

## URBANIZATION AND ADAPTATION

### A Reorganization Process of Social Relations among the Maragoli Migrants in Their Urban Colony, Kangemi, Nairobi, Kenya

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**ABSTRACT** The retribalization phenomenon prevails in the most of African larger cities today. Though many of urban migrants do not seem to break away "tribal" social relations in town, the retribalization itself can be regarded purely contemporary, dynamic and urban phenomenon in spite of its appearance.

We would like to take up the Maragoli migrants from Western Kenya living in Kangemi, a poor housing area in Nairobi in order to bear out that kind of retribalization phenomenon. The retribalization phenomenon among them appeared as nothing less than survival mechanism on the extreme edge of subsistence in a severe urban environment. In order to elucidate this phenomenon, this paper adopts the following procedures.

Firstly, eight urban situations, where social relations are developed and organized, are chosen from the daily life of the Maragoli migrants in Kangemi. Secondly, the forms of reorganizing social relations (network/group type) are examined in each situation. Thirdly, the principles of reorganizing them (clan-lineage/village-homeboy/urban neighbourhood-locality principle) are verified in each situation. Finally, we analyse how the village-homeboy principle, which has been rapidly developed in town, is embedded and reinterpreted in a traditional and dominant ideology of unilineal descent.

This paper takes an example of the eighth situation and focuses on social relations organized on the occasion of cooperation for transporting a deceased migrant's body back home. These activities are still mainly done by the extended family and clan members in the home land, but they are scarcely done by them alone in Nairobi, where they are replaced with home-boys. For the home-boy principle had been newly developed in town as base for cooperation. It might be pointed out that even in such a most traditional and culturally conservative situation as is concerned with funeral rites, the principle of reorganizing social relations has gradually changed from the clan-lineage principle to the home-boy principle, though it is already provided with legitimacy within the framework of the traditional ideology.

## INTRODUCTION

### Statement of Problem

#### 1. Anthropological Approach to African Urban Studies

African urban studies of Anthropology have their origin in one ideal model, the dyachronic model. This model assumed that African urbanization can be regarded as a gradual process of detribalization in consequence of direct contact with heterogenous and powerful Western cultures. The approach, paying much attention to cultural contacts and acculturation, was an epoch-making one adopted by those anthropologists of the 1930's and the 1940's like Malinowski and Hellman (Malinowski, 1945; Hellman, 1937, 1948). In the 1950's, however, members of the Rhodes-Livingstone School such as Gluckman, Mitchell and Epstein advocated a new approach for African urban studies on the basis of their own field research of the Copperbelt towns in Northern Rhodesia (now Zambia). They criticized the detribalization model and put forward another approach, which emphasized synchronic social relations.

Epstein and Mitchel, especially, established a situational analysis on the assumption that urban social system is an independent and single system (Mitchell, 1966; Epstein, 1958, 1967). The new approach divides urban situations under the system into two domains. One is a politico-economic domain, the dominant norms of which are not tribal but urban, another is a domestic domain where social relations are based on the traditional tribal norms. The situational analysis refuted the simple dyachronic detribalization model and highlighted the migrant's personal strategy in situational selection. Some of the theoretical points of this approach are still valid today. What are left to be more elaborated? The approach neither makes clear details of both domestic and politico-economic domains nor substantiates social relations as to whether they are tribal or urban. This cannot resolve the paradox of retaining 'tribal' relations in a strikingly urban context. In addition, it does not follow social changes of ideologies which lead to changes of forms and principles of social relations seemingly detribalized in urban situations.

For its elaboration, it is important to remove such uncertain dichotomy as tribal/modern or rural/urban and to illuminate the retribalization phenomenon which is contemporary, dynamic and urban. The purpose of this paper lies in this point.

## 2. Urban Retribalization Phenomenon

It was Cohen who wrote that "in the newly independent African States, two contradictory phenomena, detribalization and retribalization are emerging at one and the same time." He carried out his field research of Hausa community in Ibadan of Yoruba land, Nigeria. The Hausa residents there used their own language, maintained their traditional customs of food and clothes, intensified traditional norms and interactions within them, and showed their negative preference of marriage with other ethnic groups. Cohen called it the "Hausa retribalization phenomenon (Cohen, 1969: 186)." Similar phenomena were reported in many other regions of Africa (Winder, 1962; Morris, 1962).

Many studies of retribalization phenomenon have been carried out in terms of cultural continuity or cultural conservatism. However, though it looks as if it were stagnation, it is never cultural conservatism in essence but a dynamic change of social relations for adaptation of a completely new social reality in an urban environment. Such a view-point begun to be established since the early 1970's. We will examine this dynamic social change in more detail.

Urban population have rapidly expanded in almost all the African countries after their political independence. What have caused this explosion of urban population? Though several factors like high birth rate should be considered, the most crucial factor is the mass migration from rural to urban areas, where most of them remain in migrant status rather than become townsmen.<sup>(1)</sup> They flow into towns where there are opportunities for permanent employment, leaving behind their family and farm land in rural home areas. Some migrants return to their villages in order to help their family at the time of cultivating or harvesting and some wives come to the towns to stay with their husbands during the peasants' slack season. This kind of circulatory migrating population is typical of and molds an urban social system in Africa.

Since the 1970's, many more migrants have come to towns, especially in larger towns, than have been able to be absorbed in housing and employment. Currently, opportunities for obtaining cash employment are slim and not as optimistic as they were for migrants in the 30's and 40's. The migrants today have to live a daily life under severe urban conditions which means lack of job opportunity, scarcity of accommodation, high risk of physical security. They are forced to form social networks of mutual help or patronage and subordination

(patron-client relationship). Observing the symbol or ideology which integrate and reorganize those social networks, three ideal types should be considered as mechanisms of survival in the severe urban environment.

The first ideal type is to create a new social symbol or ideology which is completely different from the one in vogue (i.e. creation). The second is to borrow symbols or ideology from another group (i.e. borrowing). The third ideal type is to make some changes in the traditional symbol or ideology in order to expand the basis of existence (i.e. modification). The retribalization phenomenon we will discuss in this paper is a variant of the third type. It has three courses of development which are; (i) to intensify the cultural tradition and exclusivism, (ii) to reorganize traditional social relations or customs, (iii) to create new patterns of social relations or customs under the traditional symbol or ideology.

The retribalization phenomenon comes into existence as one of the most stable and effective reorganizing processes of social relations within the severe urban environment where distribution competitions often occur for the limited social, economic and political resources. This is substantiated by the case of the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi. Confronted with the new situations in town, they tend to reconstruct the same social order within the urban social system as they have formed and made use of it in the traditional rural system. The cultural homogeneity, which is shaped by ethnicity, would be relatively more stable in assuring actual development of social relations in the new environment because members of the same ethnic group share a sense of value or a system of ideas like the kinship system, rituals, marriage regulations and so forth.

Then, which course of the retribalization process has been more effective and stable in reorganizing social relations? In case of the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi, they have followed the third course.

A city is the social field where the heterogeneous, differentiated population in terms of culture, social system and economic status coexist. In such a field, it is difficult for the migrants to just intensify their cultural exclusivism, which is the first course of retribalization, so that they might adapt themselves to harsh urban surroundings. The surroundings force the migrants to change their symbol or principle, meeting the needs of the new situations. Then, if the urban social environment were not so severe for existence, the second course would have given enough stabilization of the social relations to the migrants. It preserves the traditional norms unchanged, changing their social relations under them. But if the environment comes to the limits of existence like the case of Maragoli migrants, they are compelled to create a new pattern of social relations. Even at this stage, most of them do not establish a purely new symbol or ideology to organize the new social relations. They try to justify those new social relations, giving them a stand or reinterpreting them within the framework of implications of the traditional symbol and ideology. This is what we call the third course of the retribalization.

Those discussions so far, could, however, narrow down the theme of "retribalization." It is to this theme this paper will focus attention and inquiry.

## Methodology

We would like to consider the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi bearing in mind the third course of the retribalization phenomenon.

Since the Independence of the Republic of Kenya, the population of Nairobi, the capital city, has rapidly increased<sup>(2)</sup> due to the mass migrants pushed out of rural villages (Rajan, 1969). According to the 1969 Census, only a quarter of the total Nairobi population were

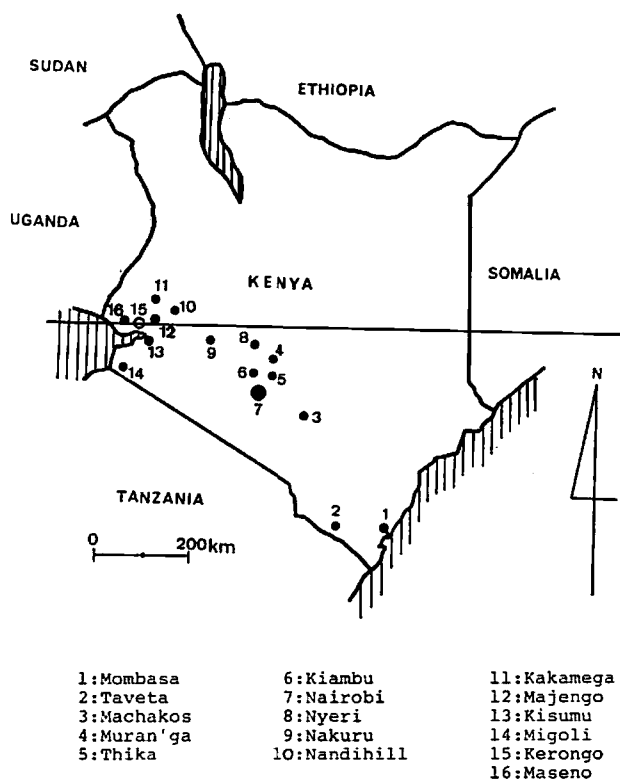


Fig. 1. Map of Kenya.

Table 1. Nairobi population by birth place.

District		(%)
Nairobi	123,013	24.2
Muran'ga	54,991	10.8
Kakamega	47,294	9.3
Machakos	42,150	8.3
Kiambu	40,565	8.0
Nyeri	29,285	5.8
Kisumu	23,553	4.6
Siaya	18,675	3.7
Kitui	12,150	2.4
Kirinyaga	6,356	1.2
Embu	4,638	0.9
Other	106,616	20.8
Total	509,286	100.0

Source: Kenya Population Census, 1969,  
Vol. 3.

born in Nairobi, while the rest three quarters were born outside Nairobi. When we look into their birth places, we find that Murang'a District, which is located north of Nairobi, is the most represented district among migrants in Nairobi. The second largest source is Kakamega District, followed by Machakos and Kiambu Districts (Fig. 1, Table 1). We have to pay more

attention to Kakamega District because it lies in western Kenya and the district centre, Kakamega, is more than four hundred kilometres away from Nairobi while the other three are all neighbouring districts to Nairobi. Despite such geographical and economic disadvantages,<sup>(3)</sup> a lot of the migrants have come to Nairobi from Kakamega District.

Maragoli is an ethnic group<sup>(4)</sup> that has settled in this district. It is therefore reasonable to select this ethnic group as the object of this paper which is to examine the rural-urban migration phenomenon in Nairobi.

