

POVERTY AND OTHER FACTORS RELATED TO LABOR  
MIGRATION IN EAST AFRICA

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## ABSTRACT

### POVERTY AND OTHER FACTORS RELATED TO LABOR MIGRATION IN EAST AFRICA

by

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Migration, along with fertility and mortality, is a basic component of population change and may become the dominant factor in population change in a given area. In the developing nations of the world today, economic development has brought about tremendous pressure for urbanward movement. Where rural poverty is instrumental in bringing about migration rather than a demand for industrial labor, urban unemployment and overcrowding often result. Thus rural poverty and migration become pressing issues for the societies involved. Since the East African countries of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania are characteristic of Africa, and in some respects, the developing countries in general, they were chosen for analysis of this problem.

For the purposes of this study labor migration was defined as migration away from areas of subsistence economy to areas offering wage labor in a cash economy, either rural or urban. The study focused on the economic base of migration, or poverty, as this factor constitutes a "push" from rural areas. Specific questions with which this analysis attempts to deal are what is rural poverty or

what factors are responsible for poverty?, how is poverty related to migration?, and, what evidence is there that it is actually the poor or poorer farmers who are migrating? Also, what are some of the non-economic factors influencing migration or non-migration.

Some discussion of the general characteristics of the three countries under discussion and the ethnic groups involved indicates that East Africa constitutes a viable unit of analysis. A brief historical analysis of the colonial period reveals its affect on present day labor migration due to the introduction of a cash economy, alienation of land to Europeans, establishment of reserves or defined areas for different ethnic groups and the stimulation of urban growth.

The major factors affecting migration were found to be demographic and ecological, the dominant type of economic activity pursued, and various social and individual factors. While these factors can be separated for analytical purposes, they are closely interrelated or interdependent. Of the factors responsible for rural poverty, the man-land ratio is vital. The usable amount of land is limited by lack of water supplies, rainfall, presence of tsetse fly and poor soil fertility.

Landlessness is, then, one indicator of rural poverty and appears to be a frequent cause of migration. Population pressure, causing the over-usage of the land available so that it becomes unproductive is also related to rural poverty and may force migration to supplement income. Landlessness, density and soil productivity underlie rural poverty and influence migration.

However, other factors also affect migration. Among these is distance or proximity to areas of employment and isolation from transportation systems<sup>5</sup> and areas of cash economy. These in turn are related to ethnicity and historical patterns of settlement, with cattle pastoralists being more remote and/or more difficult to reach due to their nomadism. These groups in general are less prone to labor migration.

Historical factors, both pre-colonial and colonial have also stimulated migration among different ethnic groups to various degrees.

The attitudes of different tribal groups also affect income and migration. In some cases, the rejection of individual enterprise may have a depressing affect on migration, whereas communal cultivation of land and ensuing prosperity may also decrease migration. Land tenure and inheritance patterns may influence migration. Little information as of this time exists on what the role of wealth and education might be in migration.

In conclusion, poverty as a result of low productivity, landlessness or relative cash needs, underlain by certain ecological and demographic conditions, is perhaps the foremost, but not only, cause of migration.

While the nature of labor migration may be changing somewhat as a result of the stabilization of the urban work force, migration and urban unemployment would seem to be problems which will worsen in the future. Reversing this trend is the ideology of socialism articulated most clearly by President Nyerere of Tanzania. His emphasis on rural development to offset the creation of an urban

elite and the superior living conditions available to the small minority of city dwellers as relative to the masses of rural Tanzanians may reverse or at least drastically reduce rural-urban migration, if successful.

The sociologist can play an important role in furthering such development schemes while adding to his knowledge of man and man's social organizations.

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

#### An Orientation Toward the Problem of Migration

T. Lynn Smith and Paul E. Zopf have contended that, "the present migration of population from rural areas to urban districts throughout the world is on a scale unparalleled at any other period of human history."<sup>1</sup> Migration, along with fertility and mortality, is one of the basic components of population change and populations will vary over time as a result of the balance of these factors.<sup>2</sup> Although migration is often regarded as the least important of the three in effecting changes in population, it frequently becomes the dominant factor involved in population change in a given area. It has been argued that, in fact, the social and economic effects upon the societies involved from the emigration of population from one area and the introduction of newcomers in another frequently vastly outweigh the influences exerted by variations in the birth and death rates.<sup>3</sup> This is nowhere more true than in the developing nations of

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<sup>1</sup>T. Lynn Smith and Paul E. Zopf, Demography: Principles and Methods (Philadelphia, Penn.: F. A. Davis Company, 1970), p. 488.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p. 449.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 449.

the world today. Modernization demands and produces extensive changes in the fabric of social life and reacts both with and upon demographic factors.<sup>4</sup> Economic growth and employment opportunities are universally highly concentrated in metropolitan areas bringing about tremendous pressure for urbanward movement.<sup>5</sup> Indeed, some authors assert that economic development can only occur by a shift in the pivotal point of the economy from agriculture to industry through a reallocation of labor. This obviously implies a physical movement on the part of a large fraction of agricultural workers.<sup>6</sup>

However, while some economic benefits accrue to rural-urban migration, there are also difficulties attendant on such movement. Rural poverty may be pushing young adults, lacking skills and education, from agricultural areas into the cities to look for employment, while the high-productivity activities that could absorb them are not available or require levels of technical knowledge not possessed by the migrants.<sup>7</sup> Thus, according to Bert F. Hoselitz,

"the agglomeration of population occurs on the grounds of economically 'irrational' motivations. It is provoked not by an increasing demand for

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<sup>4</sup>A. B. Mountjoy, Industrialization and Under-developed Countries (London: Hutchenson University Library, 1966), p. 122.

<sup>5</sup>Donald J. Bogue, Principles of Demography (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1969), p. 810.

<sup>6</sup>Bruce H. Herrick, Urban Migration and Economic Development in Chile (Cambridge, Mass.: The M. I. T. Press, 1965), pp. 1-2.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 2.

labor in urban centers, but rather by considerations outside the sphere of resource allocation and use."<sup>8</sup>

As a result, housing, sanitation and other facilities of the cities are often pressured beyond their capabilities to accommodate the swelling numbers.

According to J. C. Caldwell and C. Okonjo who quote E. van de Walle, "the observation that 'development is inseparable from large-scale movements from areas of less to areas of higher economic opportunity' is probably especially true of Africa."<sup>9</sup> Similarly, A. T. Grove notes that, "labor migration (is) perhaps the most characteristic feature of the human geography of Africa today."<sup>10</sup> (See Figure 1). Therefore, Africa would appear to be an excellent example to study for an illumination of the complexities of labor migration outside the confines of industrial western society. Furthermore, with the extensive changes taking place presently in many African nations, it is especially important that political, social or economic policies pay attention to the number, distribution, characteristics, and inclinations of the population.

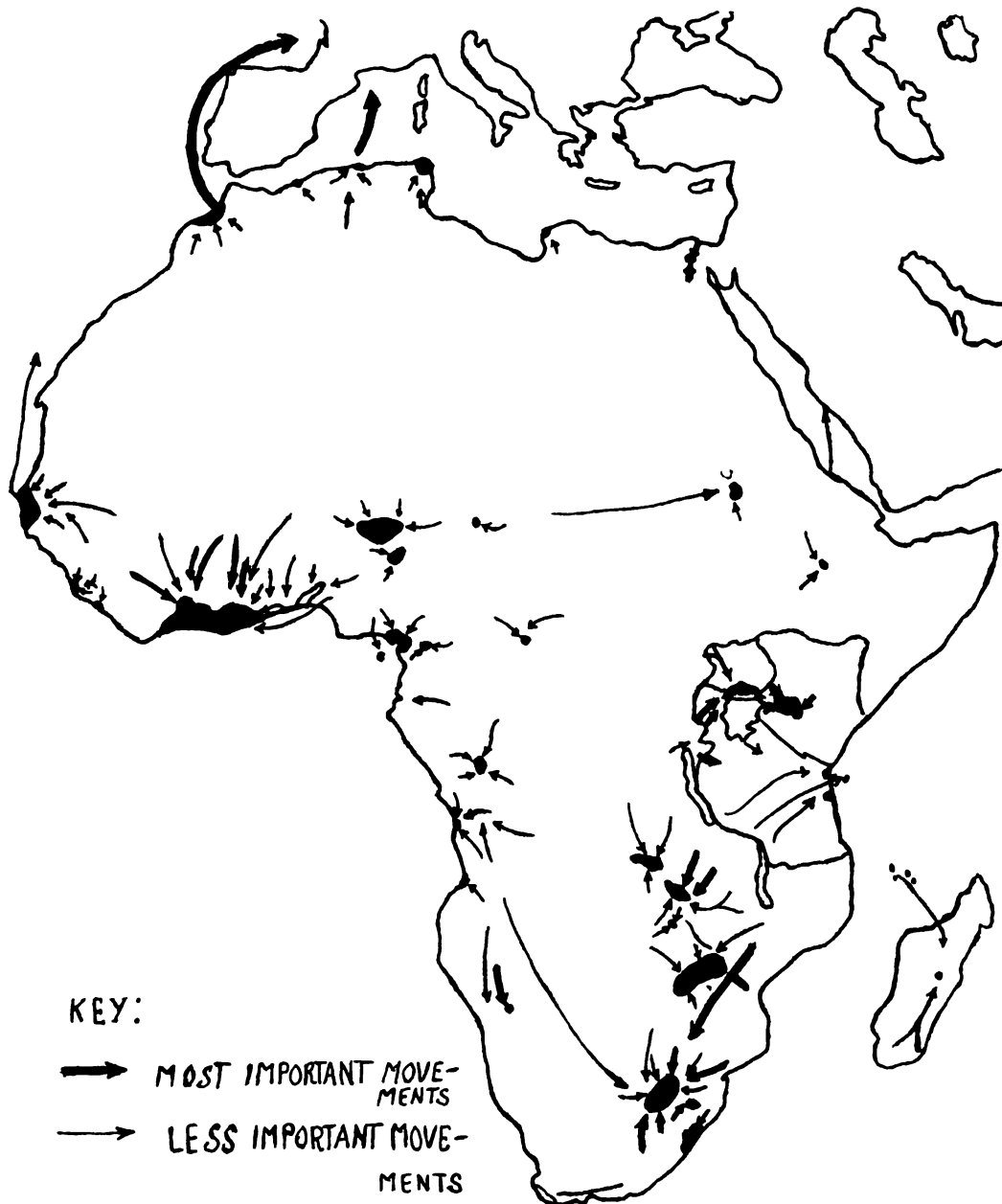
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<sup>8</sup>Bert F. Hoselitz, Sociological Aspects of Economic Growth (New York: The Free Press of Glencoe, 1960), 203.

<sup>9</sup>J. C. Caldwell and C. Okonjo, eds., The Population of Tropical Africa (London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1968), p. 20.

