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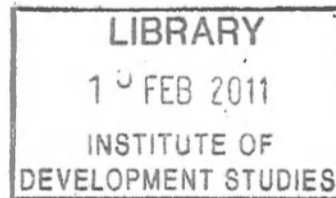
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MIGRATION AND RURAL DIFFERENTIATION

By

S.E. Migot-Adholla

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to estimate the influence of migration upon economic differentiation. For a change the study does not focus on urban migration. It is argued that the dichotomic contrast between the ideal types of 'rural' and 'urban' is illusory since it tends to assume the mutual exclusion of the two environments. The dynamic nature of the interactions between rural migrants and their place of origin is conditioned by the operation of the network of kinship and friendship relations. It is asserted here that actual participation by individuals and families in these network relations depends on considerations of socio-economic status of the members of a dyad. It is hypothesized, therefore, that kinship relations are undergoing a transformation in which their affective orientation is being replaced by an instrumental orientation. It is further suggested that this trend is positively correlated with the developments in economic differentiation.

MIGRATION AND RURAL DIFFERENTIATION

Introduction

In analysing the process of social change in the developing countries social scientists are often confronted with a maze of conflicting trends many of which defy the simple application of dualistic models, as for instance, the contrasting dichotomy of "tradition" and "modernity" or "rural" and "urban". An aspect of this analytical difficulty is to be found in the nature of the interactions between town and country, especially where urban living is a relatively recent phenomenon, and labour force not stabilized. Observing the transitory nature of such societies Gonzalez (1970) has coined the term "neoteric" to distinguish them from others also undergoing rapid change. However, many studies of social change still utilize some variation of the dualistic model, and even when recognition is made of certain limitations, the mutual exclusiveness of rural and urban life, for example, is still implied. Thus in an otherwise perceptive study of labour in South Africa, Houghton (1960) characterises the labour migrants as "men of two worlds," referring to the terminal ends of the locus of their economic activity. But Philip Mayer (1961:1) elaborating on the cultural aspects of urbanization in East London suggests that migrants might be "men of three worlds" since the city itself comprises two worlds: one white and the other black. While the situation in South Africa presents an extreme, it is clear that the notion of a homogenous urban population in contrast to a monolithic peasantry is as illusory for much of Africa as the idea of economic dualism. But to assert this is not necessarily to overlook the theoretical and operational difficulties in analysing the complexities of social change. The focus of the present research proposal, however departs from the analysis of causes, characteristics and consequences of migration to urban industrial centres. Instead it directs attention to migrations within the agricultural sector and possible implications of these on social and economic differentiation.

The following is only a rough guideline, highlighting the points on which attention should be especially focussed. This is no way exhaustive and the field assistants are very much encouraged to use their imaginations in order to augment and enrich the information gathered.

1. CAUSES OF MIGRATION FROM MARAGOLI

Migration from Maragoli has been taking place since the early 1900's, say to Tiriki and Nyangori. Later these have continued, for instance to Kisii, Migori/Kanyamkago, Kigumba (Uganda), Mugumu (Tanzania), South Nandi and recently to the Settlement Schemes. What can be the explanations for this? What made some people move while others stayed? Why did different people choose to go to the different places? (Give full details) was there any selection of those who migrated, say by village-elders, church leaders, or within the family?

In the case of recent migrations (to Migori, Nandi Hills and Settlement): How was information about opportunity for migration obtained? (Give specific examples and full explanations). Why was the decision to migrate made - assuming the information was available to everybody? (Find out if there may have been other influencing factors, e.g. sons grown up and needing land, married second wife, quarrelled with member of family, was afraid of witchcraft, etc.) Are migrants considered by those remaining as members of the Community? Are they for instance expected to support the local Harambee projects? And do they in fact make contributions? What is the essential difference between the Maragolis living and working in other rural areas and those living and working in towns? (Give full explanations).

spaces (since $G=2^3$ or 8) within which some aspect of migration may occur. In an application of this framework Gade (1970) has reviewed migration research as it contributes to the individual property spaces. The broad categories derived from this operation are (1) characteristics of migrants (P), (2) places of residence (A) and (B), (3) comparison of emigrant and immigrant areas (A,B), (4) migrants and the emigration area (A,P), (5) migrants and the immigration area (B,P), (6) interrelations of migration, migrants and area (A,B,P). Under each category Gade has listed several relevant studies, The list however is restricted to geographical research.

