

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES
U OF
OF
INTRA-RURAL MIGRATION

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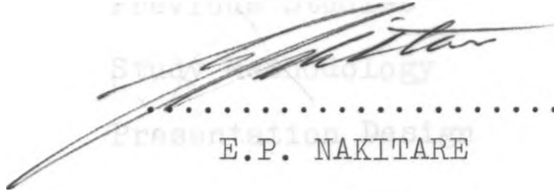
ELIUD PAUL NAKITARE

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DECLARATION BY CANDIDATE

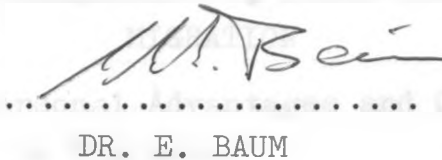
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This thesis has been submitted for examination
with my approval as University Supervisor



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DR. E. BAUM

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ABSTRACT

Intra-rural migration is not an insignificant phenomenon. Apart from being fairly substantial, it has also positive and negative effects on the migrant's farming performance and on the agricultural economy as a whole. Positively, there is a substantial hectarage increase per migrant after migration than before migration which potentially signify a better economic state; there is also an increase in the individual shamba ownership status which gives the migrant greater and free farming exploitation latitude including morgaging for development capital; the number of families who employ others for labour also increases, which is a contributory factor to the general employment situation in the rural areas; there is, further, an indication towards increased agricultural productivity given migrant devotion to farming and available capital investment. On the negative side, haphazard intra-rural migration can cause disruption in agricultural production continuity especially when a migrant is already well established on his original holding. This type of migration can also have an adverse effect on the migrant's own socio-economic position.

We argue, on the basis of the above factors that in order to improve loop-holes in the intra-rural migration which would lead to disruption in the agricultural production continuity, migrant adjustment efforts must be tightened in terms of (a) efficient and ample extension education service, (b) credit facilities which take into consideration the

migrant's unique problems, (c) ample marketing facilities, (d) welfare facilities and (e) careful migrant selection where appropriate.

What comes alight is the complete lack of useful statistical information on intra-rural migration in terms of farm incomes, records of residence and migration indices and employment generation which we would like to recommend for further investigation.

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S. S. Srinivasan

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Nevertheless any short-comings in the final product of this work remains my own responsibility.

E.P. Nakitare

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 NATURE AND SCOPE OF THE PROJECT

The term intra-rural migration as used in this thesis is limited to the specific idea of spatial shifts of people in particular, families who move from one homestead or shamba to another away from the original one. It has no significant relationship with mass currents of historical movements of population due to pestilence, famine or war. More precisely, the sense in which intra-rural migration is used here is very closely related to rural shifts with great affinity to agricultural purposes as opposed to business or industrial objectives.

It should be added that the migrants, in relation to spatial areas, are considered and discussed in terms of the places of origin and of destination. These areas include both settlement and non-settlement areas. Further, the time period to which this study addresses itself dates from around Kenya's independence year, i.e. 1963 to the start of this project, i.e. 1972.

1.2 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

Two major objectives underly the reasons which prompted us to undertake this study: the first one is related to the probable effect of intra-rural migration on the socio-economic conditions of a migrant. The second objective is basically an attempt at contributing to the

scanty intra-rural migrational enquiry.

In regard to the consequences of intra-rural migration we set out to inquire into a number of, first, economic issues related to: land size, land ownership status, financial capabilities and constraints, labour employment, and productivity and secondly, those social factors which pertain to: ethnicity and differentiation. In other words what happens to each of these factors as a result of migration in terms of advantages and constraints?

Our contribution to the study of intra-rural migration is mainly in terms of consequences of such shifts. Whereas some enquiries have been undertaken in rural to rural migration not much has been devoted to the socio-economic implications of these movements as will be discussed further, in the section on literature review.

Besides exposing the major issues in the intra-rural migration field we have a third implicit objective which is a by-product of the first one: to discuss and suggest ways through which intra-rural migrants could be helped to adjust in the place of destination. A whole chapter, with built-in recommendations, is devoted to the problem of migrant adjustment assistance.

In capsule form, this study does not only attempt at establishing the existence of an intra-rural migrational activity by delineating and analysing the underlying causal and consequential factors, it also tries to suggest, as indicated above, the significant question of migrant adjustment assistance.

1.3 PREVIOUS STUDIES

Relevant studies undertaken earlier can be divided into three major categories: studies in respect of general migrational theory, studies on the socio-economic implications of intra-rural migration and, those studies which pertain to the question of migrant adjustment in the place of destination.

a. On the General Migrational Theory: In migrational studies we were particularly interested in the theoretical consideration as well as in the specific causal mobility factors.

A major work on the theory of migration was advanced by Ravenstein between 1885 and 1889. According to Lee¹, Ravenstein's papers have stood the test of time and still remain the starting point for work in migration theory. Aspects of Ravenstein's theory which are of particular interest to us pertain to: migrational definition, factors in migration, migrational motives, and volume of migration.

Migrational Definition: According to Ravenstein, migration refers to either permanent or semi-permanent change of residence. He also argues that, in effect there is no restriction placed upon the distance of the shift or upon the voluntary or involuntary nature of the act. Similarly, there is no distinction between external and internal migration (whether the movement is within or without a territory or a country). Other forms of spatial mobility such as nomadic and migratory workers are excluded from this definition on account that they have no long term residence.

Factors in the Act of Migration: Ravenstein found that the act of migration was governed by four facets being located in the place of origin, place of destination, in the intervening process (between the place of origin and destination), and in the migrant himself (personal factors). Numerous factors in different spatial areas either attract or repel people to it or from it. On the other hand there are any number of intervening obstacles which must be overcome if an act of migration has to be consummated between the area of origin and that of destination. In the absence of intervening obstacles such as lack of locomotion facilities migration can take place depending, of course, on the presence of attractive factors in the place of destination. Equally important is the personal characteristics of the

migrating individual. Some individuals are more ambitious than others and this, coupled with other personal advantages such as financial capabilities can help to effect impending intervening obstacles.

Factors in the act of migration are further discussed in the succeeding chapter.

Migrational Motives: Ravenstein attributed causes of migration to, among others, bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings and compulsion, i.e. slave trade. In his opinion, however, he found that economic motive was the most dominant causal migrational factor (the desire inherent in most men to better themselves in material respects).

Volume of Migration: A number of factors related to the volume of migration were postulated as depending on the following factors: a high degree of diversity among areas i.e. in countries or areas being opened up such as U.S. in the 19th century which provides new opportunities sufficient to attract persons who are dissatisfied in their places of origin, the diversity of people, implying the existence of groups that are especially fitted for given pursuits, since where there is a great

sameness among people - whether in terms of race or ethnic origin, or education, of income or tradition, a lesser rate of migration can be expected; fluctuation in the economy - in the course of economic expansion new business and industries are created rapidly and this tends to facilitate recruitment of workers from distant places; state of progress in a country or an area - when industrial development accentuates differences in spatial areas and when intervening obstacles are lessened by improving technology.

A further contribution to the migrational theory was advanced by Petersen in his study on Population.² As exemplified in chapter two of this thesis, Petersen attributed causes of migration to ecological push, migratory policy, higher aspiration and social momentum.

There are also studies related to the general causes of mobility in terms of personal or individual characteristics of the migrants, characteristics of the social environment, and the socio-economic factors. Studies pertaining to the personal characteristics of the migrants on the basis of: age were undertaken by Caldwell, 1969:59, Petersen, 1961:593, Ominde, 1968:188, Ebanks, 1968:208; on the basis of formal education: Petersen, 1961:601, Imoagene, 1967:378, Ebanks, 1968:208; on temperamental qualities: Gaude 1972, Ominde 1968:191, Mbithi and

Barnes, 1973:120. Contributors to the characteristics of the social environment include Furedi; 1972:1, Ruthenberg 1966:12, Macdonald, 1968:422, Wilson 1971:10, Mbithi and Barnes, 1973:119, Dak 1968:3, Gulliver, 1955:28, Furedi 1972:2 and Imoagene, 1967:378. Contribution to the socio-economic problems as causal factors in migration are by among others: Mbithi and Barnes, 1973:118, Wilson 1971:10, Oluwasanmi and Alao, 1965:32, Odingo 1971:187, Ominde, 1968:185, Macdonald, 1968:434, Posner 1967:2, Sabry 1970:52, Gaude 1972:484, and Caldwell 1969:214.

b. Studies Related to the Socio-economic

Implications of Intra-rural Migration: As far as we were able to verify, we did not come across studies which directly discussed and analysed the socio-economic implications of intra-rural migration. We, however, found certain conclusive statements indirectly related to consequential issues on the subject under review. These statements are cited in chapter three in terms of socio-economic, macro-economic, employment generation, and agricultural productivity factors. Our analysis, for example of the question of intra-rural migration vis-à-vis land size is based on the Farms Economic Survey Report No. 28 of 1972 which argues that farm profitability increases proportionately with farm size. Since our findings show that farm sizes among

migrants tend to be larger than before they migrated we have employed the two evidences to prove that intra-rural migration tends to increase farm productivity and profitability depending, of course on other factors as posed by Mcinerney (1966) and Ruthenberg (1968). Our second variable factor which is related to land or shamba ownership status is one in which we conclude that migration significantly affects the ownership patterns. Contribution to the idea of ownership in terms of advantages and constraints are by Chambers (1969) and Mbithi and Barnes, (1973,) According to Chambers, for example, the most important thing among settlers in a settlement scheme is not just a matter of welfare services being provided by the government but above all the strong feelings of land-ownership. On the other hand Mbithi argues that in a system where individual ownership of land is encouraged people can freely hold and apply for title deeds without a higher traditional authority to dispute the claim. On the basis of Chambers and Mbithi's contribution thus, we were able to arrive at the following conclusion: Because intra-rural migration tends to increase shamba ownership statuses, it also increases farming performance, given the authenticity of Chambers' and Mbithi's hypotheses.

The foregoing is the pattern in which we have used the somewhat indirectly related literature on the question of socio-economic implications of

intra-rural migration. Since reviewing all the literature we have cited in this section would be boring and duplicative it will suffice to simply indicate the contribution of such literature to the specific topics in the rest of chapter three. Nelson (1973), Odingo (1970), Farm Economic Survey Report No. 27 (1971), Sabry (1970) are major contributors to our analysis of the financial capabilities and constraints of the migrants. On the question of the migrants' ability to employ labour significant contributors include Ruthenberg (1968) and Ellman (1967). Studies related to the consequences of social factors in migration were undertaken by Velsen (1959), Giddens (1973), Mbithi and Barnes (1973) and Musgrove (1963). Our analysis of the macro-economic advantages in intra-rural migration were based on the suggestions advanced by the preliminary Report on the Economic Aspects of Small-holder Agriculture in Kericho (1973), Mbithi and Barnes (1973), Report of the Mission on Land Consolidation and Registration in Kenya (1965-1966), Ruthenberg (1966), Allan (1949), Agrawal (1970) Clayton (1964).

c. Studies Pertaining to the Migrant Adjustment

Assistance: As in the preceding cases we found literature useful mainly in terms of facilitating our conclusions and recommendations. Thus, for example, our conclusions in respect of migrant

adjustment assistance were based on the current literature pertaining to: extension education, credit facilities, marketing facilities, welfare services and migrant selection, the details of which are manifest in chapter four of this thesis. The utility of this literature is mainly related to the portrayal of the present position of a total service i.e. extension education in order, as indicated above, to enable us to draw up conclusions related to the adjustment question.

On the objectives of extension education we found the following literature of great use: 4-H Fellows U.S.A. (1949), Warner (1967) (Principles and Techniques in Extension Education); Yang (1962) and Ministry of Agriculture, Kenya (1962). Our analysis of extension personnel capacity was based on the Bungoma District Annual Agricultural Report (1973). Tully (1967), Muriithi (1966), and Yang (1962) contributed to the discussion on general issues of extension problems.

Issues regarding credit facilities were analysed on the basis of the work by Firth (1964) Heyer (1973), Report of the Working Party on the Agricultural Inputs (1971) and Von Pischke (1972).

Contributors to the question of marketing facilities included Jones (1969), and (1970), Report of the Maize Commission of Inquiry (1966); Masel (1965); Karani (1965) and Ministry of Agriculture - Western Province Annual Report (1972).

Harbeson's (1967); Sabry's (1970) and Ruthenberg's (1965) ideas on Welfare services were found quite useful.

Ideas pertaining to the migrant selection question were advanced by, among others: Ellman (1967); Sabry (1970); Mcinerney (1966); Meliczek (1969); Moris (1966) and Odingo (1966).

We should like to point out, at this juncture that none of the studies referred to above addresses itself specifically to the issues pertaining to the consequences of intra-rural migration and to the migrant adjustment assistance. As indicated earlier, this thesis contributes to the gap filling efforts.

1.4 STUDY METHODOLOGY

This thesis is a product of a combination of both field study and previous studies undertaken on related subjects. Since previous studies have already been explained above we shall now concentrate on the explication of our field study approach.

Our field study conducted in the two districts Bungoma and Trans-Nzoia of Western Kenya, comprised both oral and written interviews. To facilitate the interviewing, three sets of questionnaires were compiled with specific questions for migrants, non-migrants and public servants. The reasons for including non-migrants and public servants were two fold:

- a. for opinion verification and comparison, and
- b. for comparison in the socio-economic statuses among migrants and the non-migrants.

Details of these questions are appended as Appendix "A".

Altogether three hundred people were interviewed. Each of the three categories indicated above had a hundred interviewees. We further, deliberately divided the survey area into ten units which were based on the administrative locations in order to facilitate our sampling technique. On this basis, thus, we decided to interview at least thirty people per unit. We need to point out that the thirty persons per administrative unit were also reduced to the migrant, non-migrant and public servants categories of ten interviewees each. For the migrants and non-migrants we decided to interview the head of each tenth household along a rough perpendicular line from the main road. It was rather difficult to follow the same pattern in the case of public servants who resided either in their own homes, mixed with the rest of the farm families or lived in houses provided by the employers i.e. administrative centre houses provided by the government. In this case,

therefore, we decided to interview on professional or occupational basis which included Community Development, Agriculture, Health, Administration and Voluntary Organisation, selecting at least two persons from each department or organisation.

Perhaps we should point out at this juncture that our project should in the main be regarded as a case-study particularly because of the weakness inherent in the problems of sampling migrational studies. Partial explanation for this problem lies in the valid assumption that those who migrate may not be a random sample. The case for this particular position was put very succinctly by Petersen when he stated:³

"Migration, thus, is not usually universal in the sense that fertility and mortality are. We are all born and we all die, but in most cases only some of us migrate and those do generally are not a random sample of the population they leave and enter".

The problem of sampling rural migrants is, further, complicated by the absence of grid maps and/or aerial photographs.⁴

And even in the presence of any grid maps or aerial photographs it would still be difficult to randomize certain categories of migrants. Thus, for example, migrants to a newly established settlement scheme can be sampled with a certain amount of accuracy

because it can be assumed that all are migrants. This does not apply in the non-settlement areas where it is difficult to identify the migrants from the non-migrants in which case, we had to establish which category a person was in before we could ask the relevant questions.

Our ten sampling units as indicated earlier (1.4) comprised the following areas: North and South Malakisi, East and West Bukusu, Kimilili, Ndivisi, Bokoli, Ndalul, Naitiri and Saboti.⁵ These areas had a total population of 347,342 covering a land area of 2,648 sq. km. with a population density of 50 per sq. kilometer.

1.5 PRESENTATION DESIGN

This thesis is made up of five parts, namely:

(a) Introduction; (b) Causes of Mobility; (c) Consequences of Intra-rural Migration; (d) Assistance towards Migrant Adjustment and, (e) Conclusion.

In the introduction, we have attempted to explain the scope and nature of the study which had culminated in the present thesis, we have also defined the objectives of the study, reviewed the previous literature which has relevance to the major objectives of the present work, and discussed the methods employed.

The second chapter on the causes of intra-rural migration discusses four major issues pertaining to the

mobility causes. These issues include, (1) personal characteristics of migrants under which are subsumed age, formal education, professional training and temperamental factors. We argue that most of these factors play appreciable part on individual migrational decisions. Since personal characteristics alone cannot be said to be the sole causes of migration we shall also consider: (2) characteristics of the social environment in terms of the family types and the persistent social problems. To what extent, for example, does the size of a family influence the head of a household towards migration? (3) Socio-economic states of the non-migrants are also discussed. For example an attempt is made at the examination of the socio-economic opportunities in the home area vis-a-vis the lure of opportunities in the other areas. (4) we shall also discuss the question of decisiveness and indecisiveness among migrants - whether there are cases in which migrants tend to return to their places of origin after migrating. The major need for devoting a whole chapter on the causes of mobility is essentially to pave the way for an analytical discussion of the socio-economic implications of intra-rural migration in chapter three which is the theme of this thesis.

Chapter three, therefore, attempts the analysis of the effect of migration on economic and social factors in terms of personal advantages and constraints of migrants. What happens, for example to the land size, shamba ownership status, migrant ability to employ outside labour, ethnic relation,

social differentiation, etc. when migration takes place? We shall also consider macro-economic advantages related to the questions regarding employment generation and agricultural productivity. Analysis of the consequences of intra-rural migration will provide a significant background from which we can suggest migrant adjustment assistance in Chapter Four.

As indicated above chapter four discusses the adjustment question in terms of extension education, credit facilities, marketing facilities, welfare services, and migrant selection. The presentation format is four fold: (a) the scope and capacity of the present provision (b) the inherent problems, (c) the way in which migrants fit in the system and (d) suggestions and recommendations regarding how migrants could be deliberately assisted.

We should also like to point out that the style of presentation is that in which discussion of previous studies is not completely isolated from our current data analysis and conclusions.

CHAPTER II

CAUSES OF MOBILITY

This chapter is primarily concerned with the major causes of intra-rural migration. Admittedly, it was not easy to establish what one might call peculiar migrational causal factors in the process of intra-rural migration. Nor was it possible to isolate one or two causal factors as the sole reasons which provoke a rural dweller to shift in order to start cultivation or farming on new piece of land or shamba. Since a diverse multiplicity of reasons are actually contributory to the decisions of many migrants to move, our discussion will be considered on the basis of the following lines: first, we shall deal with the social and psychological factors which pertain to a migrant and, which tend to incite or disincite migrational decisions. This will entail the examination of such factors as age, formal education, professional training and personal inspiration or temperament characteristics. These factors are basically personal characteristics of an individual migrant. In conjunction with the migrant personal characteristics we found it also appropriate to discuss the nature and the characteristics of the social environment. In this respect we will mention briefly the nature of the family in order to verify to what extent the family size is related to the migrational propensity. Closely related to the family question is the issue of persistent social problems in a given rural environment.

In other words we want to find out the extent to which certain persistent social problems will induce a final decision towards migration. Secondly, we shall discuss and analyse those socio-economic factors which were found to encourage rural to rural migrational decisions. We shall do this by considering the situation as regards opportunities in the place of origin such as land and employment including agricultural productivity. How far, for example, does a given size of land encourage or discourage migration? Or for that matter to what extent does availability of farm or non-farm employment including a "productive" farm actually affect the migrational decisions? In relation to the opportunities in the home area we shall also explore the availability of investible resources such as present incomes, savings and credit facilities among the potential migrants in order to relate this to the lure of opportunities in possible places of destination, i.e. land, employment and transportation. Thirdly, we shall discuss the question of decisiveness and indecisiveness among migrants, i.e. is a decision to migrate based on a priori or a posteriori knowledge of the place of destination and how permanent or flexible is such a decision once taken?

We need to point out from the out-set that our presentation here is not restricted to intra-rural migration per se. We shall try as much as possible to relate and to analyse in appropriate cases, causal factors not only in rural to rural migration but also rural to urban migration on a comparative basis.

2.1 PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS

2.1(a) Age Factor

The effect of age on migration in general is certainly difficult to justify because the decision to migrate is usually voluntary and therefore not necessarily peculiar to any age group. Nevertheless a number of studies on the age factor in migration have indicated and supported the propensity among relatively young people to migrate. Caldwell¹ for example, found that the chief planners for long term moves to the towns were young people aged between 15 and 19 years. This group probably constituted school leavers who sought employment in urban areas in the Ghanaian towns. Caldwell's assumption are also postulated by Petersen.² Petersen further suggests that young people predominate in any form of migration because of adaptability capacity. He states, for example:

"One reason for the high proportion of young adults in any migration would seem to be that this generally involves a certain amount of adjustment at the destination and young people are usually better able to adapt to new conditions".

Ominde,³ on the other hand, found a much larger age range in which most intra-rural migrants belonged. In his own words:

"rural Kenya is affected by movements of persons generally between the ages of 15 and 39".

Whereas according to Caldwell's proposition that migration to urban areas is dominated by the 15 - 19 age range the reverse seems to apply in terms of rural to rural migration. In accordance with our case study of a hundred intra-rural migrants we found that those who had migrated at different times on a span of six years (1964-1970) averaged 41 years of age. This finding and therefore an assumption that rural to rural migrants tend to be older does agree to some extent with Ominde's hypothesis given above. Nevertheless we found this to be closely related only at the highest range of his postulated age scale, i.e. 30 - 39 years. This represented a somewhat middleaged group who are not only interested in farming or cultivation but also those with a certain degree of farming experience. We found it difficult for example to believe that there is a significant number of people at present in the say 15 - 25 age range who would be seriously interested in farming activities to be sufficiently interested in a great deal of migration since those with some education i.e. between standard seven and form four still tend to look for non-farm employment, especially in the urban centres. This trend tend, therefore, to deplete rural area of young people, leaving an older group to persue farming activities. As a matter of fact we found that there was no significant mean age differential among the two hundred migrants and non-migrants we interviewed as stipulated in Table I. Although the mean age of migrants and non-migrants calculated on the basis of Table 1 are 41 and 45 years respectively there is, statistically, no significant difference. Further, the fact

Table 1: Comparative Ages of 100 Migrants and 100 Non-migrants

Age Range	Migrants (frequencies)	Non-migrants (frequencies)
20 - 29	8	10
30 - 39	46	25
40 - 49	32	36
50 - 59	7	10
60 and above	7	19
	N = 100	N =100

NB: Mean age of Migrants = 41 (S.D. = 9.8)

Mean age of non-migrants = 45 (S.D. =12.3)

that most of the migrants and non-migrants are over 40 years of age tends to support the assumption that those who are mostly interested and actively engaged in farming activities are predominantly older people and that they are the ones mostly involved in migration for the purpose of farming or cultivation. In his study on general migration, Ebanks⁴ also found that not only were the migrants from urban to rural areas older, he also revealed that even those who migrated from rural to rural areas tended to be older while rural to urban migrants were predominantly young persons.

Generally speaking, it is rather misleading to infer that the question of age is a significant causal factor in intra-rural migration. We have used this factor primarily,

for the sake of identifying the age group that tends to be mostly involved in such migration. Our conclusion, therefore, is that the present mean age of rural non-migrants and migrants will probably alter once more young people begin to own and take an active role in farming activities. Until then we believe that among our study sample the majority of those who migrate are generally older but are by no means older than the non-migrants. Both rural migrants and non-migrants tend on the other hand, to be older than the rural-urban migrants.

2.1(b) Formal Education

Migrants differ not only in age but also in their formal educational backgrounds. Formal education in this case is used to mean those people who have had an opportunity of attending primary to University type education. So that in a given population of migrants there is a wide range of educational differential, i.e. from illiterates to those with post secondary education. As in the case of age factor we used this variable of formal education in order to try and establish whether or not the question and the degree or amount of such education has any bearing on the causal migrational factors. To the question of formal educational attainment one could add the notion of intelligence which could also be present in non-school goers who are nevertheless intelligent. Since this category of migrants is also present we need to consider it along side the formal education factor. We must, however, admit that within the scope of this study it was impossible to measure this particular variable.

