# THE PRIVATE AND SOCIAL COSTS OF UNEMPLOYED MIGRANTS IN NAIROBI, KENYA

by

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# PREFACE

This study is concerned with the high levels of urban unemployment found in less developed countries, specifically with that experienced in Kenya. The approach to this problem is through rural-urban migration theory since migrants make up a major proportion of the urban labour force in most recently developing African countries. The purpose of the paper is to determine what length of unemployment the migrants face upon arrival in an urban center and how they survive; who bears the major costs of their unemployment. Where possible, the costs are quantified. Reduction of these costs will be considered based on the characteristics and motivations of the migrants.

The first chapter places the study of rural-urban migration in the context of broader development goals. A brief discussion of the evolution of internal migration theory leads to an analysis of recent work and its relation to the migration model advocated in the following chapters.

In order for the thesis to be understood in the context of the model the model is defined and expanded relating particularly to those areas affecting unemployed migrants and the solutions proposed by the originators of the model; John Harris and Micheal Todaro.

A chapter has been included which is mainly descriptive in nature, outlining the physical characteristics of Nairobi's residential areas and the types of migrants in the different housing groups. The costs to the city and the individuals cannot be assessed without some understanding of where the unemployed are living and with whom.

The costs of migrant unemployment are based on data taken from questionnaires given to a representative sample in Nairobi and Nairobi Extra-Provincial District in 1968. The sample[1] was made up of African males who had migrated to Nairobi between 1964 and 1968 and who had come from either another urban center or a rural village for the purpose of finding employment. No attempt was made to interview either those migrants who had chosen not to migrate, or those migrants who had returned to their place of origin. In order to obtain a random sample a set of buildings were selected, using a table of random numbers, in each of the six housing categories in Nairobi according to the distribution of the total population. (Information regarding migrant distribution was not available.) Fifty-seven questions were asked of the migrants by University of Nairobi students. The information obtained includes; the length of unemployment of each migrant before acquiring a first job, a measure of their productive potential based on, 1. their previous rural employment, 2. their level of education and 3. their vocational training as it compares to those already productively employed, the types of housing they live in, and the political attitudes they express.

There is no suggestion that this sample may conform to the total Kenyan migrant sample, therefore the conclusions obtained from the Nairobi migrants will not be applied to Kenyan migrants.

The purpose of the analysis of the 1964-1968 migrants is to determine what the costs of migration were and to predict, depending on changing demand-supply conditions and migrant characteristics, what kinds of costs can be anticipated for the future.

[1]Henry Rempel, "Rural-To-Urban Labour Migration: An Interim Report," Staff Paper No. 39, Institute for Development Studies (Nairobi: University College, August, 1969), pp. 16-18, 25.

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# CHAPTER I

## THEORETICAL BACKGROUND OF RURAL-URBAN MIGRATION

The study of internal labour migration has become an important facet of the broader study of economic development. This relationship can be traced to the association which industrialization has with growth in per capita income and output. Historical evidence of the economic advancement of western countries has shown a fairly uniform correlation between a decrease in the percentage of output of agriculture in the G.N.P. and a decrease in the percentage of the population employed in agriculture and an increase in the percentage of industrial products in the G.N.P. and an increase in the percentage of the labour force employed in industry. Chenery,[1] in his study of both industrialized and developing countries, found the exception to be very small countries which were resource rich and tended to continue with a higher percentage of G.N.P. in primary products rather than industrial output. These countries, however, also experienced a fall in the percentage of their labour force occupied in agriculture.

In a more recent study Robinson[2] has found that factor transfers from agricultural occupations have been a more significant element in the growth process of less developed countries (L.D.C.) than the growth of advanced countries (A.C.)

Robinson suggests that this is true as a result of the great differences in productivities in the different sectors of L.D.C.'s.

The logic of the argument that rural-urban migration is significant in industrialization rests on the relationship which industrialization has with urbanization.

Industrialization may be considered a cause or a by-product of urbanization. Industry depends on one or a number of the following conditions: a ready supply of materials, labour, transportation facilities, power and a market, all of which tend to relate themselves to a concentration of people in cities or towns. Urbanization has not always been as significant in industrialization as it is in modern mechanized industry. Certain industries, however, are presently less dependent on urbanization than others, particularly where transportation is not a major cost factor and markets are widely separated. Charles T. Stewart points out that, in historical perspective, industrialization and urbanization have progressed together but that their evolution is not identical and the relationship between their growth rates is loose.[3] As L.D.C.'s move from subsistence agriculture towards commercial agriculture and industrial pursuits cities and regional towns will evolve out of already existing villages or, if expedient, will emerge where no population concentration has existed before.

Adelman and Morris refer to this concept in their book Society, Politics, and Economic Development: "(Prevalent) in the process of (modern) industrialization and economic growth is a major shift of population from the agricultural to the urban industrial sector of the economy."[4] At the same time they point out the possibility that urbanization may exist without industrialization. Caldwell in African Rural-Urban Migration states the case more strongly: "Urban growth has been of crucial importance for continued change and development. Urbanization and rural-urban migration have been and will continue to be an integral part in economic and social transition; it may not be too much to say that they play the key role in such transformation."[5]

Concern with rural-urban migration has led theory through a number of stages. The original writings of Ravenstein[6] on internal migration were mainly descriptive determining what forces encouraged migration and the economic results. The best known American studies[7] were concerned with the equalizing effects which wages and productivity underwent as a result of labour migration, and the qualitative influence migration had on the labour force. The introduction of economic development theory gave rural-urban migration an important role in the growth process, in particular Ranis and Fei[8] and Jorgenson[9] introduced rural-urban migration as a major stage in the initiation of economic development.

In the African colonial period studies of internal migration were concerned with the shortage of labour in urban areas where necessary incentives for in-migration were lacking. Later as the appeal of wage employment became significant, concern focussed on the temporary nature of labour migration. Although a regular income provided an inducement to enter urban employment, life for an African in colonial towns was unattractive, the living conditions in the black sections were inhuman and incomes would not support a family and provide savings also. Thus most African male migrants moved back and forth between modern urban industry and rural traditional agriculture.

Since sovereignty has been gained by most African countries the disincentives have gradually been removed and migration studies in recent years have become interested in the high level of urban unemployment. Social scientists are looking at the motivation of the urban migrants who face long periods of unemployment and uncomfortable living conditions.

Although there are many economic questions related to rural-urban migration, this discussion will be restricted to those issues which are connected directly to the theory of rural-urban migration advocated in the thesis.

Early in any consideration of rural-urban migration the question of surplus agriculatural labour must be examined, and closely related to this an institutionally fixed wage. The two-sector models most closely associated with this topic are the Ranis and Fei, and Jorgenson models.

The first two claim to be adherents of surplus labour theory; the latter is concerned with disproving its existence.

Although the debate over the existence of surplus agricultural labour is often discussed in terms of marginal product either equal to zero or greated than zero this does not appear to be the main point of disagreement. Ranis and Fei do not claim that M.P=0. Instead they talk of a slack created by those workers who are not employed fully throughout the crop year. This slack they see as available for use in other occupations; road improvements, irrigation projects, any type of investment in agriculture. This alternative use of agricultural labour would not affect other aspects of agricultural production adversely. Ultimately they visualize a rural economy subject to population pressure which necessitates the transfer of labour to the modern sector.

Marglin[10] on the other hand claims that most labour surplus theorists see the necessity for a minimal reorganization of labour effort in the peasant family in order that output will not be adversely affected by the reduction of the family production unit.

In a recent article by Miracle and Berry[11] focus has been placed on the effects of migration on the supplying economy. They claim that migrant labour is posivitely productive in the rural sector and that harm can occur to the supplying economy as a result of this lost manpower.

"The longer the growing season in the supplying areas and the greater the number of crops that can be grown per year, the greater the potential production foregone."[12] They are also concerned about other non-agricultural rural activities which will suffer.

Jorgenson attempted to prove through empirical studies in various less development countries that surplus labour did not exist anywhere. The original study method used he called indirect; it was an estimate of labour requirements for the current level of agricultural production compared with the amount of labour available. The difference over and above the labour required was disguised unemployment. It was found that this method overestimated the existence of disguised unemployed. The second method he used took into account seasonal demands for labour and as a result he concluded, "The situation in Europe, Egypt, China and South East Asia appears to be one of labour shortage rather than labour surplus."[13]

Kao, Anschel and Eicher in their survey on the work in this field conclude, "To date there is little reliable empirical evidence to support the existence of more than token-5 per cent-disguised unemployment in underdeveloped countries".[14]

It is possible to disagree with both the Ranis-Fei and the Marglin positions, for not only does migration have some production-reducing effects but at peak periods reorganization of the labour force cannot compensate for its absent members.

Marglin goes beyond his position stated earlier. He explains that it is not the existence of partially redundant labour in agriculture that proves this theory, but the presence of a rural-urban wage differential. This is caused by an institutionally created industrial wage rate which does not reflect the opportunity cost of the marginal entrant into the urban industrial labour force. As a result those agricultural labourers who are able to leave their homes to enter industrial occupations, but who remain unemployed due to the inappropriate industrial wage structure are the 'surplus labour'. This, however, does not coincide with the concept of surplus labour discussed by other economists when looking for disguised unemployment in agriculture.

Caldwell[15] agrees to some extent with Marglin's understanding of migrants. He claims that migration is possible when young men exist who are able to take advantage of the opportunities in the urban centers, but have not been forced off the land. These men are not redundant although they come mainly from large families; the absence of the fifth and sixth sons does not present the survival problems to a family that sons one and two would. What becomes of these men once they have migrated to the town does not reflect on their productivity status as agricultural labourers.

It appears that Marglin is confusing surplus labour in secondary and tertiary industry with surplus labour in agriculture.

Harris and Todaro[16] agree that surplus labour is to be found in non-agricultural occupations due to rural-urban wage differentials but this to them does not constitute a proof that labour is also redundant in the rural areas. Neither have they proved that rural labour is producing at a level of marginal product significantly above zero although their model is based on the assumption.

The classical theory of internal migration,[17] a category to which Ranis and Fei belong, claims the wage rate in agriculture is fixed institutionally. Once the agricultural wage is determined then average agricultural surplus determines the amount of income available to industrial labour. The terms of trade between industrial and agricultural goods will determine the amount of industrial goods to be exchanged for the fixed amount of agricultural goods.

In the Harris-Todaro model both agricultural and industrial wages are determined by the marginal product of the workers with the exception that all industrial wages are equal to or above the minimum wage legislated by the government.

The neo-classical approach to internal migration represented by Jorgenson argues that a flexible wage rate automatically adjusts the labour market so that under-employment exists neither in agriculture nor urban industry. The fallacy of this position is that a fixed urban minimum wage exists in many L.D.C.'s which makes wage movements downward impossible.

Bruce Herrick, in his publication Urban Migration and Economic Development in Chile,[18] explains the shift away from 19th century neo-classical flexible wages which brought into line both employment and productivity in the two sectors. He indicates that the difference between regions in wages and productivity had to be small and the numbers of migrants, in relation to the size of the total population, also had to be small.

According to him one problem of the 20th century L.D.C. economy is factor immobility[19] which perpetuates productivity differentials. It is capital which is immobile flowing only into secondary and tertiary industries with limited capital creation in agriculture. As a result migration has not been able to bring about an equalization of productivity and wages between regions.

L. Sjaastad,[20] as a result of his study done in the U.S.A., recognized that migration was not fulfilling its role either. But he did not see the immobility of capital in the same light as did Herrick; the failure of migration was due to the lack of creation of improved human capital.

The Kenyan experience would affirm the fixed wage rate hypothesis; the urban wage rates have been given a minimum limit by the government, without regard for opportunity costs. It may be true, however, that without the minimum wage legislation a combination of unions and business men would maintain the level of wages above the marginal product in agriculture.

At present it is conceivable that only a small percentage of urban wages do not surpass the present institutional wage.

Dharam Ghai has revealed[21] that small businesses in Kenya pay less than the minimum wage while using labour intensive techniques. He estimates these businesses have an annual employment increase of 10% and has urged that these enterprises be encouraged in order to undermine the inappropriate wage levels prevailing elsewhere.

Many economists up until the late 1960's believed that increased in-migration helped keep wages down.[22] (Berg, Kindleberger, Elkan, Richards). Empirical evidence of Kenyan wage experience easily refutes this belief.

The long debate over motivation behind migration has not yet come to any unanimous conclusion. The majority of those studying the subject, however, agree the prime motivation is for "economic reasons".

As recently as 1970 a highly respected economist with the Kenyan government, Dharam Ghai, claimed pressure from the land as the main cause for migration.

> "Unlike most countries in tropical Africa, there is intense population pressure in large parts of Kenya. The ability of other parts of the country with a more favourable land-labour ratio to absorb this surplus population is limited by the constraints imposed on the transfer of land by the complexity of the ethnic problems. The localized pressure on land thus manifests itself in migration of people in ever-increasing numbers from rural to urban areas."[23]

The question of push and pull forces was introduced in 1885 by Ravenstein and has received attention ever since. Dr. Chai is following an honoured tradition first noted by Ravenstein during the period of enclosures in England. People were still being forced off their land in the 1880's and they were left with the choice of remaining in the rural areas as hired labourers or moving to the towns where industrial opportunities were opening up. Although these people were divested of their lands they were not pushed into the urban centers but were left with an occupational choice. What took them to the city was more likely a pull mechanism. Those who argue in favour of the push mechanism must be asserting that economic opportunities in the rural area are so limited that migrants have been forced out of necessity to move to urban centers.

Economists who have opted for the push factors base their arguments on two observations. In recent years the reduced mortality in less developed countries has created a situation of high yearly population increase and this demographic factor has given many to suspect overcrowding in the rural areas. Combined with this is the shortage of cultivable land. Together these provide a strong argument in favour of push migration.

Two early studies in Africa: the East African Royal commission, 1954-1955, by Peterson[24] and W. E. Moore in 1955[25] drew these conclusions.

Push for Moore was caused by reduced mortality and increasing population; as the man-land ratios deteriorated "the landless and impoverished rural dwellers" sought and accepted other means of livlihood.[26] In 1958 J. Clyde Mitchell reviewed some of the other early African studies which led the economists to conclude that migration was the result of economic necessity; Professor Shapira,[27] Dr. A. Richards,[28] A. W. Southall,[29] and Gulliver.[30] The migrants had generally given the impression that they would have much preferred to remain at home but dire economic want had forced them to leave. H. W. Singer[31] was also concerned about demographic pressures in Kenya and Uganda in the early 1960's.

Another group of researchers claim the agrument favouring push factors is invalid because of the lack of evidence proving land scarcity. Alvin Scoff,[32] Eliot J. Berg,[33] and E. M. Kasselow[34] have all concerned themselves with the apparent tenacity with which Africans hold onto the smallest amount of land, claiming this will keep the migrants only partially committed to urban occupations. Recent studies related to the commitment of the urban migrants would invalidate this view.

Finally there is another group of migration students who do not see man-land ratios as figuring most significantly in this question of motivation. Caroline Hutton[35] in Uganda, Walter Elkan[36] in Uganda and Callaway[37] in Nigeria emphasize changing economic conditions in the rural area as the most significant factor in migration.

Thus Elkan observed that as cash crops were introduced in new areas the supply of migrant labour was reduced. He concluded there was a connection between farm incomes and the supply of labour over a period of years.[38]

More recently economists have recognized that it is the rural-urban income differential which is so significant to the motivation of migrants. In this group are found; Harris and Steer[39] from their work in Jamaica, Macdonald and MacDonald[40] in Venezuela, Sahota[41] in Brazil, Caldwell[42] in Ghana, Harris, Todaro and Rempel[43] in Kenya, Bowles,[44] Hollister,[45] Peter Gregory,[46] and Miracle and Berry.[47]

The Harris-Steer study concluded: "area of location, resource endowments, differential farm size, and therefore income connotations and interaction between farm and family size were not important. The pull factors were significant; the difference between farm and non-farm incomes was so great that comparisons between farm earnings were insignificant."[48] They did observe that many migrants were from larger farms and larger families. They attributed this to the fact that with more men in the family some offspring were able to leave the farm without jeopardizing it or the financial security of their parents. A larger farm was likely to enable parents to pay for a good education for their children which made them more occupationally mobile. A larger family also meant more contacts in the urban sector and the young migrant could hope for support while looking for his first job. Thus migration was not a push force but depended on the ability to migrate and the probability of obtaining a job.

The MacDonald study in Venezuela indicated that 40.7% of the migrants they sampled considered the best feature of their destination the economic opportunity. Those who did not migrate were also aware of the lower long-term living standard which they were willing to accept as a result of their inertia. Although the migrants approved of urban growth; new industries, wide streets, big buildings, modern housing schemes and shopping centers; these were not pull factors. When educational opportunities were added to job opportunities 2/3 of the sample valued these factors more than urban development or the 'bright lights'.[49]

In Japan Ryoshin Minami recognized the same pull phenomenon. He said that as long as urban demand for industrial labour existed the tendency to migrate would be "a function either of real wages in non-agricultural industries or of the ratio of these wages to agricultural wages."[50]

In Ghana Caldwell saw the fundamental cause of rural-urban migration as the availability of cash incomes and the variety of jobs available to the migrants.[51] His interviews with rural respondents revealed that migrants had moved to urban centers because of more money and better living standards rather than unbearable living conditions in rural areas.[52] In the north where temporary migration was more common economic necessity was a much more important factor.[53]

In Ashanti few individuals had left during and after 1966. Incomes there had been rising more rapidly than in the urbanized south although these incomes had not yet been surpassed.[54]

That some element of push is involved in Kenyan migration experience cannot be denied. The responses given by the total Kenyan sample of migrants indicate that they perceived the low ratio of jobs to job seekers and to a much lesser extent the ownership of land as major factors in their decision to move. A significant percentage of the unemployed also indicated that they would be willing to return to a farm or a co-operative rather than continue looking for urban employment. Some migrants, however, were more strongly influenced by push forces than others. Both rural students and the rural wage employed showed less concern about economic push factors than did the farmers, the self employed and the part-time employed. The argument which favours a rural-urban income differential as the prime motivator in the migration process is a compromise between push and pull forces. The migrants must perceive both a dissatisfaction with their rural situation as well as be aware of the improved economic conditions elsewhere. It is possible that their negative appraisal of the rural situation results from its comparison with the significantly superior conditions in the urban sector.

A recognized facet of the rural-urban migration issue is the state of urban as well as rural employment.

