

URBANIZATION AND ADAPTATION

A Reorganization Process of Social Relations
Among The Maragoli Migrants In Their Urban
Colony, Kangemi, Nairobi
Kenya. //

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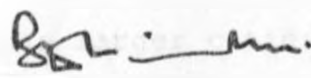
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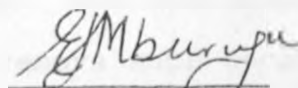
DECLARATION

This Thesis is my original work and
had not been presented for a
degree in any other University


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Abstract

African urban studies of Anthropology have their origin in one ideal model, the dyachronic model. This model assumes that African urbanization can be regarded as a gradual process of detribalization in consequence of direct contact with heterogeneous and powerful Western Cultures. In the 1950's, however, members of Rhodes-Livingstone School advocated a new approach for African urban studies. They criticized the detribalization model and put forward the situational analysis which emphasized synchronic social relations. This approach had a decided superiority because it highlighted the migrant's personal strategy in situational selection. It cannot, however, explain the retribalization phenomenon which prevails in the most of African larger cities today. It cannot resolve the paradox of retaining tribal relations in a strikingly urban context. There are several points of the situational analysis that requires to be modified. For its elaboration, it is important to remove such uncertain division as tribal or urban and to illuminate the retribalization phenomenon which are contemporary, dynamic and purely urban phenomenon. The purpose of this paper lies in this point.

Urban population has rapidly expanded in almost all African countries after their political independence. Though several factors like high birth rate should be considered, the most crucial factor is the mass migration from rural to urban areas. Those urban migrants flow into towns to look for a permanent employment, leaving behind their family and farm land in rural home areas. They do not break away "tribal" social relations in order to live a stable life in the severe urban environment.

We would like to take up the Maragoli migrants from Kakamega District, Western Kenya living in Nairobi in order to bear out that kind of retribalization phenomenon. In the Part I of this paper, we will attempt to elucidate the urban colony of the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi, especially its formation process where the actual retribalization phenomenon can be observed. It was around 1920's when the Kerongo villagers left their village to work away from home in Kabete coffee plantations adjacent to present Kangemi sub-location. Since then until today, they have historically performed a leading part in the formation of the Maragoli urban colony in Kangemi which is the northern corner of Dagoretti Division on the out skirts of Nairobi. This formation process can be examined

in terms of two stages. They are, namely, intensive labour migration to Kabete coffee plantations before independence through the "personal-invitation network" and intensive inflow to Kangemi after independence through the "self-invitation network". Kerongo village and Kabete (later Kangemi, Kabete) area have been closely related to each other in labour migration since 1920's. We can call this special relation as a "migration channel" between those areas.

Neighbouring villages of Kerongo have similarly formed the same "migration channels" with Kabete Kangemi area. Thus we have come to the conclusion that these "migration channels" as a whole urged the formation and development of the urban colony in Kangemi for the Maragoli migrants.

Setting it forth as a premise, this paper would like to point out in the Part II that the retribalization phenomenon among the Maragoli migrants appeared as nothing less than survival mechanism on the extreme edge of subsistence in a severe urban environment. The minimum necessities for daily life cause the Kerongo migrants to make use of or adaptively change a combination of such relations as based on clan, lineage, extended family, village neighbourhood, urban neighbourhood and urban locality in different situations. An entire process

of reorganization of these social relations should be crystallized into the retribalization phenomenon. In order to elucidate this process, this paper adopts the following procedures.

Firstly, eight urban situations, where social relations are developed and organized, are chosen from the daily life of the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi. Secondly, the forms of reorganizing social relations (network/group type) are examined in each situation. Thirdly, the principles of reorganizing them (clan-lineage/village-homeboy/urban neighbourhood-locality principle) are verified in each situation. Finally, we analyse how the village-homeboy principle, which has been rapidly developed in town, is embedded and reinterpreted in a traditional and dominant ideology of unilineal descent. Following these procedures, a reorganization process of social relations among the Maragoli migrants could be described in each situation. Then we will grasp the retribalization phenomenon as their complex whole in its totality. This paper takes an example of the eighth situation, a part of this complex whole, and focuses on social relations organized on the occasion of co-operation for transporting a deceased migrant's body back to the home village and preparing and performing ilishoma for him. These activities are still mainly

done by the extended family and clan members in the home land, but they are scarcely done by them alone in Nairobi, where they are replaced with home-boys. For the homeboy principle has been newly developed in town as base for co-operation. It should be pointed out that even in such a most traditional and culturally conservative situation as is concerned with ideas of death and life, the principle of reorganizing social relations has gradually changed from the clan-lineage principle to the home-boy principle, though it is already provided with legitimacy within the framework of the traditional unilineal ideology.

Acknowledgement

Among the many persons who played an important role in the various stages of my study from its inception to final completion, I would like to express my heartfelt appreciation to the following.

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Introduction

1. Statement of Problem

1.1 Anthropological Approach to African Urban Studies.

African urban studies of Anthropology have their origin in one ideal model, the dyachronic model. This model assumed that African urbanization can be regarded as a gradual process of detribalization in consequence of direct contact with heterogenous and powerful western cultures. The approach, paying much attention to cultural contacts and acculturation, was an epoch-making one adopted by those anthropologists of the 1930's and the 1940's like Malinowski and Hellman.¹⁾ In the 1950's, however, members of the Rhodes-Livingstone School such as Gluckman, Mitchell and Epstein advocated a new approach for African urban studies on the basis of their own field research of the Copperbelt towns in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). They criticized the detribalization model and put forward the situational approach, which emphasized synchronic social relations. For example, Gluckman regarded an urban social system as an independent system, criticizing those who had made much of the urban-rural continuity or the tribal backgrounds of

the migrant workers. He considered, therefore, that African townsman is a townsman, African miner is a miner. His point of view was quite unique in studying the process of detribalization. He writes, "the moment an African crosses his tribal boundary to go to the town, he is detribalized."²⁾

It is in much contrast with such a position as Malinovski stood in the 40's that detribalization could be regarded as a "slow, longtime process".

According to Gluckman, an African who moves between town and country can freely switch back and forth between an urban and a rural social system, both of which are independent. A detribalization process is, therefore, only a synchronic aspect of his comings and goings between two areas and two systems. This alternative model of Gluckman was supported by Southall.³⁾

Indeed this model focuses on a migrant's switching back and forth between two social fields, namely, an urban area and a rural area, but it can not analyse the mechanism of his selections of social relations and norms within an urban social field. An African rural-urban migrant forms social relations according to tribal pattern in one situation and organizes a social network according to urban pattern in another situation and he does so in the same urban social field. The alternation model cannot make it clear.

Epstein and Mitchel modified this model and established a new situational approach. On the assumption that urban social system is an independent and single system,⁴⁾ the new approach divides urban situations under the system into two domains. One is a politico-economic domain, the dominant norms of which are not tribal but urban, another is a domestic domain where social relations are based on the traditional tribal norms.⁵⁾ The situational approach had a decided superiority because it refuted the simple dyachronic detribalization model and highlighted the migrant's personal strategy in situational selection. The theoretical framework of this approach is still valid today. What is most important to us is to make it modified and elaborated. What are left to be more elaborated? The approach neither makes clear details of both domestic and politico-economic domains nor substantiates social relations as to whether they are tribal or urban. It can not explain the retribalization phenomenon which prevails in the African metropolises today. Those urban migrants who came from rural areas do not break away from 'tribal' social relations but on the contrary reorganize these 'tribal' relations in order to live a stable life in the severe urban environment. The situational approach cannot resolve the paradox of retaining 'tribal' relations in

a strikingly urban context. In addition, it does not follow social changes of ideologies (e.g. unilineal descent or religion) which lead to changes of degrees, forms and principles of social relations seemingly detribalized in urban situations.

We have mentioned several points of the situational approach that requires to be modified. For its elaboration, it is important to remove such uncertain divisions as tribal or urban and to illuminate the retribalization phenomenon which are contemporary, dynamic and urban phenomenon. The purpose of this paper lies in this point.

1.2 Urban Retribalization Phenomenon

It was Cohen who wrote that "in the newly independent African States, two contradictory phenomena, detribalization and retribalization are emerging at one and the same time." he carried out his field research of Hausa community in Ibadan of Yoruba land, Nigeria. The Hausa residents there used their own language, maintained their traditional customs of food and clothes, intensified traditional norms and interactions within them, and showed their negative preference of marriage with other ethnic groups. Cohen called

it the "Hausa retribalization phenomenon."⁶⁾

Similar phenomena were reported in many other regions of Africa.⁷⁾

Many studies of a retribalization phenomenon have been carried out in terms of cultural continuity or cultural conservatism.⁸⁾ However, though it looks as if it were stagnation, it is never cultural conservatism in essence but a dynamic change of social relations for adaptation of a completely new social relations in an urban environment. Such a view-point begun to be established since the early 1970's.⁹⁾ We will examine this dynamic social change in more detail.

Urban population have rapidly expanded in almost all the African countries after their political independence. What have caused this explosion of urban population? Though several factors like high birth rate should be considered, the most crucial factor is the mass migration from rural to urban areas, where most of them remain in migrant status rather than become townsmen.¹⁰⁾ They flow into towns where there are opportunities for permanent employment, leaving behind their family and farm land in rural home areas. Some migrants return to their villages in order to help their family at the time of cultivating or harvesting

and some wives come to the towns to stay with their husbands during the peasants' slack season. This kind of circulatory migrating population is typical of and molds an urban social system in Africa.

Since the 1970's, many more migrants have come to towns, especially in larger towns, than have been able to be absorbed in housing and employment. Currently, opportunities for obtaining cash employment are slim and not as attractive as they were for migrants in the 30's and 40's. The migrants today have to live a daily life under severe urban conditions which means lack of job opportunity, scarcity of accommodation, high risk of physical security. They are forced to form social networks of mutual help or patronage and subordination (Patron-client relationship). Observing the symbol or ideology which integrate and reorganize those social networks, three ideal types should be considered as mechanisms of survival in the severe urban environment.¹¹⁾

The first ideal type is to create a new social symbol or ideology which is completely different from the one in vogue (i.e. creation). The second is to borrow symbols or ideology from another group (borrowing). The third ideal type is to make some changes in the traditional symbol

or ideology in order to expand the basis of existence (i.e. modification). The retribalization phenomenon we will discuss in this paper is a variant of the third type. It has three courses of development which are; (i) to intensify the cultural identity and exclusivism, (ii) to reorganize traditional social relations or customs, (iii) to develop new patterns of social relations or customs under the traditional symbol or ideology.

The retribalization phenomenon comes into existence as one of the most stable and effective reorganizing processes of social relations within the severe urban environment where distribution competitions often occur for the limited social, economic and political resources. This is substantiated by the case of the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi. Confronted with the new situations in town, they tend to reconstruct the same social order within the urban social system as they have formed and made use of it in the traditional rural system. The cultural homogeneity, which is shaped by ethnicity, would be relatively more stable in assuring actual development of social relations in the new environment because members of the same ethnic group share a sense of value or a system of ideas like the kinship system, rituals, marriage regulations and so forth.

Then, which course of the retribalization process has been more effective and stable in reorganizing social relations? In case of the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi, they have followed the third course.

A city is the social field where the heterogeneous, differentiated population in terms of culture, social system and economic status coexist. In such a field, it is difficult for the migrants to just intensify their cultural exclusivism, which is the first course of retribalization, so that they might adapt themselves to harsh urban surroundings. The surroundings force the migrants to change their symbol or principle, meeting the needs of the new situations. Then, if the urban social environment were not so severe for existence, the second course would have given enough stabilization of the social relations to the migrants. It preserves the traditional symbol unchanged, changing their social relations within it. But if the environment comes to the limits of existence like the case of Maragoli migrants, they are compelled to create a new pattern of social relations. Even at this stage, most of them do not establish a purely new symbol or ideology to organize the new social relations. They try to justify those new social relations, giving

them a stand or reinterpreting them within the framework of implications of the traditional symbol, ideology. This is what we call the third course of the retribalization.

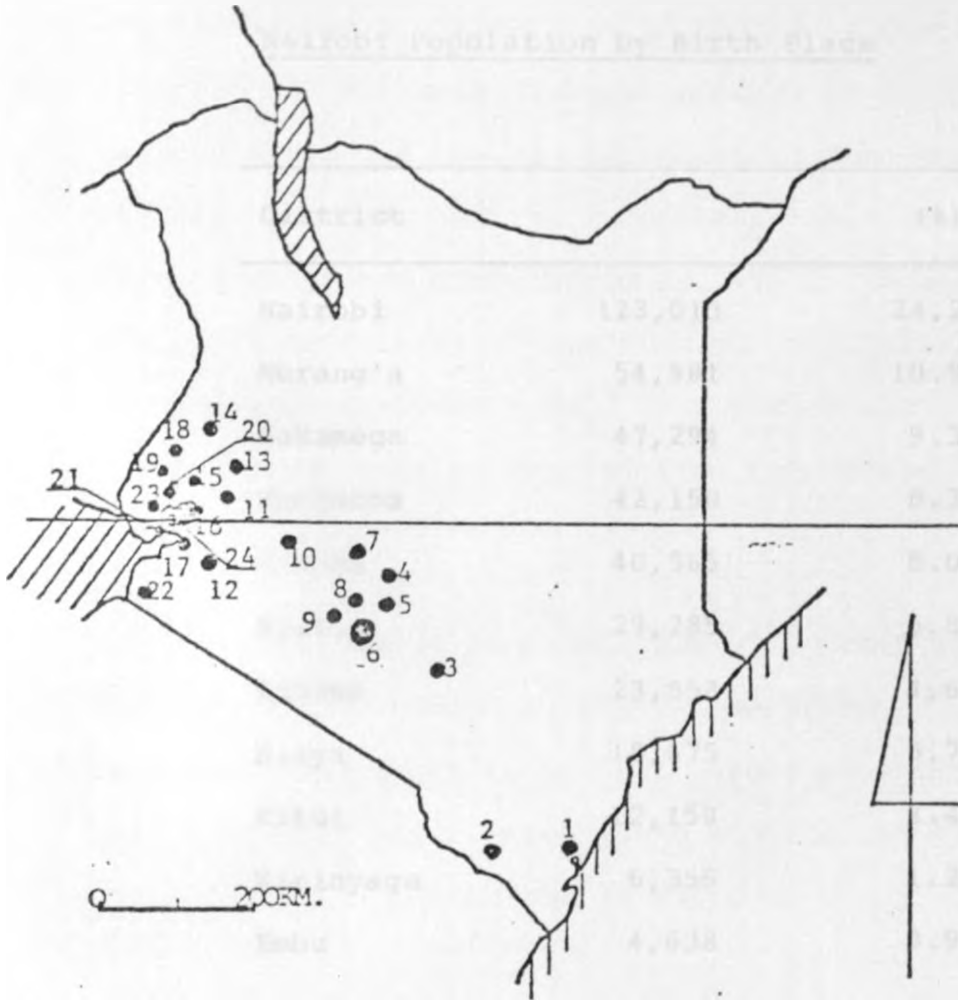
The main theme of this paper is to analyse the retribalization phenomenon of the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi, as stated above. Those discussions so far, could, however, narrow down the theme of "retribalization." It is to this theme that this paper will focus attention and inquiry.

2. Methodology

We would like to consider the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi bearing in mind the third course of the retribalization phenomenon.

Since the Independence of the Republic of Kenya the population of Nairobi, the capital, has rapidly expanded¹²⁾ due to the mass migrants pushed out of rural villages.¹³⁾ According to the 1969 Census, only a quarter of the total Nairobi population (5000,000) were born in Nairobi, while the rest three quarters were born outside Nairobi. When we look into their birth places, we find that Murang'a district, which is located north of Nairobi, is the most represented district among

MAP 1 Map of Kenya



- | | | |
|------------|--------------|------------|
| 1:Mombasa | 9:Kikuyu | 17:Kisumu |
| 2:Taveta | 10:Nakuru | 18:Nzoia |
| 3:Machakos | 11:Nandihill | 19:Mumias |
| 4:Muranga | 12:Kericho | 20:Yala |
| 5:Thika | 13:Eldolet | 21:Seme |
| 6:Nairobi | 14:Kitale | 22:Migoli |
| 7:Nyeri | 15:Kakamega | 23:Maseno |
| 8:Kiambu | 16:Majengo | 24:Kerongo |

Maragoli Land

Table 1.

Nairobi Population by Birth Place

<u>District</u>		<u>(%)</u>
Nairobi	123,013	24.2
Murang'a	54,991	10.8
Kakamega	47,294	9.3
Machakos	42,150	8.3
Kiambu	40,565	8.0
Nyeri	29,285	5.8
Kisumu	23,553	4.6
Siaya	18,675	3.7
Kitui	12,150	2.4
Kirinyaga	6,356	1.2
Embu	4,638	0.9
Other	106,616	20.8
<u>Total</u>	<u>509,286</u>	<u>100.0</u>

Source: Kenya Population Census, 1969,
Vol. 3.

migrants in Nairobi. The second largest source is Kakamega district, followed by Machakos and Kiambu districts (Map 1, Table 1). We have to pay more attention to Kakamega district because it lies in western Kenya and the district centre, Kakamega, is more than four hundred kilometres away from Nairobi while the other three are all neighbouring districts to Nairobi. Despite such geographical and economic disadvantages,¹⁴⁾ a lot of the migrants have come to Nairobi from Kakamega district.

Maragoli is an ethnic group¹⁵⁾ that has settled in this district. It is therefore reasonable to select this ethnic group as the object of this paper which is to examine the rural-urban migration phenomenon in Nairobi.

The Maragoli is a rather well known group, given its small share in the total Kenya population (150,000, 1%). For it was the Maragoli that accepted Christianity in earlier period of the very beginning of this century, and it was the Maragoli who have been under the great influence of the rural-urban labour migration (including migration to the then Whites settlers' plantations of coffee, tea and sisal) since 1920's. Administratively, the Maragoli people inhabit both the North and the

South Maragoli location (which is called the Maragoli Land), and Vihiga Division of Kakamega District which together with other two districts, composed Western Province. The Maragoli is a Bantu-speaking peasant ethnic group, growing such crops as sorgham, maize and cassava. It was from the late 17th century to the early 18th century when the ancestor of the Maragoli arrived at the present Maragoli land, crossing the Lake Victoria from Uganda.¹⁶⁾ Later, other sixteen Bantu speaking ethnic groups came to Western Kenya in search of fertile lands. Those seventeen ethnic groups have gradually supertribalized since 1940's¹⁷⁾ and become the loosely unified group known as the Lu yia today.

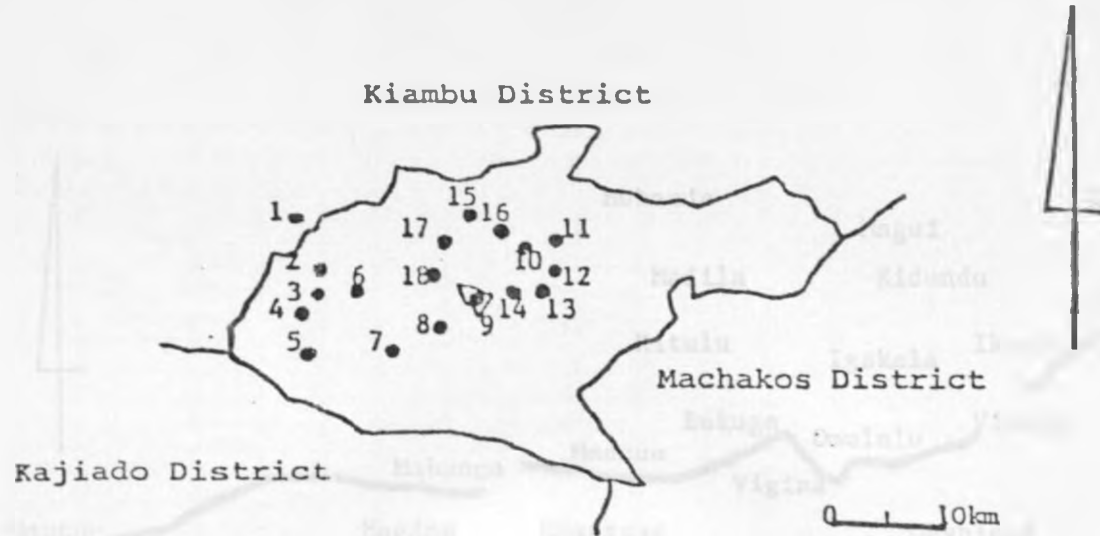
When we take up for discussion the retribalization phenomenon of the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi, several conditions should be considered to decide the social field most appropriate for detailed analysis. They are; (i) the retribalization phenomenon taking place as a result of interactions with different ethnic groups in town, the social field being a polyethnic residential area, (ii) the search for a clear reorganizing process of social relations, the major social field being the typical 'Migrant tribe' rather than 'Host tribe';¹⁸⁾ (iii) the daily life of ordinary

African urban migrants, in which attention will not be given to some middle class residential area led by the Government policy, but to the poor housing areas which are found in many of the suburbs of the city.

The social field which satisfy the above conditions, particularly the second, has been variedly called by anthropologists, including "tribal quarter", "ethnic community", "urban village" or "urban colony".¹⁹⁾ Here we will use the term "urban colony", taking care not to use the term "community" or "village".²⁰⁾

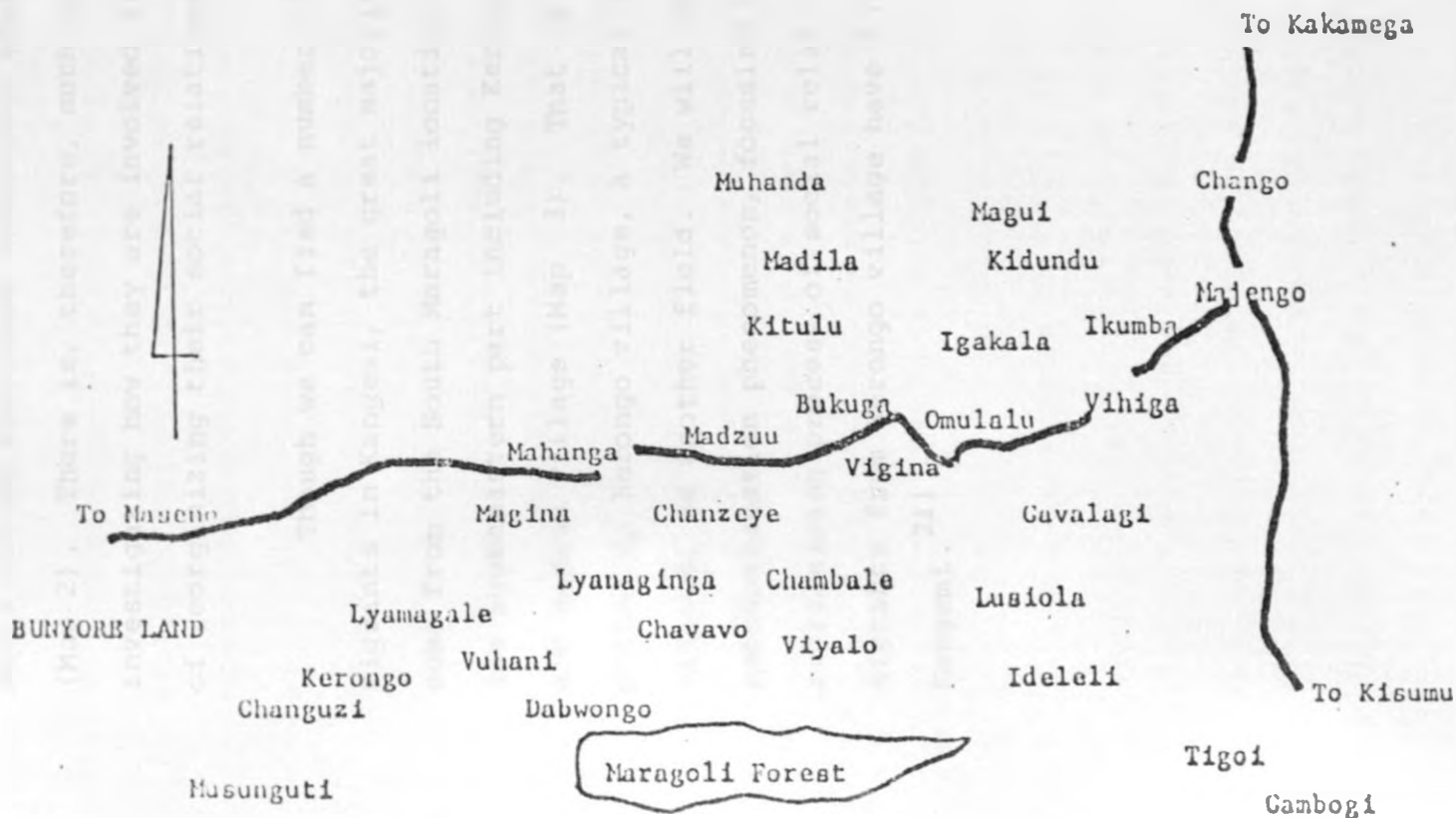
Not a few migrants who belong to the same ethnic group have established their own urban colony in most of the larger cities on African continent. Those urban colonies have never been formed in a short time. Its foundation process has been closely connected with two kinds of histories, one is a national level history that implies colonization, independence, modernization and urbanization; the other is a local level history of each ethnic group or rural village that has been involved in the former. The Maragoli migrants who came to Nairobi do not form an exceptional case. They have historically formed an urban colony in Kangemi sub-location which is the northern corner of Dagoretti

MAP 2 Map of Nairobi



- | | | |
|--------------------|------------------------|-------------------|
| 1:Kabete | 8:Kenyatta | 15:Muthaiga |
| 2:Kangemi | 9:City Centre | 16:Mathare Valley |
| 3:Kawongware | 10:Eastleigh | 17:Parkland |
| 4:Dagoretti Corner | 11:Kariobangi | 18:Westland |
| 5:Karen | 12:Umoja | |
| 6:Lavington | 13:Uhuru | |
| 7:Kibera | 14:Kiloloni, Makongeni | |

MAP 3 Map of South Maragoli



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Division on the outskirts of Nairobi. This group meets all of the three conditions stated above (Map 2). There is, therefore, much point in investigating how they are involved in the process of reorganizing their social relations in Kangemi.

Though we can find a number of Maragoli migrants in Kangemi, the great majority of them come from the South Maragoli location, especially its southeastern part including Kerongo, Mahanga and Madzuu village (Map 3). That is why we picked up Kerongo village, a typical South Maragoli village, as another field. We will verify the retribalization phenomenon, focusing on the actual reorganizing process of social relations which the migrants from Kerongo village have formed in Kangemi.²¹⁾

3. Composition of the Study

This paper is composed of two parts. As mentioned before, the purpose of this study is to examine the urban retribalization phenomenon. Before we set about making it clearly, it would be necessary to bring out the urban colony as an objective social field into focus. Then in Part I of this paper, we will attempt to elucidate the urban colony itself, especially its formation process, and the location of where the actual retribalization phenomenon can be observed. It was around 1920's when the Kerongo villagers left their village to work away from home in Kabete coffee plantations adjacent to present Kangemi sub-location. Since then, they have performed a leading role in the formation of the Maragoli urban colony in Kangemi, the process of which will be inquired into in Part I. Setting it forth as a premise, we would like to consider the retribalization phenomenon in Part II through the positive analysis of actual social relations formed by the migrants from Kerongo village living in their urban colony, Kangemi. In this part, we will empirically pick up several social situations where the retribalization phenomenon takes place, will investigate forms and principles of developing social relations in each

situation and after that, we will focus on a reinterpretation process of the new social principle within the traditional ideology or symbol, which is the essence of the retribalization phenomenon. Thus, though the sub-theme of Part I and Part II are independent, Part I plays a role in providing a premise for Part II in which the urban retribalization process is examined and is the purpose of this study.

Part I.

A Formation Process of an Urban Colony
for the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi.

Chapter 1

Kangemi; an Urban Colony for the Maragoli
Migrants.

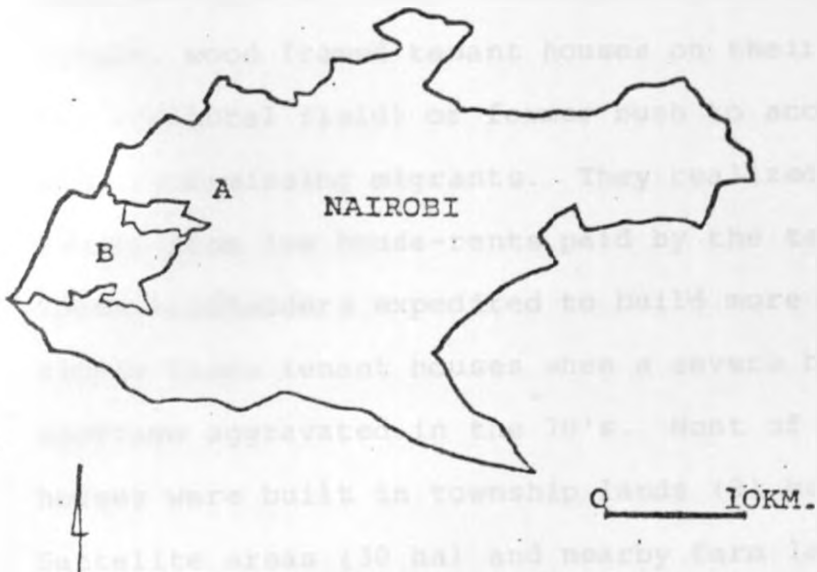
1.1 The Maragoli Migrants in Kangemi.

