The Implications of Migrant Labour for Urban Social Systems in Africa
Monsieur Eric W. Wood

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In reviewing the literature on urbanization in Africa, I shall endeavour to focus attention on the effects of different patterns of labour migration in South, East, Central and West Africa. Hitherto, this phenomenon has been studied largely from the standpoint of the rural worker as a necessary, albeit temporary urban resident. His roots have been based in the tribal village and, it is argued, have asserted a dominant influence in directing attitudes away from the town to the tribal economy and social structure.

Previously, attempts have been made to show that the cash payments which the migrant contributes to the tribal economy, together with other material goods, afford clear evidence to demonstrate the perpetuation of tribal attitudes. The persistence of rural marriages, despite serious incursions due to the absence of male partners on contract wages and employment in the urban areas, is an additional index of rurality. The continuing, though depleted services made by migrants in their uxorilocally sited villages (in Central African matrilineal areas) and in adjacent Reserves (in Rhodesia and South Africa) is a third.

However, I have tried to illustrate the other side of this rural-urban continuum by relating the material to the peculiarly urban forces at play to show a gradual shift towards 'town rootedness' concomitant with increasing industrialization (in Central and Southern Africa) and trading (in East and West Africa). The dominant forces contributing towards this attitude have been the increasing dependence on a cash wage, the growth of high density residential housing areas, the emergence of voluntary associations and the development of urban-based social networks and norms of behaviour.

Finally, I conclude by reviewing the efforts at devising indices of urbanization, within the African context, relating these to certain
geographic and tribal areas. Here statistical techniques have shown considerable advance on previous generalisations and speculations, pointing towards the emergence of clearly defined prestige patterns. This ultimately leads us on to the study of class stratification in African towns—as yet in embryo stage, but I will try to show that, for future analysis this model will assume increasing relevance as the present rapid political and economic changes accelerate.

Anthropologists, as Gutkind has pointed out, have, in the past, emphasized a rural-urban dichotomy [21]. Gluckman has extended this notion into one of alternating roles where the migrant acts out different sets of values and attitudes according to residence in either town or village.

"The urbanized African is outside the tribe, but not beyond the influence of the tribe. Correspondingly when a man returns from the towns into the political area of his tribe, he is tribalized again—de-urbanized—though not beyond the influence of the town." [20]

An earlier attempt to explain the processes of urbanization utilised terms pre-supposing value-judgements. Thus Hellman [23] evaluated changes in urban patterns of living as a departure from tribal norms and stressed social disorganisation and breakdown. Other studies—Wilson and Van Velsen [53]—have seen the phenomena in terms of detrabilization, with Van Velsen in particular setting out the thesis that urban Africans act as a positive ‘reference group’ to the tribe as a whole, in referring to the preponderance of Lakeside Tonda in the ‘white-collar’ occupations of pre-independence Nyasaland.

The dangers of inherent contradictions in the use of these terms can be seen in Longmore’s [33] investigations in Johannesburg townships where she heavily emphasised family disorganisation, whilst observing that urban Africans have evolved “diverse means to re-integrate themselves on lines other than those of kinship.” Here we receive the first hints of the emergence of a class-stratified society. She was concerned particularly with the growing numbers of tsotsi or unemployed groups of town-dwellers who have severed links with rural-based migrant workers, entirely resident in town and dependent on it for their systems of values. Her conclusions reveal “a network of social and personal relations and mutual obligations of an otherwise anchorless adolescent being largely a-moral and with little social regulation by the community” [33, p. 175]. Subjectiveness is implicit in her analysis, but the groups appear almost corporate in social action and value orientation—criteria of social organisation directly opposed to and inconsistent with the predominant middle-class values of a White-dominated, economically affluent society. Denied access to the middle and upper strata and rejecting the lower-skilled levels
to which the rural-based migrant worker is restricted, the *tsotsi* form an alienated segment of South African urban society.¹

Some of the causes and initial stimuli to the phenomenon of migrant labour are to be found in a careful historical analysis of the imposition of colonial control throughout the continent of Africa. In Central and Southern Africa vigorous prosecution of missionary and administrative endeavour resulted in the displacement of tribesmen from their villages in response to the demands for labour to work the mines, plantations and, ultimately, secondary industries. Apart from the disruption to the social structure of the villages with disastrous effects on the rural economy in terms of change and family composition, impoverishment of the soil due to the young men being absent for long periods in the urban areas, and general population distribution, the movement of males in response to urban demands resulted in a variation in patterns of residence and socio-ecological growth.

The social consequence of this movement of peoples between rural and urban area has been the subject of considerable enquiry. In East London, South Africa, Reader has established the following factors as paramount in the development of the locations (*i.e.* residential housing areas where urban Africans are accommodated) in that town: *a*) residential and social segregation; *b*) a high turnover and constant flow of labour, despite low wages; *c*) sanitation and hygiene problems in residential housing, siting and administration; and *d*) the development of a highly specialised and rigid system of influx control, specifically designed, by successive South African governments to discourage the settlement of a large stabilised African urban population with ‘normal’ family patterns [48]. As Longmore had pointed out in her study of the Johannesburg townships, Reader notes an absence of adequate housing and a complete lack of employment opportunities in the urban area due to constrictions in the labour market brought about by influx control.

“The implicit principle that the Bantu urban population was temporarily in town only to supply the needs of the Whites, not in any way forming an integral part of the community, was central to the view of the East London authorities” [48, p. 12].

The principles of urban administration were, to an increasing extent, in conflict with the demographic pattern which Reader has outlined in three phases. Firstly, and in the early days of economic expansion in South Africa, there was the period characterised by regulatory control on movement between the Reserves and town,

¹. See [9] for a full exposition of this theory as applied to immigrant, minority groups in a large American city.
and the commencement of incorporation into the cash economy. Then came a breakdown of the system with the advent of the industrial phase. This was the era preceding the first World War when there were no legal obligations on the part of new businesses and industrial firms to house labour. Municipal accommodation proved to be inadequate and the result was overcrowding. The boost to the economy derived from the second World War and the rapid growth in both primary and secondary spheres of the economy, saw the start of the third and current phase and the introduction of increasingly repressive legislation to control the freedom of movement of African labour in and between towns and the peripheral residential areas. Occupationally, this was characterised by increasing control to direct labour through a system of documentation and labour bureaus to the spheres of primary demand—the mines and White farms and plantations. There had always been a system of curfew but this was even further prescribed by the gradual introduction of legislation severely restricting the African worker’s freedom of movement from job to job. Such legislation further undermined his residential tenure and security which explicitly forbade the creation of administratively stable family units and exacerbated the strain thrown upon rural-urban kinship ties, implicit in a situation of high labour mobility and turnover. The result, as Mayer has observed, has been the emergence of a variety of male-female relationships embodying varying degrees of stability and durability.1

Towards a Typology of Urban Social Groupings.