During the 1950's and early 1960's migration theory concerned itself with the problems posed by the Ranis-Fei model; how to move rural labour into urban occupations. This was a concern particularly during Africa's colonial period when urban incentives were very limited. Later, however, studies became concerned with the growing numbers of unemployed in urban areas. The present interest of governments in internal migration stems mainly from the urban unemployment problem.

Interest has been shown for both the demand and supply sides of the question. Gutkind[56] noted both a lack of skills on the part of migrant labour as well as too little diversification in the economy which denies opportunities to many available workers. The Breese[57] study in India led him to suggest that most migrants are marginally unemployable, and totally unprepared to compete successfully. Miracle and Berry have a different view of the migrant; his rural experience will have given him knowledge about divers enterprises and activities, and may have embued in him an enterpreneurial spirit and made him very flexible.[58] They believe that high urban unemployment may exist but it is not a result of unskilled labour.

Ghai discusses the situation in Kenya in 1970 claiming that most observers agree on a rate in excess of 15% of the urban labour force being unemployed.[59] Todaro quotes a figure of at least 17%.[60]

Since unemployment is such a significant factor in the economy of many less developed countries, it has become important to many economists who wish to maintain their faith in the economic rationalty of man to justify the continuing in-migration in the face of long term unemployment. In 1960 Elkan observed that failure of labour to migrate to the towns was due to the economic disincentives; low wages, and terrible living conditions.[61] Recently Todaro[62] and Gugler[63] have attempted to explain the economic incentive that brings the migrants to urban centers despite obvious employment disincentives.

In the work of Todaro the migrants consider the economic gains to be made from the rural-urban income differential but they also take into consideration the probability of obtaining urban employment. For Todaro this probability is related directly to the rate of new employment creation (new jobs and jobs vacated) and inversely related to the ratio of job seekers (unemployed, new arrivals and involuntarily separated) to the number of existing job opportunities.[64]

The migrant then looks at his expected urban-rural income differential which takes into account the minimum urban wage, or as Todaro elaborates, the average real income of individuals employed in the urban economy by educational class,[65] in relation to the average rural income (by educational class) and the probability of obtaining an urban sector job.

The migrant is then aware that he must maintain himself until, through random selection, he obtains his first modern sector job. The longer the migrant remains in the urban center the more improved are his chances of finding employment. His network of communication enlarges and he becomes more adept at job hunting so that his employment probability improves over time.

The planning horizon also reflects the rationality of the migrant once it is realized that the important variable to consider is the discounted present value of all future earnings.[66] Thus the decision of the young and the better educated to migrate is more explicable. For an older man, Gugler expects that his planning horizon must take into account the gains his children will acquire through improved educational opportunities and job opportunities.[67]

This chapter provides the framework for the model of rural-urban migration to be developed in the following chapter. Consideration has now been given to those issues which most concern the theorist; the marginal productivity of the rural labour, the existence of a rural-urban wage differential resulting from inflexible urban wage rates, the existence of push and pull forces in migration, and the state of urban employment. It is necessary now to draw these elements together into a coherent theory of internal migration.

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[13]Jorgenson, "Testing Alternative Theories . . . . .," p. 50.

[14]Ibid., p. 52.

[15]John C. Caldwell, op. cit., p. 203.

[16]John R. Harris, and Micheal P. Todaro, "Migration, Unemployment and Development: A Two-Sector Analysis," The American Economic Review, LX (March, 1970), pp. 126-142.

[17]Jorgenson, "Testing Alternative Theories . . . . . Economy," p. 46, The terms "classical" and "neoclassical" relating to the Ranis-Fei and Jorgenson models respectively do not imply strict adherence to these schools, but apply only to the opposing opinions held by them regarding flexibility of wages and redundancy of labour.

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# CHAPTER II

## THE MIGRATION MODEL AND ITS IMPLICATIONS

The model of internal migration is a two sector one encompassing the rural and the urban economies.[1] The rural sector produces food and alternatively provides labour available for trade with the modern urban sector. The urban economy produces manufactured goods some of which are exchanged with the rural economy. As a result of this relationship unemployed in-migrants from rural areas imply lost production to both the modern and traditional economies.

The model is based on a number of assumptions and observations. The urban wage level is not freely determined by market forces but is at a publicly fixed minimum above the market level. This minimum wage is substantially. higher than the marginal product of labour in the rural sector and the real income differential between the two sectors in therefore significant.

The marginal product of labour in the rural sector, although positive, is less than the average product, thus average product increases as out-migration occurs.

Kenyan experience revealed a paradox in the relation between urban unemployment and labour in-migration; as urban unemployment increased rural-urban migration did also.

Two major forces are at work determining in-migration; first the positive pull influence of a large rural-urban wage differential which may be countered to some extent by the second, the migrant's perception of his ability to acquire a job. If wages and job availability are increasing proportionately, however, or if wages are increasing faster than unemployment then the expected urban income may be the same or increasing coincidentally with rising unemployment.

Thus the urban wage level in relation to the rural income level is the factor which influences both the amount of unemployment in the urban sector and the division of labour between rural and urban areas.

Upon arrival in an urban center the migrant's expected urban real income may be lower than his rural real income foregone. Initially the probability of obtaining a modern sector job is low. The migrant may have to settle on a traditional occupation when he first arrives. The process of migration can therefore be understood not as an immediate jump from the traditional to the modern sector, but as a progression in stages. As time passes the migrant's expected real income increases as he acquires contacts and experience in job hunting. Therefore the probability of his obtaining a job increases over time.

The migrants are rational in their decision-making; as the planning horizon expands the expected rural-urban income differential increases.

It is assumed that each migrant has the same planning horizon. Over time both expected and actual urban real income becomes positive for the individual. Unemployment, however, may still be increasing, the number of jobs created not keeping up with the inflow of migrants. The confusion which has resulted in questioning the individual migrant's rationality stems from the difference between the welfare of the individual and the social welfare. The migrant can hope for a positive increase in his welfare as a result of migration. Society as a whole experiences the negative influence of high levels of urban unemployment and foregone production.

The existence of a significant rural-urban income differential creates a state of disequilibrium in the economy; the emergence of large numbers of migrants is a response to this. Equilibrium is achieved and positive rural-urban migration checked when the level of urban unemployment leads to a marginal expected urban real income equal to the marginal rural real income. Thus this model is commited to an equilibrium situtation in which significant levels of urban unemployment exist. The use of the term equilibrium does not suggest a static situation among the migrants. With an expected urban income equal to the rural income some potential migrants will be aware that migration is not worthwhile, due to existing levels of unemployment. Others, however, will migrate wishing to assessthe urban situation themselves.

Depending on their competitive position in relation to the other unemployed migrants they will either obtain a job (reducing the employment possibilities for others) or they will ultimately leave the urban economy due to lack of jobs. Thus in a situation of high urban unemployment in-flows of migrants will continue beyond the equilibrium level of urban unemployed. At the same time, however, outflows of disappointed migrants will maintain the levels of unemployed about the equilibrium.

One-sided solutions to the problem do not appear to be successful. For example, if the government undertakes to subsidize industry in order to encourage an increase in employment equal to the number of additional men needed to equate the urban marginal product with the rural marginal product, unemployment may not be reduced. Previous experience in Kenya has shown that with the creation of one additional job in the urban sector more than one additional individual may be expected to migrate. Therefore increasing the probability of obtaining an urban job with the existence of a fixed minimum wage will increase the number of migrants and neutralize any attempt to reduce the unemployment level. The increased resources being devoted to the consumption of subsidized workers means a reduction in the amount of resources available for investment projects which adds the further cost of foregone future consumption.

Rather than paying each extra worker the minimum wage a shadow wage criterion is often advocated. This shadow wage is determined by the opportunity cost of each additional worker in the modern sector. Initially it might be assumed that the opportunity cost of these workers who were previously unemployed would be less than the marginal product of agricultural labour. It was agreed that the contribution of the agricultural workers could not easily be replaced after migration, particularly because they are extremely important during peak seasons. Many agricultural labourers, however, are occupied with less productive tasks (by western standards) during the off-peak periods and as a result their marginal product is less then the fully occupied farmer.

Since one more urban job created implies not one rural labourer's output but a number of output's foregone the urban worker's opportunity cost is higher than the rural worker's marginal product. The opportunity cost of rural labour is not influenced in this way because one more job in the rural area does not diminish industrial output.

Harris and Todaro have shown that paying a subsidy to the point where urban unemployment has been eradicated causes the marginal product of the industrial workers to fall below the marginal product in agriculture. They conclude that a subsidy should be paid in industry equal to the loss of production in agriculture due to migration (f') subtracted from the minimum wage (Wm-f').[2]

The optimal amount of subsidy is reduced the more responsive rural labour is to new job opportunities. As a result, marginal product in industry will be expected to remain higher than marginal product in agriculture.

Proposed by economists and implemented by the Tanzanian and South African governments another method of solving the problem is by restricting rural-urban migration.[3] There are serious drawbacks to this type of program, the most significant to the economist being the removal of the natural selectivity process which Kuznets emphasized as migration's greatest contribution to the economy. Were migration restricted beyond the number of workers necessary at the minimum wage then the excess labour not needed for the urban economy would be forced to remain in or return to the rural sector and the output lost due to excess migration would be regained. In order to equalize the welfare gain made possible by migration restriction Harris and Todaro proposed that an income redistribution be introduced in favour of the rural areas. There are difficulties both in handling this redistribution as well as effectively providing the necessary streams of labourers to enter the urban work force while restricting the majority who are also desirous of modern employment. Not only do they lose the chance of a higher urban income but increased agricultural output results in a decline in the price of agricultural goods in relation to manufactured products.

Harris and Todaro suggest a wage subsidy which will result in an increase in industrial employment up to the point where the marginal product of the urban worker will equal the marginal product of the rural worker. Increased job openings made possible by the subsidy will not bring forth unwanted migration since it will be artificially contained. With compensation made to the rural areas in accordance with the price loss suffered by the migration restriction the total welfare of the country and the urban welfare will have increased, while the rural welfare will have remained the same.

A less direct but more satisfactory long term solution to the problem should be considered. The lack of capital investment in rural areas has significantly restricted productivity in agriculture. It would be most advantageous for the economy if the marginal product of rural labour were to increase in order to meet the higher urban marginal product thus reducing the incentive for rural out-migration. The Ranis and Fei position which forsees an indefinate period of a low fixed wage in agriculture has proven itself harmful; as output in agriculture increases some of the surplus over basic needs must be allocated to the rural work force so that rural and urban incomes tend towards equality.

The concern of this study of Nairobi migrants is to pursue in some detail the costs which the economy of Kenya experienced due to a significantly lower marginal product in rural areas during the period in which the relevant data was collected.

From this information it will be possible to predict the future costs which may be expected given various possible changes in the economy. Although in recent years there has been increased concern regarding the costs of internal migration, adequate clarification has not been provided dealing with the types of costs or their growth potential.

The Harris-Todaro model makes it possible to predict that as urban wages increase without a parallel increase in the rural sector, thus enlarging the income gap between the two sectors, and as job opportunities in the urban area do not expand in proportion to wage increase the ratio of in-migrants to out-migrants expands in order to bring about equilibrium. This results in an increase in unemployment. This is the problem that the Kenyan economy has been facing in the last decade. The analysis which follows in chapters 4 and 5 provides an understanding of the costs which have resulted from increasing urban unemployment.

During the period 1960-69 urban incomes were rising rapidly while rural incomes, much lower, were increasing very slowly. Employment was increasing in the urban sector but much more slowly than had been expected, while rural employment gained little if any ground.

Table 2.1 summarizes changing income and employment in the urban and rural sectors from 1958 to 1967. The industry, commerce and public service figures provide a good indication of the urban trend. The agriculture figures do not include all those employed in farming but just those employed for wages; they exclude all those families living in the subsistence category. As a result this information can only be looked upon as an estimate of changes in agriculture. For some further indication of how these figures compare with the disperson of incomes in the rural economy table 2.2 provides data from an economic survey of Central Province in 1963-1964. This province was the largest source of migrants for Nairobi and its extra-provincial districts. Fort Hall was the most significant donor with Kiambu next in importance.[4] The table gives the annual income for owners of various farm sizes. Unfortunately these data provide only figures for household enterprise, some of the lower incomes may have been supplemented by hiring out as farm labour. In 1964 the average annual income for men employed in forestry and agriculture was 50.2£. In Fort Hall for the owners of farms of less than four acres the average income based on household enterprise was 18.96£'s. This income would apply to the majority of land-owning or extended family farming migrants coming to Nairobi. For Kiambu the annual income for the smallest farm size was 18.59£'s. The income shown in table 2.1 is more applicable to the owners of large farms which make up a small proportion of Nairobi in-migrants.

TABLE 2.1 Reported Earnings and Employment

| | 1958 | | 1963 | | 1964 | | 1965 | | 1966 | | 1967 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Agriculture and Forestry** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Earnings (K£'s) | 8.6M | | 10.0M | | 10.5M | | 11.4M | | 11.5M | | 10.2M |
| Avg. Earnings (K£'s) | 34.8 | | 46.4 | | 50.2 | | 53.9 | | 55.3 | | 52.5 |
| % Change in Earnings | | +33.33% | | +8.19% | | +7.37% | | +2.60% | | -5.06% | |
| Employment '000 | 247.2 | | 215.5 | | 209.1 | | 211.6 | | 207.8 | | 194.3 |
| % Change in Employment | | -12.82% | | -2.97% | | +1.20% | | -1.80% | | -6.50% | |
| **Private Industry and Commerce** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Earnings (K£'s) | 12.4M | | 16.8M | | 21.7M | | 28.8M | | 29.9M | | 32.0M |
| Avg. Earnings (K£'s) | 82.9 | | 128.1 | | 137.8 | | 181.7 | | 182.2 | | 175.0 |
| % Change in Earnings | | +54.52% | | + 7.5% | | +31.86% | | +0.1% | | - 3.95% | |
| Employment '000 | 149.6 | | 131.1 | | 157.5 | | 158.5 | | 164.1 | | 182.9 |
| % Change in Employment | | -12.37% | | +20.01% | | +1.00% | | +3.53% | | +11.46% | |
| **Public Service** | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Earnings (K£'s) | 12.5M | | 19.7M | | 27.9M | | 35.4M | | 40.9M | | 43.4M |
| Avg. Earnings (K£'s) | 91.2 | | 139.4 | | 165.9 | | 202.4 | | 225.2 | | 222.8 |
| % Change in Earnings | | +52.85% | | +19.01% | | +22.0% | | +11.26% | | - 1.07% | |
| Employment '000 | 137.0 | | 141.3 | | 168.2 | | 174.9 | | 181.6 | | 194.8 |
| % Change in Employment | | + 3.14% | | +19.04% | | + 3.98% | | + 3.83% | | + 7.27% | |

Total Earnings and Total Employment Data Obtained From: Statistical Abstract, 1968, Table 183 (a & b), pp. 163-164.
Ministry of Economic Planning and Development - Statistic Division derived from: The Annual Enumerations of Employees and Self-Employed Persons.

TABLE 2.2 Annual Household Income, Central Province, 1963-1964

| | Labour Input, Total Manhours Worked on Household Enterprise | Return Per Man-Hour of Labour Input (SHS) | SHS | Income Per Household £'s |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Kiambu | | | | |
| Owners of LT. 4 acres | 338 | 1.10 | 371.80 | 18.59 |
| Owners of 4-8 acres | 589 | 1.96 | 1154.44 | 57.72 |
| Owners of more than 8 acres | 1,097 | 2.00 | 2194.00 | 109.7 |
| 2. Fort Hall | | | | |
| Owners of LT. 4 acres | 480 | .79 | 379.20 | 18.96 |
| Owners of 4-8 acres | 759 | .94 | 713.46 | 35.67 |
| Owners of more than 8 acres | 1,064 | 1.02 | 1085.28 | 54.26 |
| 3. Embu | | | | |
| Owners of LT. 4 acres | 599 | .71 | 425.29 | 21.27 |
| Owners of 4-8 acres | 794 | 1.24 | 984.56 | 49.23 |
| Owners of more than 8 acres | 1,128 | 1.71 | 1928.88 | 96.44 |
| 4. Nyeri | | | | |
| Owners of LT. 4 acres | 688 | 1.52 | 1045.76 | 52.29 |
| Owners of 4-8 acres | 775 | 1.83 | 1418.25 | 70.91 |
| 5. Meru | | | | |
| Owners of LT. 4 acres | 448 | 1.33 | 595.84 | 29.79 |
| Owners of 4-8 acres | 527 | 1.40 | 737.80 | 36.89 |

Labour Input and Return per Man Hour Figures Obtained From: Economic Survey of Central Province 1963-1964, Ministry of Economic Planning and Development Statistics Division, 1968, p. 26, Table 36.

Thus the average given in the table 2.1 figures is an inflated estimate of the average income of the rural-urban migrants. Unfortunately there are no data showing changes in small farm income over time so for the purposes of comparison table 2.1 will be used.

Wages for farm employees started at a lower level than those of the urban employed in 1958 and lost ground relative to urban wages throughout the 1960's. Comparing even the largest farm owners with the urban wages shows a significant difference between the rural and urban incomes. Although rural employment fell during this period it is difficult to say whether this is the result of land consolidation or actual employment reduction. Dharam Ghai[5] claims that agriculture employment was declining by 2.4% per annum from 1964-1969 while urban employment rose by 5.8%. The table confirms this upward trend after 1963.

The costs of urban migrant unemployment will be determined by looking at the characteristics of the unemployed migrants in Nairobi; in particular the average length of unemployment experienced by the migrants when first arriving in Nairobi. This will indicate the cost per migrant rather than the cost of a stock of unemployed. The length of unemployment will be linked to age, level of education, amount of vocational training, and previous contribution to rural production. The costs to the economy of the unemployed migrants may then be linked with this expected time span.

The volume of unemployed migrants and the time span of unemployment experienced by all migrants will define the dimensions of the costs to the economy.

The types of costs to be considered are:

1. The direct social costs; the production foregone in both urban and rural economies.

2. The indirect social costs; cost to the city facilities and services, cost to political stability and the costs of relatives and friends.

3. The private costs; the distance travelled by each migrant, and the struggle to survive while unemployed.

To measure the direct social costs in the urban sector a comparison between the potential production of the unemployed and the actual production of the employed will be made. In this way the value of the production foregone may be assessed. To measure the production foregone in the rural area an indicator will be the migrant's previous activity in the rural sector. It is also necessary to take into account that the unemployed migrant's opportunity cost to return to rural employment is zero, his social opportunity cost is negative and his return to the rural area might be extremely productive depending on his previous training and experience.