The treatment of migration literature according to the disciplines under which the studies are conducted has been in use for a long time. According to this approach (e.g. used by Gade, above) there is a tendency to limit conceptual tools and areas of concern rather narrowly to satisfy certain intellectual traditions. Thus sociologists tend to be concerned for instance, with the effects of migration on social and political structures both in the areas of origin and destination, and with problems of social adjustment and accommodation. Demographers on the other hand, have focussed interest on differential fertility rates, age structures and sex ratio, while economists have concentrated on the various implications of migration as an aspect of the allocation of human capital between and within regions. Increasingly there is evidence of a cross-fertilization so that the concepts and methodology of research are dictated, not by the narrow disciplinary traditions but by the nature of the research at hand. But for reasons already stated no general and universal theory of migration has emerged.

Perhaps another useful approach to the review of migration studies would be to organize the literature in some historical perspective and trace the growth in complexity of various theories about human migration as well as methodological sophistication over time. Space does not permit any elaboration here except the most cursory examination. Among the early investigations on migration is the work of Haddon (1911) which is concerned with migration throughout human history. In explaining the etiology of human movement Haddon argues that "migration is caused by an expulsion and an attraction, the former nearly always resulting from dearth of food or from over-population, which practically comes to the same thing"(p.1). Elaborating further, Haddon suggests that expulsion takes precedence over attraction," for as a rule people are loath to leave their fatherland, and it usually requires the double set of circumstances to uproot them." (p.2)

(a) among migrants, and (b) in Maragoli? (Show why). What are the attitudes about migrants and non-migrants - Are migrants seen by the people in Maragoli as being better off/worse off economically, socially etc.? And what do the migrants think about themselves and the people in Maragoli? If it were possible to start all over again would it be advisable to stay in Maragoli or move? Where to? And why? Have there been any advantages to the Maragoli in general as a people from these migrations? (Give details). Is it possible that these migrations will continue in future? If not why? What suggestions can be made to deal with the problems of land shortage and unemployment?

IV. SOCIO-ECONOMIC STATUS OF HOUSEHOLD

Obtain information and give full description of all the factors included in this section:

- Size of the household. (List the people living in the household giving their age and a description of the way in which they are related to the head of the household).

- Farm organization (Give the size of farm, listing the acreage under each crop/or other uses. Describe how the organization of work is divided, e.g. which tasks are performed by women, hired labour, etc. Show also if hired labour performs other domestic tasks). Is land demarcated and registered?

- Non-farm economic activities - list all the other income generating activities in which the members of the household are engaged, eg. trade, basket making, charcoal burning, bicycle repair, teaching, etc.

- Membership in voluntary organizations - show the organizations in which each of the members of the household belongs; cooperative society, church, party, welfare or community association etc. indicate the organization in which members of the household have a leadership position.

- Are there any close relatives working in other places, in Government or private industry who provide occasional or regular assistance in cash or kind?

(List all).

the distance between the points. (c) There is significant selectivity in regard to age and sex characteristics of migration streams between different types of areas. The literature has been competently reviewed and summarised by Isard (1960); we shall therefore make our comment very brief. Very seldom are the three points presented as derivations of social theory; in any case the findings are partial in that they do not incorporate knowledge of available opportunities which tends to act as a constraint on the distance as was shown by Stouffer (1940) and, Thomas and Bright (1941).

Recent research on migration in the United States has largely elaborated and refined the classical studies. Notable among these contributions are the studies using census data to relate occupations to migration streams and social-psychological studies that relate job choice to area of choice. It is difficult to assess the overall theoretical significance of these studies. Their application in different cultures is very likely to yield very marginal results, for as Peterson has rightly warned, "unlike mortality and fertility, migration has no biological dimension: it cannot be analysed, even in preliminary terms, independent of its cultural context. Accordingly there are no 'laws' of migration in the sense of universal generalizations; the highest level of abstraction possible is the contrast of various types of migrants" (1968:289). Thus in the analysis of migration in other cultures it may be useful to apply some social theory to the local circumstances rather than duplicate "migration theories" developed elsewhere, for migration theories are ultimately derivations of social theory. But let it also be said that to advocate this is not to argue for cultural relativism.

Migration Studies in Africa

Writing about population movements in Africa, Southall attributes the broader causes of migration to forces similar to those identified by researchers elsewhere: "differing resources of the physical environment in relation to changing human needs, precipitated by war, famine and disease, influenced by the contrasting social structures and values of tribes and more recently by differentiation in education, wealth and opportunity" (1961:157). Our interest is on migrations in Africa in modern times, and therefore we shall focus on its interplay with differentiation in education, wealth and opportunities among other things. But first we shall make a brief survey of the research tradition on migration in Africa.

