MIGRANT SELECTIVITY IN A PRIMATE CITY:

THE CASE OF NAIROBI, KENYA

BY

MARY ADHIAMBO OTIENO

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DECLARATION

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

MARY ADHIAMBO OTIENO

This Thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors.

Dr. J. O. Oucho

Dr. S. Khasiani

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ABSTRACT

Since the inception of its dual economy, Kenya has experienced two types of migration: rural to rural migration and rural to urban migration. This is evident in several studies which have emphasized the predominance of migration to former European farms and plantations in the pre-independence era; and to the urban areas in the post-independence era.

This study analyses migrant selectivity in a primate city of Nairobi and the district rate of in-migration to the city. The study is based on secondary data from the 1979 Kenya Population Census.

The Chi-square test is used for testing hypotheses mainly because of its suitability for the kind of data used in this study. The study found that, the male migrants constitute 52 percent of the total migrants to the city, while the females constitute 48 percent. We noted that it is predominantly the young people who migrate to the city, particularly, those between ages 15 and 29. For the ethnic groups, the study found that the largest ethnic groups such as the Kikuyu, the Luo, the Luhya and the Kamba, are more migratory than the smaller ethnic groups. On marital status, it is the single, followed by the married groups that migrate most to the city.

The study concludes that the proportion of the rural young and the rural educated moving to the city is above the average movement from rural areas, but the extent of this movement has not reduced the absolute number of either of these two groups in the rural areas; the majority move to other rural areas.

One of the major recommendations arising from this study is that, the current trend of migration can only be changed if employment opportunities are diversified such that other towns attract some labour.

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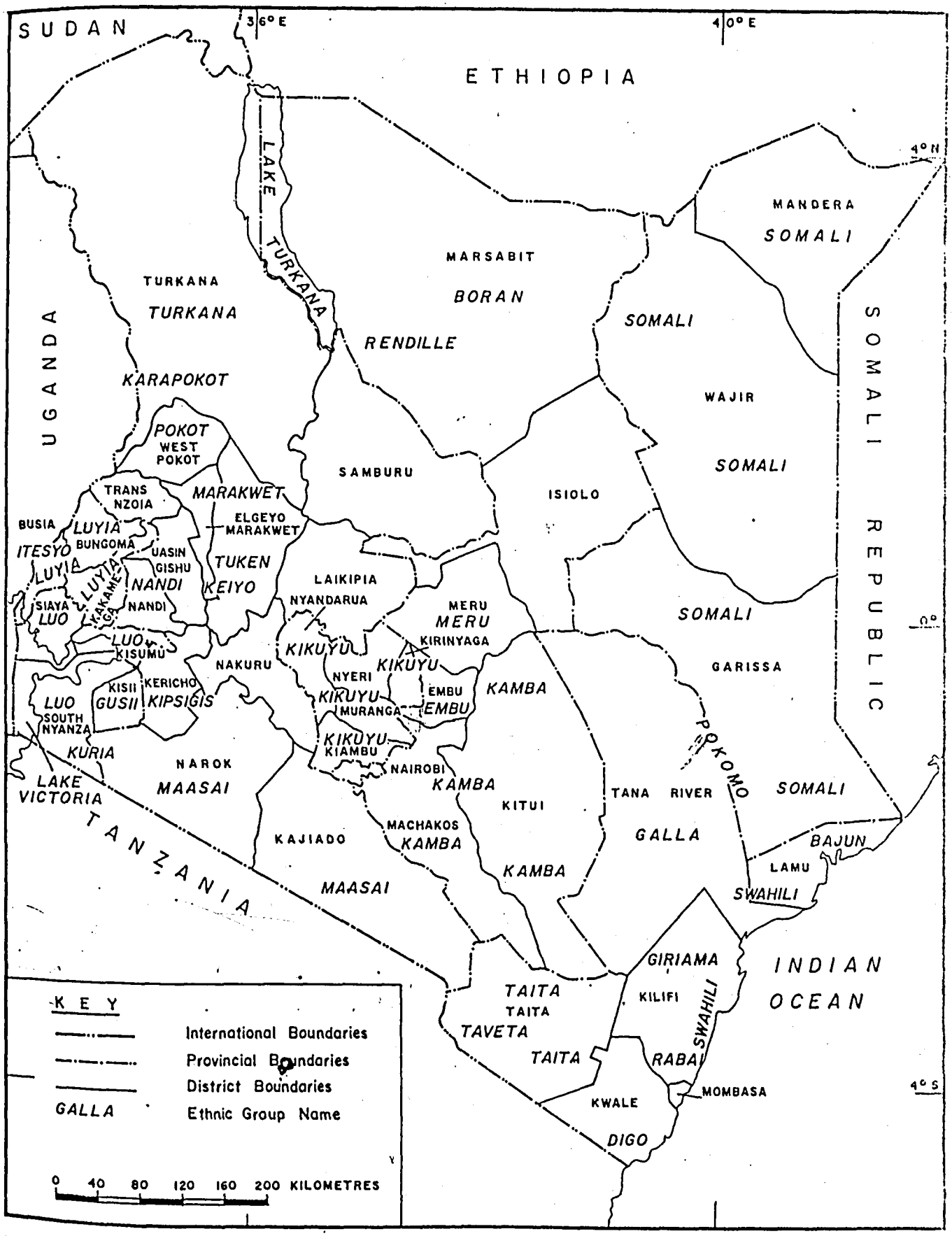


Fig. 1 MAP OF KENYA SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF ETHNIC GROUPS IN THE VARIOUS DISTRICTS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

In the post-independence era, tropical African countries have experienced an unprecedented increase in the size of their urban populations. From Abidjan, through Brazzaville to Nairobi, recorded urban population growth rates of 7 percent to 10 percent per annum are a common phenomenon (Hance, 1970). Part of this growth is due to rapid rates of overall population increase in Africa, rates typically around 3 percent per annum. However, by far the most important contributing factor has been the massive increase in the number of migrants arriving from surrounding rural areas.

This study analyses the characteristics of migrants in Nairobi, using the 1979 census as the data base. Emphasis is placed on migrants who moved to Nairobi in 1978 and were enumerated in Nairobi in 1979. These could be referred to as the "recent" migrants although the concept generally denotes migrants who moved five years previous to the date of enumeration (the 1979 Kenya Population Census). Apart from analysing the characteristics of migrants, attention is also drawn to the rate of in-migration in Nairobi from the various districts of Kenya, by indices of migrant selectivity.

Migrant selectivity for a given group is by no means invariable. It may change over time in response to changed conditions. The relationship of migrant selectivity to the urbanization process is a case in point. Increasing urbanization in a country affects the rate and the degree of selectivity of rural-urban migrants.

The Chapter examines four main issues. First, it describes the background of the study area, giving the geographical setting, the historical background and the demographic perspective of the study area. Second, the nature and scope of the problem is explained. Third, the objectives of the study are given and finally, scope and limitations of the study, as well as summary of the subsequent chapters.

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY AREA

1.1.1 Geographical Setting

Nairobi lies on the western edge of the Athi-Kapiti plains and at the foot of the Kikuyu highlands, some 140 kilometres south of the equator and 480 kilometres from the Kenya coast. It lies at an altitude of 1,700 metres above sea level.

Nairobi is a primate city and a major industrial, commercial and communications centre. It is Kenya's capital city and in this regard, plays a key role as the political and principal industrial and commercial centre. It also provides a number of other services (such as social and cultural) at both national and international levels.

The city of Nairobi has one main industrial area, which is located to the south-east of the city's central business district. Apart from the major industries in Nairobi, such as the Kenya Breweries Limited, and the East African Industries, among others, there are several light manufacturing and service industries which also attract a large number of migrants to the city from the rural areas. These industries are located in parts of the central business district, for example, coffee processing, small-scale footwear, fabrication and repair, manufacture of clothing, furniture and fixtures, printing and publishing, motor and machine repair.

Being the industrial core of Kenya with Nairobi city as its industrial pivot, the Nairobi area leads all the other parts of Kenya in its industrial attraction. Large numbers of people will continue flocking to Nairobi city in search of employment, and in some cases

illicit businesses unless the government directs that industrial enterprises be located elsewhere. Another factor which can compel the entrepreneurs to respond accordingly and thus close the exodus to the city is the necessity to locate industrial plants close to the raw materials.

In 1948, Nairobi city had an area of 83.92 square kilometres (See Table 1.1). By 1962, the area had increased only slightly to 90.65 square kilometres, an increase of only 8.0 percent. After independence in 1963, the area of the city was extended to include the former extra-provincial district of Dagoretti, Roysambu and Kibera-Langata areas. The area thus increased to 693 square kilometres, seven times its previous area. The city boundaries have not been extended since independence.

TABLE 1.1: DISTRIBUTION OF NAIROBI'S POPULATION BY AREA AND DENSITY

Year	Total Population	Area sq.km.	Density	Percentage Change in Density	Average Annual Growth Rates (Percent)
1948	118976	83.92	1418	107.5	6.0
1962	226794	90.65	2943	-82.9	
1963	343500	693	502	48.4	9.7
1969	509286	693	745		
1979	827775	693	1210	62.4	4.9

Source: 1948, 1962, 1979 Kenya Population Census Tables.

These densities however, do not portray the problem of population concentration in some areas within the city. Densities range from 94 persons per square kilometre in Mugumoini to as high as 43,978 persons per square kilometre in Bahati and Maringo areas. The Eastland areas such as Mbotela, Pumwani, Mathare, Harambee among others, have high population concentrations well above 30,000 persons per square kilometre. This is so because of the influx of the African population since 1963. Areas such as Karen, Langata, Kilimani, Lavington and others, have densities below 500 persons per square kilometre. For further details, see Appendix 1.

In Table 1.1, the density declined to -82.9 percent, and this could have been due to the change in the city boundary which expanded to cover some outskirts of the city.

1.1.2 Historical Background

Nairobi began in 1896 as a result of a historical accident. When the Uganda Railway reached Nairobi, a depot was established which soon became an important railway centre. In 1899 the railway company moved its headquarters from Mombasa to Nairobi - thereby assuring the growth of the city; in the same year, government administrative offices for the Ukamba

province were moved from Machakos to Nairobi. This meant the centralization of governmental, social and economic activities around the depot. A destination was firmly established for subsequent rural-urban migration.

In April, 1900, the Nairobi Township Committee was established and in 1928 Nairobi was raised to Municipality status in recognition of its fast growth. On the 30th March, 1950, Nairobi was accorded the status of a city, the title it holds up to today.

Between 1960 and 1970 approximately 50 percent of the total urban population was resident in Nairobi city. At the time of the 1969 census, Nairobi and Mombasa accounted for over 70 percent of the total urban population. The largest towns in order of size are now Nairobi, Mombasa, Kisumu, Nakuru and Eldoret.

The growth of urban population can also be examined by looking at the number of urban centres in different size groups over space and time (Table 1.2). In Kenya, the number of urban centres in the past has been small compared with other countries in the world. At the time of the first Kenya Population Census in 1948, there were 17 towns with an aggregate population of 276,000. The urban population was small (5.2 percent of the total urban population) and the majority of urban dwellers

being foreign racial groups - Europeans, Asians and Arabs. By the 1963 Population Census, the number of towns had doubled to 34 and the urban population had increased to 671,000, with an annual growth of 6.6 percent per annum. During 1962, the intermediate urban centres with populations between 5000 and 9999 recorded the highest increase. The growth of towns both in number and population accelerated after independence when the Africans were allowed to migrate to the urban areas without any legal and administrative restrictions. According to the 1969 and 1979 Population Censuses, there were 48 and 91 urban centres respectively. The urban population doubled from 670,000 in 1962 to 1.082 million in 1969, growing at the rate of 7.1 percent per annum. The most recent Population Census recorded 90 urban centres and an urban population of 2.3 million. The urban population grew at the rate of 7.9 percent per annum during the 1969-79 intercensal period. During the 1962-1979 intercensal period, the increase in the number of towns took place in all size groups, but the highest increase of 13.9 percent per annum was recorded by the 20,000-99,999 size group, followed by the size group of 10,000-19,999 inhabitants, with 7.1 percent per annum (Table 1.2).

Table 1.2 therefore summarizes the urban growth and urban population during the period 1948-1979. Part of the large population increases were due to substantial boundary changes, while the bulk of the increases was due to internal

TABLE 1.2: KENYA: DISTRIBUTION OF TOWNS AND POPULATION BY SIZE GROUPS (population in thousands)

Size Group	1948		1962		1969		1979		Growth Rate of Population in Size Groups
	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	No.	Pop.	
Over 100,000	1	119	2	523	2	756	3	1322	5.6
20,000-99,000	1	85	2	65	2	80	13	568	13.9
10,000-19,999	2	29	3	44	7	91	10	140	7.1
5,000-9,999	3	20	11	70	11	72	27	154	4.8
2,000-4,999	10	23	16	49	26	83	37	123	5.7
TOTAL	17	276	34	670	48	1082	90	2307	6.9

Source: Based on data from Republic of Kenya. Central Bureau of Statistics, Kenya Publication Census 1948, 1962, 1969, 1979, Nairobi, Government Printer.

1.1.3 Demographic Perspective

Nairobi dominates the urban hierarchy in East Africa and is clearly one of the most rapidly growing cities of tropical Africa. Its role as the capital city of the Republic of Kenya and its commercial eminence in East Africa have important implications for the internal differentiations in terms of population and land use.

Kenya has a high rate of population growth. Nairobi is a primate city and therefore it is inevitable that the movement will have impact more heavily on the Government's policies of decentralization and rural development.

Nairobi grew at an annual rate of 5.6 percent during the period 1962-1969 and at a rate of 5.0 percent during the period 1969-1979. It is expected that this decline in growth rate will continue in future especially with the implementation of the policy of district focus for rural development.

Table 1.3 shows the projected population of Nairobi during the period 1979-2000. The sets of projections are based on the assumptions that the trend of in-migration will slow down in the future.

TABLE 1.3 : PROJECTED POPULATION IN NAIROBI 1979-2000
(Low and High Projections in thousands)

Alternative	1979	1983	1988	1990	2000	Annual Growth Rat 1979-1990	1990-20
Low	827.8	987.2	1230.2	1343.4	1988.6	4.5	4.0
High	827.8	1006.2	1284.2	1415.8	2198.7	5.0	4.5

Source: Unpublished Report from the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (Urban Planning Division).

From a provincial administrative centre in 1905 with a total population of about ten thousand, Nairobi has grown into a large city serving a total population of about 827,775. The importance of rural migrants in contributing towards population increase in Nairobi is clearly shown when analysis is made of the population composition in terms of race and sex structure (see Table 1.4).

TABLE 1.4: RACIAL COMPOSITION AND SEX RATIO IN NAIROBI 1962-1979

Race	1962 Total	% of Total	1969 Total	% of Total	1979 Total	% of Total
Africans	231,744	66.7	422,912	83.0	756,994	91.9
Asians	86,765	25.0	67,189	13.2	38,854	5.2
Europeans	28,765	8.3	19,185	3.8	19,050	2.8
Sex Ratio African Adults	187		159		138	

Source : Masaviru, R.A. (1981)

1.2 NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM

1.2.1 Statement of the Problem

Rapid population growth in the developing regions of the world, substantial increases in the size of the urban population, and in the levels of urbanization; and a sharp rise in the number and size of big cities, demand increased attention to population movement as a key component in population dynamics and in urban and rural development.

Migration differentials have been studied since Ravenstein's time, but this study focuses on migrant selectivity in a primate city (Nairobi) using district population data. The interest of the study is to know the characteristics of migrants to give regional comparisons.

In Latin America, it was found that females predominated in the short distance migrations. Given the primary nature of Nairobi city, one would like to find out if this observation holds for Nairobi or not. Given that migration is highly selective with respect to age and sometimes sex, considerable distortions in the age-sex structure can result at the destination if migration is allowed to take place. The potential impact on such variables as employment levels, demand for education, education levels, political stability and housing are sufficiently known to obviate further discussion in this study.

There is a strong case for information about migrants, their skills, their employment, education, marital status, ethnicity, age, and housing circumstances. Often this demand for information has been in the context of pressure to establish legislation intended to redirect existing population movements. Hence our interest in analysing migrant selectivity in Nairobi, in order to consider, inter alia, policy options that might help curb this problem.

1.2.2 Justification of the Study

Rapid population growth in the less developed regions of the world, substantial increases in the size of the urban population and in the levels of urbanization, and a sharp rise in the number and size of big cities all argue for increased attention to population movements as a key component in population dynamics and in urban and rural development. The need to monitor such movement has been accentuated by continuing and substantial increases in the rural populations of many countries. Ever growing pressures are placed on limited resources, and extensive rural to rural movement as well as rural to urban shifts are observed.

Government concern with problems of population distribution and rural to urban movement has become widespread. Indeed, governments now seem to express more concern about distribution and migration patterns than about excessive rates of population growth.

The recognition by so many governments that population growth and distribution are closely linked and that both factors must be included in integrated development planning certainly justifies giving high priority to research on population distribution and movement. Growing concern over rural to urban migration is often viewed in a negative context but there is a positive side which is

never taken into account. First, this concern will encourage a more comprehensive view of the economic and social web that links urban and rural areas. This should foster more rational policies. Second, it will support the allocation of more resources to rural development, partly on the over simplified argument that economic and social improvement in rural areas will keep more people in rural areas. Finally, it will bring to many the realization that the broad flow of people to urban centres is an inevitable process, that has occurred in every developing society as newer technologies exert their impacts; a process which can only be marginally influenced by attempts to reduce rural/urban economic and social differentials.

