

PRIMACY OF DETERMINANTS OF RURAL-URBAN AND  
REVERSE URBAN-RURAL MIGRATION IN KENYA.<sup>4</sup>

Samson Nyaoke Owuor

A THESIS SUBMITTED IN PART FULLFILMENT  
FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS IN  
THE UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

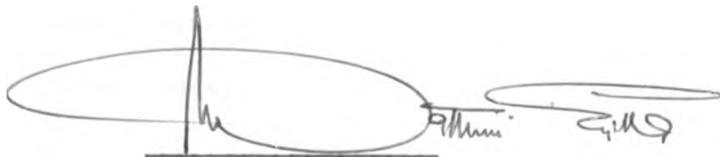
1974

DECLARATION

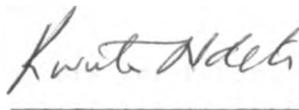
This thesis is my original work and has not  
been presented for a degree in any  
other University

  
(Candidate)

This thesis has been submitted for examination  
with our approval as University supervisors



Dr. Walter Abilla



Dr. K. Ndeti

## CONTENTS

	<u>Page</u>
ABSTRACT	i-ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iii
 <u>CHAPTERS</u>	
I INTRODUCTION	1-7
II REVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORITICAL ORIENTATION	8-29
Hypotheses	
Operational Definations	
III METHODOLOGY	30-37
Research Design	
Sampling Strategy	
IV DATA ANALYSIS	38-69
Income Differential	
Job Opportunity	
Land Density	
Level of Education	
Clans/friends Contacts	
Reasons/Factors for Returning Home	
V CONCLUSION	70-76

## APPENDICES

1	LIST OF TABLES:	APPENDIX I	77-78
2	QUESTIONNAIRE:	RURAL END, APPENDIX II	79-83
3	QUESTIONNAIRE:	URBAN END, APPENDIX III	84-96
4	BIBLIOGRAPHY		97-104

ABSTRACT

Studies of Labour migration as far as hitherto known have touched on the causes of rural to urban migration and in most cases been carried out in urban centres. In such endeavours 'Push and Pull' theory has been empirically demonstrated as being responsible for rural to urban migration.

However, what has not been accomplished in these studies and which is the primary concern of this thesis is the determination of the most significant causes of rural-urban migration. Besides, the previous researches have not studied the phenomenon of return migration and its causes although some studies have noted its existence. This study also examines this existence and the reason for it.

In order to determine the causal factors of cross migration in a more realistic sense the study was carried out both in a rural setting, in Nyanza and Western provinces to know home conditions which might stimulate out-migration and urban centre, Nairobi, to observe urban experience which might force an individual to return home. It was felt a one-sided approach, i.e. studying only urban centres might not do for this kind of research. In this regard the units of study were school-leavers and job-seekers in Nyanza/Western provinces and Nairobi respectively within 15 and 25 age brackets. The hypotheses tested against the empirical data are those hinging on economic and non-economic

variables as detailed in Chapter Two.

What has so far emerged from the study (Chapter iv) is that (1) The existence of the phenomenon of returned urban-to-rural migration is confirmed and, (2) as far as the primacy of determinant(s) of cross migration is concerned job opportunity ranks first in significance followed by clan/friend contacts and then level of education third. Income differential and land density trail.

The importance of this finding is two folds: firstly, it has filled a vital academic gap in the study of labour migration secondly, equipped with this knowledge, our government socio-economic policy planners can more realistically plan development strategies to arrest or contain rural-urban drift in order of priority.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This research was made possible due to the co-operation of members of staff and fellow students of the University of Nairobi whom I consulted on puzzling research problems. To this end I owe them a debt of gratitude. I am grateful for the initial guidance I received from Dr. P.M. Mbithi. Yet I am obliged to particularly express my grate appreciation to my departmental supervisors Drs. Walter Abilla, K. Ndeti and Monsted whose helpful criticisms and suggestions proved invaluable to the whole exercise. I would also like to thank Mr. Van Dorne for his generous advice and encouragement.

I am also grateful to the Kenya Government Administration Officials who allowed me access to valuable documents which proved instrumental to the study. It is also incumbent upon me to thank officials of employment centres in Nairobi who without much ado allowed me permission to use their offices to conduct research.

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Most, if not all, developing countries are attempting to tackle problems of development to improve generally the standard of living of the people the bulk of which live in poor rural areas. In an effort to develop rural areas to achieve this noble aim these governments are faced with developmental obstacles which are many and varied.

In Kenya, as an example of developing countries, one of such retardations is the migration of young energetic people from rural areas to urban centres and vice versa probably in an endeavour to meet their multifarious needs.

This pattern of migration is considered a hinderance to development for various reasons. Students of labour migration have observed that it economically and socially adversely affects development in both sending and receiving ends of migration in that, in the sending end migration of young people (between the ages 15 and 30 years) from rural areas to urban centres, in economic perspective, depletes the countryside of young people fit for development.<sup>1</sup> Further studies point out that since developing countries are characterized by primate cities, for example, Nairobi, for Kenya, these cities tend to attract most investments into them to the detriment of the rural areas.<sup>2</sup> These arguments seem to hold water as the volume of migration from rural areas to primate cities

is large and ever on the increase.

Turning to adverse social effects of rural-urban migration on the sending end it goes without saying that before the advent of recent labour migration, i.e. the precolonial period, life in the rural areas was known to be stable guided by societal norms in which marriages and family ethics stood supreme for all to observe for these rules formed the basis on which society derived its normative codes which served to regulate the general behaviour of individual in society.

In these circumstances, antisocial behaviour on the part of individual members of the society was rare nor were the concepts of divorce and prostitution heard of. But as the westernisation crept in and got hold of the hitherto paramount beliefs and practices one of the by-products of the process of change was labour migration, a phenomenon which was initiated by white settlers to ensure cheap labour in their farms. Having been sparked off for the purpose it kept on increasing at an alarming rate regardless of attendant problems at the source area of it.

Some of the social problems which have been witnessed arise from the fact that migration, especially the rural-urban one, is selective both by age and sex. In this regard normally the movers are predominantly younger males, some married some not yet. Whatever their social status, demographic studies have revealed that as a result of the movement the sending ends (in Kenya, for example, sending ends are represented by Kisumu and

Kakamega districts) are left with unproportionate sex ratio: Kisumu and Kakamega districts 93% and 79% respectively as opposed to in-migration areas, for example, Rift Valley Province - Kericho District: 107% and Nairobi: 147%. This in effect means that in the sending ends migration results in male deficiency in the population of these areas in the 20 and 44 age brackets.

This being the case it is not uncommon to find moral deterioration among women and children left behind, as, in most human societies it is men who are heads of households and in this sense are in most cases responsible for inculcating societal norms to the family in particular and society in general, and as such, if they are away for a considerably long spell of time, say, two to three years, discipline among women and children laxes. This is bound to be more so in out-migration areas as opposed to in-migration areas for the tendency is that in the former areas more and more females will assume headship of households while in the latter this will not be the case. As an evidence in this regard it works out that in Kisumu and Kakamega districts 32% and 36% of households are headed by females whereas in in-migration areas, for example, Rift Valley Province, say, West Pokot District 23% of households are headed by females.

The above observations tempt one to agree with some students of labour migration who have noticed that labour migration is one of the most influential causes of family break-up and that under migratory labour it is hardly possible to

build a stable social life, and a peaceful and a happy community.

At the urban end of this pattern of migration several socio-economic problems are posed to civic authorities as the influx of people into urban centres continues. These problems, inter alia, are provision of enough accommodation, educational opportunities for young ones and medical facilities for both the working lot and their ever increasing dependants.

A related observation in the study of migration has brought to light the idea that just as rural-urban migration takes place so does reverse migration, i.e. urban-rural migration. This phenomenon has been observed both among retired African workers usually after the age of 45 when the rate of return migration among them is markedly high and among many young migrants who probably fail to secure a city job.

All these observations draw attention to the point that rural-urban migration and return migration take place side by side and simultaneously and while the causes of the former have been extensively explored by migration scholars the latter together with the likely causes has not been researched as the already reviewed literature on migration by the writer confirm.

In the light of the foregoing this research is an attempt to examine the causes of cross migration (rural-urban and urban-rural migration) and above all hopes to come out with primacy of determinants of rural-urban and return migration, and, to achieve this goal, pertinent questions for which attempts

will be made to find answers are threefolds:

- 1) Does rural development diminish or increase migration (rural development Schemes are exemplified in the special Rural Development Programme "SRDP" launched in 1970/71 - see 1970/74 Kenya Development Plan).
- 2) Does urban experience make (some) migrants return home?
- 3) What do returned migrants do when they are back home, do they still want to go back to urban centre to try their luck once more?

The following hypotheses the details of which are discussed in Chapter two have been tested against relevant collected data to observe the most important determinants of labour migration:

- 1) Economic Variables:-
  - a) Income differential.
  - b) Job opportunity.
  - c) Land density.
- 2) Non-economic Variables:-
  - a) Level of education.
  - b) Clan/friend contracts.

The unit of study is school-leavers in Nyanza and Western Provinces' rural areas and job-seekers in Nairobi's

employment centres who come from the above provinces. They are all males within the age range of 15 and 25 years. In the rural areas a sample of 210 school-leavers was chosen for study while in the urban centre, Nairobi, a sample of 70 job-seekers was interviewed by the author assisted by four research assistants.

It is important also to mention the rationale behind the choice of the above study areas. According to research available the above rural areas are the most important sending ends of migration while Nairobi is similarly the most important receiving end of migration in Kenya.

A study of this nature is felt imperative if our socio-economic policy planners are to be more definate and realistic in their rural and urban development planning aimed at containing this pattern of migration. There is need for them to have data relating to primacy of causal determinants of migration so that they can accordingly plan their developmental strategies in order of priority.

FOOTNOTES

- 1 Harvey, M.E.; "Economic Development and Migration in Sierra Leone" - in Population Growth and Economic Development in Africa (Eds.) S.H. Ominde and C.N. Ejiogu pp. 170-171.
- 2 Breese, G.; "Urbanisation in Newly Developing Countries" p. 48.
- 3 Manners, R.A.; "Land Use, Trade and the Growth of Market Economy in Kipsigis Country" - in Markets in Africa (Eds.) Bohannan and Dalton.
- 4 Ominde, S.H.; Internal Migration of the Economically Active Age Group - Kenya 1968 - (see Demographic Factors: Who Migrate Introduction and Conclusion).
- 5 Kenya; 1969 Population Census Vol. III.
- 6 Hance, W.A.; Population Migration and Urbanisation in Africa p. 196.
- 7 Byerlee Derek; "African Rural Employment" - Rural Employment Paper No. 2: Research on Migration in Africa: Past, Present, and Future, September, 1972, p. 6.
- 8 Caldwell, loc. cit.

CHAPTER IIREVIEW OF LITERATURE AND THEORETICAL ORIENTATION

'Push' and 'Pull' theories of labour migration have been advanced as motivational factors of cross or reverse migration; Hutton (1966, 1973), Ominde (1963), Gutkind (1966) are some of the authoritative writers who have enlightened us in this regard. However before analysing in detail their standpoint on this subject, perhaps it would pay dividend if due consideration is given to the examination of the conclusions reached by earlier writers who invaluablely contributed to the subject under discussion.

It will be recalled that the earliest attempts to put into clearer perspective the causes of labour migration came from writers like I. Schapera. He was requested to examine the effects of labour migration on the social and economic life of the peoples of Bechuanaland (now Botswana). In this country there was known to be a long history of migration to places of employment outside it. His studies revealed that variations in the rates of emigration and in the circumstances of the migrants related to a number of factors, which, together with statements of the migrants, led him to three groups of causes:

1) Economic necessity:

In his opinion he found this to be the "most nearly universal" cause and that it arose out of the fact that source of income opportunity within the country as compared to other countries was inadequate hence those who could not satisfy their wants at home migrated elsewhere to do so.

2) Social and Psychological reason:

that migration had become an 'accepted and expected' part of tribal life. In this respect for example, many forces were at work acting as incentives to migrate. These included desire for adventure, attraction of town life, achievement of status for young men, escape from communal or domestic chores, besides, migration was regarded as a means of initiation to manhood, replacing the traditional rite de passage the practice of which had been abandoned.

3) Propaganda and Political Pressure:

In this direction he thought labour agents and pressure put by chiefs on his subjects stimulated migration.

Although he spelled out what he discovered as causal factors in migration one cannot for sure conclude that only one cause amongst those noted above could be responsible for migration in Botswana. Rather a combination of them determined individual behaviour to migrate even though the emphasis is on economic factor.

In his studies of two areas in Tanganyika (Tanzania) P.H. Gulliver (1955, 1957) while noting as important underlying economic conditions went further to state that given this basic economic motivation other factors in migration were explainable in terms of 'last straw' causes by which he meant:

the final link in the chain of individual motivation that determines the particular point in time at which a particular man leaves home, as opposed to the underlying economic condition which accounts for the phenomenon of migration.

