. In return for their various responsibilities, the tenants were given 40 per cent of the gross profits, the government 40 per cent and the managing board 20 per cent. The ratio had been varied in more recent times.

<sup>1/</sup> For detail description of this scheme, see Arthur Gaitskell, Gezira: a story of development in the Sudan, London, 1959, 372p.; and W. Hance, African Economic Development, New York, 1967, pp. 31-53.

The major crop of the scheme was the long-staple Egyptian-type cotton. This occupied about a quarter of the area of the main scheme and 35 per cent of that of the Extension. The rest of the area is occupied by food crops notably dura and lubia. The cotton produced here is of extremely high quality. Although only 1.5 per cent of world's cotton production, it represents about 30 per cent of world's long-staple output. Production also has been growing on an impressive rate of from an annual average of 42,000 metric tons between 1941-52, to 52,000 metric tons in 1953-57 and nearly 80,000 tons between 1958-65.

The result is that the Gezira represents today one of the most successful colonization schemes in Africa. Indeed, in most years before the Second World War, the government of the Sudan received about a quarter of its revenue from the scheme. Even today, cotton from the Gezira annually accounts for between 50 and 60 per cent of total Sudanese exports by value.

It is thus no wonder that this success story of the Gezira has excited hopes that it could be repeated elsewhere in Africa. One of the earliest attempts to do this was undertaken by the French in the 1930s in the area of the inland Niger Delta in West Africa. The Niger River in the course of its great northward bend, floods and enormous delta of its own creation. Over the centuries, the deposition from this inundation has raised the bed of the river some feet above the surrounding country. In consequence, each annual flooding overflows to cover an area sometimes as extensive as 40,000 square miles. A series of vast but shallow depressions are formed during this period but dry up as the river subsides. These conditions continue as far as the neighbourhood of Timbuktu, where the river resumes a more normal course.

This vast area of the Inland Delta, although densely populated in the past, was by the beginning of the present century virtually empty. It was therefore most tempting to assume that a well-defined project of irrigation development and colonization could make it become again an area of major population concentration. Indeed as early as 1920, M. Belime had begun investigations in the area with a view to recommending such a course of action to the French government. <sup>1/</sup> In spite of some initial caution, the government proceeded to set up in 1932 a special State organization, the Office du Niger to undertake the development of the Niger Basin as a whole. <sup>2/</sup> A barrage with a total length of 5,981 was begun at Sansanding in 1934. It was practically completed in 1941 and raised the level of the Niger by 14 feet. Two main channels, the Macina and Sahel canals; were also constructed as well as a 73-mile embankment to control inundation downstream from Segou. In all, nearly \$100 million, derived from both local and foreign sources were spent on the scheme.

<sup>1/</sup> F. Belime, Les irrigations du Niger, etudes et projets, Dakar, 1921.

<sup>2/</sup> For detail discussion of this project see G. Spitz, Sansanding et les Irrigations du Niger, Paris, 1950.

In order to encourage systematic colonization of this area, government assumed the title to all unoccupied land within the area of the scheme. The Office du Niger was then authorized to allocate land to heads of families who were to be settled on the basis of their ethnic origin. The settlers were provided with huts, gardens, animals and simple equipment. They also received initial seeds, food and training. They were required to conform to prescribed regulation for cultivation and after ten years of occupation may be granted provisional titles of heritable occupation. The land was mechanically prepared. For this service as well as for water received the farmers were charged various dues.

By 1966, some 100,000 acres had been put under cultivation out of an estimated potential of 2 million acres. <sup>1/</sup> This is not an impressive achievement in view of the very large capital invested. However, some 24,000 colonists had been settled. In spite of the original plan that they should concentrate on growing cotton like in the Gezira, the colonists gradually shifted emphasis to rice. This now occupies over 60 per cent of the irrigated land compared to just about 15 per cent for cotton. The Mali Government now plans to increase the cultivated area to 162,000 acres but expects to shift from mechanical to manual operations, to re-emphasize cotton and to introduce sugar-cane.

Even less success was achieved in the attempt at Damongo, northern Ghana to replicate the Sudan experiment. The Gonja Scheme, as it was called, was initiated in 1956 to colonize the dry savannah areas of Ghana under a system of mechanized cultivation of food crops for sale to centres in the more populated south of the country. <sup>2/</sup> The Gonja Development Company, a government body, was to provide management services and to receive two-thirds of the production in return for developing, plowing, fertilizing and planting and land. The tenants would receive a third of the production and would be concerned with weeding and harvesting the crops. Some 30,000 acres were to be developed and tenants were with time to gain the freehold tenure of their plots. The scheme was a failure. The capital invested was excessive in relation both to the number of families settled and the amount of saleable crops produced.

