RURAL TO URBAN MIGRATION:

A SOCIOLOGICAL INTERPRETATION

RURAL TO URBAN
MIGRATION;
A SOCIOLOGICAL
INTERPRETATION

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ELIZABETH SHANYISA KHASIANI

A Thesis submitted in part fulfillment

for the Degree of Master of Arts in

the University of Nairobi

1978

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

E. Akhasiani

ELIZABETH SHANYISA KHASIANI

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

J. H. van Doorne

IR. HANS van DOORNE

P. Walji

MISS PARVIN WALJI

E. K. Mburugu

DR. E. K. MBURUGU

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This work was seen to its completion by several people to whom I wish to take this opportnity to express my gratitude.

I wish to thank the Population Council, New York, which through the University of Nairobi provided a grant which made it possible for this study to be carried out.

I am greatly indebted to my Supervisors, Dr. J.H. van Doorne and Miss Parvin Walji, whose untiring efforts, constant advice and encouragement will not be forgotten.

I also wish to thank Prof. Philip M. Mbithi for his patience in going through all my drafts and for his useful advice, and Dr. Mburugu for his most helpful comments.

My thanks also go to Mama, Bahati, Asante, Shiveti and Okuttu who collected the data for this study, often under difficult cirstances, and to the people of Shirere and Kambiri both in Kakamega district and in Nairobi city whose cooperation made data collection possible.

Finally, I wish to thank Miss Mehrun Ramji and Mrs. Mary Lou Richey for typing this work.

ABSTRACT

This study argues that the ultimate causes of accelerating rural to urban migration must be sought in the social dynamics of the rural societies and that these same causal factors also affect the urban adaptation process of migrants.

This study critically examines theoretical models which put forward rationalistic motives as explaining the reasons for accelerating rural to urban migration, and comes to the conclusion that:

(1) These theoretical models are more appropriate for explaining the causes of rural to urban migration process in its initial stages because the factors initiating this process could be economic motives. They however do not explain the factors supporting and accelerating the process, which is our concern just now.

(2) These theoretical models in emphasizing economic motives as explaining the migration process, are only dealing with some of the factors and exclude others; and all of these are involved in a complex social interaction which creates an atmosphere conducive to migration.

The study suggests an alternative and broader approach which brings into single focus all factors both social (economic motives included) and non-social, bearing on the given situation as causing

the movements of people to town, and influencing their adaptation process there.

The methodology employed for this study involved a comparative study of the attitudes of members of the two selected rural communities in Kakamega district of Western Kenya, and a follow-up study of migrants from the same rural communities living in Nairobi city. Attitudes were examined here because it was assumed that attitudes are psychological reflections of the social dynamics in a society. Attitudes have a social origin so that motivation which results from attitudes at the psychological level is cause which results from normative conditions at the social level.

At the urban end this study examined the adaptation process of members of the two rural communities living in town, in an attempt to find out the influence of rural attitudes internalized during rural socialization and carried within the migrants to towns, or their adaptation patterns.

This study therefore examined migration as a process resulting from changes occurring in the rural societies. Migration was also examined as a process, itself leading to changes both in the rural communities and in the urban centres.

CHAPTER 1

Problem Statement and Scope of Study

This study is an attempt to understand the accelerating rural to urban migration flows in Kenya from a field investigation conducted in Kakamega District of Western Kenya. More specifically, this study attempts to identify some of the causes of rural to urban migration. The second objective is to improve our understanding of the migrants' adjustment process by linking this to the causes of migration.

Rural to urban migration is frequently seen as undesirable and the root cause of problems at both places of origin and places of destination. Such migration frequently results in a loss of the most talented young people from rural areas and leaves many rural households with the absence of male heads. Within urban areas, rural to urban migration contributes substantially to the high rates of urban population growth and the problems associated with this, such as under- and un- employment, housing shortages and the shortage of basic infrastructure (Todaro, 1968; ILO Report; Stren, 1974; Huntington, 1974). Moreover the lack of agreement about the causes of rural to urban migration has greatly reduced policy makers in their attempts to reduce it (Kenya Development Plans, 1970-74:167-68; 1974-1978:116-120).

This study attempts to delineate the causes of rural to urban migration (hence forth going to be referred to as "migration" in this

study) by examining some rural communities and finding out why people migrate. We assume, people's behavior is motivated by their attitudes and that their attitudes are (to a large extent) socially determined. Migration is thus viewed as a behavior determined by conditions in the rural communities. Therefore to understand why people migrate, one must examine their attitudes in the socio-cultural milieu where they are formed. In this respect, this study assumes that, migration as a behavior is dependent on supportive elements in the rural community.

The second assumption of this study is that different causes of migration result in different patterns of urban adaptation. This study will examine whether migrants from different rural backgrounds explore and exploit the opportunities open to them in the same urban centres in different ways. The general hypothesis is that attitudes acquired earlier in life have an influence on one's later life and that adaptation is affected by the specific rural background where attitudes are formed.

These two assumptions are based on a more general one that migration is not a break with the rural community but is an exponent of the existing link between rural communities and urban areas as exemplified by rurally transmitted attitudes relative to urban life.

Justification for the Study

This study is an attempt to deal with a complex widely studied problem (see Morill, 1965; Jackson, ed. 1969; Matingu 1974; etc.). Its justification lies in the consideration of four factors:

1. This is a comprehensive study which examines both the rural communities migrants come from and their urban destinations. In this way the study tries to establish the causes of migration and the influence of these on adaptation in the urban environment. This is a different way of trying to understand this process, most migration studies having concentrated either only on the urban end (Todaro, 1968; Rempel, 1974; etc.) or only the rural end (e.g., Mbithi and Barnes, 1975; Matingu, 1974, etc.).
2. Migration scholars have usually emphasized economic motives as the most important factor (Schapera, 1947; Richards, 1954; Gugler, 1965, etc.). This study attempts to shift this emphasis and focuses on the normative expectations. That is, we will take the position that many young people are socialized in their rural community and in their family to have an expectation to move. If this can, in fact, be demonstrated it will represent a significant step in our effort to improve our understanding of migration. From a practical perspective, it will suggest that efforts to reduce rural to urban migration must not be directed only at potential migrants but also at the social context within which the expectations are formed.
3. Rural to urban migration is a result of mutual influence between the areas the migrants come from and the areas they move to and the migrants themselves. This is a social change process and an understanding of this change process could be an important contribution to the literature of social change.

4. Finally, and equally important, an understanding of the migration process and the attitudes of migrants both those who have returned to the village from town, those people in the village who are potential migrants and the actual migrants currently living in the urban centres, would assist policy makers in taking appropriate development actions, and in their efforts to reduce migration flows.

Summary of the Study

This study looks at factors leading to migration and the effect of these factors on the adaptation of migrants. Chapter one generally introduces this problem and indicates the scope of the study.

Chapter two critically examines some theoretical models which emphasize economic factors as either the most important (anthropologists) or the only reason (economists) for migration. This chapter suggests an alternative and broader approach which brings into focus a number of social and non social factors influencing the movements of people to towns and their adaptation. The hypotheses for the study are generally introduced here.

Chapter three is the methodology chapter. It defines the area of study and presents important background information relevant for the study. The sampling procedure, the sample units and the interview units are discussed as are the data collection procedures. The hypotheses are formulated, variables are identified and indicators are defined.

Chapter four looks at the rural communities examined in this study (Shirere and Kambiri sublocations). The attitudes of the people

relating to migration and urban life are examined, and an attempt is made to compare the attitudes of these two areas.

Chapter five makes an attempt to compare some of the salient characteristics of the patterns of adaptation portrayed by migrants from Shirere and Kambiri communities in Nairobi. The chapter tries to see if any differences in adaptation patterns of members of these communities can be traced back to differences in attitudes towards migration and urban life carried with them from their rural socialization.

The concluding chapter of this study, looks at migration as a process resulting from social change. This chapter tries to determine when this change process starts. Some recommendations both for future social studies and for development activities are presented here.

CHAPTER 2

Theory and Literature Review

Accelerating rural to urban migration flows in developing countries have attracted the attention of scholars and policy makers who are interested in discovering its causes and effects. One problem in most discussions of rural to urban migration centers around the concept of migration.

Conventionally, migration is defined as a movement from one permanent residence to another, across political boundaries (Shryock and Siegal et al., 1975:616). In this study migration is defined as a movement from a rural social environment to an urban social environment. According to this definition, geographic mobility such as commuting or diurnal movements do not qualify as migrations. And a migrant is defined here as a person who has changed residence from a rural social environment to an urban social environment.

Anthropologists were among the first scholars to study migration in developing countries. They emphasized economic factors as the most important factors causing migration. Schapera (1947), one of the first anthropologists to study migration in Africa indicates that there are three factors causing migration. The first set of factors are social and psychological, including the desire for adventure, the desire to be initiated into manhood, which migration represents and the desire to acquire urban goods. The second factor causing migration is the

desire to escape from domestic and communal problems. Schapera argues that these two factors are responsible for migration of individuals, but that they do not explain the mass movement of people from the village. The third and most important factor causing migration is economic necessity, of which he says:

> "A far more universal cause and certainly the most important of all is economic necessity. The majority of men sought work abroad (in the mines, plantations and industries) in order to be able to pay taxes and/or purchase clothing and other goods and some gave as their sole reason "poverty", i.e., lack of source of income" (Schapera, 1947:121).

He argues that there is rising level of wants among the members of the rural communities. Those whose wants can be met in the village stay here while those unable to adequately satisfy their wants at home move.

Gulliver (1955), studied the Ngoni and Ndendenli of Southern Tanzania. He noted that, the low agricultural productivity here was the overwhelming reason why the Ngoni migrated:

> "Although money could be increased by hard and consistent work at home, Ngoni feel it is easier to earn it through labour migration because of the low agricultural standard here. Ngoni migrate because of the need for money. Other causes of migration are relatively unimportant and generally of the "last straw" type, i.e., difficulties which affect the individual in the family or social life which go to tip the balance and induce a man to leave his home for a spell at a particular time."
> (Gulliver, 1955:32)

Unlike Schapera, Gulliver argues that even for cases of individual migration, economic factors are the most important causes of migration.

Mitchell(1965) in his study on urbanization in Southern Rhodesia concludes that:

> "The basic factor for migration although not sufficient is economic necessity."
> (Mitchell in edition by J.A. Jackson, 1965:171)

He argues that high population density on land coupled with cash needs for fees, taxes and the desire for urban goods lead to migration to towns. He further states that social and personal factors add to the decision to migrate. Persons disadvantageously placed in the hierarchy of the rural community will be more prone to migrate than people advantageously placed.

The approach these anthropologists adopted emphasized economic motives as the most important although not the only causes of migration. Social, psychological and political factors have their part to play, although their roles in this process are of secondary nature. This approach does not focus on all the factors involved in continuing migration but it can be argued that these scholars were pioneers in attempting to explain this process and that they were dealing with the process in its initial stages. And even more important these scholars were dealing with labour migration in a different socio-economic set-up, i.e., the colonial situation in which labour was needed for the urban industries and on European farms. Their approach could therefore be valid. Economic factors could be most important in explaining the beginning of migration, for instance, people may have been first pushed out of their rural homes as a result of drought or the need for money to pay taxes. But even after most countries of the third world have gained independence, migration not only still continues, but with time, the process seems to have become established and self-sustaining In this event, it is up to the subsequent scholars of migration to examine the factors involved in this established form of this process.

Economists like anthropologists have pointed to the importance

of economic factors in migration, but unlike anthropologists, economists have emphasized economic factors as the sole causes of migration. This approach is based on the social theory which assumes that man is rational. This then becomes an economic model in which it is argued that man is rational and that he will prefer more rather than less of a good other things being equal. He will therefore move to areas of maximum opportunity.

This is the theoretical model on which most migration studies explaining 19th century Europe are based (Davis, Kingley in ed. by Knopf, 1965; G. Breese, ed. 1972). At this time, most migration resulted from basic industrial and economic changes occurring there. There was a change from the stable population of urban areas characterized by economic activities based on commerce and guilds to industrial development which required labour. There was labour movement from the deteriorating rural hinterland to towns. Migration as a result has been associated with population adjustment from areas of less opportunities to areas of more opportunity.

This theoretical model assumes that migration will be to areas of opportunity and that eventually there will be adjustment and equalization of these opportunities. In Europe both assumptions have to a large extent been realized. There has been a degree of levelling of rural imbalances in opportunity but not before the majority of people came to live in the industrialized centres. But in developing countries, migration is continuing despite lack of urban opportunities. Therefore the first assumption seems to be invalid and the second assumption seems to be still a long way off when applied to Africa.

There is no disappearance of rural-urban differences. And this seems to be due to the peculiar nature of these urban centres.

All cities in subSaharan Africa except for the native cities (e.g., Timbuktu and Mali in Sudan; Ibadan in West Africa; Berbera and Addis Ababa in the Horn of Africa; Mombasa and Dar-es-Salaam in East Africa and Tananarive in Madagascar; See Hamdon, G. in ed. by Breese, 1972) developed solely through external influence. They were either commercial, administrative or mineral centres for colonialists. They were built for European colonialists and maintained high standards which were unrealistic and which contrasted sharply with the surrounding rural economy. These towns were outward looking and their growth is unrelated to the development of the rural communities. They were involved in the international trade system which determined urban wage structure and the consumption pattern of urban population. This is the phenomenon of "exploding cities in unexploding economies." (Colin Roser, 1972:31)/ The differences between rural and urban areas continue and urban areas as centres of apparent affluence continue to attract many rural people despite lack of opportunities in these urban centres.

The push-pull economic model based on the assumption of eventual reduction of rural-ubran imbalances, thus portrays weaknesses when applied to Africa. But despite this perceived weakness, this model has been used as a basis of migration studies in Africa. Thus migration is usually considered as the outcome of the interplay and balance of expulsive factors existing in the rural areas and attractive forces operating in the city. Differences in combinations of such forces result in population movement to towns.

Todaro (1971) in a study carried out in Kenya, uses this model. He argues that rural to urban migration is accelerating despite a relatively slow growth in non-agricultural employment opportunities. There is increasing evidence of unemployment in urban centres. He further argues that economic factors are important in affecting the decision to migrate. Urban wages are rising because they are determined by the international market system, and do not depend on rural economic development. Rural economic development on which rural incomes depend is growing very slowly and is in some cases stagnant. Therefore the rural incomes remain low and the gap between them and the urban wages is ever widening. He says:

> "In Kenya average wages of African employees in non-agricultural sector rose from K.£97 in 1960 to K£180 in 1966, a growth rate of 11% per annum, and in agricultural sector over the same period average earning rose from K.£ 67 to K. £77, a growth rate of 5% per annum. Urban wage growth is more than twice that of the agricultural income. This factor effects the decision to migrate."
> (Todaro, 1971:6)

And G. E. Johnson and W. E. Whitelow in a paper on urban to rural income transfer in Kenya support the point on widening gap when they argue that:

> "Job opportunities in the modern sector of the economy will be restricted by both large wage changes and a high wage level and this will create a downward pressure on wage levels in the rural sector thus exacerbating the fundamental distortion in distribution in income."
> (Johnson and Whitelow, 1972:1)

The second factor put forward by Todara as offering the decision to migrate is the probability of finding a job. He observes that this probability rises with education. Therefore educated people will be more prone to migration. For the uneducated, the probability of

finding a job increases with length of stay in town and when eventually the migrant gets employed, the wages are worth the long wait. Therefore to the new migrants the most important factor is not that they are presently unemployed but rather that they will eventually be employed.

Thus migration to urban centres occurs even when new and better employment opportunities are extremely low or even lacking (Todaro, 1971). In this case there is a combination of forces in which the pull factors in urban centres is greater. In other instances rural conditions may be improving but this is still insufficient to curb the urban flows. But the general trend is that of decreasing job opportunities. A. I. Richards in her study on labour migration in Buganda (1955:65) asked the immigrants to give the reasons for leaving their homes on each successive visit. She came out with results showing a long series of frustrations and hardships experienced by migrants in their areas of origin which forced them to immigrate to Buganda from the neighbouring countries in search of employment. And in Kenya, there seems to be increasing shortage of land so that Rempel in this study (Rempel, 1970), notes that:

> "One of the main reasons why relatively few men were farming prior to migration is that only one third of the men have land which they can farm. In addition 31% of the migrants had no land. Therefore the majority of the migrants are landless, and almost one-half of the men without land have no prospects of obtaining land unless they earn sufficient money to purchase it."
> (Rempel, 1970:37)

Population growth in the rural areas accentuates this problem, so that unemployment rates in the rural areas are estimated to be about

12% (ILO Report 1972:10) and some people are compelled to migrate and with the blessings of those left behind.