1.1.1 Kangemi, its setting and history (Map 1).

Kangemi is one of the six sub-locations which comprises Dagoretti division. It lies in the northern part of Dagoretti, adjoins Bernard Estate at its eastern border and the Loresho South Estate to the North. On the south it borders on Kawangware and on the west with Kabete which belong to Kiambu District, and not part of Nairobi municipality. Those two estates are high class residential areas of the European and African elites, displaying a striking contrast to Kangemi. The total area of Kangemi is five square kilometres.

Kangemi is one of the fastest growing residential areas in Nairobi, the population of which has increased explosively during the last ten

MAP 1 Map of Dagoretti



A:Kangemi Sub-Location

B:Dagoretti Division

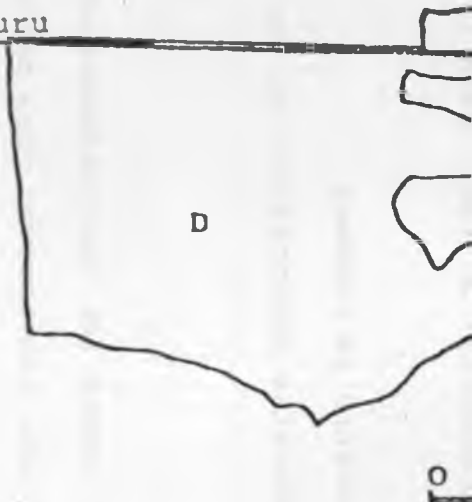
years.¹⁾ Prior to the invasion of European planters, Kangemi was settled predominantly by the Kikuyu peasants who used to be engaged in agriculture, growing mainly sorgham and maize until independence. A new type of peasant, however, emerged out of them in the late sixties when mass migration into Nairobi began to cause a serious shortage of accommodation for the new comers. This new type of Kikuyu landholders constructed simple, wood framed tenant houses on their shamba (agricultural field) or former bush to accommodate vast room-missing migrants. They realized good income from low house-rents paid by the tenants. Those landholders expedited to build more and more simple frame tenant houses when a severe housing shortage aggravated in the 70's. Most of these houses were built in township lands (21 ha), Sattelite areas (30 ha) and nearby farm lands (Map 2). Almost all of 487 landlords of both township and Sattelite and nearly half of 553 landlords of farm lands also became the owners of these rented houses. They started to make a living from the house rents. The housing stock of Kangemi is characterized by low cost housing which is supplied by the private sector and not by the Government or City Council. It basically consists of the tenant lodging houses (blocks of one room rental units). One house contains 10 to 20 rooms

on an average. These houses can be classified into three grades according to the housing materials used to make them. The lowest grade is the tin-roofed corrugated cardboard houses or grass-roofed mud houses, the rent of which is sh.30-60/- a month. The houses of this grade are concentrated at two sections of Kangemi, Sodom and Mishegwe, which have certain features in common, such as higher population density, worse security, illegal local alcoholic breweries and marijuana. The middle grade is tin-roofed wooden house, which are the most popular today in Kangemi. The rent of this kind of house is around 100/- to 150/- a month. It mainly depends on the distance from the bus-stops or a transport centre, since the further it is, the more dangerous it becomes on the way back home at night because of active street robberies. The highest grade is tin-roofed concrete block houses. The house rent amounts to at least 400/- a month. They are scarcely seen in Kangemi yet.

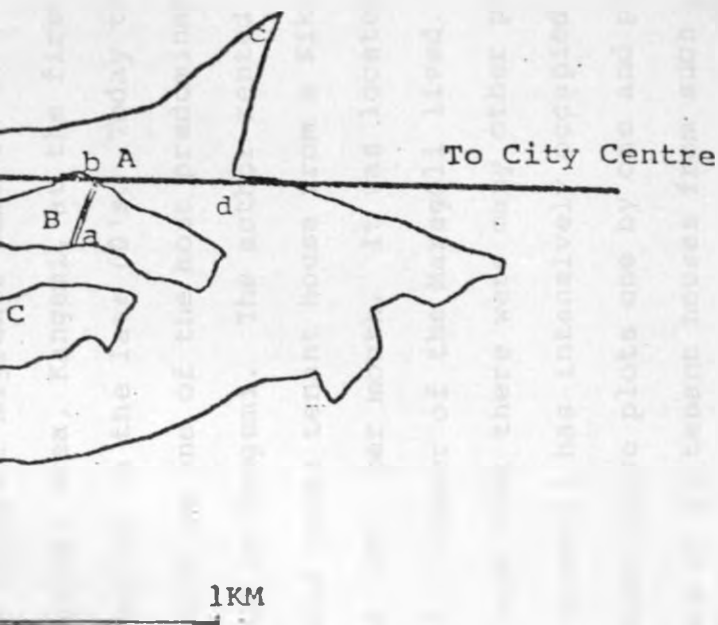
In most plots, there is neither electricity nor water supply. Water is, however, available during 6 to 8 in the morning and 6 to 8 in the evening usually from the communal water supply in the landlord's compound. Shops are concentrated in Kangemi shopping centre (Map 2, Table 1). Any kind of daily necessities, such as the glass of

MAP 2 Map of Kangemi

To Nakuru



o



A:Housing Area in Kangemi Farmland

B:Kangemi Satellite

C:Kangemi Township

D:Kangemi Farmland

a:Kangemi Shopping Centre

b:"Encouter Place"

c:Misheqwe

d:Sodom

torch lamps or stately furniture are available there. Daily subsidiary foods and other daily commodities are sold at a market which operates on every Monday and Thursday. Thus, Kangemi is not only a low cost residential area but also important commercial centre for the African migrants living around.

1.1.2 Intensive Inhabitation of the Maragoli migrants in Kangemi.

The Maragoli migrants came to this new low cost residential area, Kangemi, at the first stage of its expansion in the late 60's. Today the Maragoli might be one of the most predominant ethnic group in Kangemi. The author rented a room of the middle grade tenant house from a Kikuyu landlord at 120/- per month. It was located in the plots where a number of the Maragoli lived. The landlords said that there were many other plots which the Maragoli has intensively occupied. The author visited those plots one by one and picked up 745 rooms of 60 tenant houses from such plots by random sampling. He checked the ethnic composition ^{of all the rooms (Map 4. Table} but it has been confirmed that there are some plots in Kangemi where the majority are the Maragoli. Out of 745 rooms of 60 tenant lodging houses, no less than 256 rooms (34.4%) are occupied by the

Table 1.

Shop Distribution of Kangemi Main Street

	No. of shops
General Store	39
Bar & Restaurant	9
Clothing items	2
Butchery	5
Kiosk	30
Sundry Goods	6
Tailor	4
Furniture	3
Garage	2
Shoe Repair	1
Charcoal	1
Stall for Vegetable	50

MAP 3 Maragoli Intensive Inhabitation Plots
in Kanqemi



It is based on the 1977 aercial
photographs by Survey of Kenya

Table 2.Composition of Tenants

Consecutive no. of lodging house	1	2	3	4	5
No. of rooms	11	12	15	10	11
Ethnic Group					
Maragoli	3	3	4	3	3
Idakho	2	-	1	1	1
Isukha	-	-	2	-	1
Tiriki	1	-	-	-	1
Bunyole	1	1	1	1	-
Other Luyia	-	-	-	-	-
Gisu	-	4	2	-	1
Kikuyu	3	2	2	2	1
Kamba	-	-	1	1	-
Luo	1	2	2	1	-
Kisii	-	-	-	-	1
Other	-	-	-	1	2

Table 2.

Consecutive no. of lodging house	16	17	18	19	20
No. of rooms	12	15	15	12	14
Ethnic Groups:					
Maragoli	5	7	5	4	3
Idakho	-	3	-	1	-
Isukha	5	1	1	-	-
Tiriki	-	-	-	1	-
Bunyole	-	-	1	-	2
Other Luyia	1	-	1	-	-
Gisu	-	-	1	1	1
Kikuyu	1	2	2	1	2
Kamba	-	1	1	2	1
Luo	-	1	2	2	2
Kisii	-	-	1	-	1
Other	-	-	-	-	2

(Contd).

21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
12	18	11	11	14	13	11	11
3	4	4	3	5	5	5	4
2	1	-	-	2	2	-	-
-	1	1	2	1	1	-	2
-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
1	2	1	1	1	-	1	2
-	2	-	-	1	-	1	1
1	1	2	1	1	1	-	-
2	2	-	1	2	2	1	1
-	2	-	-	1	1	-	-
2	1	2	2	-	1	1	-
1	1	1	1	-	-	1	1
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Consecutive no. of lodging house	29	30	31	32
No. of rooms	10	9	12	13

Ethnic Groups:

Maragoli	4	2	4	3
Idakho	1	1	1	1
Isukha	-	1	-	-
Tiriki	-	-	-	-
Bunyole	-	-	1	1
Other Luyia	1	1	1	1
Gisu	1	-	-	1
Kikuyu	1	2	2	2
Kamba	1	1	1	1
Luo	-	-	1	1
Kisii	-	1	1	1
Other	1	-	-	1

Table 2. (Contd.)

33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41
14	10	15	10	14	10	10	12	12
5	4	4	4	6	4	3	4	5
1	-	1	2	2	-	1	-	-
1	-	1	-	2	-	1	1	-
-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	-
1	1	1	-	-	2	1	-	1
1	1	1	-	-	1	-	1	-
1	1	-	-	-	-	-	1	1
1	-	1	2	2	1	1	1	2
-	1	1	1	1	1	1	-	1
1	1	2	1	1	-	1	1	-
1	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	2
1	-	2	-	-	1	-	1	-

Table 2.

Consecutive no. of lodging house	42	43	44	45
No. of rooms	14	10	10	10
Ethnic Groups				
Maragoli	4	2	2	1
Idakho	2	-	1	1
Isukha	1	-	-	-
Tiriki	-	-	-	-
Bunyole	1	1	1	2
Other Luyia	1	-	-	-
Gisu	-	1	3	1
Kikuyu	2	1	1	2
Kamba	-	1	1	2
Luo	2	1	1	-
Kisii	1	2	-	1
Other	-	1	-	-

(Contd).

46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53
4	11	9	9	8	10	11	9
2	4	2	4	3	3	5	1
-	1	-	1	1	1	1	1
1	-	1	-	-	1	-	1
-	-	1	1	1	-	1	-
-	-	-	1	-	1	-	2
-	1	-	-	-	-	-	1
-	-	1	-	1	1	-	-
1	2	1	-	-	1	2	3
-	-	2	1	1	-	1	-
-	2	1	-	-	1	-	-
-	1	-	1	1	-	1	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2.

Consecutive Number of lodging house	54	55	56
Number of rooms	16	20	20
Ethnic Group:			
Maragoli	5	7	6
Idakho	-	2	-
Isukha	1	1	1
Tiriki	-	2	2
Bunyole	5	-	-
Other Luyia	-	-	5
Gisu	2	-	1
Kikuyu	3	4	2
Kamba	-	2	1
Luo	-	1	1
Kisii	-	1	1
Other	-	-	-

(Contd.)

57	58	59	60	Total	(%)
14	16	26	14	745	100.0
6	9	10	8	256	34.4
-	-	3	-	50	6.7
1	-	1	-	43	5.3
-	-	-	1	23	3.1
-	2	-	2	50	6.7
1	-	-	-	28	3.8
-	2	-	1	42	5.6
2	1	4	1	99	13.3
1	-	1	-	41	5.5
1	1	1	-	57	7.7
-	-	6	1	39	5.2
2	1	-	-	17	2.2

Maragoli migrants. Considering their small share in the total Kenyan population (only about 1%) compared to that of Kikuyu, Luo and the Kamba, each of which has more than one million population (about 10%) respectively, the proportion of the Maragoli is relatively higher.

Here we will consider two kinds of proximity to the Maragoli according to which we can classify all other ethnic groups. These are the cultural linguistic proximity and the geographical proximity. The former encourages the possibility of communication, interaction in the daily life and the formation of an integral political unit and for the Maragoli, all the Luyia ethnic groups have this proximity with it, while the latter causes the inter-ethnic marriage, the exchange of such products like maize, fish or salt through the market and troubles such as land disputes. In case of the Maragoli, the four ethnic groups that have both of these proximities are Tiriki, its eastern neighbour, Bunyole bordering on the West and Idakho, Isukha to the North. According to those two proximity, we can classify all other ethnic groups but the Maragoli into A to D types (Fig. 1).

In the plots picked up in Kangemi, tenants

Figure 1.

Typology of Ethnic Groups Except
Maragoli.

1. Cultural, linguistic proximity with Maragoli.
2. Geographical proximity with Maragoli.

	1	2	
A Type	+	+	Isukha, Idakho, Tiriki, Bunyore.
B Type	+	-	Other Luyia (except Bukusu).
C Type	-	+	Luo
D Type	-	-	Kikuyu, Kamba, Kalenjin, etc.

of the Maragoli plus the A type groups occupy more than half (422 rooms, 56.7%) of all the rooms.

The Bukusu, settling in the western part of Bungoma district bordering with Uganda, is one of the B type groups. The immediate neighbour of the Bukusu is the Gisu of Uganda and the two are even more similar to one another than the Bukusu people are to the rest of the Luyia. The Gisu and the Bukusu claims that they descent from the same primal ancestor. Gisu took refuge in Kenya during the disturbance period of Amin regime when some of them drifted to Kangemi finding a job like a home maid and a watchman. If the Gisu are added to the B type, the Maragoli and A, B type groups share 492 rooms (66.1), which comes up to nearly two thirds of all. Considering that, all the Nairobi residents belonging to the Luyia amounts to only 16% of the total Nairobi population (Table 3).

The C type has only one ethnic group, Luo, which is the second largest Nilotic group in Kenya. The Luo had tried to invade the Maragoli land and there were several bloody wars between them in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. On the contrary, social interactions with them were also briskly, for example, there were not a few Maragoli women who got married with the Luo men and there were also

a lot of the Maragoli people who could speak the Luo language in the South Maragoli. The A, B and the C type ethnic groups have, therefore, some kinds of social ties with the Maragoli. The tenants of the Maragoli and the three types of groups, occupy as many as 549 rooms (73.8%) amounting to nearly three quarters in the Maragoli intensive inhabitation plots.

This environment of ethnic composition would remind the Maragoli migrants of that of their rural homeland, and, therefore, goes without saying that the new comers from the Maragoli land feel strong affinities with this environment in Kangemi.

Table 3.

Nairobi Population by Ethnic Group

Ethnic Group		% of the total Kenyan African
Kikuyu	191,367	46.9
Luhia	65,056	16.0
Luo	62,865	15.4
Kamba	60,716	14.9
Meru	4,184	1.0
Kisii	3,494	0.9
Embu	3,223	0.8
Taita	3,185	0.8
Kipsigis	2,451	0.6
Nandi	1,816	0.4
Other	9,380	2.3
Total	407,734	100.0

Source: Kenya Population Census, 1969,

Vol. 2.

1.1.3 Early Inflow of the Maragoli.

When did those migrants who now live in the Maragoli intensive inhabitation plots come to Nairobi? Then when did they move to Kangemi? The author picked up 619 rooms of 53 tenant houses in the plots and asked questions to the household heads who pay the room rents (Table 4 and Table 5).

Table 4 shows that a number of the Maragoli heads of the plots came to Nairobi before independence and that the number of those Maragoli heads who flowed in Nairobi shortly after independence (1960's) is two to five times as many as that of other ethnic groups. According to Table 5, it can be confirmed that the Maragoli began to occupy the tenant houses in kangemi at the earlier stage of its development. Late in the 1960's, when simple frame tenant houses were scarcely seen yet, the Maragoli had already entered these houses. The migrants of various kinds of ethnic groups had not been attracted by lower cost housing available in late 70's before a lot of Maragoli heads moved to Kangemi.

The major reasons why they have taken up residence there are (i) cheaper room rent; (ii) better access to city centre; (iii) neighbourhood

Table 4.

The Year of Flowing into Nairobi of
Household Head in Kangemi by Ethnic Group.

Ethnic Group	Nairobi Born	Before 1962	1964 -69	1970 -73	1974 -77	1978 -81	Total
Maragoli	0	28	62	29	68	18	205
Idakho Isukha	0	5	12	30	29	7	83
Bunyole	0	4	4	17	13	3	41
Tiriki	0	1	3	7	4	3	18
Other Luyia	0	4	3	7	7	1	22
Gisu	0	0	0	9	24	3	36
Kikuyu	21	3	8	20	22	8	82
Kamba	0	0	3	13	16	4	36
Luo	0	3	3	21	19	6	52
Kisii	0	3	3	9	10	5	30
Other	0	1	2	3	5	3	14
Total	21	52	103	165	217	61	619

Table 5.

The Year of Flowing into Kangemi of
Household Head in Kangemi by Ethnic Group.

Ethnic Group	Nairobi Born	Before 1962	1963 -69	1970 -73	1974 -77	1978 -81	Total
Maragoli	0	0	9	41	103	52	205
Idakho Isukha	0	0	1	12	45	25	83
Bunyole	0	0	1	8	17	15	41
Tiriki	0	0	0	2	8	8	18
Other Luyia	0	0	0	6	13	3	22
Gisu	0	0	0	2	22	12	36
Kikuyu	21	0	2	9	30	20	82
Kamba	0	0	0	2	20	14	36
Luo	0	0	1	7	28	16	52
Kisii	0	0	0	4	14	12	30
Other	0	0	0	3	6	5	14
<hr/>							
Total	21	0	14	96	306	182	619
<hr/>							

of Kabete; (iv) better transport to homeland, which means that the long distance bus bound for Maragoli land pass through Kangemi so that people do not have to take trouble in going to the city terminal to vail it. For the Maragoli migrants, Kabete has been one of the most important target places for their labour migration from the 20's to still today, where there used to be coffee plantations owned by the British and Veterinary offices which were all taken over by the Faculty of Agriculture, University of Nairobi after independence. As far as they live in Kangemi, it is very easy for the Maragoli to make daily visits to their kin of friends who work and live in Kabete without any transport fare. It is a great advantage of living in Kangemi.

In sum, the Maragoli came to Nairobi and its suburbs at an early period before independence compared to other ethnic groups and flowed into Kangemi shortly after Kangemi supplied lower cost housing. It is, therefore, necessary to examine both historical ties between Maragoli , Kabete, and Kangemi, and the mechanism of rural-urban migration.

1.1.4 Kerongo Villages in Kangemi.

Here we will check whether Maragoli migrants came evenly from each village in Maragoli land. Parkin, who studied the Luo urban colony in Kaloleni, Nairobi, pointed out that those Luo migrants never came evenly from several regions of Luo land and that the overwhelming majority were Jo Podho (westerners) from Siaya District.²⁾ We asked 205 household heads of 53 lodging houses about their home villages. The findings are interesting and are shown in Table 6 and Table 7.

Maragoli land is made up of two parts, the North and the South Maragoli. Generally speaking, the characteristics of the North are; (i) a flat, open farm land like Isukha and Idakho land which are adjacent to it, (ii) one localized clan village (almost all villages of a certain village belong to one clan). In contrast to this the characteristics of the South are; (i) a small sloping farm land, scattered with gigantic granite on the hillside of the Maragoli forest (1997 metres); (ii) a poly-clan village (villagers belong to various kinds of clans in one village). In the South, there are 60,000 people in the area of 92 square kilometres, while 82,000 live in the North with an area of 116 square kilometres.³⁾

The result, however, shows that the South migrants make up 79.5% of all the Maragoli household heads in the plots of Kangemi, whereas the North make up only 18.5%. It has come to the conclusion that the urban colony of Kangemi have been mainly established by the migrants from the South Maragoli. Looking at the details of a good many villages of the South Maragoli, we can classify them into four major regions (Table 6, 7). According to Table 7, those migrants amount to no less than 31.2% of all, who come from the region including Kerongo, Mahanga, Madzuu village. It is, therefore, valid that we pick up Kerongo village in order to verify both the historical tie between the Maragoli, Kangemi, and Kabete, and the mechanism of labour migration.

Chapter 2.

A History of Labour Migration of the Kerongo Villagers.

2.1 Kerongo Village.

2.1.1 Kerongo Village, its Setting.

Kerongo is a small mountain village administratively located in Viguru sub-location, South Maragoli location, Vihiga Division, Kakamega district, Western province. Geographically, it is situated on lat. $0^{\circ}01'N$ and long. $34^{\circ}39'E$ and 1700 metres above sea level.

From the Maragoli escarpment, at the southern edge of the village, we can observe a panoramic view of Lake Victoria and the vast low land plains settled by the Luo stretches beyond the escarpment. On the west, the village together with Changuzi and Musunguti village borders on the Bunyore land. It also adjoins Lyamaga le village at its northern border and Dabwongo village at the eastern, which is half way up the Maragoli forest. These five villages including Kerongo itself consist of Viguru sub-location; one of the eleven sub-locations in South Maragoli location.

Table 6.

Regional Grouping of Home Villages of
the Maragoli Household Heads in Kangemi.

A North Maragoli

1. Whole Location: Busweta village, Chigama village, Sabatia village, Chavakali Losengeli village, Viyalu, Mbale, Chamakanga village, Madieli village.

B South Maragoli

1. Kerongo Group: Kerongo village, Lyamagale village, Musunguti village, Chavavo village, Chambale village, Mahanga village, Madzuu village, Madeya village, Kisienya village, Inavi village, Chagenda Chagenda village, Viyalo village.
2. Bukuga Group: Bukuga village, Kitulu village, Omulalu village, Vigena village, Madila village, Muhanda village.
3. Vihiga Group: Vihiga, Kidinyie village, Ikumba village, Igakala village, Majengo, Jilwazi village, Chango village, Kidundu village, Magui village.
4. Tigoi Group: Tigoi, Lusavasali village, Masana village, Gambogi village, Ideleli village, Lusiola village, Gavalagi village, Chandugunyi village.
5. Other: Kizava village, Chambiti village, Kegoye village.

C Other

Table 7.

Native Place of the Maragoli Household
Heads in Kanqemi by Each Regional Grouping.

Regional Grouping	No. of Household Heads	(%)
A North Maragoli		
1. Whole Location	38	18.5
B South Maragoli		
1. Kerongo Group	64	31.2
2. Bukuga Group	28	13.7
3. Vihiga Group	38	18.5
4. Tigoi Group	22	10.7
5. Other	11	5.4
C Other	4	2.0
<hr/>		
Total	205	100.0
<hr/>		

According to 1979 census, the total population of Viguru sub-location is 4334. The population of Kerongo village is estimated to be about six hundred.

2.1.2 The History of Kerongo Village - Its Peopling and creation of clan.

The history of settlement in Kerongo goes back to the end of 17th century or the beginning of the 18th century when, Mulogooli, the founder of the Maragoli,^{was} said to have arrived at Mungoma along the present boundary of Kerongo and Musunguti village accompanied by his family. Leaving their former homeland in the south eastern part of Uganda, crossing the Lake Victoria and passing through Maseno, they at last found a new land and settled there.¹⁾ After the death of Mulogooli, his first-born son Musaali migrated again to the north-eastern part of the present Maragoli land while the second son Mukizungu and the third, Mukilima, set out for re-settlement to the east and to the north respectively. The last born Mumavi and some sons of Musaali remained in the South. Such four major patrilineal descent groups (ihiri) as Avasaali, Avakizungu, Avakilima and Avamavi, genealogically stem from those four sons of Mulogooli. Today there are more than thirty clans and they still operate

as one of the most basic social units among the Maragoli.²⁾

Up to the middle of the 18th century Avasaali expanded to the east, namely, Vuhani, Chavavo and Chanzege village while Avamavi settled in the northern villages like Lyamagale, Mahanga and Madzuu village. There the two dominant clans met in Kerongo. It was a time of migration then. A number of strangers coming from Seme on the shore of Lake Victoria or Maseno, who had sought land, passed through Kerongo. Some of them got married to girls of Avamavi and the land which used to belong to Avamavi was devolved upon them. They founded such new clans as Avamgezi or Avagehayo.³⁾

In the 19th century, a body of Avamuku which is a branch of Avasuva intruded into the southern part of Kerongo and ousted Avasaali of their lands by force. It was also then when bloody land wars had broken out between the Maragoli and the Luo, who invaded beyond the Maragoli escarpment. The last collective migration around the village was seen at the very beginning of this country, when Kauma, a branch of the Luo of Seme, reached the village by way of Nameza village. No collective migration occurred after that owing to strict regulations by the colonial government that

prohibited such migration. Kauma people ousted a part of Avagehayo and instead took up residence there. They abandoned the Luo customs and identified themselves as the Maragoli adopting a custom of circumcision while calling themselves Avamenge after the manner of the Maragoli.⁴⁾

From the 18th century to the early period of the present century, collective migration, whether small or large scale, had been frequently seen in Western Kenya. Thus, Kerongo and its neighbourhood of the South Maragoli were situated at a crossroads of migration. Under this situation Avasaali, Avamuku, Avagehayo, Avamavi and Avamenge, which are predominant clans in the village today, have settled there and have begun to form Kerongo village as a territorial group.

2.1.3 Social Groups in the Village.

Taking account of the historical conditions of its formation, the village (ilidala)⁵⁾ itself is one of the most important social group today. Each villager therefore has strong identity not only with his clan but also with his village. For example, villagers of the same generation regard themselves as brothers, even if one is a member of the enemy clan⁶⁾. This means that although marriage

between them is not prohibitive, they are not allowed to marry each other, because they are "brothers" so far as they belong to the same village. This will be examined in detail in Part II. Each village has its own unpaid agent called ligutu. He plays an important role in daily life, especially in mediating a quarrel or trouble.⁷⁾

At the time of the research, ligutu of Kerongo was an old man of Avasaali who was elected in 1978 and took over from an old man of Avatemboli.

The most fundamental social unit is family which is made up of one married couple with children. It is also a unit of cultivating, co-living and house-holding. In this sense it can be called household. Extended family, the core of which is a small patrilineal descent group of two or three generations, however plays an important part in some rituals and daily mutual help such as delivery or receipt of bridewealth (ovukwi), funeral, vigil (mulukuzu) and remembrance (ilihoma ikilidwa). Table 8, shows the small patrilineal descent groups and their members by general found in the central part of Kerongo.⁸⁾

Every 7 or 8 years, boys from neighbouring villages band together for the circumcision ceremony (kwaluka). They form an age-group but in contrast with the Tiriki, eastern neighbours of the Maragoli, it cannot work as a group of reference to the Maragoli and it does not therefore govern their daily life well.⁹⁾

There are other voluntary associations in the village like a church chorus group, a group for dance called Kerongo Young Stars or such women's association for mutual help as ilisanqali kekeke and ilisanqali nene.¹⁰⁾ These associations will be discussed in another paper.

2. Labour Migration out of Kerongo.

Early in this century, the villagers had planted their fields with maize, beans, sorghum and cassava. Although a lot of gigantic rocks and stones were scattered all over the fields, there were fertile soils suitable for cultivation. All the villagers had been engaged in subsistence agriculture and even today most of them are still engaged in agriculture. The village population have, however, increased and their farm lands have been fragmented into small parts¹¹⁾ (Table 9), which could no more sustain a self-sufficient life

Table 8.

Small Patrilineal Descent Group in Keronqo

Consecutive no. of small descent group	Clan (No. of members)	Villager no. of the 1st genera- tion*	Villager no. of the 2nd genera- tion*	Villager no. of the 3rd genera- tion*
1	Avamenge (12)	-	201, 202, 203, 204, 204, 205, 206, 207	301, 302, 303, 304, 305
2	Avamenge (8)	-	208, 209	306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311
3	Avamenge (2)	101	210	-
4	Avamenge (4)	-	211, 212	312, 313
5	Avamuku (2)	-	213	314
6	Avamuku (3)	-	214	315, 316
7	Avamuku (5)	102	215, 216 217	317
8	Avagehayo (4)	-	218, 219	318, 319
9	Avagehayo (14)	103	220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227	320, 321, 322, 323, 324
10	Avasaali (3)	-	228	325, 326
11	Avamavi (2)	-	229	327
12	Avagehayo (5)	-	230, 231	328, 329, 330
13	Avatemboli (5)	-	232	331, 332, 333, 334
14	Avatemboli (7)	104	233, 234, 235, 236	335, 336
15	Avatemboli (1)	-	237	-
16	Avamuku (2)	-	238	337
17	Avamenge (4)	-	239	338, 339, 340
18	Avamenge (3)	-	240	341, 342
19	Avatemboli (2)	-	241	343
20	Avangezi (3)	-	242	344, 345
21	Avamuku (3)	105	243	346

Table B. (Contd..)