After dealing with different patterns of conjugal roles, Mayer makes an important contribution to the study of urbanization in Africa by classifying the urban African population of East London into three broad categories:

1) ‘Red’ migrants who remain ‘incapsulated’ in town, preserving rural-based institutions—the amakhaya (basic unit of social interaction comprising people from the same district or homestead), the iseti (a beer-drinking group of six to eight people emphasizing the discussion of home matters and where traditional reciprocities are observed), and abafana (a series of age groups, corresponding broadly to the rural precedent—iintanga). It seems to the writer, however, that

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1. See [36], chap. 16, pp. 252-260, for a full discussion ranging from ukush-weshwe (living together, setting up house and rearing children but no legality established) to tikacana, a looser union and tantamount to the concubine of the Ganda-dominated Kisenyi township of Kampala, Uganda.
Mayer ascribes undue importance to these institutions in perpetuating rural values, particularly where, as Reader has pointed out, they operate to form a link with the group in the work situation. Mayer would assert that the persistence of the system of migrant labour, supported as it is by rigorous influx control and a system of private enterprise benefitting from the compressed wage structure of migrants and the absence of effective trade unions,\(^1\) contributes towards the maintenance of a Red/School dichotomy in the urban social structure. The converse can, as Mitchell has rightly observed, apply—namely that the Red/School dichotomy contributes towards labour migration because it emphasises rural values. To support his hypothesis Mayer makes a further distinction between ‘immigration’ and ‘long-standing migrancy’ and quotes the following data to support his conclusions that “it appears probable on all grounds that East London’s country-born 86% comprises more migrants than immigrants” [11, pp. 68-69]:

- a) a 1955 sample of families revealed that 80% sent remittances to the rural area;
- b) on the same sample, 45% of labour had wives living out of town, whilst only 24% lived with wives in town; and
- c) 52% of Reader’s sample went to the rural village for weekly, fortnightly or monthly visits. But, as Mayer himself shows further on [36, p. 70], the strict limitations and application of influx control regulations are designed to step up the flow of migrants from the rural area nearest to East London, to the exclusion of those farthest away. This obviously perpetuates the week- and month-end home-visiting and results in continued lack of responsibility on the part of urban employers and local authorities to give migrants permanent family-based housing and urban security of tenure. Mayer’s figures do not show how many employees, despite the almost insuperable conditions for compliance (10 years active employment with the same employer or 15 years continuous residence in the same location) have, in the past, qualified for married housing. Furthermore, Mayer presents no statistical evidence to support his immigrant/migrant or his later Red/School division by residence in the urban area (see below), merely conjecturing [36, p. 69] that between one-third and half of the whole male adult working population is Red. Reader presents much more reliable statistical evidence for town-rootedness by taking a rural-urban distribution sample for East London District (of which East London town is a part) and showing that 52% of residents were urban compared with 25% for the Republic as a whole. He tabulates further evidence to show a marked pattern of family stabilisation and increasing parity.

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\(^1\) For a detailed account of the decline in effective industrial conciliation through successive legislative enactments, see [11]. More particularly it should be noted that trade unions for Africans receive no official recognition.
of the sexes over the period 1901 to 1955 (i.e. the fifty years prior to the introduction of stricter influx control regulations) [11, pp. 44-51]:

**MALES FOR 100 FEMALES IN EAST LONDON**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribes</th>
<th>1901</th>
<th>1913</th>
<th>1932</th>
<th>1955</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa</td>
<td>217</td>
<td>172</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>104</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fingo</td>
<td>177</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>130</td>
<td>87</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These figures are further supported by Reader's population pyramids.

2) 'School' migrants are a less homogeneous element in East London's population than Red migrants, having a much greater moral freedom of action between rural homestead and town residence. They share many of the values of Red migrants (e.g. abhorrence of absconding, preservation of obligatory ties with rural dependants), but differ in their desire to bring wives with them to town and obtain educational, economic and other cultural benefits for their children in the urban environment, denied them in a rural society dominated by tribal values. Although Mayer noted a correlation emerging between lesser dependence on home-people and the greater perceptive-ness of class (udidi) difference, expressed through a wide range of associational activities, he sees the willingness of School migrants to remain for longer periods in town being tempered by a reluctance to relinquish rights of tenure, cultivation and retirement in the rural village. Mitchell has demonstrated this clearly in his concept of the 'plural society' [39].

This, then, is the constant dilemma of School migrants and is perpetuated by the remittance of cash subsidies to rural kin in an effort to maintain the Reserve economy at the merest subsistence level. 85% of annual incomes in Keiskammahock Reserve are obtained from cash earnings derived in the urban centres of South Africa, including East London [54, Conclusion]. The average gross income in Chiweshe Reserve, some 47 miles north-west of Salisbury, Rhodesia (where a similar migrancy pattern obtains), was estimated

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1. See [55] for a clearer concept of class.
2. Here Mitchell postulated the co-existence of two different modes of life in which the worker in town is able to play two disparate roles—townsman and tribesman—depending on which relevant set of values was operating in a given situation. Above all "in the wider society, it is 'colour' which determines relationships with Europeans" [39, p. 25]—the third element in the 'plural society'. It must be added that this triangular juxtaposition of forces in a multi-racial society is profoundly disturbed by the elimination of one as a politically dominant force. This is apparent in Zambia where European domination has been overthrown and in Rhodesia where it is being increasingly challenged.
at just over £50 per family per annum with £18 of this, or 36%, coming from sources outside the Reserve [26, p. 5]. Similarly, the average cash remittance, for a village in a chieftaincy in the Luapula Province of Zambia (where the movement of labour to the primary industrial areas has not been impeded by influx control and excessive documentation) in 1960 was £64 [27, Table 7, p. 81].