The Maragoli is a rather well known group, given its small share in the total Kenya population (150,000. 1%). For, it was the Maragoli that accepted Christianity in earlier period of the very beginning of this century, and it was the Maragoli who have been under the great influence of the rural-urban labour migration (including migration to the then Whites settlers' plantations of coffee, tea and sisal) since 1920's. Administratively, the Maragoli people inhabit both the North and the South Maragoli location (which is called the Maragoli Land), and Vihiga Division of Kakamega District which together with other two districts, composed Western Province. The Maragoli is a Bantu-speaking peasant ethnic group, growing such crops as sorghum, maize and cassava. It was from the late 17th century to the early 18th century when the ancestor of the Maragoli arrived at the present Maragoli land, crossing the Lake Victoria from Uganda (Were, 1967). Later, other sixteen Bantu speaking ethnic groups came to Western Kenya in search of fertile lands. Those seventeen ethnic groups have gradually supertribalized since 1940's<sup>(5)</sup> and become the loosely unified group known as the Luyia today.

When we take up for discussion the retribalization phenomenon of the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi, several conditions should be considered to decide the research field most appropriate for detailed analysis. They are: (i) the retribalization phenomenon taking place as a result of interactions with different ethnic groups in town, the research field should be a poly-ethnic residential area; (ii) for making clear a reorganization process of social relations, the major research field should be occupied by the typical 'Migrant tribe' rather than 'Host tribe';<sup>(6)</sup> (iii) the everyday life of ordinary African migrants being the object of this paper, attention will not be given to some middle class residential areas led by the Government policy, but to the poor housing areas which are found in many of the suburbs of the city.

The social field which satisfy the above conditions, particularly the second, has been variously called by anthropologists, including "tribal quarter", "ethnic community", "urban village" or "urban colony" (Epstein, 1967; Fraenkel, 1964; La Fontaine, 1969; Halpenny, 1975). Here we will use the term "urban colony", taking care to use the term neither "community" nor "village".<sup>(7)</sup>

Not a few migrants who belong to the same ethnic group have established their own urban colony in most of the larger cities on African continent. Those urban colonies have never been formed in a short time. Its foundation process has been closely connected with two kinds of histories, one is a national level history that implies colonization, independence, modernization and urbanization; the other is a local level history of each ethnic group or rural village that has been involved in the former. The Maragoli migrants who came to Nairobi do not form an exceptional case. They have historically formed an urban colony in Kangemi sublocation which is the northern corner of Dagoretti Division on the outskirts of Nairobi. Kangemi meets all of the three conditions stated above (Fig. 2). There is, therefore, much point in investigating how they are involved in the process of reorganizing their social relations in Kangemi.

Though we can find a number of Maragoli migrants in Kangemi, the great majority of them come from the South Maragoli location, especially its southeastern part including Kerongo.



the main research was carried out from September, 1980 to September, 1981. During the research period, the author rented one room in a wooden tenant house in Kangemi and collected data mainly through participant observation supported by the interview method. He also carried out the research in Kerongo village in December, 1980, April and August, 1981 totalling a period of three and half months, when many of the Kerongo born migrants in Kangemi returned to their home village. In this field, the participant observation and interview method with *Wazee* (old men) on their life history were adopted for data collection. All the interviews were taken in Kiswahili, lingua franca of East African regions without any assistant, except some interviews with the village old men (using *Kimaragoli* with the help of his Maragoli friend).

Before we look into the retribalization process among the Maragoli migrants in Kangemi, it is of good use in next chapter to know both of the fields, Kangemi and Kerongo.

## KANGEMI AND KERONGO VILLAGE

### Kangemi; Urban Colony for Maragoli Migrants

#### 1. Kangemi, Its Setting and History

Kangemi is one of the six sub-locations which comprises Dagoretti Division. It lies in the northern part of Dagoretti, adjoins Bernard Estate at its eastern border and the Loresho South Estate to the North. On the south it borders on Kawangware and on the west with Kabete which belong to Kiambu District, and not part of Nairobi municipality. Those two Estates are high class residential areas of the European and African elites, displaying a striking contrast to Kangemi. The total area of Kangemi is five square kilometres.

Kangemi is one of the fastest growing residential areas in Nairobi, the population of which has increased explosively during the last ten years.<sup>(8)</sup> Prior to the invasion of European planters, Kangemi was settled predominantly by the Kikuyu peasants who used to be engaged in agriculture, growing mainly sorgham and maize until Independence. A new type of peasant, however, emerged out of them in the late sixties when mass migration into Nairobi began to cause a serious shortage of accommodation for the newcomers. This new type of Kikuyu landholders constructed simple, wood framed tenant houses on their *shamba* (agricultural field) or former bush to accommodate vast room-missing migrants. They realized good income from low house-rents paid by the tenants. Those landholders expedited to build more and more simple frame tenant houses when a severe housing shortage aggravated in the 70's. Most of these houses were built in Township lands (21 ha), Satellite areas (30 ha) and nearby Farm lands. Almost all of 487 landlords of both Township and Satellite and nearly half of 553 landlords of Farm lands also became the owners of these rented houses. They started to make a living from the house rents. The housing stock of Kangemi is characterized by low cost housing which is supplied by the private sector and not by the Government or City Council. It basically consists of the tenant lodging houses (blocks of one room rental units). One house contains 10 to 20 rooms on an average. These houses can be classified into three grades according to the housing materials used to make them. The lowest grade is the tin-roofed corrugated cardboard houses or grass-roofed mud houses, the rent of which is sh.30-60/- a month. The houses of this grade are concentrated at two sections of Kangemi, Sodom and Mishegwe, which have certain features in common, such as higher population density, worse security, illegal local alcoholic breweries and marijuana. The middle grade is tin-roofed wooden houses, which are the most popular today in Kangemi. The rent of this kind of house is around

Table 2. Shop distribution of Kangemi main street.

	No. of shops
General Store	39
Bar & Restaurant	9
Clothing Items	2
Butchery	5
Kiosk	30
Sundry Goods	6
Tailor	4
Furniture	3
Garage	2
Shoe Repair	1
Charcoal	1
Stall for Vegetable	50

100/- to 150/- a month. It mainly depends on the distance from the bus-stops or a transport centre, since the further it is, the more dangerous it becomes on the way back home at night because of active street robberies. The highest grade is tin-roofed concrete block houses. The house rent amounts to at least 400/- a month. They are scarcely seen in Kangemi yet.

In most plots, there is neither electricity nor water supply. Water is, however, available during 6 to 8 in the morning and 6 to 8 in the evening usually from the communal water supply in the landlord's compound. Shops are concentrated in Kangemi shopping centre (Table 2). Any kind of daily necessities, such as the glass of torch lamps or stately furniture are available there. Daily subsidiary foods and other daily commodities are sold at a market which operates on every Monday and Thursday. Thus, Kangemi is not only a low cost residential area but also important commercial centre for the African migrants living around.

## 2. Intensive Inhabitation of the Maragoli Migrants in Kangemi

The Maragoli migrants came to this new low cost residential area, Kangemi, at the first stage of its expansion in the late 60's. Today the Maragoli might be one of the most predominant ethnic group in Kangemi. The author rented a room of the middle grade tenant house from a Kikuyu landlord at 120/- per month. It was located in the plots where a number of the Maragoli lived. The landlords said that there were many other plots which the Maragoli have intensively occupied. The author visited those plots one by one and picked up 745 rooms of 60 tenant houses from such plots by random sampling. He checked the ethnic composition of all the rooms (Fig. 4, Table 3). We can not, of course, stretch the result to the general situation in Kangemi ethnic composition but it has been confirmed that there are some plots in Kangemi where the majority are the Maragoli. Out of 745 rooms of 60 tenant lodging houses, no less than 256 rooms (34.4%) are occupied by the Maragoli migrants. Considering their small share in the total Kenyan population (only about 1%) compared to that of Kikuyu, Luo and the Kamba, each of which has more than one or two million population respectively, the proportion of the Maragoli is relatively higher.

Here we will consider two kinds of proximity to the Maragoli according to which we can classify all other ethnic groups. These are the cultural linguistic proximity and the geographical proximity. The former encourages the possibility of communication, interaction in the daily life and the formation of an integral political unit and for the Maragoli, all the Luyia ethnic groups have this proximity with it, while the latter causes the inter-ethnic marriage, the exchange of such products like maize, fish or salt through the market and troubles such as land disputes. In case of the Maragoli, the four ethnic groups that have both of these proximi-



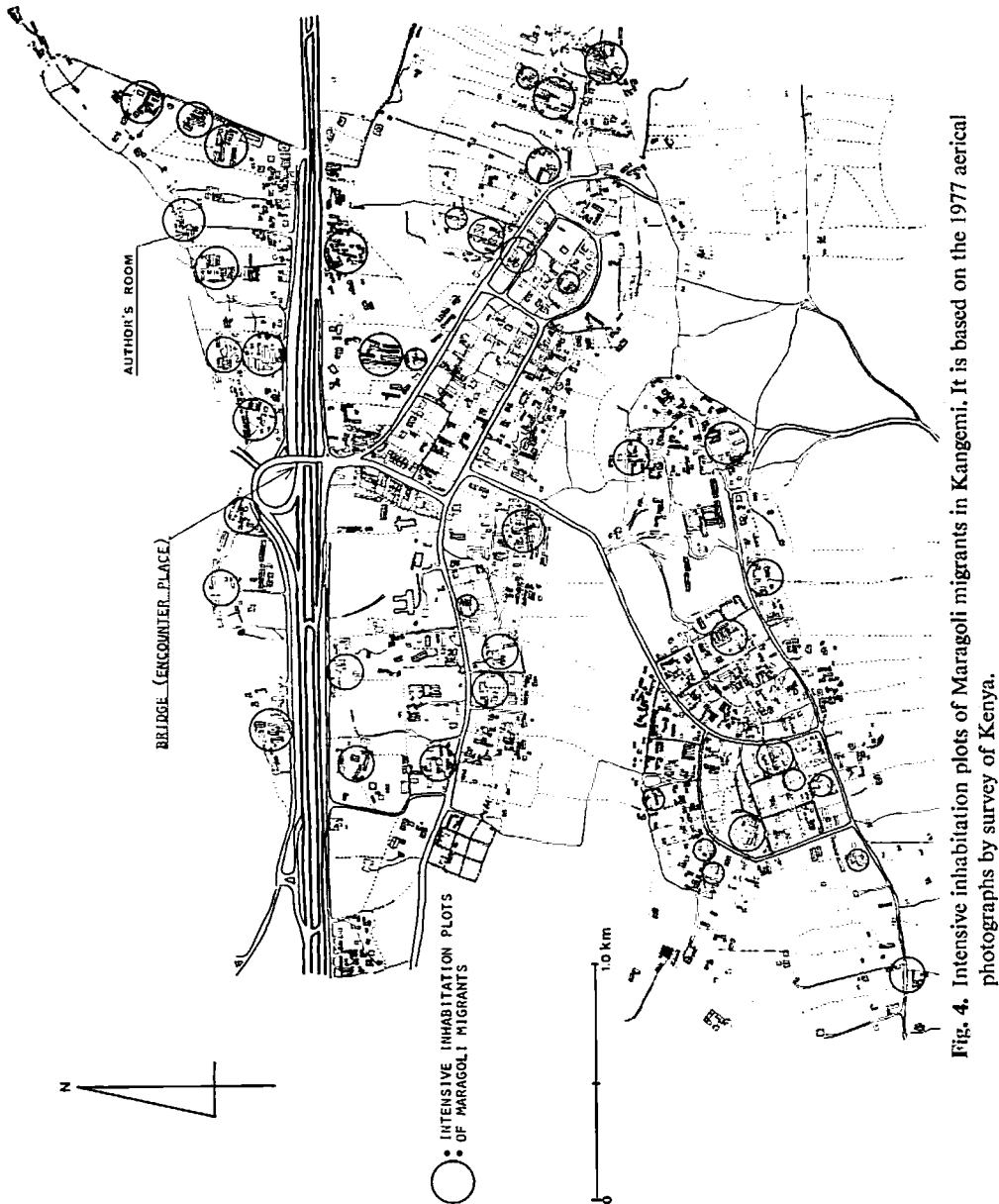


Fig. 4. Intensive inhabitation plots of Maragoli migrants in Kangemi. It is based on the 1977 aerial photographs by survey of Kenya.

ties are Tiriki, its eastern neighbour, Bunyole bordering on the West and Idakho, Isukha to the North. According to those two proximity, we can classify all ethnic groups with the Maragoli into A to D types (Table. 4).