The same fate attended the Mokwa Scheme begun in 1950 in the emirates of Bida and Kontagora in northern Nigeria. This is a sparsely populated savanna region within the empty Middle Belt of the country. The colonization programme was modelled very closely after the Gezira scheme. Like in this scheme, there was a tripartite arrangement between the government, a private company and tenant farmers. <sup>3/</sup> The government leased the land, built the villages and roads, supplied the water and undertook extensive precautionary clearance of land to keep the tsetse fly away from the scheme area. The

<sup>1/</sup> W.A. Hance, op. cit. p. 50.

<sup>2/</sup> See W.A. Hance, op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>3/</sup> See K.D.S. Baldwin, The Niger Agricultural Project, Oxford, 1957, 221p.



company, the Niger Agricultural Project Ltd., developed and administered the settlement area, provided minor roads, fertilizers, tractors and other agricultural implements, supplied the technical and managerial staff and was responsible for the financial details of the scheme. The settler-cultivator provided labour on his holding of between 20 to 24 acres and received security of tenure as long as he followed good farming practices based on a three-year rotation. The returns from production were divided such that one-third went to the settlers and two-thirds to the government and managing company.

The scheme was launched with more than \$1 million provided equally by the Government of Nigeria and the Colonial Development Corporation. Originally, it was designed to develop some 65,000 acres but by 1954 only 12,000 acres had been wholly or partially cleared. By that time, it was already clear that success would be hard to come by. Less than 200 farming units had been established and a loss of £123,000 (or nearly \$350,000) had been incurred by the Colonial Development Corporation. The latter therefore withdrew from the scheme, transferring its assets to the Northern Regional Government. The scheme lingered on for another five years when it was finally discontinued as a total failure.

(d) Induced Colonization Programmes - Ideological Rehabilitation

The failure of many of these schemes of the colonial period did not deter governments of independent African countries from launching out on much of the same course. This time, however, the rationale was somewhat less economic. It was based either as in Nigeria on the idea of training young school leavers to accept agriculture as a viable way of life or as in Tanzania on a socialist conception of rural development. In either case, a most potent influence had been the Israeli's example of the Moshav-in or co-operative villages.

In Nigeria, the Farm Settlement Scheme as it is called was initiated in 1960 in the Western Region of that country as an attempt at fundamental rural transformation. Its aim was to give groups of young school leavers agricultural education, training and material help to enable them achieve through mechanization a per capita income in agriculture of about £500 per annum as against a national average of less than £50. Farming Institutes were established to provide training for a year after which the young farmers were moved to their district of origin. Each district desirous of participating in the programme contributed some of its unused (and sometimes used) land for the purpose of the settlement scheme. The government took responsibility for building the houses, providing water supply, electricity, social amenities, seeds, animal or poultry stock and other equipment. The strongly social component in the organization of the scheme was the main attractive factor inducing districts to participate. It has been reckoned that it cost an average of £3,000 (nearly \$9,000) to establish each farming unit. And even with that, many of the farmers found the repayment arrangement and rural life as a whole unacceptable. Many settlements therefore suffer from absenteeism and a rapid turnover of their farmers. Thus by 1970, of a target number of 4,600 settler families, there were less than a third on the farm settlements



and of the 143,000 acres expected to be developed, only about 30 per cent had been. 1/

In Tanzania, the increasing concern of the governments for strengthening socialist aspirations among the people has been behind the establishment of "ujamaa" or socialist villages. In his paper on Socialism and Rural Development, Nyerere, President of the Tanzania Republic, emphasized that agricultural organization in the country must be such as would ensure co-operative living and working for the common good. Co-operative production units were thus to be established by families who agreed to settle together and jointly work the land. The emphasis is to be on self-reliance and an equitable distribution of the rewards of labour. The government's role would be to offer advice and technical assistance. This will not be allowed to involve heavy capital inputs and over-centralized planning from the top. 2/

Even with such a statement, it is still not clear how much planning by government departments is actually envisaged and how much local initiative is to be tolerated. Presumably this will depend on the type of agriculture and technology practised and on the availability of reliable and ideologically well-informed local leaders. A number of such villages have now been established. It is still too early to pronounce on their chances of success although considerable conflict are already manifest between the economic objectives of the farmers and the political aims of the government. 3/

(e) Induced Colonization Programmes - Sedentarization of Nomads

Although on a less impressive scale, there have been other forms of induced colonization based in particular on the idea of encouraging the sedentarization of nomadic and semi-nomadic people. Such persons are to be found only in a very limited number of African countries. In some of these, however, they do form a significant proportion of the total population. In Somalia, for instance nomadic and semi-nomadic people are said to number about 1.3 million or 58 per cent of the total population. 4/ They also number about 3.9 million or 38 per cent of the population in the Republic of Sudan, 150,000 (or 9 per cent) in Libya, 200,000 (or 0.017 per cent) in Algeria and 100,000

1/ See, Western State of Nigeria Development Plan 1970-74, Ibadan 1970, pp. 23-4.

2/ J.K. Nyerere, Socialism and Rural Development, Dar-es-Salaam, 1967; see also - "Ujamaa - the basis of African socialism" in J.K. Nyerere, Freedom and Unity, London, 1967.

