

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN ZAMBIA AND MIGRANT TIES TO HOME VILLAGES

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INTRODUCTION

THERE are numerous towns in sub-Saharan Africa with histories that go back long before the Western powers came in. There are also many large towns that were founded during the colonial period. This is especially true of Southern Africa where most of the big towns had their origins during colonial times. In Zambia seven towns in Copperbelt Province developed as mining centers under British rule, and Lusaka rose from a small village to become the capital city. Zambian towns have a short history; however the urban population now makes up over 40 per cent of the entire population.¹ This indicates that urbanization has developed rapidly and most of the town dwellers are migrants from rural areas.²

When dealing with rural-urban migration issues in Zambia, two features need to be pointed out. One is the low population pressure on the land. Land shortage pushes people from villages to towns in many Third World countries, but in many African countries, land shortage is still not the serious problem it has become in areas such as South and Southeast Asia. It is estimated that only 20 per cent of the arable land is cultivated in Zambia, and while some parts of the country are experiencing a land shortage, this is not the general situation for Zambia as a whole. The second feature is the country's economic crisis. Many African countries began experiencing an economic crisis in the mid-1970s which became serious during the 1980s. In Zambia the average annual growth rate of GDP decreased from 1.9 per cent (1965-80) to -0.1 per cent (1980-87). Meanwhile, the average annual rate of population growth increased from 3.0 per cent to 3.6 per cent. Therefore the average annual growth rate of GDP per capita registered -1.1 per cent (1965-80) and -3.7 per cent (1980-87) [25]. This deteriorating situation came about largely because of the falling international price of copper. Copper makes up 85-95 per cent of total exports, making it far and away Zambia's most important export commodity. The country's terms of trade dropped from 100 in 1970 to 26 in 1983 (see [15, p. 72, Table 5]). This crisis caused serious difficulties for urban people. The consumer price index for the low-income group increased by 37 per cent (1985), 52 per cent (1986), then 56 per cent (1988) [31] [33].

¹ This figure is the percentage of total population which live in towns of over 5,000 people [30, p. 13, Table 2.6].

² For general information on migration and urbanization in Zambia, see [5] [6] [13] [15]. For information on Lusaka in particular, see [20] [21].

This critical economic situation is important for an understanding of migration and the conditions facing the urban population.³

African workers have often been called circular migrants. During the colonial period, workers from rural areas often went off to work in the mines and on the estates, returning to their villages after completing their contracts; they then went off to the mines and estates again, later to return once again to their villages (see [22]). The families of these workers remained in the villages, and their children grew up in the countryside. The home village assured a migrant of a place to live. African workers could not afford to remain in urban areas after retirement or after losing their jobs even if they wished to remain. This meant that villages picked up part of the cost of labor reproduction which helped mine and estate owners to minimize labor costs and maintain low wages. Most migrants were single or were married males who left their families in the village. Employers could therefore save on the cost of a worker's housing, education, and living expenses (see [11] [23]).

This situation changed after independence and has continued to change. The length of stay in urban areas is growing longer. Migrant workers now live in towns with their families; their children grow up in towns. Many of these workers live in towns for most of their working age. There are several reasons for this change. The growth of employment opportunities in the modern sector has been very slow. Getting a job is very difficult for newcomers. Therefore after finding a good job, particularly in the modern sector, a worker usually tries to hold onto it. For employers it is necessary to recruit a large number of semi-skilled and skilled African workers. To do this they try to lower the turnover ratio and develop on-the-job training programs. Since independence there have been no legal restrictions on living in urban areas. More importantly wages have risen since independence making it easier for workers to live in towns with their families. The average urban income is much higher than rural income. But workers, even in the modern sector, remain semi-peasant and semi-proletarian. Most of them have land to cultivate and can return to their villages when they retire or lose their jobs. This type of labor maintains the Zambian economy and is a typical example of peripheral capitalism. This type of capitalism continues to reproduce a semi-peasant semi-proletariat type of worker.

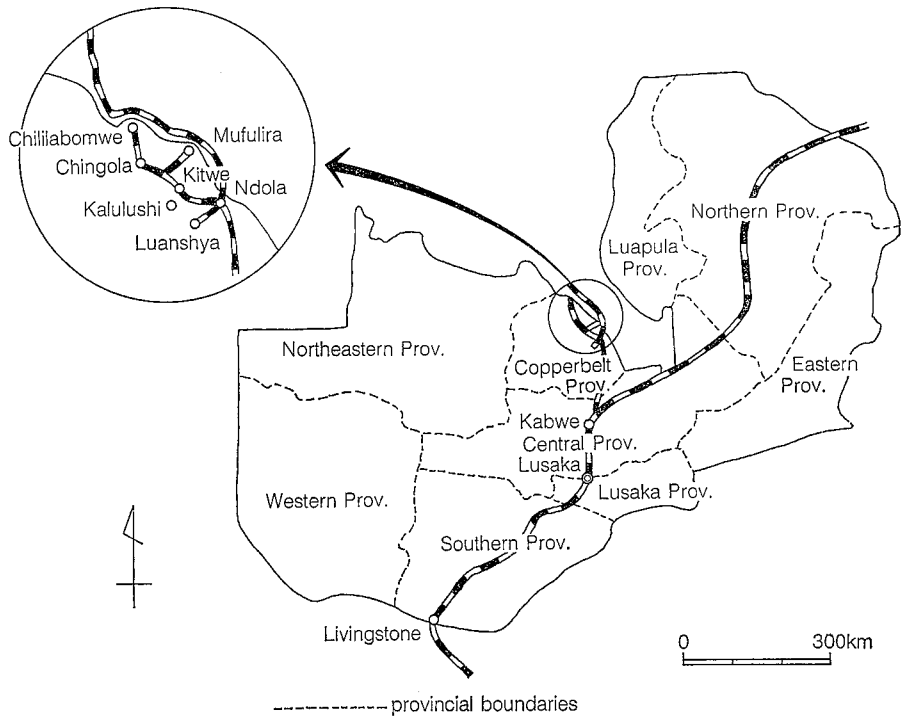
In this paper I will discuss the present-day migrants, looking particularly at their ties with their home villages and at the changes and continuities in rural-urban migration. I will first give an overview of migration and urbanization through an analysis of statistical data. I will then discuss the results of my field research which I undertook in six urban areas in Zambia.