Consecutive no. of small descent group	Clan (no. of members)	Villager no. of the 1st generation*	Villager no. of the 2nd generation*	Villager no. of the 3rd generation*
22	Avamuku (2)	106	244	-
23	Avamuku (4)	107	245, 246	347
24	Avamavi (3)	-	247	348, 349
25	Avasaali (3)	-	248	350, 351, (1 Chavavo village).
26	Avamuku (2)	-	249	352
27	Avasaali (4)	-	250	353, 354, 355
28	Avasaali (3)	-	251	356, 357
29	Avasaali (2)	-	252	358
30	Avamuku (4)	-	253	359, 360, 361
31	Avatemboli (1)	-	-	362, (from magale vil)
32	Avagehayo (1)	-	-	363 (from L magale vil)
33	Avangezi (3)	-	254, 255	364
34	Avasaali (3)	-	-	365, 366, 367 (from Name village).
35	Avasaali (3)	-	-	368, 369, 370
36	Avasaali (3)	-	256, 257	371
37	Avasaali (4)	-	258, 259	372, 373
38	Avatemboli (3)	-	260, 261	374
39	Avasaali (3)	-	262	375, 376
40	Avasaali (2)	-	263, 264	-
41	Avafunami (1)	-	-	377 (from M ginyu villa)
42	Avamuku (1)	-	265 (from Muginyu village)	-
43	Avatemboli (2)	-	266	378
Total	(151)	7	66	78

*..... See note 8, Chapter 2, Part I.

of the villagers and forced them to go to the towns to earn cash. The history of labour migration from the villages dates as far back as the 1910's. In this section, we will investigate the historical backgrounds and forms of labour migration from Kerongo.

2.2.1 Backgrounds of Labour Migration.

We will first focus on the period from late 10's to early 20's of this century to consider historical backgrounds. It was at that time when the British colonial government had gradually reached completion of its systems and then Kerongo villagers, like other Maragoli people had been confronted with common historical backgrounds of labour migration. Those were establishment of poll and hut tax, its forced payment in cash and penetration of christianity.

The first background was taxation. The poll tax and hut tax were introduced around 1900 which were paid by the African people at the initial periods in timber, hoes or compulsory service, but were forced gradually to pay in cash.¹²⁾ The amount was raised from 6 to 8 rupees and when the shilling system was introduced in 1922, it was increased to 16 shillings, which was

a heavy burden to the African people.¹³⁾ The colonial Administration appointed moderate Africans as sub-headmen (mlango) in present sub-location level and akidas in village level, and used them to collect the taxes. There used to be two mlango, one was at Lyamagale village and another at Musunguti village. Among the Kerongo villagers A. (father of the villager numbered 250, see Table 8), B. (father of 299), C. (102), were appointed as akidas. They were assigned to check whether one kept the receipt of the taxes or not on market day at Mahanga, Kima and Luanda. All of them were under the control of the British Administrators at Vihiga. Those villagers who did not have receipt were taken there to be detained. They had to seek the ways to gain cash to pay the taxes for fear that the British would deprive them of their farmland or domestic animals. The place where they could find cash was, however, not in Kerongo but in the towns or plantations.

The second background was accompanied by the introduction of christianity. The Maragoli is well-known as one of the earliest ethnic group to have been christianized in Kenya. Very early this century, the Church Mission Society (CMS) set up its base at Mumias (later Maseno) and Friends Mission built their regional head-quarter at

Table 9.

Area of One Piece of Land in Kerongo

Area (ha)	No. of Plots
less than 0.1	33
0.1-0.2	89
over 0.2-0.3	54
over 0.3-0.5	83
over 0.5-1.0	26
over 1.0-1.5	5
more than 1.5	4
<hr/>	
Total	294
<hr/>	

Source: Land Office, Kakamega, Western Province.

Vihiga in 1907. Friends Mission entered every corner of the South Maragoli and propagated very actively. It entered and built a church at Lyamagale village in the twenties which later branched out to Kerongo. Rapid penetration of Friends Mission in the South Maragoli was simply amazing, compared with other regions of Western Kenya (Table 10). Following Friends Mission, Anglican, Salvation Army and Catholic built their churches at various villages. Table 11, indicates the distribution of churches by denomination at Kerongo and neighbouring villages today.

The results of this christianization were as follows; (i) wage labourers emerged who were employed by the churches as servants, assistants or lower preachers; (ii) European Missionaries educated many of the village youths or children in reading and writing English and counting. These results played an important role in the promotion of a monetary economy and helped the young people to seek new social economic opportunities. Furthermore, the acceptance of christianity allowed the Maragoli to be trusted by the "White people" and it was a great advantage for employment at that time.

Table 10.

Early Church Activities of Friends
Mission in Western Kenya.

Monthly meeting (base)	the year of organizing	partici- parts	In training	Total
Maragoli (Vihiga)	1917.7	235	409	644
Bukusu (Lugulu)	1919.4	-	35	35
Isukha (Lirhanda)	1919.8	62	160	222
Kabras (Malava)	1920.2	11	23	34
Tiriki (Kaimosi)	1920.3	23	55	78

Source: Shifuna, D.N., 1977, p.9

Table 11.

Churches Around Kerongo Village

Kerongo Village:

Anglican

Hollyness

Israel

Orthodox

Pentecostal (P.A.G.)

Vuhani:

Anglican

Pentecostal (P.A.G.)

Lvamaqale Village:

Friends

Salvation Army

Pentecostal (P.A.G.)

Musunquti Village:

Anglican

Pentecostal (P.A.G.)

Seventh Day

Dabwonqo Village:

Friends

African Divine

Chavavo Village:

Friends

Pentecostal (P.A.G.)

Salvation Army

Mahanga Village:

Friends

Pentecostal (P.A.G.)

Salvation Army

Holly Spirit

Bethlehem

African Divine

Musalaba

2.2.2 Types of Labour Migration.

How did the villagers go out in search of work? Here we will present four historical types of labour migration.

The first is the requisition type. During the world war 1, the colonial government requisitioned native people as reserve labourers for military and other compulsory services. They were collected through the colonial administrative line which was, in case of the Maragoli, the British administrator - chief (location level) - headman (two or three at location level) - mlango (at sub-location level) - akida (at village level).

That is why we call such kind of labour migration the requisition type. The first body who had experienced labour migration from Kerongo were included in this type. In 1918, the mlango of Viguru sub-location (grand father of 250) received the requisition order from the chief and assigned ten young men to each village persuading them to co-operate with the colonial government. He once sent them to Kisumu, where they were sorted and brought to various places as porters for the British army or wood-cutter for the Uganda railways.

D (103), E. (father of 102 and F. (father of 232) were sent from Kerongo to Kikuyu station near

Nairobi as wood-cutters on being persuaded by the akida (father of 229). They were brought back to the village when the war was over. Labour migrations of this type were seen again during the years from 1922 to 1928, when serious labour shortage had striken the White's plantations all over the country. Then the administrative requisition line had operated and a great many youths from Viguru sub-location were sent and employed as workers of Kericho tea plantations or of Miwani sugar cane planations. They also returned to their villages on completion of the requisition period of six months or a year.

The second type is the labour recruiter type. Under the constant severe situation of labour shortage in the twenties, labour recruiters had stood together in large numbers like so many mushrooms after rain. They were authorised by the colonial government and booked orders from companies or planters who needed labourers, despatched native agents to villages and supplied young labourers from the villages. As some recruiters provided not only the young but also the old, the sick and even children, the colonial government that had been seeking only healthy labourers eagerly tightened the control over the recruiters.¹⁴⁾ It was around 1935 or 1936 when these recruiters first came to

Kerongo. Taking up an order from sisal plantations of Taveta, a labour recruiting company based in Kisumu sent two agents, one of whom was from Nameza, the other from Lyamagale village. They employed village leaders as sub-agents and with their co-operation they looked for young men. In Kerongo, A. (father of 250), H. (231) and I (247) to go to Taveta. Eventually, nearly ten villagers including A himself went there for work.

The third type is the personal invitation. When those villagers who had worked as wage labourers either through the first or the second type left for their village on temporary leave or after completion of the contract, some of them were asked by their employers to take their village friends or kins back to the place where they had worked. They utilized their personal networks in the village and invited some of their friends or kins to work together. Most of the labour migrants who had or have worked at the coffee plantations in Kabete since the twenties were brought by these personal invitations. It was the most popular type of labour migration among the Kerongo villagers before independence.

The fourth is the self-invitation type. According to this type, though young villagers were

neither forced nor invited by anyone, they left home villages with no particular expectation for jobs and intruded upon their family, relatives or friends in towns. The new comers depended on them until they found a job. This type has been dominant in the post-independence era.

The third and the fourth type have a close relation with the formation of the Maragoli urban colony in Kangemi and therefore, it is necessary to examine them in detail.

2.3 A History of Labour Migration to Kabete.

2.3.1 Intensive Labour Migration to Kabete.

We will discuss the intensive labour migration phenomenon from Kerongo to Kabete which was mainly caused by the personal invitation type. If the deceased and those who left Kerongo after independence to settle in new places (rural-rural migration) are added to the first and the second generation of the labour migration shown in Table 8, the members of small patrilineal descent groups before independence will be almost reconstructed as shown in Table 12. According to this table, the first generation had 39 villagers, while the second has 96. Among them, one third of the villagers of

the first generation and nearly half of the second generation had experienced the wage labour in Kabete. That is why we call it the intensive labour migration to Kabete.

This labour migration to Kabete cannot be understood without an analysis of the relation between the Maragoli and the Kikuyu, a host ethnic group of Kabete.¹⁶⁾ Taking account of this, we divide the history of labour migration of Kerongo into two periods. The first period covers the early twenties to the middle of the thirties. There was a growing demand for abundant cheap labour in the coffee plantations of Kabete after the price of coffee suddenly jumped in the world market in the first decade of this century and the area under coffee plantations had rapidly expanded.¹⁷⁾ Before the rapid expansion, the main recruiting source of labour was the Kikuyu who had formerly occupied Kabete but had been deprived of their patrimonial lands due to the Crown Land Ordinance.¹⁸⁾ Their local labour supply was insufficient to meet the demands of the enlarged coffee plantations. In the twenties, the planters suffered a serious labour shortage for coffee pickers.¹⁹⁾ They formed a labour recruiting association and dispatched agents to Machakos, Meru and even to as far a field as the Kavirondo region (present Luyia land) of Western

Table 12.

Intensive Labour Migration to Kabete

Before Independence.

	The first generation of labour migration	The second generation of labour migration
Total number of villagers*	39	96
Villagers who had worked in Kabete	13	43
Percentage	33.3%	44.8%

* Villagers are or used to be members of small descent groups shown in Table 8.

Kenya. On the other hand, they looked for those African labourers who had been brought under requisition and after working in Kabete for a short period during the World War 1, had returned to their villages. The planters persuaded them not only to come back to Kabete to work for them but also to take their friends and close kins there (the personal invitation type). The feature of this period is that a shortage for the Kikuyu labourers caused by the rapid expansion of coffee plantation pushed the Maragoli villagers to be pulled into Kabete.

In around 1918, Ogola (Lyamagale village, Avamavi) and several other young men were brought under requisition and sent to one of the coffee plantations in Kabete. When the war was over, Ogola returned to Lyamagale and earnestly persuaded some young men of Lyamagale and Kerongo to go back to Kabete with him. Among them, D (103), C (102) and J (brother of 102) went to Kabete in response to his invitation, for they had been put to great annoyance due to tax payments and also they had worked at Kikuyu railway station near Kabete during the war time. They became the first party of the labour migration to Kabete. Especially, J, who was a pious christian and was able to read and write English a little, was appointed as a foreman by the

British planter. He took more young men from Kerongo to Kabete and took good care of them. Among them were K (brother of 126) who managed cattle and sheep, L (brother of 126), M (brother of father of 242) who worked at the electricity section and N (father of 254) who invited many villagers to Kabete in the next period. It was also at that time when Omondi (Lyamagale village) taught reading and writing to the youths of the Maragoli in an evening class.

The second period covers the late thirties to the time of independence. Highlights of this period were during the fifties when the colonial government declared a state of emergency out of fear that African freedom fighters would attack White colonialists and their puppets.²⁰⁾ Kikuyu Central Association (KCA) which was formed in the twenties, had then slightly increased its activities, the main points of which were a desire for the abolition of the Crown Land Ordinance that deprived the Kikuyu of their lands and the issue of title deeds to individual Africans. It had started to publish a monthly magazine named "Mwigwithania" which was once edited by Jomo Kenyatta, the first president of Independent Kenya. He played a leading part in passive resistance to the payment of the taxes or strikes of plantation workers. Not a few Kikuyu

Table 13.

African Population of Kabete Location
by Ethnic Group 1948

Ethnic Group	Male	Female	Total
Luyia	717	98	815
Kikuyu (Kiambu)	401	194	595
Kikuyu (Nyeri)	235	211	446
Kikuyu (FortHall)	213	43	256
Kamba (Machakos)	149	28	177
Total	1,715	574	2,289

Source: East African Population Census 1948,
African Population of Kenya Colony and
Protectorate.

plantation workers sympathized with K.C.A. It had been apparent that a spirit "antagonistic to Europeans"²¹⁾ was being fostered among them. The White planters were frightened at their attitude and refrained from employing the Kikuyu. Instead, they sought labourers with more "consiliatory attitude" towards the Whites. They kept an eye on such christianized and "moderate" ethnic groups as Kavirondo Bantu like the Maragoli. Many of the Maragoli youths were thus imported to their farms through personal invitations. According to the 1948 census for Kabete location, 41.8% of the male population and 17.0% of the females are from Kavirondo (Table 13). This tells us of the existence of a tremendously large number of labour migrants who were flowing into the white farms. The features of this period are as follows; (i) (i) political tension had developed between the white planters and the Kikuyu, the main source of labour force, because there was no sign that the colonial government understood their land grievances better; (ii) faced with this situation, the white planters rushed the importation of a more "reliable" labour force such as the Maragoli.

A number of young men were invited to come to Kabete from Kerongo village during this period. The direct, obvious cause of labour migration was,

and still is, the need for cash. Such needs have, however, varied according to the periods. In the first period, villagers needed cash in order to pay the taxes but they also wanted to purchase shirts, trousers and shoes which had begun to become popular while the items they wanted to purchase during the second period were more cattle and goats or another piece of farm land, followed by the payment of the poll and hut tax. At that time, it had grown in popularity that young male villagers left home for towns or white farms as a wage labourer.

It was N (father of 254) then who invited the villagers of Kerongo to Kabete in the forties and took care of them. He and K, both of them as foremen of a coffee plantation provided the initial shelter for O (209), P (107), Q (brother of 104), R (241), S (217), T (226) and U (251) and helped them in finding jobs in Kabete. V (104) and X (brother of 232) to the coffee plantation in Kabete. As he looked to the needs of the fellow villagers working together in Kabete, he enjoyed the complete confidence of them. He had been elected, after his retirement to the village, as an unpaid village agent (ligutu) until 1978.

The author asked the reasons why they choose Kabete as a target place of the labour

migration. The major reasons given were a substantial meal as well as good care from village elders like N or V and mutual aids among the fellow villagers. The principal food (ugali) was served with free milk and furthermore meat was provided once or twice a week, which became very popular among the villagers who worked at different places through personal communication.

In the fifties, Orodo (Changuzi village) came to Kabete with the assistance of N, Y (265) was invited by S, Z(252) and BM(262) helped AA(brother of 256) and MA(250) in finding a job in Kabete. Those new comers were to play a previous role of caretakers for the third generation of the labour migration.

When the state of emergency was declared in 1952, most of the Kikuyu plantation workers were removed from farms and almost all of the Kikuyu domestic servants were dismissed for security reasons. Then the Maragoli and other Luyia peoples, thought to be "screened labour"²², had began to replace the expelled Kikuyu domestic servants. Among the Kerongo villagers, V,T,S and U, who had been working at coffee plantations switched jobs and became a house-boy, a shamba boy or a cook. From that time down to this day a great

many of the migrants from not only Kerongo village or the Maragoli land but also Luyia land in general have been engaged in domestic services. They are still the largest source of supply of domestic servants in Nairobi.

2.3.2 Formation of a network of personal invitation.

The Figure 2 shows a network of the personal invitation both in the first and the second period, which is extracted from the life history of those migrants.

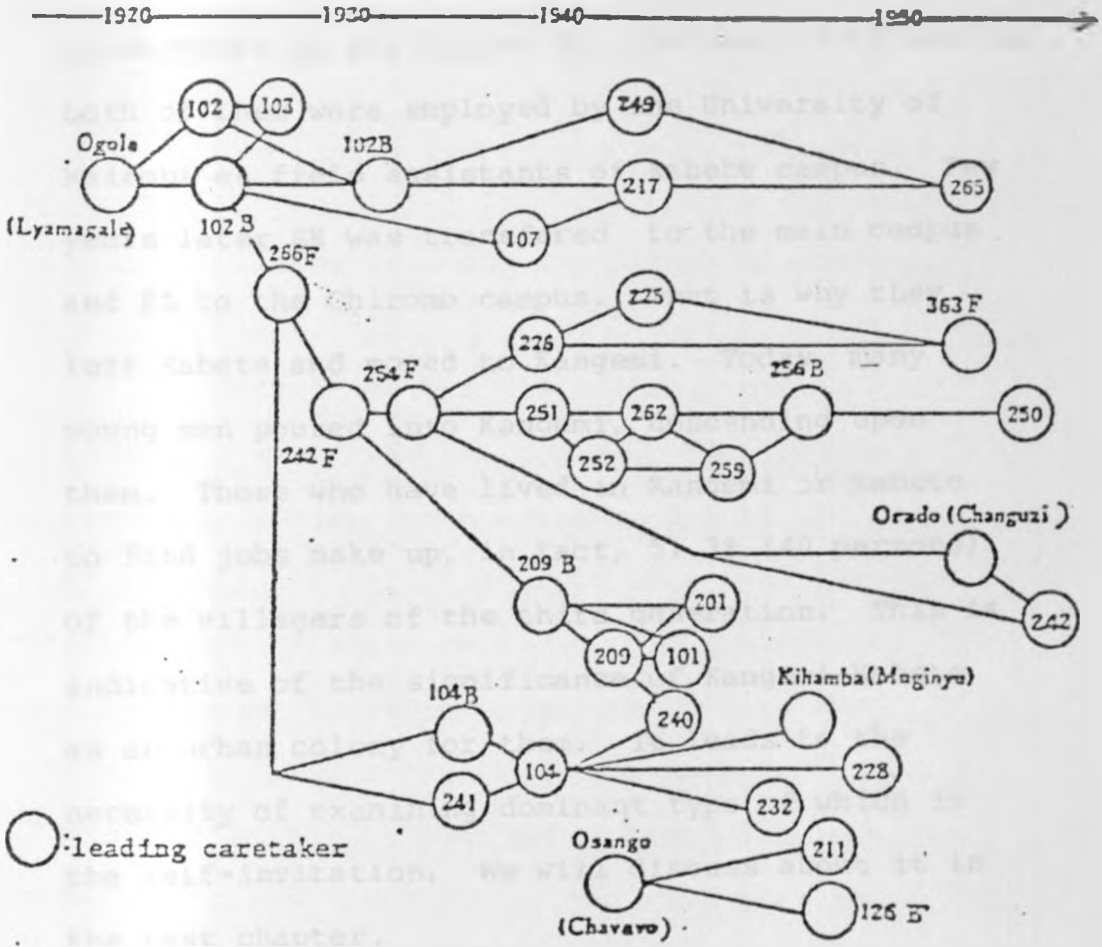
The core of this personal invitation network were J(brother of 102), N(father of 254) V(104), all of them worked as foremen at coffee plantations in Kabete. They took charge of young villagers irrespective of their extended family, lineage or clan and helped them in securing accommodation and in finding jobs. Those young villagers who were directly invited by these caretakers persuaded their own brothers, cousins or friends of the same clan to go out for work together. The care-takers also looked for such young men and played an important role in mediating quarrels among them. Thus the network of the personal invitation of the labour migration had never been formed without order.

That is, firstly, care-takers as the major core, invited young villagers to come to Kabete even if they were members of different extended family, lineage or clan. At the next stage, those young villagers as the minor core, induced their close kins to Kabete. Through these two stages, a lot of the youths from Kerongo had flowed into Kabete and at the time of independence, Kabete became a kind of colony for those migrants from Kerongo and its neighbouring villages.

2.3.3 A Shift from Kabete to Kangemi.

Late in the sixties, a body of those migrants from Viguru sub-location living in Kabete began to move to Kangemi, where cheaper tenant houses were scattered along the Nairobi-Nakuru road. Orodo (Changuzi village) was among them. He was working at one of the coffee plantations in Kabete and when his employer went back to Britain immediately after independence, Orodo was thrown out of employment. Though he could soon find a job of managing cattle with the help of his village friend, there was no suitable accommodation in Kabete. So he had been looking for it around Kabete and found a cheaper room in Kangemi that is adjacent to Kabete. Subsequently in the seventies, third generation migrants such as MO(353), SK(301) and

FIGURE 2 A Network of Personal Invitation to Kabete
1920-1950



102B: brother of the villager number 102
266F: father of the villager number 266

EA(371) as well as JO (from Muginyu the southern edge of Kerongo), ME(242) and MA(259) of the second generation moved to Kangemi. MO, SK and EA have lent support as the caretakers to their fellow young villagers who descended on them. MO was taken there by his father MA. In case of SK and EA, both of them were employed by the University of Nairobi as field assistants of Kabete campus. Few years later SK was transferred to the main campus and EA to the Chiromo campus. That is why they left Kabete and moved to Kangemi. Today, many young men poured into Kangemi, descending upon them. Those who have lived in Kangemi or Kabete to find jobs make up, in fact, 51.3% (40 persons) of the villagers of the third generation. This is indicative of the significance of Kangemi-Kabete as an urban colony for them. It leads to the necessity of examining dominant type of which is the self-invitation. We will discuss about it in the next chapter.

Chapter 3

The Present Stage of the Labour Migration of the Kerongo Villagers.

(A formation process of their urban colony
in Kangemi).

3.1 The Status quo of the Labour Migration.

3.1.1 Village life and the Labour Migration.

Walking around the village, one is not likely to meet male villagers in the age group of twenty to forty, for a large number of them are out of the village for work or to seek jobs leaving wives with children-care and farm management. When they manage to secure wage employment, they usually arrange a regular remittance to their rural family. Of the village women (including unmarried daughters and the wives of the villagers shown in Table 8), there were only six who went out to towns to earn money during the research period of 1981. Out of these six women, one belonged to the second generation (living in Nairobi Kenyatta), while the remaining five were the third generation women (working at Kakamega, Maseno, Nairobi-Uhuru, Nairobi-Kangemi (2)). It is very rare that a husband and his wife lives together in town. Five

cases can be found out of all the villagers recorded in Table 8, of which two are of the second generation (Thika and Kisumu), three of the third (Nairobi.Kangemi, Nairobi.Chiromo, Nairobi.Uhuru).

On the contrary, of the total 151 men shown in Table 8, no more than 45 remains in the village at one time (Table 14). There are two types among them, one is the retired migrants (mainly made up of the first and the second generation), the other is the temporarily returning migrants who are tired of hunting a job in town and store up their energy to challenge again (mostly the third generation). Only ten villagers have never gone out of the village to seek an employment. Generally speaking, almost all the villagers of the first generation have already retired from a town's life and returned to the village, whereas more than half of the second generation are still engaged in wage labour in towns like Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu. As to the third generation, it is amazing that nearly 90% are out of the village for work or to find a job.¹⁾

All this shows that the pattern of the traditional labour migration is still held mainly among the Kerongo villagers. According to this pattern, man alone goes out to town parting from

Table 14.

Kerongo Villagers and Labour Migration

	The first generation	the second generation	the third generation
Male villagers without any experience of labour migration	1	4	5
Male villagers who remain in Kerongo village	7	29	9
Male villagers who are absent from Kerongo village	0	37	69

his family while woman takes care of their children and farm land in the village.

It has become common today that the village youths pour into town to seek jobs immediately after leaving school. Since independence, the hut tax and poll tax, which triggered a current stream of the labour migration were abolished, nevertheless the money that the villagers earn in town can be hardly consumed to enrich their rural life by adding farm land or purchasing cattle or goats but to pay school fees for their children and siblings or to purchase such daily necessities as maize flour, cooking oil, sugar and tea leaves. In particular, during the severe drought of 1980, there was a big drop in maize harvests, of which the villagers consumed all the stock within a couple of months. It appears that without the remittances from town a number of starved families would have emerged. We can point out a completely different situation from that of the 1920's. In other words, the village is forced to depend upon remittances from town to survive.

Nowadays, the villagers go out of the village with no clear expectation to secure their own accommodation or find jobs. They descend upon their close kins or friends in town. This typical

type of current labour migration can be called "self-invitation." Owing to severe living conditions in town of both employment and housing, it is not uncommon of the villagers with little formal schooling or particular skill to be out of any permanent employment for several years. T(226) provides an extreme case of this situation.

Before the independence, he was working as a house-boy for a British family. When they left Kenya, he was without a permanent job or house. He became a dependent on friends from Kerongo and neighbouring villages living in Kangemi, Kabete and has been moving to different places for 16 years ever since independence.

During the period of dependence, job-seekers sleep on the floor and wrap themselves up in thin tattered blankets. They are provided with morning tea (chai) and evening ugali by those kins or friends whom they are dependent upon.

3.1.2 Urban Occupations of the Villagers.

It is significant to look into what type of occupation the villagers in town are engaged in so that we can consider the self-invitation type of the labour migration. Listing comprehensively all occupational types of the villagers, we can easily

find a higher ratio of such categories as domestic servant, construction artisan and plantation worker, together with a large number of job seekers. There must be historical reasons why many villagers are engaged in these occupations (Table 15).

As stated before, a conflict and dispute took place between the White planters and the Kikuyu workers on the question of land during the period of forties to fifties. The some of the Maragoli migrants like Kerongo villagers were given most of the domestic jobs that had been occupied by the Kikuyu in the White estates. After gaining independence, their relation, however, made a complete change. The Kikuyu, who were subjected to suppression by the colonial government, were to play a leading part in a new nation building, while many of the Maragoli who had taken up domestic service under the White people, had no alternative but to continue to work as domestic servants for the Whites, the Indian and the newly emerged African elites. This is the reason why a quarter of the villagers of the second generation are still engaged in domestic service. As regards the recruitment of domestic servants, a vacancy is usually filled up, when there occurs any, according to the recommendation of those senior domestic servants who have been faithfully working there for years.

Table 15.

Type of Occupation of the Kerongo Migrants

Occupation	The second generation	the third generation
Domestic servant	9	6
Agricultural wage labourer	7	9
Construction artisans (carpenter, painter, etc.)	4	9
Field assistant, sweeper	0	8
Junior mechanic	1	2
Night guard	1	1
Bar & kiosk worker	0	3
Veterinary station worker	2	1
Factory worker	0	3
Junior clerk of Kenya Power & Lighting Company	1	3
Junior clerk of Ministry of Works	0	1
Junior clerk of Nairobi City Council	0	1
Other clerk	2	1
Teacher	0	3
Preacher	1	1
Policeman	0	2
Driver	1	1
Sub-contractor	1	1
Farm manager	1	0
Job-seeker	3	11
Unknown	3	2
Total	37	69

So, many of the second generation villagers pushed the youths of the third generation to such vacancies. Thus there are not a few domestic servants today even among the third generation.

Prior to independence, White owned plantations of tea, coffee or sugarcane were the most popular target places for labour migrants and even after independence, most of the plantation workers remained there and continued to work. It is common for them to invite their sons to work together. Those plantations, therefore, still attract a large number of the second and third generations.

Casual construction labour is one of the most expected jobs today to the villagers without any high school education or special skill. They are not employed permanently but casually. In some cases, they wander around construction sites in the city from early in the morning and wait until the foreman's call "kuja, kazi (come on, there is a job)." Carpenters, painters and masons emerge out of these labourers who master the art by watching other people. They are not trained in any formal technical school. But almost all of the unskilled construction labourers expect to work their way up from unskilled labourers with a daily wage of 15/-

to 18/- to skilled artisans of 35/- to 50/-. This is the reason why there are a number of villagers who have become construction artisans.

It is also the case that a good many of the villagers (15% of the third generation) are employed by the University of Nairobi and government veterinary department as cleaners, field assistants or night guards. These bodies took over the role of coffee plantations and colonial veterinary institutions in Kabete in absorbing the migrants. The workers there could then continue to be employed under these new bodies. A number of the Kerongo villagers were among them. When these bodies were re-organized and expanded late in the sixties, the workers invited their fellow villagers to come and take the new jobs. In other words, results of the intensive labour migration to Kabete before independence created an employment opportunity in miscellaneous services of the University.

3.1.3 The Self-invited and the Dependent.

The Kerongo villagers who are scattered all over the country have received a constant stream of new comers from the village. It is important to separate these villagers into "the self-invited

migrants" and "the dependent migrants" in order to understand the predominant labour migration type of the self-invitation. It is needless to say that personal networks with family consanguinity, affinity or village friends play a crucial role in their determination for self-invitation. But here will follow two steps. Firstly, we will set a total framework to group those villagers who sometime descend upon others but on the other are depended on. Next, actual networks stated above will be considered. There are two conditions which make up the framework for typology. One is the vicinity of one's residence to his place of work and the other is mobility of place of work. It is measured in terms of the frequency of transfer.

It is very important to the self-invited whether the residence of a person whom he would become a dependent is attached to his work or is independent of his work. Domestic servants, plantation workers or junior policemen occupy such residences as servant quarters, workers huts or staff houses. Those attached residences are so much subjected to the superintendence of overseers or employers that little can succeed in forcing themselves on them even for a short period. In contrast with this, new comers stay freely with another person's residence as far as it is

independent. It is of great advantage to the self-invited migrants.

