WOMEN, MIGRANCY AND RURAL CHANGE

By

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In the years of 1968 - 1969, I studied the village of Tsito in
the Volta Region, its migrants and the relationship which existed
between the migrants and their non-migrant co-villagers. This
paper is an extraction of the data collected on the women of the
Tsito community, especially the migrant women: who they were, where
they went, what they did, their contacts with home, their attitudes
towards migration, but particularly their role as change agents
within the rural society of Tsito.

A Demographic Profile of the Migrant Women

In a survey of all the households in the village, data was
collected on 503 adult members in these households who were absent
as migrants; 183 were female. Women migrants, therefore, made up
one third of the migrant population in 1968, whilst two-thirds of
the resident village population were women. Among these residents
were another 17% who had once been migrants and a further 13% who
wished to join the migrant cycle. In sum, 47% of the adult women
in the community were, had been, or wished to become migrants, but
this is significantly lower than the equivalent calculation for the
men which yields a figure of 73%. Tsito has become, or at least is
in rapid process of doing so, a community in which the decision to
migrate is quasi-automatic for the young male and in which almost
six out of every ten men over forty either were or had been migrants.

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The out migration of women has been more unusual. Counting the ex-migrants in with the migrants, only a quarter had left Tsito before 1950 and almost two thirds had not migrated until the sixties. (Survey I) Or to express the propensity to migrate of the women in another way; 80% of the women who were fifty or over had never been migrant; neither had 60% of those in their forties or 53% of those in their thirties; but below thirty, two thirds of the adult women either were, had been or wanted to become migrant. Interviews with school children suggested that this proportion was likely to rise even higher as all the girls intended migrating.

Age therefore, is one variable which sorts the migration oriented women from those who are not; education is another such variable. Almost all the women who had continued in education beyond the middle school level either were, had been or wished to become migrants: this was true of two thirds of the girls who had gone to middle school but of only a third of the women whose formal education was either non-existent or arrested after only one or two years at the primary stage (Survey I). The link between education and migration is a well known one and it was not unexpected to find that it held for the female as it did for the male. Certainly Caldwell, in his cross-national study, found that middle school educated women were as likely to migrate as the middle school educated men; (Caldwell 1969: 61) however, in Tsito, this was not the case. A significantly higher proportion of middle school educated women were non-migrant as compared to the middle school educated men; a relationship which seemed to justify one informant's claim that the village had, in the past, successfully kept most of its women at home.

Another familiar relationship from the literature is the one which holds between sex and educational level; (Birmingham, Neustadt, Omaboe 1967: 51) a relationship which holds very strongly in Tsito. Within the female population, one can see how educational levels have risen steadily over the generations but, if each generation is

compared to its male equivalent, the men have consistently out-
stripped the women. The sex determined educational gap naturally
shows up within the migrant population; with the result that,
although the least educated women are the least likely to migrants,
they nevertheless represented 37% of the migrant women in 1968
compared to a 17% representation of men at this educational level.
By contrast, 30% of the men had continued in education beyond the
middle school level but this was only true of 15% of the women. The
low priority given to the education of a daughter is clearly expressed
in terms of access to university; in 1968 Tsito had a rosta of
twenty-one university graduates and this list has been steadily
increasing since then but even now, in 1975, there is not a single
woman among the graduates.

These educational variations were reflected in the occupational
distribution of the migrants; only 20% of the women were in the so
called white collar group; they were teachers, nurses and clerks
and represented the occupational elite of Tsito womanhood. Another
26% were seamstresses, factory workers or shop assistants with
seamstresses forming the majority. The remaining women were traders
or farmers or were classified as housewives by their Tsito families
from whom this particular set of data was being collected. (Most of
these housewives were probably either traders or farmers, or both,
as were their Tsito sisters).

Where did the women migrants go? Almost two fifths remained
within the Volta region and two thirds in this group were living
in centres either smaller than Tsito or not much larger: that is
in centres either smaller than Tsito or not much larger: that is
in centres under 10,000 in population. Another group had not only
left the Volta region but had settled in the cities; 44% of the women
migrants were city dwellers and 81% in this group lived in Accra.

The greater Accra and Volta regions drew about equal proportions
of the women and only a quarter were to be found elsewhere in Ghana.

Finally, the women migrants tended not to be single; only
30% had never been married and there is only a scattering of widows,
the divorced and the separated amongst the rest. The high proportion
of the married is a reflection of one of the major reasons behind
the out-migration of women. Most women migrants work but, whilst the
men left in search of work, many women leave because they are married
to migrant husbands and not because their economic career requires
such mobility. A number of villagers, in fact, saw marriage as the
only legitimate reason for female migration and strongly opposed the
migration of the single girl.

In sum, the women migrants are an assorted group even as
measured by these simple demographic variables. They span a
range of ages, educational levels, occupational categories and they
live in areas which range from hamlets to the connurbation formed
by Accra and Tema. Some, living within other Volta region villages,
lead lives which in their day to day routine parallel the lives of
the Tsito resident women; others spend their days in totally dis-
similar ways and within an environment which has little in common
with even a large rural village.

Migration and Change

Having sketched in the characteristics of the women migrants
the next step is to relate their migration to rural change. One
way in which all migrants create rural change is simply by with-
drawing from village life. Their absence creates a social gap in the
village system and, given the characteristics of migration and
migrants, it is a gap which is selective in terms of the social
categories effected. The young go; the more educated go; the more
ambitious and innovative go. The actual and the potential quality
of rural life is diminished. Lux has expressed it well: "Le depart

des jeunes vers la ville appauvrit cet hinterland en le privant
de ses forces vives et en degradant l'ambiance sociale". (Lux 1969:
401).

Lux is referring to the migration of all the young without
making any sexual differentiation, yet the migration of young women
should not be treated as a simple appendage to that of the young
man. Taking the admittedly extreme example of Western Ireland and
according to Brody, the refusal of the women to stay at home and
marry a farmer was one of the root causes of rural depopulation.
(Brody 1973: 98). If women reject the rural life, men either have
to face a bachelor existence at home or migrate in order to marry.
Tsito was far from such crisis conditions, yet in the years 1965-68
there was, for the first time, a precisely matched exodus of men
and women and future projections - suggested that this ration would
continue. (Survey I). Given that most girls wanted husbands who
would migrate and take them to the towns, it is apparent that any
boy who would prefer rural life is going to find that the bride pool
from which he would select a wife is a progressively narrowing one.