3) The town-born—representing 14% of the East London population. Pauw, taking as his index of urbanization the degree of conformity to Western civilization, concluded that, "in terms of the contrast between 'Western' and 'traditional' we may say that the culture of the urban Xhosa of East London is predominantly orientated to Western cultural patterns." [44]

Wilson and Mafeje in their study of social groups in an African township in Cape Town [55] also classified the male population according to three basic criteria: a) migrant labourers, b) the semi-urbanized, with some education, who aspire to become townsmen, and c) the urbanized whose homes are in town—tsotsi and 'decent people' (osose-use-me). They similarly were unable to ascertain the proportion of the Langa population in each category but they were able to sub-divide according to residential area: those men living in barracks and zones (66%); those living in the flats (5%); and the townspeople—men, women and children—in the houses (28%). This assessment was not typical for greater Cape Town where the ratios of one-third urbanized, one-third semi-urbanized and one-third migrant was considered, in the absence of statistical verification, a reasonable estimate [55, p. 16]. In Rhodesia little attempt has been made to assess patterns of urbanization among migrant workers. The writer can report from his own observations, however, that, as in Langa, so in Harari (Salisbury), Mambo-Manomotapa (Gwelo) and Mabutweni-Mpopoma (Bulawayo), the three main areas of labour employment markedly influence the pattern of residential settlement and the type of housing structure. Thus, in Harari, 'single' male migrant workers from Moçambique, Malawi and the more remote areas of Rhodesia occupy huge three-storied barrack-like hostels, a smaller number of semi-urbanized males with various female and kinship attachments inhabit the 'twilight zone' area around the beer-hall and Jo'burg Lines whilst Shona-speaking Africans with strong social and economic links

1. Mitchell, too has shown that, in consequence to the decline of the rural economy, "the majority of Africans must look to the wage earner as the substantial [my italics] source of cash income" [40, p. 234], whilst Van Velsen [53, p. 277] has argued that the response to urban demands to meet cash requirements and consequent minimal standards at low rates of pay represented the marginal utility of their labour.
with the nearby Reserves (Seki, Chihota, Chindamora, Mangwendi, Mondoro and others) predominate in the married housing area.

Thus far we have been mainly concerned with establishing a typology of urban social groupings manifest in African residential areas in towns. The categories by no means emerge clearly and their assessment is influenced by the extent and limits of 'urbanization' revealed, as part of the general pattern of labour migration. The demands of categorization, by definition, set up lines of demarcation too rigid for scientific rigour. Already we can discern that urbanization and its related pattern of labour migration is an essentially 'fluid' process. Prothero, a distinguished geographer, has asserted that this labour cycle has been perpetuated by two 'push-pull' forces---increasing pressure on the land and demands for labour by White industrialists, mining and agricultural employers [47]. Mitchell further emphasises the circulatory character of early population movement in response to the demands of a cash economy (particularly mining and industrial sectors) based on reciprocal contract between labour-seeking employees and peasant demands for cash to meet tax and local consumer requirements [41, p. 232]. Such a theory assumes a high element of perfect competition in the labour sector of the economy and takes little account of the extent of Government interference in the market inter-play of these forces, particularly by police-regulated influx control, applied as vigorously in Rhodesia as their peer-model in South Africa. Such coercive measures to regulate the flow of labour to the towns in Central Africa result in a family pattern and age/sex ratio which is to a large extent the design of the local authority. Thus Mitchell, quoting official sources, reveals low percentages (19% and 31% respectively) of men with wives in Salisbury and Bulawayo in comparing with an earlier (1951-1954) Copperbelt (Northern Rhodesia) figure of 78% with wives. Differences in policy to labour migration and the degree of residential stability expected of its labour force are apparent. In Rhodesia, only in the more progressive African affairs administration of the Bulawayo Municipality, has a definite pattern of urban family organisation begun to emerge with diverse associational roles. In Salisbury in 1960 more than 60% of the total labour force of 91,911 originated from areas outside Rhodesia (particularly Moçambique and Nyasaland). A system of 'tied-accommodation' to conform with industry's demand for low-wage, unskilled, labour at a high turnover rate ensured their regulation as 'units of labour' in the Municipality-controlled residential areas.

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1. CASO (1959). Many of these reside in Harari. In the other large township, Highfields, the majority of the family households take in one or two 'single' lodgers to assist in the payment of rents.
This, in large part, precluded the emergence of stable family patterns.1 This contrasts sharply with Zambia where the policy of the mining companies of the Copperbelt has been one of providing married and family accommodation, but with very basic pensionable facilities to permit repatriation to nearby rural villages in times of non- or interrupted productivity. The number of Africans employed on the mines of the then Northern Rhodesia, for instance, fell from 31,941 in September 1930 to 7,523 in July 1932. This meant that the rural areas were called upon to re-absorb some 25,000 workers and their dependants [40, p. 84]. More recently, the labour force has dropped from 52,300 in 1955 to 38,000 in 1958.

In West Africa the demands for cash to meet bridewealth and household budget requirements in the rural villages is a recurrent factor inhibiting the growth of a stable urban-based community. However, increasing industrialization, especially around the coastal areas, ports, and mining areas in the interior has seen the emergence of an urban-based economy with increasing dependence on wage earning to meet cash requirements in town.

The pattern of migration in West Africa differs in several fundamental aspects from other regions in Africa. There has been a much longer historical growth of high-density towns characterised by precolonial patterns of trading, barter and exchange—Timbuctoo and Kano, for example, can trace origins back to the 14th century. Land has been available for residential building as well as for trading purposes with a limitation on exclusive alien control. The non-mining towns of the interior—Kano, Ibadan, Kumasi—and, to the extent that Western-type commercial activity has permitted free residential association and movement, the port towns of Freetown, Lagos and Accra, all show similar patterns of spatial grouping characterised by the emergence of a growing and powerful property owning, economically dominant elite. This cleavage between dominant minority and subjected majority, was more markedly patterned along ethnic lines in the towns of East Africa [50, esp. chap. 3 and 4, and 21, pp. 171-217] where traditional Ganda landowners maintained a controlling interest, than in West Africa where, for example in Lagos, a clear occupational stratification has emerged.

As elsewhere in Africa, the greater changes in the character of population mobility during the era of colonial rule was related to economic development initiated and influenced by European finances.

