

THE CONTRIBUTION OF A MULTIROUND SURVEY  
COMBINING QUANTITATIVE AND QUALITATIVE APPROACHES  
TO MIGRATION STUDY.

( a case study in West Africa )

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This paper aims at presenting the methods of observation used to analyse the migratory movements in relation to the population dynamics of the middle-sized towns in western Africa on the basis of a case study made in Togo. This study concerns three urban centres situated in a plantation area and is based on two complementary surveys. The first one consisted of a survey which brought up to date the 1970 census, and the second one was a migration survey conducted in 1984 on a sub-sample of in-migrants by using the method of biographical interviews.

We will show the interest and the limits of the multiround survey used to study migration as well as the contribution made by the migratory biographies. We will also point out the advantages shown by a method of inquiry combining various types of surveys.

## 1 - THE TWO-ROUND SURVEY.

The case study which be dealt with is not the first example of a two-round survey conducted after several years and intended to study migration (1). But the originality of this case consists in the implementation of this survey method for urban population, which raises specific problems, as will be shown.

### 1-1- The 1970-1979 two-round survey in the towns situated in the Plateau zone, Togo.

#### 1-1-1- Object of the study.

The survey aimed at studying the population dynamics of three middle-sized towns in the Plateau zone, in south-western Togo. The towns selected are three urban centres which are deeply integrated into the plantation economy, the latter being the main characteristic of the zone. They are Atakpamé (24 400 inhabitants in 1981), Kpalimé (27 700 inhabitants) and Badou (7 500 inhabitants).

The survey was conducted by Patrice VIMARD from ORSTOM (2). I made use of the data in order to evaluate the role of the different migratory movements in the population growth of the towns and to determine the position of these urban centres in the migratory movements. I tried to evaluate the role of these towns in the settlement of the population and its spatial redistribution as well as to understand to what correspond the fact of residing in a middle-sized town in the individuals' migratory and professional strategies, and more generally in their life cycle (3).

#### 1-1-2- Principle of the two-round survey.

The two-round survey consists of using the data obtained by a previous survey in order to register by name the individuals of a population along with their demographic and socio-economic characteristics and to study the evolution of individuals of this population a number of years later.

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(1) see particularly : QUESNEL (A), VAUGELADE (J) - 1975  
QUESNEL (A) - 1973 and 1981  
VIMARD (P) - 1978

(2) VIMARD (P) - 1980

(3) DUPONT (V) - 1986

- demographic status characteristics for the two dates (age, sex, place of birth, marital status, family relationship with the head of the household, ethnic group, status of residence ...) as well as socio-economic ones (education, occupation) ;
- characteristics of natural and migratory movements, concerning :
  - . deaths : date, age at death, cause of death ;
  - . out-migrants : date of departure, place of destination, reason, type of migration
  - . births : date, place ;
  - . in-migrants : date of arrival, place of origin, reason, type of migration .

The variable "status of residence" allowed to register the evolution of the individuals from 1970 to 1979.

#### 1-1-5- The follow-up observation of the population.

The follow-up observation concerns the de jure population (present or absent residents) from which the different natural and migratory movements are defined.

Concerning the individuals residing in 1970, their evolution is recorded in 1979 as residents or having left the sample either by death or by out-migration. Concerning the individuals residing only in 1979, the entry into the sample is determined : either by birth or by in-migration.

Graph 1 shows the data obtained from the 1970 census to the 1979 second round survey as well as the follow-up of the sample population.

The interest and validity of the two-round survey is based on a small proportion of individuals whose evolution is unknown at the second round.

However, the first researchers who made use of this collection method applied it in the rural zone and some of them thought that its application to the urban zone would make it harder to find the sample individuals from the original survey after several years. Therefore, the number of persons whose evolution was unknown might considerably increase (1). The reasons put forward were as follows : the weakening traditional relationships and the social and family cohesion being smaller in the town than in the village (for instance, it is possible that some neighbours do not know one another) and all the phenomena characteristic of the urban growth such as the high intra-urban mobility over several years, the transformation of the types of settlement, the restructuring neighbourhoods and the geographic expansion.