The push-pull model based on economic factors like income differences and land shortage is useful but runs the risk of reducing the whole process to impersonal forces and excessively emphasizing man's rational motives. This approach excludes both social and psychological processes involved in the decision to migrate or stay. These studies have also not sought the ultimate causal factors of migration since they have emphasized factors correlated with migration, e.g., characteristics of migrants including age, sex, education and land ownership. These factors do not explain the migration process. In addition to this, these scholars have used a weak methodological device. Although they have propagated the push-pull model which involves rural and urban aspects they have mainly concentrated on the urban end and have ignored the rural end. These studies have therefore only yielded a fraction of the total information, thus concealing other factors which might be the real cause of accelerating migration flows.

For instance Rempel in his study on labour migration into urban centres and urban unemployment (Rempel 1970), argues that distance is an important barrier to movement of people to towns. He says that:

> "The purpose of this variable (distance) was, to measure the effect of the cost of making a rural to urban move on the migration flows....Distance was found (to be) the greatest barrier to a move for men with primary school education....but was a less significant barrier to migration of men with secondary education."
> (Rempel, 1970:114)

Here Rempel seems to be talking strictly about physical distance from

urban centres. He does not consider any other type of distance, and yet, it is possible that people physically located long distances from towns can be mentally closer to town than people living physically short distances from towns, and money might not be the only cost involved.

More important however, the rural-urban migration situation in Kenya seems to particularly challenge the emphasis laid by such studies on rationalistic motives as crucial in the decision to move to towns and in the adjustment process. From these studies it would appear that sources of urban migrants should be rural communities with very low employment opportunities and with the lowest agricultural potential in the country. But studies in Kenya (e.g. Ominde, 1968) have shown that the higher source areas which include Nyanza, Western and Central Provinces, are also areas of relatively higher employment opportunities and the highest agricultural land potential (See also 1969 Kenya Population Census, Vol. IV, Analytical Report: 14). Incomes in these areas do not fall far below the average urban incomes. These were the areas which experienced greatest contact with the Colonialists (Atieno-Odhiambo, 1973) and which have therefore experienced the highest degree of awareness of urban life. In this study rationalistic motives are assigned a secondary role while social and psychological factors become more important. A rural community with a higher degree of awareness of urban aspects of life would be more prone to migrate than a tradition oriented rural community with little awareness of urban life. This study will examine rural communities for socio-psychological factors like

awareness of urban life and institutionalization of attitudes favouring urban life and the influence of this on migration behaviour and the urban adjustment process of migrants.

The present study while retaining the push-pull hypothesis as a model presenting a good framework within which to carry out this investigation also seeks to elaborate it so that it covers all factors which affect the migration and adjustment processes. Migration is a process involving physical movement and as seen above, it involves movement from a rural situation to an urban situation. The rural situation is the fact to be first explained here. This is the situation that creates an atmosphere condusive to migration and which therefore must be understood in order to understand migration and the subsequent adjustment process of migrants in town. The situation consists of three inter-related elements and its analysis requires three kind of information which include:

> "The objective conditions under which the individual or society has to act, that is, the totality of factors - economic, social, intellectual - which at the given moment affect individuals or the group (secondly) the pre-existing attitudes of the individual or the group which at the given moment have an actual influence upon his behaviour and (thirdly) the definition of the situation, that is, the more or less clear conditions and consciousness of attitudes."
> (Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918, Vol. 1:1-90)

The three elements which form the total situation are then, the objective condition, the normative and the subjective conditions. These three elements are only separated here for analytical purposes. In reality they are involved in a complex interaction with and affect each other, so that the notion of interrelation is put forward

as basic to this study. The interrelated elements form the total situation (a concept borrowed from W.I. Thomas, 1928). McIver's concept of "total environment" carries a similar connotation. He argues that:

> "We distinguish the various factors of the total environment for purposes of study but they all merged together in our experience. When a man turns territory into a country, or a plot of earth into a home he is fusing into one the physical and the social environment. His activity as he clears and cultivates the soil, dams rivers, builds roadways and so on in time makes it impossible to tell where the geographical or nature given (objective) environment begins. The physical becomes at the same time the symbol of the social. It is changed with humam memories, human traditions, human values. Much of it becomes the external expression of the social institution." (McIver and Page, 1949:118)

Society consists of social organizations which are composed of institutions which together constitute a system of rules imposed by social groups on their members. These rules are related to the physical environment of a society, so that the actions of individuals in a society are determined by the objective conditions and their attitudes and values acquired during socialization.

The relationship between society and personality is one of reciprocal interaction, personality receiving from society the major parts of its attitudes and values within the framework of social organizations, so that personal definitions of situations and socio-cultural definitions are consistent and interact and individual actions can be predicted from existing social institutions and social norms. In relation to this, McIver argues that dynamic assessment of behaviour must bring into single focus all factors both social and non-social. And Weber (Weber in ed. by G. Roth and C. Wittich, 1948:4),

conclude that ultimate emphasis must be placed on defining behavior subjectively for the situation involved since action is a response to situations.

From the foregoing, it can be argued that attitudes are closely related to the normative and objective conditions of a society. Triandis (1971) defines attitudes as

> "an idea charged with emotion which disposes a class of actions to a particular class of social situations (Triandis, 1972:2)".

An attitude consists of three interrelated components. A cognitive component which is a set of ideas used in thinking, an affective component which are emotions either negative or positive which change the ideas and behavioural component which is a disposition to act.

Attitudes are thus psychological attributes and they motivate behavior. But attitudes are learned by the individual through the process of becoming a member of a family, groups and society, so that he learns to react to his social world in consistent and specific ways. Attitudes are therefore relatively stable (Sherif and Sherif, in ed. 1967:2), the three attitudes components mutually supported each other. But attitudes also change, a circumstance which could result from a shift in any one of the three attitudes components. And attitudes can also change as a result of change in the environment (objective, normative and psychological) which created these attitudes in the first place and which continues to support them (Triandis, 1971"82). Thus to understand the role of attitudes in behaviour one must examine not only the internal structure of the attitudes themselves but also the total environment creating and supporting these attitudes. So that although motivation is a psychological attribute, it has social origins, motivation at the

psychological level being cause at the social level and therefore psychological attributes are rooted in social phenomena. Attitudes are therefore the psychological expression of the underlying social dynamics, and an understanding of social attitudes calls for an understanding of the total situation which includes the objective conditions, the normative conditions and the psychological conditions of a society.

The objective conditions include individual attributes such as education, sex and age; physical conditions such as available material resources, dense settlement resulting from increasing population and which leads to pressure on land and land shortage and geographical location; and economic conditions like low agricultural production resulting from over-cultivated land, low employment opportunities and low incomes. This study will compare the objective conditions of two rural communities and their effect on migration and urban adaptation process of migrants.

Objective conditions do not operate in a vacuum but rather in a normative socio-cultural context. Normative Conditions are culturally defined aspects of the objective conditions. They are the rules by which the group maintains and regulates frequent type of action considered as desirable. They define what conditions are considered better and values, attitudes and behaviour patterns for different categories of members of the society. Established states of such rules are social institutions and institutions make up social organization. And social organizations are the media through which the people of any society interact with their physical environment. In the physical environment are numerous resources which the human

population must tap for continued existence. Interaction with the physical environment is characterized by competition, conflict and reciprocity. Therefore norms have of necessity emerged relating human behavior, human values and human attitudes to the physical environment so that there is interrelatedness and integration. These social behavior, values, and attitude are the institutions passed on to the younger generation through the socialization process. This study is going to examine such attitudes maintained by rural communities which relate to migration and urban life.

The third element of the social situation is the Subjective Condition and it is related to the rules and institutions which mould a person's attitudes and subsequently his definition of situations. The definition of the situation is begun outside by the family and the community and the school which socialize the individual. So then in any individual, the norms and attitudes of the society are internalized and these are reflected in his psychological pattern, i.e., his cognition, his valuation of reality and his subsequent behaviour disposition. This study is going to examine attitudes held by members of rural communities and their relationship to migration and urban adaptation process of migrants from these communities.

Application of the Model to Migration in Africa

Rural to urban migration was not an aspect of the traditional rural communities. In the traditional period, the rural communities did not encourage individual migration. Norms emphasized close physical attachment to the ancestral land. Economic activities were

non-monetary. Migration as an established process (there was migration before) was introduced with colonization which was accompanied by urbanization. At first the process was forced upon the indigenous population in order to meet labour needs on European farms and in urban factories and in administrative offices. Today migration is not only voluntary but it is flowing at unanticipated rates. (ILO Report 1972; Breese 1972, Rempel, 1974). And Godfrey says this of migration:

> "For a variety of reasons parents want their children to escape from traditional rural into the modern urban environment."
> (Godfrey, 1972:33)

Mayer (1961) also brings out the same idea of the interrelated system as forming the proper context in which to analyze social action when in his discussion on labour migration in South Africa he states that:

> "Wage earning then is a normal part of Red peasant life and wage earning has become pratically synonymous with going to town....As going to town is one of the regular expectations of the Xhosa boy, a certain positive moral value is found to attach to it. Sons of peasants "ought to go to town".
> (Mayer, 1961:91)

This same idea finds support in Abner Cohen's study (1969), in which he argues that a study of the Hausa migrants in Yoruba to be complete, must bring into single focus economic, political as well as social linkages since these are closely inter-connected and overlap. He says that:

> "nearly every stage in the chain of trade, economic institutions are closely connected with political institutions. And both types of institutions are embedded in a web of social relationships between the people involved. So that at every step the study of the organization of the trade poses problems of interconnections between economic, political and other social factors" (migration included)
> (Cohen, 1969:78)

And Huntington in his study in Kenya (Huntington 1974:9) notes that the decision to migrate is not made solely by the individual, but by the whole households which see this decision as an investment affecting their welfare and as a security for the older members in their old age. He also notes that in urban centres, ethnic linkages are important in providing information on job availability and in support of newly arrived unemployed migrants.

So that migration itself a physical action, has gained social overtones and is therefore culturally significant and must be understood within the socio-cultural context of the society. As an indication of this, our study is going to examine the socialization in rural communities to see what attitudes members of these communities hold and inculcate into their young relating to migration and urban life. The study is also going to look at adaptation process of migrants from the selected rural communities in order to determine the influence if any, of rural socialization on the actual experience in town of these members when they do migrate. This study therefore attempts to examine both the rural and urban ends of the push-pull model, the rural communities and the urban centres being considered as two linked areas of the same social environment.

Many studies attempting to explain the social factors leading to increasing migration have mainly dwelt on formal education as the main socialization agent leading to this phenomena. These studies have propogated the "white collar" hypothesis, that is, the educated migrate because they have been taught to despise rural activities. They argue that formal education was left in the hands of missionaries who inculcated Western values into Africans, so that the educated

African does not fit into the rural community. He was trained for white collar jobs and therefore has to move to town, and the higher the education the higher the propensity to move (Caldwell, 1974; Rempel 1974; Huntington, 1974).

While not disputing the part played by education as an agent of socialization leading to migration, education alone cannot be the cause of migration. In fact the acceptance of formal education by the rural communities is itself a fact which needs to be explained, in which case education has to be considered within the framework of social change processes occuring in the rural communities, the changing values, attitudes and skills which affect migration.

Socialization and Adaptation

The heavy exodus of rural people to towns is a circumstance that hitherto was not encouraged by the rural communities. The fact that these same rural communities are encouraging it, seems to indicate that changes have occured here relating to migration behaviour. New values have emerged and the migration process appears to be the means through which these values can be realized and it is now positively sanctioned and norms to induce conformity to the migration behavior have emerged. In other words, migration appears to be considered as socially acceptable behaviour and the rural societies seem to be socializing their young to migrate in future. This study is therefore not dealing with the factors that initiated this process, nor with the process in its initial stages (as did the anthropologists) but rather with the factor that are supporting it now. It is assumed (from earlier studies) that migration is a process already established.

It has created a history of its own, with a psychology passed down to the younger generation through the socialization process. Migration has led to the creation in the rural communities and new attitudes which support and propagate it. This study will examine rural attitudes relating to migration and urban life inculcated into the young through the socialization process. So that one hypothesis which is going to be tested in this study is that socialization imparts on young people a positive attitude towards migration and urban life.

Socialization is the process whereby the young are prepared for adult membership in any society. It is a continuous process during which the individual is socially developed so that he acquires and internalizes ideas and value, relevant for action in the given society. Thus socialization induces the individual to some degree of conformity to the rules of society or the group to which an individual belongs. This is how societies survive.

Social Control and Conformity are complementary aspects of socialization. Norms are rules defining behavior, but they are not coercive imperatives demanding complete conformity. They give broad indications and within these the individual enjoys a certain amount of flexibility and individual definition. Therefore we cannot talk of complete control of the society over the individual (Cook-Gumperz, 1973).

Norms vary with different situations since the varying situations require different behavior and therefore different norms. There are also different means of enforcing norms. Norms may be enforced informally through the socialization agents, e.g., the family snd

The origin of the term adjustment is a point of disagreement in many studies. It is sometime traced to the United States, but it may have earlier origins, having emerged in the literature of United States from Great Britain or the term could have originated in Canada where it was used much earlier and then probably entered Colonial history from there.

Three orientations have been used in connection with the terms adjustment of European immigrants in America.

A first orientation is referred to as the melting pot model and it takes the position that as people migrate to the new nations and meet new people, they mix, and the end product are new people with their own characteristics; for instance, the French, the British and the Spanish mix and give rise to the new American with new and different characteristics (Price, C. in ed. by J. A. Jackson, 1965). It has since been found that this is not necessarily so. People keep ethnic ties and especially the poorer groups and minorities (Oscar Lewis, 1959; Thomas ans Znaniecki, 1918-1920). But although these people cling to certain characteristics of the sending community, they have to borrow some aspects of the host community in order to live in it. So that the Polish peasant immigrants in America do not become a new American with completely different characteristics and nor do they resemble the Polish peasant in Poland.

A second approach, The Third Generation Model suggests that adaptation occurs over a three generation time span. The first generation migrants have a language of their own and do not know the language of the other migrants. The children of these migrants however

grow up in the new society. Thus the second generation is a new group entering into activities of the host community and are thus more integrated into American life. It is the third generation who are completely integrated. They have never known their language and they consider themselves to be American and not French or Spanish (Price, C. in ed. by J. A. Jackson, 1965).

A last view is that adaptation implies moving from ethnicity as the important principle in people's lives to religion. People develop indirectly as Protestants, Catholics and Jews and other smaller sects. Identity that used to be along ethnic lines is now along religious lines (N. Glazier and Daniel Moynihanin in ed. by Albert N. Cousins and Hans Nagpaul, 1970;203-210).

Numerous studies both in Europe and America on adjustment have come out with findings some supporting and some disproving some of these three orientations. And studies carried out on immigrant population have come to the conclusion that individual immigrant's adjustment depends on personal and social background and their motives for migration. Price's work on Southern Europeans shows the strength of the influence of the sending community as shown in the desire to recreate family and village in the new country (Price, C. 1963; Thomas and Znaniecki, 1918-20).

In Africa, the phenomenon of migration is relatively recent so that it has not been possible to test these adjustment models here yet. Nevertheless a few studies on the rural background of migrants and on migrants' urban adjustment process have been carried out. Kenneth Little (1965), in his discussion on urbanization in West Africa, indicates that migrants are moving from one way of life with different

behaviour patterns to an urban environment with a completely different way of life. The migrants to town are thus new people in an alien environment, and they are assisted to adjust to their new environment by voluntary associations which evolve in town as part of the overall social change process taking place here.