A study made by Petersen,⁵ has interesting points regarding the relationship between intelligence and the propensity either to migrate or not to migrate. He argues apriori, that both intelligent and the less intelligent persons tend to leave any particular area on account of the following assumptions: the first assumption states that in the competition to achieve satisfactory living conditions by and large, the more intelligent will succeed more often, and the less so will thus be forced to seek their fortunes elsewhere. On the other hand it will be the more adaptable, that is to say, the more intelligent, in any population, who will respond first to an impetus to migrate and the duller who will remain behind. To a certain extent both these statements, even in the absence of analytical and empirical statistical information are valid. For example, the intelligent type who perceive developmental possibilities on their current holdings would rather exploit what they have than migrate, whereas the less intelligent will tend to think that development elsewhere might be easier to come by - as the unscientific statement puts it - grass is always greener elsewhere. Thus the less intelligent might be prompted by the novel of settlement schemes and the postulated advantages thereof to decide on the move without consideration of the marginal value to be derived in the place of destination. As indicated earlier it is difficult to come to any general conclusion as to whether intelligence or otherwise has any significance on migrational decision because of the small number of available studies and their contradictory results, Thus for example, Thomas⁶ does not believe that any generalization

at all can be made. According to him:

"Migration may, under given circumstances, select the intelligent, under other circumstances, the less intelligent, and still under other circumstances, be quite unselective with regard to intelligence".

On the other hand, studies made by Sorokin and Zimmerman⁷ offer an interesting but a somewhat vague generalization:

"Cities attract the extremes while farms attract the mean strata in society".

It is not precise whether references to "extreme" and "mean" are related to intelligence or other factors.

Our conclusion as far as the question of intelligence is concerned is closely related to the one given by Thomas. We found that in addition to intelligent people in a given sample of migrants there were also representatives from the less intelligent groups.

Our main concern, nevertheless, was to analyze the formal educational background variable in order to determine its effect on migration. To do this we compared the formal educational data of a hundred migrants and a hundred non-migrants using the scale of the educational level attained range between

None and Fourth Form category. These comparative educational data are exemplified in table 2.

Table 2: Comparative Educational Levels Among
100 Migrants and 100 Non-migrants

Level Attained	Migrants	Non-migrants
None	24%	38%
Std. I - Std. IV	20%	44%
Std. V - Std. VII	38%	10%
Form I - Form IV	18%	8%

Analysis of the educational levels among migrants and non-migrants revealed interesting trends. It is clear from Table 2 that there were more people with no education among those who had not migrated than among those who had, i.e. 37% and 24% respectively. The reverse was found to be the case in terms of the highest possible education attained among our interviewees. Thus for example whereas there were only 8% of the non-migrants with up to Form IV and twelve years of education there were at least 18% fourth formers among the migrants.

On the basis of our case study sample which we admit was rather small we were able to make certain conclusions regarding the effect of formal educational attainment on causal migrational factors. Accordingly, we are convinced, depending on other

supporting factors (push and pull) that the more education one has, especially above standard four the more the force of migratory propensity and conversely the less educated one is the less the force of migratory propensity.

Studies made by Imoagene,⁸ Ebanks,⁹ and a UN report on Urbanization South of the Sahara,¹⁰ are among those which also suggest that formal education has an inciting effect on migration.

Imoagene, for instance, found that in the absence of opportunities in the rural areas, school leavers tended to look for such opportunities in urban areas. However, as urban areas are also diminishing in opportunities one might argue that such school leavers might in future look for such opportunities within rural areas. On this issue Ebanks concludes that:

"In a country with low educational levels, the rural areas will show greater migrational selectivity by educational attainment than the urban areas and that this intensity of selectivity will positively increase with the level of education".

2.1(c) Professional Training

Professional training among migrants and non-migrants was considered for the same purpose as the ones mentioned above,

i.e. to find out whether or not having a profession and therefore, almost likely, having an employment, contributed to the migrational decisions. We did this by asking both the interviewed migrants and the non-migrants to disclose whether or not they were trained for doing particular jobs besides their being small-holders. Consequently we noted and observed that a significant number of them had professional training which enabled them to earn their living besides being farmers. We found for, example, that 71% of the migrants and 59% of the non-migrants had some form of training in a variety of fields. Among others, these professions included, teaching, agriculture, health, carpentry, bicycle repairing, shop-keeping as indicated in Table 3.

Table 3: Comparative Professional Training Among Migrants and Non-migrants

Type of Training	% of Respondents	
	Migrants	Non-migrants
None	29	41
Teaching	24	17
Agriculture	8	13
Other	38	22
Health	1	7

Unspecified professions such as bicycle repairing, masonry etc. are subsumed under the category entitled "other". According to the above tabular information it is clear that there are more people without professional training

among non-migrants than there are among migrants. On the other hand there are more people in the teaching and the "other" category professions among migrants than there are among non-migrants and the case is reversed again in terms of the agriculture and the health professions.

Ideally, the above data appears not to lend itself to significant deductions as to the effect of professional qualifications upon the migrational and non-migrational decisions. However, two generalizations could be made which appear to us to be on account of professional training and which are both negative and positive toward migrational propensity. It appears to us that the reason why there are more non-migrants without professional training is probably because they lacked supplementary income to enable them to buy holdings elsewhere. Conversely there are more migrants with professional training (i.e. 71%) due to the probability that their supplementary income from teaching, agriculture etc. gave them an advantage over the non-migrants.

Further, of those who are professionally qualified in agriculture there are more non-migrants than migrants. Although there is only a slight difference of approximately 20% it appears that people with professional agricultural knowledge prefer intensification of current farm production and profitability to shifting. However, the indication that there are more migrant than non-migrant teachers could be

associated with their transfer who may, by coincidence, decide to acquire a shamba in the new place. In fact, the same could be said of the field civil servants. On this account it is possible to conclude that professional training increases in the first instance, mobility independent of farming motivation. Of course it was not possible to determine as to why the 59% of the non-migrants could not have migrated just in the same way as the 71% of the migrants did. We can only assume that they were either satisfied with conditions on their present holdings or that they were overwhelmed by the intervening obstacles between the place of origin and that of destination. However, when we asked the professional non-migrants to state the reasons why they had not shifted the following statements were given:

- I like it here 32%
- I don't like moving 21%
- Have enough land here 14%
- My children school here 10%

2.1(d) Temperamental Qualities

For want of a better term we have used temperamental qualities in order to explain the certain psychological traits, difficult to quantify, among migrants and which we believe had significant influence upon migrational decisions. The scope of this study could not allow any detailed analysis of temperamental propensity toward migration. For this

reason our discussion here will be based on three major categories of traits which are associated with our idea of temperamental qualities. These are: restlessness, personal inspiration and prestige factors.

Restlessness

This variable is used in respect to people who are prone to shifting without giving serious consideration neither to the condition in the place of destination nor to the intervening obstacles. Perhaps the best way to describe this group of people is by the use of the term "foot-loose", because they are set on motion by the emergency of even minor negative factors or disturbances such as monotony or boring conditions in the existing environment. Thus for example "the desire to break away from the monotony and strict control of tribal life",¹¹ would easily influence a rural to urban migrant. The same problem, we believe, could provoke an intra-rural migrant. According to Gaude,¹² there exists in the restless migrants the strong urge and need for change which is, needless to say, an inciting factor in migrational decisions. The opposite of this trait which is characteristic of non-migrant is a restraining one. It is related to the fear of the unknown and reluctance to abandon the traditional and therefore the familiar environment.

We are interested in the restless trait mainly because of the fact that migrants whose mobility is due to restlessness represent opportunists whose stay in the new place of destination

tends to be only temporary. In this regard we concur with Ominde's statement that "the migrating person is socially a mal-adjusted person and represents a potential source of return migration".¹³ However, as far as we know this statement is only significant in so far as migrants with restless traits are concerned but not much so otherwise, i.e. migrants induced by factors other than restlessness need not be socially mal-adjusted.

In our opinion-survey among public servants, nevertheless only a small percentage attributed restlessness as one of the causal factors in migration, i.e. 7%. Statistically, this is a rather insignificant indication. But we believe, this is only largely due to the fact that this trait is not easy to quantify. Even though only 7% mentioned restlessness as one of the reasons why people migrate, a great deal more - that is 85% indicated that they had knowledge regarding returnee migrants. This particular opinion is closely related to Ominde's hypothesis pointed out earlier, that "restless" migrants are also a potential source of return migration.

Personal Inspiration

As in the case of restlessness, personal inspiration also refers to an unquantifiable variable in some people which influences their decision to migrate. Although this variable is closely related to the one about restlessness, it is different in the sense that it is more objective oriented. Migrants in

this category shift because of the definite attraction or pull factors in the place of destination. For instance, migrants to the settlement schemes are attracted by not only large land acreage but by other imagined opportunities which are catered for in the settlement schemes, i.e. loan facilities. In the Report on the World Social Situation,¹⁴ it was found that people moved to the towns because of its attraction and imagined opportunities for personal advancement and independence as well as improved material welfare. Mbithi,¹⁵ found that movers looked for an environment which provided peace from family quarrels while others were simply looking for better climate.

Prestige Factor

Besides the psychological factors mentioned above, certain people have varying value judgement attached to the idea of migration. Such value judgements are directly related to the significance of migration as viewed by some social groups. Thus for example in the Report on the World Social Situation referred to earlier, it was found that in certain tribes, social prestige was associated with a period of residence elsewhere, especially in towns. Of course this notion is only valid in cases of temporary migration where such prestige is expressed on return of the migrant to the place of origin. In the case of the rural to rural migrant, labour migration (temporary) may have a certain degree of social prestige i.e. labour migrants to coffee estates on large scale farms increased their social prestige because of their earning capacity in a rural

situation where wage employment is not rampant. In other cases, however, prestige factors are related to the buying power. This type of conspicuous buying power may be a positive rather than a negative one. For instance a migrant with more children may not only feel it his obligation to have more land for the purpose of inheritance by his children but might consider more the idea of what his neighbours would feel about his ability to acquire land for his sons. According to Wilson,¹⁶ provision of land for children's inheritance is important especially as many are beginning to realize that their heirs may be unable to find paid employment even if they go to secondary school.

Precisely we are trying to point out that psychological traits such as restlessness, personal inspiration and prestige factors are contributory towards migrational decisions as is true with other factors which have been alluded under the title - Personal characteristics. We shall now consider those characteristics of the social environment which do also affect or influence intra-rural migration.

2.2 Characteristics of the Social Environment

We found it also necessary to consider, apart from personal characteristics of migrants, the nature and the characteristics of the social environment. We believe that migrational decisions as a whole could not only have been influenced by individual traits of migrants. The total social milieu in fact aids or aggravates migrational propensity. In any case we must admit that as in the case of the personal

traits of the migrants, characteristics of the social environment are only, in part, causal factors in total intra-rural mobility.

Our discussion on the issue of the characteristics of the social environment are limited to a couple of major aspects. First we shall discuss the nature of the family within the population sample and follow this one by an examination of selected persistent social problems.

2.2(a) The Family Type

The family size together with the nature of ethnic bonds can have significant influence on any intending migrants. A large family inhabiting a small shamba will be very tempted to migrate at the first opportunity while members of the same family may follow suit, once one of them decides to migrate to another locality.

We found that people in our population sample very largely practiced polygeneous marriages. As such the nature of the family among the interviewed Bukusu and the Sabaot tribes was of the extended type where the responsibility for providing land to the sons lay with the head of the family or the patriarch. So that, in most cases, one finds say a father or patriarch, his married brothers and children including all their offspring residing on the same piece of land which may be large or small neither depending on the size of the land nor on the size of the heirs but on varying circumstances. Table 4(a-c) show the

number of wives, children and brothers among the interviewed migrants and non-migrants.

Table 4: EXTENDED FAMILY SIZE OF 100 MIGRANTS AND 100 NON-MIGRANTS

a. Wives of Migrants and Non-migrants

No. of Wives	Migrant(f)	Non-migrant(f)
0	2	3
1	59	47
2	29	27
3	9	18
4	1	3
5 and above	-	2
	N = 100	N = 100

Mean No. of wives for Migrants = 1.48 1 wife
 Mean No. of wives for Non-migrants = 1.77 2 wives

b. Children of Migrants and Non-migrants

No. of Children	Migrant(f)	Non-migrant(f)
0-4	18	19
5-9	52	39
10-14	18	27
15-19	11	9
20 and above	1	6
	N = 100	N = 100

Mean No. of children for migrants = 8.25 (8)
 Mean No. of children for non-migrants = 9.20 (9)

c. Brothers of Migrants and Non-Migrants

No. of Brothers	Migrant(f)	Non-migrant(f)
0-4	60	60
5-9	36	29
10-14	4	8
15 and above	-	3
	N = 100	N = 100

Mean no. of brothers for migrants = 4.2 (4)

Mean no. of brothers for non-migrants = 4.7 (5)

According to Table 4 there is no indication that family size is contributory to migrational decision since there were generally more people per extended family holding among non-migrants than among migrants. Although in the past, in this particular locale, family size might have been one of the major factors which influenced migration, it appears to us that it is becoming only one of the minor considerations. Of course it is still true that people whose land holdings were insufficient to support their families,¹⁷ would consider shifting depending on the ability (financial) and the incentive.

In considering the question of ability to shift it is interesting to note that even though some intending migrants could find it impossible to shift on their own, there are cases in which the extended family facilitated such a move through collective or cooperative contribution towards the cost of such a shamba. Thus for example Ruthenberg¹⁸ found that

individual Africans were usually sponsored by family groups and cooperatives and were buying large holdings supported by loans from the Land Bank and other sources.

On the other hand there were certain causal factors which were not directly related to land acquiring ability although in the last analysis this is actually important. The first category is associated with the hypothesis that people tend to move in chains to follow kinsfolk who have already migrated to an area and who can provide some useful information for the initial adjustment period at least.¹⁹ Secondly, in a polygeneous marriage some men preferred separate holdings for each wife. Wilson,²⁰ for example, found that in order to give each wife a separate holding, some husbands preferred to own multiple fragmented holdings as this kept the different wives separate, making life simpler. Of course this particular example of multiple ownership of fragmented land does not lend itself to a classical migrational case. However there is no doubt that it is a relevant example towards migrational decisions. When it comes to shifting by a member of the family there is no set pattern regarding who should move first. It depends on the individual willingness and on the previous lack of apportional piece of land. The question of age or education does not seem to apply here.

Although the extended family type provided for togetherness of some families in the occupation of either same or adjacent pieces of land as indicated earlier our observation

showed that the pattern is rapidly changing. Individuals either alone or with the support of close relations are dispersing freely in order to establish themselves in new abodes in other parts of rural areas for reasons discussed earlier and for other social problems as given below.

2.2(b) Persistent Social Problems

Certain social problems which persist in a given environment act as push factors in migration. In many cases for example, continuation of the extended family system as indicated earlier may create heavy dependency ratio and unsatiated subsistence demand.²¹ Also the problem of family quarrels, social ostracisation and social stigma such as witchcraft, evil eye, ill luck, could cause section of a family or lineage to move out to new areas. Family social problems were also found to contribute to migrational decisions by Dak,²² and Gulliver.²³

Besides family quarrels as a causal factor to migrational decision other forms of frustration could also induce intra-rural migration. Frank Furedi,²⁴ found that resentment of the arbitrary power of the chiefs over their subjects acted as a prime stimuli for shifting. According to one squatter's recollections:

"we came to Rift Valley because of the chiefs. If one did something that the chiefs did not like they would come to the house and take free things from the people. This was the worst time as far as chiefs' tyranny was concerned. If the chief hated you, you'd have to leave".

We are saying that persistent social problems in a given environment are likely to weigh heavily in favour of migration. This assumption is closely related to Imoagene's Perceived Disorganisation Hypothesis,²⁵ which states:

"That there is a relationship between actor's perception of the state of the social order and their participation in it, viz. the more people perceive the social order as disorganised the less they participate in its social-cultural life and vice-versa".

2.3 SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

We found that certain socio-economic factors did influence migration to a great deal of extent. In fact some students of migration found the economic motive to dominate in the majority of migration decisions. According to Ravenstein's laws, for instance,²⁶ "bad or oppressive laws, heavy taxation, an unattractive climate, uncongenial social surroundings, and even compulsion (slave trade,

transportation) all have produced and are still producing currents of migration, but none of these currents can compare in volume with that which arises from the desire inherent in most men to better themselves in material respects". As indicated earlier our discussion here will be centred on the question: current opportunities in the place of origin, i.e. land and employment, the availability of investible resources, present incomes, savings and credit opportunities and the lure of opportunities in other areas, i.e. land, employment, transportation and communication.

2.3(a) Opportunities in the Home Area

(i) Land

As far as we are concerned the question of land is of paramount importance in intra-rural migration - at least in factors pertaining to size, productivity or fertility, location and mere ownership. Whenever dissatisfaction arises in any one of these factors there is a tendency for people in this situation to consider the possibility to migrate. Dissatisfaction may be related to land shortage, lack of grazing space, overcrowded situation by relatives, land disputes, famine etc.²⁷ Mbithi also suggests that poor levels of technical adoption which lowers the margin of productivity to relatively low levels and hence constraining subsistence production and therefore leading to probable famine can actually encourage decisions towards migration.

Land is also important in the modern sense because apart from its intrinsic value to most africans it is also a source of revenue. According to Wilson,²⁸

"Land is a source of revenue. Additional holdings acquired through purchase enable a family to raise its income level although not necessarily immediately as there may be a shortage of capital to develop the land".

Precisely, intra-rural migration is precipitated by the migrants' desire to acquire (more) land for farming, grazing and intrinsic qualities of ownership. There are also other considerations pertaining to the quality of the land, i.e. fertility and virginity etc.

Notwithstanding the land factors stipulated above certain historical reasons are also contributory to any number of migrational decisions. We know, for example, that the traditional tenure system gave the African peasant free access to land and as long as he produced mainly for his subsistence, his demand for land remained relatively small and could be satisfied within the compass of traditional tenure.²⁹ However, population growth and cash cropping and the advent of land registration policies leading to strict individual apportionment of land ownership certainly reflected the idea of land as a scarce resource to many Africans. Again, when the 1938-39 Highland Order which excluded non-Europeans from owning land or farming in the Kenya Highlands was lifted in 1960 by the British Government, the influx of migrants to

the government established settlement schemes must have been precipitated.³⁰ Naturally to each vacated shamba other aspiring migrants would be interested.

The quality of land i.e. fertility and its geographical location would also induce migration. For example, currents of migration to fertile areas and to areas with favourable climates could be inevitable. According to Ominde:³¹

"The association of source regions of migrating population with the major concentrations of population located so far apart suggest that natural factors are important in the mobility of population. There are areas where due to advantages of the natural environment, population tended to concentrate. In these areas population has increased to the extent that the available land cannot maintain an adequate standard of living or even support improved living conditions".

Certainly reasons why people shift from one shamba to another are among those stipulated above as far as the question of land is concerned. In our analysis, however, we found that the major reason why people shifted had a great deal to do with the size of the shamba. We arrived at this conclusion by comparing the mean acreage of shamba among migrants and non-migrants. We found, for instance, that those who had

migrated had an average of 5 acres in the place of origin where most of the non-migrants had at least 7 acres. Even when we tried to compare the question of shamba size with other factors as exemplified in Table 5 below, we still found that the majority of the interviewed migrants (60%) had shifted because they felt that the previous shamba size was much too small.

Table 5: Showing the Preponderance of Shamba Size Among Other Migrational Reasons

Reasons	% of Respondents
Previous shamba too small	60
Previous shamba infertile	5
Bad neighbours	4
Bad relatives	3
No water	1
No market	1
No dispensary	0
Monotony	0
Other	26

(ii) Employment and Land Productivity

We used employment criterion in order to find out whether or not extra-employment, a part from farm self-employment together with the degree of farm productivity influenced migration in any way. Extra-employment as used in this section is closely related to the notion of professional training discussed under migrant characteristics, except that our consideration here,

is not confined to employment as a result of professional advantage per se. Thus, for example, in addition to government or public employment we have also considered other aspects of employment as indicated in Table 6 below.

Table 6: Extra-employment Opportunities among Migrants

Type of employment	% of Respondents
Government employment	47
Work on other's shamba	9
Other	27
None	17

The fact that at least 83% of the interviewed migrants had some form of employment besides their farm self-employment appears to show that people migrated not solely because they wanted large shambas as discussed earlier. It seems also true that while the major reason for migrating was because of previous small size shamba, an implicit motivation may have been related to the search for money earning activities as well. Mbithi,³² for example, found that lack of rural employment led to rural movement for some people in search of money earning activities. Otherwise, there does not appear to be an apparent reason why people who, in the first instance sought larger shamba should, after acquiring them, indulge in extra-employment even if such indulgence is supposed to be a source of revenue designed to develop the newly acquired shamba.

Generally speaking lack of employment opportunities acts as a push factor especially in terms of rural-urban migration. According to a U.N. Report,³³ "The pressure of the labour recruiting agents, administrators and chiefs which has been in the past and still sometimes remains an important factor in movement to other areas". This view is also held by MacDonald,³⁴ who states:

"It is apparent that employment opportunity is the most salient factor in the balance sheet of rural-urban migrants. They left home because of lack of work, they felt that the major problems of the home town was lack of work".

Again Posner,³⁵ found that employment at least for objective purposes contributed towards migration decisions. He found that:

"Of workers who were asked their reasons for leaving home, the majority (74%) stated not only lack of available land but that they also needed to search for work to earn a living. When those who left to obtain money for school fees are added to this group, one finds that 86% of the respondents were accounted for. These answers indicated that those people who have left the home district have in large part been pushed by economic necessity".

We must, nevertheless distinguish between those who emigrated purely in order to obtain paid employment on farm activities and those who shifted to other areas with dual motives - that is to acquire land and at the same time to be near extra-employment opportunities. In our sample population we found that 10% of the migrants had largely employment motives. This category was earlier alluded to as temporary migrants. They were found employed mainly on the large farms which specialized in coffee, tea, and maize growing in the Saboti area. Of the remainder we found that those who had migrated to the settlement schemes (20%) were expectant in one way or another to come by some employment opportunities. Besides most of those who did not have extra-employment (17%) were willing to accept such employment if it were available.

The cases for employment and land productivity questions as contributing factors to migration are also clearly stipulated in the main objectives for settlement schemes establishment. Thus, for example the objectives of the million acre scheme were among other things, designed to ameliorate the unemployment situation by making farm life more attractive and profitable.³⁷ Sabry³⁸ on the other hand states that settlement programmes were meant not only to absorb increases in population which could not be employed in industry, trade, or public services but also to assist in solving the problem of unemployment and school leavers. Further, they were designed to raise and maintain the standard of agriculture production by introducing commercialised

small-holder production in farms which have been abandoned by expatriates. Sabry's statements as stipulated above, which are definitely policies of most governments with settlement schemes suggest or imply an element of employment and improved land productivity as some of the generators of migration decisions.

Precisely we are stating, in effect, that according to our observation and analysis, employment and probable increased agricultural opportunities in other areas enter into migrational decision, in no small a degree.

2.3(b) Availability of Investible Resources

The sense in which we have used the term investible resources is one that is related to the type of resources which as much as possible act as in-puts towards the small-holder's increased agricultural productivity. The question which we are trying to raise, in this regard, is basically related to the extent to which either lack or availability of such investible resources could induce migration positively or negatively. In order to analyse probable effect of investible resources towards migration, we have subsumed three major categories of such resources, namely: present incomes of non-migrants, the savings trends and credit opportunities in the place of origin. We must, however, admit that in the absence of data on these issues together with our inability to obtain such information, our analysis is far from adequate. If anything, it is merely a proposal

for a much more detailed and analytical study in future. Our income consideration will therefore be based on estimates rather than authentic statistics.