The potential costs to the city may be discovered in a number of ways.

The city districts the unemployed migrants move to will indicate to some extent the demands they are making on public facilities and services. Also, certain attitudes seem to prevail in different types of housing which can further classify the expectations of the migrants;

districts in which self-help and improvement organizations exist, as opposed to communities of government and employer housing in which the tenants make little contribution to the maintenance or improvement of facilities.

The marital status of the migrants if it implies maintanance of a family in the urban area will result in greater demands on the city facilities, and services.

Whether the migrants consider their move as permanent or temporary will also influence their expectations regarding living conditions. The less the migrant considers himself a permanent inhabitant of the urban area the smaller will be his demands on the public services.

If, however, the unemployed migrants do not take up independent residence in the urban area it will usually be because they are being maintained by employed urban relatives. How long each migrant will stay with relatives may depend on the length of time he is unemployed, the time it takes to find his own residence, or on what is considered an adequate period of maintainance by the supporting relatives. Another aspect of the question to which the available data cannot provide the answer is the average number of unemployed migrants the employed relatives may be expected to support during his working life in the city. Although length of stay per unemployed relative may be quite short, possibly 1-3 months, the number of relatives a working man might have to support could constitute a considerable burden to him.

Potential political dissatisfaction cannot be taken for granted even with the extremely high unemployment rates in urban areas. It must first be discovered what the attitudes of the unemployed are concerning their inability to find work. If they believe they are unemployed because of their lack of education they are less likely to be politically volatile than if they blame it on tribal discrimination in hiring practices or on government policies.

The more permanent the migrant views his move to the city the more likely he is,

a. to be seriously distressed by his inability to find a job, and

b. to join urban organizations with political involvements.

The more attached the migrant is to rural activities and associations the less likely he is to become politically active in the urban area.

Middle school leavers have more political potential than less educated unemployed, their education having made them more politically aware and given them the tools to organize and voice their opinions. They are also the unemployed who will experience the greatest amounts of frustration; first at not being able to continue their education and second at not finding jobs which they feel their education warrants. As a result this group has proved itself to be the most politically dangerous in other African nations.

The cost of the migrant who does not find employment cannot be measured adequately. Some measure, however, of both the pecuniary costs and the emotional costs can be gained by looking at the distance travelled. How he survives in the city while unemployed will also reveal the cost he bears as a result of urban migration.

[1]Harris and Todaro, op. cit., p. 127.

[2]Ibid., p. 134.

[3]Many West African countries also have taken steps to discourage rural-urban migration. These policies are discussed in: Davidson R. Gwatkin, "Policies Affecting Population in West Africa," Studies in Family Planning III, (September, 1972), p. 217.

[4]S. H. Ominde, Land and Population Movements in Kenya, (London: Hieneman, 1968), p. 124.

[5]Ghai, op. cit., p. 5.

# CHAPTER III

## THE CITY OF NAIROBI AND ITS MIGRANT INHABITANTS

In order to determine the costs to the city it is necessary to be aware of the types of housing and facilities used by the migrants. To begin to understand Nairobi and where the migrants live a brief description of the housing categories and their significant characteristics is helpful.

During the colonial period when Nairobi was developed the city residential districts were divided along racial lines, the European lived in the west, north-west and north parts of Nairobi, the Asians were in the east, the south and toward the shopping center, and the African areas were near the railways extending eastwards and close to the city center. Since the colonial period the African population has moved into all areas of Nairobi.[1] For the survey Nairobi was divided into 6 categories according to the types of housing, residents and the densities in each area. See Appendix I for Enumeration Divisions. The high cost areas were found to house mainly European residents and the density was low. Within the buildings chosen for interviewing purposes 85 residents were present of these 39% were migrants, 31 of those were interviewed.

The second housing category was described as medium cost with medium density conditions in which a large number of Asians were to be found. 143 African residents were located in the sample buildings, 65% of these were migrants 68 were interviewed. There was a transitional category in which 20 migrants were interviewed.

The low cost housing area was predominantly African with a maximum density of 194 persons per acre.[2] A study done in 1962 by Halliman and Morgan[3] describe a sector of the low cost area called Eastlands. The majority of its dwellings are either government, city council or employer housing estates. The condition and age of the housing varies in different districts, but the income and rents are low, the male sex ratio is high and the density is high. According to the U. N. study done by Bloomberg in 1964,[4] 44% of African households are employer supplied, 80% are only one room with[5] three or more persons per room, and 80% are made of stone and brick.[6] In the low cost area of Nairobi 1203 residents were accounted for in the sample buildings, of these 224 migrants were interviewed, only 23% of the total were migrants, since 1963 the other 77% were more permanent inhabitants. This calls into question the widely accepted idea that these poorer densely settled areas are dominated by recent migrants. The next housing category is temporary dwellings found mainly on the outskirts of the city.

Although the sex ratio in these districts is still high 1.47: 1 the City of Nairobi Planning Report 1[7] noted that the family pattern is more stable here than in the low cost housing. In Dagoretti a district within this category the children outnumber the adults, and the female ratio is higher than that of the urban area. The density is significally lower than in the low cost housing with the highest average density, found in Dagoretti, being 3.5 persons per acre. In most other areas of temporary housing the net density is 1 person per acre but this does not include the Permanent Housing Estate of Kariobangi which is part of temporary housing. The average household numbers 4.3 persons. Within the buildings designated for interviews 459 persons were inhabitants: 53% of these were migrants and 199 persons were interviewed.

The final Nairobi housing category is the business sector where some Africans have taken up residence in backs of shops and offices. Twenty-five people were living in the chosen buildings, 68% were migrants and 15 migrants were interviewed.

Those districts containing the largest number of migrants are found in the low cost and temporary categories. However those areas with the most significant proportion of their inhabitants as migrants are medium cost and temporary housing.

It is particularly significant to recognize that possibly 50% of the inhabitants of temporary housing are not recent migrants to the city, and an even greater percentage of low cost housing inhabitants have been living in Nairobi for at least 5 years.

Further information regarding actual physical characteristics of the housing categories is scarce. In order to understand what services and expenses are borne by Nairobi the Kenya Development Plan 1970-1974 was consulted. It is the responsibility of the local authority of Nairobi to provide adequate: 1. administration, 2. water supplies, 3. sewerage, 4. roads and drainage, 5. parks, 6. social and trading facilities (markets, slaughter houses), 7. housing, 8. education, public health and street lighting.[8] Some of these functions are lagging behind demand. However, despite a failure to keep up with the rapidly expanding population the local government budget has been rising at an average annual rate of 10% (averaged with the 6 other major municipalities of Kenya), while average annual revenues have been increasing by only 7% (excluding government grants).[9] The spending done by local authorities although equal to that of county (rural) councils serves 1/12 the number of people. Municipalities spent 27 times as much per capita on education, health, housing and community development as did the rural authorities.[10]

Further, Nairobi will spend (1970-74) approximately 70% of the total amount spent by all seven municipalities; 41% will be spent on housing, 26% on water, 14% on roads, 10% on administration, education, health, social and trading facilities and 9% on sewerage.[11]

To supplement our knowledge of the categories into which Nairobi has been broken up data was correlated in order to compare types of persons and attitudes found in each of the six categories. In Table 3.1, 39.3% of those living in high cost areas cannot read, the lowest illiteracy is found in medium cost housing where 16.9% of those interviewed could not read. In low cost housing 39.5% could not read, the highest illiteracy was found in temporary housing where 41.9% could not read. Twenty-one point four percent of the migrants in high cost, 53.5% in medium cost, 39.5% in low cost and 44.4% in temporary housing increased their newspaper reading. An interpretation of the "reads more" category is that the migrants have increased their interest in the events of their country as well as being interested in becoming more productively employed in the economy. In order to test for significance all categories were combined except low cost and temporary, thus three categories of housing were used; "other areas", low cost, and temporary. The comparison between these three confirms that fewer people were illiterate in the other areas category but the temporary housing experienced the greatest individual percentage gain in reading by its inhabitants, although the three categories were very close.

Table 3.1 The Distribution of Newspaper Reading Habits of the Migrants Living in the Six Housing Categories

| Housing | Cannot Read | Does Not Read | Reads Same | Reads Less | Reads More | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| High Cost | 11<br>39.3*<br>5.4<br>2.0 | 7<br>25.0<br>13.7<br>1.3 | 3<br>10.7<br>6.4<br>0.6 | 1<br>3.6<br>5.9<br>0.2 | 6<br>21.4<br>2.6<br>1.1 | 28<br>5.1 |
| Medium Cost | 12<br>16.9<br>5.9<br>2.2 | 7<br>9.9<br>13.7<br>1.3 | 10<br>14.1<br>21.3<br>1.8 | 4<br>5.6<br>23.5<br>0.7 | 38<br>53.5<br>16.7<br>7.0 | 71<br>73.0 |
| Transitional | 9<br>39.1<br>4.5<br>1.7 | . . . | 2<br>8.7<br>4.3<br>0.4 | 2<br>8.7<br>11.8<br>0.4 | 10<br>43.5<br>4.4<br>1.8 | 23<br>4.2 |
| Low Cost | 83<br>39.5<br>41.1<br>15.2 | 15<br>7.1<br>29.4<br>2.8 | 22<br>10.5<br>46.8<br>4.0 | 7<br>3.3<br>41.2<br>1.3 | 83<br>39.5<br>36.4<br>15.2 | 210<br>38.5 |
| Temporary | 83<br>41.9<br>41.1<br>15.2 | 18<br>9.1<br>35.3<br>3.3 | 6<br>3.0<br>12.8<br>1.1 | 3<br>1.5<br>17.6<br>0.6 | 88<br>44.4<br>38.6<br>16.1 | 198<br>36.3 |
| Business | 4<br>26.7<br>2.0<br>0.7 | 4<br>26.7<br>7.8<br>0.7 | 4<br>26.7<br>8.5<br>0.7 | . . . | 3<br>20.0<br>1.3<br>0.6 | 15<br>2.8 |
| Column Total | 207<br>37.1 | 51<br>9.4 | 47<br>8.6 | 17<br>3.1 | 228<br>41.8 | 545<br>100.0 |

CHI Square Test for combined housing categories statistically significant at 0.001 level.
*Percentages read 39.3% of the Row, 5.4% of the Column, 2.0% of the Total - this is true of all tables unless otherwise specified.

In Table 3.2 a picture of the educational level achieved by the migrant members of each housing category is provided. Thirty-three and a third percent of the high cost migrants have no education. Only 3.2% of those in medium cost lack any education. Low-cost has 7.1% uneducated, temporary housing contains 16.4% with no education. Table 3.3 compares these percentages with the percentages of those who can't read. As expected those housing categories with the highest percentage of uneducated also have the highest percentage who cannot read. However it is interesting to note that a higher percentage of migrants cannot read than those who lack education which points out that for those migrants with only a short period of schooling literacy has not been achieved.

Returning to Table 3.2 the majority of migrants in all housing categories have some primary education. Along with the lowest percentage of uneducated medium cost housing has the highest percentage of migrants with secondary education (46.8%). Temporary housing has the second highest, with 37.7% of its migrants claiming some secondary education. Low cost has 26.8% of its migrants in the secondary category, transitional with 35.3%, high cost with 11.1% and the category with lowest percentage is the business section with 9.1% of its migrants with some secondary education.

Table 3.2 The Distribution of Educational Attainment of the Migrants in the Six Housing Categories

| Housing | No Education | Primary | Secondary | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| High Cost | 6<br>33.3<br>15.4<br>1.7 | 10<br>55.6<br>5.0<br>2.8 | 2<br>11.1<br>1.7<br>0.6 | 18<br>5.0 |
| Medium Cost | 2<br>3.2<br>5.1<br>0.6 | 31<br>50.0<br>15.5<br>8.7 | 29<br>46.8<br>24.6<br>8.1 | 62<br>17.4 |
| Transition | 2<br>11.8<br>5.1<br>0.6 | 9<br>52.9<br>4.5<br>2.5 | 6<br>35.3<br>5.1<br>1.7 | 17<br>4.8 |
| Low Cost | 9<br>7.1<br>23.1<br>2.5 | 84<br>66.1<br>42.0<br>23.5 | 34<br>26.8<br>28.8<br>9.5 | 127<br>35.6 |
| Temporary | 20<br>16.4<br>51.3<br>5.6 | 56<br>45.9<br>28.0<br>15.7 | 46<br>37.7<br>39.0<br>12.9 | 122<br>34.2 |
| Business | . . . | 10<br>90.9<br>5.0<br>2.8 | 1<br>9.1<br>0.8<br>0.3 | 11<br>3.1 |
| Column Total | 39<br>10.9 | 200<br>56.0 | 118<br>33.1 | 357<br>100.0 |

Significant Test not possible*

*This statement following any table will indicate that in one or more category the number of observations is less than 5, this makes a CHI Square Test impossible.

Table 3.3 compares those with secondary education in each housing category to those who read more since coming to Nairobi. There seems to be some correspondence between these two with the categories containing the highest percentage of secondary students also having the largest percentage of increased reading.

The migrants were asked if they thought there would be more jobs and less unemployment if urban wages were lowered. This question provides some indication of the migrant's political and economic awareness, and his potential activeness against government and unions. If they agree with this question it is more likely that they will consider unemployment much less the fault of the individual and will more likely want to see changes in government policy. Table 3.4 uses the three category breakdown of Nairobi, in other areas 32.1% agree, 37.7% disagree and 30.2% don't know or refused to give an answer. This latter response suggests a lack of interest on the part of the respondants. Low cost and temporary housing saw a close division between those who agreed and those who disagreed, their inhabitants were not apathetic towards this issue, with only 7.9% and 11.6% respectively claiming they did not know.

The occupations enumerated in the questionnaire were combined into five groups, seen in Table 3.5; white collar, skilled labour, unskilled occupations, self-employed and unemployed.

Table 3.3 Summary of Those Migrants Who Cannot Read or Who Read More Since Coming to Nairobi and the Level of Educational Attainment According to the Six Housing Categories

| Housing | Cannot Read | No Education | Reads More | Secondary Education |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| High Cost | 39.3* | 33.3** | 21.4*** | 11.1**** |
| Medium Cost | 16.9 | 3.2 | 53.5 | 46.8 |
| Transition | 39.1 | 11.8 | 43.5 | 35.3 |
| Low Cost | 39.5 | 7.1 | 39.5 | 26.8 |
| Temporary | 41.9 | 16.4 | 44.4 | 37.7 |
| Business | 26.7 | . . . | 20.0 | 9.1 |

*Percentage reads 39.3% of the Row, Table 3.1

**Percentage reads 33.3% of the Row, Table 3.2

***Percentage reads 21.4% of the Row, Table 3.1

****Percentage reads 11.1% of the Row, Table 3.2

Table 3.4 The Distribution of Attitude Towards Rural-Urban Income Differentials of the Men in the Three Housing Categories

| | Reduced Income Differences will Reduce Urban Unemployment | Reduced Income Differences will not Reduce Unemployment | Don't Know | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Other Areas | 34<br>32.1<br>24.1<br>9.6 | 40<br>37.7<br>25.5<br>11.3 | 32<br>30.2<br>57.1<br>9.0 | 106<br>29.9 |
| Low Cost | 54<br>42.5<br>38.3<br>15.3 | 63<br>49.6<br>40.1<br>17.8 | 10<br>7.9<br>17.9<br>2.8 | 127<br>35.9 |
| Temporary | 53<br>43.8<br>37.6<br>15.0 | 54<br>44.6<br>34.4<br>15.3 | 14<br>11.6<br>25.0<br>4.0 | 121<br>34.2 |
| Column Total | 141<br>39.8 | 157<br>44.4 | 56<br>15.8 | 354<br>100.0 |

CHI Square Test statistically significant at the 0.0001 level.

Table 3.5 Distribution of the Occupations of the Migrants who Live in the Three Housing Categories in 1968

| | White Collar | Skilled Labour | Un-skilled | Self-Employed | Un-Employed | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Other Areas | 27 | 12 | 51 | 1 | 13 | 104 |
| | 26.0 | 11.5 | 49.0 | 1.0 | 12.5 | 30. |
| | 27.0 | 30.8 | 48.1 | 3.2 | 17.8 | |
| | 7.8 | 3.5 | 14.7 | 0.3 | 3.8 | |
| Low Cost | 35 | 16 | 33 | 9 | 32 | 125 |
| | 28.0 | 12.8 | 26.4 | 7.2 | 25.6 | 36. |
| | 36.1 | 41.0 | 31.1 | 29.0 | 43.8 | |
| | 10.1 | 4.6 | 9.5 | 2.6 | 9.2 | |
| Temporary | 35 | 11 | 22 | 21 | 28 | 117 |
| | 29.9 | 9.4 | 18.8 | 17.9 | 23.9 | 33. |
| | 36.1 | 28.2 | 20.8 | 67.7 | 38.4 | |
| | 10.1 | 3.2 | 6.4 | 6.1 | 8.1 | |
| Column Total | 97 | 39 | 106 | 31 | 73 | 346 |
| | 28.0 | 11.3 | 30.6 | 9.0 | 21.1 | 100. |

Using the combined housing categories other areas claimed 26.0% of their migrants white collar workers, compared with 28.0% in low cost and 29.9% in temporary housing. This suggests that the housing categories do not differ significantly in the occupations of their migrants and in particular the better jobs are not held exclusively in the more comfortable housing districts but in fact other areas are inferior in both number and percentage of white collar jobs when compared with both temporary and low cost housing. All categories are closely matched in their percentage of skilled labour, but a contrast occurs when looking at unskilled labour; 49.0% of migrants in other areas are unskilled, only 26.4% in low cost are and 18.8% in temporary are unskilled. Some of this descrepency is made up for by the lack of self-employed in other areas and the significant numbers of them particularly in temporary housing. It is possible that in temporary and low cost housing migrants cannot wait as long before taking their first job and are forced into selfemployment which is often the easiest employment to obtain.

The ages of the migrants are indicated in Table 3.6. Three age groups were used, 15-23, 24-35, 36-50. The majority of migrants in medium cost housing were 15-23 years of age, this explains the high number of its inhabitants with some secondary education. High cost housing has the lowest proportion of its migrants in this age group.