However, this possibility had not yet caught much attention in
the village; people were rather worried about another problem
posed by the migration of women and one which had already developed.
The women migrant who marries and has children and brings up these
children away from Tsito has created a concern over the integration
of these children into the community when they become adults. Some
villagers admired the children of the migrants and others criticised
them, but the majority saw them as different from the village raised
child. Typical comments were: "They like putting on decent dresses,
eating light food and to sleep in modern rooms": "They find it
difficult to render domestic service or work on the farm": "The
behaviour of those trained in the towns is often an eyesore to people
in Tsito. They forget the customs and do not know family members and

are rude towards them" (Survey IV). The remarks are directed at the children but the reason that this next generation is growing away from the community lies in the migration of their parents, particularly in the current pattern of wives and children accompanying their husbands and remaining with them.

The subject of the migrant's children is worth further examination. Both Lloyd, (Barbara Lloyd 1966: 163-183) and Levine, (Levine, Klein, Owen 1967: 215-253) have looked at the manner in which the educated elite modifies traditional child rearing practises, however, the original theory would suggest that such modifications will not be restricted to the elite. The experiences of rapid change in their own lifes will influence many other parents to adapt their child rearing practises so that their children will fit into the modern world as they themselves perceive its demands. (Inkeles 1955: 12-22). And aside from the conscious adaptations made, migrant parents simply cannot duplicate with their own children the type of socialisation they themselves experienced; the environments are too dissimilar. In simple terms, you cannot teach a daughter to weed a yam farm if you live in Central Accra and a girl raised in Kumasi who visits Tsito only at the Yam Festival cannot be expected to know all her kin by sight and be able to greet them appropriately.

The reactions of the villagers, whether favourable or unfavourable, all turned on a perception of these children as more modern than the village raised. This is some evidence of a change in the manner of their socialisation but further evidence came from the replies of the migrants to a question on where children should be raised, with their parents or in Tsito? (Survey V). In fact about a third of the migrants with children had left some or all of them in Tsito in 1968; some children were with their mothers and others left with kin but it was evident that many children did circulate between Tsito and where ever their father was working. Keith Hart writes that the Frafra deliberately send their children home so as to ensure their integration with the home land and, (Hart 1971: 31) when the

question was first phrased, a similar explanation had been expected in Tsito. However, three quarters of the migrant women asked were emphatic that children should stay with their migrant parents; a few argued that they would otherwise be either spoilt or neglected by Tsito kin, but most explanations referred to the desirability of parents controlling the manner in which their children were raised; some went further and said that this was so parents could "Raise their children in the modern way".

Whether or not parents are conscious of wanting to keep their children with them so they will be fitted for the urban life, the result is going to be the same. Children raised in an urban environment will know how to handle that environment but will not know the Tsito environment in the same depth. Once children were automatically incorporated into the community and in their growing years, they learnt its culture and forged links with their kin and peer groups which would last through their adulthood: such links were a basis for community integration. The incorporation of migrant's children into the community is more doubtful; their links will be to people in their urban environment and their culture will be the culture of the city. Consequently, the present increasing rate of out-migration of women in their child bearing years may entail the future loss of their children as fully integrated members in the community of the next generation.

What other consequences are there for rural life if the young women migrate? Discussions of falls in agricultural productivity as a result of migration have normally only been concerned with the loss of young male labour power. (eg. Skinner 1966:145). There is argument over whether or not there is serious effect arising from migration but it is premissed on the women staying behind and on whether or not they can produce adequately. However, if the young

healthy women leave as well as the men, then the agricultural con-
sequences of migration require re-examination. Yet, this was not a
worry in Tsito at the time of the research; only a quarter of the
migrant women said that their families would miss their help in
farming, (Survey III) and villagers never bemoaned the loss of
migrant labour power on their own farms even when the question
referred to both sexes (Survey IV). (The villagers did say, however,
that the migration made it difficult to organise communal labour for
development schemes as they could not draw on a pool of the young for
their work parties).

Loneliness, however, was a problem recognised by both migrants
and villagers: two-thirds of the migrant women said that their
families would be lonely without them (Survey III) and this was a
constant complaint in the village. In the case of the women, this
relates again to their children because families are lonely not
only for the girl herself but also for her children. It is another
aspect of that "impoverishment" of rural life which Lux described.
On the other hand, the migrants, including three-quarters of the
women, thought that their families benefited from the inflow of
cash from the migrants and almost all that that the community
benefited from the inflow of new ideas (Survey III) from the migrants.
It is this latter aspect of migration which will concern the rest
of this paper.

The Migrant as Communicator

In order to understand this aspect of the woman migrant's role
as change agent, it is helpful to adopt a network analogy. Before
migration became so commonplace, Tsito, like most villages, could
have been described as having a network which was compact and in
which the links between points were physically and socially short.

When an individual migrates he stretches, as if they were elastic,
the multiplicity of links that bind him as a community member. As
more and more migrate the social network which represents the Tsito
community begins to look like an over-extended spider web laid out
on a map of Ghana.

Still keeping to the network analogy, the links between people
making up the network are also channels for the passage of informa-
tion. Following Deutsch, the frequency with which information flows
along these channels is a measure of integration (Deutsch 1964:23).
Or, in practical and common sense terms, Tsito can keep itself
together as a community only if migrants and villagers keep in
constant touch with each other. In the interest of integration many
of the information units circulating through the network will have
an internal subject content: who dies, who is born, who marries;
all these items of social gossip which re-create a sense of group
membership and group identity in those who send and those who receive
these messages.

Other items of information will have their origin and subject
content outside the network; they have been 'picked up' by one
network member who then transmits them to other network members.
Such a member could be a villager living in Tsito itself but the
community members who are most likely to be in contact with new
ideas are the migrants. Obviously the migrants are not the only
source of information about the outside world, what is happening to
it, or of how the villagers should adapt to the changing conditions
it imposes. Tsito, like many other villages, is familiar with the
official change agents of a developing society; the community
development officers, the agricultural agents, the clinic nurses
and public health officials, the peace corps volunteers and other
itinerant foreigners. The village has radios and daily newspapers,
even the occasional film show. All are sources of information and

their information is often didactic in character. However the peculiar virtue of the migrant as communicator is that, whilst he is recognised as some one who knows and understands the outside world, he is also recognised as an insider; someone who can translate his message into terms that people can understand; of whom they can ask questions; who understands the relevance of what he is saying to the village community because that is where he grew up himself and it is a world he knows intimately.