1. I am indebted to Dr. Kingsley Garbett for pointing out that, since 1961, there has been a change of policy in the African Affairs Department of Salisbury Municipality. Some of the 'single' barrack blocks are now being converted to flats for married couples and there is a greater emphasis on the planning of family units.
and organisation, and, in fact, continues to do so in the post-colonial era. However, there was no large-scale exploitation of minerals and soil, nor acquisition or expropriation of large areas of land for plantation, industrial and residential occupation by European settlers, as in Central and Southern Africa. Little has set down [31, pp. 8-12] the five basic causes of migration as a) rural hunger precipitating seasonal migration; b) economic diversification concomitant with the building of roads, railways and public works, the opening of mines, development of cash crops and trade—all offering opportunities for employment; c) the demands for and siting of educational (particularly secondary and technical) facilities in the larger urban centres; d) the growing acceptances of the town as a 'way of life' presenting an appeal to the wider cultural horizons of young people; and e) to escape tax and kinship obligations in the rural area. These factors undoubtedly set in motion the flow of labour to the urban centres, but they tell us little about the circulation of labour, the rate of flow, the age/sex composition, or their contribution towards the establishment of a measure of urbanization expressed in terms of stability, involvement, occupational attainment and commitment to town (see below).

Banton's study of Freetown, Sierra Leone, 1952-1953, confirmed evidence from elsewhere in Africa that emigration from areas of land degradation was heaviest where the population was densest. He distinguishes between two types of migrants (broadly parallel with Mayer's 'School' and 'Red' categories): a) those who register for employment and settle in Freetown; and b) seasonal migrants who come only for short-duration non-registered casual work [62].

At this point we can take stock of our analysis of the implications of migrant labour for urban social systems in Africa and I have endeavoured to set down more recent research findings in tracing the historical and economic origins of the phenomena of migrant labour. The process has been followed through into the urban areas by analysis of selected areas in African townships in South Central, West and East Africa. We have observed that two of the most important factors influencing the type of urban social structures emerging in towns is the degree and extent of industrialization and the variation in statutory control regulating absorption in the urban cash economy and residential siting within a family or kinship group. Furthermore, we have seen that the growth of the new towns of West and East Africa has been characterised by an almost complete

1. A compendium of earlier research findings was contained in a series of papers edited by Forde for UNESCO [52]. For another one, see [49]. Pons's study of two small groups in a Stanleyville street [46, pp. 205-216] is particularly relevant today and parallels the street corner group studies of the Chicago school (see White, Homans and Cohen).
absence of influx control and a minimum of town planning and public administration. This has contrasted with Central and Southern Africa where the emphasis has been on a rigid system of influx control, the establishment of peripherally-sited 'locations' inhibiting the growth of stable family patterns, with notable exceptions in Katanga and Zambia Copperbelt townships where at least the wives of migrant labourers have been permitted residential occupation by the administration. Successive central and local governments have encouraged the continuation of the migrant labour system thus retarding the emergence of a town-rooted, wage-earning class of manual and 'white-collar' workers.

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We can now examine in closer detail some of the social institutions involving the migrant worker in town life, influencing his social relations and asserting for him new values and attitudes.

*Kinship Networks.*

The evidence for the continuation of kinship networks in the urban setting in all towns of Africa, even the more industrialised ones of the South, is considerable. In Yoruba towns they continue to operate because of the continuing existence of rights to land for building and farming. A rupture in the extended kin ties would result in forfeiture of rights to land. So too with the Blantyre-Limbe peri-urban areas of Malawi where Yao lineage heads still predominate, although their traditional authority has declined commensurate with their assumption of non-lineage administrative responsibilities in the urban social structure.

*Urban Networks.*

Mayer has shown how certain types of migrants to a South African town 'encapsulate' themselves in a tight network of personal relationships and how this network, which extends into the rural area, serves to protect its members from the influence of the urban environment. An examination of these networks, he maintains, would establish whether relationships were rural-or urban-orientated. Epstein, too, has developed the concept of the network, although asserting that the effective network is limited by urban environmental constraints. He postulates that

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1. See Mayer [36], Wilson [54], Hellman [23], and Hunter [24]. These have been essentially 'follow-up' studies based on the concept of a previously studied rural people moving into town. In the strict sense, therefore, they are not urban studies but studies of tribesmen adapting to urban conditions.
"the economic and administrative institutions of the town form the major part of the new social environment. They provide a basic institutional framework moulding and, at the same time, circumscribing the pattern of social relations among Africans in towns." [14]

The Emergence of Voluntary Associations.

Aldous examined published research data from Brazzaville, Dakar, Lagos, Leopoldville and Stanleyville, to show the continued importance of kinship ties, contrary to the accepted hypothesis that they tend to disappear in the city. She shows how genealogically linked extended families are incorporated into voluntary associations and further reflected in the residential housing patterns [1]. Closer examination, however, would reveal that there is a definite limit to associational activity based on kinship networks. Little’s prolific writings on the emergence of traditionally based mutual aid associations reveal a marked degree of impersonal organisation characterised by hierarchically structured offices, constitutions regulating aims and purposes and high standards of professional etiquette and dress. These surely reveal the increasing intrusion of Western (i.e. town) values and norms, particularly exemplified in the high degree of economic differentiation and knowledge of consumer price controls in the woman-dominated market associations. Catering as they do for urban needs, then, voluntary associations in West Africa have not only taken over traditional functions of social control, but, by developing specifically urban standards of social and economic action, they affect the wider community and become the structural framework of the urban environment within which men and women regulate their lives [30 and 29, Introduction].

Banton has seen these new urban institutions largely in terms of the ‘re-structuring’ of social relationships in towns. He makes a plea for the elaboration of a conceptual framework for studying social change and then goes on to describe how urban associations, particularly dancing compins in Freetown, Sierra Leone (having similar characteristics to the Kalela dance of the Northern Rhodesian Copperbelt migrants studied in detail by Mitchell) arose to serve the purposes of inducting migrants into town life, emphasizing: “new ranks’ and statuses in lieu of the old ones that are no longer viable” [3, p. 120]. These compins flourish directly in response to urban demands for associational expression unlike the rural-based iseti of East London. On the other hand, the Ambas Gedas serves both to re-affirm tribal values in the town and provide for the emergence of new norms in Western education.