The sampling scheme selected is a sample of neighbourhoods surveyed on an exhaustive basis which allowed to mitigate some of these difficulties. If the arguments put forward remain valid, the results of the two-round survey do not condemn its utilisation in the urban zone. In the 1970 sample population, the number of individuals whose evolution is unknown in 1979, that is to say whose status of residence cannot be determined in 1979, is very small : 68 cases corresponding to 0,8 % of the 1970 total residents.

However, one must recall that the towns under study are middle-sized centres with moderate growth rates. In bigger sized towns, with faster growth rates, the difficulties in the implementation of the second round survey should probably be much more important.

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(1) QUESNEL (A) - 1973

Here, the original source of data was the 1970 general population census conducted in Iogo. The second round survey was carried out from July to September 1979, that is 9,4 years later on an average.

The two-round survey aims at following the evolution of the sample population since the date of the first round. This follow-up observation is made in time over an unchanging area (a sample of villages, neighbourhoods or concessions). This method allows, on the one hand, to make a period analysis at two given moments (the first round and the second round) of the sample population under study and, on the other hand, to make a longitudinal analysis over the period between the first round and the second one. Therefore, one can make a study of the population dynamics, and evaluate the arrivals (by birth or in-migration) and the departures (by death or out-migration) occurring during the period of observation.

Therefore, this follow-up observation allows us to analyse the migratory movements which characterized the sample population.

### 1-1-3- The sample.

In the case under study, the first round of the multiround survey is a census and therefore an exhaustive enumeration of the population, which allows to select freely the sampling scheme concerning the second round survey.

A priori, several solutions could be considered regarding the definition of the sampling units : the individual, the household, the concession, the neighbourhood ... The first three solutions have been dismissed for the dispersion of the units become rapidly an insurmountable obstacle due to the costs and the considerable risks of omission.

Moreover, the follow-up observation of the population and the evaluation of its movements between the two collections through the two-round survey suggest that one should observe individuals belonging to a geographically or socially defined unit (1) : one must be able to determine without any ambiguity the unit to which an individual belongs in order to follow his evolution.

From this point of view, the best solution seemed to select the neighbourhood as the primary sampling unit and to make an exhaustive survey of the households from the randomly selected neighbourhoods. The neighbourhood correspond to an administrative area, each neighbourhood having its traditional chief. This distribution is also observed in the population enumeration. Therefore the neighbourhoods get a geographic and social unit which allows to define them in space and to enumerate all the residing households whatever their date of settlement may be, and without any risk of error since a household belongs to only one neighbourhood (2).

### 1-1-4- The questionnaire.

The data collection was based mainly on the household schedule. For each individual of the household, the schedule included information registered in the 1970 census and transcribed according to the census form to which were added the new data collected in 1979. The questionnaire allowed us to determine :

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(1) VIMARD (P) - 1978

(2) VIMARD (P) - 1980

but with the individuals residing both in 1970 and 1979 in the same neighbourhood. It is exactly the same case as that observed for the out-migrants.

The registration of the in-migrants is still subjected to the risk of omission of a single round survey without any possibility of being corrected by a double collection. Therefore, in-migration is likely to be somewhat underestimated.

In order to measure the magnitude of this phenomenon in the receiving population, one can calculate the proportions of in-migrants as related to the population residing at the end of the period (1979). The proportions of in-migrants in the urban population can be interpreted as indicative of the power of attraction of the towns.

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One must point out that the two-round survey gives decisive information in relation to the comparison of two censuses. It allows to evaluate, on the one hand, the influence exerted by the out-migrants in a reference population during a specific period and, on the other hand, the influence exerted by the in-migrants in the population at the end of the period. Therefore, one can go beyond the simple fact of evaluating a migration balance and better define its different components.

For example, in the case of the three middle-towns under study, we could show that their net out-migration represented in fact a high turnover of the urban populations : if these towns attract numerous in-migrants, they also are the centres of a high out-migration (1).

When used to observe the urban populations, a two-round survey allows us to evaluate to what extent the towns under consideration attract migrants and to what extent they permit the population to settle.

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### 1-3- Type and reliability of the information about migrations and migrants : the possible analysis.

#### 1-3-1- The variables characteristic of the movement.

While out-migrants are better registered than in-migrants through the two-round survey, the information collected on in-migrations are of better quality than those on out-migrations.