One, in this context, is still made to understand that economic forces alone do not force an individual to move from his home; that difficulties which affect individuals in their family and social life and which go to tip the balance and induce a man to leave home for a spell at a particular time play a part in individual decision to migrate. Perhaps this underlies the concept of 'last straw' causes.

Studies of J.C. Mitchell (1958, 1959) revealed that migration operates along three axes: Normative - where migration has become a customary pattern within tribes; Economic - the main basis of migration; and Individual - the precipitating factors determining individual movement. While he stresses economic importance in migration one would, in a thorough study of his work, tend to agree with the observations made by other scholars that Mitchell seemed to have put forward two proposals which looked to be two different theoretical approaches, viz - the first is based on the distinction between the necessary and sufficient conditions of labour migration since he states:

In logical terms economic factors appear to be a necessary condition but they may not in themselves be a sufficient condition. In other words if the economic drive to labour migration are not present it is unlikely that it will occur, but if the economic conditions are present the actual migration may not occur until some events in personal life of the individual precipitate<sup>9</sup> events and triggers off his decision to go.

From the foregoing it is safe to conclude that economic and non-economic or call them Push and Pull factors in most, if not all, cases combine to force an individual to migrate from his rural area to urban centre and that a mono-causal argument approach to the study of labour migration does

not obtain.

In East Africa, as in other parts of Africa, it is not far fetched to come by almost identical causal factors in migration. Recent studies such as that of C. Hutton (1966) reiterate the main features discussed above and states in general terms that:

discussions of migration have to take into account a threefold level of explanation: 'firstly the general level of poverty or lack of economic opportunities at home; secondly the relative level of wants or aspirations, and thirdly a confusion of individual motivation and subsidiary factors which vary between tribes and areas.

S.H. Ominde (1963, p. 31) discussing the movement of labour from the Nyanza Province of Kenya, an area which is one of the most important labour exporting parts of the country, also related the high level of emigration to the relative balance of economic opportunity:

It is this inability of the land to cater for the expanding needs that has driven a large section of the inhabitants of the area to seek paid employment in the urban areas of Kenya... The migration of Nyanza's people may thus be seen as an attempt to redress the balance of

economic development in favour of the receiving areas.

In line with Ominde's view above a number of writers have opined that relative poverty, an economic aspect of migration, stimulates migration to economically well catered for region(s) and/or urban centre(s). Witness the observation of such writers as Andrey Richards (1954, p. 68) when he saw that the movement of immigrants from Ruanda-Urundi into Uganda was that of a population moving from a poorer area into a richer one:

The picture gained from the Kabala and Kyaka ferries answers is that of a people continuously in need of money to satisfy their social obligations and aspirations.

Last but not least on this question of migration theory, it goes without saying that the above discussion have mainly hinged on one aspect of the theory, namely the economic aspect. Non-economic factors which are as well many and varied subsumed in the 'pull' aspect of the theory of migration have also been highlighted in many researches in this field. Quite a number of literature have pointed out that level of aspiration defined as felt cash needs which cannot be satisfied at home, educational level and clan contact in the destination of migration besides such stimulating factors as physical communications - improvements in transport facilities, mass media and urban-rural feedback to mention just but a few of such forces enhance migration.

To illustrate these ramifications of push aspect of migration all would consume more space and time yet one finds it relevant to choose a few to demonstrate the point in question. So for illustration purposes the author has decided to restrict examples to level of education which, as well, enhances level of aspiration, especially among younger persons of our population, in this case the school-leavers, and clan contact.

Probably the most striking of these stimulants to rising aspiration has been education. Several studies have commented on it; the prevalent argument in this connection has been that the type of education - western oriented - which has been given us has tended to lead boys to regard village life as inferior and town as possessed of a peculiar glamour or attraction. Whether this is so or not is left for one's own judgement. Yet the general observation seen to lean on the argument that 'the school-leaver will weigh the relative opportunities and rewards between town and the village and if the village can only offer traditional agriculture the rewards of the town will almost always be higher'.<sup>10</sup>

The point made here is that the attraction of the town does not lie in the 'bright light' but in the inability of the rural areas to satisfy the aspirations of their population at a given standard of living. Further observation on the question of young men turning an aversion to rural agriculture is

commented on that:

... where profitable crops have developed,  
 young men are willing to work on family  
 farms, provided that they can see a cash  
<sup>11</sup>  
 reward for their work...

To the extent that young men and/or school-leavers fail to see any evidence that farming can pay it is most probable that they would go to the city in search of paying employment. Perhaps a telling observation in this direction is that of Archibald Callaway when he emphasises this point stating:

The fact is that school-leavers' views of their vocation in life are determined largely by what happens outside school, in the society and the economy. As long as they see in farming, <sup>a</sup> poor and stunted life, they will seek for what seems to them the better opportunities of  
<sup>12</sup>  
 the city...

C. Hutton (1966) noted in her study of unemployed school-leavers in Kampala, and Jinja, Uganda, that they showed a general lack of hostility to agriculture, as such, and a low level of occupational expectation, but they hoped to find in urban employment a source of regular income which was denied to them at home. A general note that can be taken regarding these observations is that like other labour migrants school-leavers seem to respond to the same general incentives but their education leads them to

reject agriculture which they do not see how it can give them the level of reward which they are seeking. So the tendency seems to be that education, and particularly the level attained, influences migration behaviour, and this is corroborated by recent studies of Rempel (1970) and International Labour Organisation Report (1972) which discussed employment, income and inequality in Kenya.

The former study has revealed that the propensity to migrate increases with the level of education attainment, that if a person has a secondary education, the probability of a rural-urban move appears to be very high. The latter report, which, in reaction to the problem of unemployment in Kenya, was commissioned to study the problem and recommend solutions for it, pointed out that migration increases very rapidly with the level of educational attainment, and that Nairobi attracts a very large share of those with secondary or higher education. The list of references in this regard would be endless.

Regarding clan contact and migration evidence in hand indicate that before an individual decides to move to an urban centre he considers first the presence or not of a relative or friend at the place of destination who would care for him while searching for work. Evidence in this connection include that of Rempel (1970) which showed that among the variables he considered as having influence on migration, viz., distance, landlessness, income differential, education and clan contact the last variable

was conclusively found to be the most attractive one in influencing migrants to move to urban centres. In response to the question which asked them to rank in order of significance their source of information about opportunities (job) in urban centres the result indicated that clan contact was the most important factor as he found out that:

clan contacts were the most important source of information about employment... and they (relatives/friends) frequently assisted the migrant in obtaining employment.<sup>13</sup>

Further evidence that the presence of relatives/friends in an urban centre influences migratory behaviour of an individual is noted in the ILO Report (1972) which, among other things, states that:

Different families differ greatly in the capacity to help their younger members in finding employment... the number of contactable members who have employment, who can provide homes in the towns, who are prepared to support relatives, who have contacts or direct influence - in short the effectiveness of family, friends and contacts in acting as employment brokers - are of crucial importance.<sup>14</sup>

The foregoing are strong evidence to strengthen the argument that relative/friend contacts in urban centres attract migrants to

urban centres and therefore is one of the causal factors of labour migration which in the course of studying the phenomenon cannot be underated.

What is apparent all along in this discussion on the theory of labour migration is that on the one hand there is the economic factors which many writers have emphasized as causing migration more than any other factors while on the other non-economic factors as discussed above play their role in the decision to migrate. Other writers also combine these factors and argue that both jointly cause migration. Note Mitchell observation that "economic factors may provide necessary conditions for migration but are not by themselves sufficient conditions<sup>15</sup>..."

Coupled with this situation of uncertainly<sup>y</sup> of leading causal factors there is too a consideration of causal factors of return migration. It has not been clearly spelled out reasons behind return migration. In the case of school-leavers studies shed some light in the direction of frustration argument - that having failed to find work in an urban centre coupled with the view that their hosts (relatives/friends) being tired of caring for them they return to their homes of origin. In the case of those who have left employment either through retirement (old age), resignation and the like literature available indicate that they return home for various reasons yet the most important one is that there is lack of security

for them in urban centres. Home provides this. There they have land which acts as security against old age - they build their homes on it, feed from it and get buried in it in the event of death, Whisson (1964). Town situations as their experience show do not meet these natural requirements. Byerlee (1972) states, among other things, and this is related to the phenomenon of return migration, that generally most Africans largely have claim to their land even when they are residing in the city, and in this regard, in practice, would retain close ties with their villages through frequent visits and remittances of cash and gifts.

One would tend to agree with these observations as at present not enough security especially at old age, i.e. after retirement from employment, exists in developing countries. In some of these developing countries, Kenya, for example, National Social Security Fund the main purpose of which is to cater for old age security exists, yet those covered by it are indeed few. In this respect it seems a plausible argument that for most Africans security still lies in the rural land. Even those in well paying jobs it is not uncommon to find them possessing large track of land in the countryside. Hence it is not surprising to come across observations by migration scholars such as Van Velsen (1960) stating that "urban dwellers regularly visit their homes where they make gifts, build houses... that in return, they offer hospitality to visitors from their home".

This very view is also noted in the causes of circulation of labour as amply shown in the literature pertaining to this concept.<sup>16</sup>

In this context therefore one is bound to accept as a plausible opinion subject to empirical evidence that "we can only appreciate causal factors in labour migration by trying to see town and country or reserve and labour centre as one social field and analyze the forces within it".<sup>17</sup> It is further not far from reality to state that today the majority of urban residents in sub-saharan Africa are an integral part both of the towns they live in and of the villages they have come from. This fact is epitomized in the observation that "they are urban residents loyal to a rural home".<sup>18</sup>

It is noteworthy also to have an overview of the seemingly adverse socio-economic effects of cross migration as this is part and parcel of this study. Studies in the urban end of migration have illustrated that school-leavers come to urban centres believing rightly or wrongly that more job opportunities are here than in the rural areas. Be that as it may what concerns us here is what is likely to happen when many of them fail to meet this much sought for demand. It is likely that when unemployment increases year after year unabated the socio-political consequences are bound to be adverse one for any government as has been witnessed in quite a number of developing countries. In this light this warning note is relevant:

The rise of a large class of unemployed workers in the cities place an unbearable load on the local and national governments and may contribute to political tensions inimical to stability and most effective employment of limited available funds.<sup>19</sup>

The other socio-economic consideration touches on the rate of population growth and its varied attendant consequences. Taking Kenya's natural increase as an example in developing countries, one finds that the growth rate according to 1969 census is 3.3%. This in relation to dependency ratio means that the country's dependency ratio is perhaps one of the highest in Africa, with many unproductive youths depending on a few wage earners. And unless immediate measures are taken to curb the rate of growth it is only logical to concur with pertinent opinion expressed in other literature relating to demographic aspect of Kenya which state, inter alia, that "with the current fertility level Kenya will continue to develop with a burden of dependency which no present industrialised society has ever had to cope with".<sup>20</sup>

#### THE HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses which this study hopes to validate with empirical data already collected for the purpose to see the most influential causal determinant of cross-

migration are presented below. They are part and parcel of already advanced causes of labour migration as derived from the foregoing theory of migration.

1. Economic Variables:

- a) Income differential.
- b) Job opportunity.
- c) Land density.

2. Non-economic Variables:

- a) Level of education.
- b) Clan contacts (Primary group contacts).

While it is true, as several studies have revealed, that the above causal factors influence migration: rural-urban and urban-rural this study focuses attention on variable numbers one and two above.

OPERATIONAL DEFINATIONS

The following definitions of variables are given to clarify what the variable to be used in the research means to avoid ambiguity in the concepts.

## Economic Variables

### a. Income Differential:

Throughout this study, income differential as an economic variable influencing migration, will be used to denote differences in labour returns or wages/salaries earned between rural areas and urban centres. Available data, Ndegwa Commission Report (1971), for example, show that in Kenya rural labour return is lower than urban one, for example, for skilled/semi-skilled urban industrial worker, wages is Shs. 250/= per month while for rural agricultural worker it ranges from Shs. 80/= to 200/= per month. This difference in wages is made worse by the fact that in rural areas the wages is not as regular as in urban centres. It is at times affected by drought and floods so that earning realised from crops fluctuate markedly thus widening the income gap.

Several studies have indicated that it is the income gap that mainly influence rural-urban migration, especially among the younger generations; it is only Rempel's (1970) study which did not find consistent evidence of the importance of a rural-urban expected income differential as an attraction to urban centres. It has been noted that his study only covered urban centres in Kenya, Byerlee (1972).