1.3 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To explain the rate of in-migration into Nairobi from other parts of Kenya.

2. To examine the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Nairobi's migrant population.

3. To determine the extent to which various indices of migrant selectivity account for in-migration rates of the source areas.

4. To suggest policy prescriptions for influencing the influx of the rural population into Nairobi, in an attempt to avoid over-urbanization of the city.

1.4 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

The problem of scarcity and unreliability of data has hampered indepth analysis and coverage of many social science studies in Africa. This study is therefore no exception as its limitations are partly due to lack of sufficient utilizable data.

Given the nature and level of the study, the analysis is limited to the macro-aspects of migrant selectivity. Including micro aspects would require full-scale surveys requring time and funds beyond the current study. The study will therefore concentrate on those migrants who were enumerated in Nairobi in 1979. The period under review (1978/79

is chosen because, currently all the data being used are based on the 1979 census.

1.5 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

The thesis consists of six chapters: The introductory chapter, chapter two which discusses the theory and literature review, chapter three states the methodology used, chapter four discusses migrant selectivity by demographic factors, while chapter five discusses, migrant selectivity by socio-economic characteristics and finally chapter six gives the summary, recommendations and conclusion.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter will first review the major theories of migration with the goal of selecting the elements most likely to be useful in explaining why people move. Second, it will review literature on migrant selectivity.

2.1 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Ravenstein made a careful study of migration in the United Kingdom between the census of 1871 and the census of 1881 and observed several empirical regularities which he called "laws". Four of these deal with the relation of migration to the distance and size of place.

Ravenstein's fifth law, states that "Migrants proceeding long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centres of commerce or industry (Ravenstein, 1885: 198-99). Put in model form Ravenstein's law notes that migration between any two points is simply a function of the size of the two places and the distance between them. The model has the status of an empirical law and provides little insight into why migration follows this pattern.

The gravity model, like the law of gravity, describes an empirical observation involving interaction at a distance but fails to provide an understanding of why there should be such interaction; when applied to migration it notes that people move as if they were drawn to other people by a force that diminishes with distance. It is useful mainly as an empirical law about the relative volume of migration streams. The model cannot be used to explain why migration rates vary with the characteristics of migrants (Morrinson, 1971) with duration of residence (Morrison, 1967; Land, 1969; Speare, 1970) or from one culture to another(Lang, 1970).

Another problem with the gravity model is that it is a symmetric model. It assumes that the volume of migration between two places is the same in both directions.

Lee (1966) has developed a theoretical framework that provides further insights into the mobility process and the relations between mobility and other variables. Although the theory is a general one that fails to specify the precise variables and their relations, it represents an important contribution to our understanding of the problem. Lee's theory focuses on the factors that enter directly into the

decision-making process of the potential migrant. Lee classifies them as: one, factors associated with the area of origin, second, factors associated with the area of destination, third, intervening obstacles and fourth, personal factors.

By introducing the fourth set of factors, Lee allows for individual differences in the perceptions and assessment of other factors. As he says,

> "Personal sensitivities, intelligence, and awareness of conditions elsewhere enter into the evaluation of the situation at origin and knowledge of the situation at destination depends upon personal contacts or upon sources of information which are not universally available. In addition... there are personalities which welcome change for the sake of change (Lee, 1966:51)."

Lee uses this framework to formulate nineteen hypotheses about the volume of migration, the relation between stream and counter stream, and the selectivity by characteristics of the migrants. This latter hypothesis forms the basis of analysis in this study.

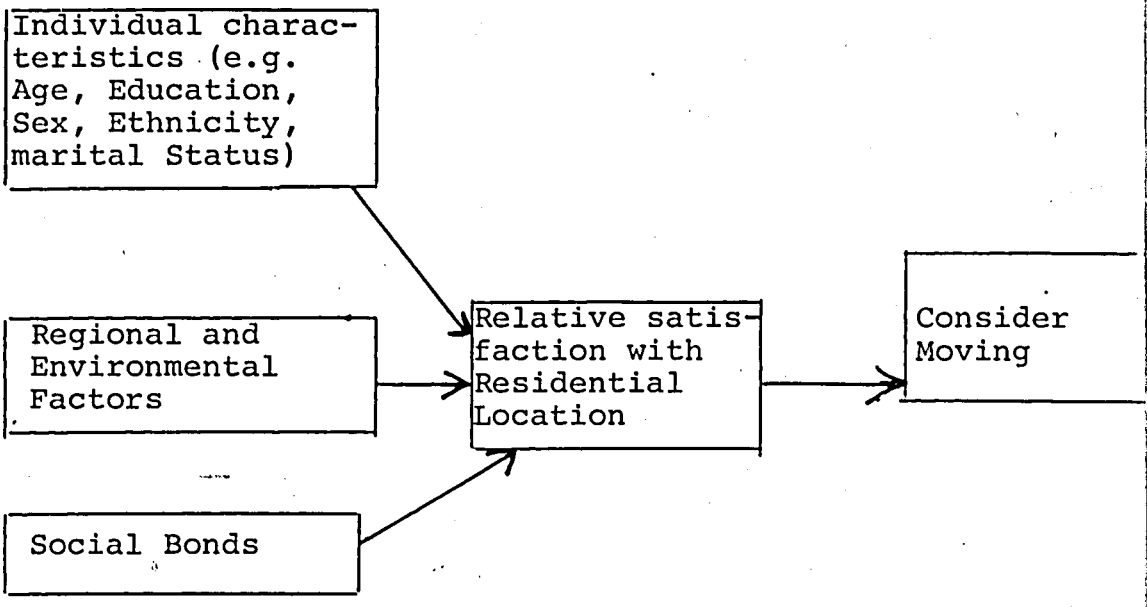


Fig. 2.1 - Model for Migrant Selectivity

Figure 2.1 is a simple model showing that individual characteristics, regional and environmental characteristics and lastly social bonds can determine whether a person is likely or not likely to move. For instance, increasing age would serve to increase satisfaction which would act to make mobility unlikely.

Deterioration of environment can also lead to movement. Social bonds can tie one to a particular place and hence discourage movements. All these factors can affect an individual's evaluation of current residential satisfaction and lead to the consideration of migration.

With these theories in mind , we now review the relevant literature on migrant selectivity to examine which studies have been carried out over time and which ones relate to this study.

2.2 LITERATURE REVIEW

We examine the literature available from the developed countries, developing countries and lastly Africa, laying greater emphasis on Kenyan literature on migrant selectivity. Much has been written on migration but relatively less on migrant selectivity as an important aspect of migration.

Apart from a classical analysis of migration differentials by Thomas (1938), migration literature abounds in describing the process in terms of streams and counter streams, determinants and consequences. In Africa, little attention, if any, has been paid to the differentials; this is in contrast to Latin America where Browning (1971) and Browning and Fiendt (1969) made useful contributions on the subject.

In the developed world, Ravenstein (1885, 1889) originated the "Laws of Migration" in which he recognised inter alia that females were more predominant in short distance migration. But this assertion was based on his studies of Great Britain and, to a

lesser extent, Europe. As evidence was adduced from other parts of the world, it became apparent that the pattern in Western Europe and North America was not typical, especially with respect to large cities.

Thomas (1938:30) reviewing existing literature on migration differentials also limited herself to developed countries. She concluded that there were few empirical regularities in this area that held up through time and space. The one exception that might amount to a law was age-selectivity of migrants. All subsequent work has confirmed this finding. Whether in developed or developing countries, rural-urban migrants are concentrated in the young adult years. The distribution may be more peaked according to a given country or city, but the general configuration remains. However, Thomas' (1938) study only concentrated on a narrower aspect of migration study.

Bogue (1969), who also carried out his study in the developed world, argued that the only consistent index of migrant selectivity is age. The age-specific pattern of urbanward migration is so well known that it can be regarded as the single consistent feature of migrant selectivity.

In developing countries, some useful studies on the subject have appeared. Browning (1971:273), maintains that aside from age, the selective factor of education also plays an important role in migrant selectivity. His analysis is closely related to the present study which identifies education as an important index of migrant selectivity.

Although, there are some exceptions, the developing world presents two main patterns. The Latin America one, in which there is a predominance of females among migrants to cities, and the Afro-Asian one, in which there is a clear predominance of males. But it appears that even in African and Asian countries especially in the primate cities, female predominance is emerging as a new phenomenon. This fact raises curiosity about what happens in Nairobi hence the present study.

Zachariah, (1966), in his study of the Bombay migrants, found that Bombay experienced heavy net out-migration at ages 35 and over, relatively higher among males than females. He found that the migrants in Bombay, were a selected group with respect to age, sex, marital status and family status. The trend is beginning to change with respect to sex as traditions are changing and women change their roles and status, thus making them more mobile.

Ebanks (1968), found that "beginning with ages 20-24, increasing migration selection is shown for all age categories among the males up to 60 years old and over in Jamaica". In the case of females, he noticed that they migrate only up to the age of 50 years whence their rate of migration begins to decrease.

In Africa, the typical migrant is a young adult. In Ghana, Caldwell (1969: 59) noted "a concentration of migrants in the 15-19 age group". That is the stage when people begin to migrate but is not the peak as such. Caldwell (1968:368) notes further that, Accra had over 20 percent more males than females who were born elsewhere in Ghana, in 1960. The greater tendency for better educated rural youth to migrate to urban areas, both to continue their schooling and to find employment related to their skills has been widely observed. Some studies that have observed a positive relationship between migration and education are Caldwell (1968:370, 1969:69) for Ghana, among others. Several studies of migrant characteristics have noted higher proportions of adult males in relation to females in migratory currents in Africa. Male predominance in the rural-urban migration streams is

however, not as universal as in the case of age. Cultural factors do have a significant influence on sex composition of migratory groups in the Cameroons. Podlewski (1979:559) noted that females migrated more than males in Cameroon, attributing the process to the fact that most clans practised exogamous marriages.

More recently, there have been some indications that female shares in rural-urban migration are on the increase. This occurrence is due to changes in the traditional roles of African women. Just as the attitudes towards women's roles have changed, so have the rules that formerly precluded female migration to towns. Benter (1959) and Little (1969) noted that rural-urban migrants were attracted to areas where they found friends, relatives and members of their own ethnic groups. This pattern is reinforced by the existence of voluntary ethnic associations in the cities. The importance of this mechanism in rural-urban migration is exemplified by the fact that as the migration process is initiated by a household, a succession of migrants who are either related to the original migrating household or connected through ethnic links follow. This is almost true for all developing countries especially those in Africa.

In Kenya, Ominde (1968b) noted that the economically active age-group tend to exhibit high migratory behaviour, especially within the 15-44 age bracket. He also noted that education is by far the most significant socio-economic migration differential. He argued that "if migrants have higher educational attainment, then it should also follow that migrants to large cities have on the average a higher occupational level than the populations from which they originate". However, the stress here should be on 'average', for some migrants will have low occupations just as they will have low educational attainment.

Rempel (1970:21) found a preponderance of migrants in the 20-25 year age category in his sample of eight largest urban centres in Kenya. Age has been found to be the most consistent migrant characteristic. The greater tendency for young people to migrate as compared with the rest of the population can be explained by certain factors as will be seen later. Rempel also found a strong relationship between education and occupation among the migrants in Kenya. Sabot (1972), cited in Byerlee (1972:9) for Tanzania, also notes the relationship between education and occupation.

The African literature on migration does not clearly establish whether rural-urban occupational differentials play a role in selecting out-migrants.

It may be surmised that some selectivity based on occupational skills may be operating, as the evidence from educational levels suggest. It can be argued, therefore, that even if employment opportunities in large cities are not as great as they should be, they still are demonstrably superior to those in the rural or small urban communities of origin. Certainly, educational facilities are much better in urban than rural areas of Kenya.

In conclusion, it is necessary to point out that, this review of migrant selectivity has been far from exhaustive. It has not been concerned with all forms of migration because our focus has been on migration to large cities of the developing countries with emphasis on Kenya. Unfortunately, almost no study has been carried out in Kenya on migrant selectivity to a primate city.

Migrant selectivity is inherently a complex phenomenon. Ideally, its analysis requires extensive data on migrants and non-migrants in both the communities of origin and destination. In the same view, few if any, studies give detailed analysis of migrant selectivity. Not only are differences between migrants and non migrants difficult to establish

unequivocally, but the fact that migrant selectivity patterns may change is very important.

A number of scholars maintain that the youth are more migratory than the old and that males are preponderant in migrating to the urban centres. They further argue that education, marital status, ethnicity and occupation also do play an important role in selecting migrants to the large cities.

An increasing body of literatures on migration streams shows a dichotomy between the developed and the developing countries. Given their differential stage of modernization and socio-economic status, the former experience urban-urban movements while the latter specialize in rural-urban as well as rural-rural movements; or movements from the traditional to the modern sectors of the dual economy.

The point of departure in this literature review is that studies done in the developing countries do not emphasize rural to urban movements as is the case with studies done in the developing countries: In this study, migrant selectivity is studied with emphasis on rural to urban migration.

The study wishes to bridge gaps such as selectivity by marital status and ethnicity which is totally

left out in many studies as is evident in the literature reviewed.

Developing countries have a large number of people without education and hence when comparisons are being made it should be noted that the levels of development are different.

In Summary, a simple schema for migration has been reviewed, and from it certain hypotheses in regard to the characteristics of migrants have been formulated. The hypotheses have been formulated in such form that they are immediately testable with current data as shall be seen in the next chapter of methodology.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The first stage was planning and problem formulation. Second, was the task of collecting the appropriate data, analysing the data and lastly interpreting the results.

3.1 VARIABLES

The following independent variables are identified for analysis.

i) Sex

ii) Age

iii) Education

iv) Ethnicity

v) Marital Status

The dependent variable is District rate of in-migration into Nairobi.

3.2 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

Migration in this study is defined as a form of geographic or spatial mobility involving movement from the districts of Kenya to Nairobi city within the last twelve months prior to the 1979 population census.

Migrant Selectivity is defined as those demographic as well as socio-economic characteristics by which migrants are selected, for example, sex, age, education.

Source Area (Origin) is defined as the district of departure - that is where a migration begins.

Destination is the place of arrival which in our case is Nairobi City.

Out-migration is defined as movement out of a district to Nairobi. In-migration is movement into Nairobi City.

A Migrant in this study is defined as one who has moved from his/her district of birth to Nairobi within the last twelve months before the 1979 census.

Sex will be divided into two categories - for males and females.

Age reporting and analysis can be misleading especially where no proper demographic records are kept and where many respondents may have to rely on memory or events at the time of birth. Another problem is that of "digit preference" (UN, 1956), which may also distort age information.

In this study, the migrants are grouped into five year age categories e.g. 0-4, 5-9 ... 50+.

Education suffers from the problem of rapid change over time in its basic requirements and is not very useful in comparative analysis. Shaw (1975) recognises this problem and states that " ... selecting a scale for measurement by which levels of education can be related to propensity to migrate... presents a real problem." In this study education is divided into three categories. The first is those without any education - education here meaning formal or technical education. The second group is those with primary level education and the last group covers those who have attained secondary education and above, that is including University education.

Tribal Affiliation is important in migrant selectivity studies since some tribes have shown more propensity to migrate than others due to cultural or economic factors. But how exactly tribal affiliation affects migrant selectivity is a complex issue. It is not clear whether it affects migration by kinship ties or simply by the language phenomenon especially where people from the same tribe congregate in communities. At the individual level, migrants respond differently to varied socio-economic and demographic factors making it difficult to assess the real impact of such

a variable on migration. In this study, ethnic groups as classified in the census will be used.

Lastly, marital status, specifies the migrants' position in terms of whether he/she is single, married, divorced/separated is taken as one group and lastly widowed. This variable has often presented problems in definition and interpretation and may distort demographic and other analyses unless cross-checked. Being a socio-cultural phenomenon, questions relating to it tend to be sensitive. Those divorced or widowed may deny these conditions to escape the social stigma still attached to them in some communities (Moock, 1978).

3.3 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

In this study, it is hypothesized that:

i) Migrants to Nairobi are selected by ethnic origin; in-migration of the Kikuyu, the Luo, and the Luhya being particularly important.

ii) Males are more migrant than females, though there might be anomalies to this caused by education and family based biases.

iii) Migrants to the city are generally youthful.

iv) Given that school leavers generally gravitate towards Nairobi, migrants are predominantly single.

v) The educated are more preponderant in migrating to the city.

3.4 POPULATION STUDIED/ STUDY UNITS

The study is based primarily on secondary data. The population studied is 206557 migrants to Nairobi in 1978 and who were enumerated in the 1979 census. The computer selected those people who migrated from their districts a year before the 1979 census. The migrants were selected according to their age-groups, sexes, education categories, marital status and ethnic backgrounds. The life-time migrants were excluded in the migrant population because the study is only covering a one-year migration. This was deemed necessary in order to achieve research convenience with regard to time and the overall scope of the study.

3.5 DATA SOURCES AND COLLECTION

The main source of data was the 1979 Kenya population census tables. The tables that were of much help to the study were tables seven and nine of the census. These were obtained from the Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS). With the help of the C.B.S.

computer, the relevant data were extracted thus making it possible for the author to utilize them.