The information about in-migrations are obtained from the persons concerned (or from their head of household), while those about out-migrations never come directly from the person concerned by the event but from parents or, when the whole household out-migrated, from the owner of the concession or from other neighbours. Therefore, one must expect in this case that the information should be less reliable and less accurate, which leads us to be more careful about the interpretation of the results.

#### Date of migration.

Thus, the year of arrival of the in-migrants is known in most of the cases (only 0,2 % of the dates are non-specified), the year of departure of the out-migrants in 95 % of the cases.

(1) For the whole sample, the proportion of the 1970-79 in-migrants in the population residing in 1979 amounts to 43 % and the proportion of the 1970-79 out-migrants in the population residing in 1970 amounts to 60 %.

## 1-2- Registration and measurement of migration.

### 1-2-1- The registration of the population movements.

The two-round survey allows us to estimate the natural and migratory movements of the population by measuring the flux of arrivals and departures in the sample during the period between the original survey and the second round survey.

Concerning the departures observed during the 1970-79 period, the two-round survey records the deaths and out-migrations (which are not followed by return before 1979) of the individuals belonging to the sample population in the 1970 census.

Concerning the arrivals in the same period, the births and the subsisting in-migrations (that is to say those which are not followed by a death or an out-migration before 1979) are recorded in the sample population residing in 1979.

The method itself of the two-round survey, which consists of following the evolution of a reference population after a period of several years, eliminates from the observation those individuals who arrived and departed during this period and thus do not belong to the reference population. The "double" demographic events which occurred during the period defined by the two rounds but which are not recorded correspond to the births followed by a death or an out-migration, and to the in-migrations followed by a death or an out-migration.

Regarding more specifically the migrations, the two-round survey does not register, properly speaking, migrations, that is to say events but rather migrants, that is to say individuals having migrated.

### 1-2-2- The out-migrants.

The two-round survey allows us to identify the out-migrants who belonged to the sample population in 1970, who left between the 1970 census and the 1979 round and who did not come back before 1979 in their 1970 residing neighbourhood.

The 1970 residents who left between 1970 and 1979 and came back before 1979 in their residing neighbourhood will not be counted with the out-migrants but with the individuals residing in the same neighbourhood both in 1970 and 1979.

About the quality of the registration of the out-migrants, the two-round survey allows us to follow the evolution of the individuals registered in the 1970 basic file and therefore, to identify in the second round survey the out-migrants originating from this population without any risk of omission. Insofar as an individual is registered on the collective schedule of the 1970 census, the question about his evolution will be automatically raised.

Therefore, the two-round survey seems to be well adapted to the study of out-migration (not followed by a return) in a reference population. This phenomena can be measured and a differential analysis of it can be made by calculating the proportions of out-migrants as related to the population residing at the beginning of the period (1970).

### 1-2-3- The in-migrants.

The two-round survey allows us to count the in-migrants in the sample population residing in 1979 who arrived between the 1970 census and the 1979 round.

However, the 1970 residents who left between 1970 and 1979 and came back before 1979 in their 1970 residing neighbourhood will not be counted with the in-migrants

In the case of the in-migrants, the information is collected in the 1979 second round, and it does not necessarily correspond to the situation observed when they arrived in the town, at least for the changing characters.

The cohort which is the best adapted to the study of the specificity of the in-migrants is therefore that of the in-migrants arrived in the year before the 1979 survey whose characteristics at the moment of the survey are very similar to those observed when they arrived in the town. Moreover, they can be compared to the characteristics of the residing population in 1979, namely at a correspondent date. Here, this comparison does not give us any information on the individual factors of the in-migration, the population at the place of origin should be known for this purpose. But the analysis of the specificity of the in-migrants as compared to the receiving population allows us to evaluate the qualitative impact of in-migration on the urban population under consideration.

#### 1-4- Limits of the two-round survey and a few possible improvements.

##### 1-4-1- Problem of the sampling unit in an urban zone.

As was shown above, a sample whose primary unit is the neighbourhood is interesting as far as the data collection, its quality and its cost are concerned. However, this selection includes counterparts concerning the representativeness of the population of the randomly selected neighbourhoods and therefore, the quality of the estimations for the whole town. In order to be able to extrapolate the results obtained in the sample neighbourhoods to those for the town, one should make sure that the neighbourhoods do not display pronounced specific characters regarding the phenomena under study.