3/ See a review of this aspect of the project in David Feldman, "The Economics of Ideology: Some problems of Achieving Rural Socialism in Tanzania", in Colin Leys (ed.), Politics and Change in Developing Countries, Cambridge, 1969, pp. 85-111.

4/ See D. Christodoulou, "Settlement in Agriculture of Nomadic, Semi-Nomadic and Other Pastoral People: Basic Considerations from a World View", Land Reform, (F.A.O.), No.1, 1970, p. 42.

(or 0.003 per cent) in U.A.R.. There are also sizeable number in Mali, Tanzania and Nigeria.

Various objectives are often involved in the sedentarization of nomads. These include bringing such people within the orbit of various government social welfare services such as education and medicine, raising their standard of living and their contribution to the national economy and, in some cases integrating them more fully into the civil and political life of the country so as to ensure greater national security. Sedentarization often involves initiating the nomads and semi-nomads to agriculture based on either irrigation or dry farming conditions. Partly for this reason, the sedentarization process may be treated as part of other programmes of induced colonization. This is true, for instance, of sedentarization in the Gezira area of the Republic of Sudan as well as of the Maryout Project in the Western Desert area of the Egypt.

### III

#### RESETTLEMENT SCHEMES

The fundamental difference between induced colonization projects and resettlement schemes is a higher degree of obligation and responsibility that devolve on government to resettle people displaced from their normal home owing to the construction of major public works or the execution of a government decision which have no direct relation to them. In the colonial period, for instance, a good example of the latter situation was the resettlement necessitated by the Tsetse-Fly Eradication Project in Anchau, northern Nigeria. Here, in 1948 some 600 square miles of land had to be cleared and the 5,000 people displaced to be housed. In this particular case, no major attempt was made at using the opportunity for resettlement to try out new system of agricultural improvement. By contrast, the resettlement scheme for people displaced for security reasons in Kenya during the Mau Mau emergency had a secondary purpose of inculcating modern principles of land usage. <sup>1/</sup> The plan was financed from part of a loan of £5 million from the United Kingdom.

Perhaps the most important reason behind most resettlement projects in Africa today is the building of dams which create huge man-made lakes covering areas formerly occupied by population.

These dams include the Kariba Dam in Rhodesia, the Aswan High Dam in Egypt, the Volta Dam in Ghana and the Kainji Dam in Nigeria. Major dams are being proposed on other African rivers and there is little doubt that nearly all of these would involve governmental responsibility to resettle the population displaced.

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<sup>1/</sup> See Lord Hailey, op. cit., pp. 907-8; see also R.J.M. Swynnerton, A Plan to intensify the development of African Agriculture in Kenya, Nairobi, 1954, 75p.

Fortunately for the moment, many of the dams have been constructed in areas of relatively less dense population and the number of people needing to be replaced has not been overwhelming. Yet, even with the limited number, the amount of planning and organizational effort that has to be invested in the resettlement programme can be considerable. A good example of a resettlement scheme under these conditions is provided by the Volta Resettlement Scheme, in Ghana. 1/ This was necessitated by the creation of a lake 3,250 square miles in extent which flooded out roughly 3 per cent of the area and 1 per cent of the population of the country. The 80,000 people involved were scattered in over 700 villages in dry savannah country where they engaged in a mainly subsistence economy.

The principles guiding the scheme include using it as an opportunity to plan and locate the new settlements in a rational manner and to improve the system of agriculture so as to enable the people to effect the transition from subsistence to cash economy. Rationality in settlement planning and location was interpreted as a high degree of concentration based on a four-tier hierarchical settlement pattern. The four tiers comprise central towns with population of 8 to 10,000; service centre village with population of 5 to 8,000; satellite village with population less than 5,000; and farm-houses or homestead clustered in small traditional village. 2/ In all, the 700 pre-inundation settlements were to be consolidated into 52 resettlement township. The underlying principle behind this re-grouping was to facilitate the provision of a wide range of social services to the displaced population.

The provision of housing was based on the idea of an initial core (or single room) house just adequate to take a family's material possession. It was hoped that as a family's income increases under the new system of agriculture, it would proceed to add new structures to the core house on the basis of pre-determined house design. In this way, the people would have played some part in their own resettlement. In spite of this, the task of providing 15,000 core houses was quite considerable and was estimated to cost the Authority nearly EC2.5 million.

Improvement of the system of agriculture was interpreted in terms of mechanized agriculture on a co-operative basis. It was planned to categorize all adult males as either arable, tree-crop or livestock farmers and organized them into sub-co-operative groups within a central co-operative body for each settlement. Within the arable sub-co-operative, each farmer was assumed to have claims to and work a minimum of 12 acres (later to be raised to 30) on a recommended crop rotation system. The tree crop farmers, who comprised 44 per cent of the population were to have a minimum of 5 acres and a maximum of 15, whilst the intensive livestock farmers (making up 16 per cent of the population) were to have a minimum of 3 acres each and the extensive livestock farmers or pastoralist (6 per cent) were to have a minimum of 30 acres.

