



Thesis
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IBADAN

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES
OF URBAN-RURAL RETURN
MIGRATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR
RURAL DEVELOPMENT

DECEMBER, 1994

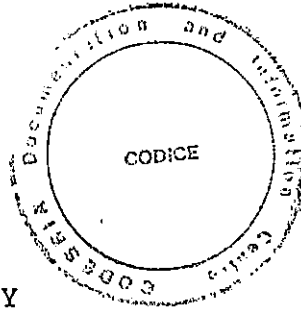
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MIGRATION: IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT



BY

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B.Sc Sociology (Imo)
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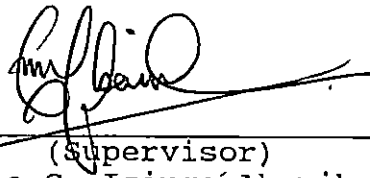
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DEDICATION

To GOD,
for His tender mercies and loving kindness.
To the Ohagis,
for their love, care and unflinching support.
To Chetachi,
for who she is.

CERTIFICATION

The contents of this dissertation are that authentic records of the research carried out by Emeka Ohagi, under my supervision, in the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, for a Doctor of Philosophy degree in Demography.



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**CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF URBAN-RURAL RETURN MIGRATION:
IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT**

ABSTRACT

Urban-rural return migration, according to the literature, has been a crucial aspect of the study of population dynamics though it has remained relatively neglected, especially in the developing countries, including Nigeria. In the light of its association with rural development and the views of observers and researchers regarding the potentials of this phenomenon to revive the rural areas, we explored its causes and consequences with regard to its composition, motivation and implications for rural development.

The nature of urban-rural return migration is evaluated based on primary data gathered from returnees to the rural communities of Ideato North LGA (Imo State) by means of questionnaires, indepth interviews and community-level studies. Variations both in the content and quality of data collected necessitated the application of several procedures and tools which, apart from the descriptive methods, include the Logistic Regression and Log-Linear models.

The study indicates that return migrants are predominantly males, within the critical labour force age and are mostly economically active, own-account workers who are considerably represented in trading, small-scale production and other blue-collar occupations. Most of them have some education though the tertiary education level is low, which has a bearing on their occupational leaning. These suggest that the migratory pattern is far from a retirement move, and

indicate the nature of the economic opportunities available in these rural areas.

The data analyses emphasise the potency of income in migration. It was the desire for urban jobs and higher incomes that motivated the initial move, therefore, returning to the countryside for the same reasons suggests that many return migrants may have failed to realise that goal, which tends to engender a realistic appraisal of the income potentials and opportunities in the city vis-a-vis the rural origins. However, psychological factors such as 'rejoining family' and 'returning to roots' were also found significant in return migration decisions. Also evident is the effect of return migrants' demographic and socioeconomic characteristics on degree of disengagement from the city, their willingness to accept urban jobs and consequently, to remigrate. The influence of migrants' families on their migration decisions, in addition, cannot be over-emphasised, neither can the returnees' length of migration and duration of rural residence be discounted.

Our findings uphold the mainstream opinion that urban-rural returnees are a catalyst for rural development. Their efforts have both positive and negative dimensions though the former appears more prominent. This study has demonstrated the importance of return migration in the process of rural development and also created a lead for further inquiry into this area of research. It also proffers valuable recommendations to guide policy formulation and encourage return migration.

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JESUS IS LORD !

Emeka Ohagi

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CHAPTER ONE

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.0 INTRODUCTION

The history of man is rife with movements and change of residence within and across territorial boundaries. These involve the detachment from the organization of activities at one place and the movement of the total round of activities to another (Goldscheider, 1971: 64). This phenomenon is termed migration - a process which has been found intricate to be adequately measured. There, also, has always been a reason or reasons for each human move, but the determinants and underlying structures of such are to a large extent complex, and also change over time and space, with far reaching consequences for man and his physical and social environment.

Migration, as one of the three population processes (along with fertility and mortality), is less appreciated but more difficult to assess, though its effects cannot be swept under the carpet. The latter fact prompted Weeks (1992) to assert that whether migration is legal or otherwise, it can profoundly alter a community or an entire country within a short time. The socioeconomic stability and development of any country therefore depend, to an ample degree, on her population composition and the dynamics of population

distribution. This lends credence to the study of internal migration, which involves permanent change of residence within national boundaries. With respect to typology, rural to urban migration has been described as the most significant pattern in terms of volume and effects on the sending and receiving areas alike, and has consequently attracted most attention among other patterns of migration (Adepoju, 1986).

It continues to be a major contributor to the rapid growth of cities in the developing world (Todaro and Stilkind, 1981; Oberai and Singh, 1983), and is often blamed for over-urbanization and the resultant 'urban decay' and poor quality of life in the rural areas. The rapid urban growth resulting from rural to urban migration has been a demographic issue of concern for governments (Bilsborrow *et al*, 1984) especially in the third world because of the relationship between spatial distribution of the population and socioeconomic development. Nigeria is not an exception (FGN, 1988; Igbozurike, 1991:16).

This particular study, however, is not intended to revisit the predominant rural-urban migratory pattern, the popular research topic, but to explore the reverse pattern - the urban-rural migration - with reference to its causes, composition and consequences in relation to rural development

in the rural communities of Ideato North Local Government Area of Imo state, Nigeria.

1.1 STATEMENT OF PROBLEM AND JUSTIFICATION OF STUDY

Internal migration has been associated with several factors ranging from economic and environmental to personal. To Brown and Goetz (1987), it results when opportunities provided by geographical areas are not commensurate with the personal needs or capabilities of their residents. In other words, disparities between territories make migration inevitable (Adepoju, 1977, 1986; Makinwa, 1981; Fadayomi, 1988).

Population movements in the developing countries are predominantly work-related (Toure, 1983), and have resulted into rapid urbanization with which the urban areas have been unable to cope. Available evidence suggests that more than half of this urban population growth in many developing countries is due more to rural-urban migration than to natural increase (Oberai and Singh, 1983; Todaro and Stilkind, 1981).

Migration in Nigeria has mostly taken the rural-urban pattern over the decades. The reason for such movements of population range from insufficiency of agricultural land, unfavorable agricultural conditions, natural disasters and

political decisions, to unavailability of employment opportunities in certain parts of the country (Morril, 1965; Udo, 1975; Adegbola, 1976; Uyanga, 1980). The result is the growth of cities in certain zones of the country - a situation which was sustained by the structural dualism that characterized the development policies of the country (Makinwa, 1981; Fadayomi, 1988) whereby major government investments are localized in the urban centres to the neglect of rural areas. The consequence of the above has been a considerable rural-urban migration which is perceived as a logical response to the disparities between the urban and the rural areas (Makinwa, 1981). This situation of inequalities has been tagged a state of 'aggravated structural dualism' (UNIDO, 1982:2).

This resultant migratory pattern (rural-urban) has become so dominant in Nigeria, even despite many problems of urban living, that it is seen as a way to escape rural isolation, monotony, boredom, conservatism, restricted horizon and absence of social infrastructure which best describe life in the rural areas (Adepoju, 1976). Migrating to the urban centres, therefore, has become a way of life, and has persisted in spite of deteriorating urban living standards through urban population explosion that has rendered the urban

infrastructural base inadequate (Williams, 1978; Todaro, 1976).

However, in spite of the massive urban-ward drift, a new pattern has been observed in certain parts of the country which involves return migration of people from the urban to the rural areas. This new pattern of migration merits research endeavor for the following reasons:

First, it has been identified as a dramatic departure from the characteristic migration patterns in Nigeria. From the Nigerian pre-colonial, colonial and post-independence experience, migration has been mainly of the rural-rural, rural-urban and urban-urban patterns. This is related to the relative distribution of economic activities and opportunities in the country. In this conventional scheme of things, urban-rural migration is a rather unusual one which consequently has received the least attention from researchers and policy makers alike. It has been described as 'a relatively unexplored' research area, and little is known about it in Nigeria (Adepoju, 1986). This study, therefore, intends to explore this neglected research area in Nigeria.

Secondly, many cities have, for all practical purposes, given up trying to provide more than minimal sanitation, health, housing and transportation service to their dense

populations (Todaro and Stilkind, 1981). In spite of the above situation, urban influx of people persists. Logically speaking, a reverse pattern which has the potential of reducing the rate of urban population growth and consequently, the level of urban frustration, is worthy of a deliberate scholarly inquiry. This reverse pattern could be initiated by encouraging more urban migrants to return to their rural origins and by re-orientating the rural dwellers to resist rural-urban migration. The emphasis, however, is the rural environment (Rodgers, 1989).

Thirdly, available literature attests to the high population density in the eastern parts of Nigeria (Oluwasanmi, 1966; Uyanga, 1980). Man-land ratio is also high, while the land tenure system has occasioned land fragmentation which consequently has made large scale (land - intensive) agriculture almost impossible. The result of the above conditions is an extremely low rural income level which makes rural-urban migration irresistible to many. Rural life is basically rendered miserable by a blend of low income, population pressure (Oberai and Singh, 1983), and government's relative neglect of the rural areas. Under this dispensation, emigration to the urban areas seems the most viable alternative for the rural man. One is, therefore, bound to be

curious when migrants leave the favoured urban areas for the rural where unemployment, under-employment and poverty are commonplace. Thus, the factors responsible for this turnaround deserve due attention.

Fourthly, the rural areas hold a greater proportion of the Nigerian population and also are a major source of urban population (Olatunbosun, 1975; Adepoju, 1976; Oberia and Singh, 1983). There is however a government package for these rural areas as is presented by the National Policy on Population. Its objective is to enhance integrated rural and urban development in order to improve rural living conditions and slow down the pace of rural-urban migration (FGN, 1988). Following from the above, there is a need to study the inter-relationships between urban-rural migration and rural development.

Finally, apart from the disheartening state of our rural areas, there also is an apparent dearth of demographic data regarding them. These therefore necessitate research at both the theoretical and empirical levels in order to form a sound reference point for future studies in this unexplored research area. Emphasis will be on its interplay with rural development.

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF STUDY

Against the background of the above problems, the objectives of the study are as follows:

1. To determine the demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of the return migrants so as to ascertain the nature and degree of selectivity of urban-rural returnees. The selectivity of return migrants by age, sex, marital and occupational status is likely to have a bearing on their contribution or anticipated contribution to development.
2. To identify the factors at both the urban and the rural areas responsible for the migrants' decision to return.
3. To explore the importance of social networks in decisions to move, to return, and in other related decisions.
4. To examine the effect of return migration on the various aspects of rural development, and assess the relationships between both concepts.
5. To determine whether the return migration is permanent or temporary so as to facilitate our understanding and prediction of future patterns and long term effect of the phenomenon on the rural communities.

1.3 SOCIO-CULTURAL SETTING OF THE STUDY

The study area was created out of the former Ideato Local Government Area (LGA) of Imo State on the 30th day of September, 1991. What is left of the old Ideato LGA is known today as Ideato South Local Government Area.

Ideato North is bounded in the north by Uga and Umuchu communities in Aguata Local Government Area of Anambra state, and on the south by their Ideato South neighbours. The communities that make up the LGA are rural, both in orientation and official status. However, they are undergoing an appreciable degree of transformation which may eventually raise the LGA headquarters to an urban status in no distant time.

According to the provisional results of the 1991 National Population Census, there are 128,683 people in Ideato North LGA. This represents about 5.2% of the total population for Imo State. This figure represents the population that is resident in the area within the period of the count. Given the high incidence of rural out-migration in this area, it is apparent that a large proportion of the population must have been left out of the count in Ideato though they are likely to be counted in their areas of immigration. The economic and occupational inclination of the Ideato people, coupled with

unacceptable rural living conditions, have sustained this urban-focused movement. This issue is exhaustively discussed in the later part of the section.

1.3.1 Economic Activities

Ideato North Local Government Area, and of course, Imo State falls within the rain forest zone of South-Eastern Nigeria. It also has some swampy areas around Arondizuogu. This geographical fact predisposes them to agriculture, especially, land cultivation. Besides, the Ideato people, from pre-colonial days, have been very successful and shrewd merchants whose trading exploits date back several decades before the advent of the colonialists. The 'Aro' people who are migrant settlers occupying the area now known as Arondizuogu, were known in those days for fabrics and slave trade.

In the background of the above foundation, the Ideato people cannot be said to have departed from trading but rather are diversifying with time. Merchandising still takes pre-eminence over farm agriculture among them. This preoccupation is obvious given the set of negative factors the latter activity has to grapple with. First, several areas in this zone have topographical formations unstable for cultivation.

These areas are either hilly or characterised by red soil which is infertile and inappropriate for crops. Second, population density has become a distinguishing characteristic of Nigeria's rural communities. In particular, there is a high man-land ratio in the eastern parts of the country (Uyanga, 1980) and Ideato is no exception. The above conditions have put an unprecedented degree of pressure on available arable land. It has occasioned over-cultivation and consequently, very low and frustrating agricultural yields. Third, the traditional land tenure system has brought about excessive land fragmentation. Agricultural practices are crude and access to improved farm inputs is limited. These have kept agriculture at a mere subsistence level. Thus, although most people probably farm, farming has been reduced to a supplementary economic activity.

Trading, on the other hand, has over the years become the most lucrative economic activity among the people. However, most of the trading carried out in the rural area is on a small scale. The bulk of the indigenes who are in the trading occupation reside in the cities where there is ready market for goods and services. This has kept the traders highly mobile, thereby explaining their presence in most large cities in Southern Nigeria and beyond. They are found among

the cream of businessmen and industrialists in Nigeria. The above facts have made rural-urban migration commonplace among them.

As can be identified in many rural areas of Nigeria, the majority of the young and educated Ideato indigenes are out of the community and in search of better economic opportunities. They leave behind the aged, the illiterate and the very young to look after the homestead and family property. It is, however, important to point out here that their migratory behaviour does not in any way significantly affect or tamper with their attachment to their roots. Home visits during weekends or festivities are usual. The subsequent section discusses this aspect of their background.

1.3.2 Social and Cultural Activities and Migration Behaviour

The communities in Ideato North LGA are basically traditional societies, and like most of such societies, there are ceremonies or festivals fashioned after and revolving around important institutions, deities (in the case of traditional religion) and even economic activities. In the communities under study, some of these festivals serve the latent function of occasionally bringing the sons and daughters of the land together on their soil. This process

creates a sense of harmony amongst them and is also a vehicle for rural development. The commonest among these is the 'New Yam' festival which ushers in the fresh yams from the farms. It is the most prominent of all and is celebrated in almost every Igbo community in honour of the 'yam goddess' - 'Ahiajoku'. The new yam festival marks an important point in the traditional calendar because it is associated with the 'chief crop' in traditional agriculture. This and other festivals provide avenues for the people to express their gratitude to the 'yam goddess' or the 'earth goddess' for a successful planting season and bountiful harvest as well as asking for better yields in the coming season. Some of the festivals are celebrated in honour of the ancestors of the communities while some others are founded on the history or origin of the communities. In addition, some others mark the beginning of a new planting season; the harvest of culturally relevant crops such as yam or maize, depending upon the degree of importance attached to the crop by the society; the beginning or the end of the traditional calendar.

Another set of activities that brings the migrants home includes launching ceremonies for self-help development projects; annual or periodic meetings within families, villages, clubs, development unions; marriage and funeral

ceremonies where people express their sense of solidarity and sympathy as the case may be. At times like these, the visiting urban dwellers travel back to their cities of residence in the shortest possible time. This dispensation has established a basic pattern of population movement in these areas which sees almost every young man striving to leave the village but when resident in the city, makes conscious effort to maintain rural links. They realize the latter by way of frequent home visits and active participation in development projects and in family and village unions. It is rather interesting to observe that some of them who reside in cities such as Onitsha and Aba visit home every weekend to attend church services at their local churches.

The underlying degree of attachment which the people have for their villages is usually felt in their rural environment. The availability of basic infrastructure in certain parts of the communities by means of self-help projects and philanthropy attests to this fact. The economic exploits of the successful sons and daughters are evident in the rural areas in the forms of viable business concerns such as modern high-technology factories, for example, aluminum manufacturing factories, breweries, medical and diagnostic products manufacturing factories, paints and plastic manufacturing

factories, filling stations, poultry farms, shoe factories, printing houses and hotel complexes, all of which were identified in the research area. These business set-ups provide employment in the rural areas while transforming the environment. Some of these successful businessmen provide electricity, piped water and even motorable roads in their villages.

The interest in rural investment is sustained by the traditional honour accorded to indigenes who bring their urban-acquired wealth to the village. It is an excellent index of reasonable success as far as the traditional Igbo man is concerned, moreso among the Ideato people. Such moves attract traditional chieftaincy titles like 'Aku-ruo-ulo', implying that the recipient's wealth has reached his rural origin.

Interestingly, many of those who think they are through with active business life also think they have completed their term of urban residence. They usually retire to the village to lead a quiet and peaceful life devoid of the hustle and bustle that characterise the urban areas. Most often, they become opinion leaders and local potentates both politically and economically.

1.4 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This section documents the planning of this study including: the nature of the data; the process of selecting the study sample and the rationale for same; the variety and forms of the research instruments employed in data gathering and the justification for the choice; the actual process of data gathering and the various analytical techniques adopted. It also points out the limitations of the study as is engendered by the quality and nature of the data available for analyses.

1.4.1 Nature and scope of data

The data for this study are basically primary data, gathered in their original forms in the field by means of a structured questionnaire, supplemented by information obtained from indepth oral interviews of selected key informants, and a community schedule which collected information on the community-level variables. The collection of these data took place over a period of six months in four selected rural communities in Ideato North LGA of Imo State, Nigeria. Owing to the low level of social research in the geographical area of our study, especially in relation to

migration, the available secondary data were inadequate as a frame of reference. We, therefore, had to improvise one.

1.4.1.1 The survey design

In order to fulfil the purpose of this research (which is both exploratory and descriptive), adequate care was taken in designing data-collection instruments so as to reduce the occurrence of common research errors which plague similar studies. The nature of this study necessitated a degree of flexibility in the methodology to achieve desired results. The four communities were chosen for study by purposive sampling. They are the four major towns where substantial return migration was observed in the area. There are also a number of cottage industries and small scale firms which may have encouraged return migration.

We selected 150 adult return migrants from each of the four towns adequate for this study, giving a total of 600 people. These returnees must have spent at least six months in the rural area since return. The respondents were identified through a process of household listing whereby every household was visited and a preliminary screening process carried out to determine those who are qualified to be in the sample. Where a household failed to produce an

eligible respondent, another was screened until the required number of respondents had been interviewed.

1.4.1.2 Research instruments and data collection

A standard questionnaire comprising close-ended and open-ended questions was used to elicit information from the respondents. Questions include the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents, issues related to migration decisions and behaviour, socioeconomic activities, and rural development-related activities.

The questionnaire was administered using the interview method. This decision was taken in consideration of the technical nature of the study and the need to reduce the incidence of misinterpretation of questions by respondents and at the same time minimize non-response. The enumerators are residents of these communities and are known to the respondents. The former also have a good knowledge of the cultural orientation and the settlement pattern of the people. This factor became an advantage in the data collection process. Identifying the households was easier, so also was the process of receiving cooperation from the respondents. In other words, interviewee-resistance was reduced because

respondents had some degree of confidence in the enumerators who they know and also accepted.

The calibre of the enumerators also facilitated the data collection process. They are teachers with tertiary education and some research experience, and who therefore, had a good grasp of ^{social} research generally. Training them for the job did not pose much problem. However, they were closely supervised during the period of the field-work in order to identify and correct possible field irregularities. The interviews were carried out in the respondents' language (Igbo), and of course using the particular dialect in order to avoid any distortion of facts.

Information gathered through the questionnaire is supplemented by the results of a ~~number~~ of indepth oral interviews from selected key informants. The interview sessions took the form of guided discussions between the interviewer and interviewees by means of a set of questions in a loose or unstructured format. The respondents were selected on the basis of their status in the communities, and also their special knowledge of the issues of interest in their respective communities, namely: the pattern of return migration, the observable consequences, the likely pattern of

future migration and its probable effect, rural development activities and the interviewees' role in these activities.

Additional information was derived from a community-level study which involved a listing of the various social infrastructural facilities in the communities studied, as well as the available key money-yielding and labour-hiring rural economic activities such as cottage industries, factories, crafts centres, commercial schools, maternity hospitals and clinics, and modern manufacturing enterprises.

1.5.1.3 Limitations of Study

In a study of this nature, limitations occur at various points and from several sources but our attention here is on those related to, and likely to influence, the quality of data gathered.

First, there was no sampling frame available to guide us in the process of sample selection. This is due to the rural nature of the study area. Human settlement in these communities is neither systematically planned nor documented. In addition, the population figures and the necessary breakdowns of the 1991 National Population Census had not been made available by the Population Commission. Therefore, a non-probability method of sampling was adopted whereby smaller

village groups and kindreds provided bases for sample selection.

The problem of interviewee-resistance which we thought would be very much under our control having recruited fieldworkers from the communities of study, nevertheless cropped up. On one hand, so many respondents (especially the old and illiterate) asked that some money be given them before they could respond to the interview. These requests are sometimes expressed indirectly by means of proverbs in which rural Igbo dwellers are well versed. At such points, it took some reasonable amount of research time and effort to surmount this resistance and to convince the respondents that the information being sought is not for any commercial venture but strictly for research purposes. This expectation of financial gratification may be a function of the economic hardship induced by the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). In addition to the above problem, we found a low awareness level towards social research in these communities. This is probably because the people are very much business-inclined, also there is no institution of higher learning or research institute within or around the area.

Another source of resistance is not peculiar to these communities but may be described as a contemporary factor, based

on suspicion of interviewers as either government agents or unscrupulous elements scheming an operation of some sort. The enumerators were often suspected, and even accused, of being dupes despite the fact that they are indigenes. Whenever such occasions arose, it took some time to win the confidence of the prospective respondent and to establish the necessary rapport which should precede every interview session. Sometimes, it involves the invitation of any enlightened person around to intervene. In some cases, a few prospective respondents refused outright to be interviewed, while at some other times partial cooperation is obtained.

There was also the problem of mis-reporting due to memory lapse, or deliberate under-reporting or over-reporting of certain events or information. Age and dates are likely to be in error for a number of respondents who did not know them. We tried to obtain some estimates using available leads such as notable historic events. For instance, during the process of probing, a man who did not know his age disclosed that he was about ten years old at the end of World War II. In addition, it should be noted that income figures reported here are also likely to be in error. This is as a result of income under-reporting for some reasons. First, many of the respondents were not paid employees, and therefore, did not

have a specific idea of their periodic earnings. Possibly, many of them had never given it a thought. Second, there was the usual reluctance to respond to income-related questions. The respondents were skeptical about the eventual use of the information sought. Apparently, many of them suspected that the figures may somewhat get to the Inland Revenue Office which determines income tax rates in the LGA. Some others probably under-reported their income for security purposes. They did not want to make any declaration that would attract men of the underworld. Third, some of the respondents do not have regular employment but rather are daily-paid labourers who work only when a job is available.

Another area of limitation is that of occupational inconsistency. Some of the respondents fall into more than one occupational category but had to be classified under one, essentially the major occupations. This may not truly represent their economic activities. Also, situations arose whereby some farmers reported that they are unemployed. Through careful probing, we were able to clarify these mix-ups. This problem is typified by a respondent, who reported earlier that he had no occupation, but who in a later inquiry, disclosed that he was a farmer. When the respondent was asked to explain the apparent inconsistency, he sincerely asked the

enumerator in a very friendly tone: "my son, do you suggest that I go hungry?". This suggested that people who are temporarily out of jobs take to farming until such a time they are able to find the jobs of their preference.

We also encountered problems with respect to accessibility of some villages where the terrain is not favourable, and the quality of roads consequently poor. Demand for transportation in these parts of the communities is too low to sustain profitable commuter services. The available alternative was the use of motor-bikes though at much higher physical and economic costs.

1.4.1.4 Analytical Techniques

The data gathered with the questionnaire were carefully edited. The data preparation included cross-checking the information received from the field for consistency. A coding manual was designed with which the data were coded and later entered into the computer. The data set was then processed using the SPSS software.

The first level of analysis was the descriptive method which commenced with the computation of frequency tables, with much emphasis on the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the respondents. This stage provided us

with the composition of the return migratory stream and selectivity. The next and higher level of descriptive analysis comprises the breakdown (means) analysis and crosstabulation of the characteristics of the respondents and other variables as were found relevant. The inter-relationships existing between variables were examined and reported using 2-way and 3-way crosstabulation tables as the cases demanded. The major independent variables in the analyses include, the socio-demographic characteristics of respondents such as age, sex, education, occupation, marital status, work status, migration status, and other variables related to rural orientation and socioeconomic status which include frequency of home visits, place of birth and volume of 'location-specific capital'. The dependent variables include the probability of remigration, degree of rural satisfaction, likelihood of accepting urban employment, reasons for return migration etc.

The next stage of analysis consists of multivariate analyses where we utilized the Logistic Regression and Log-Linear models. The choice of the Logistic Regression model was informed by the handicaps of the linear regression (ordinary least squares) in relation to the nature of the dependent variable. The dependent variable we have for the

analysis can have only two values - an event occurring coded as 1 or not occurring, coded as 0. For instance, in the analysis involving rural satisfaction, those who claimed to be satisfied were coded as 1, while those who were not satisfied were coded 0. This means that the predicted values should be interpreted in form of probabilities. This makes the logistic regression model the most logical and appropriate multivariate analytical approach to adopt. This model can be written as:

$$Prob(event) = \frac{e^z}{1+e^z}$$

or

$$Prob(event) = \frac{1}{1+e^{-z}}$$

Where z is the linear combination

$$z = B_0 + B_1X_1 + B_2X_2 + \dots + B_pX_p$$

B_0 and B_1 are coefficients estimated from data

X is the independent variable

e is the base of the natural logarithms (2.718)

Our interest in the logistic model is on the 'odds' of an event occurring which is defined as the ratio of the

probability that it will occur to the probability that it will not (Norusis M.J/SPSS Inc., 1988). The logistic equation can be written in term of odds as:

$$\text{Odds} = \frac{\text{Prob}(\text{event})}{\text{Prob}(\text{noevents})} = e^{B_0 + B_1 X_1 + \dots + B_p X_p}$$

However, before the data set was subjected to the logistic regression model, the independent variables were tested for association with the correlation approach. A 'goodness of fit' test was also conducted to know whether or not the model fits the data available. For some sets of variables we found the logistic regression inadequate because the dependent variables have more than two values. A different model had to be applied in the analysis of such sets. The Log-Linear model was adopted.

The Log-Linear models constitute a special class of statistical techniques formulated for the analysis of categorical data. They become handy for uncovering the potentially complex relationships among the variables in a multiway crosstabulation. Actually, the log-linear model is simply an advanced form of crosstabulation. In this model, all variables employed in the analysis are treated as independent while the dependent variable is the number of

cases in a cell of the crosstabulation (Norusis/SPSS, 1990). These variables appear in the analysis as 'response variables' in the log-linear model. The 'Row-and-Column-Effects Model' is selected for our analysis. In this model, only the ordinal nature of the column variable is used. The parameter estimates and the interaction are displayed by the procedure in form of standard error, the Z-value (which is the ratio of the parameter estimates to the standard error), and the Lower and Upper 95% Confidence Interval (CI) which determine the levels of significance.

Our model is in a saturated form. In other words, it contains all possible effect parameters. In such a model, the number of cases in a cell is a function of the values of the row and column variables and their interaction (Knoke and Burke, 1980). On whether the chosen model fits or explains the data, we are concerned with the extent to which the frequencies expected from the model approximate the frequencies actually observed. The Z-value can be used to test the null hypothesis that the estimate is 0. In large data sets usually, estimates with Z-values greater than 1.96 in absolute value can be considered significant at the 0.05 level.

Individual confidence interval (CI) is constructed for each estimate. If the lower limit and the upper limit of CI do not include 0, the hypothesis that the population value is 0 can be rejected.

The form of the log-linear model for a two-way table is:

$$\log M_{ij} = U + U_{1i} + U_{2j} + U_{1j}$$

where,

U = grand mean; U_{1i} = row effect; U_{2j} = column effect and U_{1j} = interaction effect. The saturated model can also be written as:

$$\ln F_{ij} = \mu + \lambda \frac{H}{i} + \lambda \frac{S}{j} + \frac{HS}{ij}$$

Where

- F_{ij} = the observed frequency in the cell,
 μ = the effect of the i th row category,
 s_j = the effect of the j th column category, and
 HS_{ij} = the interaction effect for the i th value of the row category, and the j th value of the column variable.

In our analysis, rural remigration was employed in the model as the row variable while interactions were sought with

variables including age, education, marital status, income, occupation and degree of rural satisfaction. The results obtained in these analyses were used to test some of our research hypotheses.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is in two parts. The first presents the analytical review of available and relevant literature on the subject matter. It focuses on the empirical findings of research on the related aspects of migration, rural development and allied concepts. The second part, on the other hand, discusses the theoretical issues which form the framework for the study. These theoretical issues include sociological and demographic models.

2.1 REVIEW OF RELEVANT LITERATURE AND CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATION

Migration ... is both an important cause and effect of social and economic change (Shaw, 1975:1)

The foregoing view, supported by Simmons (1983), sets migration on an enviable plane with regard to research, planning, development and the general well-being of any people. This review, however, focuses on the patterns and dimensions of internal migration; the transformation they have undergone over time; the composition and selectivity of migrants; the decisions related to spatial mobility; and the

consequences of such movements on the people and their social and physical environment, especially their rural origins.

2.1.1 Internal Migration in Nigeria: A Historical Overview

In its simplest sense, internal migration involves a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence within a specified geo-political territory for example, State, Local Government Area etc. It constitutes an integral and significant aspect of population distribution which, in turn, is an important factor of socioeconomic change. Four patterns have been identified in the study of spatial movements namely: rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-urban, and urban-rural migration (Adepoju, 1986; Caldwell, 1969; Makinwa, 1981).

The rural-urban pattern has been the most popular and significant with respect to its effect on both the sending and receiving environments (Fapohunda, 1976; Adepoju, 1976; 1979; 1986; Sada, 1976), while the urban-rural pattern, on the other hand, has received the least attention (Adepoju, 1977; 1986; Fadayomi, 1988), to the extent that in some literature that classify internal migration in Nigeria, this pattern is hardly mentioned (Sada, 1976). This obvious neglect is, to some extent, traceable to the fact that most migration analyses are carried out with census data which tends to obscure the

incidence of return migration under which most urban-rural migration falls.

Interestingly, internal migration in Nigeria has undergone series of significant and systematic transformations which cannot adequately be explained without recourse to the socio-political transition which Nigeria has witnessed. In other words, socioeconomic and political processes have influenced and also been influenced by population movements within the Nigeria geographical territory. This changing pattern of migration is one of the most dramatic aspects of the demography of the country and brings into view the history of economic transition and order over the decades. This can be categorized into three epochs namely: the pre-colonial, the colonial, and the post-independence (Adegbola, 1976; Makinwa, 1981; Udo, 1975 (b)).

2.1.1.1 The Pre-Colonial Migratory Era

This era experienced large - scale movements of people across the Nigerian landscape which also featured colonization-type movements and forced migration (Gugler, 1969). The movements were multi-directional and their motive, on the other hand was multiple. This is a basic distinguishing characteristic.

The invasions include those of the Kanuri, from the Lake Chad basin who were considered militarily superior to the indigenous or original settlers of the area. This resulted into the settlement of the eastern areas of Hausaland. Economic and political factors generated internal movements among the Hausa whose activities coupled with the Jihad movements, formed a formidable push factor for a southward migration (Adegbola, 1976). The pull factor in this situation was the slave trading activities in the coastal areas, aided by the Europeans, which persisted until the advent of the Colonialists.

Besides, the Hausa migrants who moved southwards for agricultural purposes did not do so for shortage of farmland but for lack of an opportunity to earn a living during the slack seasons in the farming calendar (Mabogunje, 1975 ; Udo, 1975 (a)). These Hausa farm workers leave home base at about November to work in the cocoa farms of the west, only to return at about March to prepare their farms for the next planting season (Udo, 1975 (b) ; Uyanga, 1980).

In the western parts of the country, the Yoruba, who first settled at Ile-Ife, started moving as a result of overpopulation and prolonged drought. The secondary movements involved those of princes, after the formation of kingdoms, to

found minor kingdoms, and the general north-south movement occasioned by the collapse of Oyo empire. The war that ensued was aggravated by the European slave traders' quest for more slaves. This migratory pattern existed side by side with the 'internal' Yoruba migration (Adegbola, 1976). The migration of the Yoruba farmers was restricted to Yorubaland perhaps because they had sufficient farmland (Buchanan and Pugh, 1969). In the same vein, Edo migration was essentially internal as a result of vast, sparsely settled and uninhabited forest land at their disposal (Uyanga, 1980).

The experience was different in the eastern parts of the country. The political and social unrest accompanying the early Jihad below the Benue zone led to a north - south movement of populations into the forest zone. The west - east movement into 'Igboland' is closely linked with the activities of the Benin warriors and traders on the Niger (Adegbola, 1976). The motive behind the movements can be summed up in two major factors namely: economy and defence. The thick forests of the south provided cover from enemy attacks, game for hunters and cultivable land for the migrant farmers. Settlements were shifted to the south to enable the slave traders to utilise the Atlantic traffic. The Niger valley

also was to the advantage of the traders for commercial activities.

Apart from the above patterns in eastern Nigeria, there existed several other kinds of population movement. Amongst the larger ethnic groups, the Igbo, unlike their Hausa and Yoruba counterparts, suffer from relative land shortage. However, there are some exceptions. As a result of this internal disparity, there was a high degree of intra-ethnic migrations by farmers who either settle where there is sufficient farmland for long periods or as seasonal migrant tenant farmers (Udo 1975 (a)). The latter comprise farm-hands who migrate from the northern parts of Igboland such as Abakaliki, Nsukka and Udi, who are popularly called in Igbo language, 'ndi ogu - ukwu' referring to the large size of their hoes. Some of these men end up settling in their villages of seasonal migration. Another set of Igbo migrants are those who moved towards the Edo and Yoruba areas as tenant farmers.

These movements of human population over the Nigerian landscape has been described by Mabogunje (1975) as a 'criss-cross' pattern of migration while Udo (1975 (b)) sees them as a means of population redistribution. The latter reasons that the movements were mostly from densely populated zones to

sparsely populated ones to achieve 'some sort of balance between the number of people and available resources' (p 300). He also took notice of some pre - European indigenous cities, such as Kano, Katsina and Ibadan which were largely administrative, religious and even educational centres.

2.1.1.2 Migration during the Colonial Era

This era saw a different migratory pattern under the objective of trade promotion. The traditional patterns were modified by the effect of the establishment of colonial regimes. The areas of influence were the direction of the movements, the size of the population involved, and the characteristics of the migrant population (Mabogunje, 1975).

The first significant effect came from the transport revolution. The laying of the foundation for transportation which would facilitate the free flow of goods was a step taken by the colonialists in order to open up the areas which produce the materials needed for British factories (Adegbola, 1976; Fadayomi, 1988), since the existing rural transportation system would have proved frustrating (Olatunbosun, 1975; Makinwa, 1981). This came in the form of development of communication networks involving roads and railways. The roads led to the railways which in turn ended up in the

coastal areas. The railway was the major step considering its bulk haulage capability. Feeder roads were later constructed to link up the agriculturally rich hinterland with the rail towns.

The second stage was the 'increasing monetization' (Mabogunje, 1975) and commercialization of the country's rural economy (Adegbola, 1976) which saw the introduction of foreign consumer goods whose effect was the discouragement of the local craftsmen on one hand, and the encouragement of an appreciable dependence on foreign goods. This also saw the replacement of the multiplicity of currencies by a few with greater acceptability thereby making trading less cumbersome.

The above stage occurred simultaneously with a third which is the introduction of law enforcement machinery which was necessary to establish a strong grip on the colony. Taxes were introduced as a part of the individual's responsibilities which he had to meet with money. To cope with the above, people needed money and the only way to acquire same was by producing more cash crops for sale. Settlers around the coastal areas profited more because they spent less on transportation of produce and also paid less for imported manufactured goods. In addition, the south has a longer agricultural season than other zones of the country. These

disparities, therefore, occasioned a southward migration which was a way of earning a living during the unfavorable agricultural periods.

Besides the above dichotomy, the introduction of new export products like cocoa, rubber, palmoil, groundnut, cotton and tin, which were meant for British factories, created distinct agricultural and mining regions around which economic interests concentrated. Consequently, the zones of these activities grew wealthier and better developed than others. These resulted into specific patterns of migration.

There was a North - South flow from the savannah to the forest belts and the mining fields of Jos; the Hausa of Sokoto and Katsina provinces who were essentially seasonal migrants into the cocoa belt, and the Igbira from Okene district, who settled as wage labourers in cocoa and rubber farms or as self-employed tenant farmers. An East-West migration involving farmers from the congested eastern zone was part of the population movements occurring simultaneously with a South-North counter migration. Within the regions, however, there was a 'periphery-core' pattern (Adegbola, 1976; Uyanga, 1980).

Early in this era, migration was largely rural-rural in nature as a result of the system of production that was

basically agricultural and therefore rural. It also marks the beginning and growth of rural-urban migration which was occasioned by the need to earn money to meet growing needs ; the desire to work in factories which seemed a status symbol; the enthusiasm to live in the emerging urban areas where social amenities (bright city lights) are available; and the desire to work with the giant multinational trading companies, such as UAC.

A distinguishing factor in this pattern of migration is the set of socio-economic characteristics of the migrants. They were mainly unskilled illiterates who were engaged in peasant farming, mining and produce trading. This attribute differentiates them from the contemporary migrant streams.

2.1.1.3 The Post-Independence Migratory Pattern

With the continued economic and administrative activities of the colonial era, the major towns around which trade (and more often, government) revolved experienced considerable degrees of improvement in terms of social amenities and other benefits of modernization. This transformation was concentrated around the port towns which were apparently transit points for the agricultural produce of the hinterlands. It also was the case along the rail routes which

were nothing but produce routes (Olatunbosun, 1975; Makinwa, 1981; Fadayomi, 1988). Cities emerged from these business areas and provided the impetus for an entirely different pattern of migration - the rural-urban pattern. This became the most significant migratory pattern.

During the early period of political independence, the outstanding status of these 'port - cum - commercial -cum - capital - cities' (Mabogunje, 1975) was reaffirmed by the indigenous governments through political and diplomatic decisions. These decisions created employment and thereby attracted the young, educated males who came in search of non-farm (white-collar) jobs in the administrative sector and the commercial houses and also to enjoy the urban infrastructure. This pattern later became less selective and a form of multi-directional movement of population re-emerged as time went on. However, this movement was predominantly directed towards the urban centres. This led to the next stage of demographic transformation.

2.1.2 The Urban Revolution and Rural Deterioration: An era of rapid urbanization

With the growth of commerce, the emergent cities experienced tremendous expansion of investment as a result of the growth of industry. The latter was a product of the

import-substitution policy adopted by the post-colonial regime as a diversion from the colonial pattern which had been in operation. This policy, coupled with the effect of the oil boom, was able to launch Nigeria into the threshold of light industrialization (Fadayomi, 1988). This was implemented through massive investment in the purchase and importation of sophisticated manufacturing technologies. Both the technical expertise and the raw materials needed for the industries were also being imported on 'turn-key' basis (Okubuiro, 1990). Throughout this process of industrialization and growth, the rural areas, which held, and still hold a large proportion of the Nigerian population, were neglected. Their inhabitants did not even have access to basic social amenities (Olatunbosun, 1975). This dispensation produced rural areas where the living standards of the poor had stagnated, and in some cases, considerably deteriorated.