This idea of the migrant as a transmiter of cultural information from one system to another in both of which he has membership, recalls such labels as Hanna's "Intercalary Influential" (Hanna 1967: 167) or Boissevain's "Broker". (Boissevain's 1970). However both Boissevain and Hanna were thinking of what might be called the "Big men"; the men who find jobs, arrange scholarships, get projects through government departments, turn out the voters, chair migrant association meetings and lecture the village on the need to move into the modern world. Tsito counts such men within its migrant population and they are key figures, with the added virtue for the researcher that their impact for change is often open to documentation.

However, to concentrate on such men would be the ignore the full role that migration plays in allowing the transmission of new ideas into rural areas. There are few "Big men" but there are many migrants and over half the village households listed one or more migrants as members. There are, therefore, many more communication channels and ones which lead directly into many more family units than the ones which can be traced back to these few influential and people's reaction to it might mean that one considered only change messages that were consciously propounded and consciously heard. Migrants may transmit information items unconsciously as well as consciously.

Unconsciously, for example, a well paid technician who rides home to Tsito on his own motor bike and wears a new suit to church on Sunday, is feeding a number of information units to village observers. These range from the latest tailoring styles in Accra to the income levels a well trained technician can expect. On the other hand, if he tells his parents to send a junior brother to Kumasi rather than Legon then he is consciously passing on information, gathered outside Tsito, that the technical degree may have more future value than the non-technical. (These are real examples culled from research notes). The distinction made here between conscious and unconscious transmission is a key one and especially relevant when looking at the role played by women migrants.

Women Migrants as Communicators

One approach is to adopt the outsider sociologist stance and ask which women within the migrant group one would expect to be in contact with new ideas. In theory, these should be women whose physical or socio-cultural environments are distinct from those of the village women because, if the environments are the same, so probably will be the information which circulates within the environments. In simple terms, if a woman lives in a village about the same size as Tsito with roughly similar amenities and spends her days farming, trading and in domestic work there is not going to be that much she can tell her mother and sisters about a woman's life that they do not know for themselves. On the other hand, the woman who lives in the city can describe a life in which food is bought rather than grown; in which water is not head carried from the river; in which the collection of firewood is not one of the domestic tasts. A village woman sees her days as a routine in which these jobs are constantly and laboriously a part; once they were accepted as part of the inevitable lot of being a woman but from the city living migrant she learns they are only the inevitable lot of being a rural woman.

She will also learn about things that are present in the urban centres not just the ones that are absent; village women will vary in their level of concern with dance halls, or better schools, or big stores, or electric cookers, or city women who work as doctors or lawyers, or the latest pattern in cloth; but whatever their pre-occupation they can hear about these things from a city living aunt or sister.

A city presents both a different physical and a different cultural environment to Tsito's but a woman migrant may move in a different socio-cultural framework without living in a city. A woman with a higher educational level than the average village woman or in a modern style occupation is open to new ideas, through her educational and occupational experiences, even if she lives in an environment not too dissimilar from Tsito itself. And she equally demonstrates a new model of being a woman to those villagers who watch her and discuss her. A cluster of women have become teachers like the men, or clerks like the men, or factory employees like the men. Women have received regular monthly wages like the men and have sent something from this wage packet back to Tsito like the men. Women have gone to secondary school and teacher training college like the men. In brief, although sexual differentiation spells social differentiation for most women, this particular cluster have proved that its extension into educational and occupational fields is not an immutable law.

Having selected out the urban, the educated, and the women in the modern occupational sector as those most likely to communicate social change messages, consciously and unconsciously back into Tsito, the next step is to look for the level of contact between these women and the village women. The assumption is that contact

implies the occasion for information transmission. In the research as a whole a number of different contact measures were used as interest was not solely in communication for social change but in communication as a factor in integration; however, here only one measure, visits home over a twelve month period, will be used.

As common sense would suggest, the frequency with which a woman travelled home was determined largely by how long the journey would take her; a relationship which is clearly demonstrated in table one. This relationship brought into critical focus the need to think about migrant/villager relationships in terms of the geographical position of the home community in terms of access to the centres which attract its migrants. From the perspective of looking at the migrant as change agent, this concern must select out the access to the home town of the migrant categories who are the most likely bearers of change information.

In other words, if many of the modernising influences of the city reach villages through the city settled migrants, then the distance between the city and the village and the number of times in a year city migrants make the journey gives in indication of the rate at which change information is potentially fed into different villages. In Tsito's case, all the cities of Ghana lie outside the Volta Region, with Accra lying the closest. It is eighty-five miles down a main road running through Tsito with frequent and relatively cheap transport. (The journey cost one cedi in 1969). In each of the cities Tsito counted a contingent of migrants but with the majority living in Accra. (Survey I), Kumasi, Takoradi and Tamale all lay over three hours journey away and the migrants living there were seen but rarely; out of the seventeen women living there, of whom data was collected on fifteen, the majority came home no more than once or twice in the year. Tsito villagers were therefore, likely to be little effected

by influences generated by these city centres. On the other hand,
the Accra women were home relatively often and information on city
life came, therefore, from the capital. (There were sixty-six women
in Accra and data was collected on forty-four; a quarter came home
every month and another fifth came home between five and eleven times
in the year).

Table I

Frequency of annual visiting by journey time to Tsito:
(percentages) 'n' 94

Journey Times	1-2	3-4	5-11	12 plus	Total	'n'
Less than two hours	4	9	9	78	100	23
Two hours (approx.)	21	36	17	26	100	42
More than Two hours	56	10	10	20	100	29

Many among the young saw these Accra women as the only ones who,
to use American slang, "Knew where it's at"; city life was read as
synonymous with being 'modern'. However, if one looks for the modern
woman as defined by educational or occupational characteristics, there
were a number of such women much closer to home. In terms of education,
44% of the women with middle school education and 39% of those with
further education lived within one hour of Tsito. (Survey II). Within
the same journey time radius were to be found 38% of those in teaching,
nursing and clerical work. This distribution is partly a reflection
of Tsito's position fifteen miles from Ho, the administrative centre
of the Volta Region and a town, which although small carries a rela-
tively high weighting of clerical and educational job slots within its

occupational structure. It is also a reflection of the type of
occupations into which the ambitious girls are moving. Their jobs
are not tied to the city structure but are available within the
rural and smaller urban centres; teaching, in fact, will keep the
primary school teacher within her own region.