I. MIGRATION AND URBANIZATION: CONTINUITY AND CHANGE

The demand for labor in Zambia started to expand at the end of the 1920s along with the development of copper mining. Prior to this zinc and lead mining had

³ For information on the trend of migration in relation to economic crisis, see [17].

Fig. 1. Map of Zambia



been going on at Broken Hill (now Kabwe) since 1902, but most migrants found work in the mines and on the estates in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) or South Africa. A railroad was built between Livingstone and Broken Hill in 1906 [19] (see Figure 1). In 1909 it was extended through Copperbelt Province to Katanga in the Belgian Congo (now Zaire). The demand for labor brought migrant workers into the region. Thereafter industrial and commercial centers developed along the railway, as did a large estate which produced food crops (such as maize) for the migrant workers. Today Zambia's ten largest towns are located along this rail line.

There are now two population centers in Zambia, the copperbelt and Lusaka. The population of Lusaka makes up 24 per cent of Zambia's total urban population; that of the seven mining towns in Copperbelt Province is 45 per cent of the total urban population [30, p. 14, Table 2.7]. The population living in the ten biggest towns (Lusaka, the seven mining towns, Kabwe, and Livingstone) forms 31 per cent of the country's total population (Table I). Towns not along the rail line, such as Chipata (capital of Eastern Province), Mongu (capital of Western

TABLE I
URBAN POPULATION AND THE RATE OF GROWTH

	Ten Big Towns			Towns (over 20,000)			All Urban Areas		
	1963	1969	1980	1963	1969	1980	1963	1969	1980
Urban population (1,000)	682.3	1,116.8	1,752.1	682.3	1,116.8	1,911.6	715.5	1,192.1	2,258.6
Percentage of total population	19.5	27.5	30.9	19.5	27.5	33.8	20.5	29.4	39.9
Average annual growth rate (%)	—8.9—	—4.2—		—8.6—	—5.0—		—8.9—	—6.0—	

Source: [30, pp. 12–14, Tables 2.5–2.7].

TABLE II
RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION GROWTH

	Growth rate (%)	
	1963–69	1969–80
Urban	8.9	6.0
Rural	0.6	1.6
Total	2.5	3.1

Source: [30, p. 13, Table 2.6].

Province), Kasama (capital of Northern Province), and Mansa (capital of Luapula Province) are growing, but their percentage of total urban population is still small. The rapid growth in urban population was caused both by the high rate of natural population growth and by migration from rural to urban areas. The latter in particular caused high urban population growth. This can be easily shown if the rate of population growth in rural and urban areas is compared. The natural growth rate could be different in both areas, and changes in the definition and boundaries of towns have to be taken into consideration. However, the large difference in the growth rates between the two can only be explained as resulting from migration to urban areas (Table II).

Tables I and II indicate that urban population growth in the 1970s was lower than in the 1960s. This must have been caused by a decrease in migration. After independence restrictions on migration were lifted, and the towns attracted people from the villages. Before independence most migrants had returned to their home villages, but following independence many migrants began to stay longer or even permanently in towns. This led to an increase in the number of people born in towns, therefore the ratio of natural population growth has also been increasing. Since the mid-1970s, however, Zambia's deepening economic crisis has been undercutting the economy in urban areas, and this has reduced migration to many

TABLE III
POPULATION GROWTH IN MAJOR TOWNS AND GROWTH RATE DUE TO MIGRATION

	Population Growth		Growth Rate Due to Migration	
	1963-69	1969-80	1963-69	1969-80
Lusaka*	13.4	6.7	10.9	3.6
Kitwe	8.4	3.2	5.9	0.1
Ndola	9.5	4.1	7.0	1.0
Mufulira	5.0	2.3	2.5	-0.8
Chingola	9.6	2.1	7.1	-1.0
Luanshya	4.2	1.5	1.7	-1.6
Kabwe	8.9	6.2	6.4	3.1
Livingstone	5.4	2.8	2.9	-0.3
Chililabombwe	4.6	2.1	2.1	-1.0
Kalulushi	7.2	4.7	4.7	1.6

Source: [30, p. 14, Table 2.7].

* Lusaka city boundaries were changed in 1970. The area within the old boundaries was 36 km²; that within the new area is 139 km². The figure for the 1969 census report gives the population within the new boundaries. This was 262,425. The population within the old boundaries was 184,895, and the growth rate between 1963 and 1969 was not 13.4 but 7.0. Therefore the decrease in growth rate through migration was not drastic. See [24, p. 187].

towns. Employment opportunities have stagnated, and living in towns has become increasingly more difficult. Table III shows that only Lusaka and Kabwe (capital of Central Province where the headquarters of Zambian Rail is located) still attract many migrants. For the mining towns, however, out-migration is rather larger than in-migration. This indicates that the copperbelt is suffering from economic difficulties because of the decline in copper production.