Apart from the community development efforts of the late 1940s and 1950s, it is surprising to realize that Nigeria had no deliberate and coordinated rural development programme until 1986. Not even the second National Development Plan (1970-1974) included such proposals (Stamper, 1977; Makinwa, 1981). However, Igbozurike (1991) acknowledges that prior to 1986, there were numerous peripheral mentions of and casual

allusions to rural development in the country's national development plans. In the second National Development Plan mentioned above, the only reference to the rural sector is in the discussion of Nigeria's growth mechanism. In this discussion, the growth of the rural sector was seen as a process of mobilizing under-utilized land and labour, and the income yielded by it through agriculture, and the use of this income for financing capital formation in the public sector (Olatunbosun, 1975). This plan sees the rural sector as that from which resources are to be diverted to other sectors. Therefore, the growth in National Income during that period did not reflect upon the living standards and the physical environment of majority of Nigerians. As a result of this neglect of the rural areas, the major industries were concentrated in the cities. This led to the ironical situation where Nigeria, whose population is basically rural (Kumuyi, 1987; Akinbode 1988) thrives on an urban-based economy (Adepoju, 1976; 1977; 1979; 1986; Igbozurike, 1976; Olatunbosun, 1975; Fadayomi, 1988).

In 1980, the Nigerian agricultural sector employed about two-thirds of the working population mainly on small holdings (Adepoju, 1986). In the background of the above, the neglect of the agricultural sector lowered agricultural productivity

and consequently rural income. This led to the worsening of the economic status of the rural dwellers who are predominantly farmers. The situation was further complicated by rapid population growth and its attendant pressure on land and other prevalent factors, to further reduce productivity. The rural poverty occasioned by the foregoing, coupled with the 'urban bias' in the country's development policy multiplied the disparities existing between the urban and the rural. This led to a rise in rural-urban migration which can be perceived as a logical response to 'aggravated structural dualism' (Makinwa, 1981; UNDO, 1982; Bilsborrow et al, 1984; 1987). Hauser and Schnore⁽¹⁹⁶⁵⁾ perceived it as a feature of developing nations but acknowledge that the disparities between the two sectors constitute a 'yawning gulf'.

The rural-urban migratory pattern produced by the foregoing is, as reasoned by Adepaju (1976), a way of escape from the rural isolation, monotony, boredom, conformity to custom, restricted horizon and absence of basic social infrastructure. Makinwa (1981), in her study of population movements in the former Bendel State of Nigeria, found that migrants conceive of rural-urban migration as 'a way of life'. To them, rural-urban migration is the only way, while the urban environment is the only place where their aspirations

can be taken care of. To Oberai, Prasad and Sardana (1989) from their humanitarian standpoint, 'it is largely a survival strategy' (p 149). However, this pattern of migration has been sustained over the decades by what Igbozurike (1983) refers to as the vicious cycle of urban development and rural underdevelopment which states that:

... the more the nation's developmental favors are bestowed on the urban districts, the more disadvantaged the rural regions become (Igbozurike, 1983:3).

This model is diagrammatically presented in Figure 2.1 below.

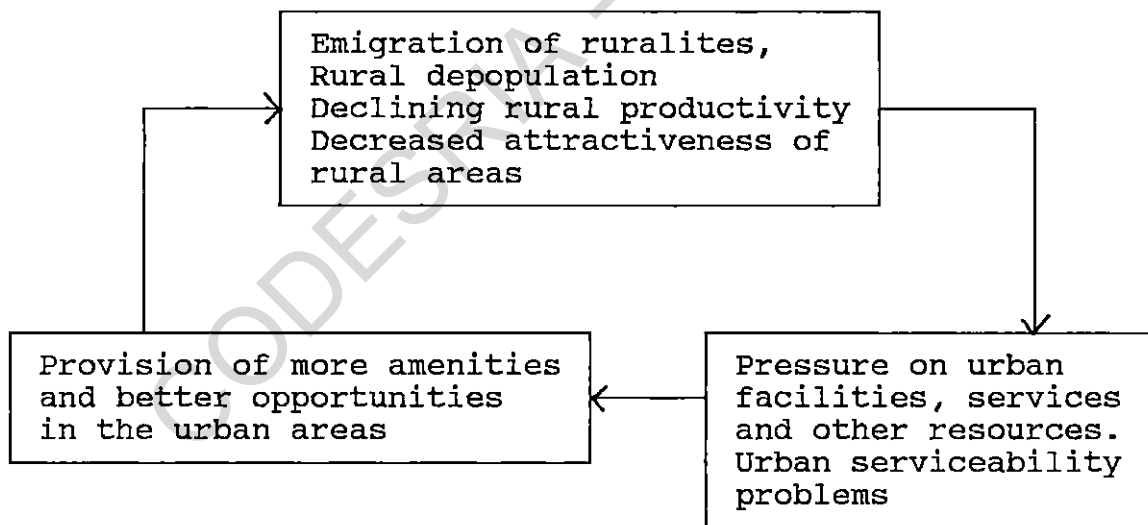


Figure 2.1

The vicious cycle of urban development and rural underdevelopment. (Culled from Igbozurike, (1991 : 47)).

While Igbozurike's model examines the dynamics between rural and urban areas, which sustain rural-urban migration, Akinbode's model (Fig. 2.2) analyses what perpetuates poverty among rural dwellers. The model shows that rural poverty makes relevant education impossible thereby perpetuating the inherent lack of skills which hinders gainful employment. Income is kept very low because the rural dweller is compelled to settle for subsistence agriculture and the resultant low agricultural productivity, coupled with the chaotic price system keeps income levels even lower. Subsistence agriculture with the use of crude farming methods sustained by the poor farmers' inability to secure credit facilities and extension services result in inadequate food supply which consequently produces poor health and sanitation standards which aggravate rural poverty. This state of economic hopelessness characterised by low propensity to save and low investment capacity make rural-urban migration apparent.

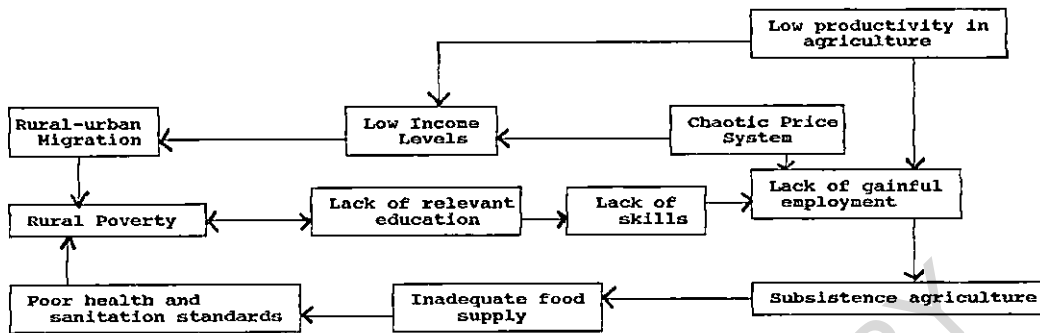


Figure 2.2: Conceptual model of rural poverty (Akinbode, 1988 : 3)

Rural-urban migration has become so pervasive that it is almost synonymous with internal migration. Its consequences are also far-reaching in both the sending and receiving areas though more attention has been accorded the latter (urban) where an unprecedented rate of urbanization has put severe pressure on the fragile urban resources.

The age and sex composition of rural-urban migration is predominantly young and male (Shaw, 1975). This has resulted into ever increasing levels of unemployment and underemployment in the cities. The expansion of the education industry whose curriculum prepares school leavers for urban jobs; the low productivity and income levels and the lack of basic social amenities in the rural areas have perpetuated rural - urban drift (Adepoju, 1976; 1983; Williams, 1978; Adegbola, 1976; Makinwa, 1981; Todaro, 1976; Mabogunje, 1990).

The attendant population explosion renders basic infrastructure inadequate. Scarcity of potable water, unstable power supply, poor sanitary conditions, transportation problems, poor housing become commonplace in the urban areas resulting into proliferation of dehumanizing slums (Adepoju, 1986; Fadayomi, 1988; Todaro, 1976; Makinwa, 1981; UNIDO, 1982). This situation has drawn the attention of the Nigerian government as states the National Policy on Population (FRN, 1988). This policy acknowledges that the extremely rapid growth of the cities has created 'serious problems of housing, sanitation, unemployment and under-employment and crime' (FRN, 1988:5). Hence, the migration of people into the cities has become a subject of deliberate policy interest. This interest has, this time around, been consciously directed at the development of the rural areas of emigration (hitherto neglected) as a way of discouraging out-migration (FRN, 1988:13) in the rural communities where the migrants originate (Adepoju, 1986). However, it is yet uncertain the extent to which this attempt will yield the desired result.

Nevertheless, there is some evidence that rural development can minimize the rate of rural-urban migration (Oberai, 1983; UNIDO, 1982;). But Rhoda (1983) is pessimistic

and argues that most components of rural development programmes end up encouraging what they are meant to discourage. Oberai, Prasad and Sardana (1989) however, suggested a diversion of the rural population to new cities (medium-sized towns) as opposed to total discouragement of rural migrants. They reason that the struggle for survival in the rural areas is likely to result in organized violence and will add misery and poverty to the rural areas.

Several attempts have since been made and are yet being made to improve the rural farm and non-farm activities aimed at ameliorating the degrading living standards (FRN, 1975 : 292 ; 1988 : 24). It is pertinent to note here that this rural-urban migratory phenomenon has been found most rampant in the eastern states of Nigeria. This is as a result of the strong pressure on land leading to a high man-land ratio (Udo, 1975 (a); Uyanga, 1980). This situation has made agriculture (land - intensive) almost impossible and has also left the rural population highly mobile (Oluwasanmi, 1966). This factor explains the presence of eastern Nigerians in appreciable numbers all over the country. The section below examines the possibility of these migrants returning, especially to origin.

2.1.3 Return Migration

For every migrant, there is an origin and an actual or proposed destination. This statement does not tell us the direction of such movement. The question then arises as to whether the migrant is moving on to an entirely new environment or going back to where he set off from (origin). The latter option refers to return migration. In other words, it involves former migrants returning to their places of origin after spending a substantial period at destination (Hugo, 1989). To Goldstein and Goldstein (1982), a return migrant must have moved more than once but the important fact is that he returned to origin at last move. This however, does not preclude his deciding to leave the origin at a later date.

Return migration can take the forms of rural-rural, urban-rural, urban-urban or even rural to urban, depending on the migrant's location and origin. No matter the pattern which return migration may take, the important thing to note is that it involves not less than two single processes of migration with the last destination being the origin of the first move. In essence, it simply means, 'heading home'.

2.1.3.1 Urban-Rural Return Migration: A Demographic Turnaround

This pattern involves the return to roots of a migrant whose migration cycle started from a rural area, and whose last destination before return is an urban area. In other words, it is a return movement from the city to the rural area of origin. As a demographic phenomenon, it has received little attention both from researchers and policy makers. This has caused it to remain relatively unexplored (Adepoju, 1977; 1986; Fadayomi, 1988). It is one of the most neglected aspects of migration (Hugo, 1989). This apparent neglect, as has been stated earlier in the work, has resulted from the difficulty of detecting return migration from conventional census data (Adepoju, 1979). According to Adepoju, the migration situation in Africa is dynamic, complex, and its general features are yet unfolding. This line of thought is a pointer to the fact that great research opportunities abound, which are yet to be harnessed.

Two kinds of urban-rural migration exist in migration studies, namely: colonization migration and return migration (Mabogunje, 1970). The former, which is not necessarily a return migration involves movement from high-growing areas to 'stagnant sectors' of an economy, thereby intensifying the utilization of idle resources. It also serves as a means of

diffusing new ideas, attitudes and skills. But this study is interested in the second kind, though not ruling out the possibility of some aspects of the first within its scope.

William and Sofranko (1979) have described urban-rural migration as 'the new migration' or 'the rural demographic revival', while Frey (1979) sees it as a departure from long-standing redistribution trends. These ideas testify to the unusual nature of this pattern of migration. In the United States of America, it became significant in the 1970s. From the 1975 Current Population Survey data it was confirmed that during 1970-1975 there was a reversal of the traditional net migration flow between the urban and rural areas (Tucker, 1976).

Tucker identified residential preference as the major reason behind the movement - a clear diversion from the conventional economic explanation which has been taken for granted over the years. Furguitt and Zuiches (1975) and Frey (1979) relate it to the deterioration of the urban environment, but Shaw (1975) says it is a characteristic feature of an economy progressing toward an urban-industrialized state where the role of pecuniary considerations decline in importance as motive to migrate. However, Wardwell (1975) and Humphrey et al (1979) interpret

it as an extension of an urbanization process in an economically developed society which will manifest itself in the continued population deconcentration. The limitation in the above case, however, is the fact that these studies were carried out in the developed world and therefore cannot be used as bases of comparison for the developing nations. It becomes necessary to find out what is the exact situation in the developing countries, especially those of sub-saharan Africa.

Considering the nature of internal migration in Nigeria, one obviously finds that economic factors are predominant. These factors which are a product of the prevalent socio-economic conditions tend to over-shadow the non-economic factors which can be categorized into psychological and environmental. Oucho (1986), in his study of return migration in Kenya found that:

urban migrants are homeward bound even though they may not be sure of when exactly this option would materialize (p.208).

To him (Oucho), return migration is positively related to the degree of 'rural orientation of the migrants'. The latter, in turn, has a strong link with the migrants' 'location-specific capital' (Da Vanzo, 1976; Da Vanzo and Morrison, 1978; 1981).

In Nigeria, Makinwa (1981) found a strong rural residential preference among urban dwellers granted that there will be 'satisfactory' employment at the rural origin. She also found a preference for non-farm employment. These findings show a blend of the economic factor with the influence of the 'location - specific - capital' which is more or less a psychological factor. The above concept was used by Da Vanzo (1976; 1978) and Da Vanzo and Morrison (1976; 1981) to refer to close relatives and friends and property at home which satisfy social and economic desires and which, therefore, commit migrants to where capital is located. From Makinwa's study, it can be gathered that migrants left their rural origins in search of gainful employment. Nevertheless, as they reside in the urban areas, their psychological attachment to their rural origins still had considerable influence on their decisions.

With regard to the composition of urban-rural migration, Tucker (1976), William and Sofranko (1979), Frey (1979), Da Vanzo and Morrison (1981) found in the USA a relatively younger population moving to the non-metropolitan areas mostly as a result of environmental factors. Caldwell (1969) and Adepoju (1986), on the other hand, found in Ghana and Nigeria respectively a preponderance of the aged or retired and

unemployed among the rural-bound return migrants. The unemployed were also prominent in the Da Vanzo and Morrison's studies.

On the contrary, Oberai and Singh (1983) found in Punjab, India, a dominance (82%) of economically active return migrants who were still employed as at the time of survey. Oberai, Prasad and Sardana (1989) found also in India, returnees who were still in the labour force. However, Gould (1988) identified two peaks in the pattern in Kenya. The first constituted by workers in their 30s after a period of urban employment 'presumably not conspicuously successful', but they were still economically active on return. The second, on the other hand, comprising workers in their 50s whose movement can be regarded as 'genuine retirement migration' (p. 4.1.42).

DaVanzo (1976 ; 1978) and Da Vanzo and Morrison (1978 ; 1981), from their numerous studies in the area of migration, insist that return migration is selective of the older, less-educated and unemployed, semi-skilled persons most of who returned as a result ^{of} inadequate information before migration. Against the background of the foregoing review, this study will fill the gap in our knowledge regarding the composition of urban-rural return migration with respect to Ideato North

Local Government Area of Imo State, Nigeria. It is also likely to lead to further research on the issue in question in other parts of rural Nigeria in order to arrive at a coherent sequence of information for planning purposes.

2.1.3.2 Urban-Rural Migration and Rural Development

Urban-rural migration has been identified as a viable means of depopulating the urban areas thereby easing the growing pressure on the environment and its inhabitants (Todaro and Stilkind ; Oberai et al, 1989). There is also a growing concern about how such movements can be induced (UNIDO, 1982; FAO, 1984). Rural development programmes have been purposed and extensively used throughout the world by many nations who face or have faced such problematic situations of urban explosion and/or rural depopulation (FAO/FACU, 1985 ; FRN, 1988). This has been identified as possessing the potential of slowing down rural-urban migration. It does this by retaining the prospective migrants in the rural areas, and encouraging a rural-ward movement through the process of neutralising or minimising the urban-rural disparity (Makinwa, 1981; Oberai, 1983; 1987). In

Oberai's (1987 : 89) view, since the rural people migrate because they lack jobs and/or adequate incomes,

increasing the range of agricultural and non-agricultural job opportunities and raising incomes could be expected to reduce migration from the rural areas.

However, Rhodā (1983) has a contrary view. From his studies, it was found that on the whole, rural development programmes have a poor record in slowing down rural-urban migration. Rhodā authenticates this assertion with the results of his analysis of 16 types of rural development activities which concludes that 12 of them can have a mixed impact. They may actually accelerate rural-urban migration in the short or long run. For instance, building schools in rural areas discourages youths in many countries from migrating in search of education, but it provides the students with both the desire and the credentials to find an urban job after graduating. Bose (1983) found in India that the attempt to develop cottage industries was counterproductive. It improved the skills of the villagers and made them 'more acceptable in the urban markets'.

In defense of the rural development programmes, Peck (1980) suggests that the poor results may be a product of failure to implement fully the programmes. However, Rhodā (1983) and Oberai et al (1989) think that rural development

may be more successful in promoting alternative mobility patterns such as commuting or migrating to smaller cities than in stopping outmigration altogether.

Two forms of rural development strategy have been in use over the years, namely:

1. Capital-intensive agricultural development programmes aimed at increasing agricultural output through the adoption of modern technology regardless of employment or equity considerations - since it is usually accompanied by excessive mechanization.
2. Integrated rural development, the basis of which is the neutralization of rural lifestyles by providing social and physical infrastructure in the rural areas (Oberai, 1983; 1987; Kumuyi, 1987; Akinbode, 1988; FRN, 1988).

The former has been found inappropriate for the rural sector given the availability of surplus labour in the rural areas (UNIDO, 1982; Williams, 1978; Norman, 1978; Todaro and Stilkind, 1981). It is deficient in providing employment given its level of mechanization. It, therefore, makes little or no positive impact on the employment situation (Oberai, 1987). Following from the studies carried out by Oberai (1983) in East European countries such as Poland, policies of rural development appear to have enhanced the retentive

capacity of the rural areas and reduced the tendency of the populations towards rural outmigration.

Going by the reasons for rural-urban migration in Nigeria, Oberai's findings are justified. Since rural dwellers often migrate because they lack jobs or adequate incomes, increasing the range of agricultural and non-agricultural job opportunities, and raising incomes are expected to reduce the rate of rural emigration. But to Rhoda (1983), such programmes favor the large scale farmers at the expense of the smaller ones. The former have better access to money and credit facilities and consequently agricultural innovations. When they increase production, prices of crops will fall thereby putting more pressure on the smaller farmers who are then faced with either selling out or sending children to the urban areas to earn money, as the only viable alternatives. Besides, paid labourers on the farms are also likely to be displaced by tractors in the process of mechanization. They will be faced with the option of emigrating to the urban.

In the non-farm sector, rural industries are usually sited in small cities instead of the rural areas proper. This may be as a result of the factors that influence location of industries bearing in mind the basic objective of every

business venture - profit maximization (Rhoda, 1983). The consequence is that the rural dwellers will emigrate into these small cities in their search for greener pastures.

Apart from the above perspectives the integrated rural development model seems the most recommended for Nigeria (Akinbode, 1988; Fadayomi, 1988; Idachaba, 1985; 1980; Olisa et al 1990; Koinyan, 1987; 1990; Ozo, 1980; FAO/FACU, 1985; Igbozurike, 1980). Akinbode has no doubt that:

... the most realistic approach to effective overall rural development in developing nations today is the integrated development strategy, which seeks to develop all sectors of the rural economy and links them up effectively with their urban components (p8).

The literature shows that Nigeria has since the 1960s made several attempts aimed at developing the agricultural sector as a way of reaching out to the rural dwellers (Igbozurike, 1991). Such programmes as the farm settlements in various regions of the country in the 1960s; Agricultural Development Projects (ADP); National Accelerated Food Production Project (NAFPP); Farm credit Programmes; Commodity Board; Agro-Service Centres; National Seed Multiplication Programmes; River Basin Development Schemes and Green Revolution were set up with the objectives of providing food for the populace (Olatunbosun, 1975; Ozo, 1980 ; Akinbode, 1988). They were also to create employment for the rural

dwellers in form of farm and off-farm activities to stem rural-urban migration ; to generate sufficient income for the rural population and to provide basic social infrastructure at the grassroots level (Fadayomi, 1988). In the wake of these efforts, produce mills were set up scantily across the country to encourage produce-processing in order to improve the market value of these agricultural goods and also to provide employment for the jobless. However, the extent to which this move ameliorated the rural situation is not known, neither is it within the scope of this study.

Besides the activities of the federal government, regional and later, state governments have instituted their own programmes as complementary efforts. The former Western Regional government set up a rural farm settlement scheme between 1959 and 1960 to absorb the products of the free primary education programme (Adepoju, 1983). Between 1960 and 1965, 36 settlements were established, each designed to hold 100 to 150 families. However, this attempt has been described as a 'wholesale importation of rural development models' (FAO/FACU, 1985). These farm settlements look more like the 'communes' in Tanzania. In Tanzania before Ujamaa, the pattern of rural settlement was the source of their problem. There was a 'preponderance of isolated homesteads spread over

a vast country' (ILO, 1970 : 52; Awiti, 1973, Huizer, 1971). This suggests that land was not the source of concern but rather the pattern of population settlement. The cornerstone of the programme therefore was the settlement of the rural population. To Adepoju (1983) this project failed largely as a result of its inappropriateness. He is also pessimistic about Nigerian rural development programmes especially their ability to stem rural-urban migration. According to him, the programmes are 'inadequate to meet the enormous task of rural transformation' (p. 43). Nevertheless, he was referring to the various rural development programmes which operated before the introduction of the integrated rural development approach.

Following from the above review, and the need for a conceptual clarification, it becomes pertinent for us to address a crucial question: What is rural development?

2.1.3.3 The Concept of Rural Development

The World Bank (1975) says rural development is:

a strategy designed to improve the economic and social life of a specific group of people- the rural poor (p.3).

Lele (1974;1975) perceives it as a process of:

improving the living standards of the mass of low income population residing in the rural areas and making the process of their development self-sustaining (p.19).

Based on the foregoing, rural development is an observable and measurable rise in the quality of life of people resident outside the urban areas, and a corresponding increase in the infrastructural status of such non-urban regions. From her definition, Lele (1974 ; 1975) highlights three basic things:

- a) Improving the living standards of the subsistence population involves setting priorities in the mobilization and allocation of resources in order to reach a desirable balance over time between welfare and positive services available to the subsistence rural sector.
- b) Mass participation requires assuring that resources are allocated to low-income regions and classes, and that the productive and social services actually reach the mass of the subsistence population.
- c) Making the process self-sustaining requires development of appropriate skills and implementing capacity, and the presence of institutions at the local, regional and national levels to ensure effective use of existing resources and to foster mobilization of additional financial and human resources for continued development of the subsistence sector. Self-sustenance thus means 'involving', as distinct from simply 'reaching', the

subsistence populations through development programmes (Lele, 1974).

The World Bank insists that a national programme of rural development should include a mix of activities, including projects to raise agricultural output, create new employment, improve health and education, expand communications, and improve housing. It should be concerned with the modernization and monetization of the rural society and with its transition from traditional isolation to integration with the national economy. From the foregoing, we can deduce that rural development is not the same thing as rural industrialization, agricultural revolution, rural urbanization nor transformation, but rather a more comprehensive package for the ruralites.

The past rural-oriented programmes of Nigerian governments had been concentrated on the agricultural sector but it is interesting to note that agricultural development is only a component of rural development. Nevertheless, it is a crucial component. Therefore, projects like the Agricultural Development Project (ADP) were deficient with regard to tackling the problems of rural underdevelopment and the poverty question. However, the FACU/FAO (1985) conference highlighted a number of lessons from the Nigerian experience

and recommended integrated rural development strategy for the country. This seems to be the conception of the Directorate of Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructures (DFRRI).

Decree No. 4 which came into operation on the 6th of February, 1986 established DFRRI and consequently gave birth to the first comprehensive, clear-cut and nation-wide policy of rural development in Nigeria. This body was saddled with 17 specific functions and an eighteenth general mandate which is 'to do all such things as will enable the Directorate more effectively perform its functions under this Decree'. In sum, these functions include the provision of roads, basic infrastructures and increased food and industrial raw materials output, the stimulation of agricultural activity and any other activities that will facilitate an improved quality of life in the rural areas of the country (Koinyan, 1987;1990).

Mabogunje (1990) as cited by Igbozurike (1991) has segregated the objectives of rural development in Nigeria into four, namely:

- a) To utilize the rural labour force more effectively by steering it towards improved infrastructure and enhanced productivity.

- b) To minimize rural-urban income differentials through the expansion of rural employment opportunities.
- c) To enhance the access of rural people to major factors of production.
- d) To give the rural population a substantial measure of control over their own development priorities and programmes.

The above classification has presented us with the focus of rural development, which is in line with what Williams (1978 : viii) considers the contents of a rural development programme:

generation of new employment; more equitable distribution of income, widespread improvements in health, nutrition and housing; maintenance of law and order; creation of incentives and opportunities for saving, credit and investment.

In addition, he reasons that rural development should be comprehensive rather than sectoral, and should focus on obliterating the fundamental causes of poverty, disease and ignorance (Williams, 1978; Akinbode, 1983). Besides, the nature and content of the package should reflect the political, social and economic circumstances of the particular region (The World Bank, 1975). This will determine the extent to which the people will benefit from the programme. This has been the core of criticism levelled against the rural

development programmes of the Colonial era. First, they lacked depth and therefore could not transform the rural areas; and second, they consisted of what the Colonial government wanted the rural people to have and not what the rural people wanted (Olisa et al, 1990; Uyanga, 1980; 1988).

2.1.3.4 Benefits of Rural Development

One school of thought believes that rural development is capable of reversing the rural-urban drift of populations (UNIDO, 1982 ; FAO, 1984 ; Oberai, 1983). Another suggests that the task of developing the rural areas be harmonised with that of developing intermediate towns so that the latter can lure migrants from the rural and even from the urban areas (Williams, 1978; Adepoju, 1983 ; Rhoda, 1983 ; Oberai, Prasad and Sardana, 1989). This dimension has a three-pronged effect. First, development is likely to creep into the rural areas in the process of building a medium-sized town. Second, it will prevent or slow down the rate of migration into the cities thereby easing the excessive pressure on the urban environment. Third, it will discourage the inhabitants of the hitherto rural area, which has been transformed into an intermediate town, from emigrating to the urban. This plan promises beautiful things in the three settings but it does

not address the issue of rural depopulation and its resultant demographic distortion but is more interested in protecting the urban environment.

The former school of thought insists that the solution to the problem of rural-urban migration can be generated in the rural areas. It recommends 'appropriate technology' which should take into consideration the peculiar socio-economic situation of the rural areas. It supports the introduction of directly productive activities and improved basic social infrastructure and production services with particular emphasis on the establishment and encouragement of small scale and cottage industries and labour-intensive agriculture (UNIDO, 1982 ; Todaro and Stilkind, 1981 ; Norman, 1978 ; Okpalanma, 1983 ; Akinbode, 1983 ; 1988 ; Nickson, 1986). This view is informed by the essence of rural development which should include the process of linking the rural areas with the national growth centres and developing their economic bases (Akinbode, 1988). The proponents of this view reason that, since the rural areas lack know-how and skilled workers, and cottage industries do not call for the latter, it is therefore a winning stroke. Moreover, they are labour-intensive rather than capital-intensive and the rural sector lacks

capital but can boast of a pool of unemployed and under-employed persons.

A third school of thought sees no cause for alarm over rural-urban migration. They argue in this school that the migrants never abandon their communities of origin, neither are they alienated from them. Rather, they see the urban centres as an extension of the rural communities (Esang and Mabawonku, 1974; Mordi, 1982; 1983). They argue that the rural areas stand to gain in the final analysis. To them, there is ample evidence that strong links exist between rural-urban migrants and their origins. They often leave their parents and family at home, and in some cases, migrants are sponsored by their rural household as a strategy to combat rural poverty by sending some household members out to tap some of the wealth concentrated in urban areas. The migrants compensate through home visits, remittances and return migration. To this school of thought, the rural areas gain a lot from rural-urban migration (Mordi, 1983). The situation in our study area seems to support this school of thought.

2.1.3.5 Who Funds Rural Development?

Another important issue arises as to who should finance and take responsibility for rural development. It is almost

taken for granted in most nations that government is responsible for the conception, implementation and funding of such programmes. In certain parts of Nigeria, the people have long been used to total government provision and maintenance of basic amenities. This orientation, therefore, informs their perception of rural development programmes. We are not likely to blame them for their opinions. On the other hand, some regions are less-favored and have, over the years, imbibed the system of internally generated rural development which is an integral part of their cultural and environmental setting. These two divergent experiences determine the perception of the people regarding rural development programmes and their financing.

The latter instance draws our attention to the issue of 'self-help' programmes in certain areas of the country. This is a strategy aimed at supplementing governments' development efforts with the efforts of the people themselves (Ekong, 1988). It is a system which is most rampant in the southern parts of Nigeria, especially among the Igbo. However, it is sometimes characterized by a slight degree of hesitation when the rural people realize that their urban counterparts are being 'well taken care of' by the same government to whom they all pay their taxes. Governments are also skeptical of taking

over self-help projects and, therefore, require some assurance of success before assistance can be offered.

Despite the controversy surrounding the issue of funding the programmes, government does not end up bearing the total cost of rural development. Igbozurike (1991) however reasons that government should bear the bulk of the responsibility for same. This view is likely to have arisen for the following reasons . First, the rural degradation which has generated so much concern has been brought about by governments policies which 'midwifed' structural dualism. Second, the resultant rural-urban migration threatens the urban areas where governments' interests are more manifest and which are dear to them. Third, rural development should be conceived as a compensatory process for the benefit of the neglected majority (Olatunbosun, 1975), from the stand point of equity given that these regions have been relatively deprived over the decades. Fourth, the urban regions depend much more on their rural hinterlands than the latter derive benefits from the former (Igbozurike, 1991). Fifth, a deprived populace characterized by illiteracy, poor nutrition, diseases and economic hopelessness is politically dangerous (Population Crisis Committee, 1989).

2.1.3.6 Return Migration and the Rural Environment

What happens to the rural areas which receive the returnees from the urban? How do the returnees influence or are influenced by rural development? These depend mostly upon the composition of the return stream and where the migrants returned from. Caldwell (1969) identified in Ghana a group of migrants who have ended their adventure and have come back to their roots to share their wealth of experience to bring about social change and development. The same view is held by Adegbola (1976) and Ajaegbu (1976). Simmons and Cardona (1972) see return migration as a source of diffusion of rare skills and an improved calibre of manpower to the rural areas (Brown and Lawson 1985 (a)). Adepoju (1979;1981) found that Nigerian returnees have helped change traditions and agricultural practices that had kept production low. They have also stimulated the building of village schools and health centres and other facilities that make rural living more meaningful. (Simmons, 1983; Population Reports M - 7, 1983).

Nevertheless, the evidence is mixed concerning return migrants as sources of innovation. DaVanzo (1976 ; 1978) claims that return migration in the USA is selective of the older, less-educated and unemployed semi-skilled persons. These people are in most cases termed unsuccessful migrants of

the city who return as a result of their inability to cope with urban competition (Cerese, 1972). Da Vanzo and Morrison (1978) have described this category of returnees as mostly short term migrants. They argue that return migration is negatively selective of those at risk when the interval of absence is short, but positively selective for longer absences. Using the Human Investment model (Sjaastad, 1962), they viewed the prospective migrant as one making an investment in human capital. The decision to migrate, therefore, is based on expected benefits and costs. According to DaVanzo and Morrison, with perfect information and foresight, the investor should always correctly weigh the advantages and disadvantages in deciding whether or not to move and where to move. They concluded that people most prone to return quickly are those who are least capable of processing information efficiently namely: the less-educated, the less-skilled and the less-careful planners. Hence, they (DaVanzo and Morrison, 1978) consider return migration a 'corrective' act occasioned by imperfect information concerning primary migratory investment.

Another category of returnees have been identified who did not acquire any new skills while they were in the urban centres (Paine, 1974 ; Caldwell, 1969; Gmelch, 1980). There

are also those whose work experiences are irrelevant at home. This explains why some returnees return to the farm after holding non-agricultural jobs in the urban areas (Caldwell 1969 ; Population Reports M - 7, 1983).

As regards the influence of returnees on the environment of return, Da Vanzo and Morrison (1978, 1981) point out that it hinges on the region's stock of human capital. In a severely distressed region for example, short interval returnees, although negatively selected out of the population of previous residents may be superior nonetheless to the unskilled, aged and dependent population they rejoin. According to their findings, longer interval returnees probably add more to the stock of human capital than do short interval returnees.

Kirschenbaum (1971) sees returnees as a special people. He believes that returnees possess characteristics suited to the general occupational opportunities available in the rural areas. These characteristics suggest the returnees' ability to effectively compete with the rural population for newly created jobs. This idea conforms to the labour force adjustment model which sees migration as a response to place-to-place differentials in wage rates and job opportunities at a single point in time (Brown and Lawson 1985 (b)).

In sum, it is pertinent to identify the composition of any return migratory stream because it is a reliable indicator of the reason for return migration as well as the effect of same. A negatively selected return stream, rather than generating development in the rural area, is more likely to constitute a 'rural menace'. Therefore, it is the focus of this study to ascertain the composition of the urban-rural return migratory stream. It will also examine the motive behind the pattern, the effect of same in the rural environment and the place of the returnees in the scheme of things. Particular attention will be paid to rural development and its relationship with return migration.

2.2 THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

Studies in Demography have a basic assumption that migration is governed by laws that are in operation across geographic settings and points in time (Brown and Jones III, 1985). However, in search of universality, statistical formulations have been proposed which are based on economic considerations. These account for migration through variables pertaining to wage rates, job opportunities, amenity levels, migration costs and information flows (Todaro, 1976). These

are referred to as 'conventional models' (Brown and Lawson, 1985 (a) ; Brown and Jones III, 1985).

Two main perspectives are presented by migration theories, namely : the economic and the non-economic. The former sees individual migrants as rationally optimising the costs and benefits of their decision to migrate. On the other hand, other social scientists regard the migration decision as consisting of two stages: the decision to migrate and the choice of where to go (Brown and Sanders, 1981). The former, however, has a strong leaning on economic factors but is substantially influenced by other, non-economic considerations.

Sjaastad is a leading exponent of the economic theoretical model. In his human investment approach, he sees migration as a logical response to economic incentives resulting from disequilibria across spatially separated labour markets. This falls under the second variant of the economic model - the 'human capital', 'cost-benefit' or 'expected income' approach. It sees migration as emanating from 'place-to-place differentials in economic conditions, but emphasizes the resultant increase on individual human capital and, accordingly, the calculation of expected returns over a future, as well as present time horizon. On the contrary, the

first variant - the 'labour-force adjustment' model concentrates on eliminating the place-to-place differentials from the economic landscape. (Sjaastad, 1962; Todaro, 1976; Brown and Sanders, 1981; Brown and Jones III, 1985).

Sjaastad treats the decision to migrate as an investment decision involving an individual's expected costs and returns (monetary and non-monetary) over time. As an investor, the migrant incurs some costs and expects to reap some benefits. The costs include both monetary and non-monetary ones. While the former include the 'out of pocket' expenses of movement, the latter includes forgone earnings and the psychic costs of changing one's environment. This concept has a bearing on DaVanzo and Morrison's (1978, 1981) 'location - specific capital'. The expected benefits of the return migrant, on the other hand, may include better job opportunities, higher incomes and living in a congenial environment. Sjaastad sees the decision to migrate and the direction of migration as being, to a large extent, influenced by the calculus of the balance sheet of costs and benefits of the migration.

While the economic approach is quite illuminating in explaining migration, it fails to capture the socio-psychological dimensions of the motivations to move. It

portrays the migrant as one whose every need is economic and therefore responds only to economic stimuli.

The migration model proposed by Everett Lee (1969) is not necessarily a set of migration laws but a conceptual framework to guide migration studies. To Lee, no matter how short or how long, how easy or how difficult, every act of migration involves an origin, a destination and an intervening set of obstacles (Lee, 1969). He identified four sets of factors that affect decision to migrate, namely:

- a) Factors associated with area of origin
- b) Factors associated with area of destination
- c) Intervening obstacles
- d) Personal factors.

The first category comprises such negative conditions (push factors), and the positive ones (pull factors), which act to either repel people from, or tend to hold or attract them to an environment respectively. Same is the case with the area of destination. There are, however, yet other factors to which potential migrants are indifferent though they differ from person to person. The pull and push factors in this study are based on the availability or otherwise of job opportunities, better income, social amenities, conducive

environment, economic sophistication and location - specific capital.

Lee emphasizes that though migration may result from a comparison of factors at origin and destination, a simple calculus of positive and negative factors does not decide the act of migration. The balance in favor of the move must be enough to overcome the natural inertia which always exists. A set of intervening obstacles stands between the two points and may include the distance of migration, the cost of migration and the social implications which may include size of family and physical migration barriers.

The fourth factor encapsulates those personal factors which determine how an individual will react to any urge or need to migrate. In Lee's view, it is not so much the actual factors at both origin and destination as the perception of same which results in migration. Rather, it entails personal sensitivities, intelligence and awareness which determine the potential migrant's judgement. Personal contacts and dispositions are crucial and differ from person to person. For instance, the strength of the pull factors in the rural area over those at the urban which are enough to move individual 'A' from the urban to the rural may not be enough to do same to individual 'B'.

While Lee's model concentrates on the process of migration decision-making, the 'social action' theory of Max Weber serves as a parent framework for explaining the concept of migration in its entirety. Social action refers to the deliberate act of an individual which may be overt or purely inward and subjective. This includes failure to act and passive acquiescence, and may be oriented to the past, present or expected future behavior of others (Mennell, 1974; Coser and Rosenberg, 1976). To Weber, all human behavior does not amount to action, neither is every human action 'social'. Behavior should be deliberate to qualify as action. Action, in turn, must be interpreted in terms of its subjectively intended meaning to the actor including the effects the actor wants the action to have on 'others'. This makes it amount to 'social action' (Mennell, 1974; Hirst, 1976; Haralambos, 1980; Rex, 1961; Coser and Rosenberg, 1976). The concept, 'others', may refer to individual persons, and may be known to the actor as such. It may also constitute an indefinite plurality and may be entirely unknown as individuals. Based on the foregoing definition, migration as human behaviour can be classified as social action.