In sum, interaction between women migrants and the village
women was relatively frequent with about a quarter of the women
being home every month. Furthermore, if a distance control is
introduced neither age nor education significantly differentiate the
level of visiting. The city based migrants had an advantage of
prestige over the locally based migrants but information about the
locally based was both intimate and detailed. The level of annual
contact for women in the three categories of urban, educated and
occupational types is shown in table two.

Change Agents: the community perspective

The problem with taking only the outsider and theoretical
perspective is that it can define the women who are potential
change agents but cannot see the barriers which may block or at least
impede the process of information transmission. Migrants, as the
Red Men (Mayer 1961) demonstrates, may live in an environment alive
with new information, and yet as far as possible close off their
own lives to its effects and not transmit many change messages home.
Equally, a tradition satisfied village community can turn to the
community equivalent of a deaf ear to what its returning migrants
attempt to tell it about the outside world and its ways.

Participant observation, to be translated here as having a
good gossip with women friends in the community, offered adequate
proof that this was not the case in Taito. The lives of the city

Table II

Annual rate of visiting by age, educational level and Urban/rural residence: (percentages)

Annual rate of visiting	Age Group			Educational level			Urban/rural residence		
	under 29 yrs	30-39	40 plus	None & Primary	Middle School	Further Education	Under 10000	10000-39999	Accra
1-2	31	28	17	36	24	19	19	28	21
3-4	22	33	11	24	20	25	26		36
5-11	7	14	28	12	9	25	13	11	18
12 plus	40	25	44	27	47	31	42	61	24
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	55	21	18	33	45	16	31	18	33

Three women who had not visited Tsito in the previous twelve months were excluded; they lived abroad and were unable to make the journey.

women were discussed and compared with the life of a Tsito woman. The
lives of the educated and income earning nurse or clerk or teacher
were a constant source of gossip, from the way they dressed to the
way in which they brought up their children. Not all comments were
favourable and certainly not all women, even in the under thirty group,
wanted to migrate. However, the subject of what might be called the
'new woman' was always a lively one and one which always used known
examples drawn from among the Tsito women who were seen as representa-
tive of the style. The educated and the urban women made up a refere-
nce group and yet were intimately known within Tsito; this intimacy
made them far more significant than the women seen in the newspapers
or heard about on the radio or even seen in Ho.

Participant observation is a method which provides the most
vivid and insightful data to a researcher but is also the most
open to bias and, therefore, in this discussion of the woman migrant,
the data will come from survey sources but the interpretation will
draw on discussions held with community informants. Surveys were
conducted with both the migrants and the villagers in which attitu-
dinal questions relating to migration were asked of both. All the
questions asked in the village survey used an open format but many in
the migrant survey were closed. The design of questions in the later
survey was usually based on answers that had been given by villagers
and were partly to test the level of community consensus on the
migrant role.

It was found, for example, that migrants and villagers agreed
in seeing the migrant as distinct from the villager. Many villagers
made the distinction in terms of the education of the migrant, the
nature of his work, his income, that he travelled and saw many new
things and people, that he was free of the controls built into village
lives. (Survey IV). In the migrant survey, the respondents were asked

to say how important they saw each of these variables were in
changing the individual. (Survey V). The replies made by the women
in a sample are shown in table three.

Three III

Level of importance in changing character of education,
occupation, travel, and leaving Tsito (percentages)'n'
65

	Education	Important Job	Travel	Leaving Tsito	Income level
Very Important	81	75	62	38	31
Of Some Importance	16	22	29	48	61
Of No Importance	3	3	9	14	8
Total	100	100	100	100	100

The perception of travel as a key re-socialising experience came
out in other answers to other questions; it was instanced as the
reason for differences within the migrant group between those who
remained within the Volta Region and those who travelled beyond its
boundaries. The Volta Region is not totally homogenious in terms of
either its ethnic population or its socio-cultural conditions but a
Volta Region settled migrant would live in a largely Ewe society and
even in the towns his environment would not be so different from Tsito.
It was these points that informants referenced when discussing why these
local migrants were distinguished from the others. The importance

attached to a migrant living under different conditions and meeting
people of other ethnic groups suggest that the community is in
agreement with sociologists (eg. Epstein 1969: 77 - 116) on the re-
socialising impact of living in a multi-ethnic and modernising society.
However, the ranking given by the migrants themselves, including the
women, also explains something of the attitude of the migrant to this
experience; the individual who anticipates transformation is much
easier to transform and obviously these migrant women are relatively
open to change influences themselves and anticipate change in others.

What more specifically are the differences between migrants and
villagers? In the village survey only 3% denied there was any
difference. (Survey IV). Slightly over a third saw the difference
and disapproved the migrant; they characterised them as selfish,
reckless, disobedient, arrogant and lacking in respect. Slightly over
a third admired the migrant character; they selected such adjectives
and 'civilised, enlightened, well-informed, sophisticated. The re-
mainder either praised some migrants and criticised others or saw the
migrant as an amalgam of positive or negative characteristics.

Naturally, when the migrants were presented with six of the
comments made on them by the villager respondents, they tended to
agree with the positive ones and to reject the negative. (Survey V).
More particularly, they rejected the themes which accused them of
being selfish, of being individualistic or arrogant but they agreed
that the migrant was more sophisticated, more ambitious and better
informed than the villager. (These replies showed little significant
variation by sex except that the women were rather more biased in
favour of the migrant character than the men). This perception of the
migrant role, as it is accepted by the majority of the migrants and
a substantial group of villagers, adds another insight into the manner
in which the communicator role is played out. Most migrants see

themselves and other migrants as knowing many things that the
villagers do not; equally a number of villagers accept this as
true of the migrant. Others among the villagers, who dislike the
migrant type may accept that he has knowledge but reject its value.
However, a majority involved in these communication processes defined
the migrant as 'one who knows'. This attitude could be observed within
many situations in which a migrant interacted with a villager; when
an Accra woman said this was the way to plait hair, to feed a baby or to
choose a husband she said it to her village listeners with absolute
conviction that she was right. Whether or not they accepted what she
said and adopted the new way depended ultimately on their attitudes
to her or to change itself. The point here, however, is that such a
woman was providing information on alternate ways of doing things.

The community not only recognised the migrant as someone who
was better informed than the villager, but as some one who **would pass
on this information to** the village. When villagers were asked for
the reasons behind migration, the majority of answers were the
familiar ones of seeking work or money or the absence of work and
money in Tsito. (Survey IV). Yet when they were asked what benefits
migration brought to Tsito, the inflow of ideas from the migrants was
mentioned more often than the inflow of cash. Migrants saw their
money input as beneficial to Tsito more often than this was admitted
by the villagers but even here, more of the migrants saw the idea
feedback as beneficial, than saw the money feed back in the same light;
88% compared to 77% (Survey III).