It is therefore hypothesized that rural-urban

income differential influences potential migrants to migrate to urban centres where they expect to earn a regular and good income. School-leavers/Job-seekers response in this regard will be ascertained to observe the influence of the variable on migratory behaviour.

b. Job Opportunity:

This refers to employment chances both in rural and urban centres, the relative opportunities of getting a city job and a rural employment. It is hypothesized that the probability of getting a city job, say in Nairobi, is higher and even quicker than that of a rural area. Because of this assumption job opportunity is postulated as influencing migration towards urban centres. Yet the extent to which this assumption is valid is unknown since we may have school-leavers in rural areas who do not even intend to migrate because of this factor. The two aspects are to be investigated.

c. Land Density:

The variable, land density, for the purpose of this study is defined as the number of persons per sq. kilometre prevailing in the rural area studied. According to 1969 census the land density in the divisions studied, i.e. Winam, Nyando

and Vihiga in Nyanza and Western provinces of Kenya, ranges from 169 to 210 persons per sq. kilometre with an annual natural rate of population increase of between 3.3% and 3.7%.<sup>21</sup>

D.G. Heisel has observed that this rate of increase is one of the highest not only in Kenya but in the world as well.

From the above density inference could be made that there is an increase in population pressure upon land resources leading to general population growth unaccompanied with rise in food production, thus hunger ensues forcing people to seek a living elsewhere. Migration scholars, for example Little, Van De Walle (1972) and Ominde (1966) seem to share this inference. Ominde for example points out that:

the association of the main supplying regions and the principal population centres suggests the pressure of population on land resources as a factor inducing people to move out not only from rural to urban areas, but also from one part of rural Kenya to another.<sup>22</sup>

Yet the question as to why those who have worked in urban centres for many years on retirement, choose to retire and return to live the rest of their lives in these densely populated areas is yet unanswered.

Non-Economic Variable:

a. Level of Education:

For the purpose of this research education is defined as formal educational level attained by the unit of study. These educational levels in mind include:

- i) Standard VII
- ii) Forms I-IV
- iii) Forms V-VI

It is proposed that the above educational levels influence migration in varying degrees: that the higher the educational level attained by an individual the higher his propensity to migrate while the reverse is the case. The extent to which this might or might not be the case will be validated in the course of the study.

b. Clan Contacts:

Specifically this concept will be used in the study to refer to clan/friendship contacts an intending migrant considers before deciding to migrate to an urban centre. Studies of Rempel (1970) and others not cited here emphasize the fact that clan contacts in urban centres play a crucial role in the decision to move to the town or not.

The hypothesis in this regard is that an individual will only migrate if he has relatives and/or friends in the place of destination who on arrival there will act as his hosts. These would offer him all sorts of hospitality like accommodation, food and job guidance.

### MIGRATION

Migration, for the purpose of this study, means rural to urban and reverse or return movement of male school-leavers, or job-seekers which falls within the conceptual framework of internal migration which Wrong (1961) defines as 'migration of persons within the boundaries of a single nation'. In this study therefore it is the migration of the above mentioned units of study from Winam, Nyando and Vihiga divisions (in Nyanza and Western provinces in Kenya) to Nairobi and back. For all intent and purposes migration as conceptualized above is to be regarded as a dependent variable while the other variables listed and defined as above are stated as independent variables the magnitude of which is to be revealed in the study.

FOOTNOTES

- 9 See Mitchell as cited in Footnote in Nkanga No.6.
- 10 Hutton,C. In an Article entitled "The Causes of Labour Migration", 1966.
- 11 "After School What" See a Report jointly prepared by working Party of the Youth Department of the Christian Council of Kenya (CCK) and the Christian Churches' Educational Association (CCEA) on the Further Education, Training and Employment of Primary School-leavers, Nairobi, 1966.
- 12 Callaway A.C. See his article entitled "Unemployment and African School leavers" - In journal of Modern African Studies 1(3), pp. 351-371.
- 13 Rempel, H. "Labour Migration into urban centres and urban unemployment in Kenya (1970).  
Notice the significance of clan contact in p.94.
- 14 See International Labour Organisation (ILO Report 1972) On Kenya Employment, Incomes and Equality p.70.
- 15 This is contained in Bulletin of International Labour Institute 6(1) pp. 13-46 : Article - "The Causes of Labour Migration" by Mitchell, (1959).

- 16 See Jackson Migration pp.162-180  
Circulation of Labour especially p.172 - Berber argues that the cause of the circulation of labour lies in the fact that the labour of the migrant is essential for some of the tasks upon which rural production eventually depends such as for example, clearing land for new fields. Migrants must return periodically to perform these tasks if they and their families are to derive any benefit from participation in both the subsistence and the cash economies.
- 17 Gugler, J. "Life in a Dual System: Eastern Nigerians in Town, 1961, in Nkanga No. 6 p. 24.
- 18 Gugler, J. Loc. cit.
- 19 Hance, W.A. "Population Migration and Urbanisation in Africa, pp. 197-98.
- 20 Heisel, D.F. "Demographic Trends and Educational Needs" in Education, Employment and Rural Development (Report of the Kericho (Kenya) Conference, 25th September to 1st October 1966) p. 81 (Ed.) J.R. Sheffield.
- 21 Lock, S.C. et al Nyanza Province Regional Physical Development Plan. Town Planning Department, Ministry of Lands and Settlement, Kenya - May 1970. Ref. pp. 1-9 to 1-14.
- 22 Ominde S.H. Land and Population Movement in Kenya p.34.

CHAPTER III.METHODOLOGY

The method used in the study to determine the primacy of the causal factors of rural-urban and reverse/return migration was purposive sampling technique. The reason for applying this technique in the study is that it was realised during pretesting carried out before the actual interviewing started that other techniques such as simple random sampling were impracticable to use since in a study such as this it is not possible to exactly know the universe(s) (school leavers/job seekers) from which a representative and adequate sample would be drawn; moreover school-leavers/job seekers, as field experience demonstrated, are a people on the move seeking to earn a living wherever this can be found.

Although the technique used in the study defies the principles of probability sampling the requirement of which include chance in the selection of the units of study, representativeness and adequacy of the sample studied, the circumstances above justified the application of purposive method which, among other things, entail the selection of alternative units of study should the chosen one be found not available because of the reason mentioned above, and "with good judgement," as Selltitz et al (1951) states, "handpick units of study to be included in the sample provided these are typical of the universe the need of the study would be met." So in the absence of a better workable technique this procedure was adopted.

Data collection was done through the process of interviewing using two questionnaires. (see appendices II and III)- for rural end of the study, the other for the urban end of the study. The units of study in the rural end of the research: Winam, Nyando and Vihiga divisions in Nyanza and Western Provinces, were school-leavers who left school some three years ago, i.e. 1970 and attained

either standard 7/8 or Form I-IV level of education. A sample of 210 school-leavers was chosen for interviewing. In the Urban end, Nairobi, the units of study were job-seekers most of whom had been looking for a city job for a period of three years, i.e. from 1970 to the time of the interview. A sample of 70 of them was selected for interviewing.

In all cases the units of study were male school-leavers/job seekers whose ages ranged from 15 years to 25 years. In both the rural areas and the Urban Centre, Nairobi, those interviewed were Luos and Luhyas in terms of ethnicity. The author and four research assistants carried out the interview from November, 1973 to January, 1974 (three months). Before going to the field with the four research assistants they were trained for two weeks in the intricacies of interviewing under the supervisions of my departmental supervisors, and on finding them suitable for the field-work, approval was given by my department to employ them on the research job.

#### RESEARCH DESIGN.

#### CRITERIA FOR CHOOSING STUDY AREAS.

It was felt that in order to give a cross-sectional comparative findings the plan of the study required that both rural and urban centres were to be studied. One important consideration in this respect is that migrants move between two points and in order to know why they do so it is not enough to study this in only one place, say, urban or wherever the migrant is at the time of study since this is only bound to give part of the answer; he, at the time of interview, might have forgotten reasons which made him leave, say, his home of origin for where

he is at the material time due to lapse of time. With this point in mind it was decided that the point of origin and that of destination of unit of study be studied.

RURAL END.

Winam, Nyando and Vihiga Divisions in Nyanza and Western Provinces were selected for the study on the criterion that literature available on Labour migration, Ominde (1963) Rempel (1970), ILO Report (1972) to mention just but a few point out that these areas, unlike others, are some of the most important Labour exporting areas in Kenya. Their studies further reveal that potential migrants are mainly school-leavers and that they form about 80% of all rural to urban migrants. The other criterion in choosing the area is that the author happens to have come from the area and feels with his experience of the provinces he would be in a better position to study the phenomenon without some inherent research problems such as communication with the units of study and mobility in the area given the short three month period in which it was required to execute the research. The author felt that home conditions which could precipitate out-migration have not been covered much in Labour migration studies and these are some of the information the study would cover.

URBAN END.

The criterion for choosing Nairobi to form Part of this study is that compared to the rest of urban centres in Kenya it is the most important receiving end of migration because it is the capital of the country, and where most investments and Government Offices are concentrated, thus more job opportunities and other aspirations of young persons seek are apparently found. Perhaps because of this younger persons are attracted here more

than any urban centre in the republic. Besides, several urban studies in Kenya some of which have been cited above corroborate the statement above that it is the most important receiving end of migration. Job-seekers here were interviewed to obtain information concerning both their experiences in the rural areas from which they have come and urban centre in regard to reasons why they left their homes of origin for Nairobi and, having been in Nairobi, what they thought might force them to return home; these informations could shed some light on the problem of this study. Efforts were directed to interview only those job seekers whose homes of origin were in Winam, Nyando and Vihiga divisions to control for regional diverse economic potential.

#### SAMPLING STRATEGY.

In the selection of the population from which a requisite sample was to be drawn this procedure was adopted. The rural area was stratified into three research areas following the diversity of income sources. In the stratification it was borne in mind the fact that rural areas are not homogeneous in terms of sources of livelihood and given this economic diversity varying home conditions could be at work causing migration volume to vary in relation to sources of livelihood. Because of this argument these rural areas/chosen to represent heterogeneity in economic perspective obtaining in rural Kenya: Winam Division, around the Lakeshore area. Here the main source of livelihood include fishing and a little peasant agriculture. This is the poorest of the three rural areas in terms of source of livelihood. A population of 290 male school leavers aged between 15 and 25 years was listed and a sample of 70 drawn randomly for interviewing. Nyando Division, further inland, some 20 miles away from the above division, was yet another interviewing area. Here the main source of livelihood are local trade and peasant agriculture. The area is more developed than that above. A population of 335 school leavers of similar characteristics as above was listed and a sample of 70 chosen through random selection.

Vihiga Division was the third interviewing area and is the most developed of the three divisions as cash crop farming (grade maize, coffee, tea, etc) is carried out here besides, of course, a little peasant farming and local trade. It may be added here that this is one of the rural areas in Kenya where the Government's Special Rural Development Programme (SRDP) is at work.<sup>23</sup> Loans and crop fertilizers etc have been made available for both businessmen and farmers in the area since the launching of the programme way back 1970/71 (see Development Plan 1970/74) A population of 338 school-leavers defined as above was listed and a random sample of 70 selected.

Identification of population from which samples were selected was done during a pre-study enumeration carried out by the author in three study areas. In doing this the author received help from school-leavers in and subchiefs of the areas. While the teachers willingly put at my disposal school registers from which I noted school-leavers for the last three years subchiefs physically informed me of homes where school-leavers could be traced. As a result of these efforts three long lists were compiled comprising names of male school-leavers whose characteristics have been described above. For the rural end of the study these lists form population universes from which samples of 70 school-leavers per area were to be randomly drawn. On this basis therefore a total sample of 210 was originally drawn. However, it turned out in the field that only 206: Winam-69, Nyando - 67 and Vihiga 70 were interviewed, i.e. 98% of the original sample interviewed.

In Nairobi four construction sites (Mowlem (a) National Housing Corporation Offices, (b) G.P.T. (H.Q) - Telephone Extension Building; Tysons - Golf Flats, C.D.C. Buru Buru Estates; Lalji Megji & Co.), two Ministry of Labour agencies (Kenyanisation Bureau and Labour employment agencies) and Larger industrial enterprises such as E.A. Industries' and E.A. Breweries' premises were

identified for the selection of 70 male job-seekers. These employment places were so selected to serve as a stratification of job seekers in terms of occupations aspired to and level of education required for those jobs. When actual study began 70 job-seekers selected by places of employment and residence were interviewed although as is explained below, problems were met in doing the exercise.

Whilst in the field it turned out that reaching the already selected unit of study even that whose home address was earlier on obtained was one of the major problems we encountered especially in the rural area. At times we managed to get the selected unit of study, at other times it was impossible since school-leavers, as we discovered and even to date, are a people on the move either searching for employment wherever they could find any or go to pay a visit elsewhere perhaps to a relative/friend. This situation was overcome by interviewing a substitute who happen to be where the actual unit of study was supposed to be found providing the alternative interviewees met the requirement of the study.