1/ For details of the resettlement activities, see Volta River Authority, Volta Resettlement Symposium Papers, Kumasi, 1965, 206p.

2/ See E.A.K. Kalitsi, "Organization and Economics of Resettlement", in V.R.A., Volta Resettlement Symposium Papers, Kumasi, 1965, p. 17.

The Kainji Resettlement Scheme in Nigeria has some of the aspects of the Volta scheme but differs from it in a number of important respects. The scheme itself was initiated consequent on the flooding out of about 40,000 people in the Borgu and Yauri emirates of Ilorin and Niger provinces respectively. The two principles of rational replanning and regrouping of settlements as well as of improving the agricultural system were accepted as basic to the scheme in its initial phase. Like the Volta scheme, replanning of settlement came to mean consolidating them and reducing their total number. However, unlike in the Volta, government assumed full responsibility for not only replacing the houses but attempting in the process a certain amount of modernization in their design and material. This policy was a reaction to the failure of an earlier programme of cash compensation when the displaced people were expected to build their houses. Since many of them found the idea too fantastic to believe that a river, whose mood and caprices were well known to them would flood them out of their homes, it was only natural that they failed to share the anxieties of government and spent their compensation on other needs.

Furthermore, unlike in the Volta, the agricultural improvement here was kept within modest limits. This was partly because of greater heterogeneity in economic activities in the area and partly because the configuration of the Niger River as well as the agricultural practices in the area meant that new families were in fact losing all their farmlands as a result of the inundation. The population of the Kainji area comprised traders, fishermen, irrigation farmers, upland rain farmers and pastoralists. For some of these, the extension services of the government had been engaged in teaching new and better methods. These services were simply intensified during the resettlement period. However, for others such as the fishermen, the changed ecological conditions resulting from the replacement of riverine by lacustrine environment have rendered their traditional fishing technology inappropriate. Part of the continued research activities in the Kainji Lake Area is concerned with finding new and appropriate technologies for fishing in and irrigation around the lake.

Neither on the Volta nor the Kainji can the resettlement programme be said to have been wholly successful. The essentially social service concern of the programme of resettlement was at variance with the economic needs of the settlers. The latter requires that people locate in small numbers close to the scattered areas of good soil or at vital trade route junctions. In consequence, in both areas spontaneous and often unplanned settlement development took place and some of the extensively constructed houses were deserted. The mechanization programme also ran into difficulties because of being conceived in isolation from issues of prompt machine supply and repairs. There were other problems arising, in the case of the Volta scheme, from attempts at co-operative organization of villagers whose previous histories had been one of inter-village rivalry and feuds.

It is not easy to say that the resettlement schemes have failed completely. For one thing, a good many of the settlers have no where else to go to and must perforce continue to strive to make a living in their new area as best they can. But it is undeniable that much of the early expectations in respect of the schemes remain unfulfilled.

## IV

## GROWTH OF URBANIZATION

Besides the spontaneous rural colonization going on in Africa, perhaps the most potent factor of spatial re-distribution of population is urbanization. Although urbanization is an age-old phenomenon in certain parts of Africa, notably in the north and the west, it is only in the last two decades that the intensity and magnitude of population shift from rural to urban areas have been most remarkable. The basis of this spectacular change is the increasing industrial development in many African countries as they became politically independent from their previous colonial masters. This is not to say that there were no industrial centres anywhere in Africa during the colonial period. Only, such places, were few and far between specifically because industrialization and colonial exploitation were two contradictory processes. A few places such as Algiers, Dakar and Nairobi which had some notable degree of industrial concentration in the colonial period produced mainly consumer goods and served the needs of the relatively large European settler communities.

This, however, is not to suggest that the colonial period was unimportant in terms of the urbanization process in Africa. Indeed, it can be said that in virtually all cases it laid the foundation for the more recent phenomenal growth. The basis of urban development during the colonial period comprised both transport development and administrative organization. The highly export-oriented economy required a modern transport system for evacuating large quantities of bulky agricultural commodities and mineral ores from interior areas and distributing equally bulky cheap imported manufactured goods in return. Such a system called for the establishment of nodal centres to serve as ports, route junctions and route termini. In the colonial period, therefore a number of small, coastal towns and fishing villages became the scene of major investments in harbour improvement, construction of port facilities, rail terminal and marshalling yards. These places also became the headquarters of most of the export-import European firms who controlled the economy of the whole area. This combination of transport facilities and commercial functions, compelled other infrastructural development such as water supply and electricity and attracted a wide variety of social services such as schools, hospitals, recreational facilities and churches.

Inland from the coast and at appropriate distances apart, watering and refuelling places for the railway engines became major route junctions. Where some settlements or towns existed such as in various parts of West Africa, these were incorporated into the new transport network. Where no such centres existed as was true of a large part of Africa, new towns were laid out and grew up with time. Many of these places also became secondary headquarters for the commercial firms and attracted some degree of investment in infrastructure and social services. For much of the colonial period, the railway was the most important investment in African countries and, for this reason, competing road transport development was vigorously resisted by the

authorities. As a result, very few purely road junction urban centres developed unless they were administrative centres. The position of river ports was somewhat in between. Where these were in important trade areas such as in the Congo, they received the necessary investment for port development. But by and large except again where they served administrative functions, river ports did not emerge as rapidly growing urban centres in the colonial period.