<sup>10</sup>A. T. Grove, Africa South of the Sahara (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 49.

FIGURE 1  
Population Movements in Africa



Source: Hance, William A., Population, Migration and Urbanization in Africa, New York: Columbia University Press, 1970, p. 147.

East Africa in particular offers an interesting and illustrative microcosm of the processes involved in labor migration. In rough outline East Africa is comparable in many aspects to other developing nations. As a period of colonial history concluded, the newly independent countries of Kenya, Uganda, and Tanzania were left to cope with the difficult issues of ethnic diversity, growing populations, an agricultural economy, deteriorating rural conditions and the growth of urban areas, many of which originated during the colonial period.

The purpose of this paper, then, is to explore some of the complexities of labor migration in the East African setting, focusing on the economic base of migration, or, more specifically, the relation of poverty to migration and the factors most responsible for rural poverty. Consideration will also be given to other non-economic variables which affect migration or non-migration of various tribal groups.

Some of the limitations of available migration data should, however, be noted. If data are available at all they are general and not specific in nature as to either the origin or destination of those migrating. At best, only general trends can be distinguished. Even where it is possible to gain some information by examining place of birth data, there are still no means by which to measure the length of time that a migrant has been away from his place of birth because few data exist on duration of residence.<sup>11</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>J. C. Caldwell and C. Okonjo, op. cit., p. 258.

The primary emphasis of this paper is on labor migration encompassing both rural-urban migration and rural-rural movements, being classified together since both are directed away from areas of subsistence economy toward areas offering wage labor in a cash economy. A general scheme for classifying migration has been presented by R. M. Prothero as follows:<sup>12</sup>

(a) Daily movement from the peri-urban fringe to the urban center. Large towns are increasingly characterized by movement from residential areas outside the towns to commercial and industrial areas within the towns. There is little reliable information on the degree of daily movements of people in towns or on the social and economic problems associated with them.

(b) Seasonal migration. This is related to lessened agricultural activity (usually due to a dry season) in one area and a flow of workers from this area to urban areas or to agricultural areas where there is increased seasonal demand during peak periods of harvesting and processing. These are for the most part spontaneous and uncontrolled and workers have no formal contracts with their employers. Minimal, and usually no, records exist which might provide data of even the numbers employed.

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<sup>12</sup>R. M. Prothero, "Socio-Economic Aspects of Rural/Urban Migration in Africa South of the Sahara" in Scientia (Nov.-Dec., 1965), pp. 1-7 (see also his discussion in J. C. Caldwell and C. Okonjo, op. cit., pp. 250-261.).

(c) Short-term movements. These usually do not exceed two years.

(d) Definitive movements. These are movements leading to permanent settlement in the destination area. Measures of definitive movements to towns may be obtained from place of birth and duration of residence data, where these exist, in official censuses.

Another important type of migration concerns political refugees. Few accurate counts of them are available but those in individual countries in East Africa are numbered in tens of thousands.<sup>13</sup> Involved in these movements are attempts by some groups to escape conflict of a political-racial-religious nature, e.g. the flight of Christian and pagan southern tribes from Muslim northerners in the Sudan.<sup>14</sup> Also involved is flight from the remaining white-dominated and repressive countries in Africa. Refugees from Mozambique, the Republic of South Africa and Rhodesia are now harbored in varying numbers by all the East African countries.<sup>15</sup>

In other areas, movement linked to trading activities or traditional fishing or farming activities, usually seasonal in nature, may assume limited importance.

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<sup>13</sup>J. C. Caldwell and C. Okonjo, op. cit., p. 255.

<sup>14</sup>W. A. Hance, Population, Migration, and Urbanization in Africa (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 184.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 185.



Illustrative of some of the problems involved in measuring migration is the following example from East Africa.

The first round of systematic censuses (individual studies were made in the 1920's and 1930's, but were generally incomplete) occurring for all of East Africa in 1948 and again in 1957 and 1967 for Tanzania, 1959 for Uganda and 1962 for Kenya, asked few, if any, questions directly relevant to migration.<sup>16</sup> Data on place of birth and on duration of residence were either completely lacking or were available only in the most general terms.<sup>17</sup>

However, according to Prothero, by using the available data

a simple but effective method was devised to indicate the comparative tendency of members of the different tribal groups to migrate away from the tribal home area. The total number of each tribe enumerated in the home district was subtracted from the total number of the tribe recorded in the census, and this was then expressed as a percentage and termed the 'emigration rate.' Differences in rates brought out very clearly the tendency of some tribes to provide more migrants than others. . . .<sup>18</sup>

Another problem is that of distinguishing between internal and international migration as they are usually understood. The official data for the latter refer only to immigration and emigration through ports, airports and frontier posts and cover only a

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<sup>16</sup>J. C. Caldwell and C. Okonjo, op. cit., p. 45.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 255.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p. 255.

minority of those who pass into and out of countries.<sup>19</sup> The fairly recent distinction of international boundaries in tropical Africa, and the fact that they often disregard traditional settlement patterns by dividing members of the same ethnic group, have contended against any great concern for them, particularly by people living adjacent to them who seldom consider the formalities normally associated with crossing from one country to another. Along many miles of international boundaries there are no check-points and where they do exist they may be easily avoided.<sup>20</sup>

Migration, then, is one of the basic components of population change and is highly characteristic of developing nations and Africa in particular. While migration appears to indicate economic growth, it may instead reflect deterioration of rural conditions. East Africa, similar in several aspects to other developing nations, represents a fruitful case for the study of migration, but this task is hindered by lack of extensive or reliable migration data.

#### Migration Theory: Some Complexities

Social scientists dealing with African migration have generally attempted to capture its essence in the terms used by migration theorists to explain such behavior universally. Before discussing the theoretical orientations relevant to migration in East Africa, some comments regarding migration theory in general are in order.

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 260.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 260.

According to Donald J. Bogue, population theorist, migration is a response of human organisms to economic, social and demographic forces in the environment.<sup>21</sup> Human beings are motivated to act to fulfill certain needs or to escape discomfort or pain. Such an explanation could certainly be operative in migration. As long as his wants are met, an individual will have the tendency to stay in the same community. Migration research therefore premises, says Bogue,

"that every migratory movement is either a response to some impelling need that the person believes he cannot satisfy in his present residence or a flight from a situation that for some reason has become undesirable, unpleasant or intolerable."<sup>22</sup>

Hence, the implication is that a positive and a negative aspect are involved in every migration-provoking situation. One may migrate in the hopes of improving one's situation in life. In this case, the community of destination exerts a "pull" on the migrant. An undesirable social or economic situation can also impell migration as a flight. In this case, a "push" has been exercised on the individual by the community of origin. Since several variables can be interacting at once, a move cannot be attributed wholly either to "push" or to "pull" factors alone, and of course individuals are influenced by mixtures of these factors peculiar to themselves.

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<sup>21</sup>Donald J. Bogue, op. cit., p. 753.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 753.

However, by examining data for large numbers of people, the common stimulants to movement may be established.

Bogue also suggests that major economic or social change should be suspected when people consistently flow from one particular area to another.<sup>23</sup>

Several inadequacies in this theory have been pointed out by William Petersen<sup>24</sup> who offers the criticism that implied in the theory is a psychological universal that man is everywhere sedentary, when, in fact, the opposite could hold true just as well. Also, differential behavior cannot be explained. Thus, "one might better say that a social group at rest, or a social group in motion (e.g. nomads), tends to remain so unless impelled to change; for with any viable pattern of life a social structure and a value system are developed to support that patterns."<sup>25</sup>

With these observations in mind, the African case can be put in more meaningful perspective. Of immediate relevance is a study by J. C. Mitchell (Professor of African Studies, University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland) which deals specifically with sub-Saharan

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<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 753.

<sup>24</sup>William Petersen, Population (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1961), p. 607.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p. 607.

Africa.<sup>26</sup> Mitchell attempted, on the basis of nine studies,<sup>27</sup> to categorize the "push" and "pull" factors resulting in migration. The nine studies on different tribal groups all dealt with causes of migration. Information was obtained largely by survey method.

According to Mitchell, the motivations behind labor migration operate along three different axes. The first of these is through the normative system of the society, in which migration has become a rite de passage for the young man, a method by which he proves his adulthood. The second involves totally personal reasons, such as escaping quarrels, witchcraft or arduous duties. The third axis is the economic one, which Mitchell contends is the most universal cause. Economic factors operate in two ways. The first involves the new wants created by contact with western civilization, the procurement of which depends on money. The second economic factor affecting the rate of labor migration is the degree to which subsistence is possible within the tribal area.<sup>28</sup> W. E. Moore also stresses this point when he writes,

. . . this transfer of workers is compounded of various elements of 'push' and 'pull.' Contraction of farm and grazing lands coupled with

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<sup>26</sup>J. C. Mitchell, "The Causes of Labor Migration," in Inter-African Labor Institute Bulletin, VI (Jan., 1959), pp. 1-40.

<sup>27</sup>The nine researchers and areas are as follows: Schapera (Bechuanaland), Read (Nyasaland), Bughards (Buganda), Southall (the Abir of E. Africa), Houghton and Walton (Cape Province, Rep. of South Africa), Gulliver (the Ngoni of Tanzania), Prothero (Nigeria) and Winter (the Amba of Uganda).

<sup>28</sup>J. C. Mitchell, op. cit., pp. 30-35.

population pressure results in a deteriorating relation of the indigenous population to the traditional means of subsistence.<sup>29</sup>

Mitchell concludes that in the rural areas the economic drives operate centrifugally to force men, and sometimes women, outwards to distant labor centers where they are better able to earn cash wages to satisfy their various wants.<sup>30</sup>

The economic drives discussed by Mitchell as push factors (insufficient income to satisfy needs or decreasing returns from agriculture) are underlain by the notion of the relative poverty of most rural areas as compared to urban centers or rural areas where advanced cash cropping is practiced.

Accordingly, a comparative study of the movement of labor out of agriculture by the International Labor Office notes,

In almost all countries incomes in agriculture are lower than in other branches of the economy and tend to fall in relation to other incomes. In the less developed countries (certain) factors generally operate to cause agricultural incomes to fall in relation to other incomes, such as declining output per head in agriculture, or increasing investment in the non-agricultural sector.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>W. E. Moore, Order and Change (New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1967), p. 44.

<sup>30</sup>J. C. Mitchell, op. cit., p. 1-40.

<sup>31</sup>International Labor Office, Why Labor Leaves the Land, (Studies and Reports, No. 59), Geneva, Switzerland: I.L.O., 1960, p. 14.

The study also contends, in the context of migration theory as reviewed above, that, "The main push factor causing workers to leave agriculture is the lower level of incomes."<sup>32</sup> However the same study remarks that, "as regards the less developed countries, little is known about the social and economic status of those who leave the land. . . "<sup>33</sup> Poverty then, in terms of differential income levels, is apparently the underlying factor in migration, although little information is available centering on the individual migrant's economic status.