Weber identified three basic types of action which are distinguishable by the meanings on which they are based. They

include Affectional or Emotional action - as the name implies, based on the individual's state of mind at a particular time; the Traditional action, based on ingrained habituation whereby the actor has no awareness of why he does something; and Rational action which involves a clear definition of goal, a systematic assessment of the various means of attaining the goal, and a careful selection of the most appropriate means.

Rational action, as proposed by Weber, best explains the human action of migration. First, human migration is not necessarily accidental, therefore it is 'action'. Second, the actor's subjective meaning of migration takes into account the behaviour of others, and channels his action accordingly. Third, it involves a methodical attainment of a definitely given and practical 'end' by means of an increasingly precise calculation of 'means' (Haralambos, 1980 : 280).

Human migration, with regard to its nature, is best categorized under the most rational aspect of Weber's social action typology. He calls this 'purposeful' or 'goal-oriented' rational action (Zweckrationalitat). Here, the actor weighs one option against the other, not only the means available for attaining a given end, but also the costs and benefits of using those means for one end or another, and finally, various ends themselves (Mennell, 1974:24). The

migrant has a goal - to better his lot - which forms his major motive. He then carefully evaluates factors such as alternative areas of migration, the cost of migration, the expected benefits of the movement, mode of migration and potential obstacles. His decision would, therefore, entail a calculation of costs and careful weighing of advantages and disadvantages of the various factors involved. It is reasoned here that the level of caution with regard to urban-rural return migration will tend to be higher than in rural-urban migration since the former is relatively unconventional. Moreover, it is intended to terminate in the rural areas which have been the source of emigration and which also have been 'less endowed'.

This theoretical approach, apart from considering the economic factors involved in migration decisions, emphasizes non-economic, especially the personal factors as they relate to the behavior of others. It recognizes the migrant as a member of society and takes into cognisance the fact that man exists and interacts with other individuals and groups.

2.3 STATEMENT OF RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

Following from the above problems, a set of working hypotheses was formulated as a guide to the analyses of the body of data obtained and the discussion of findings which will follow. These hypotheses are stated as follows:

- 1) Urban - rural return migration is selective of the young, unemployed, unskilled and semi-skilled individuals who are economically active. This implies that return migration is not necessarily a retirement process.
- 2) Own - account workers are more likely to return to the rural areas than people in other occupational categories. This hypothesis is in line with the proposition of Stone (1971) that the structure of economic activity and the socio-economic composition of a population are related to the socio-economic composition of the migration streams flowing to the region.
- 3) Urban - rural return migration is motivated by economic considerations. Therefore, it is occasioned, and also sustained, by the availability of better economic opportunities at the rural origins. This is in line with the assertion that "the springs of migratory movements are found in poverty and economic insecurity" (Integration, No. 37, 1993).

- 4) The impetus for urban - rural return migration is devoid of the influence of the returnee's family and relatives.
- 5) The extent of the returnee's disengagement from the urban area of last residence is largely dependent upon his age as well as occupational affiliation
6. Rural satisfaction of the urban-rural return migrant is dependent upon their age, marital status, job satisfaction and the duration of their rural residence (DRR). This hypothesis is broken down as:
 - i) Age is directly related with rural satisfaction. In other words, the older the return migrant, the more likely he is to be satisfied with the rural area.
 - ii) The return migrants who are currently married and those who have been married before (ever married) are more likely to be satisfied with the village than those who are single.
 - iii) Rural job satisfaction is positively related to rural satisfaction. Put differently, the more the return migrant is satisfied with his rural job, the more satisfied he is likely to be with the rural area of residence, and the greater his residential preference for the rural.

- iv) There also is a positive relationship between duration of rural residence (DRR) and rural satisfaction. In other words, the longer the returnee's DRR, the more likely he is to be satisfied in the rural area.
- 7) The probability of a returnee accepting an urban job is dependent upon his demographic and socio-economic characteristics.

This hypothesis is disaggregated to obtain the following set of propositions:

- i) The younger the returnee, the more likely he is to accept an urban job.
- ii) Unmarried return migrants are most likely to accept urban jobs relative to their married counterparts.
- iii) Educational level is directly related to acceptance of urban job. This means that higher the educational level, the more likely the return migrant is to accept urban employment.
- iv) Returnee's income level is inversely related to acceptance of urban job. In other words, the higher the returnee's income level, the less likely he is to accept an urban job.

- v) Rural satisfaction is negatively related to acceptance^{of} urban employment.
- 8) The incidence of remigration among the urban - rural returnees depends on the length of their migration (LOM), their socio-economic status and socio-economic characteristics. This set of research propositions can be broken down into three distinct parts:
- (i) The longer the migrant's length of migration (LOM) the less likely he is to remigrate to the urban area.
 - (ii) Rural satisfaction of return migrants is indirectly related with urban remigration.
 - (iii) The socio-economic status (SES) of return migrants is inversely related to their likelihood of remigrating to the urban areas.
 - (iv) Return migrants' age, marital status and income are inversely related to their ~~likelihood~~ of remigration, while education has a direct relationship with the tendencies of remigration.

To flesh-out the quantitative results obtained from the statistical tests of our research hypotheses, we fall back on the salient aspects of our series of indepth

interviews for some qualitative information. These will be employed in evaluating some research propositions which address the central issues in this study. They include:

- 9) Return migrants are important agents of rural development and social change.

It is believed that the adoption of the qualitative approach in this aspect of our analysis will offer us a better insight into the actual rural development situation and also serve as a confirmatory tool for the quantitative results.

CHAPTER THREE

CHARACTERISTICS OF RETURN MIGRANTS AND MIGRATION SELECTIVITY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

Human populations differ one from another based on several factors including social, economic and demographic characteristics. These factors facilitate the description of population and determine the behavioural patterns and dispositions of the members in given situations. They are indicators of the quality of life in an environment, the quality of the individuals (manpower), and the expected level and rate of development in it. These characteristics may be ascribed or achieved and, in most cases, do not operate in isolation. This chapter therefore makes a critical assessment of respondents' characteristics as they affect migration decisions. It examines migration selectivity by socioeconomic variables such as age, income, education, work status, occupation and family status. It also discusses social mobility in the process of migration. In particular, it highlights the relationships existing among the variables considered, in addition to the determinants of migration. Some of our research propositions will also be discussed in this process.

3.1 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RETURNEES

3.1.1 Age Distribution

Age is an important factor in population composition because it explains what is obtainable and also suggests what to expect in a population. It also determines (alongside other variables), and helps to estimate the degree of productivity or expected productivity, the demographic behaviour of members and the level of dependency within a given population. These indicators are crucial to development.

The youngest person in our sample is 18 years of age, while the oldest is 77. The modal age is 35 which is likely to have resulted from age heaping at the prime ages. It is interesting to note that 77% of the returnee population are under age 50. This signifies that a large proportion of this population is still active in the labour force. Our findings are in line with those of Oberai and Singh (1983) in Punjab, India where they observed a preponderance of economically active returnees. This pattern speaks something positive for productivity. To buttress this fact, it is noteworthy that only 10% of the returnee population are above 60 years of age. This is a clear indication that the return migration in Ideato

North is not a 'retirement migration'. In addition, 60% of the returnees are below age 40, showing that most of them are within the critical labour force age. This is a point that strengthens the curiosity of the researcher to discover why the economically active people are moving down to the rural areas.

Table 3.1 Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Return Migrants (Percentage Distribution)

Characteristics	N	%
Total	600	100
Age		
< 26	126	21.0
26 - 35	166	27.7
36 - 45	122	20.3
46 - 55	88	14.7
≥ 56	98	16.3
Sex		
Male	423	70.5
Female	177	29.5
Marital Status		
Single	239	39.8
Married	339	56.5
Separated/Divorced/Widowed	22	3.7
Ever married	361	60.2
Education		
None	57	9.5
Primary	269	44.8
Secondary	173	28.9
Tertiary	101	17.8

Work Status

Employer	10	1.7
Employee	188	31.3
Own-account worker	280	46.7
Unpaid family worker	28	4.6
Unemployed	42	7.0
Student/Apprentice	42	7.0
Cannot work	10	1.7

Occupation:

None	79	13.2
Office/Civil Servant	79	13.2
Teaching	52	8.7
Trading	168	28.0
Farming	73	12.2
Other blue-collar	149	24.7

Income (monthly in ₦)

< 200	155	25.8
201 - 500	196	32.7
501 - 1000	100	16.7
1001 - 1500	17	2.8
> 1500	24	4.0
* Unavailable	108	18.0

* Non reporting

When the age distribution was grouped (as Table 3.1 shows), the modal age group was the second which comprises returnees between the ages of 26 and 35. This group constitutes about 28% of the population. The demographic and economic consequences of these findings are likely to be favourable. In the first place, the pattern suggests a reversal of the state of demographic distortion which rural-urban migration has inflicted upon the rural areas. It is common knowledge that rural-urban migration is selective of

the young people but our findings show that some of these young people are going back home. Secondly, the low proportion of old people shows a low old-age dependency rate. Thirdly, the return of the economically active population gives the impression that there now exist in the rural areas viable labour-hiring and income-yielding economic structures and activities. From every indication, people migrate voluntarily in order to better their lots, therefore the emerging pattern seems to suggest that these returnees may have identified better socioeconomic opportunities at their rural origins. Rural productivity is likely to be raised while a better sense of social and economic security will be felt by the inhabitants of these rural areas. With about 49% of the returnees under age 35, the first proposition of our research hypothesis (as stated in chapter two) has been confirmed. This states that urban-rural return migration is selective of young people who are still economically active.

3.1.2 Sex Distribution

The sex composition of the return migration stream is skewed in favour of males, who constitute 71% of the total sample. Females make up the remaining 29%. This finding may be a resultant effect of the composition of the initial emigrant population. Rural-urban migration is mostly

selective of males, therefore return migration is likely to reflect this disparity. It is also a reflection of the motive behind the initial migration (rural-urban) as well as return migration. In other words, the reason for emigration, to a large extent, determines the composition of the consequent migratory stream. For instance, a need for low level manpower in the construction industry is more likely to attract the less educated than the educated. It also is more likely to attract males than females. Conversely, the contraction of the industry and other such factors that cause the returnees to move are likely to reflect on the sex distribution of the migratory stream. A closer look at these factors may show that the skewness of our sample is 'logical' given the circumstances surrounding their migration.

Consequently, this pattern is likely to neutralize the sex disequilibrium hitherto existing in the rural areas of emigration. It also is likely to have positive implications for nuptiality in the rural areas though this will be a function of the marital status of the returning males. Rural productivity and consequently development stands to be enhanced when these returning males engage in rural economic activities. Self-help projects may get a boost with the presence of more men providing labour and other resources when the need arises. Psychological needs will also be met

both at the family and community levels as a result of the reunion occasioned by return migration. The above may engender rural revival but the question which this study will answer is this: why are the supposed bread-winners coming home?

3.1.3 Marital Status

More than half the study population (precisely 51%) are currently married; 40% were single as at the time of survey while the rest are either separated, divorced or widowed (see Table 3.1). The substantial number of single returnees is suggestive of the availability of viable job opportunities in the rural areas. Conventionally, single people are more likely to migrate towards better economic conditions based on their ability to adjust and to adapt to new environments. In addition, they are more mobile because they are likely to have less family attachment and responsibilities which constitute a barrier to change of residence. In other words, they can move with relatively greater ease than their married counterparts. On the other hand, married people have higher economic and psychic costs of moving though it is easier for them to move homewards if conditions are favourable in the latter, and especially if they did not move in the company of members of their families. However, the implication of the

composition of our study population is that most of them are likely to be permanent return migrants because they are married. Migration for the married people is not an easy decision, therefore remigration is less likely among them than the single migrants.

3.1.4 Marriage Type and Family Size

Our findings indicate that out of the total married population, 95% were in monogamous marriages. This type of marital union is the most predominant among the Igbo (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1994a). Coupled with the low rate of separation and divorce, monogamy is likely to make for stronger familial cohesiveness. This is likely to transcend the nuclear family circle to the extended family. Members of such closely knit families are expected to have a high degree of emotional attachment to their roots. This is an important and positive factor in return migration.

Fertility levels for the returnees fall short of the average for the demographic area (eastern Nigeria). The former stands at about four children while the latter is over six (FOS and IRD/Macro International, 1992). The fertility curve for this population shows a normal distribution with its peak at four children. This suggests an urban orientation to family size. It may not be altogether so considering the fact

that over 60% of the returnees are less than 40 years of age. They are likely to be still reproductively active and may end up having an average of six children at the end of their reproductive age. This reminds us of the fact that women in monogamous marriages tend to have more children than their polygynous counterparts (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1994b).

3.1.5 Place of Birth

Our findings show that 72% of the returnees were born in rural areas. This represents a large proportion of the study population and could also represent a set of people who received their early socialization in rural settings. The birth place of a migrant is an important factor in determining his degree of rural orientation (Oucho, 1986). The latter concept refers to the extent of attachment an individual has with the rural environment and his value for rural lifestyle. The issue of birthplace also cannot be divorced from the concept of location-specific capital as conceived by DaVanzo and Morrison (1978; 1981). There is the likelihood that in the process of the respondents' socialization and rural residence, they made friends and also got acquainted with relatives. They also could have acquired some property and even the rural ways of life. These things are capable of keeping many of them attached to these areas. Many

(especially traditional people) are likely to see the village as the real home and consequently regard themselves as strangers anywhere else they find themselves. This category of migrants usually leave the villages as target migrants and will return whenever their targets are met. Apart from the above, some of the returnees might have returned in response to the development of an attractive and stronger force which has negated the initial factors that triggered rural-urban migration. However, this does not rule out the efficacy of rural orientation as a factor in return migration.

3.2 SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF RETURNEES

3.2.1 Educational Status

Data from this survey show that over 91% of the respondents have some formal education. This represents a very high level of literacy though most of them had a relatively low level of education. Of the total survey population, 72% did not go beyond secondary education. Precisely, 45% of the sample completed primary education only. About 27% completed secondary education, while 17% of them had some tertiary education (see Table 3.1). The level of tertiary education among return migrants is relatively low. Going by the number of years of schooling attained by the respondents, two peaks were identified at 6 and 11 years.

This case of heaping attracted some attention. The first seems to represent the average number of years required for completing primary education while the second applies to secondary education.

The observed education level is not unrelated to the socio-cultural orientation of the respondents. As was mentioned in the first chapter, Ideato people are traditionally business-inclined. In addition, a large proportion of them conceive primary and secondary education as an adequate base for any form of business interest. With this orientation, opting for tertiary education, therefore, amounts to mere waste of time and resources. However, it is pertinent to note that the fairly high educational level of the returnees may be a good indication of their calibre and the nature of their input in their rural origins since they are generally better educated than the rural population which they have returned to join. It could also be a pointer to the reasons behind their return, and may reflect the nature of the available economic opportunities in their rural origins.

3.3.2 Work Status

Available data on the work status of the respondents reveal that over 47% are own-account workers (see Table 3.1). These are those returnees who are in the private sector,

running their own businesses and who are accountable to themselves alone. This category includes also those who are employers of labour. The findings suggest a high participation of Ideato people in the private sector of the Nigerian economy. This is also a confirmation of the second hypothesis of this study which states that:

Own-account workers are more likely to return to the rural areas than people in other occupational categories.

This hypothesis is in line with the view of Stone (1971) that the structure of economic activity and the socioeconomic composition of a population are related to the socioeconomic composition of the migration streams flowing to the region.

Employees, on the other hand, constitute 31% of the study population and include both the private and the public sectors. This grouping takes into account civil servants, employees in the manufacturing concerns and also those who are employed in the various business setups of diverse scales.

The students and apprentices amount to 7%. They cannot be referred to as unemployed at this level because they are not yet qualified to work. Another 7% are unemployed but it is noteworthy that many people under this category may be engaged in some farming. Almost everybody in Ideato Local Government Area is engaged in farmwork, their occupation notwithstanding. This traditional practice, which has become a

societal expectation, has caused farming to be taken for granted. To many people it is just a way of life instead of an occupation. It may also be due to the miserably low agricultural productivity and consequently, low income from rural farming. The factors responsible for the latter include, among others, excessive land fragmentation resulting from the traditional land tenure system; poor farm inputs and crude farming techniques. The under-reporting with regard to farming may also be as a result of the peoples inherent desire for non-farm employment.

Unpaid family workers constitute 5% of the sample. Some of them could also be engaged in some farming. Finally, about 2% of the respondents cannot work due to various forms of incapacitation which are largely physiological. Some of them are too old to work while others are either handicapped by sickness or accidents. In sum, it is obvious that most of the returnees in our sample are own-account workers. This is a corroboration of Choi's (1984) findings in his study of urban-rural return migration in Korea.

3.2.3 Occupation

Our findings further confirm the traditional inclination of Ideato people towards trading and other allied occupations. Those engaged in trading constitute 28% of the sample. Crafts

and other blue-collar occupations make up about 25%. These are the modal occupational categories and these findings are in line with the educational level observed earlier. It could also be as a result of the set of factors that caused the migrants to come home. Teachers constitute only 9% while civil servants, those in various forms of government employment and those who are involved in some form of office work have a proportion of 13%. Another 13% do not have jobs and therefore do not have occupations. These include the students, apprentices, those that cannot work, and the unpaid family workers. About 12% of the population categorized themselves farmers. The above distributions are presented in Table 3.1. It follows that the preponderance of the own-account workers in our sample is a reflection of their occupational distribution. These own-account workers are those whose affiliation is most likely to tend towards trading and other blue-collar occupations. This set of findings further confirms the propositions of our first research hypothesis which predicts a preponderance of the unemployed, unskilled and semi-skilled individuals in the return stream.

3.2.4 Income Distribution

Data on the income of the respondents are based on their monthly earnings which includes their gross income from all

sources. Information gathered in this regard are mostly estimates since a lot of them could not come up with definite figures. This could be a function of their educational background and occupational leaning. Some of the respondents could not come up with any estimates until after a session of probing. It was easier eliciting information from the government employees and other salaried people because they are more likely to have definite ideas of their periodic earnings. However, the problem with them is that they most often declared their basic salaries but kept the gross to themselves, including their income from alternative sources. Table 3.1 above presents the respondents monthly income as reported.

From the table, it is observed that about 59% of the returnees do not earn more than five hundred naira (₦500) monthly. This is characteristic of rural income levels. Interestingly, 24% of the respondents earn more than ₦500 monthly. This represents a reasonably high income level by rural standards. It also points to the disparity in the scales of business, nature of work and volume of investment.

The unabridged frequency table shows heaping at the prime income values such as 100, 150, 200, 250, 300 etc. This could have been as a result of approximations made for purposes of convenience. It is important that the figures reported be

treated with caution considering the possibility of under-reporting and other negative factors associated with income data. It was also observed that many of the respondents earn supplementary income from small-scale farming, investment and petty-trading which were not properly accounted for. This has been discussed under data limitations which was presented in chapter one.

3.2.5 Property Ownership

This refers to ownership or otherwise of tangible landed property at the rural areas of origin. It is a strong factor in return migration decisions (Oucho, 1986; DaVanzo and Morrison, 1978; 1981). Property in this context refers to houses, land and personal projects at hand.

3.2.5.1 House Ownership

A large proportion (63%) of the respondents own houses in the villages of origin, out of which 23% built theirs during their migration period. For 18%, the houses were built by parents, while 10% built theirs on return to origin. The other houses were built by relatives. Most of the houses involved are relatively new. Our findings show that over 42% of the houses were not more than five years old as at the time

of survey. About 82% of the houses are less than twenty years old. It is significant to note that one out of three return migrants built rural house as a result of migration (counting the 23% who built their houses during the period of migration and 10% who built theirs on their return).

Most of these houses fall into the simple bungalow category which is the commonest pattern of building in the rural areas. The other patterns which include modern single flat and multi-flat bungalows, multi-flat storey buildings and duplexes are in the minority. These are common in the urban centres which are more dynamic and where more commercial value is attached to buildings. Most of the rural houses are being put to family residential use while a few others are being used both for family residence and for business purposes. Only an insignificant proportion is for tenement purposes alone. This shows that most house owners do not receive, neither do they expect, monetary returns on their houses.

3.2.5.2 Land Ownership

This is an important index of social status in rural eastern Nigeria since almost all rural settlers practice subsistence agriculture. Land is in short supply in Igboland following from the high population density associated with its

socioeconomic and cultural environment. In addition, land fragmentation resulting from the land tenure system has aggravated the availability problem. Coupled with the above, the Igbo as a cultural group hold land in high esteem, as a matter of tradition (Uchendu, 1965). Land is conceived as a sacred entity. Though African traditional religion is no longer being effectively practised by the people, these beliefs have over the years, subtly permeated the cultural fabrics of this society. People unconsciously consider the 'feelings' of the 'earth goddess' when decisions concerning land are being taken, even though they may view this as mere tradition. However, all the above culminated into a strong attachment to land. This may also explain the high incidence of land disputes among this ethno-cultural group.

The findings of this study show that 57% of the respondents own, at least, a parcel of land in their rural origins. It is also clear that most of the land was inherited while the others were either purchased or received as gifts. Traditionally, land passed down by inheritance to descendants through generations is held in higher esteem than parcels of land that are purchased. To the inheritor, it is a symbol of legitimacy within his lineage.

With regard to current use of land, 54% of the respondents are putting theirs to agricultural use, and most

of them do not intend using the land for some other purpose. However, some others intend developing their parcel of land. These results tell us one important thing: that the returnees in our sample have property in the rural origins which are capable of increasing their attachment to these origins.

3.3 SOCIAL MOBILITY IN THE MIGRATORY PROCESS

As is expected in every human society, members are always in a continuous process of mobility (Giddens, 1989). It involves either a gain in income, property, status etc (upward mobility), or a movement in the opposite direction (downward mobility). In this section, the respondents (return migrants) are considered with regard to their mobility in the spheres of education, marital status, work status and occupation. This analysis is likely to provide us with a picture of the social standing of the returnees which has a bearing on their quality and may point us to the likely motive of their return. More especially, it will inform us of the effect of migration on their social status as well as their environment.

3.3.1 Marital Status

There was a reasonable level of transition in marital status among the migrants. Table 3.2 shows that 82% of the

returnees left the villages single. This is in agreement with the age composition of the migrants at departure. Migration

Table 3.2: Social Mobility of Respondents During Migratory Transitional Periods (Percentage Distribution).

Status Categories	Time Periods		
	<u>Before Emigration</u>	<u>On Return</u>	<u>Difference</u>
<u>Marital Status</u>			
Single	82.0	39.7	-42.3
Ever Married	14.8	55.8	41.0
No response	3.2	4.5	1.3
Total	100.0	100.0	-
<u>Educational Level</u>			
No education	18.8	17.7	-1.1
Primary	51.0	35.7	-15.3
Secondary	23.3	29.8	6.5
Tertiary	4.2	14.5	10.3
No response	2.7	2.3	-0.4
Total	100.0	100.0	-
<u>Work Status</u>			
Employer	.3	1.2	0.9
Employee	6.3	30.5	24.2
Own-account worker	10.7	45.5	34.8
Unpaid family worker	15.7	3.2	-12.5
Unemployed	20.1	8.0	-12.1
Student/Apprentice	39.7	8.0	-31.7
No response	7.2	3.6	-3.6
Total	100.0	100.0	-
<u>Occupation</u>			
Unemployed	72.2	18.8	-53.4
Office/Civil service	.8	11.3	10.5
Teaching	5.5	8.5	3.0
Trading	5.7	28.8	23.1
Farming	8.3	10.7	2.4
Other	4.0	21.0	17.0
No response	3.5	.9	-2.6
Total	100	100.0	-

towards the urban environment is conventionally selective of the young and unmarried who consequently find movement, change of residence and adaptation easier (Caldwell, 1969; Shaw, 1975; Makinwa, 1981; Oberai and Sigh, 1983; Toure 1983; Weeks, 1992). They are more likely to have minimal social responsibilities at home. About 40% of these migrants returned single. On the other hand, the proportion of the married people rose with migration from about 15% to nearly 56% showing that many more people entered into marital unions during their migratory experiences. This finding does not make their migration a marriage migration which is usually associated with females who migrate with their spouses or in search of husbands (Caldwell, 1969; Makinwa-Adebusoye, 1994). We have seen in section 3.1.2 that 71% of the migrants involved are males. They could have emigrated to the urban areas to seek greener pastures, in particular, to make money with which to marry. It is common knowledge that the Igbo demand high bridewealth for marriage (Isiugo - Abanihe, 1994a), so the initial migration may have been undertaken to raise the requisite funds. Migration, therefore, appears to be an important source of marital mobility.

3.3.2 Educational Mobility

Though improvement on the educational attainment of the returnees through the migratory process is not very

appreciable, it is clear from Table 3.2 that educational levels rose with migration. For instance, primary education fell from 51% to 36% between the initiation of migration and the return, while secondary education appreciated from 23% to about 30%. There is an impressive rise in the level of tertiary education during the migratory process suggesting a substantial improvement on the quality of manpower. It records an appreciable increase from 4.2% to 14.5%.

The above results help us identify two categories of migrants, namely those who emigrated to the urban areas to acquire some education, and those whose migration had little or nothing to do with education. The latter category is dominant. The people without any education could have left the village to engage in trading or any of the blue-collar occupations which, by implication, do not necessarily require formal education. On the other hand, those with secondary and tertiary education could have emigrated primarily to attend higher-level institutions that abound in the city, given the paucity of higher educational institutions in the rural areas of Ideato.

3.3.3 Work Status

This aspect of the migrants' characteristics witnessed a positive boost within the migratory period (see Table 3.2).

There was an impressive increase in the economically productive activities among return migrants and consequently a substantial decrease in the number of dependent or unemployed members. The proportion of the unemployed persons fell from 20% to 8%; that of students and apprentices from 40% to 8%, while that of unpaid family workers was depleted from 16% to 3%. On the other hand, employees increased in proportion from 6% to 31% and own-account workers from 11% to 46%. More people also became employers of labour upon their return.

The findings confirm the incidence of upward social mobility which is associated with migration. They also suggest that the impetus for the initial migration was supplied by the migrants' need to secure gainful employment and to earn a living. The large increase in the proportion of employees and own-account workers shows the availability of economic opportunities in the rural areas and also suggests prospects for economic development. Another important indication of the findings is the fact that the returnees could have emigrated to acquire necessary skills and resources which will sustain them economically on return. The returnees can, therefore, be regarded as assets to the rural origins of return since they came home better than they left.

The findings tend to suggest that migration is an action geared towards the improvement of a person's or group's social status.

3.3.4 Occupation

This section examines the occupational status of the study population and its consequences for the economic environment. It also defines the quality of manpower available and points to the level of productivity.

Our findings show that unemployment levels between migratory periods plummeted from 72% to a mere 19%. This implies that a large proportion of the migrants became employed in the process of their migration. All occupational types experienced increases but the most significant are 'Trading' and Other' (other blue-collar occupations) where compositional levels rose from 6% to 29% and from 4% to 21% respectively. It is also noteworthy that civil service jobs increased from less than 1% to 11%.

The degree of change observed in trading and other blue-collar occupations is apparently related to the occupational leaning of Ideato people in favour of the private sector. This is traceable to their socio-cultural background. The 10% point recorded by the civil service category does not strictly belong to this category alone because the grouping includes

all other forms of office work. An interesting aspect of the findings is that unemployment declined considerably. This is a compliment for the rural areas because it shows their capability to sustain viable economic activities and to meet the economic needs of their inhabitants.

In sum, the foregoing has demonstrated that there was a reasonable improvement in the quality of life of the migrants during the course of their migration. In the process of migration, education improved, more migrants entered into marital unions, their employment and work status, and consequently, income witnessed an appreciable boost. This is what Giddens (1989) refers to as 'upward mobility'.

3.4 MIGRATION SELECTIVITY

3.4.1 Age Selectivity in Migration

This particular aspect of the chapter presents a cross-classification analysis involving the age of migrants and its relationship with migration and related decisions. The importance of age as a principal variable in migration analyses cannot be over-emphasised. It prescribes the socioeconomic status of individuals as well as providing explanation for social behaviour. It influences the individual's disposition to circumstances, his perception of reality, interpretation of available information, and

determines, among other things, his actions. For instance, younger people, as stated earlier, are more positively disposed to migration relative to older ones (Shaw, 1975). They are more likely to utilize opportunities consequent upon migration because they have less social and economic ties that could inhibit such. They are also more likely to be dissatisfied with their current economic status (at any particular point in time) given their motivation to improve their lots and to remain upwardly mobile. In the simplest terms, their psychic costs of migration are minimal. On the other hand, older people are relatively less-motivated and more conservative. They are more likely to have a lot more social and economic responsibilities which constitute a strong inertia with regard to migration. These discouraging factors explain their more sedentary disposition.

As regards the migrants' occupational affiliation, there is an appreciable relationship between the age of an individual and the type of job he is most likely to be engaged in. This may be as a form of convention borne out of societal expectation, or of physiological disposition, or both. Our data show that almost one-half (48%) of the population aged below 25 are not employed, while an almost insignificant proportion (2%) are engaged in farming. There is an indication that most of the young people are not yet qualified

to work in their chosen areas of economic activity. In other words, they may yet be in school or are undergoing a period of apprenticeship. Some others might not have had any need for a job as a result of their obvious dependence upon their parents. However, for the two subsequent age groups (26-35 and 36-45), trading and other blue-collar occupations provide employment for most of the individuals. Each of the two age groups contributes more than 60% of its population to these occupational categories. At the later end of the age continuum, farming gained grounds. Among the old people who have returned, farming seems to have provided a ready source of economic and social fulfillment.

It should be noted as a matter of importance that the very young people, who are mostly unemployed, have a predisposition for remigration. This predisposition is more likely to be effective if they fail to get satisfactory jobs in their rural origins. Their age and its attendant characteristics which include ease of migration and adjustment to new environment, desire for adventure, and the likelihood of being free from social responsibilities put them in an advantageous position in favour of migration. However, they have ample representation in the civil service and in blue-collar occupations constituting 18% and 17% respectively. In fact, relative to other age groups, they are the most likely

to be in the civil service and to be engaged in some form of office work. Unemployment rate for this age group (18-25) is highest. It accounts for 52% of the entire unemployed population as is shown in Table 3.3. In addition, 56% of the members of that age group are unemployed, and they have the lowest level of satisfaction with the rural environment and the highest probability of remigrating and of accepting urban jobs as the crosstabulation and correlation tests revealed.

Table 3.3 Percentage Distribution of Unemployment by Age

Age Group	(Unemployed) %
< 26	52
26 - 35	11
36 - 45	6
≥ 46	31
Total	100

An important point that needs to be cleared here is with regard to the source of their dissatisfaction. This necessitated further inquiry which showed that among all ages, most of the employed people are satisfied with their jobs. In the same vein, most of the young returnees (aged between 18 and 25) who are employed are satisfied with their jobs. Further inquiry, however, shows a high correlation of their

low rural satisfaction levels with unemployment. In other words, they are dissatisfied with the rural environment because they do not have jobs. Reference is made here to the first proposition of the seventh hypothesis of this study which states that age is inversely related to acceptance of urban employment. This means that the younger the migrant, the more likely he is to accept a job in the city. Table 3.4 shows that 67% of the returnees aged between 18 and 25 will accept the urban offer if it comes. The acceptance rate

Table 3.4 Percentage Distribution of Returnees by Occupation, Rural Satisfaction, Job Satisfaction and Urban Employment by Age

Variables	Age Groups				
	18-25 % (N)	26-35 % (N)	36-45 % (N)	46+ % (N)	All Ages % (N)
<u>OCCUPATION</u>					
All	100 (126)	100 (126)	100 (122)	100 (186)	100 (600)
Unemployed	48 (61)	4 (6)	3 (3)	8 (15)	14 (85)
Office/Civil service	18 (22)	10 (15)	7 (9)	17 (32)	13 (79)
Teaching	3 (4)	13 (22)	16 (20)	3 (6)	9 (52)
Trading	12 (15)	36 (61)	37 (45)	25 (47)	28 (168)
Farming	2 (3)	5 (8)	8 (10)	28 (52)	12 (73)
Others	17 (21)	32 (53)	29 (35)	18 (34)	24 (143)
<u>RURAL SATISFACTION</u>					
All	100 (126)	100 (162)	100 (121)	100 (182)	100 (591)
Satisfied	50 (63)	53 (85)	63 (76)	80 (145)	62 (369)
Not Satisfied	50 (63)	47 (77)	37 (45)	20 (37)	38 (222)
<u>JOB SATISFACTION</u>					
All	100 (35)	100 (151)	100 (114)	100 (143)	100 (436)
Satisfied	69 (38)	62 (94)	65 (74)	62 (88)	64 (294)
Not quite	22 (12)	31 (46)	29 (33)	34 (49)	30 (140)
Not Satisfied	9 (5)	7 (11)	6 (7)	4 (6)	6 (29)
<u>URBAN EMPLOYMENT</u>					
All	100 (126)	100 (164)	100 (121)	100 (186)	100 (597)
Will accept	67 (84)	57 (94)	47 (57)	26 (49)	48 (284)
Will not accept	33 (42)	43 (70)	53 (64)	74 (137)	52 (313)

declines monotonously as age increases and at the oldest age group (46 years and above), this proportion came down to 26%.

In other words, the older migrants are the least likely to accept urban jobs. This is discussed in detail with our multivariate analyses in chapter five.

3.4.2 Migration and Education

Educational attainment directly or indirectly influences an individual's propensity to migrate and also determines, to a reasonable extent, the potential opportunities for upward economic mobility (Caldwell, 1969). Therefore, an analysis of migration selectivity by educational attainment affords us valuable insight into the critical issues in return migration including its relationship with rural development. Education, with its basic function of enlightenment, breaks with relative ease, the walls of socio-cultural and economic resistance and consequently paves the way for movement across territorial boundaries. Interestingly, return migration cuts across all levels of educational attainment. Migrants no matter their educational status look forward to a time when they will head home, especially towards their exit from the labour force (Caldwell, 1969). While some expect to return when they must have met their target, which may include owning a good house in the rural origin or acquisition of other property that will make rural living more comfortable, others look forward to a time when they can no longer work. The latter group are

almost sure of sustenance at home courtesy of the benevolence of the extended family system. In most cases, the highly educated fall into the first category, along with others who may not be in similar educational category but have the financial wherewithal. The underlying factor here shifts slightly to income which is determined by education, occupation or both. Some of the migrants who were not able to accomplish the targets they set for themselves may decide to those pursuits in the rural areas where cost of living is considerably low.

Our findings show that over 54% of the study population are either non-literate or have only primary education. This suggests a low educational status for the area of study. This skewness has been explained earlier in the study using the socioeconomic and cultural background of the people involved (see chapter one). This is strongly related to the work status, occupational affiliation and definitely, the income of the people studied. They are predominantly own-account workers who are more disposed to engage in trading and other blue-collar occupations. The few of them who have tertiary education earn higher income but those with primary education earn higher than their counterparts with secondary education suggesting that the former did not spend much time in school before embarking on the trade of their choice which would not

have been the case with the latter group. Secondly, the latter group, with their education, could have settled for paid employment which, on the long-run, is not as financially rewarding as trading and some blue-collar jobs, though it may be less-demanding and more decent.

It was also found that most of the returnees with tertiary education are short-term returnees. In other words, they are very recent returnees in relation to the other educational groups. This is perhaps traceable to the factors responsible for their return. Primarily, we found that the returnees with tertiary education are to a great extent, responsible for their decision to return. Few of them were influenced by their families or employers. In addition, most of them returned either to stay with family at home, which is a psychological need, or because they found better job opportunities at their rural origins. Very few of them returned as a result of insufficient income or ill-health.

With regard to future move, the results show that the degree of willingness to remigrate to the city is positively related to educational attainment. In other words, the higher the educational status of the return migrant, the greater his propensity to remigrate to the urban area. Based on the nature of this relationship, we can speculate on what could be an appropriate explanation for it. More educated people are

more predisposed to critical analysis of the socioeconomic situation around them, especially as it affects them (both directly and indirectly). They also are more likely to have better access to information in this regard. Another factor is that the more educated are more economically and socially versatile. They can change jobs or residence with greater ease than their less-educated and uneducated counterparts.

At this point, we can infer that the more educated occupy a principal position among those at risk of remigrating. Another line of research is opened up at this level which may focus on finding out why the more educated want to remigrate to the city. The results of such an enquiry will surely be a valuable contribution towards policy formulation at the different levels of government, especially as they relate to the grassroots.

3.4.3 Migration, Occupation and Work Status

There has been a growing interest in the interrelationship between the temporal variations and differences in the economic structures among territories on one hand and variations in the characteristics of internal migration. This has been a subject of several demographic studies over the years. An outstanding observation in this respect is that the flow of population is closely associated

with changes in the socioeconomic situation over time and with variations in socioeconomic conditions among different areas at one point in time. Conventionally, the direction of migration streams is from the areas of lesser opportunities (according to Ravenstein, 1885), to those of greater opportunities. This is because the migrant at every point in time seeks to better his lot through migration. This led Stone (1971) to posit that the structure of economic activity and the socioeconomic composition of the population are related to the socioeconomic composition of the migration streams flowing to the region.

It has been taken for granted that migrants are basically motivated by economic consideration. Explanation for the action of migration has been carried out by mere reference to the relationship between migration and economic opportunities. However, this does not do enough justice to the issue. It necessitates the examination of some other factors such as the characteristics of the individuals involved. This therefore raises a series of fundamental questions as to the basic characteristics which predispose them to move. However, they are difficult to isolate.

An observation from the data which is neither a product of inadequate data collection techniques nor enumerators' inefficiency, is the composition of the returnees with regard

to work status. In Korea, Choi (1984) found a preponderance of own-account workers in the return stream even when age is controlled. From our data, about 47% of the returnees are own-account workers. This may be as a result of the greater ease with which own-account workers could change their places of residence because they are less involved in organisational settings and are not accountable to any boss. When the socioeconomic background of the returnees is considered, it is necessary to note that the identifiable compositional heaping on this activity status (own-account) could be because:

- (a) The rate of participation in paid employment among the people being studied has remained low over the years.
- (b) The migrants' activity status at the urban area largely determines their activity status on return.
- (c) Own-account workers may include those returnees who could not obtain paid employment, and, therefore, resorted to self-employment, and
- (d) The attendant prospects of self-employment in an environment which is undergoing a considerable rate of transformation.

This intra-variable compositional disparity also exists for the occupational affiliation of the returnees which is skewed in favour of trading and other blue-collar occupations. It can be seen as a result of the peoples' inclination to and

value for the informal economic activities, such as trading, which has become a way of life for them. It has permeated the socio-cultural fabrics of that society and is also manifested in their socialization process. This makes it impossible for us to isolate the effect of the set of economic variables whose input may seem obvious. This compositional dominance is likely to affect other stages of analysis. In spite of this fact, the data should be reported the way it is.

Without reference to any possible defects in the data presented, we would conclude that there is a generally high labour force participation rate among the returnees. Most of them returned home to continue their working lives while some others are unemployed. The latter group comprises those seeking employment and those who cannot work for such reasons as old age, ill-health and lack of necessary and appropriate skills for employment. The shortcoming of this finding remains the fact that we lack information with which to analyse the degree of under-employment among the returnees. There could be a concentration of marginal workers who are staying put in their rural origins because they are not opportuned to emigrate in the near future, and could be enjoying the benefits of the presence of family that may be providing most needs. Another important observation is that most of the returnees are engaged in the informal sector of

the economy. This may depend largely on the educational status of the migrants and the nature of the rural economy. (Stone, 1971).