The other basis of urban development was administrative. In virtually every African country, the colonial power imposed an hierarchical administrative structure. The highest level of this hierarchy was often the port city which also served as the capital. The choice resulted from both the ease of contact of the port cities with the metropolitan capital of the colonial power and the heavy investment already concentrated in such centres. The exceptions were landlocked countries such as Malawi and Zambia or countries like Kenya where transport development was subordinated to the programme of European settlement. Below the capital city which legislates for the whole country, there were provincial headquarters administering large sections of the country. Provinces were in turn sub-divided into districts each with a district headquarter. There were many variants on this pattern. In some countries such as Nigeria, the provinces were grouped into regions. In others, there was another tier between the province and the district and another below the district. Whatever the system, the administrative centre of each level gradually came to attract certain urban functions especially in the social field of education and health and some infrastructural investment especially water supply and electricity. Sometimes, but not always, a few of the commercial firms may establish branches in such places and there may be relatively easy access by road to and from them.

Because of the widespread nature of central place development, the colonial period deserves special importance in any consideration of spatial re-distribution of population in Africa. It is true that the total number of people involved are much less than in the post-colonial period. But the structural basis of re-distribution had been laid and this largely determined the directional characteristics of later flows of population from rural to urban areas.

By 1950 when the end of the colonial period could be said to have begun the pattern of urban centres in Africa had been laid. Of 402 centres with population of 20,000 people and above, some 50 odd were brand new creations of Europeans. These include many of the capital cities such as Omdurman (Sudan), Bamako (Mali), Abidjan (Ivory Coast), Dakar (Senegal), Fort Lamy (Chad), Brazzaville (Congo Brazzaville), Yaounde (Cameroon), Kinshasa (Congo Kinshasa), Nairobi (Kenya), Kampala (Uganda), and Lusaka (Zambia). Few of these centres were really very large at this date and the total urban population (that is, centres with 20,000 people and above) was only 21.5 million or about 10 per cent of the total population. The relatively large centres with 100,000 people and above accounted for 11 million or 5 per cent of the total population.

However, during the period 1950-60, whilst the total population increased at a rate of 2.1 per cent per annum, the rate of growth of the urban centres rose to 5.4 per cent whilst that of the large centres with population of 100,000 and above was 8.6 per cent. <sup>1/</sup> These rates represent the fastest in the world although it is important to appreciate that given the smaller base, the absolute number of people involved may not be as great as in some continents with lower rates.

In terms of population distribution, these figures meant that in 1960 of 273 million people in Africa, 36.4 million or 13 per cent were to be found in urban centres of 20,000 and above and 25 million or 9 per cent in centres of 100,000 and above.

Nonetheless, given the fact that growth of urban population is invariably a compounding of natural increase and net migration gains, these facts do attest to a tremendous amount of spatial redistribution of population within Africa. Within the urban system itself, two aspects of this re-distribution need particular emphasis. The first is the increasing concentration in the larger centres over 100,000. Whereas in 1950, of total urban population of 21.5 million, only 51 per cent were to be found in the larger centres, by 1960 in spite of an increase in total urban population to 36.4 million, the proportion living in the large centres rose rapidly to 68 per cent. This phenomenon, indicating the relative absence or unimportance of medium-size centres, constitutes one of the major problems of current urbanization in Africa.

A second and very related aspect of the problem is the fact that in most countries even among the large centres, one single metropolis gains such dominance and numerical superiority as to dwarf all the others. This phenomenon of primacy has followed on pattern set during the colonial period whereby the port city very often became the capital city and headquarters of most commercial firms and voluntary organization. In the succeeding era of rapid industrialization based almost everywhere on the principle of import substitution, the port centres offered advantages unrivalled anywhere else in the country. They had the best developed infrastructure; they represented the most accessible points both in terms of importing the machines, the semi-processed raw materials and the skilled foreign personnel; they offered easy contacts with central government personnel and decision makers; and they had access to the already well-developed distributive organizations of the older commercial firms. Added to this is the fact that the small size of most African countries virtually ruled out the possibility of developing more than one major industrial centre at least for the foreseeable future.

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<sup>1/</sup> See Gerald Breese (ed.), The City in Newly Developing Countries, Englewood Cliffs, 1969, p.140.