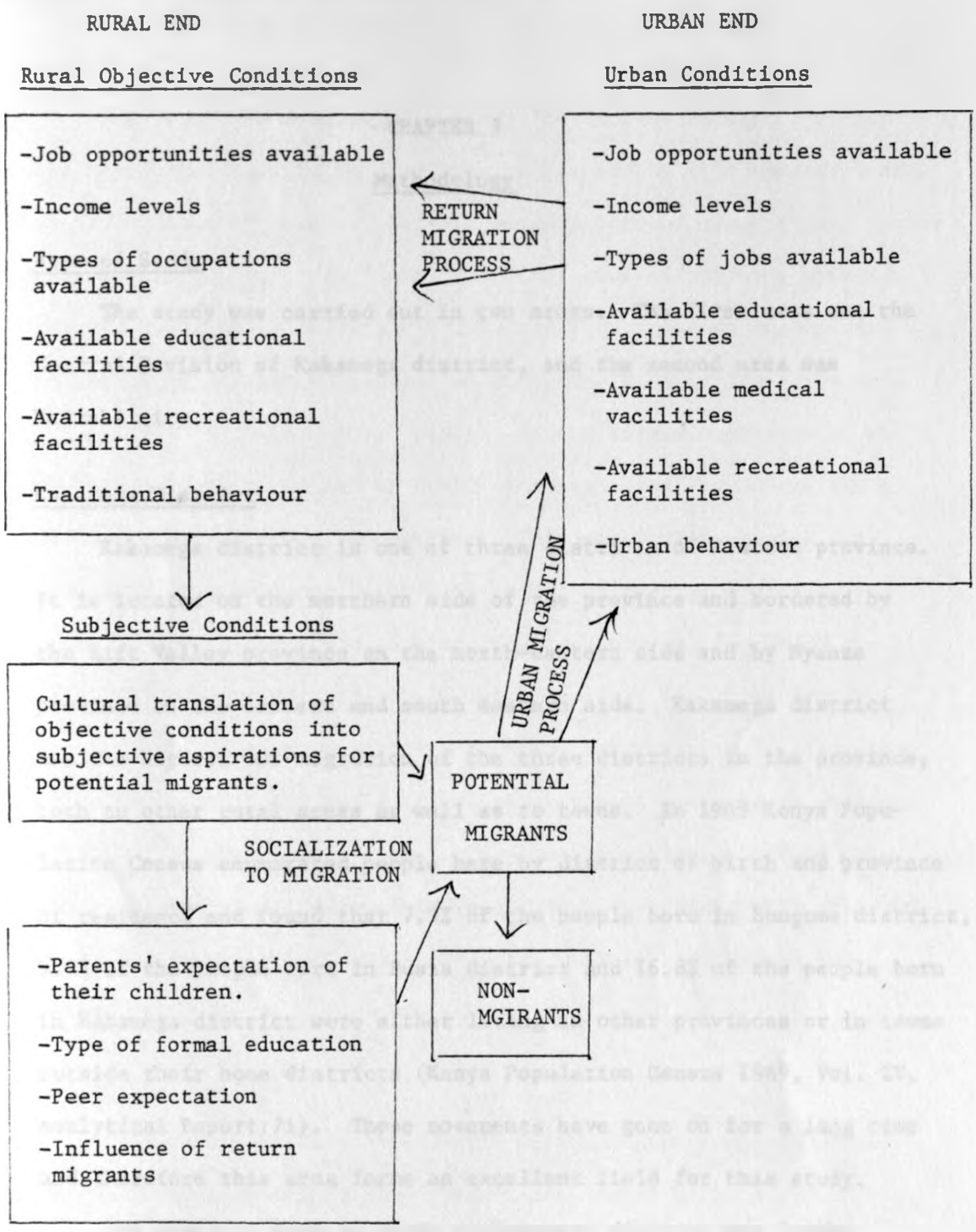
My major reservation in respect of Little's work is however that of treating rural and urban areas as separate entities which have no influence on each other. The migrant to town is portrayed as a blank sheet without any attitudes and values internalized in the village which may influence his adjustment process in town. Mayer (Townsmen or Tribesmen 1961:90-190) overcomes Little's weakness when he notes the vital rural-urban social link. Mayer draws a comparison between the Red and School Xhosa migrants in town and concludes that differences in their adjustment process can be traced to differences in their rural homes; social environment, since this affects the adaptation of migrants in town. But Mayer's study was carried out in an environment where migration has been going on for a century and the findings cannot be generalized to the rest of Africa for instance in East Africa where migration is a recent phenomena having become established only one or two generations ago. Therefore what Mayer found regarding the rural aspect in urban adaptation can only be a hypothesis in our study.

It was assumed for this study as stated before that how a migrant adapts in town will depend on how he has been prepared for this by his rural home community. The second aspect of this study is therefore to examine the effect of rural socialization on the urban adjustment process,

the second hypothesis of this study being that, normative assessment by the rural society of migration influences the adaptation of migrants in town.

This study is therefore an attempt to study migration as a process that is socially and culturally determined. The importance of objective factors like land shortage which contributes to the migration process are socially determined. Migration is socially valued, and the younger members are taught to migrate. Therefore the causes of migration and the resultant patterns of adaptation are found in rural societies. The third hypothesis which tries to establish the rural-urban link states that the interaction of rural and urban factors influences the maintenance of rural-urban social link. Diagramatically, the processes involved in this study can be represented as shown on the following chart.

A Push-Pull Model of Rural to Urban Migration Process



CHAPTER 3

Methodology

Area of Study

The study was carried out in two areas. The first area was the Central Division of Kakamega district, and the second area was Nairobi city.

Kakamega District

Kakamega district is one of three districts of Western province. It is located on the northern side of the province and bordered by the Rift Valley province on the north-eastern side and by Nyanza province on the eastern and south eastern side. Kakamega district has the highest out-migration of the three districts in the province, both to other rural areas as well as to towns. In 1969 Kenya Population Census enumerated people here by district of birth and province of residence and found that 7.9% of the people born in Bungoma district, 9.7% of the people born in Busia district and 16.8% of the people born in Kakamega district were either living in other provinces or in towns outside their home districts (Kenya Population Census 1969, Vol. IV, Analytical Report:71). These movements have gone on for a long time and therefore this area forms an excellent field for this study.

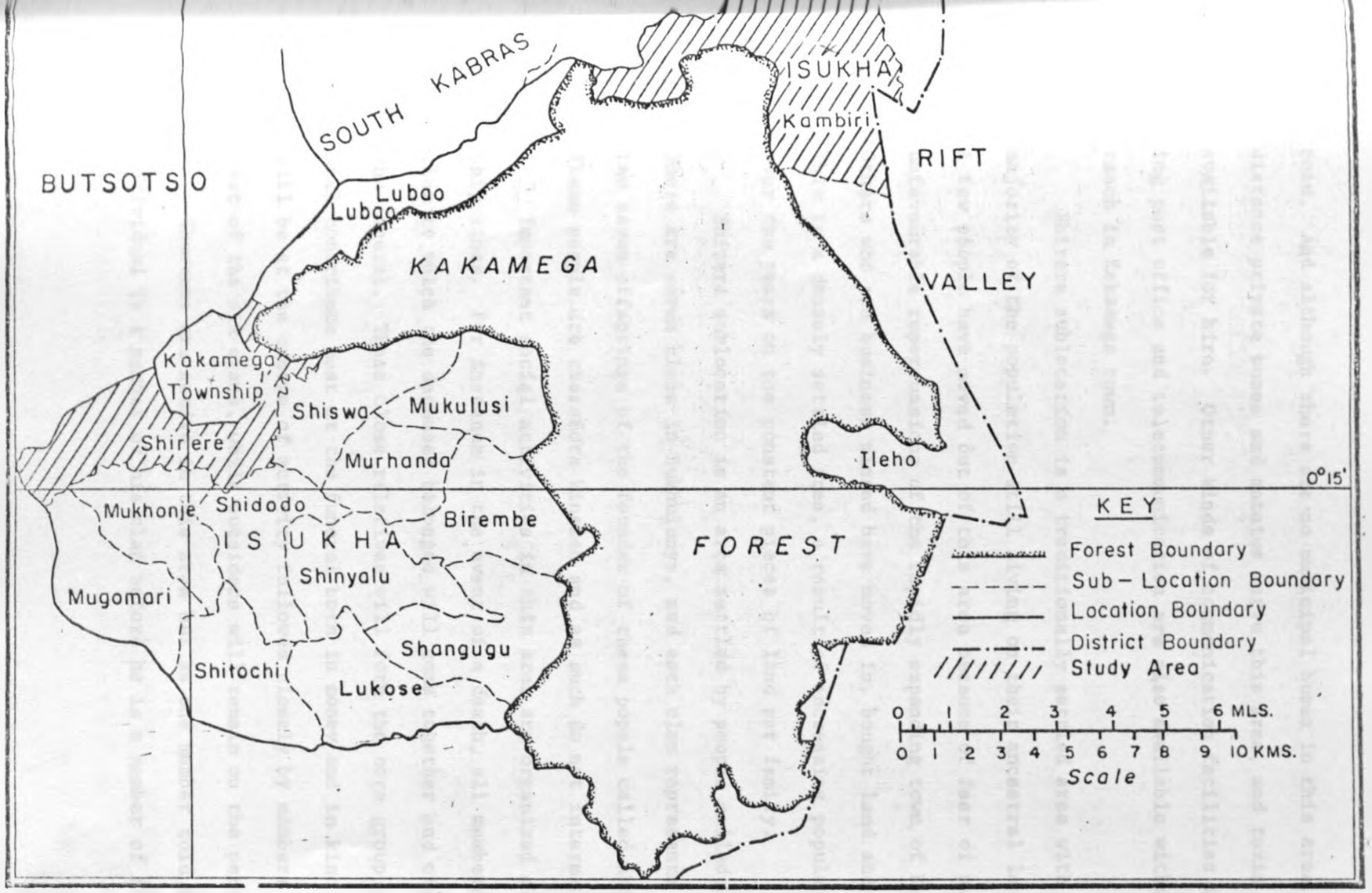
The specific area of study in Kakamega district was Isukha location in the central division of Kakamega district. Isukha loca-

tion lies immediately east of Kakamega town (as indicated in the map).

This area was selected for study for various reasons. First, the population density in this area varies widely from eastern Isukha which consists of some of the most densely settled communities, in the whole district, to north Isukha which has some of the most sparsely settled areas in the district. This study is going to examine the influence of population density on attitudes towards migration and urban life. Secondly, this location covers communities some of which are traditionally settled on their ancestral land and others which are settled my migrant populations. This study will examine the influence of settlement history on attitudes towards migration and urban life. Thirdly, the location includes communities which are near the urban centre and others which are long distances from the urban centre (the urban centre here being Kakamega town). This study tried to find out the influence of geographical location in relation to the urban centre on the attitudes held by members of these communities towards migration and urban life. The communities selected in Isukha location for examination were Shirere and Kambiri sublocations.

Shirere Sublocation

Shirere sublocation lies within Kakamega municipal boundaries. In fact, Kakamega town itself lies in the centre of this sublocation. The people in this area therefore live within walking distance of town. The Kakamega-Mumias and the Kagamega-Kitale all weather roads traverse this sublocation, so that the area is easily accessible by



SOURCE: Ministry of Lands and Settlement Office.

THE SUB–LOCATIONS IN ISUKHA LOCATION

road. And although there are no municipal buses in this area, long distance private buses and matatus serve this area, and taxis are available for hire. Other kinds of communication facilities including post office and telecommunication are also available within easy reach in Kakamega town.

Shirere sublocation is a traditionally settled area with the majority of the population still living on their ancestral land. A few people have moved out of this area because of fear of possible unfavourable repercussions of the rapidly expanding town of Kakamega. Others who are business minded have moved in, bought land and settled. This is a densely settled area, a result of increasing population over the years on the constant pieces of land per family.

Shirere sublocation is an area settled by people called Bakhulunya. There are seven clans in Bukhulunya, and each clan represents each of the seven offsprings of the founder of these popele called Akhulunya. These people are therefore kinsmen and as such do not intermarry.

Important social activities in this area are organized along kinship lines. For instance in the event of a death, all members of the clan to which the deceased belonged will come together and organize the funeral. These close relatives will form the core group which will contribute most at the funeral both in money and in kind. They will be at the centre of activity followed closely by members of the rest of the six clans, while outsiders will remain on the periphery.

Churches are active in this area but as one member told me, an individual is a member of his clan before he is a member of the church,

and he fulfills his obligations in that order. So that even members of churches in this area who have moved in from outside this area and bought land and settled here are still made to understand that they are strangers.

Shirere sublocation is an agricultural area and most of the people here are peasant farmers. The climate and the soils in this area suit maize growing. Maize is grown in this area mainly as a food crop although any surplus is sold. Maize is a perennial crop harvested around September in this area, but because this crop is usually not sufficient to get through the year, another maize crop is usually planted around November to supplement the main crop. Other crops like beans, bananas, sweet potatoes are grown to supplement the maize crop. Coffee growing is being tried in this area for cash. A coffee cooperative has been formed here and a coffee factory has been built. But many of the farmers have not taken up coffee growing yet. There are a few service industries in Kakamega town but they offer few employment opportunities, while the staffing of the government administrative offices here, is done in Nairobi. So that apart from the dukas clustered in the few market centres in this sublocation and owned by farmers for part-time business, most of the people here are full time peasant farmers.

Kambiri Sublocation

This area lies about 25 KM north-east of Kakamege town. After following the main Kakamega-Kitale road for about 22 KM there is a dry weather road that branches off inland to this area. This is the

only road through this area, apart from foot paths. The only transport to this area apart from private cars are matatus which only reach two market centres here. Further than this and inland, there is no transport and one has to cycle or walk. Apart from a post-office at one of the market centres here, there are no other communication facilities.

This area first belonged to the pastoral Nandis. But they were pushed north and a few people from Isukha came and settled here. After a while the Nandis started coming back and this resulted in conflict between them and the people of Isukha. The chief of Isukha in the 1920s started encouraging any Luhya people to move in and settle to prevent the Nandis from coming back. Large pieces of land were disposed of by the local authorities at nominal prices. Later only Isukha and Idakho people could buy land here. This area had been forest, but now it was cleared for cultivation and it is an area that has been settled relatively recently by rural migrants from other parts of the province. And compared to other areas it is sparsely settled with the individual families owning many acreas of land, as I gathered from informants here.

As this area is settled by people who have left their ancestral homes, there was no already existing social groupings here on which they could base their social activities. And faced with natural occurrences, e.g. deaths and celebrations which called for communal activities, these people started searching for bases of cooperation.

The most natural base was the area of origin. Groups were formed on this basis. One such group is the Bamusali group (people

from Musali). This group was formed in 1975 to start a saving so that they could assist members who have problems. When a death occurs in the family of a member of this group, the other members collect a certain specified amount of money each, to help at the funeral. And at this funeral members of this group give substantial active help. This group has a chairman and a clerk elected to office. Members are required to pay membership fee. There is a general meeting every other month at one of the members' house and entertainment is provided during this meeting. There are several similar groups in this area.

But social groupings of different type springing up here recently and gathering strength are those based on religious affiliations. Members of denominations (religious sects) come together and organize religious festivities and celebrations besides the regular weekly services. They form work groups and collect money. They help members in problems and meet often for prayers. Any person belonging to a religious sect is welcome to join in the work group. These are dynamic groups and they compete with each other to see which is stronger in terms of attracting larger crowds. They seem to be overshadowing the groups based on members' area of origin. The principles on which they operate are consistent attendance of all activities by the members and generous contribution for members in trouble and the more you give, the more you get since contributions are recorded and announced. And at the root of all this is the strong motivating belief that it is all done for God.

Like the rest of the province, the people in this area are mostly peasant farmers, growing maize for food and selling any surplus.

Maize is grown in this area only once a year and the yield is enough so that the crop goes round the year and some surplus is sold.

Otherwise a crop that is grown in this area for cash is sugarcane. Many farmers are getting involved in planting sugarcane, which does well in this area. There is a factory nearby to which this sugarcane is taken. And in addition to this, the factory provides employment to about 200 people in this area.

Beans and vegetables are grown for food as well. It is difficult for farmers to sell any surplus because of the long distances from Kakamega town, which offers the only good market in this location and communication is poor.

Nairobi City

The second area of this study was Nairobi city. Nairobi city is the administrative and national city of Kenya. In Nairobi many commercial and industrial enterprises are found both large and small scale by national standards. A large proportion of the population here also works in government administrative offices, while many others are still looking for jobs. Nairobi, unlike many of the smaller towns, is a meeting ground for many of the rural migrants from the villages as well as many racial groups so that there is heterogeneity in terms of communities of origin.

Although the study is rural based, it is important to include an urban centre because of the nature of the information required. By examining the adjustment process of some of the migrants from these rural areas currently living in town, it is hoped to find out

if the rural socialization has had any influence on their adjustment patterns. And the adjustment patterns of migrants from Shirere and Kambiri will be compared. Although Kakamega town would have been the most natural urban centre to be selected for study, Nairobi was preferred because, first, most migrants from the rural areas favour the major towns especially Nairobi (ILO Report 1972:45). Between 1962 and 1969, Nairobi's population grew at the rate of 10.1% per annum and most of this growth was a result of migration (Kenya Development Plan 1974-1978:115). Therefore in Nairobi it was possible to trace a sizeable sample of migrants from these two rural areas. And secondly, and most important, the process of adjustment requires that time must have elapsed allowing for a pattern to develop. Nairobi is relatively more established than most other towns in Kenya, Kakamega included, and has from its inception had migrants. Nairobi thus presented a more appropriate area to study adjustment.

As indicated in the theory chapter, this study made an attempt to demonstrate the existence of a relationship between the social background of rural communities and their disposition towards migration and the adjustment process of migrants in town. In order to empirically investigate this phenomenon, the comparative approach was used in selection of the two rural communities of Shirere and Kambiri, which resembled and differed in certain important respects relevant for this study.

The two sample groups compared as follows: -

Ethnicity

It was assumed for this study that members of the same ethnic group go through generally similar socialization process and would

therefore be expected to have generally similar attitudes towards migration process and urban life. Uniformity in ethnicity among members of the rural communities was important because differences in this factor could introduce variation, for instance, in the attitudes between the different ethnic groups and this could interfere with the main variable of this study.

Education

Education is important because the level of education determines the attitudes individuals hold. Differences in education attained therefore can interfere with the variables under study. The members of both Shirere and Kambiri communities had attained generally the same level of education as seen in Table 1 below.