The problem met in Nairobi was that when we went to the construction sites few job-seekers with requisite characteristics as the study required were found here. Most of the people we found in these sites were old, semi-skilled less than standard 7/8 level of education hence were not interviewed as they did not meet the requirement of our study. Nevertheless those who met the requirement were interviewed.

Owing to the fact that finding the basic units of study was difficult as at the time of study some had gone to town or elsewhere leaving perhaps only the poor who had no money etc to enable him move, or in the case of Nairobi, some jobseekers had moved to another town or returned home, some even stayed at home

waiting for their working relatives to find for them work while some had got employment by the time the study was started, it would be rather unrealistic to state that this study could be taken to be wholly representative of all school-leavers/job-seekers. And, as regards reliability and validity of their responses in relation to reasons for moving/returning home, one is bound to state that these were affected by forgetfulness due to lapse of time. Yet it seemed a combination of possible factors contributing to migration was indeed important and dependable in this study.

FOOTNOTES

23. SRDP (Special Rural Development Programme) This programme was started in 1970/71 in order to test strategies for accelerated rural development throughout Kenya. Areas where various projects (credits to shops, stocking necessary for agricultural inputs) were launched in Kenya included: Vihiga, Migori, Meru, Tetu, and Kwale (see Kenya 1974/78 Development Plan, p. 110).

CHAPTER IVDATA ANALYSIS

The following findings of the research are to be looked at in relation to the already advanced hypotheses. In the rural end of the study school-leavers were asked what they thought was their major problem(s) since leaving school. In the three areas of the study they gave these responses presented in percentage figures.

Table 1

The Percentage Distribution of Major Problems  
Facing School-leavers at Home

Major Problems	R U R A L      A R E A S			Total
	Vihiga	Nyando	Winam	
Unemployment	86	82	90	86
Money for school fees	11	15	4	10
Land Problem	3	-	4	2
Dowry	-	2	2	1
Not given	-	1	-	1
<b>TOTAL PERCENT</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

NB. N=Number of cases : Vihiga = 70  
 Nyando = 67  
 Winam = 69  
 TOTAL = 206

According to Table 1 it is apparent that in the three rural areas unemployment is the most important problem facing the school-leavers. The worst affected area is the least agriculturally developed, namely, Winam area where 90% of the 69 respondents interviewed gave unemployment as a major problem besetting them. Nyando which follows Winam had 82% of 67 respondents stating unemployment as their major problem, while Vihiga trails with 86% of the 70 respondents also mentioning unemployment as their major problem in their area. Money for school fees etc. was the second major problem mentioned by school-leavers in their respective home areas facing them as the above table shows. The marked variations in the mention of this problem as demonstrated in the Table is hard to explain. Perhaps the least mention of school fees as a problem in Winam area could be explained in terms of least agricultural development. Compared with the other two areas, it is the poorest economically since there has not been any government inspired economic development like agricultural projects and the like to raise the income level of the people here. As such it would be a futile effort for the school-leaver to regard money for further continuation of school to be important to them. Rather, they would perhaps prefer to use such money to further their efforts in securing employment, use it as transport or in any way leading to getting a job anywhere. Land although mentioned as a third problem, is insignificant and need no further elaboration here. The Table in this connection

indicates this point.

In relation to the above question school-leavers were asked (question No. 3, Appendix II) what they planned to do about the problem which beset them. Their responses were as appended below:

Table 2

The Percentage Distributions of Plans about the  
Problem Facing School-Leavers at Home

Plans about the Problem	R U R A L    A R E A S			
	Vihiga	Nyando	Winam	Total
Look for Employment in Town	84	46	62	65
Look for Employment in Rural	4	12	15	10
Relative/Friend assist get job	13	3	1	6
Practice Agriculture	-	8	20	9
Train in any field	-	19	1	7
Others	-	9	3	4
Not given	-	3	1	2
<b>TOTAL PERCENT</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>103</b>	<b>103</b>

(i)    N =    Vihiga = 70  
                       Nyando = 67  
                       Winam = 69  
                                   206

(ii) Total add to more than 100% due to permissible multiple responses.

The first impression one gets from the above Table is that in all the three rural areas school-leavers plan, in the main, to look for employment more in town than in rural areas to help them out of the unemployment which beset them. In less developed areas: Winam and Nyando compared to Vihiga which is more developed more school-leavers, as reflected above, would even like to look for employment in rural areas (Winam 15%, Nyando 12% and Vihiga only 4%). Relatives and/or friends are also mentioned in the three areas as one of the ways and means of securing employment. Again here school-leavers in Vihiga have, more than any where else, indicated this plan of getting work to solve their pressing plight.

The foregoing tables have to a certain extent shed some light into the plight of school-leavers and how they plan to go about solve the pressing problem. Their most important problem is unemployment. Indication of solutions to the problem as derived from responses received are embeded in migration away from home, majority of the movement tending to urban centres.

At the other end of the study, urban centre - Nairobi, job-seekers (a sample of 70) were located by places of employment which they frequent in an effort to secure a job, viz., Labour Exchange office, Kenyanization Bureau office, Construction sites and a few gates of larger employing firms such as East African Industries.

At these employment places job-seekers were asked (Question No. 3 - see Appendix III) to say what made them decide to leave their home districts for Nairobi. In response to this question which was meant to ascertain their major reason for coming to Nairobi the following answers were received.

Table 3

The Percentage Distribution of the Reasons for leaving their (job-seekers) present locations for in the rural areas for Nairobi by level of education attained

Reasons for Leaving Rural Areas for Nairobi	Level of Education		
	Primary	Secondary	Total
Could not find job home	41	46	44
Father without land to till	17	17	17
Wanted to advance my education	-	5	3
Came to take course get job	8	15	11
Could not meet my aspiration	28	17	20
Others	3	-	1
Not given	3	-	1
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100

N = Primary = 29  
 Secondary = 41  
 TOTAL = 70

According to Table 3 it became apparent that the main reason for leaving rural areas for Nairobi is that most job-seekers were unable to find jobs in their home districts. It is noticed that by level of education (41% of primary school-leavers and 46% of secondary school-leavers as shown in the Table) came to Nairobi because of lack of employment in their home districts. This tallies with Rempel (1970) study of eight urban centres in Kenya which revealed the same reason which made migrants come to these urban areas.

Secondly, it is noticed that failure to meet their aspirations at rural home - 28% primary leavers, 17% secondary leavers - made the job-seekers studied come to Nairobi. And absence of land to till also contributed to rural-urban migration of the job-seekers but to a lesser extent - 17% primary and 17% secondary job-seekers. Other factors mentioned by job-seekers to have contributed to their urban drift included coming to take a course which could lead to getting a job and coming to further their education in Nairobi because they perceived there existed in Nairobi more educational opportunities than at rural areas. The contributions of these last factors to migrations were comparatively minimal as Table 3 shows.

With the above introductory insights let us turn our attention to the results of the hypotheses proper.

Income Differential

Income differential as an economic variable influencing migration from rural to urban centre, in this case Nairobi, was hypothesized that rural-urban income differential influences potential migrants - school-leavers - to urban centres such as Nairobi where they expect to earn a regular and a good income.

In this regard school-leavers were asked to say if they were aware of income gap between rural areas and urban centres. (Question No. 4 in Appendix II).

Table 4

The Percentage Distribution of Awareness or not of Income Differential between Rural and Urban Centre, Nairobi, among school-leavers by level of education

Awareness of Income Differential	LEVEL OF EDUCATION						TOTAL %
	Vihiga		Nyando		Winam		
	Pri- mary	Seco- ndary	Pri- mary	Seco- ndary	Pri- mary	Seco- ndary	
Aware of Income Differential	74	95	76	76	38	74	76
Unaware of Income Differential	26	5	24	24	62	26	24
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

N = Vihiga-Primary 31  
Secondary 39  
70

Nyando- Primary 33  
Secondary 34  
67

Winam Primary 16  
Secondary 53  
69

N TOTAL = 206

According to Table 4 above the interpretation one can give seems to be that awareness of income differential among the respondents in the three rural areas increases with the degree of economic development of an area. One can see that Vihiga, the most developed of the three areas, has the highest level of awareness of income differential both at the primary and secondary level of education of the school-leavers (74% primary level, 95% secondary level) followed by Nyando (76% primary level, 76% secondary level) and Winam the least developed (38% primary level, 74% secondary level). Unawareness of income differential seems, on the other hand, to increase with the level of least development, that is, the less the economic development of an area the higher the rate of unawareness of income differential between the rural and urban centres among school-leavers as the data of Table 4, Winam column, indicates (62% primary level, 26% secondary level higher than figures for both Vihiga and Nyando).

Level of education seems to have influenced the awareness of income differential markedly. This is more so among secondary school-leavers. This seems to stem from the view that educational advancement goes hand in hand with the rate of economic development of an area and this is perhaps why the above data according to the table above reflect that higher rate of development is always accompanied by a higher level of education. Awareness as shown in Table 4 can also be looked at in a different perspective, that is, it is higher among

secondary school-leavers than primary ones. Whether this difference in awareness of income differential has any influence on rural-urban migration is to be seen in the light of the following data.

School-leavers were asked (Question No. 6 Appendix II) to say whether or not they planned to move from their home districts to other places, and those who stated they planned to move were asked a further question (Question No. 6(b) Appendix II) to say if they were moving because of the noticed awareness of rural-urban income differential. The last question aims at testing whether or not the observed urban drift is explained by rural-urban income differential. Level of education - primary and secondary - of those planning to move on migratory behaviour is also shown.

Table 5 (a)

The Percentage Distributions of School-leavers who said they were planning to move elsewhere from their home districts and those not planning to move

Planning to move or not	R U R A L    A R E A S			
	Vihiga	Nyando	Winam	Total
Yes	94	90	70	85
No	6	10	30	15
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100

NB. No. of Cases    Vihiga = 70 ; Nyando = 67 ; Winam 69 ;  
TOTAL 206

A glance at Table 5(a) indicates that to a large extent majority of school-leavers planned to leave their homes for other destinations. It was only in Winam area where a sizeable proportion responded that they were not planning to leave their homes for elsewhere.

School-leavers who said they were planning to leave their home districts for other places were asked if they were planning to do so because of the expressed awareness of income differential and their responses were as follows:

Table 5(b)

The Percentate Distribution of School-leavers who said they were Moving from home because of awareness of Income Differential between rural and urban areas

Planning to move because of Income Differential	LEVEL OF EDUCATION %					
	Vihiga		Nyando		Winam	
	Pri- mary	Seco- ndary	Pri- mary	Seco- ndary	Pri- mary	Seco- ndary
Yes	90	97	52	35	37	36
No	-	-	36	35	25	34
Not Given	-	-	3	12	-	-
Not Applicable	10	3	9	18	38	30
<b>TOTAL PERCENT</b>	100	100	100	100	100	100

N =	Vihiga	Primary	31	Nyando	Primary	33
		Secondary	39		Secondary	34
			<u>70</u>			<u>67</u>
	Winam	Primary	16			
		Secondary	53			
			<u>69</u>			

As can be gleaned from Table 5(b) above in Vihiga as opposed to both Nyando and Winam areas all school-leavers said they were planning to move. Their educational background point to the direction that more secondary than primary leavers were planning to move. In the case of both Nyando and Winam the number of percentage of those planning to move and those not planning to do so were almost the same. Data in Tables 5(a) and 5(b) seem to suggest that school-leavers in more developed areas, in our case, Vihiga, are more ready to migrate than those in less developed areas, notice Nyando and Winam. It seems also that although Vihiga is more developed there seems to be no job openings for its school-leavers hence more, if not all, plan to move to urban centres or elsewhere to find means of support. These observations seem to contradict the well known view that the more the rural areas are economically developed the less the young men move to urban centre in larger proportions. Today the policy of the government is geared to rural development (1974/78 Development Plan) to arrest or contain the rural-urban migration. This does not seem to be the case with regard to the already presented data. Further research in this direction would be called for.

Whilst still on the rural-urban income differential influencing migration towards urban centres let us also see urban (Nairobi) data in this connection. In Nairobi job-seekers were asked (Question No. 8 see Appendix III) to rank their first

and second choices regarding place/town in which when one is working one would earn or get the highest labour return. This question was asked to test their knowledge about the income gap. For those who were found aware, especially if they mentioned Nairobi as having the higher labour return, they were asked a further question which was meant to ascertain whether or not it is the awareness which made them come to Nairobi. The following Table go along way to show results concerning where most income is earned, first and second choices shown.