Given these situations, the most striking feature of urbanization in Africa today is the rise of these primate cities which attract a most disproportionate part of the urban migratory movement. Table 1 clearly indicates the nature of this phenomenon. Most of the primate cities are capitals of their countries. Two of the three exceptions (Casablanca and Cotonou) are the main ports and the third, Johannesburg, is the most important industrial concentration on the continent. Of the 45 cities concerned, only five had less than two per cent of the total population of their country. Nineteen had between 2-5 per cent, eleven had 5-10 per cent, eight had 10-15 per cent; and two had over 20 per cent. In terms of total urban population alone, figures are available for only 38 countries. These show that only in six countries do the primate cities account for less than 25 per cent of total urban population. In eighteen countries, they account for 25-50 per cent whilst in fourteen others they represent more than 50 per cent of total urban population.

This high degree of concentration is the most important problem of urbanization in Africa today. It underlines not only the enclave nature of development and prosperity on the continent but also the pauperisation of large areas of the countryside of many African States. The expectations of employment which these primate cities excite all over the country leads to a massive and continuing in-migration into them of people with hardly the requisite skills for urban employment. Such people failing to get regular jobs turn to a wide variety of marginal occupations distinguished by the apparently long hours spent at them and the very small income derived from them. This marginalization of a growing proportion of the urban population along with unemployment, traffic congestion and poor housing demand the serious attention of policy and decision makers in most African countries today.

Table 1

Primate cities in African countries

Country		Year	Population ( '000)	Per cent of national population	Per cent <sup>a/</sup> of urban population
<u>North Africa</u>					
Morocco	Casablanca*	1960	965	8.3	29.3
Algeria	Algiers	1960	884	8.2	26.3
Tunisia	Tunis	1966	463	10.4	28.0
Libya	Tripoli	1964	214	13.7	55.7
U.A.R. (Egypt)	Cairo	1967	4,500	14.6	35.5
Sudan	Khartoum	1956	114	1.1	17.5 <sup>b/</sup>
<u>West Africa</u>					
Mauritania	Nouackhott	1966	22	2.1	35.5
Senegal	Dakar	1960	374	12.0	50.1
Mali	Bamako	1965	165	3.6	38.4
Upper Volta	Ouagadougou	1966	110	2.2	34.2



Table 1 (Cont'd)

Country		Year	Population ( '000)	Per cent of national population	Per cent <u>a/</u> of urban population
<u>West Africa (Cont'd)</u>					
Niger	Niamey	1968	71	1.9	36.0
Gambia	Bathurst	1966	43	12.8	100.0
Guinea	Conakry	1967	197	2.4	
Sierra Leone	Freetown	1963	163	7.1	55.8
Liberia	Monrovia	1962	81	8.0	64.8 <u>b/</u>
Ivory Coast	Abidjan	1967	400	10.8	45.4
Ghana	Accra	1960	338	5.0	21.1
Togo	Lome	1966	129	7.7	39.4
Dahomey	Cotonou*	1965	120	5.1	32.1
Nigeria	Lagos	1963	665	1.2	19.4
<u>Middle Africa</u>					
Chad	Fort Lamy	1962	100	3.2	38.0
C.A.R.	Bangui	1967	150	10.3	38.1
Congo (B)	Brazzaville	1963	200	22.9	59.5 <u>b/</u>
Gabon	Libreville	1968	62	13.0	67.4 <u>b/</u>
Cameroon	Douala	1963	187	3.7	23.9
Congo (K)	Kinshasa	1966	508	3.2	
Angola	Luanda	1960	225	4.7	47.8
<u>Eastern Africa</u>					
Ethiopia	Addis Ababa	1966	600	2.6	
Somalia	Mogadiscio	1966	170	6.6	
Kenya	Nairobi	1962	315	3.7	47.7
Uganda	Kampala	1959	123	1.9	56.9
Tanganyika	Dar es Salaam	1967	273	2.3	42.2
Zanzibar	Zanzibar City	1967	95	26.9	81.9
Rwanda	Kigali	1967	25	0.8	73.5
Burundi	Bujumbura	1967	100	3.0	
Malawi	Blantyre-Limbe	1966	108	2.6	69.7
Rhodesia	Salisbury	1961	310	8.1	42.4
Zambia	Lusaka	1966	152	4.0	19.6
Mozambique	Leurenco Marques	1964	300	4.4	
Madagascar	Tananarive	1964	322	5.5	42.0
<u>Southern Africa</u>					
South Africa	Johannesburg	1960	1,153	7.1	17.5
South West Africa	Windhoek	1960	35	6.9	51.4
Botswana	Gaborone	1968	19	3.1	
Lesotho	Maseru	1966	18	2.1	100.0
Swaziland	Mbabane	1966	14	3.7	58.0

Source: National Censuses, surveys and estimates. See also W.A. Hance, Population, Migration and Urbanization in Africa, New York, 1970, pp. 231-2.

\* Non-capital city.

a/ Urban = places with 5,000 people and over.

b/ Urban = places with 10,000 people and over.