(i) Incomes

As pointed out above rural incomes are rather difficult to estimate since many factors would be involved in such computation. In fact the most difficult point is one which is related not necessarily to the average farm yields but above all to the amount of shamba that is devoted to the production of a particular crop. Were we able, for example, to determine the average shamba plot that both non-migrants and migrants put under cultivation, it would be possible on the current market price to estimate gross incomes. Another constraint, of course, applies to the question regarding crops actually produced, i.e. coffee, maize, sisal, tea, etc. Depending on this information, which is totally lacking, and also depending on the real production costs, one would be able to compute the net incomes of rural people in order to be able to establish whether or not the amount of net farm or small-holder incomes influence individual decision to migrate.

Since most people in our population sample grow maize in larger quantities more than any other crop we can advance our income argument by rough mathematical calculation on this basis. This can be based on three major considerations, namely, amount of land under cultivation, acreage yield and

and the market price per bag of such maize sold, symbolically represented as follows: $Lc + Ay + Pb = Gi$ where $Lc =$ Land under cultivation, $Ay =$ Acreage yield; $Pb =$ price per bag and; $Gi =$ Gross income. If we want to calculate net incomes we have to subtract the production cost from the Gross income, i.e. $Gi - Pc = Ni$ or $Lc + Ay + Pb - Pc = Ni$.

Since the income question will be discussed later under the consequences of migration it will suffice here to suggest a few generalizations. In regard to the settlement schemes alluded to earlier one of the major objectives was to help the settler to derive from the scheme not only larger incomes but consequently to afford such a person a higher standard of living. According to Mbithi,³⁸ the objectives of the million acre schemes in Kenya was to:

"Increase marketable production by the African farmer enough to permit him to pay off any loans for land and development made to him under land reform programme while leaving him a larger net income and hence a higher standard of living".

A further aim was to increase the value of gross production per acre from £4 - 5 to about £8 through intensive techniques of cultivation and intensive labour use. On the basis of this information it is not clear as to whether potential migrants to the settlement schemes were actually conversant with these major objectives as a result of which

they decided to emigrate. However, among other things, we believe that the 'genuine' migrants who are solely interested in the exploitation of agricultural land for material gain should be able to weigh in their minds the probable gain accruing from shifting to another area. In this regard, Gaude,³⁹ found that:

"The potential rural migrant can at any time compare the average income he derives from his job on the farm with a "desired" urban income that is composed both of objective factors like the urban wage rate and of subjective psychological factors: the decision to emigrate, therefore, varies according to the ratio between these two types of incomes".

We can therefore hypothesize that larger incomes being derived from the present holdings may either influence migration decision positively or negatively. In regard to positive motivation, as pointed out earlier, more incomes will enable the aspirant migrant to decide to migrate since he can now afford to buy another piece of land. But in regard to negative motivation towards migration, more income may generate contentment in the potential migrant as to discourage him from deciding to migrate. But those with minimal incomes are probably the most highly motivated to migrate notwithstanding their financial inability to do so.

(ii) Savings

We found the question of savings among both migrants and non-migrants difficult to tackle. Our interest in this variable factor was prompted because any savings accruing from farm yield incomes, apart from meeting the diverse needs of an individual person, would also be used for investing into productive resources such as shamba development. Such investment would be in the form of fertilisers or capital equipment such as plough or tractor including the purchase of land itself. To determine saving abilities which call for probing into the bank accounts of our interviewees would be highly suspect let alone the fact that many of our interviewees with small income did not maintain bank accounts. In fact our observation revealed that any money incomes received were almost immediately expended on expendable items such as school fees, food, clothing, fertilisers, taxes, beer, labour costs, etc. We were convinced that income savings among rural people was not a common thing except the forced type of savings which results from borrowed money in the form of loans which at any rate is paid back with interest.

We submit, again, that within the scope of our study it was not possible to determine whether rural income savings either through farm or non-farm employment directly influenced migration decisions. One thing however, left us convinced that those who had saved enough of their incomes - managed to buy other shambas without having to sell their original ones.

This particular point could be exemplified in Table 7. When we asked those who had migrated what they had done with their previous shambas the following responses were elicited:

Table 7: What Happended to Previous Shamba

What Happened	% of Respondents
Gave it to relative	36
Other	31
Still mine	20
Sold it	13

We note from the above tabular information that only 13% disposed of their original shambas through sale and thereby obtaining funds to enable them to purchase other shambas. A couple of assumptions could be made in respect of the migrants who did not sell their previous holdings. One is that their relatives could have helped them buy such a farm, the other, then must be that they had saved on their own, enough money towards the purchase of another piece of shamba.

In short we propose that rural people who manage to ~~save~~ substantial portion of their incomes could if need be, consider in spite of all the probable risks, the idea of migration quite attractive with the view to increasing their saving capabilities even more, being facilitated by their larger and better shambas which would be newly acquired.

(iii) Credit Opportunities

Although the question of credit facilities will be discussed later we would like to find out here whether the lack of such opportunities in one area would cause people to want to migrate to other areas where there are opportunities for credit facilities. Strictly speaking, we found that although there were a variety of credit facilities in both areas of origin and of destination the terms for issuing such credit were also variable. Before discussing such variable terms, however, what are the available potential sources of funds for farm investment? Oluwasanmi and Alao⁴⁰, found that in Nigeria, for example, funds for investment purposes accrued from a number of sources. The first source emanated from the farmer's own savings. The rest of the sources came from individual and private lending agencies (money lenders, middlemen, merchants, insurance companies and banks and public credit institutions). However, he emphasized that as a matter of fact the bulk of farm loans both short and long term were made by the state owned credit institutions. We would say that the case for Kenya government loans are channeled through the Agricultural Finance Corporation.

On the question of differential terms, however, we should like to indicate that ordinary smallholders in non-settlement schemes were not exposed to the easy loan terms as those in the settlement schemes let alone that only a few were even aware of such benefits as G.M.R. For this and other implicit reasons it

is quite possible that knowledge of such easier terms in other areas especially settlement schemes would be an inciting factor for those potential migrants who are interested in improving their economic lot. To some extent this view is partially reflected in Ominde's suggestion⁴¹ that:

"The primary cause of current shifts of population is the environmental disequilibrium which began with the development of European settlement in the highland areas of Kenya. Before this change the gap between the economies of various regions of Kenya was small. The subsistence economy whether with pastoral or agricultural, was an insufficient basis for the large scale movements which are now part of our social and economic life".

2.3(c) THE LURE OF OPPORTUNITIES IN OTHER AREAS

The issues we have so far discussed under the term socio-economic factors are related to migration decisions basically because of their tendency to have an element of dissatisfaction or frustration on the part of the potential migrant. When therefore, the going is hard in employment, land, incomes, savings and credit facilities the most natural inclination would be the consideration of an alternative place where such short-comings could be minimal. Once the frustration or discontentment element has set in, the major focus is usually on the possible or alternative area of destination where there are imagined better opportunities. For this reason

we would like at this juncture to discuss briefly the lure or the exact motivational factors which would normally encourage a discontented potential migrant to make a final moving decision. As before we shall consider a number of factors such as: availability of land, employment, transportation and communication which would help the aspirant migrant to jump over the hurdles of intervening obstacles.

(i) Land, Employment, Transportation

We have already pointed out earlier that the size of shamba has a great deal to do with migrational decision particularly if such shamba is too small for socio-economic purposes, i.e. for inheritance and for the full economic exploitation purposes. Thus, a potential migrant with the desire to acquire a large piece of land will easily be persuaded to buy one that is on sale or for that matter join the settlement scheme with a view to obtaining a larger size shamba. This category of potential migrants would represent approximately 90% of our population sample. The rest, however, represented the category which had something to do with labour motives as alluded to earlier. This category is lured mostly by labour recruiters and one might even refer to them as economic adventurers. According to Mbithi⁴²:

"Labour recruiters would spread stories of the advantages of migration, mentioning that the squatter could have as many sheep, cattle and goats as they like, that there was water....

near and that posho would be free for the first three months".

There is little or no significant information concerning the lure of opportunities in terms of intra-rural areas. A number of studies made in this respect, so far only signify such attraction towards the urban centres. Thus, for example, there is "attraction of the town and its real or imagined opportunities for personal advancement and independence, as well as improved material welfare, a part from, "the pressure of labour recruiting agents, administrators and chiefs which has been in the past and still sometimes remains an important factor in movement to the cities."⁴³ Caldwell⁴⁴ also found that people were attracted to other areas, particularly the towns, because they felt that:

- "- there was work which could yield a satisfactory cash income;
- there was the availability of such facilities as hospitals, water and street lighting;
- there was entertainment beyond the traditional dancing or rituals of the village".

The lure for rural people to move to the towns is best summed up by Macdonald⁴⁵ who states:

"The rural population seems to imagine that the interior is much worse served than the city, not making a distinction between the slums where rural migrants congregate and other neighbourhoods where intra-rural migrants enjoy greater privileges".

And by Gaude ⁴⁶ who also states that:

"The attraction factor is composed of three inter-dependent elements that are closely and almost inextricably combined:

- the attraction of higher earnings which depend on the migrants level of education;
- the attraction of the town;
- the attraction resulting from a change in attitude: the urge for a new way of life".

Rural to rural attractions are quite comparable to those of rural to urban motivational factors. Basically both migrants are seeking socio-economic well-being. The significant difference is in terms of those intra-rural migrants who seek larger shambas not necessarily for economic exploitation but largely so for their son's inheritance purposes. Again another difference lies in the exotic entertainment types and amenities only found in urban areas such as cinemas, night-clubs, etc. including the some what more superior regular wages reminiscent

of the urban centres.

Precisely we believe that some migrants are lured by the attraction of the place of destination such as more fertile land, better climate, better employment opportunities. Their final decisions to migrate are augmented by eased intervening obstacles such as available transportation and communication systems. Our assumption has close affinity with Stouffer's theory⁴⁷ which states that:

"The number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at the distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening obstacles".

Also with Musgrove's study on sub-urban migrants which concluded that:⁴⁸

"The migration which has since peopled the sub-urbs and residential towns has been predominantly a movement of non-manual workers in search of a superior physical and more exclusive social environment".

2.4 DECISIVENESS AND INDECISIVENESS AMONG MIGRANTS

Even though we are aware that decision taking in migration is not directly the actual causal migration, we do know

know that very often wrong decisions are taken by some of the migrants who would be unaware of problems involved in migrating including the somewhat formidable intervening obstacles. In this section, thus, we want to discuss, on the basis of our observation and analysis the nature and validity of final migrating decision taken by migrants. In order to delineate this information in our survey we asked the migrants to state whether or not they were satisfied with their original expectation. As indicated earlier, the major migration motive was related to an economic factor especially in the form of larger shamba size, although there was an exception to this rule whereby larger sizes were acquired for social rather than economic reasons. In any event whether the reason for migrating was either social or economic, a sense of satisfaction or otherwise could still be expressed. We found that the majority of the interviewed migrants were happy with the decision they had taken. This was represented by 73%. The remaining 27% were not happy and in fact they indicated that they had actually taken wrong decisions when they emigrated. Table 8 shows the breakdown of those who believed that they had actually taken the right decision when they shifted.

Table 8: Why Decision to Migrate was Satisfactory

Reason for Satisfaction	% Respondents
Economically better off now	60
At least own shamba	31
Can now grow more crops	31
At least shamba for my sons	11

When we asked the discontented migrants why they thought they had taken wrong decisions a variety of reasons were advanced:

- economically no better than before;
- the new place was worse than previously thought;
- the loan repayments (settlement scheme migrants) were too high;
- neither relatives nor friends nearby;
- bad neighbours.

This and other information made us conclude that some of the decisions taken by migrants were rather haphazard which in part explains why there were returnee migrants.

The reasons for decisiveness and indecisiveness were not quite explicit in our data analysis. However, studies made by Petersen,⁴⁹ Imoagene,⁵⁰ and Lee⁵¹ do have some significant relevance.

In migration, according to Petersen, the will of the migrant is the decisive factor. He postulates further that migrants who seek novelty or improvement tend to have the highest aspirations. This type of migrants could be distinguished from those who are merely lured. To pose a non-intra-rural case, according to Imoagene:

"We know that a migrant on leaving (say) the village for (say) a town, is leaving a familiar environment for a strange one. He finds in the town a way of life different in many respects from that of his home environment".

Imoagene's assumption does in effect raise the fact that a migrant is faced with a number of decisions to take and which ever one he takes finally depends on his real choice determination vis-a-vis the present push and pull factors in a given environment. This is because according to Lee,⁵² there is in every area countless factors which act to hold people within the area or attract people to it, and there are others which tend to repel them.

The question of indecisiveness is also dependent to a large extent on the migrant's knowledge of the place of destination. Lack of knowledge of the place of destination is bound to hamper the migrant's decision as to whether when he shifts it will be to his advantage or otherwise. Lee's hypothesis on this issue is quite interesting and significant:

"There are important differences between the factors associated with the area of origin and those associated with the area of destination. Persons living in an area have an immediate and

often long-term acquaintance with the area and are usually able to make considered and unhurried judgements regarding them. Knowledge of the area of destination is seldom exact and indeed some of the advantages and disadvantages can only be perceived by living there".

As pointed out earlier this explains why persons who would overcome intervening obstacles such as buying and transportation costs would still find, after a short experience in the place of destination, that it were better if they returned to their place of origin. It is still not explicit as to why there are indecisive problems on account of knowledge regarding the place of destination. A partial answer probably lies in Lee's (p. 48) further contention:-

"That it is not so much the actual factors at origin and destination as the perception of these factors which result in migration, i.e. personal sensitivity, intelligence and awareness of conditions elsewhere, since knowledge of the situation at destination depends upon personal contacts and are not universally available".

To re-state our stand-point, here, we are saying that there are a multiplicity of intricate factors which are involved in the migrant's causal migrational decisions and because they are counteracted by a number of intervening obstacles such as

mentioned above there is an inevitable element of straight forward decisions or indecisions among migrants. These intrisacies are hard to elucidate. However, we again find that Lee's exemplification is by far more concise (p. 56). He states:

"Before they leave, migrants tend to have taken on some of the characteristics of the population at destination, but they can never completely lose some which they share with the population at origin. It is because they are already to some degree like the population at destination that they find certain positive factors there and it is because they are unlike the population at origin that certain factors warrant or de-warrant migration".

2.5 THE RELEVANCE OF PUSH AND PULL FACTORS

It must be apparent now in accordance with what has been discussed earlier that quite a multiplicity of causal factors contribute to the migrational decisions. Indeed we are convinced that it is not due to just one factor that may cause a person to shift even though we know that such factors affect potential migrants in different ways.

In this section we intend to summarize and synthesize, in short, what we have already discussed as some of the major reasons involved in the whole field of intra-rural migration.

We plan to discuss this summary under the following categories: sources of information; criteria for push and criteria for pull.

2.5(a) Source of Information about Places of Destination

To a large extent we believe that the viability of intra-rural migration, as it is true with other forms of migrations, depends very much on the available sources of information. It certainly is on account of the available information concerning the place of destination that potential migrants enter the final migrational decisions.

In order to verify the ways in which migrants knew about the availability of land or for that matter availability of employment in other rural areas we asked each migrant to state the source of such information. Accordingly we got the responses as indicated in Table 9 below.

Table 9: Sources of Information regarding Places of Destination

Source	% Respondents
Locational chiefs	47
Friends	31
Agricultural officers	11
Press	5
Other	6

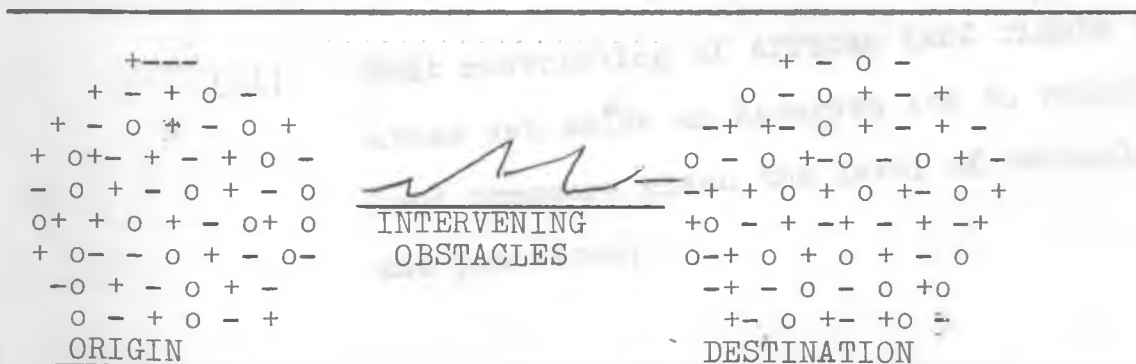
According to the information as indicated in Table 9 we found that there were, among others, two major sources of information concerning availability of land in possible places of destination. We believe that most of the information, especially presented by the locational chiefs was closely related to the government settlement schemes. During the inauguration of settlement schemes in places such as Naitiri, Ndalul, and Kibisi schemes, the Ministry of Lands and Settlement informed the public about such schemes through locational chief. The medium of such information by the chief was through his Barazas. Consequently, aspirant migrants did not only apply through the chief but the chief was also on the interviewing panel in order to determine genuine cases for settlement in the newly created schemes. Also we found that the second major source of information was represented by "Friends". In other words people obtained information in very informal ways through friends or perhaps relatives who knew about places for sale as a result of previous owner's intention to migrate. This source of information was rather random and unpredictable as it was often revealed at beer parties, market places or at any unspecified places. In most cases places of this sort were non-settlement schemes. They represented vacated shambas of those who had acquired other shambas elsewhere or were in the process of doing so and needed money through the sale of their previous shambas in order to acquire the new ones.

2.5(b) Criteria for Push and Pull

By criteria for push and pull in intra-rural migration we mean those conditions which "force" a person to migrate (push) such as frustration or family quarrels and those which attract (pull) a person to shift due to better or conducive socio-economic factors in the place of destination such as better soil types, better climates, water-supply, schools, etc.

The findings of Lee,⁵³ is an interesting basis for a migratory criteria. Lee (p. 49) found that there are four major factors involved in the act of migration, i.e. (a) factors associated with the area of origin, (b) factors associated with the area of destination, (c) intervening obstacles and (d) personal factors. We have already discussed those factors when we considered: social and psychological factors among migrants; characteristics of the social environment; socio-economic factors and decisiveness and indecisiveness among migrants. Everett's four factors in migration can be represented in the diagram below:

DIAGRAM 1: Origin and Destination Factors and Intervening Obstacles in Migration



Source: E.S. Lee in the Demography, 1966, Vol 3
No. 1, p. 49

As stated earlier there are countless factors in every area which act to hold people within the area or attract people to it and there are others which tend to repel them. These are shown in the diagram as + and - signs. There are others shown as o's to which people are essentially indifferent.

Lee also found that some people are resistant to change - whether of residence or of other types of changes while other personalities welcome changes for the sake of it. Furthermore, he found that for some people there must be compelling reasons for migration while for others little provocation or promise suffices and that even though selection is negative or random at the place of origin, intervening obstacles serve to weed out some of the weak or the incapable (hence decisiveness and indecisiveness among migrants).

Mbithi,⁵⁴ on the other hand attributed criteria for push and pull factors in migration, especially in regard to the squatter problem, to a number of factors:

- (i) That because of designating the Highlands for European settlement only, several tribes were displaced;
- (ii) That restricting of African land rights to areas set aside as Reserves led to relative land pressure given the level of technology and practices;

- (iii) That there was no deliberate policy to assist the problem of landlessness and land pressure.
- (iv) That at various intervals the stated policy was to force people out of the Reserve to work on European farms. This was particularly accomplished by lack of attention to making the Reserves viable economic units.

From Lee's and Mbithi's hypotheses indicated above it is possible to categorize migrants into what Petersen entitles migration typology. Petersen found that there are four types of migration i.e. Primitive; Impelled; Forced and Free. According to him, for example, a primitive migration of an agrarian population takes place when there is disparity between the produce of the land and the number of people subsisting from it. With regard to impelled migration he suggests that persons involved in it retain some power whether or not to leave while, in forced migration, no power to decide is left to the persons involved. On the other hand he suggests that in free migration, the will of the migrant is the decisive element because such migrants are usually in search of novelty or improvement. The breakdown of Petersen's migration typology is exemplified in diagram 2 below:

DIAGRAM 2:

General Typology of Migration

Type of Interaction	Migratory Force	Class of Migration	Type of Migration	
			Conservative	Innova- ting
Nature of Man	Ecological Push	Primitive	Wandering Ranging	Flight from Land
State (or equi- valent) and Man	Migration Policy	Impelled	Flight	Coolie Trade
		Forced		Slave Trade
Man and his Norms	Higher Aspirations	Free	Group	Pioneer
Collective Behaviour	Social Momentum	Mass	Settlement	Urban- ization

Source: Petersen, W. Population, Macmillan N.Y. 1961, p. 619

In accordance with the above diagram we found that the majority of our sample population migrants, fell within the category of free migration typology. As indicated earlier their free migration motives were not only based on the desire to acquire larger pieces of shamba than hitherto but very largely also sought material or economic improvement.

Since the scope of our study did not permit the classification of those migrants who either responded to push or pull factors statistically, we shall only in summary generalize on these factors which had either pull or push characteristics.

Generally speaking migrants who were pushed away from their existing environment attributed these push factors to: injustice, deliberate settlement scheme objectives, and; environmental pressure (Lee⁵⁵; Allan⁵⁶; and Ominde⁵⁷). On the other hand migrants who responded to pull factors included those who were attracted by either economic or social reasons. According to Lee (p. 55-56) such are migrants who "respond primarily to plus factors at the place of destination and they tend to be positively selected because they are under no necessity to migrate but do so because they perceive opportunities from afar and they can weigh the advantages and disadvantages at origin and destination. To such persons migration means advancement".

We have, in this chapter, tried to discuss some of the major causes in the field of intra-rural mobility on the basis

of our field study findings and on the findings of other scholars. We have emphasized that many reasons contribute to migration decisions, all intricately inter-woven into social-psychoeconomic factors in terms of push and pull motivation propensity. In the following chapter we will try to analyse the socio-economic consequences of such migration.

PERSONAL ADVANTAGES AND CONSTRAINTS OF MIGRATION

When people migrate they shift to a new place of destination. This shift is not neutral. It involves a change in social and economic conditions. In some cases there are advantages to migration. In other cases there are disadvantages. The advantages and disadvantages are often of the same nature. Thus, in a labor market where people shift for better wages, the shift may also have the implication of social change. In this chapter we shall first discuss the personal factors of migration. Then we shall discuss the question of land scarcity, financial capabilities and constraints, and the migrants' ability to secure employment. In regard to the social factors we shall discuss the following issues: the diversity of the social groups and their inter-relationships; the social structure; the social norms and values; the social mobility; and the social change.

CHAPTER III

CONSEQUENCES OF INTRA-RURAL MIGRATION

In the preceding chapter we discussed some of the major courses of mobility in intra-rural migration. In this chapter we intend to analyse and discuss the consequences or implications of such migration especially in regard to socio-economic factors of the migrants. First, we shall discuss advantages and constraints which ensue after migration has taken place in socio-economic terms. In the second place we shall examine the resulting major macro-economic advantages and constraints.