The communicator role was not therefore the figment of a socio-
logical imagination. The community, both migrant and non-migrant,
recognised it as a legitimate aspect of the migrant/villager rela-
tionship. Neither was this an exclusively male role as emerged in
answers to questions on why women migrated. (Survey IV). Villagers

did not totally approve of female migration but among the 65% who
did so there were a number of replies which referenced the benefits
to a young woman of travel, of becoming 'civilised' just as they had
listed them for the migrant in general. (See Caldwell, 1969: 106).
A number of these replies went further and quoted the benefits that
would come to Tsito when such women fed back this information.
Admittedly one village girl saw this feedback as data on the latest
fashions but others made a link to performance as a modern wife or
mother and apparently expected the ideas to relate to an improved
methods of child-rearing and other domestic skills.

What are the changes associated with the migrants? What are
the new ideas they feed to Tsito? The major change is their own
migration and much of the information they transmit is about migra-
tion and much of the information they transmit is about migration;
where to go; what jobs to seek; the importance of education in the
migrant. A statistical reflection of their role in this field is that
the propensity to migrate is higher if there are already other migrants
in the household unit. This particular correlation emerges from
the Tsito data just a Caldwell found it in the national data. Another
supporting argument is in the number of migrants who said they had
left to join some member in their family who was already migrant or
had, once they were migrant, encouraged others to join them. Talking
to informants or watching people together provided its own examples;
elder sisters would take a younger one to town; friends would
encourage younger friends to join them; an aunt would look after
a niece whilst she trained as a seamstress or a sister would pay
towards a younger sister's college fees.

Another aspect of this influence is that the migrants demon-
strate to the villagers the benefits, or the absence of benefit, of
allowing others to copy their migrant example. A woman migrant who

gets a good job, marries and leads a respectable life is as much an argument for allowing one's daughter to migrate as a girl becoming an Accra prostitute acts as a counter argument. Many informants, especially women, argued that attitudes towards female migration changed because villagers had learnt that prostitution was not the inevitable outcome of allowing girls to live in the city and that the money a woman sent home from her salary was just as useful as the money they received from their sons.

The change in attitudes came out in answers to the question on female migration. (Survey IV). Only a fifth of the villagers totally opposed their migration; either because they thought prostitution was the inevitable outcome or because they argued that the place of women was back in the village, having children and raising them. The quarter who gave conditional approval frequently made the condition that the woman should be married and only leave because her migrant husband needed her. These reactions, both the negative and the conditional, reflect a traditional concept of the female role. There is the idea that a woman must have male supervision either from her father or her husband and that her prime role in society is as the mother of the next generation. Be contrast, those who said women should migrate to work or to study or to become 'civilised' were both putting a woman's goals on an equivalent basis to a man's and recognising other potentialities in a woman than the narrowly domestic and maternal. The women migrants were equally convinced that women left to work or to study; (Survey V) only 3 mentioned prostitution although another five said girls were attracted by the city or hoped to find husbands there. In general, however, they ascribed a serious motive to female migrants and a motive linked to economic and career ambitions. Only 8% would restrict migration to the men, although another 26% opposed the migration of either sex. (Objections to migration by those who

were migrant may seem contradictory but it was not unusual to hear plaints that the exodus of the young was weakening village life although those complaining had no intent of returning, or were unable to do so. This was, however, a reaction against all migration rather than against the specific migration of the women).

Another sign that the migrant women transmit information related to migration back to the village emerged from checking the career ambitions of the next potential generation of educated women migrants. The pupils in the final year of their middle school education were interviewed and asked about their future plans. Out of the twenty-eight girls interviewed and asked, eight wanted to nurse, eight to teach and twelve to become typists. Each of these occupations would require further training; each will require that girl leaves Tsito; each will turn the girl into a wage earner; each entails a different pattern of work than farming or trading; and in each case the girls claimed that they knew about these jobs because some one from Tsito, often their own kinswoman, held them already. Consciously or unconsciously that small occupational elite had passed through a message to these younger girls and influenced the way they envisaged their own future.

Villager comments, however, made it clear that they did not think of the migrant idea input solely in terms of information potentially useful to aspirant migrants still in Tsito. They thought also of information which could be adapted for use within the village itself yet when respondents were asked about the differences between migrants and villagers they often instanced what might seem superficially, relatively minor points and returned to precisely the same points when they talked about changes introduced by migrants into Tsito. (Survey IV). They talked, for example, about the different clothes the migrants wore; the different foods they

liked to eat; the different use they made of language; the different ways they built and kept their houses; the neatness of their children; their preference for beer rather than palm wine and so forth. Each one is, of course, just such an external form of change as an observant villager can note down and discuss. They are not, however, impressive to an outsider in the same way as hearing that migrants have lead the village in the building of a school, a hospital, a community centre; the bricks and mortar evidence of change.

On the other hand, they are symbolic forms which match the social cues that are used in any society marked by social differentiation as short hand indicators of a person's social status and, by extension, as probable indicators of many of his values and attitudes. In a modernising society like Ghana, adoption of the outward symbols of being modern, whether it is wearing a wig or a mini skirt or purchasing a three piece suit, are read as outward signs of an inward commitment to change. This seemed to be the perspective that lay behind such remarks as "They like European ways": "They do things do things in the Western manner": and all the other comments that picked out some specific change such as dress or food or house building.

A listing of the forms of change mentioned by the villagers was presented to the migrants and they were asked whether or not they agreed that migrants had introduced changes in eight of the social fields listed by the villagers; the women's replies are shown in table four. The low percentage who perceived migrant influence on politics might be read as a reflection of a lack of concern among women for the happenings within the political arena but, in fact, the distribution of replies was not significantly correlated with sex. It was rather a reflection of a general disdain among migrants for village politics; they criticised the villagers for their pre-occupation with old conflicts but dissassociated themselves from the groups and issues involved.

Table IV

Proportion of women migrants who agreed that migrants
had introduced new ideas in each of the eight areas
listed. N=65

Education	Food & Dress	Entertainment	House Building	Behaviour to Parents
91	85	83	80	75

	Making Money	Child Rearing	Politics
	54	52	32

In each of these fields, with the possible exception of eating
and dressing, examples were quoted by informants of migrants standing
up in public forum and advocating change. There were general exhorta-
tions very much on the lines of a speech planned by the secretary of
the Accra migrant Association at Easter 1969. His points covered the
duty to respect the chief and his elders; the obligation on parents
to control their children; self-help and village unity in the
interests of development; more cultural and educational activities to
improve the quality of village living. Other migrant leaders laid more
specific proposals to the villagers during the two year period of this
research; technical education, farm co-operatives, electrification,
piped water, a village hospital, voter registration.