Table 1. Education Level Attained by Rural Respondents in Shirere and Kambiri Sublocations

	Shirere	Kambiri
Not been to school	27.1 (16)	22.6 (14)
Primary school education	47.5 (28)	40.3 (25)
High school education	8.5 (5)	12.9 (8)
College education (not university)	16.9 (10)	24.2 (15)
	100.0	100.0
	N -59	N -62

Occupation

This study deliberately included only peasant farmers in this sample. Members of other occupations were excluded because it was

assumed that this might introduce other factors in the study.

These two rural areas as seen before, also contrasted in certain important respects which made this comparative study possible.

Position Relative to the Urban Centre

As seen before, Shirere sublocation lies within the boundaries of Kakamega municipal council. Therefore people in this area live within walking distance of town, and communication in this area is good. On the other hand, Kambiri sublocation lies 25 miles north of Kakamega town. There is only one road leading to this area and the only public transport to this area are a few matatus which even then reach only the market centres. This study will examine the effect if any, of this difference in geographical location in relation to Kakamega town, on migration behaviour and on the attitudes of respondents. Many studies as seen in the theory chapter, indicate that members of communities closer to urban centres (e.g. Shirere) would be more favourably disposed towards urban life than members of communities farther away from towns (e.g. Kambiri), because the inhabitants closer to town would have been forced to accept and acquire some aspects of urban life as a result of the interaction between these communities and towns.

Population Settlement History

Shirere sublocation, as seen earlier, is a traditionally settled rural community with most of her inhabitants still settled on their ancestral land. Kambiri sublocation on the other hand, is settled by migrants Baluhya from other parts of the province,

people who were encouraged to come and settle here in order to keep the Nandis out of this area. The area has therefore only been recently settled compared to the rest of the province. This study will investigate whether inhabitants of Kambiri sublocation are more favourably disposed towards migration having already broken their ancestral bonds holding them to their ancestral land through their initial migration, while inhabitants of Shirere sublocation could be less favourably disposed towards migration because they would still be under traditional bonds binding them to their ancestral land.

Population Density

This factor is related to the previous one of settlement history. The inhabitants of Shirere sublocation are living on land inherited from their forefathers and since land is a constant factor while population increased over the years, acreage per family here has been decreasing progressingly. The Kambiri inhabitants on the other hand moved out of their ancestral land and settled in an area formerly uninhabited. They have cheaply acquired large pieces of land. Kambiri sublocation is therefore relatively sparsely settled, acreage per family being higher.

According to Table 2, a higher percentage of the respondents in Kambiri owned more acres of land per family, the mean farm size being over 9 acres per family. On the other hand, a higher percentage of the respondents in Shirere had fewer acres of land, the mean farm size per family here being 5 acres. This study is going to find

out if land shortage is a major cause of migration as studies indicated in the theory chapter seemed to profess.

Table 2. Land Acreage per Family Among Respondents in Shirere and Kambiri Sublocations

	Shirere	Kambiri
0 acres	1.7 (1)	1.6 (1)
1-3 acres	57.6 (34)	32.3 (20)
4-10 acres	32.2 (19)	38.7 (24)
11-20 acres	8.5 (5)	14.5 (9)
21-29 acres	0 (0)	12.9 (8)
	100	100
	N -59	N -62

The factors discussed above were used in finding out the relationship between the social background of rural communities and their influence first on the attitudes members of these communities hold towards urban life, and secondly, on the urban adaptation patterns of migrants from the same rural communities. And the hypotheses used in testing this relationship are stated below:

The General Research Hypothesis

The normative assessment of urban life and opportunities of the rural society the migrant comes from influences migration and urban adaptation.

The Working Hypotheses

(1) Socialization imparts on young people a positive attitude towards migration.

(2) Normative assessment by the rural society of migration influences the adaptation of migrants in town.

(3) The interaction of rural and urban factors influences the maintenance of rural urban social link.

Variables for Study

Independent

Socialization

Dependent

Adaptation

Rural-urban social link.

Operationalization of Concepts

The rural field investigation included a questionnaire administered on rural respondents in Shirere and Kambiri sublocations. The first assumption of this study, as seen above, is that socialization imparts on young people a positive attitude towards migration. Socialization, the subject matter of Chapter 4, is in this study defined as the process of learning by the younger members of the rural communities. This learning process is here restricted to attitudes inculcated in the younger generation relating to migration and urban life.

Socialization was measured by questions on knowledge selected by a rural community and exposed to her members relating to migration and urban life, e.g., jobs are found in town or in the village; that

social amenities are available in town and/or in the village and that many social problems occur in town. Socialization was also measured by questions on valuative judgements by members of rural communities positively or negatively assessing accessibility to urban items, e.g., cars, radio, sofa sets; urban facilities, e.g. education facilities urban hospitals, and aspects of urban life, e.g. urban dieting habits, urban child rearing practices and urban employment opportunities. And finally, socialization was measured by questions relating to behaviour or actions of rural respondents supporting or discouraging the process of migration, e.g. parents teach their children that the best place in which to live and work in future is town; parents teach their children to go to school; parents teach their children farmwork and village customs.

As soon as rural investigation was completed, the urban field investigation commenced. The second assumption of this study as seen before is that, normative assessment by the rural communities, of migration and urban life, influences the adaptation patterns of migrants in town. Adaptation, the subject matter of Chapter 5, was in this study defined as the manner of fitting into the new choices and options offered by the urban environment portrayed by migrants. Adaptation was measured by questions on exploitation of kinship and/or friendship networks in town; questions on who migrants associate with during leisure hours; whether the activities the migrants get involved in emphasize a rural or an urban orientation. Questions on whether there has been a single or a family migration, questions on whether or not the migrant gets involved in urban economic investments, and questions on when the migrant

hopes to ultimately retire to the village, were also used to indicate the adaptation patterns of migrants.

The final hypothesis of this study states that, the interaction of rural and urban factors influence the maintenance of rural-urban social link. This hypothesis is implied by the two previous hypotheses and it is the one on which they are based. Therefore, rural urban link was measured by questions already indicated above on the influence of rural socialization on urban adaptation patterns of migrants.

Sampling and Data Collection Procedures

This study was intended to be based on a sample of 210 units. One-third of these were supposed to be households in Shirere sublocation, one-third were supposed to be households in Kambiri sublocation and a final one-third were supposed to be migrants from the two sublocations followed-up in Nairobi.

The rural investigation which involved house to house visits of the selected rural households, was carried out by the author with the help of one field assistant. An interview schedule was the main tool of data collection and in addition to this, documentary data on migration from the Central Bureau of Statistics of the Ministry of Finance and Planning were used. Observations were made on group affiliation and group activities in the rural and urban communities. Within the period during which the rural field investigation was carried out (i.e., during November and December 1976 and January 1977), 59 respondents were interviewed in Shirere sublocation, representing 84% of the intended sample here, and 62

respondents were interviewed in Kambiri sublocation representing 87% of the intended sample here. It was difficult to reach my target of the intended rural sample size because this was the season for cultivation in this area, in preparation for planting of the main maize crop after the start of the long rain. It was therefore difficult to track down some respondents despite repeated visits and long waiting.

Rural sample units in this study were households. The household head was the main respondent and since men are usually heads of the households, it had been anticipated that most main respondents would be males. In cases of dead or absent husbands, female heads of households were the main respondents. Besides the main respondents in each household, the wife of the head of the household was required to give additional information. In cases of a dead wife, the husband, besides giving the information of the main respondent, also supplied the additional information. And in cases of more than one wife, the first wife was interviewed.

Systematic technique of simple random sampling method was used in selecting the sample. It was assumed that the population was homogenous and that there would be no bias introduced in employing this method. The sampling frames were the Graduated Personal Tax lists of the two sublocations. These were the most appropriate frames since every adult male had been required to pay this tax. This way it was possible to get the name of every household head in these two sublocations. However, this tax system was abolished in 1974, and therefore the study was faced with the problem of

out-dated sampling frames. To make new ones would have involved a lot of time and labour, factors sparsely provided for. It was therefore decided to bring the GPT lists up to date. From each of the two sublocations, in addition to the subchiefs who are usually members of their own sublocations, two men, senion in age, born in the area, who had at one time been headmen and therefore knew of every death and migration in and out of the area, were asked to help bring the tax lists up to date. The adjusted lists were then used as sampling frames.

The names on the GPT lists had been compiled according to villages, so that all the names of heads of household heads in one village were completed before those of another village were started. To avoid chance inclusion of more members of some villages and under representation of members of other villages in the sample, all the names on each of the adjusted list of each sublocation were copied out on separate sheets of paper. The names on each of the two lists were then numbered. Those of Shirere totalled 1,210 and those of Kambiri household heads numbered 600. And since only 70 households were required from each eara, every 17th household on the Shirere adjusted list and every 8th household on the Kambiri adjusted list were selected. The study deliberately included only peasant farmers in the sample because they form the bulk of the rural population.

This study also required that a sample of migrants from the two sublocations be interviewed in Nairobi. It was intended that the urban sample units be males either heads of households or not, from both Shirere and Kambiri sublocations who had been living in

Nairobi for at least two years and thus portrayed some pattern of adaptation. The problem of locating migrants from these rural areas living in town, was presented with an apparent solution, that of use of clan associations in town to reach these migrants. It was assumed that most migrants in town would be members of their respective clan associations in town. And from the located members, it was intended that simple random sampling techniques would be used in selecting the sample, and that an interview schedule would be administered on them and in addition to this informal discussions would be carried out with a few selected association members and leaders as well as non-association members. With this in mind it was anticipated that within two months 35 migrants from Shirere and 35 migrants from Kambiri would have been located and interviewed in Nairobi, thus bringing my field work to an end. But this was easier planned than done.

After the urban field investigation has been commenced, it was discovered that there was no clan association in existence in town for people from Kambiri despite the fact that from rural field inquiries such an association was supposed to be existing. But there were clan associations for people from Shirere. Therefore field work among the Shirere migrants started while attempts were being made to find ways of locating migrants from Kambiri sub-location in Nairobi.

On the whole migrants from Shirere were not difficult to find. Most of them were members of any one of the three clan associations of people of Shirere sublocation living in Nairobi, and even the

few non-members knew where their fellow clansmen lived and worked. It was therefore possible to meet them and arrange for appropriate places for interview. The problem with this group however was that of suspicion of the motives of the study, so that even after repeated explanation and assurances by their association leaders that no harm would come out of answering the questions, only 18 people were interviewed in two months. The others avoided the interview on some pretext or other, either having gone home to attend a funeral and being unable to keep the appointment or having gone to visit a sick friend. So that although simple random sampling methods had been initially used in selecting a sample from the list of members of associations provided by associations' leaders, reluctance in turning up for the interview made it difficult for the study to confine itself to the selected sample units. Instead, any member of the three Shirere associations who was traced and was willing, was interviewed.

The migrants from Shirere sublocation thus behaved in a manner portraying fear and suspicion of strangers. And from the study it also became apparent that leaders of clan associations, although elected to office had limited control over the members. In their efforts to get the members to conform, they mainly applied persuasive tactics often appealing to members' kin oblications and the subsequent moral duty. Otherwise the ultimate decision to accept or reject anything lay with the members.

Migrants from Kambiri sublocation on the other hand were more difficult to locate. Therefore any migrant from Kambiri location

who had lived in Nairobi for over 2 years, was interviewed and was in addition asked to give the names and residential and work addresses of any other person from Kambiri he knew of staying in Nairobi. Many migrants did not know the residential or even the places of work of other migrants from Kambiri. But all migrants, except one, once located, raised no objection to being interviewed. However, only 17 migrants were located and interviewed in Nairobi in over two months. The problem of tracing these migrants seems to have been a result of lack of clan associations. These migrants did not even keep in touch with each other. In some cases even relatives did not know where each other lived and in other cases persons changing their places of work and/or their residential places did not even let their relatives in the village know this.

The urban field study was extended beyond the initial intended period of three months in an attempt to reach the target sample size of 35 migrants from Kambiri sublocation and 35 migrants from Shirere sublocation. But despite this, by the time the urban field study was terminated in August 1977, after a period of 6 months of urban field investigation only 28 migrants from Shirere had been interviewed. This represented 80% of the intended sample of migrants from this area, and only 24 migrants from Kambiri had been interviewed representing 70% of the intended sample of migrants from Kambiri living in Nairobi.

The urban field experience pointed to problems involved in carrying out a follow-up study. Such a study is faced not only with problems of tracking down respondents, but also with problems

of encountering resistance resulting from fear and lack of trust of strangers, and the general feeling among urban dwellers that people are wasting their time. These were problems experienced in this study and they could in part explain why few studies have employed this methodology in studying rural to urban migration.

CHAPTER 4

The Rural Background of Migrants

Rural to urban migration is increasing. As stated in the theory chapter, migration was not an aspect of the traditional rural communities. These communities did not encourage migration, and norms emphasized close physical attachment to the ancestral land. The fact that these same rural communities are encouraging migration seems to indicate that changes have occurred here relating to migration and urban life. Migration seems to have led in these rural communities to the creation of new values, new attitudes and new skills, which support and propagate it. These new attitudes, new values and new skills are inculcated into the young through the socialization process. Socialization as seen in the theory chapter being the process whereby the individual is socially developed by the society so that he acquires and internalizes attitudes, values and skills relevant for action in the given society. This chapter seeks to present evidence of changing rural attitudes in my own study area.

The chapter examines Shirere and Kambiri sublocations in Kakamega district of Western Kenya and a comparative attempt is made to explain why people increasingly migrate from these two communities to towns. Special attention is paid to rural attitudes relating to migration in an attempt to answer the following questions:-

(1) Do rural communities socialize their members to be aware of certain aspects of urban life?

(2) Have certain aspects of urban life become relevant in rural societies. And how does this relevance affect socialization in these rural communities?

(3) Does rural behaviour indicate positive or negative assessment of urban life?

As observed in the methodology chapter, the sample groups from the rural communities under study compared in certain respects including ethnicity, education and occupation. But they also differed in position relative to the urban centre, in the population settlement history and in the population density. And these differences were used to test for differences between them in their attitudes towards migration and urban life.

As already referred to in the theory chapter, attitudes are behavioural dispositions or patterns supported by relevant cognitions and value judgements. The cognitive component of an attitude requires the existence of empirical knowledge about the nature of the object or state about which the attitude is held. The valuative component leads to strong feelings of either pleasure or displeasure, like or dislike and therefore motivates certain kinds of action or behaviour. Positive feelings towards an object or state would lead to behaviour dispositions to support it where as negative feelings would lead to behaviour dispositions repelling or harmful to it. Attitudes are learned through the socialization process which exposes the individual to selective knowledge and evaluations leading to certain type of behaviour.

Thus positive attitudes towards a given state of things held by a large number of members of a society indicate that, that given

object is socially desirable, while negative attitudes indicate that the object or state is socially undesirable. This chapter seeks to understand the attitudes held by the members of the two selected rural communities towards urban life and migration. It was assumed that positive attitudes towards urban life and the migration process would indicate positive sanctioning of migration by the rural communities. And here, awareness of urban life, valuative judgements relating to urban life and the resultant behavioural disposition of the respondents were used as indicators of attitudes held by rural communities, relating to migration and urban life.

Awareness

Awareness is a state of mind of an individual which shows that he has or he shows realization or perception or knowledge that given phenomena exist that they have certain characteristics. (Berger, L. and Luckman, T., 1966:1). Awareness of something results from the acquisition of knowledge relating to that particular thing. This knowledge can be gained either through personal experience and direct observation or through secondary sources such as gathering the information from people who saw or experienced or through secondary data. (Triandis, 1971:67).

Social awareness is the state in which a large proportion of the population of a society is conscious of the present existence of something. Social awareness requires that most members of the society have knowledge of the existence of phenomena because it is part of the society's cultural environment and this means that quite a substantial number of the members have gained this knowledge through

primary sources and they may have acted as secondary sources for others who did not experience it themselves. Like any other social factor, social knowledge is governed by norms and sanctions. When knowledge is socially transmitted, this means that it is socially valued either positively or negatively.

When we talk of the rural communities being aware of urban matters what is implied is that most members of the rural communities are conscious of the present existence not only of the urban community but also of certain aspects of urban life in the urban communities. This then means that there must exist in the rural communities positive or negative sanctions relating to the acquisition of knowledge about certain selected aspects of the urban communities, indicating the kind of attitudes members of the rural communities should hold towards certain aspects of urban life.

Rural respondents were asked what knowledge they had acquired about towns prior to ever going there (this was an open-ended question and only the first answer was taken) (Table 3), and through what means they had acquired this knowledge (Table 4). Responses to this question were used to find out what knowledge about towns, the rural communities choose to expose to their younger members and whether this knowledge could encourage or discourage migration.