The 1960 census data on urban dwellers shows that urban population growth was caused by rural-urban migration. The percentage of migrants in the population of urban areas was very high. The highest was 83 per cent in Chingola and the lowest was 63 per cent in Broken Hill.⁴ Most of the migrants were not from other districts in the same province, but from other provinces.⁵ The two population

⁴ The percentage of migrants within the population in each town was: 73% in Lusaka, 63% in Broken Hill, 72% in Ndola, 65% in Luanshya, 70% in Kitwe, 72% in Mufulira, 83% in Chingola, 77% in Livingstone [3, pp. 10-11, Table 4]. My definition of a migrant is a person born outside of the district he or she is now living in. The percentage of migrants within the urban population was the same in the late 1960s. According to a sample survey in Lusaka (1968-69), 70% were migrants. Twenty-three per cent of Lusaka's population growth within one year prior to the survey was due to births: 77% was due to migration. See [18, p. 130].

⁵ The percentage of migrants within the total population of each town who were born outside of their present province of residence was as follows: 62% in Lusaka, 41% in Broken Hill, 68% in Ndola, 57% in Luanshya, 64% in Kitwe, 66% in Mufulira, 76% in Chingola, 63% in Livingstone [3].

TABLE IV
SEX RATIO (NUMBER OF MALES TO 100 FEMALES)

	1960	1963	1969	1980
Zambia	—	98.5	96.0	96.2
Lusaka	122.4	161.4	110.8	105.5
Kitwe	126.3	134.7	—	107.1
Ndola	125.8	127.2	112.0	106.9

Sources: [3, p. 9, Table 4] [26, p. 40, Table 4] [27, p. B3, Table 1] [29, p. 4, Table 3 and p. 7, Table 5].

Note: The figures for 1960 and 1963 are for the African population. The others are for total population.

centers of Lusaka and the copperbelt attracted migrants from all around the country. Regarding inter-provincial migration, in-migrants exceed out-migrants only in Lusaka Province and Copperbelt Province during the 1960s. Later in the 1970s in-migrants exceed out-migrants also in Central Province.⁶

The dominant number of migrants are usually males during the early stage of urbanization. This has also been true for Zambia. Table IV shows the sex ratio. It was the most unbalanced in 1963, just one year before independence. This fact indicates that the colonial economy depended upon circular male migrants.⁷ After independence the ratio of females increased among new migrants and then within the total urban population. The number of girls going to school has increased, and educated females frequently want to move to the towns to continue their studies and to try to get jobs. But the most important factor for the increase of

⁶ Population Growth Rates Due to Inter-provincial Migration

Province	1963-69	1969-80	Province	1963-69	1969-80
Central	-0.5	+0.3	Northern	-3.3	-1.4
Copperbelt	+5.7	+1.3	North-Western	-1.1	-0.8
Eastern	-1.7	-1.1	Southern	-1.6	-0.4
Luapula	-3.7	-1.3	Western	-0.5	-1.9
Lusaka	+10.8	+5.1			

Source: [32, p. 10, Table 4].

⁷ The sex ratio of males to females in the population over fifteen years of age in 1963 was much more unbalanced: 325.7 in Lusaka, 192.1 in Kitwe, 172.0 in Ndola [26, pp. 41-43, Table 4]. The following table shows the sex ratio of males per 100 females in Luanshya and Ndola in 1952.

Age	African Residential Area in Luanshya	Other Areas in Luanshya	Ndola
0-14	98	106	91
15-29	73	141	98
30-44	257	254	246
45-50	431	300	604

Source: [12, p. 5].

females in the urban population has been the increase in the number of housewives. Married male migrants are now accompanied by their families. After settling down and finding a job, single male migrants go back to their home villages and find spouses. Then they return to the towns with their wives. This means that the circular migrant labor force of the colonial period has now changed very much.

The number of employees has increased very slowly, and the annual rate of increase has been declining. It fell from 4.2 per cent (1964–70), to 2.9 per cent (1970–74), and then to 0.2 per cent (1974–80) [34, various issues]. This corresponds to the decreasing growth rate of the urban population. Villagers are no longer being strongly attracted to the towns. However migration to urban areas still continues, particularly to Lusaka. Employment opportunities in the formal sector are limited, and most enter the informal sector. This sector absorbs a large amount of the urban labor force. There are two governmental statistics available for the unemployment rate. One unemployment rate for 1980 was 27.3 per cent. The total number of unemployed was 484,000 [35, p. 84]. Another unemployment rate by a 1980 sample survey was only 5 per cent [35, p. 85]. The former figure excluded employees in the informal sector and they were counted as unemployed. The latter counted all people working in the informal sector as employed. We can estimate the number of working people in the informal sector by finding the difference between the two. The difference comes to 22.3 per cent of the labor force, or about 350,000 people.⁸

There is another important pull factor causing migration from rural to urban areas. This is the wide gap between rural and urban income. According to the International Labour Organisation, in 1975 the average urban household income was K120 per month, while the average rural household income was only K29 per month (K1 = U.S.\$1.56 at the time) [7, p. 228, Table 11-1]. The former was four times bigger than the latter. Another ILO report in 1979 showed the same results. The average monthly urban household income was K123, while that of the rural household was K30 [8, p. 25].⁹ But this pertained only to the average income, and urban areas exhibit a great differentiation in incomes. What has to be made is a comparison of rural income with low urban income. Migrants always hope to get jobs in the formal sector, but most of them cannot. They can only find jobs in the informal sector. Incomes from such jobs are usually limited. At the same time migrants must pay for housing, food, and transportation to get to the town. These cost much more than in the villages. The migrants also run the risk of failing to get jobs. However all these disadvantages are offset by the rural-urban income gap.¹⁰ Even low-income urban groups enjoy more than twice the average rural income.