3.6 METHODS OF DATA ANALYSIS AND THEIR LIMITATIONS

The data collected from the Central Bureau of Statistics included foreign migrants into Nairobi within the past twelve months. Since the author was only interested in migrants from the various districts of Kenya into Nairobi editing was inevitable. This was done to have the data with relevant information only; thus foreigners were omitted.

Simple cross-tabulations were used to show changes in different variables. These are either in proportionate or absolute terms.

In the analysis of data, descriptive methods are used mainly to portray the characteristics of the migrants from the various districts of the country into Nairobi. Frequencies have been used to analyse the district rate of in-migration by migrant selectivity. Each district's migrant population is calculated as percent of total Nairobi migrant population. The same is done for all the other independent variables.

Sex-ratios of in-migrants in Nairobi was computed by districts to give us the sex-composition of the migrants in Nairobi. Population of each district was calculated by age-groups to give us the percentage of the most migratory age-group by district of origin.

The dominant educational category for each district was identified and percentages worked out. All these were done mostly by the use of a desk calculator and partly by the computer.

Measures of central tendency were used. The mean and median were calculated for the age of migrants. This was to give us the average age of the migrants and the age group that migrates most.

These techniques were used mainly because the data are in the nominal level measurement. In this measurement, each value is a distinct category, for instance, the district of birth of the migrants is a nominal variable. In this study, the author decided to use the above techniques because the variables are nominal and hence do not vary. The regression and correlation techniques were tried but did not yield meaningful results and were, therefore abandoned. Instead the Chi-Square test was adopted.

Line charts and Bar charts were used to give comparisons between the sexes and also among the districts of birth of the migrants. These graphical presentations enhance interpretation in that, what could have been described extensively is reduced.

3.7 MAJOR RESEARCH PROBLEMS AND LIMITATIONS

The study was envisaged to cover lifetime migrants. However, in ascertaining the time and costs involved, it was realised that such a task was beyond the financial and other resource capacities of the study. This limited the study to recent (one year) migration.

One of the main difficulties was lack of data on occupation of the migrants, hence a limitation in analysis of that characteristic of migrants.

Limitations in the sources of data upon which this study has relied are responsible for some of the shortcomings. Although population censuses and sample surveys of migrants are the most frequently used sources of data on migration studies, they have some advantages and disadvantages. One advantage is that census data are often available and accessible to researchers. One disadvantage however, is that, census data are narrowly focussed and often some important aspects of internal migration is neglected.

The census data are never complete due to some omissions hence cannot be fully relied upon. A good example is that of occupation which has been mentioned before. The census exercise did not include the question of occupation of the people and yet this is a very important aspect of life.

This chapter has briefly given the outline of the research methodology. The main problems encountered have been mentioned, the sources of data and collection methods have also been outlined. The next chapter will discuss the characteristics of migrants by districts, analysing mainly the demographic characteristics.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MIGRANTS

Migrants' demographic characteristics include variables such as age, sex and ethnicity. Most studies have confirmed the hypotheses that migration is selective by age, sex and to some extent ethnicity.

In this analysis, we discuss the characteristics of migrants by districts to see whether or not the findings confirm the said hypotheses. We also note that all these variables will be discussed in conjunction with sex which is also an independent variable on its own. It is rather difficult, for instance, to discuss age as a migrant characteristic without mentioning males and females, because the census data used in this analysis provides for both.

4.1 AGE SELECTIVITY

Thomas (1938:11) observed that there was an excess of adolescents and young adults among migrants. This observation is true for Kenyan migrants and particularly of the migrants to Nairobi city. In this study, it is hypothesized that migrants to Nairobi city are generally youthful. According to the 1979 Kenya population census, the recent migrants

numbered 206557 in total, males being 108,194, thus 52.4 percent of the total migrant population, while females were 98,363 in total or 47.6 percent of the total migrant population.

Table 4.1 indicates that the proportions begin to rise from age group 15-19 up to age group 25-29, after which they begin to fall. In all our discussions age group 0-4 to 10-14 should be regarded as children and not migrants as such. So the migrants in our case are those in age-group 15 and above. The migrants falling between age group 0-14 are deliberately omitted because, the hypotheses given clearly states how the migrants are selected by various indices of migrant selectivity. Those aged 0-14 can only be considered as children of migrants but not migrants as such because they do not move out of their own volition but those of their parents. The study therefore concentrates on those aged 15 and above.

For males, the migrants to Nairobi in the age-group 15-19 constitute 6.8 percent of the total migrants to Nairobi. The females in this group however tend to be more as they constitute 9.0 percent of the total recent migrants. This could be explained by the fact that young girls tend to migrate to the city as maids and baby sitters especially from the Western part of Kenya, which indeed constitutes a greater portion of the migrants as will be seen later in the chapter.

At age-group 20-24, the males exceed the females by 3.8 percent. This can be explained by the fact that most women enter marriage at about this age mentioned above, and this reduces their migration

chances as they are forced to stick to their home areas.

Age-group 25-29 for both males and females shows a decline in migration. As we go further down the age-groups, we experience even a further decline in migration to the city of Nairobi.

Age-groups 15-19 up to 25-29 have the highest number of migrants as shown from all the districts. The mean age of migrants above fourteen years old is 26.4 years. The median age of all the migrants is 20.5 years. Putting all the migrants together, the average age of migrants is 22.5 years.

Kakamega district has the leading number of youthful migrants, followed by Machakos and Siaya districts respectively (See Appendix 2 for further information).

The total percentage of migrants from Kakamega district is 5.93 percent of the total migrant to Nairobi city. Of these, youths constitute 2.32 percent, almost half the number of migrants from Kakamega district. Machakos and Siaya districts too have a similar trend as is shown in Appendix 2.

TABLE 4.1 : DISTRIBUTION OF RECENT MIGRANTS IN NAIROBI BY AGE AND SEX

Age Group	Percent of Total Males as Percentage of total	Percent of Total Females as Percentage Total	Total Percentage
0-4	11.20	11.30	22.5
5-9	4.09	4.79	8.88
10-14	3.21	4.91	8.12
15-19	6.80	9.04	15.8
20-24	11.3	7.50	18.8
25-29	6.0	3.9	10.0
30-34	3.5	2.0	5.5
35-39	2.0	1.3	3.3
40-44	1.4	0.9	2.2
45-49	1.0	0.5	1.5
50+	1.7	1.4	3.1
Not Stated	0.3	0.1	0.4
TOTAL n=	52.4 108194	47.6 98363	100 206557

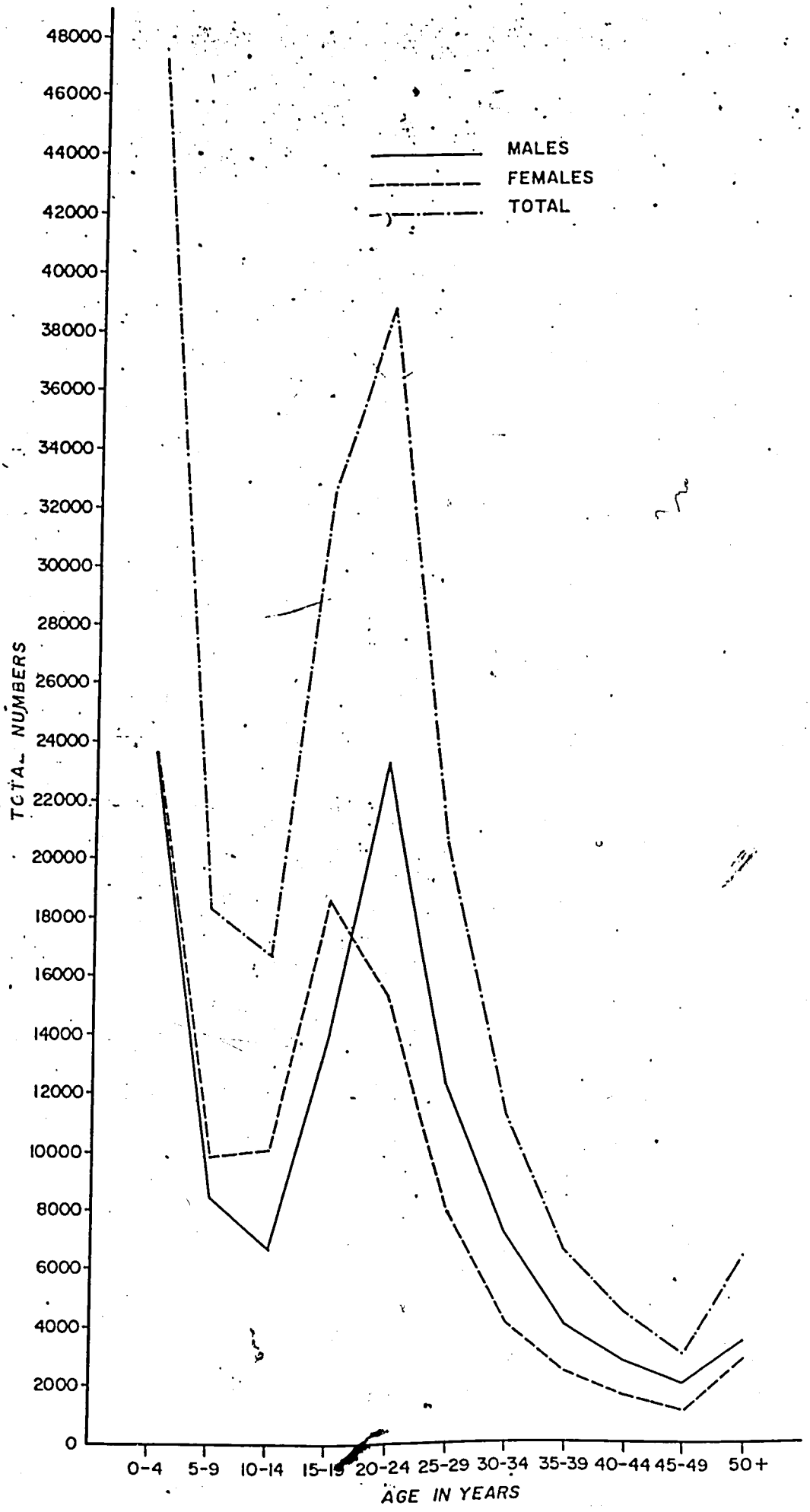
The percentages, however, appear to be insignificant because of the large percentage occupied by the children aged 0-14, who are also included in the calculations. The "not stated" category also contributes to the insignificant percentages.

Appendix 2 also shows the areas that send out the least migrants to the city. These are areas such as Garissa, Mandera, Wajir, and Samburu, just to mention a few.

One can argue that the regions which send out most migrants are slightly more populous than the regions that send out less migrants to the city. The other factor could be proximity to the city. The districts that send out the least migrants to the city are situated far away from the city. This factor could discourage the would be migrants from migrating to the city.

Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of recent migrants by age and sex. The graph is peaked in shape, at age-groups 15-19 and 20-24, after which it tapers off. The graph shows that the majority of the migrants are aged between 20-24 years old followed by 15-19. The peak of migration to the city for females comes about at age-group 15-19, while that of the males comes at age-group 20-24. One observation that we can make from this graph is that females tend to migrate at an earlier age than males however, both males and females tend to migrate to the city in their teen age and mid-twenties.

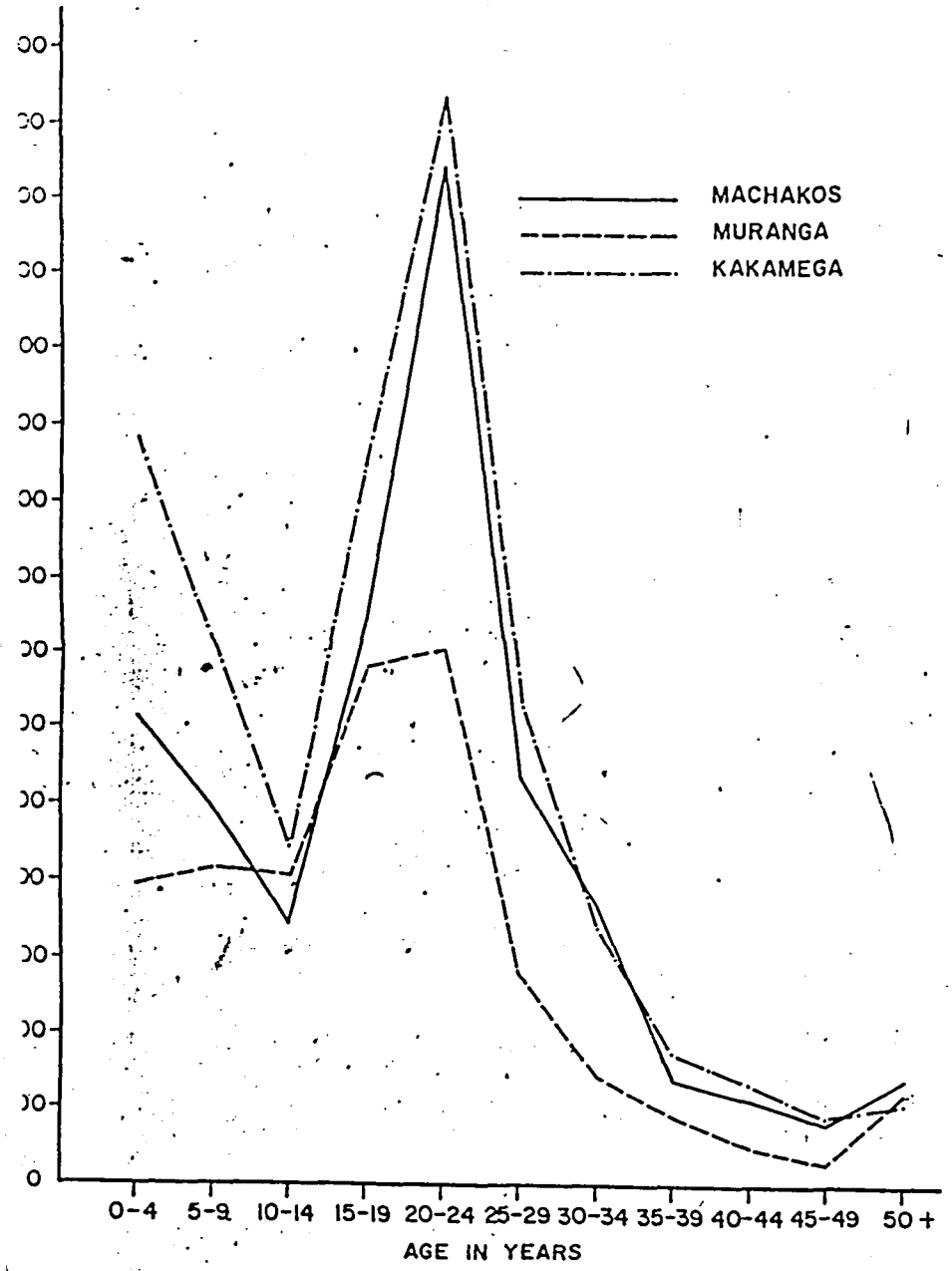
Fig. 4.1 DISTRIBUTION OF RECENT MIGRANTS BY AGE, AND SEX



Figures 4.2 and 4.3 are graphs showing the distributions of recent migrants by age and district of residence a year ago. The former is for males while the latter is for females. Earlier on, we had said that Kakamega and Machakos are the leading districts in sending out migrants. These two graphs, however, emphasize the point mentioned above that the peak of migration for males is different from that one for females. It may be argued that males spend more years in school than females and that is why they migrate at an older age. The females on the other hand drop out from school at an earlier age than males and have to migrate to the city to look for employment as baby sitters and maids. For the districts that send less migrants to the city, see Appendix 4-10.

Out of the eight main sending districts, namely, Kakamega, Machakos, Siaya, Murang'a, Kiambu, Kisumu, Kitui, and Nyeri, five are found to lie in the high potential land.[1] These districts namely, Kakamega, Murang'a, Kiambu, Kisumu and Nyeri, are found to have among others some of the highest population densities. This explains the process of migration and human adjustment from these areas which may be caused by population concentration acting as a push factor (Sorani, 1975:429, Okeefe, 1977:219).