Gutkind has developed a Simmelian-type concept for the analysis of migrant labour relations in the urban situation. He would accept
the inevitable clash of rural and urban values as the dynamic and ultimately integrative aspects of association and dissociation. The rural and urban systems cannot be divorced from each other and the roles of their members cannot be dichotomized. There is both accommodation and conflict, inevitable in any onward going process of social change. Gutkind's concept of a rural-urban continuum is obviously a refinement on the early anthropologists' concepts of 'detribalization' and 'disorganisation'. Certainly there is no room for an analysis of urban social systems that explains Africans in the urban areas of South Africa as being "still in the grip of a kinship system that imposes on them a clannishness quite out of keeping with urban living" [35, p. 153]. The continuum concept appears more suitable in those emerging towns in Africa based on a trading, land and property economy rather than the huge complexes of South/Central Africa or even those towns characterised by growing secondary industries and the expanding ports of West Africa. Gutkind further raises the question whether present-day Kampala (Kisenyi, Jinja, etc.) approximate more to a peasant type society on the Redfield pattern¹ rather than either a tribal or Western-orientated society. And is this a necessary stage in the movement along the urban continuum?

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The final results of migratory labour patterns in Africa can only be found in the towns themselves. Much has been written to show how the denuding results of the rural labour force has had a disastrous effect on the traditional patterns of shifting cultivation in the village and chiefdom area. More recently, the focus has shifted to assess the extent (if any) that labour is becoming stabilised in the urban and industrial areas.

Index of Urbanization.

The concept of labour circulation implies a process of selection based on age, sex and other personal characteristics. But especially it embraces the notion of movement of work-seekers between rural area and town, different towns and different parts of the same town.

¹ REDFIELD postulated a continuum of societies ranging from tribal village at the one extreme, through 'peasant' and 'town' societies to the large city or metropolis of the present-day Western world. This is essentially a theoretical model, within which it is possible to place all societies. See his Tzetlopan: A Village in Mexico. The difficulty arises, as shown later in this paper where a development by Glass of this rural-urban continuum to measure town commitment is discussed (see below, p. 20), in accurately placing intermediate categories.
Within towns, labour turnover is high. Between towns, there are different rates of stability or expansion, but the evidence from Central and South Africa shows labour movement to be decreasing. Between rural and urban area factors of communication, job opportunity, presence or absence of kinsmen and provision of accommodation all operate to regulate the inflow of labour and its ultimate incorporation into industry, in any one of the outward stages of this circulatory process. The concept, as Mitchell has recently outlined, if developed for individual case studies of a migrant’s life cycle, will show his period of stay in the town approaching saturation point (Mitchell uses the term ‘translocation’), the nearer the stay in town approaches the period of life expectancy from the time and age of entry.

This circulation factor is important in influencing the demographic structure of the town and much work remains to be done in developing and refining the concept. Much more explorative research, involving refined statistical techniques, is on record to establish some means of measuring the degree and extent of urbanization of Africans in towns. This must take account of many diverse factors like attitude (and therefore commitment to town residence), anticipated place of retirement, degree of dependence on and manner of disbursement of urban wages, to mention a few.

An early attempt by Mitchell to measure urbanization in terms of urban residence, was based on the following criteria [41, p. 238]:

a. More than ten years away from the tribal area;
b. Number of people who have spent more than two-thirds of their adult lives in towns;
c. Number who feel that they will live in the towns for ever.

Categories (a) and (b) can obviously overlap, whilst (c) measures only an attitude or potential future action and takes no account of crises in the life cycle of the migrant which might shift his desire for residence and work elsewhere. (Mention has already been made of the drastic effects of international economic recession on the stability of work force in Copperbelt mines in the 1930’s.) In the absence of long-term security of employment and freehold urban occupation, this category must remain indeterminate.

In a more recent paper [43], Mitchell and Shaul have listed the following seven attributes as basic to the assessment of urban commitment. The idea of commitment to town presupposes an element of choice whereby the migrant has decided, for whatever reason, that his ends are best served by continuing to live in town rather than by migrating between town and country. Such a decision will be reflected in certain behaviour patterns and the degree of commitment that these patterns indicate, can then be assessed:
a. Proportion of time spent in town during adulthood;
b. Period of continuous residence in one town;
c. Presence (or absence) of wife in town;
d. Occupational skill or professional level;
e. Level of education;
f. Attitude to town life;
g. Wage level.

Category (a) derives from Mitchell’s formula for assessing urban (not residential) stability: \[
\frac{\text{Number of years in town, over the age of 15} \times 100}{\text{Total number of years}}
\]
itself following Wilson’s argument that a man who has spent more time in the urban area, since turning the age of 15, than in the rural area, is more committed to the urban area. Continuous residence in one town implies settlement, but category (c) is highly value-loaded reflecting the ideal, long-standing monogamous union pertaining in Western societies. The low content of the migrant labourer’s skill, coupled with traditional instability of marriage in a matrilineal, uxorilocal society (8 out of 10 Yao villagers over the age of 40 had experienced divorce at some time in their lives) obviously militates against this. In a survey conducted on the Copperbelt in 1951-1954, Mitchell found that, of 335 marriages contracted in the rural area, 22.1 per cent had been dissolved by divorce while 25.6 per cent of the urban marriages had been so dissolved [38, p. 10]. Later (in 1961) Mitchell was able to project this pattern of marriage instability through time, an essential process if we are to link this behavioural pattern with the circulation of labour and subsequent effects on urbanization. Thus, he calculated the likelihood of marriage surviving divorce over given periods and found a declining trend—at 10 years, 736 per 1,000 (only 466 if spouses of different tribe); at 20 years, 655 per 1,000 (only 297 if inter-tribal) [42]. Later data has shown an increase in the incidence of inter-tribal unions and the number of both ‘referred’ (as opposed to reconciled) and divorce cases handled by Urban Courts, despite the conciliatory role of the intermediate Tribal Elders.¹ It can be seen, then, that this category, too, is highly suspect due to the continuing instability of marriage. Furthermore, a migrant worker may take two wives concurrently, to one of which only (usually the rural spouse) will he pay mpango, ‘the marriage payment’. Perhaps the biggest single factor contributing towards instability of African marriages on the Copperbelt, is the absence of legislative sanction and registration, which the previously dominant European community had enjoyed. Finally comparative data from the hitherto

more maritally stable patrilineal areas adjacent to Salisbury reflects the conjugal transiency which labour circulation has engendered.¹ Research into category (d) has only recently been developed, and I shall discuss aspects of prestige rating and occupational and class stratification later. Attitude to town life (category (f)) endeavours to predict some degree of permanency in a desire to remain for all time in town, or ultimately return to the country, but is subject to the criticism (see above, p. 19) of indeterminacy directed to any assessment of future action in times of rapid social change and insecurity. Wage level (g) self-evidently reflects the greater likelihood of a high wage influencing town residence than a low, perhaps below poverty-line wage.²