The analysis of migration in Africa forms a major component of the study of social and economic change beginning with the colonization of the continent. The single most important pattern of mass movement has been associated with labour migration to the industrial commercial and mining centres - later growing into major cities - and to the agricultural plantations which were established by the white colonial settlers. Thus for a large part of the continent, especially in East, Central and South where there was no significant tradition of urban living, migration has been the major mechanism for urban growth. It is a moot question, however, whether migration can be related to growth of urbanism in any direct manner. For until recently (except in South Africa) the urban centers in this part of Africa remained alien territory to a vast majority of the "natives" who were regarded as purely temporary residents-- valued only as a source of labour. For most Africans, urban living corresponded with the most productive part of their lives. The rest was spent in the rural tribal areas: during childhood and in "retirement," no doubt contributing very little to the local economy. Although changing somewhat since the attainment of political independence, this remains the picture today. Naturally these developments have had some very profound consequences on both the rural social structure and urban social life; the implications of which have attracted the attention of some scholars.

Serious analytical interest in the problems arising from migration was probably first shown by missionaries and social anthropologists working in the colonial states. Concerned with problems of social stability and good order, these investigators focussed on what they saw as the deleterious effects of migration upon tribal life, and moral degeneration in the urban centers. The migrant was seen in much the same way as Park's "Marginal Man" to be undergoing a process of "detrribalization." To the extent that labour migration was perceived to be contributing directly to the "disintegration" of "traditional" life, it tended to be characterized as a pathological process.

The consensus of opinion among students of migration in Africa over a long period is that economic motives are basic (e.g. Gulliver, 1955; Mitchell, 1959; Gugler, 1969). This conclusion has been reached through the responses of migrants in explaining their reasons for migrating. Other analysts have also noted an inverse relationship between the economic well-being of regions of high rates of out-migration and the host regions, the highest rates being from areas with poor economic opportunities, land

pressure and/or high population densities (Kay, 1964; Udo, 1964; Elkan; 1967). It can be argued, that migration for wage labour operates as a means of maintaining the standard of living which the migrants have come to regard as essential. This suggests that given comparable circumstances only the relatively badly off will migrate for economic reasons. Yet it has been argued that while migrants responding to such "push" factors tend to be negatively selected, those responding to the "pull" factors are positively selected (Lee, 1966:47). Migrants seeking agricultural labour, for instance, the Nyakyusa studied by Gulliver (1957) would thus appear to be responding to the "push" factors, while the school leavers studied by Rempel (1970) respond to "pull" factors.

Difficulty in interpretation of the motives of migration have made generalizations very difficult to make. For example, Caldwell (1968) found that in Ghana migrants to urban areas tended to originate from relatively prosperous households. But it is likely that this prosperity was a result of remittances sent from members of the household in the city, since he also reports, 71% of those planning to move constitute the category that Peterson has called ephemeral migrants - those moving for reasons not associated with socio-economic forces, dependents and school children (1961:175). Peterson has also warned elsewhere about the utility of such data based on intentions to move, for "they reflect not behaviour but statements about possible future behaviour." (1968:268). These ambiguities point the need for more dynamic models in the study of migration.

The most notable attempts to place migration and urbanization in the context of dynamic change were perhaps the studies conducted by the Rhodes-Livingstone Institute under the directorship of Max Gluckman who has provided a synoptic summary of these efforts (1961:67-82). One of the major concerns of this body of research was to determine the reasons for the continuity of "tribalism" in the urban centers, in spite of the changes produced in the life style of the Africans by the industrial economy. The standpoint adopted in these studies marked a departure from earlier analyses measuring urbanization against a rural-tribal model. Yet Gluckman's assertion that every African is "detrribalized" as soon as he leaves his tribal area to come to town, also points to a need for sharper conceptual tools. For the argument about "detrribalization," assessed against the findings of researches by fellows of the Institute, can only be accepted within the heavily modified confines in which Gluckman applies the concept.

Without dwelling on the meaning of "detrribalization" stricto sensu we can point to an attempt in the right direction to recognize the tribal continuities in the towns as innovations by the migrants developed to deal with their new situations.

Of particular interest to the study of rural-urban continuities was the elaboration of the analysis of social network by Mitchell (1956) and Epstein (1961) in the analysis of urban social organization. This led to the realization that urban social networks were largely an extension of kinship and other associational ties operating in the rural areas. The focus for Mitchell's and Epstein's work was the urban center, thus they did not make any analyses of the dynamic operations of network relations in the interactions between the city and country. Other scholars, however, have noted the possible manipulation of network relations as a channel of information about the employment market. Houghton (1960), for instance in explaining the concentration of persons from particular areas in certain occupations or specific plants suggested the differential access of information about job opportunities, which is itself conditioned by network relations, as the cause. It is conceivable that this phenomenon may also be a result of some bias by the employer but without empirical evidence we can only speculate.