However, in each example, the migrant spokesman, was a man;
there was only one instance in the minutes of the Accra association
which recorded a woman being sent to lay the views of the association

before the women in the community. (This related to a task which was traditionally defined to the women; the cleaning of the town before the Yam festival). The Association minutes showed that its women members were beginning to take an active role in discussing Tsito affairs when in Accra but, home in Tsito, they reassumed the more passive public role of the woman; they left speech making to the men. One has to turn from the public to the private zone to see women's influence at work. Women filtered new ideas into the community but they passed them through their kin groups, their peer groups, their friendship groups; they rarely became formal spokesman for change.

Indeed the formal spokesmen for change even among the men, were few and yet both migrants and villagers agreed that bringing new ideas into the village was an aspect of the general role of being a migrant not one attached only to a select few. The paucity of formal influence on Tsito affairs was balanced however by a high level of informal influence. Participant observation was the source of this understanding and such examples as the career choices of the middle school leavers simply acted as confirmation. Certainly those girls had not planned their careers after listening to a formal speech on women and work, but from informal conversations and observations of women actually in those particular jobs. The fact that the influence was informally exercised does not make it any less revolutionary in terms of the girl's concept of their own futures.

Yet, whilst emphasising that women exercise their communicator role primarily within the private zone, the surveys showed that women were are concerned with and articulate about community development as were the men. Partly for research reasons, but largely in response to community requests, the migrants surveys contained a number of questions on past and future development projects. (Survey III and V). The 'No response' rate among the women was never higher than 4% and their answers were often detailed whenever the question format had been left open; both, are some indication that the questions were interesting to those asked. (Survey III). The selection

of projects made by the women matched those selected by the men;
each sex selecting from the list currently discussed in the village
and within the migrant community. A list which was made up of the
following schemes: electrification; a community centre; a small
factory; a day nursery; a farm school; a farm cooperative. (Piped
water was being laid in Tsito at the time the migrants answered these
questions, but had earlier been a favourite project for discussion
within the Accra Association). Electricity received the most frequent
mention but this may have been a reflection of its topicality. The
Accra Association had costed an electrification scheme and had sent a
delegation to lay it before the villagers shortly before the survey
was carried through. (Much to the association's annoyance it had
been rejected as too expensive).

As the debate over the scheme was expected to distort response
patterns, another question was inserted from which the electrifica-
tion scheme was excluded. (Survey III). In this question the
migrants were asked which project they would personally support
financially if they had a surplus of money to contribute. The
project preferences of the women respondents is shown in table five.
The proportion who would extend the clinic is not only evidence of
the type of project which most attracted the women but also reflects
the on going involvement of the women in a project which is peculiarily
their own.

Table V

Percentage of women who would contribute money to one of the
seven projects listed

Extending Clinic	Farm school or co-operative	Community Centre	Improving Schools	Day Nursery
40	17	11	11	10

	Setting up a factory	Building a church
	9	2

The Clinic Project

Whenever informants discussed community development, it was usually as an affair of men until someone mentioned the clinic. Built on the outskirts of the village, it provided simple medical care and had a small maternity wing; the more complicated cases were diagnosed and sent on to Ho but the clinic services were well used in the village and relevant to overall health status. It had been built in 1956; the cost was largely met by a local authority grant but with some money from the villagers and by their community labour.

Set within the history of community development projects in Tsito, the clinic represents one of the few which were not concerned with education; from the building of the first class room in 1886 until the community college and the establishment of the present Awudome Secondary School, Tsito community effort had gone largely into preparing its young educationally for their lives as migrants. In the immediate post-war years, however, it was possible to trace an emergent interest in improving the quality of village living for those who remained behind. There was, for example, a record of two teachers and a returning university graduate setting themselves up as the Tsito Development Association and drawing up elaborate plans for the trading and agricultural development of the village. In about the same period, the plan for a village clinic was under discussion and caught the support of the women of the community.

The leading figures in the story of the clinic were no longer alive and it was impossible to collect a very detailed history but informants provided the basic outline. The planning and organisation were attributed to the Queen mother of Tsito, her linguist and a woman teacher. (Her husband, who was also a teacher, was a councillor on the Tongu local authority council which provided the grant). These

three drew on the support and financial contributions of both the village women and the migrant women of that day. On record recorded that the migrant women collected £126 among themselves as a contribution. The money collected among the women was a minor reason behind the attribution of the clinic to them; the major was that the women had succeeded in turning out the communal labour force of the village. One has to understand the condition of the community at the time in order to understand the significance of this point. For, if some factors in the pre-independence period had encouraged an enthusiasm for community development, others had encouraged an enthusiasm for politics and political conflict. By the mid-fifties, enthusiasm for the former had waned, in part because the nature of these conflicts baulked any scheme requiring community co-operation. It was into this somewhat unpropitious situation that the women brought their demand for community work on the clinic.

In explaining the success of the women, some informants relied on descriptions of personalities within the female leadership. Others explained it in terms of the local authority grant the women obtained; these informants blamed the failure of other schemes on the failure of government agencies to provide the necessary cash. Both explanations probably had some truth, as well as being the ones which would have been socially the most visible and acceptable to the actors involved. However, another explanation not only offered more insight into the actual situation at the time, but carried wider implications for the role of women. This explanation was based on a discussion of the structural position of women and how this position had placed them outside the conflicts dividing the men.

Within the traditional political system, the men were either elders or holders of one of the traditional offices within each of the eight clans or they were members in the asafo company of each clan.

The council of chiefs was made up of these office holders and sitting, quite literally, facing them the asafo under their leader, the asafo-hene. These were, however, the organisations of the men; the women were represented on the council by a Queen mother who spoke in the interests of the women and who passed down any instruction from the council to the women. Descriptions of actual decision making only referenced male actors and yet the above structure suggests that the women had a potential to organise themselves and express themselves politically if they felt the necessity of doing so.