The authors then cross-tabulate every one of the seven attributes among the 2,723 married men between the ages of 25 and 34 against every one of the remaining six attributes. Using the techniques of factor analysis, the coefficients obtained were converted into percentages and used as weights to yield a commitment score, as measured by these attributes. Scores for individuals on two different tribal groups on the Copperbelt, known to differ in their commitments to urban residence, were then computed with the following results:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commitment score</th>
<th>Bemba* (per cent)</th>
<th>Nyakyusa* (per cent)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>High (67-100)</td>
<td>43.52</td>
<td>8.04</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Medium (33-67)</td>
<td>24.61</td>
<td>9.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Low (0-33)</td>
<td>31.87</td>
<td>82.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100.00</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Total cases: Bemba: 386; Nyakyusa: 112.

The index thus confirms the known difference in urban commitment between the two groups.

Wilson in his pioneer study of Broken Hill in 1940 used as his criteria time spent in town since first leaving rural area and concluded that 8.6% spent less than one-third of their time in towns, 20.5% spent between one-third and two-thirds of their time in towns (these he called migrant labourers), 70% had spent over two-thirds in towns (termed temporarily urbanized), and only 1% had been born and

¹ Garbett gives a divorce rate of 14.56% for 5 villages in Mangwendi Reserve, a constant source of migrant labour meeting industrial, commercial and domestic demands in nearby Salisbury [18, p. 401].
² For a discussion of the measurement of these indices, see [8] and [5].
brought up in town (i.e. the permanently urbanized). These figures contrast with Pauw's figure of 14% for East London 'second generation' town-born and Wilson and Mafeje's 28% of Langa (Cape Town) inhabitants living in settled married quarters. Wilson's figures obviously only attempt to measure category (a) of Mitchell's seven criteria towards an index of urban commitment, whilst Wilson's and Mafeje's category does not differentiate between migrant and those in continuous occupation of urban residence. Later, Glass [19] constructed a seven category continuum based on three attributes of (a) continuous residence in town, (b) urban residence of wives and near kinsfolk, and (c) lack of land rights in the rural areas and then plotted respondents between the poles of 'completely urban' and 'completely rural'. We can see that a new factor (c) has been introduced, but shows no relationship to its urban counterpart of access to or possession of freehold tenural rights of both land and housing, denied to Africans in South Africa. Certainly recent observations of prestige expression, associated with new-found wealth consequent on the achievement of independent government in societies in Africa, reveal Western-style housing as an important index of affluency and the conversion to an 'urban way of life' par excellence. Furthermore, any model embodying a continuum is bound to give rise to speculation of the positioning, and definition, of intermediate categories.

I have discussed these measuring indices at length because they represent a most lucrative and illuminating source of analysis to study the process of labour incorporation and urbanization in African townships. The indices are as yet unrefined but they represent an advance on the descriptive generalisations posed by early urban sociologists and incorporating what Epstein has termed 'the feed-back process' [16] implicit in labour migration between rural village and industrialized town.

None of these indices, however, take into account the increasing pace of industrial development in the urban areas in all parts of Africa, resulting in an urban labour force increasingly dependent on a cash wage. Moreover the large towns and cities of Central and Southern Africa are characterised by a marked division of labour and specialisation. Successive commissions² have punctuated the history

1. I am grateful to Professor Mitchell for pointing out that the indices are individual centred and are not concerned with general trends.
2. In South Africa, the Fagan Report (1948) accepted that there was a large (some 27% of national population) permanent urban population. The Tomlinson Report set the seal on 'separate development' (1956). Its members were alarmed at the increasing index of urbanization and sought to reverse the process for Africans by increasing influx control and further delimiting residential rights for the workers and their families in the urban areas.

In Southern Rhodesia, the Plewman Report (1958) and the Second Report
of the growth of urban populations in these areas and emphasised
the high degree of primary and secondary industrialization. Against
this background, Reader found that the total income for men—in
large part made up of cash wages—increased with stabilisation and
urban experience [48, p. 67]. Thus age and duration of employment
are factors strengthening the wage structure. He goes on to reveal
that 36% of women in East London were in regular wage employment
and that there was an inverse correlation between age and education
in the professions. Wilson and Mafeje, too, noted the growing incor-
poration of women in the urban wage structure as a necessary concomi-
tant of entry to and residence in town:

"... the fact that girls went to school, and women took up employment has
had a profound influence on urban relationships. Women earn and save;
very commonly they control the family budget; and many of them set themselves
to educate their children. In one case noted the husband, a part-time travel-
ing salesman, was very anxious to buy a car, and his wife vetoed it. Unmarried
girls and older women take employment; middle-class wives with a professional
training continue to work after marriage. Whether working or not, however,
the wife is often a personality. One of the fieldworkers reported that: 'Almost
every township leader has a wife of equal, if not greater, efficiency and drive'"
[55, p. 82].

Hitherto the role of wives and concubines in town has been paramount.
It is our contention that the increasing participation of women in the
urban cash economy of the towns of Africa, both as employed labour
and (as in West Africa) as traders and entrepreneurs in their own
right, has yet to be properly assessed as an element of commitment
to urbanization.

The Effect of Migrant Labour on the Demographic Composition of Towns
in Africa.