While the work by Mitchell and Epstein found the network patterns to be closely associated with kinship alliances, they also indicated but did not explore the implications it had on social stratification. An attempt in this direction was made in the work of Philip Mayer who analysed the rural-urban continuities in both structural and cultural terms. First he divided the Xhosa migrants in East London into two broad cultural types; "red" and "school", or typology very closely approximating the Weberian modes of orientation: "red" representing the traditional mode involving strong customary constraints on decisions, and "school" representing the educated, presupposing a purposive-rational mode of orientation. But in analysing the extent of urbanism by examining, the ties that migrants keep with their communities of origin, Mayer derived two categories from a structural definition— depending on the network of their social relations abroad, and with the community of origin. He distinguished between the Itshipa, those who "vanished" in the city leaving their relatives without any news of them, and Amagoduka, the "home visitors" who kept their ties by regular visits and through correspondence (1961:6-7). It is conceivable that finer gradations can be derived from these broad categories.

Attempts in this direction have not been very satisfactory as they have used objective criteria and thus abstracted from the dynamic experiences of the communities studied. The attempt by Pauw (1963), utilizing an objective cultural criteria "westernization" to derive some four levels in the patterns of stratification among second generation Xhosa in East London evinces serious inadequacies.

Naturally the rural society is affected in some significant ways by the number of its people who spend their life and labour in the cities. Attempts to assess the consequences of migration on the area of origin have dealt largely with economic questions. Wilson (1941-42) analysing the impact of labour migration on the rural economy among the Bemba of Zambia, found that rather than stimulating an "agricultural revolution" to match the "industrial revolution," it had led to serious deterioration. Seeking to answer similar questions Watson (1958) conducted his research among the Mambwe, but found that the absence of a significant number of men did not have any damaging effects on agricultural production. An analysis of the economic effects of labour migration which utilized the notion of social networks was that of Van Velsen (1960), who adduced evidence to show that migration among the Tonga of Malawi acted as a factor not in the disintegration, but in the maintenance of rural "traditional" structures. Migrants continued to contribute to the economic well-being of their families and maintained their inputs into the rural social network by making cash remittances. The efficacy of remittances by migrants to their community of origin take on greater significance when it is realized that a major proportion of urban workers in Africa do not have any old age securities or welfare provision after their retirement. Thus the rights to tribal land that they have and the security of the extended family becomes, potentially, an insurance against destitution in old age.

It is amply clear from the above studies that the consequences of migration on the community of origin may not be easy to isolate unless investigation is undertaken in a longitudinal basis, for it would be almost impossible to identify those changes deriving from migration as distinct from changes deriving from general economic development. At best studies of the consequences of migration on the sending communities can only provide partial explanations. But as we have shown in the studies by Wilson, Watson and Van Velsen, perhaps the difficulty in identifying the consequences of migration on the rural society is even more basic. It is almost a truism to say that the "pull" of town does not apply uniformly, but this should not be interpreted in cultural terms as implying only that tribes react

differentially to urban economic opportunities, for selection of migrants according to age, sex, education, skill and other socio-psychological variable is hardly a disputed issue. What the assumption implies is the need to examine the social organization of the rural communities more closely in order to evaluate properly the significance of migration.

There is reason to suggest that the assumptions underlying the studies of Watson and Wilson need some qualifications. It has been argued, for instance that although the neighbouring Bemba and Mambwe had similar agronomical systems, rules of marriage and residence and division of labour based on sex created grave problems for the matrilineal-matrilocal Bemba, as a result of out migration by the males, but not for the Mambwe who are patrilineal-patrilocal and practice minimal differentiation of agricultural tasks based on sex. Nash (1966:107-110). But perhaps in a dynamic situation as is no doubt the case among both the Mambwe and Bemba, even this explanation is not of much significance, for in the constant process of change and accommodation even laws of marriage and residence are not sacrosanct. This only emphasizes the need for dynamic models—even for ethnographical research.

One major shortcoming of the studies of African migration referred to above is that they tend to be static. Thus the adjustment of the migrant in the city is assessed by the extent to which he acquires certain socio-psychological traits that make him identical to the native urbanites. On the other hand the impact of migration on the rural areas is measured against the extent to which "traditional" social and economic structures remain intact. But as we tried to show at the beginning of this paper these notions are largely illusory, for the distinction between rural and urban, especially in East Africa, is very ambiguous, except in certain stark physical and cultural terms. Moreover the progression of an individual from one to the other mode of orientation, since it involves a "swallow-like" migration is very difficult to plot.