3.4.4 Migration and Marital Status

Marriage may be considered the most plausible reason for most female migration (Choi, 1984). This involves married women moving with, or joining their spouses or single women moving with the prospects of acquiring spouses. However, Caldwell (1969) found in Ghana that most women involved in both internal and international migration left their homes after marriage rather than as single youths. This is a sharp contrast with the pattern for males who usually undertake their first moves as unmarried youths (see Table 3.2). Caldwell observed that most women moving to the cities were young brides or brides-to-be who were joining their fiancés. Nevertheless, our data show that most of the returnees involved in this survey are males accounting for over 70% of the sample. Therefore, we do not have any strong indication that the motive for their initial migration or their return can be explained from the point of view of marriage.

There is no doubt that marital status is an important characteristic of an individual's life cycle, and hence it is conceivable that migration propensities change as an

individual moves from one stage of his life cycle to another. The migrants included in our survey were mostly (82%) single at the initial migration (ie movement from the village to the city). During their return, the proportion single among them fell to less than 40%. This reflects a reasonable rise in the social status of the individuals involved. This change of status, to the migrants, could be a major influence in their return migration decision. This implies that when migrants marry, they decide to return to base. According to Choi (1984), from his studies on return migration in Korea, married people are more likely to return. Most migrants to the city (especially in developing countries) leave family at home. Family may include spouse, children, brothers, sisters, parents, other dependants and other close relatives. Caldwell (1969) found that many of the migrants in Ghana's cities left their spouses at home and he saw this as a strong factor in their return decision. This argument is in line with DaVanzo's (1978) 'location specific capital'. This stock of capital keeps the migrant attached to the rural origin by causing him to maintain his links through periodic visits, remittances etc. This degree of attachment eventually culminates in return migration.

With regard to the female proportion (30%) of the returnees, there is need to exercise caution in ascribing a

specific cause for their movement. This is because the perception about female migration generally reflects marriage migration or family migration. This perception is as a result of the prevailing patriarchal system of social organization and the subordinate position of women in many societies which deter their autonomous migration. This organization and its role system confer on husbands the authority and role of making decision on crucial matters; though he may seek his wife's opinion, he may confide in his brothers or other kinsmen more than he would the wife (Isiugo-Abanihe, 1990(a); 1990(b) Makinwa-Adebusoye, 1994). In the background of the above social structural position, the married proportion of the female population in our sample are presumed to have returned as a result of their husbands' decisions. Probably, in preparation for the husbands' final disengagement from the city, wives' return constitutes part of a gradual process of home-coming. The wives could also have been 'drafted' home as a result of economic hardship in the urban environment. This, therefore, becomes a cost-saving exercise to keep the family economically afloat. Among the single female returnees, return migration is most likely also to be the result of the decisions of parents or guardians but most importantly, the head of household.

From the foregoing, there does not seem to be any indication that the urban-rural return pattern in Ideato area is a marriage migration, rather the returnees are mostly married people who, according to research, have a greater disposition to return to their places of origin than the single (Caldwell, 1969). Their migratory pattern may be rightly regarded as a 'rejoining migration' since most of them returned to stay with their families among other motives.

3.5 INCOME SELECTIVITY IN MIGRATION

Income in its commonest sense refers to the earnings which accrue to a person (especially an economically active person) within a specified period of time. It may be either regular or otherwise depending on the stability of the activity yielding the income. In the context of this study, income refers to the total earnings of any return migrant on a monthly basis. It includes the returnees earnings from all sources (formal or informal). This kind of categorisation may be misleading in cases where an individual's earnings may not correspond with the expectation of his occupational grouping. For instance, a classroom teacher who engages in some trading may be earning much higher than his counterparts who depend on the monthly salaries and allowances from the government. Not

losing sight of this fact, we insist that total earnings be maintained as the measure of income because we are interested in the actual earnings of the returnees which is most likely to determine their socioeconomic status. There is no way of isolating the contribution of the supplementary incomes in the assessment of their quality of life.

For more convenience in data manipulation as well as for reference purposes, the respondents' incomes were grouped into four categories. These include the returnees without any income; those with low income, consisting of returnees who earn two hundred naira (₦200) or less; the medium income group, comprising those that earn between two hundred and one naira and five hundred naira (₦201-₦500). The fourth category includes those return migrants in our sample who earn over five hundred naira (₦500) monthly.

Emphasis therefore is on the interaction between the monthly income of the returnees and their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics and also their decisions with regard to migratory moves. It is obvious that income is a central determinant of individuals' socioeconomic status and has considerable influence on their perception and interpretation of issues and circumstances. Therefore, it is of interest to us in this study given the latter's social nature and the place of income in socioeconomic research.

Income may determine the size and direction of remittance flows, the living standards of families and households, the nature as well as direction of migratory movements and the effects of fertility, mortality and migration on the survival and socioeconomic well-being of human populations (Hauser, 1979; Reid and Lyon, 1972).

3.5.1 Education and Returnees' Income

This section seeks to identify the relationship which exists between the monthly income of return migrants and their educational levels. This inquiry is informed basically by the fact that education, to a reasonable extent, determines income levels which in turn determines the living standards of individuals. It was found that large proportions of the uneducated returnees, those with primary school education only, and those who completed secondary education are medium income earners (₦201-₦500). On the other hand, those with tertiary education are predominantly high income earners (refer to Table 3.5). Information in Table 3.6 shows that all categories apart from the tertiary education group earn below the mean monthly income level for the entire population.

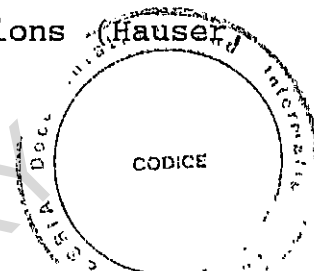


Table 3.5: Percentage Distribution of Respondents' Monthly Income by Socioeconomic Characteristics and Migration Decisions

Variables	Respondents' monthly income			
	None % (N)	Low % (N)	Medium % (N)	High % (N)
EDUCATION				
No education	23 (13)	19 (11)	40 (23)	18 (10)
Primary	29 (78)	23 (61)	32 (87)	16 (43)
Secondary	23 (40)	23 (39)	35 (60)	20 (34)
Tertiary	15 (15)	6 (6)	26 (26)	54 (54)
WORK STATUS				
Employer	20 (2)	10 (1)	10 (1)	60 (6)
Employee	3 (5)	19 (36)	47 (89)	31 (58)
Own account worker	29 (81)	13 (36)	34 (96)	24 (67)
Unpaid worker	32 (9)	29 (8)	18 (5)	21 (6)
Unemployed	59 (23)	33 (13)	3 (1)	5 (2)
Student/Apprentice	47 (26)	42 (23)	7 (4)	4 (2)
OCCUPATION				
Office/Civil service	2 (2)	16 (21)	41 (54)	41 (54)
Teaching	41 (64)	32 (50)	15 (24)	13 (20)
Trading	29 (48)	12 (20)	35 (58)	25 (42)
Farming/others	22 (32)	18 (26)	42 (60)	18 (25)
URBAN VISITS				
Never visited	17 (37)	26 (57)	38 (84)	19 (41)
Low	20 (43)	21 (45)	30 (62)	29 (61)
High	39 (66)	9 (15)	29 (50)	23 (39)
RURAL SATISFACTION				
Satisfied	30 (62)	19 (38)	34 (69)	18 (36)
Not Satisfied	20 (75)	20 (74)	33 (120)	27 (100)
Uncertain	35 (9)	19 (5)	27 (7)	19 (5)
URBAN EMPLOYMENT				
Will accept	24 (67)	21 (60)	36 (103)	19 (54)
Will not accept	25 (79)	18 (57)	29 (93)	28 (87)
REMIGRATION				
Will remigrate	33 (55)	21 (35)	33 (56)	13 (22)
Will not remigrate	16 (35)	17 (37)	33 (69)	34 (72)
Uncertain	26 (56)	21 (45)	32 (71)	22 (47)

Table 3.6: Mean Monthly Income by Characteristics and Migration Decision

VARIABLES	MEAN MONTHLY INCOME (₦)	N
ENTIRE POPULATION	557.18	492
EDUCATION		
No education	472.67	45
Primary	509.27	205
Secondary	495.13	151
Tertiary	809.86	

<u>WORK STATUS</u>		
Employer	1656.25	8
Employee	506.34	183
Own-account worker	763.40	200
Unpaid worker	388.86	22
Unemployed	134.14	35
Student/Apprentice	52.09	44
<u>OCCUPATION</u>		
Office/Civil Service	505.97	79
Teaching	712.31	51
Trading	771.06	122
Farming/Others	559.73	169
<u>URBAN VISITS</u>		
Never visited	330.16	170
Low	610.67	245
High	829.80	77
<u>RURAL SATISFACTION</u>		
Satisfied	649.08	303
Not Satisfied	413.85	182
<u>JOB SATISFACTION</u>		
Satisfied	730.40	253
Not Satisfied	324.16	25
Uncertain	507.34	100
<u>URBAN EMPLOYMENT</u>		
Will accept	402.84	244
Will not accept	705.44	246
<u>REMIGRATION</u>		
Will remigrate	339.70	140
Will not remigrate	792.80	181
Uncertain	485.82	171

Table 3.6 reveals that the uneducated earn the lowest income probably as a result of the type of occupational activities they are engaged in. Surprisingly, those returnees who stopped at the primary education level earn higher than their

counterparts who completed their secondary education. This result calls for further inquiry. However, we can obtain explanation from the socio-cultural and occupational values of the people being studied.

The descriptive analysis carried out earlier in this chapter indicates that the returnees who completed primary education only are more likely to engage in trading. That section also revealed that the traders have the highest income levels among the occupational groupings. These therefore explain the relatively high mean income levels among the primary education category. The highly educated (tertiary), though they are much fewer in number, have the highest income levels on the average.

3.5.2 Work Status and Returnees' Income

We expect that the employers of labour among our respondents will be predominantly high income earners. However, it is surprising that some of them claim they do not have any monthly income. Clearly, this information is misleading since one cannot be an employer of labour without having any income. Therefore, we tend to believe that some employers of labour failed to report their income for reasons which may be related to protecting their businesses from tax

assessments. The employees and own-account workers are mostly medium income earners while unemployed returnees, students and apprentices are highly represented in the 'no-income' group. From Table 3.6, the employers of labour are seen to earn an average of ₦1656 which is almost tripple the mean income for the entire population. This group is followed by the own-account workers, which apparently includes traders and those engaged in several forms of blue-collar occupations. At the other end of the income spectrum, we find that students and apprentices earn the least, followed by unemployed people. It is important to note that apart from employers of labour and own-account workers, whose mean incomes are higher than the population mean, the other categories earn less than this reference income (mean income for the entire population).

3.5.3 Occupation and Returnees' Income

Our information in this regard can be misleading when the category without income is considered. The reason is that the cases of non-reporting of income and uncertainty concerning actual incomes were classified under the same group. However, from Table 3.5 we can yet deduce that reasonable proportions of civil servants and other respondents engaged in various forms of office work belong to the medium and high income categories. Traders and also farmers and blue-collar workers

predominantly fall into the medium income category. Therefore the latter group earn between ₦201 and ₦500.

More precise information can be gathered from Table 3.6. The traders earn the highest mean income of about ₦771. This finding seems obvious, but it is rather surprising that teachers rank second in income. Certain factors could be responsible for this, including the fact that the teachers have some considerable amount of time at their disposal after school hours. Therefore a good number of them engage in other money-yielding ventures to supplement their official earnings. Secondly, they are likely to be more educated than the returnees in some other occupational categories and are also in the formal (public) sector and have a good idea of what their earnings amount to. They also are in a better position than many others to be truthful with regard to providing information about their income. Therefore, there is less likelihood of under-reporting among them as against their counterparts such as traders and farmers. They are also more likely to understand the purpose of the researcher's inquiry especially regarding their income, given the underlying suspicion that such information may be useful to the Board of Inland Revenue where taxes are reviewed.

3.5.4 Urban Visits and Returnees' Income

It has been discussed earlier that the segment of return migrants who have never visited the urban areas which they returned from are most likely to be the old, retired people and the displaced who have spent a reasonable part of their lives in the city before returning to the village. It was also found that a good number of them are farmers while some others are unpaid family workers. Going by the above information, we are likely to agree with the results presented in Table 3.6 which ascribes to them the lowest mean income among other categories of returnees. They are more likely to be less-motivated people and may not have any cause to desire frequent visits to the city. There is a definite pattern in the results we have in the table. It is obvious that income rises with frequency of visits. In other words, the more frequent a returnee visits the city, the higher his mean income (or vice-versa). It is more likely that the returnees who visit urban areas more may be predominantly traders who go to purchase their stock of wares, and these traders are more likely to have higher incomes than those in other occupational groupings. Also, some of these frequent visitors may be those who have some investments in the city for which periodic visits are necessary.

3.5.5 Rural Satisfaction and Returnees' Income

As the income of the return migrant increases, his degree of satisfaction with the rural environment also increases. This is one of the significant findings of this study. It is almost obvious to note that those return migrants who have the financial wherewithal are more likely to enjoy rural residence because they can afford the necessary resources to make rural living more meaningful. By the same token, those returnees who claim to be enjoying their rural jobs are more likely to be high income earners. Table 3.6 confirms this position. It seems to follow that those returnees who are not satisfied with their rural jobs are primarily not pleased about their incomes.

3.5.6 Urban Employment and Returnees' Income

What are the things that can cause a return migrant to accept a job which can take him back to the city? In answering a question of this nature, one cannot lose sight of the income factor. If the basic considerations to be made before a decision is taken are economic, income has to be the paramount factor. Earlier in this section of the work, our discussion revealed the critical position of income as a concept in determining the socioeconomic status of individuals. This comes into play when employment decisions

are about to be taken. Our findings corroborate this fact by showing that those return migrants who will accept urban jobs have low mean monthly incomes while their counterparts who will shun the urban jobs were found to have high mean monthly incomes. Therefore, the willingness to accept an urban job is negatively related to the income levels of the returnees. It is important to note that these high income earners are more likely to be the frequent urban visitors and also are more likely to be businessmen. They have higher incomes because they are economically more active relative to those in other income categories, and have more frequent contacts with the urban areas which they visit at will given the nature of their occupation. They should have a stronger basis for rejecting urban job offers since they have enough financial resources to ensure reasonable survival in the rural environment. They may not have any intention to return to the city since they might have resided there for long periods of time. They also are not likely to be attracted by the city jobs but are more likely to prefer periodic urban visits when necessary.

3.5.7 Remigration and Returnees' Income

The decisions regarding urban employment cannot easily be separated from those regarding remigration since the former is

capable of determining the latter. A direct relationship exists between them in the sense that the incidence of remigration to the urban areas is likely to increase with returnees' willingness to accept urban jobs. From our previous analysis, it seems apparent that mean monthly income levels are likely to be lower among return migrants who are willing to remigrate to the city. On the other hand, those who do not intend to return to the city are more likely to have high income levels. For those who intend to remigrate, we can deduce from the foregoing that they are more likely to be dissatisfied with the rural environment; with their jobs (if they are currently employed); and their rural residence may therefore be considered temporary. For the third category, who are not sure of their future migration decisions, we can suggest that they are either comfortable presently for some reasons, or that they have social responsibilities that keep them from remigrating. To them, the necessity to remigrate from their rural origin may not have arisen.

Other factors come into play in this analysis which we need to consider. The return migrants' length of migration (LOM) was introduced and our results show that income increases with length of migration. The likely explanation is that the long term migrants took out time to accumulate enough resources, make tangible investments and also plan their

return. To this category of returnees, remigration to the city is unimaginable.

Based on the several findings presented in this chapter, it is obvious that the respondents' characteristics as they influence migration decisions cannot be over-emphasised. They constitute a set of crucial social facts which should be taken cognisance of in the process of policy formulation.

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CHAPTER FOUR

THE DETERMINANTS OF INITIAL AND RETURN MIGRATION

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter specifically considers the determinants of the migrants' initial move from the rural to the urban areas, and the subsequent migration back home. It makes an attempt to test one of the principal hypotheses of the study which asserts that migrants move basically for economic reasons - a perspective which has become popular in the migration literature over decades. It also examines the sources of influence on the migrant with respect to his decisions to move. This became necessary in the light of the need to ascertain the strength or otherwise of the individual migrants' social networks in influencing his decision to migrate and also the direction of his move. Also of interest to this chapter is the relationship between the socio-demographic characteristics of the migrants and the reasons for their migration as well as the relationship between these characteristics and the sources of influence on the migrant decisions to move.

4.1 DETERMINANTS OF MIGRATION

'To most West Africans, the ancestral village always remains home' (Caldwell, 1969; 185).

The above statement may sound too assertive but to a considerable degree, it stands as the basic underlying fact in most return movements in the region in question. Caldwell, after an extensive study of migration in several African countries found that very few migrants to the town assume during their first journey that there will not be a final 'home-coming'. According to him, almost none assumes that a complete break is being made. However, some important questions arise at this point as to who returns, why he returns and when he does. The answers to these questions highlight the effect of the migrants' characteristics and circumstances and other factors on return migration. These factors are considered the independent variable in this analysis while the acts of migration (initial and return migration) are the dependent variables.

Our understanding of who returns (as has been shown in previous sections), when, and under what circumstances, offers us a bearing on why he returned. Means and crosstabulation tables will be employed to provide the desired results in this section.

4.1.1 Reasons for Initial Migration

Return migration and its determinants may not be easily divorced from the circumstances of the initial migration. This has necessitated a renewed interest, and consequently, an enquiry into the reasons for the returnees' initial movement and other related issues to arrive at a more comprehensive explanation for their return.

In the questionnaire schedule employed for data collection, there is a classification of the likely reasons for initial migration (rural-urban migration) which were presented to the respondents. The latter were asked to indicate whether or not these reasons were contributory in their migration decision-making process. We sought to know the importance of the listed factors in migration studies. This was so designed to provide us with an insight into the nature of the migration which took place and the migrants' position in the process, all of which we perceive as a pointer to the reasons for their return. Table 4.1 presents the results of this stage.

Table 4.1 Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Reasons for Initial Emigration

Reasons for move	N	%
Total	600	100
<u>No job/Unemployment:</u>		
Important	280	46.7
Not important	306	51.0
No response	14	2.3
<u>Insufficient Income:</u>		
Important	236	39.4
Not important	350	58.3
No response	14	2.3
<u>Unsatisfactory Job:</u>		
Important	160	26.7
Not important	426	71.0
No response	14	2.3
<u>Poor Rural Amenities:</u>		
Important	112	18.6
Not important	472	78.7
No response	16	2.7
<u>Family/Social Feuds:</u>		
Important	65	10.8
Not important	517	86.2
No response	18	3.0
<u>Insufficient land/resources:</u>		
Important	34	5.6
Not important	550	91.7
No response	16	2.7
<u>Job transfer:</u>		
Important	66	11.0
Not important	515	85.8
No response	19	3.2
<u>Seeking better job:</u>		
Important	292	48.7
Not important	294	49.0
No response	14	2.3

<u>Offered better job:</u>		
Important	137	22.8
Not important	444	74.0
No response	19	3.2
<u>Education for self:</u>		
Important	223	37.2
Not important	361	60.1
No response	16	2.7
<u>To learn a trade:</u>		
Important	290	48.4
Not important	293	48.8
No response	17	2.8
<u>To get married:</u>		
Important	39	6.5
Not important	541	90.2
No response	20	3.3
<u>Education for children:</u>		
Important	53	8.8
Not important	524	87.4
No response	23	3.8
<u>To accompany family:</u>		
Important	175	29.2
Not important	407	67.8
No response	18	3.0

For this important research question, 14 central reasons for initial migration (rural-urban migration) were chosen for the test. The results, as presented by table 4.1 above reveal that the most important (significant) reasons for initial migration among this stream of migrants are: the search for ^{learning a trade} better jobs, ^{and the quest for education} unemployment, and insufficient income. Table 4.2 presents, in a hierarchical order of importance, the five most significant factors as extracted from Table 4.1.

Table 4.2 Reasons for Initial Migration in Hierarchical Order of Significance

Reasons for initial move:	N	%
Total	600	100
1. Seeking better job	292	48.7
2. To learn a Trade	290	48.4
3. No job/Unemployment	280	46.7
4. Insufficient income	236	39.4
5. Education for self	223	37.2

The findings confirm the proposition of most migration researchers which assert that the motivation for migration, especially rural-urban migration, can be found in economic inequalities and inadequacies. (Caldwell, 1969; Adepaju, 1976, 1979, 1983; Toure, 1983, Mazur, 1984; Weeks, 1992). The first four most important considerations are basically economic factors and can be described as employment and income-oriented. They vividly support Toure's (1983) assertion about migration in the developing countries. The fifth factor (education) also, is highly correlated with the economic variables represented by the first four. Education is a major determinant of occupation and consequently, income. It dictates the social and economic status of individuals and groups.

It is clear that most of the returnees in our study did not make their initial moves as a result of the unavailability of farmland, neither is there any indication of their intention to engage in agriculture. They did not emigrate as a result of social feuds in their rural origins, neither did they go on transfer. The poor state of rural amenities did not seem to have been their concern at the point of decision making, nor were they dissatisfied with the nature of their rural jobs. They were predominantly unemployed people and new entrants into the labour force who were also leaving the villages to acquire skills necessary for their chosen lines of economic activity.

4.1.2 Influences on Initial Migration

In this migratory episode, most of the influence on the migrants' decision emanated from their families, especially from parents and other relations. However, a remarkable degree of independence can be identified from the responses received as Table 4.3 presents. To 26% of the respondents, their migration was apparently a result of their own decisions. It is noteworthy here that about 2% of the respondents moved as a result of influences from others - members of the immediate and the extended families. Some of the returnees in this category acted in response to employers'

influence. This gives an indication of the socioeconomic composition of the migratory stream. With reference to Table 3.2, and with particular interest in occupation, we find that about 72% of the returnees left the rural origins as unemployed people. More importantly, most of the financial requirement for the movement was met from within the family with the parents providing a large part of it.

Our findings point to the reality of chain migration as over 88% of the respondents reported that they had at least a relative resident in the city they initially emigrated to. Within this category of returnees, 89% reported that these relatives knew they were coming over. In turn, out of this proportion, 79% affirmed that these relatives were instrumental to their migration decisions. This is a factor which perpetuates rural-urban migration in that the prospective migrants set their urban-dwelling relatives as models that have to be followed, especially if these urban dwellers are successful. Their success is, therefore, strictly associated with the urban environment. It may be a wrong and unreliable assessment of the issues in the phenomenon but it is a potent factor in migration decision-making.

Table 4.3 Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Determinants of Initial Migration

Categories	N	%
<u>Who influenced decision?</u>	591	100
Employer	12	2.1
Brothers/Sisters etc	97	16.4
Parents	194	32.8
Other relatives	132	22.3
Self	156	26.4
<u>Who financed initial move?</u>	600	100
Employer	13	2.2
Brothers/Sisters etc	96	16.0
Parents	223	37.2
Other relatives	139	23.1
Self	129	21.5
<u>Was relative living in city?</u>	600	100
Yes	532	88.7
No	55	9.2
No response	13	2.1
<u>Did he know you were coming?</u>	533	100
Yes	475	89.1
No	40	7.5
Don't know	15	2.8
No response	3	0.6
<u>Did he/they influence your decision?</u>	484	100
Yes	382	79.0
No	97	20.0
Don't know	3	0.6
No response	2	0.4
<u>Who accompanied you?</u>	598	100
Employer	11	1.8
Brother/sister etc	101	17.0
Parents	79	13.2
Other relatives	194	32.4
None	213	35.6

A large proportion of the migrants went unaccompanied while most of them (over 60%) were either accompanied by brothers or sisters, parents or other relatives. Migration at this level and of such nature, remained a family affair. It is assumed here that the migrants involved are mostly young, single people who are unemployed (see Table 3.2) and who migrated to the city to equip themselves for the labour market. Most of them moved either to get jobs, to learn a trade or to acquire education. In sum, it is apparent from the foregoing that the initial migration was economically motivated.

4.1.3 Sources of Influence on Migration Decisions

The pattern of influence on the migrants regarding their initial move is examined under this heading by assessing the reasons for initial migration vis-a-vis the sources of influence. Only those reasons which were found significant in the preceding section were considered in this analysis. Crosstabulation tables were employed to obtain the results presented below.

4.1.3.1 Seeking Better Job/Income

Our findings show that among those people who left the villages in search of better jobs in the city, there is a

considerably high degree of independence with regard to decision-making. About 33% of them reported that their decisions were not influenced by anybody apart from themselves (see Table 4.4). These are likely to be experienced adults who have a reasonable degree of autonomy and responsibility. About 28% of the respondents were influenced by their parents. This category is likely to be constituted by younger people who are more likely to be dependent upon parents as at the time of initial migration. Other relatives influenced the decision of 22% of the respondents, while 16% were influenced by their brothers or sisters (fellow siblings). From the above, 44% of the migrant were influenced in their initial migration by members of their immediate family. When the extended family is included, the figure rises to about 66%. Therefore, if we look at the concept of family from a purely African perspective, we can say from the above that among those migrants whose initial migration was necessitated by the search for better jobs at the urban areas, 66% were influenced by their families.

4.1.3.2 To Learn a Trade

For those migrants who left the villages to learn a trade in the city, there is a slightly different distribution of influence. Level of influence from the employer remained

insignificant. Influence of brothers and sisters rose to 19%, that of parents also to 34%, while other relatives exerted the same degree of influence on this category of migrants as with those who migrated to seek better jobs. Independent decision level fell to 24% indicating that this category of emigrants enjoyed less autonomy than those who left for better jobs. First of all, these ones were not likely to be employed as at time of emigration because they were going to town to learn a trade. They are more likely to be young and to be dependent upon parents, brothers and sisters, and on other relatives. This explains the high level of influence from the immediate family (53%) and even higher level of influence from the extended family network (75%). It confirms the strength of social (family) networks in migration decisions.

Table 4.4 Reasons for Initial Migration by Sources of Influence

Reasons for Migration/ Source of Influence	N	%
1. <u>To seek better job:</u>	292	100
Employer	4	1
Brothers/Sisters etc	48	16
Parents	81	28
Others relatives	63	22
Self	96	33

2.	<u>To learn a trade:</u>	290	100
	Employer	4	1
	Brothers/Sisters etc	56	19
	Parents	97	34
	Others relatives	63	22
	Self	70	24
3.	<u>Unemployed:</u>	280	100
	Employer	4	1
	Brothers/Sisters etc	45	16
	Parents	86	31
	Others relatives	57	20
	Self	88	32
4.	<u>Insufficient income:</u>	236	100
	Employer	4	2
	Brothers/Sisters etc	35	15
	Parents	57	24
	Others relatives	61	26
	Self	79	33
5.	<u>To acquire education for self</u>	223	100
	Employer	5	2
	Brothers/Sisters etc	30	13
	Parents	80	36
	Others relatives	46	21
	Self	62	28
6.	<u>To accompany family:</u>	175	100
	Employer	2	1
	Brothers/Sisters etc	27	16
	Parents	82	47
	Others relatives	51	29
	Self	13	7

4.1.3.3 Unemployment

Unemployment at rural origin was the major cause (push factor) of the initial migration of 48% of our respondents. They headed for the city not to seek better jobs but to search out sources of livelihood because they did not have jobs. Those who went to the city to 'learn a trade' could be young

people, but this category of emigrants are likely to be older and more responsible for their migration decisions. Therefore their decisions are more likely to be the results of their own personal conviction and interpretation of the socioeconomic realities. Our findings support this line of thought. They have less dependence on the family than those who went to learn trades. However, they have almost the same degree of dependence with those who went seeking better jobs and income.

4.1.3.4 Insufficient Income at Origin

Among those who left village for the reason of insufficient income, employers' influence increased slightly; family's influence decreased while there was an improvement upon the area of self responsibility. These differences in levels of influence may only be more significant in relative terms than in absolute terms but it should be noted that in spite of the increasing personal influence, an aggregation of all influence from the family (both immediate and extended) makes a lot of difference and goes to emphasise the superiority of family networks in migration decisions. As a matter of fact, about 40% of the respondents left the village for the above reason. The influence from the family could have arisen as a result of far-reaching economic pressures whose effect emigration is meant to cushion. Migration under

such circumstances is perceived as a survival strategy by a desperate individual or family.

4.1.3.5 To Acquire Education for Self

As is expected among migrants who moved for academic purposes, there was a decrease in the proportion of those who were either influenced by self or by other relatives. However, there was a sharp rise in the proportion of those influenced by their parents. This dramatic increase is not unconnected with the fact that parents are in most cases responsible for the funding of education. In addition, as Table 4.4 above indicates, a considerably large proportion of initial migration (37%) was financed by parents. It is obvious that the migrants who left the rural origin in search of education are most likely to be young people. These migrants are also most likely to be dependent, to a large extent, on their parents. Their level of autonomy consequently is also more likely to be low as well, and this will put most of the responsibility of migration decisions on the parents.

4.1.3.6 To Accompany Family

About 30% of the returnees made their initial move in order to accompany family. Most of them could have been

compelled to move while some others took their decisions on their own accord. Our findings, as presented in Table 4.4 above, show a further rise in the sphere of influence of the parents, and the extended family generally. Their location, in most cases, will determine the location of their children and wards. In a good number of cases, parents migrate with their children, especially those who are still dependent. Sometimes, the children stay back only to join them later. Brothers and uncles also may move with dependent siblings. The migration of these dependants is apparently a function of decisions taken at the family level.

4.1.4 Reasons for Return Migration

After ascertaining the circumstances surrounding the migration decisions in the primary move, the reasons for return migration will be examined in this section in the light of some socio-economic variables. This is an integral, as well as a principal, aspect of this research which cannot be glossed over. Given the nature of the migratory pattern under study, it is important that adequate explanation be provided to satisfy the curiosity of the critical observers of the pattern.

4.1.4.1 The Need to Stay with Family

During the survey, the respondents were asked to supply the central reasons why they decided to move towards their rural origins. This became necessary because their movement was one against the conventional direction. The results of this enquiry are quite interesting. Most importantly, we found a reduced emphasis on the pecuniary explanation for migratory movements (see Table 4.5). Our finding de-emphasises the economic motive of migration, and lends weight to the psychological dimension in explaining the act of human migration. Our findings show that the most important reason for the migrants' return is their need to stay with their families. It simply refers to the longing of the individuals involved to return to their roots and to live among their people, and suggests a high degree of rural orientation among them and the possibility that they maintained their rural links while they were away in the city. They also probably possessed an appreciable amount of location-specific capital at their rural origins which tend to attract them.

**Table 4.5 Percentage Distribution of Respondents by
Reasons for Return Migration**

	N	%
<u>Reasons for return</u>		
Total	600	100
<u>To stay with family:</u>		
Yes	204	34.0
No	394	65.7
No response	2	.3
<u>Insufficient urban income:</u>		
Yes	134	22.3
No	465	77.5
No response	1	.2
<u>Ill-health/Insecurity:</u>		
Yes	69	11.5
No	528	88.0
No response	3	.5
<u>Better job opportunities:</u>		
Yes	62	10.4
No	536	89.3
No response	2	.3
<u>Job transfer:</u>		
Yes	53	8.9
No	545	90.8
No response	2	.3
<u>Poor urban environment:</u>		
Yes	40	6.7
No	559	93.1
No response	1	.2
<u>Urban unemployment:</u>		
Yes	30	5.0
No	568	94.7
No response	2	.3

<u>Retirement:</u>		
Yes	29	4.9
No	569	94.8
No response	2	.3

4.1.4.2 Insufficient Income

This second most significant reason for return migration is the inability of the urban income of the respondents to meet the latter's needs, which expectedly creates both socio-economic and psychological tension. Another perspective from which to analyse this factor is in relation to the expected income at the rural origin. Two things are likely under this situation of decision-making. There could have either been a strong persuasion on the migrant based on his understanding of the entire socioeconomic situation in both the urban areas and the rural origin, or an existing offer of a better job and income in the rural origin prior to decision-making. Most importantly, the applicable option here was sufficient to surmount the obvious intervening obstacles to such movements against the 'normal' currents of migration.

4.1.4.3 Ill-health and insecurity

We found that many a migrant was compelled to return to the rural origin as a result of ill-health and general insecurity. Ill-health here refers to disorders of the body

or mind which are capable of increasing the rate of morbidity and adversely affect labour force participation. Some of these returnees are unfit for any meaningful economic activity as a result of old age while some others have suffered disability as a result of occupational hazards and other accidents. Insecurity refers both to economic and social insecurity. It seems intuitive why to such category of people the rural origin always remains home, and a place to run to when all seems to have failed or when the chips are down (Caldwell, 1969; Oucho, 1983). This explains the return movement of most of the returnees under this category. The extended family system which is fully in operation in the rural areas and its social networks provide a reliable source of survival and succor for people in need. The returnees surely find solace in their rural origins.

4.1.4.4 Better Job Opportunity

This set of findings makes us realise that some of the returnees took their decisions based on the actual materialization of better job opportunities in the rural area while some did so in anticipation of such conditions, being informed by the rate and direction of development in their rural origins (see Table 4.5). Evidence from the indepth interviews reveals that the reasons for their return was not

urban unemployment per se, but under-employment. It does not give the impression that the returnees are retirees but that they were yet within the labour force age as at time of survey. Retirement and unemployment as reasons for return migration have the lowest composition in the returnee population studied, therefore they are not viable determinants of this pattern of migration in Ideato North Local Government Area of Imo State.

From the foregoing, we can suggest that these migrants did return mostly for psychological reasons of attachment to family and probably, the rural environment too. This attachment is not unconnected with their stock of location-specific capital (DaVanzo and Morrison, 1978) at the rural origin which constitutes a viable force pulling them back to it. The family at home and landed property are the obvious forms of such capital. Importantly, it is clear from the first chapter that the Ideato migrants are strongly attached to their rural origins and consistently maintain their rural links by frequent home visits either on weekends or during festivities. In addition, chapter three states clearly that most of these returnees were born in the village and could have grown up there and are most likely to have friends and also could have left a host of relations in the village. They are very likely to have strong attachment to the rural

environment and consequently a high degree of rural orientation.

4.2 REASONS FOR RETURN MIGRATION AND THE MIGRANTS' DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIOECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

It has been found necessary at this point to seek relationships between the reasons proffered by the migrants for their return and their demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. These characteristics include age, marital status, education work status, and occupation, all of which are critical factors in social surveys. It is assumed that these factors must have directly or indirectly come into play in the migrants' decision-making process as it affects urban-rural return migration. The migrants' characteristics are discussed under the reasons for the move and the distribution is presented in the tables below.

4.2.1 The Need to Stay with Family

This is the most significant reason for return migration among Ideato North return migrants (see Table 4.6). It downplays and even debunks the conventional reasoning that migration basically is an economically motivated action. The finding goes contrary to the proposition of the third hypothesis of our study which states that urban-rural return migration is motivated by economic considerations. This

psychological angle to it makes for a re-think of the former thesis. The question now is: How is this reason related to the characteristics of the migrants involved?

The findings in this analysis show that most of the returnees who decided for the village in order to stay with family are either under 25 or over 46 years of age. It gives us the impression that the young and the old are more attached to family at home than the middle aged. It also suggests that these two age categories have more need to return to origin than others. While the younger ones are responding to parental demands, the old on the other hand are heading home after completing their migration tenure.

The married are also more likely than single people to return to the village in order to stay with their families. Some of them may have married in the interim, and are heading home to start a family. The results of variables such as education, work status and occupation seem misleading because they reflect more the proportion of the sub-populations to the total sample. It shows a preponderance of those with primary and secondary education, own-account workers engaged in trading and blue collar jobs, and the unemployed.

Table 4.6 First Reason for Return Migration by Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Respondents

REASON 1: To stay with family

Characteristics	N	%
All	204	34
<u>Age</u>		
< 25	64	31
26 -35	32	16
36 -45	35	17
≥ 46	73	36
<u>Marital Status:</u>		
Single	74	36
Married	122	60
Separated/Divorced/widowed	8	4
<u>Education:</u>		
None	26	13
Primary	86	42
Secondary	64	31
Tertiary	28	14
<u>Work Status:</u>		
Employer	1	<1
Employee	60	29
Own-account worker	93	45
Unpaid family worker	8	4
Unemployed	14	7
Student/Apprentice/cannot work	28	14
<u>Occupation:</u>		
None	40	20
Office/Civil service	25	12
Teaching	15	7
Trading	53	26
farming	25	12
Other blue-collar	46	23

4.2.2 Insufficient Urban Income

This factor is basically an economic one and has been found significant earlier in the report in determining the

return of the migrants. These migrants could have, after due consideration, decided that their urban earnings are not worth their while. The best option under such circumstances was to return to their roots. Age has been found crucial in this analysis. From our findings it is shown (as is displayed on Table 4.7) that only 2% of returnees under age 25 returned as a result of insufficient income. The very young people are more likely to be unemployed and could not be talking about insufficient income. Their pre-occupation is likely to be how to secure jobs.

About 61% of the respondents have primary education as against 24% with secondary education. Tertiary education stands at 6% having a lower proportion than is constituted by the uneducated. Own-account workers amount to 60% followed by employees, making up for 26%. With regard to occupation, trading is predominant with 38% followed by other blue-collar occupations with 26%. This may be reflecting the composition of the entire return stream though it is justifiable that they are the people who are more likely to abandon the city as a result of insufficient income. They also are more likely to get established in the rural where they stand a chance of enjoying low operational costs and also take advantage of the growing infrastructural base of the countryside and the need for services in a fast developing rural environment.

Table 4.7 Second Reason for Return Migration by Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Respondents

REASON 2: Insufficient Urban Income		
Characteristics	N	%
All	134	22
<u>Age:</u>		
< 25	3	2
26 -35	46	34
36 -45	39	30
≥ 46	46	30
<u>Marital Status:</u>		
single	42	31
Married	90	67
Separated/Divorced/Widowed	2	2
<u>Education:</u>		
None	12	9
Primary	82	61
Secondary	32	24
Tertiary	8	6
<u>Work Status:</u>		
Employer	2	2
Employee	35	26
Own-account worker	81	60
Unpaid family worker	10	7
Unemployed	4	3
Student/Apprentice/cannot work	2	2
<u>Occupation:</u>		
None	6	4
Office/Civil service	16	12
Teaching	5	4
Trading	51	38
Farming	21	16
Other blue-collar	35	26

4.2.3 Ill-health and Insecurity

This category takes into account those returnees who left the city mostly for health reasons and found it more meaningful to return to the village. Also included here is a very small proportion of people who left the city for security reasons.

Once again, we have found age very significant in this distribution as Table 4.8 shows. It is clear that most (62%) of the migrants under this classification are at least 46 years old. We can assert with a considerable degree of certainty that the older migrants are more likely to return as a result of ill-health or insecurity. There are some basic considerations to be made in this analysis. The first is the fact that the ill-health reported here may be as a result of these people's inability to cope with the urban life which is full of hustle and bustle which are not compatible with their age. Secondly, at their age most of them are already psychologically tuned to returning to their origins. Making recourse to Caldwell (1969) who posited that most West African migrants have at the back of their minds at the beginning of their migration experience that they will return someday, this perspective makes more sense. As a matter of tradition also, the Igbo expect a man who is getting old to retire to his roots since it is not proper for him to die in a 'strange

land', and especially to be buried there. These could explain the predominance of the aged under this category.