In terms of the sample theory, we deal with a cluster sampling, each neighbourhood forming a cluster. If the individuals of the cluster are not totally independent, which is generally the case, the "cluster effect" increases the variance of the estimation.

It is obvious that the population in the surveyed neighbourhoods cannot be, in all fields, the exact replica of the total population of each town. Regarding the study of migration, the history of the settlement of each neighbourhood must be taken into account. For instance, the ethnic composition of the neighbourhood is related to the direction of the migration flows towards and away from the town under consideration by preserving the traditional migration paths and the return migrations. In the African societies under study, the in-migrants are incorporated into the town through well defined structures based on a strong cohesion between the members of the same ethnic group. Despite the ethnic diversity of the surveyed neighbourhoods as a whole, the relative influence of each community is exerted on certain streams of migration. Likewise, the occupational structure of the population of each neighbourhood can influence the existing migration patterns.

Therefore, in order to interpret the results obtained from the study of the neighbourhoods and to draw lessons concerning the dynamics of the whole town, it seems necessary to reach a good knowledge of the socio-economic, historical and ethnic characteristics of the neighbourhoods surveyed so as to better evaluate their specific characters and the implications for the analysis of migration.

##### 1-4-2- Incomplete registration of migrants.

Some categories of migrants are not observed by the two-round survey. They are :

Place of migration.

The place of origin of the in-migrants is well defined (only 0,3 % is unknown), while the place of destination of the out-migrants remains unknown in 9,6 % of the cases.

Moreover, some ambiguities about the places of destination which were mentioned by the persons interviewed must not be ruled out. According to the available information, the person interviewed can give either the destination corresponding to the out-migrant's avowed intention at the moment of his departure, or his first actual destination, or a destination subsequent to the first one. If the out-migrant changed his original project, or if he changed his place of residence several times between his departure and the 1979 survey, these different answers are not similar.

Reasons for migration.

Regarding the reason for migration, the proportion of unknowns is still insignificant for the in-migrants (0,2 % of the cases), but it amounts to 14,4 % for the out-migrants.

But even if the answer is precise, it is still difficult to interpret this variable.

For instance, when the reason for migration is evaluated by a retrospective survey (this is the case for the in-migrants), the answer can involve some subjective interpretation and a posteriori rationalization of an original behaviour (1).

Moreover, the importance of the reasons for migration related to rather short durations of urban residence such as the reasons for schooling or apprenticeship could be underestimated by observing only in-migrants in the population at the end of the period. For example, in the decisions to in-migrate of the male population, the reasons for apprenticeship represent 10 % of the reasons for the cohorts of the 1970-77 in-migrants and 18 % for the 1978-79 cohorts (significant difference at the 1 % level). In order to avoid such biases, one can analyse the distribution of the reasons on the basis of the most recent cohorts of in-migrants as related to the second round survey.

1-3-2- Characteristics of the migrants and differential analysis of migration.

The knowledge of the individual demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the migrants allows us to make a differential analysis of migration by constituting discriminating cohorts. But it is necessary to specify at what point in time the characteristics of migrants are evaluated as related to migration.

In the case of out-migrants, their individual characteristics come from collective census schedules and correspond to the 1970 situation. Concerning the constant characteristics such as sex, the ethnic group, the place of birth and generation, there is no consequence. However, as far as the changing variables such as the marital status, occupation and the educational level are concerned, the situation in 1970 can differ from what observed at the moment of the departure; and the latter seems to be the most relevant in order to study the specific characteristics of out-migrants.

Yet, this disadvantage is no longer observed in the oldest cohort of out-migrants (in the year following the census) for the characteristics of the out-migrants in the census can be considered as very similar to the situation observed at the moment of the departure. Moreover, they can be compared to the characteristics of the population residing in the town of origin at the same date in order to obtain a plan of selectivity for the out-migrants.



in-migrants, the middle-sized towns under study are most often only a stage in their migratory paths. But the data obtained by the survey do not allow us to specify the duration of this stage.

The year when the in-migrants settled in town is well known, but this does not give us information about the current durations of residence since the period of time is not definitive.