From Table 3 it would appear that most rural respondents acquire some knowledge about towns before they ever go there and apparently the informants usually emphasize the positive aspects of urban life. According to Table 3, before ever going to town, 93.2% of the respondents in Shirere and 91.9% of the respondents in

Table 3: Knowledge Rural Respondents had about Towns Before Ever Going There

	Shirere	Kambiri
Nothing	5.1 (3)	6.5 (4)
Social amenities are here and towns are clean and smart places	71.2 (42)	43.5 (27)
There is work and good pay in town	22.0 (13)	48.4 (30)
Harlotry and disease are in town	1.7 (1)	0.0 (0)
Educated men live here	0.0 (0)	1.6 (1)
	100	100
	N -59	N -62

Table 4: Sources from which the Rural Respondents Acquired this Knowledge

	Shirere	Kambiri
Nothing	10.2 (6)	14.5 (9)
From friends and relatives some retired from town and others still working there on visiting home	64.4 (38)	61.3 (38)
From school teachers, books and radio	25.4 (15)	24.2 (15)
	100	100
	N-59	N-62

Kambiri had already acquired knowledge that jobs are found in towns and that towns are clean and smart places with social amenities available. Only 1.7% of the respondents in Shirere indicated that they had known that there were some problems in towns. There had been no such knowledge among the respondents interviewed in Kambiri.

Most of this knowledge seems to have been gained from fellow members of the community either retired from work in town or currently working in town on coming home for visits. 64.4% of the respondents in Shirere and 61.3% of the respondents in Kambiri had acquired their information from such sources (Table 4). And quite a substantial proportion of the respondents had acquired this knowledge at school or through mass media (radio and newspaper). This information seems to indicate that urban awareness is quite widespread and acceptable in these rural communities. The information is transmitted not only informally by the older generation to the young and by the peers but also formally through schooling and through mass media.

Questions on what respondents like and dislike about towns were used to elicit information on urban awareness by these communities. It was assumed that there must be knowledge of the existence of given phenomena before an assessment of it can be made. Therefore respondents have to be aware of the existence of certain aspects of town before they can decide that they like or dislike them . (Tables 5 and 6).

Responses to the question relating to what respondents like about towns indicated that 79.7% of the respondents in Shirere knew that towns were meeting grounds for people, ideas and goods and that

social amenities were available here. The corresponding score for Kambiri rural respondents was 87%. Only 6.8% of the respondents in Shirere and 6.5% of the respondents in Kambiri indicated that they liked nothing about towns. These responses indicate that although in both areas social amenities seem to be appreciated rather than work, the Kambiri score is the highest (see Table 5).

Table 5: Urban Aspects Known to and Liked by the Respondents

	Shirere	Kambiri
Nothing	6.8 (4)	6.5 (4)
Employment and business opportunities	13.5 (8)	6.5 (4)
Meeting ground for people ideas and goods and available social amenities	79.7 (47)	87.0 (54)
	100	100
	N -59	N -62

Asked what they disliked about towns, 81.3% of the Shirere respondents indicated that they disliked theft, robbery, prostitution and excessive drinking here, while the corresponding score for Kambiri was 38.7%. On the other hand, 24.2% of the respondents in Kambiri indicated that they disliked the problem of unemployment in town while only 6.8% of the respondents in Shirere indicated this. This information could be related to the kind of knowledge each rural community selects and exposes to her members. Very few

respondents in Shirere appear to have acquired the knowledge that there exists a problem of unemployment in town. This could be interpreted as an incentive for the inhabitants of this community to move to towns and look for jobs here. Yet again most of the respondents

Table 6: Urban Aspects Known to and Disliked by Respondents

	Shirere	Kambiri
Nothing	1.7 (1)	11.3 (7)
Theft, robbery, prostitution and excessive drinking	81.3 (48)	38.7 (24)
High expenditure	10.2 (6)	25.8 (16)
Unemployment	6.8 (4)	24.2 (15)
	100	100
	N -59	N -62

here appear to have been exposed to the knowledge that there are many social problems in town and this could be interpreted as a possible warning that in the event of migration, members of this community should not get involved in urban social life. Conversely most respondents in Kambiri seem to have knowledge of the existence of many urban problems. 25.8% know that expenditure in town is very high, 30.6% know that there are problems such as robbery, theft, prostitution and excessive drinking, 24.2% know of the unemployment problem in town. (Table 6). From this information it would appear that Kambiri respondents are exposed to a wider spectrum of urban

knowledge than the Shirere respondents and that therefore their urban awareness is more articulate.

Ignoring for the moment the differences in the nature of urban awareness between the members of the two rural areas, we make the observation that members of both communities have some knowledge of the existence of certain aspects of towns mentioned above. And when people are made aware of the existence of phenomena, they evaluate them and decide whether they are good or bad for them. And therefore our next discussion dwells on the subject of values and evaluations.

Values and Evaluations

Values are beliefs ascribing the quality of valuableness to an object, a state or an event (Najder, 1975:64). Values can either be positive or negative, so that a value is anything that is believed to be good or bad. (Rokeach, 1970). Values contain some cognitive element. They involve beliefs about some state existence worth or not worth attaining. Values also involve some affective component about what is good or bad, pleasant or unpleasant, etc. Therefore values have a selective or a directional aspect. Conscious decision to act in a certain direction is made out of a whole range of alternatives of which the individual is aware. Thus awareness is inseparable from evaluation, evaluation being the preferential ranking of the contents of one's experience. (Najder, 1975:9).

Social values are thereore items, states or events which rate high in the ranking of a given society because they are considered to be important. The society usually formulates positive sanctions associated with acquisition of positive values and negative sanctions

associated with the acquisition of negative values. (Triandis, 1971:94). Norms defining means through which the values are to be acquired are also formulated. And values are constantly changing. When beliefs about the valuableness of existing objects and states emerge the former values eventually disappear and the new values lead to the emergence of new sanctions and new norms defining the means through which these values are to be attained.

If migration, a behaviour that was formerly not encouraged by the rural communities is now being positively sanctioned by these same rural communities then it must be associated with certain values which have emerged within these communities and which this study attempts to uncover.

The selected rural respondents were asked if they considered life in the village better and easier than life in town or vice versa. The responses to this question were taken to indicate whether any values of the rural community were located in town which could be interpreted as a factor which could lead to positive assessment of migration, or if all the values of these rural communities were found in the rural areas. Differences between the two communities were observed.

Responses in both communities indicated that (Table 7) there are certain values they hold which are found in town. 33.9% of the respondents in Shirere indicated that available goods and amenities in town made life there much better and easier than village life, and the corresponding score for Kambiri respondents was 87%. The score for attraction of higher urban wages was a bit higher for

Shirere (22%) than for Kambiri respondents (6.5%). But the score on responses indicating preference of rural life was higher for Shirere (42.4%) and very low for Kambiri (6.5%).

Table 7: Reasons for Respondents Thinking that Life in the Village is Better or Easier than Life in Town

	Shirere	Kambiri
Available and better goods and social amenities in town makes life better and easier	33.9 (20)	87.0 (54)
A lot of money available in town makes life here better and easier. The money solves problems	22.0 (13)	6.5 (4)
Townlife is expensive. Village is better and cheap	42.4 (25)	6.5 (4)
Village and town life are similar	1.7 (1)	0.0 (0)
	100	100
	N -59	N -62

To get some idea of the specific urban aspects that have gained rural value, information was sought regarding aspects of urban people's behaviour that serve as an example for rural behaviour (Table 8).

The responses indicated that acquisition of property like sofa sets, cars, radio and life style such as dieting habits, dressing fashions and child care and 'good' mannerisms are some of the urban behaviour fervently copied by rural people. 69.5% and 67.7% of

Table 8: Urban Behaviour Copied by Rural People

	Shirere	Kambiri
Acquisition of property, e.g. sofa sets, radio, cars, life style including diet, dressing, fashions, child care and good behaviour	69.5 (41)	67.7 (42)
Looking for jobs and starting business	30.5 (18)	11.3 (7)
Education of children	0.0 (0)	8.1 (5)
Form associations	0.0 (0)	12.9 (8)
	100	100
	N -59	N -62

respondents in Shirere and Kambiri respectively indicated that this was the case. Education of children as a value, had very low scores, 0% for Shirere and 8.1% for Kambiri respondents, whereas looking for jobs had a fairly high score among the Shirere respondents (30.5%) and not too high score among the Kambiri respondents (11.3%). It would appear from these responses that there are certain urban items which have become social values in the rural communities. This could be interpreted as an indication that certain aspects of urban life have gained rural value.

Information regarding ideas of respondents on rearing of children in town was used to further indicate aspects of urban life that have gained rural acceptance (Table 9). In this table differences again come out as relates to feelings towards rearing of children in town.

40.7% of the respondents interviewed in Shirere indicated that children should not grow up in town, because they become thieves, rogues and forget about home, 32.3% indicated that children should not grow up in town because life was too expensive here and to support them would be hard. On the other hand, 27.1% indicated that children should grow up in town because they would then develop a broad approach to life since educational facilities available in town are very good. The corresponding scores for Kambiri respondents were 33.9%, 11.3% and 54.8% respectively.

Table 9: Opinions of Respondents In Shirere and Kambiri towards Rearing of Children in Town

	Shirere	Kambiri
Children become rogues and thieves and forget home	40.7 (24)	33.9 (21)
Life is expensive and it is hard to support children in town	32.2 (19)	11.3 (7)
Children reared in town develop a broad approach to life and are intelligent	27.1 (16)	54.8 (34)
	100	100
	N -59	N -62

Again respondents in Shirere indicated more preference for rural life than urban life and again a higher proportion of the respondents in Kambiri gave responses which indicated that town is a good place in which to rear children.

When asked whether and why they hoped that their sons currently staying at home would one day go to town, most respondents from Shirere (88.1%) indicated that they hoped that their sons would one day go to town to work. Only 8.5% indicated that they hoped their sons would one day go to town to experience town life and no respondents indicated that sons should never go to town. And although most (48.4%) respondents in Kambiri indicated that they hoped that their sons would one day go to town to work, a comparatively higher proportion (32.2%) expressed their hope that their sons would one day go to town to experience town life. (Table 10).

Table 10: Ideas of Rural Respondents Towards Future Migration of their Sons

	Shirere	Kambiri
No sons at home	1.7 (1)	3.2 (2)
Should go to town to look for work	88.1 (52)	48.4 (30)
Should go to experience town life	8.5 (5)	32.3 (20)
Should go for education	1.7 (1)	12.9 (8)
Sons must not go to town	0.0 (0)	3.2 (2)
	100	100
	N -59	N -62

Responses in Table 10 seem to prove further the point that certain aspects of urban life have become values in the rural communities and this fact seems to affect migration. The reason why

migration is encouraged in Shirere appears to be mainly because of the realization that only through migration can the young have a chance to get employment which is found in town. But urban life is less appreciated compared to rural life. On the other hand, respondents in Kambiri appear to appreciate both urban life and what urban centres offer in terms of employment opportunities.

In summary information relating to urban awareness and rural values found in town, appear to indicate that contrary to expectation, Kambiri respondents although further away from Kakamega town and therefore urban influence show more urban awareness and more positive assessment of urban life and migration than Shirere community which is close to town. This could be the result of the settlement history of these two areas. The Kambiri community which is a migrant community consists of members who have broken the bonds binding them to their ancestral land and the traditional obligations to the rural community while Shirere community has members who are still under this bond.

The Shirere respondents indicated that the only thing they liked about towns were the jobs here, which could make it possible for them to earn money and gain access to urban items which have gained rural value. On the other other hand respondents in Kambiri seemed to appreciate not only the job opportunities available in town but urban life as a whole both to live in and to rear their children (Tables 8-10). And knowledge exposed to the members of these rural communities appeared to be in accord with these values (Tables 3-8).

We can distinguish two types of migrations portrayed by these two rural communities. Members of the Shirere community appear to migrate more for the reason of searching for jobs. They appear to prefer rural to urban life but are pushed from their rural homes, not only because of limited rural job opportunities here, a result of lack of industries, as seen in the last chapter, but also because of increasing land shortage. This migration has a strong economic component in the factors causing it. And it is different from the kind of migration by members of the Kambiri community which seems to be chiefly caused by preference of urban life. People from here appear to migrate mainly because they have knowledge and values which positively assess towns and therefore the causes of this migration seem to be rooted in social factors.

Information gathered up till now appears to indicate that the two rural communities of Shirere and Kambiri are exposed to selected urban knowledge and that this knowledge is related to certain urban aspects which have become rural values. And that as a result these rural communities appear to favour migration.

When an individual or a group of individuals have awareness about existence of certain phenomena and make valuations as regards these phenomena, they are usually disposed to act in accord with the emotions resulting from these valuations. Therefore, the next subject for discussion here is going to be the behavioral component of attitude of these rural communities relating to migration and urban life, and the consistency between these and the awareness and evaluative components.

Behaviour or Action

This is the third and final component of an attitude. It includes all behavioral readiness associated with available knowledge and valuations of a state or an object. It is a natural result since cognitions and valuations dispose an individual for some type of action response. It is preferred action. So that if an individual holds a positive attitude towards an object or a state he will help or support it. If he holds a negative attitude he will be disposed to destroy or harm it (Rokeach, 1970:122).

Information regarding what mothers teach their children to prepare them for life in future was taken as behavioral disposition by these parents towards urban life and migration. If what parents teach their younger generation shows a positive evaluation of urban life then this can be interpreted as a factor supporting the migration process, while a negative evaluation of urban life can be interpreted as a factor discouraging migration.

Table 11: What Mothers Teach their Children to Prepare them for Life in Future

	Shirere*	Kambiri**
To learn farm work and do work in the home	88.1 (52)	66.1 (41)
Fear and respect elders	6.8 (4)	25.8 (16)
Be obedient to parents and behave well	25.4 (15)	54.8 (34)
Go to school and work hard	72.9 (43)	64.5 (40)

* For Shirere respondents, N -59 for each response category.

** For Kambiri respondents, N -62 for each response category.

Table 11 indicates that although respondents in Shirere (88.1%) and Kambiri (66.4%) taught their children farm work many of them also emphasized formal education as the next most important skill. This seems to indicate that rural children are being prepared for life outside their rural communities since formal education inculcates knowledge and values which are found in town. This factor is consistent with the knowledge and values which (as seen earlier) appear to encourage migration.

But the fact that most parents also teach their children farm work appears to be inconsistent with the knowledge and values inculcated by the same rural communities which encourage migration even if for different reasons (mainly for economic reasons in the case of Shirere and mainly social reasons in the case of Kambiri). There are several possible ways of explaining this inconsistency. First of all, it is possible that parents teach their children farm work as well because they realize that in the event of the children's failure to make it in town, they have to earn their livelihood from tilling their land and therefore have this skill to fall back to. Another possible way of explaining this discrepancy is that, these respondents know that in the final analysis all members of these communities are farmers. After migrating to town they could either fail to get a job and return to the village immediately or even if they get a job, they will retire to the village eventually. Thus urban life covers only a certain period in their lives otherwise they are always farmers and are required to know farming. A final possible explanation is that awareness and values have changed

faster than behaviour which lags behind. So that in this study while urban awareness and rural values positively assess migration and certain aspects of urban life, the behaviour of these same rural respondents support both urban and rural life. And all three possible explanations are important for understanding urban adaptation of migrants from these communities to town.

Questions to selected rural mothers as regards where they teach children as the best place in which to live and work in future and the reasons for this elicited information which indicated behaviour showing preference for rural or urban life, and this was interpreted as portraying attitudes which favoured or did not favour migration (Tables 12 and 13).

Table 12: Places Mothers Teach their Children as the Best Place to Live in the Future

	Shirere	Kambiri
Children must live in the village because people living in town have bad manners	5.1 (3)	3.2 (2)
Should live in the village because they learn farm work and our customs	54.2 (32)	29.0 (18)
Should live in town because can get jobs	30.5 (18)	24.2 (15)
Should live in town because social amenities are here	8.5 (5)	19.4 (12)
Children can live anywhere	1.7 (1)	24.2 (15)
	100	100
	N - 59	N -62

Table 13. Places Parents Teach their Children as the Best Place to Work in the Future

	Shirere	Kambiri
Town is the place in which to work because in here is work for the educated, most employers and good pay	64.4 (38)	66.1 (41)
Children can work anywhere they get a job	5.1 (3)	9.7 (6)
Live if cheaper in the reserve and children learn rural life	27.1 (16)	19.4 (12)
Should work in the village so that they can learn the behaviour of our people	3.4 (2)	4.8 (3)
	100	100
	N -59	N -62

A high proportion of the respondents in both Shirere (54.2%) and Kambiri (29%) indicated that they teach their children that the best place in which to live is the village, the proportion for Shirere being higher. But quite a substantial percentage of the respondents in Shirere (30.5%) and Kambiri (24.2%) indicated that they teach their children that the best place in which to live in future is town because of availability of employment opportunities here. And in addition to this many respondents in Kambiri (19.4%) indicated that children are taught to live in town because of available social amenities here (compared to only 8.5% in Shirere) and again more Kambiri respondents (24.2%) indicated that they teach their children

that they can live any where (compared to only 1.7% in Sherere).