The asafo were the military companies but, within the political system, the seating position of the asafo facing the chiefs was a symbolic representation partly of the opposition between the young adult males and the elders and partly of that between the commoner and the office holder. When Christianity and education came to the village, they introduced other bases for the formation of oppositional groups; one was the division between the Presbyterian and the Methodist and the other between the educated and the uneducated. These groups were in intermittent conflict throughout the first half of the century but the pre-independence period brought in another complication by introducing national party politics into the village. It was not possible to predict from membership in one group to membership in another; there were educated Methodists.

The clinic was also just the type of project which the women could claim was their legitimate concern, because it touched on the health of children and pregnant women and yet at the same time would benefit every one in the village. The benefits would come to the individual regardless of politics, education or religious status; an important point in a conflict divided community in which projects were inspected with suspicion least they should benefit one group more than another. Finally, any unified movement among the women of the

village risked provoking the unified resistance of their structural
opposites, the men of the village. However, whilst the clinic
demonstrated the ability of the women to organise themselves in a
goal directed manner, it was not in itself a project which threatened
male control in either the economic or political fields.

Aside from the characteristics of the project, the capacity of
the women to come together owed much to the nature of the leadership
figures chosen. The Queen mother could both appeal to traditional
loyalties and to her legitimate right to demand support from all
Tsito women. Equally, as Queen mother she had her position on the
council of chiefs; a key position in this context as it was only
through the council that the communal labour force of the village
could be organised and ordered to work. (Communal labour was always
provided on a clan basis with each clan head instructing the men of
the clan to turn out on such and such a day and penalising those who
failed to show). The migrants interviewed, including the women
migrants, (Survey III) all saw this village communal labour power as
a key factor in future projects yet, when they discussed the village
leadership that would be necessary, it was evident that were thinking
of the change oriented, educated villager. However such men had
failed in the past to have those characteristics, social or political,
which would have enabled them to activate all the villagers in the
way the Queen mother, through her traditional legitimacy as the
leader of all women and a council member had once been able to do.

On the other hand, there was the teacher, a woman who could,
through her husband, tap another of the three essential ingrediants
to development, government assistance. The third ingrediant, as the
migrants saw it, was themselves; their money and their advise. The
contribution that the migrant women made to the clinic was in itself
an example of this third factor in operation. They presented it as a
group which demonstrates both that they were seen as distinct from the

village women and that they were capable of organising themselves
internally at a sufficient level to collect the monies. One man even
told me that he had been pressured by his wife to spend this weekends
out of Accra and working on the clinic; an insight into the ability
of the women to succeed as a pressure group by operating a number of
individual pressure points; each woman member separately using her
influence on the males within her immediate environment.

Returning to the teacher, she was by education and occupation an
early example of the type of new woman whom this paper has been
discussing. She equally qualifies as a change agent; indeed as the
only woman who introduced a real bricks-and-mortar and documented
change. Informants described the clinic as her original proposal for
which she gained the support of the Queen mother and survey IV brought
in further evidence that it was seen by many villagers as her particular
project. The villagers were asked what really important suggestions had
been made by migrants and among those listed was the teacher and her
clinic. Yet so far as I could learn, she had not been a migrant at the
time the clinic was built. She had certainly been one, but the
classification was not based on earlier physical mobility, but rather
on a perception of her as a travelled and civilised woman who brought
back new ideas to the village. In other words, people continued to
think of her as a migrant even when she was a resident of the village.

The concept of migrancy as a social transformation which persists
even when village residency was re-assumed explained the frequency
with which people discussed future change by reference to a future in
which there would be increasing proportion of retired migrants within
the general population and within positions of influence, (Survey IV
and V). Some felt that their effect would be destructive of village
life because as migrants, they had lost touch with village people and
village customs but others anticipated a revitalisation of the villave
as the ex-migrants introduced changes themselves and pressured
government agencies and their fellow villagers to support their

development schemes. A full discussion of the role of the ex-
migrant is not relevant here but this anticipation of their
potential role may explain one reason why the women migrants never
suggested that the community women might come together again and
promote some other scheme.

There were, in fact, two proposals under discussion, the day
nursery and the extension to the clinic, which appeared suitable
projects for a repeat performance of the women's role in the original
clinic yet no woman ever suggested it. Neither was this because the
current generation of women had lost interest in future development.
Reading their answers on the planning and organisation of development
in the future they listed migrant groups, such as the association in
Accra; or groups in which migrants and villagers were members such as
the teachers association, or the formation of a Town Development
committee made up of migrant and village representatives. (Survey V).
They also discussed the future role of the returning ex-migrant and
an alliance between the ex-migrants and the still migrant to work for
development. None of these groupings were sex-ascriptive in character
and in addition women were already active in both the teacher's
association and the Accra association. It seemed, therefore, that
the women concerned with development identified themselves with the
migrants and villagers among the men who were equally concerned, and
who would allow women to participate in discussions and planning.
This anticipation of playing a role alongside the men may explain
why these women never talked about reviving the women's alliance
which had built the clinic.

Conclusion

The ethnographers have tended to treat women as "Passive sexual
objects, as devoted mothers and dutiful wives", (Rosaldo and Lamphere
1974:1), when looking at traditional society, and there has been an
equal tendency to look at women in contemporary West Africa as

relatively passive and theoretically uninteresting participants in
the processes of change. Migration studies, for example, portray
women as a residual population left in the rural areas or they look
only at the mother-wife role within the urban area when the woman
has followed her husband to town. The Rosaldo and Lamphere volume
is an attempt to correct the view of women as passive participants in
traditional society and, in a sense, Little's book on African women
in towns is a compilation of what has been written on the woman's
own response to urban life. (Little 1973). Unfortunately its
emphasis on her assumption of a more active sexual role gives the
book a somewhat narrow view of the new woman; Jagua Nana's may
exist but they are not the sum total of urban womanhood nor are they
the model for the aspirations of most young women.

The migration of women has, of course, been a consequence on the
migration of men, either in the direct sense that the women have
followed their husband's to town or in the more indirect sense that
a climate of migration has been created in the rural areas which has
extended over time to include an acceptance that women might also
migrate. In this study of Tsito, the women migrants were only a third
of the total migrant population; they counted fewer educated migrants
within their group than did the men and they were under-represented
within the modern occupational structure which now accounted for
most of the male migrants. However their migration and its consequences
is not simply a pale reflection of the migration of the male.