## V

POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF PRESENT SPATIAL PATTERN OF  
POPULATION DISTRIBUTION

The review of the processes of colonization, resettlement and urbanization in Africa should have made one point clear. This is that these processes have been pulling population in two different directions. Colonization and resettlement have not only been drawing them back into the interior of the continent but have also been dispersing them within it. Urbanization, on the other hand, has been pulling them towards the coast and concentrating them in a few primate cities. This trend which goes back to the colonial regime did lead the French in their West African territories to distinguish between an "external" and an "internal" sector. <sup>1/</sup> The external sector was that part of the region less than 100 miles from the coast where is found most of the important cities, the main export crop producing areas, the greatest route density, the greatest density of purchasing power, most of the development in the region and hence is the destination of most migratory movements of people. The internal sector on the other hand, had older but now less important cities, mainly subsistence production economy, low routeway density, low density of purchasing power, relatively lower development and hence is the source of most of the migrant movement.

This pattern can be extrapolated for most other regions of Africa. Yet, it is important to stress that it is basically a dependency pattern. It is the product of the subordination of the growth and development of Africa to the interests, priorities and production requirements of foreign business groups. In the colonial period, this dependency status was obvious and need no exposition. In the period of national independence, it has survived largely because of the dependent economic policies of most African countries, the basic element of which has been industrialization via import substitution. Such policies give the port cities undue importance in national development. They discourage fundamental appraisal of internal resource potential and their distribution and militates against their fuller utilization. They also lead to a situation in which the fruits of development are not available to all regions of a country and all sectors of the population.

The present spatial distribution of population, besides, is a reversal of historical patterns, patterns which no doubt represented the product of the genius of the African for political and economic organization. In a period when the Africans are seeking their own paths to self-realization, a policy that forces them to look more into their own continent, into their own internal resources of men and material, can hardly be more opportune. Such a policy will give greater emphasis to resource surveys and mapping, to a more lively governmental interest in acts of internal colonization

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<sup>1/</sup> Richard-Molard, L'Afrique Occidentale Francaise, Paris, 1949.

and to more realistic programmes of resettlement and urbanization. Such a policy, beckoning to the young men to "Go Inland" and make their fortunes will not be unlike the transforming colonization movements of the Americas or the U.S.S.R.

Like with these areas of the world, Africa is still largely an under-populated continent. It has hardly any serious problems of over-population which are not due to problems of mal-distribution and the persistence of archaic systems of land ownership based on ethnic and communal control. One principal component of any realistic population policy in African countries must, therefore, be to encourage governments in these countries to indicate a more positive attitude to question of land ownership. This they must do if they are to induce a more mature adjustment of population to resources and to use the opening up of unused areas as opportunity to foster new outlook among their peoples and a greater feeling of national cohesion.

The importance of the opening up of resource frontiers on the development of national character is one which has been chronicled extensively in the case, for instance, of the United States. <sup>1/</sup> There are very few African countries where such frontier areas do not exist today, waiting to be colonized in a realistic and effective way. It has been shown that many individuals pressed by their private circumstances have undertaken their own spontaneous colonization of empty areas. On the other hand, it has also been indicated that on virtually every occasion when such colonization of resettlement had been induced by government, it has failed. In advocating a more intensive policy of colonization in Africa, it is therefore worthwhile giving some attention to an appraisal of the nature of a programme of population re-distribution that has much greater chances of success than hitherto.

## VI

### PROGRAMMES FOR SPATIAL REDISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION

A programme of spatial re-distribution on population in Africa must aim at achieving simultaneously not only a more rational spread of the rural population but also a reduction in the pressure on the primate city. Such a programme to succeed must be seen for what it is, viz., a transformation of the distribution of social and economic forces in a country. For this reasoning, its planning and implementation become more than the activity for a single government Ministry such as the Ministry of Agriculture or the Community Development. It is an act of national re-structuring which requires the commitment of the political and administrative leadership in a country and their enlightened and close participation in the various stages of the programme to bring it about.

<sup>1/</sup> See, for instance, Frederick J. Turner, The Frontier in American History, New York, 1920.

Once this commitment at the very highest level of society is secured, a second criterion for a successful programme is an appreciation that the critical element in schemes of colonization, resettlement and urbanization is the perception of the individuals involved. The importance of this perceptual dimension in settlement programmes is one which has been ignored in most countries but always at great costs. 1/ This requires that individuals involved in such acts of re-distribution are perceptually totally committed to the scheme. One way of doing this is to make the settler appreciate that he can only go forward with the scheme and that escape is not easy. If he were a farmer for instance, a condition of participation involves a renunciation of his claims to land in his former village.

To facilitate such perceptual commitment on the part of the individual, it is necessary to insist that all settlement programmes must involve whole communities together. It has been demonstrated convincingly that a major factor in individual resistance to change is the failure to transform simultaneously the communal frame of reference which guides and inspires the norms that he observes and the approval that he seeks. This is not the place to go into the details of this particular view-point of social change. Suffice it to say that most of the successful acts of induced colonization have a high degree of perception-modifying strategies built into them almost through sheer inadvertence.