Beyond income there are other factors attracting migrants to the towns, factors such as better educational facilities, a water supply, also even the lure of the bright city lights.

⁸ Working people in the informal sector in Lusaka numbered 94,940 (1985), which meant 42.4 per cent of the labor force [32, p. 52, Table 45].

⁹ For information on the gap between rural and urban income, see [14].

¹⁰ The following table shows the average monthly urban household income in 1974/75.

II. LENGTHENING STAYS IN TOWN AND TIES TO THE HOME VILLAGE

According to a 1971 survey by Robert H. Bates of mine workers at Rokana mine (now Nkana mine) in Kitwe, 93 per cent of the married mine workers were living together with their wives. When compared with the 1947 figure of 46 per cent, the change between the colonial and post-colonial periods is quite clear. This change went along with the decrease in the ratio of circular migrants. At Rokana this ratio went down from 69 per cent in 1950 to only 8 per cent in 1965 [1, pp. 56, 175]. This change indicates that migrant workers now stay much longer than before. In spite of this change however, most of the urban workers still maintain strong ties with their villages, such as visiting home, having visitors from home, and sending money home.¹¹ This will be the main point discussed in the remainder of this paper.

Bates maintained that in 1971 the ties of migrants with their home villages were getting weaker. This was clear in a shantytown that he studied. Table V, taken from Bates' study, shows that 67 per cent of the shantytown dwellers had their own land back in their villages and 45 per cent sent money home. For miners on the other hand the figures were far higher, 90 and 84 per cent respectively. There are reasons that explain this difference. If a shantytown is the first place for newcomers to a town to live, the average age for shantytown dwellers is likely to be comparatively younger. It is quite common for young people to work in their fathers' fields and not have their own land. Also for some time after moving to the town, many of them cannot afford to send money home because

Urban Household Income, 1974/75

	Squatter Areas	Low-cost Housing Areas	High-cost Housing Areas	All
Lusaka	77	118	506	129
Ndola	53	80	448	112
Kitwe	67	96	477	121
All	74	96	483	123

Source: [28, p. 9, Table 3.1.4].

Note: Income received by servants working in high-cost residential areas is included in low-cost housing areas.

The following table shows incomes in squatter areas in Lusaka, Kitwe, and Ndola (1973).

Kwacha	Average Household Income (Monthly)					
	0-20	21-40	41-60	61-80	81-100	101-
Number of households	94	213	282	161	90	130

Source: [10, p. 87, Table F].

¹¹ About a comment on a survey by Bates, see [4].

TABLE V
LAND OWNERSHIP AND REMITTANCE IN SQUATTER AND MINE AREAS IN KITWE, 1971

	Squatter Area		Mine Area	
	No.	%	No.	%
Have own land in a village				
Yes	64	67.4	380	89.9
No	30	31.6	37	8.7
NA	1	1.1	6	1.4
Total	95	100.1	423	99.9
Remit money to persons in the village				
Yes	43	45.3	353	83.5
No	52	54.7	67	15.8
NA	0	0.0	3	0.7
Total	95	100.0	423	100.0

Source: [1, pp. 185-86].

they might not have found a job yet or their income is still very low. If on the other hand the average age of shantytown dwellers is high, many of them might be retired workers who cannot go back to their home villages for some reasons or other. The former type of shantytowns can be called "slums of hope" [9], and the latter called "slums of despair." Every shantytown is a mixture of both, but the combination is different in each. According to my own research of shantytowns, one in Mufulira (a mining town in the copperbelt) is close to being a slum of despair, while one in Lusaka is more of a slum of hope. I will discuss this more later.

As I have already mentioned, migrants are remaining in towns longer than before. But this does not mean they settle down in towns permanently. Permanent town dwellers are still small in number. Most migrants go back to their villages. According to Bates, 87.5 per cent of mine workers intended to go back to their home villages and only 8.5 per cent of them intended to stay in towns permanently [1, p. 183, Table 8.16]. Another study conducted by J. Clyde Mitchell [12] about twenty years earlier than Bates gave the same result (Table VI). The number of migrants who intended to remain permanently in towns was 5.5 per cent in the Luanshya mining area, 6.1 per cent in the Luanshya non-mining area, and 8.7 per cent in Ndola. We can get some information about migrants in Lusaka from T. Seymour's research in 1972 [21].¹² The research area was the Ngombe squatter camp. This place had been a cattle ranch run by a private company before independence. Eighty-seven per cent of male household heads lived with their wives.¹³ Sixty-five per cent of employed male household heads had sent

¹² The number of samples is not shown. Total population in Ngombe was approximately one thousand people and the number of households was two hundred.

¹³ Living with their wives does not necessarily mean having been accompanied by their wives when they came to town. Household heads might have been polygamous, or their wives living in town might have been second wives.

TABLE VI
MIGRANTS' PLANNING TO REMAIN IN TOWN, 1952

	Luanshya		Ndola
	Mine Area	Other Areas	
	Circular/target (1)	58.5	56.8
Long-period stay (2)	35.2	33.8	32.7
Permanent (3)	5.5	6.1	8.7
Non-migrant (4)	0.8	3.3	3.8

Source: [12, p. 22, Table 15].