We have already noted that permanent urban residence in the East African cities by Africans is very insignificant. We have also shown that partly for this reason labour migrants continue to make certain inputs aimed at maintaining the network of their relations in the community of their origin. It was argued also that while in the city migrants participate in a network of social relations which tends to be an extension of the kinship and other associational ties in the rural community. It is clear then that network relations are an important mechanism for rural-urban continuities. Yet the dynamic nature of such continuities has been studied only marginally.

Migration Problem in Kenya

The typical pattern of labour migration in Kenya has for long included a circular movement or "swallow migration" in which a significant proportion of workers migrate more or less temporarily. Generally this involves largely unskilled workers who stay "abroad" for varying periods ranging from one to three or four years. Gulliver (1967) has recorded the employment histories of several returned migrants to illustrate this aspect of labour migration to the sisal plantations in Tanganyika and the gold mines of South Africa. The case in Kenya would hardly show any difference.

One consequence of this impermanence of labour has been a very rapid turn ~~over~~ and consequently low productivity of labour. Concern with this "wastage" in the training of skills and general "inefficiency" through lack of experience prompted a number of studies. One of the outstanding studies of African labour from this perspective was made in Cape Town by Sheila Van Der Horst (1957). In East Africa, an earlier effort was made by Walter Elkan (1960) who, noting the persistence of labour migrancy, concluded rather too pessimistically that improvements in urban wages and provision of social services was unlikely to reduce labour turnover. Concern with the high rates of turnover in Kenya prompted the appointment of a commission (Carpenter Commission, 1954) which recommended an increase in African urban wages and creation of incentives by provision of services in order to stabilize African labour, i.e. create an urban proletariat. But although subsequent improvements in urban wages and social services have extended the length of labour migrancy and increased labour productivity, there is little evidence to suggest that a permanent labour force is being created. A recent study by Harris and Todaro (1969) confirmed functional relationship between the growth of industrial real wages and the growth of labour productivity but also noted the persistence of lower wages and lower productivity for a considerably larger industrial force.

The available evidence, then suggests that the measures taken to stabilize industrial labour and to increase labour productivity have probably led instead to a greater differentiation in urban real wages but more importantly between urban and rural incomes.

With the decreasing rates of employment generation, coupled with a rapidly expanding body of school-leavers, the adoption of capital intensive methods in some industries in reaction to the demands by Trade Unions for higher wages, and a lop-sided pricing policy discriminating against agriculture,

the volume of migration into the cities has made urban unemployment to be a problem of serious proportions (Ghai, 1968, 1970). The problem however does not neatly divide itself into a rural-urban dichotomy, although it has often been dealt with as if it did.

Successive governments in Kenya have tried to deal with the twin problems of migration and urban unemployment independently; on the one hand as a case of urban destitution, to be dealt with by legal restrictions on migration into the cities, (viz. Report of the Commission on Destitution Among Africans, 1954; Vagrancy Act, 1966), forced repatriation back to the land and employment creation by government fiat, for instance, under the provisions of the Tripartite Agreement of 1964 and 1970 according to which the Trade Unions called a moratorium on strikes and demands for wage increase for one year while private employers and the government increased their labour force by 10%. On the rural end, the problem has been seen as a case of defective agricultural systems, resulting from the ignorance of peasants and poor husbandry. Suggested remedies have included measures such as soil conservation, destocking, "rationalization" of land tenure and controlled introduction of some commercial crops where ecological circumstances were favourable. But without evaluating these measures within the context of the entire economic policy, it is little wonder that they had so little effects.

Underlying the recent resurgence in studies of urban migration in Kenya is an urgent concern about radical marginals and their potential for disruption. The urgency with which this problem is viewed stems from popular belief about the radical political persuasion of disgruntled unemployed school leavers— an unsubstantiated, often journalistic version of psychological theories of frustration and aggression. One major assumption of these theories is that there is a causal relationship between uprootedness, disappointment, frustration and aggression. The evidence, however, does not lend credence to this assumption. In a recent critique of this popular theory of disruptive migrants Nelson (1969) has given a review of an impressive number of studies conducted in Latin America and Asia casting doubt on the radicalism of migrants and indicating, in fact, that those brought up in the city are much more likely to participate in radical politics and riots.