Table 3.6 The Distribution of the Age of the Migrants who Live in the Six Housing Categories

| Housing | 15-23 | 24-35 | 36-50 | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| High Cost | 4<br>23.5<br>2.5<br>1.1 | 9<br>52.9<br>5.9<br>2.5 | 4<br>23.5<br>9.5<br>1.1 | 17<br>4.8 |
| Medium Cost | 38<br>62.3<br>23.3<br>10.6 | 19<br>31.1<br>12.5<br>5.3 | 4<br>6.6<br>9.5<br>1.1 | 61<br>17.1 |
| Transition | 6<br>35.3<br>3.7<br>1.7 | 8<br>47.1<br>5.3<br>2.2 | 3<br>17.6<br>7.1<br>0.8 | 17<br>4.8 |
| Low Cost | 62<br>48.8<br>38.0<br>17.4 | 57<br>44.9<br>37.5<br>16.0 | 8<br>6.3<br>19.0<br>2.2 | 127<br>35.6 |
| Temporary | 47<br>37.9<br>28.8<br>13.2 | 55<br>44.4<br>36.2<br>15.4 | 22<br>17.7<br>52.4<br>6.2 | 124<br>34.7 |
| Business | 6<br>54.5<br>3.7<br>1.7 | 4<br>36.4<br>2.6<br>1.1 | 1<br>9.1<br>2.4<br>0.3 | 11<br>3.1 |
| Column Total | 163<br>45.7 | 152<br>42.6 | 42<br>11.8 | 357<br>100.0 |

CHI Square Test not possible.

All other housing categories have high percentages of young people since they also comprise the largest migrant age group.

Many migrants may expect to receive help in the form of food and shelter when they first arrive in Nairobi. Kilby in Nigeria observed that for every increase in the wage rate in the urban sector not only will more migrants be encouraged to leave their rural occupations but the capacity of those employed in the urban center to support them will also increase.[12] This support may be provided by friends or relatives, however some migrants will also claim for aid in the form of rent-free accomodation provided by employers. Those who were helped after they arrived in Nairobi either in 1964 or 1965 remained without jobs longer than the total number of migrants who came to Nairobi after 1965. Those who received help were unemployed 4.443 months, the total sample experienced 2.905 months of unemployment. Looking at Table 3.7 in low cost housing 93.0% received aid, we may assume that some significant proportion of this is employer provided housing since this area has been described by Bloomberg and Abrams as having many employer provided dwellings. The same may be true of high cost housing where 94.4% of the respondants received a place to live upon arrival in Nairobi. In medium cost housing on the other hand this may not be assumed.

Table 3.7 The Distribution of Those Who Received Shelter From Friends, Relatives or Employers When Arriving in Nairobi for each of the Six Housing Categories

| Housing | No Shelter | Shelter | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| High Cost | 1<br>5.6<br>1.8<br>0.3 | 17<br>94.4<br>5.6<br>4.7 | 18<br>5.0 |
| Medium Cost | 6<br>9.7<br>10.7<br>1.7 | 56<br>90.3<br>18.4<br>15.6 | 62<br>17.2 |
| Transition | 3<br>17.6<br>5.4<br>0.8 | 14<br>82.4<br>4.6<br>3.9 | 17<br>4.7 |
| Low Cost | 9<br>7.0<br>16.1<br>2.5 | 119<br>93.0<br>39.1<br>33.1 | 128<br>35.6 |
| Temporary | 36<br>29.0<br>64.3<br>10.0 | 88<br>71.0<br>28.9<br>24.4 | 124<br>34.4 |
| Business | 1<br>9.1<br>1.8<br>0.3 | 10<br>90.9<br>3.3<br>2.8 | 11<br>3.1 |
| Column Total | 56<br>15.6 | 304<br>84.4 | 360<br>100.0 |

CHI Square Test not possible

Although 90.3% of its migrants were given assistance it is more likely that these young people were being housed by successful relatives or friends. A smaller percentage of migrants in temporary housing received food or housing from anyone, this may not reflect fewer relatives but may instead suggest a lack of employer housing in these districts. The larger percentage of self-employed workers in this area is explained by the lack of aid upon arrival in Nairobi and the larger proportion of older migrants explains partially why fewer received aid.

Table 3.8 reveals that all areas of Nairobi have long term migrants who arrived shortly after independence 26.6% of temporary housing migrants came in 1964, while 16.5% of low cost came in 1964. Whereas most areas have a fairly even dispersal of migrants over the four years medium cost seems to be an exception, it has a very low 11.3% coming in 1964 and a very high 41.9% coming in 1968. Possibly confirming that many of these migrants are living with relatives or friends. A larger percentage of high cost residents came in 1964, 38.9%, which may suggest that employment in this area was significantly reduced over the years. Interviewers in the two largest housing categories found that 82 migrants had come to Nairobi between 1962 and 1964 and were living in low cost housing in 1968, and 74 migrants had come in 1962-1963 and were living in temporary housing in 1968.

Table 3.8 The Distribution of Migration Dates to Nairobi of the Migrants Who Live in the Six Housing Categories

| Housing | Date of Migration to Nairobi 1964 | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| High Cost | 7<br>38.9<br>9.5<br>1.9 | 2<br>11.1<br>3.3<br>0.6 | 3<br>16.7<br>4.5<br>0.8 | 2<br>11.1<br>2.9<br>0.6 | 4<br>22.2<br>4.4<br>1.1 | 18<br>5.0 |
| Medium Cost | 7<br>11.3<br>9.5<br>1.9 | 5<br>8.1<br>8.3<br>1.4 | 7<br>11.3<br>10.6<br>1.9 | 17<br>27.4<br>24.6<br>4.7 | 26<br>41.9<br>28.9<br>7.2 | 62<br>17.3 |
| Transition | 4<br>23.5<br>5.4<br>1.1 | 2<br>11.8<br>3.3<br>0.6 | 4<br>23.5<br>6.1<br>1.1 | 3<br>17.6<br>4.3<br>0.8 | 4<br>23.5<br>4.4<br>1.1 | 17<br>4.7 |
| Low Cost | 21<br>16.5<br>28.4<br>5.8 | 21<br>16.5<br>35.0<br>5.8 | 29<br>22.8<br>43.9<br>8.1 | 25<br>19.7<br>36.2<br>7.0 | 31<br>24.4<br>34.4<br>8.6 | 127<br>35.4 |
| Temporary | 33<br>26.6<br>44.6<br>9.2 | 27<br>21.8<br>45.0<br>7.5 | 22<br>17.7<br>33.3<br>6.1 | 19<br>15.3<br>27.5<br>5.3 | 23<br>18.5<br>25.6<br>6.4 | 124<br>34.5 |
| Business | 2<br>18.2<br>2.7<br>0.6 | 3<br>27.3<br>5.0<br>0.8 | 1<br>9.2<br>1.5<br>0.3 | 3<br>27.3<br>4.3<br>0.8 | 2<br>18.2<br>2.2<br>0.6 | 11<br>3.1 |
| Column Total | 74<br>20.6 | 60<br>16.7 | 66<br>18.4 | 69<br>19.2 | 90<br>25.1 | 359<br>100.0 |

CHI Square test not possible.

Whether or not the migrants are rural land owners is also of interest. The mean land holdings for the total sample was 1.23 acres. This was statistically significant when compared with the average land holding for those living in temporary housing whose mean was 0.313 acres. High cost was also significant with average landownership of 0.893 acres. Medium cost and transitional were significantly larger than temporary with medium cost land at 2.549 acres and transitional at 1.364 acres. Low cost housing landownership did not compare unfavourably with any other group.

It is hoped that this chapter has provided some indication of the types of housing facilities found in Nairobi, the types of migrants who live in various sectors of the city and the financial demands that a growing population has placed on the city.

[1]Ominde, op. cit., p. 69.

[2]Nairobi City Council, Town Planning Section, Population: A Supplementary to Planning Report No. 1 Nairobi, p. 2.

[3]Dorothy M. Halliman and W. T. W. Morgan, "The City of Nairobi," Nairobi City and Region. W. T. W. Morgan, Ed. (Nairobi: Oxford University Press, 1967), p. 106.

[4]Lawrence Bloomberg and Charles Abrams, United Nations Mission to Kenya on Housing. (Nairobi: United Nations, December, 1964), p. 2.

[5]Ibid., p. 15.

[6]Ibid., p. 14

[7]Nairobi City Council, Town Planning Section, City of Nairobi Planning Report No. 1: Population. (Nairobi, 1967), p. 2

[8]Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1970-1974. (Nairobi, 1969), p. 187, table 7.4.

[9]Ibid., p. 179, paragraph 7.4.

[10]Ibid., paragraph 7.5.

[11]Ibid., p. 188, paragraph 7.24.

[12]Josef Gugler, "Migrating Into Unemployment in Western Africa," p. 6.

# CHAPTER IV

## RURAL-URBAN MIGRANT UNEMPLOYMENT AND ITS DIRECT ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES

### I. Measures of Unemployment

Out of the sample of 374 migrants who moved to Nairobi during the years 1964-1968 39%, (147 men), experienced some unemployment. (Refer to table 4.1) The majority, 39.46%, (58), were short term unemployed, remaining jobless for up to three months. The next largest category were those who remained unemployed 22-24 months; 20.41%, (30), waited up to two years for jobs. Those experiencing 3-6 months unemployment comprised 15.65% of the unemployed. Each of the six residential categories had migrants who experienced some unemployment, this may be observed in table 4.1 also. The medium cost housing provided 15.7%, (23), of the total jobless in Nairobi; 65.2%, (15), for only 1-3 months, 3 men for 2 years. In transitional housing 5 migrants experienced some unemployment. Low cost housing residents claimed 36.7% unemployed; 42.6%, (23), for up to 3 months, 22.2%, (12), for up to two years. The largest number of unemployed fell in the temporary category with 38.8% of the total unemployed. The largest percentage of the migrants in one residential group who were unemployed was found not in temporary but in medium cost housing. In temporary housing 14 men were unemployed for 1-3 months, 11 for 2 years.

Table 4.1 Distribution of the Present Area of Residence of the Men Who Experienced Some Unemployment in Nairobi

| Length of Unemployment | High Cost | Medium Cost | Transit. | Low Cost | Temporary | Business | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| up to 3 months | 2<br>3.448*<br>50.0 | 75<br>25.862<br>65.217 | 2<br>3.448<br>40.0 | 23<br>39.655<br>42.592 | 14<br>24.137<br>24.561 | 2<br>3.448<br>50.0 | 58<br>39.46 |
| 4-6 months | 1<br>4.347<br>25.0 | 4<br>17.391<br>17.391 | . . . | 10<br>43.47<br>18.518 | 8<br>34.782<br>14.035 | . . . | 23<br>15.65 |
| 7-9 months | . . . | . . . | . . . | 3<br>42.857<br>5.556 | 4<br>34.782<br>14.035 | . . . | 7<br>4.76 |
| 10-12 months | . . . | . . . | 2<br>10.526<br>40.0 | 5<br>26.315<br>9.259 | 12<br>63.157<br>21.052 | . . . | 19<br>12.93 |
| 13-15 months | . . . | . . . | . . . | 1<br>12.5<br>1.851 | 7<br>87.5<br>12.28 | . . . | 8<br>5.44 |
| 16-18 months | . . . | 1<br>50.0<br>4.347 | . . . | . . . | 1<br>50.0<br>1.754 | . . . | 2<br>1.36 |
| 22-24 months | 1<br>3.33<br>25.0 | 3<br>10.0<br>13.043 | 1<br>3.33<br>20.0 | 12<br>40.0<br>22.22 | 11<br>36.666<br>19.298 | 2<br><br>50.0 | 30<br>20.4 |
| Column Total | 4<br>2.72 | 23<br>15.65 | 5<br>3.40 | 54<br>36.74 | 57<br>38.78 | 4<br>2.72 | 147<br>100. |

CHI square test not possible with combined unemployment categories**
*Percentages read: 3.448 Row %, 50.000 Column %
** This means that in the table presented some categories showed four or less observations, when some of these categories were combined five observations per square were still not acquired, as a result a CHI Square test could not be performed.

In both the business sector and high cost housing only four of their resident migrants experienced delay in acquiring jobs.

During the years 1964 and 1965, 138 migrants experienced an average of 3.985 months of unemployment. For the years 1966, 1967, and 1968, 220 migrants reported a mean 2.905 months of unemployment. This latter average reflects a length of unemployment for 1968 migrants of at most 1 year and for those migrating in the fourth quarter less than 1 month of unemployment. This reduces the validity of this figure when comparing it with the 1964-1965 figure. In high cost housing in the first migration period the average length of unemployment was 3 months and in the second migration period it was 0.667 months. In medium cost housing for the 12 migrants who arrived in 1964-1965 unemployment averaged 4.750 months. Forty-seven migrants came to Nairobi between 1966 and 1968 and their average unemployment was 1.660 months. In transitional housing 6 migrants came shortly after independence and were unemployed an average of 4 months; later migrants were unemployed 2.727 months. In low cost housing 42 migrants experienced an average of 3.357 months in the early migration period, with 77 migrants coming after 1965 having a mean unemployment figure of 3.779. The early migrants in temporary housing numbered 66 and were unemployed an average of 4.900 months. The 1966-1968 migrants waited 3.541 months for their first jobs.

The migrants interviewed in the business sector averaged 0.600 months of unemployment in both migration periods.

A significance test of the results showed that only medium cost and temporary housing were substantially different in their unemployment patterns. In medium cost those who migrated after 1965 were unemployed a shorter length of time than the total sample. Temporary housing had migrants in the 1964-65 period with average lengths of unemployment which compared unfavourably with the total 1966-1968 sample. They also were unemployed significantly longer than the medium cost 1966-68 sample. Those migrants living in temporary housing who migrated after 1965 also had an average length of unemployment greater than those who migrated after 1965 and lived in medium cost housing.

These first two measures of the state of unemployment in Nairobi indicate the cost to the country per migrant, and the characteristics of the unemployed migrants.

Another method of looking at the unemployed is to look at the percentage of unemployed at a given point in time; in this instance at the time the questionnaire was administered in 1968. Table 4.2 shows the breakdown of Nairobi into the six residential categories. The migrants are classified as either employed or unemployed. The sample is made up of 357 persons of whom 20.4%, (73), are unemployed and 79.6% are employed. At the time of the survey none of those living in high cost housing were unemployed. In medium cost housing 18.0% were unemployed, in low cost 25.2% were unemployed and in temporary housing 22.8% were unemployed.

Table 4.2 The Distribution of Employment of the Migrants in the Six Housing Categories in 1968

| | Employed | Unemployed | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| High Cost | 18<br>100.0<br>6.3<br>5.0 | . . . | 18<br>5.0 |
| Medium Cost | 50<br>82.0<br>17.6<br>14.0 | 11<br>18.0<br>15.1<br>3.1 | 61<br>17.1 |
| Transitional | 15<br>88.2<br>5.3<br>4.2 | 2<br>11.8<br>2.7<br>0.6 | 17<br>4.8 |
| Low Cost | 95<br>74.8<br>33.5<br>26.6 | 32<br>25.2<br>43.8<br>9.0 | 127<br>35.6 |
| Temporary | 95<br>77.2<br>33.5<br>26.6 | 28<br>22.8<br>38.4<br>7.8 | 123<br>34.5 |
| Business | 11<br>100.0<br>3.9<br>3.1 | . . . | 11<br>3.1 |
| Column Total | 284<br>79.6 | 73<br>20.4 | 357<br>100.0 |

CHI Square Test significant at the 0.0593 level

With the statistics derived from these three methods of investigation it will be possible to observe the various costs over the four year period studied.

II. Direct Social Costs

In the urban sector the existence of unemployed migrants implies potential production lost to the urban economy. Although this is an unknown quantity due to the ignorance or absence of demand, the supply may be appreciated to some extent. The education and training of the migrants who are unemployed will give some indication of what their contribution to the economy might be. In Table 4.3 55.56% of the migrants who were not immediately employed upon arrival in Nairobi had some primary education, 36.11% had some secondary education, and 8.33% had no education. When the average length of unemployment was determined for the education categories the significance test revealed that only those migrants who had come to Nairobi in 1964 or 1965 with no education had experienced more average unemployment than any other category. With a mean unemployment rate of 5.455 months these migrants were unemployed longer than those migrants who came after 1965 with secondary education, their average unemployment being 2.561 months. All other education groups had comparable average unemployment figures. It may be stated, however, that beyond a certain length of unemployment the longer a migrant remained unemployed the lower the costs to the economy, due to lower educational attainment.

Table 4.3 The Distribution of Educational Attainment of the Men Who Experienced Some Unemployment

| Length of Unemployment | Education: None | Primary | Secondary | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| up to 3 months | 1<br>1.7<br>8.3<br>0.7 | 30<br>51.7<br>37.5<br>20.1 | 27<br>46.6<br>51.9<br>18.8 | 58<br>40.28 |
| 4-6 months | . . . | 14<br>63.6<br>17.5<br>9.7 | 8<br>36.4<br>15.4<br>5.6 | 22<br>15.28 |
| 7-9 months | . . . | 7<br>100.0<br>8.8<br>4.9 | . . . | 7<br>4.86 |
| 10-12 months | 2<br>10.0<br>16.7<br>1.4 | 11<br>55.0<br>13.8<br>7.6 | 7<br>35.0<br>13.5<br>4.9 | 20<br>13.89 |
| 13-15 months | . . . | 5<br>71.4<br>6.3<br>3.5 | 2<br>28.6<br>3.8<br>1.4 | 7<br>4.86 |
| 16-18 months | 1<br>50.0<br>8.3<br>0.7 | 1<br>50.0<br>1.3<br>.7 | . . . | 2<br>1.39 |
| 22-24 months | 8<br>28.6<br>66.7<br>5.6 | 12<br>42.9<br>15.0<br>8.3 | 8<br>28.6<br>15.4<br>5.6 | 28<br>19.44 |
| Column Total | 12<br>8.33 | 80<br>55.56 | 52<br>36.11 | 144<br>100.0 |

CHI Square Test not possible with combined unemployed categories.

Primary graduates and to a lesser extent those with no education would be of greater value to the economy if they had some training courses. Looking at table 4.4 only 18.8% (27 persons) of those 147 unemployed had some training. Of these, 23 were secondary graduates with their A or O levels. One person had a university degree, and three others had some significant training; two had trade courses and one had a teaching certificate. Of those unemployed with qualifications other than secondary education few had any training which would enable them to work in skilled jobs. The two with some trade apprenticeship were unemployed 13-15 months. Comparing this distribution with the total sample table 4.5 indicates that 84.1% had A/O level, 2.3% had teacher training, 1.1% had a university degree and 2.3% had trade training. It appears that those who underwent some unemployment were not vocationally inferior to the total sample.