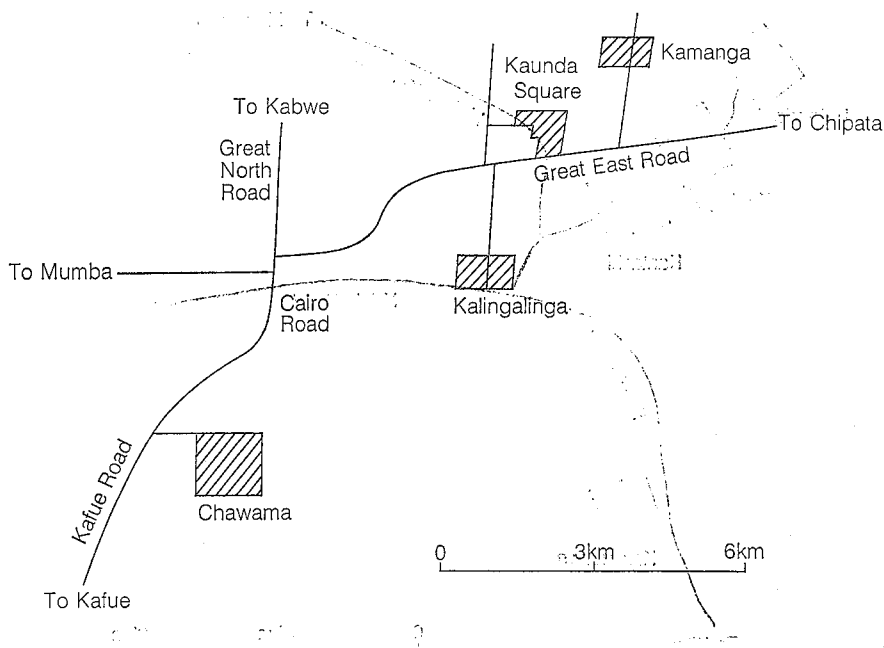
Notes: The subjects were males and females over fifteen years of age. In the research, subjects were classified into eight types: "(a) will return home as soon as possible, (b) working so as to go home soon, (c) will return home as soon as wealthy, (d) will return home at some future date, (e) will stay but will keep contact with village, (f) will return home on retirement, (g) thinks he will always be on the Copperbelt, (h) born and bred in town; 'it is as if it were my village'." The category (1) includes (a), (b), and (c); (2) includes (d), (e), and (f); (3) is (g); and (4) is (h).

money home during the previous year. Fifty-eight per cent of male household heads had visited home during the past five years, but 25 per cent of them had never visited home during the past ten years. Fifty-eight per cent intended to go back to their villages, and 36 per cent intend to stay in town permanently. This percentage was higher than other places.

The above mentioned studies were conducted before the mid-1970s when the Zambian economy began to experience a serious crisis. I conducted my research from July to September 1987 and from August to October 1989. This research focused mainly on migrant plans to remain in urban areas and on their ties with their home villages. I also wanted to see if there were any differences between the period before and after the mid-1970s. My 1987 research was conducted in Kamanga, Kaunda Square Stage 1 (KSS1) and Kaunda Square Stage 2 (KSS2) in Lusaka (see Figure 2), and also in Kantashi and Kansusuwa in Mufulira (see Figure 3). I studied Kamanga and KSS2 again in 1989 to see if there had been any changes during the two years. I also added Chawama to the areas I was studying.¹⁴

¹⁴ There is no resident registration in Zambia which could be used for random sampling. Since 1972 Zambia has been under a one party system, the only legal political party being the United National Independent Party (UNIP). At the top of the party hierarchy is the twenty-five-member central committee. Under the committee there is a party organization at the provincial, district, and ward levels. Within the ward are branch and section levels. A ward is made up of twenty branches with a branch having ten sections. A section encompasses twenty-five households. Nearly all households, except new urban arrivals and Jehovah's Witnesses are organized into party sections. I chose different sections and then selected ten households from each section by random sampling. I interviewed household heads with my research assistant. I used a questionnaire, but did not recruit a large number of interviewers. The questionnaire was prepared in three languages for the 1987 research, Bemba, Nyanja, and English. In 1989 two languages, Nyanja and English, were used, and the two were combined for convenience into a single questionnaire. For more detailed information, see [16].