A major shortfall of the notion of disruptive migrants stems perhaps from one of the basic tenets of the theory of adjustment. This assumption rests on the image of the migrant as an ignorant rural bumpkin. But evidence in Kenya, increasingly reflect a pattern of step-migration, with migrants not

moving directly to the big city but to small provincial towns, large plantations, having previous salaried experience in the rural areas, or visiting the city a number of times prior to moving in pursuit of an urban job. In the course of these processes, the migrants manipulate their network relationships in such a way that it acts to moderate an otherwise jarring experience (Pettis, 1970). Evidence can also be adduced to show that the back migrations by the unemployed provides a safety valve for their disappointment (Gutkind, 1962; 1967). It would rather be preposterous to assume an inherent or automatic radicalizing bias as the result of migration per se; but it may be reasonable to surmise that political socialization rather than psychological predisposition to anomie and frustration may be more important in determining migrants' political behaviour. There is certainly need to integrate the theory of anomie and radicalization into a well grounded explanation of social action, perhaps utilizing concepts such as relative deprivation.

But perhaps the spectre of unemployed radical school leavers has been overdramatized by both politicians and social commentators in Kenya. Let it be cautioned, however, that our emphasis here is not on unemployment but on radical; for available evidence suggests that in the long run most school leavers are eventually employed. Indeed evidence from two separate tracer surveys of school leavers indicate that the better educated youth (having high achievement records on leaving school) are more preferred by employers (Kinyanjui, 1971; Maxwell, 1971). The implication is that unemployment is increasingly becoming an affliction of the relatively poorly educated. But this is only conjecture and must await the collection of empirical data before it can be accepted. In any case the idea of unemployment itself is rather elusive for it includes certain types of partial self-employment often categorized under the urban traditional sector. There is reason to suspect that the urban traditional sector acts for some people as some kind of a threshold into full-employment (Hart, 1971).

From the foregoing arguments several questions arise pertaining to the operations of network relationships in the context of a dynamic and rapidly changing urban employment profile. Given the explosive rates of output of Kenya's school system during the 1960's, and assuming, as the evidence seems to indicate, slower rates of employment generation with a bias in favour of the better educated and skilled workers, it would appear that a considerable proportion of labour migrants are being pushed out of the mainstream of urban life. What then is the nature of network relationships between these

relatively unskilled workers and their relatively well to do relatives and associates in the city and with their relatives in the rural community of origin? To ask this is really to pose a question about the effects of migration and the consequence of urban unemployment on the operations of the network of social relations as an aspect of the continuity of interrelationships between urban and rural social life in Kenya. We shall now hazard the statement of our interests in more narrower terms.

Research Objectives

Virtually all recent studies of migration in Kenya are agreed on the outstanding importance of education as a factor in the rate of out-migration from rural areas. This is hardly surprising, especially when the prevailing view toward education as training for urban wage employment is taken into consideration. A number of studies have substantiated this point, showing that only a very insignificant proportion of school leavers opt for agricultural work in their rural homes as a first choice (Rempel 1970; Todaro 1971; Petiss 1971). Yet this is not merely a reflection on the liberal education that Kenya's schools offer. For in a study of former students in one technical school, it was found that only less than 20% of the students remained in their home area after school and further training. It was also noted that there was no difference between the students who had studied agriculture and those who studied other subjects (Maxwell, 1970). In view of this, migration by school leavers may be justifiably treated as a case of temporary compelled movement, together with movements such as that of people forced out of their land by the construction of a dam or road. In such circumstances, attempts to explain the selectivity of migration among school leavers in terms of education become redundant.

The above argument does not suggest any inherent incompatibility between education and rural life. The correlations are much more complex and dynamic, and relate partly to the differential real wages and pricing policy biased against agriculture referred to in earlier parts of this paper. Clearly, there exists a certain social syndrome that tends to eliminate rural agricultural work as a viable alternative in the range of job choices available to school leavers (Evans, 1962; Koff, 1967). But as has been demonstrated in a Ugandan experiment, this is not insurmountable when sufficient economic incentives are provided (Hutton, 1968).

The study of migration based on a survey of school leavers, while satisfying certain needs, not only ignores the rural end of the continuum but also

deprives the analysis of an understanding of deviant cases, i.e. those who do not migrate. In order then to obtain some comparison between the social psychological correlates of migrants, this study seeks to focus on that section of the population with a not so obvious propensity to migrate. In order to enhance such comparison and locate it within a dynamic framework, the study will be confined at the rural end to a single area. The operations of the network relations will then be pursued to several major destinations of the migration streams. A major concern of this analysis will be to determine the correlation between migration and the emerging patterns of stratification.