In the plots picked up in Kangemi, tenants of the Maragoli plus the A type groups occupy more than half (422 rooms, 56.7%) of all the rooms.

The Bukusu, settling in the western part of Bungoma District bordering with Uganda, is one of the B type groups. The immediate neighbour of the Bukusu is the Gisu of Uganda and

Table 3. Composition of tenants of lodging house by ethnic group.

Serial no. of lodging house	No. of rooms	Ethnic Group											
		Maragoli	Idakho	Isukha	Tiriki	Bunyole	Other Luyia	Gisu	Kikuyu	Kamba	Luo	Kisii	Other
1	11	3	2	—	1	1	—	—	3	—	1	—	—
2	12	3	—	—	—	1	—	4	2	—	2	—	—
3	15	4	1	2	—	1	—	2	2	1	2	—	—
4	10	3	1	—	—	1	—	—	2	1	1	—	1
5	11	3	1	1	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	2
6	8	3	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	—
7	14	6	1	2	—	1	—	—	3	—	—	1	—
8	14	7	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	—
9	15	7	2	1	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	1	—
10	6	3	—	—	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
11	14	4	1	—	—	—	—	3	—	1	5	1	—
12	14	4	1	—	—	2	1	1	3	—	1	—	—
13	13	5	1	2	—	2	—	—	1	—	2	—	—
14	14	4	1	—	1	—	2	1	3	1	1	—	—
15	13	4	—	1	2	2	—	—	1	1	1	—	1
16	12	5	—	5	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—
17	15	7	3	1	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	—
18	15	5	—	1	—	1	1	1	2	1	2	1	—
19	12	4	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	2	2	—	—
20	14	3	—	—	—	2	—	1	2	1	2	1	2
21	12	3	2	—	—	1	—	1	2	—	2	1	—
22	18	4	1	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	1	—
23	11	4	—	1	—	1	—	2	—	—	2	1	—
24	11	3	—	2	—	1	—	1	1	—	2	1	—
25	14	5	2	1	—	1	1	1	2	1	—	—	—
26	13	5	2	1	—	—	—	1	2	1	1	—	—
27	11	5	—	—	1	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—
28	11	4	—	2	—	2	1	—	1	—	—	1	—
29	10	4	1	—	—	—	1	1	1	1	—	—	1
30	9	2	1	1	—	—	1	—	2	1	—	1	—
31	12	4	1	—	—	1	1	—	2	1	1	1	—
32	13	3	1	—	—	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1
33	14	5	1	1	—	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	1
34	10	4	—	—	—	1	1	1	—	1	1	1	—
35	15	4	1	1	1	1	1	—	1	1	2	—	2
36	10	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	—
37	14	6	2	2	—	—	—	—	2	1	1	—	—
38	10	4	—	—	—	2	1	—	1	1	—	—	1
39	10	3	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	1	1	—
40	12	4	—	1	1	—	1	1	1	—	1	1	1
41	12	5	—	—	—	1	—	1	2	1	—	2	—
42	14	4	2	1	—	1	1	—	2	—	2	1	—
43	10	2	—	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	1	2	1
44	10	2	1	—	—	1	—	3	1	1	1	—	—
45	10	1	1	—	—	2	—	1	2	2	—	1	—
46	4	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
47	11	4	1	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	2	1	—
48	9	2	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	2	1	—	—
49	9	4	1	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	—	1	—
50	8	3	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	1	—
51	10	3	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	—	1	—	—
52	11	5	1	—	1	—	—	—	2	1	—	1	—
53	9	1	1	1	—	2	1	—	3	—	—	—	—

Table 3 (continued).

Serial no. of lodging house	No. of rooms	Ethnic Group											
		Maragoli	Idakho	Isukha	Tiriki	Bunyole	Other Luyia	Gisu	Kikuyu	Kamba	Luo	Kisii	Other
54	16	5	—	1	—	5	—	2	3	—	—	—	—
55	20	7	2	1	2	—	—	—	4	2	1	1	—
56	20	6	—	1	2	—	5	1	2	1	1	1	—
57	14	6	—	1	—	—	1	—	2	1	1	—	2
58	16	9	—	—	—	2	—	2	1	—	1	—	1
59	26	10	3	1	—	—	—	—	4	1	1	6	—
60	14	8	—	—	1	2	—	1	1	—	—	1	—
Total (%)	745 (100.0)	256 (34.4)	50 (6.7)	43 (5.3)	23 (3.1)	50 (6.7)	28 (3.8)	42 (5.6)	99 (13.3)	41 (5.5)	57 (7.7)	39 (5.2)	17 (2.2)

Table 4. Typology of ethnic groups with Maragoli.

	1	2
A Type	+	+
B Type	+	—
C Type	—	+
D Type	—	—

- 1: Cultural, linguistic proximity with Maragoli.  
 2: Geographical proximity with Maragoli.

Table 5. Nairobi population by ethnic group.

Ethnic group	% of the total Kenyan African	
Kikuyu	191,367	46.9
Luyia	65,056	16.0
Luo	62,865	15.4
Kamba	60,716	14.9
Meru	4,184	1.0
Kisii	3,494	0.9
Embu	3,223	0.8
Taita	3,185	0.8
Kipsigis	2,451	0.6
Nandi	1,816	0.4
Other	9,380	2.3
Total	407,734	100.0

Source: Kenya Population Census, 1969, Vol. 2.

the two are even more similar to one another than the Bukusu people are to the rest of the Luyia. The Gisu and the Bukusu claims that they descent from the same primal ancestor. Gisu took refuge in Kenya during the disturbance period of Amin regime when some of them drifted to Kangemi finding a job like a home maid and a watchman. If the Gisu are added to the B type, the Maragoli and A, B type groups share 492 rooms (66.1 %), which comes up to nearly two thirds of all. Considering that, all the Nairobi residents belonging to the Luyia amounts to only 16% of the total Nairobi population (Table 5).

The C type has only one Nilotic group, Luo, which is the second largest ethnic group in Kenya. The Luo had tried to invade the Maragoli land and there were several bloody wars between them in the eighteenth and nineteenth century. On the contrary, social interactions with them were also briskly. for example, there were not a few Maragoli women who got married with the Luo men and there were also a lot of the Maragoli people who could speak the Luo language in the South Maragoli. The A, B and the C type ethnic groups have, therefore, some kinds of social ties with the Maragoli. The tenants of the Maragoli and the three types of groups, occupy as many as 549 rooms (73.8%) amounting to nearly three quarters in the Maragoli intensive inhabitation plots.

This environment of ethnic composition would remind the Maragoli migrants of that of their rural homeland, and, therefore, goes without saying that the newcomers from the Maragoli land feel strong affinities with this environment in Kangemi.

Table 6. Regional grouping of home villages of the Maragoli household heads in Kangemi.

<b>A North Maragoli</b>	
1. Whole Location: Busweta village, Chigama village, Sabatia village, Chavakali, Losengeli village. Viyalu, Mbale, Chamakanga Village, Madieli village.	
<b>B South Maragoli</b>	
1. Kerongo Group: Kerongo village, Lyamagale village, Musunguti village, Chavavo village, Chambale village, Mahanga village, Madzuu village, Inavi village.	
2. Bukuga Group: Bukuga village, Kitulu village, Omulalu village, Vagina village, Madila village, Muhanda village.	
3. Vihiga Group: Vihiga, Kidinyie village, Ikumba village, Igakala village. Majengo, Jilwazi village, Chango village, Kidundu village, Magui village.	
4. Tigoi Group: Tigoi, Lusavasali village, Masana village, Gambogi village, Ideleli village, Lusiola village, Gavalagi village, Chandugunyi village.	
5. Other: Kizava village, Chambiti village, Kegoye village.	
<b>C Other</b>	

Table 7. Native place of the Nairobi household heads in Kangemi by each regional grouping.

Regional Grouping	No. of Household Heads	(%)
<b>A North Maragoli</b>		
1. Whole Location	38	18.5
<b>B South Maragoli</b>		
1. Kerongo Group	64	31.2
2. Bukuga Group	28	13.7
3. Vihiga Group	38	18.5
4. Tigoi Group	22	10.7
5. Other	11	5.4
<b>C Other</b>	4	2.0
Total	205	100.0

### 3. Kerongo Villagers in Kangemi

Here we will check whether Maragoli migrants came evenly from each village in Maragoli land. Parkin, who studied the Luo urban colony in Kaloleni, Nairobi, pointed out that those Luo migrants never came evenly from several regions of Luo land and that the overwhelming majority were Jo Podho (westerners) from Siaya District (Parkin, 1978). We asked 205 household heads of 53 lodging houses about their home villages. The findings are interesting and are shown in Table 5 and Table 6.

Maragoli land is made up of two parts, the North and the South Maragoli. Generally speaking, the characteristics of the North are; (i) a flat, open farm land like Isukha and Idakho land which are adjacent to it, (ii) village of one localized clan dominant type (almost all villagers of a certain village belong to one clan). In contrast to this the characteristics of the South are; (i) a small sloping farm land, scattered with gigantic on the hillside of the Maragoli forest (1977 meters); (ii) village of multi-clan co-inhabitation type (villagers belong to various kinds of clans in one village). In the South, there are 60,000 people in the area of 92 square kilometers, while 82,000 live in the North with an area of 116 square kilometers.<sup>(9)</sup>

The result, however, shows that the South migrants make up 79.5% of all the Maragoli household heads in the plots of Kangemi, whereas the North make up only 18.5%. It has come to the conclusion that the urban colony of Kangemi have been mainly established by the migrants from the South Maragoli. Looking at the details of a good many villages of the South Maragoli, we can classify them into four major regions (Tables 6, 7). According to Table 7, those migrants amount to no less than 31.2% of all, who come from the region in-

cluding Kerongo, Mahanga, Madzuu village. It is, therefore, valid that we pick up Kerongo village in order to verify both the historical tie between the Maragoli and Kangemi, Kabete, and the mechanism of labour migration.

## Kerongo Village

### 1. Kerongo Village, Its Setting

Kerongo is a small mountain village administratively located in Viguru sub-location, South Maragoli location, Vihiga Division, Kakamega District, Western Province. Geographically, it is situated on lat. 0°01'N and long. 34°39'E and 1700 metres above sea level.