Fig. 4.2 DISTRIBUTION OF RECENT MIGRANTS, BY SEX, AGE AND DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE A YEAR AGO : ALL MALES



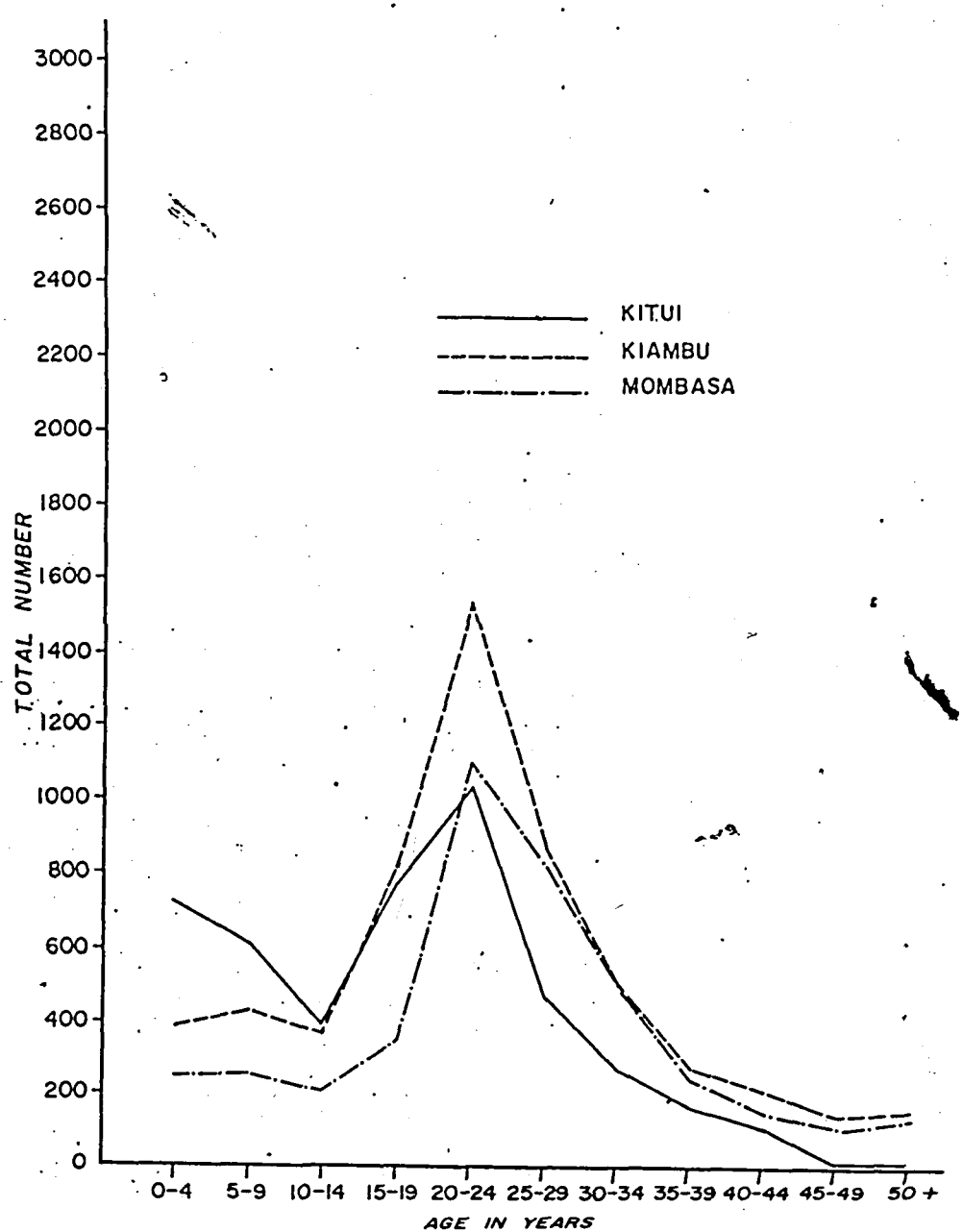
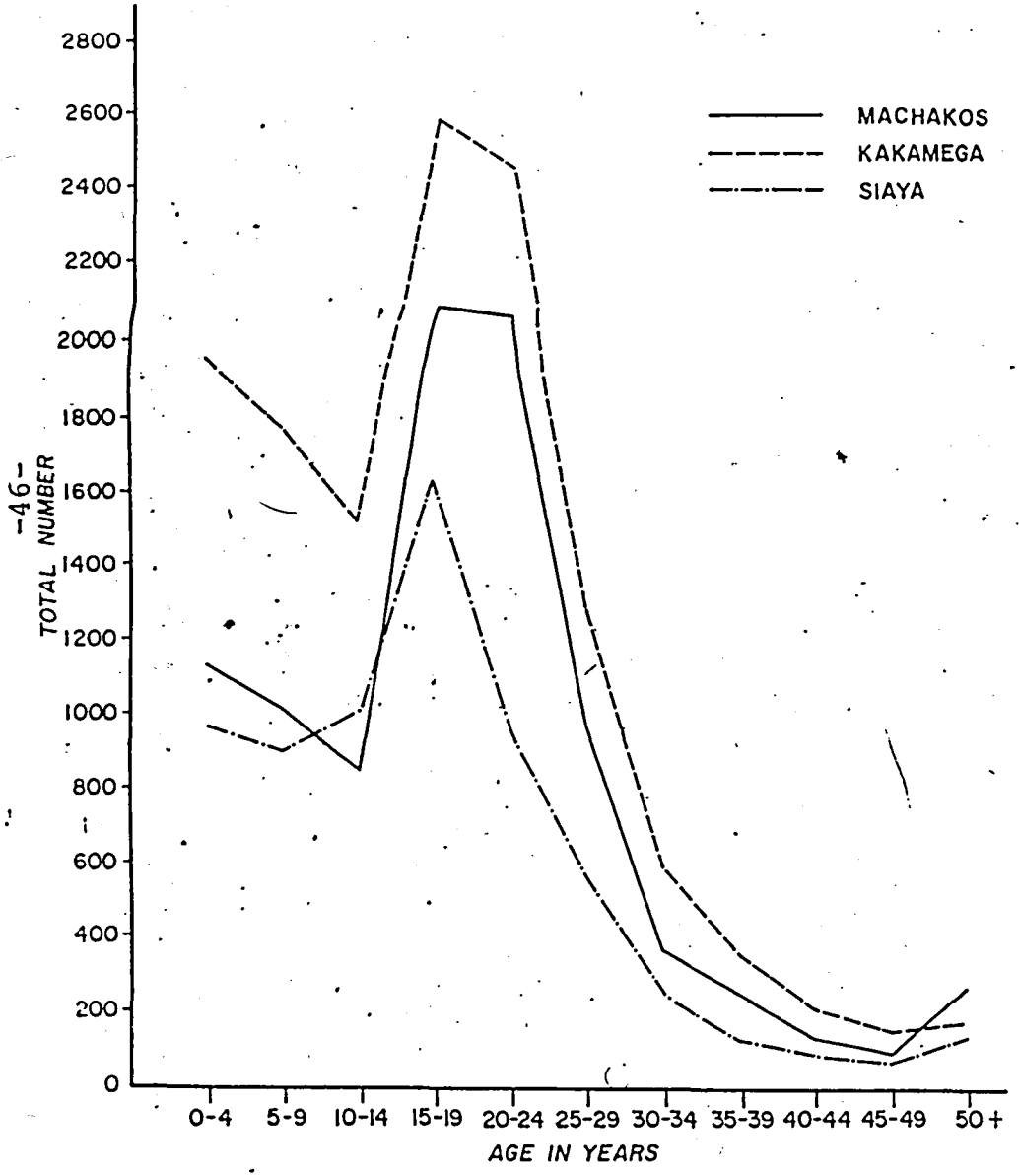
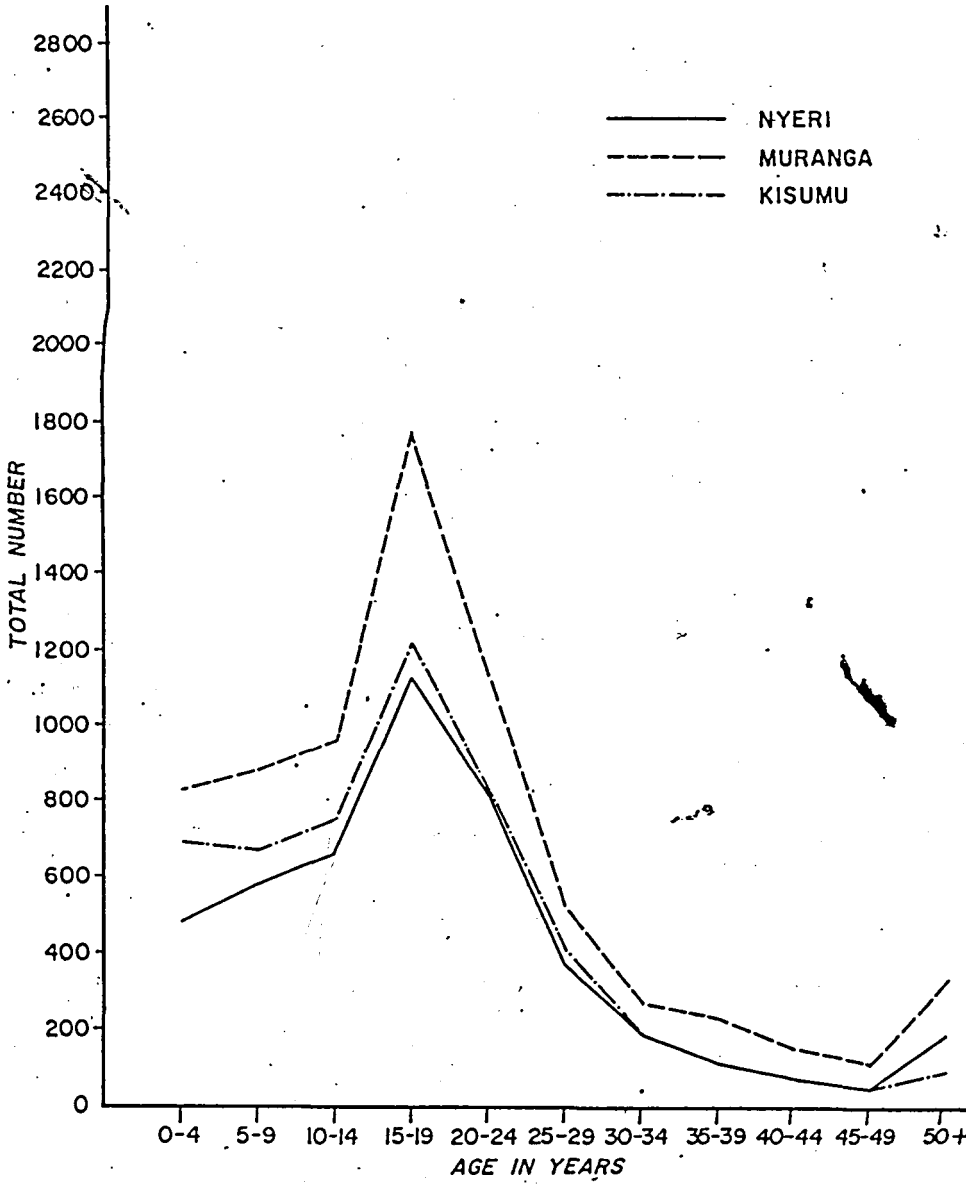


Fig. 4.5 DISTRIBUTION OF RECENT MIGRANTS BY SEX, AGE AND DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE A YEAR AGO : FEMALES





The push factor is not sufficient in itself since some districts such as Kisii, which is among those districts with the highest population densities in the country, accounts for only 1.78 percent of the total migrants in Nairobi (see Appendix 2). The only plausible explanation here could be that, the Gusii's cultural factors inhibit migration to urban settings. Such cultural factors are exemplified by the high value attached to the ancestral land. which indicates that any form of drift from this land is contrary to Gusii values and norms (Gaarst, 1978).

Apart from the population density and cultural factors, proximity to the city of Nairobi has to some extent determined the volume of in-migration. This proximity factor finds expression in the case of Machakos district and has parallels elsewhere as in the case of Kakamega and Siaya districts (Adams, 1969:529; McGee, 1975:1065; Sternstein 1976:407). A more important factor in the case of Machakos district is the inter-relationship between environment and development. The European settlement on the Athi, Kapiti and Yatta Plains between 1908 and 1914 and after the First World War produced a dynamic development of the process of eco-demographic marginality which forced the indigenous people to resort to ecologically unbalanced land use. The mode

of European settlement and the underlying motives broke down the vital ecological, economic and social linkages of the Akamba people (especially those in Machakos district). This breakdown was evident in the overstocking and the resulting soil erosion, and the persistance of famine since 1954 among the African population of the area. A combination of these factors inevitably led to out-migration principally to Nairobi and Mombasa which has henceforth become part and parcel of the Akamba way of life. These factors are substantiated by work carried out by Wisner (1977) and Okoth-Ogendo (1975:154), and confirm in part to the contention that rural to urban migration is a product of colonial development at least in tropical Africa (Prothero 1968:252).

In Siaya district, which falls among the medium potential land[2] category with relatively poor cultivable soils, migration has taken precedence over the other processes or activities. This can be explained by another factor, namely education. Siaya district is one of the poorest districts in terms of schools. It has very few schools to cater for the youth of school-age. In addition to the lack of schools, there are very few employment-oriented activities to discourage the youth from moving out.

For Nyeri, Kiambu and Murang'a districts, apart from lying in the high potential land, with high population densities, proximity to the city plays a big role in encouraging migration to the city.

The concentration of migrants in the young adult ages from all districts of Kenya is a supportive fact of the universal characteristics of migration flows.

In order to test the hypothesis that states that "migrants to Nairobi are generally youthful", Chi-square (X^2) test is taken.

Given the wide coverage of Rempel, Harris and Todaro's (1970) study of Kenya's eight major urban centres, its data have been used for comparative analysis. Both age and education by far the most dominant demographic and socio-economic migrant characteristics respectively are used to test differences between Rempel et al's data and our data.

First on Age distribution

H_o : There is no significant difference in age distribution between migrant selectivity to Nairobi in this study and rural-urban migrants in Rempel et al's study.

H_1 : There is a significant difference in age distribution between the two migrant categories in these studies.

At both 95 percent and 99 percent levels of significance, we reject the null hypothesis (H_o) and accept the H_1 hypothess which states that, there is a significant difference in the age distribution between the two migrant categories in these studies.

TABLE 4.2: CHI-SQUARE TEST FOR AGE DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS TO NAIROBI AND REMPEL ET AL'S SURVEY

AGE GROUP	NAIROBI CENSUS DATA OBSERVED	NAIROBI CENSUS DATA EXPECTED	REMPEL ET AL'S SURVEY OBSERVED	REMPEL ET AL'S SURVEY EXPECTED	BOTH
15-19	32720	32694.6	257	282.3	32977
20-24	38769	38871.3	438	335.6	39207
25-29	20445	20453.3	185	176.6	20630
30-34	11416	11403.5	86	98.5	11502
35-39	6697	6693.2	54	57.8	6751
40-49	7694	7674.7	47	66.3	7741
50+	6409	6359.1	5	54.9	6414
All Age Groups	124150	124150	1072	1072	125222

$X^2 = 87.46976$

d.f = 6

$\alpha_{0.05} = 12.592$

$\alpha_{0.01} = 16.812$

Significant at both 95 and 99 percent levels.

4.2 SEX SELECTIVITY

Selectivity by sex is not discussed at great length because it is cross-tabulated with all other variables.

In this section, we examine the sex-ratios of in-migrants to Nairobi by districts of origin. This will help us find the districts that send more males than females and vice versa.

The main reasons for male migration reveal the importance of economic factors and motivations that are known to spearhead migration (MacDonald and MacDonald, 1968:421; Caldwell, 1969:117; McGee, 1975:122.

The economic reasons in the case of Nairobi, are in part a response to the unequal pattern of development that has taken place in Kenya over the

century. For instance, the inequality in educational facilities and employment opportunities has led to migration. It is probable that the males are coming for higher education which is available in institutions concentrated in Nairobi as exemplified by the University of Nairobi, the other colleges and schools.

Young females say in their teen-age may be coming to join the education institutions, others may be coming as maids and others may be to stay with relatives. Married females may be coming to join their spouses.

Figure 4.2.1 shows the sex-ratios of the migrants from all the districts of Kenya to Nairobi city. The districts with the least migrants in Nairobi have very high sex ratios, ranging from about 200 to 297.7. These are districts such as Mandera, Garissa, Wajir, Samburu, Marsabit and Lamu. These districts tend to have some populations with similarity in their cultural behaviour, in that, they are pastoralists, except for Lamu, and it is known that males are the ones who move while females remain behind among the pastoral tribes.