Table 6(a)

The Percentage Distributions of those job-seekers who mentioned places/towns as being their first choice where most income is earned

Where more Income Earned 1st Choice	LEVEL OF EDUCATION		
	Primary	Secondary	G Total
Nairobi	38	42	40
Farming in Settlement scheme	3	5	4
Working in rural factory	21	20	20
Self-employment	31	24	27
Mombasa	-	2	1
Kisumu	7	-	3
Nakuru	-	7	4
<b>TOTAL PERCENT</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

N = Primary 29  
 Secondary 41  
 TOTAL 70

Nairobi, according to the above Table, seems to have been given the first choice (followed by self-employment) primary level of education 38%, secondary level of education 42%. Other mentions are self evident in the Table and therefore do not need interpretation.

Table 6(b)

The Percentage Distributions of those job-seekers who mentioned places/towns as being their second where more income is earned

Where most income earned 2nd Choice	LEVEL OF EDUCATION		
	Primary	Secondary	Total
Nairobi	28	22	24
Farming in settlement scheme	18	15	16
Working in rural factory	14	7	10
Self-employment	3	7	6
Mombasa	10	29	21
Kisumu	7	5	6
Trading in rural markets	10	10	10
Nakuru	10	5	7
<b>TOTAL PERCENT</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>

Like Table 6(a) Nairobi was yet given second choice by majority of the school-leavers followed by Mombasa and third in the second choice is farming in settlement scheme as Table 6(b)

show. In the context of Tables 6(a) and (b) one can say that rural and urban income gap is definitely present in making school-leavers move to urban centre. Yet the role education plays cannot be underrated. From the above tables, that is, Tables 5(a) (b) and 6(a) (b), educational level seems to be enhancing rural-urban drift more than mere income differential as according to the samples sizes in both rural and urban end of the study the tendency to migrate more is more apparent in secondary level of education than primary level.

#### Job Opportunity

Reverting Job Opportunity as the next hypothesis it was hypothesized that the probability of getting a city job, say, in Nairobi, is higher and even quicker than that of a rural area. That because of this assumption it was postulated that job opportunity influences rural-urban migration.

To observe the validity of this propositions school-leavers in the rural areas and job-seekers in Nairobi were asked (Question No. 7 (a-b) rural and question No. 17(a-b) urban see appendices II and III) to say where they thought it is easier and quicker to find a job. In this regard their responses were as follows:-

Table 7(a)

The Percentage Distributions of Responses of School-leavers and job-seekers regarding where it is easier and quicker to find a job by level of education

Where it is easier/quicker to find job	LEVEL OF EDUCATION						Total	
	Vihiga		Nyando		Winam			
	Pri- mary	Seco- ndary	Pri- mary	Seco- ndary	Pri- mary	Seco- ndary		
Rural Area	16	8	42	50	44	36	32	
Urban Area	84	92	58	50	56	64	68	
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	
N = Vihiga	Primary 31	Secondary 39	Nyando	Primary 33	Secondary 34	Winam	Primary 16	Secondary 53
		70		67			69	

The inference one gets from Table 7(a) above points to the direction that it is easier and quicker to find a job in urban centre than rural area. Vihiga leads in the responses who said that an urban area has more job opportunities than a rural area. Even educationwise the trend is higher - more secondary than primary school-leavers stating this.

School-leavers who said it was easier and quicker to find work in urban centre were asked further to say if they would move to, say, Nairobi because of the perceived more job opportunity. The results in response to this question were

as under.

Table 7(b)

The Percentage Distribution of Responses of School-leavers who said they would move to Nairobi because of more job opportunity there than in rural area

Would move because of more Job Opportunity in urban centre	LEVEL OF EDUCATION					
	Vihiga		Nyando		Winam	
	Pri- mary	Seco- ndary	Pri- mary	Seco- ndary	Pri- mary	Seco- ndary
It is easier/ quicker to find work	73	84	58	53	56	59
More Govt. offices and industry are here	12	12	-	-	6	8
Not Applicable	15	4	42	47	38	33
N =	Vihiga		Nyando		Winam	
	Primary	31	Primary	33	Primary	16
	Secondary	<u>39</u>	Secondary	<u>34-</u>	Secondary	<u>53</u>
		70		67		69

Table 7(b) above indicates that the main reason for wishing to come to Nairobi or those who would come to urban centre is the perception that it is easier and quicker to find work in an urban centre than in a rural area. The location of more government offices and industries also add to the view that there are more job openings in town than in rural area as the above data in the Table show. And it is secondary rather than primary school-leavers whose propensity to migrate because of the above reasons is more marked.

In Nairobi job-seekers (a sample of 70) were asked more or less an identical question (Question No. 17(a) see Appendix III) to the one asked school-leavers at home, namely to say where they thought there were more job opportunities in the country. Their responses by level of education were as follows:-

Table 8

The Percentage Distribution of Responses of job-seekers by level of education concerning where they thought there were more job opportunity in the country

Where more job opportunity exist in the country	Level of Education Job-seekers in Nairobi	
	Primary	Secondary
In home district	3	5
In town/city	97	95
<b>TOTAL PERCENT</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>100</b>
N = Nairobi	Primary 29	Secondary 41
		<b>TOTAL 70</b>

The impression one gains from the above data is that job-seekers in Nairobi believe that more job opportunity exist in urban centres as opposed to rural areas. It was also noticed that more of the responses received in this regard came from those with secondary education. Out of a sample of 70 job-seekers interviewed 41 respondents had secondary education. This perhaps confirms the argument that the propensity to migrate from rural to urban centre is related to level of education attained: more secondary school-leavers than primary ones come to urban centres perhaps hoping that there are more job openings for them in urban centres than in rural areas. Like school-leavers interviewed in the rural end of the study job-seekers in Nairobi who said there were more job opportunity in town reasoned that there were more employment sources here, for example, important government offices are located in Nairobi and bigger more important industries too are found here. The presence of relatives and/or friends who would help job-seekers find work and the availability of training or educational facilities were among the reasons the job-seekers said attracted them to Nairobi.

### Land Density

When we come to the question of land density as a factor in migration school-leavers at their homes of origin were

asked to say whether or not their fathers had land and their responses were as follows:

Table 9(a)

The Percentage Distributions of School-leavers' responses relating to whether or not their fathers had land

Father has/had land	R U R A L   A R E A S			
	Vihiga	Nyando	Winam	Total
Yes	100	95	93	96
No	0	5	7	4
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100

N = Vihiga 70; Nyando 67; Winam 69 = 206

According to Table 9 above most school-leavers said that their fathers had land the median size of which was 10 acres. When asked to say if they had any prospects of inheriting their fathers' land their responses were as under:

Table 9(b)

The Percentage Distributions of Responses of  
School-leavers on inheritance of fathers' land

Prospects of Inheritance of fathers' land	R U R A L      A R E A S			
	Vihiga	Nyando	Winam	Total
Yes	74	85	83	81
No	16	12	7	11
Don't Know	10	3	6	6
Not Applicable	-	-	4	2
<b>TOTAL PERCENT</b>	100	100	100	100

N = Vihiga 70; Nyando 67; Winam 69; TOTAL 206  
===

Table 9(b) above show that among the three rural areas, Vihiga had the least percentage (74% Vihiga compared to Nyando and Winam) of school-leavers who stated they had any prospects of inheriting their fathers' land. This is most likely to be true if one takes cognizance of the fact that population pressure on land here is the highest in Western Kenya as 1969 census and Nyanza Province Regional Physical Development

Plan (1970) show. For those who said they had no prospects of inheriting their fathers' land nearly all said that they would move to urban centres in order to live.

Whilst pursuing land density proposition job-seekers in Nairobi were asked to say if their fathers had land. 83% responded that their fathers had land while 17% stated that their fathers had no land.

The interviewees in Nairobi were further asked to consider the size of their fathers' land and say if they saw any prospects of inheriting the land. In response to this question 37% responded 'yes' while 61% answered 'no'. One respondent (1.0%) had the question 'not applicable' to him.

They were further asked to say whether or not, the absence of inheritance of fathers' land made them come to Nairobi. The responses were: 60% said they came to Nairobi because of shortage of land in their districts. 4% said they came to Nairobi for reasons other than land density issue. 36% of the job-seekers had this question 'not applicable' to them when one compares data on land density and those on other hypotheses already discussed in this paper, for example income differential and job opportunity these other two factors seem to outweigh shortage of land in the rural areas as being a significant economic variable influencing rural-urban migration. Rempel (1970) study also established this point: that density of land contributed insignificantly to rural-urban migration. Yet studies

of Ominde (1968) found that land hunger in Western Province, particularly in Kakamega District - maragoli land: Vihiga Division - made ruralites there migrate to urban centres, for example, Nairobi to which the volume of migration flow was heaviest. The difference in the results of the two studies - Ominde's and the writer's - could be attributed partly to the difference in the methodological approaches to the migration study and partly to the unit of study. While Ominde's study concentrated more in the rural Nyanza and on out-migrants in general, this study has been carried out both in the three rural areas in Nyanza and Western provinces and in Nairobi, an urban setting, and school-leavers and/or job-seekers aged between 16 and 25 years.

”

#### Level of Education

Levels of education attained broadly defined as primary and secondary levels, were proposed as influencing individual's decision to migrate. This hypothesis was stated that the higher the educational level attained by an individual the higher his propensity to migrate. In order to validate this argument it was felt appropriate to ask job-seekers (Question No. 23 - see Appendix III) to tell their educational levels. In response to this question the following levels of education by age were obtained:

Table 10

The Percentage Distributions of Levels of  
Education attained as told by job-seekers  
interviewed in Nairobi

Age	LEVEL OF EDUCATION ATTAINED		
	Primary	Secondary	Total
18-21	45	55	41
22-25	39	61	59

N = Nairobi: Primary 29; Secondary 41; TOTAL 70

”

According to Table 10 above it is evident that out of a sample of 70 job-seekers those with secondary educational level were more which indicate that educational level as hypothesized is valid, that is, it influences individual's decision to move to urban centre and this is consistent with several studies which have been conducted in this direction, Rempel (1970) (ILO 1972) to mention just but a few such studies. The reason for this could be that secondary school-leavers (according to inferences gained from their responses regarding reasons for coming to Nairobi) see their chances of getting employment more in urban centres than in rural areas while primary leavers' chances of employment are comparatively very limited. One need not have doubt about this fact as now even among secondary leavers there were a sizeable

number who have looked for employment in Nairobi for well over two years but all in vain. Some school-leavers at home felt that they had better chances of getting jobs at home than in town because towns are full of school-leavers.

### Clan/Friends Contacts

As regards clan/friends contacts in the place of destination (urban centre) which a school-leaver in the rural area would consider before deciding to migrate these respondents were asked what factors would prevent them from moving to a distant urban centre such as Mombasa and/or Nairobi (Question No. 11(a), Appendix II) and the following prohibiting factors were given.

7

Table 11

The Percentage Distributions of School-leavers  
on Factors which would prevent them migrating to  
distant urban centres

Factors Preventing one from moving to town like Mombasa	R U R A L   A R E A S			
	Vihiga	Nyando	Winam	Total
Absence of Relative/ Friend in the place of destination	63	52	26	47
Uncertainty of finding work	30	24	28	27
Money for Transport	7	24	46	26

N = Vihiga 70; Nyando 67; Winam 69; TOTAL 206

Table 11 shows that in Vihiga and Nyando areas as opposed to Winam area absence of relatives/friends would to a larger extent prevent a school-leaver from migrating to a more distant urban centre. Notice that 62.9% out of a sample of 70 respondents and 52.2% of a sample of 67 respondents in Vihiga and Nyando respectively stated that before migrating to such urban centre they would consider the presence or not of clan/friend contacts there. The significance of the contacts cannot

be underestimated since in all urban centres they support a newly arrived job-seekers till he/she gets work or if unlucky to find one would provide him with money for transport back home.

A further observation can be noted in Vihiga and Nyando respondents as opposed to Winam. The reasons for the higher percentages in the former areas can be inferred from the responses received from the school-leavers. They stated that it is hard to find a relative/friend who can care for one for more than a month yet work is fetched for well over three months. That relatives, let alone friends, from their areas are no longer interested in caring for job-seekers since they argue that it is expensive and brings misunderstanding between a family and a job-seeker. Gutkind (1966) noticed the same problem in Nairobi and Lagos.<sup>24</sup>

As far as Winam respondents are concerned it is money for transport to urban centre rather than the absence or presence of relative/friend which would prevent him to move. This perhaps reflects relative poverty in the three areas. Those in the poorest areas find it difficult to raise transport money to reach where they want to go to; they are almost certain to find hospitality from relatives where they want to move to. Maybe people from poorer areas whilst in urban centre show more kinship ties than those from relatively well to do areas some of whom have assimilated certain aspect of western culture, for example, belief in individualism and are no longer keen in certain

aspect of African socialism, for example, the known extended kinship system which, among other things, embody such obligations as sharing of brothers' or relatives' belongings and helping a neighbour in time of need, the principle of reciprocity in life.