We will now see to what extent the 1984 migration survey which pertained to cohorts of former in-migrants surveyed in 1979 constitutes a decisive step towards a follow-up observation of the migratory movements.

## 2 - THE 1984 MIGRATION SURVEY.

As a complement to the 1970-1979 two-round survey, I made in May-June 1984 a migration survey on the evolution of the in-migrants who arrived in the three towns between 1970 and 1979.

### 2-1- The sample.

For this complementary survey, we selected among the cohorts of the in-migrants from the file of the two-round survey the cohorts which arrived the most recently. This selection had two advantages. The first one was to make it more likely to find in-migrants who will be still present in 1984 in order to be able to arrange with them qualitative interviews. The second one was methodological: the cohort of the in-migrants (registered in the two-round survey) who arrived in town in a given year is all the more representative of all of the in-migrants of that year as the year of in-migration is close to the second round survey. Indeed, the more remote from the 1979 survey the year of in-migration, the larger the number of in-migrants who died or left the town in the meantime.

The sub-sample studied in 1984 concerned the cohort of the households which in-migrated in 1978 or 1979 (until the date of the second round survey) (1) and was composed more precisely of heads of households and of all the members of their household who were 15 years or more in 1979 and who in-migrated in 1978 or 1979. The sub-sample studied represented a population amounting to 354 individuals.

### 2-2- The data collection and its objectives.

The data collection was composed of two parts :

- a quantitative survey concerning all the sample individuals and conducted through a small questionnaire in the form of a household schedule ;
- some detailed qualitative interviews concerning the heads of the household (or their spouse) who were still present in 1984.

The questionnaire aimed at defining the evolution of the 1978-79 in-migrants in 1984 (still residing, deceased, out-migrants) according to the same principles as in the two-round survey. Only the evolution of 5 cases (namely 1,4 %) remained unknown.

The qualitative interviews were intended to define the migratory, occupational and family biography of the in-migrants and to study more thoroughly the following themes : urban integration, occupational insertion, relations entertained

(1) In the neighbourhoods surveyed at Badou, the criterion concerning the year of in-migration was extended to the 1975-1979 years due to the small numbers.

- the in-migrants who died or left before the second round ;
- the out-migrants who were entered into the sample (either by birth or by in-migration) after the first round and who, therefore, do not belong to the reference population ;
- the out-migrants who returned before the second round, which leads not to consider the return migrations.

As was shown, it is a limit inherent in the two-round survey.

#### 1-4-3- Inadequate observation of temporary moves.

In the two-round survey, the variable "status of residence" allows to identify the present and the absent at each date of observation. But these data prove to be inadequate in order to make an analysis of temporary moves. This type of mobility is strongly influenced by seasonal fluctuations : therefore, the moves due to agricultural work will be linked to the harvest calendar or other large scale work , the students' moves will be linked to the school calendar and some visits will be linked to the calendar of religious or traditional feasts... The two-round survey is not adapted to the study of these moves, while a retrospective survey which would allow to register all the moves observed within the twelve months before the survey would be more appropriated.

Moreover, one could plan to add a questionnaire of this type in the second round of the survey (1). It will be a considerable improvement in the data collection, for in a study on the spatial mobility of the population the data collection on the temporary moves must not be disregarded. In fact, this type of move holds a significant position in the migration patterns of the population in Black Africa. Therefore, as was shown in the analysis of the biographical interviews conducted in the 1984 survey, the short durations of residence can mostly maintain the networks of relationships and give rise to future migrations. The temporary mobility fits directly into a general migratory strategy : it can be intended to prepare for the settlement and incorporation of the migrant in his future place of residence, but the short durations of residence can also fit into a generally stable system of several residences (2).

The analysis of temporary moves also helps to better define the migrants ' life spaces mainly through the relations maintained by them with their place of origin, thus allowing to better understand the meaning of an urban residence in the migratory movements of the individuals, and more generally, in the systems of survival of the social group to which they belong.

These few examples favourise an integrated approach of the different types of spatial mobility, and mainly in the case of the African populations for which the opposition between "migration" and "temporary moves" is often irrelevant.