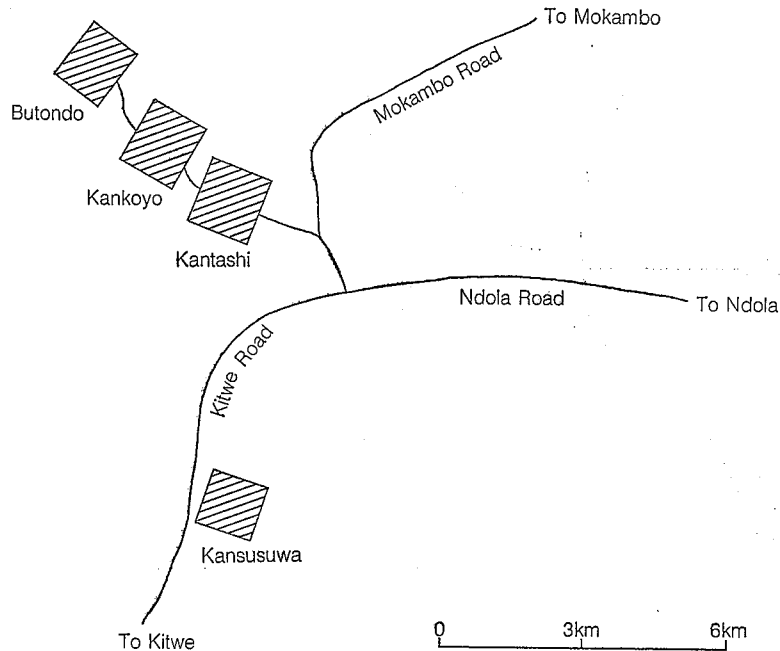
Fig. 2. Sketch Map of Lusaka



A large number of migrants surveyed live in squatter areas. These can be classified into three types. One type is the long existing squatter area that dates back to pre-independence days. Part of Kansusuwa is this type. Retired miners who did not, or could not, go back to their home villages started living in the area. (This area has now been upgraded and is no longer a squatter community.) The second type is like that of Kamanga squatter area which had been a workers compound where farm laborers had lived; this later developed into a squatter area. The third type is the squatter area that grew up on unutilized land, where people came in and began building their houses illegally.

KSS1 and KSS2 are planned areas providing home sites and services. These areas are called "site and service schemes areas" in Zambia. In areas of this kind city councils provide water and electric power supplies, road construction and maintenance, schools, clinics, and other facilities. People can build their own houses after receiving permits from the city authorities. One part of Chawama and Kansusuwa fall under this type of planned area. Site and service schemes started in Lusaka in 1965. The schemes required large funding which the national government and city councils lacked because of financial difficulty. Therefore in 1971 authorities began squatter upgrading schemes which required less funding. Under these schemes a water supply system and roads are constructed, and living conditions are upgraded. The non-planned area of Chawama is one of these schemes. The former squatter area of Kansusuwa is another one. Kamanga is also

Fig. 3. Sketch Map of Mufulira



likely to be upgraded in the near future. Kantashi is a mining area exclusively managed by the Mufulira division of Zambia Consolidated Copper Mines (ZCCM), the biggest company in Zambia. Basic facilities, including a hospital, are supplied by the company and are beautifully maintained.

The number of random samplings (household heads) in each housing area in my 1987 research was 40 (Kamanga), 100 (KSS1), 50 (KSS2), 40 (Kantashi), 40 (Kansusuwa). The total number of samples in Lusaka was 190 and in Mufulira, 80. The number of interviewees among the samples was 38 (Kamanga), 46 (KSS1), 35 (KSS2), 40 (Kantashi), 42 (Kansusuwa). The total was 119 in Lusaka and 82 in Mufulira (186 males, 15 females). In my 1989 research, the number of random samplings was 40 in all three areas (Kamanga, KSS2, and Chawama). The number of interviewees was 52 (Kamanga), 35 (KSS2), and 41 (Chawama). The total was 128 (109 males, 19 females).¹⁵

The ratio of migrants in Lusaka was 92 per cent in 1987 and 95 per cent in 1989. In Mufulira in 1987 it was 84 per cent; in Kantashi, a mining area in Mufulira, however, the ratio of migrants was 73 per cent (migrants numbered 29 and non-migrants numbered 11 out of 40 samples) (Table VII). This means that

¹⁵ The number of interviewees was larger than the number of random samplings in some research areas because some extra residents who were interested in my research became mixed with the samples.

TABLE VII
THE NUMBER OF MIGRANTS AND NON-MIGRANTS

	Lusaka (1987)			Mufulira (1987)			Lusaka (1989)			
	Kamanga	KSS1	Total	Kantashi	Kansusuwa	Total	Kamanga	KSS2	Chawama	Total
Migrants	33	44	110	29	40	69	50	32	39	121
Non-migrants	5	2	9	11	2	13	2	3	2	7
Total	38	46	119	40	42	82	52	35	41	128

Source: Based on interviews this author had in 1987 and 1989.

TABLE VIII
BIRTH PLACE (PROVINCE)

	(Person)										Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)	
Lusaka (1987)	3	12	40	7	16	9	3	12	5	3	110
Mufira (1987)	3	6	7	17	1	24	3	4	4	0	69
Lusaka (1989)	7	8	48	4	6	21	6	9	5	7	121

Source: Same as for Table VII.

Note: (1) Central, (2) Copperbelt, (3) Eastern, (4) Luapula, (5) Lusaka, (6) Northern, (7) North Western, (8) Southern, (9) Western, (10) Overseas.

many miners were born in Mufulira and their parents lived there. The fathers of the non-migrants were often ex-miners, but this does not necessarily mean that they too grew up in Mufulira. They might have gone back to their villages with their parents and then come back to town after staying in their villages for some years. On the other hand, there were many migrants whose fathers are ex-miners. It is quite usual for the pregnant wives of miners to go back to their home villages and give birth to their babies. These wives come back to town with their babies and rejoin their husbands. Therefore to be a migrant or non-migrant is not always important when discussing an urban dweller's ties to the home villages. Of 110 migrants in Lusaka (1987), 40 (36 per cent) were from Eastern Province and 16 (15 per cent) were from Lusaka Rural District (Table VIII). Of the 1989 samples, 48 (40 per cent) were from Eastern Province and 21 (17 per cent) were from Northern Province. Eastern Province along with Northern Province were the two main areas sending migrants to Lusaka.

Town dwellers of different tribes in Zambia live intermixed. But the location and historical background of each housing area creates a slight differences in tribal composition; this is especially true of the squatter areas. Twenty-four (35 per cent) of the migrants in Mufulira in 1987 were from Northern Province, and 17 (25 per cent) were from Luapula Province. The traditional patterns of migration from the northern part of Zambia, particularly from Northern and Luapula provinces, to the copperbelt, and from Eastern Province to Lusaka, still continue,¹⁶ although before independence people from Eastern Province went to work in various places including Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe) and even South Africa. Therefore there are now two main migrant-receiving as well as two migrant-sending regions. One is the Bemba-speaking region, and the other is the Nyanja-speaking region.