From the Maragoli escarpment, at the southern edge of the village, we can observe a panoramic view of Lake Victoria and the vast low land plains settled by the Luo stretches beyond the escarpment. On the west, the village together with Changuzi and Musunguti village borders on the Bunyore land. It also adjoins Lyamagale village at its northern border and Dabwongo village at the eastern, which is half way up the Maragoli forest. These five villages including Kerongo itself consist of Viguru sub-location; one of the eleven sub-locations in South Maragoli location. According to 1979 Census, the total population of Viguru sub-location is 4334. The population of Kerongo village is estimated to be about six hundred.

### 2. Labour Migration Out of Kerongo

Early in this century, the villagers had planted their fields with maize, beans, sorghum and cassava. Although a lot of gigantic rocks and stones were scattered all over the fields, there were fertile soils suitable for cultivation. All the villagers had been engaged in subsistence agriculture and even today most of them are still engaged in agriculture. The village population have, however, increased and their farm lands have been fragmented into small parts<sup>10</sup> (Table 8), which could no more sustain a self-sufficient life of the villagers and forced them to go to the towns to earn cash. The history of labour migration from the villages dates as far back as the 1910's.

Walking around the village, one is not likely to meet male villagers in the age group of twenty to forty, for a large number of them are out of the village for work or to seek a job leaving wives with children-care and farm management. When they manage to secure wage employment, they usually arrange a regular remittance to their rural family. Of the village women (including unmarried daughters and the wives of the villagers shown in Table 9), there were only six who went out to towns to earn money during the research period of 1981. Out of these six women, one belonged to the second generation (living in Nairobi-Kenyatta), while the remaining five were the third generation women (working at Kakamega, Maseno,

Table 8. Area of one piece of land in Kerongo.

Area (ha)	No. of Plots
-0.1	33
0.1-0.2	89
0.2-0.3	54
0.3-0.5	83
0.5-1.0	26
1.0-1.5	5
1.5-	4
Total	294

Source: Land Office, Kakamega, Western Province.

Table 9. Major clans in Kerongo village (Clans of wives excluded).

Clan	No. of members	The 1st generation*	The 2nd generation*	The 3rd generation*
Avamenge	33	1	14	18
Avasaali	33	0	12	21
Avamuku	28	4	13	11
Avagechayo	24	1	12	11
Avatemboli	21	1	10	10
Avamgezi	6	0	3	3
Avamavi	5	0	2	3
Avafunami	1	0	0	1

\*Generation division is clearly recognized within each clan. According to it we classify all grown up villagers into three generation. The generation which includes the first labour migrants from Kerongo is considered the first generation of migration. Their sons and grand-sons are to belong to the second and the third generation of migration respectively. A part of members of the third generation are still at school, they are therefore excluded from the list. And all the sons of the third generation people are infants or primary school pupils and never go out of the village to work. Accordingly the fourth generation of migration never exists yet.

Table 10. Kerongo villagers and labour migration.

	The 1st generation	The 2nd generation	The 3rd generation
Male villagers without any experience of labour migration	1	4	5
Male villagers who remain in Kerongo village	7	29	9
Male villagers who are absent from Kerongo village	0	37	69

Nairobi-Uhuru, Nairobi-Kangemi (2)). It is very rare that a husband and his wife live together in town. Five cases can be found out of all the villagers recorded in Table 9, of which two are of the second generation (Thika and Kisumu), three of the third (Nairobi-Kangemi, Nairobi-Chiromo, Nairobi-Uhuru).

On the contrary, of the total 151 men shown in Table 9 no more than 45 remains in the village at the time of research (Table 10). There are two types among them, one is the retired migrants (mainly made up of the first and the second generation), the other is the temporarily returning migrants who are tired of hunting a job in town and store up their energy to challenge again (mostly the third generation). Only ten villagers have never gone out of the village to seek an employment. Generally speaking, almost all the villagers of the first generation have already retired from a town's life and returned to the village, whereas more than half of the second generation are still engaged in wage labour in towns like Nairobi, Mombasa and Kisumu. As to the third generation, it is amazing that nearly 90% are out of the village for work or to find a job.<sup>(11)</sup>

All this shows that the pattern of the traditional labour migration is still held mainly among the Kerongo villagers. According to this pattern, man alone goes out to town parting from his family while woman takes care of their children and farm land in the village.

It has become common today that the village youths pour into town to seek a job immediately after leaving school. Since Independence, the hut tax and poll tax, which triggered a current stream of the labour migration were abolished, nevertheless the money that the villagers earn in town can be hardly consumed to enrich their rural life by adding farm land or purchasing cattle or goats but to pay school fees for their children and siblings or to purchase such daily necessities as maize flour, cooking oil, sugar and tea leaves. In particular, during the severe drought of 1980, there was a big drop in maize harvests, of which the villagers consumed all the stock within a couple of months. It appears that without the remittances from town a number of starved families would have emerged. We can point out a completely different situation from that of the 1920's. In other words, the village is forced to depend upon remittances from town in order to survive.

Nowadays, the villagers go out of the village with no clear expectation to secure their own accommodation or find a job. They descend upon their close kins or friends in town. This typical type of current labour migration can be called "self-invitation." Owing to severe living conditions in town of both employment and housing, it is not uncommon of the villagers with little formal schooling or particular skill to be out of any permanent employment for several years. H. A. provides an extreme case of this situation. Before Independence, he was working as a houseboy for a British family. When they left Kenya, he was without a permanent job or house. He became a dependent on friends from Kerongo and neighbouring villages living in Kangemi, Kabete and has been moving to different places for 16 years ever since Independence.

During the period of dependence, job-seekers sleep on the floor and wrap themselves up in thin tattered blankets. They are provided with morning tea (*chai*) and evening *ugali* by those kins or friends whom they are dependent upon.

In this trend, Kangemi, where there are a lot of village migrants, has gained in importance to these job-seekers as their urban base.

## A REORGANIZATION PROCESS OF SOCIAL RELATIONS OF THE MARAGOLI MIGRANTS IN NAIROBI

### Social Relations of the Maragoli Migrants in their Urban Colony, Kangemi

#### 1. Situations

We can follow an actual reorganizing process of social relations in their urban colony formed in Kangemi. In order to elucidate this process, this paper adopts the following procedures: Firstly, several social situations, where social relations are developed and organized, are chosen from the daily life of the Maragoli migrants in Kangemi. Secondly, the forms of reorganizing social relations in each situation are examined. Thirdly, the principles of reorganizing social relations are verified in each situation. We will extract here eight situations empirically from the daily life of the migrants from Kerongo village in Kangemi. This division of situations are peculiar of the Kerongo migrants. Accordingly, it cannot be generalized to all the Maragoli migrants.

A newcomer from Kerongo usually comes to Kangemi with empty hands. It is necessary for him to look for someone who provides him with initial shelter and daily food. According to traditional customs of the Maragoli, one should avoid sleeping with his father or father's brother in the same room. A newcomer cannot, therefore, become a sponger on his father even if he lives in Kangemi. He is forced to be a dependent upon his brother, close kin or friend of the same generation. But Nairobi has grown so worse and worse these years in terms

of housing, employment and food shortage that he cannot become a long-term dependent, say three or four years, upon the same person (except his full brother). It is common to move from one room to another every two, three weeks or months looking for someone who is willing to accommodate him. While he is a dependent, morning tea (*chai*) and evening *ugali* are rendered daily to him and he is sometimes provided with pocket money in amounts of two or three shillings. If he fortunately succeeds in hunting a job and occupies his own room in Kangemi, he is to receive a self-invited newcomer from Kerongo in his turn. In such a situation of taking and giving of accommodation, some social relations are actualized (the first situation).

Next, we will focus on a situation of job-seeking. It has become extremely difficult to obtain a permanent employment in the formal sector in Nairobi nowadays. There are only two ways to get it in such a severe environment. One is to apply directly for a big post in government organization or company of foreign capital, making the best use of one's higher educational attainments (Form VI or University graduate). Another way is to employ one's personal connection with some big bosses who can exercise favourable influence upon government agencies or companies for him. The Kerongo migrants are, however, ill-fated enough to be blocked to both the ways. There is not a slim chance to obtain a permanent, stable employment before them without any high school career or connections with a big boss. What they are fortunate enough to secure are such occupation of the colonial type as a domestic servant, a plantation worker or such urban miscellaneous jobs as a daily-paid construction labourer, artisan, peddler and stallman, which are categorized into the informal sector. They develop unique social relations among them like exchange of information and recommendation in order to acquire these limited opportunities of employment (the second situation).

The third situation is related to the borrowing and lending of money. When the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi stand in urgent need of a sizeable amount of money like one or two hundred shillings to meet schools fees for children or unexpected expenses,<sup>(12)</sup> they rarely obtain such amount from their kins or friends. Their economic conditions never allow them to lend money to each other. Under these severe conditions, lent money is more often than not synonymous with "idle money" and easily inverted to "donation" that does not have to be returned. There are, therefore, various kinds of loan societies in Kangemi as in other poor housing areas in Nairobi, which meet the needs of migrants. Not a few migrants from Kerongo borrow money from these loan societies at a high rate of interest of 20–25% a month. Most of these societies, which are small in scale with five or six members, are not to lend money to all of those who pay interest in advance.<sup>(13)</sup> They select borrowers according to their own judgement. In other words, a subtle social relationship in the daily life between the borrowers and the lender decide the result of accommodation (the third situation).

Fourthly, social relations through borrowing and lending of the daily necessities can be observed in the fourth situation. There are a lot of guests calling at lodging houses every day. Especially on Saturday evenings, each room is crowded by men, chatting and eating, before they turn out to drink alcohol in the bars. The borrowing and lending of flatware can be frequently seen between and within lodging houses. Usually women do washing in the morning on weekdays. They too often borrow or lend laundry soap to each other. Concerning tea (*chai*), which serves as a meal for the poor migrants, sugar and tea leave are exchanged between neighbours which is said to be based on reciprocity and account is usually balanced within a week. A kind of social relations is actualized in this situation (the fourth situation).

The fifth situation will be extracted from those social relations of drinking. Drinking is the only pleasure for the poor Maragoli migrants in Kangemi. For them, the most popular alcohol is bottled beer, though there are a lot of unauthorized bars for illegal home-brewed



alcohol like *chan'ngaa*, which is obtained from mainly maize by distillation and *buzaa*, which is not by distillation. The Kerongo migrants go to these bars on Friday or Saturday nights and on Sundays. They never go to the bars individually but always in companies of three or four. A social network is formed through this drinking company, but in most cases, this network is closed within the village or home friends and seldom open to other urban friends such as work mates (the fifth situation).