3.1 PERSONAL ADVANTAGES AND CONSTRAINTS OF MIGRANTS

When people decide to shift to a new place of destination their usual and most natural expectations are to find conditions at least better than those left behind. In some cases these expectations or dreams do come true. In other cases however, quite the opposite sort of conditions are found in the place of destination. Thus, in a non-scientific jargon, people shift for better or for worse. In order to find out these implications we shall first discuss the economic factors of which we intend to look at the land size variable, the question of land ownership, financial capabilities and constraints, and the migrants' ability to employ labourers. In regard to the social factors we shall examine the following issues: the relevance of the ethnic groups; social involvement; social differentiation; and social obligations. What for example happens to each of these factors

as pertains to the migrants after migration has taken place? We shall do this by largely comparing the conditions of the migrants, formerly in places of origin and now in the places of destination. One short-coming which needs pointing out here is that our time scale, i.e. the total period of duration since first migrating is not definite. Most of the interviewed migrants range from 1963 to the time of the interview, i.e. 1972. Because of this we must admit that some of the expressed conditions may alter over a longer period of time. However, we believe that certain socio-economic advantages and constraints will still be manifest regardless of the length of duration in the place of destination.

3.1(a) Economic Factors

(i) Land Size

We found, as discussed earlier, that the question of shamba size was one of the major causes of intra-rural migration. Those people who migrated had, among other intentions, the desire to obtain at least a large sized shamba both for aesthetic and economic reasons. As pointed out already, we noted that there was a substantial increase of around 400% acreage in the newly acquired shambas, i.e. from 5 acres to 20.20 acres. This increase is exemplified in Table 10.

Table 10: Comparison between Acreage per Migrant
Before and After Migration

Acreage Range	Before Migrating No. of people (f)	After Migrating No. of people (f)
0-9	88	15
10-19	8	41
20-29	2	21
30 and above	2	23
	N = 100	N = 100

NB. Mean acreage before migration = 5 acres (S.D.= 5.83)
 Mean acreage after migration = 20.20 acres
 (S.D.=10.42)

Granting them that at least each intra-rural migrant interviewed now has a much larger shamba compared with what he had previously, what advantages or disadvantages could one observe? This question could be considered at least from two standpoints. We can consider for example the degree of farm profitability, and the degree of social prestige arising from the fact that the male heirs to such a farm are assured of reasonable pieces of land. We shall, nevertheless, not concern ourselves here with the latter standpoint which will be considered later under the social factors. On the issue of farm profitability the question at stake is related to probable marginal economic gain which results when a larger shamba is acquired. Depending on the degree of farm inputs and the amount of devoted exploitation of a larger piece of land, there is no harm in assuming that an economic gain will

definitely be derived by a migrant. In the absence of data on small scale farms i.e. up to thirty acres, we are at a loss in terms of proving the hypothesis posed above, i.e. the larger the piece of shamba acquired with the proportional capital and labour investment, the more farm profitability gain to the migrant. However, with some reservations, we can use the model of a survey of large scale farms carried out in Trans-Nzoia area covering the period of 1967-1971.¹ It was found, according to this survey, that the level of gross farm profit increased as the average farm size rose from shs. 8,867 on farms in the smallest size range to over shs. 68,000 on those farms between 1500-1999 acres in size. It is also pointed out in the report that the cash margin available to the farmer also tended to increase as the average farm size rose. When, on the other hand, the results of the survey in question were analyzed on a per acre basis the gross farm profit tended to decline as farm size increased. It was found that the smallest farms achieved comparatively high levels of output of shs. 248/- per acre in the highest size range. Similar trends in the net cash margin per acre were also noted. The findings of the survey alluded to above are exemplified in Table 11 below.

Size Range (Acres)	No. of Farms	Total Gross Profit (Shs.)	Total Cash Margin (Shs.)	Average Gross Profit per Farm (Shs.)	Average Cash Margin per Farm (Shs.)
200 - 499	4	107	126	26.75	31.50
500 - 999	14	740	806	52.86	57.57
1000 - 1499	7	1048	1194	149.71	170.57
1500 - 1999	6	1402	1577	233.67	262.83
2000 - 6000	3	2770	3110	923.33	1036.67
Average	34	610	680	179.41	199.71

Source: Annual Survey of Trans-Nzoia Area, 1971

Table 11: The Relationship between Farm Size, Output and Profits on Farms in
Trans-Nzoia, 1970/71

Farm Size Group	Number of Farms	Average Farm Size	Output per farm	Cost per farm	Gross Profit per acre	Output per acre	Cost per acre	Gross profit per acre
Acres	No.	Usable acres		sh. per farm		sh. per usable acre		
Less than 250	4	183	45,470	36,603	8,867	248	200	48
250 - 499	8	326	52,658	36,639	16,019	161	112	49
500 - 749	14	546	72,782	58,315	14,469	133	107	27
750 - 999	6	816	92,290	79,387	12,903	113	97	16
1000 - 1249	7	1012	90,271	66,397	23,874	89	66	24
1250 - 1499	6	1194	178,233	127,901	50,332	149	107	42
1500 - 1999	6	1402	192,361	124,267	68,094	128	83	45
2000 - more	3	2979	193,842	165,894	27,948	65	56	9
Average	54	890	103,940	77,920	26,020	117	88	29

Source: Annual Surveys of Farms in Trans-Nzoia, 1970/71

Factors which, according to the Trans-Nzoia, farm survey affected variations in output, profits and cash margins on farms of different sizes were attributed to differences in land use, the value of output and the amount of investment. In regard to land utilization it was found that farms in the smallest size range utilized the greatest proportion of the total farm area. However, the numbers of livestock per farm increased as farm size grew, from 23 units on the smallest farms to 370 units the livestock enterprise on the larger farms. The tendency towards greater land utilization on small size farms and livestock increase are elucidated in Table 12.

Table 12: The Relationship Between Farm Size and Land Utilization on Farms in Trans-nzoia, 1970/71

Farm Size Group	Proportion of Land Cropped	Proportion of Unusable Land	Number of Stock Units	Stocking Rates
Acres	Percent	Percent	No.	Acres per Livestock Units
Less than 250	46	5	23	3.2
250 - 499	21	10	48	3.1
500 - 749	24	9	97	3.8
750 - 999	19	7	98	6.2
1000 - 1249	13	12	177	4.4
1250 - 1499	18	9	213	4.2
1500 - 1999	10	12	294	4.3
2000+	9	7	370	7.1
Average	16	10	145	4.8

Source: Annual Survey of Farms in Trans-Nzoia, 1970/71

It was also indicated that "the level of output per acre clearly depended on the value of output from the main enterprises (a function of yield and price). While given the crop average and the number of livestock units per farm, the value of output per acre also directly influenced the level of output per farm, although, according to Table 13 below, there are no clear relationships between the value of output per acre and farm size". On the question of farm investment, a number of interesting observations were made. It was noted that the variations in the value of output per acre were due, in part, to differences in the level of expenditure on farms of different sizes. Thus, for example, farmers in the smallest size range spent relatively large amounts per acre on inputs for the crops and on machinery cultivations. On the other hand, on the largest farms, despite the importance of livestock enterprise, livestock costs were only shs. 41/- per livestock unit, compared to the average of all farms of shs. 60/- per unit (see Table 13 below):

Table 13: The Relationship between Farm Size and the Value of Output on Farms in Trans-Nzoia, 1970/71

Farm Size Group	The Value of Output		
	Per Acre of Maize	Per Livestock Unit	Per Dairy Cow
<u>Acres</u>	<u>Shillings per Unit</u>		
Less than 250	443	136	346
250 - 499	421	118	196
300 - 749	333	160	275
750 - 999	326	111	117
1000- 1249	279	165	322
1250--1499	469	183	336
1500- 1999	490	263	333
2000+	412	149	225
Average	372	181	289

Source: Annual Surveys of Farms in Trans-Nzoia, 1970/71

Table 14: The Relationship Between Farm Size and Cost on Farms in Trans-Nzoia 1970/71

Farm Size Group	Livestock Costs	Crop Cost	Machinery Costs	Wages	Overhead	Total
Acres	Sh. per 1 unit	sh. per crop	Acre	sh. per acre		
- 250	44	132	135	44	33	388
250 - 499	69	98	140	20	31	358
500 - 749	52	106	136	18	26	338
750 - 999	66	118	146	20	19	369
1000 - 1249	46	94	119	16	19	294
1250 - 1499	64	142	167	20	16	409
1500 - 1999	83	144	155	20	16	418
2000+	41	75	131	11	15	273
Average	60	121	143	18	19	361

Source: Annual Surveys of Farms in Trans-Nzoia, 1970/71

A final discussion on the question of land size vis-à-vis profitability is based on the relationship between farm size and capital investment. The survey report under review argues, inter alia, that the final factor influencing the levels of output and profits per farm was the amount of capital investment. As shown in Table 15 there was a steady increase in the amount of investment per farm as farm size rose, with exception of those farms in the largest size range where the value of investment in land was under-estimated. Thus the amount of investment per acre declined as farm size increased from £20.4 on the smallest farms to less than £15.5 on the largest farms.²

Table 15: The Relationship between Farm Size and Capital Investment on Farms in Trans-Nzoia, 1970-1971

Farm Size Group	Capital Investment		
	Acres	£ per Farm	£ per Acre
- 250		3,913	20.4
250 - 449		6,378	17.5
500 - 749		9,771	16.3
750 - 999		11,321	12.9
1000 - 1249		16,263	14.2
1250 - 1499		17,236	13.1
1500 - 1999		26,332	15.5
2000 +		25,844	8.0
Average		13,163	13.3

Source: Annual Surveys of Farms in Trans-Nzoia, 1970/71

As we submitted earlier, the lack of small scale shamba profitability data cannot permit us to make direct analysis and therefore direct conclusions regarding shamba size increase vis-à-vis increased farm profitability. Nevertheless on the basis of the Trans-Nzoia large scale shamba analysis we believe the model can apply, perhaps with slight modification, to the variation in sizes of shambas ranging, according to our survey, between 5 acres and 20.2 acres. This is why we would like to agree and confirm the applicability of the conclusion made in the Trans-Nzoia survey report to the consequences of intra-rural migration. According to the conclusion of the survey,³

"There was a broad relationship between farm size, output and profitability. The larger the farms the higher the level of output per farm, while the smaller the farm, the higher the levels of output and profit per acre reflecting the greater intensity of cultivation on these farms. Many of the smaller sized farms achieved high levels of output and profits per acre. This reflected a relatively large proportion of the acreage under crops (46%) with a large labour input per acre (93 men equivalents per 1000 acres). Comparatively high levels of expenditure per acre on crops contributed to the high values of output from the main crop enterprises".

Although our conclusion as regards the land size as being one of the economic factors in intra-rural migration, is

that there is not only a relative increase of total acreage per migrant but that there are also possibilities of increased farm or agricultural profitability; a number of constraints, in addition to those already mentioned, could be cited. Such constraints are contributory to disadvantages of intra-rural migration notwithstanding the acquired larger acreage. Even though it is true that very small holdings (say less than twenty acres) will not provide for necessary or adequate income the ability for a rural migrant to acquire a larger shamba is not in itself a passport to farm profitability gain.⁴ Because of the tendency for extra-large farms to favour, according to Mcinerney, the employment and most probably the exploitation of permanent non-family labour some migrants may find it not only difficult to cope but may also invariably be unable to gain economically as much as they would hope to. In point of fact, a study made by Ruthenberg among small-holders in Tanzania revealed that small-holders themselves are aware of their inabilities in operating larger shambas:

"When asked, small-holders almost invariably argue that they would like to produce more and more but they are not in a position to cultivate larger areas."⁵

3.1(a) 2 Shamba Ownership Status

For some of the interviewed migrants the question of ownership was one of the motivating factors in their migrational decision. Such migrants were either landless or lived on the shamba which was owned by a relative before migrating. In other cases those who sought shamba ownership were probably squatters. In order to verify the question of ownership we used three probable ownerships of the land on which the migrant lived before and after migration, namely; whether the shamba was registered in his own name; whether he lived on his father's or relative's shamba and; other, a category which referred to those who were probably landless. Consequently we obtained the results as indicated in Table 16.

Table 16: Land Ownership Status

Status	% of Respondents	
	Previous	Present
Registered in own name	24	83
Registered in Father's name	57	4
Other	19	13

A number of significant changes can be observed at a glance in Table 16. We note for example that where as before migration took place only 24% of our interviewees lived on their own (registered) shambas, the picture changed greatly after migration took place i.e. the majority (83%) were

now owner occupiers of the shambas on which they resided. This is also clearly contrasted with a large number (57%) who, before migration, depended on their father's shamba, and the only 4% who still resided on their father's plots. By means of the chi square method ($\chi^2 = \sum \frac{O-E}{E} - N$)

we arrived at the following conclusion: that since migration is the continuum between two time periods, it affects in a significant way the shamba ownership statuses among migrants, especially in the social system in which extended family patterns are dominant.

Having established that intra-rural migration has a relationship with increased shamba ownership statuses our task now is to discuss, briefly, the implications which arise as a result of such ownership. In other words, what advantages or for that matter disadvantages accrue to a migrant who, after migration, enjoys the ownership status of a newly acquired shamba? We shall relate our discussion to the studies undertaken by Chambers⁶ and Mbithi⁷. Chambers for example, argues that the most important thing among settlers in a settlement scheme is not just a matter of welfare services being provided by the government but above all the strong feelings of land-ownership. In Chamber's own words:

"Although the settlers may feel neglected by government in matters related to welfare services they do acquire strong feelings of ownership of the land on which they settle and a relatively high sense of security".

Chambers usage of the terms "ownership" and security do need further discussion here. What happens, for example, when a migrant, having acquired a new shamba for himself feels an intensified sense of satisfaction or perhaps a sense of achievement and security? According to Mbithi such a migrant or settler tends to feel free not only to exploit the new shamba energetically but also to invest in it without fear. In point of fact, Mbithi argues that "farm investment is inextricably related to the security of tenure". In our survey we found that most migrants who had a greater sense of responsibility on their new shambas were by and large owner-occupiers.

Increased land ownership could have other side effects. We do know that in an extended family social system, one finds a great deal of community or ethnic control over individuals in respect of land or shamba allocation. This is because the land or shamba is communally owned. However, such control is bound to diminish or decline once members of such a community or family disperse on their own volition in order to acquire land ownership statuses elsewhere. This usually happens when there is a substantial increase in population in a given community whereby no more land is available for allocation to young adult males who want to settle after getting married. Once such control is inevitably lifted it may head not only to the breakdown of lineage, family or clan control, as pointed out above, but it will also, in turn, free the individual to act independently in their decisions to lend, loan or sell land

to non-relatives. This we believe, could also have a stimulating effect on the intra-rural mobility.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of increased ownership statuses among migrants is related to the use of individually owned shambas in terms of mortgage or loan security. Such registered ownership enables a migrant to borrow development loans from commercial banks without interference from traditional norms as in the case where land is communally owned. In Mbithi's words (p. 32):

"Breakdown in tribal norms leaving individuals free of social control, social sanctions, and thus able to continually use, hold and apply for title deeds without a higher traditional authority to dispute the claim".

Precisely, ownership status is not only one of the motivational factors in intra-rural migration but it also breaks down the idea of ethnic cohesiveness and in doing so encourages the owners to increase their farm or shamba profitability by means of farm investment without fear of a higher traditional authority.

3.1.a Financial Capabilities and Constraints

The question of incomes and savings which is closely related to financial capabilities was discussed at length in the last chapter. It was proposed that those non-migrants

who did not only earn better income but also saved were the ones who did not have to sell their original shamba in order to afford new ones elsewhere. In this section we intend to discuss the question of financial capabilities and constraints in relation to the migrants expectations. If, for instance, we concluded in the last chapter that most migrational decisions were prompted by lack of employment opportunities in the place of origin or were generated by the migrants' ability to afford (financially) other shamba what were the resulting consequences? We shall discuss this question on the basis of the following ideas: how migrants disposed of their original shambas and how they acquired new ones; migrants involvement in economic activities, i.e. growing of cash crops and their involvement in extra-employment activities - (farm and non-farm activities outside their own shambas) and; migrants' financial expectations.

As the question concerning the way in which migrants disposed of their original shambas was discussed in the previous chapter we shall only make a few observations here. We posed the question that if only 13% of the migrants had sold their original shambas in order to buy new ones, how did the remaining 87% acquire the new shambas? Our immediate assumption was that one of the following must have happened: they were given the shambas free of sale; they had saved enough money or; they obtained bank or government loans. In order to verify this question further we also asked the migrants themselves to state as to how they obtained the new shambas. The majority 80% claimed to have bought the shambas from their own personal resources. This led us to conclude that the purchase price, at least part of it, must have

emanated from personal incomes, i.e. salaries, cash crop or livestock sales, which led us, further, to deduce that intra-rural migrants who acquire relatively larger shambas than before tend to be generally of better economic standing than non-migrants with comparable shamba sizes within a comparable environment. In Table 17 below we try to portray the preponderance in favour of the migrant purchasing power among our interviewees.

Table 17: How Present Shamba was Acquired

How Obtained	% of Respondents
Bought it	80
Given by Relative	10
Given by Government	7
Other	3

We were also interested in the migrant's economic involvement activities, i.e. cash cropping and extra-employment, from the point of view related to whether there was any significant change in such activities. As regards cash crops we found that these included, among others: Coffee, Cotton, Maize, Sisal, and Tea. The information concerning not only the percentage of interviewees who planted them but also a comparative picture between before and after migration is exemplified in Table 18.

Table 18: Cash Crop Production: Before and After Migration

Type of Cash Crop	% of Respondents	
	Previous	Present
Maize	60	90
Coffee	26	8
Cotton	9	5
Sisal	12	3
Tea	1	0
Other	11	37

We found, according to Table 18 above that before migration maize as a cash crop was the most predominant one, being grown by 60% of the interviewed migrants. After migration production of the same crop among the migrants went up by 50%, i.e. grown by 90% of them. It was not clear enough why there was such substantial increase in the production of maize by the migrants. Our logical conclusion is that since there was such drop in the percentage of coffee producers, i.e. from 26% down to 8% for reasons to be specified later those who failed to depend on coffee as a cash crop as they did before might have switched to maize crop. In any event what would be the probable financial implication to the individual migrant? We found no significant or unique financial gain except in respect of our earlier discussion concerning farm size vis-a-vis profitability implications. Nevertheless it is possible to estimate on the per hectare financial gain if we can assume that those who migrated did so because (a) they

produced, in the main local maize before migration and that (b) after migration they produced in the main hybrid maize. We should also assume that their production capabilities were no more than average. Our estimates as indicated in Table 19 are based on the Draft Farm Management Handbook by Nelson.⁸

Table 19: Comparative Estimated Gross Margin in Hybrid and Local Maize Production

Production Level	Hybrid Maize		Local Maize	
	Low	Average	Low	Average
1. Yield in 90 kg. bags	15	25	5	15
2. Output @ 35/- per bag	525	875	175	525
3. Seed	19	19	4	15
4. Fertiliser	20	45	-	-
5. Sprays and Dusts	0	10	-	-
6. Other costs, e.g. Transport	10	18	10	18
7. Total Variable costs (3+4+5+6)	49	92	14	22
8. Gross-margin per Hectare (2-7)	476	783	161	503
9. Total Labour cost @ 2/50 per MANDAY		207/-		232/-
10. Gross-margin per MANDAY		7/50		5/70

In terms of the above table we note that local maize production at the minimum level is at a net cash income loss of Shs. 71/- while at the same production level, hybrid maize per hectare realizes a net income gain of Shs. 269/-. Only at the average production level does a local maize producer realize a net gain of Shs. 271/- as against the hybrid net gain of Shs. 576/-. We need to point out that we are using this analogy not for glorifying the superiority of hybrid maize over local maize but above all in order to emphasize that an average migrant who is out to exploit farm profitability should compare favourably with our hybrid vis-a-vis local maize model, which is the same as saying that with more land under maize crop the financial position of a migrant should be much better than before assuming that there are no other unsurmountable constraints. Since in our survey, as alluded to earlier, we were unable to determine the average acreage under crop per migrant it is not possible to estimate total net income which accrues to the individual migrant per annum. We can only propose a total net income formula based on the above calculations, i.e. total net-income per annum = shs. $\frac{\text{Th} \times 269}{\text{Th} \times 576}$ whichever is applicable, where Th means: Total Hectarage under cultivation.

As regards to the drop in the coffee production we were interested, besides our assumptions above, in the factors which led to such significant drop (see table 18) in its production among migrants. When we posed this question to the migrants most of them (37%) attributed the drop to the fact that

they had shifted to non-coffee zones and therefore were not permitted to produce it. Other negative reasons advanced included:

"I could not afford seedling;
It was my own fault
Coffee involves too much work".

As to the effect of drastic drop in the coffee production on the financial implications to a migrant it is hard to tell. All we can say is that those migrants especially from the Lukhome area of our sample survey who had established a thriving coffee crop from which they were realizing a regular income felt a draw-back in their financial status especially those who did not succeed in the production of alternative cash crops. Even in the case of the apparently high net-income derived from maize production as posed above we must realize that settlers in the settlement schemes had loan liabilities which must inevitably reduce the very net-income to the barest minimum.

We also considered the question of financial statuses of migrants in relation to their involvement in economic activities other than their own holdings. We did this by comparing their past and present indulgence in such activities, i.e. before and after migration activities in government employment, in work on other people's shambas and so forth. The results of our findings are indicated in Table 20 below.

Table 20: Extra-Economic Activities by Migrants
Before and After Migration

Economic Activities	% of Respondents	
	Previous	Present
Government employment	47	39
Employment on others' shamba	9	7
Other	27	24
None	17	30

We found, according to Table 20, that not all intra-rural migrants actually concentrated on their own farm activities. Most of those we interviewed held either part-time or full-time employment besides their own farm commitment chores. It is interesting nevertheless to note that after migration the number of the migrants who did not indulge in extra-economic activities increased by 50%. This increase does not in any case compensate for a rather significant number who did not concentrate on their own shamba economic activities, i.e. 39%. It means that productive performance on these farms must inevitably suffer unless if this gap is offset by adequate and efficient labour management. Needless to say this tendency does create shamba landlordism and telephone farmers who, a part from gaining little in terms of farm profitability contribute equally less to the agricultural economy as a whole.

In connection with the migrants' financial expectation we found that since the economic motive in the intra-rural migration was the most predominant one, there was reason to believe that most migrants, therefore, expected high income as a result of migrating. These expectations in terms of the actual amount expected were not explicit among the non-settlement scheme migrants. However, those who migrated to the settlement schemes had their actual expectations pronounced by the government's anticipation. Thus, for example, Odingo points out that the net income targets ranged from £25 to £70 being determined by the land potential, the crops used and the size of the plot given to each peasant settler.⁹ It was expected that farmers in the lowest category should expect satisfaction of their subsistence needs plus £25 p.a. net; those in the middle category - subsistence plus a net income of £40 and; the upper category - subsistence plus £70. In any event are these expectations really fulfilled? According to the Economic Appraisal of the Settlement Schemes, some of these targets are never reached: "Neither on High Density nor on Low Density farms did many of the settlers reach their target incomes".¹⁰ This problem is also cited by Sabry when he states:

"Experience in Africa has shown that most of the government sponsored settlements have faced difficulties and that a large number of these have not only failed in achieving their objectives, but have also cost these governments large sums, without achieving any practical purpose".¹¹

What then does this mean to an intra-rural migrant? We believe that the amount of financial expectation to the migrants and even to the government, in the case of settlement schemes, is a question of the ideal versus the real. A considerable number of constraints must be overcome before realizing the real net-income gain. This in part explains why some migrants tend to look for alternative employment which, according to Mbithi, is a critical factor in providing additional cash investment on the farm. Indeed it is another way of trying to make ends meet when the onus of loan repayment, school fees, charges and subsistence needs rest squarely on the migrant's own shoulders.