A number of commentators on network manipulation have argued that it is a conscious orientation to problem solving. In an investigation of the way in which network relations are manipulated by migrants to a Yugoslav town, one scholar concludes that "the strategic utilization of interpersonal connections has proven to be a very effective device for rural migrants trying to advance within the developing urban society, and that it has been crucial to the persistence of social orderliness amidst revolutionary change" (Denich, 1970). Such practice is well known throughout Africa as indeed other parts of the world, although there is a tendency to pretend that it never exists, and when it comes into the public eye in rather stark manifestations, to dismiss it piously as an aspect of moral perversion—nepotism. This observation suggests a very uneasy coexistence between universalistic and particularistic orientations and considerable ambiguities about the distinction between legitimate assistance and illegitimate favouritism. A subtle continuum runs between the two but only its terminal extremities are clearly indisputable.

The manipulation of kinship or friendship ties per se is not of primary concern to this study. Our interest in the subject is limited by the extent to which network relations serve as channels of information about employment opportunities and their actual intervention in securing jobs. In this way network relations become a significant correlate of migration behaviour. Yet it cannot be assumed that such practice pertains uniformly. It is not uncommon to hear of complaints about wealthy persons who have denied assistance to their relatively deprived relatives. It is not clear if this would be an implication of the extension of strife between rural families or a reflection of social differentiation. The description of "hordes of relatives ('locusts' in Dar es Salaam slang) sponging mercilessly on those fortunate enough to have a steady source of income", suggests potentials for some conflict among members of the same networks (Leslie 1963). The determination of the implications of social stratification on such conflicts and their extensions in rural community will also be examined.

It should be noted that participation in kinship networks among migrants away from home correlates with the level of cohesion the migrant maintains with his rural family and hence with letters written home, frequency of visits and the regularity and size of cash remittances to relatives at the place of origin. But, incorporating the findings of Mayer and Pauw into this argument, we derive a hypothesis that appears, on the surface, plausible: namely that migrants who are relatively wealthy and occupy positions of high status would ^{tend} to participate in networks of associational relationships and not those of kinship relationships. The immediate implication is that the extended family defined in strict anthropological terms is being eroded, and that to replace it, or perhaps augment the weakening kinship relationships, there is developing a network of "instrumental friendship" defined by Wolf:

"In contrast to emotional friendship, which restricts the relation to the dyad involved, in instrumental friendship each member of the dyad acts as a potential connecting link to other persons outside the dyad. Each participant is a sponsor for the other." (1966:12).

The changes in the operation of extended family relationships are of direct relevance to this study only to the extent that they contribute to and understanding of the dynamic nature of stratification patterns. Some evidence suggest that this strategy may have some efficacy. Calculations based on a household survey in Nariobi show, for instance that individuals with relatively low incomes remit almost as much money, in aggregate terms to their rural homes as those with high incomes (Johnson and Whitelaw, 1971). But implications of this finding are difficult to interpret without additional data on the marital status and household size of the respondents, for it is just as likely that the relatively wealthy persons had their families living with them as it is that they are more urban oriented.

The Research Location

In this section a brief description of the area of origin and several areas of destination is given in an attempt to establish the rationale for their choice. Ultimately, however, the choice can be said to be subjective, arising from this writer's concern with problems of population pressure, land shortage and rural poverty which developed during four years' residence in Western Kenya; in a district adjacent to the one in which this study is located. The theoretical concerns of the study may also be said to reflect the writer's lifelong experience in a family of orientation that continues to grapple with the realities of the coexistence between "rural" and "urban" life. The pivotal location of the study, Vihiga, is a rural agricultural area nearly 300 miles from the capital city, Nairobi.

a) Vihiga, Kakamega District

Vihiga Division is an administrative unit in Kakamega District, Western Kenya and comprising people who may be identified linguistically as predominantly Maragoli. Most of the area lies to the west of longitude 24° 40' and immediately to the north of the Equator. Prominent among the topographical features of the area are Maragoli Hills which rise to an altitude of 6068 ft. The soils of the area are generally fertile so that with the ample rainfall there is good potential for profitable agriculture. The common husbandry is mixed farming although due to acute land shortage the number of livestock has recently been rapidly declining.

Individual family land holding appears to be the rule, especially since the initiation of government sponsored land consolidation and registration programs during the last decade. But it is still too early to suggest that other systems of tribal land rights have been completely eradicated. The size of holdings vary quite widely and may be a reflection of an emerging pattern of rural stratification. While there are some individuals with sizeable holdings, the average land cultivated by a family is often very small, and in some cases hardly sufficient to maintain a livelihood.