The purpose of this study is to focus on the economic base of migration as it constitutes a "push" from rural areas. Questions coming to mind are, how is poverty related to migration?, what evidence is there that it is actually the poor or poorer farmers who are migrating?, and, what factors might be responsible for this poverty? Also, what are some of the non-economic factors responsible for migration or non-migration? These questions have implications for policy making. If a government wanted to decrease migration (already burdensome to the cities), priority would need to be given to identifying and dealing with those factors responsible for rural poverty, if there is indeed some correlation between poverty and migration. This is not an entirely novel enquiry for East African governments have already taken numerous steps to increase productivity in rural areas. However, the issues involved remain pressing.

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 208.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

In Chapter Two, some of the major variables interacting to make East Africa a distinct unit of analysis will be looked at in historical perspective.

In the final chapter, some of the complex relationships between certain variables, especially poverty, and migration will be examined as some of the available and most recent findings on the subject are discussed.



## CHAPTER II

### EAST AFRICA AS A UNIT OF ANALYSIS

#### General Characteristics of the Population

For the purposes of this paper, East Africa is defined as the three adjacent and formerly British dependent countries of Uganda, Kenya and Tanzania,<sup>1</sup> excluding the island of Zanzibar. The three countries form 1/20 of the land area of Africa and about 1/12 of the total population of the continent, or approximately twenty-six million people of which 98% are African.<sup>2</sup>

Despite the great geographical diversity found within its area of 680,000 square miles, contrasts in physical conditions and human activities are not really related to national boundaries and hence the three political units have much in common. According to A. M. O'Conner, a common colonial history, similarities in population, dependency on agriculture and common poverty all bind the area together, but,

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<sup>1</sup>Tanganyika changed its name to Tanzania in April, 1964, several months after uniting with the republic of Zanzibar. In this paper, all references to Tanzania include mainland Tanzania only, or that area formerly called Tanganyika.

<sup>2</sup>B. A. Ogot, East Africa-Past and Present (Paris: Editions Presence Africaine), 1964, p. 112.

The main reason for grouping together Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda as a region is that such a grouping is acknowledged by many of their 26 million inhabitants. Most people in Uganda, for example, feel a closer bond with Kenyans and Tanzanians than with their other neighbors in Sudan, Congo and Rwanda. The three countries share a number of common services, and the possibilities of full federation have been under discussion for some time.<sup>3</sup>

In broad outline then, the three East African countries under discussion can be delineated as a unit for the purpose of analysis, while selected characteristics can be compared to other African countries.

As noted by O'Conner, physical conditions cutting across national boundaries are important in lending the area its uniqueness and are basic to other features of the area. The East African countries are higher and cooler, drier and less heavily forested than countries on the Atlantic side of the Western rift.<sup>4</sup> According to A. T. Grove,

The succession from coast to western rift of plains, plateaux, lake basin, and high-lands, imposes a meridional zoning of climate and land use, less clear-cut than the latitudinal banding of west Africa, but providing a basic regional pattern on which national boundaries are superposed. The watersheds, coast, and lakeshore are generally (better) watered and

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<sup>3</sup>A. M. O'Conner, An Economic Geography of East Africa (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1966), p. 1.

<sup>4</sup>A. T. Grove, Africa South of the Sahara (London: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 175.

well populated; the upland plains are in comparison arid and empty, left for the most part to nomadic pastoralists.<sup>5</sup>

Major urban areas, in accordance with this geographical pattern, have mainly been established either along the coast, lake-shore or highland areas. The degree of urbanization in East Africa forms another basis for comparison and is low relative to other African countries.

Table 1

Percentage of Urban and Rural Population:  
East Africa and Various Countries

Country	Percentage Urban	Percentage Rural
Tanzania (1957-58)	4.9	95.1
Uganda (1959)	3.2	96.8
Kenya (1962)	7.8	92.2
Ghana (1960)	23.1	76.9
Congo (Kinshasha) (1955-57)	22.3	77.7
South Africa (African population only) (1960)	31.6	68.4

Source: J. G. C. Blacker, "Demography," in W. T. W. Morgan, (ed.), East Africa: Its Peoples and Resources, London: Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 48.

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 175.

The low degree of urbanization in East Africa reflects the traditional settlement patterns in the area. Unlike West Africa, where the population lived in clustered villages which gradually expanded into indigenous urban centers, the rural indigenous population of East Africa typically lived in scattered homesteads, each family residing on its own holding. With the exception of a few towns founded on the coast by Arab, Persian and Indian traders, urbanization was largely imposed on East Africa by the German and British colonial administrators in the 1890's.<sup>6</sup>

These historical factors probably account for the disparity between the percentage of Africans and non-Africans presently living in urban areas, some half to three-quarters of the non-African population being found in the cities.<sup>7</sup> While the rate of growth of the urban population in East Africa has been rapid, the net increase in urban population has been small when compared with the increase of the entire population of each country.<sup>8</sup>

As concerns fertility, mortality and population growth, East Africa is roughly comparable with other African countries. (See Table II).

Age distributions are also similar to other African countries, a high proportion of children and low proportion of old people being

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<sup>6</sup>J. G. C. Blacker, "Demography," in W. T. W. Morgan (ed.), East Africa: Its Peoples and Resources (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 48.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 48.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid., p. 49.

TABLE II  
Vital Statistics and Rates of Population Increase

Country	Crude Birth Rate (1000)	Crude Death Rate (1000)	Annual Rate of Population Increase
Kenya (1965-70)	47.8	17.5	3.0 (1969)
Tanzania (1967)	47.0	22.0	2.6 (1967)
Uganda (1965-70)	43.2	17.6	n. a.
Ghana (1965-70)	46.6	17.8	3.0 (1970)
Zambia (1965-70)	49.8	20.7	3.0 (1969)
Congo (Democratic Rep. of.) (1965-70)	44.4	22.7	2.2 (1958)

Source: United Nations, Demographic Year Book, 1970, New York:  
United Nations, 1971, pp. 106-107 and pp. 119-120.

found.<sup>9</sup> The sex-ratio, as in other countries of Africa, is affected mainly by migration (not by mortality as in Western countries), so that where migration into or out of a country is negligible, the number of males and females is fairly even. However, where more males than females are enumerated, immigration by males is the most likely explanation and where females predominate, emigration of males probably occurred.<sup>10</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 50.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid., p. 51.

As in other African countries, Europeans and Asians constitute a small minority of the population, although their economic power and domination of certain other spheres belies their number. In Tanzania, 99% of the population of 12.2 million is African.<sup>11</sup> Kenya has a population of 9.5 million of which 95-97% is African,<sup>12</sup> while Uganda, with 8.2 million, has an African population numbering 8 million.<sup>13</sup> Indians and Arabs far out-number Europeans in East Africa.<sup>14</sup>

Population density is higher than in many other parts of Africa. The density of forty-one persons per square mile is nearly double the continental average of twenty-three persons per square mile.<sup>15</sup>

Other important variables which have interacted to result in the institutions and life-styles peculiar to the East African scene are of a cultural or ethnic nature or concern political and economic organization.

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<sup>11</sup>A. B. Herrick, et. al., Area Handbook for Tanzania (Washington, D. C., published by the Foreign Area Studies of the American University, 1968), p. 3.

<sup>12</sup>J. M. Matthews, et. al., Area Handbook for Kenya (Washington, D. C., published by the Foreign Area Studies of the American University, 1967), p. 13.

<sup>13</sup>A. B. Herrick, et. al., Area Handbook for Uganda (Washington, D. C., published for the Foreign Area Studies of the American University, 1967), p. 1.

<sup>14</sup>See D. S. Pearson, Industrial Development in East Africa (London: Oxford University Press, 1969), p. 5, Table III.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 1.

### Ethnicity in East Africa

Ethnic diversity is a common feature of all three countries. Tanzania contains some one hundred distinct tribes,<sup>16</sup> Kenya contains at least forty,<sup>17</sup> while Uganda also contains approximately forty tribes.<sup>18</sup> (See Figure 2).

Knowledge of how these tribes first arrived in East Africa, and their movements thereafter, are somewhat speculative but broad trends are discernable.<sup>19</sup>

Bushmen or Bushmanoid people appear to have been the first inhabitants of East Africa. Bantu-speakers, possibly originating in eastern West Africa, moved into East Africa starting some time before A. D. 1000, among the first being the Kamba, followed by the Kikuyu of present day Kenya. The diversity among Bantu groups today is probably a function of absorption of earlier inhabitants and the arrival of different groups at different localities and times. How

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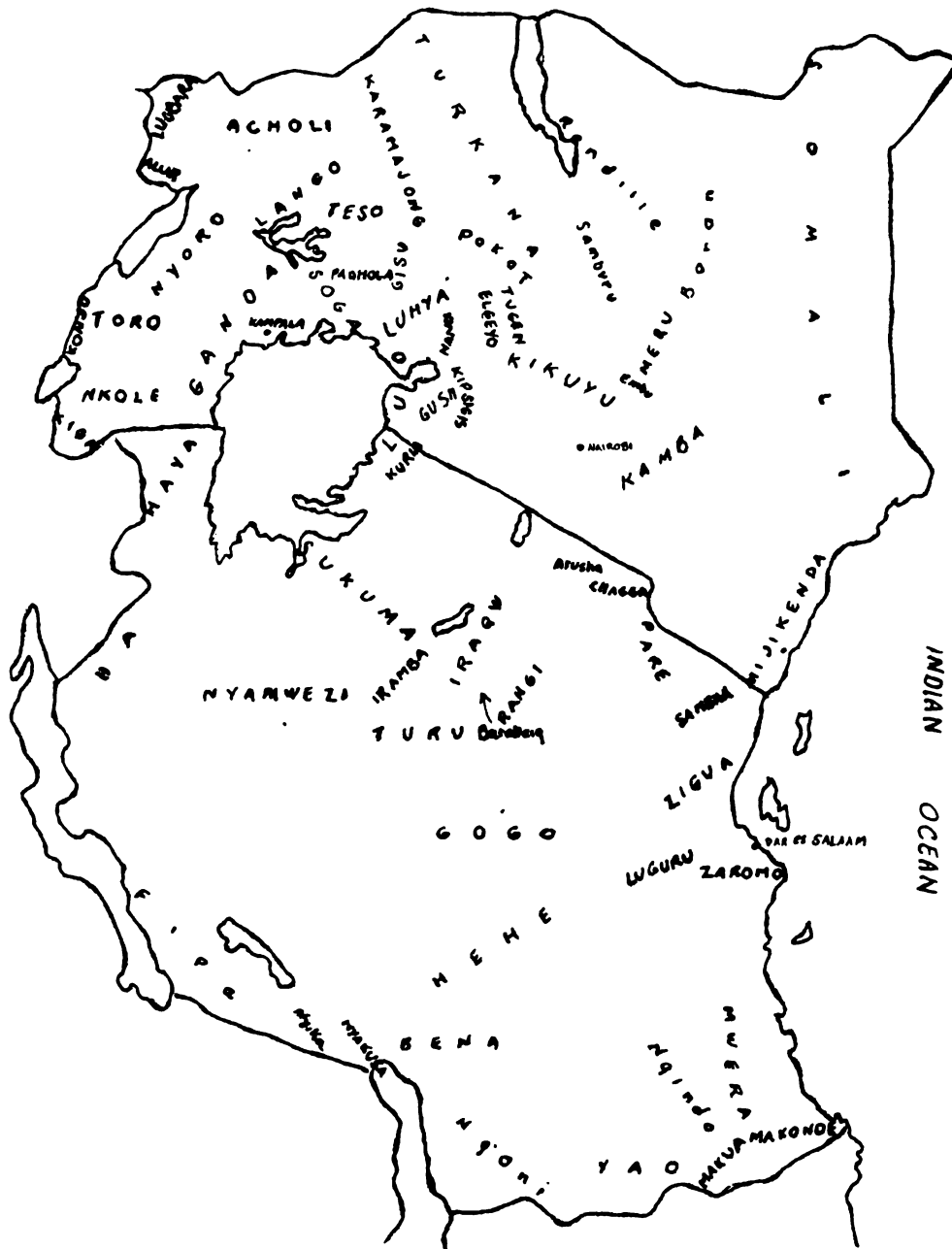
<sup>16</sup>A. B. Herrick, (Tanzania), op. cit., p. 3. The author recognizes that the definition of the term "tribe" is fraught with difficulties, yet it is felt that the term has an imprecise usefulness. Throughout this paper it refers to a distinctive group of people identified by a common name, language or exclusive territory and possessing the heritage of a common culture. (For a discussion of this issue see P. H. Gulliver, "Peoples" in W. T. W. Morgan, op. cit., p. 35).