The married people constitute 77% of the population - a higher proportion than was found in other categories. About 62% have primary education while 23% do not have any education at all. Education has also been found a significant variable in this discussion. It is clear from the findings that the proportion of those without education rose significantly. It can be reasoned that the uneducated are more likely to engage themselves in unskilled and hazardous occupations which take heavy tolls on their health. They also are more likely than the educated to suffer from illnesses that hinder productivity, probably as a result of ignorance, negligence and even traditional beliefs. They also are more likely to be poor and to live under undesirable conditions with regard to nutrition and physical surroundings. These make them more prone to disease and may tend to keep their morbidity levels high.

They are more likely to be own-account workers (68%), while a reasonable proportion of them (12%) reported that they cannot work probably due to their health situation. They, on return, are mostly engaged in trading (36%), other blue-collar jobs (23%) and farming (22%). There is no teacher among them, while 13% of them have no occupation at all. Their

Table 4.8 Third Reason for Return Migration by Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Respondents

REASON 3: Ill-health and insecurity		
Characteristics	N	%
All	69	12
<u>Age:</u>		
< 25	4	6
26 -35	10	15
36 -45	12	17
≥ 46	43	62
<u>Marital Status:</u>		
Single	12	17
Married	53	77
Separated/Divorced/Widowed	4	6
<u>Education:</u>		
None	16	23
Primary	43	62
Secondary	9	13
Tertiary	1	2
<u>Work Status:</u>		
Employer	-	-
Employee	5	7
Own-account worker	47	68
Unpaid family worker	7	10
Unemployed	2	3
Student/Apprentice/cannot work	8	12
<u>Occupation:</u>		
None	9	13
Office/Civil service	4	6
Teaching	-	-
Trading	25	36
Farming	15	22
Other blue-collar	16	23

occupational leaning is very much related to their educational levels. The latter explains the former being a major determinant of same. Education dictates social status, perception of situations and conditions of living.

4.2.4 Better Job Opportunities in the Rural

This category takes into consideration those returnees who left the city in search of better job opportunities in the rural area. This simply means that they had jobs in their former places of residence (urban) but were apparently not satisfied with them or they expected something better in the rural area.

Our findings show that about 63% of the return migrants in this grouping are between the ages of 26 and 45 years, though the age group with the highest representation is the 26-35 years age group which accounts for 36%. In sum, the age distribution shows a considerably high representation of those people who are still within the labour force age. Interestingly, there is a higher proportion (50%) of single people under this category which can be explained by the fact that single people are likely to be more adventurous and would be in a better position to take the risk of relocating both their residence and business concerns. They are more motivated by a the force of the desire to achieve while their responsibilities (familial) are still minimal. Almost all of

them (95%) have a form of education, and the greatest proportion (40%) completed secondary education. Primary education has 36% while tertiary has 19%. It is obvious that educational attainment is relatively higher among this segment of the population. This could explain their quest for better jobs.

With regard to their work status, these people are mostly own-account workers (47%) and people engaged in paid employment (40%). This gives us an impression of the nature of the rural areas under study. It raises a question as to why one would leave the urban area, which seem to hold high hopes for the rural man, to return to the rural area in search of better jobs. The occupational distribution shows that 35% are engaged in trading, 23% in office work and civil service, while another 23% are engaged in other blue-collar occupations. About 13% of this population are teachers. These returnees had confidence that they will get better jobs in the rural areas before they left the cities and we want to believe that they took careful decisions. The basis of this confidence is probably the large number of factories and cottage industries located throughout Ideato, established by successful indigenes residing in the cities to tap the locally available raw materials.

Table 4.9 Fourth Reason for Return Migration by Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics of Respondents

REASONS 4: Better Job Opportunities in the Rural		
Characteristics	N	%
All	62	10
<u>Age:</u>		
< 25	12	19
26 - 35	22	36
36 - 45	17	27
≥ 46	11	18
<u>Marital Status:</u>		
Single	31	50
Married	30	48
Separated/Divorced/Widowed	1	2
<u>Education:</u>		
None	3	5
Primary	22	36
Secondary	25	40
Tertiary	12	19
<u>Work Status:</u>		
Employer	5	8
Employee	25	40
Own-account worker	29	47
Unpaid family worker	-	-
Unemployed	2	3
Student/Apprentice/Cannot work	1	2
<u>Occupation:</u>		
None	3	4
Office/Civil service	14	23
Teaching	8	13
Trading	22	35
Farming	1	2
Other blue-collar	14	23

4.3 THE INFLUENCE OF SOCIAL NETWORKS ON RETURN MIGRATION DECISIONS

Here we have examined the significant reasons for the migrants' return against the spheres of influence around the decision of the migrants. We also have drawn from the results of the sources of influence on the individuals' initial migration.

In the previous section, we found that most of the influence with regard to the individuals' initial migration came from the family. Table 4.3 shows that about 75% of the respondents were influenced from within the family while 26% were essentially responsible for their migration decisions. It has also been shown in the result that most (86%) of the returnees were sponsored by family, while about 79% were influenced by the presence of relation residing in the urban areas of initial immigration. In the background of the foregoing, the influence of these social networks is being examined with regard to return migration in order to ascertain their strength in migration decisions. This will enable us to make some authentic statements concerning these factors in the context of migration.

Table 4.10 below shows the percentage distribution of respondents by sources of influence on return migration decision. It was found that about 62% of the returnees were solely responsible for their individual migration decisions.

About 21% were influenced by their families; 13% by others, including friends, neighbours and colleagues; while only 5% were influenced by their employers. This last category is likely to comprise those people who could have been retrenched, sacked, transferred or even retired. Their proportion is low first, because of the low representation of paid employment among the Ideato people. They are predominantly own-account workers. Second, the returnees are mainly voluntary migrants. The high incidence of migration decisions without external interference has been identified here as a distinguishing characteristic of return migration from the initial move. It could be argued that as at the time of taking return migration decision, the migrant must have matured enough to make his decision himself without necessarily being influenced by other individuals, especially his family. At this stage, his fate lies in his hands and he takes his decisions and accepts responsibility for them. In particular, he has been exposed to urban life and must have acquired some degree of the individualistic tendencies characteristic of urban societies.

Table 4.10 **Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Source of Influence on Return Migration Decision**

Influence	N	%
Total	594	100
Employer	31	5.2
Family	122	20.5
Self	367	61.8
Other	74	12.5

4.4 INFLUENCES ON MIGRATION DECISIONS AND THE MIGRANT CHARACTERISTICS

The analysis in this section is intended to ascertain the relationships that exist between the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the return migrants and the sources of influence brought to bear on their decisions to return. It also seeks to determine the strength or otherwise of these relationships in order to identify the activities of the migrant's social networks on migration decisions. A snapshot of these relationships is presented in Table 4.11 below.

Age has been found significant in this discussion. Findings in this regard indicate that there is an inverse relationship between age and family influence. Independent decisions were found most common among the oldest category of return migrants as well as the married returnees in relation to those who are single. Most of the returnees who were

influenced by their employers have tertiary education. This is largely more dependent upon their occupational affiliation than any other factor. They are more likely to ^{be} engaged in paid employment and consequently come under the influence of employers. The uneducated people have the highest level of independent migration decision because they are most likely to engage in trading and other blue-collar occupations. For those who reported not having any occupation, their migration was mainly a result of family decisions.

With regard to work status, we found that most employers and own-account workers took independent decisions. The students, apprentices and those who cannot work, on the other hand, move as a result of family decisions. This is traceable to their apparently low degree of economic and social independence. Own-account workers could have taken independent decisions based on the fact that they are well-informed about their businesses and are able to move with the times; or were compelled to return either by dwindling urban business returns or growing rural opportunities, or both.

Table 4.11 Sources of Influence on Return Migration by Respondents Characteristics

Characteristics	Sources of Influence									
	Employer		Family		Others		Self		All	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%
Age:									(594)	100
≤ 25	(5)	4	(80)	64	(3)	2	(37)	30	(125)	
26 - 35	(9)	6	(23)	14	(15)	9	(117)	71	(164)	
36 - 45	(6)	5	(10)	8	(21)	18	(83)	69	(120)	
≥ 46	(11)	6	(9)	5	(35)	19	(130)	70	(185)	
Marital Status:									(593)	100
Single	(11)	5	(93)	39	(7)	3	(125)	53	(236)	
Married	(19)	6	(27)	8	(61)	18	(228)	68	(335)	
S/D/W	(1)	5	(2)	9	(96)	27	(13)	59	(22)	
Education:									(594)	100
None	(-)	-	(3)	5	(10)	18	(44)	77	(57)	
Primary	7	3	53	20	(30)	11	(173)	66	(263)	
Secondary	(8)	5	(58)	33	(16)	9	(91)	53	(173)	
Tertiary	(16)	16	(8)	8	(18)	18	(59)	58	(101)	
Work Status:									(594)	100
Employer	(-)	-	(1)	11	(1)	11	(7)	78	(9)	
Employee	(22)	12	(25)	13	(3)	9	(3)	66	(187)	
Own-account	(3)	1	(41)	15	(16)	14	(124)	70	(276)	
Unpaid worker	(2)	7	(3)	11	(11)	39	(120)	43	(28)	
Unemployed	(1)	2	(17)	40	(4)	10	(20)	48	(42)	
Student etc	(3)	6	(35)	67	(3)	6	(11)	21	(52)	
Occupation:									(594)	100
None	(5)	6	(47)	55	(7)	8	(26)	31	(85)	
Office/Civil service										
Teacher	(7)	9	(11)	14	(13)	17	(48)	61	(79)	
Trading	(14)	27	(3)	6	(5)	10	(30)	58	(52)	
Farming	(2)	1	(30)	18	(24)	15	(110)	66	(166)	
Others	(1)	1	(3)	4	(13)	18	(55)	76	(72)	
	(2)	1	(28)	20	(12)	9	(98)	70	(140)	

4.5 MIGRANTS' SOCIAL NETWORKS AND REASONS FOR RETURN

This section of our discussion takes a look at the relationships between the major motives behind migration and the sources of influence on the migrant with regard to his decision to return to his rural origin. The basic assumption here is that the motive behind the migratory movement affects and also determines the sources of influence that will be on the migrant at his decision point.

The findings of this inquiry are summarised in Table 4.12 below. They reveal that for those motives which are purely and essentially economic, the decision of the migrant depended

less on other people than on himself. This involves a decision which deals directly with his economic survival and therefore requires a high degree of self input. It is important that the category of migrants involved comprises those who were already employed in the city but returned in search of better opportunities. They were in a better position to assess their individual economic situations and are definitely experienced enough to be responsible for the consequences of their decisions.

Importantly too, it was found that for those who were influenced by their families, the greatest proportion returned in order to join family at origin. This is basically understandable. For such decisions to be taken, the migrant must have a strong attachment to his family. This attachment may be economical, psychological or both. There must be an element of dependency on either side which makes each party almost indispensable. This situation which is manifest in their relationship therefore mars the migrant's ability and also his capacity for independent decisions concerning crucial issues such as migration, especially, return migration. This explains the low level of 'self' influence on migration decision under this most significant motive. Also important in the entire consideration is the fact that the influence of

the employers of labour in the process of return migration is minimal and more or less indirect and insignificant.

Table 4.12 Percentage Distribution of Sources of Influence on Return Migration Decision by Return Motive

Motive	Sources of Return Migration Influence									
	Employer		Family		Others		Self		All	
	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)	
1.	(2)	1	(67)	33	(34)	17	(100)	49	(203)	
2.	(1)	1	(13)	10	(11)	8	(107)	81	(132)	
3.	(-)	-	(7)	10	(17)	25	(44)	64	(68)	
4.	(2)	3	(10)	16	(9)	15	(40)	66	(61)	
1	-		To stay with family							
2	-		Insufficient urban income							
3	-		Ill-health and insecurity							
4	-		Better job opportunities in the rural.							

At this point it is pertinent to point out that the baseline of the return migratory move found in the area of study has more to do with the personal circumstances of the migrants than with the environment they left (urban) or that to which they returned (rural). The need to stay with family which is basically a psychological need for love and security depends largely on the individual migrant. It is classified under Lee's (1969) 'personal factors' as distinct from the factors at both origin and destination. No two migrants are alike and no two migration decisions are necessarily similar. Therefore the influence of these personal factors differ from person to person.

The three other factors considered in this discussion namely, insufficient urban income, ill-health and insecurity, and better job opportunities in the countryside also depend on the personal factors of the individual actors in order to influence migration. According to Lee, these same factors that were able to move this set of migrants may not constitute enough force to move some other migrants who share similar socioeconomic circumstances.

The factors which do not seem to be important reasons for returning include retirement, unemployment in the city, and poor urban environment. It could be that many migrants were somewhat employed at the urban area, so unemployment was not a strong push factor. The poor urban environment did not seem to pose a threat to many either, but the effect of economic factors in the return migration decision-making process cannot be ignored. Although economic factors did not prove to be the most important reason for returning, they can not be wished away. Our stated hypothesis indicated that migration (including return migration) is essentially economically motivated. This is true to some extent, but psychological reasons seem much more profound among Ideato return migrants. The economic school sees the migrant as an organism which at all times responds only to economic stimuli. Our findings, therefore, afford us the basis on which to revisit and revise

the economic model to take into account the 'personal factors' as was considered by Everett Lee (1969).

However, the proposition of the fourth research hypothesis in this study which strips return migration of any influence from the migrant's family is set aside in the face of the realities of our results. The family unit from which the migrant comes is significantly a major source of influence on migration decisions.

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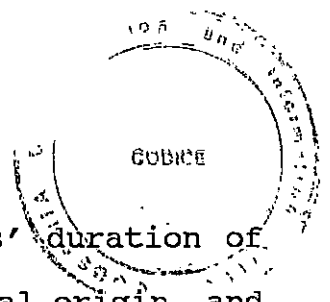
CHAPTER FIVE

MIGRATION STATUS AND PERMANENCE OF RETURN MIGRATION

5.0 INTRODUCTION

The permanence or otherwise of return migration is of remarkable importance to any study of this pattern of population movement. This interest in the permanence of return migration creates a justification for the study of return migration. It provides us with information with which to properly analyse the actual effect and contributions of return migration to the rural areas, especially on the long-run. This chapter explores the association between the respondents' migration status and their individual socioeconomic characteristics. It also examines the relationship between these and subsequent migration decisions. The paramount interest here is to examine some of the central factors that will enable us make valuable inferences about the migration behaviour of returnees.

Information for this chapter is sourced from the quantitative data comprising both the descriptive and multivariate analyses. Issues to be considered include the return migrants' length of migration (LOM) which is a basic determinant of the migration status of the respondents. This is a concept employed to delineate the return migrant categories with reference to time (years) spent outside the



village. Also to be examined is the migrants' duration of rural residence (DRR) since their return to rural origin, and how this variable predisposes them to certain migration behaviour and how their migration decisions are affected by their DRR. Other variables which are considered central to the return migrants' decisions and prospects are examined in the light of the two mentioned above. These include the returnees' extent of rural satisfaction and their disposition towards urban employment and remigration. The socioeconomic variables examined include age, marital status, education, work status and occupation.

5.1 LENGTH OF MIGRATION (LOM)

Our study defines length of migration as the total period of time in years which a migrant lived or spent in his urban destination before returning to his rural origin. It is a principal concept in the study of return migration and is also an important variable in this particular study given the need to determine its implications for the migratory pattern. The return migrants' length of migration (LOM) has been identified as a strong indicator of the quality of the returnees which consequently determines the economic effect of migration on any population. It also has a bearing on the permanence or

otherwise of migration. DaVanzo (1976) and DaVanzo and Morrison (1978; 1981) have observed that short-term migrants return mostly as a result of inadequate or faulty processing of migration information. These, according to them, result into mismanagement of migration. They argue that such migrants return as unsuccessful migrants and are mostly older, less-educated and unemployed semi-skilled persons. In other words, return migration is selective of unsuccessful migrants when the interval of absence is very short. In the background of the foregoing view, we intend to ascertain the returnees' length of migration (LOM) to enable us make necessary evaluations and to know how applicable this position is in this particular survey, and with respect to a developing country.

Table 5.1 below presents the distribution of the respondents according to length of migration. The respondents were classified into three categories namely: short-term, medium-term and long-term migrants with respect to the corresponding durations in years: less than 7 years, 7-14 years, and more than 14 years respectively.

Table 5.1 : Frequency Distribution of Respondents by Length of Migration (LOM)

MIGRATION STATUS (LOM)	(N)	%
Short-term (≤ 6 yrs)	144	24
Medium-term (7 - 14 yrs)	256	42.7
Long-term (≥ 15 yrs)	200	33.3
Total	600	100

The mean length of migration among our respondents stands at 12.7 years. This means that the average return migrant in Ideato has stayed outside the village for about 13 years. Going by our categorization, therefore, the average returnee in our study population is a medium term migrant. This does not mean that there are no short-term migrants in the population. The short-term migrants constitute 24% but the mean length of migration is as high as 13 years because of the very long period of migration by a segment of the population. About 13% of the respondents were away for between 21 and 52 years.

5.1.1 Education and Length of Migration

Education seems to have a strong relationship with the migrants' length of migration as shown in Tables 5.2 and 5.3. They show that longer-term return migrants tend to have lower levels of education; in other words, length of migration is negatively related to education. That is to say that as the migrants' level of education rises, their length urban residence falls. The mean length of migration for the entire study population is approximately 13 years. Table 5.3 indicates that returnees who had no education stayed away for 16.3 years, which is more than the population mean by over three years. This shows that the 'illiterates' tend to stay away from home longer than those in other educational categories, which suggests that it takes them longer time to accumulate enough resources or to achieve the objectives of their migration before returning. It is evident from Table 5.3 that LOM decreases with increasing education, but there is a slight increase in the former at the tertiary level of education. However, this may not be unconnected with the duration of acquiring education at the tertiary level.

Table 5.2 : Distribution of Respondents by Length of Migration (LOM), Socioeconomic Characteristics and Migration Decisions

Variables	Length of Migration					
	Short		Medium		Long	
	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
EDUCATION						
No education	12	(7)	35	(20)	53	(30)
Primary	15	(40)	51	(137)	34	(92)
Secondary	34	(59)	38	(65)	28	(49)
Tertiary	38	(38)	34	(34)	29	(29)
WORK STATUS						
Employer	30	(3)	20	(2)	50	(5)
Employee	33	(61)	39	(74)	28	(53)
Own-account worker	17	(48)	47	(131)	36	(101)
Unpaid worker	14	(4)	22	(6)	64	(18)
Unemployed	33	(13)	33	(13)	33	(13)
Student/Apprentice	27	(15)	55	(30)	18	(10)
OCCUPATION						
Office/Civil Service	34	(44)	37	(49)	29	(38)
Teaching	18	(29)	41	(65)	41	(64)
Trading	24	(40)	44	(74)	32	(54)
Farming/Others	22	(31)	48	(68)	31	(44)
URBAN VISITS						
Never visited	29	(63)	36	(79)	35	(77)
Low	22	(47)	42	(89)	36	(75)
High	20	(34)	52	(88)	28	(48)
INCOME (Monthly)						
No income	19	(28)	54	(79)	27	(39)
Low income	30	(35)	44	(52)	26	(30)
Medium income	27	(52)	37	(73)	36	(71)
High income	21	(29)	37	(52)	43	(60)
RURAL SATISFACTION						
Satisfied	22	(81)	42	(156)	36	(132)
Not Satisfied	29	(59)	45	(93)	26	(53)
Uncertain	15	(4)	27	(7)	58	(15)
URBAN EMPLOYMENT						
Will accept	31	(89)	42	(120)	27	(75)
Will not accept	17	(55)	43	(136)	40	(125)
REMIGRATION						
Will migrate	29	(49)	47	(79)	24	(40)
Will not	17	(36)	35	(75)	48	(102)
Uncertain	27	(59)	47	(102)	27	(5)

Table 5.3 : Mean Length of Migration by Respondents Characteristics and Migration Decisions

Variables	Mean LOM (in years)	N
Entire population	12.7	600
EDUCATION		
No education	16.3	57
Primary	13.7	269
Secondary	10.8	173
Tertiary	11.5	101
WORK STATUS		
Employer	14.6	10
Employee	11.8	188
Own-account worker	13.1	280
Unpaid worker	19.8	28
Unemployed	11.5	39
Student/Apprentice	11.3	55
OCCUPATION		
Office/Civil Service	12.0	131
Teaching	14.6	158
Trading	12.4	168
*Farming/Others	11.8	143
URBAN VISITS		
Never visited	13.1	219
Low	13.2	211
High	11.7	170
INCOME		
No income	12.3	146
Low income	11.1	117
Medium income	12.9	196
High income	14.4	141
RURAL SATISFACTION		
Satisfied	13.4	369
Not Satisfied	10.9	205
Uncertain	17.5	26
URBAN EMPLOYMENT		
Will accept	10.6	284
Will not accept	14.6	316
REMIGRATION		
Will migrate	10.3	168
Will not	16.3	213
Uncertain	11.2	219

* Includes farmers and other blue-collar workers.

The computed Chi-square of the relationship between LOM and education was found significant at the level of .0000, while the likelihood ratio stood at the value of 43.5 with 6 degrees of freedom. The analysis of variance also shows a high level of significance between the groups.

5.1.2 Work Status and Length of Migration

What has the work status of the return migrants to do with their duration of absence from the village? This question sounds logical, and our analysis is indicative of some relationships between the two variables as we find in Tables 5.2 and 5.3 above and from the discussion below.

Unpaid family workers have a large proportion of their population as long-term migrants (64%). They are followed by the employers of labour, 50% of who are long-term migrants. These two categories of return migrants spent the longest mean number of years out of village. The first category spent an average of 20 years while the second (the employers of labour) spent about 15 years. The unpaid family workers are likely to be those who were unsuccessful in the city even after spending a long time there. Some of them could be those people who could no longer cope with the physical demands of their urban occupations, perhaps as a result of old age or sickness, and had to return to the village where there exists organic solidarity based on the extended family system. An employer of labour, on the other hand, might have taken out some time to get himself established before returning to the village. He could have thought of the days of retirement while he was in the city. From another end, we found that migrants who

categorised themselves as students and apprentices contributed only 18% of their population to the long-term category. A larger proportion of them are medium term-migrants. Their case is quite straightforward because they are more likely to be younger people and could not have spent a long time out of origin. Table 5.3 shows that they have the shortest mean length of migration which also is lower than the mean for the entire study population.

5.1.3 Occupation and Length of Migration

Our tables show that teachers spent the longest number of years out of village. Farmers and other blue-collar workers together stayed in the cities for a relatively shorter duration. Taken separately, the farmers' mean length of migration is 18 years. This is expected of an occupational category of that nature. Based on the analysis in the preceding section, it could be that longer-term migrants return home to engage in farming. The explanation for this pattern can be found from several perspectives. It could be traced to the low educational levels of these long-term migrants. It could also be a function of age since most long stayers are likely to be relatively older, and more likely to be physically disadvantaged and also less-qualified for the

more rigorous and demanding occupations. They therefore settle for small scale, subsistence farming because they are more likely to be unskilled and economically less versatile. The other blue-collar workers and traders who have a relatively lower mean length of migration belong to a different class altogether. Blue-collar workers are most likely to have been out of their rural origins throughout the periods of their apprenticeship and perhaps during a short period of stabilization after qualification. The traders also could have gone through the same but another reason which seems plausible is the fact that the traders do not need too long a time to accumulate resources with which to head home. The teachers, on the other hand, who have a long average period of migration, and also civil servants, are probably people who could have spent a good number of years on their jobs before being transferred home, due probably to the creation of new states or local government councils or other government rural establishments. They could also have been transferred by reason of their age, or in preparation for retirement.

5.1.4 Frequency of Urban Visits and Length of Migration

In order to ascertain how far the returnees have disengaged from the urban areas which hitherto hosted them, and how rural these returnees have become, we collected information on their frequency of visits to those cities they left. Our findings put us in a better position to predict whether or not the returnees are likely to remigrate to the cities, and to know if they can rightly be referred to as permanent returnees. The answers to these can be found in the later part of this chapter. However, in this section, we are interested in the relationship between the migrants' length of migration and the frequency of their visits to these urban areas.

The two tables above (5.2 and 5.3) present a snapshot of our findings. Though the distribution table (5.2) does not give us a precise set of information, we can identify the fact that there is a slight concentration of the population in each of the categories in the medium-term migrants' class. However, from data on mean length of migration (Table 5.3), it appears that those returnees who have never visited the urban areas they returned from, and those of them who have low frequency of visits have almost the same mean length of urban residence which also is not very much different from the mean

for the entire population. It means that these categories of return migrants are almost homogeneous as far as length of migration is concerned. However, the returnees who visit the urban most frequently have shorter length of migration which is almost 2 years shorter than the mean LOM for the entire population. Table 5.2 shows also that long term migrants account for the lowest proportion among high frequency visitors (28%).

From these results, we can say that the longer the length of migration, the less likely the migrant is to visit the urban areas. This suggests that most long term migrants have stayed long enough in the urban areas before return that they have little or no need to visit the urban areas from which they returned. In other words, the longer the returnees' LOM, the lower their frequency of urban visits and consequently, the greater their degree of urban disengagement. This is one of the propositions of our seventh hypothesis discussed later in the chapter.

5.1.5 Returnees' Income and Length of Migration

The monthly income of the return migrants is likely to have a bearing on their length of migration since the former concept is an important index of the socioeconomic status of

individuals. According to Tables 5.2 and 5.3 above, the income variable is categorised into four groups namely: No-income, Low-income, Medium-income and High-income. The no-income group comprises unemployed, unpaid family workers, students and apprentices who have not yet joined the active labour market, and the sick or infirm who apparently cannot work. These constitute the dependent population. The low-income group comprises those return migrants whose individual monthly incomes do not exceed two hundred naira (₦200). The medium-income return migrants earn between two hundred and one naira (₦201) and five hundred naira (₦500), while the high-income return migrants are those who earn more than five hundred naira (₦500) monthly.

Information from the two tables above makes us understand that most of the returnees in the no-income, low-income and medium-income categories are medium term-migrants, while among the high-income group, a larger proportion belongs to the long-term migrants' category. Table 5.2 also shows that returnees both in the no-income and high-income categories are the least likely to be short-term migrants. Our findings show a high incidence of both medium-income earners and medium-term migrants and the effect of this is found in some of the results. For instance, approximately four out of every ten

migrants are medium-income earners. In addition, 33% of the sample population are medium-income earners.

5.1.6 Rural Satisfaction and Length of Migration

The respondents' opinions concerning rural residence were sought to enable us assess their levels of commitment to the rural environment. It is necessary to ascertain whether the return migrants are residing in the rural areas because they want to or because they were compelled to stay as a result of some circumstances or considerations. Obviously, some of the returnees are simply stuck in the rural areas either because of physiological incapacitation, or as a result of social responsibilities and role expectations, or even for lack of the requisite resources and courage to remigrate. Some of those returnees in the above category were apparently forced home from the cities as was gathered from our indepth interviews (see chapter six). To some others, return migration is the ultimate fulfilment of heart desires. Under this category one can find the target migrants who were in the city to make their mark and retreat to their roots afterwards. Our indepth interviews show that this set of returnees are more satisfied with rural residence than those who were either compelled to return or to remain at origin on return, or both.

There is yet another category, according to the results of our survey. This group consists of returnees who are uncertain about their perception of rural residence.

Our findings show that most of the returnees who are satisfied with rural residence and those who are not satisfied are medium-term migrants, though the former group has a longer mean length of migration (LOM) than the latter. Those returnees who are uncertain have the longest mean length of migration and fall clearly into the long-term migration category with about 18 years of urban residence on the average (Table 5.3). From Table 5.2, we find that more than half (58%) their population are long-term migrant. It seems apparent that these people are likely to be old but not very successful migrants, who probably may be facing difficult times in the rural areas. Some of them could be young but there could also be some inhibiting factors around their social environment which tend to commit them to the rural areas. Their situation can best be described as a dilemma. Only 15% of them are short term migrants.

Going by the frequency values considered earlier (Table 5.2), our computations show that 62% of the return migrants are satisfied with rural residence. This shows that a reasonable proportion of our returnees are satisfied with the

rural environment. About 34% are not satisfied while only 4% are uncertain. From Table 5.3, it is obvious that those who are not satisfied with rural residence have the shortest mean length of migration which stands at about 11 years. This category is more likely to include those who still have preference for urban areas even though they are temporarily residing in the rural. In this respect, they are unlike the long term migrants who have apparently become unwilling to return to the city, in preference for quieter life the rural area offers. They are also more likely to have a stronger attachment to family at origin after their migratory cycles. The members of the latter category are considered opinion leaders in their respective communities (if they are successful) as a result of their wealth of experience (Caldwell, 1969). The findings of our indepth interviews in chapter six throw more light on this issue.

5.1.7 Urban Employment and Length of Migration

If attractive urban jobs were offered to return migrants, will they remigrate to take advantage of the opportunity? What is the relationship between their likely decision and their length of migration?

From our results, 62% of short-term migrants will accept

urban jobs while 38% will not. On the other hand, only 47% of the medium-term migrants will accept, while 53% said they will not. With the long-term migrants, just 37% will accept urban jobs, while 63% replied that they will not. These figures indicate that the likelihood of accepting an urban job after returning decreases as LOM increases. It reflects the unwillingness of long-term migrants to return to the city and also emphasises their satisfaction with, and commitment to, the rural environment. Table 5.2 shows that those who will not accept urban jobs are concentrated in the medium and long-term migrant categories. In addition, Table 5.3 shows that while those returnees who will accept urban jobs have an average of 11 years of migration, those who will not accept have an average of 15 years of migration explaining why the latter are not keen on the urban incentive.

This set of variables was subjected to a multivariate test for confirmation. The Logistic Regression model (which is discussed in detail in the third segment of this chapter) was employed. The objective of choosing this model is to provide us with the returnees' odds of accepting or rejecting urban job offers. The results confirm the fact that short-term migrants are the most likely to go for the jobs in the city (see Table 5.14). Nevertheless, while the medium-term

migrant are 83% as likely as the short-term migrants to accept these jobs, the long-term migrants are 94% as likely. This implies that the medium-term migrants are the least likely to accept the jobs but these results are not statistically significant and so cannot be used as a basis for conclusion.

5.1.8 Remigration and Length of Migration

This section examines the relation between migrants' decision regarding future migration behaviour and their length of migration. Will they eventually return to the urban areas which they hitherto left or are they going to remain in the rural areas to which they have returned? What is the influence of the length of migration as a variable in the process of taking the above decision? The respondents were asked whether or not they will remigrate, and their responses classify them into three categories namely: positive, negative and uncertain. The last category comprises those who are not decided concerning the direction of their action with regard to the subject.

Table 5.3 shows that those who will not remigrate are mostly long-term migrants while those who will remigrate and the undecided are mostly medium-term. The return migrants who are likely to return to the urban, just like those who will

accept urban jobs, have the shortest average length of migration. This is not quite different from that of the undecided though the latter is one year ahead. However, it is evident that the long-term migrants do not intend to return to the city. Table 5.3 shows that those who will not remigrate have a mean length of migration of 16 years. For this group, their return migration to the village was truly conceived as 'a time to return home'. To them, returning to the city for any reason whatsoever, is unnecessary and even unacceptable. This finding is likely to be related to their age and social status. This was also subjected to a multivariate test using Log-Linear model to provide us with the estimates of the parameters. This also is discussed later in the chapter.

Linking the three sections, we find that those return migrants who are satisfied with the rural environment are not likely to accept urban employment. The latter variable (urban employment) is a potent factor encouraging remigration because it has the tendency of luring the returnees back to the cities they have left. Clearly, those urban migrants who will not accept urban jobs are the least likely to remigrate. Our analysis has shown the length of migration as a determining factor in migration decisions, socioeconomic status and even the contribution of the return migrants to their environments.

5.2 DURATION OF RURAL RESIDENCE (DRR)

In the context of this study, duration of rural residence refers to the total number of years which a return migrant has spent in his rural area of return as at the time of survey. In other words, duration of rural residence (DRR) represents the length of the return migrants' post-return rural residence. It became necessary to elicit such information from our respondents in this research because of its strategic nature, especially for studies in migration. In this particular survey, it aids us in the process of determining the degree of stability of the return migratory pattern which we have observed and set out to study. By identifying the above, we can attempt a prediction of the future pattern and direction of migration in the locality of study.

The respondents were categorised into three groups based on the definition above. The three categories include:

- (1) **Short-Term Residents:** This group accounts for those return migrants who have been back to their rural origins for about three years or less.
- (2) **Medium-Term Residents** are those return migrants who have been resident in the rural areas since their return for between four and six years.
- (3) **Long-Term Residents** are the returnees who have

lived in the rural areas since return for at least seven years prior to the time of survey.

Table 5.4 gives the distribution of our respondents by duration of rural residence.

Table 5.4: Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Duration of Rural Residence (DRR)

Duration in Years	Categories	%	N
All		100	600
≤ 3	(Short-term)	37.7	226
4 - 6	(Medium-term)	28.6	172
≥ 7	(Long-term)	33.7	202

5.2.1 Marital Status and Duration of Rural Residence

Our findings on Table 5.5 indicate that return migrants who are single are predominantly (54%) short-term rural residents. About 33% are medium-term residents, while 13% are long-term residents. On the other hand, half of the ever-married group are long-term residents in the rural area. From the raw values (N) presented in Table 5.5, of the 226 short-

term residents in the population, 129 representing 57% are unmarried while the rest (97) which constitute 43% are, or have been, married. For the medium term residents, the proportion married is higher than that of the unmarried (93 or 54% as against 78 or 46%). The long-term residents are mostly (164 or 85%) married people. This set of findings cannot be easily separated from the influence of age.

5.2.2: Education and Duration of Rural Residence

It is important to note here, as was pointed out in chapter three, that our study population is not a highly educated one. Our frequency table (3.1) shows that about 45% of the return migrants have only primary education, 29% have secondary education, while 17% have tertiary education. About 10% of them, however, do not have any formal education. Table (5.5) shows that more than half of the long-term returnees have only primary education. Precisely, the lower education group (no schooling and primary) are more predominant in the medium-term and long-term categories, while the better educated groups are shorter-term residents. This relationship between education and duration of rural residence has a likelihood ratio chi-square value of 81.6 with 6 degrees of freedom and is significant at the .00000 level.

Table 5.5: Distribution of Respondents by Duration of Rural Residence (DRR), Socioeconomic Characteristics and Migration Decisions.

Total 100% (600)	Duration of Rural Residence					
	Short		Medium		Long	
Variables	%	(N)	%	(N)	%	(N)
EDUCATION						
No education	7	(4)	19	(11)	74	(42)
Primary	18	(49)	32	(85)	50	(135)
Secondary	40	(69)	34	(59)	26	(45)
Tertiary	42	(42)	38	(38)	21	(21)
MARITAL STATUS						
Single	54	(129)	33	(78)	13	(30)
Ever married	27	(97)	23	(93)	50	(164)
WORK STATUS						
Employer	10	(1)	40	(4)	50	(5)
Employee	33	(61)	31	(59)	36	(68)
Own-account worker	20	(57)	33	(91)	47	(132)
Unpaid worker	39	(11)	14	(4)	47	(13)
Unemployed	54	(21)	28	(11)	18	(7)
Student/Apprentice	24	(13)	44	(24)	33	(18)
OCCUPATION						
Office/Civil Service	34	(44)	34	(44)	33	(43)
Teaching	29	(46)	25	(40)	46	(72)
Trading	24	(41)	39	(65)	37	(62)
Farming/Others	23	(33)	31	(44)	46	(66)
URBAN VISITS						
Never visited	24	(53)	24	(53)	52	(113)
Low	34	(72)	32	(67)	34	(72)
High	23	(39)	43	(73)	34	(58)
INCOME						
No income	28	(41)	43	(62)	30	(43)
Low income	28	(33)	22	(26)	50	(58)
Medium income	28	(55)	28	(54)	44	(87)
High income	25	(35)	36	(51)	39	(55)
RURAL SATISFACTION						
Satisfied	22	(79)	30	(112)	48	(178)
Not Satisfied	37	(76)	36	(73)	27	(56)
Uncertain	35	(9)	31	(8)	35	(9)
URBAN EMPLOYMENT						
Will accept	35	(100)	31	(89)	34	(95)
Will not accept	20	(64)	33	(104)	47	(148)
REMIGRATION						
Will migrate	39	(66)	35	(59)	26	(43)
Will not	14	(30)	28	(59)	58	(124)
Uncertain	31	(68)	34	(75)	35	(76)

Table 5.6 shows that mean duration of rural residence (DRR) drops as educational level rises. Therefore, there exists an inverse relationship between the two variables. This result can be interpreted as suggesting that recent return migration episodes comprise relatively more educated

individuals than those preceding them. It points to the nature of the economic opportunities available in the rural areas and also to the basic factors that caused them to move from the urban areas. It could be assumed that some of the returnees without education could have been displaced in the cities during the urban rustication era under the military regime of the mid-1980s. Many Nigerians residing in cities lost their means of livelihood when their business premises were declared 'illegal structures' and were consequently demolished. Some of them who were unskilled or semi-skilled workers in both private and public sectors were retrenched or retired following the economic downturn in Nigeria within that period. A good number of these people could no longer cope with the socioeconomic requirement of urban residence and were compelled to return to their respective villages.

However, the predominance of poorly educated migrants and those without education among long-term returnees also suggests that better educated migrants who returned earlier might have re-migrated. In other words, the relatively high number of better educated short-and medium-term returnees would be depleted with time. This indeed corroborates our earlier finding indicative of higher likelihood of re-migration on urban job acceptance among better educated return migrants.

5.2.3: Work Status and Duration of Rural Residence

More than half (54%) of the long term returnees are own-account workers. The next to them are the employees, constituting 28%. On the other hand, the employees dominate the short-term returnee category with a proportion of 37%, while the own-account workers make up 35%. This finding is probably related to education discussed above. We reported that the more recent returnees have more education than their predecessors. This reflects on the work status of the migrants. The employee category is more likely to be dominated by those who have some education. It therefore explains the addition to the proportion of employees in the short-term group. The unemployed account for 13% of the short-term returnees, but interestingly, additional years of rural residence are associated with an increased incidence of self-employment as well as decline in unemployment levels. This appears a significant finding. It unmask the economic viability of the rural areas which reflects, in turn, on the lots of the returnees as time goes on. Table 5.6 shows that the employers and own-account workers have the longest mean duration of rural residence of 5 years (higher than the mean for the entire population), while the unemployed have the shortest (2 years). The unemployed people could be those who

are yet adapting to the rural area they returned to, while the longer term returnees had already stabilised and were fully integrated into the rural areas as at time of the survey.