Vihiga Division has one of the highest population densities in rural Kenya. According to the 1962 census the density for Kakamega

District as a whole was 1,200 persons per square mile; separate enumerations were not given for the divisions within districts but it is well conceivable that the density was probably 1,500 in Vihiga - with a rate of natural increase of population higher than 3% per cent annum. It has been estimated that more than 52% of the male population of Vihiga between the ages of 15 to 35 years are always out of their rural homes on labour migration. This is also reflected in a recent study that found that more than 20% of all migrants to urban centers from Western provinces of Kenya originate from Kakamega District; the representation of Vihiga is probably the most significant. But migration from Vihiga is not necessarily limited to urban destinations.

b) Rural Destinations

Until the early 1950's cultivation on the steep slopes of Maragoli Hills was a fairly common occurrence, but this was stopped by the government as it resulted in excessive soil erosion. With no more free land for expansion, the Maragoli started a trend of migration to other rural areas, much in the manner of colonizing frontier land, although in this case such land was not always contiguous to Vihiga. These migrations in the 1950's were to Kigumba in Bunyoro, Uganda, Migori/Kanyamkago in the South Nyanza District of Kenya and to Mugumu in the Mara Region of Tanzania. These movements were relatively small, spontaneously springing from initiative by local families without any government sanction. Although there has been no study of these settlers, their movement appears to be fairly permanent, and from the economic point of view they are now engaged in relatively prosperous agriculture. But it is not clear to what extent they may find a need to maintain some network relations with their relatives in Vihiga.

During the last decade the trend of migration from Vihiga was given an impetus by the establishment of three government schemes for the resettlement of the landless and unemployed at Kabisi, Lugari and Lumakanda. The migration to these areas may be seen in terms of what Petersen (1955) has called "planned migration," although the level of "planning" in the selection of migrants in this case suggests a rather spurious process. There is no evidence to indicate the permanence of these movements, and particularly being fairly

close to the area of origin, some developments suggest that the relationships between the families in these settlements and their home area might be one closer to transhumance than migration. Indications from other areas of the country appear to lend credence to this argument (Leys, 1971 Wilson, 1971) This is particularly the case in the case of Mandi Hills which is now providing an outlet for Maragoli expansion.

The profile of migration from Vihiga thus generates four potential sampling areas in Kenya and one in Uganda. It is the aim of this study to conduct interviews in all these areas with the view of determining the socio-psychological correlates of motives for migration and selection of different destinations. Data will also be obtained to enable the identification of continuities of networks with the place of origin, as indeed to determine the levels of economic differentiation.

Research Procedure

The goals of this study call for the estimation of the influence of the act of migration upon economic differentiation. More specifically, the major interests are to determine the characteristics of migrants to different places of destination and to establish the correlations between such characteristics and the patterns of differentiation in the places of destination. It is also hoped to compare the migrants and non-migrants along these dimensions. But as it has been observed already the phenomenon of migration is not so clear cut - between migrants and non-migrants. Hopefully a hierarchy of types of migrants will be evolved.

It would appear then that a technique is required for this study that as the capacity to handle a large number of data; identifying the character of the pertinent variables and estimating the locus of their dynamic relations. No single technique seems to satisfy this need; two complementary methods of data collection have therefore been selected; participant observation and the survey interview. The former is to be applied in the initial period primary using research assistants. The aim is to form a background of information otherwise not obtainable through documentary research. With such a background a questionnaire will

be applied about mid-way during the course of field research. Indices for economic differentiation, including farm practice will also be built into the questionnaire. The interviewing schedule (Appendix II) contains questions seeking to establish the respondents socio-economic characteristics: Age, level of education, marital status, size of farm operation, source of income other than agriculture, size of household, level of expenditure, and use of hired labour. In addition information about migration history, length of sojourn and number of visits within a specified period to place of origin will also be gathered. Similar questions will also be asked of non-migrants in Vihiga. In order to gain more depth and enrich the analysis, it is proposed to conduct a number of intensive case studies of families both in the places of destination and in Vihiga. The statistical information obtained will be analysed by use of simple correlations. Other methods of data analysis may also be improvised depending on the quality of the empirical data obtained during the field work.

Sampling

Four samples will be drawn from three different populations in the areas of destination: the Settlement Schemes, Migori and Nandi Hills. A further sample is to be drawn in Vihiga and an attempt will be made here to include only those who have never acquired agricultural land outside Vihiga, on raised crops in a similar area. One problem not solved yet concerns the size of the different samples, for the size of the migrant populations in the various areas is itself unknown. Further, and contingent upon this fact is the question as to whether it would be expedient to run the interviews in the places of destination with matched respondents in the place of origin (ref. Thomas Wsner 1969).

Operationally, rural migrants will be arbitrarily defined as people who have moved from Vihiga for any period exceeding those months for the purpose of raising crops.

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