<sup>17</sup>J. M. Matthews, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>18</sup>A. B. Herrick, (Uganda), op. cit., p. 2.

<sup>19</sup>The following review is taken from W. T. W. Morgan (ed.), op. cit., pp. 22-26.

FIGURE 2  
Peoples of East Africa



Source: Morgan, W. T. W. (ed.), East Africa--Its Peoples and Resources, London: Oxford University Press, 1969, p. 34.



diffusion of the Bantu throughout East Africa occurred is a controversial question. Bantu-speakers are usually associated with agriculture to a greater extent than cattle-raising.<sup>20</sup>

Cushitic (also called Hamitic) peoples apparently entered East Africa from Ethiopia around 2,000 B. C., some being assimilated and other groups becoming culturally dominant such as the Hima, a cattle-keeping people of western Uganda. Cushites (or Hamites), traditionally pastoralists, may show a lack of interest in cultivation even when the environment is suitable, and, like the Hima, seek employment as herdsmen when they have no herds of their own.<sup>21</sup>

Eastern Nilotes, (also referred to as Nilo-Hamitic), such as the Masai of Kenya and Tanzania, the Karamojong and Teso of Uganda and the Nandi, Turkana and Kipsigis of Kenya, apparently stemmed from southern Ethiopia and separated into different language groups as they filtered southward from the sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries.<sup>22</sup>

The southern Nilotes, (or simply Nilotes) such as the Lango, Acholi and Alur of Uganda and the Luo of Kenya, apparently originated in the present day Republic of Sudan. The complexity of their migration pattern makes it difficult to speculate on how they arrived and diffused in East Africa.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 22.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p. 23.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

In the mid-nineteenth century, an important migration by the Ngoni of South Africa into southern Tanzania also occurred.<sup>24</sup>

There were other numerous migratory movements in the early nineteenth century to avoid Arab slave trading and movements along trade routes to exchange slaves and ivory for Arab and Persian goods. It is evident, therefore, that, prior to European penetration, large scale processes of migration, intermingling and assimilation of peoples were occurring.

Indeed, ethnic origin and the variations in degree of assimilation distinguish types of political and social organization that endure today and which also lent the colonial experience different significance for particular groups.<sup>25</sup>

Thus, tribes such as the Buganda and Ankole, which are Bantu-speaking and mainly agricultural, established "proto-states" characterized by an emerging peasantry, emerging class and caste systems, a rudimentary bureaucracy, relative autonomy of local groups which paid tribute in goods and services, and incipient nationalism.<sup>26</sup> For example, in the case of Ankole, one such state, the Hima were a conquering pastoral group who established themselves as an upper caste, leaving agriculture to the lower caste Bantu Iru.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>25</sup>The following discussion is summarized from Stanley Diamond and F. G. Burke, The Transformation of East Africa, Studies in Political Anthropology (New York: Basic Book, Inc., 1966), pp. 9-13.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 13.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

On the other hand, the Kikuyu, also Bantu-speakers, established "primitive democratic nationalities" and practiced shifting agriculture. This group was characterized by economic and social equalitarianism, achievement of status or rank through special skills or passage through the life cycle, no classes or castes, no specialized political structure, autonomous local settlements and control exercised through the elders, age-grading systems, lineages or cross-cutting localities.<sup>28</sup>

Still another alternative of social organization in East Africa is found among groups such as the Masai, who are typically "aristocratic," warrior-oriented pastoralists dependent on nomadic pastoralism. They typically contain vocationally or ethnically distinct castes, but no embracing state structure and an equalitarian relationship exists among tribesmen.<sup>29</sup>

Variations on these major themes exist throughout East Africa. Ethnicity is clearly related to, among other variables, economic mode of life practiced, area of settlement (drier areas for nomadic pastoralists and moister areas for agriculturalists), type of political organization, and, in recent times, the extent and kind of colonial impact.

With the coming of colonialism, another set of political institutions was superimposed on the traditional arrangements, indigeneous economies were irreversibly affected, and certain aspects

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<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 12.

of social organization were in turn altered. The continuing social changes occurring in East Africa today can only be understood within this historical context.

Migration as Related to Certain Political, Social and Economic Changes in Historical Perspective

The first European involvement in East Africa in the late 1800's stemmed from three sources, the desire to suppress the slave trade, the need to control the headwaters of the Nile and to assure a safe sea route to India. These interests led to a gradual consolidation of British influence down the coast during the nineteenth century.<sup>30</sup>

Britain started its colonialization process in East Africa in Buganda, one of several large pre-European proto-states within the boundaries of what now constitutes the modern state of Uganda.<sup>31</sup> Tanzania, formerly a German protectorate, was captured by the British during World War I, and mandated to Britain by the Council of the League of Nations in 1922.<sup>32</sup> Although Germany had declared a protectorate over certain tribes of Kenya, Britain gained control of the area as the result of the Anglo-German agreement in 1886.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>30</sup>A. B. Herrick, (Uganda), op. cit., pp. 37-38.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>32</sup>A. B. Herrick, (Tanzania), op. cit., pp. 55-56.

<sup>33</sup>J. M. Matthew, op. cit., p. 47.

Some of the stimulants for migration originating in the colonial period which affected all three countries can be generally summarized. Perhaps most important is the economic dis-equilibrium that resulted. In pre-colonial times, the gap between the economies of various regions was small, all being basically subsistence economies. It was only with the introduction of a cash economy that it became evident that some regions were inherently suitable for cash cropping.

Concomitantly, the establishment of provincial and national boundaries necessitated a discontinuation of the traditional pattern of shifting cultivation, that is, exploitation of a piece of land and then migration away from it so that fertility is restored.<sup>34</sup> This limitation on the land available for the use of a tribe within the context of traditional social organization has affected economic development in several ways.

Inheritance in all three countries generally followed the line of descent, with all sons inheriting some land from their fathers. Where this is still the case, extreme fragmentation of land has taken place. Where inheritance laws have adapted to the changing conditions it is surmissable that some sons, probably the youngest, have been disinherited and being landless are forced to migrate in search of work.

Traditional land tenure has also changed in some areas. Previously, for most tribes, land was owned communally and individual persons received only the rights to cultivate it. With colonization

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<sup>34</sup>William A. Hance, African Economic Development (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1958), p. 186.

and subsequent government attempts at consolidation of land, the extension of the monetary economy, cash cropping and population pressure, more persons are holding individual title to the land, and consequently no longer is every tribal member assured some land use by tribal authorities.

The results of these patterns have been adequately summarized by William Hance, who concluded,

The superimposition of a cash economy on this old subsistence agricultural pattern has worsened the situation by reducing the fallow period, dividing the land excessively, fragmenting the holdings, and creating a landless class. The resulting overcrowding has followed an extremely irregular pattern, varying from tribe to tribe.<sup>35</sup>

The imposition of a head or hut tax, which had to be paid in cash was another incentive for migration. According to Hance, ". . . the imposition of taxes tended to institutionalize migration and to spread the source areas over a whole country rather than to the areas immediately adjacent to the places requiring labor."<sup>36</sup>

Any decision to introduce settlers also affected migration patterns. Political pressure was often brought to bear upon Africans to leave their subsistence economies or to stop cash-cropping so that they would be forced to work on European farms, while the

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<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 190.

<sup>36</sup>William A. Hance, Population Migration and Urbanization in Africa (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), p. 134.

existence of these farms was a force itself in the economic disequilibrium between regions.<sup>37</sup>

Apart from these general observations, colonialism affected different ethnic groups in unique ways often coloring the current development of the particular country in which they reside and also the relation of the group to the migratory process.

A case in point is Uganda where the variation in size, strength and history of different local groups has complicated development and strongly influenced migratory patterns. A large, well-organized proto-state or kingdom in the southeastern corner of Uganda, Buganda lay along a major route used by Europeans to enter East Africa. Buganda's well organized bureaucracy and geographic position led the British to establish their administrative centers there.<sup>38</sup> These developed into the capital and major city of present day Uganda. Missions, educational facilities and the stimulation of cash-cropping, especially of cotton and coffee, were also concentrated disproportionately in Buganda, leading to a marked contrast in farm income between this area and remoter parts of Uganda.<sup>39</sup> However, since Britain did not allow alienation of land to Europeans in Uganda, the vast majority of Uganda Africans stayed on the land cultivating their own cash crops and a shortage of labor on Indian owned estates and in Buganda sometimes resulted. Consequently, the majority of

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<sup>37</sup>W. T. W. Morgan, op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>38</sup>A. B. Herrick, (Uganda), op. cit., p. 31.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 52.

migrant workers in Uganda are drawn from the less favored out-lying districts where cash cropping is difficult, or from neighboring countries such as Burundi, Rwanda, and Kenya. Even urban and industrial concerns draw largely on Kenya to supply a labor force.<sup>40</sup>

In Tanzania, it was the levying of taxes, first by the German and then the British colonizers, that forced many Africans to seek paid employment on tea, sisal and clove plantations and in coffee areas. Migration today continues to these areas due to the difficulties of cash cropping in the home area. Immigration across international boundaries by groups such as the Nyakyusa also occurs because of their distance from major plantation areas and proximity to the Rhodesian copperbelt and South African where relatively higher wages are offered.