Table 5.6 : Mean Duration of Rural Residence (DRR) by Respondents' Characteristics and Migration Decisions

Variables	Mean DRR (yrs)	N
Entire population	4.5	600
EDUCATION		
No education	6.0	57
Primary	5.1	269
Secondary	3.7	173
Tertiary	3.5	101
WORK STATUS		
Employer	5.0	10
Employee	4.2	188
Own-account worker	5.0	280
Unpaid worker	4.5	28
Unemployed	2.9	39
Student/Apprentice	4.4	95
OCCUPATION		
Office/Civil Service	4.1	131
Teaching	4.7	158
Trading	4.5	168
Farming/Others	4.8	143
LENGTH OF MIGRATION (LOM)		
Short-term	4.2	144
Medium-term	4.8	256
Long-term	4.4	200
URBAN VISITS		
Never visited	4.9	219
Low	4.2	211
High	4.3	170
INCOME		
No income	4.1	146
Low income	4.7	117
Medium income	4.7	196
High income	4.7	141
RURAL SATISFACTION		
Satisfied	4.9	205
Not Satisfied	3.9	369
Uncertain	4.2	26
URBAN EMPLOYMENT		
Will accept	4.0	316
Will not accept	4.9	284
REMIGRATION		
Will migrate	3.7	213
Will not	5.5	168
Uncertain	4.2	219

5.2.4: Occupation and Duration of Rural Residence

There is a preponderance of teachers, farmers and other blue-collar workers among the long-term returnees. Traders dominate the medium-term category followed by the civil servants and those who are engaged in several forms of office work. Teachers occupy the modal position among the short term returnees. Looking at this from another angle, we can report that a large proportion of teachers (46%) are long-term returnees. About 39% of traders in the sample are medium-term returnees, while 46% of the farmers are long-term returnees. The high incidence of farmers in the long-term category could be a result of the economic setback of the 1980s referred to in the previous section. These migrants might have returned for reason of economic hardship in the city and gone 'back to land' for subsistence in an era of retrenchment, retirement and unemployment in Nigeria.

Table 5.6 suggests that there is no significant difference in the mean duration of rural residence among occupational categories. It is evident that the office workers and civil servants have the shortest mean duration of rural residence of 4.1 years while the farmers and other blue-collar workers have the longest which is about 5 years. The findings suggest that there are more recent returnees within

te office workers and civil servants category than in any other. The relationship between these two variables has a likelihood ratio chi-square value of 12.8 with 6 degrees of freedom and at .04554 level of significance.

5.2.5: Urban Visits and Duration of Rural Residence

Majority of the return migrants who have never visited the urban areas from which they returned are long-term returnees according to information in Table 5.5. This suggests that most long-term returnees do not have the need, or perhaps, the opportunity to visit these cities. This could stem from their other socioeconomic characteristics. On the other hand, among those who visit most frequently, 43% are medium-term returnees. This has an occupational undertone. Those who are most likely to visit more frequently are the traders who need to be in touch with the cities from where they receive most of their wares. This reasoning is further confirmed by the fact that the previous section (5.2.4) shows that the traders predominate the medium-term residents' category. Table 5.6 confirm that non-visitors have the longest average DRR (about 5 years) which is higher than the group mean. This test has been found significant by the likelihood ratio chi-square and analysis of variance tests.

5.2.6 Income and Duration of Rural Residence

Information provided in Table 5.5 points to the fact that most of the returnees who do not have any income are medium-term returnees while those with low incomes are predominantly long-term returnees. The medium income returnees and their high income counterparts are mostly long-term return migrants. The high incidence of low income earners among long-term return category is probably as a result of their occupational leaning. For instance, farmers are low income earners and they are highly represented among the long-term returnees.

Table 5.6 points out that there is no significant difference in mean duration of rural residence among the low, medium and high income earners. However, there is only a difference of about half a year between them and those returnees who have no income. The computed chi-square (likelihood ratio) does not show any strong significance neither did the analysis of variance.

5.2.7: Rural Satisfaction and Duration of Rural Residence

A direct relationship was found between return migrants' duration of rural residence and their degree of rural satisfaction. This is evident from Tables 5.5 and 5.6. Short-term return migrants have the lowest proportion of

satisfied respondents in the study. The latter shows that the mean duration of rural residence for the returnees who are satisfied with their rural residence is highest, indicating that the longer one stays in the rural area the more satisfied he becomes. The significance of the relationship between rural satisfaction and rural residence is confirmed by the likelihood ratio chi-square value which is statistically significant.

The results of the multivariate analysis involving these variables are presented later in the chapter with the test of research propositions.

5.2.8 Urban Employment and Duration of Rural Residence

The paramount questions at this point are whether or not the returnees will accept jobs at the urban areas if they are offered; what is the role of their duration of rural residence in the decision-making process? Our findings show that the returnees' willingness to accept urban jobs declines as the duration of rural residence increases. Therefore, there is an inverse relationship between the two variables. Table 5.6. confirms this result and shows that the mean duration of rural residence for those who will not accept urban jobs is higher

than that for those who will. It suggests that continued rural residence reduces urban attraction (including urban jobs). The relationship was found significant based on the computed chi-square values.

5.2.9 Remigration and Duration of Rural Residence

What is the relationship between the return migrants' duration of rural residence and the possibility of their remigrating to the cities from which they have returned? In other words, who returns to the city and who stays on?

The analysis reveals that there is a significant relationship between these two variables. It shows that long-term returnees are more likely than both the medium-term and the short-term returnees to remain in the rural areas. This is very much related to the immediate past section (5.2.8 discussed above). Any returnee who is likely to accept an urban job is also likely either to remigrate or to desire remigration. We gather from the tables (5.5 and 5.6) that the longer a returnee resides in the rural area, the less willing he becomes to return to the city. In this process the returnee acquires the requisite norms for rural survival and also builds a stock of rural location-specific capital which in turn increases his attachment to the rural and de-

emphasises the value of his urban location-specific capital which ^{could} constitute an urban pull factor. This is in line with the argument proposed by DaVanzo and Morrison (1987) which posits that continued stay ^{from} away ^{from} the location of such capital weakens its value.

Table 5.6 shows that the returnees who will not remigrate have a longer mean duration of rural residence (DRR) of about 6 years while those who will remigrate have a mean DRR of about 4 years. The latter category may be predominantly young people who have not returned finally to the rural areas.

In sum, we can conclude that long-term returnee category comprises mostly the low education group (no education and primary) who are mostly employers of labour and own-account workers in the unskilled occupations. They hardly visit the urban areas from which they returned and they are mainly within the low and medium income categories. These groups are more satisfied with rural residence than others, and are therefore less likely ~~than them~~ to accept jobs in the city or to remigrate in future.

5.3 THE PERMANENCE OF RETURN MIGRATION

After identifying the returnees, considering their characteristics and assessing their motives for return migration and several other factors, it becomes necessary to ascertain whether or not these 'return migrants' have actually returned. The purpose of their return or the motive behind their decision to return may determine how permanent or otherwise their return is, but this is not necessarily so. We realise that the subjects of our study are human actors who react to several physical, psychological and social stimuli at various degrees. A human actor can change his mind at will and his decision does not necessarily determine or limit that of another.

Following from the above, this section is devoted to the determination of the permanence of return migration. It is divided into four parts. The first examines the returnees' degree of urban disengagement. The second concentrates on the returnees' level of satisfaction in the rural environment and their preference for it. The third evaluates the probability of returnees accepting jobs at the city, while the fourth looks at the probability of the returnees remigrating to the city, perhaps for 'greener pastures'.

5.4.1 Urban Disengagement

This is an important but seemingly neglected concept in the study of return migration. It represents the degree to which a migrant has severed, or otherwise maintained, his contacts with the urban environment from which he returned. A critical look at this social issue provides tangible facts about the phenomenon studied as well as the migration status of return migrants involved. In addition, we are likely to know how much the rural economy and the return migrants depend upon the urban centers for sustenance. Our analysis here will depend on the results of our crosstabulation and analysis of means regarding the returnees' frequency of urban visits and ownership of investment in the city. One of our research propositions (5) is tested in this section. It states thus:

The extent of the returnees' disengagement from the urban area of last residence is largely dependent upon his age as well as occupational affiliation.

5.3.1.1 Frequency of Urban Visits

This is one of the intrinsic aspects of this analysis and has a direct relationship with urban disengagement. In this section, we will examine the return migrants' frequency of urban visits against their socio-demographic characteristics in order to identify the categories of people who are more

likely to make urban visits, which may help us to explain their migratory behaviour.

About 31% of the return migrants have never visited the cities from which they returned. Almost half of the study population have visited on a few occasions, and are therefore classified low frequency visitors. However, 20% of the returnees are frequent visitors of the urban areas and constitute the focus of this analysis.

The analysis with age shows that younger return migrants are predominantly non-visitors and low frequency visitors. This could be because younger returnees are more likely to be apprentices, students and those who are least likely to own businesses or have contacts in the city. Those who recently completed their periods of apprenticeship are not left out in this category. Expectedly, the frequency of visits to the urban areas was found to increase with age. It is important to have in perspective a basic limitation with this pattern of finding. This relationship between age and frequency of visits also could be as a result of the returnees' duration of rural residence (DRR). In other words, the current young returnees who are likely to be short-term returnees are also likely to have high frequencies of urban visits as time goes on. The limitation arises as to the possibility of isolating

the determining factor in the relationship observed. However, it was also observed that as age advanced further, the frequency decreased. This is the effect of retirement.

Marital status does not show any significant relationship with the dependent variable (frequency of urban visits). With regard to education, it was found that for those who have only primary education, most have never visited the city since they returned. At the other levels of education we found a preponderance of low visit frequency. This confirms the fact that most of the returnees in this study are either non-visitors or low-frequency visitors.

Table 5.7: Distribution of Respondents by Frequency of Urban Visits and Socioeconomic Characteristics

Characteristics	Respondents' frequency of visits				
	Never % (N)	Low % (N)	Medium % (N)	High % (N)	All % (N)
All	31 (187)	49 (295)	10 (58)	10 (60)	100 (600)
AGE:					
≤ 25	50 (63)	41 (52)	6 (7)	7 (4)	21 (126)
26 - 35	16 (27)	61 (101)	15 (24)	8 (14)	28 (166)
36 - 45	25 (30)	49 (60)	11 (13)	16 (19)	20 (122)
≥ 46	36 (67)	44 (82)	8 (14)	12 (23)	31 (186)
EDUCATION					
No education	63 (36)	23 (13)	11 (6)	4 (2)	10 (57)
Primary	31 (82)	47 (126)	9 (25)	13 (36)	45 (269)
Secondary	28 (48)	56 (96)	11 (19)	6 (10)	29 (173)
Tertiary	21 (21)	59 (60)	8 (8)	12 (12)	17 (101)
WORK STATUS					
Employer	10 (1)	20 (2)	- (-)	70 (7)	2 (10)
Employee	35 (66)	50 (93)	10 (18)	10 (11)	31 (188)
Own account worker	24 (67)	51 (143)	13 (35)	13 (35)	47 (280)
Unpaid worker	36 (10)	50 (14)	4 (1)	11 (3)	5 (28)
Unemployed	36 (15)	52 (22)	5 (2)	7 (3)	7 (42)
Student/Apprentice	54 (28)	40 (21)	4 (2)	2 (1)	9 (52)
OCCUPATION					
Unemployed	44 (37)	49 (42)	2 (2)	5 (4)	14 (85)
Office/Civil service	41 (32)	44 (35)	11 (9)	4 (3)	13 (79)
Teaching	21 (11)	56 (29)	10 (5)	14 (7)	9 (52)
Trading	17 (29)	53 (89)	14 (23)	16 (27)	28 (168)
Farming	47 (34)	40 (29)	4 (3)	10 (7)	12 (73)
Other blue-collar	31 (44)	50 (71)	11 (16)	8 (12)	24 (143)

As for work status, our findings as is shown in Table 5.7 indicate that apart from employers of labour who are mostly (70%) high-frequency visitors to the city, and students and apprentices most (54%) of who have never visited the city since return, all other categories of returnees are low-frequency urban visitors. This shows a preponderance of low-frequency urban visitors in our study population while pointing to the fact that employers of labour visit the cities the most.

With reference to occupation, it was found that returnees in all the categories are predominantly low-frequency visitors or do not visit the city at all. Apart from farmers who are mostly (47%) non-visitors, all other categories have a preponderance of low-frequency visitors. Tables 5.2 and 5.3 above present the relationship between our dependent variable with length of migration (LOM). The results of the crosstabulation and means show that long term migrants are less likely than all other categories of migrants to visit the urban areas. Theirs can be regarded as a total disengagement from the city.

When the monthly income of the returnees was introduced as an independent variable, we found that the returnees who reported not having any income are the most frequent urban

visitors. Their frequency of urban visits can be strongly associated with their search for means of livelihood. They are seconded by the medium and high income return migrants while the low income returnees are the least likely. Farmers are most likely to fall into this last category.

5.3.1.2 Ownership of Urban Business

It is true that the migrants in our study population have returned from the urban areas to the villages, but some of these returnees still have or own businesses in the city. Some of these businesses were set up while they were living in such cities, and some when they had left them. This gives impetus for urban visits. The respondents were asked if they still had businesses in the cities as at time of our survey. Our findings show that about 92% of the respondents reported that they do not have any business in the city while 8% answered in the affirmative. Going by this simple distribution of the return migrants, one is likely to conclude that the proportion of genuine return migrants far outweighs that of the 'partial returnees'. This is a central determinant of their degree of urban disengagement. The results imply that a small proportion of the returnees may be partial returnees. These migrants reside in the village while

operating their businesses or annexes of their businesses in the city. A good number of them could be commuting between the two locations on considerably regular basis. Some of them are likely to keep two households thereby giving rise to what Caldwell (1969) refers to as 'one family, two households' situation. The likely pattern here is that the head of household resides in the village probably with one of his wives, while a part of his family is in the city. This is a converse of Caldwell's description whereby the head of household lives in the city while a part (or even the rest) of his family resides in the rural.

Despite the low incidence of urban business ownership among the return migrants in our sample, we went ahead to examine the relationships that exist between this dependent variable and socio-demographic characteristics of the returnees. It was found that among those who have businesses in the city, 60% are in the older age category (46 years and above). Table 5.8 shows this. The pattern is consistent in the sense that the incidence of urban businesses among the return migrants increases with age. This shows that older migrants are more likely to have long-established businesses; and are more disposed to retiring to the rural area for a change; and are also more likely to maintain urban businesses.

Table 5.8: Distribution of Repondents by Ownership of Urban Business and Socioeconomic Characteristics

Characteristics	Ownership of business (YES)	
	%	(N)
All	100	(45)
AGE:		
≤ 25	2	(1)
26 - 35	11	(5)
36 - 45	27	(12)
≥ 46	60	(27)
MARITAL STATUS:		
Single	9	(4)
Ever married	91	(41)
EDUCATION:		
No education	4	(2)
Primary	65	(29)
Secondary	9	(4)
Tertiary	22	(10)
WORK STATUS:		
Employer	13	(6)
Employee	11	(5)
Own-account worker	62	(28)
Unpaid worker	4	(2)
Unemployed	2	(1)
Student/Apprentice	7	(3)
OCCUPATION:		
Unemployed	9	(4)
Office/Civil Service	7	(3)
Teaching	7	(3)
Trading	42	(19)
Farming	15	(7)
Other blue-collar	20	(9)

As should be expected also, most (over 91%) of these 'partial returnees' are married. Almost 70% of them do not have more than primary education, which suggests that they are mainly businessmen. They are the long-standing businessmen who must have lived in the city for many years, becoming rich or successful, and thus investing in the city. Such investments include rented houses, shops, transport businesses etc. In fact, many successful businessmen in Ideato scarcely went to school, but are very wealthy from hardwork and shrewd business accumen. About 62% of them turned out to be own-account workers. When occupation was considered, it was found that 42% were traders while 20% were engaged in other blue-collar occupations. These two occupational categories probably make up the 62% proportion of own-account workers. They are the two categories that are most likely to have businesses in the city. The results of our analysis confirm our research proposition stated earlier in the section which posits that the returnee's degree of disengagement is mainly dependent upon his age as well as occupation.

In the final analysis, we need to consider the implication of our findings for the migratory pattern; for the individual migrant; and for the rural communities where the migrants originate. There is no cause for concern regarding

the consequences of the observed pattern considering some reasons: First, the proportion of the population that has businesses in the city is considerably low and therefore does not pose an obvious threat to return migration. Second, the segment of the population (with regard to demographic and socioeconomic characteristics) involved is the least likely to be at risk of remigrating to the urban. Third, their contacts with the urban environment is likely to be a source of encouragement for the rural communities in their process of development. This is achievable through the diffusion of ideas, skills, information and tangible resources into the rural areas. Fourth, the individual migrant involved in this pattern of partial disengagement achieves two things : doing business in the urban area where rate of turnover is high and business more viable, and at the same time residing in the rural areas among his people in an environment where he is 'better appreciated' and where he has the opportunity to share his wealth of experience for the purpose of rural development. He is solving both economic and socio-psychological problems by so doing.

5.3.2 Residential Preference (REP).

Our study population is constituted by migrants who returned to their roots from the urban areas, but we are interested in knowing their perception about rural residence. The concept of residential preference thus seeks to ascertain whether they are satisfied with their rural environment or not. Also, we seek to assess what factors determine their disposition to the village. Therefore, this section intends to answer the question: who is satisfied with the rural area and who is not? What are the variables that affect selectivity in this regard? The following research propositions will be tested under this section using findings from crosstabulation tables and the results of our logistic regression analysis.

HYPOTHESIS 6

Rural satisfaction of the urban-rural return migrant is dependent upon their age, marital status, job satisfaction and the duration of their rural residence (DRR). This hypothesis is broken down as:

- i) Age is directly related to rural satisfaction. In other words, the older the return migrant, the more likely he is to be satisfied with the rural area.
- ii) The return migrants who are currently married and those

who have been married before (ever married) are more likely to be satisfied with the village than those who are single.

- iii) Rural job satisfaction is positively related to rural satisfaction. Put differently, the more the return migrant is satisfied with his rural job, the more satisfied he is likely to be with the rural area of residence, and the greater his residential preference for the rural.
- iv) There also is a positive relationship between duration of rural residence (DRR) and rural satisfaction. In other words, the longer the returnee's DRR, the more likely he is to be satisfied in the rural area.

Rural satisfaction (the dependent variable) was tabulated against demographic and socioeconomic variables to determine the characteristics of those return migrants who are satisfied, or otherwise, with the rural environment. Table 5.9 presents these results.

It was found that as age of returnees increase, so does their level of satisfaction with the rural area. In the same vein, married people are more likely than their single counterparts to be satisfied with the rural areas. This later finding cannot altogether be divorced from the effect of age.

Married people are likely to be older than those who are single (on the average), and a considerable number of them could have resided in the city for a long period of time. Both categories (ie the older and the married return migrants) are more likely to have social responsibilities which are capable of increasing their degrees of attachment to the rural communities. The above findings support the first two propositions of our study hypothesis.

Table 5.9: Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Rural Satisfaction and Demographic and Socioeconomic Characteristics

Characteristic	Rural Satisfaction			
	Satisfied		Not Satisfied	
	%	N	%	N
All	62	(369)	38	(222)
<u>Age:</u>				
≤ 25				(222)
26 - 35	50	(63)	50	
36 - 45	53	(85)	47	(63)
≥ 46	63	(76)	37	(77)
	80	(145)	20	(45)
				(37)
<u>Marital Status:</u>				
Single	49	(116)	51	(222)
Ever married	71	(252)	29	(120)
				(102)

<u>Education</u>				
No education	86	(48)	14	(8)
Primary	64	(169)	36	(95)
Secondary	55	(95)	45	(77)
Tertiary	58	(57)	42	(42)
<u>Work Status</u>				
Employer	90	(9)	10	(1)
Employee	60	(110)	40	(74)
Own account workers	71	(196)	29	(81)
Unpaid family worker	68	(19)	32	(9)
Unemployed	26	(11)	74	(31)
Student/Apprentice	48	(24)	52	(26)
<u>Occupation</u>				
None	41	(34)	59	(50)
Civil service/Office	68	(53)	32	(25)
Teaching	51	(26)	49	(25)
Trading	63	(104)	37	(62)
Farming	78	(57)	22	(16)
Other blue-collar	68	(95)	32	(44)

With regard to education, we found that those returnees without education are the most satisfied with the rural environment. The table shows that 86% of them reported being satisfied with the environment, while 64% of those with primary education also answered in the affirmative. The proportions are lower for secondary and tertiary education, though in all categories, the levels of rural satisfaction are higher than those of rural dissatisfaction. We also found that rural satisfaction is higher among the employers, own-account workers and unpaid family workers (90%, 71% and 68% respectively). The lowest level (26%) is among the unemployed

returnees, which is consistent with the results given by occupation, where those without any occupation have the lowest level of satisfaction among all categories. With respect to income, we found that rural satisfaction is higher among the high income earners than the low. The mean income of the return migrants who are satisfied is considerably higher than that of those who are not.

For more conclusive results, the dependent variable was subjected to a more rigorous analytical process using the logistic regression model. It is our intention to predict whether or not the returnees will be satisfied in the rural area, by identifying the variables that explain rural satisfaction in a multivariate format. The logistic regression model was adopted because the dependent variable is categorical, and therefore the results are in form of probabilities. The dependent variable for the analysis is rural satisfaction which is coded 1 if the return migrant is satisfied with the rural environment, and 0 if he is not. Five independent variables were used for the analysis including age, marital status, job satisfaction, education and the duration of rural residence (DRR). For most independent variables, reference categories were created in dummy variable format to enhance comparison among categories of each

variable, but age and duration of rural residence were included as continuous variables. For the 'goodness-of-fit' test, the significance of the model chi-square was sought and the results show that our model chi-square is very significant at .0000 level. The classification table (5.10) for rural satisfaction shows that 140 return migrants who are not satisfied with the rural environment were correctly predicted by the model while 300 returnees who are not satisfied were also correctly classified. Overall, 73.70% of the 597 cases (return migrants) were correctly classified (see Table 5.10). We can conclude, therefore, that the model fits our data.

Table 5.10: Classification Table for Rural Satisfaction

Observed		PREDICTED		Percent correct
		NA N	YES Y	
NA	N	140	90	60.87%
Yes	Y	67	300	81.74%
			Overall	73.70%

As far as the logistic regression is concerned, our emphasis is on the 'odds ratio' (OR), which is defined as the ratio of the probability that a return migrant is satisfied with the rural area to the probability that he is not. This

can be written as:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{odds} &= \frac{\text{Prob (event)}}{\text{Prob (no event)}} = e^{B_0 + B_1 X_1 + \dots + B_p X_p} \\ &= e^{B_0} e^{B_1 X_1} \dots e^{B_p X_p} \end{aligned}$$

(See Analytical Techniques in Chapter 1)

The results of the analysis, as presented in Table 5.11 below, show that age is significant at 0.052 level. From the table we deduce that one unit change in age increases the odds of rural satisfaction by a factor of 0.02. This result confirms our hypothesis which states that age is directly related to rural satisfaction. In other words, as age increases, so does the likelihood of being satisfied with the rural environment. It corroborates the results of the crosstabulation analysis discussed earlier as presented in Table 5.9.

Though marital status is not very significant in the analysis, the odds ratio value tells us that ever married return migrants are about 18% more likely than those who are single to be satisfied with the rural area. This finding is in line with the proposition of the hypothesis presented earlier in this section though the relationship is not significant.

With respect to Job satisfaction among the return

migrants, those who are satisfied with their rural jobs constituted the reference category. The outcome of the analysis as it appears in the logistic regression table shows that return migrants who do not have rural jobs are 25% as likely to be satisfied with the rural area relative to the reference category. Those who are employed but are not satisfied with their jobs are 15% as likely as those who are satisfied with their jobs. Since these results are statistically significant, we conclude that return migrants who are satisfied with their rural jobs are the most likely to be satisfied with the rural environment. This result corroborates the findings of Makinwa, (1981) in her study of residential preference among migrants in Benin City (Nigeria). These migrants preferred the rural areas provided there are 'good' jobs there (especially non-farm jobs).

Education shows moderately significant inverse relationship at the secondary and tertiary levels. The return migrants without education were used as the reference category against which the other three categories (Primary, Secondary and Tertiary) were considered. The returnees with primary education are 51% as likely as the reference group to be satisfied with the rural area. Those who have secondary education are 41% as likely to be satisfied with rural

residence relative to the reference category; while those who have tertiary education are 45% as likely.

Table 5.11: Logistic Regression of the Odds of Being Satisfied with the Rural Area by Return Migrants' Characteristics.

Characteristic	Rural Satisfaction			
	Coefficient	SE	Sig	Odds Ratio
<u>Age:</u>	.0199	.0102	.0519	1.0201
<u>Marital Status</u>				
Single	*	*	*	1.0000
Ever Married	.1633	.2873	.5697	1.1774
<u>Job Satisfaction</u>				
Satisfied	*	*	*	1.0000
Not satisfied	-1.8824	.2292	.0000	.1522
No job	-1.3872	.2421	.0000	.2498
<u>Education</u>				
No education	*	*	*	1.0000
Primary	-.6749	.4269	.1139	.5092
Secondary	-.8908	.4666	.0562	.4103
Tertiary	-.7995	.4725	.0906	.4496
<u>DRR</u>	.1371	.0462	.0030	1.1470
<u>Constant</u>	.6640	.6224	.2860	na

* = Reference category; DRR = Duration of Rural Residence;
na = not applicable.

The duration of a return migrant's rural residence is expected to have positive consequences for the degree of satisfaction which he is likely to derive from residing in the

rural area. It has been stated that attachment to environment increases with continued residence (DaVanzo, 1978; DaVanzo and Morrison, 1978; 1981 and Oucho, 1986). In this process, apart from acquiring friends and property, the resident may take up positions of responsibility and also improve his participation level in rural programmes and projects. This school of thought apart from agreeing that time is needed to acquire location-specific capital, also see this capital as a potent factor in determining attachment. On the basis of this fact, we hypothesized that there is a positive relationship between the return migrants' duration of rural residence (DRR) and rural satisfaction. This is to say that, the longer the returnee resides in the rural area, the more likely he is to be satisfied therein.

We found DRR significant in this analysis with .0030 level and at 1 degree of freedom. The independent variable (DRR), was included in the analysis as a continuous variable. From the table above (Table 5.11) it has an odds ratio value of 1.1470 which implies that one year of residence in the rural area is associated with 0.15 change in the odds of rural satisfaction. This result confirms our proposition, and has identified duration of rural residence as an important determinant of rural satisfaction and also a critical factor

to watch when assessing migration decisions, more especially, as it affects return migration.

5.3.3: Urban Employment (UEM)

This concept represents the returnees' willingness to accept jobs in the city if given the opportunity. It is an indicator of how psychologically disengaged the returnee is from the city, or the corollary, how psychologically attached he is to the rural areas. In addition, it is a strong determinant of the degree of permanence of migration. The urban areas have a considerable amount of factors which tend, continually, to attract the rural dweller. This fact has been discussed by Lee (1969). As our review of literature pointed out, this is related to structural dualism which has been a latent and consistent aspect of the development policies of our country, Nigeria. It implies a neglect of the rural environment in favour of the urban in the allocation and appropriation of the nation's resources, which leaves life in the former miserable, thereby exposing its population to outmigration. The urban areas, on the other hand, are better endowed with amenities and economic opportunities which makes them irresistible to the rural dweller.

However, we know that some people move while some others

do not, even in the face of similar push and pull factors and social and economic circumstances. The crucial question, therefore, has to do with the reasons why some of the returnees would accept urban jobs while their other counterparts would not. The answer to this question is sought in the migrants' demographic and socioeconomic characteristics. This brings us to one of the major hypotheses of this study:

HYPOTHESIS 7:

The probability of a returnee accepting an urban job is dependent upon his demographic and socioeconomic characteristics.

This hypothesis is disaggregated to obtain the following set of propositions:

- i) The younger the returnee, the more likely he is to accept an urban job.
- ii) Unmarried return migrants are most likely to accept urban jobs relative to their married counterparts.
- iii) Educational level is directly related to acceptance of urban job. This means that higher the educational level, the more likely the return migrant is to accept urban employment.

- iv) Returnee's income level is inversely related to acceptance of urban job. In other words, the higher the returnee's income level, the less likely he is to accept an urban job.
- v) Rural satisfaction is negatively related to acceptance urban employment.

These issues are examined from results of several descriptive analyses, and later tested with a logistic regression model which provides us with the odds ratios of the returnees' acceptance of urban jobs.

5.3.3.1 Age and Urban Employment (UEM)

The responses of the respondents with respect to accepting an urban employment were cross-classified with age to ascertain whether or not there are age-specific differentials. These findings, and others, appear in Table 5.12 below. Among the youngest age group (≤ 25), about 67% (or 84 people) will accept urban jobs if offered, as against 33% (or 42 people) who will not. At the subsequent higher age level, the proportion who will accept an urban job declined to 57%. The proportions of the middle and old age groups (36-45, and over 46 years respectively) who will accept an urban job further decline to 47% and 26% respectively.

Table 5.12: Percentage Distribution of Respondents by Whether They Will Accept an Urban Job According to Socioeconomic Characteristics

Characteristic	Accepting an urban job			
	Yes		No	
	%	(N)	%	(N)
All 100 (600)	47	(284)	53	(316)
<u>Age:</u>				
≤ 25	67	(84)	33	(42)
26 - 35	57	(94)	43	(70)
36 - 45	47	(57)	53	(64)
≥ 46	26	(49)	74	(137)
<u>Marital Status:</u>				
Single	65	(153)	35	(83)
Ever married	36	(131)	64	(229)
<u>Education</u>				
No education	14	(8)	86	(49)
Primary	40	(108)	60	(161)
Secondary	59	(103)	41	(70)
Tertiary	64	(65)	36	(36)
<u>Monthly Income (₹)</u>				
No income	46	(67)	54	(79)
Low income (≤ 200)	51	(60)	49	(57)
Medium income (201-500)	53	(103)	47	(93)
High income (≥ 500)	38	(54)	62	(87)
<u>Remigration</u>				
Will remigrate	83	(140)	17	(28)
Will not remigrate	36	(17)	83	(175)
Not sure	49	(108)	51	(110)

These results clearly show that acceptance of an urban job is inversely related with age. The high proportion of young migrants who will take up urban jobs if offered is explainable from different perspectives. First, younger

people, according to Table 5.12, are the least satisfied with rural environment and will, therefore, jump at any viable opportunity of leaving it. Second, is evident in Table 5.12, a large proportion of these young migrants are unemployed, therefore, they are likely to be attracted by a job. Third, they are less likely to have restrictive family responsibilities that are capable of tying them to the rural. These factors work together to give them greater 'migratory potential' than their older counterparts.

On the other hand, older people have less need for urban jobs. This assertion can be substantiated by making reference to the characteristics of the old returnees. They are more likely to be people who have retired from the urban areas after a long period of urban residence, and are, therefore, more prepared for rural life. They are also more likely to have a lot more social responsibilities at both the family and community levels. Consequently, they occupy special positions as opinion leaders at the community level and as elders at home. They also may be too old to cope with the physical and social demands of urban living. The above relationship is summarised by the chi-square test, which value stands at 60.14 and at 0.000 level of significance showing a very strong relationship between age and the likelihood of accepting an

urban job. This shows that age is an important factor in the return migrants' decision to accept or to ignore an urban job offer.

The logistic regression model was adopted to enable us predict more accurately whether or not the returnees would accept urban jobs. In the test, accepting a job is coded 1 while not accepting is coded 0. The goodness-of-fit test was conducted and the results as presented in Table 5.13 shows that 260 return migrants who will not accept urban job were correctly predicted by the model, while 215 who will accept were also correctly classified. Overall, 79.56% of the return migrants were correctly classified. The model chi-square has a strong significance level of 0.0000. Therefore, the model fits our data.

In this analysis, age was included as a continuous variable and the results as presented in Table 5.14 reveals that age is significant at .0089 which is considerably high. The table also shows that one unit change in age decreases the odds of accepting urban employment by a factor of 0.97. This finding indicates that the older the return migrants, the less likely they are to accept urban jobs. It is in line with the results of our descriptive analysis and also in agreement with the first proposition of our seventh hypothesis which states

that the younger the returnees the more likely he is to accept an urban job.

Table 5.13: Classification Table for Accepting or Not Accepting Urban Job
PREDICTED

Observed	NA N	YES Y	Percent correct
NA N	260	55	82.54%
Yes Y	67	215	76.24%
Overall			79.56%

Table 5.14: Logistic Regression of the Odds of Accepting an Urban Job by Demographic and Socioeconomic Variables.

Characteristic	Accepting urban job.			
	Coefficient	SE	Sig	Odds Ratio
<u>Age:</u>	-.0303	.0116	.0089	.9702
<u>Marital Status</u>				
Single	*	*	*	1.0000
Ever married	-.1314	.3162	.6779	.8769
<u>Education</u>				
No educ.	*	*	*	1.0000
Primary	.5821	.4902	.2350	1.7899
Secondary	1.0309	.5269	.0504	2.8035
Tertiary	1.7318	.5711	.0024	5.6506

<u>Occupation</u>				
C. service/office	.9257	.3615	.0104	2.5237
Farming	*	*	*	1.0000
Trading	-.0032	.3122	.9917	1.0032
Other blue-collar	.6176	.3179	.0520	1.8545
<u>Frequency of urban visits</u>				
Not visited	*	*	*	1.0000
Low	.3862	.2552	.1302	1.4713
High	-.1678	.2804	.5495	.8455
<u>Income</u>				
No income	*	*	*	1.0000
Low income	.4112	.3349	.2195	1.5087
Medium income	.5667	.3118	.0691	1.7624
High income	-.3062	.3626	.3985	.7363
<u>Rural Satisfaction</u>				
Not satisfied	*	*	*	1.0000
Satisfied	-2.5017	.2327	.0000	.0819
Constant	1.1687	.6975	.0938	na
* = Reference category; na = not applicable				

5.3.3.2: Marital Status and Urban Employment

With regard to marital status, the single were found more likely to accept urban jobs. Table 5.12 shows that 65% of the single returnees would accept as against 36% of the ever-married. From another viewpoint, we found that, of all who would accept urban jobs, 54% are single. On the contrary, of all who would not, 74% are either married or had been married before. These findings strengthen earlier ones concerning the degree of social responsibilities at the family and even community levels which determines the returnees' decisions.

Married people, according to our preliminary discussion, are more likely to be older and also have more responsibilities at the two fronts mentioned above; and these factors will tend to reduce their 'potential for adventure' and, their willingness to pick up job appointments in the city.

Our chi-square test shows a strong relationship between marital status and the returnee's likelihood of accepting an urban job. The value stands at 46.99 and at 0.000 level of significance. Though the identified relationship is strong, the values obtained point to the fact that age is a more potent factor than marital status in determining the decision concerning an urban offer. This observation implies that the relationship found with marital status may as well be a product of the age factor as was alluded to earlier.

Results of the logistic regression suggest that ever-married returnees are less likely than the single to accept urban jobs. Married people are 88% as likely to accept the jobs relative to their single counterparts. This confirms the findings of the crosstabulation, but it is not statistically significant. Since acceptance of an urban offer implies leaving the rural for the city, it is expected that the single migrants will be more represented because they have greater tendencies of moving than the married.

5.3.3.3: Education and Urban Employment

What difference does a return migrant's educational status make in his decision concerning an urban job? The answer to this question is what we seek in the analyses that follow. Our cross-tabulation table (5.12) shows that 86% of the return migrants who do not have any education would not accept the urban jobs if they were offered one, while among those with primary education, 60% would not. The level of non-acceptance of urban jobs continuously declines as educational level increases. It means that the more educated the return migrant, the more likely he is to accept an urban job. The lowest proportion of those who will accept an urban job (18%), was found among the uneducated migrants. This finding agrees with our research proposition in this regard.

The chi-square test shows that educational attainment of migrants has a strong effect on whether or not they will accept an urban job, with a value of 56.36 at 0.000 level of significance. This identifies the educational level of returnees as a crucial factor, with a high probability that those with high level of education might remigrate if a more attractive urban job offer comes their way.

From the logistic regression test, education gives an impressive result and proves to be the strongest factor in the

decision to accept or reject an urban job by a return migrant. In line with the hypothesis, educational attainment is directly related to acceptance of urban jobs. In other words, the higher the returnees' level of education, the more likely they are to accept urban jobs. Our research proposition is hereby confirmed and accepted.

From Table 5.14, it is clear that education is significant and the level of significance increases with each subsequent higher level of education. Return migrants with primary education are about twice as likely as those without education to accept urban jobs. In turn, those with secondary education are about three times as likely as the reference group (no education) to accept urban jobs, while those with tertiary education are nearly six times as likely. This means that the returnees who have tertiary education have the least resistance to the pull by the urban jobs. This finding is logical in the sense that the more educated an individual is, the more economically versatile he becomes and the more fit he is to survive in the urban environment. Education qualifies the migrant for urban jobs and provides him with a wide range of choice.

5.3.3.4: Income and Urban Employment

The monthly income of the returnees (which is one of the indices for measuring socioeconomic status) should be of importance on the issue of urban employment which essentially is an economic decision. Our results reveal that willingness to accept an urban job increases with the levels of income from the no-income group (46%) to the medium income group (53%). It is however, reduced to 38% for those in the high income category. In other words, there is a curvilinear relationship between income and willingness to accept urban employment, with low probabilities at the extreme income groups, and high chances of acceptance at the middle income group. This is a variation from our research assumption, and an important finding. High income earners are the least likely to accept urban jobs. This is expected because they have enough financial resources with which to cope with rural demands and to make life in the rural environment comfortable. The chi-square value of this test is 7.66 at .05 significance level, which is indicative of a rather weak relationship between income and the likelihood of accepting an urban job.

Our results from the logistic regression indicate that low income and mid-income return migrants are more likely than the reference category (no income) to accept urban jobs. The

mid-income returnees are about 25% more likely than their low-income counterparts to accept the jobs. The high income group conforms to the expectation of our hypothesis. They are 72% as likely as the reference group to accept the jobs. In sum, our results show that high income returnees (\geq ₦501.00 monthly) are the least likely to pick up jobs in the city followed by those with no income; while those in the low and middle income groups are more likely to accept urban jobs. The no income group is likely to comprise retired returnees who are neither employed nor willing and able to work.

5.3.3.5: Remigration and Urban Employment

This section seeks to ascertain the association between the return migrants' intention to remigrate to the urban areas and their willingness to accept urban employment. We found as would be expected, that the level of willingness to accept urban jobs is highest among those returnees who intend to remigrate to the urban areas. This category of people constitute 83% of those who will remigrate. Of those who had no intention to remigrate, 36% are willing to accept jobs in the city. However, there is a third category who are not sure of their migration plans. This group is split into two almost equal parts according to their reaction to urban employment.

The 49% that answered in affirmative (see Table 5.12) are likely to be attracted by the availability of suitable jobs while the other 51% will need a strong set of pull factors at the city which are strong enough to surmount the contrary factors to move them.

The chi-square test shows a high value of 179.83 at a significance level of 0.000 which suggests a strong relationship between the migrants' likelihood of accepting an urban job if they intend to remigrate to the city.

5.3.3.6: Rural Satisfaction and Urban Employment

Rural satisfaction was found to be highly significant as is shown on the logistic regression table. Return migrants who are satisfied with the rural environment are 8% as likely to accept an urban job as their counterparts who are not. This finding is expected since there is a greater likelihood among dissatisfied people to move, given the fact that the motive for migration is essentially to make life better. Their disposition to the rural environment explains their attitudes towards urban jobs. This will also influence their orientation towards remigration to the city. The above and its relationship with the permanence of return migration is discussed later in the chapter.