#### 1-4-4- Separate analysis of in-migration and out-migration.

Given the data derived from the two-round survey, the analysis of out-migrants and the analysis of in-migrants are somewhat separate, since the migrants are studied in the first case on the basis of the 1970 residing population and in the second case in the 1979 residing population. Therefore, the information about the duration of urban residence (or more generally the durations of residence in the zone under study) of the migrants is very limited.

For example, the year when the out-migrants settle in town is not known and the data obtained by the 1970 census allow us at the best to distinguish the urban natives from the non-natives. This distinction allowed us to reveal a higher out-migration in the non-natives than in the natives, thus showing that for the

(1) QUESNEL (A) - 1981

(2) DUPONT (V), DUREAU (F) - 1986

with the place of origin, purported duration of urban residence and projects. 24 interviews had been arranged.

2-3- The 1984 migration survey as compared to the 1970-1979 two-round survey :  
a better continuity in the observation of migration.

The 1984 migration survey is the direct continuation of the 1970-1979 two-round survey. This new data collection made five years after the previous one is a third round in the sample population and provides a further longitudinal approach to study the migration flows in the towns under consideration. The arrangement of the data collected in the three rounds and the follow-up observation of the sample population are shown in graph 1.

Moreover, unlike the 1970-1979 two-round survey, the 1984 migration survey allows to study out-migration following the phenomenon of in-migration on the basis of the cohorts of former in-migrants. By following the evolution of in-migrants whose year of urban settlement is known, it is possible to define an out-migration table according to the duration of urban residence and to evaluate the mean duration of urban residence for the out-migrants (which was not possible with the 1970-79 two-round survey).

Such evaluations show that, in the towns of the Plateau zone, the high frequency of out-migration of the fresh city dwellers goes along with the short duration of urban residence (1). The data issuing from the migration survey reveal that, for all these migrants, the urban centres of the plantation zone play mainly a role of step towns and correspond, moreover, only to a short stage in their migratory paths.

2-4- The contribution of the migratory biographies (2).

As compared to the 1970-79 two-round survey, the migration survey also allows along with its biographical interviews arranged with in-migrants to better understand the migratory movements through a qualitative approach : this enables us to reconstruct the migratory paths, to take account of their life space and to reveal the interpenetration of the migratory and occupational behaviours.