The townward direction of male migrant workers has drawn young
dependants and potential female suitors into the urban economy.
The absence of males in the rural areas has resulted in an over-supply
of female sexual services there. Conversely, a restriction of female
residence in urban areas, a corollary of influx control regulations,
has resulted in a stimulated demand for the sexual services of those
in residence. Although this has resulted in a dominant male : female

on the Resettlement of Natives (1960) both stressed the desirability of increasing
the social, housing and administrative facilities for urban Africans and recom-
mended immediate steps to encourage the emergence of a town-rooted urban
labour force. Nothing, however, was said about family composition or the
steps to be taken to raise wages and decrease the turnover of migrant labour.
ratio elsewhere (3:2 in Johannesburg; 2:1 in Cape Town; 5:2 in Salisbury), in East London, as Reader's population pyramids show, there is a slight preponderance of females at all levels. In one of the two urban 'locations' surveyed, East Bank was more heavily 'waisted' than West Bank. The pyramid showed a firm base below the 14 year age range. This showed that the population had been increasing in all ranges from 1951 to 1955 "reflecting a growing tendency towards town rootedness" [48, chap. 3, p. 44]. The influence of long-standing occupation can be observed in the more uniform pyramidal structure of the West Bank location. The main sphere of employment being stevedoring and fishing (i.e. unskilled), there is a predominance in the 20-30 age group, contrasting with the more numerous East Bank males who are distributed more evenly over the age range 30-49 years, serving a number of different commercial and industrial needs. Reader concludes his demographic analysis by asserting, most firmly, that "both pyramids do not suggest a migrant labour situation but rather a large number of semi-permanent alliances with offspring" [48, p. 206]. He thus comes down very heavily in favour of urbanity as characterising the demographic and economic patterns of East London's African population.

Mitchell gives us a somewhat different illustration of the towns of Salisbury and Bulawayo in Southern Rhodesia [40, p. 81]. Again using population pyramids as a tool of analysis, he reveals a serious imbalance in the age and sex structure between rural and industrial populations for the country as a whole. Consequently, although one would expect to find about 23% of adult men over 45 in a 'normal' community structure, in the towns mentioned there were 7% and 10% respectively. There was an over-selection of males aged 20-25, a 'pinched-in waist' indicating fewer children of school-going age, and a very small base indicating that families represent a small proportion of the total population structure of the towns. This is well substantiated by the writer's own observations of Salisbury African townships where the ratio of males to females amongst alien migrant workers in 1960 was in the order of 10:1.

Demographic and Resultant Social Characteristics in East African Towns.

The demographic pattern does not reveal such a gross male-female imbalance in East Africa (1.5 to 1 in Kisenyi, Kampala) but the instability of residence (more than 60% less than 5 years occupancy) and the low median age (65% in the 18-28 year age group) suggest looser conjugal unions and a rapid turnover of both wage-earners and entrepreneurs. Again the factor of historical dominance over land and property rights have enabled Ganda aristocracy to monopolise
the market in all spheres of commercial and employed activity. The authors of the Kampala survey noted that "the non-Ganda immigrant can no longer rely upon the security of his village, or the support of his relatives. He is thus almost entirely at the mercy of the dominant Ganda" [50, p. 134]. Many Ganda men expressed the fear that one day the immigrants will swamp the local Ganda community and become effective competitors for jobs in the higher levels of employment, now dominated, almost exclusively by themselves. In Salisbury, the alien migrant worker has been debared by law from bringing his wife with him to his place of work and residence in the urban/industrial area. They are housed in multi-tiered concrete barracks in a high density area in Harari in conditions of extreme overcrowding, segregation, nightly curfew, pass control and inadequate communal and recreational facilities. Patterns of inter-group residence, although statutorily based on place of employment, lead to constant regrouping on the basis of village or chieftainship area of origin and wide diversity of age ranges. The Red (amakhaya) focus of association for Mayer's tribesmen in the towns, is here repeated. Sexual frustrations and excesses have led to the emergence of youthful age-sets who, in the absence of females, hire themselves out to older kinsmen for homosexual pleasures. Conflicts are common and increasing, despite their reduction in numbers since 1958, consequent on excessive and unwarranted police interference.¹

The Emergence of Class, Status and Prestige Ranking.

A class stratification of African urban society has already begun to emerge in the more sophisticated and industrialized urban centres of South Africa where it is associated with a cultural elite derived from an educated middle-class. The 'white-collar' and professional bourgeoisie has historically asserted a leading influence on the urban worker's political, economic, religious and social aspirations. This, as Kuper [28] and Wilson and Mafeje [55] have shown, has largely been expressed through nationally organised congresses with local branches. Trade unions, in contrast to the large monolithic African Mineworkers and Railway African Unions of Zambia, and their proliferation with lack of central co-ordination through a Trade Union Congress, in Rhodesia, are, in South Africa, now virtually reduced to impotency by their non-recognition in legislation and the denial of the principles

¹ It was part of the writer's duties to try and stop these practices during two periods of residence in Harari, 1954-1956 and November 1960-February 1961. This involved, eventually, the location of those employed juveniles in the age range 11-15 and their installation in a fully serviced hostel equipped with a range of educational, recreational, catering and dormitory facilities.
of free-bargaining and strike action. In Kenya the trade-union origins of the ruling Kenya African National Union contrasts with the emergence of the Tanganyika African National Union from a multiplicity of inter-linked and decentralised rural co-operative and tribal organisations. In both cases their assumption of power to the exclusion of any effectively organised opposition forms classic contemporary examples of one-party States. Our concern is to establish the role the migrant worker plays in these large organisations—is his membership marked by passivity or are there opportunities for upward mobility through the successive occupation of offices? Most researchers have studied trade unions historically and traced their emergence from the tribal based, voluntary associations (Little, McCulloch, Coleman et al.). Even a recently published research initiated by the Harvard Center for International Affairs surveying the whole field of trade unions in Africa threw little light on migrant and unskilled worker composition [6]. Leadership, the authors found, was 'heterogeneous'; trade union growth and potency was affected by undifferentiated wages and job stratification; the inhibiting effect of the ethnic associations to which the migrants were first attracted on arrival in the towns, was noted, whilst the latter-day colonial paternalism of French and British Government administrations, on the one hand and, of the Congo and Copperbelt, on the other hand, was reiterated. But we are given no insight at all into trade union as formal organisations, the hierarchical structure or the status and educational backgrounds of the incumbents to office, and their links with members (i.e. workers). There is abundant evidence of the proliferation of separatist sects and, as Pauw, Wilson and others have shown, the high degree of participation in sports and other cultural associations. Here more revealing data has highlighted the specialisation of offices and opportunities for leadership and financial speculation. Wilson has made an attempt to assess class differences between the members of different denominations of churches. Thus she found that

"educated middle-class people are most often members of the Anglican, Presbyterian, African Methodist Episcopal or Methodist churches, whereas the Zionists are mostly uneducated country people, often of pagan families, and most members of the Moravian congregation are simple countrymen, and migrants, but from Christian families" [55, p. 101].