In Nairobi job-seekers were asked almost a similar question as the one asked school-leavers at home to find out the role of clan contacts on migration. They were asked (Question No. 17(a), Appendix II) to state whether or not they considered whom to stay with in the place of destination before actually deciding to move to an urban centre. The responses received were 96% affirmatively stated that they considered this factor before migrating while only 6% negatively stated they would not consider this factor when deciding to move to urban centre. The inference one draws from these data is that before deciding to come to town job-seekers (majority) ascertain the presence or not of a relative/friend in an urban place who would host him in case he went to town.

For the 4% who stated they would not consider the presence or not of a relative or friend when deciding to migrate, the main reason they advanced was that if he informed a relative or friend that he intended to come to the city/town and expected to stay with him whilst searching for work the request would be turned down and be advised that when he((host) learns of a suitable job opening he would advise him to come. That since this is the every day answer they (intending job-seekers) receive from their relatives/friends in town, they prefer just coming

to town and requesting them to host them on the spot. In this way the relatives/friends have no alternative, especially if he is a brother of the newly arrived job-seeker, to refuse to stay with him.

From the foregoing it can be seen that clan contacts plays a major part in migration both in the rural area and in an urban place as has been shown by the data collected in respect of this factor.

REASONS/FACTORS FOR RETURNING HOME

Turning our attention to factors which might force a job-seeker or school-leaver to return home, school-leavers at home were asked to say if ever they had gone to town to find work (Question No. 13 (a), Appendix II) they responded as under:

Table 12

The Percentage Distributions of School-leavers who have/have not gone to town to find work.

Have/have not gone to town to find work	R U R A L   A R E A S			
	Vihiga	Nyando	Winam	Total
Yes	49	58	43	50
No	51	42	57	50
TOTAL PERCENT	100	100	100	100

N = Vihiga 70; Nyando 67; Winam 69; TOTAL 206

According to Table 12 it became apparent that in all the three rural areas almost the number of school-leavers who had returned from urban centres was equal to the number of those who had not moved to town. As can be noticed 49%, 58% and 43% in Vihiga, Nyando and Winam respectively had been to town. The remaining percentages had not gone to town yet.

In order to find out the reasons for returning home of those <sup>103 youth</sup> who had gone to town they were asked why they returned home (Question 17(b) - see Appendix II) and the following reasons were advanced.

Table 13

The Percentage Distributions of Reasons given by the returned school-leavers

Reasons for returning home	R U R A L   A R E A S		
	Vihiga	Nyando	Winam
Could not find job immediately	49	59	29
Lack of accommodation	20	4	20
Lack of relative/friend care for me	27	16	14
Domestic quarrels with relative	-	-	10
Tribalism/Nepolism in getting job	-	4	10
Lack of transport money	2	13	5
Attend relative's funeral	2	5	14
<b>TOTAL PERCENT</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>102</b>

NB. Totals add to more than 100% due to permissible multiple responses.

The main reason for returning home according to Table 13 above is failure to secure job immediately. Added to this factor are lack of accommodation and relatives/friends to care for the job-seekers in an urban setting. And for those who had not gone to town the main reason for having not moved was lack of relative/friend with whom they would stay suppose they went to town. Lack of transport money was also given but it was negligible. However, both factors combined were found important in constraining school-leavers to migrate to town to find employment.

In Nairobi job-seekers were asked to say factors which might force them to return home (see Question No. 28 Appendix III) and the following factors were given.

Table 14

The Percent Distribution of factors which might force job-seekers to return home

Factors Forcing Job-seekers to Return Home	NAIROBI %
Lack of employment	60
Lack of accommodation	44
Death of relative-parent	19
Lack of food and clothing	10
If job found home	11
If can get land to farm	3
Others	7
Not given.	3
<b>TOTAL PERCENT</b>	<b>157</b>

- i) N = 70
- ii) Total add to more than 100% due to permissible multiple responses.

Table 14 above show that the most important factors, which would force job-seekers to return home, as given by the majority of them were: firstly, lack of employment in town, Nairobi in this case; secondly lack of accommodation, thirdly death of a relative (parent) and fourthly if jobs could be found at homes of origin.

The first factor which was given by the majority of job-seekers, that is, lack of employment, a most important force that would force them to return home was also observed in the responses of job-seekers who had returned at home after staying in urban centre endlessly searching for jobs. The returned job-seekers interviewed in rural areas responded that the main reason for their returning home was that they could not find work immediately. Additionally they were faced with accommodation problem in urban centres (Table No. 13).

The evidence available, Tables 13 and 14 above, suggest that the reasons which would force a job-seeker in an urban centre to return to his home of origin - rural area - are, in order of significance, failure to secure a city job after a considerable period of time of searching for it, lack of accommodation/relative to stay with and death of a relative (parents) at home. With these observations a conclusion which is the subject matter of next chapter can be drawn.

FOOTNOTES

24. Peter Gutkind

"A prologue of the Unemployment in  
Nairobi and Lagos -on the unfinished  
Revolution".

7

CHAPTER VCONCLUSION

The purpose of this study was an attempt to determine the causal factors of rural-urban and reverse migration (in Kenya) in order of magnitude. Economic factors such as income differential, job opportunity and land density and non-economic factors like level of education and clan contacts have been examined empirically to observe their effect on migration and the findings have been shown in Chapter four above.

As regards the methodology of the study both rural and urban areas were chosen for the study and a sample of 210 school-leavers and 70 job-seekers were drawn for the study<sup>7</sup> respectively as discussed in the introduction of this thesis.

The finding that has so far emerged as far as what would make school-leavers come to an urban centre and what would compel him to return home is failure to secure a job. In the rural end of the study most school-leavers interviewed stated that their major problem was unemployment and consistently according to Table 2, Chapter four, they indicated they plan to solve this problem by migrating to urban centres to search for employment. Job-seekers in Nairobi in a large proportion (see Table 3 - Chapter 4) also showed that the main reason for their coming here was that they could not find jobs at their rural homes.

Other factors such as absence of land to till were secondary.

As far as rural-urban income differential variable is concerned the evidence available shows that awareness of it increases with the level of economic development present in the three rural areas studied. Most awareness of the income gap as Table 4, Chapter 4 shows was noticed among Vihiga respondents. In Nyando and Winam it was less marked. Yet when the level of education in the three places were examined it was observed that more awareness seemed to have been influenced by educational levels - more secondary level indicating more awareness in Vihiga than the rest of the rural areas. Even among school-leavers in Nyando and Winam those with secondary level of education as opposed to those with primary level showed more awareness of the income differential. 7

In this regard therefore the logical conclusion one can draw here is that the effect of income differential on migration depends on the economic development of a given area which in turn is reinforced by the quantity and levels of education, as has been demonstrated in the foregoing chapter. The level of education set against income differential - that is if moving because of awareness of income differential - Table 5(b) shows that it is those with secondary level of education who planned to move to urban centres in a greater number and this tempts one to suggest that in rural areas awareness of income differential depends on level of education which influences

individual decision to migrate to urban centre. Where education level is lowest which means least economic development in the area concerned awareness of income differential which is argued make for rural-urban migration is negligible. Even in Nairobi, it is the respondents with secondary educational level who, to a larger extent, mentioned Nairobi vis-a-vis other places of employment as their first choice where they were aware there was more income when one is working there, (see Table 6(a)).

Job opportunity variable accounted for both migration from rural to urban centre in a large measure as observations on Tables 7(a) and 7(b) show and return (urban-rural) migration, Table 8. In the rural areas school-leavers stated that they would or were planning to move to urban centres, preferably Nairobi, because there was more job opportunity there than in their home districts, while in Nairobi, it was found that the dominant factor which would force a job-seeker to return home was failure to secure a job (Table 14). This factor was found consistent when "returned" job-seekers were asked to say what made them return to their home districts when majority of them stated that they returned home because they "could not find work immediately, Table 13)". Apart from lack of employment; lack of accommodation, death of a relative, like parents and lack of food and clothing were factors mentioned as having contributed to their return home.

Land density insofar as it affects migratory behaviour of an individual was not amply shown as Table 9(a)

and 9(b) show. Table 9(a) indicates that even in the most dense area - Vihiga - school-leavers stated that their fathers had land and as can be seen in Table 9(b) in all the rural areas most school-leavers expressed the opinion that they had prospects of inheriting their fathers' land. Only a few responded they had no prospects of inheriting their fathers' land stating further that they planned to move to urban centres because of this. However their number was insignificant compared to those who said they would inherit land from their fathers, yet still they would come to urban centres for work. Even in Nairobi the percent of those who said they came to Nairobi because of shortage of land was comparatively less than the percent of those who said that they came to Nairobi because of income differential and job opportunity.

In the case of level of education and migratory behaviour throughout the study as Tables 3, 4, 5(b), 6(a), (b), 8 and 10 indicate, it was found significant in influencing one to migrate. Table 10 in particular is a clear indication that more secondary school-leavers than primary ones move to urban centre, in this case, Nairobi~~x~~ to look for employment, they being likely able to secure jobs more quickly than primary ones whose chances of doing so are relatively limited. The data according to Table 10 therefore confirm the already expressed observations (ILO 1972), (Hutton, C. 1966) that it is those school-leavers with higher educational attainment who are prone to rural-urban drift.

While clan contact variable was seen to be important in deciding to move to urban centre by Vihiga and Nyando respondents, for Winam respondents (Table 11) it was less important. For Winam school-leavers it was money for transport which was demonstrated to be a first consideration which would prevent them to migrate to town the likely reason for this difference in consideration has been explained in relevant section in Chapter four of this paper. In Nairobi 95% of the respondents affirmatively stated that they considered the presence or not of relatives who would act as their host in Nairobi before deciding to come.

When all is said and done, Job Opportunity, as far as primacy of the determinants of rural-urban and return migration is concerned, ranked first and foremost in significance. Lack of it in rural areas would cause school-leavers to migrate while having come to urban centre urban experience, particularly failure to find a city job after a long spell of time, would force a job-seeker to return home as the foregoing data reveal. Clan/friend contacts would seem to be second in importance while educational level third. Income differential and land density trail. Yet what seems rather puzzling in this study is the apparent revelation that the rate of rural-urban migration is dependent on the rate of economic development of a rural area, that is, in more economically developed area more ruralities will show a propensity to migrate to urban centres. Data on

Vihiga, the most developed rural area among other areas studied, seem to support this observation.

What seems to be one important implication of this revelation is that the pattern of rural development now being pursued in the countryside is not achieving some of its goals if it is agreed that some of such objectives, and of course important ones, include the reduction of the adverse volume of urban drift. What is apparent, according to the already analyzed, data, is that the current development schemes, if anything, are encouraging urban drift among younger persons in the population in the area studied, a trend contrary to the popular opinion which strongly hold that rural development is probably the sole solution to rural-urban migration.

Perhaps for Vihiga division an explanation for the high volume of out-migration can be offered. It could be that shortage of land (as most families have an average of 2-3 acres of land) vis-a-vis the ever increasing rate of natural increase and the generally higher level of education account for this trend of migration, a situation not obtaining in other two rural areas studied. So in a nutshell it can be explained that the high density of land and the high level of education there reinforce each other to cause the high volume of out migration there. The consequence is apparently that more and more women are being left in the rural area to head homesteads.

On the existing projects, it could be generally inferred that the younger persons do not see them as creating the type of jobs and the levels of income they aspire to.

It is suggested here that further research to come out with a more definite finding should be carried out on the already observed phenomenon, namely, why more developed rural areas in the countryside tend to encourage rural-to-urban migration. Perhaps areas worth the proposed research could be those drier areas, for example, North Eastern Province, where the Government started rural development schemes such as the Mwea Rice Irrigation Project and the like to confirm or reject what has come to light in this study.

It is further suggested that there is an imperative need to re-examine and/or evaluate the current development projects, the growth centres, in the countryside to assess if they are really attempting to achieve their set goals one of which, of course, is to contain the rural-to-urban influx by creating relevant employment opportunities whose income levels are anywhere near the urban ones.

It is the opinion of the writer that rural-urban migration, especially of school-leavers, will continue albeit rural development now under way. Yet it could be reduced more markedly if more speedy decentralization of industries (in line with the now being experimented growth centres - Kenya 1974/78 Development Plan) was carried out while at the same time more job creation efforts be directed to rural areas than urban centres; let urban centres such as Nairobi stagnate in creating more job openings.