As for the mobility of job site, it is more convenient to the self-invited migrants when the frequency of transfer is low. Construction artisans have the highest mobility of this kind. Whenever the contract is cancelled or expired, they have to look for another construction site. If he comes to know that there is a job in another town, he never hesitates in moving there with only a tool box, even if it is several hundred kilometres away. Besides, junior policemen and preachers show relatively higher mobility since they are transferred to other places every several years. The job-seekers can not therefore expect to be well-supported by those people with high mobility. Because it is nearly impossible for them to hunt a job at such local places and in such a short period.

Taking these two conditions into account, we classify the Kerongo migrants into four groups (Figure 3) and look into the dwelling places by each Group (Table 16).

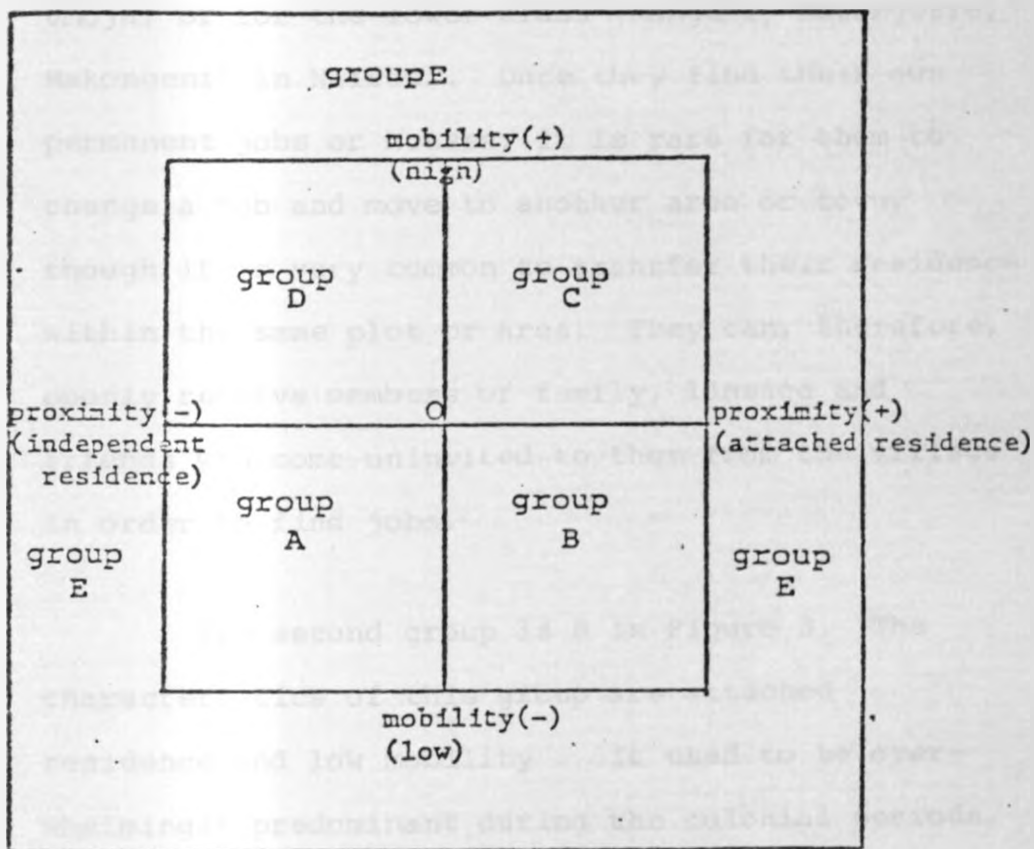
The first is the group A of Figure 3, which is characterized by independent residence and low mobility. Although it includes one daily domestic servant listed in Table 8, the majority of this

Table 16.

Target Town of The Kerongo Migrants.

Type of migrant	with low mobility & independent residence	with low mobility & attached residence		with high mobility & independent residence	with high mobility & attached residence	Job seek
Target Town		Servant	Agri-cultural worker			
Nairobi						
Kangemi	7	-	-	6	-	4
Kabete	9	1	5	1	-	3
Kawangware	1	-	-	-	-	-
Lavington	-	2	-	-	-	-
Chiromo	-	2	-	-	-	-
Uhuru	1	-	-	-	-	2
Unoja	3	-	-	-	-	-
Karen	1	-	-	-	-	-
Muthaiga	-	2	-	1	-	-
Gingili	-	1	-	-	-	-
Kenyatta	-	1	-	-	-	-
Other	1	2	-	-	-	-
Mombasa						
Mombasa	-	-	-	5	-	1
Kisumu	3	-	-	-	-	2
Kakamega	3	-	-	1	-	-
Thika	3	1	3	-	-	2
Limuru	1	-	2	-	-	-
Kikuyu	-	-	-	-	1	-
Kericho	-	-	1	-	-	-
Nandi	-	-	3	-	-	-
Migoli	-	-	1	-	-	-
Nakuru	-	-	-	-	1	-
Kitale	-	-	-	-	1	-
Webuye	1	-	-	-	-	-
Nzoia	1	-	-	-	-	-
Mbale	-	1	-	-	-	-
Chandarua	-	-	-	-	1	-
Mumias	-	-	-	-	1	-
Yala	-	-	-	-	1	-
Turkana	-	-	-	-	1	-
Unknown	5					
Total	36	13	15	14	7	14

FIGURE 3 Typology of the Kerongo Migrants



group are engaged in newly emerged urban miscellaneous services such as messengers, kiosk workers, scavengers or field assistants. They have made their abode at local centres like Kisumu, Kakamega and Thika or taken up their residence in residential areas for the lower middle (Uhuru, Umoja) or for the lower class (Kangemi, Kawangware, Makongeni) in Nairobi. Once they find their own permanent jobs or houses, it is rare for them to change a job and move to another area or town, though it is very common to transfer their residence within the same plot or area. They can, therefore, openly receive members of family, lineage and friends who come uninvited to them from the village in order to find jobs.

The second group is B in Figure 3. The characteristics of this group are attached residence and low mobility. It used to be overwhelmingly predominant during the colonial periods. Such labour migrants as domestic servants and plantation workers provide typical examples. The former are seen at European residential areas like Lavington, Chiromo or Muthaiga. Though they are assigned servant quarters, those quarters are usually under such a strict surveillance by the masters that the self-invitation phenomenon cannot be popular there in spite of their favourable

setting for job-hunting. The latter are scattered at large scale farms in the former White Highland, for example, coffee plantations in Thika, Ruiru, tea plantations in Kericho, Nand hill and former coffee plantations in Kabete, now owned by the Kikuyu farmers. They are also provided worker's hut, but it is no less difficult than at the servant's quarters for non-kins to feed on them at those huts, avoiding being watched by foremen. Moreover, most of the plantations are located at a long distance from town, which is not suitable for those who would like to find jobs in town. Thus, open self-invitation phenomenon cannot be seen among the group B owing to the fact that their residence and place of work are close together, though the self-invitation within family members frequently takes place.

The third is the group D. Independent residence and high mobility constitute the feature of this group. A large number of villagers have become construction artisans such as carpenters, painters or masons, because those are one of the easiest semi-skilled labour for the villagers without any formal education to master for themselves. As most of those labourers are paid daily by the contractors (mainly Indians) or sub-contractors (mainly Kikuyu), their position is weak and they are

thrown out of employment after completion of the contract. It is, therefore, very uncommon of this group to rent rooms for themselves. They become dependents upon the villagers of the group A. It explains the reason why there are so many artisans seen in Kangemi. They can be the intruded but can never be the depended.

The fourth is the group C, specialities of which are attached residence and high mobility. The migrants belonging to group C have to move to different places whenever they are transferred because they are allotted staff houses attached to their place of work. Such occupations as they are engaged in are teacher, junior police man, and preacher in which case their working places are small local towns (Mumias.Kikuyu) or a remote place (Turkana). So very few force themselves upon the group C to seek jobs. In this sense, the group C can never play an important role in the framework of the self-invited and the dependent.

Lastly, we should pay attention to the crowd of job seekers outside the framework. They are subjected to the great influence of the strain of rapid urbanization and modernization. Until they get a permanent employment, they wait and bear their misfortune with social fortitude, intruding upon

their close kins or friends, becoming dependent on them.

In sum, among the migrants from Kerongo, the group C and the group D stand for the self-invited (dependent) migrants, whereas the group A openly receive them and the group B does so in a limited way.

3.2 A Network of the Self-invited Migrants.

Most of the young villagers leave the village with no clear expectation of employment and accommodation in town and as such are forced to call uninvited on someone for initial shelter and food. Once he has secured his accommodation even if he is another's hunger-on, he is engaged in long, hard job-seeking, making full use of his personal network.

We will examine this network by each group explained before and consider the role of this network in the formation of their urban colony in Kangemi.

Table 17.

Support-giver to a Newcomer from Kerongo Village

Group	A		B				C		D		E
Type of Migrant	with low mobility & Independent residence		with low mobility & attached residence				with high mobility & Independence residence		with high mobility & attached residence		Job seeker
			Ser- vant		Agri- cultural worker		constru- ction artisans				
	during jobseeking periods		during job-seeking periods								
Support-giver	A*	B**	A	B	A	B	A	A	B	A	
F	4	2	1	-	3	2	-	-	-	3	
B	7	4	-	1	1	1	4	2	2	3	
Si	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
FB	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
FBS	2	-	-	-	1	1	1	-	-	1	
FFBSS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	
MB (kosa)	5	4	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	
FSiH (senge)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	
FMSiS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	
SiH	-	-	-	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	
V+C-friend***	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
V+C-friend	1	1	1	-	3	3	1	-	-	1	
V-C+friend	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
V-C-friend	4	7	2	1	1	1	2	-	-	1	
V+C+elder	-	1	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	
V+C-elder	-	1	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	
V-C+elder	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
V-C-elder	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Other Maragoli	1	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Other Ethnic group	-	1	-	1	1	1	-	-	-	-	
Employer	1	5	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Labour office	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Application	-	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	-	
Residents in Kangemi, Kabete	11	-	3	-	7	-	5	-	-	6	

A* Providing accommodation

B** Finding an employment opportunity.

*** V+ means that they come from the same village.

C+ means that they belong to the same village.

V- means that they are from different villages (neighbouring village)

C- means they belong to different clans.

F(father), M(mother), B(brother), Si(sister), S(son), H(husband).

3.2.1 A Case of the Group A - Migrants with independent residence and low mobility.

Table 17 shows the distribution of the migrants according to who took care of those migrants in finding initial accommodation and employment, and who is now doing this for them with respect to group A. Target persons for the self-invited migrants are, besides their own fathers, brothers, and mothers' brothers (Kosa), friends of same age from the neighbouring villages (we call them home friend). It tells a growing importance of friendship beyond not only village boundary but also such traditional social ties as extended family or patrilineal descent group. In the field of job-seeking, this trend becomes more and more conspicuous where those home friends play one of the most important roles.

All those new comers (except one) became dependents on their arrival upon the migrants of the group A and eleven of them lived in Kangemi or Kabete. We will generalize a typical image of this group. That is, one who on leaving the village to find a job goes uninvited at first to his brother or uncle (kosa) as a dependent, who, classified into group A, resides in Kangemi, Kabete, and with the assistance of home friends, he finally gets an

employment. S.K.(301) provides us with this typical example. He was born in 1948 as the first born son of G(202) of Avamenge. G had also worked at a sisal plantation in Taveta in 1930's, at a coffee plantation in Kabete in the 40's. S.K. left school where he was still in standard 6 and went uninvited to his uncle (kosa) who worked in Nakuru as a messenger of some hospital. His home village is Lyamagale. Depending upon him, S.K. had been, in vain, seeking a job for two years. S.K. came to Kabete in 1968 on a one way ticket given by his uncle. He became dependent upon his home friend of Avamavi who came from Lyamagale and got a job of telephone operator at the University. He helped SK in finding a part-time job of cultivating University farms. Later, SK was employed permanently as a field assistant (mowing the grass), and then he rented a room in Kangemi. He was transferred to the main campus of the University to do the same job and now he plays a leading part in taking care of the new comers from Kerongo.

3.2.2 A Case of the group B - Migrants with attached residence and low mobility.

There are two kinds of occupation within this group. One is of domestic servant and the other is of plantation worker. First we will focus on the

former and reconstitute a general pattern of securing initial shelter and employment according to Table 17. During the job-seeking period, one tends to become a dependent upon his home friends who did "tembea"³⁾ together when they were primary pupils. They are, more often than not, members of the group A living in Kangemi, Kabete. He is compelled to continue to be a dependent until old villagers of the second generation who have been engaged in domestic services offer their good offices to him and he obtains the same job as theirs. Long services have allowed these old servants to establish a network of employment information among themselves. If a cook, maid or house-boy is dismissed or newly recruited at some house, such information comes to their knowledge through that network. Then they visit Kangemi or Kabete and tells it to a young job-seeker from Kerongo or neighbouring villages whom they take into their kind consideration. JK(350) of Avasaali represents this typical pattern. He was born in 1947. His father, SJ(248) moved to Kerongo with his family in the fifties. Though SJ had worked at a coffee plantation in Kabete and at a tea plantation in Nandihill for many years, he was retired and returned to Kerongo in 1968. Crossing his father, JK left the village for Nairobi. First he descended upon his cousin (his father's elder brother' son)

in Kawangware, where he failed, however, to hunt a job and came back home. In 1975, he went to Nairobi again and this time, he became a dependent on his fellow villager SK(301), who occupied a room in Kangemi. Since SK was employed by the University as a field assistant and was familiar with several lecturers, he recommended JK to a Luo lecturer who needed a part-time house boy. Thus JK obtained his first job. Later in 1978, an old migrant WF(225) of Avagehayo, who has been working in Muthaiga for a long time as a houseboy, came to Kangemi and told JK, his old village friend's son, that there was one vacancy of a house-boy at a certain house in Muthaiga. JK asked WF to put in a good word for him. WF managed to get a recommendation from his own master which helped JK very much in acquiring that job.

Secondly, we will look into the latter type namely a plantation worker. In this case, a network of self-invitation seems much more simple than that of the domestic servant. Table 17 is also indicative of the general pattern of self-invitation of the plantation worker. One forces oneself on his father who is likely to be engaged in plantation labour since the pre-independence time or on his fellow villager who have taken up his residence in some farm as plantation worker after

independence. With the help of their recommendation, he is employed to do the same job as theirs. Such kind of self-invitation pattern can be frequently seen in farms scattered in the former White Highlands, though it is a little bit different in case of farms in Kabete. Those villagers who are engaged in farm labour in Kabete do this work as a stop-gap for the moment until they can find another better job in town. That is why they accept not more than 300/- a month. We will take a look at the short history of OA(349) as an example of such cases.

OA is a migrant of Avamavi who was born in 1955. His father, I(247) had worked at a sisal plantation in Taveta in the 30's being brought by some labour recruiter based in Kisumu. I suffered a serious disease and was retired in 1977. OA helped his mother in cultivating lands or managing cattle when he finished primary education. He went to Kabete in 1977 to become a dependent upon JJ(363) of Avagehayo, who was then a field assistant of the University. OA was acquainted with JJ because his mother belongs to the same sub-clan (mlango) as JJ and they met with each other very often in the homeland. JJ made OA acquainted with a Kikuyu, his friend, who had been working on a farm owned by a Kikuyu family. He recommended OA to the

owner. Thus OA got a job. He is going to continue this work until he can encounter a better job in town. OA never fails to visit Kangemi every weekend to acquire information about employment.

3.2.3 A Case of the group D - Migrants with independent residence and high mobility.

We have already pointed out that those semi-skilled artisans like carpenter, painter or mason have both unstable economic base and high mobility. This is why they often seek support from group A migrants. Table 17 shows that nearly half of the artisans from Kerongo have become dependents upon fellow villagers of the group A, who live in Kangemi. As they are paid on daily basis during the contract periods, they share the room rent and the living expenses with fellow villagers, but are transformed into hangers-on as soon as the contract runs out and they become jobless. Usually they choose brother or home friends of the same generation as the target person to descend upon.

They, more often than not, get a job through the pull of Indian contractor or Kikuyu sub-contractors and therefore, they have to make frequent visits to their offices in order to maintain a favourable impression. Among them, AF(354) of

Avasaali provides us a typical example of this group. He is a third-born son of MA(250). His family is very prominent in Kerongo, for MA is elected as an unpaid village officer (ligutu) today while his grand-father was appointed as anakida in the 20's and his great grant-father used to be a sub-headman (mlango) of this region. His brother MO(353) also plays a leading role among the Kerongo villagers in Kangemi, Kabete. When he finished standard VII, AF wanted to go to the polytechnic school to master such skills as carpentry or painting but he failed to do so owing to lack of school fees and came to his brother in Kangemi. As he was engaged in construction labour, he gradually learned skill of the mason through watching other artisans. Since 1978, he has been occassionally employed as a full-fledged mason by an Indian contractor based in Westland. It was not until 1980 that he entered into a long term contract with the contractor and became independent from his brother sharing one room in Kangemi with MM(358) and another home friend from Whani, who were also employed as mason by the same contractor. In December that year when the contract terminated and he was out of employment, he was forced to return to his brother again as a dependent. At the time of this research in August 1981, AF was working at

a construction site near Kangemi with the help of JH(204) of Avamenge, who has been under long-term contract with an Indian contractor as a field overseer.

3.2.4 A Case of group E.

As stated before, migrants of the group C like teachers, preachers or junior policemen, have little to do with the network of self-invitation, for most of them found their present job by themselves through direct application. So it is not necessary to look into this group but we will instead examine group E here.

According to Table 17, 50% of job-seekers are centred around Kangemi, Kabete. They forced themselves on the villagers of the group A and were seeking a job. Their main target persons are family members like father, brother or sisters, kins and affines along with a few village friends of the same generation (Table 1). Looking into the relations between these targets and the location of their residence, we find two types among them. One type can be found in local towns such as Kisumu and Mombasa, and middle class residential areas in Nairobi like Uhuru and Umoja estate. Targets for new comers are limited there to only their family

members. On the other hand, there is another type seen in poor housing areas in or near Nairobi, for example Kangemi, Kabete. In this type, target persons are willing to receive not only their family members but also their kins, affines or home friends openly. This accelerates young Kerongo villagers to descend upon those villagers in Kangemi, Kabete to seek a job. Let us pick up one example. PO(372) of Avasaali was born in 1957. His father is OM(258). As soon as he finished primary education, he went to Thika and became a dependent upon his father, who was then a caretaker of some secondary school. PO could attend that secondary school. When OM retired and returned to Kerongo in 1979, he could still continue to stay with the help of his uncle (kosa) who was also working in Thika. But at the end of the year, PO was expelled from the school due to non-payment of school fees. He then forced himself on his half cousin, EA(271), who lived in Kangemi and working at Kabete campus of the University as a field assistant. PO asked EA's father to find a part-time job in the University farms for him. But as EA's father died in Kabete, PO left Kangemi for Thika and Naivasha, where his uncles (kosa) were working. Unfortunately he failed to secure a job at both places. Later in 1980 PO came back to Kangemi to become a hunger-on upon EA again.

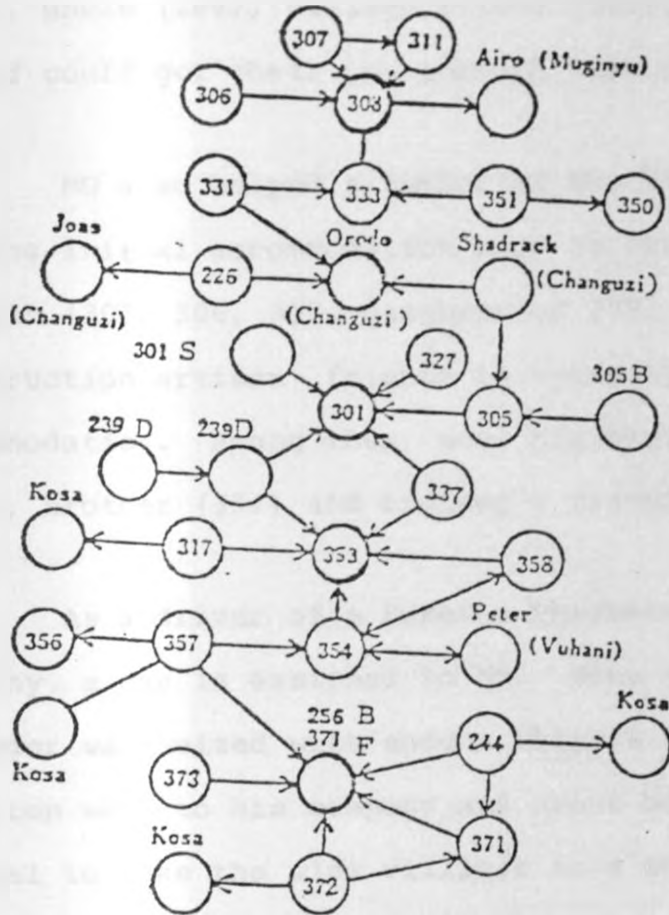
3.3 Kangemi, the Centre of a Network of the Self-invited Migrants.

We have examined a typical pattern of the self-invitation by each group. It shows that for those migrants of group A who live in Kangemi, Kabete always plays an important role in every pattern. In order to verify this, a network of the self-invitation seen among the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi and Kabete will be extracted (Figure 4).

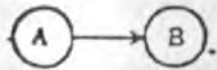
Those migrants belonging to group A like AA(died in 1980) of the second generation and SK(301), MO(353) of the third generation are placed at the centre of a network.

In case of SK, who is employed by the University as a field assistant, he took care of many fellow villagers who came to Kangemi without any notice to depend upon him. Among them are his sister, cousin (305), half cousin (309), uncle (203), clan mate (338, daughter of 239), village friend (327, 352, 356). He also provided the migrants of group D, whose economic base was unstable, with accommodation. Those construction artisans are, for example, his uncle (204) and village friend (337). Making the best use of his acquaintance with the University lecturers, he introduced not a few

FIGURE 4 A Network of Self-Invitation among the Kerongo Migrants in Kangemi



If newcomer A becomes dependent upon B in Kangemi, it is represented as



○ :leading caretaker

- 301S:sister of the villager 301
- 305B:brother of the villager 305
- 239D:daughter of the villager 239
- 371F:father of the villager 371

job-seekers from the village to those lecturers who needed faithful domestic servants. His half cousin (307), uncle (204), village friend (327), and home friend could get their job through this channel.

MO also helped a number of the villagers in finding initial accommodation such as his village friends (305, 306, 317, daughter of 239) and many construction artisan friends in securing accommodation. Among them were his best friend (337), brother (354) and brother's friends (357, 358).

As a driver of a Foreign Pharmaceutical company, a car is assigned to MO. When some fellow villager was seized with sudden illness in Kangemi, MO often went to his company and drove back to Kangemi to take the sick villager to a hospital. When he returned to Kerongo on leave, he sometimes carried several villagers who failed to raise money for transport back to the village in his car. These activities bring fame to him and he is now regarded as one of the most influential villagers among the young migrants.

There are other care-takers in Kangemi, Kabete. AA had provided part-time jobs to youths of Avasaali in Kabete farms that belong to University. His son, EA(371), also helped his half

cousin (372) and village friend (244) in finding their initial accommodation. DJ(308) of Avamenge took care of his brothers (306, 307, 311) who had been his dependents until they got jobs.

Those caretakers are the very core of the group A migrants, who have provided a number of the self-invited migrants of each group with open aids, which are not closed within family members. They provide initial shelter to the new comers and help them in securing accommodation and employment. They also allow construction artisans, who cannot afford to rent their own room, to share the rooms. To the farm labourers who work in Kabete, they make an offer of accommodation in exchange for job information.

These caretakers play a major part in maintaining the self-invitation network. A great many villagers have descended upon them and they openly receive their brothers, cousins, half-cousins and village friends. Those villagers, taken care of, turned to play a part of minor core of the network when they settled down in Kangemi, Kabete and became members of the group A. They are to take care of only family members or closest kins. In sum, migrants of group A in Kangemi, Kabete, whether they constitute a major or minor core of the self-

invitation network, have received new comers, job-seekers one after another. It results in intensive inhabitation of the Kerongo villagers in Kangemi, Kabete. Especially Kangemi contains several leading caretakers like MO, SK and combined with close interaction among residents due to densely built lodging houses,⁴⁾ it has gained in more importance than Kabete. Today Kangemi can be regarded as a target centre of rural-urban labour migration of the self-invitation type. In other words, Kangemi has become an urban base or urban colony for the migrants from Kerongo village.

Chapter 4.

Conclusion

We have examined a formation of Kerongo villagers' urban colony in Kangemi in terms of two stages. They are, namely, intensive labour migration to Kabete before independence through the "personal-invitation network" and intensive inflow to Kangemi after independence through the "self-invitation network." Kerongo village and Kabete (later Kangemi, Kabete) area has been closely related to each other in labour migration since 1920's. We can call this special relation as a "migration channel" between Kerongo, Kangemi and Kabete.

Those villagers pushed out of the village have never been flowing into towns disorderly but have been brought to their urban colonies in town systematically. We consider these special ties between the village and certain urban colonies (in this case, Kangemi, Kabete) as migration channels.

From Kerongo village, nearly half of the villagers (56 persons) of both the first and second generation came to Kabete before independence through this migration channel and more than half (40 persons) of the third generation villagers have

flowed in Kangemi, Kabete after independence through the migration channel.

It might be estimated that neighbouring villages of Kerongo have similarly formed the same migration channels as that of Kerongo between them and Kangemi, Kabete. This statement is substantiated by the following facts:

According to the old migrants from neighbouring villages of Kerongo who have been in Nairobi for many years and have taken care of fellow villagers, the number of the migrants in Nairobi was 71 from Lyamagale, 13 from Changuzi, 68 from Dabwongo and 13 from Musunguti village at the time of our research in August 1981. Among them, those who lived in Kangemi, Kabete were 28 of the Lyamagale migrants, 4 of the Changuzi, 20 of the Dabwongo and 3 of the Musunguti migrants, which amounted to nearly one third of all the migrants in Nairobi from those villages.

Furthermore, these old migrants gave a similar outline of a migration history of each village as the Kerongo villagers have experienced. These facts would suggest that the neighbouring villages have also established their migration channels with Kangemi and Kabete area and through

these channels a number of villagers have been brought to Kangemi and Kabete.

Thus we come to the conclusion that: villages scattered in South Maragoli have historically formed their own migration channels between themselves and Kangemi, Kabete, the majority of whom are made up of migrants from Kerongo and neighbouring villages; these migration channels have encouraged the formation and development of the urban colony in Kangemi for the Maragoli migrants.

Part II.

Retribalization Phenomenon of the
Maragoli Migrants in Nairobi.

Chapter 1

A Reorganization Process of Social
Relations of the Maragoli Migrants in Nairobi.

1.1 Social Relations of the Maragoli Migrants
in their Urban Colony, Kangemi.

1.1.1 Situations

We can follow an actual reorganizing process of social relations in their urban colony formed in Kangemi. In order to elucidate this process, this paper adopts the following procedures: Firstly, several social situations, where social relations are developed and organized, are chosen from the daily life of the Maragoli migrants in Kangemi. Secondly, the forms of reorganizing social relations in each situation are examined. Thirdly, the principles of reorganizing social relations are verified in each situation. We will extract here eight situations empirically from the daily life of the migrants from Kerongo village in Kangemi. This

division of situations are peculiar of the Kerongo migrants. Accordingly, it cannot be generalized to all the Maragoli migrants.

A new comer from Kerongo usually comes to Kangemi with empty hands. It is necessary for him to look for someone who provides him with initial shelter and daily food. According to traditional customs of the Maragoli, one should avoid sleeping with his father or father's brother in the same room. A new comer cannot, therefore, become a sponger on his father even if he lives in Kangemi. He is forced to be a dependent upon his brother, close kin or friend of the same generation. But Nairobi has grown so worse and worse these years in terms of housing, employment and food shortage that he cannot become a long-term dependent, say three or four years, upon the same person (except his full brother). It is common to move from one room to another every two, three weeks or months looking for some one who is willing to accommodate him. While he is a dependent, morning tea (chai) and evening ugali are rendered daily to him and he is sometimes provided with pocket money in amounts of two or three shillings. If he fortunately succeeds in hunting a job and occupies his own room in Kangemi, he is to receive a self-invited new comer from Kerongo in his turn. In such a situation of

taking and giving of accommodation, some social relations are actualized (the first situation).

Next, we will focus on a situation of job-seeking. It has become extremely difficult to obtain a permanent employment in the formal sector in Nairobi nowadays. There are only two ways to get it in such a severe environment. One is to apply directly for a big post in government organization or company of foreign capital, making the best use of one's higher educational attainments (from VI or University graduate). Another way is to employ one's personal connection with some big bosses who can exercise favourable influence upon government agencies or companies for him. The Kerongo migrants are, however, ill-fated enough to be blocked to both the ways. There is not a slim chance to obtain a permanent, stable employment before them without any high school career or connections with a big boss. What they are fortunate enough to secure are such occupation of the colonial type as a domestic servant, a plantation worker or such urban miscellaneous jobs as a daily-paid construction labourer, artisan, peddler and stallman, which are categorized into the informal sector. They develop unique social relations among them like exchange of information and recommendation in order to acquire these limited

opportunities of employment (the second situation).