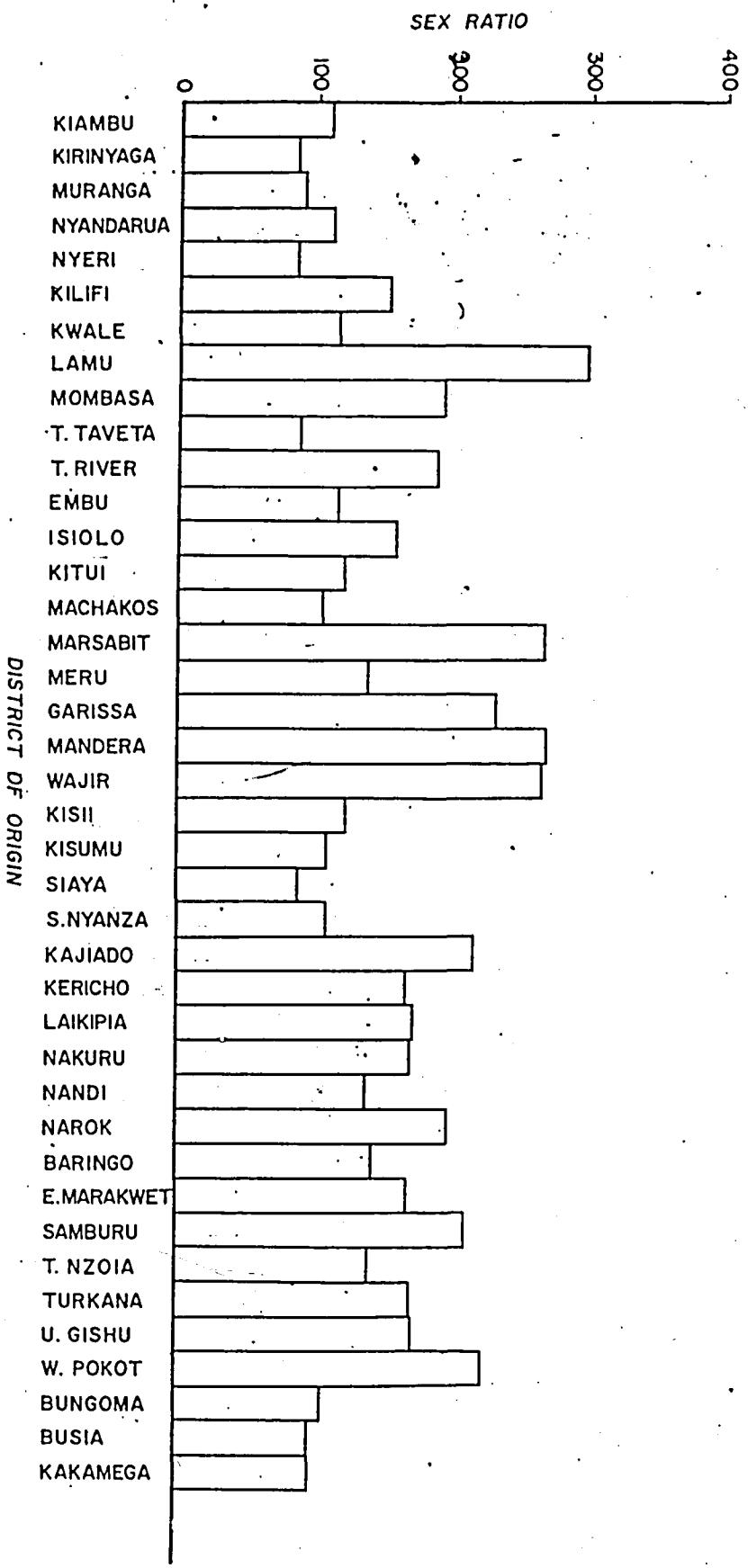


Fig. 4.2.1 SEX RATIOS OF IN MIGRANTS BY DISTRICTS IN NAIROBI

The males consititute 52.4 percent of the total migrants to Nairobi, thus leaving the females to make up for 47.6 percent. Figure 4.2.1 shows that the lowest sex-ratio is from Kirinyaga district, while Lamu has the highest sex-ratio. Murang'a, Nyeri, Taita-Taveta, Siaya, Busia and Kakamega districts have more females migrating to the city than males within the one-year migration period. In view of the foregoing, we conclude that males exhibit a higher propensity to migrate than females.

From the results of this study, we are likely to experience a change in the near future. The males and females are likely to migrate to the city in equal levels in search of employment and other socio-economic opportunities.

4.3 ETHNIC SELECTIVITY

In this study, it is hypothesized that migrants to Nairobi city are selected by ethnic origin. The in-migration of the Kikuyu, the Luo, and the Luhya, is particularly important.

The colonial history of these ethnic groups may provide a basis for understanding the reasons for out-migration of certain tribes relative to others.

By the 1930's the Luo and the Luhya in western Kenya and the Kamba and the Kikuyu around Nairobi began to experience population pressure (Gt. Britain Colonial Office, 1952; Orey Jones, 1965). Leakey (1936:72) asserted that "... Kikuyu lands where densities exceeded 250 persons per square mile were already under pressure". What normally happens when there is too much pressure on land is out-migration. Hence it is not surprising to find the Kikuyu among the most migratory groups to the city of Nairobi.

From Table 4.3, the Kikuyu is by far the dominant group of migrants to the city compared to all other ethnic groups. The total percentage of the migrants is 26.2 percent of the total number of migrants to the city. This can be explained by the fact that the Kikuyu are in the proximity of the city as opposed to other ethnic groups.

Second, Central province, which is the home area of the Kikuyu, has reached its population carrying capacity, taking into consideration that it is in the high potential densely settled areas. So it experiences enormous outflows to the cities and other smaller urban areas.

The Luo and the Luhya who come from western Kenya are not very different from the Kikuyu, as they also come from the high potential densely settled areas. The total percentage of the Luo migrants to the city is 18.95 percent of the total migrant population. The Luhya constitute 18.85 percent of the total migrant population that is both of them constitute 37.80 percent.

In spite of the substantial transfers of land and in spite of the consequent outflows of migrants, densities in traditionally settled areas are still astonishingly high and, infact, continue to increase. Several rural districts have not had full access to development funds nor to credit or extension services and have therefore lagged behind Central Kenya in agricultural development. Western and Nyanza provinces which harbour the Luhya and the Luo respectively, and the marginal lowlying sections of eastern and the northern third of the country, must all be regarded as relatively under developed. In each area, the land base is under increasingly heavy pressure from maladjusted agricultural or pastoral systems (Steel, 1970; Mutiso, 1976; Wisner, 1977; Mbiti and Wisner, 1973; Ominde, 1968; Bernard, 1972).

The Kamba ethnic group who constitute 15.7 percent of the total migrants in Nairobi originate from Machakos and Kitui districts. The Kamba also are in the proximity of Nairobi city, but also migrate due to harsh environmental conditions in their habitat. Machakos district for instance, has had the most serious cases of degenerative effects of population growth, farming system breakdown, soil erosion due to overstocking and famine (Owako, 1971; Machasen and Bovil, 1950:218; Clayton, 1964:9). There has been persistent famine and drought since 1924 and this has led to outmigration to Nairobi and other urban areas.

Kisii ethnic group from Nyanza province accounts for a mere 2.12 percent of the total migrants in Nairobi. Kisii district happens to be among the most densely populated areas in Kenya, but as we had mentioned earlier on, their culture prohibits them from migrating to other areas leaving their ancestral lands. This could be one of the major reasons for their negligible percentage in Nairobi.

The other ethnic groups do not constitute large proportions of migrants in Nairobi. Infact ethnic groups such as the Ogaden, Hawihah, Gosho, Njemps, Sakuye, Orma, Boran, from North Eastern

Province and many others as illustrated in Table 4.3 hardly migrate to Nairobi. Indeed they do not migrate to all other provinces either. These minority tribes are lagging behind in development, have not had sufficient education and are mostly pastoralists. So migration to the city cannot benefit them since most of the time they are occupied with their cattle and hardly settle in one place. Second, these tribes are located in the Northern and North-eastern parts of this country and transportation to and from these areas is very poor.

Some ethnic groups like the El-Molo, Basuba, and Boni/Sanye have no migrants to Nairobi. Most people would like to migrate to a place where he or she has kinship-ties or friends. This is why some tribes are more represented than others.

In summary, one can argue that the larger tribes or ethnic groups such as the Luo, Kikuyu, Luhya and Kamba have more propensity to migrate to the city than the minority tribes. This conclusion has been reached after calculating the percentages. There is no Chi-square test done for ethnicity as a variable because we lack the expected values.

TABLE 4.3 : PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RECENT MIGRANTS BY TRIBE AND SEX

Tribe	Males	Females	Total
Kikuyu	13.18 1	13.03 1	26.21 1
Embu	0.43	0.36	0.79
Meru	0.96	0.67	1.63
Mbere	0.04	0.02	0.06
Kamba	8.39 4	7.29 4	15.68 4
Tharaka	0.01	0.01	0.02
Luhya	9.49 3	9.36 2	18.85 3
Kisii	1.23	0.89 7	2.12
Kuria	0.11	0.08	0.19
Mijikenda	0.36	0.21	0.57
Pokomo	0.04	0.03	0.07
Taita	0.43	0.47	0.90
Taveta	0.02	0.02	0.04
Swahili/Shipazi	0.02	0.01	0.03
Bajun	0.04	0.03	0.06
Boni/Sanye	0.00	0.00	0.00
Luo	9.65 2	9.30 3	18.95 2
Kalenjin	1.06	0.64	1.70
Masai	0.46	0.16	0.62
Samburu	0.17	0.07	0.24
Turkana	0.10	0.06	0.16
Teso	0.14	0.10	0.25
Nderobo	0.01	0.01	0.01
Njemps	0.00	0.00	0.00
Rendille	0.03	0.01	0.04
Boran	0.21	0.11	0.32
Gabbra	0.01	0.00	0.01
Sakuye	0.00	0.00	0.00
Orma	0.00	0.00	0.00
Gosha	0.00	0.00	0.00
Hawiyah	0.01	0.00	0.01
Ogaden	0.00	0.00	0.00
Ajuran	0.00	0.00	0.00
Gurreh	0.02	0.01	0.03
Degodia	0.00	0.00	0.00
Somali	0.42	0.24	0.66
Basuba	0.00	0.00	0.00
El Molo	0.00	0.00	0.00
Kenyan Asian	0.50	0.46	0.96
Kenyan European	0.08	0.08	0.16
Kenyan Arab	0.03	0.03	0.06
Other Kenyans	0.24	0.19	0.43
Africans	1.51	1.08	2.59
Asians	0.81	0.71	1.52
Europeans	1.39	1.24	2.63
Arabs	0.07	0.04	0.11
Others	0.71	0.60	1.31
NS	0.00	0.01	0.01
TOTAL	52.4	47.6	100
n=	108194	98363	206557

NOTES

1. High potential land areas are those areas receiving an annual rainfall of 857.5 mm. or more.

2. Medium potential areas are those areas receiving an annual rainfall of 735-857.5 mm.

3. Low potential land areas are those areas receiving an annual rainfall which is below 735 mm.

CHAPTER FIVE

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MIGRANTS

The main thrust of this study is to analyse the selectivity of migrants to the primate city, taking Nairobi as the focal point. In order to put the study into focus the thesis analyses rural-urban migration but remains silent on the equally important rural-rural, urban-urban and urban-rural migrations.

Socio-economic development has been of crucial importance in enhancing the process of migration from the districts of Kenya. Some districts of Kenya have been favoured by natural resources pertaining to agricultural development. These resources have over the years attracted indigenous population settlements and in the colonial era, European settlement, which in turn prompted infrastructural development of these areas. This is true of some districts in Central Kenya and some districts in Rift Valley Province.

On the other hand, the western part of Kenya gained from these developments because of their abundant supply of cheap labour for the European farms. These districts still supply cheap labour to the industries and factories in Nairobi.

This explains the high out-migration from these districts to the city.

5.1 MIGRATION SELECTIVITY BY EDUCATION

Formal education has contributed greatly in shaping the patterns and trends of migration in Kenya. Migration to the city of Nairobi from the districts of Kenya shows that the main sources of origin are apparently those areas of Kenya which were exposed earliest to missionary and Government schools. This involved the introduction of secondary school education in Kenya and in opening up of schools in western Kenya and central Kenya. These schools were introduced during the first half of this century and were all for boys. However, the first secondary school for girls was introduced in the late 1940's at Kikuyu in the neighbourhood of Nairobi city. This may possibly explain the male predominance in migration streams in Kenya. This formal educational development attests to the widely held view of education being a stimulant to migration. (Bogue, 1969:770 ; Browning, 1972:2891; Sabot, 1972:7).

Table 5.1 shows the percentage distribution of recent migrants by age and education. The migrants with no education constitute 36.7 percent of the total migrant population. This percentage

is higher for the rest of the categories because of the large number of children aged 0-4 years who are also included in the calculations. These children alone constitute 22.5 percent of the total migrant population.

Table 5.1 : PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RECENT MIGRANTS BY AGE AND EDUCATION

AGE	NONE	PRIMARY	SECONDARY +	NOT STATED	TOTAL
0-4	22.5	0.0	0.0	0.0	22.5
5-9	4.0	4.6	0.0	0.3	8.9
10-14	0.8	6.7	0.5	0.2	8.1
15-19	1.4	8.1	6.3	0.1	15.8
20-24	1.8	7.4	9.4	0.2	18.8
25-29	1.5	4.2	4.1	0.1	9.9
30-34	1.0	2.3	2.2	0.1	5.5
35-39	0.8	1.2	1.1	0.0	3.2
40-44	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.0	2.2
45-49	0.5	0.6	0.4	0.0	1.5
50+	1.6	0.8	0.7	0.1	3.1
NOT STATED	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.4
TOTAL	36.7	36.7	25.3	1.2	100
N=	206557				

Migrants with primary education constitute 36.7 percent of the total migrant population. Of these, the majority belong to age groups 10-24.

It is hypothesized that, "Educational opportunities in Kenya have encouraged educated people to migrate to Nairobi, though regional disparities do exist in the in-migration of the educated."

Migrants with secondary education constitute 25.3 percent of the total migrant population in Nairobi. It may be argued here that, probably those who have attained secondary education are a small proportion in the population of the country. The other plausible reason could be that the educated people are employed and hence are less likely to migrate. Those migrants with little education are the ones who migrate to the city in search of employment or in order to start their own businesses in the informal sector.

Table 5.2, gives the distribution of recent male migrants to the city by age and education. The males with primary education account for 19.0 percent of the total migrant population. Those without education constitute 17.0 percent of the total migrant population while those that have acquired secondary education constitute 16.0 percent. The most important point to note here is that the majority of the migrants have acquired at least primary education. This could actually reflect the

TABLE 5.2 : PERCENT DISTRIBUTION OF RECENT MALE MIGRANTS BY AGE AND EDUCATION

AGE GROUP	EDUCATION CATEGORIES				
	NONE	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	NOT STATED	TOTAL
0-4	11.2	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.2
5-9	1.9	2.1	0.0	0.1	4.1
10-14	0.1	2.8	0.2	0.1	3.2
15-19	0.4	3.4	3.0	0.0	7.0
20-24	1.0	4.2	6.2	0.1	11.3
25-29	1.0	2.4	3.0	0.1	6.0
30-34	0.4	1.5	1.6	0.0	3.5
35-39	0.3	0.9	0.8	0.0	2.0
40-44	0.3	0.6	0.5	0.0	1.4
45-49	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.0	1.0
50+	0.7	0.5	0.4	0.0	2.0
NOT STATED	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.3
TOTAL	17.0	19.0	16.0	1.0	52.4
	n=108194				

TABLE 5.3 : DISTRIBUTION OF RECENT FEMALE MIGRANTS BY AGE AND EDUCATION

AGE GROUP	EDUCATION CATEGORIES				
	NONE	PRIMARY	SECONDARY	NOT STATED	TOTAL
0-4	11.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.3
5-9	2.2	2.5	0.0	0.1	4.8
10-14	0.7	4.0	0.3	0.1	5.0
15-19	1.0	4.7	3.3	0.1	9.0
20-24	1.1	3.1	3.2	0.1	7.5
25-29	1.0	2.0	1.2	0.0	4.0
30-34	0.6	1.0	0.5	0.0	2.0
35-39	0.5	0.4	0.3	0.0	1.3
40-44	0.4	0.2	0.2	0.0	1.0
45-49	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.1	1.4
50+	1.0	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1
NOT STATED	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
TOTAL	20.0	18.0	9.4	0.6	47.6
					n=98363

situation in the whole country, in that, the vast majority of the people in Kenya have acquired primary education rather than secondary education.

Table 5.3 shows the percentage distribution of recent female migrants to the city of Nairobi by age and education. The results in this table reveal that females are less educated than their male counterparts. Those without education constitute 20.0 percent of the total migrant population. Primary education among females accounts for 18.0 percent while those that have acquired secondary education are only 9.36 percent. Some of these women may be married women temporarily joining their husbands in Nairobi.

It is difficult to tell which districts have more educated migrants than others, because the same districts with the majority of migrants are the same districts exhibiting more migrants in various education categories.

Table 5.4 gives us the distribution of recent migrants by sex, education and districts of residence a year ago.

TABLE 5.4 : DISTRIBUTION BY SEX, EDUCATION AND DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE A YEAR AGO

	MALES								FEMALES									
DISTRICT	NONE	%	PRI	%	SEC +	%	NS	%	NONE	%	PRI	%	SEC +	%	NS	%	TOTAL	%
Kiambu	991	0.48	2683	1.30	2081	1.01	56	0.02	1258	0.61	2475	1.20	1458	0.70	81	0.04	11083	5.3
Kirinyaga	273	0.13	491	0.24	436	0.21	8	0.00	405	0.20	618	0.30	346	0.17	12	0.01	2589	1.25
Murang'a	1582	0.76	3391	1.64	1698	0.82	47	0.02	2146	1.04	3561	1.72	1409	0.68	56	0.03	13890	6.2
Nyandarua	164	0.08	513	0.25	393	0.19	6	0.00	239	0.12	535	0.26	193	0.10	5	0.00	2048	1.00
Nyeri	803	0.39	1883	0.91	1459	0.71	27	0.01	1113	0.54	2361	1.09	1270	0.61	32	0.02	8845	4.2
Kilifi	64	0.03	111	0.05	153	0.07	71	0.03	73	0.03	75	0.04	58	0.03	59	0.03	664	0.3
Kwale	42	0.02	49	0.02	62	0.03	11	0.01	47	0.02	47	0.02	29	0.01	15	0.01	302	0.15
Lamu	21	0.01	61	0.03	61	0.03	3	0.00	23	0.01	12	0.01	8	0.00	6	0.00	195	0.00
Mombasa	630	0.31	1488	0.72	1969	0.95	29	0.01	527	0.26	714	0.35	899	0.44	14	0.01	6270	3.0
Taita/Taveta	146	0.07	336	0.16	219	0.11	2	0.00	233	0.11	395	0.19	151	0.07	6	0.00	1488	0.75
Tana River	36	0.02	29	0.01	32	0.02	0	0.00	21	0.01	18	0.01	9	0.00	4	0.00	149	0.07
Embu	257	0.12	496	0.24	434	0.21	44	0.02	292	0.14	456	0.22	289	0.14	32	0.02	2300	1.1
Isiolo	90	0.04	81	0.04	72	0.03	7	0.00	84	0.04	32	0.02	30	0.01	13	0.01	409	0.8
Kitui	1784	0.86	2309	1.12	703	0.34	23	0.01	2225	1.08	1331	0.64	336	0.16	35	0.02	8746	4.2
Machakos	2341	1.13	4650	2.25	2590	1.25	76	0.04	2793	1.35	4753	2.30	1590	0.77	80	0.04	18873	9.14
Marsabit	208	0.10	127	0.06	83	0.04	1	0.00	123	0.06	20	0.01	12	0.01	2	0.00	576	0.28
Meru	325	0.16	711	0.34	633	0.31	13	0.01	338	0.16	459	0.22	415	0.20	9	0.04	2903	1.4
Garissa	75	0.04	87	0.04	94	0.05	16	0.01	47	0.02	26	0.01	28	0.01	17	0.01	390	0.
Mandera	109	0.05	63	0.03	83	0.04	9	0.00	64	0.03	12	0.01	13	0.01	10	0.00	363	0.18
Wajir	74	0.04	52	0.03	63	0.03	6	0.00	46	0.02	15	0.01	11	0.01	3	0.00	270	0.13
Kisii	292	0.14	546	0.26	1165	0.56	18	0.01	504	0.24	589	0.29	540	0.26	23	0.01	3677	1.78
Kisumu	1262	0.61	2459	1.19	1642	0.79	54	0.03	1789	0.87	2434	1.19	803	0.39	58	0.03	10501	5.08
Siaya	1793	0.87	2828	1.37	1280	0.62	43	0.02	2805	1.36	3218	1.56	636	0.31	50	0.02	12653	6.13
South Nyanza	758	0.37	1521	0.74	1124	0.54	25	0.01	1143	0.55	1622	0.79	464	0.22	21	0.01	6678	3.23
Kajiado	514	0.25	456	0.22	292	0.14	8	0.00	225	0.11	226	0.11	132	0.06	8	0.00	1861	0.90
Kericho	226	0.11	474	0.23	408	0.20	3	0.00	247	0.12	270	0.13	132	0.06	7	0.00	1767	0.86

TABLE 5.4 (Cont.)