The age of the migrants found in table 4.6 shows a predominance of young men; 54.4%, (84), 15-23 years and 37.2%, (54), 24-35 with only 8.1%, (7), older men. Comparing this with the total sample of Nairobi migrants (refer to table 3.5), 45.7% aged 15-24, 42.6% aged 25-34, and 11.8% aged 35-50, strengthens the impression that young men experienced a greater degree of unemployment than did the two other categories. The length of time each age group waited for a first job on average also emphasizes the significance of younger men in the unemployed category.

Table 4.4 The Distribution of Migrant Training for Those Who had Experienced Some Unemployment

| Length of Unemployment | Teaching Certificate | Trade | A/C Levels | University Degree | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| up to 3 months | 1<br>7.1<br>100.0<br>3.7 | . . . | 12<br>85.7<br>52.2<br>44.4 | 1<br>7.1<br>100.0<br>3.7 | 14<br>51.85 |
| 4-6 months | . . . | . . . | 7<br>100.0<br>30.4<br>25.9 | . . . | 7<br>25.93 |
| 7-9 months | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . |
| 10-12 months | . . . | . . . | 2<br>100.0<br>8.7<br>7.4 | | 2<br>7.41 |
| 13-15 months | . . . | 2<br>66.7<br>100.0<br>7.4 | 1<br>33.3<br>4.3<br>3.7 | . . . | 3<br>11.11 |
| 22-24 months | . . . | . . . | 1<br>100.0<br>4.3<br>3.7 | . . . | 1<br>3.70 |
| Column Total | 1<br>3.70 | 2<br>7.41 | 23<br>85.19 | 1<br>3.70 | 27<br>100.0 |

CHI Square Test not performed

Table 4.5 The Distribution of Migrant Training in the Six Housing Categories

period of 3.543 months of unemployment which was significantly longer than the men in the 36-50 age group who had migrated after 1965. All this leads one to conclude that the value of the production lost represented by the younger members of the labour force is not as great as it would have been if the unemployed were older. Lack of experience and need for on the job training would necessitate investment in time and education, thus reducing their relative productive value. The higher educational attainment of the younger migrants, however, may balance this off.

Table 4.7 provides another measure of the potential of the unemployed. Those unemployed in 1968 were asked whether they had taken any vocational courses since coming to Nairobi. From the 75 who responded to this question 73.3% had not taken any courses, 13.3% had completed courses and 13.3% were in the process of taking courses. In the total Nairobi sample Table 4.8, 65.95% had not taken extra studies, and 34.05% had completed or were taking special classes.

Table 4.7 The Distribution of Courses Taken by the Unemployed

| | No Courses | Completed Course | Taking Course |
|---|---|---|---|
| | 55 | 10 | 10 |
| Unemployed | 73.3 | 13.3 | 13.3 |
| | 22.3 | 15.4 | 16.7 |
| in 1968 | 14.8 | 2.7 | 2.7 |

Table 4.8 The Distribution of Courses Completed or Being Taken by Nairobi Migrants who Experienced Some Unemployment

| Length of Time Unemployed | None | Taking or Completed | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 154<br>64.71<br>62.60<br>41.29 | 84<br>35.29<br>66.14<br>22.52 | 238<br>63.81 |
| up to one year | 75<br>72.82<br>30.49<br>20.11 | 28<br>27.18<br>22.05<br>7.51 | 103<br>27.61 |
| up to two years | 17<br>53.13<br>6.91<br>4.56 | 15<br>46.88<br>11.81<br>4.02 | 32<br>8.58 |
| Column Total | 246<br>65.95 | 127<br>34.05 | 373<br>100.0 |

CHI Square Test not statistically significant.

The unemployed are therefore somewhat inferior in their training to the total sample. The average length of unemployment of those having taken courses and having migrated in 1964 or 1965 was greater than those who had taken no courses and had migrated after 1965. Those having some course work were unemployed an average of 3.985 months, while those without averaged 2.447 months of unemployment. Of those migrants without any extra studies in Nairobi those who migrated shortly after independence underwent a longer waiting period for their first job (4.301 months) than those who came after 1965 (2.447 months).

Looking again at table 4.8, 64.71% of those who were not unemployed were without training courses and 35.29% had taken or were taking courses. Of those unemployed up to one year 72.82% had not taken courses, while 27.18% had. For the group unemployed the longest (up to 2 years) 53.13% had not taken courses, 46.88% had. For those 127 migrants who had taken or were completing courses in Nairobi 66.14% had not had to wait to obtain employment, 22.05% had waited up to one year, and 11.81% had waited up to 2 years for their first job in Nairobi. As a result although the majority of those with some courses obtained in Nairobi gained employment quickly, 33.86% of this group implies increased costs to the economy due to prolonged lengths of unemployment.

The production foregone in the urban economy appears to be very similar to the production provided by the employed at the time of the study.

They have similar educational and vocational training levels as the total sample. As a result the cost to the economy of the unemployed may not be considered reduced due to any supposed inferiority of the unemployed. The average income (in the first quarter after migration) of the Nairobi migrants is Kshs 265.5 or 13.28K£'s per month, while the average length of unemployment of the total number of migrants is 3.445 months. Therefore the estimated cost to the urban economy per migrant is Kshs 929.25 or £46.48.

Another type of economic loss experienced by the economy cannot be quantified but can be observed; the existence of under-employment. In order to take into account the different types of jobs acquired by the in-migrants who gained employment shortly after arriving in Nairobi a study was done of the average income per migrant in the first, fourth and eighth quarters after migration. In the first quarter for the housing categories medium cost, transitional, low cost, temporary and business, all wage employees were earning similar average incomes whereas in the high cost category average income was significantly lower than in temporary housing.

The only two housing categories whose employees became self-employed were low cost and temporary housing. All these migrants, with the exception of one man in temporary housing, had from zero to eight years primary education.

The self-employed were earning significantly less income than the wage employed; average wage income was 338.738 Kshs while the average self employed income was 192.308 Kshs. Individual housing categories when compared with the self-employed did not produce statistically significant differences in the first quarter. The difference in productivity in jobs, however, became more apparent in the fourth and eighth quarters after migration. The difference between wage and self-employed becomes statistically significant at the 1% level, with self-employed average income of 168.889 Kshs being significantly lower than the average income of medium cost wage earners at 307.586 Kshs, low cost wage earners at 398.591 Kshs and temporary at 403.333 Kshs. Also in the fourth quarter the self-employed living in low cost housing improved their income position of 236.000 Kshs in relation to temporary housing which averaged 129.412 Kshs.

It is possible to conclude that for those migrants who acquired wage employment in Nairobi their first quarter after migration all undertook similarly productive occupations with the exception of those migrants in high cost housing who probably obtained employment in domestic service. Those migrants who became self-employed were entering occupations half-way between unemployment and full potential productivity. Thus unemployment figures alone cannot give a complete picture of migration costs. The existence of a high percentage of employed in high cost housing and the unemployment figures for temporary housing are deceiving since in both cases the low income of their employed betrays low productivity.

Some qualification of the high cost/low income figures must be made; if housing and meals are included in a servant's pay then his productivity is higher than his income figures indicate.

When the average income of the migrants is looked at in relation to their level of education as well as their type of employment (Tables 4.9a,b,c) those self-employed migrants living in low-cost housing appear to be earning incomes in keeping with the wage earners in their education group. Statistically there appears to be no difference between the self-employed in low cost housing and wage employed in all housing categories. Those in temporary housing are not earning less in the first quarter after migration except when they are compared with the high earnings in the low cost housing. As the fourth and eighth quarters are reached the position of the self-employed temporary housing migrant deteriorates. In the fourth quarter they compare unfavourably with the medium cost wage earners, the low cost housing wage earners and self-employed and the business section wage earners. In the eighth quarter the high cost wage earner with equivalent education is also earning significantly more than the self-employed in temporary housing.

It may be concluded that those migrants who become self-employed and are living in temporary housing also represent a cost to the economy in terms of production foregone for an indefinite period of time. It is possible that those migrants who remain unemployed for longer periods of time may redeem the costs in terms of production foregone if they ultimately obtain wage employment with productive effort

Table 4.9 (a) Average Annual Income of Migrants According to Place of Residence, Education Level and Type of Employment - 1st Quarter After Migration

| Housing | Temporary | High Cost | Medium Cost | Low Cost |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Employment | Wage Employed<br>Self Employed<br>Self Employed | Wage Employed | Wage | Wage Employed<br>Self Employed |
| Standards | 0 - 8<br>0 - 8<br>0 - 6 | 0 - 8 | 0 - 8 | 0 - 8<br>0 - 8 |
| Mean Income (K£'s) | 158.16<br>75.00<br>62.76 | 99.00 | 108.00 | 155.76<br>96.00 |
| Sample Size | 28<br>16 | 12 | 23 | 51<br>9 |

T-Test Results

| Low Cost | Temporary |
|---|---|
| Wage | Self Employed |
| 0 - 8 | 0 - 8 |
| 155.76 | 75.00 |

Statistical Significance .05

Table 4.9 (b) Average Annual Income of Migrants According to Place of Residence, Education Level and Type of Employment - 4th Quarter

| Housing | Temporary | High Cost | Medium Cost | Low Cost | Business |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Employment | Wage Employ<br>Self Employed | Wage Employ | Wage Employ | Wage Employ<br>Self Employ | Wage Employ |
| Standards | 0 - 8<br>0 - 8 | 0 - 8 | 0 - 8 | 0 - 8<br>0 - 8 | 0 - 8 |
| Mean Income (Kf's) | 166.92<br>77.64 | 102.00 | 144.00 | 191.52<br>141.60 | 197.40 |
| Sample Size | 32<br>17 | 12 | 18 | 48<br>10 | 9 |

T-Test Results:

| Temporary | Medium | Temporary | Low Cost | Temporary | Low Cost | Temporary | Business |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self Employ | Wage | Self | Wage | Self | Self | Self | Wage |
| 77.64 | 144.00 | 77.64 | 191.52 | 77.64 | 141.60 | 77.64 | 197.40 |
| Statistical Significance | .05 | | .01 | | .01 | | .05 |

Table 4.9 (c) Average Annual Income of Migrants According to Place of Residence, Education Level and Type of Employment - 8th Quarter

| Housing | Temporary | Cost | Medium Cost | Low Cost |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Employment | Wage<br>Self | Wage | Wage | Wage<br>Self |
| Standards | 0 - 8<br>0 - 8 | 0 - 8 | 0 - 8 | 0 - 8<br>0 - 8 |
| Mean Income (Kf's) | 149.76<br>68.52 | 113.40 | 139.20 | 196.32<br>138.00 |
| Sample Size | 29<br>14 | 6 | 10 | 39<br>8 |

T-Test Results:

| Temp. Self | Hi Cost Wage | Temp. Self | Medium Cost Wage | Temp. Self | Low Cost Wage | Temp. Self | Lo Cost Self |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 68.52 | 113.40 | 68.52 | 139.20 | 68.52 | 196.32 | 68.52 | 138.00 |
| Statistical Significance | | | | | | | |
| .01 | | .01 | | .01 | | .01 | |

greater than the self employed.

In order to suggest the loss to the rural economy the first indicator is the type of employment undertaken in the rural area before migration. Those migrants who were either part-time workers or fully unemployed before they came to Nairobi waited the greatest length of time for employment. The migrants who came in either 1964 or 1965 were unemployed 5.300 months. The total migrant sample that arrrived after 1965 was unemployed 2.905 months. Those who were employed for wages in the rural economy and came to Nairobi after 1965 were unemployed an average of 1.500 months, comparing favourably with all previously unemployed migrants. Those who had part-time or unemployed and who migrated after 1965 waited an average of 4.636 months before gaining employment. Looking at Table 4.10 of those who were unemployed or worked part-time before migrating (52 persons) 76.47% of them acquired jobs upon arrival in Nairobi, the 212 migrants who were in school before migration having the lowest proportion (70.28%) of their numbers employed within the first month. For the wage and self employed 93.33% and 82.19% obtained jobs immediately. The rural wage employed and self-employed who did experience some period of unemployment comprised only .99% and 3.23% respectively of the total sample. The unemployed school-leavers embodied 15.63% of the total sample, while the previously part-time and unemployed who waited to gain employment represented 3.97% of the total sample.

Table 4.10 The Distribution of Previous Rural Employment of the Nairobi Migrants According to Their Length of Unemployment

| Length of Unemployment | School | Wage Employed | Self Employed | Part Time or Unemployed | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 149<br>48.53<br>70.28<br>36.97 | 56<br>18.24<br>93.33<br>13.90 | 60<br>19.54<br>82.19<br>14.89 | 52<br>16.94<br>76.47<br>12.90 | 307<br>76.18 |
| up to 3 months | 29<br>70.73<br>13.68<br>7.20 | 2<br>4.88<br>3.33<br>.5 | 6<br>14.63<br>8.22<br>1.49 | 4<br>9.76<br>5.88<br>.99 | 41<br>10.17 |
| 4 - 6 months | 11<br>84.62<br>5.19<br>2.73 | . . . | 1<br>7.69<br>1.37<br>.25 | 1<br>7.69<br>1.47<br>.25 | 13<br>3.23 |
| 7 - 9 months | 5<br>55.56<br>2.36<br>1.24 | . . . | 1<br>11.11<br>1.37<br>.25 | 3<br>33.33<br>4.41<br>.74 | 9<br>2.23 |
| 10 - 12 months | 4<br>44.44<br>1.89<br>.99 | 1<br>11.11<br>1.67<br>.25 | 2<br>22.22<br>2.74<br>.5 | 2<br>22.22<br>2.94<br>.50 | 9<br>2.23 |
| 13 - 15 months | 4<br>80.00<br>1.89<br>.99 | . . . | 1<br>20.00<br>1.37<br>.25 | . . . | 5<br>1.24 |
| 16 - 18 months | 1<br>50.00<br>0.47<br>.25 | . . . | . . . | 1<br>50.00<br>1.47<br>.25 | 2<br>.5 |

Table 4.10 (Continued)

| Length of Unemployment | School | Wage Employed | Self Employed | Part Time or Unemployed | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22 - 24 months | 9<br>52.94<br>4.25<br>2.23 | 1<br>5.88<br>1.67<br>.25 | 2<br>11.76<br>2.74<br>.5 | 5<br>29.41<br>7.35<br>1.24 | 17<br>4.22 |
| Column Total | 212<br>50.12 | 60<br>14.89 | 73<br>18.11 | 68<br>16.87 | 403<br>100.0 |
| Unemployed Sub Total | 63 | 4 | 13 | 16 | |
| Column Total | 29.72%<br>15.63 | 6.67<br>.99 | 17.81<br>3.23 | 23.53<br>3.97 | |

CHI Square Test not possible with combined unemployment categories.

Another measure of production foregone is whether the migrants own land and whether it is productive. Although not statistically greater than the total sample (using a t-test) the unemployed held an average of 2.053 acres per person the self-employed held 0.313 acres and the wage employed owned 3.470 acres per person. The average landownership was further broken down for the categories of the unemployed in Table 4.11. The average landownership of those migrants who came to Nairobi between 1964 and 1966 and waited up to one quarter of a year for employment was an average of 5 acres (s.d. 14.947), and of those who came after 1966 was 2.156 acres. Migrants who waited 2 quarters owned 0.0 acres and 0.375 acres respectively, those unemployed four quarters owned 0.0 acres and 0.803 acres respectively, and those who waited two years owned 11.88 acres (s.d. 9.404) and 0.300 acres. A t-test of these results shows that there is only a difference between; those employed 2 quarters after 1964 and those unemployed up to 1 year after 1966 (0.0. 0.803 respectively), those unemployed up to 1 year after 1964 and those unemployed 1 year after 1966 (0.0. 803 respectively), and for those unemployed 2 year after 1966 and those unemployed 1 years after 1966 (0.300, 0.803).

Those unemployed for two years after 1964 (16 persons) owned 11.88 acres on average which compared favourably with all categories except those unemployed 1 quarter of a year after migrating in 1964 or 1965.

The only conclusion that can be drawn from this information is that whereas the earlier in-migrants to Nairobi may have had access to significant land holdings when they were unemployed, in later years this no longer was the case.

Table 4.11 Average Rural Acreage Owned by the Migrants According to Their State of Employment and Date of Arrival in Nairobi

| Employment | Arrival in Nairobi | Average No. of Acres | Sample Size |
|---|---|---|---|
| All migrants | 1964 through 1965 | 1.543 | 138 |
| All migrants | 1966 through 1968 | 2.030 | 232 |
| Employed | 1964 through 1965 | 1.573 | 96 |
| Employed | 1966 through 1968 | 2.561 | 139 |
| Unemployed up to 3 months | 1964 through 1965 | 5.000 | 11 |
| Unemployed up to 3 months | 1966 through 1968 | 2.156 | 45 |
| Unemployed from 4-6 months | 1964 through 1965 | 0.0 | 6 |
| Unemployed from 4-6 months | 1966 through 1968 | 0.375 | 16 |
| Unemployed from 7-9 months | 1966 through 1968 | 1.600 | 5 |
| Unemployed from 10-12 months | 1964 through 1965 | 0.0 | 5 |
| Unemployed from 10-12 months | 1966 through 1968 | 0.803 | 12 |
| Unemployed from 22-24 months | 1964 through 1965 | 11.188 | 16 |
| Unemployed from 22-24 months | 1966 through 1968 | 0.300 | 10 |

T-Test Results:

| Migrants | Means Compared | Significance |
|---|---|---|
| Those Unemployed 22-24 months (1964-1965) with the following: | 11.188 | |
| 1. All migrants (1964-1965) | 1.543 - 11.188 | .01 |
| 2. Employed (1964-1965) | 1.573 - 11.188 | .01 |
| 3. All migrants (1966-1968) | 2.030 - 11.188 | .01 |
| 4. Employed (1966-1968) | 2.561 - 11.188 | .01 |
| 5. Unemployed up to 3 months (1966-1968) | 2.156 - 11.188 | |
| 6. Unemployed from 4-6 months (1966-1968) | 0.375 - 11.188 | .01 |
| 7. Unemployed from 7-9 months (1966-1968) | 1.600 - 11.188 | .05 |
| 8. Unemployed from 10-12 months (1966-1968) | 0.803 - 11.188 | .01 |
| 9. Unemployed from 22-24 months (1966-1968) | 0.300 - 11.188 | .01 |
| Unemployed from 10-12 months (1966-1968) | 0.803 | .05 |
| Unemployed from 22-24 months (1966-1968) | 0.300 | |

Seventy-one men unemployed in 1968 gave evidence of the use of their land (Table 4.12). One person claimed to be producing food and cash crops on his land (productive). Sixty-eight did not own land and 2 migrants declared their land was being worked by their fathers (land but father's). None of the migrants said they owned land which remained unused (unproductive). This information may clarify the situation of the unemployed. There are apparently some migrants who experienced unemployment but who have wives and families presently in their homes who are doing the necessary work for them. As a result were the unemployed to return to their rural homes few would be producing on land that at the time of their urban unemployment was unproductive. Many would work with their families but others would be landless.