Urbanized toonies (tsotsi, ikhaba and ooMac), differentiated by age, are supporters of nationalist organisations and, as the nationalist movement becomes more radical, increasingly reject Christianity. Their opposition to churches and to 'decent people' (i.e. 'School' people) has been expressed by destructive acts against both churches
and educational institutions during times of riot. Conflict is also expressed through rival rugby clubs between townees and pagan migrants. An increase in membership further results in fission and secession along lines of district of origin, usually preceded by open conflict in the form of fighting. However, national solidarity is expressed by townee and migrant clubs uniting in their determination to beat the police team!

Wilson enumerates multiple patterns of group organisation, whilst still retaining the town/migrant dichotomy as being a salient characteristic. However she stresses the permeability of barriers between these groups seen in more rigid light by Mayer. Indeed, she emphasises [54, p. 174] that “there is a continual seepage of men from the tight-knit groups of home-boys living in the barracks to the ranks of townsment” and, moreover, gives us some evidence of upward social mobility in the actions of “many migrants [who] seek to be absorbed into the ranks of townsment, but no townsman ever wishes to become a migrant” [54, p. 139].

Elsewhere social stratification has not been studied systematically and little use has, for instance, been made of Warner-type class divisions based on status evaluated residential areas. However, the influence of European ‘white-collar’ values was apparent in a study of 653 African students and scholars at educational institutions in and around Lusaka, conducted by Epstein and Mitchell in 1956 [17]. Respondents were asked to rank 31 occupations, ranging from African Education Officer to Garden Boy and Scavenger on a five-point prestige scale. Subsequently, when the ratings were converted into a single ranking, professional workers were placed first, followed by ‘white-collar’ workers, then skilled workers, supervisors and, finally, the unskilled workers. The interpretation placed on the results was that the ‘civilised way of life’ manifest in education, wealth and degree of westernization was most desired. However, only 7 of the 31 occupations were manual trades possessing any degree of skill, which in a more technologically orientated school system might figure more prominently as occupational goals to be achieved. The conclusion that “prestige scaling does not yet provide a basis for the recruitment of corporately acting groups which would constitute a class” [17, p. 31] was a tentative one in view of the absence of data regarding ownership of property and the means of production and the contribution the migrant worker makes in their realization.

In Lagos, Nigeria, the chance of prosperity through trading or occupation of office in one of the many voluntary associations, influences urban aspirations and duration of residents in towns. The centre of the city with its expanding commercial activity and avenues of
advancement open to trainees of high educational level, attracts a whole range of ancillary activity—taxis, petty trading, journalism, public administration, building. Marris noted that 87% of the trading was carried on by women. It is difficult from the material he presents to ascertain the entry point of employed persons of both sexes and thus how migration to town determines the occupational level first secured. Incomes ranged from £6 to £30 per month with a small professional elite receiving over £40. The broad division of the occupational strata is remarkable for the small percentage of unskilled workers (13% at £7 per month), the prominent position of trading in the scale (26%) and the early emergence of a sizeable (8%) business and professional elite [34, p. 77]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Labouring</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled manual</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clerical</td>
<td>18%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trading</td>
<td>26%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Professional and business</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not working</td>
<td>5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As in Kampala, a high proportion (one-third of the sample) lived in houses which they owned themselves or through relatives. The more significant factors of frequency of commuting (for property owners, business men and professional men and their families) and circulation of migrants (i.e. those not wholly dependent on an urban wage to support themselves and dependants) are not shown. These would be important to establish the persistence or diminution of the rural-urban ties.

The spatial distribution of households according to income and wealth is markedly absent throughout Africa. In part it is because of the strictures preventing the emergence and full expression of a vigorous individualism—in the South by denial of opportunity to purchase land and property in the urban area (the Rhodesian Land Apportionment Act and the South African Group Areas Act provide legal barriers) and in the East and West by the continuation of traditional egalitarianism which has inhibited the emergence of socially distinct and segregated residential areas based on wealth or class interest. An indication of the increasing geographical and social separation between migrant labour and ruling elite may be observed in newly independent Zambia. Here, ministerial and governmental position carry newly assigned prestige and wealth, providing access to hitherto European dominated and exclusive residential areas of high rateable value.

1. Note the large percentage of a trading class and its absence in Zambia where a contract wage predominates.
Conclusion.

What, then, is the significance of this constant shift of male workers on urban social systems in Africa? Some of the effects on the social lives of the migrants, their incorporation into the highly diverse industrial and cash economies of Africa and their consequent degree of urban stability or 'urbanization' have been outlined.

The emphasis in this paper has been directed towards showing that the process is town orientated. Historically the Western exploitation of minerals, the growth of commercial institutions based on money evaluation and the emergence of secondary industry has sought to disturb the tribal economy and social structure. The migrant has become 'incapsulated' in the urban labour force despite the absence of residential and occupational security and receipt of insufficient cash wages. Whilst accepting Wilson's assertion that migrants do not accept town values, even though they may have worked in the town for many years, and regard the country as their home [55, p. 14], I have tried to show that the relaxation of restrictive administrative control would result in an increase in urban stability inculcating urban attitudes of residence and work.

Epstein has emphasised [15, p. 99] that African urbanization is not just an amalgam of ethnic communities, although these patterns still persist. Much of the analysis has been made against a model of traditional tribalism and helps little in the understanding of urban social life. He exhorts the social scientist to view the town as a single field of social relations where "the different [...] sections of the urban population are closely linked by ties of interdependence" [15, p. 99]. Certainly the growth of large conurbations in South Africa, highly stratified along racial lines with migration as an important element would, as I have tried to show, suggest the application and use of more refined tools of analysis.

Already one can observe the emergence of 'twilight' zones on the pattern of those first observed in the 20's and 30's in Chicago, due to the influence of land values, commercialisation and the spatial decentralisation of residential areas. So, too, in West Africa, we can expect an intensification of the industrial process and the continuing growth of towns. In this regard Bascom emphasises urbanism as a 'way of life' distinct from 'acculturation' or 'detribalization'. Lineage heads in Yoruba towns are described as chiefs of 'precincts' and the basic unit of organisation [4]. Marked heterogeneity ensures the

1. For an exploration into an ecological analysis of urbanism in South Africa, see [25].
limitation of 'anomie' and, far from contributing towards insecurity, has tended to strengthen lineage ties between rural areas. Here are further conceptual tools of analysis borrowed from American sociology, which seek refinement in their application to the phenomena of African urbanization.

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[52] UNESCO. See [45].