The sixth situation is organized through an exchange of home and urban information. If the Kerongo migrants in Nairobi need to contact or receive a communication from their family or close kins left in the village, they are never to do it by post or by telephone. They look for newcomers from the village and ask them whether they are charged to give any message to the migrants in Nairobi. They also look for those who are leaving Nairobi for Kerongo and trust them with some message or gift. Their urban colony, Kangemi, has an "encounter place" where they can easily find out these messengers. There is a large bridge over the Nairobi-Nakuru main road which runs across the northern part of Kangemi (Fig. 4). It is this bridge that offers such a place. Many of the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi told the author that if they were to stand and wait to see those messengers on this bridge, they would not fail to find them. The author counted the number of the people who were engaged in small talk with each other on the bridge every thirty minutes from 8:30 a.m. to 6:30 p.m. for six days (from 1st November to 6th November, 1980). The number of the Maragoli was counted by his friend who is a Kerongo migrant and as a matter of course, can understand Maragoli language. The results were remarkable and showed more than half (50.6%) of people engaged

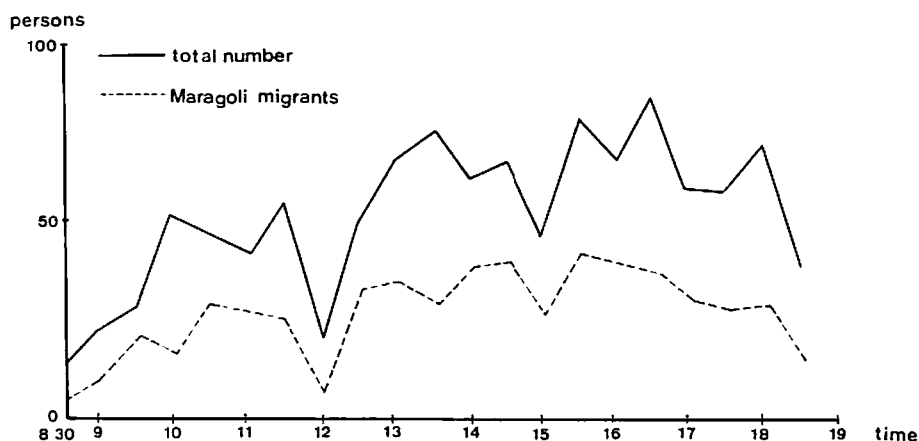


Fig. 5. The number of people at the encounter place on Nov. 2nd (Sun.) 1981.

Table 11. No. of people at the encounter place in Kangemi, November 1st to 6th.

	Nov. 1st (Sat.)	2nd (Sun.)	3rd (Mon.)	4th (Tue.)	5th (Wed.)	6th (Thu.)
Total number on the bridge	654 (33)	1158 (85)	422 (32)	475 (44)	621 (66)	622 (50)
The number of the Maragoli	358 (21)	648 (38)	208 (11)	184 (15)	297 (18)	306 (22)
Percentage of the Maragoli	54.7%	56.0%	49.8%	38.7%	47.8%	49.2%

The number of women is enclosed in parenthesis.

in small talk were Maragoli (Figure 5, Table 11), though Maragoli is a small ethnic group, the proportion of which is only a tiny percentage of the total Kenyan population. "Encounter place", plays a core role in the exchange of home and urban information. That is why a good number of Kerongo villagers who are scattered in different poor residential areas in Nairobi call at Kangemi every weekend (the sixth situation).

The seventh situation is associated with church activities, which are mostly done by women.<sup>(14)</sup> The Maragoli accepted Christianity very early in this century. There are, therefore, a number of churches of different domination in the homeland. Apart from world-wide missions like Friends, Catholic, Anglican and Salvation Army, African Independent Churches such as Holy Spirit and Pentecostal attract a large number of the Maragoli followers. A Maragoli preacher is dispatched to Kangemi every Sunday by the Pentecostal church (PAG) based in Kabete. He organizes an open-air gathering for the Maragoli migrants only, preaching in Maragoli language. We could observe various kinds of interaction among them there besides religious prayer activities and sacred songs or dances<sup>(15)</sup> (the seventh situation).

Lastly, we will pick up a noticeable situation where social relation are developed in order to carry the body of a dead migrant back to the home village and to perform a ritual of "ilis-homa". These activities make the economic burden so heavy for the Kerongo migrants in Nairobi, where their living conditions have grown worse and worse, that they are forced to make the widest co-operation for raising money for transport. Nowadays, it usually costs three to four thousand shillings to carry the deceased to the home village. Taking it into account that a construction labourer earns 15-18/- a day in Nairobi, it is not difficult to realize that such expenses fall extremely heavily on the migrants. We will examine this situation in detail later (the eighth situation).

To sum up, apart from church activities which mainly involve women (the seventh situation),<sup>(16)</sup> the first and second situation can be brought together as an aspect for securing the foundation of the daily life. The third and the fourth are regarded as an aspect for maintaining the daily life, while the fifth and the sixth can be considered as a stabilizer of the daily life. The eighth situation and a part of the third,<sup>(17)</sup> are regarded as an aspect for coping with death or disease.

## 2. The Forms of Reorganizing Social Relations

What forms of social relations are then reorganized in each situation? This paper will classify the forms into two types, the Network type and the Group type (Dirks, 1972). If interactions among individuals are transmuted into structuralized perpetual social relations, the expectations of which are defined within the structure of institutions, this form is regarded as the Group type. On the contrary, if that transmutation assumes the form of a link of social relations that fluctuates in boundary and quality, it is the Network type. In other words, in case that the migrants confront difficulties in some situation of the daily life, they form a sort of association to get over those or they extend their personal network of social relation to do so. The former leads to the Group type, whereas the latter to the Network type.

According to Dirks, three different kinds of explanations are possible on the relation between these two types. The first is in terms of structural functional complement which is supported by Barnes and Wolf (Barnes, 1968; Wolf, 1966). According to it, a cleavage between formal groups would be filled up by informal network of social relations. The second explanation given by, for example, Boissevain, is that the relation between the two is not complementary but on a developmental continuum, namely from network to quasi-group and even to corporate group. (Boissevain, 1968). A perspective of the third explains the relation in terms of selective adaptation. According to it, either of the two is selected as the more reasonable strategy for obtaining available resources in a certain environment (Whiten &

Szwed, 1970; Sahlins, 1961). This paper will stand on the third explanation though infiltration of the two types, namely, personal network in a group and some quasi-group among a network are recognized.

Of the eight situations stated before, social relations are reorganized by the Group type in the third, seventh, and eighth situation, while in the first, second, fourth, fifth and sixth situation by the Network type. The Kerongo migrants use these types properly in each situation. Taking account of it, this paper can employ the third explanation on the relation between the two types. For example, in securing the initial shelter and employment, the migrants from Kerongo village have never shown any sign of transmuting into the Group type in these thirty years. Even in such a severe living environment as that in Nairobi today, there have been no indications that associations are formed in order to secure accommodation or employment for its members. In case of the eighth situation where social relations are reorganized by the Group type, this form is employed because it is more adaptive to make reiterative and continuous use of the limited resources in a certain environment. These lead us to assure that these two types are the result of selective adaptation in each situation.

### 3. The Principles of Reorganizing Social Relations

In this section we will inquire into the principles based on which the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi reorganize their social relations. First, we take the clan-lineage principle. Maragoli

Table 12. Support-giver to a newcomer from Kerongo village.

Support-giver	Providing accommodation	Finding employment opportunity
F*	11	4
B	17	8
Si	2	1
FB	1	2
FBS	5	1
FFBSS	2	0
MB (kosa)	6	4
FMSiS	1	1
FSiH (senge)	1	0
SiH	1	1
V+C+friend**	0	0
V+C-friend	7	4
V-C+friend	1	0
V-C-friend	10	9
V+C+elder	1	2
V+C-elder	0	4
V-C+elder	0	0
V-C-elder	1	1
Other Maragoli	1	1
Other ethnic group	2	2
Employer	1	5
Labour Office	—	1
Application	—	7

\*F (father), M (mother), B (brother), Si (sister) S (son), H (husband).

\*\*V+ means that they come from that same village; V- means that they come from different neighbouring villages; C+ means that they belong to the same clan; C- means they belong to different clans.

have more than thirty clans (*ihiri*), of which four are major ones. These clans have controlled traditional social life of the Maragoli. Even today marriage regulations mainly based on an exagamous unit, *ihiri*, are observed so much that almost all of the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi come back to their home villages when seek a spouse. Clan or lineage control over their urban social life seem, however, to be an illusion in a phenomenological sense. Interactions based on clan membership alone can scarcely be found in Kangemi. Instead, interactions within family members are frequently in operation in an aspect for securing the foundation of the daily life especially in the first situation of providing the initial shelter (Table 12).

Instead of the clan-lineage principle, it is the village and home-boy principle that reorganize much of social relations of the Kerongo migrants today. First, we will explain the concept of home-boy. It is Mayer, who was first in paying attention to the role of the home-boy (he calls "home people") in an African town. He indicated that those people who come from the same home location tended to intensify interaction among themselves in town, and he investigated their close social ties.<sup>(18)</sup> Taking it into account that the range of their home location varies with time and space, we can divide the home-boy into two types, one is people who come from the same home location and live in the same urban locality, the other is people who play an important role to maintain social ties with the home village (Harris-Jones, 1969). Though this paper uses the term of the village and home-boy principles, the former corresponds to the home-boy while the latter is related to the village principle. Among the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi, those migrants from four sub-locations of South Maragoli location (Viguru, Mahanga, Madzuu, Chagenda sub-locations) can be regarded as the home-boy in the present stage. Next we will discuss on the village principle.

As stated before, there are very few villages of one clan dominant type in South Maragoli which are predominant in North Maragoli. In South Maragoli, several clans coinhabit in one village following the ethnic migration of the 18th–19th century in Western Kenya. Kerongo village does not provide an exceptional case. There are five major clans in the village, Avamenge, Avasaali, Avamuku, Avagehayo and Avatemboli (Table 9). Each clan has occupied its own territory in the village (when Evu is prefixed to the clan name, it means the clan territory). Figure 6 is indicative of these clan territories in Kerongo. It is not uncommon to the villagers to frequently use these divisions of the village in their daily life. Then, when was Kerongo formed as a village (*ilidala*) in social relations among those who, then, belonged to their own

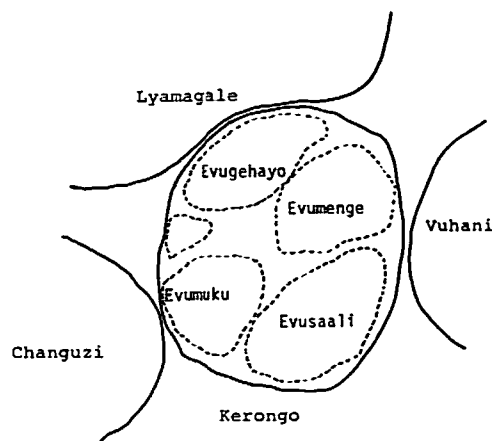


Fig. 6. Clan territory in Kerongo Village.

clan territory? As the result of the introduction of administrative chiefship to the whole Maragoli land at the beginning of this century, an administrative line such as chief—headman—sub-headman (*mlango*)—akida was established mainly for the purpose of effective tax collection. Akida, who was a tax collector in direct contact with the villagers, was appointed not in each village level but in the clan territory or its alliance level. For example, early in the twenties, the location chief,<sup>19)</sup> of the whole Maragoli was Paul Agoi, under whose office there were several headmen. In South Maragoli, there were two headmen, one was Aduda of Avayonga in Vihiga and another was Agoyi of Avamavi in Kidundu. Looking into present Viguru sub-location. Nyabera of Avamavi in Lyamagale village and Ogonde of Avafunami in Musunguti village were appointed as *mlango*. Under these *mlango*, there used to be many akidas as their assistants. In case of Kerongo, Ambuso of Avasaali was picked up as an akida from Evusaali, Aberi of Avamuku was from Evumuku and Murani of Avamavi was appointed from Evumenge, Evugehayo and Evutemboli, which used to be originally occupied by Avamavi. After all, the clan territory acted as the smallest unit of administrative control at that time. Thereafter, in the thirties to the forties, rural-urban labour migration was extensively experienced in present Kerongo village when these people of each clan territory largely went to Kabete to work as coffee plantation labourers. Tracing their migration network of "personal invitation" and their social relations of mutual help there, they are limited and closed within the village members (Matsuda, 1982). Consequently, experiences of labour migration in *iligulu*<sup>(20)</sup> seemed to cause the formation and development of "village consciousness" among these people of different clans.