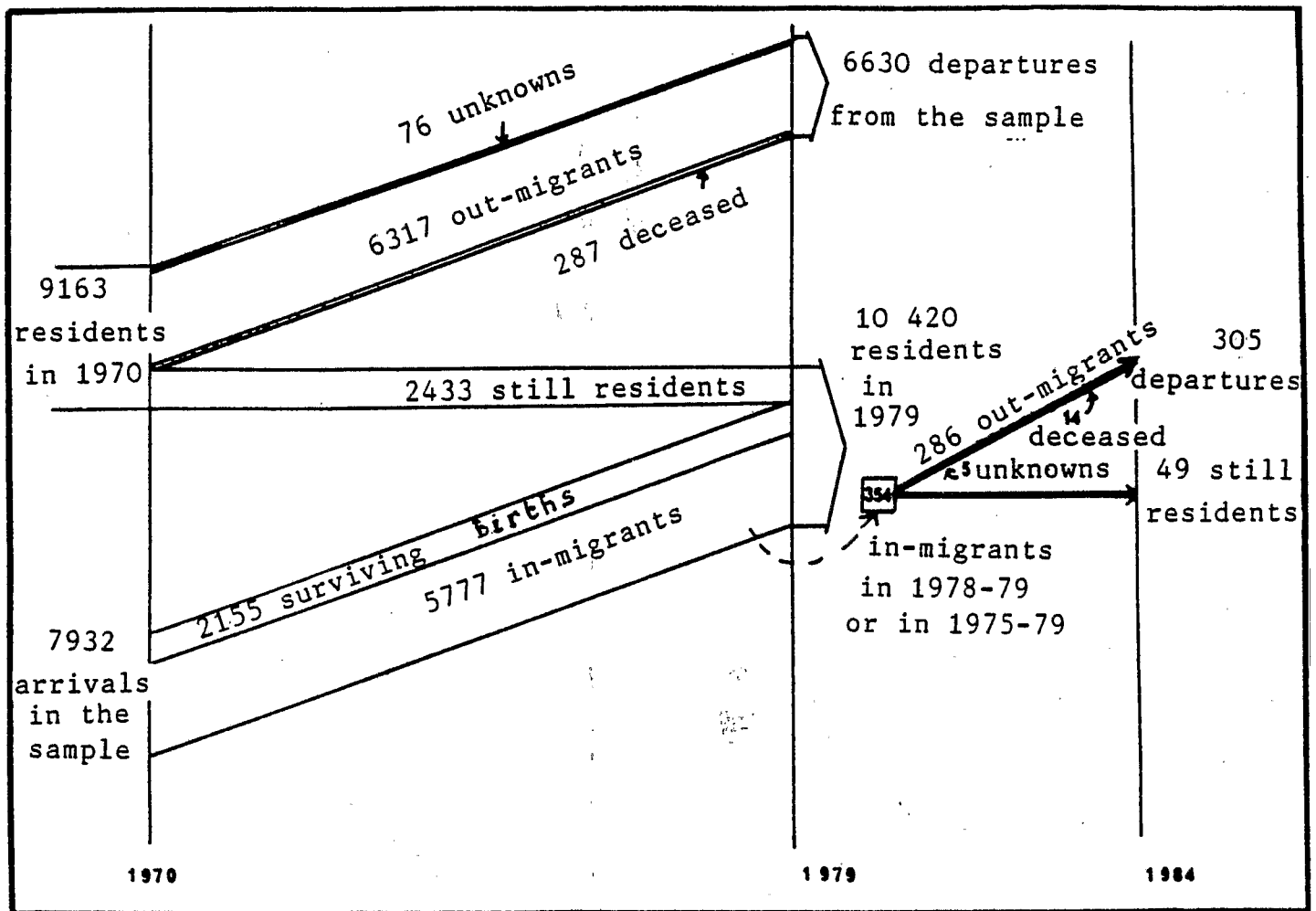
Moreover, the persons interviewed had in common the fact of having chosen as the town of in-migration amongst the three towns of the plantation zone, which allows to integrate the local economic and sociological conditions into the analyse of the individual strategies. The analyse of the biographies can therefore give us information not only on the internal logic of the individual behaviours but also on the dynamics of the local population.

2-4-1- The reconstruction of the continuity of the migratory paths.

The qualitative analysis of the migratory biographies allows us, firstly to reconstruct the continuity of the individuals' spatial moves, while situating them within their family and occupational life cycle. Taking account of the time and space unit of the individual paths (3) is a main step forward as compared

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- (1) The frequency of out-migration between 5 and 6 years after the arrival in town amounts to 82 % and the average duration of urban residence for the out-migrants amounts to 3,3 years.
  - (2) This part refers partly to a chapter of a working paper (cf. DUPONT (V), DUREAU (F) - 1986) : "L'apport des biographies migratoires et professionnelles".
  - (3) Without yielding to the "ideologie biographique" revealed by D. BERTAUX (1980), namely to the assumption according to which any life shows unity and coherence, while, in reality, we deal rather with successive fragments of life (LE BRIS (E) - 1981-1983).

Graph 1 - Follow up of the sample population and data given by the 1970 census, the 1979 second round survey and the 1984 migration survey.



Source : 1979 second round survey and 1984 migration survey.

More generally, the qualitative approach through biographies helps to interpret the results of the statistical analysis on the most obvious variables of the migratory phenomenon. For instance, the quantitative analysis of the previous places of residence and of the out-migrants' destinations could show the importance of the native region in the migratory paths but the analysis of the interviews on the in-migrants' life allowed us to situate a stay in the place of birth within the individuals' places of residence and to better understand its meaning mainly by replacing the migrant in his basis community and by integrating the role of the collective logic in his geographic mobility.

### 2-4-3- An approach of the relations between migration and activities.

Another strong point of the biographies results from the simultaneous and integrated collection of information related to the different spheres of an individual's life and therefore from the ability to compare the events observed in each of them (family, occupation...) and to study how "these changes result in modifications of the individuals' integration in time and space" (1). Then, a framework of approach particularly suited for a detailed analysis of the interaction between migration and economic activities is available : the analysis of biographies can show to what extent the migratory and occupational paths interpenetrate, reveal the various types and functions of migration in the occupational strategies and more generally contribute to a better understanding of the decision making processes in these two fields.