In Table 4.13 the length of unemployment has been correlated with landownership. It is obvious that only those with three months or less of unemployment had any land of their own to work. The longer the unemployed waited for work the more reduced were their agricultural opportunities; only two migrants unemployed longer than 3 months claimed land to be available to them which belonged to their fathers. Whether experiencing some unemployment or not the majority of migrants (82.66%) had no access to land which might be called their own.

Table 4.12 The Distribution of Occupational Categories (1968) According to the Rural Land Ownership of the Nairobi Migrants

| Employment | Land Ownership | No Land | Land but Father's | Unproductive Land | Productive Land | Father Owns Some Land | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Self Employed | | 29<br>100<br>10.0<br>8.9 | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | 29<br>8.9 |
| Wage Employed | | 19.3<br>86.2<br>66.3<br>59.4 | 9<br>4.0<br>81.8<br>2.8 | 7<br>3.1<br>100.0<br>2.2 | 10<br>4.5<br>90.9<br>3.1 | 5<br>2.2<br>100.0<br>1.5 | 224<br>68.9 |
| Student | | 1<br>100<br>0.3<br>0.3 | . . . | . . . | . . . | . . . | 1<br>0.3 |
| Unemployed | | 68<br>95.8<br>23.4<br>20.9 | 2<br>2.8<br>18.2<br>0.6 | . . . | 1<br>1.4<br>9.1<br>0.3 | . . . | 71<br>21.8 |
| Column Total | | 291<br>89.5 | 11<br>3.4 | 7<br>2.2 | 11<br>3.4 | 5<br>1.5 | 325<br>100.0 |

CHI Square test not performed.

Table 4.13 The Distribution of Rural Land Ownership of Nairobi Migrants According to Their Length of Unemployment

| Months of Unemployment | Land Ownership: No Land | Same as Father's Land | Unproductive Land | Productive Land | Father Owns Some Land | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 190<br>80.51<br>71.16<br>58.82 | 21<br>8.90<br>80.77<br>6.50 | 6<br>2.54<br>85.71<br>1.86 | 15<br>6.36<br>83.33<br>4.64 | 4<br>1.69<br>80.00<br>1.24 | 236<br>73.07 |
| up to 3 months | 30<br>83.33<br>11.24<br>9.29 | 2<br>5.56<br>7.69<br>.62 | 1<br>2.78<br>14.29<br>.31 | 3<br>8.33<br>16.67<br>.93 | 0 | 36<br>11.15 |
| 4-6 months | 12<br>100.0<br>4.49<br>3.72 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 12<br>3.72 |
| 7-9 months | 9<br>100.0<br>3.37<br>2.79 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 9<br>2.79 |
| 10-12 months | 7<br>87.50<br>2.62<br>2.17 | 1<br>12.50<br>3.85<br>.31 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 8<br>2.48 |
| 13-15 months | 4<br>80.00<br>1.50<br>1.24 | 1<br>20.00<br>3.85<br>.31 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 5<br>1.55 |
| 16-18 months | 1<br>100.0<br>.37<br>.31 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 1<br>.31 |

Table 4.13 (Continued)

| Months of Unemployment | Land Ownership: No Land | Same as Father's Land | Unproductive Land | Productive Land | Father Owns Some Land | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 22 - 24 months | 14<br>87.50<br>5.24<br>4.33 | 1<br>6.25<br>3.85<br>0.31 | 0 | 0 | 1<br>6.25<br>20.0<br>0.31 | 16<br>4.9 |
| Colmun Total | 267<br>82.66 | 26<br>8.05 | 7<br>2.17 | 18<br>5.57 | 5<br>1.55 | 323<br>100.0 |

CHI Square Test not possible with combined unemployment categories.

As seen in Table 4.14 few migrants left their homes for reasons of landlessness, the majority left due to lack of job opportunities. We must assume that to some extent this implies lack of job opportunities equivalent to those in urban centers. This conviction regarding lack of jobs in the rural areas, however, also indicates the lack of significantly productive opportunities in the homes of the migrants.

Rural demand conditions negate to some extent the productive potential of the unemployed migrants. Despite similar employment difficulties in the rural area before migrating the training and education of the unemployed migrants suggest potential which under present circumstances is difficult to exploit. Their higher educational attainment leads to the conclusion that their productive potential is greater than many presently farming the land.

Table 4.14 The Distribution of Reasons for Leaving Home Given by the Migrants Who Experienced Some Unemployment

| Unemployed | Row / Column Total | No Job | No Land | Other | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| up to 3 months | | 52<br>88.1<br>46.0<br>35.9 | 1<br>1.7<br>11.1<br>0.7 | 6<br>10.2<br>26.1<br>4.1 | 59 |
| 4-6 months | | 20<br>87.0<br>17.7<br>13.8 | 1<br>4.3<br>11.1<br>0.7 | 2<br>8.7<br>8.7<br>1.4 | 23 |
| 7-9 months | | 5<br>71.4<br>4.4<br>3.4 | . . . | 2<br>28.6<br>8.7<br>1.4 | 7 |
| 10-12 months | | 12<br>60.0<br>10.6<br>8.3 | 2<br>10.0<br>22.2<br>1.4 | 6<br>30.0<br>26.1<br>4.1 | 20 |
| 13-15 months | | 7<br>87.5<br>6.2<br>4.8 | . . . | 1<br>12.5<br>4.3<br>0.7 | 8 |
| 16-18 months | | 1<br>50.0<br>0.9<br>0.7 | . . . | 1<br>50.0<br>4.3<br>0.7 | 2 |
| 22-24 months | | 16<br>61.5<br>14.2<br>11.0 | 5<br>19.2<br>55.6<br>3.4 | 5<br>19.2<br>21.7<br>3.4 | 26 |
| Column Total | | 113 | 9 | 23 | 145 |

CHI Square Test not possible with combined employment categories.

# CHAPTER V

## INDIRECT SOCIAL COSTS AND INDIVIDUAL COSTS

### I. Indirect Social Costs

In chapter three data was provided regarding the migrants in various housing categories in Nairobi. This information is helpful in determining the costs of the unemployed migrants in these districts, in particular what help they may expect from friends and relatives while remaining unemployed.

High Cost housing contains a small minority of Nairobi's migrant population, but they are not of exceptional educational achievement or literacy. They are usually unskilled workers who received housing upon arrival. These two factors suggest that a large proportion of these migrants work as domestic living in housing provided by their employers. They have a consistently lower average income than any other housing category. Those migrants who are living here without jobs are most likely staying with relatives. This all suggests that an average unemployment of between 1 and 3 months in high cost housing will not be very costly to the city of Nairobi.

Medium cost housing provides a very different situation. The migrants living here are of mainly two types, firstly those who are older, with good jobs and education and receiving a good income; only 6.6% of these migrants, however, are over 35.

The second group of migrants (either younger brothers, cousins or friends of the previous group) are living for some period with these relatively well-off families until they find stable employment and housing of their own. This second group also has good education with the majority likely having some secondary education. Their length of unemployment tends to center around the 1-3 month time period. The average length of unemployment in 1964, 1965 was quite high, this 4.750 months may apply to the permanent residents who waited long periods of time in order to get good jobs. There are only 3 persons living in medium cost housing who have been unemployed for 2 years. Although the employment information on this sector is rather ambiguous since 1966, 1967, 1968 average unemployment equaled 1.660 months, the costs to the city of the unemployed living here is not great. Density is not a problem, and as a result the use of government facilities is not unduly heavy. These unemployed migrants may have an indirect effect on the economy through their influence on their hosts. Long term demands made on a family in these districts may have a discouraging consequence for the wage earner. A more beneficial influence however may derive from the security of the job seeker. This insures to some extent that the unemployed will not engage in employment well below their skill levels, which reduces their productive contribution to the economy.

Low cost housing has a literacy level in between medium and temporary housing, but it has the second largest proportion without any formal education. Their average income for the total migrant sample is slightly lower than that of temporary housing and exceeds that of medium cost housing in the fourth and eighth quarters after migration. Their job skill mix in 1968 is similar to those in other categories except they have a smaller proportion of unskilled workers than the "other areas". Low cost housing has a relatively young population, which explains the lower average income in relation to temporary. Twenty-one percent of those interviewed had experienced some unemployment, with average unemployment for the group as a whole equal to almost four months. The cost of its burden of unemployed to the city might be expected to be the greatest of all housing categories since much housing is government or employer subsidized. In these categories high density living conditions make the presence of unemployed individuals less desirable. The description of those employed and living in this sector would indicate that they are no less able to support unemployed relatives than those living in medium cost housing, however uncomfortable living conditions might have stronger psychological costs to the hosts.

Temporary housing has the highest proportion of illiterates in its migrant population.

It has the second highest percentage of migrants with some secondary education, but it also has a significant percent of migrants without any education. Temporary housing has a large per cent of migrants who are self employed, rather than unskilled. Because temporary housing migrants claim to have received the least aid upon arrival in Nairobi they may have been restricted in their choice of occupation to the first job they could find. Temporary housing has a significant proportion of its migrants in the 36-50 age group and it is possible that it is this group which did not receive aid. It is often beleived that this area houses mainly young unemployed migrants. However, both temporary and low cost housing have migrants living in their areas who came around the time of independence. These are undoubtedly some of the ones who did not receive housing aid. Average income for the total migrant population in this housing sector in the 1st, 4th and 8th quarters after migration showed an upward trend which resulted in the highest average income of all areas in Nairobi in the eighth quarter. Temporary housing has the highest percentage of unemployed, 29% of total migrants interviewed in 1968 were unemployed at that time. The average unemployment ranges betwen four and five months. The costs of the unemployed are reduced in this type of housing in relation to low cost, since whatever facilities are available are generally provided for by the residents themselves with the exception of the dense rental conditions in some districts.

Here living conditions are not as cramped and certain types of facilities are not as serious a concern, for example sanitary and sewerage equipment need not be the problem they are in the crowded areas. Here families would be in a much better position to help their relatives, and mutual benefit might result if the unemployed helped with home improvements.

The number of migrants in each housing category who experienced some unemployment was introduced in chapter 4. Each migrant does not represent a fixed cost to the city, specific characteristics of the migrants complicate the picture.

The marital status of the migrants will indicate some of the further costs to the expected from the unemployed. Those who have been accompanied by wives and children mean extra people to be supported by the city; health services may be called upon by a family to a much greater extent than by a single man. In Table 5.1 single men predominate in the ranks of the unemployed as they do in the Nairobi sample as a whole. They embody 62.0% of those experiencing some unemployment, whereas they make up 52.3% of the total sample of Nairobi migrants. This suggests that they feel freer to remain unemployed than do the men who are married. Some of this unemployment will also be due to the younger ages of the majority of the single men. Sixteen per cent of the total number of men who underwent some unemployment were accompanied by their wives to Nairobi, 7 of these men remained unemployed for 2 years.

Table 5.1 The Distribution of the Marital Status of the Men Who Experienced Some Unemployment

| Length of Unemployment | Single | Wife Here | Wife Elsewhere | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| up to 3 months | 41<br>69.5<br>44.6<br>28.1 | 4<br>6.8<br>17.4<br>2.7 | 14<br>20.3<br>38.7<br>8.2 | 59 |
| 4-6 months | 14<br>63.6<br>15.2<br>9.6 | 2<br>9.1<br>8.7<br>1.4 | 6<br>27.3<br>19.4<br>4.1 | 22 |
| 7-9 months | 4<br>57.1<br>4.3<br>2.7 | 2<br>28.6<br>8.7<br>1.4 | 1<br>14.3<br>3.2<br>0.7 | 7 |
| 10-12 months | 15<br>75.0<br>16.3<br>10.3 | 3<br>15.0<br>13.0<br>2.1 | 2<br>10.0<br>6.4<br>1.4 | 20 |
| 13-15 months | 3<br>37.5<br>3.3<br>2.1 | 4<br>50.0<br>17.4<br>2.7 | 1<br>12.5<br>3.2<br>0.7 | 8 |
| 16-18 months | 1<br>50.0<br>1.1<br>0.7 | 1<br>50.0<br>4.3<br>0.7 | . . . | 2 |
| 22-24 months | 14<br>50.0<br>15.2<br>9.6 | 7<br>25.0<br>30.4<br>4.8 | 7<br>25.0<br>22.6<br>4.8 | 28 |
| Column Total | 92<br>63.1% | 23<br>15.8% | 31<br>19.9% | 146<br>100% |

Table 5.1 (a) The Distribution of the Marital Status of the Men Who Experienced Some Unemployment

| Length of Unemployment | Single | Urban | Rural | Totals |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 105<br>42.86*<br>54.12 | 62<br>25.31<br>78.48 | 68<br>27.76<br>70.83 | 245 |
| 1 year | 71<br>69.61<br>36.60 | 10<br>9.80<br>12.66 | 21<br>20.59<br>21.88 | 102 |
| 2 years | 18<br>9.28<br>56.25 | 7<br>8.86<br>21.88 | 7<br>7.29<br>21.88 | 32 |
| Column Total | 194 | 79 | 96 | 369 |

CHI Square Test statistically significant at the .001 level.

*Percentages Read

42.86 Row %

54.12 Column %

Thus 4.8% of the total number of unemployed were accompanied by their wives and remained unemployed for 2 years. They comprise 25% of the total number of men unemployed for 2 years. Men who are married with wives living elsewhere are making the same demands on the city as are those who are single. At the same time it may be true that their wives have remained productive in the rural economy. This category includes 21.0% of the unemployed with 7 of its numbers also experiencing 2 years unemployment.

It may be concluded then that 16% of those men who experience unemployment imply costs greater than that related to the unemployment of a single individual.

It has been proposed by Joan Nelson[1] that the migrant's expectation of residential permanency will influence his demands on the urban center. If the migrant plans to return to his rural home at some future date (regardless of the length of sojourn or the reality of his expectations) he will not have the same attitude towards his living conditions in the city as he would were he to look upon the city as his permanent home. He will look on discomforts as temporary, whereas a resident will look about for ways to improve his condition. The migrants in Nairobi were asked whether or not they planned to stay in Nairobi or whether they expected to leave at some future time.

The results of this question are seen in Table 5.2. Out of the 91 who had experienced some unemployment and who responded to this question 36% said they planned to stay in Nairobi; 36.4% of these had been unemployed one to three months after migrating, 18.2% had been unemployed up to two years. Sixty-four percent planned to leave Nairobi sometime in the future. Comparing this with the distribution of the total Nairobi migrant sample 23.8% of the respondants planned to stay indefinitely, 76.2% planned to leave. It does not appear that experience with some unemployment is the major factor in their decision to stay or leave Nairobi. A significant number of the migrants probably made their decision to stay in Nairobi after they had obtained their first job. Of those unemployed up to 2 years 27.3% had still chosen to remain in Nairobi while 72.7% planned to leave.

Of those migrants unemployed at the time of the survey in 1968 Table 5.3 shows that 23.6% plan to remain in Nairobi permanently. Within this group 35.3% are living in low cost housing, 47.1% are in temporary housing and 17.6% are in medium cost housing. Those that plan to leave Nairobi consist of 76.4% of all those unemployed. This again coincides almost exactly with the total sample.

It would appear therefore, that a person experiencing some unemployment is probably less mobile once he has found a job and is no more mobile if he is without a job than are the employed.

Table 5.2 The Distribution of the Intent to Leave Nairobi by Those Migrants Who Experienced Some Unemployment

| Length of Unemployment | Migration Intention: Stay | Migration Intention: Leave or Uncertain | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| up to 3 months | 12<br>36.4<br>36.4<br>13.2 | 21<br>63.6<br>36.2<br>23.1 | 33 |
| 4-6 months | 5<br>38.5<br>15.2<br>5.5 | 8<br>61.5<br>13.8<br>8.8 | 13 |
| 7-9 months | 4<br>80.0<br>12.1<br>4.4 | 1<br>20.0<br>1.7<br>1.1 | 5 |
| 10-12 months | 3<br>27.3<br>9.1<br>3.3 | 8<br>72.7<br>13.8<br>8.8 | 11 |
| 13-15 months | 3<br>60.0<br>9.1<br>3.3 | 2<br>40.0<br>3.4<br>2.2 | 5 |
| 16-18 months | . . . | 2<br>100.0<br>3.4<br>2.2 | 2 |
| 22-24 months | 6<br>21.3<br>18.2<br>6.6 | 16<br>72.7<br>27.6<br>17.6 | 22 |
| Column Total | 33<br>36.0 | 58<br>64.0 | 91<br>100.00 |

CHI Square Test with combined employment categories not statistically significant.