Reference was made in the paper to the more extreme con-
sequences for rural de-population if women refuse to stay home;
for although the men have drawn women out of the villages as wives,
the permanent exodus of the men will result from a demand by women
to live only in the towns. Tsito was not at this point, as even
among the youngest women, there was a sufficient pool who did not

wish to leave and most migrant women at least expressed a willingness
to retire back to village life. Nevertheless it is a potential pro-
blem which may occur in many African villages in the next two or
three decades. Tsito people were rather worried by the migration of
women in their child-bearing years and the consequences for the
integration of the next community generation in which a proportion
would be the children of migrants brought up outside the village.
These children would lack, it was felt, those essential cultural and
social linkages which were part of every child's socialisation when
it occurred within the society of the village. (Lloyd 1974:127).

Another consequence of the migration of women is that it opens
up the world of the village woman to information about the world in
which the migrant woman lives and works. Village women had had other
forms of access to information about this world through outside
sources penetrating the village or through the accounts of male
migrants. However, their migrant sisters were more effective as
communicators because they had the dual common identity with those to
whom they pass on their information of being woman and members in the
same community. Some information was consciously transmitted as the
migrants advised, exhorted, demanded change but their communicator
role was also, and perhaps more frequently, unconsciously exercised.
By oral description of their lives or simply by demonstration in the
ways in which they behaved, their possessions, their reactions to
village life, their whole symbolic presentation of themselves, many
of these migrant women, particularly the urban and the educated,
transmitted the information that there are alternate modes of being
a woman than the ones known in Tsito.

The transmission of this information was facilitated by the
expectation, held by both migrants and villagers, that the migrant
in transformed by migrancy. They are recognised as more 'civilised'

than the villager; as having had access to new information and new
ideas; as having built into their migrant role a legitimate com-
municator function. All migrants tend to transmit information
largely within the context of face-to-face interaction with other
villagers; their kin, their peer groups, their friends; small scale,
private zone interactions. This is particularly true of the women who
did not speak in the public forums available to the men; clan meetings
and church or village sponsored gatherings. However whilst the private
zone is more difficult to document, information transmission within
this field is probably more accountable for changes in rural attitudes
and acceptance of change than the speeches and projects proposed in
the public forum.

The apparent passivity of the women on the public forum level
does not mean that they are unconcerned with development and change
at the community level. The women migrants interviewed had clear
views on the projects that they wished to see in the village and were
prepared to express criticism of the village conflicts and the
governmental neglect which they saw as having blocked past development.
They were also prepared to propose ways in which the future mobilisa-
tion of the community should be brought about and new projects under-
taken.

Their volubility ran contrary to the usual impression of women
as uninvolved in community development. Even in Audrey Smock's
detailed study of ethnic associations, there is no reference to women
within the index, few references to them in the text and the general
tone is that the politics of community development are as much a
preserve of the men as the ethnographers once described the politics
of traditional society. (Smock 1971). It may be, of course, that just
as the traditional woman was an active, if covert, political role

player, the contemporary woman does play a role in development but a role non-apparent to the outside researcher. Observation in Tsito suggested, for example, that as the village women have learnt more about outside conditions they are beginning to pressure for an improvement in their own living and economic opportunities within the village.

Tsito provided, however, one remarkable example of women adopting a development project and seeing to it that it came to fruition. The clinic was clearly in the interests of the women and their children and it may be that women's general failure to support community development schemes is because many schemes do not strike women as relevant to their own goals but rather to those of the men. Another factor in the clinic is that, if the women had not taken over the project, it may not have built at all. The conflicts within the male sector blocked any leader emerging who could have sponsored the scheme whereas the women, being outside the conflicts, could produce a leadership which could appeal for community support without provoking the hostility of either conflict grouping. If the men had been united and prepared to build the clinic the women need not have acted publicly but quietly pressured for the clinic in the background. This may explain another reason why women have such little visibility on the development scene; so long as men are prepared and able to lead and organise then women have neither the opportunity nor the need to act.

The clinic project might be read as a demonstration that women are a latent force for community development; this is probably true but whether or not this force might be tapped by governments agencies is rather more questionable. The trend in Tsito was for the young and development oriented woman to be thinking in terms of working with the men rather than acting as a separate feminist group. In addition there is an undoubted risk in any agency sponsoring a too

<u>Survey V</u>

A sample of 155 migrants, of whom 65 were women, were inter-
viewed on their attitudes towards migration, migrants and the
migrant role for change. The subject area was, therefore the
same as in survey IV but in this survey the question of format
was usually closed whilst in the village survey the questions
had been left open. It also included some additional questions
which had been suggested by the answers given by the villagers
or from discussions with the migrants themselves.

2) A few migrants and villagers did suggest that children should
be sent to spend time in Tsito, however, I found that the
general reaction to the migrants' children who were staying
in the village was unfavourable. They were said to be spoilt,
undisciplined and lacking in respect to the elders. (Survey III).
The Fra-fra may not face the same problems as their children
live within a more encapsulated environment when in Accra but
in Tsito the circulation of children between the urban and rural
environments was seen as an inadequate solution to a complex
problem.

3) We may represent the set of observed social relationships
existing within a specified collectivity of individuals as
lines (standing for the relationships) connecting point
(standing for individuals. (Mitchell 1973:23)).

4) Skinner notes that Mossi women believed that the lives of
their migrant sister's were much easier than their own and
had these beliefs reinforced by information fed into the
society by these migrants when they visited home. (Skinner
1965:75).

5) In a sample of ninety-seven women migrants, half never sent
any money to their families but a third made some financial
contribution each month.

6) Not only were different indicators of contact used but both
migrants and villagers were asked the same set of contact
questions. When their answers were compared a range of
discrepancies showed that not only did the migrants perceive
their own performance more favourably than did their families
but that the perceptual differences were greater whenever the
question touched on some particularly sensitive issue within
migrant/villager relationships.

7)   Mitchell has an interesting discussion on the relationship
     between distance from home and the migrant's level of involv-
     ement with his rural community. (Mitchell 1973: 287-314).

8)   O'Barr describes the Pare wage earners in the following terms
     "They create important links to the outside world, serve as
     diffusers of information about far away places and new ideas".
     (O'Barr 1973:73).

9)   In Caldwell's study, the villagers and the urban migrants
     selected a similar set of reasons either in favour of females
     migration or against it. (Caldwell 1969:106).

10) Cohen discusses the symbolic forms or life styles that groups
     will adopt to distinguish themselves from others and the con-
     sequent use made of such external signs as facial markings,
     hair styles, dress and so forth. (Cohen 1974:74). Southall,
     writing much earlier, discusses the way in which "Norms are
     often symbolically expressed" and makes specific reference to
     "Fashions of dress, manners of eating, material possessions
     and housing, certain types of verbal expression". (Southall
     1961:20).

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