Kenya's situation varies significantly from the other two East African countries in that the British allowed wide-scale settlement of land by Europeans, particularly in the eastern province of Kenya, a fertile area which came to be known as the "White Highlands."<sup>41</sup> For this reason, it is in Kenya that the effect of colonial rule on land utilization and migration is most obvious. The European settlers soon fostered the pattern of relying on African labor to do the manual work on the farms,<sup>42</sup> while taxation was the stimulus

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<sup>40</sup>B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, Zamani, A Survey of East African History (Nairobi, Kenya: Longmans of Kenya, 1968), p. 318.

<sup>41</sup>J. M. Matthews, op. cit., p. 51.

<sup>42</sup>B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, op. cit., p. 261.



which forced the African to respond.<sup>43</sup> Reserves were established for Africans and by 1926, twenty-three of these existed; however, the land set aside was not adequate. Some of the reserves were already overpopulated and the situation continued to deteriorate.<sup>44</sup> By the 1950's, forty percent of the total of African workers were agricultural laborers employed almost entirely on European farms.<sup>45</sup> Although much of this land has been redistributed to Africans since independence, migration is still directed largely toward the same areas.

A potentially more promising result of the colonial period is the concept of federation among the three countries.<sup>46</sup> During World War II the sharing of harbors, railroads, telegraph, telephone and radio systems, customs, excise tax, income tax, scientific research, defence and higher education was implemented. In 1967, under the auspices of the East African Common Services Organization (EASCO), a treaty was signed to implement an East African Common Market and Economic Community, an East African Development Bank and a shared currency.

It was only a matter of time before the goal of political federation, strongly influenced by the goal of Pan-African unity, should be attempted.

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<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p. 266.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid., p. 272.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 283.

<sup>46</sup>See A. B. Herrick, (Tanzania), op. cit., pp. 68-70.

The following statement was issued by the three governments in 1963:

We share a common past and are convinced of our common destinies. We have a common history, culture, and customs which make our unity both logical and natural. In the past century the hand of Imperialism grasped the whole continent and in this part of Africa our people found themselves included together in what the colonialists styled "the British Sphere of Influence." . . . we believe the time has come to consolidate our unity and provide it with a constitutional base.<sup>47</sup>

Economically however, there has recently been a retreat from cooperation initiated by the complaint from Tanzania and Uganda that Kenya was reaping most of the benefits of the common market. Many inroads have since been made on the common market and lately separate currencies and banks have been established,<sup>48</sup> while political tensions have accelerated deterioration of relations. The effect of these events on internal migration is probably negligible, but could possibly influence migration between countries in the future.

Each of the three countries of East Africa share similar problems originating from the colonial period, while the people of each also broadly share certain common institutions subject to similar pressures of change. The introduction of a cash economy, alienation

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<sup>47</sup>A. J. Hughes, East Africa: The Search for Unity, Kenya, Tanganyika, Uganda and Zanzibar (Baltimore, Maryland: Penguin Books, 1963), pp. 265-266.

<sup>48</sup>B. A. Ogot and J. A. Kieran, op. cit., pp. 385-386.

of land to Europeans, establishment of reserves or defined territories for African groups and the stimulation of urban growth during the colonial period underlie the whole pattern of larbor migration today.

## CHAPTER III

### RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN POVERTY AND MIGRATION

#### The Meaning of Poverty

As stated in Chapter I, most students of East Africa have pointed to economic causes as the "push" factors involved in migration; or, more specifically, to rural poverty as the impelling force in migration.

Perhaps J. J. Spengler most adequately sums up this position as follows,

The causes of labor migration are both economic and non-economic, with the former predominating. Potential male migrants find themselves pushed to move by the increasing pressure of a growing agricultural population upon the limited amount of utilizable land available, given prevailing technological conditions and the wide-spreadness of fallow farming. The land may not suffice to employ everyone; it may become subject to diminishing returns; and it may undergo depletion of soil fertility, should its fallow period be unduly reduced (in 1957 a 50% drop in soil fertility in Kenya was reported). In consequence, the land tilled by a family may no longer support it, with the result that adult males emigrate, leaving the women and children to cultivate the land. . . . the origin and direction of migration is dominated by the desire for improvement in the migrants' economic circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>J. J. Spengler, "Population Problems in Africa" in E. A. G. Robinson, Economic Development for Africa South of the Sahara (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1964), p. 269.

While Spengler's (and others) position cannot be disputed, many of the variables involved in rural poverty are never specified, nor has the relation between poverty and migration been clearly analyzed. Groups for which the assumed relationship does not hold have not been carefully examined. The task of this chapter is to try to gain a clearer understanding of the relationship between poverty and migration by reviewing some of the information available on the topic in order to examine the implicit assumption that it is the poorest ethnic groups or individuals who make up the migrant stream. An attempt will also be made to point to other non-economic variables which may strongly influence migration or non-migration and hence explain the variation in migration by ethnic group. The major factors believed to affect migration are demographic and ecological, the dominant type of economic activity pursued, and various social and individual factors. While these factors can be separated for analytical purposes, they are closely interrelated or interdependent. For example, ecology strongly influences the type of economic activity possible for an individual or group and this in turn may affect the social institutions peculiar to a group. Thus, the three categorizations are by no means mutually exclusive. Nor is it likely that these factors are exhaustive, but rather are those which become most apparent during the course of the research.

One of the major problems in analyzing the relationship between poverty and migration is that what is meant by poverty is not usually specified. According to A. M. O'Conner, "the first and

most important thing to note about the economic life of East Africa is the poverty of the region."<sup>2</sup> He continues to suggest that the best measurement of relative wealth or poverty is indicated by official estimates of the gross National Product. These figures indicate a per capita income in East Africa of £26, an income lower than in most other areas of Africa. O'Conner adds that although there are minor differences between the three countries, for example, Kenya has a higher figure due to some large-scale enterprises in agriculture and manufacturing, these differences are actually much smaller than the regional variations within each country.<sup>3</sup> (See Table 3). Perhaps due to the difficulty of estimating income for small scale cash cropping, there is little data available on average per capita income per region for the three countries.<sup>4</sup> Before we can say with certainty that migration is from poorer to wealthier areas, data of this type needs to be available so that incomes in areas of origin of the migrants can be compared to incomes in the areas of destination. Despite the lack of systemitized information of this type, certain areas in East Africa stand out as areas of better

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<sup>2</sup>A. M. O'Conner, An Economic Geography of East Africa (London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1966), p. 8.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 9.

<sup>4</sup>There are some exceptions. See, for example, P. H. Gulliver, Labor Migration in a Rural Economy, (Kampala, Uganda: E.A.I.S.R., 1955), pp. 18-19; and also Hans Ruthenberg, Smallholder Farming and Smallholder Development in Tanzania (Munich: Weltforum Verlag, 1968).

TABLE III

Gross National Product Per Capita Income  
for East Africa and Selected Countries

Country	G. N. P. Per Capita Income (U.S.\$)
Kenya (1970)	137
Tanzania (1970)	98
Uganda (1970)	116
Ghana (1970)	262
Ivory Coast (1968)	312
Zambia (1969)	398
Congo (Kinshasa) (1970)	101

Source: A.I.D. Economic Data Book for Africa, 1971 - Agency for International Development, Bureau for Program and Policy Coordination (Office of Statistics and Reports), PB/201/587, Washington, D. C.

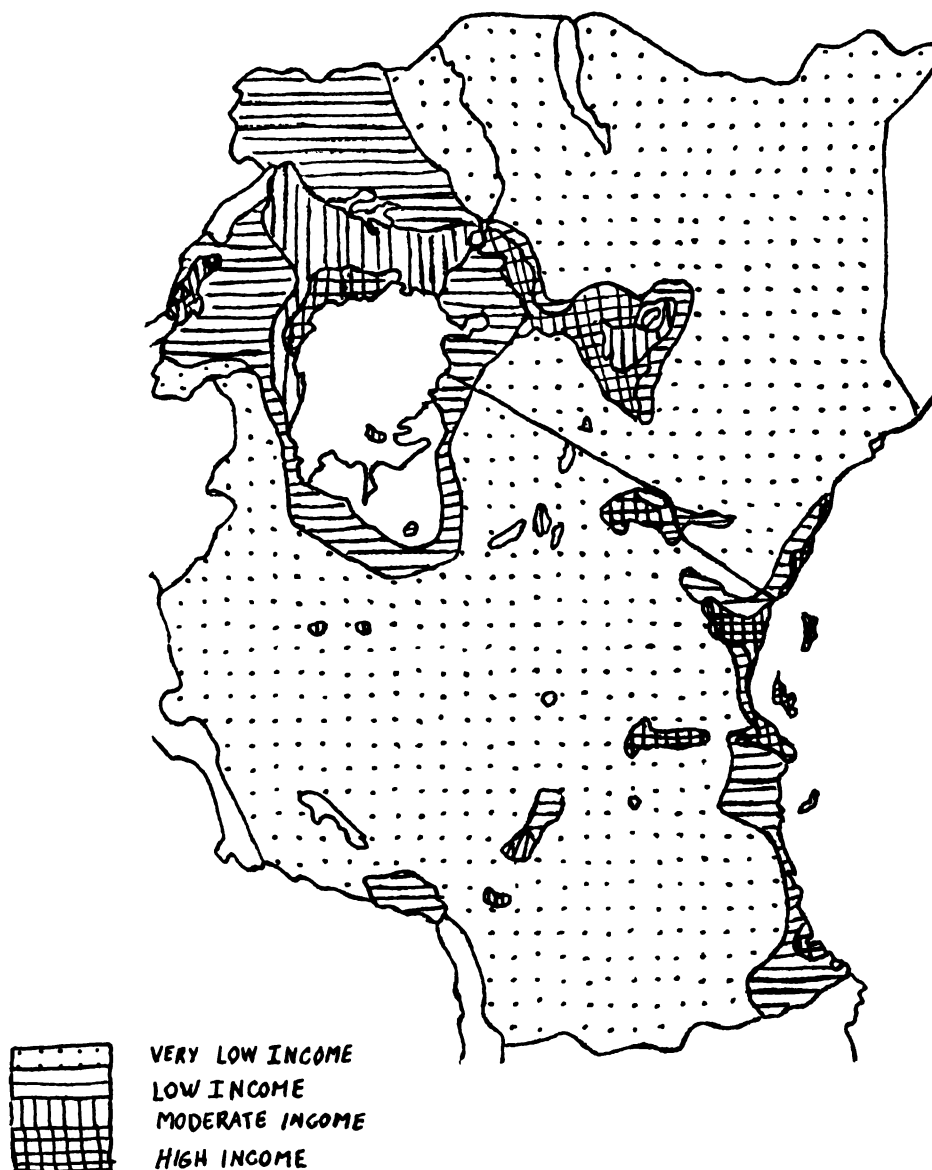
economic opportunity due to natural or historical factors. (See Figure 3). These are the fertile crescent of Uganda, the former European areas of Kenya, the sisal producing zones of Tanzania and the major urban centers, especially Kampala and Jinja in Uganda, Nairobi and Mombasa in Kenya and Dar Es Salaam in Tanzania.<sup>5</sup>

The poverty of certain areas vis-a-vis other regions in East Africa today can be traced predominantly to ecological and

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<sup>5</sup>William Hance, Population, Migration and Urbanization in Africa (New York: Columbia University Press, 1970), pp. 152-153.