Of the 1987 sample migrants in Lusaka and Mufulira, 87 per cent were born in villages and of the 1989 sample migrants in Lusaka, 84 per cent were born in villages (Table IX). Table X shows the occupations of migrants before they

¹⁶ There used to be one more important area sending migrants; this was Barotseland (now Western Province). People from Barotseland also went to work in mines in South Africa. The Zambian government stopped sending migrant workers to South Africa just after independence.

TABLE IX
BIRTH PLACE (RURAL/URBAN)

	(Person)		
	Rural	Urban	Total
Lusaka (1987)	92	17	109*
Mufulira (1987)	62	7	69
Lusaka (1989)	102	19	121

Source: Same as for Table VII.

* There was one no answer, and it has been excluded from the total.

TABL X
OCCUPATION BEFORE MIGRATION

	(Person)						Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	
Lusaka (1987)	33	27	7	4	33	6	110
Mufulira (1987)	6	19	4	4	31	5	69
Lusaka (1989)	41	28	2	11	31	8	121

Source: Same as for Table VII.

Note: (1) agriculture, (2) wage employment, (3) self-employed, (4) unemployed, (5) school, (6) still young.

TABLE XI
MAIN REASON FOR COMING TO TOWN

	(Person)					Total
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	
Lusaka (1987)	70	10	21	1	8	110
Mufulira (1987)	44	8	10	3	4	69
Lusaka (1989)	71	10	26	3	11	121

Source: Same as for Table VII.

Note: (1) to seek employment, (2) to attend school, (3) to live with parents or other relatives, (4) to be with husband, (5) to visit, (6) other (transferred etc.).

migrated. The number who had been engaged in agriculture was not high. In Lusaka it was only 33 (30 per cent) in the 1987 samples, and 41 (34 per cent) in the 1989 samples. In Mufulira in 1987 it was only 6 (9 per cent). At the same time 33 (30 per cent) in Lusaka (1987), 31 (45 per cent) in Mufulira (1987), and 31 (26 per cent) in Lusaka (1989) were school leavers. This indicates that young people migrated to seek employment, which is also shown in Table XI. Land shortage is still not serious in most of the country, thus it can be said that towns have a strong attraction drawing people from villages.

Migrant ties with their home villages are shown in Tables XII, XIII, and XIV. In 1987, the number of migrants who had not made a visit home was 11 (10 per

TABLE XII
FREQUENCY OF HOME VISITS

	(Person)		
	Once a Year or more	Once Every Few Years	Never
Lusaka (1987)	56	43	11
Mufulira (1987)	37	31	1
Lusaka (1989)	68	43	10

Source: Same as for Table VII.

TABLE XIII
FREQUENCY OF SENDING MONEY HOME

	(Person)				
	Twice a Year or More	Once a Year	Once Every Few Years	Never	NA
Lusaka (1987)	32	21	13	40	4
Mufulira (1987)	16	12	24	15	2
Lusaka (1989)	37	24	19	41	0

Source: Same as for Table VII.

TABLE XIV
FREQUENCY OF HAVING VISITORS FROM HOME

	(Person)				
	Twice a Year or More	Once a Year	Once Every Few Years	Never	NA
Lusaka (1987)	—	103	—	5	2
Mufulira (1987)	30	9	27	2	1
Lusaka (1989)	64	29	20	11	0

Source: Same as for Table VII.

cent) in Lusaka and only 1 (1 per cent) in Mufulira. In 1989 it was 10 (8 per cent) in Lusaka. The number of migrants who had not sent money home was 40 (36 per cent) and 15 (22 per cent) in 1987 for Lusaka and Mufulira respectively, and in 1989 it was 41 (34 per cent) in Lusaka. The number of migrants who had not had any visitors from home was 5 (5 per cent) and 2 (3 per cent) in 1987 for Lusaka and Mufulira respectively, and in 1989 it was 11 (9 per cent) in Lusaka. Migrants who had not visited home, had not sent money home, and had no visitors from home, were not necessarily migrants who had lost ties with their home villagers; this is because newcomers to town have no time to visit home and no money to send home.

Table XV is about future plans to remain in urban areas. In 1987 only 9–10 per cent planned to stay permanently in Lusaka and Mufulira, and in 1989 it was 16 per cent in Lusaka. On the other hand, migrants who intended to remain in

TABLE XV
NUMBER OF MIGRANTS PLANNING TO REMAIN IN TOWN

	Lusaka (1987)				Mufulira (1987)			Lusaka (1989)			
	KAM	KSS1	KSS2	Total	KANT	KANS	Total	KAM	KSS2	CHA	Total
(1)	5	4	1	10	0	7	7	11	2	3	16
(2)	12	19	14	45	18	18	7	18	16	13	47
(3)	3	9	5	17	4	4	8	10	2	4	16
(4)	1	1	1	3	1	0	1	0	2	3	5
(5)	12	11	12	35	6	11	17	11	10	16	37

Source: Same as for Table VII.

- Notes: 1. (1) permanently, (2) until retirement, (3) for some years, (4) less than one year, (5) uncertain how long.
2. KAM=Kamanga, KANT=Kantashi, KANS=Kansusuwa, CHA=Chawama.

urban areas until retirement and then return to their home villages numbered 41 per cent in Lusaka and 52 per cent in Mufulira in 1987, while for Lusaka in 1989, the figure was 39 per cent.