The third situation is related to the borrowing and lending of money. When the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi stand in urgent need of a sizeable amount of money like one or two hundred shillings to meet schools fees for children or unexpected expenses,¹⁾ they rarely obtain such amount from their kins or friends. Their economic conditions never allow them to lend money to each other. Under these severe conditions, lend money is more often than not synonymous with idle and easily inverted to "donation". There are, therefore, various kinds of loan societies, in Kangemi as in other poor housing areas in Nairobi, which meet the needs of migrants. Not a few migrants from Kerongo borrow money from these loan societies at a high rate of interest of 20-25% a month. Most of these societies, which are small in scale with five or six members, are not to lend money to all of those who pay interest in advance.²⁾ They select borrowers according to their own judgement. In other words, a subtle social relationship in the daily life between the borrowers and the lender decide the result of accommodation (the third situation).

Fourthly, social relations through borrowing and lending of the daily necessities can be observed in the fourth situation. There are a lot of guests calling at lodging houses every day. Especially on Saturday evenings, each room is crowded by men, chatting and eating, before they turn out to drink alcohol in the bars. The borrowing and lending of flatware can be frequently seen between and within lodging houses. Usually women do washing in the morning on weekdays. They too often borrow or lend laundry soap to each other. Concerning tea (chai), which serves as a meal for the poor migrants, sugar and tea leave are exchanged between neighbours which is said to be based on reciprocity and account is usually balanced within a week. A kind of social relations is actualized in this situation (the fourth situation).

The fifth situation will be extracted from those social relations of drinking. Drinking is the only pleasure for the poor Maragoli migrants in Kangemi. For them, the most popular alcohol is bottled beer, though there are a lot of unauthorized bars for illegal home-brewed alcohol like chan'ngaa, which is obtained from mainly maize by distillation and buzaa, which is not by distillation. The Kerongo migrants go to these bars on Friday or Saturday nights and on Sundays. They never go to the

bars individually but always in companies of three or four. A social network is formed through this drinking company, but in most cases, this network is closed within the village or home friends and seldom open to other urban friends such as work mates (the fifth situation).

The sixth situation is organized through an exchange of home and urban information. If the Kerongo migrants in Nairobi need to contact or receive a communication from their family or close kins left in the village, they are never to do it by post or by telephone. They look for newcomers from the village and ask them whether they are charged to give any message to the migrants in Nairobi. They also look for those who are leaving Nairobi for Kerongo and trust them with some message or present. Their urban colony, Kangemi, has an "encounter place" where they can easily find out their messengers. There is a large bridge over the Nairobi-Nakuru main road which runs across the northern part of Kangemi (MAP 3, p.22). It is this bridge that offers such a place. Many of the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi told me that if they were to stand and wait to see those messengers on this bridge, they would not fail to find them. The author counted the number of the people who were engaged in small talk with each other on the bridge

every thirty minutes from 8:30 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. for six days (from 1st November to 6th November, 1980). The number of the Maragoli was counted by his friend who is a Kerongo migrant and as a matter of course, can understand Maragoli language. The results were remarkable and showed more than half (50.6%) of people engaged in small talk were Maragoli (Figure 1, Table 1), though Maragoli is a small ethnic group, the proportion of which is only a tiny percentage of the total Kenyan population. "Encounter place", plays a core role in the exchange of home and urban information. That is why a good number of Kerongo villagers who are scattered in different poor residential areas in Nairobi call at Kangemi every weekend (the sixth situation).

The seventh situation is associated with church activities, which are mostly done by women.³⁾ The Maragoli accepted christianity very early in this century. There are, therefore, a number of churches of different domination in the home-land. Apart from world-wide missions like Friends, Catholic, Anglican and Salvation Army, African Independent Churches such as Holy Spirit and Pentecost attract a large number of the Maragoli followers. A Maragoli preacher is dispatched to Kangemi every Sunday by the Pentecostal church (PAG)

FIGURE 1 The Number of People At The Encounter Place On Nov.2nd.1981(Sun.)

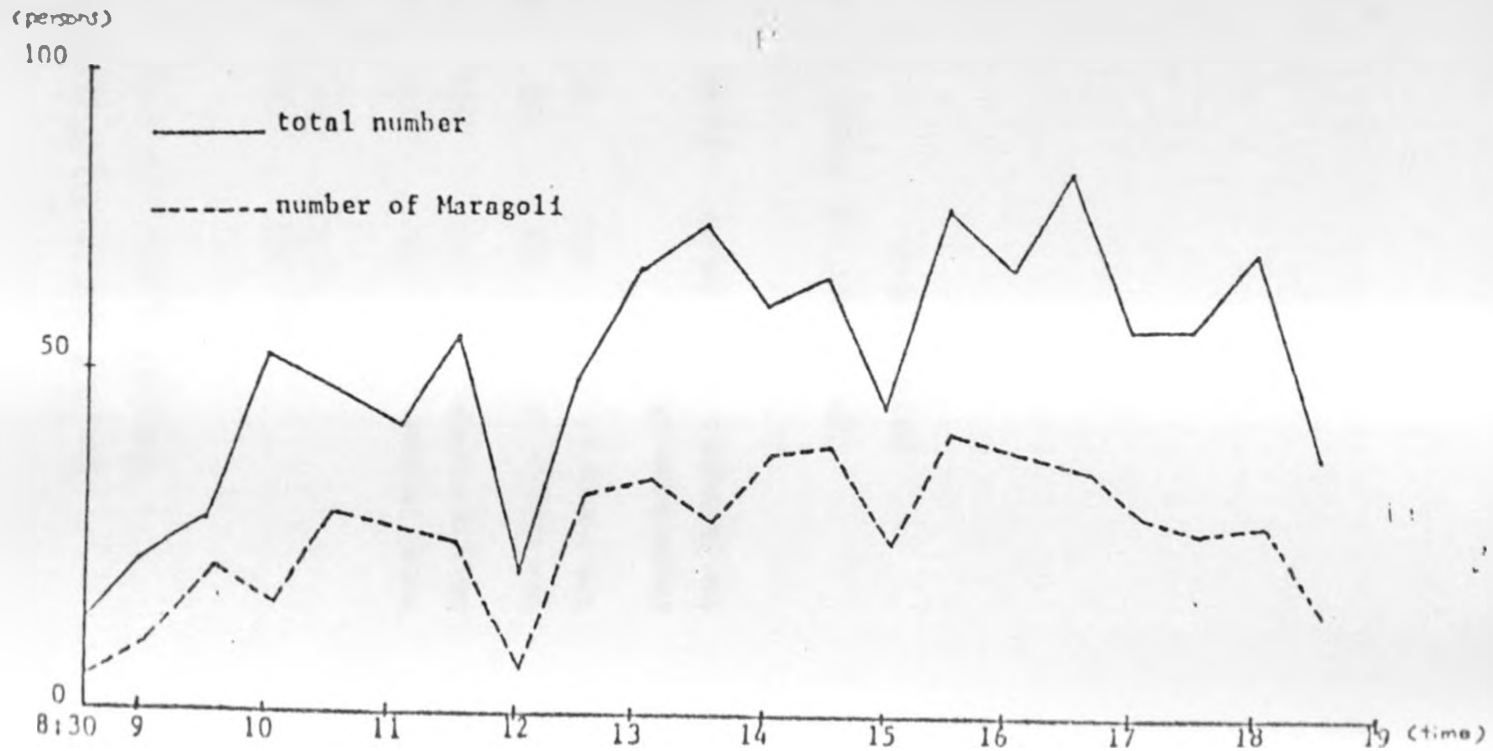


Table 1.

No. of People at The Encounter Place in Kangemi,
November, 1st to 6th.

	Nov. 1st (Sat.)	2nd (Sun.)	3rd (Mon.)	4th (Tue.)	5th (Wed.)	6th (Thu.)
Total Number on the bridge	654 (33)	1158 (85)	422 (32)	475 (44)	621 (66)	622 (50)
The number of the Maragoli	358 (21)	648 (38)	208 (11)	184 (15)	297 (18)	306 (22)
Percentage of the Maragoli	54.7%	56.0%	49.8%	38.7%	47.8%	49.2%

The number of women is enclosed in
parenthesis.

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based in Kabete. He organizes an open-air gathering for the Maragoli migrants only, preaching in Maragoli language. We could observe various kinds of interaction among them there besides religious prayer activities and sacred songs or dances⁴⁾ (the seventh situation).

Lastly, we will pick up a noticeable situation where social relation are developed in order to carry the body of a dead migrant back to the home village and to perform a ritual of "ilisyoma". These activities make the economic burden so heavy for the Kerongo migrants in Nairobi, where their living conditions have grown worse and worse, that they are forced to make the widest co-operation for raising money for transport. Nowadays, it usually costs three to four thousand shillings to carry the deceased to the home village. Taking it into account that a construction labourer earns 15-18/- a day in Nairobi, it is not difficult to understand that such expenses fall extremely heavily on the migrants. We will examine this situation in detail later in the chapter II (the eighth situation).

To sum up, apart from church activities which mainly involve women (the seventh situation),⁵⁾ the first and second situation can be brought

together as an aspect for securing the foundation of the daily life. The third and the fourth are regarded as an aspect for maintaining the daily life, while the fifth and the sixth can be considered as a stabilizer of the daily life. The eighth situation and a part of the third⁶⁾, are regarded as an aspect for coping with death of disease.

1.1.2 The Forms of Reorganizing Social Relations.

What forms of social relations are then reorganized in each situation? This paper will classify the forms into two types, the Network type and the Group type.⁷⁾ If interactions among individuals are transmuted into structuralized perpetual social relations, the expectations of which are defined within the structure of institutions, this form is regarded as the Group type. On the contrary, if that transmutation assumes the form of a link of social relations that fluctuates in boundary and quality, it is the Network type. In other words, in case that the migrants confront difficulties in some situation of the daily life, they form a sort of association to get over those or they extend their personal network of social relation to do so. The former leads to the Group

type, whereas the latter to the Network type.

Three different kind of explanations are possible on the relation between these two types. The first is in terms of structural functional complement which is supported by Barnes and Wolf.⁸⁾ According to it, a cleavage between formal groups would be filled up by informal network of social relations. The second explanation given by, for example, Boissevein, is that the relation between the two is not complementary but on a developmental continuum, namely from network to quasi-group and even to corporate group.⁹⁾ A perspective of the third explains the relation in terms of selective adaptation. According to it, either of the two is selected as the more reasonable strategy for obtaining available resources in a certain environment.¹⁰⁾ This paper will stand on the third explanation though infiltration of the two types, namely, personal network in a group and some quasi-group among a network are recognized.

Of the eight situations stated in 1.1.1., social relations are reorganized by the group type in the third, seventh, and eighth situation, while in the first, second, fourth, fifth and sixth situation by the network type. The Kerongo migrants use these types properly in each situation. Taking

account of it, this paper can employ the third explanation on the relation between the two types. For example, in securing the initial shelter and employment, the migrants from Kerongo village have never shown any sign of transmuting into the Group type in these thirty years. Even in such a severe living environment as that in Nairobi today, there have been no indications that associations are formed in order to secure accommodation or employment for its members. In case of the eighth situation where social relations are reorganized by the group type, this form is employed because it is more adaptive to make reiterative and continuous use of the limited resources in a certain environment. These lead us to consider that these two types are the result of selective adaptation in each situation.

1.1.3 The Principles of Reorganizing Social Relations.

In this section we will inquire into the principles on which the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi are based to reorganize their social relations. First,

we take the clan-lineage principle. Maragoli has more than thirty clans (ihiri), of which four are major ones. These clans have controlled traditional social life of the Maragoli. Even today marriage relations mainly based on an exogamous unit, ihiri,

are observed so much that almost all of the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi come back to their home villages when seek a spouse. Clan or lineage control over their urban social life seem, however, to be an illusion in a phenomenological sense. Interactions based on clan membership alone can scarcely be found in Kangemi, instead, interactions within family members are frequently in operation in an aspect for securing the foundation of the daily life especially in the first situation of providing the initial shelter (Table 2).

Instead of the clan-lineage principle, it is the village-home-boy principle that reorganizes much of social relations of the Kerongo migrants today. First, we will explain the concept of home-boy. It is Mayer, who was first in paying attention to the role of the home-boy in an African town. He indicated that those people who come from the same home location tended to intensify interaction among themselves in town, and he investigated their close social ties.¹¹⁾ Taking it into account that the range of their home location varies with time and space, we can divide the home-boy into two types, one is people who come from the same home location and live in the same urban locality, the other is people who play an important role to maintain social ties with the home

Table 2.

Support-giver to a Newcomer from Kerongo Village

Support-giver	Providing accommodation	Finding employment opportunity
F*	11	4
B	17	8
Si	2	1
FB	1	2
FBS	5	1
FFBSS	2	0
MB(kosa)	6	4
FMSiS	1	1
FSiH(senge)	1	0
SiH	1	1
V+C+friend**	0	0
V+C-friend	7	4
V-C+friend	1	0
V-C-friend	10	9
V+C+elder	1	2
V+C-elder	0	4
V-C+elder	0	0
V-C-elder	1	1
Other Maragoli	1	1
Other ethnic group	2	2
Employer	1	5
Labour Office	-	1
Application	-	7

* F(father),M(mother),B(brother),Si(sister), S(son), H(husband).

** V+ means that they come from that same village
V- means that they come from different
neighbouring villages.

C+ means that they belong to the same clan.

C- means they belong to different clans.

village.¹²⁾ Though this paper uses the term of the village-homeboy principles, the former corresponds to the home boy while the latter is related to the village principle. Among the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi, those migrants from four sub-locations of South Maragoli location can be regarded as the home-boy in the present stage.¹³⁾ Next we will discuss on the village principle.

As stated before, there are very few villages of one clan-one village in South Maragoli which are predominant in North Maragoli. In South Maragoli, several clans coinhabit in one village following the ethnic migration of the 18th-19th century in Western Kenya. Kerongo village does not provide an exceptional case. There are five major clans in the village, Avamenge, Avasaali, Avamuku, Avagehayo and Ava temboli (Table 3). Each clan has occupied its own territory in the village (when Evu- is prefixed to the clan name, it means the clan territory). Figure 2 is indicative of these clan territories in Kerongo. It is not uncommon to the villagers to frequently use these divisions of the village in their daily life. Then, when was Kerongo formed as a village (ilidala) in social relations among those who, then, belonged to their own clan territory? As the result of the introduction of administrative chiefship to the whole Maragoli

Table 3.

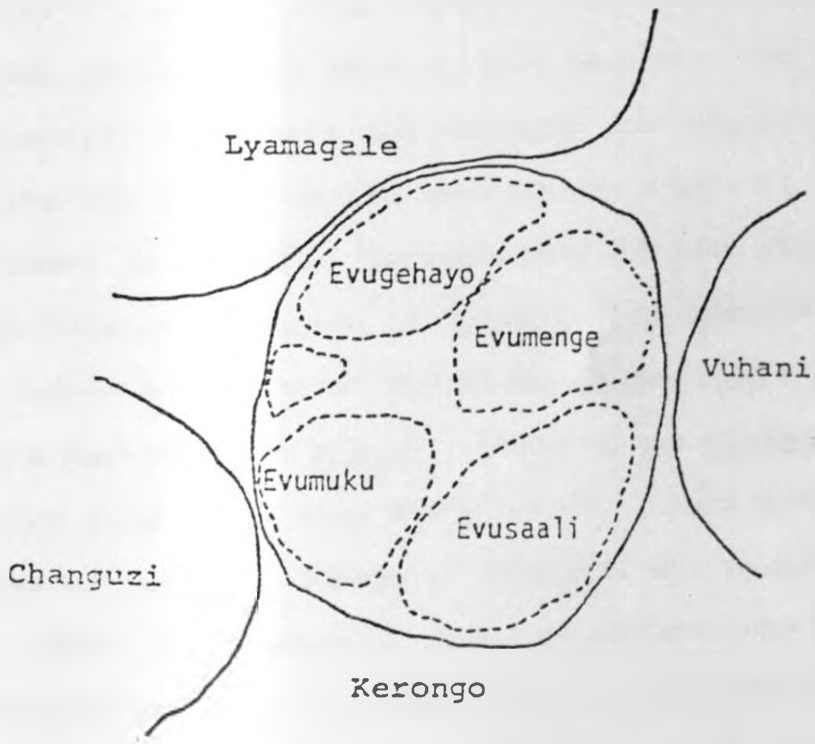
Major clans in Keronao Village

(Clans of wives excluded).

	No. of members	the 1st generation*	the 2nd generation*	the 3rd generation*
Avamenge	33	1	14	18
Avasaali	33	0	12	21
Avamuku	28	4	13	11
Avagehayo	24	1	12	11
Avatemboli	21	1	10	10
Avangezi	6	0	3	3
Avamavi	5	0	2	3
Avafunami	1	0	0	1

* See note 8, Chapter 2, Part I.

FIGURE 2 Clan Territories in Kerongo Village



land at the beginning of this century, an administrative line such as chief - headman - sub-headman (mlango) - akida was established mainly for the purpose of effective tax collection. Akida, who was a tax collector in direct contact with the villagers, was appointed not in each village level but in the clan territory or its alliance level. For example, early in the twenties, the location chief¹⁴⁾, of the whole Maragoli was Paul Agoi, under whose office there were several headmen. In South Maragoli, there were two headmen, one was Aduda of Avayo'nga in Vihiga and another was Agoyi of Avamavi in Kidundu. Looking into present Viguru sub-location, Nyabera of Avamavi in Lyamagale village and Ogonde of Avafunami in Musunguti village were appointed as mlango. Under these mlango, there used to be many akida as their assistant. In case of Kerongo, Ambuso of Avasaali was picked up as an akida from Evusaali, Aberi of Avamuku was from Evumuku and Murani of Avamavi was appointed from Evumenge, Evugehayo and Evutemboli, which used to be originally occupied by Avamavi. After all, the clan territory acted as the smallest unit of administrative control at that time. Thereafter, in the thirties to the fourties, rural-urban labour migration was extensively experienced in present Kerongo village when these people of each clan territory largely

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went to Kabete to work as plantation labourers. Trading their migration network of "personal invitation" and their social relations of mutual help there, they are limited and closed within the village members.¹⁵⁾ Consequently, experiences of labour migration in iligulu¹⁶⁾ seemed to cause the formation and development of "village consciousness" among these people of different clans.

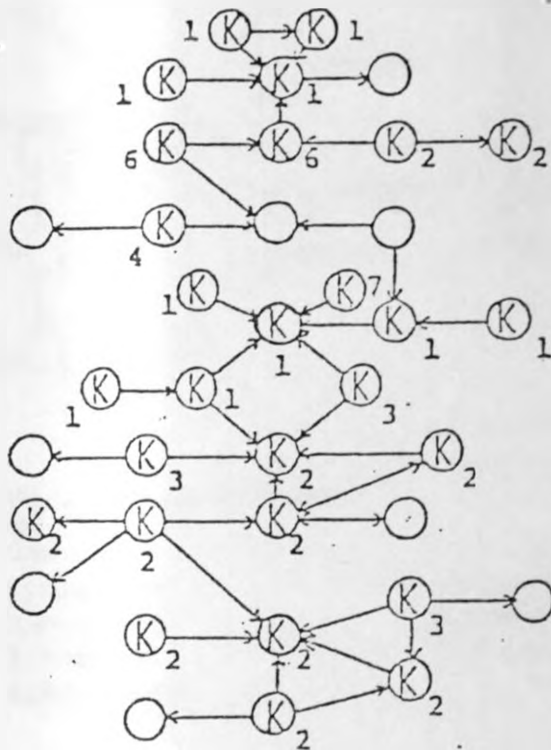
Nowadays, this village-home-boy principles have acquired greater importance in forming social relations of the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi. Of the eight situations mentioned before, the village principle plays the most dominant role in reorganizing social relations in the first, fifth and sixth situation (Figure 3, 4), while in the second and eighth situation, social relations are developed mainly by the home-boy principle (Table 3 and Chapter 2). These principles are motive power to generate retribalization phenomenon experienced by the Maragoli migrants in Kangemi. It is not the illusory clan-lineage principle or mysterious concept of tribe but this home-boy principle that creates, reorganizes and develops new pattern of social relations under the control of traditional ideology. We will take up this subject for discussion later.

The third is the urban neighbourhood principle. In Kangemi there are a large number of tenant houses, each of which has 10-20 rooms. There should be migrants of different ethnic groups in each tenant house. Perpetual and stable interactions among them are rarely observed due to their high mobility and stereotyped negative image to other ethnic groups, though the minimum co-operation between them (for example the borrowing and lending of flatware or washing soap) are often carried out.

Recently the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi have undergone a great change in the relation with their neighbours. That is, borrowing and lending of money has tended to be done among their neighbours. Late in the seventies, such loan societies based on the home-boy principle were in full activity as Viguru welfare society in 1975-76 or Komittii ya Watu Sita in 1978-79. The representative of the former was a migrant of Avamuku from Kerongo, it accommodated the migrants in Nairobi from Viguru sub-location with money at 20% interest a month. The latter was organized by young migrants from Musunguti and Kerongo village who belong to different clans like Avafunami, Avamuku and Avasaali. But both of the societies folded up in a short time owing to bilk and

FIGURE 3 A Network of Self-Invitation among the Kerongo Migrants in Kangemi

If newcomer A becomes dependent upon B in Kangemi, it is represented as $\textcircled{A} \rightarrow \textcircled{B}$



\textcircled{K} : Kerongo Villager

clan

1: Avamenge

2: Avasaali

3: Avamuku

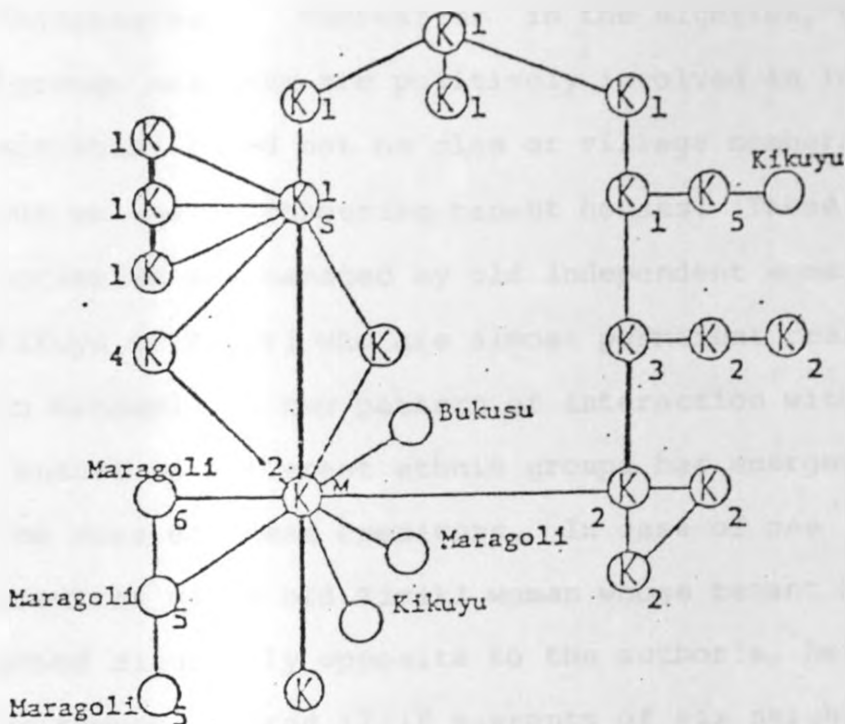
4: Avagehayo

5: Avangezi

6: Avatenboli

7: Avaravi

FIGURE 4 A Network of Drinking Company among the Kerongo Migrants in Kangemi



(K) = Kerongo Villager
clan.

- 1;Avamenge
- 2;Avsaali
- 3;Avamuku
- 4;Avagehayo

- 5;Avamyezi
- 6;Avaterboli
- 7;Avamavi

If A drinks with B once during the research period, it is represented as



It is based on the author's observations and interviews during May 1st. to 31st.

mismanagement. Thereafter in the eighties, the Kerongo migrants are positively involved in loan societies based not on clan or village membership but on the neighbouring tenant houses. These loan societies are managed by old independent women of Kikuyu or Tiriki who are almost permanent residents in Kangemi. A new pattern of interaction with tenants of different ethnic groups has emerged with the core of these creditors. In case of one creditor of an old Tiriki woman whose tenant house stood diagonally opposite to the author's, her customers covered 17-18 migrants of six neighbouring tenant houses. Two of them were the Kerongo migrants and other were Kikuyu, Gusii and Isukha migrants. All of them have lived in the neighbouring plots in Kangemi for more than four years and this is why they could get on better and trustworthy terms with the creditor. She said that she could lend money to nobody but those who lived in her neighbourhood because she wanted to see the daily live of the debtors. Such a loan society based on the urban neighbourhood principle has been found in every quarter of Kangemi. It is interesting to note that this trend emerged after the systematic failure of the home-boy principle, and, therefore, indicating the importance of the urban neighbourhood principle.

1.2 The Ideology of the Maragoli Migrants in an Urban Colony.

As we have seen, the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi reorganize their social relations in different forms, based on different principles, in each situation of their daily life (Table 4). It is the result of their own situational selection, though it is within the permissible limit of a certain cultural control. Most of these reorganizing processes seen in the first to the eighth situations are actualized as a retribalization phenomenon. The nature of retribalization phenomenon is a process of extending, intensifying and reorganizing social relations, based on the three principles,¹⁷⁾ especially the home-boy principle. Then how is this related to the theme of this study, that is, the third course of the retribalization phenomenon (see page 8-9) that a new pattern of social relations is developed under the traditional ideology? This paper will attempt to make this clear through the positive analysis of the eighth situation. Before this is done, however, we would like to examine how the home-boy principle, which has recently emerged in towns and influenced the process of retribalization, is embedded in the dominant traditional ideology of unilineal descent.

Table 4.

Situation, Form and Principle of Organization
of Social Relations.

Situation	Form	Principle
1st	Network	Clan lineage, village
2nd	Network	Village, home-boy
3rd	Group	Urban neighbourhood
4th	Network	Urban neighbourhood
5th	Network	Village (home-boy)
6th	Network	Village
7th	Group	Urban neighbourhood
8th	Group	Home-boy

1.2.1 The Dilemma of Unilineal Ideology.

It is ideology that forms the foundation of the principles of reorganizing social relations and sustaining them. This ideology is a product of a complex interplay of myths, beliefs, values and norms of a given society. Parkin considers two types of ideology.¹⁸⁾ The first one congregational ideology which includes religious ideology and unilineal ideology, whereas the second one is interpersonal ideology which might include bilineal kindred and patron-client ideologies, and son on. Accordingly, the Maragoli can be said to have traditionally maintained and fostered congregational ideology, which is not so much religious as it is unilineal in character.¹⁹⁾

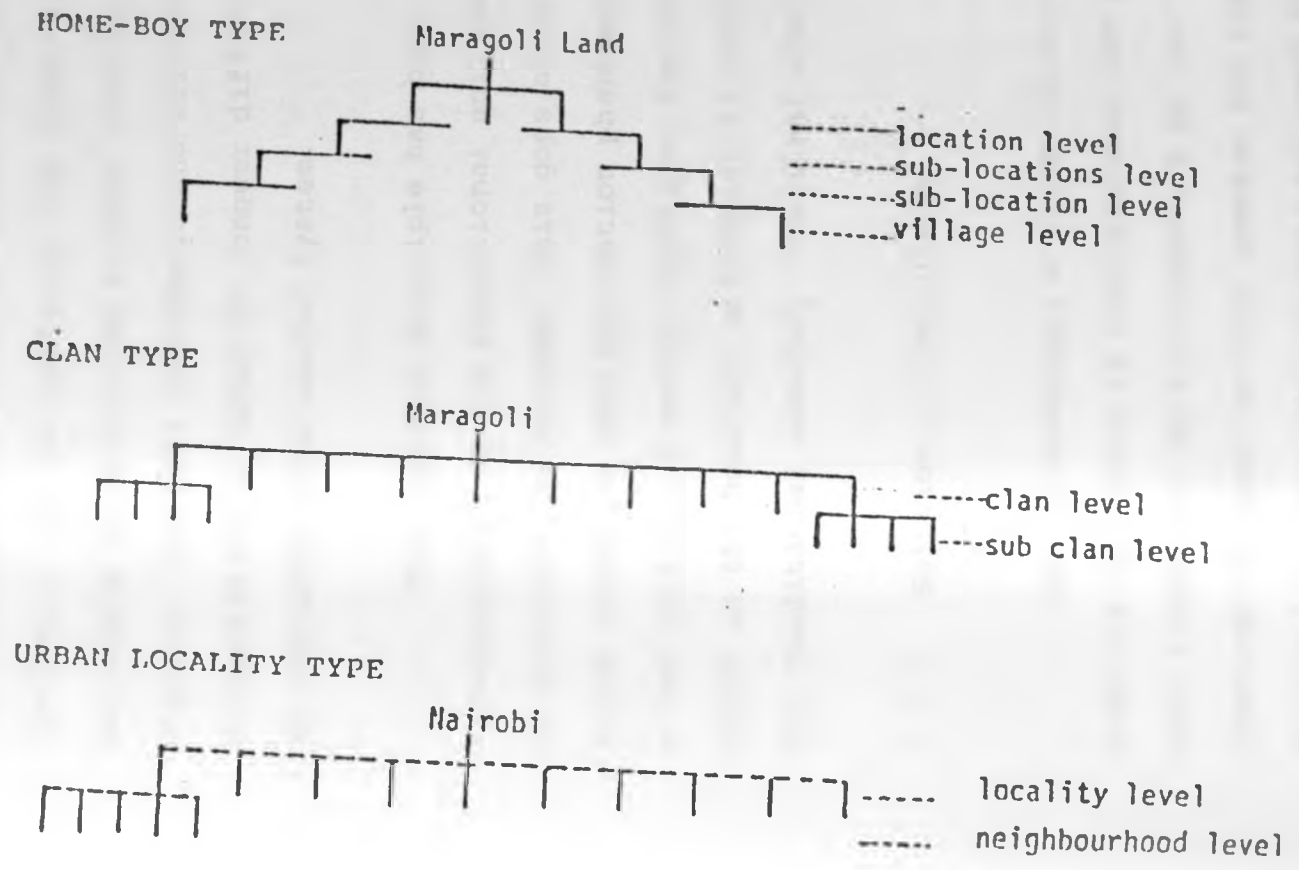
As was often stated earlier, the living conditions in Nairobi have deteriorated as unemployment and housing shortage, poor maintenance of public peace and order, a sudden rise in prices and a shortage of food and daily commodities have become worse. The migrants are forced to co-operate with each other in such an unstable urban environment in order to survive. In the case of the Maragoli migrants who traditionally have never had a vertical and heirarchical social structure, they have assumed the form of co-operation based not on

patron-client relations²⁰⁾ but on horizontal mutual help. In order to enrich or amplify this horizontal mutual help, there are two ideal ways; one is to deepen social relations in quality, and the other is to expand them in quantity. The poor Maragoli migrants employed the latter as they intended to secure sufficient mutual aids by involving more and more Maragoli migrants in their mutual help network. The advantage of this method is that it can save the poor migrants from shouldering their economic burden. In expanding the quantity of their social relations, the Maragoli found that the home-boy principle was the most effective way of doing it because the bounds of "home location" where the home boy come from are not fixed but flexible. If migrants from the same village alone regard themselves as home boy, home location is limited to their village, but if migrants from the same sub-location can consider they are all home boys, home location is sub-location. Thus, according to such systematic administrative divisions as village - sub-locations (alliance of sub-locations) - location - division (whole Maragoli Land), this principle can automatically expand a base for co-operation to the whole Maragoli land. In contrast with it, the clan-lineage principle cannot expand it systematically, for, Maragoli does not have a well-ordered lineage segmentation system as Nuer

has.²²⁾ Consequently, extension caused by this principle stops at the clan level, according to segmentation system of Maragoli which is lineage - (sub-clan)²³⁾ - clan. Beyond the clan level, it should force a co-operation base to jump up to the whole Maragoli people at one stroke. As for the urban neighbourhood principle, extension is limited to urban locality from urban neighbourhood and it is almost impossible to expand beyond it in the present situation. Furthermore, as far as a pattern of circulatory migration is predominant, development of social co-operation based on this principle cannot help being restricted. Figure 5 shows a model of extension of social relations based on each principle.