	MALES								FEMALES									
DISTRICT	NONE	%	PRI	%	SEC +	%	NS	%	NONE	%	PRI	%	SEC +	%	NS	%	TOTAL	%
Laikipia	94	0.05	206	0.10	273	0.13	7	0.00	111	0.05	158	0.08	67	0.03	1	0.00	917	0.44
Nakuru	583	0.28	1588	0.77	1595	0.77	21	0.01	604	0.29	1022	0.49	593	0.29	12	0.01	6018	2.91
Nandi	69	0.03	159	0.08	146	0.07	3	0.00	91	0.04	106	0.05	72	0.03	3	0.00	649	0.31
Narok	76	0.04	121	0.06	91	0.04	2	0.00	48	0.02	66	0.03	32	0.02	0	0.00	436	0.21
Baringo	51	0.02	118	0.06	123	0.06	6	0.00	35	0.02	113	0.05	47	0.02	12	0.01	505	0.29
Elgeyo Marakwet	20	0.01	87	0.04	82	0.04	2	0.00	26	0.01	46	0.02	37	0.02	6	0.00	306	0.15
Samburu	231	0.11	66	0.03	32	0.02	0	0.00	117	0.06	14	0.01	12	0.01	1	0.00	473	0.23
Trans Nzoia	123	0.06	229	0.11	248	0.12	5	0.00	104	0.05	188	0.09	146	0.07	2	0.00	1045	0.51
Turkana	26	0.01	19	0.01	31	0.02	0	0.00	25	0.01	14	0.01	5	0.00	0	0.00	120	0.06
Uasin Gishu	105	0.05	322	0.15	373	0.18	9	0.00	113	0.05	169	0.08	181	0.09	4	0.00	1276	0.62
West Pokot	8	0.00	30	0.01	44	0.02	0	0.00	16	0.01	14	0.01	7	0.00	0	0.00	119	0.06
Bungoma	233	0.11	363	0.18	691	0.33	5	0.00	394	0.19	461	0.22	376	0.18	13	0.01	2536	1.23
Busia	593	0.29	854	0.41	587	0.28	17	0.01	1037	0.50	799	0.39	256	0.12	15	0.01	4158	2.0
Kakamega	3814	1.85	5290	2.56	3038	1.47	80	0.04	5153	2.49	5831	2.82	1987	0.96	98	0.05	25291	12.24
ALL MIGRANTS	34851	16.87	39098	18.93	32911	15.93	1339	0.65	41032	19.86	36777	17.80	19329	9.36	1225	0.59	206557	100

Kakamega district has the majority of educated migrants. Those without education are 1.85 percent, those who have acquired primary education are 2.56 percent and those with secondary education constitute 1.47 percent. In total, those with education constitute 4.03 percent of the total migrant population. This figure should not be misconstrued to give the impression that Kakamega has more educated males than other districts. This is so because, the majority of the migrants to Nairobi come from this district.

Murang'a district has the second largest proportion of migrants after Kakamega with 4.9 percent of her migrants having education.

The results in Table 5.4 show that from the districts of Kenya, we can conclude that migrants to Nairobi city are not as such highly educated as expected. The males are slightly better off than their female counterparts but this can be explained by the sex differential in educational attainment ever since the colonial days, with females beginning to catch up only recently.

In order to test the hypothesis that states that : "The educational opportunities in Kenya have encouraged educated people to migrate to Nairobi, though regional disparities do exist in the in-migration of the educated", a Chi-square test is taken.

On Educational Attainments:

H_o : There is no significant difference in educational attainments between our study and Rempel et al's study.

H_1 : There is significant difference in educational attainment between the two studies.

TABLE 5·5: CHI-SQUARE TEST FOR EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF MIGRANTS TO NAIROBI AND REMPEL ET AL'S STUDY

EDUCATION	NAIROBI CENSUS DATA		REMPEL ET AL'S SURVEY		BOTH
	OBSERVED	EXPECTED	OBSERVED	EXPECTED	
No Formal Education	19487	19453.3	136	169.6	19623
Primary 1-7	52607	52812.5	666	460.5	53273
Secondary +	51197	51025.1	273	444.9	51470
TOTAL	123291	123291	1075	1075	124366

$X^2 = 166.21746$

d.f = 2

$\chi_{0.05} = 5.991$

$\chi_{0.01} = 9.210$

Significant at both 95 and 99 percent levels. At both 95 percent and 99 percent levels of significant, we reject the null hypothesis (H_o) and accept the alternative hypothesis (H_1). The result shows that there is a significant difference in the level of education between the two studies.

A Chi-square test was carried out to test the hypothesis "that it is the more educated who migrate to the city". The test reveals that there has been a significant change in the levels of education.

5.2 SELECTIVITY BY MARITAL STATUS

The migrants to Nairobi are divided into four categories to distinguish their marital statuses. There are those who are single, the married, the divorced or separated and lastly the widowed.

Different migration studies have provided mixed results about migrant selectivity by marital status. Generally, distinction is made between selectivity by single or married categories. In the colonial period migrants, whether single or married were prohibited from living with their spouses at their places of destination. Relaxation of this condition in the independence era has given greater scope for migration irrespective of the migrants' marital status and more importantly, opened avenues for female migration that was curbed in the preceding era.

In this study, it is hypothesized that "Given that school-leavers generally gravitate toward Nairobi city, migrants are predominantly Single".

Table 5.2.1 gives us the distribution of recent migrants by marital status and district of residence a year ago.

TABLE 5.2.1 : PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RECENT MIGRANTS BY MARITAL STATUS AND DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE A YEAR AGO

DISTRICT	SINGLE	%	MARRIED	%	DIVORCED	%	WIDOWED	%	NOT STATED	%	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
Kiambu	7493	3.63	3258	1.58	172	0.08	96	0.05	64	0.03	11083	5.3
Kirinyaga	1901	0.92	633	0.32	12	0.00	15	0.01	8	0.00	2589	1.29
Murang'a	10280	4.97	3371	1.63	106	0.05	108	0.05	25	0.01	13890	6.72
Nyandarua	1420	0.69	598	0.29	13	0.00	15	0.01	2	0.00	2048	1.00
Nyeri	6782	3.28	1954	0.94	43	0.02	56	0.03	13	0.00	8848	4.28
Central-so-stated	21	0.01	5	0.00	1	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	27	0.01
Kilifi	434	0.21	219	0.11	4	0.00	5	0.00	2	0.00	664	0.35
Kwale	174	0.08	117	0.06	1	0.00	2	0.00	8	0.00	302	0.15
Lamu	89	0.04	97	0.05	4	0.00	2	0.00	3	0.00	195	0.09
Mombasa	3611	1.75	2534	1.23	57	0.03	58	0.03	10	0.00	6270	3.04
Taveta	1069	0.52	388	0.19	14	0.01	15	0.01	2	0.00	1488	0.72
Tana River	81	0.04	65	0.03	2	0.00	1	0.00	0	0.00	149	0.07
Coast-Stated	22	0.01	12	0.00	1	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	35	0.02
Embu	1561	0.75	713	0.34	11	0.00	5	0.00	10	0.00	2300	1.11
Isiolo	228	0.11	167	0.08	2	0.00	3	0.00	9	0.00	409	0.20
Kitui	5476	2.65	3152	1.53	54	0.03	49	0.02	15	0.01	8746	4.23
Machakos	12770	6.18	5831	2.82	150	0.07	93	0.05	29	0.01	18873	9.14
Marsabit	292	0.14	273	0.13	8	0.00	2	0.00	1	0.00	576	0.28
Meru	2043	1.00	830	0.39	26	0.01	14	0.01	0	0.00	2903	1.40
Eastern-so-stated	5	0.00	3	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0		8	0.00
Garissa	217	0.10	164	0.05	5	0.00	3	0.00	1	0.00	390	0.19
Mandera	188	0.09	164	0.08	4	0.00	4	0.00	3	0.00	363	0.17
Wajir	125	0.06	135	0.06	7	0.00	1	0.00	2	0.00	270	0.13
N.Eastern	11	0.00	13	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	24	0.01
Kisii	2464	1.19	1176	0.57	14	0.01	10	0.00	13	0.00	3677	1.78
Kisumu	6715	3.25	3652	1.77	62	0.03	46	0.02	26	0.01	10501	5.08
Siaya	8315	4.02	4211	2.04	69	0.03	38	0.02	20	0.01	12653	6.12
S. Nyanza	4126	2.00	2477	1.20	33	0.02	30	0.01	12	0.00	6678	3.23

TABLE 5.2.1 (Cont.)

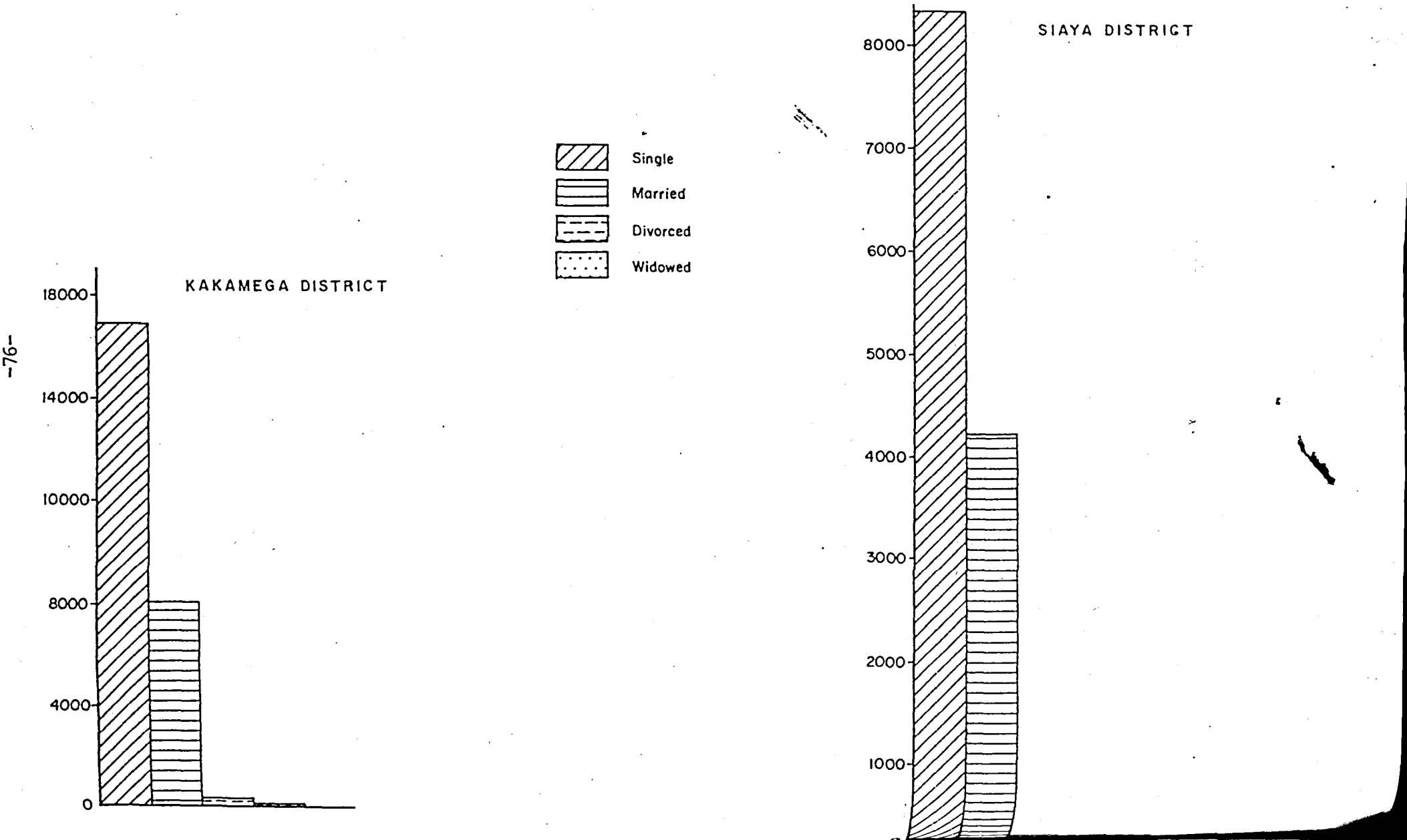
DISTRICT	SINGLE	%	MARRIED	%	DIVORCED	%	WIDOWED	%	NOT STATED	%	TOTAL	% OF TOTAL
Nyanza												
Stated	114	0.05	70	0.03	1	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	185	0.09
Kajiado	995	0.48	815	0.39	21	0.01	26	0.01	4	0.00	1861	0.90
Kericho	1024	0.49	727	0.35	5	0.00	7	0.00	4	0.00	1767	0.85
Laikipia	568	0.27	338	0.16	4	0.00	2	0.00	5	0.00	917	0.44
Nakuru	3734	1.81	2169	1.05	78	0.04	30	0.01	7	0.00	6018	2.91
Nandi	355	0.19	241	0.12	8	0.00	4	0.00	1	0.00	649	0.31
Narok	240	0.12	186	0.10	8	0.00	1	0.00	1	0.00	436	0.21
Baringo	355	0.17	147	0.07	0	0.00	2	0.00	1	0.00	505	0.24
E. Marakwet	168	0.08	132	0.06	2	0.00	0	0.00	4	0.00	306	0.15
Samburu	281	0.14	189	0.09	3	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	473	0.23
Trans Nzoia	646	0.31	377	0.18	11	0.00	8	0.00	3	0.00	1045	0.51
Turkana	64	0.03	52	0.02	3	0.00	1	0.00	0	0.00	120	0.06
Uasin Gishu	749	0.36	506	0.24	12	0.00	9	0.00	0	0.00	1276	0.62
W. Pokot	63	0.02	55	0.03	0	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.00	119	0.06
Rift Valley												
Stated	127	0.06	65	0.03	2	0.00	0	0.00	1	0.00	195	0.09
Bungoma	1710	0.83	792	0.38	23	0.01	5	0.00	6	0.00	2536	1.23
Busia	2742	1.33	1370	0.66	16	0.01	18	0.01	12	0.00	4158	2.01
Kakamega	16879	8.17	8016	2.88	275	0.13	102	0.05	19	0.01	25291	12.2
Western												
Stated	12	0.00	3	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	0	0.00	15	0.01
Kenya	606	0.29	456	0.22	16	0.01	20	0.01	10	0.00	1108	0.54
Tanzania	626	0.30	443	0.21	50	0.02	15	0.01	1	0.00	1135	0.55
Uganda	1037	0.50	679	0.33	125	0.01	24	0.01	8	0.00	1773	0.86
NOT STATED	31897	15.4	6044	2.92	135	0.06	218	0.11	416	0.20	38710	8.00
ALL MIGRANTS	142945	69.2	60094	29.1	1573	0.76	1163	0.56	782	0.38	206557	100

The table shows that the single migrants constitute 69.2 percent of the total migrant population to Nairobi city. The married migrants constitute 29.1 percent of the total migrants to Nairobi city while the separated or divorced account for 0.76 percent and lastly the widowed who constitute 0.56 percent of the total migrant population.

The single migrants are leading in the one year migration to Nairobi city. This is true for all the districts except Lamu and Wajir. These two districts have their married people migrating more than the other categories. It can be argued that the single are generally young and young people usually adapt easily to new situations than the older people. The young are more disposed to taking advantage of new opportunities necessitating migration. This is not to say that there are no people in the married category who are young. There may be, but they have their marital obligations that sometimes do not allow for free movement.