These figures show us that present-day migrants are far from being circular migrants. But they also show that the village remains the final place where migrants return to live. Most migrants maintain their ties with their villages and can come back anytime. They have their own land or can find land to cultivate. They are partly modern workers, but at the same time they remain partly peasants; thus they are not part of the proletariat. None of the miners of my samples intended to settle down in towns permanently. This might seem surprising at first, but it is not; for although miners are provided accommodations and good facilities, they cannot enjoy them after retirement. They cannot live in the mine areas. They must go back to their villages or move into council areas. Most of them would rather go back than stay and live in shantytowns. Such workers sustain the copper industry, Zambia's most productive and most important export industry.

The above mentioned ties with home villages are also seen among non-migrants who were born in Lusaka and Mufulira (Table XVI). Only 3 of 22 non-migrants (1987) and none of 7 non-migrants (1989) intended to remain in town permanently. This means that non-migrants maintain ties with their villages, and indicates that even second-generation urban dwellers retain close relations with their parents' villages. Some of course lose their ties, but not many. In Kamanga and Kansusuwa there are comparatively many migrants who intend to stay permanently. Some of these long-stay migrants have, for various reasons, lost ties with their home villages. Some have no relatives in the home villages and no children to accompany them back to their villages. Some prefer to remain in town, but the cost of living is very high¹⁷ for elderly or retired people. They are forced to survive in shanty-

¹⁷ During my 1987 and 1989 research in Kamanga and KSS2, economic conditions grew increasingly worse, and the rate of inflation was the highest since independence. The price of maize meal (breakfast class) was raised from K19.20 per 25 kg bag in June 1987 to

TABLE XVI
NON-MIGRANT TIES WITH THEIR HOME VILLAGES

	(Person)	
	Lusaka/Mufulira (1987)	Lusaka (1989)
A. Plan to remain in town		
Permanently	3	0
Until retirement	12	2
For some years	2	4
Less than one year	1	0
Uncertain how long	4	1
B. Frequency of home visits		
Once a year or more	13	6
Once every few years	7	1
Never	0	0
C. Frequency of sending money home		
Twice a year or more	8	1
Once a year	4	1
Once every few years	3	2
Never	6	2
NA	1	1
D. Frequency of having visitors from home		
Once a year or more	14	5
Once every few years	6	0
Never	2	2

Source: Same as for Table VII.

town. I interviewed several old ex-miners living in Kansusuwa. They were examples of the type of migrant who intended to remain in town permanently.

African farming in urban areas was not allowed during the colonial age for hygienic reasons. But now it is allowed and even recommended for food production. Zambian towns still have open space that can be cultivated. People can sell their products at the market, on the roadside, and even just in front of their houses. These activities have been noted in research on Kalingalinga which was a squatter area but now has been upgraded. This research reported that skilled workers

K144.50 in August 1989 (U.S.\$1=K16). Other essential goods were also raised very much. Cooking oil (5 liters) was raised from K48.23 to K170, sugar (2 kg) from K4.84 to K30, and charcoal (90 kg bag) from about K12 to K90. The consumer price index for the low-income group (1975=100) registered an increase from 1,143.8 in August 1987 to 2,977.5 in April 1989. Such inflation has caused ordinary people a great deal of suffering and has brought on a serious economic crisis. People struggle to survive by one means or another. Various new informal economic activities flourish in the back garden, on the roadside, and in the town centers. Many women and small children can be seen smashing rocks into small stones and selling them on the roadside. Many boys busy themselves taking care of customers' cars at shopping areas to get a little money. Such people doing these activities were not seen in Zambia just a few years ago.

produce food for home consumption while non-skilled workers do so for selling to supplement their low income [2]. There are many other informal economic activities beside farming. To add to income from these activities, elderly people might also get money sent from their children. It would be no exaggeration to say that a squatter area and the informal sector substitute for a home village as the final place for retired people to live. We can even say that a squatter area and the informal sector have the same function as the welfare or social security system in an industrialized welfare nation, although, as I mentioned, a squatter area also has another side: it is often the first place for most young migrants to live if they do not have any successful relatives living in town.

CONCLUSION

Rural-urban migration in Zambia developed in close relationship with the growth of the mining industry and large agricultural estates under colonial rule. The basic structure of the colonial economy still remains intact, and copper, especially as an export, continues to support nearly the whole economy. Therefore migration has been very much influenced by copper production. Since independence migrants have been staying in towns longer than before, but this does not mean that they have become permanent town dwellers. They continue to maintain close links with their home villages, and even non-migrants (the second generation who remain in towns) keep up the same relations. How does this type of migration respond to the changes in economic policies which are needed to cope with the economic crisis, and which this crisis even forces the government to carry out? Critics argue that Zambia's urban-biased policies since independence must be changed. Friction has arisen between the government and mine workers over the problems of wages and the employment of foreign workers. This type of friction has been dealt with without changing the economic framework existing since colonial times. If the government tries to change development policies to ones more biased toward the rural areas, a sharp conflict is likely to arise between the government and the urban population, which could cause serious political problems in highly urbanized Zambia. However urban dwellers might not be in opposition to the government. They might choose instead to go back to their home villages or send some of their family member back to live. Many Zambian families, especially in Northern and Eastern provinces, have two households, one in the village and the other in town. They benefit and suffer simultaneously from development policies no matter what the policy, be it urban- or rural-biased.

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