A dilemma comes into existence at this point. Although the home-boy principle is most suited for organizing co-operation in an urban environment, it is external to traditionally dominant ideology of unilineal descent. According to the traditional unilineal ideology, the Maragoli people are split into an infinite number of patrilineal clans. Social relations within or between villages always involve both tension and conflict. In spite of this, the migrants have developed co-operation based on the home-boy principle in town. It should be inconsistent with

FIGURE 5 A Extention Model of Social Relations



that traditional ideology unless it is provided with legitimacy in the framework of unilineal ideology. To the contrary, the clan-lineage principle is authorized by that ideology, it cannot, however, organize systematic and efficient co-operation in order to conquer difficulties in an unstable urban social system.

The home-boy principle has been reinterpreted in the traditional unilineal ideology to dissolve the dilemma. This goes along with the third course of retribalization phenomenon that a new pattern of social relations (social relations based on the home-boy principle) is developed under the traditional ideology (unilineal ideology).

1.2.2 Solution of the Dilemma

Before examining a proces of how the home-boy principle is reinterpreted and provided with legitimacy in the framework of the unilineal ideology in town, we will examine how the village principle is embeded in the unilineal ideology in the home land. For, once the village principle is provided with legitimacy, the home-boy principle is to obtain it easily, because from the former to the latter is a consecutive change, and both of them are based on territoriality.

The most intense way of reinterpreting the home-boy principle in the unilineal ideology is to make a village itself a quasi-clan, which was followed by the Kerongo villagers. They have generated and fostered brotherhood consciousness (amwavo) with other villagers of different clans. This amwavo consciousness has been more intensified and today Kerongo village itself looks like a quasi-clan. To be sure the villagers did not create any new myths or legends of their descent to justify it, therefore the village is not a descent group in this sense, but it is noteworthy that a new marriage regulation that avoids village endogamy, have been brought to the villagers in these fifty years.

Here we will look into marriage area of
Kerongo villagers (Table 5, 6).

The pattern of choosing a wife has remained unchanged inspite that rural-urban labour migration has exerted a strong effect on the villagers for three generations. Table 5 shows that the Kerongo villagers have got their wives from neighbouring villages including a few villages in Bunyore land which are also contiguous to Kerongo. But it should not be overlooked that village endogamy has disappeared since 1930's. The last intra-village marriage used to be done

Table 5.

Marriage Area of Kerongo Villager's Wife

Home Village of Wife	Wife of the 1st gene- ration	Wife of the 2nd gene- ration	Wife of the 3rd gene- ration
Kerongo	1	-	-
Musunguti	1	2	1
Lyamagale	-	2	-
Magina	-	1	1
Muginyu	-	2	-
Changuzi	-	1	-
Mahanga	-	4	4
Vuhani	1	1	-
Dabwongo	-	1	-
Chanzeze	-	3	-
Chavayo	1	3	2
Lyanaginga	1	1	-
Ivona	-	-	1
Madeya	1	-	-
Nameza	1	-	-
Vogenda	-	1	-
Madzuu	-	4	-
Bukuga	-	-	1
Kitulu	-	2	-
Umulalu	-	1	-
Vigina	-	2	-
Vihiga	-	-	1
Igakala	-	1	1
Majengo	-	-	2
Tigoi	-	2	-
Gambogi	-	1	-
Gavalagi	-	2	-
Ideleli	-	1	-
Chavakali	-	1	-
Mbale	-	3	-
(Other ethnic group)			
Bunyole	-	6	11
Tiriki	-	2	-
Bukusu	-	-	1
Nandi	-	1	-
Kikiyu	-	2	1
Tanzania	-	-	1
Unknown	1	11	5
Non-married	-	3	37

Table 6.

Clan of Keronqo Villager's Wife

Clan of Wife	Wife of the first generation	Wife of the second generation	Wife of the third generation
Avamavi	-	17	8
Avasaali	1	5	2
Avamuku	-	1	1
Avagehayo	1	1	1
Avafunami	1	3	1
Avamgezi	1	4	3
Avasuva	1	-	1
Avadindi	-	1	-
Avayo 'nga	-	2	4
Avamuruga	1	3	-
Avaguga	-	1	-
Avamahaero	-	-	1
Avakivuta	-	-	1
Avakilima	-	1	-
Avakizungu	-	1	-

between a man of Avamuku and a woman of Avasaali in the 30's, in other words, it was done between Evusaali and Evumuku. Though villagers explain a tendency to avoid intra-village marriage, saying that they are all brothers and sisters nowadays, a marriage between Evusaali and Evumuku was said not to be uncommon in the last century. Taking it into account that a marriage between a man of Avasaali in Kerongo and a woman of Avamuku in a neighbouring village or the reverse case is popular even today, it is difficult to attribute disappearance of village endogamy to a blind lane caused by traditional marriage regulations. It is, therefore, natural to owe it to the emergence and development of labour migration and co-operation in iligulu since 1920's. Co-operation in iligulu based on territorialism has been, thus, possible without any inconsistency with a traditional world of meaning of Maragoli, by making a territorial unit (village) a quasi-clan and embedding it in the traditional unilineal ideology.

These days amwavo consciousness has more and more taken root among the Kerongo villagers and the quasi-clanization has gradually made progress. We will introduce two examples of it.

Firstly, village elders irrespective of their their clan sometimes act as a substitute for one's father, father's brother or clan elder in case of the the negotiation of bride wealth (ovukwi), for they are usually absent from the village to work or seek a job in town. For example, during the author's stay in April, 1981, a negotiation of ovukwi between a girl's family of Avamenge in Kerongo and a young man's family of Avamavi in Lyamagale was going on at the house of the girl's father in Kerongo. The young man's brother, father's brothers and clan elders came to Kerongo but the girl's father, elder brother and father's brother were all in Nairobi or other towns not in the village. At that time a man (53 years old) of Avasaali in Evusaali happened to be back in Kerongo on leave. He has worked at a veterinary institution in Kabete and was known to any villagers because he always took good care of young migrants from Kerongo in Kabete. Then the girl's mother asked him to play a role of the clan elder of Avamenge in the negotiation with people of Avamavi.

The second example is concerned with amwavo consciousness of the village boys and girls seen in "tea party". The village boys quite often give small parties called "tea parties" in the day time calling together their friends not only from

Kerongo alone but also neighbouring villages. They are all school age boys of 14-18 years old. Half of the participants are boys and others are girls. Each of them brings a glass, tea leaves or sugar and an old radio from his or her father's house to one of the member's hut. They chat together, dance to the music and choose their girl friends or boy friends from the participators. In this sense the "tea party" is a place for the group date. If some couple of them took a great fancy to each other they sometimes escape that party together and often go so far as to have sexual intercourse in the bush.

But the Kerongo boy never chooses the Kerongo girl as his girl friend of this kind in the "tea party"; he chooses his girl friend from those aviko²⁴⁾ girls of neighbouring villages whom he can marry. These facts lead us to believe that quasi-clanization of the village have taken root.

Next, we will consider how home-boy principle is provided with legitimacy in the unilineal ideology in town. As the village principle is already embeded in it in such a manner as was explained, the home-boy principle is not so difficult to legitimize in town. The Kerongo migrants do not have to adopt, in this case, such a hard way as making the village a quasi-clan, introducing a new marriage regulation. This is one

of the most intense method to embed territorialism in clannism (unilineal ideology). It would be natural to adopt another way when they extend the territorialism once embedded in a meaning world of the Maragoli. This new, soft way is to develop urban kinship. The Kerongo migrants in Nairobi extend the use of their traditional kinship terminology to the non-kin home-boys, who become kinsmen in town in a metaphorical sense. By using urban kinship they can develop an idea of protection and mutual help in an unsuitable urban environment, which derives from traditional kinship terms of reference or address. The urban kinship has many points of likeness to the traditional kinship in semblance, their basic characteristics are, however, completely different. The latter holds many more factors that structuralize social relations, while the former is based on practical needs for mutual help and has less need to perpetuate social relations. In this sense, it can be regarded as a kind of personal social relations. To add to this, the latter plays an important role not only in co-operation but in a political or economic domain with members of three or four generations. In contrast with it, the former is significant only to stabilize a domestic domain and its generation composition is unbalanced, that

is, it has very few grand father's generation. The Maragoli migrants usually intend to stabilize their life by extending the urban kinship to urban neighbours, friends, member of the same ethnic group especially their fellow home-boys. In other words, they employ not a radical way of establishing a new marriage regulation but a flexible method of borrowing the terms of reference or address in order to embed the home-boy principle in the unilineal ideology without any contradiction.

The Kerongo migrants in Kangemi sometimes address their home friends of the same generation as amwavo (brother) or senior migrants of father's generation from the neighbouring village as kosa (uncle). This is more clear to their children in Kangemi. They more often than not tend to use the terms such as kosa (mother's brother), senge (father's sister or her husband), to address the home boy migrants of the same generation of their father.

Thus the home-boy principle is embeded in unilineal ideology and is perpetuated, well-adapted to the urban social system.

Chapter 2.

A Recorganization Process of Social Relations in the Eighth Situation.

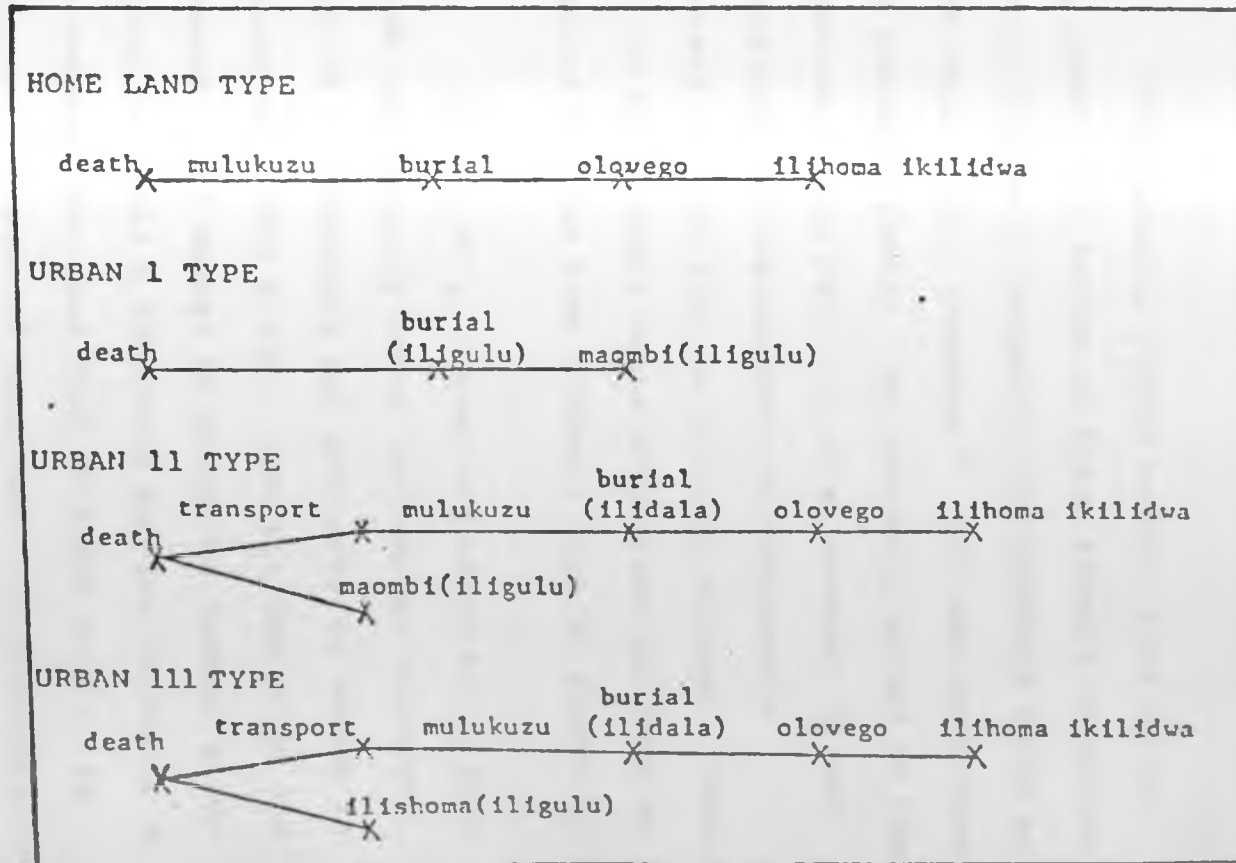
We have so far examined the third course of retribalization that a new pattern of social relations based on the home-boy principle is reinterpreted and developed in a traditionally dominant world of meanings of unilineal descent. In this chapter, we would like to make it more clear by analysing an actual reorganization process of social relations of the Kerongo Migrants in Kangemi. In order to do so, this paper will take example of co-operation in the eighth situation where they need to organize the widest co-operation to transport a deceased migrant back to the home village and prepare and perform ilisyoma, a ritual for remembrance.

2.1 Death in iligulu

Labour migration to iligulu since the 20's have caused as a matter of course death in iligulu, which the Maragoli had never experienced before. Traditionally, if a Maragoli dies in the homestead, it is the Maragoli way to bury his body in his

compound. They still adhere to this custom. After one's death in village, his body on the bed should be left in front of the door of his hut for three nights and three days, this is a vigil, his family, close kins, friends, a number of his clan members and fellow villagers come to express regret at parting and they chat each other, sing a song, and dance to the music around the body. According to the traditional Maragoli customs, all the attendants of a vigil are not allowed to go back home to sleep at night, they are to lie on the ground and are not to leave the deceased alone even when it is held in the rainy season. Even today, a majority of attendants are said to still follow these customs. One vigil (the second night) for an infant (2 years old) of Avamenge held in Kerongo will present one example to endorse it (Table 7). In the fourth morning after death, the body is buried. It is not uncommon that two or three hundred people attend this funeral ceremony, while more than one thousand attendants come in case of an elder's death. Thereafter two or three days later, members of the dead person's extended family have their hair shaved by the senior male member (olovego). Nowadays it is popular to construct a tomb with cement. An Ox should be slaughtered at the deep of dawn before constructing it. This ritual is called ilishoma ikilidwa. Holding a ilishoma ikilidwa for the

FIGURE 6 Funeral Rites of Maragoli



deceased depends on each case, some hold it immediately after funeral ceremony, others do after twenty years of his death.

The Maragoli people believe that unless they practice a series of these rituals (Homeland type in Figure 6) properly, the deceased turns to be an evil spirit (*kegenge*)¹⁾ and does much harm to a bereaved family. At the early period of labour migration in the 20's or 30's, however, it was impossible for the migrants to transport a deceased migrant back to the home village. There used to be no other means of burying his body at place of work in town (Urban I type in Figure 6).

In the 40's, labour migration to iligulu became very popular among the Kerongo villagers. Death of the migrants had increased in number in keeping with this trend. Then the family of the deceased could manage to go to the funeral place to pray and hold a religious service in honour of the deceased for fear that he might turn to be "*kegenge*", because of improvement of transportation system and much improvement of the migrant's economic conditions. But it could not prevent the deceased from turning to be kegenge unless he was properly buried in his compound. In the 50's, by which time the colonial government had much more

Table 7.

Attendants of Mulukuzu on Dec.16th 1980
in Keronqo.

Time	No. of Attendants	Female
10 p.m.	49	24
0 p.m.	70	29
3 a.m.	64	25
5 a.m.	40	20
7 a.m.	64	13

improved the transportation network in Kenya, the Maragoli migrants working in or near Nairobi began to carry a deceased person back to the home village. And after he was properly buried in the village, his family and fellow migrants came to his former residence for a ritual of praying (maombi) (Urban II in Figure 6). This ritual originated in the purely religious needs for shutting up kegege. But in the 70's it came to play another important role. Though it had been a kind of informal ritual within the limited members of his close kins and friends, it changed into a well-organized formal ritual that opened to any home-boy migrants in Nairobi. It is ilishoma. As living conditions in Nairobi have worsened over the years, a role of giving economic assistance to the deceased's family has become more important than the religious role in this ritual for remembrance, ilishoma. For example, in case of a ilishoma for one old Kerongo migrant of Avasaali held on February 1st, 1981 in Kabete, not less than 3000/- was contributed by the attendants and his wife and son received nearly 1000/- after expenses. This ilishoma in town is in contrast with ilishoma ikilidwa in the homeland. The latter still holds importance as a ritual and plays a crucial role in settling disputes concerning the deceased such as

his debt or inheritance of his land and property. Furthermore, expenses of the latter proves so much short of the actual contribution from the attendants. The only ritual aspect of the former is to pray at his former residence very early in the morning.

Thus, the ritual of ilisyoma is held splendidly after six months or a year after he died and a lot of the home-boy migrants who live in different areas are coming together for pray and contribution (sadaka) (Urban III in Figure 6).

2.2 Changes of Co-operation forms of Transportating a Deceased back to Kerongo.

The practice of returning the deceased to the home village that began in the 1950's, forced the migrants to co-operate to raise money for transport. Since then, the pattern of the migrant's co-operation have taken various forms. This paper would like to divide these changes in form into four stages.

The first stage is from the 1950's to the time of independence. The form of organizing their co-operation is not the group type but the network type in this period. Money for transporting the

the deceased was raised by his extended family members and clan members who then worked in or near Nairobi. For example, take a young migrant of Avangezi from Changuzi village who died in 1954 when he was a labourer in a coffee plantation in Kabete. It was his brother and some Kerongo migrants of the same clan of Avangezi that collected enough money for transporting his body. When another migrant of Avemenge from Nameza village was killed in 1956, who had been a faithful house boy in some White estate, a number of migrants of Avemenge, majority of whom worked in Kabete, bestirred themselves in the negotiation with his white master on the procedures of transporting the body and collecting money. These activities were based on brotherhood (amwavo) consciousness of the clan. They said it was very difficult to look for the same clan members and get an even small contribution from them, because a clan association had not been formed in this period, and most of the clan members were scattered in different residential areas in Nairobi and had very little face to face relation with each other.

Secondly, clan welfare association emerged in the 1960's (switch from the network type to the group type) such as Magina, Mgezi, Menge welfare associations or Vusaali union. They took an active

part not only in transporting the deceased back to home but also in accommodating their members with a small sum of money or offering a scholarship for their children. At the same period, Maragoli Union was organized for all the Maragoli people after such major ethnic groups as Gikuyu, Luo and Kamba established their own ethnic associations²⁾ and were actively engaged as a kind of interest group. In a grab-game for fruits of independence (political and economic interests), leading posts of the Union were held by a handful of "big men". The Maragoli union had, therefore, nothing to say to those poor migrants who could not pay their regular membership fee.

In the 70's, living conditions have taken a gradual turn towards the worse. Clan associations could never cope with these difficulties, for their members were limited in number, more-over they had settled down sporadically in Nairobi and had few "face to face" relation with each other. As the clan associations were on the decline, they were increasingly getting replaced by village or village alliance associations. This is the third stage. These new types of association (switch from the clan-lineage principle to the village-home-boy principle) managed to cover up the defects of the

clan associations shown above, and they extended their activity so far as to launch an enterprise as well as transporting a body or giving the loan. Typical examples were the Viguru Welfare Society organized by the migrants from Viguru sub-location, mainly Kerongo village and the Mungoma United Society formed by those from Mahanga sub-location (Table 8, 9). In case of the Mungoma United Society, some interested members bought shares (one share 100/-) to collect enough money to buy a new pick-up and became shareholders. The society purchased a pick-up truck for public transport (matatu) that ran between Majengo and Luanda in the home land.

But these village (alliance) associations confronted a crisis late in the 70's. This was due to the fact that members were almost fixed and that a division broke out between economic-minded members and cultural-minded migrants within their associations. The former thought much of developing an enterprise and getting more economic interest through the association, while a primary concern of the latter was whether the association helped them in transporting the deceased back to the home village if they themselves or family members should die in Nairobi. A new type of association was established in order to get through this crisis.

Table 8.

Viguru Welfare Association

Post	Home village	Clan
Chairman	Kerongo	Avamuku
Vice-chairman	Kerongo	Avamuku
Secretary	Kerongo	Avasaali
Vice-secretary	Kerongo	Avasaali

Table 9.

Munqoma United Society

Post	Home village	Clan
Chairman	Chanzeve	Avamuku
Vice-chairman	Inavi	Avamavi
Secretary	Kerongo	Avamuku
Vice-secretary	Chavavo	Avasaali

It was based not on village or village alliance (sub-location) alone but on sub-location alliance,³⁾ which is suitable for expanding the co-operation base in an unstable urban environment and it dropped all the purposes of the village association except the one to return the body back home and to perform a ritual of ilishoma in Nairobi. This is the fourth stage. The president of this new association, called Viguma, is an old migrant of Avasaali from Chavavo village and a young Dabwongo migrant of Avafunami is elected as the general secretary. They are presently employed as a domestic servant in White estate and a laboratory assistant in the University respectively. Judging from this, it is the ordinary, poor migrants themselves who manage the association, which, at this point, contrasts in a striking way with ethnic associations seen before. Viguma owes its formation and development to urgent needs of the migrants and wisdom of life of their daily experiences.

In sum, the principle which the migrants organize co-operation for returning the body back home has changed from the clan-lineage principle (the first stage and the second stage) to the village principle (the third stage), and even to the home-boy principle alone (the fourth stage). These changes have gone on very smoothly, owing to

the fact that the village-home-boy principle is embedded and reinterpreted in the traditional unilineal ideology examined in the previous chapter.

2.3 Co-operative Activities of Viguma

When a new comer wants to be a member of Viguma in Nairobi, he does not have to pay either admission fee or membership fee at all. He has only to go and ask the chairman or the secretary of his village to register him as a member of Viguma. It looks as if it were a loose organization, but as it is, the machinery and management of Viguma are systematically organized (Figure 7).

Next, we will briefly explain the procedures how Viguma organizes mutual help activities in case of the member's death.

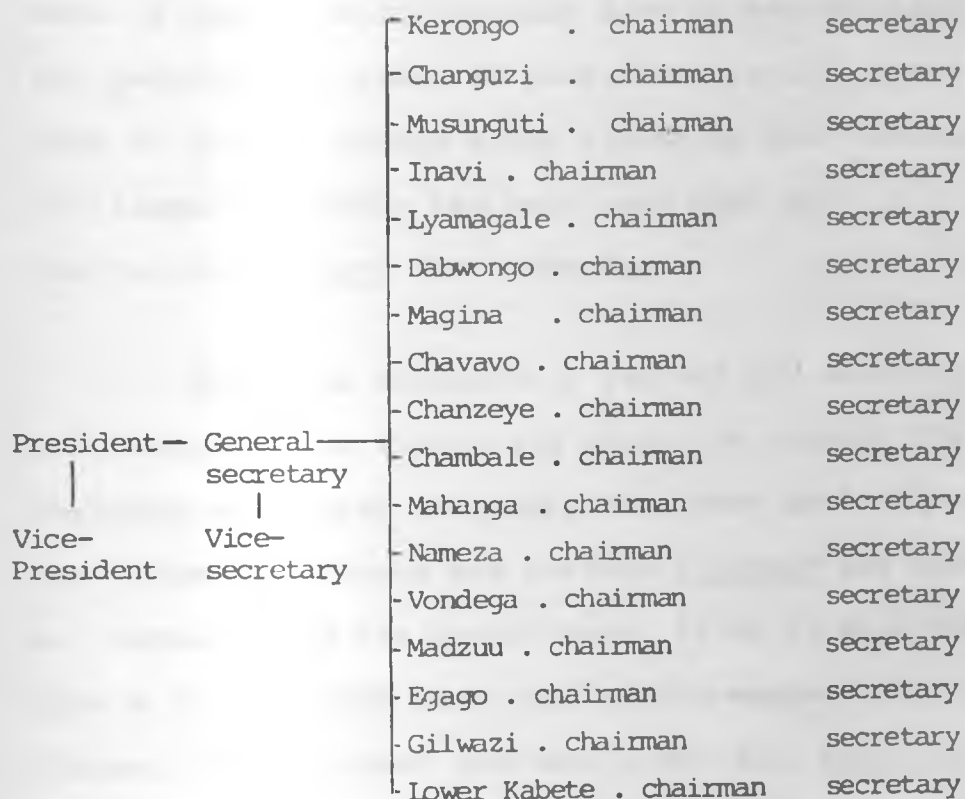
In case a migrant (A) dies in Nairobi, his family and close kin immediately reports to the chairman or secretary of his village, and asks him to help them. Then the chairman calls on the president or general secretary to solicit his judgement, and the general secretary checks the record book, because whenever a member of Viguma participates in co-operation of the body transport in the event of death, the name of the member as well as an amount of his contribution are all put

on record by him judging from this record book, if a A or his father or brother joins in Viguma's activities in most cases and made a constant contribution to them, the general secretary promises to help the deceased's family. He goes to the Key station of the Voice of Kenya to have a message from Viguma put on the air five times in information programs by Kiswahili broadcast. It costs fifty shillings a day. The message goes on like this; A has gone, who was born in village, sub-location, South Maragoli, lived in in Nairobi and was member of Viguma, so all the members and friends are expected to go to the city mortuary or his former residence in to make a contribution to transport his body back to village: after that some Viguma officials are dispatched to both the places to keep a record of contributions.

If A or his family in Nairobi is not a good member of Viguma (it means he rarely participated in Viguma's activities and rarely made a contribution), the general secretary refused to help his family in collecting money for transport of A's body. Even in this case, however, Viguma prepares a remedial measure for A's family. If his family or close kin and friends contrive to pay to Viguma four hundred Shillings as penalty for his having been a bad member, Viguma agrees to extend a helping hand to them and behind its ordinary procedures for raising money.

FIGURE 7.

Organization of Viguma



Many of those members who hear the message from radio go to the city mortuary or A's former residence and make a contribution (usually five to ten shillings per person). It takes in most cases less than one week to collect enough money (three or four thousand shillings) to return the body back home by chartering a matatu for three days.