APPENDIX IA LIST OF TABLES

- 1 The Percentage Distributions of Major Problems facing school-leavers at home.
- 2 The Percentage Distributions of Plans about the Problem facing school-leavers at home.
- 3 The Percentage Distribution of the reasons for leaving their (job-seekers) present locations (rural areas) for Nairobi by level of Education attained.
- 4 The Percentage Distributions of Awareness or not of Income Differential between rural and urban centre, Nairobi, among school-leavers by level of Education.
- 5(a) The Percentage Distributions of School-leavers who said they were planning to move elsewhere from their home districts and those not planning to move.
- 5(b) The Percentage Distributions of School-leavers who said they were moving from home because of Awareness of Income Differential between rural areas and urban centres.
- 6(a) The Percentage Distributions of those job-seekers who mentioned places/towns as being their first choice where most income is earned.
- 6(b) The Percentage Distributions of those job-seekers who mentioned places/towns as being their second choice where more income is earned.

- 7(a) The Percentage Distributions of Responses of school-leavers and job-seekers regarding where it is easier and quicker to find a job by level of Education.
- 7(b) The Percentage Distributions of Responses of school-leavers who said they would move to Nairobi because of more job opportunity there than in rural areas.
- 8 The Percentage Distributions of Responses of job-seekers by level of Education concerning where they thought there were more job opportunity in the country.
- 9(a) The Percentage Distributions of school-leavers' responses relating to whether or not their fathers had land.
- 9(b) The Percentage Distributions of Responses of school-leavers on Inheritance of fathers' land.
- 10 The Percentage Distributions of levels of education attained as told by job-seekers interviewed in Nairobi by age group.
- 11 The Percentage Distributions of school-leavers on factors which would prevent them from migrating to distant urban centres.
- 12 The Percentage Distributions of school-leavers who have/have not gone to town to find work.
- 13 The Percentage Distributions of reasons given by (the) returned school-leavers/job-seekers interviewed in the rural areas.
- 14 The Percentage Distributions of Factors which might force job-seekers to return to their homes of origin.

APPENDIX II

QUESTIONNAIRE 2 : RURAL END

1 How old are you - - - - - Years (When were you born  
- - - - -Year).

(a) When did you complete school? - - - - - Year.

(b) What is the highest standard you completed? - - - - -

(c) Since you completed (left) school what do you think  
is your major problem here? - - - - -

- - - - -  
- - - - -

3 What do you plan to do about it?

- - - - -  
- - - - -  
- - - - -

4 Could you say if you know whether an employee in the town  
receives more wages/salary than the other employed in  
his own home district.

(1)- - - - - I am aware of the income  
difference between the two  
places.

(2) - - - - - I am aware that the incomes  
are the same.

(3) - - - - - I am unaware of any income  
differences.

(4) - - - - - I do not know what to say  
about the income differences.

5 IF AWARE of income differences how do you know?

(1) - - - - - Through relatives/Friends who  
have been away working in  
towns.

(2) - - - - - I have heard of the differences  
in radio announcement.

(3) - - - - - Read this in Newspapers.

(4) - - - - - I have worked in the two  
places.

IF NOT AWARE STILL ASK QUESTION 6 AND IF YES ASK WHY  
MOVING, IF NO WHY NOT - - - - -

6 (a) Do you plan to move from your home and find work  
elsewhere?

Yes - - - - - No - - - - -

(b) IF YES, Is it because of this awareness of the income  
differences that makes you plan to move to - - - - -  
to find a good and well-paying job?

Yes - - - - -

No - - - - -

7 (a) Where do you think it is easier and quicker to find  
job?

- - - - - here (rural area)

- - - - - town (urban area)

(b) IF TOWN MENTIONED, Would this factor make you migrate to town in search of work or still you would prefer to fetch it here?

-----  
-----  
-----

(c) IF FIND WORK HERE. Why would you not like to find work in town?

-----  
-----  
-----

8 (a) Is your father living? Yes - - - - - No - - - - -

(b) IF YES. What is his occupation? - - - - -

----- 1/2 -----

(c) How much income do you think he earns from this occupation per month/week? Shs. - - - - -

9 (a) Does he have land? Yes - - - - - No - - - - -

(b) IF YES. How many acres is it - - - - - -acres approx.

10 (a) Do you think there is any prospect of you inheriting of this land at your marriage or death of your father?;

----- Yes

----- No

----- Do not know

10 (b) IF NO. Would you say this absence of prospects of inheriting a portion of your father's land might force you leave your home district for town(s) to find work to help yourself?

Yes - - - - -

No - - - - -

(c) IF NO. In the absence of inheritance of father's land what will you do to live?

- - - - -  
- - - - -  
- - - - -

11 (a) If you wanted to leave your home area for, say, Mombasa which of these factors below would prevent you from going.

(1) - - - - - Absence of relatives/  
friends to care for me.

(2) - - - - - Uncertainty of finding work.

(3) - - - - - Money for transport.

12 (b) Would any of the above factors prevent you if you were to leave here for nearby town like Kisumu?

Yes - - - - -

No - - - - -

12 If you were offered a job in town with Shs. - - - - - per month and a job with Shs. - - - - - per month here, which job would you accept?

(1) - - - - - In town (Shs. - - - - -)

(2) - - - - - Here (Shs. - - - - -)

13 (a) Have you ever gone to town to find work?

Yes - - - - - No - - - - -

(b) IF YES. What made (forced) you return home?

- - - - -  
- - - - -  
- - - - -

(c) IF NO and you say you are after work what has made it difficult for you to go to town to find a job?

(1) - - - - - Money for transport lacking.

(2) - - - - - Absence of kinsmen/friend  
with whom to stay while  
looking for work.

(3) - - - - - Both of the above.

7

APPENDIX III

QUESTIONNAIRE 1: URBAN END - NAIROBI

INTERVIEWER'S INSTRUCTIONS

- INTRODUCE YOURSELF AND EXPLAIN OBJECTIVE OF STUDY.
- STATE THAT THE RESEARCH HAS BEEN APPROVED BY THE RELEVANT AUTHORITIES.
- SHOW YOUR LETTER OF IDENTITY IF NECESSARY.
- USE EXACT WORDING OF QUESTIONS.
- NOTE AND ADHERE TO THE TEXT IN CAPITAL LETTERS.
- USE REVERSE SIDE OF PAPER WHEN SPACE PROVIDED FOR ANSWER IS INADEQUATE.

Date of Interview - - - - -

Name of place of interview: Construction site a b c d e - - -

Labour Exchange - - - - -

Kenyanization B. - - - - -

( T I C K )

I would like to ask some questions about what made you come here and what you have been/are doing since coming here.

1 What is your age? Years - - - - - (Date of Birth - - - - -)

2 When did you come to Nairobi? Year 19- - - - -

(CHECK Q. FOR HOW LONG HAVE YOU BEEN HERE? - - - - Mths. - - Yrs.)

3 What made you decide to leave your home district for Nairobi?

- (1) - - - - - I could not find work at home
- (2) - - - - - My father had (has) no land which we could (can) farm.
- (3) - - - - - I wanted to advance my education
- (4) - - - - - I came to take a course to help me find work for there are more courses here than elsewhere.
- (5) - - - - - There were (are) no entertainment places e.g. beautiful dancing places, cinemas etc.
- (6) - - - - - I could not meet my aspirations or need at home (What needs)

-----

- (7) --- - - - - Others - - - - -
- 

4 Having decided to leave your home, why did you choose to come here and not other places?

- (1) - - - - - I thought I had the best opportunities of finding work.
- (2) - - - - - I thought wages here are higher.
- (3) - - - - - Most of my relatives/friends are here.

(4) - - - - - There are available, more social  
life opportunities, dances, cinemas  
etc.

(5) - - - - - There are more opportunities for  
one to advance one's education/  
course, more private/correspondence  
colleges being here.

(6) - - - - - Others - - - - -  
- - - - -

5 When you finally decided to come here you must have had  
information about job opportunities, income, living  
conditions etc.

Would you tell me which of the following gave you the  
most information about Nairobi?

- (1) - - - - - Clan Members
- (2) - - - - - Friends
- (3) - - - - - School Teacher
- (4) - - - - - Career advisor
- (5) - - - - - Radio
- (6) - - - - - Newspapers
- (7) - - - - - Others - - - - -  
- - - - -

6 What type of work are you after? - - - - -  
- - - - -  
- - - - -

7 How much income do you expect to earn per month/week  
Shs. - - - - -

8 Can you tell me which of the three places/towns have more  
income when one is working or doing any business in the  
place?

RANK THOSE THREE PLACES WITH HIGHER INCOME USING FIGURES  
1, 2, AND 3 TO DENOTE ORDER OF IMPORTANCE.

- (1) - - - - - Fishing in rivers/lakes
- (2) - - - - - Self-employed
- (3) - - - - - Employed by someone else
- (4) - - - - - Trading in local markets/towns
- (5) - - - - - Farming in Settlement schemes.
- (6) - - - - - Working in factors/companies like  
Miwani, Chemelil or Muhoroni Sugar  
Mills or any factories.
- (7) - - - - - Working in Kisumu
- (8) - - - - - Working in Nakuru
- (9) - - - - - Working in Nairobi
- (10) - - - - - Working in Mombasa

IF THE RESPONDENT IS AWARE OF INCOME DIFFERENCES ESP.  
BETWEEN NAIROBI AND OTHER PLACES, ASK QUESTIONS 9, 10.  
IF UNAWARE JUMP TO QUESTIONS 11 AND 12.

9 How do you know there is such income differences between  
Nairobi and - - - - -  
- - - - -  
- - - - -

10 Would you say it is this income/earning differences that made you decide to come and find work here? - - - - -

- - - - -

11 What has made you decide to come here? - - - - -

- - - - -

12 Would you like to work only in Nairobi? OR, anywhere in the country where work can be found?

(1) - - - - - In Nairobi

(2) - - - - - Anywhere in the country.

IF NAIROBI CONTINUE WITH QUESTION NOS. 12, 13, IF NOT JUMP TO QUESTION 14 AND CONTINUE.

13 Suppose you were offered a job paying Shs. - - - - per month in your home district and the same kind of job also paying Shs. - - - - here (Nairobi) which job would you rather have?

(1) - - - - - In my home district

(2) - - - - - Here (Nairobi)

WHICHEVER ANSWER GIVEN PROBE WHY THE PLACE TO WORKING IS CHOSEN

- - - - -

- - - - -

14 Suppose you were offered a job here (Nairobi) paying Shs. - - - - per month, would you accept the same kind of job in your home district if it paid less than Shs. - - - - per month.

- - - - -

- - - - -

15(a) For how long have you been looking for work here

-----

----- Weeks

----- Months

----- Years

(b) If long, say six months and over, ask:

What do you think is the main reason why you are not able find work here?

(1) - - - - - There is tribalism in hiring people

(2) - - - - - There is nepotism in hiring people

(3) - - - - - There are fewer jobs compared to  
the number of job-seekers.

(4) - - - - - I have too little training/education  
for the jobs available. 7

(5) - - - - - Others - - - - -

-----

16 In Kenya today there appears to be more jobs in agriculture farms (e.g. picking tea, coffee, or planting, weeding and cutting sugar canes) than in towns. If you were offered such jobs would you accept them?

Yes - - - - -

No - - - - -

IF NO. Why would you not accept such jobs?

-----

-----

-----

17(a) Where do you think there are more employment opportunities in the country?

- - - - - In home districts

- - - - - In towns

(b) If in towns why do you think so?

- - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

(c) You might have looked for work both in your home district and towns. In which place do you think it is easier to get a job?

(1) - - - - - In home district

(2) - - - - - In towns

(3) - - - - - I do not know /

(d) IF THE ANSWER IS TOWN, e.g. NAIROB, ASK:

Is this the main reason for your coming here (to find work in Nairobi)

Yes - - - - -

No - - - - -

18 If you fail to secure a city job what do you plan to do?

(1) - - - - - Continue to find it in other towns

(2) - - - - - Continue to look for it here

(3) - - - - - Move to agricultural farms to look for it

(4) - - - - - Return home and see what to do

(5) - - - - - I do not know what to do

(6) - - - - - Others - - - - -

- - - - -

19(a) Is your father living?

Yes - - - - - No - - - - -

(b) IF YES What is his occupation?

(1) - - - - - Fisherman (Fishmonger)

(2) - - - - - Peasant/Farmer

(3) - - - - - Businessman

(4) - - - - - Employee (Employed for wages)

(5) - - - - - Other - - - - -

- - - - -

29(a) Does he own land/shamba/farm?

Yes - - - - - No - - - - -

(b) IF YES, How many acres is it?

- - - - - 1/2 acre

- - - - - 1 acre

7

- - - - - 2 acres

- - - - - 3 acres

- - - - - 4 acres

- - - - - 5 acres and over

(c) How many brothers do you have:

Number of brothers - - - - -

21(a) Considering the size of your father's land and the number of brothers you have, do you think you have any prospects of inheriting a portion of this land?

Yes - - - - - No - - - - -

IF THE ANSWER IS "NO" CONTINUE QUESTION 19(b)



(b) In reaching the decision to come here and find work was it the absence of prospects of inheriting part of your father's land that made you decide to come here?