However, the migratory and occupational biographies are totally effective only if one can replace each of the stages of the individual paths within its social and economic background in order to better understand the determinants and functions of migration.

### CONCLUSION : THE NECESSARY ASSOCIATION BETWEEN THE QUANTITATIVE AND THE QUALITATIVE APPROACHES.

We have presented the advantages and the limits of each type of observation used in this study not to oppose them but in order to show the necessity of developing types of surveys combining the quantitative and the qualitative approaches of the phenomena under study.

Concerning the study of migration, we pointed out how the multiround surveys improved the follow-up observation of the population. But they do not allow to make a continuous observation, for all the events likely to have occurred between two rounds are not registered and this fault is all the more important as the period between the collections is long. However, in societies such as those in Black Africa where the residential mobility is very high, it is essential, in order to study the migratory phenomena and reconstruct all of the moves of an individual, to consider types of surveys which allow to make a more continuous observation. From this point of view, the use of migratory biographies seems to be a very adequate solution. However, insofar as the richness of the biographical interviews is fully restituted only by making a qualitative anthropological analysis, it is better to combine this type of collection with surveys which allow us to evaluate the migratory phenomena from a quantitative point of view and identify the main trends in this field.

(1) COURGEAU (D) - 1984 : "...ces changements se traduisent par des modifications de l'insertion des individus dans le temps et dans l'espace".

to the censuses or other period or even multiround surveys which can give only incomplete information on the migratory movements and lead ineluctably to a time division of the phenomenon, thus making it hard to understand the migration events. This knowledge of the entire migration movements seems to be particularly important to study the African populations whose spatial mobility is most often a permanent condition a life (1).

Moreover, some migratory and occupational strategies can be understood only by considering the duration, the entire life cycle of the migrant and the whole biography of the individual. It can also prove necessary to go behind the continuity of the individual migratory paths and to situate the account of the migrant's life within the history of the community to which he belongs. Under these conditions, it is possible to reveal the role of the migratory channels in the constitution of the individual paths, or even the influence of the collective logic which aims at the social reproduction of the whole community on the selection of the residences and the economic activities of its members.

#### 2-4-2- The Life space.

The theoretical developments to which led the research on migration have made considerable progress with the introduction of the notion of life space defined as "the largest space within which most of the activities of a population are carried out" (2), or still as "the space area where an individual performs all his activities (...) not only his places of passage and residence but also all the places to which he is related" (3). Then migration will no longer be determined by a "change of residence" or a "change of dwelling" but by a change of life space. This new concept allows to go beyond the reductionist view which consisted in relating each individual to a sole place.

The life space seems to be of primary importance in the study of the human migration concerning the West African societies whose ubiquity has been revealed time and again (4).

In fact, the life of an individual in Western Africa takes place in several places : the decisions and individual acts fit generally into several regional or supraregional places. The researcher who studies the migratory phenomena in this part of the world must therefore place them within this framework. From this point of view, the detailed biographical interviews prove to be of great interest.

This type of interview is particularly suited to give us information on the migrants' conception of his life space and work space, thus making it easier to understand the phenomena of several residences and several activities. Insofar as the geographic and socio-economic situation of an individual is not always "a status likely to be identified independently of the individuals themselves" for "the individuals do not necessarily consider any move as a geographic mobility or any change in his social status as a social mobility" (5), the conception of an individual concerning his mobility and his past and present places of residence is essential to understand his moves and their meaning.

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(1) HAERINGER (Ph) - 1968.

(2) BRUNET (P) - 1975.: "Le cadre le plus vaste à l'intérieur duquel s'effectue la plupart des actes d'une population".

(3) COURGEAU (D) - 1980 : "La portion d'espace où un individu effectue toutes ses activités (...), non seulement ses lieux de passage et de séjour, mais également tous les lieux avec lequel il est en rapport".

(4) AMSELLE (J.L) - 1978

(5) COLLOMB (Ph) - 1985 : "Les individus ne considèrent pas obligatoirement tout déplacement comme une mobilité géographique, ni tout changement de position sociale comme une mobilité sociale".

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