## East Africa: Income Levels



Source: O'Conner, A. M., An Economic Geography of East Africa,  
London: G. Bell and Sons, Ltd., 1966, p. 10.



demographic factors. As mentioned in Chapter 2, it was largely ecological considerations which lead to the alienation of the more fertile areas to European settlers during the colonial period and the subsequent establishment of reserves for Africans. The establishment of reserves put an end to the method of shifting cultivation that had made subsistence agriculture possible in the past. Also, after independence, the new governments continued to invest heavily in the already prosperous and productive areas, thus, heightening the discrepancies between regions.

Since tribal groups were now confined to certain areas, given the restricted opportunities for earning income in the non-agricultural sectors, any population increases had to be absorbed within these rural areas. Thus the relatively rapid growth of population has become a factor of increasing importance. Peter McLoughlin has noted, "(population growth) has led to pressures which are reflected in decreasing land available per household . . . (and) has also led to land resource over-utilization in many areas."<sup>6</sup>

While population growth has led to increased density, it is not density alone, but density related to the capacity of the land to produce under a given technology, that can be correlated to

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<sup>6</sup>P. M. McLoughlin, Research on Agricultural Development in East Africa (New York: The Agricultural Development Council, Inc., 1967), p. 11.

income. T. M. Othieno and D. G. R. Belshaw have stated, "generally, income is very low because physical productivity per acre is . . . low."<sup>7</sup>

Therefore, in attempting any assessment of the bearing of ecological and demographic factors on poverty in East Africa, we have to consider the density of population per resource unit, that is, the man-land ratio. While this has been expressed in quantitative terms for some districts in Kenya,<sup>8</sup> complete data of this type is noticeably lacking, so all of East Africa will be dealt with generally.

A combined area of almost 680,000 square miles (of which 42,000 square miles is water) and a combined population of 26.2 million reveal a density of some forty-one persons per square mile in 1963 for the whole of East Africa. These figures can lead to the deduction that East Africa does not have a population problem and that increases in population based on present growth rates can be easily absorbed.<sup>9</sup> However, as J. G. C. Blacker has pointed out,

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<sup>7</sup>T. M. Othieno and D. G. R. Belshaw, "Technical Innovation in Two Systems of African Peasant Agriculture in Bukedi District, Uganda," in East African Institute of Social Research (Conference Papers) Section D (Jan., 1965), p. 4.

<sup>8</sup>See for example, D. M. Etherington, "Projected Changes in Rural and Urban Population in Kenya and the Implications for Development Policy" in East African Institute of Social Research (Conference Papers) Section C (Jan., 1965), p. 8.

<sup>9</sup>K. V. G. Krishna, "Resources and Problems of Economic Development," in Stanley Diamond and F. G. Burke (eds.), The Transformation of East Africa (New York: Basic Books, 1966), p. 540.

In all three territories large proportions of the population tend to cluster in comparatively small areas. These clusters may be broadly divided into three main categories; first, those around the shores of Lake Victoria; second, those in high hill country and in the foothills of the major mountains; third, those in the coastal belt.<sup>10</sup>

According to the same author, densities ranging from two to three hundred to one thousand per square mile are not uncommon in these areas. Therefore, in an assessment of the equation between man and land, it becomes obvious that only such land should be taken into account as can be profitably exploited. A variety of criteria are usually delineated; location, water supply, rainfall, tsetse fly infestation, and soil fertility.<sup>11</sup>

Since all these factors affect the occupation and development of an area, land availability should be examined with reference to each of these. However, since location largely determines all the other factors, it will not be discussed independently. Pursuing this approach, the following becomes evident.

In Kenya, of a total area of 225,000 square miles, about 40,000 square miles is uninhabitable desert, containing no adequate water supplies, and another 110,000 square miles is not used at all at present or is only sparsely populated by nomadic tribes. Supporting ninety per cent of the population is the remaining third, the

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<sup>10</sup>J. G. C. Blacker, "The Demography of East Africa," in E. W. Russell (ed.), The Natural Resources of East Africa (Nairobi: The English Press, 1962), p. 26.

<sup>11</sup>K. V. G. Krishna, op. cit., p. 540.

agriculturally productive part of the country. Increases in population must be absorbed by this area.<sup>12</sup>

In Tanzania, the crowding of population into seventeen areas where water supplies are satisfactory reveals the importance of this factor. The residual two-thirds of the land area is nearly waterless, and therefore only very scarcely populated. Thus ninety-nine per cent of the people of Tanzania are concentrated in about a third of the total land area.<sup>13</sup>

In comparison, about one-third of Uganda has an adequate water supply, a second area is designated as 'areas of difficulty,' and the remainder has negligible water supplies and cannot support a population. Whereas in Kenya the situation is quite serious, Uganda and Tanzania possess a margin of cultivable land. However, the balance changes from year to year, tilted by uneconomic land use and population increases.<sup>14</sup>

Rainfall also limits the land area that is really suitable for intensive agricultural development. About two-thirds of the land area of Kenya, one-third of Tanzania and the northeast section of Uganda have at best rainfall suitable only for an unintensive type of pastoralism. Rather less than one-fourth of the total land area of East Africa has a good chance of obtaining regularly year by year

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p. 541.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp. 542-543.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 544.

more than thirty inches of rain, the amount required to make agricultural development feasible.<sup>15</sup>

As concerns the tsetse fly, it is estimated that sixty per cent of Tanzania, thirty-two per cent of Uganda and ten per cent of Kenya are infested. Tsetse flies, which transmits sleeping sickness to man and also trypanosomiasis to cattle, contributes much to settlement patterns for, despite favorable climatic and soil conditions, a region may be shunned due to infestation. Although eradication is technically possible, the process remains expensive and difficult.<sup>16</sup>

It is often thought that soils in tropical countries are highly fertile but this is not the case. For the most part, the soils of East Africa are deficient in minerals or humus and are on the whole less durable than those of the temperate latitudes.<sup>17</sup> Uganda, although having a fairly high rainfall, is mainly plateau and therefore suffers less from erosion than its neighbors. Throughout most of the country there is a protective cover of vegetation, with the exception of the northeast, which is fairly dry, but with enough storm rain to do great damage. The population, both human and cattle, have increased rapidly in this area so that over-stocking and, as a result, overgrazing have aggravated erosion problems.<sup>18</sup>

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<sup>15</sup>David Walker, "Problems of Economic Development of East Africa," in E. A. G. Robinson, op. cit., p. 108.

<sup>16</sup>A. M. O'Conner, op. cit., p. 237.

<sup>17</sup>David Walker, op. cit., p. 108.

<sup>18</sup>G. M. Hickman and W. H. G. Dickens, The Lands and Peoples of East Africa (London: Longmans, 1961), p. 30.

Tanzania, being rather sparsely populated, is not too badly affected by erosion, although several individual districts are badly eroded due to overcultivation and over-stocking.<sup>19</sup>

Kenya has serious erosion problems, the rainfall easily eroding the steep slopes in areas such as the Highlands, while population densities in many of the same districts, such as Kikuyuland, are high and rapidly increasing.<sup>20</sup>

The ecological variables just discussed influence the amount of land available for habitation and cultivation and hence the density of certain areas as compared to others. However, density per se may or may not be related to poverty. In some areas density reflects the prosperity of a region and migration takes place because land is not sold or automatically inherited, thus leaving some landless. Here the availability of land is related to migration. In other cases, although land may have originally been prosperous, density may have caused cultivators to 'over-work' their small plot of land, without allowing a fallow period to restore fertility. In this situation, migration is related to poverty because the soil is too impoverished or the plot is too small to make cash cropping profitable.

Lack of land as a cause of migration is evident among the Ganda, in the kingdom of Buganda of modern Uganda. Buganda forms part of a plateau lying along the northwestern side of Lake Victoria.

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<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p. 32.

It is the wealthiest area in Uganda with fertile soil and a rainfall averaging fifty inches a year. As mentioned above, coffee and cotton were introduced early in colonial history for cash cropping.<sup>21</sup>

C. Hutton carried out a study of men seeking employment in the two main urban centers of Uganda. Of the Ganda men interviewed, lack of land was mentioned as one of the major reasons for seeking employment in town. In some cases, the available land had been shared out among other brothers at the father's death, but not enough was available for all the brothers.<sup>22</sup>

The same situation is common to the Gisu of Bugisu in Eastern Uganda. The rich volcanic soils of the area have been very suitable for the growth of coffee, the major cash crop of the area. This area is one of the most densely populated areas in Uganda with densities of between 400 to 1,000 people per square mile.<sup>23</sup> According to B. Brock, who studied the area, there are several degrees of landlessness; men with no land at all, or with no more than homestead space, or men with insufficient land to support themselves and their families. When asked how these people survive, the majority

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<sup>21</sup>Daniel Biebuyck, African Agrarian Systems (London: Oxford University Press: for the International African Institute, 1963), p. 268.

<sup>22</sup>C. Hutton, "Aspects of Urban Employment in Uganda," in East African Institute of Social Research (Conference Papers), Section C, Jan. 1966, pp. 9-13.

<sup>23</sup>Beverly Brock, "Land Tenure and Social Change in Bugisu," in Nkanga, 4, n.d., p. 13.

of interviewees mentioned work for others within the area or work in towns as the most plausible alternative.<sup>24</sup>

An example of the second type of situation prevails among the Kiga who are the largest of three ethnic groups inhabiting Kigezi district, a fertile mountainous area in the southwest corner of Uganda.<sup>25</sup>

Among the Kiga, of southwestern Uganda, the custom of equally dividing land among a man's co-wives and the division of land again equally among each wife's sons as they marry, has become uneconomical with the growth of population.

In the 1950's, the population density of Kigezi was 201 per square mile of population on a limited amount of land.<sup>26</sup>

The increased pressure of population on land, resultant over-cropping, soil exhaustion and erosion, has led the Kiga to seek employment in companies in the district of Toro or on coffee farms in Buganda, in order to secure cash for their needs. There is too little land available over and above the need to provide food supplies for themselves to release enough plots for cash cropping.<sup>27</sup> There is some evidence that wealthier individuals have bought land from the poorer peoples who, becoming landless, have then migrated.