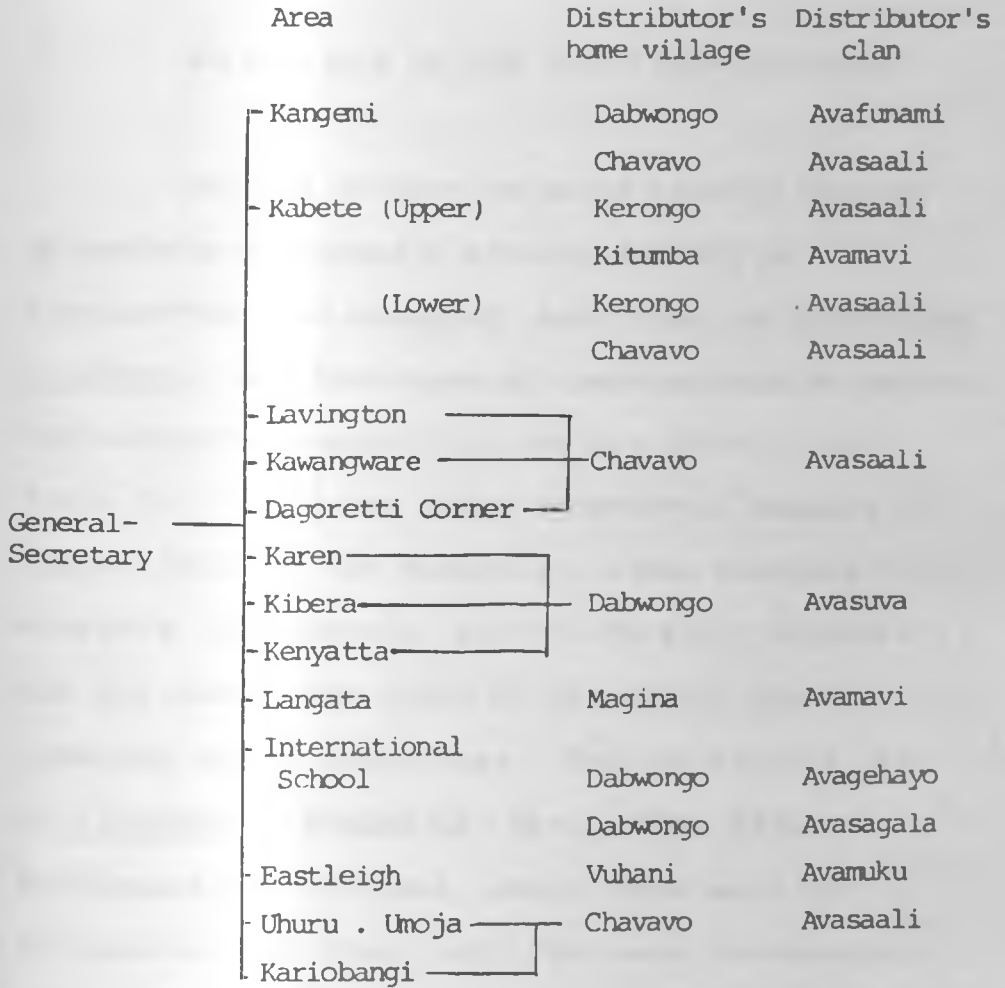
After six months or a year of the death of A in Nairobi, his family and close kin propose the chairman or general secretary that they would like the Viguma to prepare and perform ilishoma for late A. Judging from the record book, if it is well known that A or they have been good active members of Viguma, the president convenes a meeting, komittii (to discuss the matter), members of which are all the chairmen of sixteen village branches, one chairman of the special urban branch (Kabete), and four top officials of the Viguma. Provided that their proposal meets with approval of the komittii, the general secretary will set the date of ilishoma and go to the Nairobi Provincial Headquarter to obtain a permit to raise subscriptions. After that more than 1500 invitation letters are printed and distributed to all the members and their friends under joint signature of the president, general secretary and a chairman in charge of the migrants

from A's village. Though they sporadically live in Nairobi, Viguma deliver these letters not by post but by hand. It has established a splendid delivery network (Figure 8).

Thus, the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi admirably run Viguma for themselves making full use of their own experiences and brains, majority of whom are lower-class both politico-economically and socially.

FIGURE 8.

Distribution Network of Notice Letters
of Viguma.



Chapter 3

An Analysis of Attendants of Viguma Co-operative Activities.

3.1 An Analysis by the three Sub-principles.

In this chapter we would like to examine attendants of Viguma's activities such as transporting the deceased back home and performing ilishoma. All the cases of these activities during the author's research periods are shown in the Table 10. There are three attendants, members of Viguma (all are the Maragoli), other Maragoli migrants (non-members) and non-Maragoli migrants. But the latter two types of attendants are scarcely observed in its activities. Take an example of an ilishoma performed on April, 5th, 1981, at Kawangware near Kangemi, where there were 210 attendants. Of them, only five were non-Maragoli migrants and 29 were Maragoli but non-members of Viguma. More than 80% (81.9%) were Viguma's members, namely, migrants from four sub-locations in South Maragoli. Consequently all this leads us to pay much more attention to the analysis of Viguma's members. What kind of factor exerts the greatest influence on the members' decision whether they join in the co-operative activities or not in each

Table 10.

Co-operative Activities of Viguma During

1980-1981

		The des- ceased's home village	The des- ceased's clan	The des- ceased's urban residential area
1980.4.6	A	Chavavo	Avamenge	Kangemi
1980.8.3	A	Kerongo	Avasaali	Kabete
1980.8.31	B	Kerongo	Avasaali	Kabete
1980.9.27	B	Lyamagale	Avasaali	Lawangware
1980.10.30	B	Lyamagale	Avamavi	Loresho
1981.1.15	B	Chavavo	Avasaali	Kangemi
1981.1.23	B*	Magina	Avangezi	Kabete
1981.2.1	A	Kerongo	Avasaali	Kabete
1981.4.5	A	Chavavo	Avasaali	Kawangware
1981.4.22	B	Chavavo	Avasaali	Kibera
1981.5.2	B	Dabwongo	Avasuva	Kabete
1981.6.7	A*	Maina	Avangezi	Kabete
1981.7.5	A	Kerongo	Avagehayo	International Sch
1981.8.2	A	Chavavo	Avasaali	Kangemi

A: A ritual for remembrance, ilishoma,

B: Co-operative for transport of the deceased home.

*... The same person, a female migrant, whose husband comes from Lyamagale village and belongs to Mavi clan.

case? This paper will consider three sub-principles as the factors within the framework of Viguma based on the home-boy principle. These three are, the village sub-principle, the clan sub-principle and the urban locality sub-principle.^{1), 2)} According

to a combination of these three sub-principles, we can classify all the attendants of each case into eight categories. For instance, providing a migrant A of X clan, from Y village, in Z area died in Nairobi, Viguma is to organize co-operation to raise money for transport of his body back home or a ritual for remembrance ilishoma for him and his family. Then all the attendants of these activities of Viguma bifurcate by each of the three sub-

principles, whether they come from the same village (X) or not whether they belong to the same clan

(Y) as A's and whether they live in the same locality (Z) in Nairobi as A lived before his death.

A combination of these three bifurcations, each of them is based on one sub-principle of the three, will make up eight categories of all attendants.

In the same manner, we can group all the members of Viguma into the eight categories (I - VIII) in each case of its co-operative activities (Figure 9).

The members are nearly nine hundred migrants from sixteen villages that cover four sub-locations (all the villages in two sub-locations and a part of villages in another two sub-locations) in South Maragoli location. Using this categorization, we

can easily know the total number as well as the number of actual attendants of each category in individual case shown in Table 10. Restricted in data collection,³⁾ the author could classify all the members from five villages of Vuguru sub-location (234 migrants) into eight categories (I - VIII) in three cases of 1981 and into four categories (V - VIII) in the rest six cases of the same year, by each village (Table 11). Although Table 11 allows various analyses of different-angled points of view, we will focus here on the IV, VI and VIII category alone, where only one sub-principle could be at work by itself (Table 12).

Firstly, Table 12 shows that the clan-principle can provide too weak a base for sufficient co-operation by itself (the VI category). In other words, the total number of the migrants of the VI category is much less as compared with that of the IV and VII category, the VI category has the smallest capacity to send out real attendants to Viguma's co-operative activities. This weakness remains unchanged even if we add the migrants of the II and V category to the VI, both of which are closely related to the clan sub-principle.⁴⁾

That weakness is caused by characteristics of the South Mragoli Society that numerous small clans are so scattered all over the home-location that they can not be well-integrated in town.

FIGURE 9.

Typology of The Viguma members by their
Relation to the Deceased.

Category	Village sub- principle	Clan sub- principle	Urban locality sub- principle
I	+	+	+
II	+	+	-
III	+	-	+
IV	+	-	-
V	-	+	+
VI	-	+	-
VII	-	-	+
VIII	-	-	-

If one member shares the same sub-principle with the deceased, its relation is represented as (+), whereas if he does not, it is (-).

Table 11.

Attendants of Co-operative Activities of Viguma
by Home Village, by Member's Category.

1981.1.15

Category	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Home Village								
Kerongo					2/13	0/5	1/18	5/33
Lyamagale					0/0	0/0	6/30	9/40
Dabwongo					1/4	0/2	3/20	3/42
Changuzi					0/0	0/0	0/4	0/9
Musunguti					0/1	0/0	0/3	2/9

1981.1.23

Category	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Home Village								
Kerongo					0/0	0/0	2/31	3/38
Lyamagale	(3/17)*	(2/10)	(0/13)	(3/30)	0/2	0/2	4/28	4/38
Dabwongo					0/1	1/4	2/23	5/40
Changuzi					0/4	0/7	0/0	0/2
Musunguti					0/0	0/0	0/4	2/9

1981.2.1

Category	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Home Village								
Kerongo	10/13	4/5	15/18	20/33				
Lyamagale					0/0	0/0	6/30	10/40
Dabwongo					4/4	2/2	12/20	26/42
Changuzi					0/0	0/0	1/4	0/9
Musunguti					0/0	0/0	0/4	2/9

Table 11. (Contd).

1981.4.5

Category	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Home Village								
Kerongo					4/13	1/5	3/18	6/33
Lyamagale					0/0	0/0	6/30	8/40
Dabwongo					1/4	1/2	3/20	2/42
Changuzi					0/0	0/0	1/4	0/9
Musunguti					0/1	0/0	0/2	0/9

1981.4.22

Category	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Home Village								
Kerongo					0/0	1/18	0/0	5/51
Lyamagale					0/0	0/0	0/0	2/70
Dabwongo					0/0	0/6	1/6	3/56
Changuzi					0/0	0/0	0/4	1/9
Musunguti					0/0	0/0	0/1	1/12

1981.5.2

Category	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Home Village								
Kerongo					0/0	0/0	6/31	3/38
Lyamagale					1/3	0/0	1/27	2/40
Dabwongo	3/9	2/5	4/15	1/39				
Changuzi					0/0	0/0	0/4	1/9
Musunguti					0/0	0/0	0/4	2/9

1981.6.7

Category	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII
Home Village								
Kerongo					0/0	0/0	10/31	7/38
Lyamagale	(7/17)*	(2/10)	(2/13)	(4/30)				
Dabwongo					0/2	1/2	9/28	5/38
Changuzi					0/1	1/4	8/23	12/40
Musunguti					0/0	0/0	1/4	3/9

Table 11. (Contd).

1981.7.5									
Category	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
Home Village									
Kerongo	0/0	0/4	3/29	7/36					
Lyamagale					0/0	1/2	0/0		5/68
Dabwongo					0/4	2/3	0/2		11/59
Changuzi					0/0	0/0	0/0		0/13
Musunguti					0/0	0/0	0/0		1/13
1981.8.2									
Category	I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	
Home Village									
Kerongo					3/13	4/5	3/18		3/33
Lyamagale					0/0	0/0	3/30		3/40
Dabwongo					1/4	0/2	7/20		3/42
Changuzi					0/0	0/0	1/4		0/9
Musunguti					0/1	0/0	0/3		1/9

A/B Means that A is indicative of the number of attendants, whereas;

B shows the total number of members of the category.

*... The figure enclosed in parenthesis is based on the deceased's husband's relation to the member.

In contrast with this sub-principle, the IV category based on the village sub-principle alone has more capacity. Although the total number of the category of all cases cannot be definitely fixed due to lack of the six cases, that of the three cases alone has half as much capacity again as the total number of the VI category of all cases. Moreover it is the VII category based on the urban locality principle alone that has much more capacity than these two. Table 12 will suggest a solution to the problem that within the framework of the home-boy principle, which sub-principle can be expected to cause sufficient quantitative extension of social relations in the eighth situation.

Secondly, we will focus on not the capacity but the percentage of actual attendants to the total members of the category (Table 12). Though every category shows about 20% of the attendants rate, the IV category based on the village sub-principle alone is indicative of relatively higher rate, while the VI based on the clan sub-principle alone shows the lowest rate. It reveals that the former sub-principle acquire greater importance and that a myth of the clan (sub) principle as the absolute being gives way. As the rate is liable to sharp fluctuations, depending on individual cases,

Table 12.

Attendants Rate of the Member's Category
IV, VI and VII.

CATEGORY	IV	VI	VII
CASE (1981)			
1.15		0/0 (0%)	10/75 (13.3%)
1.23		1/13 (7.7%)	4/28 (14.3%)
2.1	20/33 (60.1%)	0/2 (0%)	21/57 (36.8%)
4.5		2/7 (28.6%)	13/74 (17.6%)
4.22		1/24 (4.2%)	1/11 (9.1%)
5.2	1/39 (2.6%)	0/0 (0%)	7/66 (10.6%)
6.7		2/13 (15.4%)	28/86 (32.6%)
7.5	7/36 (19.4%)	3/5 (60.0%)	0/2 (0%)
8.2		4/7 (57.1%)	14/75 (18.7%)
<hr/>			
Total	28/108 (25.9%)	13/78 (16.7%)	98/474 (20.7%)
<hr/>			

Table 13, it is not possible to draw a conclusion from limited data presented here. It should be affected by his personality, social status and network for mutual aids of the deceased. Though we have so far examined it in terms of the three sub-principles, we will try to make a quantitative analysis in the next section taking the external attributes of Viguma's members as indices.

3.2 A Quantification Analysis by the External Attributes of the Attendants.

In this section we will take an example of 234 members of Viguma, who come from Kerongo, Lyamagale, Dabwongo, Changuzi and Musunguti village of Viguru sub-location and examine the extent to which these external attributes of the migrants influence participation in co-operative activities of Viguma and which of these attributes have greater effect on it. This paper will consider the following eleven attributes as variables. They are: (1) coincidence of the deceased's village and the member's village, (2) coincidence of the deceased's clan and the member's clan, (3) coincidence of the deceased's urban residential area and that of the member, (4) the member's village, (5) his clan, (6) his urban residential locality, (7) his occupation,

Table 13.

Attendants of Co-operative Activities of
Viguma by Home Village, by Case 1981.

Case	1.15	1.23	2.1	4.5	4.22	5.2	6.7	7.5	8.2
Home Village	A*	A	B	B	A	A	B	B	B
Kerongo (70)**	8	5	50	14	6	9	17	10	13
Lyamagale (71)	15	8	16	14	2	4	15	6	6
Dabwongo (68)	7	8	43	7	4	10	21	13	11
Changuzi (13)	0	0	1			1	1	0	1
Musunguti (13)	2	2	7	0	1	2	4	1	1
Magina (44)	6	10	19	11	4	4	14	6	12
Mahanga (60)	3	2	6	15	2	2	10	2	7
Chavavo (205)	20	17	28	11	7	3	54	22	59
Chambale (90)	21	4	4	26	3	7	13	4	28
Chanzeze (80)	5	2	4	15	9	7	9	9	20
Inavi (62)	12	9	14	38	7	12	17	9	11
Madzuu (37)	3	1	9	8	6	2	7	6	4
Egago (55)	5	14	4	23	16	7	36	1	7
Nameza (25)	3	3	5	3	0	2	3	2	2
Vondega	1	1	4	1	0	1	1	1	1
Gilwazi (6)	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	0
Total (899)	106	86	214	190	69	74	222	92	183

*..... A: Co-operative activity of raising money for transporting the deceased migrant back to his home village.

B: A ritual for remembrance, ilishoma.

**..... The total number of members of Viguma is enclosed in parenthesis.

(8) his marital status, (9) his generation, (10) coincidence of the member's residence and that of his wife, and (11) the member's sex (Table 14). These eleven variables, correlated with each other, might show the external criterion that is important in influencing the members of Viguma to join in its co-operative activities.

Consequently, it is not significant to take account of simple correlation of one variable (x_1) with the external criterion (y), for it should be already complexly affected by other ten ($x_2 - x_{11}$) variables. We will, therefore, use partial correlation by removing the effects of other ten variables from simple correlation between x_1 and y . In order to compute it, Hayashi II, a quantification theory, developed by Guttman and Hayashi⁵⁾, will be employed here. Hayashi II sets it forth as a premise that there are n samples, each of which has R attributes and each of the attributes has K_j categories. Providing that i -th sample responds to k th category of j th attribute, i th sample is to be given 1 by $\delta_{i(jk)}$ similarly providing that it responds to the rest ($K_j - 1$) categories of j th attribute, it is to be given 0

$$\delta_{i(jk)} = \begin{cases} 1 & \text{(respond to } j \text{ th category)} \\ 0 & \text{(respond to the rest category)} \end{cases}$$

Table 14.

Eleven External Attributes of
Members of Viguma

A: Member

B: The deceased

Q2, A's Home village

- 1: Dabwongo, 2: Lyamagale, 3: Changuzi,
- 4: Musunguti, 5: Kerongo.

Q3, A's Clan

- 1: Avasaali, 2: Avamenge, 3: Avamuku,
- 4: Avagehayo, 5: Avamgezi,
- 6: Avafunami, 7: Avasuva, 8: Avatemboli,
- 9: Avamavi, 10: Avakivuta,
- 11: Avasagala, 12: Other.

Q4, A's Urban residential area

- 1: Kangemi, Kabete (Kangemi, Kabete, Kawangware, Westland).
- 2: Kibera (Kibera, Kenyatta, Karen, Langata).
- 3: Eastland (Eastleigh, Jericho, Muthaiga, Uhuru, Umoja).
- 4: International School (International School, Thika).
- 5: Not fixed.
- 6: Other..

Table 14 (Contd.)

Q5, A's Occupation

- 1: Non-skilled (watchman, factory worker, sweeper, field assistant, domestic servant, messenger, shopboy, hotel.bar work).
- 2: Semi-skilled (mason, carpenter, painter, cook, driver, assistant laboratory technician, junior electrician, plumber).
- 3: Clerical (clerk, teacher, preacher, shop-keeper).
- 4: Job-seeker (job-seeker, daily paid construction labourer).
- 5: Other.

Q6, A's Marrital Status

- 1: Married, 2: Unmarried,

Q7, A's Generation

- 1: Kijana*, 2: Mzee*

Q8, Coincidence of A's residence and his wife's residence

- 1: Separate, 2: Together.

Q9, A's Sex

- 1: Male, 2: Female.

Table 14 (Contd.)

Q13, Coincidence of A's home village and B's
home village

O: + (same) Yes, 1: - (different) No .

Q14, Coincidence of A's clan and B's clan

O: + (Yes), 1: - (No).

Q15, Coincidence of A's Urban residential area
and B's urban residential area.

O: + (Yes), 1: - (No).

*..... Literally the youth, but here we call
as kijana those who do not have any
child or have children that do not
yet leave school.

**..... Literally the old, those who have
children that have already left
school are regarded as mzee in this
table.

As to $\delta_i(jk)$ following formulas are possible.

$$\sum_{k=1}^{k_j} \delta_i(jk) = 1$$

$$\sum_{i=1}^n \delta_i(jk) = n_{jk}$$

$$\sum_{k=1}^{k_j} \sum_{i=1}^n \delta_i(jk) = n$$

On condition that means a total number of samples that respond to category k of attribute j. And providing that sample i responds to category k of a tribute j, formula will be;

$$\delta_i(jk) \delta_i(jk') = \begin{cases} 1 & (k=k') \\ 0 & (k \neq k') \end{cases}$$

Providing that each of k_j categories of R attributes is given a numerical value of x_{jk} ($j=1,2,\dots,R$; $k=1,2,\dots,k_j$), a new composite variable, responded to sample i, should be defined as:

$$\alpha_i = \sum_{j=1}^R \sum_{k=1}^{k_j} \delta_i(jk) \cdot x_{jk}$$

The model of Hayashi II is useful in discriminating that which of T groups each sample belongs to, using R qualitative attributes. Between variance divided by total variance gives η^2 , that is, $\eta^2 = \frac{\sigma^2 b}{\sigma^2}$. In this case, providing that the number of samples that responds to category k of attribute j in group t (t is a group number of T groups) is expressed by $Y_{ik}(t)$,

$$\sigma^2 = \frac{1}{n} \sum_{i=1}^n \alpha_i^2 - \bar{\alpha}^2$$

$$\sigma_b^2 = \sum_{t=1}^T \frac{n_t}{n} (\bar{\alpha}_t - \bar{\alpha})^2$$

$$n_{jk}(t) = \sum_{i(t)=1}^{n_t} \delta_i(t)(jk)$$

$$\bar{\alpha}_t = \frac{1}{n_t} \sum_{i(t)=1}^{n_t} \alpha_i(t) = \frac{1}{n_t} \sum_j \sum_k n_{jk}(t) \cdot \chi_{jk}$$

To get χ_{jk} that can maximize η^2 , η^2 should be partial-differentiated by χ_{uv} and both of them should be 0 as follows;

$$\frac{\partial \eta^2}{\partial \chi_{uv}} = 0 \quad (u=1, 2, \dots, R, v=1, 2, \dots, U_u)$$

or

$$\frac{\partial \sigma_b^2}{\partial \chi_{uv}} = \eta^2 \frac{\partial \sigma^2}{\partial \chi_{uv}}$$

To solve both members,

$$\sum_{j=1}^R \sum_{k=1}^{R_j} h(vu)(jk) \cdot \chi_{jk} = \eta^2 \sum_{l=1}^R \sum_{m=1}^{M_l} \left[f_{em}(uv) - \frac{1}{n} n_{em} \cdot n_{uv} \right] \chi_{lm}$$

But

$$h(vu)(jk) = \sum_{t=1}^T \frac{n_{jk}(t) \cdot n_{uv}(t)}{n_t} - \frac{1}{n} n_{jk} \cdot n_{uv}$$

In order to adopt the quantification analysis of Hayashi II, each variable should be relatively independent of each other. It is, therefore, necessary to check ETA of each by two of the eleven variables, if it is below 0.7, these two variables can be regarded independent of each other.

$$ETA = \left(1.0 - \frac{\sum_j \left\{ \sum_i f_{ij} \cdot j^2 - \left[\left(\sum_i f_{ij} \right)^2 \right] / \left(\sum_i f_{ij} \right) \right\}}{\sum_i \sum_j f_{ij} j^2 - \left[\left(\sum_i \sum_j f_{ij} \right)^2 \right] / N} \right)^{\frac{1}{2}}$$

Examining ETA of each by two of the eleven variables (Table 15), high correlation is recognized in only one pair between the attendant's urban residential area and his occupation. It reflects a trend of habitat segregation of the Maragoli migrants according to their economic status. For example, there are relatively many migrants in Eastland (including Uhuru-Umoja Estate), who are engaged in clerical occupation, whereas the majority are non-skilled or semi-skilled labourers in Kangemi, Kabete. Hence it is reasonable to drop either of the two variables and to compute partial correlation coefficients by the ten variables. But there is one question, the members of Viguma in some cases join in a ilishoma or fund raising meeting for returning the deceased back home, but they do not in other cases. To what extent do these ten variables

TABLE 15 ETA of Eleven Variables

<u>vari</u> <u>ables</u>	Q2	Q3	Q4	Q5	Q6	Q7	Q8	Q9	Q13	Q14	Q15
Q2	—	0.50519	0.15501	0.22958	0.09050	0.19836	0.18816	0.11141	0.19724	0.12965	0.09770
Q3	0.63806	—	0.27387	0.22290	0.23630	0.29763	0.32852	0.18982	0.16455	0.54311	0.13113
Q4	0.31107	0.18114	—	0.82179	0.17440	0.15665	0.28735	0.22419	0.04099	0.07814	0.32605
Q5	0.17343	0.19132	0.07372	—	0.23476	0.25645	0.28624	0.27349	0.04171	0.09773	0.12221
Q6	0.04815	0.06271	0.03535	0.07926	—	0.31354	0.03757	0.13757	0.01326	0.04159	0.07013
Q7	0.10503	0.03729	0.04039	0.12011	0.31354	—	0.22790	0.12432	0.01355	0.00912	0.02001
Q8	0.04651	0.07372	0.16106	0.12882	0.03767	0.22790	—	0.52251	0.01436	0.06809	0.00880
Q9	0.03247	0.02148	0.17159	0.19729	0.13757	0.12433	0.52251	—	0.00852	0.01690	0.02732
Q13	0.11359	0.08447	0.00385	0.00947	0.01323	0.01352	0.01438	0.00853	—	0.17142	0.02220
Q14	0.08910	0.26061	0.05676	0.03446	0.04158	0.00908	0.06089	0.01696	0.17142	—	0.02271
Q15	0.00186	0.00413	0.28300	0.08843	0.07013	0.01999	0.00874	0.02726	0.02229	0.02271	—

TABLE 16 Discrimination Function Coefficiencies
of Ten Variables

CUMULATIVE PERCENTAGE TABLE

CLASS	GROUP	GROUP	
		1	2
1	-3.55	0.0	100.0
2	-3.44	0.0	99.5
3	-3.32	0.0	99.1
4	-3.20	0.0	97.3
5	-3.09	0.0	97.3
6	-2.97	0.0	96.8
7	-2.86	0.0	96.8
8	-2.74	0.0	96.3
9	-2.62	0.0	95.9
10	-2.51	0.1	95.9
11	-2.39	0.7	95.3
12	-2.28	0.9	90.0
13	-2.16	0.9	88.6
14	-2.04	1.7	88.6
15	-1.93	2.0	87.3
16	-1.81	2.9	85.0
17	-1.70	3.0	80.9
18	-1.58	3.6	80.5
19	-1.46	4.1	79.1
20	-1.35	4.9	78.2
21	-1.23	6.0	75.9
22	-1.11	6.7	74.5
23	-1.00	10.5	73.2
24	-0.88	12.6	69.1
25	-0.77	18.7	65.0
26	-0.65	22.9	54.1
27	-0.53	28.6	50.5
28	-0.42	34.8	43.6
29	-0.30	36.3	39.1
30	-0.19	36.8	37.3
31	-0.07	40.2	35.5
32	0.05	45.6	31.8
33	0.16	51.2	22.7
34	0.28	63.9	20.9
35	0.39	72.0	14.1
36	0.51	74.8	7.7
37	0.63	76.1	5.5
38	0.74	77.5	4.1
39	0.86	82.4	3.2
40	0.97	84.6	2.7
41	1.09	86.3	2.3
42	1.21	87.1	1.9
43	1.32	90.5	1.8
44	1.44	91.6	1.8
45	1.55	92.0	-0.0
46	1.67	93.6	-0.0
47	1.79	94.2	-0.0
48	1.90	96.3	-0.0
49	2.02	97.5	-0.0
50	2.13	100.0	-0.0

influence their participation in co-operative activities of Viguma? Table 16 shows discriminant function coefficient of these ten variables to the external criterion that they participate in or not (Table 16). According to the Table 16, it is realized that the discriminant function coefficient is below 70% (63) and that the criterion cannot be sufficiently explained by the ten variables alone. The Maragoli migrants in Nairobi organize and develop social relations under a behavioural law that cannot be explained in terms either old fashioned concepts of Anthropology alone such as tribe, clan or lineage or modern practical factors alone like economic status.

Though we point out again that these ten variables cannot clearly discriminate the criterion it is interesting to focus on partial correlation coefficients of the ten variables (Table 17), the numeric value assigned to each variable and its range (Table 18).. The Table 17 shows that it is such variables as the attendant's village, clan, occupation, coincidence of his residence with his wife's and coincidence of his village with the deceased's village that have relatively greater influence on the criterion (partial correlation coefficient of these variables are all over 0.1) According to this, a typical image of the attendant

will be reconstructed, namely, a migrant who comes from Dabwongo or Kerongo village, belongs to Avamavi, Avafunami or Avagehayo, is engaged in clerical occupation, lives in Eastland with his wife and children and comes from the same village as the deceased's. This result should be explained in terms of three perspectives.

The first perspective is related to a formation process of welfare associations in Nairobi. Paying much attention to it, it will be realized why the migrants of specified clans, from specified villages tend to join the Viguma's activities more than other members irrespective of the deceased's village or clan. The migrant from those villages of multi-clan co-residence type like Kerongo or Dabwongo (Table 19) shows a higher percentage of attendance while the members from a village of one-clan dominant type such as Changuzi are indicative of a comparatively low rate of attendance. It leads to that those clan members such as Avafunami or Avagehayo who inhabit the former type village tend to be more positive to the co-operative activities. But in case of Avamavi, although it is the majority clan of Lyamagale, a village of the single-clan dominant type, wealthy migrants from the village actively join in them, which pulls up the percentage of attendance of Avamavi as a whole.

Table 17.

Partial Correlation Coefficiency of
Ten Variables.