Yes - - - - - No - - - - -

22 When you were planning to come here which of these factors (mentioned below) did/do you consider most important in deciding to come and without which you would have not been able to come here?

USING FIGURES 1, 2 and 3 RANK THOSE THREE IN ORDER OF IMPORTANCE

(1) - - - - - I considered the chances of finding work

(2) - - - - - I considered the presence (or not) of relatives/friends in the place destination

(3) - - - - - I considered the cost of the journey involved

(4) - - - - - I considered the availability of amenities like cinemas, dances, etc.

(5) - - - - - Others - - - - -  
- - - - -

23 Could you state the highest standard of education you completed in school? (TICK STD/FORM/UNIV./ COMPLETED)

(i) Std. of education completed

in Primary school - - - - -

1

2

3

4

5

6

7

(ii) Form completed in Secondary/High School - - - -

I

II

III

IV

V

VI

(ii) University Education

24 Do you have any of the following

(1) - - - - - A P4 teacher training certificate

(2) - - - - - A P3 teacher training certificate

(3) - - - - - A trade test certificate: Grade - - -

(4) - - - - - A P2 teacher training certificate

(5) - - - - - A School Certificate or G.C.E. "O" level

(6) - - - - - A P1 teacher training certificate

(7) - - - - - A Higher School Certificate or  
G.C.E. "A" level

(8) - - - - - An S1 teacher training certificate

(9) - - - - - A University degree

(10) - - - - - None of the above

25 Apart from looking for employment are you taking or have you already completed any special training course such as a correspondence course, a driver training course, a mechanic's course?

(1) - - - - - Now taking

(2) - - - - - Completed

(3) - - - - - No

IF EITHER (1) OR (2) ask: What course(s) - - - - -

-----

26(a) If you found a job here, for how long would you wish to stay on the job? Number of Years - - - - -

(b) When you retire after many years' service where would you prefer to spend the rest of your life?

(1) - - - - - Anywhere in the country

(2) - - - - - In town

(3) - - - - - In my home district

(c) IF RETIRE HOME Why would you prefer retiring home to retiring either in town or place other than your home district? -----

-----

-----

27(a) When you decided to come here did you consider before hand the necessity of having a person with whom to stay while looking for work?

Yes - - - - -

No - - - - -

IF YES Is he your relative or friend?

- - - - - He is my relative

- - - - - He is my friend

(b) Since coming here with whom have you been staying?

- - - - - Relative

- - - - - Friend

- - - - - Others - - - - -

- - - - -

(c) Since coming here has/is your relative/friend (with whom you have (are) been staying) been helping you find work?

Yes - - - - -

No - - - - -

28 In your opinion what factor(s) might force you or make you return home? - - - - -

- - - - -

- - - - -

29 In your opinion where do you think you would wish to live and die?

(1) - - - - - Town

(2) - - - - - In my home district

What reason do you give for your preference

-----  
-----  
-----  
-----  
-----

47

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Allan, W. 1967; The African Husbandman, London; Oliver and Boyd.
- Byerlee, Derek; African Rural Employment Study: Research on Migration in Africa Past, Present and Future.
- Berg, E.; "The Economics of Migration in West Africa" in Population Migration and Urbanisation in Africa, p. 202; Ed. W.A. Hance.
- Berg, E.; The Economics of Migrant Labour System, pp. 160-181.
- Berg, E.J. 1961; "Backward-Sloping Labour Supply Functions in Dual Economies: The African Case" Quarterly Journal of Economics 75(3), pp. 468-492.
- Breese, Gerald, 1966; "Urbanisation in Newly Developing Countries pp. 40-48.
- Caldwell, J.C. and Okonjo, C.; The Population of Tropical Africa, pp. 326-329.
- Caldwell, J.C., 1968; Determinants of Rural-urban Migration in Ghana "Population Study, 22(3), pp. 361-377.
- Caldwell, John C., 1969; African Rural-Urban Migration, Canberra: Australian National University Press.
- Callaway, A.C., 1962; "School leavers and Developing Economies", in Nigerian Political Scene (Eds.) Tilman, R.O. and Cole Durham: Duke University Press, pp. 220-238.
- Callaway, A.C., 1963; "Unemployment and African School leavers", Journal of Modern African Studies 1(3), pp. 351-371.
- Callaway, A.C., 1967; "Education Expansion and the Rise of Youth Unemployment", The City of Ibadan, Ed. P.C. Lloyd et al, London, Cambridge University Press.

- CCK/CCEA; "After School What": Report on the Further Education, Training and Employment of Primary School-leavers, Nairobi, 1966.
- Dumont, 1966; "False Start in Africa", N.Y. Praeger.
- Ejiogu, C.N. 197 ; "African Rural-Urban Migration in the Main Migrant Areas of the Lagos, Federal Territory"
- Elkan Walter, 1960; Migrants and Proletarian, London and New York: Oxford University Press.
- Elkan Walter, 1967; "Circular Migration and the Growth of Towns in East Africa", International Labour Review 96(6), pp. 581-589.
- Fanon, F. 1966; "The Wretched of the Earth" New York Grove Press.
- Ghai, Dharam P., 1970; "Employment Performance Prospects and Policies in Kenya", East African Journal, 7(11), pp. 4-11.
- Gulliver, P.H.; "Labour Migration in Rural Economy" East African Studies No. EAISR 1955.
- Gulliver, P.H., 1960; "Incentives in Labour Migration", Human Organisation 19, pp. 159-163.
- Gugler, Josef, 1968; "The Impact of Labour Migration on Society and Economy in Sub-Saharan Africa: Empirical Findings and Theoretical considerations," Africa Social Research No. 6, p pp. 463-486.
- Gugler, Josef, 1969; "On the Theory of Rural-Urban Migration: The Case of Sub-Saharan Africa" Migration Edited by Jackson, J.A., Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Gugler, Josef, 1970; "Urban Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa",  
Makerere Institute of Social Research, Kampala, Uganda.
- Gugler, Josef, 1970; A Meaningful Unit of Analysis? Nkanga No. 6.
- Gutkind, Peter C.W., 1967; "The Energy of Despair": Social  
Organisation of the Unemployed in Two African Cities:  
Lagos and Nairobi" Civilizations.
- Gutkind, P.C.W., 1969; "Tradition, Migration, Urbanisation,  
Modernity and Unemployment in Africa: The Roots of  
Instability", Canadian Journal of African Studies 3(2),  
pp. 343-366.
- Gutkind, P.C.W., 197 ; "The Poor in Urban Africa: A Prologue  
to Modernisation Conflict and the Unfinished Revolution".
- Hamilton, C. Horace, 1956; "Population Pressure and other  
Factors Affecting Net Rural-Urban Migration", Demographic  
Analysis. Ed. by Otis D. Duncan and Joseph J. Spengler,  
Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press.
- Hance, W.A., 1970; Population, Migration and Urbanisation in Africa  
N.Y. Colombia University Press.
- Harvey, M.E., 1969; "Economic Development and Migration in  
Sierra Leone" Population Growth and Economic Development, 1972,  
Edited by Ominde, S.H. and Ejiogu, C.N., pp. 167-171.
- Heisel, D.F., 1966; "Demographic Trend and Education Needs"  
Kericho Report, Ed. Sheffield.
- Houghton, D. Hobart, 1958; "Migrant Labour in Africa",  
Transition Ed. Prudence Smith.

Houghton, D. Hobert, 1960; "Men of Two Worlds": Some Aspects of Migratory Labour in South Africa" The South African Journal of Economics, 28(3), pp. 177-190.

Hutton Caroline, 1966; "The Causes of Labour Migration"

Hutton Caroline, 1970a; "How the Unemployed Survive in Town: Kampala and Jinja, Uganda" Manpower and Employment Research in Africa, A Newsletter.

Hutton Caroline, 1970b; "Rates of Labour Migration" Nkanga 6: Urban Growth in Sub-Saharan Africa. Edited by Joseph Gugler, Kampala, Makerere University.

Hutton Caroline; The Reluctant Farmer?

International Labour Office, 1972; "Employment, Incomes and Equality: A strategy for Increasing Productive Employment in Kenya, pp. 1-82.

Jackson, J.A. Ed. 1969; Migration, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Kamoga, F.K.; Future of Primary School leavers in Uganda: Bulletin, Inter-Labour Institute, 12 (Feb. 65, p. 5-18)

Kenya Development Plan 1970/74 and 1975/78.

Kenya Population Census Vols. II and III 1969.

Kenya Government Ministry of Labour Annual Report 1970 and 71 pp. 20-21 and 1-3 respectively.

Kenya Government's Economic Survey, 1973; Manpower and Kenyanisation of School leavers ... p. 144.

- Kenya Government, Manpower Branch, Ministry of Labour and Social Services; "Report on the Tripartite Agreement on Measures for the Immediate Relief of Unemployment" *Bulletine Inter-African Labour Institute*, 12 (Feb. 1965), p. 94-98.
- Lee Everett, S. 1969; "A Theory of Migration" Migration Edited by J.A. Jackson. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, D.J.; Research Notes: "The Regional Factors in the Further Education and Employment of Male School-leavers" *The Journal of the British Sociological Association* Vol. 7 No. 3, September, 1973, pp. 429-435.
- Little Kenneth, 1965; West African Urbanisation A Study of Voluntary Associations in Social Change. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lock, S.C., et al; Nyanza Province: Regional Physical Development Plan - Town Planning Department, Ministry of Lands and Settlement, Kenya, May 1970, pp. 1.9-1.14.
- Mac Namara Roberts; "One Hundred Countries Two Billion People" pp. 48-50.
- Mitchell, J.C., 1959; "The Causes of Labour Migration" *Bulletine of International Labour Institute* 6(1), pp. 13-46.

- Mitchell, J.C.; "Labour and Population Movement in Central Africa"  
In Barbour and Prothero (Eds.) Essays on African  
Population, p. 237.
- Mitchell, J.C.; "Wage Labour and African Population Movements  
in Central Africa" In Prothero, R.M. and Barbour, K.B.  
(Eds.) Essays on African Population (Longmans, London.  
1961).
- Nyerere, J.; "Education for Self-Reliance, Africa Report, 12  
(June, 1967) pp. 20-40.
- Oloo, Dick; "Urbanisation, Its Social Problems and Consequences"
- Ominde, S.H.; Movement to Towns from the Nyanza Province, Kenya,  
in Urbanisation in African Social Change, Proceedings of  
the inaugural seminar, Center for African Studies,  
University of Edinburgh, 1963.
- Ominde, S.H., 1966; "Some Aspects of Population Movements in  
Kenya", in The Population of Tropical Africa, pp. 265-269.
- Ominde, S.H.; "Land and Population Movement in Kenya", p. 34.
- Ominde, S.H., 1965; "Population Movement to the Main Urban Areas  
of Kenya" Cahier d'Etudes Africaines (Paris) 5(4), pp. 593-617.
- Ominde, S.H., 1968; "Internal Migration of the Economically  
Active Age Group in Kenya" Ost Africanische Studien  
Ed. H. Berger.
- Ominde, S.H. and Ejiogu, Editors; Population Growth and Economic  
Development in Africa.

- Peil, M.; "Middle School leavers: Occupational Aspirations and Prospects", *Ghana Journal of Sociology* 2 (Feb. 1966) pp. 7-16.
- Prothero, R.M.; "Migration in Tropical Africa", in The Population of Tropical Africa Edited by Caldwell, J.C. and Okonjo, C. pp. 250-255.
- Rempel, Henry, 1970; "Labour Migration into Urban Centres and Urban Unemployment in Kenya".
- Richards, Audrey, 1954; *Economic Development and Tribal Change*.
- Schapera, I., 1957; Migrant Labour and Tribal Life, A Study of Conditions in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. London, Oxford University Press.
- Selltiz et al; Research Method in Social Relations.
- Sheffield, J.R.; Education, Employment and Rural Development, 1966, Kericho Report.
- Thomlinson, R., 1967; "Demographic Problems".
- Todaro, M.P., 1971a; "Education and Rural-Urban Migration: Theoretical Constructs and Empirical Evidence from Kenya", Paper presented at a conference on Urban Unemployment in Africa, IDS, University of Sussex.
- Todaro, M.P., 1971b; "Income Expectations, Rural-Urban Migration and Employment in Africa", *International Labour Review*, 104(5), pp. 387-414.

- Van Velsen, J. 1960; "Labour Migration as a Positive Factor in the Continuity of Tonga Tribal Society", *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, 8(3), pp. 265-279.
- Van De Walle; Implications of Increases in Rural Density in Population Growth and Economic Development in Africa (Eds.) Ominde, S.H. and Ejiogu, C.N., pp. 117-121.
- Whisson, M. 1964; Challenge and Change; A Study of the Social Changes among the Kenya Luo, Nairobi: ACME Press.
- Wrong 1961; Society and Population.