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<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

<sup>25</sup>Rachel Yeld, "Land Unger in Kigezi, South-West Uganda," in Nkanga 3, n.d., p. 24.

<sup>26</sup>Ibid., p. 25.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p. 27.



A more purely ecological factor, the presence of tsetse-fly, has encouraged the Hima, a pastoral upper caste of the Ankole tribe, to offer their labor as herdmen to the richer Ganda.<sup>28</sup> Among the Iru, the lower caste agriculturalists of the tribe, only a few have been able to develop prosperous cash cropping because much of Ankole land is arid. Many have migrated to Buganda as a result.<sup>29</sup>

In Kenya, S. H. Ominde has pointed to the western districts of North, Central, and Southern Nyanza as being source areas of much of the migrant labor in Kenya's urban centers, large-scale farming areas and in bordering Uganda.<sup>30</sup>

Within these districts, several ecological zones exist, low lying hotter areas and cooler, moister plateau areas. Nilotic Luo, who keep cattle but also till the more favorable areas of the plateau, live in this area along with the Baluhya, the Kisii and several other minor groups.<sup>31</sup>

According to Ominde, population pressure causing a fall in productivity of land is responsible for the predominance of Luo and Baluhya in the migrant stream. With population densities approaching anywhere between two hundred to nine hundred per square mile, a minimum

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<sup>28</sup>A. W. Southall, "Population Movements in East Africa," in K. M. Barbour and R. M. Prothero, Essays on African Population (New York: Frederick Praeger, 1961), pp. 179-180

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p. 180.

<sup>30</sup>S. H. Ominde, "Movement to Towns from Nyanza Province, Kenya," in Urbanization in African Social Change (University of Edinburgh, Centre of African Studies, 1963), p. 23.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p. 28.

of one acre of cropland per head of population was available in most of the area (1948 census), with the exception of that inhabited by the Kisii, who had well over one acre per head. Ominde concludes, "It is this inability of the land to cater to expanding needs. . ." which has caused migration and, "the question of carrying capacity of the land. . . underlies the spread of the Luo and the Baluhya."<sup>32</sup>

The opposite type of pattern also seems to hold, that is, where land pressure is not great and cash cropping is profitable, little migration occurs among certain groups. Thus the Wahaya of Bukoba district in Tanzania cultivate coffee-banana farms in an area receiving eighty inches of rain annually, although the soils are poor.<sup>33</sup> The average holding is 3.5 acres. However, two areas within the district can be distinguished, the more and the less densely populated areas. According to K. H. Frederick, the more acreage per family, the better is the economic situation. Poverty, he continues, "goes hand in hand with a high population density."<sup>34</sup> However, for the majority of the Wahaya, farming yields a comparatively high and secure income<sup>35</sup> and little migration is visible.

From these examples, it is apparent that poverty is related to landlessness, density, and soil productivity and that these latter

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 31.

<sup>33</sup>K. H. Friedrich, "Coffee-Banana Holdings at Bukoba," in Hans Ruthenberg, Smallholder Farming and Smallholder Development in Tanzania (Munich: Weltforum Verlag, 1968), p. 179.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p. 182.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p. 210.

factors are major in affecting migration. However, other factors may not only be acting in the cases mentioned, but may be important enough to mitigate or negate the influences of poverty.

#### Other Variables Related to Migration

One of the complicating variables is distance or proximity to areas of employment.

Thus, among the Ganda mentioned above, a large portion have higher per capita incomes than other groups of Uganda, while still maintaining higher migration rates. In addition to landless individuals, other Ganda also apparently earn wages away from home.

W. Elkan argues that the explanation is to be found in the proximity of employment opportunities, often within motoring distance of their homes.<sup>36</sup> Both Kampala and Jinja are within Buganda. Unfortunately, no data exists on the per capita incomes of the Ganda with land who enter wage labor. It may indeed be those who, despite owning land, have lower incomes.

A similar situation is common among the Toro of Uganda, who have a higher average farm income than the Kiga mentioned above, but also higher emigration rates.<sup>37</sup> This may be due to the fact that many of the Indian-owned coffee and tea estates are in Toro. Again, it is not clear whether the poorer or wealthier individuals are

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<sup>36</sup>W. Elkan, Migrants and Proletarians (London: Oxford University Press, 1960), p. 38.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

doing the migrating. A circular effect is important to note here. Since employment is within easy distance and the Toro migrate heavily to it, the migration itself has had a depressing effect on farm incomes, which might not necessarily have been so low if the men had stayed at home to cultivate their lands.

In Kenya, while the problem of the man-land ratio is undoubtedly important, it is difficult to separate its effect from the fact that for all the groups mentioned above, there is close proximity to the large-scale farms of the Highlands and to Nairobi. Perhaps it is not the poverty or landlessness of the groups as such, but the combination of these factors with the nearby employment opportunities that impells these groups to migrate. Hence, while the Nyika of Kenya have Mombasa in the middle of their territory, population density is low in relation to soil fertility and little migration occurs.<sup>38</sup>

Another aspect of this question is relative isolation not only from employment centers, but from other modernizing influences such as transportation systems and areas where a cash economy has been firmly established. Since isolation is closely related to the type of economic pursuits an ethnic group is engaged in and to historical patterns of settlement, these factors will be discussed together.

Two basic economic life-modes exist in East Africa, hoe farming and cattle pastoralism. Most peoples have both in some combination, but the concern here is with groups where pastoralism

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<sup>38</sup>A. W. Southall, op. cit., p. 172.

largely predominates. Very generally the two activities are also related to ethnicity, for most Nilotes attach more importance to cattle while Bantu speaking groups tend more toward cultivation.<sup>39</sup> As East Africa was settled by these groups, the pastoralists came to inhabit the semi-arid areas of the three countries, for example, the Karamojong of northeastern Uganda, the Suk and Turkana of Kenya, and the Masai in Tanzania to mention a few. None of these groups contribute in any great number to labor migration. While densities in the areas they inhabit are low, the overstocking of many areas has led to deterioration of soil and vegetation resulting in 'over-population' as regards the carrying capacity of the land.

These Nilotic peoples have been generally characterized as being conservative or resistant to cultural change. It is suggested here that this feature is undoubtedly bound up with their attempt to cope with the ecology of the regions they inhabit through pastoralism, their economic mode of life. W. Goldschmidt has written, "Pastoralism is a cultural adjustment to semi-arid open country . . . ." He continues to point out some of the consequences of pastoralism which are, "(that) people must remain mobile, they cannot invest heavily in personal goods, in houses or land; both land, as such, and boundaries are unimportant . . . ."<sup>40</sup> Since the regions these pastoralists

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<sup>39</sup>A. M. O'Conner, op. cit., p. 248.

<sup>40</sup>Walter Goldschmidt, "Theory and Strategy in the Study of Cultural Adaptability" in American Anthropologist, 67, 1, 1965, p. 403.

inhabit were in general not seen by Europeans as advantageous or easy to develop, few urban or modern farming centers are situated near these peoples, nor has a cash economy become implanted to any great degree among them. Their isolation and inaccessibility due to a semi-nomadic adjustment to ecological factors is no doubt highly related to their "conservative" attitudes and low emigration rates.

However, we find that when the ecological pattern has been largely disrupted, migration does occur. Thus, the Masai of Kenya and Tanzania had part of their land alienated to European stock farmers and, as a result of the contraction and deterioration of their own pastures, were forced to take work on the stock farms so that their rate of emigration is relatively high.<sup>41</sup> With regard to other groups in Kenya, Ominde has concluded, "transport facilities play an important role in stimulation of mobility of population. The low rate of emigration among the Galla-Somali and the more remotely situated . . . ethnic elements are partly due to the isolation of the areas or to poor accessibility."<sup>42</sup>

Finally, all the preceeding factors are effective only within an historical context. In order to obtain a full picture of migration today, some knowledge of pre-colonial migration is necessary, along with an understanding of the effects of colonization itself.

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<sup>41</sup>A. W. Southall, op. cit., pp. 170-171.

<sup>42</sup>S. H. Ominde, Land and Population Movements in Kenya (London: Heinemen, 1968), p. 189.



Of course historical factors influencing migration may also be closely tied to ecological factors as shown above and also in the following example. There is, according to A. W. Southall,<sup>43</sup> a marked contrast in high emigration rates of the Nyamwezi of Tanzania and the low emigration of their neighbors to the north, the Sukuma of Tanzania. The Nyamwezi were in the path of the Tabora Trade route, the town of Tabora being located in Nyamweziland. Tabora became the greatest center of the caravan trade and Arab settlement in the interior of East Africa. The Nyamwezi are accustomed to travel, having been leaders in ivory and slave caravans and explorers with the British and German. Their present day attraction to migrant labor is also related to the infestation of most of their land with tsetse-fly and the inability of the land to support any cash-crop. The Sukuma to the north are able to keep cattle and produce large quantities of cotton. This group was also bypassed by the Tabora trade route which lay to the south. A combination of economic, historical, and ecological conditions have been involved in making the Nyamwezi one of the greatest migrant groups in Tanzania, found working in all parts of Tanzania.

Other differences in organization and attitudes of tribal groups may affect income and migration. Individual enterprise, for example, is looked upon differently by various ethnic groups. O'Conner cites the example of the Luo of Kenya. An individual may not want to increase his income either by growing cash crops or migrating, since

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<sup>43</sup>A. W. Southall, op. cit., p. 166.





much of the surplus income would need to be distributed to neighbors if hostility were to be avoided.<sup>44</sup>

Individual enterprise is not always related to economic development however. The communal cultivation of land by the Lango and Acholi of Uganda offers opportunities for the introduction of mechanization.<sup>45</sup>

Inheritance patterns, as discussed for the Kiga above, may conspire to reduce acreage for the individual among some ethnic groups where every son traditionally inherits some land from his father.

Another factor of importance for migration, which varies by ethnic group, is the traditional system of land tenure. Where land is held communally as in many areas of East Africa, farmers have no title to their land, and it cannot be bought or sold or offered as security in order to obtain credit for development purposes. Among the Kikuyu of Kenya, where individual title to land is gaining hold, farmers appear more industrious in developing their individual plots.<sup>46</sup> This is also the case in Buganda, while the ability to sell and buy land has enabled some individuals to amass large pieces of land, while, as mentioned, some have been left landless.

Finally, while data from other parts of Africa, notably Ghana,<sup>47</sup> have stressed the place of a) education in migration,

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<sup>44</sup>A. M. O'Conner, op. cit., p. 251.

<sup>45</sup>Ibid., p. 251.

<sup>46</sup>Ibid., p. 252.

<sup>47</sup>J. C. Caldwell, African Rural-Urban Migration (London: C. Hurst and Co., 1969), pp. 83-86.

b) relative wealth which may be related to education, c) position of individuals within the family and d) factors such as chain migration, little information of this type is available for East Africa.