Variables

Q13	0.12152976
Q14	0.01019482
Q15	0.03007630
Q2	0.14005595
Q3	0.22366196
Q5	0.16961217
Q6	0.01078267
Q7	0.04009762
Q8	0.14035624
Q9	0.08972645

TABLE 18 the Numeric Value Assigned to Each Variables and its Range

VARIABLE	VALUE	1
Q13		
YES (+)	0.	-0.84153819
NO (-)	1.	0.14714348
Q14		
YES (+)	0.	-0.07424963
NO (-)	1.	0.01184834
Q15		
YES (+)	0.	-0.18458849
NO (-)	1.	0.03979982
Q2		
DABWONGO	1.	-1.06302929
LYAMAGALE	2.	0.47652342
CHANGUZI	3.	0.14182311
MUSUNGUTI	4.	0.30312586
KERONGO	5.	-0.28920007
Q3		
AVASAALI	1.	-0.04303398
AVAMENGE	2.	-0.06108359
AVAMUKU	3.	-0.10494488
AVAGEMAYO	4.	-0.19977659
AVAMGEZI	5.	1.29744530
AVAFUNAMI	6.	-0.56333023
AVASUVA	7.	-0.15001816
AVATEMBOLI	8.	1.12184948
AVAMAVI	9.	-0.84397918
AVAKIVUTA	10.	1.92677212
AVASAGALA	11.	0.87075967
OTHER	12.	1.00072098
Q5		
NONSKILLED	1.	0.31160218
SEMISKILLED	2.	-0.50827903
CLERK	3.	-1.03163910
JOBSEEKER	4.	0.52316660
OTHER	5.	0.81262612
Q6		
MARRIED	1.	-0.00307127
UNMARRIED	2.	0.33169717
Q7		
KIJANA	1.	0.08913106
MZEE	2.	-0.15997899
Q8		
SEPARATE	1.	0.21914518
TOGETHER	2.	-1.10790062
Q9		
MALE	1.	-0.04578392
FEMALE	2.	1.36830521

TABLE 19 Percentage Distribution of the Migrants by Clan and Home Village

		COUNT													ROW TOTAL
ROW PCT	COL PCT	1.A	2.A	3.A	4.A	5.A	6.A	7.A	8.A	9.A	10.A	11.A	12.A		
TOT PCT		1.I	2.I	3.I	4.I	5.I	6.I	7.I	8.I	9.I	10.I	11.I	12.I		
		AVASAALI	AVAMENGE	AVAMUKU	AVAGEHAY	AVAMGEZI	AVAFUNAH	AVASUVA	AVATEHBO	AVAMAYI	AVAKIVUT	AVASAGAL	OTHER		
DABWONGO	1.	54	72	0	63	27	72	135	0	54	36	27	18	558	
		9.7	12.9	0.0	11.3	4.8	12.9	24.2	0.0	9.7	6.5	4.8	3.2	32.1	
		24.0	36.4	0.0	53.8	16.7	30.1	83.3	0.0	17.6	100.0	75.0	20.0		
		3.1	4.1	0.0	3.6	1.6	4.1	7.8	0.0	3.1	2.1	1.6	1.0		
LYAMAGALE	2.	0	27	9	18	36	18	27	9	225	0	0	45	414	
		0.0	4.5	2.2	4.3	8.7	4.3	6.5	2.2	54.3	0.0	0.0	10.9	23.8	
		0.0	13.6	6.7	15.4	22.2	9.5	16.7	11.1	73.5	0.0	0.0	50.0		
		0.0	1.6	0.5	1.0	2.1	1.0	1.6	0.5	13.0	0.0	0.0	2.6		
CHANGUZI	3.	0	0	0	0	99	0	0	0	0	0	0	18	117	
		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	84.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	15.4	6.7	
		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	61.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	20.0		
		0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.0		
MUSUNGUTI	4.	9	0	0	0	0	90	0	0	9	0	0	0	108	
		0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	83.3	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.2	
		4.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	47.6	0.0	0.0	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0		
		0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	5.2	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.0		
KERONGO	5.	162	99	126	36	0	9	0	72	18	0	9	9	540	
		30.0	18.3	23.3	6.7	0.0	1.7	0.0	13.3	3.3	0.0	1.7	1.7	31.1	
		72.0	50.0	93.3	30.8	0.0	4.8	0.0	80.9	5.9	0.0	25.0	10.0		
		9.3	5.7	7.3	2.1	0.0	0.5	0.0	4.1	1.0	0.0	0.5	0.5		
COLUMN TOTAL		225	198	135	117	162	189	162	81	306	36	36	90	1737	
		13.0	11.4	7.8	6.7	9.3	10.9	9.3	4.7	17.6	2.1	2.1	5.2	100.0	

That the migrants from the former type villages tend to more actively join in them is due to the fact that these villages produced some of key organizers of Viguma at the time of its formation.

Those from the latter type village had little interest in organizing a territory-based association even when clan-based associations could not organize efficient cooperation base and became behind the times. Though some of them still leant on clan-based un-efficient network, they were gradually involved in the territory-based associations.

On the contrary, the migrants from the former type newly organized territorial associations like a village association beyond the framework of descent groups (clans). Viguma might be considered an extension of this.

The second perspective is economic conditions of the members, which can be measured by their occupation. Those migrants who get clerical jobs tend to be more co-operative in the Viguma's activities to make more amount of contribution (Table 20), while unskilled migrants who are pressed with daily life do not show so high percentage of attendance as the former, though it is remarkable that even job-seekers without any cash employment shows 14.5% of attendance rate. These results suggest that some factor, which cannot be understood in terms of economic conditions, is at work. The variable of coincidence of the member's residence with his wife's also exerts

TABLE 20 Percentage Distribution of the Migrants by Occupation and Amount of Contribution

COUNT		95							ROW
ROW	PCT	INONSKILL	SEMISKIL	CLERK	JOBSEEKE	OTHER	NA	TOTAL	
COL	PCT	IED	LED		R				
TOT	PCT	1.I	2.I	3.I	4.I	5.I	9.I		
0.	I	706	241	45	200	16	473	1701	
	I	41.5	14.2	3.8	11.8	0.9	27.8	81.5	
	I	80.0	74.4	65.7	85.5	88.9	89.1		
	I	33.8	11.5	3.1	9.6	0.8	22.7		
2 1/2	I	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	
	I	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	
	I	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
	I	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
3 1/2	I	3	0	0	0	0	1	4	
	I	75.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	25.0	0.2	
	I	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2		
	I	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
4 1/2	I	2	0	0	0	1	0	3	
	I	66.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.0	0.1	
	I	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
	I	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
5 1/2	I	102	27	10	25	1	29	194	
	I	52.6	13.9	5.2	12.9	0.5	16.9	9.3	
	I	11.6	8.3	10.1	10.7	5.6	5.5		
	I	4.9	1.3	0.5	1.2	0.0	1.4		
6 1/2	I	1	1	0	0	0	1	3	
	I	33.3	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	33.3	0.1	
	I	0.1	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2		
	I	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
7 1/2	I	0	2	0	0	0	0	2	
	I	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	
	I	0.0	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
	I	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
10 1/2	I	44	22	8	8	0	22	104	
	I	42.3	21.2	7.7	7.7	0.0	21.2	5.0	
	I	5.0	6.8	8.1	3.4	0.0	4.1		
	I	2.1	1.1	0.4	0.4	0.0	1.1		
15 1/2	I	2	2	2	0	0	0	6	
	I	33.3	33.3	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.3	
	I	0.2	0.6	2.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
	I	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0		
20 1/2	I	5	13	2	1	0	2	23	
	I	21.7	56.5	8.7	4.3	0.0	8.7	1.1	
	I	0.6	4.0	2.0	0.4	0.0	0.2		
	I	0.2	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.1		
25 1/2	I	2	0	0	0	0	2	4	
	I	50.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	50.0	0.2	
	I	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4		
	I	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1		

(continued)

TABLE 20 Continued

		Q5								
COUNT	I	NONSKILL	SEMISKILL	CLERK	JOBSEEKER	OTHER	NA	ROW TOTAL		
ROW PCT	IED	LEO						R		
COL PCT	IED	1.I	2.I	3.I	4.I	5.I	9.I			
TOT PCT	(S. 1979)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	
30%	I	7	10	6	0	0	0	23		
	I	30.4	43.5	26.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	1.1		
	I	0.8	3.1	6.1	0.0	0.0	0.0			
	I	0.3	0.5	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0			
40%	I	1	3	5	0	0	0	9		
	I	11.1	33.3	55.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.4		
	I	0.1	0.9	5.1	0.0	0.0	0.0			
	I	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.0			
50%	I	3	1	1	0	0	1	6		
	I	50.0	16.7	16.7	0.0	0.0	16.7	0.3		
	I	0.3	0.3	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.2			
	I	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			
100%	I	2	1	0	0	0	0	3		
	I	66.7	33.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1		
	I	0.2	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			
	I	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			
200%	I	0	1	0	0	0	0	1		
	I	0.0	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
	I	0.0	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			
	I	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			
270%	I	1	0	0	0	0	0	1		
	I	100.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0		
	I	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			
	I	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0			
COLUMN TOTAL		892	324	99	234	18	531	2998		
TOTAL		42.2	15.5	4.7	11.2	0.9	25.4	100.0		

comparatively greater effect on the criterion because it has higher correlation with his occupation (Table 21). The wealthy migrant tends to live under the same roof with his family due to the stable income from his clerical job and psychological orientation to urban way of life, and he can afford to make a frequent contribution in each case of the Viguma's activities. That is why the migrants who live together with their wives show higher rate of attendance.

The third perspective is most noticeable. Those migrants who come from the same village as the deceased's demonstrate a relatively larger percentage of attendance. In contrast with this, the migrants of the same clan as the deceased's show an extremely lower attendance rate. Those four major variables mentioned in the former two perspective (the member's village, clan, occupation and coincidence of his residence with that of his wife's) might be understood in terms of external factors such as a formation process of Viguma or economic conditions, but this variable (coincidence of the member's village with the deceased's) is much more closely related to changes and reorganization of the social principles or ideology. Still today, a great number of the same clan members as the deceased's come to his place to keep

TABLE 21 Percentage Distribution of the Migrants
by Occupation and Co-residence of Husband and Wife

OS	COUNT	CB		ROW TOTAL
		ROW PCT	COL PCT	
		TOT PCT		
		1- I SEPARATE	2- I TOGETHER	
UNSKILLED	1.	621	153	774
		80.2	19.8	52.1
		51.5	54.2	
		41.8	10.3	
SEMISKILLED	2.	285	12	306
		94.1	5.9	20.6
		23.9	4.5	
		19.4	1.2	
CLERK	3.	54	36	90
		60.0	40.0	6.1
		4.5	12.9	
		3.4	2.4	
JOBSEEKER	4.	144	9	153
		94.1	5.9	10.3
		11.9	3.2	
		9.7	0.6	
OTHER	5.	9	9	18
		50.0	50.0	1.2
		0.7	3.2	
		0.6	0.6	
NA	9	90	54	144
		42.5	37.5	9.7
		7.5	19.4	
		6.1	3.6	
COLUMN TOTAL		1206	279	1485
		81.2	18.8	100.0

a wake (mulukuzu) from neighbouring villages in the homeland. Clan control over a series of funeral rite are still deeply rooted in the rural society, it has, however, suffered striking deterioration in Nairobi. Instead, village control over them has become influential. It is in accord with the development of new patterns of social relations in the traditional ideology.

To sum up, the quantification analysis of the attendants points of the following results: (1) the criterion can not be sufficiently explained by the attendants' external attributes (ten variables alone); (2) Taking (1) into account, it is the first variable of coincidence of the member's village with the deceased's that exerts a relatively greater effect on the criterion. It means he who comes from the same village as the deceased's tends to join in a transport money raising gathering or ilishoma. All these reveal that a myth of clan as an absolute principle has broken down and new patterns of social relations based on administrative territorial unit have developed.

Chapter 4

Conclusion

Here we will take up again for discussion the purpose of this study, that is to say, elucidation of the retribalization phenomenon of the African rural-urban labour migrants. Much has been argued about it, in most cases, all the members of one ethnic group in a specified urban area became the subject of investigation. But in case of the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi the retribalization phenomenon typically occurs among the poor migrants of the lower classes rather than among the Maragoli migrants as a whole. This paper would like to point out that the retribalization phenomenon among the Maragoli migrants appeared as nothing less than a survival mechanism on the extreme edge of subsistence in a severe, unstable urban environment. The poor Maragoli migrants are forced to manage to secure the base for their daily life, to maintain the minimum standard of living as well as to cope with urgent difficulties like death or sickness of their family. These minimum necessities for daily life cause the Kerongo migrants to make use of, or adaptively change a combination of such social relations as based on

clan, lineage, extended family, village neighbourhood, urban neighbourhood and locally in different situations. An entire of reorganization of these social relations should be crystallized into the retribalization phenomenon. In order to elucidate this process, this paper adopts the following procedure:

Firstly, several situations, where social relations are developed and organized, are chosen from the daily life of the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi. Secondly, the forms of reorganizing social relations (network/group type) are examined in each situation. Thirdly, the principles of reorganizing them (clan-lineage/village-homeboy/Urban neighbourhood-locality principle) are verified in each situation. And finally, we analyse how the village-homeboy principle, which has been rapidly developed in town is embedded and re-interpreted in a traditional and dominant ideology of unilineal descent.

Following these procedures, a reorganization process of the Maragoli migrants' social relations could be described in each situation. Then we will grasp the retribalization phenomenon as their complex whole in its totality. This paper takes an example of the eighth situation, a part of this

complex whole, and focuses on social relations organized on the occasion of co-operation for transporting a deceased migrant back to the home village and preparing and performing ilishoma for him and his family. They are closely connected with traditional Maragoli funeral rites and ideas of life and death, which have been one of the most important co-operative activities in the traditional Maragoli society. These activities are still mainly done by the extended family and clan members in the home land but these are scarcely done by them in Nairobi, where they are replaced with home-boys. For the homeboy principle has been newly developed in town as base for co-operation. It might be pointed out that even in such a most traditional and cultural conservative situation as is concerned with ideas of death and life, the principle of reorganizing social relations has gradually changed from the clan-lineage principle to the home-boy principle, though it is already provided with legitimacy within the framework of the traditional unilineal ideology.

As a matter of course, this change observed in the eighth situation cannot apply to other situations. Because each situation has its own process of reorganization. Accordingly, it becomes more important to extract its own mechanism and

process of reorganization from each situation and to positively analyse their complex whole in order to grasp retribalization phenomenon in its totality. Especially much more attention should be paid to the third situation (the borrowing and lending of money) where the urban neighbourhood principle plays a leading part in organizing social relations rather than the home-boy principle. It is not until we get this point that we can lay not the migrants but the townsmen¹⁾ on the table for consideration. It leads to concentrate our discussion on greater problem of class and ethnicity. Our eyes have been averted from this problem by urban ethnicity, which Parkins calls a "false consciousness or a form of mystification."²⁾

Consequently, apart from making clear a mechanism of the entire retribalization phenomenon by extracting and investigating a reorganization process of social relations in each situation, it remain to be proved that we should relieve this urban ethnicity of the role as a veil which has mystified a fundamental contradiction in an urban environment and should illuminate a complex phenomenon that is caused by both class and ethnicity. This paper plays an introductory part for it.

NOTES

Introduction

1. Malinowski, B., 1945:26.
Hellman, E., 1937, 1948 : 110.
2. Gluckman, M., 1960:55, 1961:68-69.
3. Southall, A., 1961:19.
Mayer, P., 1962:571.
4. Mitchell, J.C., 1966.
Epstein, A.L., 1958, 1967:276.
5. Fortes, M., 1959:193-212.
Mayer, P. & I., 1961.
Parkin, D., 1969b : 273-276.
Epstein, A.L., 1981:5.
6. Cohen, A., 1969:186.
7. Winder, P.B., 1962.
Morris, S., 1962.
8. Le Vine, 1966.
9. Cohen, A., 1969, 1974, 1981.
Arens, W., 1973.
Epstein, A.L., 1981.
Parkin, D., 1978.
10. Mayer distinguished townsmen (Townrootedness) from migrants by two kinds of level (Mayer, P. & I., 1961:9). One is an objective level and another is a subjective one. The former includes such elements as location of family

and close kins, frequency of visit to home village and location of property, while the latter means a psychological orientation.

11. Cohen, A., 1969: 194.
12. Census data for 1948, 1962, 1969 and 1979 shows the number of inhabitants to have been 258,085, 266,794, 509,286 and 834,549 respectively. Its population has shown an increase of 312.8% from 1962 to 1979, while the rate of population growth amounts to only 3.4% from 1948 to 1962.
13. Rajan, K.D., 1969:7.
14. Rempel built a model of rural-urban migration in Kenya. It was $M_{ij}(t) = F V_j(t) - V_i(t), V_i(t), D_{ij}(t), E(t), C_{ij}(t), A_j(t) - A_i(t), A_i(t)$ (Rempel, H., 1970).
He analysed determinants of migration when one decides to go out of his village (i) to some urban centre (j) to work. He made it clear that D(cost for transportation) was an important determinant as well as V(expected income stream), E(quality of labour available for employment), C(clan contacts from i in j) and A (amenity available).
15. This paper uses the term of not "tribe" but "ethnic group", because the term of tribe is

liable to be associated with the "past false image" (Parkin, D., 1975: 265-266) stereotyped and invented by many people since explorers and missionaries invaded Africa. It is not therefore suitable for explaining the contemporary phenomenon. Wallerstein considered a rural social group as "tribe" and an urban cultural sub-group as "ethnic group" (Wallerstein, E., 1960:477). But we will use the term of ethnic group in both senses here. Although it is true that it might give a false impression as if it settled all problems on "tribe" (Gulliver, P.H., 1969:8), it is more pertinent to adopt "ethnic group". Because it is more "value free" and appropriate to explain "contemporary and broader grouping" (Cohen, A., 1969:4, Colson, E., 1968:202-203). But the term of retribalization and supertribalization are relevant concepts to analyse the contemporary urban phenomenon. Consequently we will use these terms in this paper as they are.

16. Were, G.S., 1967.
17. It is Rouch who pointed out that ethnicity was not fixed but more flexible in town (Rouch, J., 1956). He made it clear that

those migrants of different ethnic groups who came afar from neighbouring home locations tended to form a new ethnic group and he called it supertribalization. In his study on Copperbelt towns, Mitchell described that in urban situations a Chewa person was identified with the ethnographically dissimilar but geographically close, Ngoni by a Lungu person, who in turn, was identified by the Chewa person as the ethnographically similar but nevertheless distinct Bemba who also like the Lungu, live in the Northern Province of Zambia (Mitchell, J.C., 1956:39, 1974:18-21). The similar phenomena were reported by Southall, A., (1961:39), Gulliver, P.H., (1969:21) and Paden, J.N. (1970:245). Maragoli, together with other 16 Bantu-speaking ethnic groups settled down in Western Kenya has formed a new supertribe called Luyia. This supertribalization of Luyia has made so much steady progress that it is not uncommon that Maragoli person is regarded as a Luyia person by such majority ethnic group members as Kikuyu and Luo in Nairobi.

18. Most of major towns in East Africa were established and developed as Colonial Administrative centres. They were suddenly built in the homeland of a certain ethnic group. According to Parkin, it is useful to distinguish "Host tribe" from "Migrant tribe" in order to analyse an urbanization process of such towns (Parkin, D., 1969). The former, who originally occupied these areas, regard the city as historically and culturally theirs. The latter are people who have flowed into the city. In case of Nairobi, the "host tribe" is Kikuyu and the Luo, Luyia (including Maragoli) and Kalenjin are the "migrant tribes".
19. Epstein, A.L., 1967:277-279.
Fraenkel, M., 1964:52.
La Fontaine, J.S., 1969:40.
Halpenny, P., 1975:276.
20. The Maragoli migrants in Kangemi show neither a marked trend toward exclusive inhabitation against other ethnic groups nor total interation with all of them. That is why we do not use the term "community".
21. See part I, Chapter 2, sub-section 2.1.1.

Part I

Chapter I.

1. Census data for 1962 (then Kangemi used to be a part of Kiambu District), 1969 (it was already incorporated into Nairobi) and 1979 show the number of inhabitants to have been 4,177, 9,173 and 20,924 respectively.
2. Parkin, D., 1977.
3. The density of population in North and South Maragoli location is 614 and 542 person per square kilometres respectively. These are some of those locations that have the highest population density in Kenya.

Chapter 2.

1. Were, G.S., 1967.
2. Ava is prefixed to each clan name and means all people of that clan. Therefore, all members of Maragoli are called Avalogooli and people of Saali clan are Avasaali.
3. Description of the history of Kerongo and neighbouring villages are based on interviews with mzee Zabrone, Fraim (both in Kerongo) and mzee Otuda (in Lyamagale village).

4. Avamenge means people ^{who} wander about. The leader of this band of Kauma was Odenyo. His wife (a Bunyole woman) was regarded a witch. When they came to the central part of Kerongo, a number of children and women of Avagehayo who had occupied there suffered an epidemic and died. Avagehayo ascribed these accidents to her and fled to Lyanaginga near Chavavo village. Odenyo and his family had settled down there.
5. In contrast with ilidala, all the places where one can earn cash without coming back home to sleep are called iligulu.
6. A Maragoli person classify all people of Maragoli into two kinds, relative clan members (Avasigu) and enemy clan members (Aviko). He can marry with the latter alone but never with the former (Mwenesi, J.M. 1976).
7. Major troubles that are lodged to baraza chaired by ligutu are: (i) theft of fowls, (ii) theft of clothes dried up outdoors, (iii) maize-eating by one's cattle in others' fields.
8. Generation difference is clearly recognized within each clan. According to it we classified all grown up villagers into three generations. The generation

which includes the first labour migrants from Kerongo is considered the first generation of migration. Their sons and grand-sons are to belong to the second and the third generation of migration respectively. A part of members of the third generation are still at school, they are therefore, excluded from the list. And all the sons of the third generation people are infants or primary school pupils and never go out of the village to work. Accordingly, the fourth generation of migration never exist yet. In the Table 8, following small descent groups have a common father of the first generation villagers; 1 and 2, 3 and 4, 5, 6 and 7, 8 and 9, 14 and 15, 17 and 18, 21, 22 and 23, 24 and 25, 36 and 37, 39 and 40.

9. Sifuna, D.N., 1977.
10. Ilisanga li kekeke plays an important role in co-operative activities of funeral rites. And when a daughter of the member successfully gives birth to the first child, ilisanga li nene will collect enough money so that she may call on her daughter to give her blessing with some presents for the baby.

11. Each household of Kerongo village has one or two plots on an average.
12. North Kavirondo District Political Record Book, 1903-1916.
13. A coffee picker then used to be paid 5/- a month. (Nyanza Province Political Record Book 1928).
14. Nyanza Province Political Record Book, 1923-1927.
15. Not a few family were compelled to leave Kerongo to seek a new land owing to population pressure and fractionization of the father's land. Most of them imigrated into Suna sub-location near Migoli in South Nyanza or suburbs of Nandi hill (see Map 1).
16. See Note (28), Introduction.
17. Coffee acreage in Kiambu District jumped to 24104 acres from 13,752 acres during 1918-1923 (Kiambu District Annual Report, 1918, 1923).
18. Crown Land Ordinance was proclaimed in 1902 and 1915. According to the 1915 Ordinance, native communal lands which had been used by native Kikuyu people were incorporated into the Crown land and all the Kikuyu

peasants there were deprived of lands and shut up in the reserves.

19. Kikuyu District Annual Report, 1921-1924.
20. White colonialists were struck with horror and called these freedom fighters "Mau Mau terrorists".
21. Kiambu District Annual Report, 1923.
22. Kiambu District Annual Report, 1940-53.

Chapter 3.

1. Mock carried out his field work in Bulala village, South Maragoli, He reported out that 61% of adult male villagers went out of the village to work (Mock, J., 1975).
2. Every household who has primary school pupil(s) has to pay 80/- as maintenance expenses to the primary school per term (three terms a year) irrespective of the number of pupil. In case of a secondary school it costs 600/- per term per person and 2000/- per term if one becomes a boarder.
3. Ku-tembea means to stroll about aimlessly in Kiswahili. Wazaki pointed our important implication of this word in a cultural context of the Kiswahili speaking region.

It is kugenda in Kimaragoli. (Wazaki, Y, 1977).

4. Kangemi is a densely built up area of tenant houses, in contrast to it, Kabete is studded with those houses.

Part II

Chapter I.

1. When a migrant himself or his family suffers from a disease or some accident, and is forced to go to hospital, he urgently needs cash. And when his wife who is on a temporary visit to him returns home or he himself has to return home, he needs cash for transport fares (70/- one way by bus) and such presents for his family as clothes, shoes or sugar. These are all unexpected expenses.
2. Every loan association adopts a system of an advance payment of interest. When one borrows 100/- from a certain loan association he has to pay interest of 20/- or 25/- in advance and after that he can be accommodated with 100/- at last. At the end of that month, if he cannot return the borrowed money, he has to pay another 20/- or 25/-.

3. All the villagers are christians except one Moslem. But church activities are mainly sustained by married women and old people. This pattern is also observed in Kangemi.
4. These married women who join in the religious gathering borrow or lend a small amount of money, sell or buy used clothes, and exchange information on part-time jobs such as a house-maid or a nurse-maid.
5. At the time of June, 1981, there were only six women (two of them in Kangemi) who went out of Kerongo to find a job or to work. There were three women who stayed with their husbands in town. All this reveals that as far as the Kerongo migrants are concerned, the church activities (mainly done by women) are of little importance.
6. There are two situations in which a migrant is forced to borrow money. In one case he borrows a small sum of money (4-5/-) to buy sugar, tea leaves or maize flour or for a bus fare to city centre. In the other case, he needs a round sum of money (80-100/-) as unexpected expenses (see note 1). The former is closely connected with maintenance of the daily life, while the latter relates to unexpected accidents such as death or disease.

7. Dirks, R., 1972.
8. Barnes, M., 1968:109.
Wolf, E.R., 1966.
9. Boissevein, J., 1968:552.
10. Whiteen & Szwed, 1970:44-45.
Sahlins, M., 1961:330.
11. "Home-boy" was translated by Harris-Jones from bakumwesu of Bemba word. Similarly Mayer translated amakhaya of Xhosa word into "home people" (Harris-Jones, 1969:299, Mayer, P. & I., 1961:99-101.)
12. Harris-Jones, 1969:303-304.
13. Viguru, Mahanga, Madzuu and Chagenda sub-location.
14. Traditionally, Maragoli had never had any paramount chief (Wagner, G., 1949). But the colonial administration produced a location chief for its convenience.
15. See Figure 2 in Part I.
16. See note (5), Chapter 2, Part I.
17. In considering the urban neighbourhood of this case, neighbours are limited to the Maragoli tenants alone and those of other ethnic groups are not taken account of.
18. Parkin, D., 1974:119.
19. Mwenesi, J.M., 1976.
20. A number of studies on partron-client

relation in Africa have been presented. Hausa landlords and cattle traders (Cohen, A., 1965), baraship of Nupe (Nadel, S.F., 1951:123) and Tusti-Hutu relation in Rwanda are examples. Lemarchand classified African traditional political clientelism into four types; (i) patrimonial, (ii) feudal, (iii) mercantile, and (iv) saintly (Lemarchand, 1977).

21. See note (17).
22. Evans-Pritchard, 1940.
23. It is four major clans only that have clearly segmented sub-clans (mlango). Clan segmentation cannot be recognized in the rest of small clans.
24. See note (6), Chapter 2, Part I.

Chapter 2.

1. A traditional idea of kegenge is merged with christianity and sometimes called amademon after the fashion of christianity.
2. G.E.M.A. (Gikuyu Embu Meru Association), Akamba Union and Luo Union are examples. But these ethnic associations were compulsorily disbanded by the President in 1980, because they had aggravated tribalism.

3. Viguma is made up of those migrants from sixteen villages of four sub-locations (the number of women is enclosed in parenthesis).

i. Viguru sub-location (all villages)

Kerongo : 70(5) Dabwongo : 68(6)

Lyamagale : 71(6) Magina : 44(1)

Musunguti : 13(0) Changuzi : 13(1).

ii. Mahanga sub-location (all villages)

Mahanga : 60(0) Chavavo : 205(17)

Chanzeze : 80(15) Chambale : 90(2)

Inavi : 60(4)

iii. Chagenda sub-location (a part of villages).

Nameza : 25(5)

Vondega and Gilwazi : 6(0)

iv. Madzun sub-location (a part of villages).

Madzuu : 37(5) Egago : 55(12).

Chapter 3.

1. See note (17), Chapter I, Part II.

2. In this case locality means a residential area in Nairobi sicu as Kangemi, Kabete, Makongeni, Kibera or Eastleigh.

3. The author was allowed to have access to the record book by the general secretary, Mr. Dickson Majusi. The members whom he could confirm about their clan, occupation, age, urban residential area and friendship network were limited to the migrants from five villages of Viguru sub-location alone.
4. Both of the III and V category are related to the clan sub-principle. In the III category, members and the deceased have the village and the clan sub-principle in common, while in the V category, they have the urban locality and the clan subprinciple in common.
5. Guttman, L., 1941: 319-348.
Hayashi, C., 1952: 69-98.
- 1954: 121-143.

Chapter 4.

1. See note (10), Introduction.
2. Parkin, D., 1975:10.

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