In summary we are stating that there certainly are potentials for financial gain for the intra-rural migrants but these possibilities are coupled with constraints which must be overcome in order to pave way for more farm profitability. Although it was indicated at the beginning of this section that migrants are generally better off economically which is why they are able to afford the prices of new shambas, we are also aware that their financial positions are consequently impaired during their formative period in the place of destination.

3.1(a)4 Migrant Ability to Employ Outside Labour

We also tried to find out whether or not intra-rural migration had any bearing on labour employment changes among the migrants. To facilitate this finding we, as in the previous cases, tried to compare the extent of labour employment before

and after migration. This results are postulated in Table 21 below. The results as indicated in this table, computed on the basis of the formula $\left[X^2_2 = \sum \frac{O^2}{E} - N \right]$ reveals that intra-rural migration significantly tends to increase the number of families who employ others. More specifically, the people who migrated tend to rely more and more on others and less and less on themselves for work as alluded to earlier, i.e. that extra-large holdings will favour the employment and most probably the exploitation of permanent non-family labour.

Table 21: Trends in Labour Employment Patterns Before and After Migration

Those who Employed Labourers	% of Respondents	
	Previous	Present
None employed	60	41
Employed	40	59

In relation to the labour employment changes we also considered the probable effect of intra-rural migration on the spirit of self-help group work popularly known as Harambee. We considered this one because it provides for temporary outside employment - members of a self-help group work for each other in turns. But we found no significant changes among the interviewed migrants since, even after migration, they still participated in a number of self-help projects such as house-building, shamba ploughing and weeding, access road construction and building schools. On close observation, however, we found

that the more successful a migrant small-holder was the less he depended on self-help group efforts on shamba work. There appeared to be more preference for paying for one's labourers, a trend which is closely related to Ruthenberg's point of view:

"In systems with permanent farming or with high degree of commercialization, hardly any communal or cooperative work takes place. Those who want help have to pay for it especially because cooperative work usually displays a low degree of labour efficiency".¹²

Ellman adds that:

"People prefer to be independent if they can and will only cooperate with neighbours when they see that it is to their own advantage".¹³

The implication of Ruthenberg's and Ellman's views point to the growing reliance on outside paid labour for those who can afford it because cooperative or group work tends to be suspect and as Ruthenberg puts it:

"Farmers all over the world are distrustful people all the more so if in an early stage of commercialization. One always fears that the other one might work less".¹⁴

3.1(b) SOCIAL FACTORS

Besides economic implications in intra-rural migration we were also interested in the nature of changes and constraints which would take place as a result of rural migration. We shall, as indicated earlier, present both our findings and analysis under the following topics:- the relevance of ethnic groups; social involvement; social differentiation, and, social obligation as they pertain to intra-rural migration.

3.1(b)1 The Relevance of Ethnic Group

Our basic question here is mainly related to the way in which the ethnic group of a rural migrant is affected when migration has taken place. As discussed earlier, the family type of our population sample was the extended one. In extended family types, relationships are usually cohesive, reflecting a great deal of inter-dependence on the basis of traditional norms. Shared responsibilities are manifest in any number of activities such as bride-price, payment of children's fees and other tribal ceremonials. All these are wrapped up in the tradition of a given ethnic group.

In order to find out whether an ethnic group continued to be any longer relevant to a migrant, we used two types of criteria, i.e. the degree of existing mutual assistance and the amount of social involvement between the migrant ego and his kith and kin who were left at the place of origin. We classified mutual assistance into four question categories, based on the situation before and after migration: who paid your taxes

and your children's school fees before you emigrated and who does so now? Did you pay school fees for other people's children, including other people's taxes and do you still do it now? What other forms of help e.g. food did you render to your relatives before migrating and what do you still render now? and what sort of help did you derive from your relatives before and what do you still get at present?

According to the question regarding payment of one's taxes and children's school fees we obtained the results indicated in Table 22 below:

Table 22: Payment of One's Taxes and Children's Fees

Who Paid?	% of Respondents	
	Previous	Present
Self	76	84
Relatives	10	10
Nobody	7	5
Other	7	1

Results as indicated in Table 22 above did not portray any statistical significance. However, we observed slight change in the migrant's ability to shoulder their own responsibility as reflected in the percentage change from 76% to 84%. But still the role of the relative did not alter at all.

Our second question was related to the migrant's responsibility toward his relatives in the cost aspects of

taxes and fees. We found that his major responsibility in these aspects were particularly for father and brother (physical pater and sibling). Again our results as indicated in Table 23 only show insignificant changes with slightly decreased responsibility for father, increased for brother and for other relatives:

Table 23: Payment for Others' Taxes and School Fees

For Whom?	% of Respondents	
	Previous	Present
Father	42	39
Brother	39	43
Other	19	23

We also enquired into the question of specific items of assistance which the migrant rendered to his relatives such as food, fees and, bride price. Consequently, we obtained the following answers (Table 24):

Table 24: Help Rendered to Relatives

Nature of Help	% of Respondents	
	Previous	Present
Food	46	57
Fees	55	56
Bride-price	49	30
Other	37	27

Finally, we wanted to know the nature of help or assistance which the migrant felt that he received and continued to do so before and after migration. The results are exemplified in Table 25 below:

Table 25: Help Derived From Relatives

Nature of Help	% of Respondents	
	Previous	Present
Children's fees	4	8
Tax	5	7
Shamba Labour	11	30
Other	16	5
None	18	50

We found rather interesting trends portrayed in Table 24 and 25 on the issues of help derived from and rendered to relatives. The position concerning assistance rendered to relatives was variable. Thus, for example, after migrating the responsibility of the migrant in the provision of food was on the increase while the bride-price responsibility was on the downward trend. We also observe in Table 25 that the most significant assistance emanating from the migrants relatives was in the form of shamba labour which increased three times after migration had taken place. We also noted the rise by around 32% in the number of the migrants who claimed to have received no assistance from relatives, i.e. from 18% before to 50% after migration. We found the relationship between increased shamba labour as a form of assistance rendered to the migrant from his relative and conversely increased food provision from the migrant to his relatives rather interesting. This sort of mutual assistance to us, was not only complementary but was related to some implicit form of labour versus goods exchange.

Our second criterion for the verification of the question on the relevance of the ethnic group, as indicated earlier, was in respect to the amount of social involvement or social interaction between the migrant and his relatives, a part from mutual assistance already discussed. Unlike the mutual assistance criterion in which we used the four scale question - determination as elucidated above, we shall only use one scale in the case of

social interaction, namely: the frequency of visits by the migrant to the relatives. Our visit frequency scale ranged anywhere from less than a week up to twelve months interval, i.e. once a week, once a month, once in six months, only once in twelve months. As reflected in Table 25 below, we found that migration had significantly changed the pattern of visits by migrants to their relatives. Before migration there were more weekly and monthly visits. After migration there were more monthly and six monthly visits. Thus we ventured to conclude that because of migration, migrants tend to visit their relatives at longer intervals compared to their visits before, presumably because they now lived further away or that they are now busier with their shamba work than before.

Table 26: Frequency of Visits by Migrants to Relatives

Frequency	% of Respondents	
	Previous	Present
Once a week	36	15
Once a month	34	35
Once in six months	11	29
Once a year	7	12
Other	12	9

On the whole we found that intra-rural migration did not significantly change the relevance of an ethnic group as far as a migrant was concerned since we did not notice drastic changes in the patterns regarding mutual assistance and social

interaction criteria among migrants and their non-migrant relatives. Nevertheless we found interesting variations in the non-ethnic issues i.e. "econopolitical" matters among the permanent rural migrants. Our observation present an interesting contrast with the study made by Velsen.¹⁵ Velsen found that villagers who left their villages to find employment elsewhere often maintained a stake in the social and political structure of the place of origin. In other words they had vested interests in its continued functioning and they tried to play their social political role despite their absence. As he put it more emphatically:

"The Tonga leave their villages for the towns with the intentions of returning and they want, therefore, a niche to which to return. They know that a time will come when they will no longer be productive in the urban economy, through illness, invalidity or old age and when those who cease to be employed relinquish their rights to be housed in the urban area".¹⁶

On the other hand 90% of our interviewed rural migrants, even though they had strong social contacts, did not have political or even economic interests in the area of origin. This of course applies only to those migrants who had made a firm decision to migrate as was discussed in chapter 2.

3.1(b)2 Social Differentiation

Since the idea of the social differentiation variable came after our field research we have no statistical presentation except for very brief observation regarding what effect intra-rural migration had on the growth of differentiation. We believe that this is an area which might be of interest in terms of future research. Our brief observation, however, is based on Durkheim's theory on differentiation.¹⁷ The theory is essentially based on the distinction between homogeneous and heterogeneous society referred to by Durkheim, respectively as mechanical and organic solidarity. A mechanical solidarity refers to a society which is characterized by simplicity, cohesiveness, resemblance with almost non-existence of the division of labour. Organic solidarity on the other hand refers to heterogeneity, role specialization and diversification. In this type, "Individuals are no longer grouped according to their relations of lineage, but according to the particular nature of the social activity to which they devote themselves, their natural and necessary milieu is no longer that given by birth but that given by occupation. It is no longer real or fictitious blood ties which mark the place of each one, but the function which he fills". On the basis of Durkheim's theory postulated above to what extent does intra-rural migration induce or de-induce the growth of social differentiation among the migrants and non-migrants (ethnic relation)? Although we suggested earlier that intra-rural migration does not alter or affect significantly the relevance of an ethnic group we are not contradicting ourselves when we propose, here, that once an individual decides to break away from the ethnic fold, he has

in effect started the growth towards social differentiation. The first germ of differentiation takes root as soon as the migrant now "plants" himself not only in a new environment but also among strange neighbours where he takes on farming roles independent and free of the ethnic decisions. Our idea of differentiation which is caused by rural migration is closely related to Mbithi's factors which influence individualization of land tenure.¹⁸ According to Mbithi, when land tenure is individualized (and thus inducing migrational decisions as stated earlier) the following factors tend to occur:-

- a. decline in community control over land allocation because there is no more such land to allocate due to increase in population;
- b. decline or complete breakdown of lineage, family or clan control over individuals and their activities in landing, loaning or selling land to those outside the clan;
- c. breakdown in tribal norms leaving individuals free of social control social sanctions and thus able to continually use, hold and apply for title deeds without a higher traditional authority to dispute claim.

However, we did not observe among interviewed migrants as to whether intra-rural migration was responsible for serious forms of spatial segregation related to the type which is commonly found in urban migration. An example of spatial

segregation resulting from migration to urban areas is reflected in Musgrove's study on the migratory Elite.¹⁹ He found for instance, that residential distribution of migrants was not random since migration was not assortive, viz: migrants find out and settle among people of similar wealth, occupation and social standing to themselves. He also suggests that results of inter-migration are socially divisive rather than cohesive. This sort of trend, according to Musgrove, reduces, to some extent stress on individual migrant. As he (migrant) can move in a constant social environment, he lives among people of similar social habits and expectations whenever he goes. We found the case for intra-rural migration rather different. Although to some extent a rural migrant prefers to emigrate to a place of destination where his relatives or friends are, it is not always possible because it depends very largely on the availability of land and the ability for such a migrant to afford it. That is why in an agrarian situation where land reform and the modern land tenure system is firmly established the question of spatial segregation in residential or farming distribution is not valid.

3.2 MACRO-ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES

In this section we would like to consider, briefly, some of the total economic advantages which result from intra-rural migration. Our arguments will be based on some of the discussion we have already advanced. Specifically we shall discuss two main issues related to the question of employment generation and

agricultural productivity. To what extent, for instance, does intra-rural migration affect total employment trends on the basis of our study area? Similarly what is the contribution of intra-rural migration to the agricultural productivity as a whole? Again, for lack of relevant data on these issues our analysis will in the main, be probable rather than authentic.

3.2(a) Employment Generation

The effect of intra-rural migration on the macro-employment situation is not easy to determine. However, we shall advance our argument on the basis of micro-employment situation suggested earlier.

Before advancing our argument, however, it is necessary to examine the question of employment. We do know that generally the term unemployment refers to the fact that willing seekers of work are unable to obtain jobs.²⁰ Employment, or for that matter full employment therefore refers to the situation in which those who seek work at least are able to find it. The unemployment situation in Kenya, as a whole is becoming a matter of concern. School leavers, say at Form IV who used to be absorbed in the public or private sectors, in the sixties, are now walking the urban streets with not much job success. So any form of enterprise which creates additional opportunities does certainly help towards the improvement of macro-employment situation. How, in effect, does intra-rural migration help the rural employment situation?

In discussing the question of migrant ability to employ outside non-family labour, we concluded that the people who migrated tended to rely more and more on others and less and less on themselves for working on their shambas. We also advanced Mcinerney's argument which states that 'extra-large holdings will favour the employment and most probably the exploitation of permanent non-family labour". Since our other argument was related to the fact that most intra-rural migrants sought not only economic improvement but also larger shambas than before, it is thus possible to argue according to Mcinerney's point of view above that intra-rural migration which enables the migrants to obtain larger shambas does affect the employment situation positively if other factors are also positive, i.e. farm size, improved productivity and profitability. We need to point out here that our reference to larger shambas is mainly related to our study range of 5 - 20.20 acres - which means that we are arguing in favour of small scale farming in connection with employment. Since, according to the Farm Economic Survey report No. 28²¹ there was an indication of farming intensity on small scale farms it should also follow that an increased labour input on such farms was imperative. The Report does also indicate a fall in labour input on farm increased over 250 acres. This argument is further advanced in Table 27 below. Although the details of probable changes in M.E. is not shown when the farm size decreases down to twenty acres, it is clear from table 17 that the rate of M.E. regarding farm sizes below 250 acres is much higher than in the large farm category.

TABLE 27: The Relationship Between Farm Size and Labour Inputs on Farms in
Trans-Nzoia 1970/71

Farm Size	Regular Labourers	Casual Labourers	Total Labourers	Number of Labourers 1000 acres	
Acres	(Men equivalent per farm)			M.E.	1000 Usable Acres
250+	7	10	17		93
250 - 499	10	10	20		62
500 - 749	14	9	23		42
750 - 999	24	12	36		44
1000 -1241	19	15	34		34
1250 -1499	33	21	54		45=
1500 -1999	27	15	42		28
-2000+	20	21	41		14

Source: Annual Surveys of Farms in Trans-Nzoia, 1970/71

We can also advance another argument in favour of employment generation on the basis of Table 21 (Trends in Labour Employment Patterns before and after Migration). We found that, of our interviewed migrants, only 40% employed labourers to work on their farms before migration took place. After migration the number of those who employed farm labourers rose to 59%. This, to us, meant that there was an employment boost of approximately 19%. If our percentage representation are converted into hypothetical figures the argument might approximate the following: If 40 migrants employed 80 labourers before migration took place, how many labourers would be employed if after migration 60 migrants employed labourers at the same rate (assuming)? The probable number of labourers engaged by migrants after migration can be expressed as:

$$\frac{\text{LBM} \times \text{EAM}}{\text{EBM}} = \text{LAM}$$

Where LBM = Labourers before migration

LAM = Labourers after migration

EBM = Employers before migration

EAM = Employers after migration or

$\frac{80 \times 60}{40}$ which approximates a hundred and twenty, an increase of forty labourers. Our estimation here should be regarded as rather conservative since the number of labourers recruited by each migrant would be quite variable ranging from one to as many as four or more.

As indicated earlier, employment generation resulting from intra-rural migration is related to many factors which contribute to general agricultural out-put or improvement. We have argued that farm increase should have a positive effect on employment if other related factors are favourable. This argument is also advanced in a study on Economic Aspects of Small-holder Agriculture in Kericho District as follows:²¹

"Since the availability of family labour does not show any relation to the other factors, it is evident that with the increase in the farm size, economic development and capital intensity the number of employees on the farm will also increase".

An argument somewhat similar to the above was advanced by Mbithi and Barnes.²² It is proposed that the following factors - intensive cultivation, land registration and consolidation plus new cash crops have a positive effect on employment capacity of small-scale agriculture. In their own words:

"Programmes for intensive cultivation in small-scale enterprises coupled with land registration and consolidation with continued emphasis on the introduction of new cash crops hold promise for increasing the employment capacity of small-scale agriculture".

Another positive argument advanced by Mbithi is related to the factors of: increased technology transfer, farmer training, farm loans including subsidies which are said to be a prelude to increased farm productivity, which in turn, would lead to more job creation at farm level. The following reasons to substantiate the above hypothesis are also stated:

- (i) Increased technology transfer to a peasant farmer would substantially increase incomes; or the introduction of practices which reduce crop and animal losses, or increase yields for small additional costs. This would stabilize and increase farmers' incomes. As farm incomes increase, farmers would become better off and withdraw from menial tasks, thus creating a demand for hired labour and thus increase population capacity of rural areas.

- (ii) Some of the technologies introduced would be labour intensive, especially as some cash crops create peak labour demands at planting and harvesting, such as cotton, tea, tobacco, coffee, pyrethrum. Other technologies create peak labour demands by increasing regularity of operation. Fertilisers increase weeding and harvesting, creating extra-labour demands.

- (iii) Increased adoption of innovation, especially the adoption of new enterprises increases the range of enterprises per farm. This tends to increase the diversity of tasks performed and under stable wage rates would increase the farm labour capacity.

- (iv) Increased partial and selective mechanization would tend to remove drudgery and boredom on the farm operation, and thus, attract more youth into farming and arrest the rural to urban migration.

- (v) Increased farm incomes would increase the "purchasing power" of rural people and attract job creating business into rural areas.

A report of the Mission on Land Consolidation did also attribute improved employment situation to raised agricultural productivity:

"Because there are limited opportunities for employment outside the agrarian sector, raising the productivity of peasant farming in this way probably represents the only means of improving the employment situation over the next decade".²³

Earlier we argued that as a result of migration the number of probable farm labourers increased by about 40

(according to our hypothetical calculation). This would represent an increase of about 50% which we admitted to be on a rather conservative side. However, our estimation is closely related to the one advanced by Ruthenberg. Although Ruthenberg's estimation is based on the settlement scheme experience, we believe that since settlers are essentially rural migrants they do represent the general aspirations of most rural migrants i.e. increase farm productivity and profitability, which as we have already argued, could lead to increased employment. Ruthenberg's argument regarding increased employment situation on settlement schemes is as follows:-²⁴

"The experience in High Density schemes thus far indicate that the number of new landowners is 25 greater than that of former labourers. It is estimated that approximately another 25% are taken up in employment by the settlers. This add up to an increase in employment of roughly 50% which - as the department of Settlement hopes - might increase to 100% when the schemes have reached maturity. Low density schemes generally absorb the same number of plot holders as there were labourers on the farm before the take-over. In addition each plot holder usually employs one outside labourer. This adds up to a 100% increase in the number of people absorbed".

Precisely, we are proposing that if intra-rural migrants live by their desire to achieve those factors which motivated them to migrate i.e. larger shamba size, increased farm productivity and profitability, then intra-rural migration has a positive effect on rural employment generation as a whole.

3.2(b) Agricultural Productivity

As in the case of macro-employment generation already discussed, the relationship between macro-agricultural productivity with intra-rural migration is difficult to determine. Productivity as is the case with employment generation is an issue which presupposes a host of other factors. According to Allan, for instance:²⁵

"The agriculture of a people can be rapidly developed only if three factors are present together: the means, the incentive, and the will".

In regard to Allan's factors stipulated above, two of them were certainly present in most of our interviewed migrants. Thus, for example, most migrants had either imagined or real incentives which acted as motivational factors towards migrational decisions. We have already pointed out that the desire to obtain larger shambas than before migration was one of the predominant motivational factors among most of the migrants. We observed, in addition, that the purposes for the desired large shambas were related more to economic than to the social reasons. Therefore, in conformity with Allan's

conditions for improved agriculture, the question of incentive was quite positive with the migrants. Besides the incentive issue, did the migrants have the will to work hard enough on the land in order to reap the agricultural rewards they set themselves to obtain? Although this question is difficult to answer statistically, we do believe that the migrants did not only have the will but they were also determined to improve themselves economically via land exploitation. In chapter 2 we indicated that when asked whether the decision to migrate was now deemed satisfactory after migration, the majority (60%) of the migrants were of the opinion that they were now better off than before economically. Our inference from this statement is that as a result of the willingness and determination to work harder the migrants were not only economically satisfied, but must have affected the total agricultural productivity in the area of destination. The constraint, however, would be related to Allan's third condition for improved productivity - which is the means. The means in this case is closely related to agricultural inputs such as capital and labour investment. Thus, the major question here is whether or not old migrants, even if they had the incentive and the will, had also the means by which to fulfill their individual agricultural productivity or profitability objectives. According to our observation the means for agricultural exploitation were quite variable. Some migrants especially those to the settlement schemes had access to loans and other agriculture improvement facilities. However, those to non-settlement schemes had to fend for themselves regarding investment inputs. In general terms, therefore, it is rather

difficult to hypothesize that intra-rural migration has a positive effect on the macro-agricultural productivity.

Assuming, however, that if all of Allan's three factors were present after migration, is there anything that would prevent us from assuming also the possible improvement in agricultural productivity as a whole? In our discussion at the beginning of this chapter, on the economic factors, we concluded that there was a relationship between increasing farm size and larger profits per farm. It was also cited that small sized farms had higher levels of output and profits on a per acre basis than the larger farms. Since we also concluded that all migrants succeeded in acquiring larger shambas than before but not larger than thirty acres, it should follow, according to the above conclusion that there was a macro-agricultural productivity improvement.

We can also advance our productivity argument on the basis of Mbithi's hypothesis which are related to technological transfer to the peasant farmers. These assumptions states that:²⁶

- (i) Increased technology transfer to the peasant (farm adoption) coupled with farmer training, farm loans and subsidies would increase farm productivity.

- (ii) Increased technology transfer to peasant farmer would lead to the introduction of new cash crops which would substantially increase incomes; or the introduction of practices which reduce crop and animal losses, or increase yields for small additional costs. This would stabilize and increase farmers' incomes.
- (iii) Increased technological sophistication leads to better control over the farmer's physical environment and the possibility of more marginal land being brought into productive use.

The case, for instance, regarding a change from planting local to a hybrid maize species help to exemplify Mbithi's generalizations as stipulated above, in particular, the second one. It is shown clearly in Table 9 that those who planted hybrid maize, had very significant gain over those who planted local maize. Mbithi's first hypothesis, as given above especially regarding farm loans was also emphasized by the Mission on Land Consolidation and Registration which argued that:²⁷

"The small-holder credit application suggests that the direct increase in agricultural production can be expected to exceed £20 million a year five years after the original investment

This represents an increase of one and a half times the current commercial output of all small farms in the country and an increase of one fifth in Kenya's total agricultural output at the present time".

Similar views on agricultural productivity were advanced by Agrawal,²⁸ and Clayton,²⁹

While we are convinced that intra-rural migrants contribute to the total agricultural productivity, because, as we concluded earlier, they are at least more educated than the non-migrant and, therefore, more innovating and enterprising, there are prohibiting constraints in terms of Allan's factors indicated above, i.e. the means, the incentive and the will. Lack, for instances, of devotion and dedication to the farming enterprise will reduce such a migrant into an agricultural liability rather than an asset. The problem of divided interests is clearly observed by Ruthenberg when he states:

"Settlers in low density schemes frequently have divided interests: a farm in the former reserve, a shop in a town, a position with the administration, etc. There are so the rumour goes - settlers with several plots. In some schemes not more than 50% of the settlers are assumed to have holdings as their only means of livelihood. The rest

might be considered part-time settlers, employing relatives or labourers to work on their settlement enterprises".³⁰

In summary, intra-rural migration can be an asset to agricultural productivity if migrants are devoted and are also willing to innovate and not only learn, but also adopt new technology. This, of course, must be coupled with supporting appropriate investment such as capital, labour and extension services.