Table 5.3 The Distribution of Permanency of the Unemployed Migrants Living in the Six Housing Categories

| Measure of Permanancy | Housing Medium Cost | Transferred | Low Cost | Temporary | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Stay | 3<br>17.6<br>27.3<br>4.2 | . . . | 6<br>35.3<br>18.8<br>8.3 | 8<br>47.1<br>29.6<br>11.1 | 17<br>23.6 |
| Stay to Retire | 3<br>13.6<br>27.3<br>4.2 | . . . | 12<br>54.5<br>37.5<br>16.7 | 7<br>31.8<br>25.9<br>9.7 | 22<br>30.6 |
| Up to 2 years | 3<br>42.9<br>27.3<br>4.2 | 1<br>14.3<br>50.0<br>1.4 | 1<br>14.3<br>3.1<br>1.4 | 2<br>28.6<br>7.4<br>2.8 | 7<br>9.7 |
| 2 - 5 years | 2<br>18.2<br>18.2<br>2.8 | . . . | 3<br>27.3<br>9.4<br>4.2 | 6<br>54.5<br>22.2<br>8.3 | 11<br>15.3 |
| Uncertain | . . . | 1<br>6.7<br>50.0<br>1.4 | 10<br>66.7<br>31.3<br>13.9 | 4<br>26.7<br>14.8<br>5.6 | 15<br>20.8 |
| Column Total | 11<br>15.3 | 2<br>2.8 | 32<br>44.4 | 27<br>37.5 | 91<br>100.0 |

CHI Square Test not performed

In particular there may be a tendency on the part of these unemployed to become involved in politically-oriented community organizations. Having introduced the question of the political activity of the migrants, in particular the unemployed, it would be of value to explore this issue through their answers to the questionaire. The unemployed were asked what they thought was the main reason explaining their inability to find work; four answers were anticipated 1) too little education, 2) tribal discrimination, 3) the government not trying hard enough to create jobs, 4) trade unions looking out for the welfare of their own members, all other answers were indicated and explained. The first category of the four was responded to most strongly, and in order to perform a significance test the last three were combined under the more general heading of those who show some discontent, blaming their state of unemployment on external causes. It is plausible to suggest that those in this group are more prone towards political discontent, but not necessarily action, than those who see personal skill inadequacy as the main cause for their unemployment. Table 5.4 reveals a close division between education and discontent. Of those unemployed 1-3 months 61.5% blame lack of education, 38.5% blame the other three factors. The longer the migrants are unemployed the greater the tendency towards discontent. Of those unemployed 1-2 years 5, 45.4% claim education is the cause while 6, 54.6%, blame the others.

Table 5.4 The Distribution of Attitudes Towards Inability to Find Work Expressed by the Migrants Who Experienced Some Unemployment

| Length of Unemployment | Lack of Education | Discontent* | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| up to 3 months | 8<br>61.54<br>30.77<br>17.02 | 5<br>38.46<br>23.81<br>10.64 | 13<br>27.66 |
| 4-6 months | 3<br>50.00<br>11.54<br>6.38 | 3<br>50.00<br>14.29<br>6.38 | 6<br>12.77 |
| 7-9 months | 4<br>100.0<br>15.38<br>8.51 | . . . | 4<br>5.41 |
| 10-12 months | 6<br>60.00<br>23.08<br>12.77 | 4<br>40.00<br>19.05<br>15.38 | 10<br>21.28 |
| 13-15 months | . . . | 2<br>100.0<br>9.52<br>4.26 | 2<br>4.26 |
| 16-18 months | . . . | 1<br>100.0<br>4.76<br>2.217 | 1<br>2.13 |
| 22-24 months | 5<br>45.45<br>19.23<br>10.64 | 6<br>54.55<br>28.57<br>12.77 | 11<br>23.40 |
| Column Total | 26<br>55.32 | 21<br>44.68 | 47<br>100.00 |

CHI Square Test with combined unemployment categories not possible.

*Discontent: 1. Tribal Discrimination
2. Government Failure

The political potential one might expect under the high unemployment situation in Nairobi is not realized.

A second question asked of the migrants also gives some indication of their attitude towards the state of unemployment within the country. They were asked if urban wages were lowered to reduce the gap between rural-urban wages would a reduction in unemployment result. Those who agree with this proposition show some understanding of the economics of their situation; they are far from being politically dangerous but would be more likely to find fault with government and union policies. Those who disagree are more difficult to assess; they may feel strongly about some other cause of unemployment and so this answer does not negate some political potential. Table 5.5 indicates the responses to this question. Of those unemployed 1-3 months 44.4% agreed. In the total sample of 130 who answered this question 55.4% agreed. Statistically there is little difference between the two answers, a fairly good indication again that feelings are not strongly aroused.

It has been suggested that the students who have had some primary education are the most politically volitile. They are the largest education group and have the largest number of unemployed. Primary students themselves may not be any more or less volitile than the other education groups. In order to test these conflicting views the answers to the question on inability to get work were correlated with the levels of education.

Table 5.5 The Distribution of the Migrants' Understanding of Rural-Urban Wage Differentials for Those Who Have Experienced Some Unemployment

| Length of Unemployment | Lower Wages Would Reduce Unemployment | Lower Wages Would not Reduce Unemployment | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| up to 3 months | 24<br>44.44*<br>33.33 | 30<br>55.56<br>51.72 | 54<br>41.54 |
| 4-6 months | 13<br>65.0<br>18.06 | 7<br>35.0<br>12.07 | 20<br>15.38 |
| 7-9 months | 7<br>100.0<br>9.72 | . . . | 7<br>5.38 |
| 10-12 months | 9<br>50.0<br>12.50 | 9<br>50.0<br>15.52 | 18<br>13.85 |
| 13-15 months | 4<br>50.0<br>5.56 | 4<br>50.0<br>6.90 | 8<br>6.15 |
| 16-18 months | 1<br>50.0<br>1.14 | 1<br>50.0<br>1.72 | 2<br>1.54 |
| 22-24 months | 14<br>66.67<br>19.44 | 7<br>33.33<br>12.07 | 21<br>16.15 |
| Column Total | 72<br>55.38 | 58<br>44.62 | 130<br>100.0 |

*Percentages Read:
44.44 Row %
33.33 Column %

| Length of Unemployment | Lower Wages Would Reduce Unemployment | Lower Wages Would Not Reduce Unemployment | Don't know | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 0 | 85 | 105 | 45 | 235 |
| up to 1 year | 49 | 45 | 7 | 101 |
| up to 2 years | 14 | 12 | 6 | 32 |
| Column Total | 148 | 162 | 58 | 368<br>100. |

CHI Square Test statistically significant at the .05 level.

In order to perform a significance test the two smaller categories; those with no education, 8% of those with some unemployment, those without a complete primary education, 14.8% of the unemployed, were combined with those who had their primary certificate, 47.1% of the unemployed. These three groups make up 69.9% of the total number of migrants unemployed. Those migrants with secondary education make up 30.1% of the unemployed. In Table 5.6 primary education and less made up 66.9% of the total, secondary students made up 33.1% of the total. While 45.2% of those in the primary category blamed their failure to obtain employment on lack of education only 31.1% of secondary students did. Fifty-four point eight per cent of the migrants with primary education or less could be called discontented, while 68.9% of the secondary or less were. In order to confirm the emphasis on lack of education in the case of the primary category Table 5.7 shows 25% of those with no education claimed lack of education as the main cause for unemployment, the other 75% blamed the 3 other factors. The tendency towards education in the primary group is more pronounced in this table with 62.2% blaming education, 37.8% blaming the others. We may conclude that those with some primary education are perhaps less likely to blame external influences for their unemployment, but because of their superior numbers they stand out as the most discontented group.

Table 5.6 The Distribution of Attitudes Towards Inability to Find Work Expressed by the Migrants in the Two Education Categories for the Total Sample

| | Lack of Education | Discontent | Row Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| up to Primary | 109<br>45.2<br>74.7<br>30.3 | 132<br>54.8<br>61.7<br>36.7 | 241<br>66.9 |
| Secondary | 37<br>31.1<br>25.3<br>10.3 | 82<br>68.9<br>38.3<br>22.8 | 119<br>33.1 |
| Colum Total | 146<br>40.6 | 214<br>59.4 | 360<br>100.0 |

CHI Square Test statistically significant at the.0141 level.

Table 5.7 The Distribution of Attitudes Towards the Inability to Find Work Expressed by the Unemployed Migrant According to Three Education Categories

| | Lack Education | Union, Government Tribal Discontent | |
|---|---|---|---|
| None | 2<br>25.0<br>6.5<br>3.4 | 6<br>75.0<br>22.2<br>10.3 | 3<br>13.8 |
| Primary | 23<br>62.2<br>74.2<br>39.7 | 14<br>37.8<br>51.9<br>24.1 | 37<br>63.8 |
| Second | 6<br>46.2<br>19.4<br>10.3 | 7<br>53.8<br>25.9<br>12.1 | 13<br>22.4 |
| Column Total | 31<br>53.4 | 27<br>46.6 | 58<br>100.0 |

CHI Square Test not performed.

II. Individual Costs

The private costs of migration are not a distinct category of costs but overlap with some discussed earlier in this chapter. What were considered to be social costs may also be relieving the burden of costs to the unemployed migrant.

In order to determine the costs of the move a measure of distance is used. Although transportation is not expensive and probably the migrant's possessions are few the move does imply a monetary cost. Possibly a much more significant role of distance as a proxy for costs is the psychological costs it implies. A short distance implies few cultural shocks, and less pain in parting from family and friends. For those migrants who have come from other urban centers the transition is less overwhelming. In the Nairobi sample 48 persons migranted from other urban centers in Kenya[2].

The average distance travelled by the migrants is found in Table 5.8 for the total sample of migrants who came to Nairobi between 1964 and 1965 the mean was 113.457 miles and those who came after 1965 averaged 141.301 miles these means are significantly different in a t-test at the .01 level. In 1964-65 those who did not experience any unemployment travelled an average of 114.933 miles which was significantly less than the total migrant sample after 1965 with a mean of 141.301 miles and those unemployed up to three months after migration in 1964 or 1965 who averaged a distance of 205.364 miles.

Table 5.8 Average Distance Travelled by Nairobi In-Migrants

| | Mean Distance Travelled (miles) | N | Migrant Category |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | 113.457 | 138 | Total migrant sample (arrived in Nairobi 1964/1965) |
| 2. | 114.933 | 60 | Migrants who did not experience unemployment(1964/1965) |
| 3. | 205.364 | 11 | Migrants who remained unemployed up to 3 months (1964/1965) |
| 4. | 132.500 | 6 | Migrants who remained unemployed up to 6 months (1964/1965) |
| 5. | 67.000 | 50 | Migrants who remained unemployed up to 12 months (1964/1965) |
| 6. | 114.688 | 16 | Migrants who remained unemployed up to 22-24 months (1964/1965) |
| 7. | 141.301 | 236 | Total migrant sample (arrived in Nairobi 1966-1968) |
| 8. | 134.528 | 142 | Migrants who did not experience unemployment(1966-1968) |
| 9. | 141.022 | 45 | Migrants who remained unemployed up to 3 months (1966-1968) |
| 10. | 168.647 | 17 | Migrants who remained unemployed up to 6 months (1966-1968) |
| 11. | 94.000 | 5 | Migrants who remained unemployed up to 9 months (1966-1968) |
| 12. | 135.750 | 12 | Migrants who remained unemployed up to 12 months (1966-1968) |
| 13. | 216.700 | 10 | Migrants who remained unemployed up to 22-24 months (1966-1968) |

The longest average move was made by those migrants who came to Nairobi in 1966-1968 and were unemployed 22-24 months, their mean mileage was 216.700 which when statistically tested compared unfavourably with: those employed immediately after migration in all years, the total migrant sample of 1964-65, those unemployed 2 years after migration who came in either 1964 or 1965 (114.688 miles), those unemployed one year after 1946 (67.000), the total sample of migrants after 1965 and those unemployed up to 3 months in the 1966-68 category.

With some variation it appears that the greater the distance the longer the unemployment and the expense of unemployment seems to be increasing once the migrants begin to migrate after 1965. Thus the cost to the unemployed expressed as distance travelled during migration is ofter greater then the cost to the total sample or the fully employed sample. With largest investment and the slowest return experienced by the 1966-1968 migrants.

Just as distance is only a weak indicator of the costs of the move little can be understood of the costs of urban living without employment. The unemployed migrant must find a shelter and a means to subsist. There are a number of ways in which he might survive in the city without a job to provide him with income: he may receive aid from relatives and friends who reside in the city and who can provide him with accomodation and meals, or he might be supported by relatives and friends who live outside the city of Nairobi.

The first of these modes of support has been discussed elsewhere. The phrasing of this question encompasses aid from friends, relatives, and employers, it is quite possible to assume that all those who claim to receive aid from someone in Nairobi and who are unemployed have received this aid from either friends or relatives. The migrants claim tnat 12.5% of those unemployed up to one year received help, 87.5% did not. Of those unemployed up to two years after migration 11.8% received aid and 88.2% did not. Referring back to Table 3.6 this distribution is similar to that of the total sample in which 15.6% received shelter or food from some source and 84.4% did not. The fact that such a small percentage of the unemployed received help in this form causes considerable concern as to how they survived, particularly those unemployed for extended periods of time.

The second possible means of support is from relatives living outside Nairobi. The migrants were asked if they obtained money from this source. The tabulated answers led to the conclusion that no significant help came from external friends or relatives. Those unemployed up to 2 years after migration in 1964 and migration in 1967 had the highest average monthly cash gifts, .6£ and .5£ respectively. Many categories of unemployed claimed to receive no outside financial help whatsoever, specifically those who moved to Nairobi in 1965 and were not immediately employed received no outside help.

A t-test for significance compared those unemployed for two years after arriving in Nairobi in 1964 with the total sample of unemployed who came in 1967; 1964 claimed more aid at the .05 level of significance. Those unemployed 2 years coming in 1967 compared favourably with three categories (all at the .05 level); the total unemployed population of 1966 in-migration with an average .015£, those unemployed 1 quarter after arriving in 1966 with average 0.143£, and the total unemployed population that came in 1967 with aid of 0.120£. Although this aid was very important to the migrants it is difficult to imagine how the migrants can live on 2 shillings a month.

The final source of comfort the migrants have access to would be presents of food sent by relatives. This can hardly be looked on as sufficient to keep a man from starving. The questionaire did not give proof that rural produce was being sent to unemployed relatives, however those men who have wives living and working in the rural area (Table 5.8, 19.9%) would be most likely to receive this type of support. Without any knowledge of the activities of the urban wives it is also possible to suggest that some men accompanied by their wives (Table 5.8, 15.8%) are supported by them until they obtain employment.

The results of this analysis of individual costs suggest that unemployed migrants have expended more money and possibly anxiety on out-migration than immediately employed migrants and that they have little hope of receiving aid in any form from friends or relatives while they are without incomes in the city. This study has not been able to explain how they have supported themselves during their job-search but it is obvious that the physical and psychological costs of unemployment in an urban setting are immeasurable.

This concludes the discussion of costs caused by rural-urban unemployed migrants, a summary of these costs and conclusions resulting from them follow the next chapter.

[1]Joan M. Nelson, Sojourners vs New Urbanites, Unpublished draft paper, (March, 1972).

[2]Henry Rempel, Rural-to-Urban Labour Migration: An Interim Report, Staff Paper No. 39 (Nairobi: Institute for Development Studies, August, 1969), p. 5, Table 1.1.

# CAHPTER VI

## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Over this five year period the jobs in Kenya were increasing. In the public service employment rose by 3.7% per annum, and in private commerce and industry employment increased by 2.2% per annum making a total increase in the urban sector of 5.9% per annum. Employment in the rural area actually fell at a rate of 2.4%.[1] Thus the probability of obtaining a job in the modern sector actually increased, while job opportunities in the rural area were decreased, reducing the probability of obtaining a job there.

Non-agricultural average earnings rose from K£ 97 to £ 180, an increase of 11%. Small farm average earnings rose 5% from K£ 67 in 1960 to £ 77 in 1966.[2] In 1966 average wages in the urban sector were 250% higher than average farm family income. Thus expected urban income was rising due to a faster rate of wage increase in the urban area which increased the already wide gap between rural and urban incomes.

This period saw a significantly increasing expected urban income due to a rising probability of obtaining a job and an increasing income gap. The rural demand situation reinforced the influence of this expected urban income so that in-migration was growing throughout this period.

As a result there was a high cost per migrant due to an extreme condition of over-supply.

The growth potential of costs related to the unemployed migrant is based on two possible changes in the economy; a change in the demand-supply situation and a change in the quality of in-migrants.

Demand-Supply

If the number of in-migrants were to be reduced so that the number of unemployed migrants declined then the average length of unemployment per migrant would fall and hence the cost per migrant would be reduced.

Earlier discussion has suggested some solutions to the migrant unemployment problem. It is only relevant for the purposes of this study to discuss that solution which claims to relieve the illness rather than suppress the symptoms. Were rural income and job opportunities, particularly for those with education, to increase at a rate equal to previous urban experience then rural opportunities might begin to compare favourably with expected urban income and Kenyans might look forward to a reduced burden of urban unemployed. Implementation of such an upward swing in rural opportunities depends on an increased interest in the development of rural Kenya, specifically in agriculture and related services, and at the same time more concern should be shown for improving the living and working conditions in the rural areas.

The 1970-1974 Development Plan points out that the 1966-1970 plan did not include adequate programs and policies for health, education, water, marketing and roads in the rural counties.[3] It also recognizes that insufficient attention was given in Kenya's first two plans to rural economic development.[4] The 1970-1974 plan has emphasized rural development as a top priority and in particular it has attempted to encourage faster agricultural development.[5] A community development program has been introduced which stresses the need for rural adults to obtain functional literacy, development skill and interests, and the need for placement and appropriate education for the many young Kenyans who must look forward to a rural future. This program is to be integrated into the general education framework set out in the plan. To increase agricultural production, extension services, credit facilities and research are all more strongly emphasized than in previous plans.

The plan states a determination on the part of the government to decentralize industrial expansion whenever possible.[6] It recognizes the majority of the jobs which will need to be created in 1970-1974 will have to be in the rural areas, with at least $\frac{1}{2}$ the secondary school-leavers not finding urban employment.[7] Therefore the plan states that the primary strategy of the rural development program is to create job opportunities not only in agriculture but in every other major economic activity.

It is hoped that there will be an employment increase of 5.8% in non-agricultural wage pursuits and an increase of 4.5% in agricultural wage employment. With constant pressure on job expansion in and out of agriculture in the rural economy the plan only foresees an increase in income from agricultural production of 1.5% per annum.[8] The weakest element in the plans of the 1960's according to Sol Sinclair was that there was no development of a national price-income stabilization policy.[9] This weakness however does not seem to have been removed in the 1970-1974 plan: "The prices of Kenya's exports will be expected to decline. This again emphasizes the need for the small farmer to maintain and increase his income progressively by raising his productivity and reducing his costs of production."[10]

The urban industrialized economy is not expected to slow down significantly in the near future and it would be unacceptable to suggest that it should. An employment growth rate in the urban industrial and commercial sector surpassing the 2.2% recorded for recent years is desirable but caution must be practised in the growth of the civil service preventing it from becoming a job creating force without any consideration of the needs of the economy.

Since urban demand is a relatively fixed factor (1.5%-4% increase in output equals 1% increase in urban employment)[11] it is the rural economy which must bear the burden of adjustment.