A programme of spatial re-distribution must also appreciate the complementarity of settlement types. Neither a scheme for establishing a number of purely agricultural settlements nor of isolated urban centres has much chance of success in a permanent way. A few mining centres which became ghost towns with the exhaustion of the ore reserve on which they were entirely based underline the interdependence of urban and rural settlements. Towns, it has been said, grow up in particular places to perform essentially services for their rural areas. 2/ Such services include not only those of a social (schools, hospitals, post office, courts, administration, etc.) and cultural (churches, voluntary associations, recreation, etc.) nature but also of an economic and commercial nature. Few African countries have considered that ensuring that most of their population have easy access to shops, banking and insurance facilities is as important an aspect of development planning and modernization as providing them with water supply and schools. One of the research areas to which little attention has so far been paid is that of ascertaining the extent to which productivity up to a certain level is a function of induced wants and needs. And it is commercial facilities which often help to induce such wants and indicate to the peasants economic ways and means of achieving them.

1/ See, for instance, A.L. Mabogunje, "Perceptual Dimensions in Regional Economic Development", International Social Development Review, no. 4, 1971.

2/ See Arthur E. Smailes, The Geography of Towns, London, 1953, p. 44.

In this connection, it is worthwhile alluding to the fact that most of the successful colonization movements in history operated on this principle of an integrated settlement scheme. Even the ancient colonization activity of Alexander the Great in Persia had both a rural and an urban component to it. The well documented medieval colonization by Germans of the areas east of the Elbe-Saale line also emphasized the importance of conceiving colonization in these terms. To quote from the Cambridge Economic History.

"The further colonization moved from its base in Old Germany and from the first new advanced trading towns, the more peasants demanded some market to which they could sell their produce and in which they could buy essential manufactures and articles on commerce ..... On the other hand the towns, whose foundation these same lords encouraged, wanted a German countryside to live by -- so far as they did not live by long -- distance trade ..... About the year 1200, as colonization reared Upper Lusata, a method was devised for uniting rural and urban settlement very closely ..... Each form of settlement helped the other ..... Contemporaries recognized and deliberately planned the association of villages with an urban higher court and an urban market ..... In the land of the Teutonic Knights, experience in older colonized regions led to the adoption of a uniform system in which this association of town and country was the rule. The system was the main force in the opening-up of Prussia." <sup>1/</sup>

Within a regional context, programmes of colonization must not only subsume that of urbanization but the urban system itself must be organized such that it can generate growth and development for the regional population and the country as a whole. Such a policy often involves planned dispersion of industries from the primate city and their localization in specific regional centres which now serve as "growth poles" for the economy of the regions. Programmes for the development of growth poles must be concerned with not simply locating any and all types of industries but essentially only with those whose location is calculated to stimulate fundamental structural transformation and growth in the economy of the particular region. Where such a programme is successful, not only will per capita income and the general welfare function within the region rise but the impact of regional development will also be positively felt in terms of higher Gross National Product.

<sup>1/</sup> J. H. Chapham and E. Power (eds.), Cambridge Economic History of Europe, vol. 1, Cambridge, 1941, pp. 384-5.

## VII

## CONCLUSION

The above discussion emphasizes that programmes of spatial redistribution of population whether of the colonization or the urbanization types must be conceived of as essentially part of the development process of a country. As such, they should be treated as a fundamental element of the planning exercise. Unfortunately, the sectoral bias of much of the planning activities in most African countries provides little opportunity for this more down-to-earth approach to planning. However, it is gratifying to note that in a number of countries a spatial dimension is gradually being introduced to development planning. In Kenya and Tanzania, the new development plan documents have both a sectoral and a regional section. Although both sections have not been closely integrated, one can only hope that these first steps taken in the right direction would lead in future to greater things. One interesting outcome of the change is the fact that in Tanzania, for instance, the Government now indicates its desire to develop ten urban centres as regional growth poles. <sup>1/</sup>

If planners in many more African countries were to shift their gaze a little from the National Accounts to the spatial reality behind those accounts, one can anticipate in the near future a greater concern for internal resource development, opening-up of new lands, more rational use of existing occupied area, more deliberate statement of the size of holdings regarded as appropriate to an anticipated level of income for rural people, and more decisive programmes for making African cities better places to work and live in. Every one of these possibilities involve a spatial redistribution of population. They may, in fact, have demographic consequences over and above those of distribution. For it is not always easy to predict what effects changes in levels of expectations can have on people's fertility function, their style of living and the size of family they desire.

Population policies in Africa must therefore not be over pre-occupied with issues such as population control which appears negative and into which much unwholesome political meanings are being used. They should also emphasize positive policies of planned redistribution of population and underline the developmental and integrative significance of such programmes. As already indicated, the acceptance of such policies may have the same effect of stimulating concern with family planning at the level of the individual. At the level of government, it may also result in a more lively awareness of the relation of population and economic growth and of the need to appreciate at all time the mutual inter-dependence of these two critical variables in their efforts at national development.

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<sup>1/</sup> See United Republic of Tanzania, Second Five-Year Plan for Economic and Social Development, 1969-74, Dar-es-Salaam, 1969.