5.3.3.7: Occupation and Urban Employment

Occupation, as an independent variable, produced significant results in the analysis. The civil servants and office workers' category was found to be significantly more likely to accept an urban job; they are about three times more likely to accept an urban job than farmers, the reference category. The 'other blue-collar' workers are about twice more likely than farmers to accept an urban job, while there is virtually no difference between traders and farmers. Civil servants and office workers are more likely to accept an urban job and subsequently remigrate because better-paying white-collar jobs abound in the city; also some may not have any choice in the matter since they could be sent to the urban areas on transfer. On the other hand, traders and farmers are pretty much settled on their businesses in the rural area, and may not be willing to relocate a lucrative rural business to an unpredictable urban market characterised by stiff competition.

To supplement the tests described above, we computed mean income with respect to whether or not a migrant will accept an urban employment, by education and degree of satisfaction with the rural area (Table 5.15).

Our findings show that income levels are generally lower

among those who would accept urban jobs relative to their counterparts who would not. For both categories, our results show that income is highest for those who have tertiary education. Bringing these two sets of observation together, it is evident that returnees with tertiary education, and who would not accept urban jobs, have the highest income levels in the sample. Their mean monthly income stands at ₦1155.00 which is far above the mean income of the study population (₦557.00). It is noteworthy that returnees with secondary education who will not accept an urban job earn more income (₦820) than those with tertiary education who may accept an urban job. This suggests that high rural income, more than education, may be an important deterrent to urban remigration.

Table 5.15: MeanIncome by Whether or Not Respondents will Accept an Urban Employment by Educational Levels and Rural Satisfaction

Variable:	<u>Educational levels</u>				
	<u>None</u> <u>Mean(N)</u>	<u>Primary</u> <u>Mean(N)</u>	<u>Secondary</u> <u>Mean (N)</u>	<u>Tertiary</u> <u>Mean(N)</u>	<u>All</u> <u>Mean(N)</u>
Would you accept Urban Job?					
Yes	333(6)	375(87)	292(92)	623(59)	403(244)
No	494(39)	596(117)	820(58)	1155(32)	705(246)
	<u>Rural Satisfaction</u>				
	<u>Satisfied</u> <u>Mean(N)</u>	<u>Not Satisfied</u> <u>Mean(N)</u>		<u>All</u> <u>Mean(N)</u>	
Yes	441(87)	381(152)		403	
No	729(214)	581(30)		710	

Note: Mean represents mean monthly income in naira (N)

It was also found that the returnees who are not satisfied with the rural environment are more likely to accept jobs in the city. In addition, the table shows that this category of return migrants earn the lowest income in the population. It is likely that their low income may have contributed to their dissatisfaction with the rural environment. This, therefore, informs their disposition towards urban employment. On the other hand, those returnees who are satisfied with the rural environment and who would not accept any urban job were found to have the highest income levels in the population (₦729 .00 on the average) which is much higher than the mean income of the entire population of returnees studied (₦557.00).

These analyses confirm that income, education and degree of rural satisfaction are important variables in the migrants' decision-making process especially in relation to urban employment.

5.3.4: Urban Remigration

As a follow-up to our analysis of the likelihood of urban employment and residential preference which are closely related variables, there is need to consider that which can be referred to as the end-point of any migrant's disposition to

these two variables. Urban remigration is a concept employed in this study to represent the act of an urban-rural return migrant to relocate his residence to the urban area. It is an advanced stage of migratory movements and raises a lot of questions concerning the permanence or otherwise of return migration, the socioeconomic and environmental state of the rural areas, the effect of return migration in the rural communities, and even the situation of rural development in same. The volume of remigration determines the rate of migration turnover in the rural areas and has negative consequences for demographic stability.

Available literature points to the fact that those who are more disposed to remigration are those returnees who could not adequately process migration information before initial migration (DaVanzo and Morrison, 1978; 1981). From the foregoing, our analysis in this section aims at answering some basic questions. First, who among the return migrants will remigrate? Second, what are the likely factors that will predispose them to remigration?. According to DaVanzo and Morrison the short-term migrants return for such reasons and are most times, unsuccessful and are most likely to remigrate. The area of emphasis here is the socioeconomic status of these migrants they referred to as 'unsuccessful'. This factor

shall be an integral aspect of our analysis as we test our eighth hypothesis. This hypothesis states as follows:

HYPOTHESIS 8:

The incidence of remigration among urban-rural returnees depends on their length of migration (LOM), degree of rural satisfaction, their socioeconomic status (SES), and socio-economic characteristics. This set of research expectations can further be broken down into three aspects for clarity.

- (i) The longer the migrant's length of migration (LOM) the less likely he is to remigrate to the urban area.
- (ii) Rural satisfaction of return migrants is indirectly related with urban remigration.
- (iii) The socio-economic status (SES) of return migrants is inversely related to their likelihood of remigrating to the urban areas.
- (iv) Return migrants' age, marital status and income are inversely related to their chances of remigration, while education has a direct relationship with the tendencies of remigration.

Socioeconomic status in (iii) above is, in the context of this

analysis, defined using ownership and possession of certain household and related items. The belongings used in this consideration include: motor cars, motor-bikes, television sets, video machines, refrigerators, stereo sets, electric fans and cookers, business machines. Precisely, a return migrant's socioeconomic status depends on the size of the stock of these items he was able to bring home while returning from the city.

This analysis and the test of the set of propositions stated above will be carried out using the 'Row-and-Column-Effects Models - a variant of the Log-Linear model (see Analytical Techniques in chapter one). Our analysis will be based on the values of the coefficients of the parameters and the Z-value, which is the ratio of the parameter estimate to its standard error, which can be used to test the null hypotheses (Norusis/SPSS, 1990; Knoke and Burke, 1980). In large data sets usually, estimates with Z-values greater than 1.96 in absolute value can be considered significant at the 0.05 level.

An individual confidence interval (CI) is constructed for each estimate. If the lower limit and the upper limit of CI do not include 0, the hypothesis that the population value is 0 can be rejected.

The form of the log-linear model for a two - way table is:

$$\log M_{ij} = U + U_{1i} + U_{2j} + U_{ij}$$

where,

U = grand mean; U_{1i} = row effect; U_{2j} = column effect and U_{ij} = interaction effect.

5.3.4.1: Length of Migration and Urban Remigration

This section presents the interaction effects of remigration and length of migration. In our this analysis, the population that will remigrate is more significant than those who will not. The short-term migrants (short LOM) are also more significant than the medium-term migrants within the LOM variable at 0.05 level though with negative values. With remigration as the row variable, the row-effects model provides us with the coefficients for each row as will be discussed below. The coefficients from the interaction have positive values and the first category (short-term migrants) has a considerably high Z-value (3.166) and is significant at the 0.05 level (see Table 5.15). It appears more significant than the estimates for the medium-term migrants though the latter is also significant at same level. Our results imply

that the short-term migrants are more likely than the medium-term migrants to remigrate. Based on this result the stated hypothesis [8(i)] is hereby accepted. It is consistent with our findings from the crosstabulation analysis conducted earlier in the study, as presented in Table 5.2. The explanation for this pattern of disposition to remigration is most likely to have a bearing on DaVanzo and Morrison's (1978; 1981) proposition of 'unsuccessful migration' which sees the short-term migrant returnee as a victim of mismanaged migration. They are likely to be unemployed too.

5.3.4.2: Migrants' Socioeconomic Status (SES) and Urban Remigration

The socioeconomic status (SES) variable is a combination of several variables which are considered important indices for measuring the migrants' standards of living especially at the point of return. This variable has been introduced earlier (in section 5.3.4) when we defined the components of our set of hypotheses. The socioeconomic status of return migrants is categorised into three main groupings : low, medium and high SES represented by the codes 1,2 and 3 in the analysis. The ratio of this statistic (SES) to its standard error (i.e the Z-value), as well as the 95% confidence

Table 5.16: Log-Linear Parameter Estimates for Row-Effects Model - Urban Remigration and Socio-Demographic Variables

Interactions	Coefficients	Z-Value
Age by Remigration		
1	.9481	11.0056*
2	.0781	.9912
Education by Remigration		
1	-.5319	-3.3518*
2	.0224	.2559
3	.3099	3.2117*
Marital status by Remigration		
1	.6925	11.6477*
Occupation by Remigration		
1	.1016	1.0865
2	.1338	1.5219
3	-.1823	-2.0874*
Income by Remigration		
1	.3280	3.5462*
2	.1358	1.3819
3	.0041	.0491
SES by Remigration		
1	.3799	4.9124*
2	-.0615	-.8329
LOM by Remigration		
1	.2601	3.1660*
2	.1401	1.9730*

* significant at 0.05 level

interval (CI) constructed for the index, show that it is statistically significant in this analysis. There also exists a high level of association within the group (variable). On the other hand, those returnees who are likely to remigrate constitute a statistically significant category within the remigration variable.

At the interaction level of our analysis, (i.e U_{1j}), we found that those returnees with the lowest socioeconomic status (SES) are most likely to remigrate (see Table 5.16). This finding is consistent with earlier findings in the descriptive analysis. It draws us even closer to DaVanzo and Morrison's (1978;1981) views regarding migration and the negative selectivity of return migrants. However, our findings are not bizarre given the fact that the low socioeconomic group is most likely to be unemployed, economically uncertain, and could have been displaced in the urban areas and compelled to return, most likely against their programmes. They are more likely to jump at any offer that seems to possess the potentials of making them upwardly mobile. Based on these findings, we accept the stated hypothesis [8(ii)] that the socioeconomic status of return migrants is inversely related to their likelihood to remigrate to the urban area.

5.3.4.3: Migrants' Socioeconomic Characteristics and Urban Remigration

Based on information from previous analyses and available literature, we should have realised the fact that the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics of individuals play significant roles in determining their disposition to social phenomena, and consequently their decisions in those regards. In this section, we intend to look further into the nature of the association that exists between some of these variables and remigration as a decision. This evaluation will be made using the interaction results from our log-linear analysis. The socioeconomic characteristics to be estimated include age, education, marital status and income.

Age has been categorised into three major groupings namely: young, middle, and old age. The young age group has proved most significant within the variable. The interaction shows that young return migrants are the most likely to remigrate. This is a confirmation of our findings from preliminary analyses conducted earlier in this chapter. This association is significant as evident from the Z-Value at 0.05 level. Young return migrants possess the inherent characteristics that dispose people to migration. They are young and energetic and therefore have the physiological

capacity and the motivation to move. Some of them might have returned in the company of parents or relations as part of family migration and are likely to make their own moves when the opportunity calls. The important thing to note here is that employment opportunities in the city is a very likely motive for their further migration, while degree of social responsibilities is a facilitating factor. Our findings also confirm an important aspect of our first hypothesis with regard to return migration selectivity.

Marital status proved to be an important variable at the crosstabulation and means levels of analyses, but to ascertain the degree of association, we will subject it to log-linear model. The variable was categorised into two: single and ever-married, with the latter including the widowed, separated, divorced and obviously currently married. The first category (single) shows a high degree of acceptability and significance within the group, with negative values. It has a high ratio to its standard error (11.648) and is significant at the 0.05 level. At the interaction with remigration, we found that the single return migrants are very much likely to remigrate to city. This result, therefore, leads us to accept our stated hypothesis [8(iv)] that there exists an indirect relationship with remigration. This

implies that, the greater the proportion of those who enter into conjugal unions in a population, the lower the proportion that will remigrate. This disposition of single returnees to remigrate is not far removed from their age because they are likely to be predominantly young (see chapter three). It is easier for them to move considering their relatively less involvement with monetary and non-monetary or psychic costs of migration (Sjaastad, 1962).

Among the education categories, return migrants who have primary education are the most strongly estimated within the variable. At the interaction level, the uneducated group was found significant though the relationship is negative. Our findings indicate that this group is the least likely to remigrate to the urban areas. The primary category was not found significant at this level of analysis but the subsequent categories are significant with positive coefficients. This simply means that return migrants with secondary education are more likely than their counterparts with lower educational qualification to remigrate. Even greater is the likelihood of re-migration among those with tertiary education. This tendency has a relationship with occupational affiliation of these returnees and their occupational dispositions and versatility as a result of their educational qualifications.

Our stated hypothesis [8(iv)] is again confirmed and upheld.

Estimates for the effects of income show that the no-income and low-income categories are well-favoured within the variable. They are significant though with negative values. At the row-effects model interaction level, it was found that the relationship that exists between the two main variables is consistent with the results of the descriptive analyses carried out earlier. With income as the row variable, the parameters show that the no-income category is the most significant among the categories. The Z-value and the 95% confidence interval indicate a positive relationship, significant at the 0.05 level. It implies, therefore, that the no-income group is the most likely to remigrate. The explanation for this include the fact that they are more likely to be young, single and unemployed; based on the previous findings, we can infer that our findings in this test are consistent with available information. As a result of their lack of income in the rural area, these return migrants will have the tendency of anticipating better opportunities in the city. This will manifest as genuine desire to be in the urban area.

5.3.4.4: Rural Satisfaction and Urban Remigration

Another variable 'Rural satisfaction', is introduced into this discussion which is likely to facilitate the explanation of the previous results and make for clarity. This concept has been applied at several stages of this study and is concerned with the degree to which return migrants are satisfied with the rural environment in which they reside. It is a major determinant of both remigration and the likely contribution of the return migrants to the development of their rural communities. It is also a determinant of the extent of permanence of return migration.

During data collection, the respondents were asked whether or not they were satisfied with their rural residence. This implies inquiring about their residential preference. In our bivariate analysis, it was found that the return migrants who reported being satisfied with their rural residence did not show any interest in remigration. As a follow-up, the same variables were subjected to the log-linear model for more conclusive results. Rural satisfaction which will be adopted as our row variable in the interaction test appears in our analysis in three categories namely: the returnees who are satisfied with rural residence, those that are not, and some who are uncertain concerning the issue. The first two

categories' individual estimates were found significant based on the Z-values and the 95% confidence interval.

Adopting rural satisfaction as our row variable for the interaction (row-effect model) test, it was found also that these two categories (parameters) mentioned above are highly significant. An impressive result was obtained from this analysis which confirms that those who are not satisfied with rural residence are most likely to remigrate to the urban (see Table 5.16). On the other hand, as expected, those who are satisfied with the rural environment have the least likelihood of remigrating to the urban. To this latter group, there is no motivation capable of surmounting their preference for the rural areas. The results have high significance levels as is shown by the Z-value and the 95% confidence interval. As to the appropriateness of the model for the analysis, our 'goodness-of-fit' tests show evidence of a good fit. The question to be asked now is not that of the stated hypothesis but of the likely determinants of rural satisfaction. Our hypothesis has been accepted after the confirmatory test by the log-linear model. However, as regards the determinants of rural satisfaction, several factors are bound to come into play including income, occupation, age, socioeconomic status and even personal factors. Social responsibilities should,

however, not be swept under the carpet as the findings of our indepth interviews show (in chapter six).

In summary, this chapter has demonstrated the central relevance of individual migrants' socioeconomic and demographic characteristics in migration selectivity and their role in process of migration decisions. Adequate attention has also been given major variables that determine the quality of migrants and the future patterns of migration as well as their relationship with the migrants' characteristics. These variables include: length of migration (LOM), duration of rural residence (DRR), and the four components which determine the degree of the permanence of return migration namely; degree of urban disengagement, migrants' level of rural satisfaction, returnees' probability of accepting urban employment and their likelihood of remigration to the city.

Following from the results of our several analyses, most of our return migrants can be relied upon as having returned to settle in the villages. This to some extent, should allay the fears in the minds of planners and policy makers for the rural areas regarding the genuineness of the return movement identified in these communities.

CHAPTER SIX

RETURN MIGRANTS AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

6.0 INTRODUCTION

After evaluating and analysing the quantitative data gathered and also interpreting the relationships among the relevant variables, we now examine the qualitative data collected in the field to further enrich the study. In this regard, this chapter presents the findings of our indepth interviews, as well as the community-level survey, conducted in the communities studied. It includes a brief overview of the nature of rural development in Ideato, the categories of returnees and their contributions to rural development.

It is pertinent to reiterate that in the context of this study, rural development is defined as the sustainable process of assisting rural dwellers to acquire and improve upon their skills and capacities (Okechukwu, 1994) as well as helping them apply these skills in the organization, mobilization and harnessing of the human and material resources at their disposal. The aim of this process is to systematically enable these rural areas to transcend their primary needs of existence. From this conceptual definition, it is clear that rural development is not accidental but an organised process. Four features are evident which can be considered necessary ingredients of rural development efforts, namely:

identification, design, implementation and sustainability.

Identification refers to the act of recognising the actual needs of the community of interest. This process can be realised by taking a critical look at the rural people, their environment, as well as their socioeconomic activities; and by interaction. These needs should be distinguishable from that which government considers rural needs. Therefore, these needs should essentially be acknowledged by the rural dwellers.

Design, on the ^{other} hand, refers to the mental conception and planning which eventually involves preparing a sketch or pattern which is required. It implies a primary but deliberate planning as to how the identified needs will adequately be met. This stage is followed by implementation which involves carrying out that plan or design which has been conceived in order to create satisfaction or fulfillment. It is the practical and tangible aspect of the process of rural development and the entire manifestation of the design and putting it to active use and also making it relevant to the environment.

The fourth feature (sustainability) points to the ideal of keeping the project in question going. There is need to support the rural development activities to enable the people

benefit from them on a long-term basis. This is necessary to justify the amount of resources committed to the projects (Lele, 1975).

6.1 THE INDEPTH STUDY METHODOLOGY

The indepth interview was embarked upon as a supplement to the data and information from the structured instruments. Provision was made for this method in the research design given the nature of the study of interest (rural development). It was found appropriate to talk to some of the major actors in a more informal and natural atmosphere in order to elicit relevant information from them since they are presumed to have better insight into the phenomenon of interest. The interviewees (key informants) were selected on the basis of their participation and commitment in the socioeconomic and political arena of their communities. Therefore, selection at this level of data collection was purely purposive. On the whole, 12 key informants were interviewed.

An interview guide was prepared which served as a format for each of the sessions. It covered topics which include the migration history of the respondents, their socioeconomic status in the society, their level of socio-political participation, their contributions to rural development, the

infrastructural facilities in their communities and how they were provided as well as being maintained, the activities of the social clubs, development unions and other associations in the communities, the effect of return migration and especially return migrants in the rural development process and views about the prospects of rural development.

Some of our respondents are members of traditional ruling councils in their respective villages, while some others serve in several capacities in various unions, associations and committees in the villages. They were considered to occupy strategic decision-making positions in their communities. Given the nature of the interviews to be conducted, the status of the respondents and the value attached to the anticipated information, appointments were booked and confirmed to ensure that the sessions were taken at the convenience of the respondents. This measure was taken to forestall the incidence of hurried interviews which are likely to be less natural and also less informing. The problem encountered at this stage was that of long waits in order to confirm the appointments since most of our respondents are very busy people.

The interviews were conducted in very natural settings after establishing good rapport. They took the form of normal

discussions in which the interviewer took part by chipping in some words when necessary and some jokes to ease any anticipated resistance or tension. Notes were taken during the discussions, and reports were written after each session to minimise memory lapse. The interviewees did not demand financial gratification, probably because they are of reasonably high social status. In spite of this, we presented native kola nuts to some of the very traditional men among them who insisted on such formal introductory practices. This is a customary prerequisite for meeting such people by virtue of their traditional status. The interviews were conducted in Igbo language to make them more natural.

6.2 CHARACTERISTICS OF THE KEY INFORMANTS

The indepth interviews reveal that all the respondents own houses in the village and these houses were built before they returned from the city. Some of them built theirs within their initial years of migration. Most of them were medium-term migrants, and were engaged in private enterprises when they were in the city. The long-term migrants among them were former employees in the public sector, who retired to the village where they now operate small-scale businesses. Some of them are into various forms of medium-scale manufacturing

in the village, especially those who have been into private business for a long period of time. They also must have made substantial investment over these years.

With respect to the topic of this study, there are two important points to note about the respondents (key informants). First is that none of them is willing to return to the urban area to settle, no matter how attractive any urban job offer would seem. This inclination is consistent with the fact that they are all voluntary returnees. Second, all the respondents have a high participation rate in rural development activities including village politics, social clubs, development unions and various community projects.

6.3 THE NATURE OF RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN IDEATO

In all the communities studied (Akokwa, Aro-Ndizuogu, Osina and Urualla), as is the case in most Igbo communities, most of the viable rural development activities were or are being executed through community participation. This pattern tends to obscure any rural development effort made by government in many areas. More often than not, the people have more confidence in those projects which were initiated and executed by the community, and over which they have control. Their level of commitment to indigenous projects probably has

a tendency towards the conceptual definition of the term 'community'. This concept refers to a group of people living within a territory and who share common interests, sentiments, behaviour and objects by virtue of their belonging to a social group. They attempt to transform their environment in order to maintain their social life (Mitchell, 1981; Anyanwu, 1992; Okechukwu, 1994). Their uniformity of interests, problems and goals conditions them to work towards meeting their peculiar needs in their own way.

The indepth interviews and community level survey showed that most of the infrastructural facilities existing in the villages were provided by members of the communities in several capacities -as individuals, social clubs, development unions or associations. These facilities include rural roads, schools, health centres and maternity homes, pipe-borne water, electricity, markets, post offices and town halls. Most of these projects were initiated, designed and executed by the entire members of the communities involved through contributions made by all taxable adults both at home and abroad. These contributions are made in forms of financial resources, building materials, consultancy or even labour. When a need is identified in any community, a series of consultations follow which would eventually lead to a

mobilization process that entails convening meetings at different levels. At this point decisions are reached as regards the modalities of meeting the identified need and the plan for the project and its execution. The cohesiveness of the traditional society becomes of great advantage at this point.

Several development unions were found in these communities and from further inquiry, it was gathered that these unions as their names imply, were formed principally to facilitate and also support rural development. One of such unions could start a project and single-handedly bring it to completion. Such completed projects therefore stand as an evidence of the genuineness of the unions concerned and the efficiency and the credibility of their executives. There are other projects that were executed by individual members of the communities and handed over to their people, while there are yet others where a few individuals provided a bulk of the resources required. These projects are usually in form of roads, pipe-borne water and electricity. The rural access roads are made to ease transportation of people and goods within the community. With regard to electricity, such individuals procure transformers, electric poles and cables and usually bear the cost of the whole process of

electrification. Some individuals sink boreholes for their villages and provide the pipes for distribution and in most cases make available several service points. These acts of philanthropy are common among the industrialists, especially those who have invested in the village.

Usually, when the projects are completed, machinery is also put in place for the maintenance of such projects. In some cases such as school projects (primary or secondary), it could involve an outright handover to government or negotiation with government for approval which is necessary for the operation of such projects. However, for some others, concrete arrangements are made by the communities with regard to their operation. In this third option, the communities may use a set of sanctions to achieve compliance with laid down rules. Projects such as rural roads are maintained periodically by members of the communities and every adult is expected to be present on such occasions. Absentees could be made to pay fines which may be fixed or may vary with the social status of the particular defaulters. An important thing to note here is that the protection of these projects is the joint responsibility of every member of the community. This is because there is usually a high degree of attachment to the projects since they are products of the people's labour

and their hard-earned resources. In addition, the rural people are uncertain about government's assistance in times of need, so they have a stake in protecting existing projects.

It is pertinent to emphasise that the self-help pattern of rural development, as observed in the communities studied, has a long history among the Igbo of eastern Nigeria (Ekong, 1988; Ogba, 1991), dating back to the pre-colonial era. Therefore, what is being presently witnessed can best be described as a traditional practice. Nevertheless, this pattern does not preclude the presence of some government projects in these communities, but the fact remains that the rural dwellers are more committed to the projects generated from within.

6.4 RETURNEES' CONTRIBUTIONS TO RURAL DEVELOPMENT

The influence of human population in any particular environment is essentially dependent upon the quality of such population. This refers to the socioeconomic and demographic value of human capital which is an important indicator in development studies. Without the human factor, development activities cannot be articulated and executed since the non-human factors lack the abilities of coordination. Consequent upon this fact, it is necessary that we consider the

categories identified from our indepth interviews to enable us classify their contributions to rural development in these communities.

6.4.1 Categories of Returnees

From a question on the kind or characteristics of people who have returned to the village, several categories of return migrants were identified by our respondents based on various criteria. Some classifications were made using the education variable. This pattern differentiated educated returnees from those who have little or no education at all. The former are mostly retired public sector workers who decided to return to their roots after their long years of service, apparently with a deep sense of fulfillment. Some of them established small-scale businesses upon their return as a form of innovation to break the boredom of rural life and to supplement their regular income. A striking point about this group of returnees is that they command a high level of respect among the rural dwellers, who see them as a repository of experience and wisdom. Consequently, they are usually given positions of trust especially in administrative capacities in social clubs, village meetings, etc.

The other group comprises those returnees who do not have

any formal education and those who have low levels of education. They are mostly private sector businessmen who left the cities as a result of old age and the desire to spend the rest of their lives in a more congenial social and physical environment. Like their counterparts who were in the public sector before return, most of them have businesses in the village while some of them still maintain their urban businesses and investment, some of which are being managed by their children or other relations. On returning to the village, this group of migrants, with their counterparts discussed earlier, constitute a crop of local potentates.

A third group of returnees identified is made up of businessmen who genuinely sought to relocate their businesses probably as a result of shifting emphasis, increasing rural economic opportunities coupled with its relatively low cost of living and less competition, and the growing levels of competition in the cities. A good number of these people actually came initially to carry out feasibility studies in the rural areas, and later decided to experiment, and eventually found themselves settling down in the village apparently because the latter turned out to be more conducive than they expected. Some of the people in this category have contact offices in the cities from which they returned. These

offices are usually managed by relatives or affiliates who offer full or skeletal services.

A fourth group comprises those migrants who were compelled to leave the cities either by an act of rustication or their inability to cope with the urban areas as a result of the prevailing unfavourable economic conditions. Different sets of people fall into this group : First, there are those who lost their jobs in the urban areas, most of them during the 1980s. This was a period when certain government economic policies caused a lot of Nigerians to lose their means of livelihood either through retirement, retrenchment or the demolition of their business premises which were tagged 'illegal structures' (chapter three). A host of these displaced people were compelled to return to the villages since they could not be immediately reabsorbed into the active labour market as a result of the existing employment embargo within the period of reference. Among this group were also those migrants who could not cope with the economic hardship occasioned by the implementation of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP). Their option was to return to their various villages where they, at least, are more likely to receive support, and also benefit from the relatively low cost of living.

There yet is a fifth group which comprises migrants who are still active in the labour force. They are workers in the private sector who are back to the villages on transfer. Some of these people desired such transfers probably in preparation for retirement or as a response to the need to be nearer home. Others came over on transfers which were necessitated by the creation of new states and local government areas in the country.

The sixth group includes two sets of return migrants whose return to, and presence in the rural areas is viewed with concern by most of our respondents. The first consists of people of questionable character who were apparently flushed out of the cities but who found a safe hiding place in their rural origins. These people have obviously been marginalised since they lack credibility both at home and away from home. The second comprises young unemployed people who either mismanaged their resources in the city or completed their periods of apprenticeship but lacked the necessary capital to set up on their own. There are yet some others who lost what they had in one form of disaster or another. Others were unable to complete their apprenticeship tenure, perhaps as a result of acts of dishonesty or disobedience to their superiors. The danger confronting the rural areas from the

presence of this category of returnees, according to our interviewees, is that they are very likely to take to negative and anti-social tendencies as a result of prolonged idleness and consequent economic hardship. Some communities have therefore, decided to organise rural work activities, craft and capital for this category of returned youths.

6.4.2 Returnees' Role in Rural Development

From the interviews, there seems to be a consensus that return migrants are catalysts to rural development. They are perceived as a veritable source of noble ideas and skills required to initiate and execute projects aimed at alleviating the problems of the rural dwellers. As one of our interviewees, Chief E. Ochemba, from Osina pointed out:

The history of rural development cannot be complete without the return migrants being mentioned and adequately acknowledged.

This view is in line with the findings of Caldwell, (1969) from his study of return migration in Ghana. Chief Ochemba noted that some migrants voluntarily return to the village in order to assist in rural development activities. The major motive, according to him, is that these migrants desire that their rural areas of origin should enjoy similar infrastructures as the cities from which they returned.

According to our respondents, return migrants contribute to rural development in different forms and at different points in the projects' tenure. They do this by making available their ideas and skills. They also participate by contributing money and materials, through their investment as well as by offering their labour. Our respondents were very particular about the invaluable role of the return migrants at the primary point of identification of rural needs and the conception of projects geared towards meeting these needs. The rural areas, according to the interviewees, depend upon these return migrants, on whom the rural dwellers repose a lot of confidence, to handle this. It is believed that since these returnees have lived in the cities, they are expected to be more competent to handle such matters by bringing their wealth of experience from the urban areas into play.

From our interviews, we found that the return migrants, with the assistance of the migrants who still reside in the urban areas initiate rural development programmes by, first of all, identifying and articulating the needs. At times, they enter into negotiation with the local government to secure approval to commence a programme such as a health center. After this stage, they enter into the second phase of negotiation which involves consulting with the people first of all to convince them that the project is worthwhile and also to persuade the people to release their land,

labour and resource toward achieving the particular goal. Mr Simeon Eze, a 45 year old returnee who is a native of Osina pointed out that as a Public Relations Officer of the Development Union:

I canvassed seriously for funds for our projects among the people and social clubs. I ensured that available funds were judiciously used and that experts were consulted as the work progressed.

Often, return migrants, convene village meetings where these programmes are tabled and discussed and agreements reached as regards the planning and execution of projects. Meetings of such manner are avenues for the mobilization and the awakening of the people's consciousness. It is easier for the returnees because they, in most cases, head the social clubs and development unions in the village. They are usually appointed into committees and also have the responsibility of mobilizing resources (land, materials, money and labour). For instance, Mr Simeon Eze, reports that:

I have successfully served as secretary, public relations officer and in other capacities. I have also served in several committees that have taken major decisions in this community.

The rural dwellers see them as the link between the rural and the modern and also between the rural and government. When projects have been initiated, the returnees are usually appointed to administer as project chairmen or secretaries. After completion of the projects, the communities usually depend on them to consult

with government for approval and commissioning. In most cases, returnees eventually administer such completed projects. For instance, when school projects are involved, the chairmanship of the Parents/Teachers Association (PTA) usually goes to return migrants.

Apart from administrative roles, return migrants contribute politically to rural development. With their exposure to a more complex society, they tend to be more politically enlightened than their counterparts who never out-migrated. They serve as political strategists, play advisory roles on related matters, serve in the traditional ruling councils either as traditional rulers, 'red-cap' chiefs or political advisers. They also serve in the local government councils as chairmen, councilors etc. Some returnees have been elected to represent their communities in the state house of assembly and in LGA councils on the basis of the confidence they command in their villages. They also are appointed, more than any other category of rural dwellers, as customary court judges. Another important point here is the clientelistic relationships which exist between the returnees and the rural people. The former serve as political links between the urban and the rural politicians, and by virtue of their influence in the communities, it follows that they would have large followership. Consequently, for the urban-based politician to make an in-road into the rural

areas, he has to come through these returnees who constitute a league of power brokers in the villages.

Besides political roles, return migrants play advisory roles through which they share their skills and experience with the rural dwellers. They play this role in the areas of business, administration, politics, building construction as well as migration. People usually come to them for advice on such issues since they are perceived as more experienced. This role is also played at two levels: to individual members of the community and to the community as a whole. In the latter case they draw resources through mobilization and co-ordination to improve rural life. The migrants who are still residing in the cities contribute immensely by providing money and materials but the actual co-ordination of these resources to bring about rural development is done by the return migrants who head the development committees.

In the area of investment which the community benefits from, the interview revealed that the returnees on return have established various kinds of mills, small-scale factories processing local raw materials, hospitals, filling stations and shops which provide jobs and services for the rural population. The returnees also constitute the core of the rural artisans. A good number of them have also attempted to modify some aspects of the rural system such as the traditional medicine thereby making it

more decent and attractive. This they do by introducing some modern practices into it. A bulk of the existent innovations in the rural economy can be attributed to the return migrants especially in the areas of agriculture, architecture and administration. The return migrants often engage in piggery and poultry farming since land-intensive agriculture is not realistic given the high land-man ratio in that geographical area. They also enlighten the rural farmers concerning modern inputs and farming methods, for instance, the proper and effective use of fertilisers, multiple cropping, modern preservation methods; they also introduce marketing ideas and appropriate utilisation of co-operative societies.

With regard to architecture, these returnees come home with a lot of ideas and modern designs which they have come across in the cities. Their fellow rural dwellers who probably have never migrated therefore tend always to copy from them while others consult them for advice whenever they want to build. Those returnees who are in the building profession (as masons, carpenters, etc) also tend to receive more patronage because the villagers believe that they are more skilled and more exposed to the state of the art architecture.

In the area of administration, the return migrants have significantly changed the landscape of their rural origins. This

is evident in both the traditional, business and formal sectors. A lot of noble ideas have been introduced into the traditional administrative circles which were adopted from the urban system to make for increased efficiency and accountability. For instance, in the age grades and development unions, the return migrants, who usually constitute the executive, introduce modern accounting methods which help in keeping appropriate records. In the business sector, there are so many money-yielding and labour-hiring ventures as our community level survey revealed. These include aluminium factories, palm oil processing factories, paint factories, shoe factories, plastic factories, filling stations, brewery, bakeries, saw mills, concrete block factories, hotels, community banks, piggeries, poultry farms, hospitals and maternity homes. A large proportion of these is owned by return migrants but the significant point is that most of them are managed by returnees and a high percentage of their workforce is made up of returnees. An instance is the Osina Community Bank which is being managed by an Osina return migrant. Councillor Izuogu proudly reported this case thus:

Our Community Bank is under the superb management of one of this community's returnees.

This fact gives the people a sense of satisfaction. Another example is that of Ferdinand Industries Limited factory at Urualla where return migrants constitute a bulk of the staff, especially at the managerial level. In the formal sector, we found that a good

number of the top local council executive are return migrants. It became clear that whenever it is time for appointments, the villagers usually nominate the returnees to represent them. In fact, in Akokwa, according to one of our informants, Nze Joseph Ojukwu, there exists a Political Awareness Committee which is a control political union. Nze Ojukwu is a member of this committee and reported that:

We select, appoint and even sponsor genuine political aspirants to strategic positions.

He also added that the above-mentioned processes in most cases favour return migrants who the people believe have enough exposure to qualify them for leadership to ensure adequate representation.

In view of the fact that the return migrants are mostly seen as opinion leaders and a life-line to the rural areas, it would be purely deceitful and illusory to assume that all the returnees have something positive to offer their rural origins. Our interviews show that some of them returned from the urban areas with a weight of undesirable tendencies which they bring to bear upon their rural origins thereby constituting what can best be described as 'rural menace'. These people appear in different categories and their activities have been identified as the 'bane of rural development' in the communities studied. The first category belongs to the elite in the business class - a group which was described by one of our interviewees, Councillor Obed Izuogu, as 'selfish'. According

to him, such people are 'detractors' and 'enemies of progress' who use their resources, experience and contacts to 'cause confusion' in the villages. Sometimes they accomplish this with the aid of some corrupt law-enforcement agents. Such actions usually occur when these elites are denied a desired position of recognition. Our informant, Mr. Obed Izuogu who is a Local Government Councillor compared the business elites with their counterparts from the public sector. He reported his view in these words:

I regard those from the public sector as more serious and hardworking when it comes to community development because they are highly committed. The businessmen only think of their own interest.

This view was corroborated by Chief Emmanuel Ochemba, a traditional head in Osina who added that:

The returnee civil servants are responsible and they are people to be associated with. They fit in very well in the community and I think other members of this community share the same view with me.

These 'selfish' returnees are a proven source of crisis in the villages. In some situations, they try to use their resources and influence to 'hijack' the traditional rulership of their communities - positions which are conventionally filled on the basis of merit. Under such circumstances, the people definitely resist them, and the likely consequence is crisis which eventually degenerates into division and rancour in the rural polity. Most often, they adopt a non-conformist and anti-social posture by

constituting themselves into a clique to oppose any plans that are tabled in the village, no matter how honourable. Some of them who find their ways into the leadership of development unions oftentimes apply their urban-acquired experience to embezzle rural funds thereby stalling on-going projects. There are occasions where they connive with government agents and even contractors to defraud the people. In some instances, funds meant for compensation to members of the community who have suffered one form of inconvenience or another as a result of government projects, are claimed by these fraudsters (who are more knowledgeable in such matters) and diverted to personal use. In some cases they collaborate with the contractors handling rural projects to inflate the cost of contracts. This usually results in the frustration of rural projects and tends to discourage community efforts.

Our community-level survey revealed an outstanding instance of the connivance of the return migrants. We found that Akokwa community, which is one of the major communities in Ideato North LGA does not have pipe-borne water, but there are two non-functional water projects sited there. The first was abandoned during the Second Republic while the second was commissioned by General Ibrahim Babangida (the then President of Nigeria) under the auspices of the Directorate for Food, Roads and Rural Infrastructure (DFRRI) programme. To the average Akokwa man, the

DFRRI project stands as a clear testimony of the dishonesty of the elite. According to one of the indigenes interviewed, - Mr. Uchenna Mberu - on the day of the commissioning, the water that flowed from the installed tap came from an over-head tank which was supplied by a source independent of the borehole that was purportedly sunk. The bottomline, according to Mr. Mberu, is that the people were deceived, though not for long.

Another area of disservice by these returnee elites is in the use of their influence and experience to constitute themselves into a group of land speculators. They over-commercialize the available land and consequently destabilise the land acquisition system and the traditional economy of the rural areas. This aggravates the rate of rural-urban migration. They also introduce into the rural areas some undesirable urban culture such as occultism and social immorality. As one informant who is apparently worried complained:

We cannot understand some things which these people do. There is no kind of strange things we do not see in our village these days. Let me tell you, this place is no longer as safe as it used to be. There is a lot of abominations being committed by these people. I believe the world is coming to an end.

Another category of return migrants whose presence is a thing of concern in the rural areas comprises those who are unemployed and who constitute a nuisance in the environment. They represent the negative social effects of urbanism in the rural areas where

they apply their urban-acquired sophistication to pose a threat to life and property. According to one of our informants:

In fact, I fear those children and I wonder what they want to become in this village. With the way they are going, I do not think this place can contain them and other members of the village. They do not have any respect for elders neither do they have for people's property. Do you know that they find it very difficult to comply with existing laws and customs? God forbid!.

They are mostly unsuccessful migrants and the risk is that they tend to corrupt the villagers, (especially their peers), with their negative but almost pervasive influence. According to Chief Ezenna from Akokwa, this group consists of youths who have 'refused to be useful to themselves'. They become layabouts in the villages or what can be regarded as 'rural area-boys' being likened to the bands of hoodlums prevalent in large cities such as Lagos.

Going by what an elderly informant said, these deviants have only a short time to break the rules. He spoke in a very low tone but with a sense of responsibility and concern.

My son (he called the researcher), dont worry about them. Something is being done about their case. We will send word to them and give them some time. This is the way our fathers taught us. But they will fall into error if they think the villagers are powerless. If they do not retrace their steps, the gods know that we have done our best. We will deal with them the traditional way because no matter how rapid a child's growth may seem, he can not grow older than his father. Mark my words my son.