CHAPTER IVASSISTANCE TOWARDS MIGRANT ADJUSTMENT

Now that we have discussed not only the causes of intra-rural migration but also its probable consequences, it is appropriate, we feel, to discuss the forms of assistance that would help a migrant to adjust in the place of destination. Before doing this, however, we need as we did in the first chapter, to point out that we are discussing two types of intra-rural migrants - one to the private non-settlement areas and the other to the settlement schemes. The non-settlement scheme migrant gets information, either directly from a seller or through a friend or a relative, concerning a shamba. Consequently, he makes all the necessary arrangements for purchasing it. The problem of raising the purchase price lies squarely in his hands. As indicated earlier, he does the buying either from his savings; by selling his original shamba, or if he is lucky by making private arrangements with a local bank for a loan. On shifting to the place of destination he starts most everything from scratch: he constructs a hut to live in; if the land is virgin - he clears the bush, ploughs and accordingly, plants the initial crop - all from his own initiative and personal resources. This is probably why his first crop is barely an acre unless if he had more resources coming to his aid during his formative years in the place of destination. The case for the migrant to the settlement scheme is rather different. The news about the

settlement scheme plots is often officially relayed through the locational chief or possibly through the newspapers or the medium of gossip. The intending migrant then applies formally for a plot for which he gets interviewed. If he succeeds he is usually asked to pay a deposit which amounts to a small fraction of the total purchase price. When he shifts to the new shamba certain amount of assistance in the form of a loan comes his way i.e. is given assistance toward the construction of his hut, he is also assisted towards initial shamba ploughing, besides which he is entitled to a grade cattle loan. Roughly speaking this represents the differential situation between the two types of migrants referred to above. We should like to point out, however, that our main objective is not just that of pointing out the nature of adjustment assistance existing when a migrant shifted but more so what should exist to enable a migrant adjust so that his socio-economic contribution to the place of destination is significant. Our discussion format, thus, is made up of a statement on the existing situation, followed by a proposal towards an improved situation. Our discussion topics include among others: the fate of an intra-rural migrant; extension education; credit facilities; marketing facilities, provision of welfare services; and migrant selection.

4.1 THE FATE OF AN INTRA-RURAL MIGRANT

As we indicated earlier, the act of migrating has two possibilities: it can be worse in the sense that none of the migrants' expectations are fulfilled and that instead the

situation is worse than before or, it can be for better in the sense that the migrant's original decision to migrate, evaluated in relation to the fulfilment of his objective in the place of destination, is satisfactory.

Our discussion on the fate of an intra-rural migrant is based on Chamber's ideas on the major issues of settlement adaptation.¹ This applies whether a shift is to the settlement scheme or to non-settlement area. Thus for example some migrants decide to move into unbroken area where there may be not only unknown hazards but a place where crops may not grow. In this regard we cited in the preceding chapter a case of the migrant who, before migration was growing coffee but after migration he found that he could not grow coffee since he had now shifted to a non-coffee growing zone. Arising from the assumption we made in the last chapter regarding the migrant's receptivity to new ideas the area of destination would pose new challenges and uncertainties to the migrant. It means that a determined migrant to exploit agricultural possibilities will have no choice but to accept also an unfamiliar agricultural process. Acceptance of such a new process also implies uncertain gains to be derived besides which unexpected demand for increased labour will become apparent. In the case of the settlement scheme migrant they will have to submit to "what appears to be and sometimes have been unnecessary controls imposed by an arbitrary and distant authority". Again, settlement scheme migrants are faced with the idea of having to accept a large and imperfectly understood debt which may be

felt as a great burden. This is usually in the form of the prescribed loans for development. This appears to imply a surrender of freedom to the loaner. Migration would also presuppose the difficulty of having to construct new houses or huts in an unfamiliar spatial relationship to one's relatives and former associations. It means also eating strange food and drinking strange water. For some it may mean the inability to emerge beyond subsistence level to be able even only to pay back their loans.²

With this brief background on the probable settlement adaptation problems we can now proceed to discuss those aspects of adjustment assistance which are not only necessary but which will help a migrant farmer to realize his major goals as pointed out earlier.

4.2 ACCESSIBILITY TO EXTENSION EDUCATION

In order to show some of the accessibility difficulties to extension education which a migrant would encounter, we shall first explore the general structural organisation of agricultural extension agents in our sample study area. We would further like to limit this to Bungoma District as a case study. The extension workers in this district can be categorized under administrative areas in which they operate. i.e. district, division, location and sub-location. Their respective titles are as follows: agricultural officer (district), assistant agricultural and animal health assistants (location)

and junior agricultural and animal health assistants (sublocation). According to the Bungoma District Annual Report,³ there were seven officers at the district level nine at the division level and a total of a hundred and sixty four assistants at locational and sub-locational levels. A breakdown of various portfolios held are indicated in Table 28 - 31 below:

Table 28: Agricultural Portfolios at the District Level

Status	Number
District Agricultural Officer i/c	1
District Veterinary Officer	1
District Farm Management Officer	1
District Crops Officer	1
District Animal Husbandry Officer	1
District Home Economics and Training Officer	1
District Cotton Officer	1
TOTAL	7

TABLE 29: Assistant Agricultural Officers at Divisional Level

Status	Number
Assistant Agricultural Officer	3
Livestock Officer	2
Mechanization Extension Officer	1
Pyrethrum Extension Officer	1
Settlement Scheme Officer	2
TOTAL	9

The case regarding the junior staff is an interesting one not only from the point of view of their large numbers but also their actual responsibilities. As of 1972 the numerical breakdown of these assistants were: 58 Agricultural Assistants, 11 Animal Health Assistants, 70 Junior Agricultural Assistants and; 35 Junior Animal Health Assistants. The breakdown is exemplified in Tables 30 and 31 on the basis of each administrative division.⁴

Table 30: Number of Agricultural and Animal Health Assistants on Divisional Basis

Division	No. of J.A.A.'s	No. of J.A.H.A.'s
Kimilili	39	11
Kavujai	27	10
Tongaren*	4	-
Headquarters	-	4
TOTAL	70	25

* Settlement Scheme

The foregoing information as indicated earlier represents the structural organisation of agricultural extension agents in Bungoma District. It is well known that, as regards the function of each agent, the junior staff are the ones who are in constant touch with the farmers at the grass-root level. So, while the senior district officers are involved in administrative matters their juniors at the grassroots level are performing the actual extension chores. There are, in fact

various assignments for assistants and junior assistants in terms of the various aspects of agriculture as a whole, i.e. Tea Coffee, Cotton, Farm Management, Home Economics, 4-K Clubs, Animal Husbandry, Artificial Insemination, Animal Health, Pyrethrum and general Agriculture. In Bungoma district the distribution of the junior staff to the various aspects of agriculture as enumerated above is further exemplified in Table 31 below.⁵

Table 31: Distribution of Assistants and Junior Assistants by Function

Function	A.A.'s	A.H.A's	J.A.A.'s	J.A.H.A.'s
Tea			1	
Cotton	5		4	
Coffee	2		16	
Farm Management	5		8	
Home Economics	4		2	
4 K-Clubs	3		-	
Animal Husbandry	8		11	
A.I.		2		
Animal Health		9		25
Pyrethrum	1		1	
General Agriculture	30		37	
TOTAL	58	11	70	25

It is clear from Table 31 that the animal health aspect is understaffed and this, according to the Bungoma Agricultural Report, is "too inadequate to give proper service to the farmers". Although we are not able to suggest the optimum ratio between the extension agent and the population, our observation

and analysis show that the average number of population per both Technical* Assistant and Junior Technical Assistant is far too unbalanced. Thus for example, there is an average of approximately 5,153 people per one Technical Assistant and 3,794 per one Junior Technical Assistant in the whole district. This information is elucidated further in Table 32 and 33. It may be seen from Table 32 that the distribution of the Technical Assistants is closely related to population density per division, However, the relationship between Tongaren division in staff terms with other divisions is obviously unbalanced.

Table 32: The Relationship between Number of Technical Assistants and the Divisional Population in Bungoma District (1972)

Division	Population	Number of Technical Assistants	Population per Technical Assistant
Kimilili	152,707	27	5,656
Kavujai	147,581	21	7,028
Tongaren	47,938	19	2,365
TOTAL	345,226	67	5,153

This means that Tongaren division with an approximate population of 47,938 has the smallest number of people per Technical Extension Assistant compared with both Kimilili and Kavujai, i.e. 2,365 as against 5,656 and 7,028 people. Since Tongaren represents the Bungoma Settlement Schemes it appears

that staffing in Settlement Schemes is much better than in non-settlement areas. On the other hand the situation regarding the Junior Technical Assistants is the reverse. Whereas Tongaren has the fewest people per one Technical Assistant the number of people per Junior Technical Assistant is the highest i.e. 11,234 as against Kimilili with 3,054 and Kavujai with 3,989.

Apart from the question related to the agent: population ratio, we also found that each Technical Assistant and Junior Technical Assistant had at least an average of 18 square kilometers in which to operate. We were interested in the area coverage per agent because this was related to the question of transportation and the ability for each grass-root agent to cater for needy farmers throughout his area of operation.

Our conclusion emanating from the discussion concerning the structural organisation of the agricultural extension is that the ratio between the population and the extension workers is not even and that since each extension worker has such a large area to cover, it is unlikely that the needs of most farmers in this area are well taken care of.

Table 33: The Relationship between the Number of Junior Technical Assistants and the Divisional Population in Bungoma District (1972)

Division	Population	Number of Junior Technical Assistants	Population per Junior Technical Assistants
Kimilili	152,707	50	3,054
Kavujai	147,581	37	3,989
Tongaren*	44,938	4	11,234
TOTAL	345,226	91	3,794

What we have tried to do by way of discussing the structural organisation of the extension service is to point out the staff-shortage constraints. To realize, nevertheless, that even with adequate staff having an optimum number of farmers under the supervision of one extension agent, there are other significant constraints that must be overcome. Thus, for example, Muriithi suggested that lack of coordination could be a barrier to effective extension education.⁶ In his own words:

"In order that knowledge can get down to the farmer and so that the farmer can communicate readily with officers of the extension service there is a great need for coordination of all efforts at district level."

Extension effectiveness could also be hampered by in-approachability by some field workers. These workers or agents should be willing not only to approach farmers but also to be approached by anybody they come across in the cause of their duties. Closely related to the problem of approachability is the extension methodology itself. If, for instance, the job of the extension men is to change the farmer's behaviour or practice, then the variable which influence the farmer's behaviour such as: his values, beliefs and attitudes, his socialisation and his membership reference group must be borne in mind.⁷ This is because the facts which are communicated may simply not be "recognised as pertinent to the attitudes they are intended to change". In regard to values and beliefs Tully further suggests:⁸

"We need to know under what conditions 'felt' needs and 'real' needs are really different and under what conditions are they due to differing definitions of causes and solutions? When is the difference due to differences in priorities, goals, evaluation of resources, not only money but of land, labour and energy?"

Having so far proposed that the extent to which rural people are subjected to extension knowledge through the media of meetings, demonstrations, bulletins, news stories, radio talks, personal visits and other teaching methods, determines their acceptance of recommended practices, we can now discuss

briefly the extent to which intra-rural migrant adjustment is influenced or catered for by extension education.

In order to find out how migrants were assisted to adjust soon after migration took place, we asked them to state, specifically the source of extension service assistance which they received in the place of destination. Consequently a number of extension disciplines were mentioned. These included among others, agriculture, health and community development. We went further by asking the migrants to indicate those disciplines from which they felt they derived more assistance. We obtained the answers as indicated in Table 34:

Table 34: Source of Extension Education Assistance
According to the Migrants

Source	% of Respondents
Agricultural Assistant	58
Community Development Assistant	7
Health Assistant	5
Others	30

It is apparent, according to Table 34, that most migrants found the agricultural assistant more helpful than other extension workers. This did also point to the categorical popularity of the department of Agriculture as far as intra-rural migration is concerned. Although it is not explicit why agricultural extension service is ranked highest among

other extension disciplines it must be due to not only personal contacts which the agricultural assistants make with the rural people as a whole but also their specific duties discharged. These duties include among others: advice on crops, soil conservation, water supplies, land consolidation, farm planning, issuing of planting materials such as seeds and also advise on the use of fertilisers.

The question regarding migrant extension education adjustment is still a difficult one to answer. This is because there are three conditions to be satisfied in order to arrive at any authentic conclusion as to whether or not migrants do receive enough extension education to help them in their adjustment efforts. The first of these is that even in the presence of abundant extension education, the fact still remains that the initiative and the will to utilize such a service is essentially the responsibility of the migrant - as the saying goes, "one can take the horse to the water but one cannot make him drink". The second condition has a lot to do with the extension service itself. If the service is either inadequate or inefficient it will not provide the essential adjustment service required even if the migrants were willing and eager for such education. The third condition is closely related to the question of special arrangements or catering for the extension education needs of the migrants.

As regards the first condition we found that most migrants were willing and eager to learn new knowledge and

techniques in order to cope with their newly acquired shambas which were relatively larger than the previous ones. This group comprised 89% of our interviewed migrants and they were eagerly determined to improve their shambas. In our opinion the rest, that is, 11% represented a group of migrants who must be persuaded hard in order to adopt better agricultural practices, in other words, they have to be approached by the extension agents more so than vice versa. But for those who were eager to learn, was the extension service adequate and efficient? This question leads us to the second condition - the nature of the extension service. As we have already pointed out it is obvious that the number of people to be served by one extension worker is rather too high. One extension worker, operating in an area of approximately 18 square kilometers must work extremely hard in order to be able to meet the needs of up to about 5,000 farmers. It will, of course, depend on the type of transport such an agent would be using, too, i.e. motor-bicycle, bicycle or landrover. Apart from inadequacy we also pointed out the problem of sheer inefficiency of the extension staff probably arising from inadequate training in some aspects of communication or transmission of ideas. To be more specific, the extension staff was mainly efficient in one of the two major phases of extension i.e. the technical aspect, but not in the social aspect. The two aspects are clearly elucidated by Yang who states:⁹

"The two phases of rural extension are inter-related: the first phase depends on technical knowledge and skills to handle the tangible and material aspects and, the second one being concerned with the motivation of the people is social in character and calls for other kinds of training and qualification for which extension workers would find them increasingly in need".

Yang suggests further that:

"It is largely on the adequate knowledge about the people and their reactions to new ideas and new practices that the education designed to achieve the adoption of practices generally depends. But training of extension workers up till now has not given sufficient emphasis on this point."

What we are saying regarding the second condition is that it is difficult to ensure migrant extension adjustment in the presence of both inadequate and partially inefficient extension staff.

Regarding our final condition - special extension arrangements for intra-rural migrants, we found that this was being done only for the settlement scheme migrants at about half capacity of inadequate staffing as alluded to earlier.

As for the non-settlement scheme migrants we found virtually no special arrangements. This category of rural migrants were supposed to fit into the existing scheme of agricultural extension since their migrational activities were strictly personal and private. Those without initiative, therefore, simply transferred more or less their traditional agricultural technology and practices to the place of destination.

On the basis of the foregoing discussion how could the intra-rural migrants benefit in terms of extension education especially, during their formative period in the place of destination? We should like to suggest the following:-

- (a) That rural migrants to non-settlement area should at least report to the extension workers in the place of destination. This should help the extension agent to offer special extension help to the migrant.
- (b) General increase in the number of extension personnel especially at the level of Technical and Junior Technical Assistants would not only be to the advantage of all farmers but especially to the rural migrants.
- (c) Extension workers should endeavour to be more proficient in their communication skills so as to assist the poorly motivated migrants referred to earlier.

4.3 CREDIT FACILITIES

The question of the existence of credit facilities for migrant adjustment is a very important one because of a number of reasons. One is that those migrants who dispose of their financial and capital resources in the original place in order to afford land elsewhere have usually little else left in the form of investment resources in the place of destination. The second reason is that even for those who manage to migrate with little capital savings it is hardly sufficient to cope with the exigencies of the new shamba which is relatively larger than the previous one. What we plan to do, therefore, is to examine the question of small-holder credit in three ways, namely: the context in which we use the term credit here, the scope of credit facilities, prevailing conditions for credit eligibility and, how an intra-rural migrant fits in the existing scheme of credit facilities.

The context in which we are using the term credit is closely related to the concept of lending goods or services without immediate return against the promise of a future payment. According to Firth,¹⁰ credit involves an obligation by the borrower to make a return and confidence by the lender in the borrower's good faith and ability to repay. Firth suggests further that:

"The return may be the same article or service as lent, or a different one. It may be equivalent in value to the loan or

augmented in value above the loan (i.e. with interest). The augmentation may be voluntary or prescribed, and it may be proportionate or not to the amount of time for which the object lent has been held. The repayment may be contractual and enforceable at law or it may have no legal backing but be socially binding".

On the basis of Firth's explication it can be said, therefore that borrowing has two facets, the first is that people borrow because they would like to invest for production purposes. It has been argued that borrowing of this nature is more easily repaid especially if it is committed to productive investment. The second facet of borrowing is primarily for consumption rather than investment objective i.e. to meet the cost of a funeral or perhaps a marriage. In this case repayment could be rather problematic unless if borrowers have other income sources which had been only temporarily depleted.

Although certain aspects of consumption borrowing are capable of inducing productive investment, indirectly, we are particularly interested in the latter type of borrowing since, as we tried to establish earlier, increased agricultural productivity is one of the major migrational motives. This is because agricultural productivity or for that matter agricultural profitability depends a great deal on substantial investment which tends to be rather scarce among many small-holders and which therefore calls for the need for loanable resources in order to realize such objectives.

The case for credit programmes, therefore, becomes quite strong especially in terms of the following reasons:¹¹

- (i) It is felt that credit would enable small-holders with limited financial resources to undertake farm development that they would otherwise be unable to undertake.
- (ii) That it would increase the amount of capital used on small-holdings.
- (iii) That it would lead to faster rate of adoption of farm innovations.
- (iv) That it would generate increased incomes for small-holders who as a group are at the lower end of the income distribution scale.

The fact that there is significant support in favour of small-holder credit raises the question about the availability of credit arrangements at the disposal of small-holders. As far as we know there are many possible credit channels or facilities in Kenya at present. The question regarding distribution of such facilities in most rural areas is of course beyond the scope of this study. It is, however, quite true that these facilities are not evenly distributed throughout the rural Kenya. At

any rate the well-known forms or credit facilities include:¹²
 Commercial Banks; the Agricultural Finance Corporation,
 the Cooperative Societies and Unions, private traders, and
 friends and relatives. Other lenders include District
 Councils, Kenya Tea Development Authority, the Pyrethrum
 Board, the Cotton Lint and Seed Marketing Board, the
 Settlement Trustees and the I.D.A.¹³

Prevailing Conditions for Credit Eligibility

A deeper examination of the terms for lending to those who need credit reveals that only a few people become, in the last analysis, eligible for such loans. We shall examine the position regarding the three lending institutions, namely, Commercial Banks, the Agricultural Finance Corporation and the Cooperative Production Credit Scheme. Take commercial banks for instance. These usually insist on some previous connection with the bank either in the form of a savings account or a current account and they prefer to lend to people with regular sources of non-farm income.¹⁴ The A.F.C. through the M.F.R. programmes on the other hand insists on the two, somewhat discriminatory conditions as stipulated earlier, namely, a minimum of six hectares under cultivation and only for the crops of maize and wheat. Eligibility for cooperative Production Credit Scheme is based on the following terms:-¹⁵

- (i) The member must be at least 21 years old;
- (ii) The member must have been a member of the society for not less than three years;
- (iii) The member must have marketed produce through the society for each of the three years preceding his application for credit;
- (iv) The member; (a) must be the owner or recognized holder of the shamba he cultivates, or (b) must obtain the agreement of the owner of the shamba he cultivates to act as a guarantor;
- (v) The member must agree to have included in the loan for which he is applying any of his debts due the society which will not be covered by the next payout due to him.
- (vi) The member must be considered honest, hardworking and trustworthy by the Managing Committee of the society.

It is quite plain, thus, that the credit eligibility terms are not only differential, but they do also tend to be discriminatory. In the words of Heyer, for example¹⁶

"The criteria in use at the moment appear to be some notion of creditworthiness, some notion as to the viability of the investment and some ability to provide security. Loans are more likely to be given to people with regular off-farm incomes, they are more likely to be given to people with established reputations as good farmers as men of integrity they are more likely to be given to people who have ample resources to carry investments through. The criteria clearly favour the farmers who are relatively well off, the farmers who only farm part-time, the farmers who have adequate resources already".

The Rural Migrant and the Existing Credit Facilities

Now that we have described the position regarding the existing credit facilities in rural areas it is appropriate to come back to the major question of migrant adjustment via credit availability. On the basis of our observation and of the preceding discussion, a rural migrant's access to the available credit facilities is very minimal. This is because most of the eligibility conditions are not in favour of a migrant and in particular, the private or non-settlement scheme migrant. It is clear that it would probably take some three years before a non-settlement scheme migrant is able to establish his creditworthiness which means that during his

formative period, a time which certainly requires substantial help, a rural migrant will be virtually handicapped.

Consider, for example, the lending conditions by the commercial banks, i.e. previous connection with the bank and regular sources of off-farm income. Virtually no migrant may have had connection with a commercial bank in the place of destination. As regards non-farm income, only a small number of rural migrants, according to our earlier analysis, had regular employment and therefore, regular income. This means that a commercial bank is of little use in terms of investment credit to a migrant during his initial adjustment period. The A.F.C. does also present credit problem to a rural migrant. Thus for example, when such loans are only restricted to maize and wheat, what happens if the climate and soil types in the place of destination do not favour the stipulated crops? Obviously this means no credit for alternative crop which would be viable in the migrants' place of destination. Again the M.F.R.'s insistence on the six hectare crop under cultivation will most likely disqualify a new migrant with limited resources. Or consider the C.P.C.'s terms as enumerated above especially numbers ii - iv. The migrant is clearly left out. Even the settlement scheme migrant is also affected by these conditions.

All in all the migrant's creditworthiness cannot be established soon enough as such he could not even borrow from the traders because he is not known, neither can we say that he could borrow from friends because it takes some time before

one can impress his integrity to the newly formed friendships.

Our conclusion therefore, is that apart from the special credit adjustment rendered to the settlement scheme migrants, there is virtually none to the many other silent migrants in our rural areas. For this reason we would venture to suggest the following measures as an attempt towards the credit adjustment help especially for the private - non-settlement migrants.

- (i) Certain conditions for lending such as previous connection with commercial banks and regular non-farm incomes should be waived and replaced by more favourable conditions for the migrant. We suggest that migrants should carry with them their testimonials regarding their agricultural experiences and performance in the place of origin and that this should count in favour of eligibility to the available credit.
- (ii) As in the case of extension adjustment we suggest that a machinery should exist to which migrants' presence in the new area could be reported in order to afford them special help.
- (iii) The M.F.R. confinement to maize and wheat should also be waived so that a migrant might invest in alternative crops or farm produce which are viable in his particular area. The six hectare

minimum for M.F.R. should also be reconsidered especially in favour of the migrant's adjustment in their formative period.

- (iv) The eligibility conditions to the Cooperative Production Credit Scheme do not make much sense in the case of a migrant. The migrant eligibility in this case, should be determined by the testimonials from the extension agents in the place of origin as suggested in number (i) above.

4.4(a) Nature of the Existing Marketing Facilities

Throughout Kenya, the marketing of various agricultural products particularly crops, is under the auspices of many organisations. Thus, for example, the crops of maize, wheat, beans, sunflower and castor oil are taken care by the Maize and Produce Board and the Kenya Farmer's Association (only Maize and Wheat). Malting Barley is the responsibility of the Kenya Breweries while Seed Maize, Legume seed and sunflower come under the Kenya Seed Company. On the other hand, pyrethrum extract is the responsibility of the Pyrethrum Marketing Board. Cooperative Societies have marketing responsibilities for coffee, tea, pyrethrum and sugar. Tea is also under the auspices of the Kenya Tea Development Authority. Horticultural produce including onions are marketed by the Horticultural Cooperative Union while cotton seeds are under the marketship of the Cotton Lint and Seed Marketing Board.