What, then, is the relation of poverty to migration? From the preceeding analysis it is obvious that poverty related to certain ecological conditions plays a major role in migration. In general, migration in East Africa is from poorer to wealthier regions. However, many other factors are related to and strongly influence migration, so that even in poverty-stricken regions (such as those of the Nilo-Hamitic cattle herders) ethnic and historical differences may mitigate or negate the expected migration.

To illustrate some of the problems involved in oversimplifying the migratory process, W. Elkan's study in Uganda becomes pertinent.<sup>48</sup> He discovered that in a general sense there is an inverse relationship between the income from the sale of farm products in an area and the number of men who have migrated to find wage labor. Where farm incomes are less than one hundred shillings (approximately \$40.00) per head over one-fifth of the men leave to find wage labor. Where incomes are over this amount, under one-fifth of the men leave to find work. However, within these two groups there is no longer a close correspondence. Elkan attributes this to the contaminating or intervening variable of relative opportunities for employment based on reputation as this varies by ethnic group. The relative opportunities for employment by different groups and the

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<sup>48</sup>W. Elkan, op. cit., p. 35.

distance from centers of employment are undoubtedly important as Elkan suggests.<sup>49</sup> However, a more recent study might reveal even more complexity with regard to this issue. Education and a social class position based on education and wealth may be variables presently influencing the migration of many, especially the young, for whom these factors have become most relevant.

The data collected by Caldwell in Ghana have a bearing on this issue for they suggest that while inter-regionally migration is from poorer to wealthier areas, intra-regionally it is the more educated and/or wealthier individuals who migrate.<sup>50</sup> While we have some limited information on migration of the landless in East Africa, more research needs to be done on the effects of these other increasingly important variables.

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., p. 35.

<sup>50</sup>J. C. Caldwell, op. cit., p. 83.

## CHAPTER IV

### CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it is evident that the migratory process in East Africa involves a complex intertwining of forces. While it is an over-simplification to visualize economic factors as being the sole cause for migration, the economic aspect, either poverty as a result of low production, landlessness, or relative cash needs, is almost always an important element explaining the emigration rates of the more highly mobile groups. Underlying this poverty are certain ecological and demographic conditions that have been specified.

As the influence of a cash economy becomes even more widespread the land will be called upon to produce the means by which to satisfy ever-increasing needs, which, as has been indicated, it cannot do under present conditions. C. Hutton has noted that, "ultimately the rate of labor migration is dependent on the relation between expectations (what one hopes to get out of moving to the city), felt cash needs, and local earning opportunities."<sup>1</sup> Thus, despite extensive unemployment in urban areas, the rapid growth of urban population as compared to rates of national growth indicates that the

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<sup>1</sup>C. Hutton, "Aspects of Urban Unemployment in Uganda," in East African Institute of Social Research (Conference Papers) Section C, January 1966, p. 8.

high wages of the city and the depressed conditions of the countryside still are sufficient to motivate people to leave their tribal areas.<sup>2</sup>

Compounding the unemployment problem is a radical change in the nature of labor migration as previously known. The urban labor force has stabilized so that no longer can new migrants replace older migrants who came to the city only temporarily and then vacated their jobs as they returned to the country. William M. Vogel adequately summarizes some of the possible reasons for this new pattern, particularly as they are manifest in Uganda. Primary is the contention that a worker no longer comes to the city to earn a specified sum of money in order to accomplish a particular goal but comes with diffuse wants. Even if he does come with a specific target in mind, urban living is likely to foster new targets or wants as the old ones are satisfied.<sup>3</sup> Also, although wages may be high enough to attract people into cities, jobs are so scarce that the likelihood of an employed individual leaving his job is lessened by the fear that he may not be able to find another.<sup>4</sup>

Evidence supporting these contentions rests on the increased demands for married quarters and the increasing ratio of women and children to men in urban areas indicating that men are increasingly

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<sup>2</sup>W. H. Vogel, "Is Labor Migration of Decreasing Significance in the Economics of East Africa," in Syracuse University, Maxwell Graduate School of Citizenship and Public Affairs -- Eastern African Studies Occasional Papers (No. 34), 1968, p. 22.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p. 14.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p. 24.

bringing their families to settle in cities. Also, lower ratios of labor turnover have been recorded in several factories.<sup>5</sup>

The result is severe unemployment in urban areas. Given the age distribution of East Africa's population, (for example, in Kenya roughly half of the total population is under 16 years of age) the labor force will expand tremendously in the next two decades as this group reaches maturity. Their offspring will continue to flood the labor market.<sup>6</sup> This problem therefore is likely to increase, not lessen, unless action is taken.

Other disadvantages often cited in connection with migrant labor, some of which may be decreasing in importance due to the new trends mentioned above, are the waste of time and manpower spent in traveling, the tendency of employers not to train individuals who may soon leave their jobs, the weakening of African family life due to the long absence of men, and rural stagnation due to the absence of the more active section of the population.<sup>7</sup> On the other hand, certain advantages accrue to labor migration. In some cases rural areas may benefit by the cash sent to them from the city, the reduction of population, the skills brought back by return migrants, and the need for a migrant to achieve a certain level of formal education. The option available to the individual of returning to his land also made his labor difficult to exploit and gave him security against

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<sup>5</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p. 26.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p. 17-18.

conditions beyond his control. Furthermore, migrants served as a labor force to advance industrialization. It is apparent that both advantages and disadvantages operate in labor migration.<sup>8</sup> The question that arises, according to S. H. Ominde, is

. . . how to regulate the population movements while at the same time insuring that development takes place and the pressure on urban areas is relieved. These are some of the most critical problems of planned social economic development.<sup>9</sup>

Concern with these issues led the government of Kenya to institute a back-to-the-land movement in which those leaving their land to seek urban jobs were threatened by the confiscation of their farms. The limited success of the program is probably related to the fact that many of the job seekers came from over-crowded areas and were relatively landless. In Tanzania, the unemployed have been forcibly removed to productive rural locales.<sup>10</sup>

Broader concerns than these are at issue however and may greatly affect rural-urban migration in the future. These concerns are perhaps best articulated by President Nyerere of Tanzania and

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<sup>8</sup>Ibid., 19-20.

<sup>9</sup>S. H. Ominde, "The Population Factor in Economic Development in Kenya", a lecture given at the International Institute for Labor Studies, East African Seminar on Labor Problems in Economic Development (EAS. 67/L0/7), at the University College of Nairobi, Adult Studies Center, Kikuyu, 2-28 April, 1967, p. 11.

<sup>10</sup>D. P. Ghai, "Contemporary Economic and Social Developments," in Zamani, A Survey of East African History (Nairobi, Kenya: East African Publishing House and Longmans, Green and Company, 1968), p. 383.



find their most powerful expression in the Arusha Declaration of 1967.<sup>11</sup> The two basic emphases of the declaration are self-reliance and rural development. The renewed interest in the problem of rural development in East Africa stems not only from concern with urban unemployment and the inability of rural areas to retain educated persons, but also from a concern with the widening gap between rural and urban incomes.<sup>12</sup> Nyerere warned, ". . . people who live in towns can possibly become the exploiters of those who live in the rural areas."<sup>13</sup> Secondly, a great proportion of Tanzania's resources have been devoted to urban development, but over 90% of Tanzania's people live in the rural society. Since not more than a third of all Tanzanians in this century could earn a livelihood outside of the rural sector, in order for development to bring social and political benefits to the majority of Tanzanians, it must be concentrated on the rural sector rather than designed to serve an urban elite.<sup>14</sup> In Kenya, T. J. Mboya (Minister for Economic Planning and Development) in an address on labor problems delivered in 1967 echoes this perspective when he stated, "If policies are to promote a more equitable distribution of income,

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<sup>11</sup>Julius Nyerere, Ujamaa, Essays on Socialism (London: Oxford University Press, 1968), pp. 13-37.

<sup>12</sup>D. P. Ghai, op. cit., p. 382-383.

<sup>13</sup>J. Nyerere, op. cit., p. 27.

<sup>14</sup>Andre de la Rue, "Ujamaa on the March", in The New African, Vol. VI, No. 2, 1967, p. 9.

we must make sure that rural living is not substantially less attractive than urban life.<sup>15</sup>

The primary vehicle used in Tanzania to accomplish these goals has been the Village Settlement Program which has attempted to bring together scattered or land-hungry peoples in an attempt to increase their productivity and better their life style.<sup>16</sup> In its ideal form, as explicated by President Nyerere, the nation would consist of "economic and social communities where people live together and work together for the good of all,"<sup>17</sup> as opposed to an individual producing for individual profit. Government aid in the form of a clean water supply, electricity, drainage, schools etc. would be more easily distributed to families gathered in a village than to individual farmers. Although to date, some problems have arisen stemming mainly from a lack of commitment on the part of new settlers,<sup>18</sup> if the village settlement program achieves its goals, the rural areas of Tanzania will be transformed. Not only will most of the services of urban areas be offered in the rural sector but incomes will be more equitably distributed between the two. Nyerere also hopes to raise the esteem of the farmer in the national image.

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<sup>15</sup>T. J. Mboya, "Speech on Labor Problems and Contributions in Economic Development," International Institute for Labor Studies, East African Seminar on Labor Problems in Economic Development, Nairobi, 12 April 1967, p. 5.

<sup>16</sup>J. R. Nellis, "The Planning of Public Support for Tanzanian Rural Development," in *Journal of Developing Areas*, Vol. 1, No. 4, 1967, p. 479.

<sup>17</sup>J. Nyerere, op. cit., p. 119.

<sup>18</sup>J. R. Nellis, op. cit., p. 480.

If income and services are available in rural areas, it seems likely that rural-urban migration will be largely stemmed. However, the time involved before this occurs and its consequences are difficult to predict.

Social scientists can do much to facilitate the development schemes of African countries and, in this case, in East Africa. Rural sociologists especially, having a long tradition of the study of settlement patterns, land use, the diffusion of innovations and other pertinent topics could be of service in helping insure the success of village settlement.<sup>19</sup> T. J. Mboya has noted

. . . we in East Africa . . . are determined that effective change and economic progress here will not entail the avoidable social costs and human suffering that have marked the history of so many of the countries of the world. How successful we in government will be in our efforts will depend in no small measure on the advice and research of social scientists.

While sociologists and rural sociologists in particular may be of service to the East African people, East Africa also makes its contribution to the sociologists real task -- understanding man wherever he is found.

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<sup>19</sup>For a discussion of contributions that could be made by sociologists, see, J. Moris, "The Evaluation of Settlement Schemes Performance, A Sociological Appraisal," in R. Apthorpe, ed., Land Settlement and Rural Development in Eastern Africa (Kampala, Uganda: Nkanga Editions No. 3, Transition Books Limited), no date, p. 94.

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