Information relating to where mothers teach their children as the best place in which to work when they grow up and the reasons for this indicated that most respondents taught their children to work in town, 64.4% in Shirere and 66.1% in Kambiri (Table 12). The reasons they gave for this preference was that more employment opportunities are here, there are jobs for the educated here and higher wages are here.

Thus it has been observed that many respondents (Table 11 and 12) paint a positive picture of urban life and teach their children to stay here in future both because of available amenities and job opportunities here. More so the respondents in Kambiri 24.2% of whom indicated that children can live any where. This information could be interpreted to mean that sometimes (as in the case of Kambiri migrants) social factors, i.e., appreciation of urban life as a whole, are at work in causing migration while in other cases (as in the case of Shirere) economic factors are more important in causing migration.

Summary and Interpretation of Findings

This chapter made an attempt to understand the attitudes of the two rural communities of Kambiri and Shirere towards urban life. It had been assumed that any difference in the attitudes of the members of these two communities towards town could be traced back to the differences between them in geographical location as relates to Kakamega town, in their settlement history and in their population density.

The findings indicate that: First, a higher proportion of the respondents in Shirere favour rural life while only a very small proportion favour urban life. Conversely a higher proportion of the respondents in Kambiri portray attitudes which favour urban life, whereas only a small proportion of the respondents portray attitudes favouring rural life. The second finding was that there appeared to be an inconsistency among the components of some of the attitudes of these two rural communities towards urban life. For instance, although Shirere respondents portrayed awareness and evaluations showing more preference of rural life, the behaviour of respondents (e.g., Table 11) does not always support these. The behaviour here emphasizes the fact that children must go to school, but schools inculcate urban skills and values and therefore this contradicts the awareness and valuations attitude components. Similarly the fact that many Kambiri mothers teach their children farm work and rural customs flies in the face of earlier evidence that awareness and valuations here show more urban preference. Thirdly, the attitudes portrayed by members of each of the two communities appear to have a relationship with the location of each of the two communities in relation to Kakamega town, and the settlement history of each of the two areas. Although Kakamega town is situated within Shirere sublocation, the respondents have portrayed attitudes less favourable towards urban life. This could be interpreted as the result of close physical proximity to town life and therefore acquisition of better knowledge of urban social ills (Table 6) leading to more negative attitudes towards urban life

a factor accentuated by the fact that members of Shirere sublocation are still settled on their ancestral land and are still under the traditional bonds of close physical attachment to their ancestral land. Thus there is a negative assessment of urban life. But faced with the situation of increasing population density on land and decreasing rural earning opportunities (Table 2) these respondents encourage migration but for economic reasons.

Kambiri respondents on the other hand, despite the fact that they live farther away from Kakamega town, portrayed attitudes showing more preference for urban life. This could be a result of the fact that this is a migrant community. The members have already broken their traditional bonds binding them to their ancestral land and are as a result more favourably disposed towards migration.

Several tentative conclusions follow from the findings in this chapter. The first conclusion is that Shirere people prefer rural life rather than urban life but there is, although very limited, a certain amount of appreciation of urban life. And although Kambiri people show more preference of urban life they have not completely rejected rural life, they still value certain aspects of it. Some inconsistencies are found in the attitudes held by each of these two rural communities towards urban life and migration. These conclusions have important implications for the resultant urban behaviour of migrants from these two rural areas. The differences in these rural attitudes towards urban life and the inconsistencies in these attitudes will affect the resultant urban adaptation patterns of migrants from here, which is what we are going to look at in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

Rural Factors in Urban Adaptation Patterns

The previous chapter examined attitudes of the rural communities of Shirere and Kambiri towards the migration process and urban life, and it was found that these rural attitudes assess migration positively, although for different reasons. This chapter represents the findings of a comparative study of the influence of the different attitudes carried by urban migrants from rural socialization in the village on their urban adaptation process.

Adjustment as seen in the theory chapter, refers to the manner in which the individual performs his roles in the various urban spheres of activity in which he participates without unbearable psychological stress. This adjustment process has two aspects to it. First of all urban life is different from rural life. The migrants to town will therefore be required to adjust to this new environment. They will be required to find jobs, make friends, participate in the informal network and take advantage of the opportunity structure of this new social milieu. The second aspect of this process is that these migrants are from different rural backgrounds. In their explorations of options and venues offered by town, they are assisted by individual attributes acquired before migration as well as available urban institutions both formal and informal. The findings in the previous chapter indicated that the members of the two communities

Shirere and Kambiri hold different attitudes towards migration and urban life and that the components of some of these attitudes portray inconsistency. This chapter is going to examine the effect of these observed attitude characteristics on the adjustment process of migrants from these rural communities living in town. The chapter will cover the areas of urban associations, urban social networks and urban investments. It is hoped that information relating to these areas will establish to what extent the migrants act in accordance with values acquired through rural socialization.

This whole process, which includes both economic, social and psychological adjustment is what is referred to here as adaptation. Migrants will adapt differently to the same urban situation. This means that adaptation is not a uniform process but is the interaction of the intentions of migrants and urban possibilities. The chief objective of this chapter is to establish to what extent the rural communities influence or control the urban behaviour of their migrants.

Social Control: Conformity and Growth (Development)

To control is to restrain or direct. When devices for regulating or guiding a person's behaviour are operating then that person is controlled. And one talks of social control when means for regulating or guiding behaviour or activities of the members of the social grouping are operating. Control measures are affected through formal institutions such as the Law Courts, but most social control is effected informally through the socialization process in which the individual interacts with those who through sanctions seek to influence him, in order to induce him in some measure to conform willingly to the

ways of his society or the particular group to which he belongs.

To conform is to judge, believe and act in agreement with the judgement, beliefs and actions of the society or group to which the individual belongs. When there is complete conformity then the group or society has complete control over the individual. But this is not the usual case.

Any society recognizes three kinds of behaviour. There is the proscribed behaviour. These are actions which are known and are rejected. Such actions are not tolerated by the society or group. Then there is the behaviour which receives neutral tolerance from the society. These are actions which are neither accepted nor rejected. They are tolerated because the society is still weighing whether to accept or reject them. And finally there is the behaviour which is known and accepted because it is socially desired. All three types of behaviour are present in any given society and are governed by appropriate norms. But these norms do not define up to the finest details of appropriate behaviour (J.A. Claussen (editor) 1964:65:4). They indicate the general patterns and leave a certain amount of latitude for individual interpretations to fit the varying personal circumstances. And in addition to this, in many situations, the individual is faced with several options and can choose to act in any one of the given alternative ways.

In discussing social control, this chapter is going to examine both conformity and development. Conformity as used here will imply consistency between the attitudes carried by migrants from the rural areas and their urban behaviour. These urban migrants do not

reject their rural background but continue to act in accord with attitudes expressed at home. And in conforming to their respective rural attitudes, we expect to observe differences in their adaptation behaviour, a result of the differences observed earlier (Chapter 4) between the norms of the two rural communities. These resulting different attitudes will lead to different choices of activities in which the migrants get involved and therefore different social situations with different conditions demanding different behavioral requirements. And this will lead to different adaptation patterns. Thus migration is not selective of rural deviants. The behaviour of these migrants are consistent with expressed rural attitudes and any differences in adaptation patterns reflects varying rural social environments.

And yet, although these migrants portray conformity, it is anticipated that they will get involved in activities which had not been anticipated by the rural communities. The migrants find themselves in the new urban environment and initially fall back to their rural attitudes to define their adaptation behaviour. And their different attitudes lead them to new and different urban situations, situations whose conditions demand that in addition to their rurally prescribed behaviour they adopt other and new urban behaviour and attitudes in order to function effectively here. So that there is growth beyond the rurally prescribed behaviour. This is the process referred to here as <u>growth away from</u> or <u>development</u>. Development of growth here implies both <u>continuity</u> of rural attitudes in guiding urban behaviour during the adjustment process and <u>change</u> because

new attitudes and behaviour acquired in town are added to the rural stock so that there is growth. And we expect that this development process will be different for the migrants from the two areas again a result of the differences in initial attitudes between them. These will lead to different urban experiences and therefore different adaptation behaviour.

This chapter will make an attempt to assess to what extent the migrants from Shirere and Kambiri sublocations conform to the attitudes inculcated in them during their rural socialization, and at what point they start to grow away from or develop from these rural attitudes. Information on who the newly arrived migrants go to for help in acquiring their first job and in subsistence is expected to indicate the extent of rural attitudes in influencing urban behaviour of migrants. Information relating to clan association membership and attitudes towards usefulness of clan associations is expected to indicate in the case of Shirere migrants conformity to rural values and also development since associations are urban institutions which require urban behaviour different from the rural behaviour. And for Kambiri migrants participation in clan associations would indicate conformity to attitudes acquired in the rural areas since these attitudes encourage involvement in urban activities but again failure to get involved in clan association activities observed in Kambiri community were not confining. Information on location of the wife's residence, urban investments and when the migrant hopes to finally retire to the village will indicate migrant's conformity as well as development as will be seen below.

It would be expected that the newly arrived migrant to town would exploit the already existing blood relationship and the moral obligation of kinship to obtain subsistence and in the acquisition of the first job. But even then, there is a certain amount of latitude so that the newly arrived migrant can opt for the assistance of either relatives or friends.

Information relating to who helped newly arrived migrants in job acquisition (Table 15) and subsistence (Table 14) was used to indicate to what extent the rural kinship ties plus the resulting moral obligations and/or urban friendship networks are exploited by migrants on first arrival in town.

Table 14: Who Provided Subsistence on Migrant's First Arrival in Town

	Shirere	Kambiri
Relatives	78.6 (22)	8.3 (2)
Ethnic members	7.1 (2)	37.5 (9)
Friends (from other areas)	10.7 (3)	45.9 (11)
Employer	3.6 (1)	8.3 (2)
	100	100
	N -28	N -24

Information regarding who provided subsistence on migrant's first arrival in town (Table 14) indicated that 78.6% of the migrants

from Shirere got their subsistence from relatives while only 10.7% got their subsistence from friends. But fewer new arrivals from Kambiri got their subsistence from ethnic members (37.5%) and relatives (8.3%), while more of these migrants got their subsistence from friends (45.9%).

And in Table 15 migrants from both areas indicated that they were mostly helped by relatives in acquiring their first job. But the score for migrants from Shirere was much higher (68.7%) than that of the Kambiri migrants (37.5%). The proportion of migrants from Shirere helped by friends to acquire the first job was 3.6% while the corresponding score for migrants from Kambiri was 37.5%. This seems to indicate that migrants from Shirere are still more bound by kinship obligations and portray behaviour which emphasizes a rural orientation. The Kambiri migrants while still relying on kinship obligation have also established friendship networks, an indication of an urban orientation.

Table 15: Assistance in Acquisition of First Job by Migrants from Shirere and Kambiri

	Shirere	Kambiri
Relatives helped	67.8 (19)	37.5 (9)
Friends helped	3.6 (1)	37.5 (9)
Personal arrangment with employers	28.6 (8)	25.0 (6)
	100	100
	N -28	N -24

This difference in behavioral orientation by migrants from the two areas (those from Shirere portraying a more rural orientation and those from Kambiri portraying a more urban orientation) indicates conformity to attitudes carried within them from their respective rural socialization. And the differences in their behaviour is a result of differences in these attitudes.

The score for personal arrangement in job acquisition was not considered here (Table 15) because it was assumed that a migrant who arranges himself and gets a job is not experiencing adjustment problems in this particular respect. But one who enlists the help of a relative or a friend is facing problems in getting a job and is faced with the option to go to his relative or friend.

After migrants have stayed in town for a while they develop feelers. They now know what is where and the means to get it in terms of accommodation, employment opportunities and available social amenities. And except in the formal relationships of employment, migrants have options and make choices as to whom to relate to and how and what activities to join and why. This information can be useful as a pointer to the extent to which rural attitudes continue to influence urban behaviour of migrants, and the point at which the behaviour of these urban migrants start showing signs of growing beyond these rural attitudes. This can be observed in the voluntary activities the migrants choose to get involved in. This idea was first suggested by Mayer who noted that to investigate on urbanization of migrants, studies should examine their activities outside the employment situation, because, only then can we discover the

activities that the migrant chooses to get involved in, and this reflects his own attitudes and values rather than the force of circumstances (Mayer, Townsmen or Tribesmen, 1961).

When asked who the migrant usually goes to when in need of assistance of any kind while in town the responses indicated a marked reliance by migrants from Shirere on relatives while migrants from Kambiri again seemed well able to expand their informal networks to include friends besides urban relatives. Table 16 indicates that 64.3% of the migrants from Shirere seek help from relatives and ethnic members while only 7.1% seek help from friends and workmates. On the other hand, 33.3% of the migrants from Kambiri seek help from relatives and ethnic members while 54.2% seek help from friends.

Table 16: Persons to Whom Urban Migrants from Shirere and Kambiri Go To When in Need of Help

	Shirere	Kambiri
Relatives and ethnic members	64.3 (18)	33.3 (8)
Friends and workmates	7.1 (2)	54.] (13)
Our association	17.9 (5)	4.2 (1)
Employer	10.7 (3)	8.3 (2)
	100	100
	N -28	N -24

This information seems to further indicate that the adaptation pattern of migrants from Shirere remains heavily influenced by

the rurally orientated relationships acquired during rural socialization to which they in large measure conform. If on the other hand the Kambiri migrants (Table 16) indicate a more urban orientation (as portrayed by their higher score on friendship networks) this could be because of the more outward, urbanward looking attitudes inculcated in them during the rural socialization process. These migrants have been taught to appreciate urban life but without rejecting rural life (cf. their score on kinship network). And therefore when they come to town they have more options and venues of activity. In their adaptation patterns they conform, but because in their conformity they are exposed to a wider range of activities, they are more susceptible to change resulting from going beyond the rural expectations. Shirere migrants have a narrower range of activities they can get involved in and are therefore less exposed to the change process.

Although many of these migrants belong to other associations in addition to clan associations, clan association membership was used here as an indicator of choice to participate in rural-community oriented activities for two reasons. First, to be eligible for clan membership requires that a person or his ancestors must have been born in a given rural clan. And secondly, these clan associations engage in activities which are directly related to their rural clans. Table 17 gives differences between migrants from the two areas in participation in rural oriented activities based town. The sample from Shirere in Nairobi differed sharply and consistently in the direction of more participation in such activities.

Table 17: Clan Association Membership of Migrants from Shirere and Kambiri

	Shirere	Kambiri
Belong to clan association	78.6 (22)	16.7 (4)
Belong to other associations	17.8 (5)	66.6 (16)
Not belong to any association	3.6 (1)	16.7 (4)
	100	100
	N -28	N -24

Their score for membership in clan associations was higher (78.6%). Very few of the migrants from Kambiri belonged to clan associations. Thus migrants from Shirere again participated in rural oriented activities thus reinforcing their rural-oriented attitudes while migrants from Kambiri portrayed more urban activities, a fact that can be traced to their rural socialization and therefore they too are portraying conformity.

But is is important to note here that in expressing loyalty to their rural values, Shirere migrants use an urban institution. Associations, although arising out of a need to express rural identity, have no place in the rural communities. Their structure portray characteristics unrelated to existing rural institutions. They consist of an elected chairman and a committee who serve for a given term of office. Membership requires payment of a given fee besides regular attendance on fixed monthly and yearly dates.

And behaviour is formal and guided by given rules. This marks the point at which development starts for the Shirere migrants. In their process of conformity to rural attitudes they find themselves involved in new urban behaviour unanticipated during their rural socialization. And sometimes they get involved in urban behaviour not withstanding their inclinations.

But despite this marked difference between migrants from these two rural areas in participation in clan associations their ideas on the need to have such associations appeared to be similar. Most of the urban migrants interviewed were of the opinion that clan associations are useful because they give loans and other assistance to members (Table 18).

Table 18: Opinions of Migrants Towards Usefulness of Clan Associations

	Shirere	Kambiri
They bring unity among members	21.4 (6)	8.3 (2)
They give loans and other help to members	78.6 (22)	87.5 (21)
They are not useful to members	0.0 (0)	4.2 (1)
	100	100
	N -28	N -24

Table 18 seems to indicate that values and behaviour of migrants from Shirere are consistent. 78.6% of the migrants from

Shirere indicate that clan associations are useful to members (Table 18) and 78.6% of the migrants from Shirere belong to clan associations (Table 17). Conversely there appears to be an inconsistency in the values and behaviour of migrants from Kambiri towards clan associations. 87.5% of them indicate that clan associations are useful to members (Table 18) and yet only 16.7% belong to clan associations. This information indicates that migrants from Shirere portray more rural behaviour that corresponds to their rural oriented attitudes.