Crops which do not seem to be fully catered for marketwise and which were cultivated by some of the people in our field study area include bananas and potatoes. These two crops, according to Jones,¹⁷ present examples of inadequate demand, or perhaps of demand not large enough to permit efficient marketing from dispersed supply areas.

It will suffice, for the purpose of this paper, to describe the present organisation of one of the marketing machineries listed above, namely the Maize Marketing Board which deals with the marketing of maize - a major crop in the whole country, and in particular, in our field study area.

In conformity with the provision in the Maize Marketing Act, therefore, the following agents are in operation throughout the country for the purposes of buying, storing and disposal of maize and the handling of maize for export:¹⁸

- (a) The Western Kenya Marketing Board operates in Nyanza and Western Province;
- (b) The Kenya Farmers' Association (Co-operative) Limited, in respect of the Rift Valley Province;
- (c) The Kenya Agricultural Produce Marketing Board in respect of the Central, Eastern and Coast Province;
- (d) The Kenya Farmers Association (Cooperative) Limited, Mombasa branch, in respect of the Board's functions in relation to the export and import of maize.

- (e) M.D. Puri & Sons Limited at Konza;
- (f) Shah Vershi Devshi and Co., at Thika;
- (g) D.H. Patel at Elburgon.

We need to point out that the first three named agents are empowered to appoint such "number of sub-agents as they may deem necessary to act on their behalf". The last three named, on the other hand, are merely stockist agents. As pointed out above the area of operation in respect to each agent is also defined in the certificate of appointment. The same procedure is applicable to sub-agents as well.

There is no doubt that, in accordance with the Maize Marketing facilities, the majority of maize producers have many chances of selling their crop if they so wish. However, the important point to remember is that every commercial producer usually expects high returns to his investment and the maize producers are no exception. So that along side the availability of marketing facilities, prices must also be attractive in order to encourage greater efforts on the part of the farmers. Indeed the relative price of maize is the most important factor determining the volume of domestic production.¹⁹ Maize producer returns have so far not exceeded shs. 35/- per bag of 200 lb in spite of the rising production costs. Although such producer prices are guaranteed for both larger and small-holder farmers, the actual prices to the latter are considerably less because processing costs, i.e. transportation, handling, storage, traders' commissions are deducted out of the price.²⁰ Thus,

for example, although the 1963 producer price for maize was shs. 32.50 per bag, it was quite low compared with the consumer prices which was as high as shs. 50/- per bag of maize flour,²¹ As already pointed out this sort of problem can discourage increased production of the crop as one of the Provincial Agricultural Reports states on the diminishing crop of onion:²²

"The onion acreage has been dwindling with time; mainly due to poor handling and marketing of the crop. Last year, the growers were completely discouraged when they made almost nil return from their consignments which were delivered to Horticultural Cooperative Union in Nairobi".

It is true, thus, that there are any number of problems besetting the agricultural marketing system in Kenya. Strictly speaking, however, these marketing systems, are not performing badly in terms of the roles they are expected to play.²³

4.4(b) The Role of Marketing Facilities in Migrants Adjustment

We should like to point out from the outset that the question of Marketing Facilities and their availability is an essential factor in migrant adjustment. However, since such facilities are open to all farmers with little or no chances of discrimination or differential treatment, one cannot state, categorically, if there is any special case for a rural migrant. This is because once a migrant's crop is ready for marketing

he will have the same kind of marketing problems and opportunities like anybody else in the locality. Because we have already indicated that there are adequate marketing facilities in most parts of Kenya, it follows that most intra-rural migrants can expect reasonable adjustment in this particular area notwithstanding the general problems which affect every farmer related to transportation, storage, information and prices as indicated earlier. This is not, of course, to say that peculiar problems, however slight, do not exist among rural migrants in so far as marketing problems are concerned. One of the major problems among the intra-rural migrants is probably not so much the availability of marketing facilities as the absence of easily grown and marketable crops i.e. crops with high demand. Naturally a migrant who is commercially motivated, would be inclined to think of producing a crop not only with fast maturation rate but one which is in great demand. Migrants are also in difficulties when as it happens often, the selling of a crop is delayed due to inadequate storage space as it happened with maize in Bungoma in 1973. Such a delay would mean serious financial constraints to a migrant since he needs more money for many purposes i.e. for further farm investment, for building houses, for paying children's fees, especially in his formative years.

With regard to migrant adjustment, therefore, the most significant point is related to an efficient marketing system which is free of transportation and storage problems and which has a clear system of price and market-place information.

Migrants would particularly benefit from a good marketing information system. On the whole, general improvement in the entire marketing system will, according to our observation, aid greatly in migrant adjustment in their places of destination. Such deliberate improvement would include among others, the following suggestions:-²⁴

- (i) Establishment of public market news service reporting through newspapers and over radio could make a significant contribution to effective marketing at moderate cost.
- (ii) A special effort should be made to estimate the magnitude of saleable stocks normally held by farmers, and to devise incentives that will encourage farmers to move a larger part of their stocks into commercial channels shortly after harvest.
- (iii) Special attention should be given to maintaining transport facilities from the major supply areas and to reducing their costs.
- (iv) Major supply areas should be studied to determine the desirability of developing selected markets as major rural bulking centres.

4.5 WELFARE SERVICES AND MIGRANT ADJUSTMENT

The term "welfare services" is used here to refer to the activities which are rendered in the form of public services for the benefit of individuals as well as groups of people. Such services are supposed to be under the auspices of private individuals, governmental or non-governmental agency, and they range from access roads, on the one hand to schools and social halls on the other hand. In the context of this paper provision of welfare services or for that matter the existence of such services in the migrant's place of destination could be of great assistance in terms of his early adjustment. Consider, for example, the role played by access roads, schools (including nursery schools), social halls, playing grounds (soccer pitches), shops, housing, health centres. It is obvious that in the absence of access roads a rural migrant could not transport his initial produce to the markets for sale. Even when roads become impassable unnecessary delays will be caused to the disadvantage of a migrant. In the words of Harbeson:²⁵

"Delays are caused by the frequent impassability of roads. Such difficulties frequently diminish or eliminate the settlers' profit with predictable effect upon incentive".

Besides road necessity for marketing agricultural produce, it would also enable the migrants to transport their sick to the nearby health centres. The availability of appropriate

school would also help the migrant to concentrate on other chores rather than worrying about his children's education. On the other hand a social hall or a playing ground would provide a forum in which a migrant would get to know and socialize with his new neighbours. This would facilitate faster familiarisation of the new neighbourhood so that the migrant could adjust accordingly. The provision store in the area could also save the migrant the problem of travelling long distances in order to buy his household needs such as paraffin, matches, etc. The question of a health centre or for that matter a medical facility in the migrant's locality is just as important as the school. Perhaps the most important of these facilities is a dwelling place or a house. When migration takes place the previous house is usually left in the place of origin. The place of destination has usually no house and, therefore, the onus of constructing a new one becomes the immediate responsibility for the migrant. All these facilities, we believe, can have tremendous adjustment effect on the migrant. The absence of most or any of these facilities could make the initial migrant's life in the place of destination rather unpleasant and in some cases could lead to "reverse" migration.

In order to verify the degree of adjustment assistance in terms of welfare services we asked the migrants to indicate existence of some of the welfare services stipulated above on the basis of a two time dichotomy - that is, the available facilities on arrival by the migrants in the place of destination and at the time of our interview. Although we are aware of the weakness

in this analysis due to the variable arrival periods by the migrants, we found interesting trends as illustrated in Table 35.

Table 35: Available Welfare Services at Moving and
During Interview

Services	% of Respondents	
	Time of Moving	Time of Interview
School (primary)	67	90
Health Centre	46	46
Nursery School	30	72
Other	1	8

During the shifting time only 67% of the interviewees found existing schools in their new places which meant that about 33% did not find nearby schools in their places of destination. However, the situation had changed significantly at the time of the interview: 90% of the respondents now enjoyed the proximity of a school. The position regarding health centres remained the same, i.e. at 46% who had a nearby medical facility. We also noticed a significant change in the number of nursery schools in the two time periods, i.e. from 30% to 72%. On the other hand one could not suggest preferential provision of such services to non-settlement migrants since such services are meant for all the people in the area.²⁷ Suffice it to say, all forms of welfare services such as those indicated above should be made available especially to the new migrants in

the settlement scheme. The private, non-settlement schemes migrants would be well advised to shift to places which are already well covered by essential welfare services.

4.6 MIGRANT SELECTION AS A FORM OF ADJUSTMENT ASSISTANCE

Generally speaking, the question of migrant selection is mainly applicable to the settlement scheme migrants. It does not seem to apply equally to the private migrants. It is quite possible for those who interview applicants for the settlement scheme plots to select, on the basis of a given criterion, the ones most suited for the settlement objectives as well as to the settlement scheme conditions. But it is not equally possible to do the same for the private migrants who may not announce their intentions to shift. We can, therefore, consider the question of selection vis-a-vis adjustment on the basis of two categories namely:-

- (a) The creation of awareness on the part of the intending migrants regarding the actual conditions in the aspired place of destination including all the available adjustment facilities such as credit and marketing etc.
- (b) A deliberate selection based on agricultural experience, devotion and the ability to raise development capital.

4.6(a) Simulation of the Situation in the Place of Destination

We believe that if conditions regarding the place of destination were made manifest to the intending migrants, it would be possible not only to weed out those who might find it impossible to adjust, but it would also be preparatory for the ones who would definitely move in terms of the necessary adjustment. Further more such persons would be helped in terms of taking decisions for or against shifting. This sort of exercise should be conducted in the form of systematic orientation for all intending migrants preferably at an adult education centre. It is not within the scope of this paper to suggest detailed content of the orientation programme. However, such a programme should include a survey regarding the general conditions of the place of origin including all the available facilities and opportunities. This then should be contrasted with the conditions in the place of destination such as soil types, types of crops grown, marketing and cooperative facilities and, especially for the settlement scheme migrants the question of credit facilities and the terms for obtaining it. Emphasis should be placed not only on the use of credit facilities but also on the question of productivity and profitability and how these should be achieved.

An argument might be posed regarding the difficulty of getting the private migrants into the orientation net. To avoid this problem we suggest that the orientation programmes for intending migrants should become part and parcel of

agricultural extension activities entitled to as much publicity through Chiefs' Barazas as possible. In the long run this exercise should lead into a situation in which potential migrants will seek advice from extension agents in their respective areas.

4.6(a) Selection on the Basis of Objective Criteria

.....
 This form of selection applies exclusively to the settlement schemes migrants and it does, therefore, depend largely on settlement objectives. Settlement objectives include among others, the following:-²⁸

- (i) Regroupment of farmers in the same area;
- (ii) For the development of distant unoccupied localities;
- (iii) For school leavers;
- (iv) For urban unemployed;
- (v) For Ex-servicemen or for refugees.

Whatever the objectives, however, selection of migrants is an important consideration if contribution to the total agricultural economy is to be expected. According to Ellman,²⁹ Sabry,³⁰ and Micnerney,³¹ "selection of settlers is important because with unsuitable settlers even the most attractive scheme would be bound to flounder".

A number of studies on migrant selection have advanced interesting suggestions. Thus, for example, Ellman proposed

that it is imperative that settlers be farming people. He argued that town people were incapable of making good farmers and that settlement schemes were, therefore, no answer to unemployment and over-crowding in towns. On the other hand Mcinerney suggested that selection should favour young men of ambition and initiative with a genuine desire to enter agriculture and progress beyond the level of their initial holding. In most cases, criteria for selection is centered around personal, educational, professional, financial and experience considerations. In Chile, Ethiopia and Iraq emphasis is placed on personal characteristics such as age, interest, good character, and health. Priority is given to young candidates.³² Educational or training aspects were given foremost importance in Nigeria and Madagascar. In Nigeria, for instance settler candidates had first to undergo a two year course at a farming institute before being given a piece of land of their own. Similarly a one year course was the criterion in the Samangoky project in Madagascar. In Tanzania, on the other hand, the following were the specific recruitment goals:-³³

- (i) Farming experience;
- (ii) Committed to farming as a profession;
- (iii) Receptive to new ideas and methods;
- (iv) Willing to do hard work;
- (v) Married and have children;
- (vi) Previous contact with money economy;
- (vii) Willing to live in a community;
- (viii) 25-40 years of age.

According to Odingo, selection criteria in Kenya is based on unemployment and landlessness plus agricultural knowledge.³⁴ Odingo, however, felt that the Kenya selection criteria are more theoretical than practical and called for re-examination. We do agree with this conclusion particularly because of the fact that some of the settlement scheme migrants we interviewed had obvious difficulties and, in fact, some had actually quit the schemes and returned to their places of origin. This, in part, explains why Sabry as cited earlier, said:-³⁵

"Experience in Africa has shown that most of the government sponsored settlements have faced difficulties and that a large number of these have not only failed in achieving their objectives, but have also cost these governments large sums without achieving any practical purpose".

In view of our conviction that migrant selection is a form of pre-adjustment assistance for migrants, we would like to propose that orientation activities for all migrants be attempted and, if found useful, be adopted eventually; and also we recommend that selection procedure on the basis of personal characteristics be adapted appropriately as criteria for migrant selection in Kenya.

CHAPTER VCONCLUSION

Conclusions which emanate from this study are reflective to the objectives of this project as explained in Chapter 1, namely: (i) to determine the effect of intra-rural migration on the socio-economic conditions of a migrant, and (ii) to contribute to the scanty intra-rural migrational enquiry. On this account we have found it necessary to subsume the following topics: Advantages and disadvantages of intra-rural migration; Problems regarding migrant adjustment; the future of intra-rural migration, and, suggestion in connection with further enquiry into the area of intra-rural migration.

5.1 INTRA-RURAL MIGRATIONAL ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES

As pointed out clearly in chapter three and four, the act of migration can be for worse in the sense that none of the migrants' expectations are fulfilled and that instead the new situation is worse than before. On the other hand it could be for better in the sense that the migrant's original decision to migrate, evaluated in relation to the fulfilment of his objectives in the place of destination, is satisfactory. It is also true that, on a larger scale, intra-rural migration could have either positive or negative implication for a nation or society as a whole.

(a) Advantages: On the basis of the discussion in Chapter Two and Three, we found that one of the major motives in intra-rural migration was economic. Most of the migrants decided to shift because they expected an economic gain in the area of destination. We also found that those who emigrated succeeded in acquiring at least larger shambas than before, i.e. from about 5 acres to 20.20 acres. On this premise, it is clear that economically, intra-rural migration can afford individual migrants, greater opportunities to exploit their farming abilities and ambitions on larger shambas than before they shifted. Since as it was argued earlier that there is broad relationship between farm size, output and profitability, intra-rural migration is bound to raise the economic status of hard working small-holder migrants. With increased acreage per migrant and, consequently, increased labour demand, intra-rural migrants tend to rely more and more on others for work on their shambas since "larger holdings will favour the employment and most probably the exploitations of permanent non-family labour". It is important to point out that intra-rural migration, apart from enabling people to try their farming skills on better soil types, introduces them to new farming technology as well. This could lead to potentially better land and labour utilization due, as pointed out above, to extended opportunities to employ farming skills in a new environment.

It is also a fact that intra-rural migration can lead to the ease in unnecessary population congestion due especially

to the traditional ethnic basis. Apart from this such migration could facilitate the parting of those neighbours who may be at logger-head with each other.

Most of the foregoing advantages do pertain particularly to individual migrants. It should also be significant to state probable societal or national advantages resulting from intra-rural migration. Precisely, national or societal advantages represent the sum total of advantages which accrue to individual migrants. Thus, for example, since our analysis in chapter three shows positive increase in the number of labourers hired per migrant, we cannot help but conclude that intra-rural migration is useful to the society as a whole at least in employment generation aspect. Another useful contribution of intra-rural migration to society is in terms of increased agricultural productivity which should result from increased shamba size. This, coupled with the means, the will and the incentive on the part of each migrant there is no reason to believe that total agricultural growth cannot be realized. If, in the same vain, population congestion can be eased by a voluntary act of a migrant, it is also of no mean advantage to society.

(b) Disadvantages: Forms of constraints which render intra-rural migration disadvantageous to the migrants are stipulated in Chapter four (the fate of an intra-rural migrant). Most of these constraints are largely in the form of individual risks whose consequences cannot be predicted easily. Thus,

for example, a migrant may shift to an area where cash crops cannot grow. Suppose, for example, that before migration, a potential migrant was growing coffee or tea. After migration, however, he found that his area of destination was a non-coffee or tea growing zone. On the premise that mature coffee or tea usually provides a regular income to the farmer it would follow that such a migrant would be at a disadvantage in relation to his previous economic state. Another major problem pertains to development capital. It is a fact that some form of expenditure towards the cost of the new place must be incurred. The purchase price of the new shamba may deplete the major portion of the migrant's resources so that after migration the only possible development funds will be in the form of a loan. In this case the migrant who will resort to a loan may be faced with the idea of having to accept a large and imperfectly understood debt which may be felt as a great burden. Apart from the development capital the migrant will, in most cases, start most everything from scratch. He will need to accept a possible unfamiliar agricultural process besides the problem of constructing a new hut. He will also have to meet the unexpected demand for increased labour. Further, it would mean severing close association with relatives and friends. Quite apart from constraints which are related to finance and relationships there is also a possibility of disrupting the education of one's children in the process of shifting. If, for example, a shift is effected in the middle of the term or year it may be difficult to place children in the schools near the place

of destination. The lack of certain social amenities to which one was used in the place of origin may also be felt, particularly, during the formative years.

As in the case of advantages, a sum total of disadvantages or constraints in the intra-rural migration, may become societal plight. Thus, for instance if most of the risks as feared above become true in the case of the majority of the migrants intra-rural migration could be a liability rather than an asset to the nation. If, for example, most of the migrants who were successfully producing cash crops, moved to a zone which did not favour the growth of such crops their experience and interest in such crops may be lost to society. The crops they have in their places of origin may fall in the hands of inexperienced farmers whose lower productive function may diminish the overall economic gain to the total society. Similarly the development capital advanced to the inefficient and inexperienced small-holders may fail to yield the expected gain to the whole society or nation. Shifts to organised areas such as settlement schemes may presuppose a large government expenditure towards essential amenities. It is also possible that in shifting to "popular" areas, well established social amenities may be under-utilized.

5.2 MIGRANT ADJUSTMENT PROBLEMS

As explained above most rural to rural migrants except those to the settlement schemes are beset with formidable problems in their adjustment efforts. We have seen that their

foremost problem is that of having to start from scratch in the new surroundings. Since starting anew is fraught with such problems as the lack of farm development capital, friends, funds for establishing a new home, agricultural knowledge pertaining to the new area, is likely to render any migrant a liability rather than an asset to the total agricultural economy, we would like to refer to the adjustment suggestions posed in Chapter four. These proposals emanate from the discussion of the following topics: extension education provision, credit facilities, marketing facilities, welfare services and migrant selection.

- (a) That rural migrants to non-settlement areas should at least report to the extension workers in the place of destination. This should help the extension agents to offer special extension assistance to the migrants.
- (b) General increase in the number of extension personnel especially at the level of Technical and Junior Technical Assistants would not only be to the advantage of all farmers but particularly to the rural migrant.
- (c) Extension workers should endeavour to be more proficient in their communication skills so as to assist the poorly motivated migrants referred to earlier.

- (d) Certain conditions for lending development capital such as previous connection with commercial banks and regular non-farm incomes should be waived and replaced by more favourable conditions for migrants.
- (e) The M.F.R. confinement to maize and wheat should also be waived so that a migrant might invest in alternative crops.
- (f) The eligibility conditions to the Cooperative Production Credit Scheme do not make much sense as far as the migrant is concerned. The migrant eligibility, in this case, should be determined by the testimonials from the extension agents in the place of origin.
- (g) "Establishment of public market news service reporting through the mass-media".
- (h) "A special effort should be made to estimate the magnitude of saleable stocks normally held by farmers and to device incentives that will encourage farmers to move a larger part of their stocks into commercial channels shortly after harvest".
- (i) "Special attention should be given to maintaining transport facilities from the major supply areas and to reducing their costs".

- (j) The creation of awareness on the part of the intending migrants regarding the actual conditions in the place of destination including all the available adjustment facilities such as credit and marketing facilities.
- (k) A deliberate selection of intending migrants based on agricultural experience, interest, devotion and the ability to raise development capital.

Needless to say, some of these suggestions might be of use in certain aspects of rural development policies.

5.3 THE FUTURE OF INTRA-RURAL MIGRATION

As discussed in chapter one, the act of migration (Lee) has four facets: the place of origin, place of destination, the intervening process and the migrant himself. We found that numerous factors in different spatial areas either attract or repel people whose personal characteristics can facilitate or weaken the decision to migrate. Further it was stated that the volume of migration depended, inter alia, on the following factors: a high degree of diversity among areas, the diversity of people, fluctuation in the economy and, the state of progress in a country or area. The past trends in intra-rural migration were certainly characterized by these factors and there is no doubt that such factors together with people's migrational propensity still remain. The question still to be answered

however, is related to the degree regarding the volume of future migration. Obviously it is not possible to project with certainty the volume of migration in the future. On the basis of our observation and analysis, however, intra-rural migrational tendencies will certainly continue for a long time to come but most probably on smaller scale than hitherto. As business, land transaction cannot stop completely. Ambitious small-holders will continue to look not only for larger holdings, but also for better soil types and climates. Social misunderstanding among neighbours and relations will also contribute to the intra-rural migrational activities. Even the desire for better socio-economic amenities will count towards migrational tendencies in the rural areas for a long time to come.

5.4 SUGGESTIONS REGARDING FURTHER INTRA-RURAL MIGRATIONAL ENQUIRY

This study reveals the fact that minimal attention has hitherto been given to the study of the consequences of intra-rural migration. Indeed this explains in part, why there is very little information about many unanswered questions. The problem regarding the availability of accurate information concerning migrants, i.e. from where they move, when they moved, where they went, etc, must be solved in order to facilitate an accurate picture concerning the extent of migration in a given locality. This sort of information would, further, facilitate analysis of the probable constraints with which migrants must contend in their adjustment efforts. There is, we believe, one major way out of this impasse: if a register of each household head is maintained on a sub-locational area basis, it might be possible to check on the immigrants

and emigrants. Such a register should include information concerning the place of origin and/or destination and the arrival/departure dates of the migrants. With this sort of inventory it would become easier for researchers to trace any migrants, besides which, probability sampling would be more possible than otherwise. Without the register system population changes caused by migration only become apparent after population census has taken place, and since national population census is not a frequent phenomenon, migrational researchers would not benefit much by it, especially, in the short-run.

The lack of migrational data is coupled with the lack of economic statistics regarding the individual farm performance. Thus, for example, in order to assess and determine the farm income changes of a particular migrant in a particular locality, it is essential that one is able to come by reliable statistics of incomes so that incomes before migration took place could be compared with those after migration. It is an unfortunate fact that attempts towards such an inventory of information have in the past been limited only to the large scale farms in the former White Highlands. This is a partial explanation why income changes among migrants have been estimated in this thesis. Incomes inventory would facilitate policies related to the question of migration in rural development. The need for extending this approach to other economic factors such as employment, agricultural productivity including capital farm investment records needs no further emphasis.

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APPENDIX 'A'

QUESTIONNAIRES USED IN THE FIELD STUDY

DATE OF INTERVIEW:

TIME: Begin

End

PLACE	<u>District</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>S/Location</u>	<u>Scheme</u>	<u>Code No.</u>
.....
.....

SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF INTRA-RURAL MIGRATIONS

SECTION A

Respondents:	Migrants:	Name:		
<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Wives</u>	<u>No. of Children</u>	<u>Brothers</u>		
.....		
.....		

I. THE EXTENT OF MIGRATION:

Q.1 Do you own this Shamba? Yes No

Q.2 If NOT who owns it? Name Now lives at

Q.3 When did you start living here?

<u>Long ago</u>	<u>Recently</u>	<u>Don't remember</u>	<u>Specify</u>
.....

Q.4 Where did you live before coming here? State

<u>District</u>	<u>Location</u>	<u>S/Location</u>
.....

Q.5 Did you come directly from your shamba? Yes No

.....

Q.6 How many times have you changed homes since you first got married?

<u>Once</u>	<u>Twice</u>	<u>Thrice</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>Specify</u>
.....	<u>Other</u>
.....

Q.7 How many people do you know who have also moved from their old area?

<u>One</u>	<u>Two</u>	<u>Three</u>	<u>Four</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>Specify</u>
.....

Q.8 How did you learn about this place?

- ... Friends
- ... Chief
- ... Press
- ... Agricultural Officer
- Specify other

Q.9 When did you learn about this place?

- ... Long before I acquired it
- ... Just before I acquired it
- Don't remember

Q.10 Do you intend to stay here the rest of your working life?

- | | |
|------------|-----------|
| <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> |
| | |

Q.11 If NO where would you rather go?

- ... Back to my old area
- ... Don't know
- ... Specify other

Q.12 Where do people go if they decide to shift?

- Back to the old area
- To settlement schemes
- Don't know
- Specify other

II. PROBABLE MIGRATIONAL REASONS

Q.13 Why did you leave your original piece of land?

- Was too small
- Was infertile
- Did not like my neighbours
- Did not like relatives
- No dispensary nearby
- No water nearby
- No market nearby
- Tired living in same place
- No school nearby
- Specify other

III. SOCIO-ECONOMIC FACTORS

PREVIOUS

PRESENT

Q.14(a) How big was your piece of land?

Q.14(b) How big is your land now?

- Don't know
- Specify acreage or hectares
-

- Don't know
- Specify acreage or hectares
-

Q.15(a) What happened to your old piece of land?

Q.15(b) How did you obtain present piece of land?

- ... Sold it for.....
- ... Gave it to relatives
- ... Still mine
- Don't know
- Specify other

- ... Bought it for
- ... Given by relatives
- ... Given by government
- ... Seller went to

Q.16(a) In which way was the piece of land yours?

Q.16(b) In which way is this piece of land yours?

- ... Registered in my name
- ... Given to me by my father
- Specify other

- Registered in my name
- Given to me by my father
- Specify other

Q.17(a) Did you grow any cash crops?

Q.17(b) Do you grow any cash crops?

- ... Coffee
- ... Tea
- ... Cotton
- ... Maize
- ... Sisal
- ... Specify other

- Coffee
- Tea
- Cotton
- Maize
- Sisal
- Specify other

Q.17(c) If you did not grow cash crops, why?

- Was not permitted
- Could not afford seeds/seedlings
- My fault
- Don't know
- Too much work
- Specify other

Q.18(a) How much school education did you have before coming here?

- None (illiterate)
- Up to Std. IV
- Up to Std. VIII
- Up to Form IV
- Specify other

Q.19(a) Were you professionally trained in:

- Teaching
- Agriculture
- Health
- Specify other

Q.20(a) How many people did you employ to work on your shamba?

- None
- One
- Two
- Specify other
- Specify from

Q.17(d) If you don't grow cash crops, now, why?

- Not permitted
- Can't afford seeds/seedlings
- My fault
- Don't know
- Too much work
- Specify other

Q.18(a) How much school education do you have now?

- None (illiterate)
- Up to Std. IV
- Up to Std. VIII
- Up to Form IV
- Specify other

Q.19(b) Are you professionally trained in:

- Teaching
- Agriculture
- Health
- Specify other

Q.20(b) How many people have you employed to work on your shamba now?

- None
- One
- Two
- Specify other
- Specify from

- | | |
|---|---|
| Q.21(a) Who paid your children's fees and your taxes? | Q.21(a) Who pays for your children's fees and tax? |
| Myself | Myself |
| My relatives | My relatives |
| Nobody | Nobody |
| Specify other | Specify other |
| Q.21(c) Did you pay fees for | Q.21(d) Do you pay fees for |
| Father's children | Father's children |
| Brothers/sister's children | Brother's/sister's Children |
| Specify other | Specify other |
| Q.22(a) In which ways did your relatives help you? | Q.22(a) In which ways do your relatives help you? |
| Paid my children's fees | Pay my children's fees |
| Paid my tax | Pay my tax |
| Paid my dowry | Weed my crops |
| Worked on my shamba | None |
| Provided food | Specify other |
| None | |
| Specify other | |
| Q.22(c) In which way did you help your relatives? | Q.22(d) In which ways do you help your relatives back home? |
| Provided food | Provide food |
| Paid children's fees | Pay children's fees |
| Paid dowry | Send money |
| Helped in circumscision & wedding ceremonies | Pay dowry, help in various ceremonies |
| Specify other | Specify other |

Q.23(a) What church did you belong to?

- Anglican
- Salvation Army
- Friends
- Catholic
- Moslem
- Specify other

Q.23(b) Which is your present church?

- Anglican
- Salvation Army
- Friends
- Catholic
- Moslem
- Specify other

Q.24(a) Did you work in groups with others to

- Weed crops
- Plough shambas
- Build houses
- Sell & buy shamba produce
- Specify other

Q.24(b) Do you work in groups to:

- Weed crops
- Plough shambas
- Build houses
- Sell & buy shamba produce
- Specify other

Q.25(a) Apart from working on your shamba what else did you do?

- ... Taught school
- ... Employed on another's shamba
- ... Employed by government as
- Did not have a shamba
- Could not get a job
- Specify other

Q.25(b) Apart from working on your shamba what else do you do?

- Teach school
- Employed on another's shamba
- Employed by government as
- Can't get a job
- Specify other

Q.26(a) Did you leave because you were not making enough money? Q.26(b) Do you make more money than before?

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------|-----|---------------|
| ... | Yes | ... | Not at all |
| ... | No | ... | A little bit |
| ... | Specify other | ... | Reasonable |
| | | | Enough |
| | | ... | Specify other |

Q.27(a) What did you do in your spare time? Q.27(b) What do you do in your spare time?

- | | | | |
|-----|----------------------|-----|--------------------|
| ... | Nothing | ... | Nothing |
| ... | Had no spare time | ... | Have no spare time |
| ... | Watched/played games | ... | Watch/play games |
| ... | Drank beer | ... | Talk to friends |
| ... | Talked to friends | ... | Specify other |
| ... | Specify other | | |

Q.28(a) How often did you visit your relatives? Q.28(b) How often do you visit relatives?

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|-----|--------------------|
| ... | Once a week | ... | Once a week |
| ... | Once a month | ... | Once a month |
| ... | Once in six months | ... | Once in six months |
| ... | Once a year | ... | Once a year |
| ... | Specify other | ... | Specify other |

V. INDECISIVENESS AND DECISIVENESS AMONG THE MIGRANTS

Q.29(a) Are you happy or not happy that you left your previous shamba?

- ... Happy ... Not happy ... Specify other

Q.29(b) If unhappy because you left your previous shamba, why?

- ... Economically/socially no better off than before
- ... This place is worse than I thought
- ... Can't cope with loan repayments
- ... No relations around here
- ... No friends around here
- ... Don't like my new neighbours.

Q.29(c) If happy because you left your previous shamba, why?

- ... Economically/socially better off than before
- ... At least have my own shamba
- ... Will be able to offer my sons a piece of land
- ... Am now able to grow more crops

Q.30 What do you intend to do now?

- ... Nothing in particular
- ... Improve performance on my shamba
- ... Buy more land if I can:
- ... Get away from here
- ... Sell my present piece of land and buy another
- ... Return to my old shamba

Q.31(a) In which ways were you helped to settle in this new place?

- ... To build my house ... To plough my shamba
- ... To buy cattle ... To know my neighbours
- ... To treat my sick cattle... To learn of general information

Q.31(b) Who helped you to settle down?

- ... My friends ... C.D.A. (Maendeleo)
- ... Agriculture Instructor ... Social worker
- ... Health assistant ... Specify other

Q.32 What facilities and implements were available for you and your family?

... Schools ... Cooperative society
 ... Health centre/dispensary.. Tractor
 ... Nursery centre ... Loan
 ... Market (soko) ... Specify other

Q.33 Do you find it difficult to repay loans?

.... Yes, because ..Large instalments ..Don't make much from
 shamba

.... No, because Small instalments ..Make enough from
 shamba

Q.34. What facilities and implements are available for you and family now?

... Schools
 ... Social hall
 ... Nursery centre
 ... Cooperative society
 ... Tractor
 ... Loans
 ... Specify other

SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATIONS OF INTRA-RURAL MIGRATIONS

SECTION B

Respondents: Non-migrants: Name:.....

<u>Age</u>	<u>No. of Wives</u>	<u>Children</u>	<u>Brothers</u>
.....

I. REASONS FOR NOT MIGRATED

Q.1(a) How often did you travel in the past?

- Did not travel by means of ... bus ..bicycle
- Not often ... on foot
- Very often specify other

Q.1(b) How often do you travel now?

- Do not travel by means of ...bus ...bicycle
- Not often ...on foot
- Very often specify other

Q.1(c) Where do you go when you travel?

- ... Kitale ... Bungoma ... Eldoret Specify other
- ... Nairobi ... Kimilili ... Kakamega

Q.2 How did you get this piece of land?

- ... Given by my father
- ... Bought it
- ... Belongs to our clan
- ... Specify other

Q.3 Where did the previous owner go?

- ... Is around here (share with him)
- ... Don't know
- ... Died
- ... Returned to his old shamba
- ... Went to the settlement scheme
- ... Specify other

Q.4 Do you own any other piece of land?

No

Yes, specify

District

Location

S/Location

Place

.....

.....

.....

Specify how managed

Q.5 Explain why you have stayed here all the time.

- ... Like it
- ... Nowhere else to go
- ... Don't like moving to other places
- ... Don't want to interrupt my children's education
- ... Like my neighbours
- ... Can't stay away from my relatives
- ... Have enough land here
- ... Afraid of risks

Q.6 Are you economically better or worse than those who migrate (at the time when they move)?

- ... Can't tell
- ... Am better
- ... Am no better
- ... Specify other

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS

Q.7 How much land do you have?

- ... Don't know
- ... 1 - 10 acres
- ... 10 - 2 acres

- ... Over 20 acres
- ... Specify other

Q.8 In which ways do you own this land?

- ... Bought it
- ... Registered in my name
- ... Family shamba (share with others)
- ... Specify other

Q.9(a) Do you employ labour on your shamba?

- Yes ... seasonal permanent
- No, because ..can't afford .. can manage on my own

Q.9(b) Specify where labourers come from, if any

-
-
-

Q.10 What crops do you grow?

- ... Maize
- ... Beans
- ... Coffee
- ... Sisal
- ... Bananas
- ... Specify other

Q.11 How much money do you make each year?

- ... Don't know
- ... Over shs. 1,000/-
- ... Upto Shs. 200/-
- ... Up to Shs. 1,000/-
- ... Specify other

Q.12 How do you spend the money?

- ... School fees
- ... Food
- ... Tax
- ... Hiring labour
- ... Beer, clothing
- ... Invest on farm
- ... Specify other

Q.13(a) How many relatives are fully supported by you?

- ... None
- ... One
- ... Two
- ... More than two
- ... Specify other

Q.13(b) In what ways do you support your relatives?

- ... Marriage dowries
- ... Wedding ceremonies
- ... Don't help
- ... Specify other
- ... Fees and taxes

Q.13(c) In what ways are you helped by your relatives?

- ... None
- ... Dowry
- ... Building my house
- ... Working on my shamba
- ... Fees and taxes
- ... Specify other

Q.14 What would you wish your children to be?

- ... have enough education
- ... Become a teacher
- ... Become agricultural officer
- ... gain a university degree
- ... Specify other

Q.15(a) How much school education do you have?

- ... None (illiterate)
- ... Up to Std. IV
- ... Up to Form IV
- ... Specify other

Q.15(b) Do you have professional training in

- ... Agriculture
- ... Teaching
- ... Health
- ... Specify other

Q.16(a) How often do you visit relatives who live in rural areas?

- ... Once a week
- ... Once a month
- ... Once a year
- ... Specify other
- ... Once in six months

Q.16(b) How often do relatives within rural areas visit you?

- ... Once a week
- ... Once a month
- ... Once in six months
- ... Once a year
- ... Specify other

Q.17 With which government facilities do you work closely?

- ... Agriculture
- ... Education
- ... Health
- ... Marketing (commerce)
- ... Community Development
- ... None of them
- ... All of them
- ... Specify other

Q.18 Do you participate in self-help groups to

- ... Weed your crops
- ... Build your houses
- ... Build schools
- ... Sell and buy farm produce
- ... Specify other

Q.19(a) Name at least two people who migrated but who have since returned to their old shambas.

Name from to(place)
 Name from to(place)
 Don't know anybody.

Q.19(b) What reasons do they give for returning?

- ... Do not like the place
- ... Miss their relatives
- ... Don't like new neighbours
- ... Specify other

Q.19(c) What do you think are reasons for their return?

- ... Don't know
- ... They are lazy
- ... Failed to manage shamba
- ... Specify other

SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPLICATION OF INTRA-RURAL MIGRATIONS

SECTION C

Respondents: PUBLIC SERVANTS: Name:
Rank:

Q.1 What can you say about the extent of migration (people who move and live in new places) in your area?-

- ... There isn't much
- ... A great deal of it
- ... Only seasonal labour migration
- ... Can't tell
- ... Specify other

Q.2 In your opinion why do some people migrate?

- ... They are the restless type
- ... Look for better economic opportunities on land
- ... Look for better facilities (schools, dispensaries, etc.)
- ... Don't know
- ... Specify other

Q.3 Why is it that some people do not migrate?

- ... They are the conservative type
- ... Are satisfied with what they have
- ... They have better facilities around them
- ... Don't know
- ... Specify other

Q.4 How would you describe those who shift to new places?

- ... Enterprising
- ... Lazy type
- ... Landless
- ... Generally more educated
- ... Have little or no education
- ... Considerably poor
- ... Economically better off
- ... Don't know

Q.5 How would you describe the non-migrants?

- ... Are conservative
- ... Hard working
- ... Lazy
- ... Socially and economically poor
- ... Not well educated
- ... Have more education
- ... Specify other

Q.6 To what extent are migrants helped to adjust in new places?

- ... Very little
- ... To a great extent
- ... Can't do without such a help
- ... Don't require help
- ... Don't know
- ... Specify other

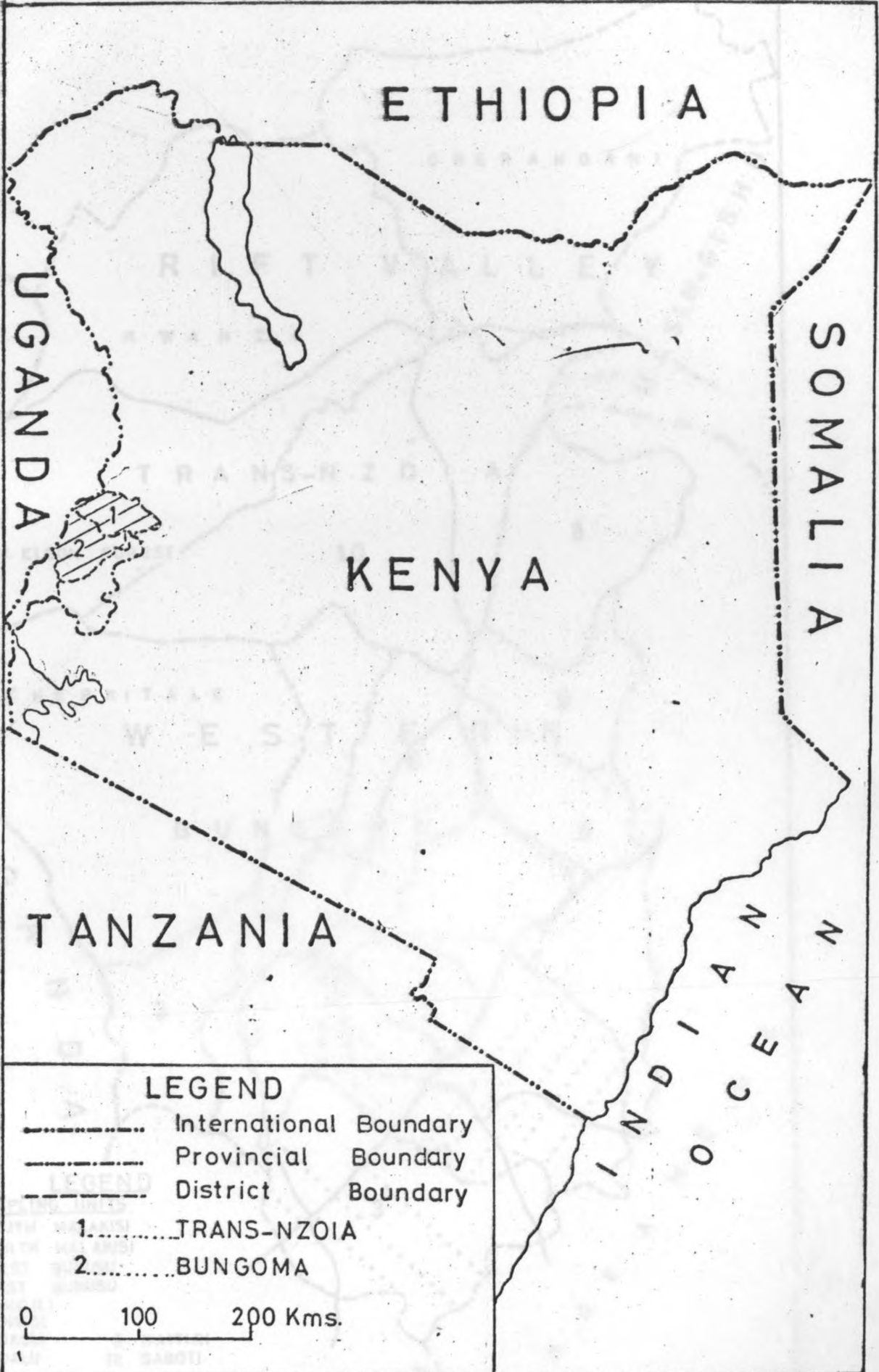
Q.7 What kind of adjustment assistance is available to migrants?

- ... Loan facilities
- ... Mortgage facilities for houses
- ... Schools, dispensaries, etc.
- ... Don't know
- ... Specify other

Q.8(a) Do you know of people who decided to return to their old shambas? What reasons were given for returning?

- ... Difficult loan terms
- ... Not benefiting
- ... No socio-economic change since they moved
- ... Specify other

FIELD STUDY AREA BUNGOMA & TRANS-NZOIA DISTRICTS



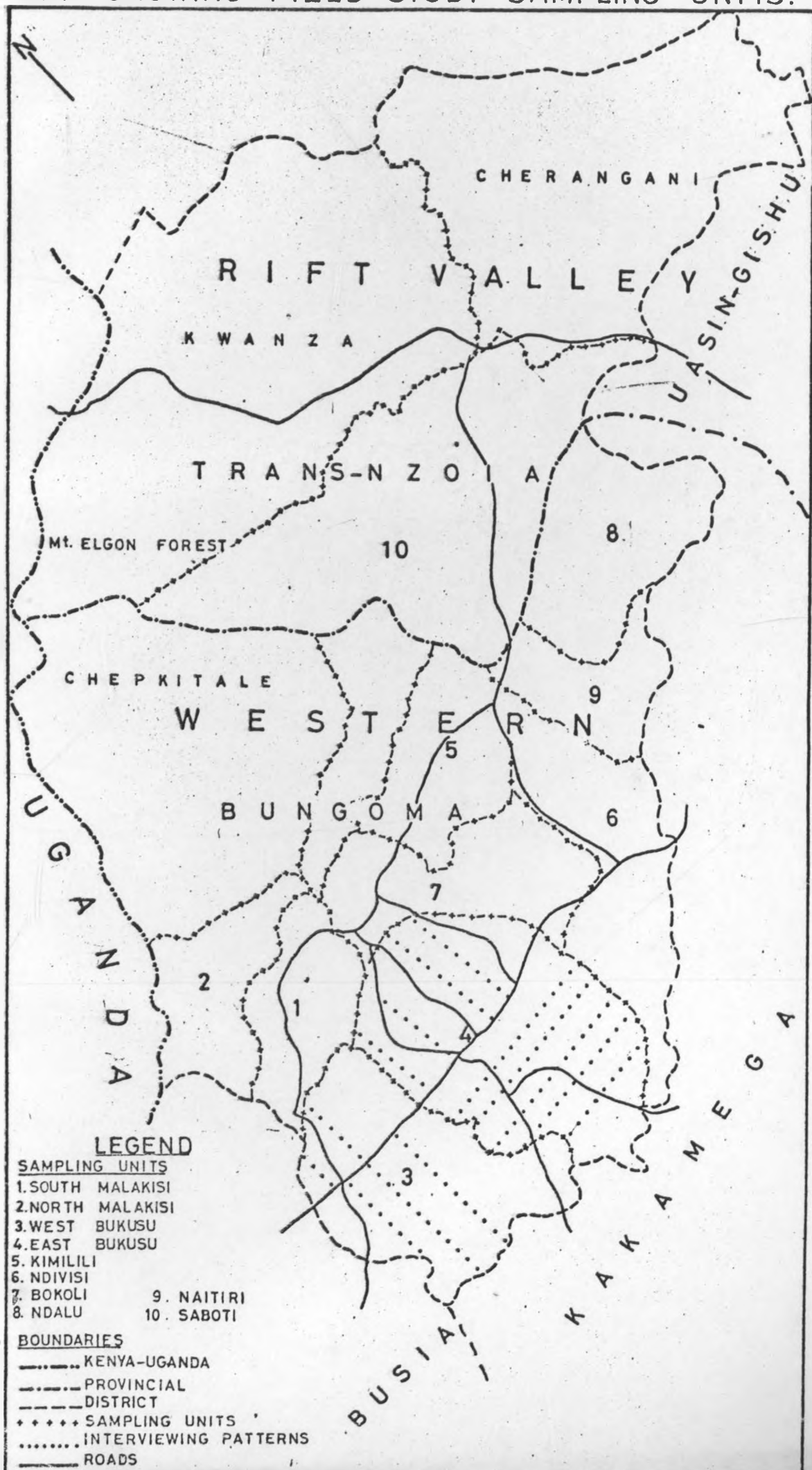
LEGEND

- · — · — International Boundary
- — — Provincial Boundary
- - - District Boundary

- 1.....TRANS-NZOIA
- 2.....BUNGOMA

0 100 200 Kms.

MAP SHOWING FIELD STUDY SAMPLING UNITS.



LEGEND

SAMPLING UNITS

- 1. SOUTH MALAKISI
- 2. NORTH MALAKISI
- 3. WEST BUKUSU
- 4. EAST BUKUSU
- 5. KIMILILI
- 6. NDIVISI
- 7. BOKOLI
- 8. NDALU
- 9. NAITIRI
- 10. SABOTI

BOUNDARIES

- KENYA-UGANDA
- PROVINCIAL
- DISTRICT
- ++++ SAMPLING UNITS
- INTERVIEWING PATTERNS
- ROADS