A significant increase in rural development will reduce the supply of migrants through rural job creation if this increase relates favourably to urban expansion. The ideal situation would be one in which the migration rate drops off while jobs continue to become available in the urban sector. If rural development does not expand at a faster rate then the rural-urban migration related to income and demand will change according to the urban demand situation.

The development plan of 1970-1974 has also outlined an incomes policy which the government wishes to institute in the face of growing unemployment.[12] The government plans to reduce the serious salary differentials in the civil service until the "process of levelling upwards" has allowed the incomes of other sections of society to catch up from the present low levels.[13] The government also proposes to control wages through an industrial court which will enforce any maximum level of wage increases set. But it states "the government considers that most workers have a right to expect regular gains in real income,"[14] and it proposes to keep minimum wages from rising too rapidly.[15]

A combination of these two policies although well intentioned cannot hope to reduce the urban unemployment problem.

Although the government is aware of the unfortunate results of rural-urban income differentials[16] it does not plan to undertake a policy which will alleviate the situation. As a result the investment that should be taking place in the improvement of rural living conditions will be pressured to occur in the urban centers which will encourage not discourage further rural-urban migration.

If rural demand were to follow the pattern recommended but with increasing urban minimum or employer-union agreed wages then the value of this exercise would be lost. With urban income 250% higher in relation to rural small farm income a continuing 11% increase in urban income would negate the value of even an 11% increase in rural income. Thus it is necessary for the government to control in some way the urban wage rate.

Changing Costs Due to the Quality of Migrants

The composition of costs will be determined by the changing characteristics of the migrants. The number of unemployed need not change but the cost of each unemployed member of the urban labour force may change due to changes in the types of migrants. If the skill level of the migrants improves without any alleviation of the unemployment rate then the cost per migrant to the economy will increase according to the value of production lost. If the skill level improves and provides the type of skills that were in demand but unfulfilled then the costs of migration will be reduced, assuming that the response to increased jobs is reduced due to changed rural conditions.

If the quality of the labour is improved in its ability to correlate job information and obtain jobs then migration costs will also be down.

It is to be expected that as migration progresses the influence of increased educational opportunities in Kenya, see Table 6.1, will reveal an improved education and training level of migrants. It is generally agreed that increased education increases the probability of urban in-migration.[17] It will become less likely that any of the migrants will be illiterate or have only a few years of primary school. The number of secondary graduates will increase. Thus if the unemployment rate remains the same the costs will rise closer to 25.00 K£ per migrant. These costs may not be alleviated by a shorter period of unemployment for secondary graduates, unless special skills are developed by the new migrants to help them overcome some of the communication difficulties associated with job search. Looking at the past unemployment experience of secondary students a similar performance would be very costly to the economy. In the years 1964-1968 they made up 36% of the unemployed, with an average unemployment rate, (1964-1965) of 4.342 months and in 1966-1968 of $2\frac{1}{2}$ months with its downward bias. The costs to the economy however might be evened out due to the even higher rates of unemployment experienced by those with less education; in particular those with no education who suffered 5.455 months of unemployment before obtaining their first job.

Table 6.1 Pupils Enrolled by Type of School, 1962-1970

| | 1962 | 1963 | 1964 | 1965 | 1966 | 1967 | 1968 | 1969 | 1970 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Primary Schools | 935,766 | 891,553 | 1,010,889 | 1,014,719 | 1,043,416 | 1,133,179 | 1,209,680 | 1,282,297 | 1,427,58 |
| Secondary Schools* | 26,586 | 30,120 | 35,921 | 47,976 | 63,193 | 88,779 | 101,361 | 115,246 | 126,85 |
| Teacher Training | 3,927 | 4,119 | 4,849 | 5,355 | 5,474 | 5,904 | 6,634 | 7,194 | 8,10 |
| Trade | 1,443 | 1,202 | 1,043 | 1,247 | 1,349 | 1,479 | 2,036 | 2,344 | 2,42 |

*Secondary Technical Schools are included from 1964.

Source: Statistical Abstract 1971, Statistics Division, Ministry of Finance and Planning

Whether the existence of secondary students in higher numbers in the migrant stream would reduce the average length of unemployment would depend to a great extent on whether structural unemployment was significant in the modern sector.

The composition of the labour force may change in other ways which will also affect the costs of migration. Different categories of migrants varied in their rates and lengths of unemployment. This information would be of value if we can assume that their future employment patterns would be similar to their past.

The first example of this type is one in which the composition of the labour force will probably follow the same pattern. It is quite realistic to assume that the majority of migrants will continue to belong to the youngest age group both because their returns will be the greatest and their competitive position is the best because of their superior education. If this assumption is correct then expected average unemployment in the future will be five months while the majority of them seek employment and live with relatives. Because the younger migrants dominated the sample it is difficult to predict whether another group with the same large numbers would not experience the same average unemployment. Thus were the age group 24-35 to become the major group we may not expect a reduced average unemployment (3 months) without some qualification.

In some situations prolonged unemployment has resulted in reduced costs as the economy enjoys the benefits of improved skilled labour. The costs to the economy of those who have acquired further training in the urban area will be reduced if they obtain jobs shortly after completing their courses but will increase more rapidly once they remain unemployed with their improved productive skills. In the 1964-1968 period it appeared that for some of those who had completed their courses unemployment had not been overcome. This suggests that there is little structural unemployment in Nairobi where many industrial jobs are unskilled. If this remains true then use of urban training to improve their employability will increase the costs of in-migration with little compensation to the economy once they become employed.

Costs can remain close to their present level if migrants continue to move to urban areas unencumbered by family. If this means they will remain unemployed longer it may negate the reduced cost of smaller numbers. If a migrant is supported by his wife either through her efforts in the rural or urban area this will significantly reduce the burden on the city and its more permanent inhabitants and on the migrant himself.

The choice of housing type will also affect future costs to the city for if migrants choose between low and temporary housing and choose the latter then costs will be reduced in the future.

Some encouragement of community self-help projects rather than providing a great deal more than the basic necessities will reduce the costs to government and will tend to lead to a more self-sufficient migrant population than that resulting from council housing. However, the distance migrants must travel from temporary housing looking for work and to and from their jobs represents a significant cost to them and a potential one to the economy. Thus transportation costs to the city and the individual must be considered or the resultant production loss due to long distances undertaken by foot.

Compounding Costs

The cost per migrant will increase due to the compounding of existing costs. Some of these costs are inevitable and accompany the growth of an urban center, but at the same time they increase the costs of the unemployed to the economy. Such exogenous factors are: increasing densities, political propensities, distance travelled to look for or go to work, burden on relatives (cost of first unemployed relative is psychologically much less than the tenth).

It should be apparent from these last two sections that little reduction of costs can be expected from a changing quality of migrant, but rather that it is most likely that as educational programs expand costs per unemployed migrant will increase. It is unlikely that Nairobi will experience a reduction of unemployed migrants until the supply-demand (incomes) situation changes.

Review of Conclusions

Chapters four and five outlined the costs which the Kenyan economy carried during the 1964-1968 period due to the existence of unemployed urban migrants. It would be useful to review these briefly.

The costs to the urban economy due to production foregone were determined on the basis of an average cost per in-migrant. This estimate of costs was based on the average income per employed migrant and the average length of unemployment per migrant. The conclusion of this section was that these costs were not reduced due to any inferior production potential of the unemployed migrants. This decision was balanced over a number of characteristics of the unemployed:

1. Over an extended period of unemployment the unemployed tended to have lower educational attainment than the total sample, reducing somewhat the average cost per migrant.

2. The age of the migrants who experienced the most unemployment did not lead to such unambiguous conclusions; although the youngest age group comprised the greatest number of unemployed with the longest wait for jobs and as a result lacked the job experience that older age implies, they generally had a higher level of education. Thus the production loss suggested depends on the relative productive potential implied by education and employment experience. Because of the low educational attainment of the older migrants we might tentatively conclude that this increased the costs of unemployment.

3. Trade training among the unemployed was uncommon. This result does not differ however from the total sample of migrants. There were a few tradesmen who remained unemployed a significant length of time which does imply increased costs to the economy.

4. Those who had taken special courses since coming to Nairobi also experienced unemployment; up to 33.86% of their numbers. The distribution of unemployed with courses was close to the distribution of the total sample.

5. It was determined that the self-employed migrants living in temporary housing also represented a cost to the economy. This group displayed less than the average productivity of all other self-employed and wage employed workers.

The production foregone in the rural areas was more difficult to determine. It was assumed because of the landownership of the migrants that the majority came from small farm subsistence type backgrounds with some cash production. In order to determine what their contribution to the rural economy was it would be necessary to acquire figures for the average man-hours worked on such a farm by one individual and for the value of production per hour. No such figures were available. Thus it was only possible to hypothesize that each migrant was making a positive contribution to the rural economy and proceed to study their individual characteristics.

1. Those who had experienced unemployment or partial employment in the rural economy suffered the greatest lengths of urban unemployment but the migrants who were students before migration were the strongest in numbers and proportion of urban unemployed. These two groups are the most difficult to assess in terms of their production potential but it is obvious that the students would have significant contributions to make to the rural economy were they able to find employment there.

2. Production loss to the rural economy is reduced because few unemployed migrants left farm land behind and none left their land to be neglected.

3. The migrants observed a shortage of jobs relative to the number of job seekers in the rural economy and claimed this to be their most significant reason for out-migration. Although the urban unemployed have educational and skill backgrounds which are superior to the population of Kenya as a whole it is difficult to determine how much they are costing the rural economy since most of them have not worked in the rural economy and do not own land.

City costs were outlined in chapters three and five emphasizing the rising costs related to increasing population pressure which are not being met by municipal revenues. These costs were looked at according to housing category:

1. The cost of unemployed migrants in high cost housing was found to be negligible.

2. In medium cost housing the cost is borne mainly by the relatives of the unemployed. This latter cost may be offset to some extent by the benefits accruing to the unemployed, particularly in their ability to find the most productive employment opportunities.

3. Low cost housing represents the highest cost to all factors considered in this section; density is a problem here which large numbers of unemployed only aggravate. Relatives may also play a significant role in helping the unemployed but a greater sacrifice is required not because they are less able to bear the financial strain but because of the greater physical discomfort. Here government and employers subsidize housing so that they are more directly bearing the costs of the unemployed. The general pressure of population on facilities and services in this housing category will provide pressure for further government expenditure.

4. Temporary housing is often considered the most pressing problem. In Nairobi this sector is made up of many peri-urban communities where densities are more comparable with rural experience. Many migrants look upon their residence here as a transitional stage in their move from village to city.[18] Here migrants provide their own housing and fewer amenities are needed due to the reduced densities. The major cost of this area is time lost in travelling to and from the city center which makes job hunting more difficult.

Further costs to the city were considered:

1. Marital status of unemployed may lead to increased or decreased costs to the city and the economy, since with a wife and children an unemployed migrant represents increased costs to the city facilities and increased density and sanitary problems. The majority of men were unaccompanied by any immediate family and may have reduced the costs of the unemployed because they were in a better position to search for the right job. Some left their families behind to attend to their economic responsibilities in the rural area.[19]

2. Unemployed migrants were found to consider their urban moves with the same degree of permanency as the employed thus not reducing the costs to the city in terms of expectations.

3. Political activity did not show up strongly in this study and did not appear to be a significant cost of unemployment at the time of the study.

The individual cost of migration when it was not justified by subsequent employment was impossible to quantify or even describe. It need only be said that prolonged and extensive costs such as these leave scars on the economy and the society which take a long time to disappear.

[1]D. P. Ghai, op. cit., p. 5.

[2]Todaro, "Education and Rural-Urban Migration: Theoretical Constructs and Empirical Evidence From Kenya," p. 6.

[3]Republic of Kenya, Development Plan 1970-1974, 1969, p. 71.

[4]Ibid.,

[5]Ibid., p.107.

[6]Ibid., p. 85.

[7]Ibid., p. 105.

[8]Ibid., p.107.

[9]Sol Sinclair, "The Strategy of Kenya's Agricultural Development Plan," Education, Employment and Rural Development, James R. Sheffield Ed. (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), p. 106.

[10]Ibid., p. 140.

[11]Frederick H. Harbison, "The Generation of Employment in Newly Developing Countries," Education, Employment and Rural Development. James R. Sheffield Ed. (Nairobi: East African Publishing House, 1967), p. 178.

[12]Kenya, Development Plan 1970-1974, p. 131.

[13]Ibid., p. 136.

[14]Ibid., p. 138.

[15]Ibid., p. 139.

[16]Ibid., p. 192

[17]Todaro, "Education and Rural-Urban Migration: Theoretical Constructs and Empirical Evidence From Kenya," p. 21.

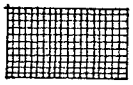
[18]Solzbacher, "East Africa's Slum Problem, A Question of Definition," Urban Growth in Subsaharan Africa. Josef Gugler Ed. (Kampala: Makerere Institute of Social Research), pp. 45-57.

[19]W. T. W. Morgan, "Urbanization in Kenya: Origins and Trends," Institute of British Geographers Transactions #46. (March, 1969), p. 176

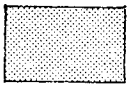
# APPENDIX I

## The Division of Nairobi into Six Housing Categories

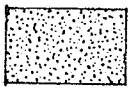
The following list of Nairobi districts indicates those enumeration divisions included in the six housing categories used to differentiate between sectors of Nairobi. The enumeration divisions were used by S. H. Ominde for the 1969 census.[1] The numbers preceeding these divisions refer to the corresponding numbers on the map of Nairobi found on page 137.

High Cost Housing 

1. Kabete and Prince of Wales
2. Bernhard
4. Thompson
11. Upper Parklands

Medium Cost Housing 

12. Parklands and City Park
13. Fort Hall
17. Eastleigh

Transitional Housing 

6. Woodley and Hospital
8. Nairobi Hill
9. Kileleshwa and Arboretum
21. Delamere
23. South "C"

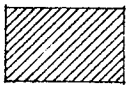
Low Cost Housing

16. Ziwani, Starehe, Pumwani

18. Muthurwa, Gorofani, Shauri Moyo, N.C.C., Shauri Moyo, private

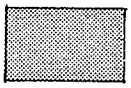
19. Doonholm, Kaloleni

20. Jerusalem, Ofafa, Makadara, Jericho

Temporary Housing 

17. Mathari Valley

29. Riruta, Kangemi, Kangemi Town East, Kangemi Satellite East

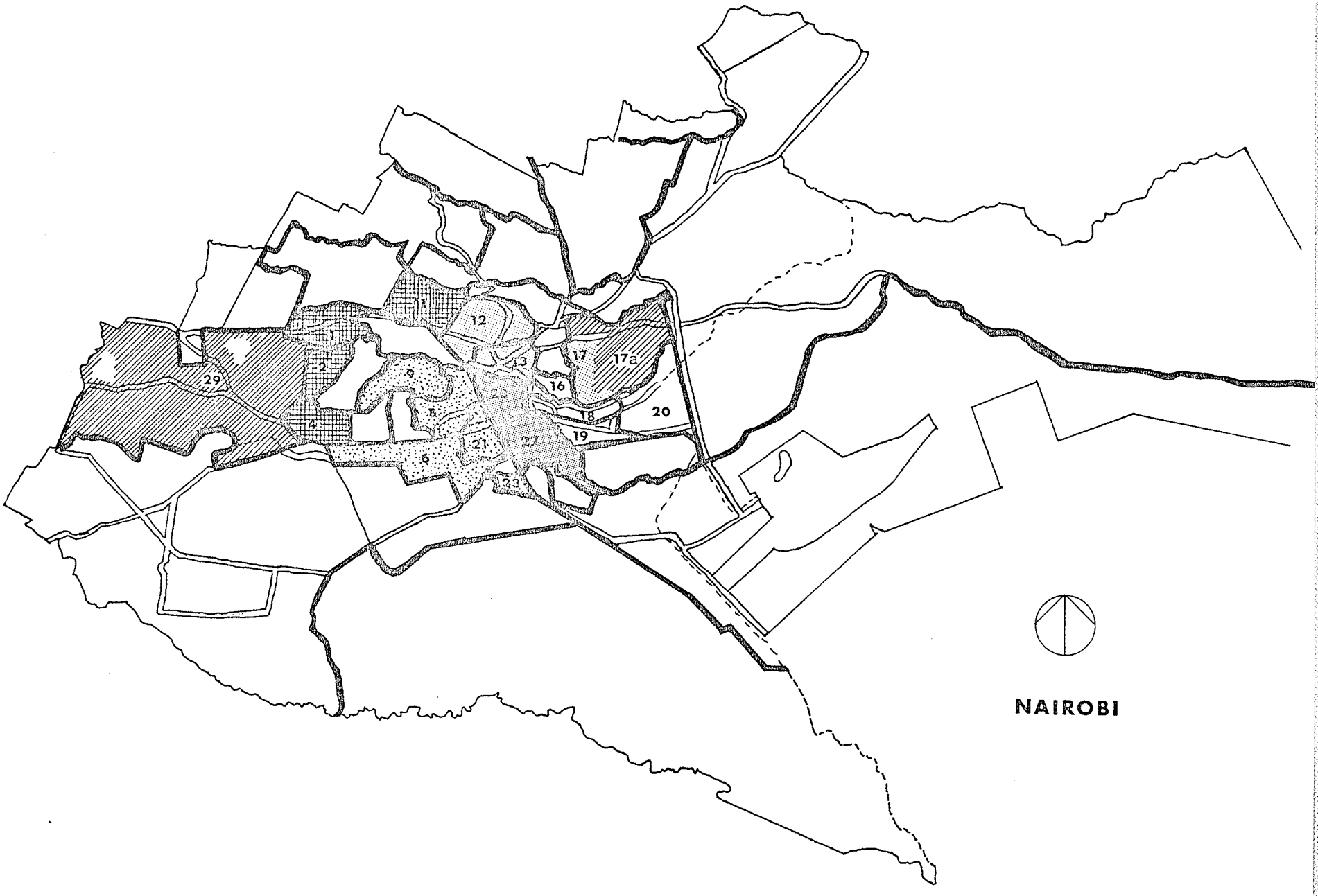
Business 

28. Central

27. London

[1]Rempel, "Rural-To-Urban Labour Migration: An Interim Report," p. 31.

Source of Map of Nairobi: City of Nairobi Planning Report No. 1: Population, Nairobi, 1967, Census Areas Figure 1.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