Kambiri migrants on the other hand portray values and behaviour which appears to be inconsistent. While they value what clan associations stand for (Table 18), their behaviour does not support these values (Table 17). This could be an indication of development which has occurred in the behaviour of these migrants. They still hold the rural value but the supporting behaviour has shifted. This could also be a reflection of the conditions existing in their rural communities. As indicated earlier, the people living in Kambiri area have migrated from their ancestral communities. Thus despite the fact that urban migrants from here acknowledge the usefulness of a clan association, there is lack of a strong community feeling. Instead of the migrants gravitating towards each other in their social activities, they become independent of each other and get involved in urban activities. And this state of inconsistency between the stated value and the actual behaviour will, it is expected here, eventually disappear, as the old values disappear and new values supporting these urban behaviours

emerge. And progressive development in the behaviour and values of Kambiri migrants could lead to complete disappearance of rural attitudes and values among the future generations of these migrants. The Third Generation Model referred to in the theory chapter could become applicable here. The initial migrants have valuations, knowledge and behaviour acquired from rural socialization. They get involved in urban life, but this is done in conformity to the rural attitudes carried to town. The second generation does not itself experience rural life and all they know about it is what they can gather from what their changing parents tell them. The third generation is completely divorced from rural life. They have been born and bred in town and do not know anything about the rural communities and have no one to tell them.

The information in Tables 17 and 18 show a requirement for any social study to go beyond just social attitudes and also examine behavioural aspects of individuals, and vice versa. An examination of just one of these two complementary aspects of social phenomena could elicit information which could lead to erroneous conclusions

Finally this chapter sought to establish whether the kind of influence rural communities have on their migrants' behaviour in towns would lead to the development of either strong urban or strong rural ties by the migrant. Information elicited on location of the residence of the wife of the migrant, migrant's involvement in investment activities in town, and when migrant hopes to ulti= mately leave town was used to indicate whether the migrant had strong urban or rural ties. (Table 19).

Table 19: Location of the Residence of the Wife of the Migrant

	Shirere	Kambiri
In town	3.6 (1)	29.2 (7)
In migrant's home village	89.3 (25)	54.2 (13)
Not married	7.1 (2)	16.6 (4)
	100	100
	N -28	N -24

Most urban migrants with their wives living in their village usually have their children also living there. The migrants often visit this home to check on their family and on any property left here and thus keep in touch with their rural communities. The question on the residence of the wife indicated that while most migrants had their wives living in their rural homes (89.3% for Shirere and 54.2% for Kambiri) a fairly high percentage from Kambiri (29.2%) had their wives living with them in town (compare this proportion with 3.6% being the score for Shirere). This could be taken to indicate that while most Shirere migrants still have strong rural ties, an indication of their rural attitudes which still strongly influence their behaviour, more migrants from Kambiri appear to be establishing urban ties, a characteristic indicating development beyond rural attitudes (which requires them to appreciate both rural and urban life). There is increasing

development in Kambiri migrants' behaviour towards more appreciation of urban life and less appreciation of rural life.

Information on urban investment was used to indicate the strength of urban ties. The fact that a man owns a house in town precipitates other behaviour leading to strong urban ties. For instance house ownership could mean that the rest of the family can come to town or that the migrant intends to stay in town for a long time since houses are not mobile assets. And in addition to this such an activity indicates further development beyond rural community anticipation of urban adjustment.

Responses presented in Tables 20 and 21 indicate that most migrants are living in rented houses (the proportion of migrants from Shirere being 53.6%). A fairly high proportion of the Shirere migrants are housed by relatives (28.5%) while very few migrants from Kambiri are housed by relatives. A high proportion of the migrants from Kambiri interviewed in Nairobi were living in owner occupier houses (33.3%), but there were no migrants from Shirere living in owner occupier houses. The phenomenon of investment in urban houses could be related to income per month earned by individual migrants. It is possible that those earning a high salary could be the ones who have extra money to invest in houses. To check whether urban investment in houses was related to differences in income of migrants from these two rural communities, ownership of houses was examined against income groups of these migrants. Although migrants from Kambiri had a higher average income per month (media -1200/ - for Kambiri and 450/ - for

Table 20: Urban House Ownership by Migrants from Shirere by Income Groups

	Renting the House	Owner Occupier	Housed by Employer	Housed by Relatives	Total
0 shs. per month	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	10.7 (3)	10.7 (3)
1-500 shs. per month	28.6 (8)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	28.6 (8)
501-1500 shs. per month	17.85 (5)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	17.85 (5)	35.7 (10)
1501-5000 shs. per month	7.1 (2)	0.0 (0)	17.9 (5)	0.0 (0)	25.0 (7)
TOTAL	53.55 (15)	0.0 (0)	17.9 (5)	28.55 (8)	100 (28)

Table 21: Urban House Ownership by Migrants from Kambiri by Income Groups

	Renting the House	Owner Occupied	Housed by Employer	Housed by Relatives	Total
0 shs. per month	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	4.1 (1)	4.1 (1)
1-500 shs. per month	4.2 (1)	8.3 (2)	0.0 (0)	0.0 (0)	12.5 (3)
501-1500 shs. per month	20.8 (5)	12.5 (3)	8.4 (2)	0.0 (0)	41.7 (10)
1501-5000 shs. per month	20.8 (5)	12.5 (3)	8.4 (2)	0.0 (0)	41.7 (10)
TOTAL	45.8 (11)	33.3 (8)	16.8 (4)	4.1 (2)	100 (24)

Shirere migrants) no one of the 60% of the migrants from Shirere who were earning 500/ - per month and no one of the 25% of the migrants from here who earned between 1501/- and 5000/- per month invested in houses, while in the case of Kambiri, more than half of the migrants who invested in houses (i.e., 54.2%) earned less than 1500/ - per month. The reason of this failure of the Shirere migrants in taking part in urban investment, while the migrants from Kambiri did just that, could again be traced back to the differences in attitudes inculcated in them during their rural socialization. Migrants from Kambiri have positive attitudes towards urban life and are therefore willing to settle here and get involved in all its activities, exploiting all chances open to them. Migrants from Shirere on the other hand have attitudes which reject urban life and therefore seem to come to town just to attain certain targets and then return to the village. Both migrants are portraying conformity to their respective attitudes; the Shirere migrants resisting involvement in urban activities while the Kambiri migrants fully get involved in urban activities.

Asked when they would like to ultimately leave town for the village all migrants from Shirere indicated that they would like to return to the village as soon as they have educated all their children and they have bought some land. The corresponding score for migrants from Kambiri was 67.7% while 33.3% of the migrants from here indicated that they would like to leave town only after they retire. This seemed to imply (as seen earlier) that migrants from Shirere came to town to get money and solve some outstanding

Table 22: When the Migrant Hopes to Ultimately Leave Town for the Village

	Shirere	Kambiri
After educating all my children and they have jobs	64.3 (18)	37.5 (9)
After buying some land	35.7 (10)	29.2 (7)
After retiring	0.0 (0)	33.3 (8)
	100	100
	N -28	N -24

problems (e.g., fees, acquisition of land, etc.) and they want to return to the village while relatively young to participate in the activities here. On the other hand, many migrants from Kambiri, even after solving outstanding problems like education of children and acquisition of more land were willing to stay on in town, till old age. This again seemed to be related to the rural oriented Shirere attitudes which discouraged involvement in urban activities and the urbanward attitudes of the Kambiri migrants as seen earlier. Kambiri migrants come to town to stay for a long time and within the course of their stay, they establish stronger urban ties, while Shirere migrants establish weaker urban ties (Table 21). And in view of these ties, the Kambiri migrants may never return to the village although according to Table 22, they all eventually return.

Discussion and Interpretation

The findings in this chapter seem to be related to what was observed in the last chapter and it has important implications for the next chapter.

Several observations have been made in this chapter. The first observation made was that the migrants from the two rural communities of Shirere and Kambiri portray different adaptation patterns. The migrants from Shirere prefer activities which exphasize a rural orientation. They conform to rural society requirements as regards kinship obligations they get involved in rurally oriented activities, they get least involved in activities which could lead them to establish strong urban ties. Migrants from Kambiri for their part appear to portray a more urban proneness in their adjustment process. They show less dependence on kinship obligation and instead rely more on friendship networks. They participate more in urban activities and portray more involvement in urban activities and this leads to their establishing strong urban ties.

The second observation made in this chapter was that the difference in adaptation patterns portrayed by migrants from these two rural communities seemed to be related to attitudes acquired during rural socialization (examined in the previous chapter) and carried with them from the village to town. These different attitudes determine the type of urban activities in which migrants from these two rural areas opt to get involved.

We can therefore talk of the migrants from these two rural areas conforming to the rural community socialization requirements. The differences in the pattern of conformity result from these socialization requirement.

And the final observation was that the different attitudes carried by members of these two communities lead to different activities in which migrants from these two rural areas choose to get involved. These migrants find themselves in different urban situations with conditions requiring new and different behaviour and attitudes. Although the migrants from Shirere make efforts to neutralize such experiences they are faced with the dilemma of having to perform effectively in this new environment and therefore acquire some new urban behaviour and attitudes. Kambiri respondents accumulate and exploit their new experiences and in this manner they acquire new behaviour and attitudes beyond their rural community expectations. Migrants from both areas are thus portraying conformity, and in conforming they go beyond rural expectations, but some do so willingly and others despite themselves.

This increasing involvement in urban life by both migrants from Shirere (unwillingly) and from Kambiri (willingly) in their adaptation process is an indication that changes are occurring both in their behaviour and attitudes towards urban life. This change seems to indicate a favourable disposition towards urban life, so that even if most members of this generation return to the village as they profess (see Table 22) their children might not be socialized to do so. This observation calls into question some ideas

of traditional studies of migration (Schapera 1947; Caldwell 1969 etc.) who have described migration in Africa as involving "target migrants", that is, people who migrate to town to work and earn a specific amount of money intended to be directed towards achieving certain targets, and then returning back to the village. The present study calls for a new perspective of modern migration and the modern migrant, a perspective that would consider the possibility of most of them opting for permanent residence in town.

In this chapter we have looked at the different adaptation patterns by the migrants from Shirere and Kambiri areas and how these are influenced by attitudes carried from the village to town. We have looked at some of the behaviour the migrants get involved in, and the points at which these migrants start growing away from their rural community expectations. This is change as we shall see in the next chapter. It was observed in this chapter that sometimes people (e.g., Shirere migrants) get involved in change processes unintentionally and at other times (e.g., in the case of Kambiri migrants) people get involved in change processes intentionally. In order to fully understand this concept of change, we must understand the different types of change occurring and the units in which change starts. This is the subject matter of our next and final chapter in this study.

CHAPTER 6

Migration and Change

This study looked at rural factors which cause migration in chapter four, and the influence of these causal factors on the urban adaptation patterns of migrants in chapter five. This concluding chapter is going to trace the change processes occurring in the rural and urban communities and which are associated with migration, in an attempt to determine what types of changes these are, and when these change processes start.

Change is any shift from the original state. It can be positive or negative. As indicated in the theory chapter, traditional rural communities did not encourage individual migration. The fact that there is spontaneous migration from these rural communities at present, indicates that some changes must have occurred here relating to migration. The present chapter attempts to isolate and trace these change processes and to indicate the relationship between them and the resultant migration patterns.

Rural change processes examined in this study seem to fall into three historical periods, the traditional period, the colonial period and the post colonial period. The transition from one period to the next is characterized by increasing change, within the rural communities and each period is characterized by a different pattern of migration.

In the traditional period, the rural communities portrayed affective relations emphasizing close physical attachment to the ancestral land around which most activities revolved. Migration was therefore restricted and except in cases like nomadic communities where the whole group moved, there was little individual migration. Economic activities were non-monetary.

The second period is characterized by colonization. During the early part of this period, administrative boundaries were fixed cutting across and transcending local communities. Administrative and local activities became centralized, and the monetary economy was introduced. The colonists lived in the urban centres and the life style here resembled as closely as possible the Western life style. Labour was needed for the urban factories, in the administrative offices and on European farms. The indigenous population was seen as a source of cheap labour and colonists started forcibly recruiting labour from the indigenous population for this purpose.

Up till now, these rural communities had not been aware of urban life nor of the monetary economy. These communities therefore had no norms or cultural values corresponding with these newly established conditions of life. But as indicated above, some members of the communities were being forced to migrate to towns. Migration and urban life were therefore elements which were present in the physical or objective environment of these rural communities. And since they had not been present during the traditional period, they were new additions to this physical environment and therefore they represented change. This we call here objective change since neither urban life nor migration had

previously occurred in these rural communities. The norms here still emphasized close physical attachment to the ancestral land, so that the type of migration that was occurring was forced migration, imposed from outside irrespective of migrants' culture.

The general question here then is that of how this rural-urban behaviour initially foreign to the rural communities found its way into their normative conditions, so that now there are social elements here supporting it. This is the question that poses a special problem to scholars who treated societies as closed systems. Traditional anthropologists who studied "primitive" societies, by virtue of their theoretical premises could not acknowledge that factors outside a society can influence behaviour internal to this society. They were thus unable to answer the above question. This question can only be answered when societies are considered (as this study does) as open systems, recognizing that a power foreign to them can have an influence on them. This happended to most rural communities during the colonization period.

For instance, during this period, the political environment of the rural communities portrayed inter-ethnic rivalry. In their competition, some communities decided to exploit their objective environment which included some phenomena introduced by colonists. They accepted Western educational and religious institutions, often without realizing the full implications of this acceptance. They may not have intended to incorporate these phenomena into their normative conditions. In this respect, they were involved in change before their culture had shifted to support this change.

Members of these communities by the very fact of their acceptance of these foreign elements, were forced to migrate to town to earn money to send their children to school, and to pay taxes. Migration at this time can be seen as being caused by purely economic necessity. This is the type of migration that most early anthropologists could be talking about when they argue that economic motives are the most important factors causing migration. Migration at this time had no social over-tones and the theory of Cultural Lag seems to apply here in the sense that people are involved in behaviour which represents change before their culture shifts to support this new state.

But migration and urban life finds its way into the normative conditions of these communities during the latter part of the period of colonization. Education and religion inculcated values and attitudes favouring urban life and therefore migration. This is tantamount to social change.

Social change is a shift in the institutions of a society or the units making up these institutions including social norms, social values, social goals and social attitudes. During this period migration became a voluntary process. Members of the rural communities now held attitudes which favourably assessed migration and urban life so that even during the post-colonial period after the colonial powers had withdrawn from these communities, migration still continues, and seems to have become a self-sustaining social process. Attitudes and values supporting this process are passed to the younger generation through the socialization process.

Attitudes as seen in the theory chapter are psychological states directed towards attitude objects. They are related to the physical, social and psychological conditions with which the individual interacts. This is the total environment that creates, shapes and supports given attitudes. As indicated above, some communities accepted colonists, and Western values ultimately found their way into the normative conditions of these societies. Other communities rejected and fought against urban life for a long time. The attitudes of members of different rural communities towards migration and urban life are therefore expected to differ. In relation to this, the present study compared attitudes of members of Shirere and Kambiri communities towards migration and urban life. It was found that those of Shirere people indicated preference for rural life more than urban life, while attitudes of members of Kambiri community indicated preference for urban life more than rural life.

It was observed that as a result of these varying attitudes, there were two types of migrations occurring in those two communities. The people of Shirere appeared to be migrating as a result of land shortage and lack of employment opportunities in their home areas. They go to town to look for jobs so that they can earn money and acquire land and other necessities. This migration is therefore caused by economic motives and it looks very much like the type of migration which economists (e.g., Gugler, 1965; Todaro, 1968; Rempel, 1970; Nyaoke Owuor, 1974), have in mind when they put forward the economic model as explaining migration. They argue that it is economic factors which push people from their rural homes.

Another type of migration observed in this study but not covered by the economic model, is that observed from Kambiri area. Kambiri migrants own larger pieces of land than Shirere migrants (Table 23) and yet they appeared to favour migration more than Shirere people.

Table 23: Land Ownership by Migrants from Shirere and Kambiri Sublocations in Nairobi

	Shirere	Kambiri
1-3 acres	64.3 (18)	8.3 (2)
4-10 acres	35.7 (10)	25.0 (6)
11-20 acres	0.0 (0)	45.8 (11)
Over 20 acres	0.0 (0)	20.9 (5)
	100	100
	N -28	N -24

It could be argued that Shirere migrants are pushed out of their home areas to towns as a result of land shortage (an economic need) while migration from Kambiri seems more caused by the pull of urban life. And the attitudes of respondents reflected the environment of their respective communities. Those of Shirere indicated less appreciation of urban life and migration. This as seen earlier could be a result of the fact that members of these communities are still under traditional bonds binding them to their ancestral land. The attitudes of Kambiri migrants on the other hand showed more

appreciation of urban life and migration. This could be a result of the fact that the Kambiri respondents had already broken the initial bonds binding them to the ancestral land. They were therefore more receptive to new ideas and new attitudes. And contrary to Rempel's finding, (Rempel, 1970), it was observed in this study that physical distance relative to an urban centre did not affect migration, and Nyaoke Owuor in a study he carried out in Western and Nyanza provinces of Kenya came to the same conclusion. The fact that Shirere community was closer to an urban centre (Kakamega town in this study), did not make the respondents here more favourably disposed towards migration and urban life than respondents in Kambiri community which was physically placed farther away from the urban centre. In fact the opposite was found to be the case in this study. It was also observed in this study that income differential was not an important factor in migration, a finding which Nyaoke Owuor (1974) also came out with in his study. Kambiri respondents therefore seemed to be comparable to Mayer's School Xhosa, while his Red Xhosa seemed to correspond to Shirere respondents in this study (Mayer, 1961).