Nowadays, this village, home-boy principles have acquired greater importance in forming social relations of the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi. Of the eight situations mentioned before, the village principle plays the most dominant role in reorganizing social relations in

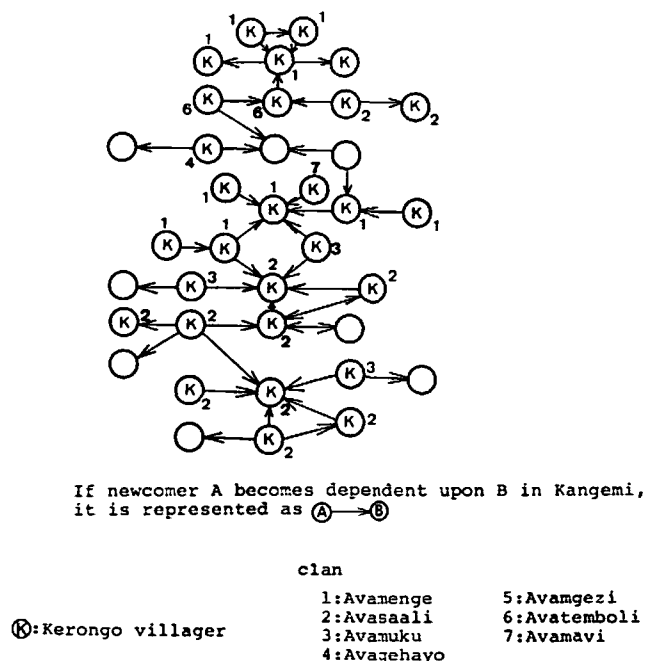


Fig. 7. A network of self-invitation among the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi.

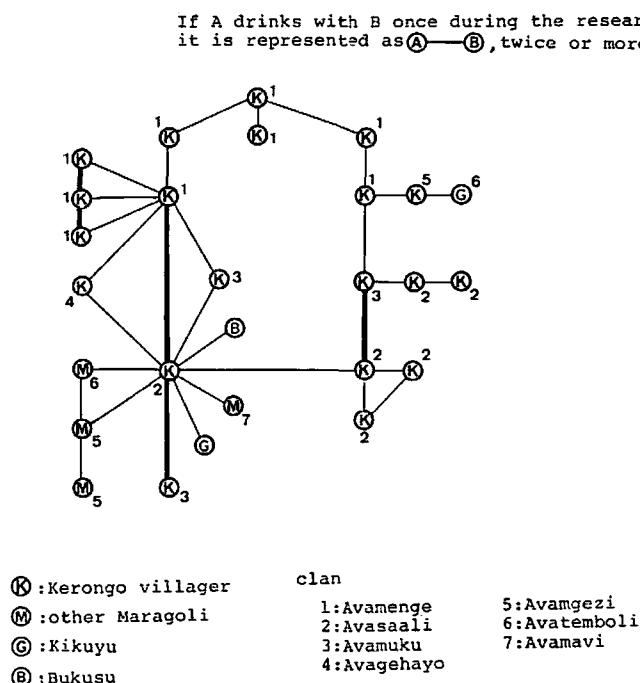


Fig. 8. A network of drinking company among the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi. It is based on the author's observation and interviews during May 1st to 31st, 1981.

the first, fifth and sixth situation (Figures 7, 8). while in the second and eighth situation, social relations are developed mainly by the home-boy principle (Table 12 and next chapter). These principles are motive power to generate retribalization phenomenon experienced by the Maragoli migrants in Kangemi. It is not the illusory clan-lineage principle or mysterious concept of tribe but is home-boy principle that creates, reorganizes and develops new pattern of social relations under the control of traditional ideology. We will take up this subject for discussion later.

The third is the urban neighbourhood principle. In Kangemi there are a large number of tenant houses, each of which has 10–20 rooms. There should be migrants of different ethnic groups in each tenant house. Perpetual and stable interactions among them are rarely observed due to their high mobility and stereotyped negative image to other ethnic groups, though the minimum co-operation between them (for example the borrowing and lending of flatware or washing soap) are often carried out.

Recently the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi have undergone a great change in the relation with their neighbours. That is, borrowing and lending of money has tended to be done among their neighbours. Late in the seventies, such loan societies based on the home-boy principle were in full activity as Viguru Welfare Society in 1975–76 or Komittii ya Watu Sita in 1978–79. The representative of the former was a migrant of Avamuku from Kerongo. it accommodated the migrants in Nairobi from Viguru sub-location with money at 20% interest a month. The latter was organized by young migrants from Musunguti and Kerongo village who belong to different clans like Avafunani, Avamuku and Avasaali. But both of the societies folded up in a short time owing to bulk and mismanagement. Thereafter in the eighties, the Kerongo mi-

grants are positively involved in loan societies based not on clan or village membership but on the neighbouring tenant houses. These loan societies are managed by old independent women of Kikuyu or Tiriki who are almost permanent residents in Kangemi. A new pattern of interaction with tenants of different ethnic groups has emerged with the core of these creditors. In case of one creditor of an old Tiriki woman whose tenant house stood diagonally opposite to the author's, her customers covered 17–18 migrants of six neighbouring tenant houses. Two of them were the Kerongo migrants and other were Kikuyu, Gusii, Isukha and Tiriki migrants. All of them have lived in the neighbouring plots in Kangemi for more than four years and this is why they could get on better and trustworthy terms with the creditor. She said that she could lend money to nobody but those who lived in her neighbourhood because she wanted to see the daily life of the debtors. Such a loan society based on the urban neighbourhood principle has been found in every quarter of Kangemi. It is interesting to note that this trend emerged after the systematic failure of the home-boy based societies, and therefore, indicating the importance of the urban neighbourhood principle.

### The Ideology of the Maragoli Migrants in an Urban Colony

As we have seen, the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi reorganize their social relations in different forms, based on different principles, in each situation of their everyday life (Table 13). It is the result of their own situational selection, though it is within the permissible limit of a certain cultural control. Most of these reorganizing processes seen in the first to the eighth situation are actualized as retribalization phenomenon. The nature of retribalization phenomenon is a process of extending, intensifying and reorganizing social relations, based on the three principles,<sup>(21)</sup> especially the home-boy principle. Then how is this related to the theme of this study, that is, the third course of the retribalization phenomenon (see page 2) that a new pattern of social relations is created under the traditional ideology? This paper will attempt to make this clear through the positive analysis of the eighth situation. Before this is done, however, we would like to examine how the home-boy principle, which has recently emerged in towns and influenced the process of retribalization, is embedded in the dominant traditional ideology of unilineal descent.

#### 1. The Dilemma of Unilineal Ideology

It is ideology that forms the foundation of the principles of reorganizing social relations and sustaining them. This ideology implies a process of a complex interplay of myths, beliefs, values and norms of a given society. Parkin considers two types of ideology (Parkin, 1974). The first one is congregational ideology which includes religious ideology and unilineal ideology, whereas the second one is interpersonal ideology which might include bilineal

Table 13. Situation, form and principle of organization of social relations.

Situation	Form	Principle
1st	Network	Clan-lineage, village
2nd	Network	Village, home-boy
3rd	Group	Urban neighbourhood
4th	Network	Urban neighbourhood
5th	Network	Village (home-boy)
6th	Network	Village
7th	Group	Urban neighbourhood
8th	Group	Home-boy

kindred and patron-client ideologies, and so on. Accordingly, the Maragoli can be said to have traditionally maintained and fostered congregational ideology, which is not so much religious as it is unilineal in character (Mwenesi, 1976).

As was often stated earlier, the living conditions in Nairobi have deteriorated as unemployment and housing shortage, poor maintenance of public peace and order, a sudden rise in prices and a shortage of food and daily commodities have become worse. The migrants are forced to co-operate with each other in such an unstable urban environment in order to survive. In the case of the Maragoli migrants who traditionally have never had a vertical and hierarchical social structure, they have not assumed the form of cooperation based on patron-client relations<sup>(22)</sup> but on horizontal mutual help. In order to enrich or amplify this horizontal mutual help, there are two ideal ways: one is to deepen social relations in quality, and the other is to expand them in quantity. The poor Maragoli migrants employed the latter as they intended to secure sufficient base for cooperation by involving more and more Maragoli migrants in their mutual help network. The advantage of this method is that it can save the poor migrants from shouldering their economic burden. In expanding the quantity of their social relations, the Maragoli found that the home-boy principle was the most effective way of doing it because the bounds of "home location" where the home boy come from are not fixed but flexible. If migrants from the same village alone regard themselves as home boy, home location is limited to their village, but if migrants from the same sub-location can consider they are all home boys, home location is sub-location. Thus, according to such systematic administrative divisions as village—sub-location (alliance of sub-locations)—location—division (whole Maragoli land), this principle can automatically expand a base for cooperation to the whole Maragoli land. In contrast with it, the clan-lineage principle cannot expand it systematically, for, Maragoli does not have a well-ordered lineage segmentation system as Nuer was said to have (Evans-Pritchard, 1940). Consequently, extension caused by this principle stops at the clan level, according to segmentation system of Maragoli which is lineage—(sub-clan)<sup>(23)</sup>—clan. Beyond the clan level, it should force a co-operation base to jump up to the whole Maragoli people at one stroke. As for the urban neighbourhood principle, extension is limited to urban locality from urban neighbourhood and it is

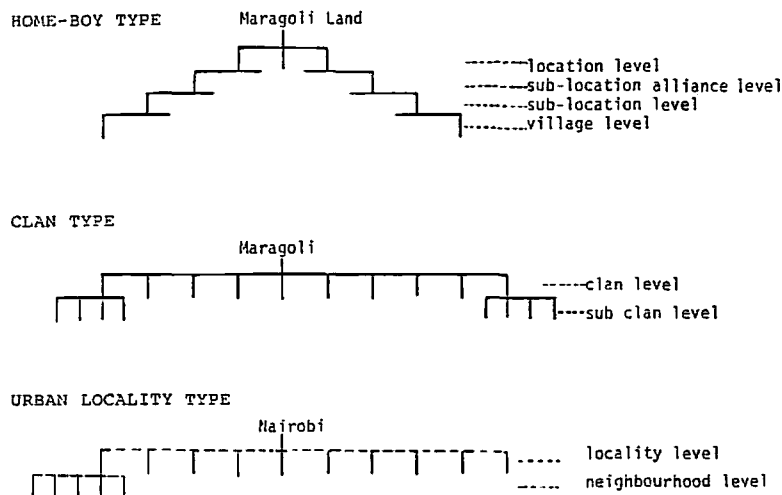


Fig. 9. An extension model of social relations.



almost impossible to expand beyond it in the present situation. Furthermore, as far as a pattern of circulatory migration is predominant, development of social cooperation based on this principle cannot help being restricted. Figure 9 shows a model of extension of social relations based on each principle.