The married migrants are either stationed in Nairobi with their spouses or back in the rural areas. Those in the rural areas have to visit their spouses once in a while and this contributes to the large number of married migrants being involved in the one year migration.

Fig. 5.1 DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY MARITAL STATUS AND DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE A YEAR AGO : BOTH MALES AND FEMAL



The migrants who reported that they were separated or divorced and the widowed show very insignificant findings. This can be attributed to the fact that, the divorced or separated tend to hide the fact that they are in these conditions. The other argument could be that since separation/divorce is very rare in African societies, people do not want to be referred to as 'the divorced' because there is a social stigma attached to it. Widows and widowers do not feel free talking about the death of their spouses hence the insignificant percentage.

Figure 5.1. gives the trend of the marital status of the migrants. For other districts see Appendix 11. The figures have the same trend for all the districts of Kenya.

In conclusion our analysis has shown that the single are more migratory than the married. The divorced/separated and the widowed are less migratory. The single are youthful and have fewer responsibilities to tie them down, so they are likely to be the majority of the migrants. They are the same people looking for employment and this explains the high out-migration among the single migrants.

CHAPTER SIX

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

As an epilogue to this study, the present chapter discusses four main issues. First, it echoes the major findings by summarising salient features of the preceding chapters. Second, on the basis of the foregoing it draws some general conclusions to the study, placing emphasis on the substantive issues already discussed elsewhere. Third, it makes some fundamental recommendations that are pertinent to policy-making on either regional or national basis in the country.

Finally, the chapter highlights opportunities for further research.

The primacy of the city, coupled with the capital status have made Nairobi the focal point of all activities.

There is evidence to show that sex and age are important determinants in the migrant streams. In Kenya, as in most developing countries, the young males are by far the most migratory. An interesting

factor, to note however, is that given time, this trend is going to change because females are just as preponderant in migration streams as males.

The study found that the male migrants constitute 52 percent of the total migrants while the females constitute 48 percent.

It is predominatly the young people who migrate to the city of Nairobi, particularly, those between ages 15 and 29. It is an acceleration of migration that has resulted in town populations having a disproportionate number of young adults.

For the ethnic groups the study found that the largest ethnic groups such as the Kikuyu, the Luhya, the Luo and the Kamba, are more migratory than the smaller ethnic groups.

The study also found that the single followed by the married are the ones migrating most to the city as opposed to the widowed and divorced.

Education which is believed to be a good determinant of migrant selectivity turned out to be less important in the sense that the proportion of highly educated migrants is less than that of the less

educated.

The Chi-square tests done, reveal that, there is a significant change in the level of education and also in the age of the migrants between Rempel et al's study in 1970 and this study based on the 1979 population census.

6.2 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Against the foregoing summary of major findings, some general conclusions may be drawn to this study.

The proportion of the rural population moving to the towns is very small indeed. The numbers involved appear large from the perspective of the receiving centre but Kenya is still a long way from reducing the absolute number of people in agriculture which according to economic development theory, is a necessary prerequisite for increasing the productivity of labour in agriculture to the extent necessary for rural development.

The proportion of the rural young and the rural educated moving to the towns is above the average movement from rural areas, but the extent of this movement has not reduced the absolute number of either of these two groups in the rural areas.

The majority move to other smaller urban centres.

These results were consistent with the hypothesized selective nature of the rural- urban migration process. The young have fewer attachments in the rural areas which they need to give up to realize the better economic prospects in the towns. The educated are subject to less risks because of better information and a high probability of being selected for employment.

It would appear that the nature of the migration decision making process is more complex for females than for males. The more people that migrate, the greater the number of clan contacts.

That Nairobi area is a net recipient of migrants from all the districts tallies with the situation depicted by the census data. It ranks as the principal destination hence its suitability for this study.

The major shortcoming in this study is that the census data leave out a lot of information, one being occupation of the migrants. This partly accounts for our inability to make more analytical comparisons of migrants.

This study reveals a host of environmental factors influencing migration, ranging from drought to erratic rainfall in some parts of Kenya, to population pressure in the higher better watered areas.

Finally, it is apparent that any migration process has adverse effects at the source areas and positive effects at the destination.

6.3 POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

The current trend of migration can only be changed if employment opportunities are diversified such that other towns attract some labour.

The District Focus for Rural Development Strategy which is being implemented in Kenya has far-reaching implications for rural-urban migration. It is intended as a solution to this exodus to the urban centres and particularly to Nairobi, so that rural populations would find incentives to remain in rural areas. To the social and economic planner, perhaps the most significant feature of the national mobility of population is its selective nature. The problem of who leaves the rural areas and at what age, is one of the basic problems of planning for both rural and urban development programmes. There is need for comparison between the characteristics of migrants in future studies.

The high proportion of school children among those planning to migrate to towns is not merely a product of their youth; schooling itself turns people towards town life. So the solution would be to provide good schools in the rural areas and also opportunities for employment after school.

The Government should improve non-agricultural employment opportunities, to redistribute rural populations and to intensify land use in heavily populated areas. This may help in reducing the number of some ethnic groups that are exhibiting a high rate of migration to Nairobi city.

Finally, in applying these recommendations, each district should be critically analysed before any operations are undertaken to avoid mis-allocation of the available meagre resources.

6.4 OPPORTUNITIES FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

This study was limited to one-year migration and this limited the level of analysis. The data lacked information on the occupation of the migrants to Nairobi. This area should be studied so that, we know whether the migrants had any kind of occupation or not.

Second, it is important to find out what the migrants do after reaching Nairobi. It was not possible for this study to cover this as this calls for a survey.

Finally, a research should be carried out to find why some ethnic groups are more migratory than others.

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APPENDIX 1

ADMINISTRATIVE AREA	AREA SQ.KM.	TOTAL POPULATION	DENSITY POP/KM²
Nairobi	693	827,775	1,210
Kangemi	5	21,081	3,933
Kawangware/ Riruta North	4	24,413	5,261
Riruta South (Satelite)	5	17,165	3,433
Waithaka	4	7,365	1,521
Uthiru/Ruthimutu	6	8,140	1,218
Mutuini	4	7,627	1,588
Kilimani	24	45,111	1,805
Karen/Langata	74	13,112	176
Kibera/Woodley	7	63,353	8,515
Golf Course/Nairobi Hill	5	16,670	2,432
Nairobi South and West	11	28,997	2.432
Industrial Area	10	9,314	840
Mugumoini	124	11,750	94
Embakasi	52	13,502	217
Dandora	.62	22,672	139
Harambee	0	16,257	20,321
Lumumba	1	13,544	11,286
Makadara	1	11,931	10,085
Kaloleni	0	5,120	8,000
Maisha/Makongeni	0	16,606	27,676
Mbotela	0.9	14,073	43,978
Bahati	0.6	10,670	20,519
Maringo	0.4	13,083	32,707
Uhuru	2	23,813	12,149
Shauri Moyo Muthurwa	1.4	18,858	14,280
Pumwani	0.4	14,403	36,007
Ziwani/Kariokor	0.8	8,521	12,530
Pangani	1.5	17,223	10,251
City Centre	1.2	18,402	15,863
Nairobi Central	1.2	8,859	7,382
Spring Valley	25.8	18,559	788
Karura	40.3	11,031	298
Parklands	3.8	23,965	8,886
Ngara West	1.3	10,044	8,100
Ngara East	1.2	16,335	13,173
Roysambu/Kahawa	49.9	30,958	2,280
Ruaraka/Kasarani	17.7	29,881	1,819
Kariobangi	13.2	43,349	3,612
Mathare	3.2	68,456	34,228
Eastleigh	7.7	53,562	7,439

Source: Kenya, 1979 Population Census Figures, Ministry of Finance and Community Affairs.

APPENDIX 2

DISTRIBUTION OF RECENT MALE MIGRANTS BY AGE AND DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE

DISTRICT	AGE GROUPS										
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50+
Kiambu	0.19	0.21	0.18	0.40	0.74	0.42	0.24	0.13	0.10	0.07	0.12
Kirinyaga	0.06	0.07	0.05	0.10	0.15	0.05	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.01
Muranga	0.38	0.40	0.39	0.66	0.68	0.28	0.14	0.09	0.06	0.03	0.12
Nyeri	0.23	0.26	0.23	0.37	0.47	0.17	0.12	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.06
Nyandarua	0.04	0.03	0.03	0.10	0.15	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.02
Kilifi	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.02	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00
Kwale	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Lamu	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mombasa	0.12	0.12	0.10	0.17	0.53	0.40	0.25	0.12	0.08	0.05	0.06
Taita/Taveta	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.06	0.07	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00
Tana River	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Embu	0.06	0.04	0.04	0.08	0.18	0.08	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.02
Isiolo	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01
Kitui	0.34	0.29	0.19	0.37	0.50	0.23	0.13	0.09	0.06	0.05	0.07
Machakos	0.59	0.47	0.34	0.72	1.29	0.51	0.26	0.13	0.11	0.08	0.14
Marsabit	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.05	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01
Meru	0.06	0.03	0.03	0.14	0.28	0.12	0.07	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.02
Garissa	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
Mandera	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.02	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01
Wajir	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
Kisii	0.08	0.05	0.05	0.16	0.36	0.13	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01
Kisumu	0.32	0.24	0.20	0.43	0.63	0.34	0.20	0.10	0.07	0.04	0.06
Siaya	0.46	0.30	0.23	0.56	0.56	0.30	0.15	0.09	0.07	0.05	0.09
South Nyanza	0.20	0.13	0.10	0.27	0.46	0.22	0.11	0.05	0.03	0.03	0.04
Kajiado	0.03	0.03	0.02	0.07	0.14	0.11	0.07	0.05	0.03	0.02	0.03
Kericho	0.04	0.02	0.02	0.05	0.17	0.09	0.05	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.01
Laikipia	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.03	0.07	0.06	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.01
Nakuru	0.12	0.10	0.08	0.22	0.58	0.32	0.17	0.09	0.05	0.03	0.05
Nandi	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01	0.00
Narok	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.04	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00
Baringo	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.02	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Elgeyo Marakwet	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.03	0.02	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

APPENDIX 2 (Cont.)

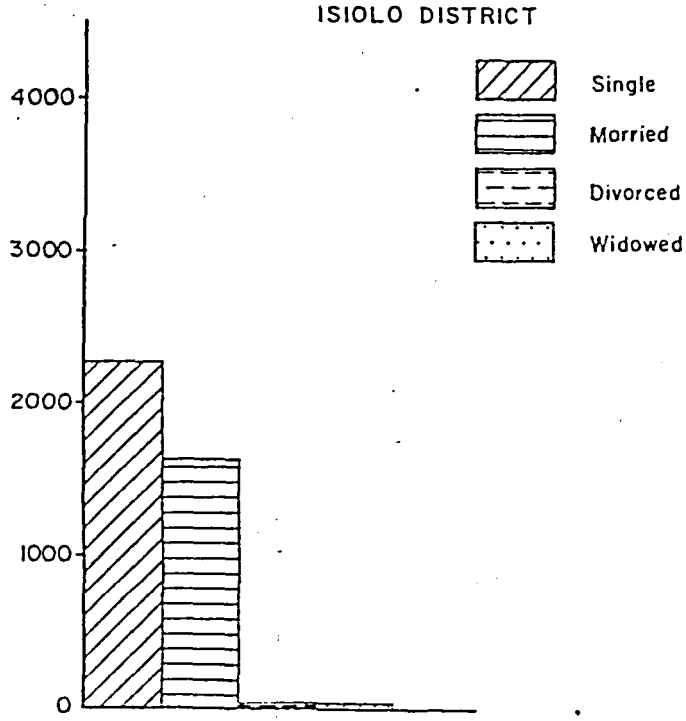
DISTRICT	AGE GROUPS										
	0-4	5-9	10-14	15-19	20-24	25-29	30-34	35-39	40-44	45-49	50+
Samburu	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.02	0.06	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00
Trans Nzoia	0.02	0.02	0.01	0.04	0.08	0.05	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.01
Turkana	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Uasin Gishu	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.05	0.10	0.07	0.05	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
West Pokot	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.01	0.01	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Bungoma	0.07	0.04	0.03	0.08	0.21	0.09	0.04	0.02	0.01	0.01	0.01
Busia	0.14	0.08	0.07	0.19	0.17	0.12	0.05	0.03	0.01	0.01	0.03
Kakamega	1.00	0.68	0.43	0.93	1.39	0.62	0.33	0.17	0.13	0.09	0.16
All Migrants	11.21	4.09	3.21	6.80	11.26	5.95	3.54	1.98	1.40	0.99	1.69
Not Stated	6.38	0.20	0.19	0.20	0.42	0.51	0.49	0.36	0.26	0.18	0.37

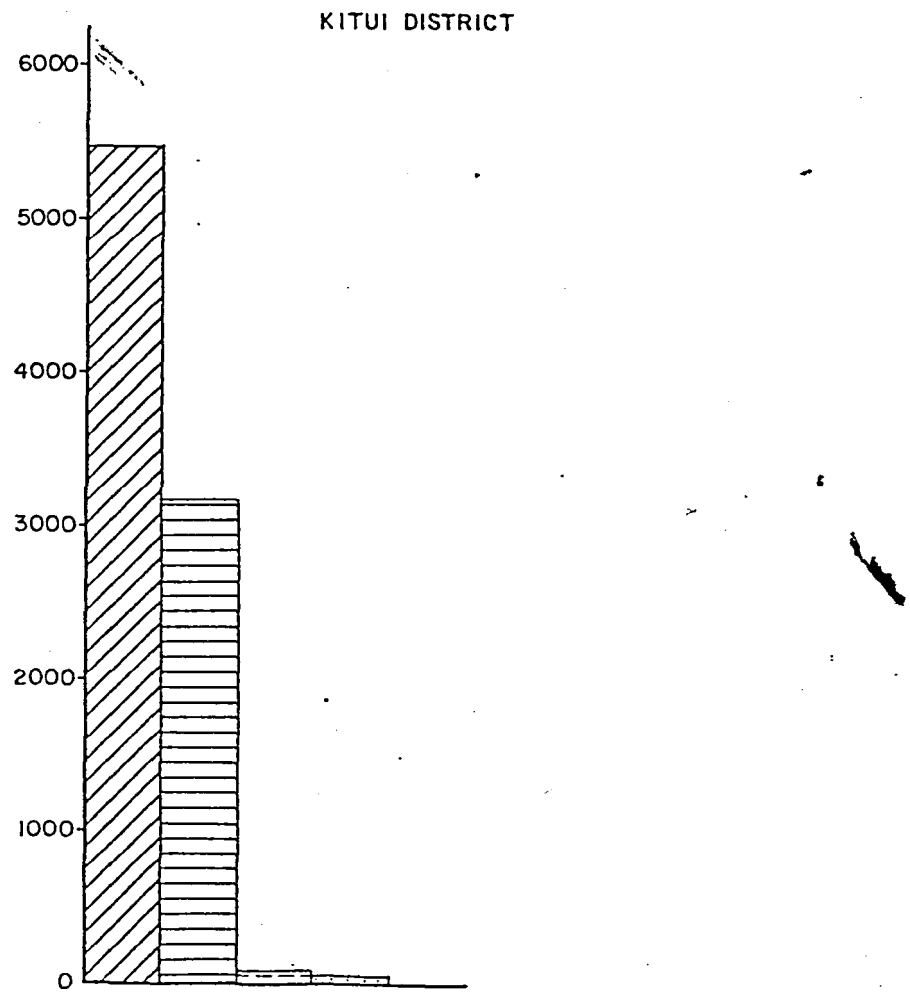
APPENDIX 3

DISTRIBUTION OF RECENT MIGRANTS BY AGE AND SEX

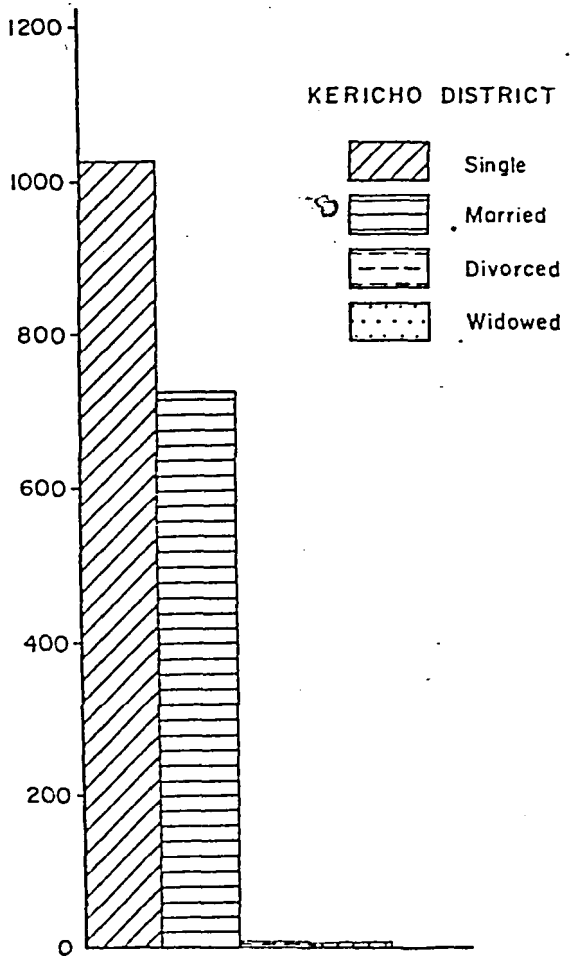
AGE GROUP	MALES		FEMALES		TOTAL	PERCENT OF TOTAL
	NUMBER	PERCENT OF TOTAL	NUMBER	PERCENT OF TOTAL		
0-4	23145	11.20	23331	11.30	46476	22.5
5-9	8459	4.09	9894	4.79	18353	8.88
10-14	6635	3.21	10137	4.91	16772	8.12
15-19	14039	6.80	18681	9.04	32720	15.84
20-24	23270	11.26	15499	7.50	38769	18.77
25-29	12294	6.00	8151	3.94	20445	10.00
30-34	7315	3.54	4101	1.98	11416	5.53
35-39	4098	2.00	2599	1.26	6697	3.24
40-44	2894	1.40	1625	0.78	4519	2.19
45-49	2037	1.00	1138	0.55	3175	1.54
50+	3489	1.70	2920	1.41	6409	3.10
NS	519	0.25	287	0.14	806	0.39
TOTAL	108194	52.40	98363	47.62	206557	100