But the change processes occurring are not limited to the rural environment. As seen earlier, attitudes are related to existing physical, social and psychological conditions. This is the <u>total</u> environment which consists of phenomena of which people are aware and about which they develop given valuative judgements. It is the environment in which they are disposed to behave in certain ways. And at the same time attitudes help people to adjust

to this environment since they dispose appropriate behaviour. Attitudes also help people to defend their environment and express themselves in it since this environment forms the world which they understand. So that attitudes shape and are shaped by their environment. Therefore environment change will affect attitudes and vice versa.

The question here then is that, towns were colonial creations, how then, did migrants from rural communities adjust here without psychological stress.

This study examined the influence on attitudes created and supported in a rural environment by the urban environment. Migrants to town are required to adjust to this new environment. These migrants experience growth away from their original rural attitudes, a result of new urban conditions which demand new and appropriate actions. But this change is much faster for Kambiri than for Shirere migrants. This is a result of the influence of rural attitudes carried within migrants on their urban behaviour. These attitudes initially guide behaviour of migrants in town and because attitudes of Kambiri migrants portray a more favourable assessment of urban environment, these migrants willingly get involved in urban life and thus change much faster, while attitudes of migrants from Shirere show preference for rural life and thus resist getting involved in urban activities so that they change more slowly.

The change processes examined in this chapter seem to indicate that people influence and are influenced by their environment. It was found that the total environment of the rural communities is

changing and that this is the cause of migration. And the migrants to towns carry within them attitudes which for a while define their actions. But the urban environment also makes conditional requirements to which the migrant must adjust. Therefore to understand behaviour, one must understand the environment in which the behaviour occurs. This environment includes the physical, the social and the pre-existing psychological conditions. Social change occurs as a result of shifts in elements of this environment.

In this respect, the present study argues that migration is caused by changes which have occurred in the total environment of the rural communities. The study does not only discuss factors correlated with migration because these only indicate associational relations, while the present study is interested in explanation of the migration process. This study also attempted to go beyond just determinant factors in migration. In this connection, the total environment was suggested as the appropriate framework within which to look at the various independent determinant factors whose total effect is to cause migration. Although this is an ambitious goal for a study of this scale, it was considered a necessary attempt for a study concerned with understanding and predicting phenomena, which should be the aim of every study.

It is realized that the findings in this study could have been different if this study had taken into account the age and education of both rural and urban respondents. This can only be recommended for future studies to find out. It is also realized that the findings could have been different if the urban field

investigation had closely adhered to the initial sampling procedures. But this was not possible because of problems in urban field investigation, referred to in the methodology chapter.

A general conclusion arrived at in this study is that change is occurring in the rural communities, irrespective of cultural preference for traditional or urban life. This change began expanding migration which now shows spontaneity. And in town this change process continues in the adjustment process of migrants, a process that is being influenced by the kind of rural attitudes migrants carry within them to town.

Summary and Recommendations

This study is considered to represent a major contribution to migration literature in several ways.

First, traditional studies of migration have been time bound because they have considered rural to urban migration as the effect of existing conditions in the rural areas at a particular point in time and the translation of these conditions by migrants into personal aspirations. Thus the rationalistic motives have been emphasized on the basis of the assumption that migrants are able to assess the economic condition in both the rural and the urban areas and that their decision to move or stay resulted from comparison of costs and benefits of moving or staying. The present study treats migration as resulting from conditions existing both in the rural and urban areas and the cultural translation of these conditions into aspirations for potential migrants. And the time factor transcends the material time at which the migration incidence

occurs. This study achieves this through linking contemporary migration to the historical periods of pre-colonialism, colonialism and post-colonialism periods which correspond to gradual change in the rural communities from states completely resistent to migration and urban life to the present post-independence period when migration process seems to have penetrated the normative conditions of these communities so that migration is being encouraged.

Secondly, traditional studies of migration have also been place bound, rural to urban migration being considered as the outcome of conditions existing either only in the rural areas or only in the urban areas. This approach portrays a weak methodological devise in a study of this kind which involves both rural and urban areas. The present study overcomes this methodological weakness of concentrating on only one end of the migration process by studying both the rural and urban situations. Both areas are examined as two aspects of the same social environment and it is the conditions existing in both places that are culturally translated into aspirations for migrants.

And finally, most migration studies have concentrated on the migrants themselves and have ignored the migration process itself. Migration has thus been studied in an expost facto way, i.e., the migrants have been interviewed after the migration has already occurred. Apart from the fact that such retrospective reporting must be viewed with skepticism because it is influenced both by the amount of time that has elapsed since migration as well as the experiences of the migrants since migration occurred, there

has been no direct attention given to the pre-migration environment. What the present study attempts to do is to fill this void by looking at the normative structure under which migration occurs by answering the question:

> "Do people expect that certain classes of individuals whom they can influence will or will not migrate?"

This study is therefore different in that we are looking not at the migrants only but also at the whole migration process.

Several recommendations emerge from this study:

(1) To understand social behaviour (including migration) the total environment within which the behavior occurs must be examined since it is this environment that creates, and supports the behaviour occurring in it, and a change in this environment will lead to a change in the behaviour.

(2) Change, according to this study, seems to be occurring and this change is towards more appreciation of urban life, willingly (like in the case of Kambiri respondents) or unwillingly (like in the case of Shirere respondents). These are the change processes leading to accelerated migration. Therefore any efforts to curb migration must take account of these changing environments.

(3) Although it did not fall within the scope of this study to fully examine non-migrants, return migrants and potential migrants, a study concentrated on this category of people could lead to interesting leads

which would help us understand better the process of migration by addressing itself to the issues of:

a) Why some people migrate and others do not.

b) Whether return migration represents failure or success in town and any observable variation in interaction patterns between return migrants who have succeeded and those who have failed in town.

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INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION IN KAKAMEGA DISTRICT

Good -day. I am a student at the University of Nairobi. I am trying to learn something about reasons for movements of people from Kakamega district to towns. I would like to speak to the owner of this house. He is one of those selected to provide me with answers to my questions. I would be obliged if he spared me a few minutes and gave me his views. The information will be kept secret. The research has support from the Office of the President. The clearance number is:

General Information on Characteristics of Respondents

1. Name of Respondents.....

2. Sex: Male..... Female.....

3. Place of birth: (i) Village.....

(ii) Sublocation.....

(iii) Town.....

4. Place of present residence:

(i) Villa.....

(ii) Sublocation.....

(iii) Town.....

Data on Migration, Reasons for Migration and Information Network

5.i. Rural Respondents: Have you even been to any town?

Yes..... No.....

ii. Migrants: Have you been to any other town before?

Yes..... No.....

iii. If yes to (i) or (ii) fill the table below.

Name of Town	Reason of Stay	Reason why left
i.		
ii.		
iii.		
iv.		
v.		

6. When did you first decide to move to town?

.....

7. What made you decide to move to town?

(i).....(ii).....(iii).....

8. Among these reasons which are the two most important things you hoped to achieve?

(i).....(ii).....

9. Who influenced your decision to first move?

(i) Father.....

(ii) Mother.....

(iii) Brothers/Sisters.....

(iv) Other, specify.....

10. Before you first moved what did you know about towns?

.....

11. How did you first learn about towns?

.....

12.i. Were you promised anything at home or in town before you moved?

(i) A job..... (ii) Education .....

(iii) A farm..... (iv) Other, specify.....

ii. Who promised? Fill below.

	Name	Relationship	Residence	Occupation	Result of Promise
i.					
ii.					
iii.					
iv.					
v.					

13.i. When you first came to town, who did you first stay with?

.....

ii. How long did you stay with him/her?

.....

iii. Did you pay rent for staying with him/her?

.....

iv. Which amongst these did you enjoy?

(a) Free meals..... (b) Some free meals.....

(c) Paid for some meals (d) Paid for meals.....

14. Subsequent to this who else did you stay with?
Fill in the table below.

	Name	Relationship	Time of stay	What enjoyed free	What paid for
i.					
ii.					
iii.					
iv.					
v.					
vi.					

Migrants Only

15. Where do you stay now? .....

16. How do you hold this accommodation?

(a) Rented..... (b) Give amount paid per month.....

(c) Owner occupied..... (d) Other, specify.....

17. If you rent it or if it is rent free, who owns this accommodation?

(a) Relative..... (b) Friend.....(c) Private ownership.....(d) Government owned.....(e) Other, specify.....

Urban Entertainments and Attitudes

18.i. Did/do you face any problems living in town?

Yes..... No.....

ii. If yes, which?

.....

19.i. What is your best form of entertainment?

.....

ii. Is it found at home?

Yes..... No.....

iii. Is it found in town?

Yes..... No.....

20.i. Do you participate in modern social dances and/or public meetings?

Yes..... No.....

ii. What is your attitude to town styled entertainment?

.....

21.i. Did/do you know of any associations in town?

Yes..... No.....

22.i. Do you think they are helpful in any way to migrants?

Yes..... No.....

ii. If yes, how?

.....

23.a. When attending social events who were/are your companions?

(i) workmates..... (ii) friends..... (iii)acquaint-

ances..... (iv) relatives..... (v) ethnic members.....

(vi) No one..... (vii) other, specify.....

b. Give reasons.....

24. When you are/were in need of help who do/did you contact?

	Name	Relationship	Occupation	Why do you contact him?
i.				
ii.				
iii.				
iv.				

25. What would you say to a friend or relative of yours wanting to come to town?

.....

26.a. Considering your background and education which type of work do you think suits you best?

(i) Urban work..... (ii) Rural work.....

(iii) Location does not matter.....

b. Give reasons.....

27.i. Do you think people in town are better off than people at home?

Yes..... No.....

ii. If yes, give reasons

,,,

28.i. Do you think boys/girls at a certain age should move to town?

Yes..... No.....

ii. Give reasons.

.....

29.a. Do/did you feel attracted by town ways of doing things as:

(i) Better..... (ii) Easier.....

b. Elaborate.....

30.i. What do you like about towns?

.....

ii. Give reasons

.....

31.i. What do you dislike about towns?

.....

ii. Give reasons

.....

32.a. Do people in town serve as an example to people in the village?

Yes..... No.....

b. If yes, for whom?

(i) Children..... (ii) Youth.....

(iii) No one..... (iv) Other, specify.....

c. In what respect

.....

Residence of Family

33.i. Are you married?

Yes..... No.....

ii. If yes, where is your wife living?

.....

34.i. Did you marry her before your move to town?

Yes..... No.....

ii. If yes, did you migrate with her on your first trip?

Yes..... No.....

iii. If no, why not?

.....

iv. How long did you stay before your wife joined you?

.....

Educational Achievement and Remittance Transfer

35. Indicate the highest education completed.
Give class/form where necessary.

(i) Never been to school.....

(ii) Primary.....

(iii) High school.....

(iv) College e.g. teachers.....

(v) University degree.....

(vi) Other specify.....

36. Give number of children and relatives attending school under your care below.

	Name	School attending	Age	Sex	Relationship	Why with you
i.						
ii.						
iii.						
iv.						
v.						
vi.						
vii.						
viii.						
ix.						

37. List dependents of all ages who you feed and/or provide with accommodation

Name	Age	Sex	Relation-ship	Occu-pation	Time spend with you	Why with you
i.						
ii.						
iii.						
iv.						
v.						
vi.						
vii.						
viii.						
ix.						

38.i. Are towns good places in which to rear children?

Yes..... No.....

ii. Give reasons

.....

39.i. Do you have any sons living in town?

Yes..... No.....

ii. If yes, fill the table on next page.

Name	Town	When he wetn	Neighbourhood	Block No.	Door No.	How often visits home	How often would you like him to visit	Why	When come home what spends time doing
i.									
ii.									
iii.									
iv.									
v.									

iii. Migrants: How often do you visit home? .....

iv. When were you last at home?.....

v. What was the visit for?.....

40.i. Do any of your sons send any money, goods or clothes home?

Yes..... No.....

ii. If yes, fill the table below:

Name of Sender	Type of object	How often	To whom	For what purpose	Does it serve the purpose?
i.					
ii.					
iii.					

41.i. Did/do you send any goods or money home? Yes..... No.....

ii. If yes, fill the table below.

Type of object	Time send	To whom	For what purpose	Does it serve the purpose?
i.				
ii.				
iii.				
iv.				
v.				

iii. If no, why not?

.....

42.i. Do you think this sending of goods home helps to solve some problems?

Yes..... No.....

ii. Elaborate

.....

43. How much longer do you wish you son/s to remain in town?

(i) Till after marrying.....

(ii) Till after buying a car.....

(iii) Till after buying a farm.....

(iv) Till after educating all children.....

(v) Till after he retires.....

(vi) Other, specify.....

Migrants only

44. When do you hope to return home?

(i) After marrying.....

(ii) After buying a car.....

(iii) After buying a farm.....

(iv) After educating all my children.....

(v) After retiring.....

(vi) Other, specify.....

45. What is your greatest ambition for your son/s who live in town?

.....

46. What is your greatest ambition for your son/s currently staying at home?

.....

47.i. Do you hope that those at home will one day go to town?

Yes..... No.....

ii. If yes, to do what?

.....

48.a. Would you advise any of your sons to marry:

(i) A town behaved girl.....

(ii) A village behaved girl.....

b. Give your reasons.

.....

Learning Themes Imparted Relating to Migrants

Questions A-D for RURAL WIVES only

49.A.i. Have you ever been to town?

Yes..... No.....

ii. If yes, which one?.....

iii. When?.....

iv. To do what?.....

B.i. Where do you tell your children is the best place to stay?

.....

ii. Why?.....

C.i. When talking to your children about what they should do in the future, where do you tell them is the best place to work?

Town..... Village.....

ii. Why?.....

D. Indicate what you teach them to prepare them for life in future

i. The very young of up to 7 years.....

ii. Children between 7 and 15 years.....

iii. Over 15 years.....

Income, Rural and Urban Employment and Unemployment

50.a. Which do you think offers more employment opportunities?

Town..... Village.....

b. Give your reasons

.....

51. Before making your first trip to town, what were you doing?

(i) In school

(ii) Employed for wages(s) Job.... (b) Wages per month.....

(iii) Self-employed, e.g. trade

(a) specify business.....

(b) Amount per given period.....

(iv) Farming

(a) Full time.....

(b) Family farm.....

(c) Independent farm.....

(d) Income from farm.....

(v) Fully unemployed

(a) Length of period when unemployed.....

(b) Who gave you transport to town?.....

52.i. When you first arrived in town what kind of work were you looking for?

.....

ii. How long did it take you to find your first job?.....

53. When you first arrived in town how much money were you expecting?

.....

54. How did you obtain your first job?

(i) Through labour office.....

(ii) Personal arrangement with employers.....

(iii) Relatives helped.....

(iv) Other, specify.....

55. What is your total income per month now?

.....

56.i. Apart from your job did/do you have any other source of income?

Yes..... No.....

ii. If yes, specify.....

57. Which of the following properties do you own?

	Total	Where located?	Types	When acquired	How	Income per month	Jointly or personally owned
i. Buildings for rent							
ii. Land/farm acres							
iii. Business							
iv. Animals							
v. Vehicles Mechines							
vi. Savings							
vii. Others							

58. Among these which did you own before your move to town?

(i)..... (ii)..... (iii).....

59.i. Did ownership or lack of ownership of any of these influence your decision to move to town?

Yes..... No.....

ii. If yes, elaborate

.....

60. What do you think are the three main reasons why many migrants in town are not employed?

(i) Too little education.....

(ii) Discrimination.....

(iii) No jobs available.....

(iv) Labour office is inefficient.....

(v) Wages are too low.....

(vi) They do not want jobs.....

(vii) They have no influential relatives...

(viii) Their relatives are not helpful.....

(ix) Other, specify.....

61.a. Are there any jobs more available to unemployed migrants?

Yes..... No.....

b. If yes, which ones?

(i).....(ii).....(iii).....

c. Why don't they take them?

.....

62. Are there any benefits enjoyed by unemployed migrants in town?

Yes..... No.....

If yes, specify.

.....

63. What do you think are the major problems of the unemployed in town?

(i)..... (ii)..... (iii).....

64.i. Do they contemplate returning home?

Yes..... No.....

ii. If yes, usually after how long?

.....

iii. Why?

.....