(That was the end of that interview session as the man picked up

his snuff box and walking stick and rose). What the rural dwellers are going to do about that problems will vary from community to community depending on the extent of their cases and the people's orientation towards them.

In sum, both the indepth interviews and the community level survey were quite illuminating on the subject of rural development among the rural communities of Ideato North LGA studied. It is clear that most of what is known in these communities as rural development projects were executed by self-help programmes - a pattern which the people are traditionally familiar with. Their mode of organising these projects has also been identified as well as their administration. The categories of return migrants with regard to rural development have also been identified and their contributions to the subject matter discussed extensively. The significant point to note here is that rural development in these communities has experienced a reasonable degree of success because of the high level of participation of the return migrants. All our interviewees were of the same opinion. This encouraging degree of participation could be traced to their level of rural orientation which is dependent upon their degree of attachment to their rural origins. It is also necessary to note that the negative activities of the 'detractors' do not pose much of a threat to rural development because these rural areas have social machineries which

bring such people to book by either compelling them to change or be ostracised.

The contributions of the return migrants to rural development include both the physically tangible and intangible. As one of our respondents - Chief Ochemba - rightly pointed out, 'the history of rural development is incomplete without the mention of return migrants'. Prince Tom Obinelo from Urualla confirmed this view by asserting that:

Their return is a blessing to the community in the sense that they apply their talents towards the development of their origins in different ways.

These responses, confirm the position of our eighth hypothesis which states that 'return migrants are important agents of rural development'. This makes urban-rural return migration relevant to our rural communities especially those of Ideato North Local Government Area of Imo State.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF THE STUDY AND CONCLUSION

7.0 SUMMARY

This study stems from the need to identify some of the salient features of migration between urban and rural areas. Ample evidence abounds regarding its ability to alter the demographic and socioeconomic landscape of any community. In addition, the relevance of migration information to planning cannot be over-emphasised. The dominance and adverse effect of rural-urban migration at both the rural areas of emigration and the urban areas of immigration underlie the importance of the observed urban-rural return migratory pattern as an issue of research given the recent government emphasis on rural revival. This study is directed at this novel and relatively neglected pattern of internal migration, with the main objectives of determining the categories of people involved, their motives for return migration, the place of social networks of individual migrants in the migratory pattern, the degree of permanence of return migration, and the effect of return migration on the rural environment of return.

The choice of a rural area is also informed by the view of Rodgers (1989) that:

The eradication of poverty, whether rural or urban, requires substantial intervention in the rural areas.

It is also based on the understanding that the rural areas are the source of urban populations and also hold a greater proportion of the Nigerian population (Adepoju, 1986). The current investigation focuses on the Ideato North LGA rural communities as a result of their long history of migration and prior identification of the urban-rural migratory pattern in the area.

In trying to address the objectives stated above, the Logistic Regression and Log-Linear models were adopted as tools of analysis, apart from the descriptive methods applied at the preliminary stages. Qualitative analysis was also carried out on our data. The data used derive from a questionnaire survey, indepth interview sessions and community-level studies. These, especially the sample survey data, are not without problems. First, there was no adequate sampling frame to guide sample selection. A breakdown of the 1991 National Population Census has not been made public, nor was there information regarding migration to guide our sampling process. Second, there is likely to be a lot of under-reporting with respect to income of the returnees because many of our respondents are not paid employees, and therefore did not have a specific idea of their periodic earnings; many were reluctant to disclose their actual income

because they were sceptical about the eventual use of the data. This skepticism derives from apprehension that the personnel of the Board of Inland Revenue may come after them; others feared that disclosing their income was an unnecessary invitation to men of the underworld. Some others are daily-paid labourers who work only when a job is available and may not be able to adequately estimate their incomes. Third, occupational inconsistency arose in situations where respondents were found to belong to two or more occupational categories but had to be classified under one.

In most studies of urban-rural return migration, old people are found to be predominant in the migratory stream, consisting of people who have exhausted their migration periods and are retiring to their 'roots'. They could also be accompanied by a few dependants whose movement can be regarded as 'associational' migration. The literature attests to the fact that these return migrants (not their dependants) must have quit active labour force participation. However, our attempts to determine the age composition of our return migrants reveal facts that seem contrary to this pattern which is almost taken for granted. About 77% of our returnees are under age 50, implying that they are still within the critical labour force age. Furthermore, it is interesting to note that

80% of them are economically active, a clear contradiction of the conventional wisdom of urban-rural return migration as a 'retirement migration' process. This raises research interest because it seems that the young people who hitherto fled the rural areas are returning to them. This line of thought informs our inquiry into the motive behind the move.

It was also found that the returnees are predominantly male. This could have arisen from the fact that the out-migration stream consisted more of males than females, which is expected. This implies demographic revival of the rural areas since relatively young men are now returning to the rural areas they left behind for older people, females and children. It is important to note that the extent to which this equilibrium will be achieved is dependent upon the volume of return migration, and the extent to which further out-migration is brought under check.

Literacy rate is considerably high among return migrants, though there is a clustering at the primary and secondary levels. About 91% of the respondents have some formal education but of this proportion, 74% are concentrated in the two categories mentioned above. Those with post-secondary education constitute only 17%. This distribution is demographically consistent though the concentration at the

primary and secondary levels is associated with the occupational affiliation of the returnees.

A considerable level of social mobility was recorded by the migrants through their period of migration. This was observed with respect to marital status, work status, education and occupation. The gap between the number of the married and the single was drastically narrowed within the period of migration. About 82% of them were single at initial migration. During their return, this proportion dropped to less than 40%, showing that many more people entered into marital unions. The proportion of respondents who have no education or primary education decreased while increases were recorded for both secondary and tertiary levels. This means that there is a rise in educational status, and ~~as~~ the corollary, a fall in the illiteracy level during migration. The little change in the 'no education' category is principally because those who belong to that category did not emigrate to acquire education but to learn a trade or to establish their businesses.

Migration has been instrumental to the employment and active economic status of many migrants in our sample. About 72% of our respondents were unemployed as at time of their departure from their villages but on return, the proportion

fell to about 19%. The large increase in the proportion of own-account workers and employees indicates the availability of economic opportunities in the rural areas. Further enquiry shows that the majority of the unemployed people fall below age 26 or are above 46, indicating that they are either seeking entry into active labour force participation or have 'stepped aside'.

Another significant finding is that most of the returnees are engaged in the informal sector of the economy. This distribution can be seen as characteristic of rural areas. The significant thing about this result is not that these returnees, with regard to their work status, are mostly own-account workers (47%), but that they are predominantly traders and blue-collar workers by occupation and constitute about 53% of the population. One would expect them to be mostly farmers but farming recorded a very low proportion (12%) of returnees. This is another pointer to the nature of the rural areas under study which are trading-inclined. This obvious inclination has been traced to their long history of merchandising which dates back to the pre-colonial times.

Our findings also indicate that most of the returnees are married and were married before they returned. Actually some of them left families and spouses at home when they emigrated

to the city. Those left at home therefore constituted a stock of 'location-specific capital' which was instrumental to the migrants' return (Caldwell, 1969; DaVanzo 1978). Migrants in this category therefore maintained two households (urban and rural) but one family.

With regard to income, we found that more than half the return migrant population (58%) earn less than ₦500. The interaction between income and other characteristics of the returnees showed that for education, it was found that all categories apart from those migrants who have tertiary education earn below the mean income for the population. Large proportions of the former are medium income earners (that is, they earn between ₦200 and ₦500 monthly). Return migrants with primary education earn ~~more~~ income than their counterparts in all other categories. This is because they are more likely to engage in trading and other blue-collar occupations which obviously fetch more income than wage employment.

The employers of labour earn the highest incomes followed by own-account workers. Most of these high income earners are traders. This finding is obvious, but it is rather surprising that teachers rank second ⁱⁿ income. Certain factors could be responsible for this, including the fact that they have a lot

of time at their disposal after school hours to engage in other income-yielding ventures. Secondly, they are educated and are more likely to properly estimate their earnings and correctly report them too. Therefore, there is less likelihood of under-reporting among them. They are also more likely to understand the purpose of the researcher's inquiry.

We found that those returnees who claimed to be satisfied with the rural environment, as well as their jobs, are more likely to be high income earners. They are also less likely to accept urban job offers, and consequently are less likely to remigrate to the urban area. Their high income can afford them the desired comfort which will make out-migration irrelevant.

Examining the motives for their initial migration, our findings confirmed the dominance of the economic motivation. Five reasons were found significant as responsible for their initial move, and out of the five, the first four are essentially economic reasons. They include: the search for better jobs and income, the desire to learn a trade or acquire skills, unemployment and insufficient income. The first two are pull factors at the city which work to draw the individual from his rural environment. The last two, on the other hand, are push factors in the rural area compelling the individual

actor to leave the rural area. The fifth factor, which obviously is not economic, has considerable economic implications. This refers to the migrants' need to acquire education, the bottomline of which is the improvement of their earning capacities. It has been classified under the urban pull factor category.

With regard to return migration, our results suggest that the most significant motive is the psychological need of the individual to stay with family and to come home to 'roots'. This is an apparent deviation from the conventional pattern which also has long been taken for granted. This became significant due to the calibre of migrants involved, though the underlying economic factors cannot be neglected. For instance, many of the returnees decided to return because there are economic opportunities in their rural communities which are comparable to what is obtainable in the cities. There are yet others who were displaced in the cities by economic hardship ^{and} who therefore returned to seek economic solace among their relatives in the village. The returnees who returned in order to stay with family are predominantly (53%) older. They are mostly (64%) married, have primary or secondary education (73%) and are mostly own-account workers (45%), engaged mainly in trading and blue-collar occupations

(about 50%).

Another significant reason which is not economic is related to the migrants' health status and security. The case of returnees who were forced home by illness or feelings of general insecurity in the city have to be treated with caution because they come under induced migration. On average, they are even older than those involved in the preceding category. About 62% of them are at least 46 years old. They also have a larger proportion (69%) of married people (which is expected). Most of them (61%) have only primary education and are own-account workers (60%) engaged either in trading or other blue-collar occupations (64%).

Going by our findings, we can say that the older migrants are more likely to return for health and security reasons. Ill-health may be as a result of inability to cope with city life; and at their age, most of them are psychologically tuned for the village. The high proportion of the uneducated raises the likelihood of their being exposed to unskilled and hazardous occupations and consequently to illnesses that are likely to hinder productivity, probably as a result of ignorance or adherence to traditional beliefs.

Apart from the above factors, the rest of the significant factors in our analysis are economic. They include

'insufficient income in the urban' and 'better job opportunities in the rural areas'. These motives attracted more of young and unmarried migrants who are engaged mostly in trading and other blue-collar occupation. With regard to work status, they are predominantly own-account workers and wage employees. This finding is dependent upon the confidence of the returnees that there are better opportunities in the rural areas. The basis of this confidence is probably the large number of factories and cottage industries located throughout Ideato, established by successful indigenes residing in the cities, and some return migrants, to tap locally available raw materials. This brings us to the next stage of our analysis which considers the influences of the migrants' social networks on return migration.

For the initial migration, age is a strong factor. Most of the migrants left home as young people in search of 'greener pastures'. Their migration was sponsored by parents and family members. We also found that their initial migration was a form of chain migration because they had members of their families in the cities they moved to, and they also reported that these family members influence their migration.

The findings with regard to the influences of migrants'

social networks on return migration show that most of the returnees (62%) took the migration decisions on their own, devoid of any external influence. Only 5% were influenced by employers, 12% by friends and 21% by family. This reflects the occupational distribution of the returnees since most of them are own-account workers. This led us to cross-classify the sources of influence with the migrants' characteristics. We found that the influence from friends and other relations is directly associated with age. The younger returnees, were mainly influenced by their parents. Our results also showed that the migrants' level of education is negatively related with their degree of independent decisions. This is associated with occupation. The highly educated are more likely to be employees and the latter were influenced by their employers while the less-educated who are mostly own-account workers took independent decisions.

We examined the influences of the return migrants' social networks against the significant reasons for their return. It was found that for those motives which are purely economic, the decisions of the migrants depended less on other people than on themselves. A good number of those who returned in order to join family (33%) were influenced by their families.

The migration status of the returnees was included in our

analysis and one of the variables considered is length or migration (LOM) which represents the total period of time in years which a migrant stayed out of his rural origin before returning. The distribution showed that 24% are short term migrants, 43% medium term while 33% are long term migrants, but the mean LOM for the population is 13 years indicating that most of the returnees are medium term migrants. Our analysis of LOM with the migrants' characteristics indicated an inverse relationship between LOM and educational levels. We also found that most employers of labour and unpaid family workers are long term migrants.

More importantly, from our preliminary descriptive analyses, long term migrants earn higher incomes, are more satisfied with rural residence, will not accept urban jobs if they are offered, and are not likely to remigrate if the opportunity calls. This implies that they are in essence, permanent returnees. Our logistic regression test showed that they are less likely than the short term migrants to accept urban jobs but are more likely than the medium term migrants to accept. This implies that the medium term migrants are more economically stable. With regard to remigration, our log-linear test revealed that LOM is inversely related to remigration. This result has positive implications for the

rural areas.

Another variable which was found significant in the study is the Duration of Rural Residence (DRR) which refers to the length of the returnees' post-return rural residence. The average DRR for the study population is about 5 years. We found that 38% of the returnees are short term residents, 29% medium term, while 34% are long term residents. The long term group consists mainly of married people and those with low education levels (no schooling and primary). We found an inverse relationship between DRR and unemployment indicating the economic viability of the rural areas. Employers and own-account workers have the longest mean DRR. The longer term residents are more likely to be satisfied with the rural environment, less likely to accept urban employment, and also less likely to remigrate to the city if given the opportunity.

The degree of permanence of return migration was examined from four perspectives namely: extent of urban disengagement, level of rural satisfaction, returnees' probability of accepting urban employment, and their probability of remigrating.

With reference to disengagement, the returnees' frequency of urban visits and ownership of urban business were introduced. It was found that the frequency of urban visits

has a strong relationship with work status and length of migration (LOM). While employers of labour have the highest frequency, long term migrants have the least. The former are more likely to own businesses and have contacts in the cities to keep their businesses going. The long-term migrants, on the other hand, believe they have had enough of the urban area. Income was found significant and directly associated with frequency of urban visits. This finding is vividly traceable to work status. About 92% of our respondents do not own businesses in the city. This implies a considerable degree of urban disengagement and suggests an encouraging level of permanence of return migration.

The findings with regard to the level of rural satisfaction showed that age is positively associated with it. From our logistic regression, the odds of a returnee being satisfied with the rural area between two ages (e.g. 20 and 21), increases by a factor of 1.02; while for an additional year of residence in the rural area, there is also an additional 1.15 point positive change in the odds of rural satisfaction. These imply that both age and DRR are directly related to rural satisfaction, and that the older an individual gets and the more he resides within an environment, the more he acquires 'location - specific - capital' (DaVanzo

and Morrison, 1978, 1981; Oucho, 1986). Married returnees were also found more likely to be satisfied than their single counterparts.

The probability of returnees' acceptance of urban employment is an indicator of their psychological attachment to origin. We found that young, single and educated return migrants are more likely than their other counterparts to accept the urban offer. Education was found very significant in the logistic regression to have a direct relationship with urban employment. This could be because the more educated people are more economically versatile.

Our findings show that the low income and mid-income groups are about twice as likely as the no-income group to accept urban jobs. True to expectation, rural satisfaction is inversely related to acceptance of urban job.

In examining the determinants of remigration, the log-linear model was applied. It was found that returnees who have low socio-economic status (SES) are most likely to remigrate. They are more likely to be unemployed, with precarious economic conditions, and could have been displaced in the city and compelled to return, most likely contrary to their programmes. Age and marital status are inversely related to remigration according to our study. The younger

and single returnees are more likely to have less social responsibilities and should be more mobile given their relative ease of adaptation to new environments. On the other hand, income, education and rural satisfaction are directly related with remigration.

The implication of these results on the rural origins depend on the proportion of the population that intend to remigrate. We found that 28% of the returnees would remigrate if the opportunity arises. The availability of such opportunity is however, uncertain, but from the figure above, there does not seem to be any severe threat of rural desertion.

Our indepth interviews provided invaluable information and insight into the nature of rural development in the study area, as well as the return migrants' role in the process. We found a preponderance of rural development projects and activities which were executed, or were being executed through community participation (self-help). People participate in several capacities - as individuals, members of age-grades, social clubs and development unions or associations. Facilities provided include rural roads, schools, health centres and maternity homes, pipe-borne water, electricity, markets, postal agencies and town halls. In most of the

projects, the rural dwellers initiated them and went ahead to complete them. We noted that a lot has been done by the wealthy industrialists in the provision of rural infrastructure in Ideato. Some of their activities are in form of investment transfer to provide employment for the rural people. We also identified the fact that the rural dwellers are more committed to those projects which are internally generated and they have a stake in protecting the existing structures.

Several categories of return migrants were identified. There were the educated elites and the business elites. The former are mostly retired public officers who, we gathered, have returned to contribute to the development of their rural origins. The business elites include the retired businessmen and those who are still in business but decided to return home to settle. Many of the returnees established small-scale businesses as a form of innovation to break the boredom of rural life. Some others still maintain their urban businesses which are being managed by their children or other relatives. A third category comprises businessmen who genuinely sought to relocate their businesses. The fourth group is made up of those who were compelled to leave the cities either by an act of rustication, inability to cope with urban economic demands

or by a disaster. A fifth group returned to the villages on transfer. This refers to those employed in the public sector. Lastly, the sixth group comprises of young unemployed people.

With regard to returnees' contribution to rural development, our findings indicate that the rural areas will be worse without the return migrants. The rural areas benefit immensely from the experiences of these returnees and the rural dwellers repose a great deal of confidence in them, as is evident in the composition of committees, councils and executives of various clubs, unions, organisations and projects. They are usually selected to administer projects and even manage them after completion. They are usually elected into political offices such as the state houses of assembly, or at the local council level. In fact, they are opinion leaders in almost all realms of social life as a result of their exposure to the city.

Return migrants are responsible for the transfer of novel ideas in administration, business, agriculture, manufacturing, and even architecture in the rural areas. At the local government councils, apart from being selected as leaders, they are often consulted for counsel and most times chosen as customary court judges. In addition, some of the return migrants have made tangible investment in the rural areas

which have benefitted the people. They establish filling stations, various kinds of mills, small-scale factories processing raw materials, cottage industries, hospitals and shops which provide jobs and services for the rural population. Those of them in the building profession receive more patronage than their non-migrant counterparts. This is because the return migrants inject new innovations into their professions which make the difference.

The foregoing does not suggest that all the returnees are contributing positively to rural development. We found that some elites use their influence and experience to cause confusion and even defraud the community, sometimes by conniving with dishonest contractors or law enforcement agents. Some of the young people, especially the unemployed, also engage in anti-social practices. However, these people constitute only a little proportion of the return migrants. In addition, the rural dwellers have their traditional ways of taking care of such situations.

More important, in the view of several of our key informants, the history of rural development in Ideato is incomplete without the return migrants being mentioned. This suggests that their role in the development of their rural origins cannot be over-emphasised.

7.1 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The relevance of a study of this nature lies in the contributions it makes to knowledge as well as the policy issues arising from the results. Based on this fact, some recommendations have been made in this section to guide policy formulation and development efforts at the local, state and even federal government levels with regard to developing the Nigerian countryside which has great potentials.

A good programme by itself can make matters worse, therefore practical considerations would dictate an entirely different sequence of policies. The appropriateness of policies therefore, should be made 'area-specific' considering the diverse needs of the various communities. This is contrary to the hitherto uniform development programmes which have concentrated on what government wants the people to have and not what the communities need. It is hereby recommended that preliminary studies be carried out in the various rural communities which would involve interaction with the rural people in an attempt to discover what their actual needs are. This will considerably minimise the rate of waste of resources in rural development efforts.

Primarily, the problems of both the urban and rural areas require substantial intervention in the rural areas (Rodgers,

1989). In this background, government efforts should be concentrated on formulating and also implementing well-designed series of practical policies aimed at developing the countryside. Todaro and Stilkind (1981) identified two 'cutting edges' which will take the rural areas a step further in development. The rural areas have to, first of all, be made more attractive. This will consequently complete the other side of the plan by making the urban centres relatively less-appealing, thereby discouraging rural-urban exodus while encouraging urban-rural return migration.

Given, as our findings show, that the return migrants are predominantly males with low educational levels and are engaged in the informal sector of the economy mostly as own-account workers, and also the fact that majority of them are still within the critical labour force age, it is logical to say that they are not retirement returnees. Their needs, therefore, should include those facilities which are capable of making rural life worth living and thereby encouraging them to stay. These include job opportunities and enabling socio-economic environment for business which also should be relevant to their qualification and occupational leaning; recreational facilities similar to what they were used to in the city; and infrastructural facilities to make life less

frustrating in the villages. Government at the three levels should collaborate in ensuring the implementation of the above. There are ways in which those needs can be met in the rural areas. First, there should be a decentralization of rural development decision-making and greater community participation in government funded rural development projects. This can be achieved by consultation with the traditional leadership who will in turn mobilize the citizenry. This is necessary given the finding from our study that the rural dwellers are more committed to those programmes which are internally initiated. Greater control therefore should be granted the ruralites over government projects to create a sense of commitment among them.

Second, there has to be a reasonable degree of spread in the distribution of these amenities. Our indepth interviews and community-level studies revealed in some communities that distribution of rural infrastructural facilities has been a source of political tension. These problems drastically slow down the pace of rural development.

Keeping the returnees in the rural areas and discouraging potential rural out-migrants is an important decision that has to be taken. Our findings show that most of the returnees who would remigrate to the city at a later time would do so if

they are not gainfully employed. It is hereby recommended that government at the three tiers should encourage non-farm development through the establishment of factories, cottage industries and other labour-intensive concerns which provide more employment than the high-technology plants. Government should encourage private initiative by removing obstacles to private investment as well as providing tax incentives for rural investors.

In addition, the National Directorate for Employment's (NDE) apprenticeship programme which has hitherto been concentrated on the urban areas should be fully implemented in the countryside. This is in line with our preliminary finding that a large proportion of the returnees made their initial migration in search of skills and gainful employment. Government should reverse the concentration of its establishments in the cities since there is a large pool of unemployed people in the villages waiting to migrate to the cities.

The findings of the study show that many of the returnees came home because they felt a need to stay near their families. This is a strong psychological need and is an advantage to rural development. It assures us that if the rural areas are made more economically viable, return

migration rates in Ideato North LGA will increase considerably while rural-urban exodus will decline. It is also important that government uses the return migrants in the process of implementing its development programmes given their level of credibility and their acceptance by the other rural dwellers.

In sum, the study confirms the emergence of urban-rural return migration pattern in Ideato North LGA. We have also identified the characteristics of the returnees as well as the reasons for their return. The determinants of their future migratory movements have also been highlighted, but we want to point out here that it will be misleading to assess the demographic and socioeconomic composition of these rural areas based on the value of net migration. The return migration has not obviously discouraged rural out-migration. An important contribution of this study is in identifying the quality of returnees to the rural areas and the likely effect of their return.

This study is exploratory, therefore the results need to be confirmed by further research, especially concerning what happens to rural-urban migration, rural poverty and the returnees' dependants. The influence of the returnees' rural orientation on migration decisions and rural development is also important. It is hoped that the results from our study,

and the issues which emerge from them, will stimulate further research efforts. It is also expected that a good understanding of the subject of this study will enhance our ability in formulating appropriate rural development programmes for Nigeria.

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APPENDIX I

QUESTIONNAIRE SCHEDULE

CAUSES AND CONSEQUENCES OF URBAN-RURAL RETURN MIGRATION:
IMPLICATIONS FOR RURAL DEVELOPMENT.

Dear respondent,

You have been selected as one of the respondents in this survey directed at returnees from the urban areas. It is our request that you provide appropriate answers to the following questions.

You are assured that information collected will be treated as strictly confidential and will be used specifically for research purposes.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Ohagi, E.J.

(FOR INTERVIEWER)

Date of interview: _____ Respondent No: _____
Village: _____ House No: _____
Address or description of house: _____
Name of interviewer: _____

SECTION I

1. Age in completed years: _____
2. Sex: 1 Male 2. Female
3. Marital status: 1 Single 2. Married
3. Separated/Divorced/Widowed
- IF EVER MARRIED:
4. Type of marriage contracted?
1 Monogamous 2 Polygamous 3 Other (specify) _____
5. Number of children: _____
6. Have you ever attended school? 1. Yes 0. No (SKIP TO 9)
7. How many years of schooling did you complete? _____
8. Highest level of education completed:
0. None 1. Primary 2. Secondary 3. Tertiary 4. Other _____
9. What is the main work you do for a living? _____

10. What is your occupational status?
 1. Employer 2. Employee 3. Own-account worker
 4. Unpaid family worker 5. Unemployed 6. Student/apprentice
 7. Cannot work 8. Other (specify) _____

11. Were you born in this village? 1. Yes 0. No

IF NO:

12A. Where were you born? 1. Urban 2. Another rural area

SECTION II

MIGRATION HISTORY

13. Where did you go to in your first move?

1. Rural 2. Semi-urban 3. Urban 4. Large city

14. Have you lived in any other town apart from town in 13 above?

15. Which of these factors were important in your decision to leave this village in first migration?

	IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT
a. No work/ unemployment	1	0
b. Income insufficient to support family	1	0
c. Nature of work unsatisfactory	1	0
d. Poor state of rural amenities	1	0
e. To avoid family/social feuds	1	0
f. Lack of land/resources in the rural	1	0
g. Job transfer	1	0
h. To seek better job/income	1	0
i. Offered better job/income	1	0
j. To get education for self	1	0
k. To learn a trade	1	0
l. To get education for children	1	0
m. To get married/ start family	1	0

(Probe)

16. Who was mainly responsible for making the decision for your first move? _____

17. Who financed this first move? _____

18. Was any of your relatives residing in the town you moved to?
1. Yes 0. No (SKIP TO 20) 8. Don't know

IF YES:

18A. Did he/she know you were coming over?
1. Yes 0. No (SKIP TO 20) 8. Don't know

IF YES:

18B. Did he/she in any way influence your move?
1. Yes 0. No 8. Don't know

19. Who accompanied you on your first move? _____

20. How long did you stay out of village? _____

21. When did you return to this village (year) _____

22. In which other towns did you settle before your return?
(in order of migration).

a) _____ from _____ to _____ (years)

b) _____ from _____ to _____

c) _____ from _____ to _____

23. What is the major reason for your return? _____

24. Who influenced your decision to return? _____

25. BACKGROUND CHARACTERISTICS DURING MIGRATION TRANSITION

Variable	Before 1st move	At destination	On return
a) Marital status			
b) Educational level			
c) Work status			
d) Occupation			

SECTION III

26. How many times have you visited the town of last residence in the last 12 months? _____
27. What is the longest period you have stayed there since return? _____ (weeks) _____ (days).
28. Do you still have a business there? 1. Yes 0. No
29. Are you currently employed? 1. Yes 0. No (SKIP TO 35)
IF YES:
30. Are you really enjoying your job?
1. Yes 0. No 2. Not quite 8. Don't know
31. Do you intend changing job? 1. Yes 0. No 8. Not decided
IF YES:
32. Why do you want to change? _____
33. Apart from your present job, what other sources of income do you have? _____
34. What is your monthly income from all sources? _____
35. Compare your current income with that at your former residence:
1. Far better 2. Better 3. Almost the same 4. Worse

SECTION IV

REMITTANCES

36. Did you ever remit money when you were away from home?
1. Yes 0. No (SKIP TO 42)
IF YES:
37. How often did you remit money?
1. Weekly 2. Monthly 3. Quarterly 4. Every 6 months
5. Annually 6. When money is available.
38. To who did you remit money? _____
39. For what purpose?
1. Parent's /family upkeep 2. Building project
3. To set up business 4. Community development project
5. Other (specify) _____

40. How much money did you remit annually on the average?

41. Did you ever receive any remittance from home?
1. Yes 0. No (SKIP TO 45)

42. From who did you receive remittance? _____

43. How often did it come?
1. Weekly 2. Monthly 3. Quarterly 4. Every 6 months
5. annually 6. When money is available.

SECTION V

MOTIVATION FOR RETURN MIGRATION

44. Compare your current conditions of living with those of former residence: 1. Far better 2. Better 3. Almost the same
4. Worse 5. Don't know

45. Generally speaking, do you feel satisfied staying in the village? 1. Yes 0. No

46. Would you advise any of your friends / relatives in the urban areas to come home to settle?
1. Yes 0. No 8. Don't know

46A. WHY? _____

47. If you are offered a job in the urban area will you accept it?
1. Yes 0. No 8. Don't know

47A. WHY? _____

48. What plans for gainful employment did you make before return?

48A. How long after your return did you start/find an income-yielding job? _____ (in months)

IF UNEMPLOYED, SKIP TO 51)

48B. Who assisted you in securing this job?

1. Government 2. Relations 3. Friends 4. Nobody
5. NA/Self employed 6. Other(specify)_____

48C. Type of job:

1. Public sector 2. Private sector
3. Cooperative enterprise 4. Own business
5. Family business 6. Other(specify)_____

SECTION VI

RURAL ORIENTATION AND RURAL DEVELOPMENT

49. Who did you leave at home when you were away at the urban?
1. Parents 2. Children 3. Spouse 4. Brothers/Sisters
5. Close relations 6. Friends

49A. Of the above persons, who did you miss most when were away?

- 49B. How often were you visiting home when you were away?
1. Weekly 2. Fortnightly 3. Monthly 4. Bimonthly
5. Quarterly 6. Every 6 months 7. Annually 0. Never

- 49C. Did you belong to any social club, development union or age grade in the village while you were away?
1. Yes 0. No

- 49D. Did you participate in any rural development programme in the village while you were away? 1. Yes 0. No (SKIP TO 52)

I F Y E S :
49E. SPECIFY: _____

50. Do you own a house in this village? 1. Yes 0.No (SKIP TO 53)

IF YES:

- 50A. Who built this house?
1. Self 2. Parents 3. Brother/Relative 4. Spouse 5. Other

50B. When was it built?(year)_____

50C. Type of house:

1. Bungalow 2. Multiple flats 3. Storey building
4. Other (specify)_____

50D. What is it being used for?
1. Family house (residential) 2. Tenement house(residential)
3. Commercial 4. Mixed (commercial/residential)
5. Other (specify)_____

51. Do you own any parcel of land in this village?
1. Yes 0. No (SKIP TO 53)

51A. How did you acquire it?
1. Inheritance 2. Purchased(as migrant)
3. Purchased (on return) 4. Gift 5. Other(specify)_____

51B. Of what use is it currently being put?
1. Agriculture 2. Building 3. Business premises
4. On lease 5. Other (specify)_____

IF LAND IS UNDEVELOPED:

51C. What do you intend to do with the land in future?
1. Agriculture 2. Build a house 3. Establish business
4. Put it on lease 5. Sell it out 6. Pass it on to children
7. Other(specify) 8. Undecided

52. Are you currently carrying out any personal development project? 1. Yes 0 No
IF YES:

52A. Of what nature is it?_____

53. Which of the following durable goods did you bring home on your return?
1. Motor vehicle 2. Motorbike 3. Bicycle 4. Fridge/freezer
5. Television 6. Video system 7. Music set 8. Electric fan
9. Air conditioner 10. Sewing machine 11. Farm equipment
12. Corn/cassava mill 13 Business machine 14. Generating set
15. Cooker 16 Other(specify)_____

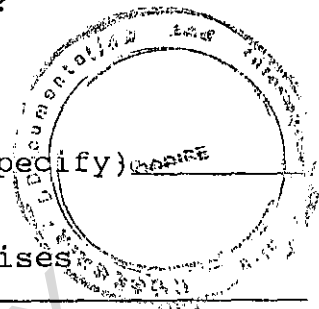
54. In what ways has your family benefitted from your return?_____

55. In spite of the above, do you intend to leave this village to settle elsewhere in the near future? 1. Yes 0. No

56. Do you currently belong to any social club, development union or cooperative society here in the village?
1. Yes 0. No

IF YES:

56A. Are you an official in any of these unions? 1. Yes 0. No



- 56B. Were you a member of your town union in the urban area when you were there? 1. Yes 0. No
57. When you were away from home who were you relating more closely with? 1. Close relations/family
2. Friends from my village(in the city)
3. Friends from other parts of the country
4. None
58. Did you maintain your chain of friends at home while in the city? 1. Yes 0. No
59. While you were away in the city, where was your closest friend residing?
0. I did not have a friend 1. In the city 2. In the village
60. Current membership of clubs etc. YES NO
a) Social club
b) Development union
c) Cooperative society
d) Age grade
e) Traditional ruling class
61. How many of these factors motivated your return?
(Tick as many as are appropriate) YES NO
a) Job transfer
b) Poor job prospects in the urban
c) Better job opportunities at origin
d) Objective of migration met
e) Land/property at home
f) Retired/old age
g) Sick/disabled
h) Join family
i) Limited resources/money
j) Unemployment
k) Poor living conditions
l) Improved state of rural infrastructure
62. Do you think your return has enriched the life of other members of your household/family? 1. Yes 0. No
IF YES:
- 62A. In what ways?
1. Access to new skills 2. Brought new ideas
3. Help solve problems 4. Settle disputes
5. Increased family income 6. Brought durable goods
7. Brought machinery 8. Other(specify)_____

IF NO TO 62:

62B. What is the reason?

- | | |
|---------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Still unemployed | 2. Increased expenditure |
| 3. Less room | 4. Sick/disabled |
| 5. No income | 6. Other(specify)_____ |

63. With the experience of living outside the rural, and your and the effect of your return on your household/family, would you want to leave home again?

1. Yes 0. No 8. Not sure

63A. WHY? _____

64. What would you say are the personal benefits of your return?

65. What do you consider the costs of your return? _____

66. If you were to be in the city by now, would you think of returning to the village?

1. Yes 0. No

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

Comments: _____

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APPENDIX II

INDEPTH INTERVIEW GUIDE

A) PERSONAL DATA/MIGRATION HISTORY:

1. Name of interviewer: _____
2. Title/Position (if any) _____
3. Occupation: (i) Former: _____
 (ii) Present: _____
4. How long did you stay outside this village before returning?
5. Where did you first migrate to?
6. In which other towns did you live before your return?
7. When did you return?
8. Why did you return?
9. Do you intend to return to the city later?
10. Between the urban and rural area, which do you prefer? (Give reasons).

B) ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL ACTIVITIES:

1. What investments do you have here in the village?
2. Do you still have any at the urban area?
3. Did you belong to any social club, development union or association while in the city?
4. Do you belong to any presently?
5. If Yes: (a) have you held any post in any?
 (b) do you presently hold any?
6. Do you hold any political post in your community?
7. What has been your role in significant political decisions in

your community?

C) RURAL INFRASTRUCTURE AND DEVELOPMENT

1. What main infrastructural facilities are available in this community?
2. How were they provided?
3. Who funded them?
4. What are the steps involved in the provision of these?
5. What has been your role in this process?
6. What are the problems militating against these rural development attempts?
7. What would you say is the major impediment to rural development in your village?
8. What has been the role of government in the area of rural development in this village?
 - Has government provided any of the facilities?
 - Are they functional and viable?
 - Have they encouraged return migration?
 - Have they facilitated rural investment?
 - Have they improved the lot of the rural man?
9. What is the role of the following in rural development?
 - a. Age grades
 - b. Development unions
 - c. Political associations
 - d. Social clubs.
10. What is the role of individual members of the community in rural development?
11. What category of projects attracts more commitment from the people?
 - a. Projects initiated by the community members
 - b. Projects executed by government.
12. What categories of returnees can you identify in this village?
13. What, in your opinion, are their contributions (positive and otherwise) to development?

14. What can you identify as the consequences of return migration in this village with regard to:
 - a. Law and order
 - b. Community development
 - c. Political stability.
 15. What are the merits of return migration in this village?
 16. What is your opinion about return migrants in your village?
 17. Additional comments (if any) on the issues raised.
-

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APPENDIX II: INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG PREDICTOR VARIABLES (LOGISTIC REGRESSION)

	Variable	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
1.	Accepting urban job	-	.0391	-.2873**	-.2719**	-.1297**	.1556**	.1534**	.1616**	-.1322**	-.1079*	.0181	-.0168	-.1361**	-.0079	-.1393**	.0708	-.0479	.0389	.0728	-.1003*	-.519	
2.	Medium age			-.5278**	.1663**	.0862	-.0467	.0254	.0342	-.1181*	-.1733**	.1001*	.0297	.0323	.1769**	-.1789**	-.0139	.1668**	-.1160*	-.0008	.1472**	-.058	
3.	Old age				.6316**	.0652	-.2618**	-.0271	-.0171	.3202**	-.0422	-.0817	-.1229*	.2499**	-.1762**	.4607**	-.0254	-.0631	-.0794	.0634	.1109*	.226	
4.	Single					.1516**	-.3313**	.0112	.0180	.2554**	.0601	-.0163	-.1248*	.3037**	-.0897	.3659**	-.0058	.0130	-.1065*	.0513	.2101**	.209	
5.	Primary						-.5738**	-.4056**	-.2655**	.0256	.1096*	-.1092*	-.0110	.1779**	.1506**	.0166	-.0042	-.0090	.0723	-.0062	-.1598**	.024	
6.	Secondary							-.2864**	-.0069	-.1390**	.0538	.0325	.0264	-.1879**	-.0656	-.0676	.0706	-.0001	.0489	.0274	-.0577	-.086	
7.	Tertiary								.4415**	-.0961*	-.1913**	-.1471**	.0526	-.1806**	-.0819	-.0441	.0418	.0433	-.1540**	-.0664	.3180**	-.046	
8.	Office/Civil									-.2058**	-.3296**	-.2956**	.0161	-.0826	-.0562	-.0485	-.0344	.0258	-.0463	.0964*	.2209**	-.013	
9.	Farming										-.2428**	-.2178**	-.1310**	.1707**	-.0668	.2056**	.0023	-.1573**	.0572	-.0505	-.0182	.115	
10.	Trading											-.3488**	.0871	-.0457	.0174	-.0157	.0460	.1186*	-.1195*	.0247	.0221	.005	
11.	Other blue-collar												-.0167	.0644	.0553	-.0304	.0140	.0216	-.0186	.1108*	-.0794	.056*	
12.	Medium DRR													-.5681**	.0336	.0202	-.0065	.1450**	-.1048*	-.0688	.0475	-.049	
13.	Long DRR														.0914	-.0648	-.0957*	-.0817	.0910	.0552	-.0169	.199	
14.	Medium LOM															-.6100**	-.0072	.1157*	.0177	-.0764	-.0649	-.010	
15.	Long LOM																.0346	-.0680	-.0803	.0427	.1084*	.065	
16.	Low freq. of visit																		-.4631**	.0340	-.0516	.0940	.016
17.	High freq. of visit																			-.1694**	-.0436	-.0083	.003
18.	Low income																				-.3428**	-.2728**	.017
19.	Medium income																					-.3860**	-.003
20.	High Income																						.107
21.	Satisfied with rural																						

Number of cases: 600

1 - Tailed significance : * - .01

** - .001