A dilemma comes into existence at this point. Although the home-boy principle is most suited for organizing co-operation in an urban environment, it is external to traditionally dominant ideology of unilineal descent. According to the traditional unilineal ideology, the Maragoli people are split into an infinite number of patrilineal clans. Social relations within or between villages always involve both tension and conflict. In spite of this, the migrants have developed co-operation based on the home-boy principle in town. It should be inconsistent with that traditional ideology unless it is provided with legitimacy in the framework of unilineal ideology. To the contrary, the clan-lineage principle is authorized by that ideology, it cannot, however, organize systematic and efficient co-operation in order to conquer difficulties in an unstable urban social system.

The home-boy principle has been reinterpreted in the traditional unilineal ideology to dissolve the dilemma. This goes along with the third course of retribalization phenomenon that a new pattern of social relations (social relations based on the home-boy principle) is developed under the traditional ideology (unilineal ideology).

## 2. Solution of the Dilemma

Before examining a process of how the home-boy principle is reinterpreted and provided with legitimacy in the framework of the unilineal ideology in town, we will examine how the village principle is embedded in the unilineal ideology in the home land. For, once the village principle is provided with legitimacy, the home-boy principle is to obtain it easily, because from the former to the latter is a consecutive change, and both of them are based on territorialism.

The most direct and intense way of reinterpreting the home-boy principle in the unilineal ideology is to make a village itself a quasi-clan, which was followed by the Kerongo villagers. They have generated and fostered brotherhood consciousness (*amwavo*) with other villagers of different clans. This *amwavo* consciousness have been more intensified and today Kerongo village itself looks like a quasi-clan. To be sure the villagers did not create any new myths or legends of their descent to justify it, therefore the village is not a descent group in this sense, but it is noteworthy that a new marriage regulation that avoids village endogamy, has been brought to the villagers in these fifty years.

Looking into home villages of the housewives who got married with men of Kerongo (Tables 14, 15), the pattern of choosing a wife has remained unchanged inspite that rural-urban labour migration has exerted a strong effect on the villagers for three generations. Table 13 shows that the Kerongo villagers have got their wives from neighbouring villages including a few villages in Bunyore land which are also contiguous to Kerongo. But it should not be overlooked that village endogamy has disappeared since 1930's. The last intra-village marriage used to be done between a man of Avamuku and a woman of Avasaali in the 30's, in other words, it was done between Evusaali and Evumuku. Though villagers explain a tendency to avoid intra-village marriage, saying that they become all brothers and sisters nowadays, a marriage between Evusaali and Evumuku was not said to be uncommon in the last century. Taking it into account that a marriage between a man of Avasaali in Kerongo and a woman of Avamuku in a neighbouring village or the reverse cases popular even today, it is difficult to attribute disappearance of village endogamy to a *blind alley* caused by traditional marriage regulations. It is, therefore, natural to owe it to the emergence and develop-

Table 14. Marriage area of Kerongo villager's wife.

Home village of wife	Wife of the 1st generation	Wife of the 2nd generation	Wife of the 3rd generation
Kerongo	1	—	—
Musunguti	1	2	1
Lyamagale	—	2	—
Magina	—	1	1
Muginyu	—	2	—
Changuzi	—	1	—
Mahanga	—	4	4
Vuhani	1	1	—
Dabwongo	—	1	—
Chanzeze	—	3	—
Chavayo	1	3	2
Lyanaginga	1	1	—
Ivona	—	—	1
Madeya	1	—	1
Nameza	1	—	—
Vogenda	—	1	—
Madzuu	—	4	—
Bukuga	—	—	1
Kitulu	—	2	—
Omulalu	—	1	—
Vigina	—	2	—
Vihiga	—	—	1
Igakala	—	1	1
Majengo	—	—	2
Tigoi	—	2	—
Gambogi	—	1	—
Gavalagi	—	2	—
Ideleli	—	1	—
Chavakali	—	1	—
Mbale	—	3	—
(Other ethnic group)			
Bunyole	—	6	11
Tiriki	—	2	—
Bukusu	—	—	1
Nandi	—	1	—
Kikiyu	—	2	1
Tanzanian	—	—	1
Unknown	1	11	5
Non-married	—	3	37

Table 15. Clan of Kerongo villager's wife.

Clan of Wife	Wife of the 1st generation	Wife of the 2nd generation	Wife of the 3rd generation
Avamavi	—	17	8
Avasaali	1	5	2
Avamuku	—	1	1
Avagehayo	1	1	1
Avafunami	1	3	1
Avamgezi	1	4	3
Avasuva	1	—	1
Avadindi	—	1	—
Avayo'nga	—	2	4
Avamuruga	1	3	—
Avaguga	—	1	—
Avamahero	—	—	1
Avakivuta	—	—	1
Avakilima	—	1	—
Avakizungu	—	1	—

ment of labour migration and cooperation in *iligulu* (town) since 1920's. Cooperation in *iligulu* based on territorialism has been, thus, possible without any inconsistency with a traditional world of meaning of Maragoli, by making a territorial unit (village) a quasi-clan and embedding it in the traditional unilineal ideology.

These days *amwavo* (brotherhood) consciousness has more and more taken root among the Kerongo villagers and the quasi-clanization has gradually made progress. We will introduce two examples of it.

Firstly, village elders irrespective of their clan sometimes act as a substitute for one's father, father's brother or clan elder in case of the the negotiation of bride wealth (*ovukwi*), for they are usually absent from the village to work or seek a job in town. For example, during the author's stay in April, 1981, a negotiation of *ovukwi* between a girl's family of Avamenge in

Kerongo and young man's family of Avamavi in Lyamagale was going on at the house of the girl's father in Kerongo. The young man's brother, father's brothers and clan elders came to Kerongo but the girl's father, elder brothers and father's brothers were all in Nairobi or other towns. At that time a man (53 years old) of Avasaali in Evusaali happened to be back in Kerongo on leave. He has worked at a veterinary institution in Kabete and was known to any villagers because he always took good care of young migrants from Kerongo in Kabete. Then the girl's mother asked him to play a role of the clan elder of Avamenge in the negotiation with people of Avamavi.

The second example is concerned with *amwavo* consciousness of the village boys and girls seen in "tea party". The village boys quite often give small parties called "tea parties" in the day time inviting together their friends not only from Kerongo alone but also neighbouring villages. They are all school age boys of 14–18 years old. Half of the participants are boys and others are girls. Each of them brings a glass, tea leaves or sugar and an old radio from his or her father's house to one of the member's hut. They chat together, dance to the music and choose their girl friends or boy friends from the participants. In this sense the "tea party" is a place for the group date. If they find themselves in congenial spirits, it is not uncommon to them to go so far as to have sexual intercourse. But the Kerongo boy never chooses the Kerongo girl as his girl friend of this kind in the "tea party"; he chooses his girl friend from those *aviko*<sup>(24)</sup> girls of neighbouring villages whom he is allowed to marry. These facts lead us to believe that quasi-clanization of the village has taken root.

Next, we will consider how home-boy principle is provided with legitimacy in the unilineal ideology in town. As the village principle is already embedded in it in such a manner as was explained, the home-boy principle is not so difficult to be legitimized in town. The Kerongo migrants do not have to adopt, in this case, such a hard way as making the village a quasi-clan, introducing a new marriage regulation. This is one of the most intense method to embed territorialism in clannism (unilineal ideology). It would be natural to adopt another way when they extend the territorialism once embedded in a meaning world of the Maragoli. This new, soft way is to develop urban kinship. The Kerongo migrants in Nairobi extend the use of their traditional kinship terminology to the non-kin home-boys, who become kinsmen in town in a metaphorical sense. By using urban kinship they can develop an idea of protection and mutual help in an unsuitable urban environment, which derives from traditional kinship terms of reference or address. The urban kinship has many points of likeness to the traditional kinship in semblance, their basic characteristics are, however, completely different. The latter holds many more factors that structuralize social relations, while the former is based on practical needs for mutual help and has less need to perpetuate social relations. In this sense, it can be regarded as a kind of personal social relations like friendship. To add to this, the latter plays an important role not only in cooperation but in a political or economic domain with members of three or four generations. In contrast with it, the former is significant only to stabilize a domestic domain and its generation composition is unbalanced, that is, it has very few grandfather's generation. The Maragoli migrants usually intend to stabilize their life by extending the urban kinship to urban neighbours, friends, member of the same ethnic group especially their fellow home-boys. In other words, they employ not a radical way of establishing a new marriage regulation but a flexible method of borrowing the terms of reference or address in order to embed the home-boy principle in the unilineal ideology without any contradiction.

The Kerongo migrants in Kangemi sometimes address their home friends of the same generation as *amwavo* (brother) or senior migrants of father's generation from the neighbouring village as *kosa* (uncle). This is more clear to their children in Kangemi. They more often

than not tend to use the terms such as *kosa* (mother's brother), *senge* (father's sister or her husband), to address the home-boy migrants of the same generation of their father.

Thus the home-boy principle is embedded in unilineal ideology and is perpetuated, well-adapted to the urban social system.

## A REORGANIZATION PROCESS OF SOCIAL RELATIONS IN THE EIGHTH SITUATION

We have so far examined the third course of retribalization that a new pattern of social relations based on the home-boy principle is reinterpreted and developed in a traditionally dominant world of meanings of unilineal descent. In this chapter, we would like to make it more clear by analysing an actual reorganization process of social relations of the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi. In order to do so, this paper will take example of co-operation in the eighth situation where they need to organize the widest co-operation to transport a deceased migrant back to the home village and prepare and perform *ilisyoma*, a ritual for remembrance.

### Death in *iligulu* (town)

Labour migration to *iligulu* since the 20's has caused as a matter of course death in *iligulu*, which the Maragoli had never experienced before. Traditionally, if a Maragoli dies in the homestead, it is the Maragoli way to bury his body in his compound. They still adhere to this custom. After one's death in village, his body on the bed should be left in front of the door of his hut for three nights and three days, this is a vigil, his family, close kins, friends, a number of his clan members and fellow villagers come to express regret at parting and they chat each other, sing a song, and dance to the music around the body. According to the traditional Maragoli customs, all the attendants of a vigil are not allowed to go back home to sleep at night, they are to lie on the ground and are not to leave the deceased alone even when it is held in the rainy season. Even today, a majority of attendants are said to still follow these customs. One vigil (the second night) for an infant (2 years old) of Avamenge held in Kerongo will present one example to endorse it (Table 16). In the fourth morning after death, the body is buried. It is not uncommon that two or three hundred people attend this funeral ceremony, while more than one thousand attendants come in case of an elder's death. Thereafter two or three days later, members of the dead person's extended family have their hair shaved by the senior male member (*olovego*). Nowadays it is popular to construct a tomb with cement. An ox should be slaughtered at the deep of dawn before constructing it. This ritual is called *ilishoma ikilidwa*. Holding a *ilishoma ikilidwa* for the deceased depends on each case, some hold it immediately after funeral ceremony, others do after twenty years of his death.

Table 16. Attendants of *Mulukuzu* on Dec. 16th 1980 in Kerongo.