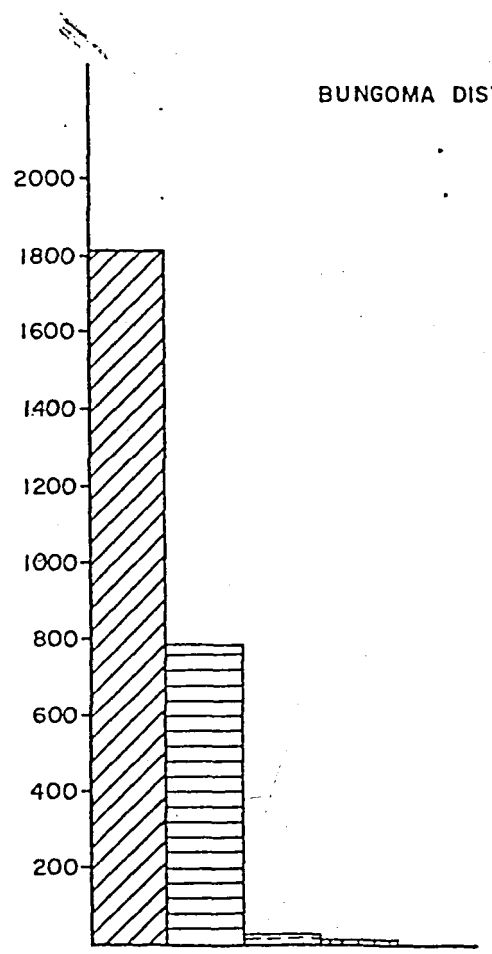
APPENDIX 5 DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY MARITAL STATUS AND DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE A YEAR AGO BOTH MALES AND FEMALES



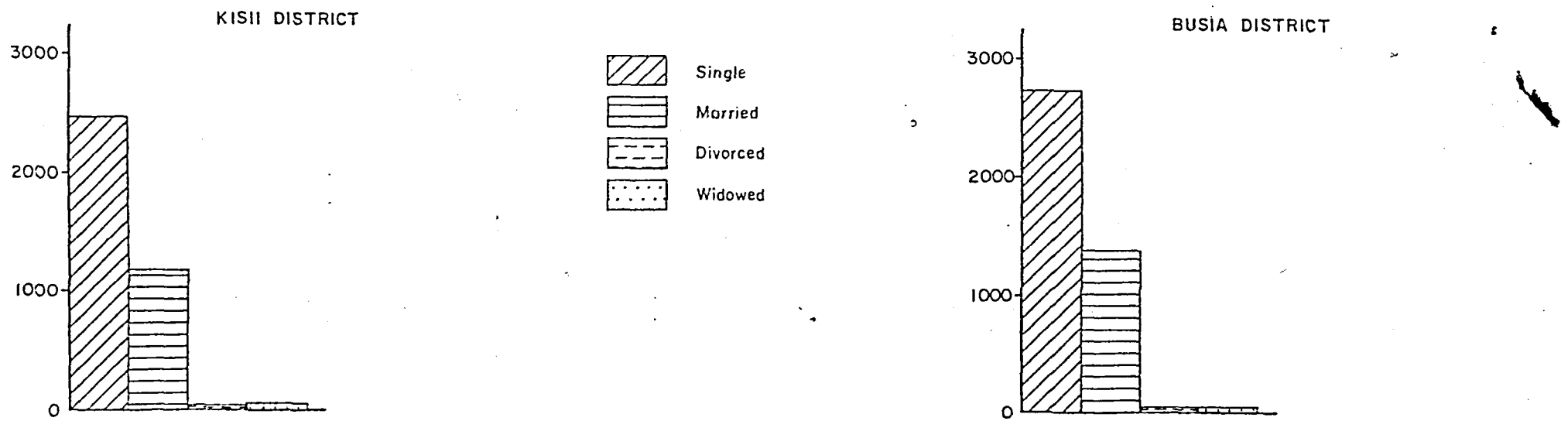


APPENDIX 6 DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY MARITAL STATUS AND DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE A YEAR AGO BOTH MALES AND FEMALE

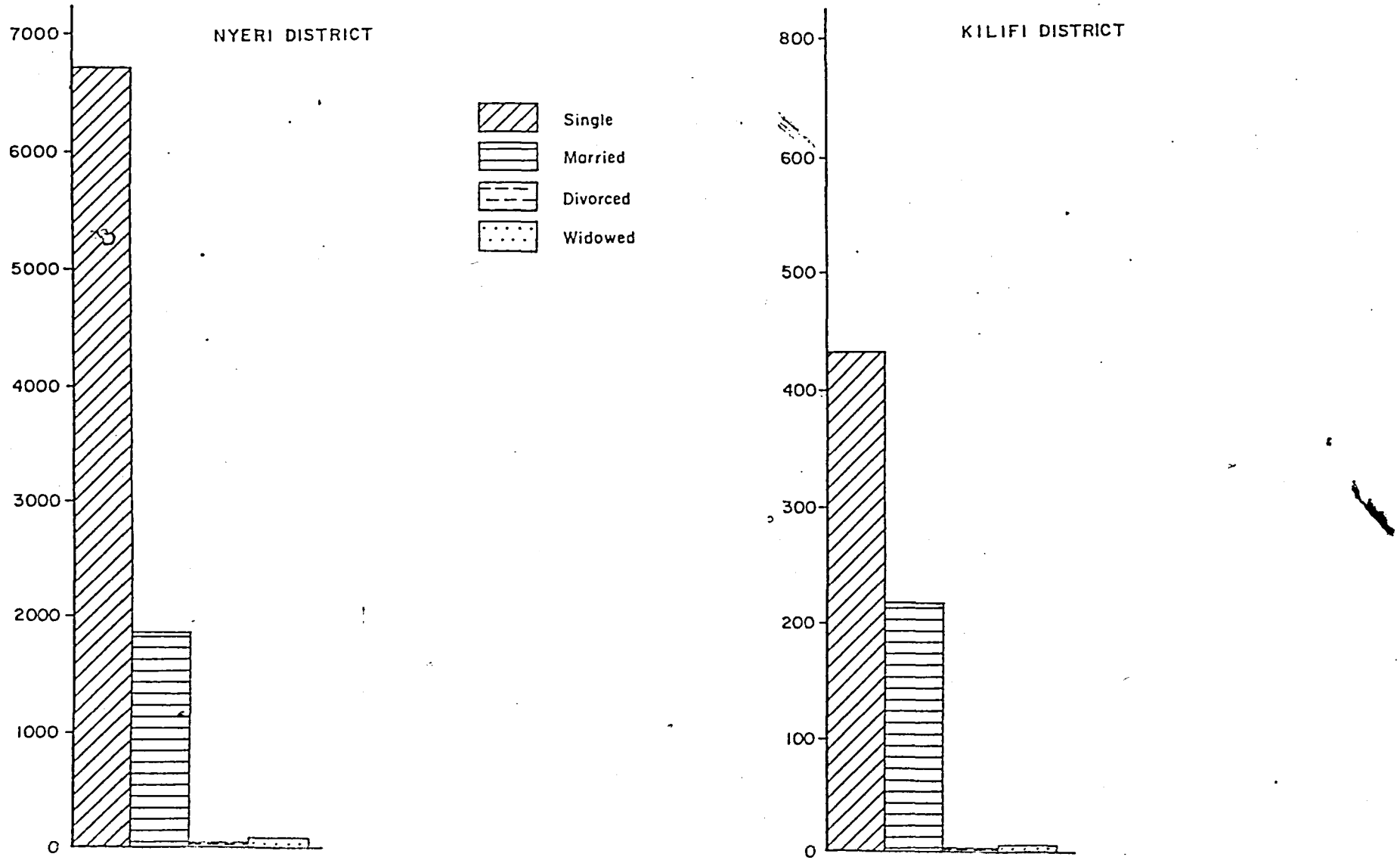




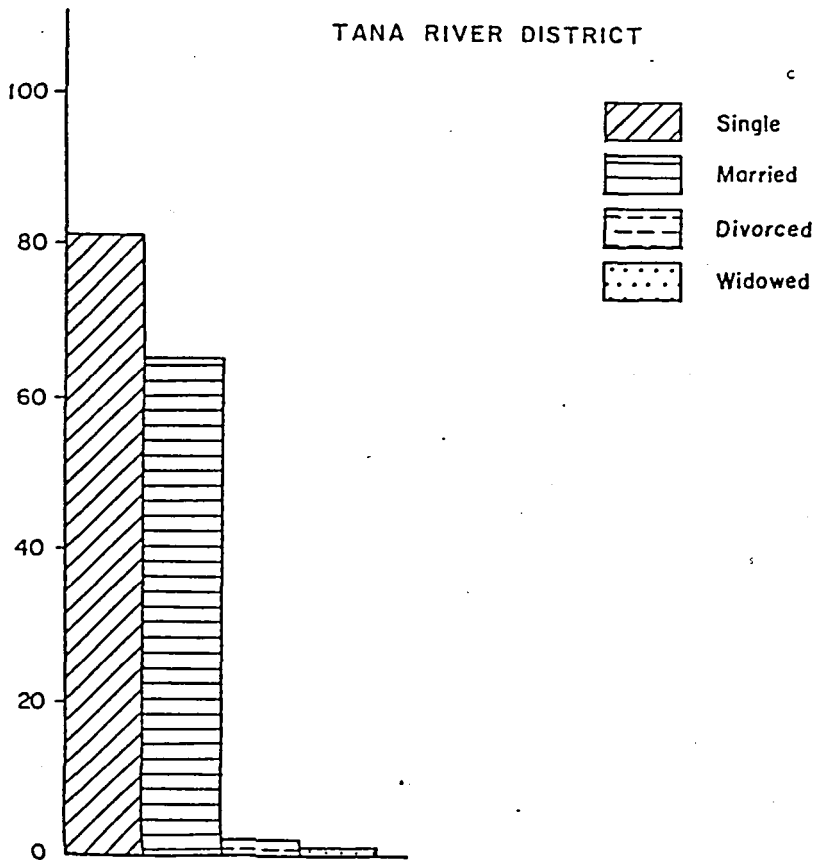
APPENDIX 7 DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY MARITAL STATUS AND DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE A YEAR AGO : BOTH MALES AND FEMALES



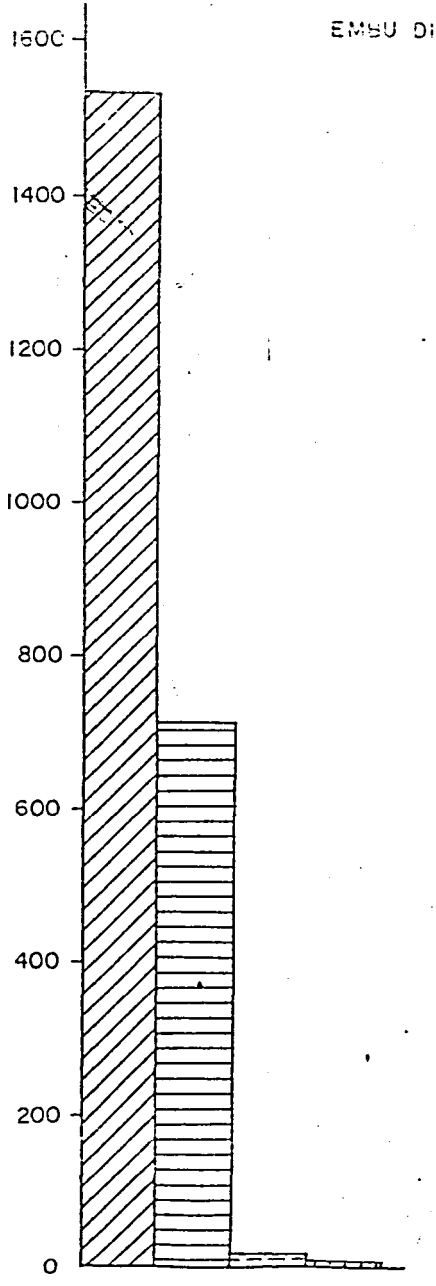
APPENDIX 8 DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY MARITAL STATUS AND DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE A YEAR AGO : BOTH MALES AND FEMALES



APPENDIX 9 DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY MARITAL STATUS AND

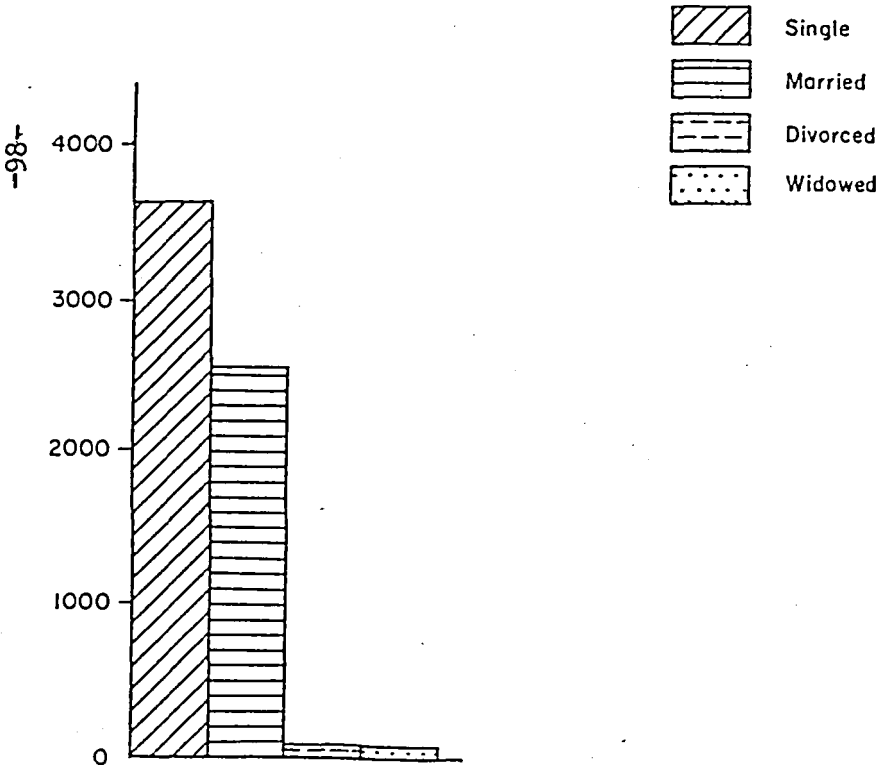


DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE A YEAR AGO : BOTH MALES AND FEMALES

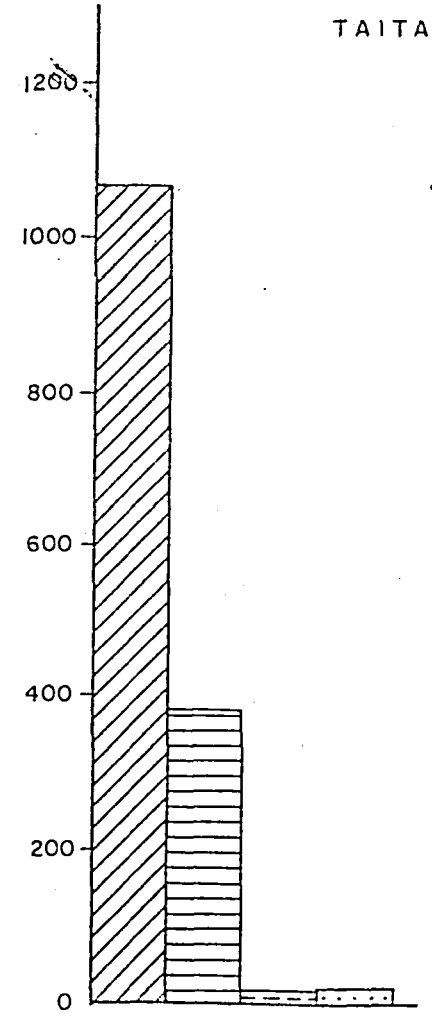


APPENDIX IO DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY MARITAL STATUS AND DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE A YEAR AGO : BOTH MALES AND FEMALES

MOMBASA DISTRICT



TAITA TAVETA DISTRICT



APPENDIX II DISTRIBUTION OF MIGRANTS BY MARITAL STATUS AND DISTRICT OF RESIDENCE A YEAR AGO : BOTH MALES AND FEMALES