Time	No. of attendants	Female
10 p.m.	49	24
0 a.m.	70	29
3 a.m.	64	25
5 a.m.	40	20
7 a.m.	64	13

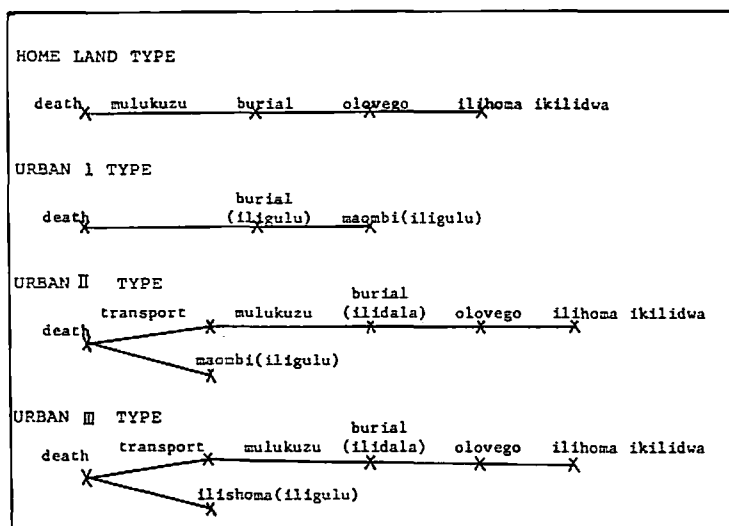


Fig. 10. Funeral rites of Maragoli.

The Maragoli people believe that unless they practice a series of these rituals (Homeland type in Figure 10) properly, the deceased turns to be an evil spirit (*kegence*)<sup>(25)</sup> and does much harm to a bereaved family. At the early period of labour migration in the 20's or 30's, however, it was impossible for the migrants to transport a deceased migrant back to the home village. There used to be no other means of burying his body at place of work in town (Urban I type in Figure 10).

In the 40's, labour migration to *iligulu* became very popular among the Kerongo villagers. Death of the migrants had increased in number in keeping with this trend. Then the family of the deceased could manage to go to the funeral place to pray and hold a religious service in honour of the deceased for fear that he might turn to be *kegence*, because of improvement of transportation system and much improvement of the migrant's economic conditions. But it could not prevent the deceased from turning to be *kegence* unless he was properly buried in his compound. In the 50's, by which time the colonial government had much more improved the transportation network in Kenya, the Maragoli migrants working in or near Nairobi began to carry a deceased person back to the home village. And after he was properly buried in the village, his family and fellow migrants came to his former residence for a ritual of praying (*maombi*) (Urban II in Figure 10). This ritual originated in the purely religious needs for shutting up *kegence*. But in the 70's it came to play another important role. Though it had been a kind of informal ritual within the limited members of his close kins and friends, it changed into a well-organized formal ritual that opened to any home-boy migrants in Nairobi. It is *ilishoma*. As living conditions in Nairobi have worsened over the years, a role of giving economic assistance to the deceased's family has become more important than the religious role in this ritual for remembrance, *ilishoma*. For example, in case of a *ilishoma* for one old Kerongo migrant of Avasaali held on February 1st, 1981 in Kabete, not less than 3000/- was contributed by the attendants and his wife and son received nearly 1000/- after expenses. This *ilishoma* in town is in contrast with *ilishoma ikilidwa* in the homeland. The latter still holds importance as a ritual and plays a crucial role in settling disputes concerning the deceased such as his debt or inheritance of his land and property. Furthermore, expenses of

the latter proves so much short of the actual contribution from the attendants. The only ritual aspect of the former is to pray at his former residence very early in the morning.

Thus, the ritual of *illisyoma* is held splendidly after six months or a year after he died and a lot of the home-boy migrants who live in different areas are coming together for pray and contribution (*sadaka*) (Urban III in Figure 10).

#### Changes of Cooperation Forms of Transporting a Deceased back to Kerongo

The practice of returning the deceased to the home village that began in the 1950's, forced the migrants to co-operate to raise money for transport. Since then, the pattern of the migrant's co-operation has taken various forms. This paper would like to divide these changes in form into four stages.

The first stage is from the 1950's to the time of Independence. The form of organizing their cooperation is not the Group type but the Network type in this period. Money for transporting the the deceased was raised by his extended family members and clan members who then worked in or near Nairobi. For example, take a young migrant of Avamgezi from Changuzi village who died in 1954 when he was a labourer in a coffee plantation in Kabete. It was his brother and some Kerongo migrants of the same clan of Avamgezi that collected enough money for transporting his body. When another migrant of Avemenge from Nameza village was killed in 1956, who had been a faithful house boy in some White estate, a number of migrants of Avamenge, majority of whom worked in Kabete, bestirred themselves in the negotiation with his white master on the procedures of transporting the body and collecting money. These activities were based on brotherhood (*amwavo*) consciousness of the clan. They said it was very difficult to look for the same clan members and get an even small contribution from them, because a clan association had not been formed in this period, and most of the clan members were scattered in different residential areas in Nairobi and had very little face to face relation with each other.

Secondly, clan welfare association emerged in the 1960's (switch from the Network type to the Group type) such as Magina, Mgezi, Menge welfare associations or Vusaali union. They took an active part not only in transporting the deceased back home but also in accommodating their members with a small sum of money or offering scholarship for their children. At the same period, Maragoli Union was organized for all the Maragoli people after such major ethnic groups as Gikuyu, Luo and Kamba established their own ethnic associations<sup>(26)</sup> and were actively engaged as a kind of interest group. In a grab-game for fruits of Independence (political and economic interests), leading posts of the Union were held by a handful of "big men". The Maragoli union had, therefore, nothing to say to those poor migrants who could not pay their regular membership fee.

In the 70's, living conditions have taken a gradual turn towards the worse. Clan associations could never cope with these difficulties, for their members were limited in number, moreover they had settled down sporadically in Nairobi and had few "face to face" relation with each other. As the clan associations were on the decline, they were increasingly getting replaced by village or village alliance associations. This is the third stage. These new types of association (switch from the clan-lineage principle to the village, home-boy principle) managed to cover up the defects of the clan associations shown above, and they extended their activity so far as to launch an enterprise as well as transporting a body or giving the loan. Typical examples were the Viguru Welfare Society organized by the migrants from Viguru sub-location, mainly Kerongo village and the Mungoma United Society formed by those from Mahanga sub-location (Tables 17, 18). In case of the Mungoma United Society, some interested mem-

Table 17. Viguru welfare association.

Post	Home village	Clan
Chairman	Kerongo	Avamuku
Vice-chairman	Kerongo	Avamuku
Secretary	Kerongo	Avasaali
Vice-secretary	Kerongo	Avasaali

Table 18. Mungoma united society.

Post	Home village	Clan
Chairman	Chanzeye	Avamuku
Vice-chairman	Inavi	Avamavi
Secretary	Kerongo	Avamuku
Vice-secretary	Chavavo	Avasaali

bers bought shares (one share 100/-) to collect enough money to buy a new pick-up and became shareholders. The society purchased a pick-up truck for public transport (*matatu*) that ran between Majengo and Luanda in the home land.

But these village (alliance) associations confronted a crisis late in the 70's. This was due to the fact that members were almost fixed and that a division broke out between economic-minded members and cultural-minded migrants within their associations. The former thought much of developing an enterprise and getting more economic interest through the association, while a primary concern of the latter was whether the association helped them in transporting the deceased back home if they themselves or family members should die in Nairobi. A new type of association was established in order to get through this crisis. It was based not on village or village alliance (sub-location) alone but on sub-location alliance,<sup>(27)</sup> which is suitable for expanding the cooperation base in an unstable urban environment and it dropped all the purposes of the village association except the one to return the body back home and to perform a ritual of *ilishoma* in Nairobi. This is the fourth stage. The president of this new association, called Viguma, is an old migrant of Avasaali from Chavavo village and a young Dabwongo migrant of Avafunani is elected as the general secretary. They are presently employed as a domestic servant in White estate and a laboratory assistant in the University respectively. Judging from this, it is the ordinary, poor migrants themselves who manage the association, which, at this point, contrasts in a striking way with formal ethnic unions seen before. Viguma owes its formation and development to urgent needs of the migrants and wisdom of their daily experiences.

In sum, the principle which the migrants organize co-operation for returning the body back home has changed from the clan-lineage principle (the first stage and the second stage) to the village principle (the third stage), and even to the home-boy principle alone (the fourth stage). These changes have gone on very smoothly, owing to the fact that the village, home-boy principles are embedded and reinterpreted in the traditional unilineal ideology examined in the previous chapter.

#### Cooperative Activities of Viguma

When a new comer wants to be a member of Viguma in Nairobi, he does not have to pay either admission fee or membership fee at all. He has only to go and ask the chairman or the secretary of his village to register him as a member of Viguma. It looks as if it were a loose organization, but as it is, the machinery and management of Viguma are systematically organized (Figure 11).

Next, we will briefly explain the procedures how Viguma organizes co-operation for returning the body back home and preparing, performing the ritual of *ilishoma*. In case a migrant (A) dies in Nairobi, his family and close kin immediately report to the chairman or secretary of his village, and ask him to help them. Then the chairman calls on the president or general secretary to solicit his judgement, and the general secretary checks the record book, because whenever a member of Viguma participates in co-operation of the body trans-

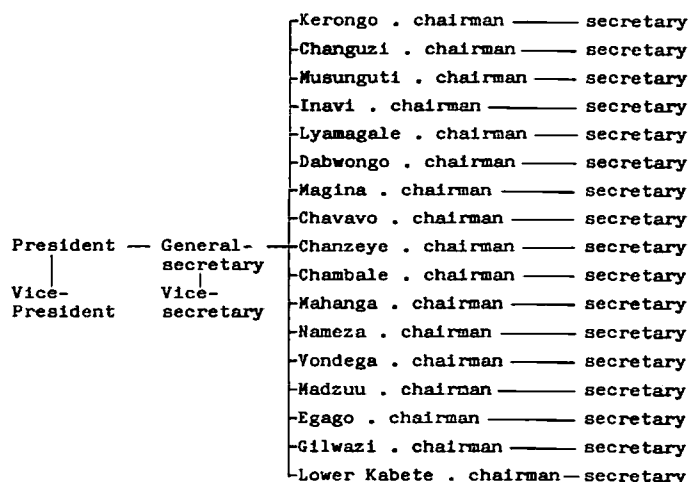


Fig. 11. Organization of Viguma.

port or the ritual of *ilishoma*, his name and village as well as an amount of his contribution are all put on record by him. Judging from this record book, if A or his father or brother joins in Viguma's activities in most cases and made a constant contribution to them, the general secretary promises to help the deceased's family. He goes to the key station of the Voice of Kenya to have a message from Viguma put on the air five times in information programs by Kiswahili broadcast. It costs fifty shillings a day. The message goes on like this; A has gone, who was born in... village.... sub-location, South Maragoli, lived in... in Nairobi and was a member of Viguma, so all the members and friends are expected to go to the city mortuary or his former residence in... to make a contribution to transport his body back to ... village: after that some Viguma officials are dispatched to both the places to keep a record of contributions.

If A or his family in Nairobi is not a good member of Viguma (it means he rarely participated in Viguma's activities and rarely made a contribution), the general secretary refused to help his family in collecting money for transport of A's body. But in case that his family and close kin need the assistance of Viguma at any cost, the general secretary asks them to pay four hundred shillings penalty, if they pay it, ordinary Viguma's procedures for raising money begin to work. Many of those members who hear the message from radio go to the city mortuary or A's former residence and make a contribution (usually five to ten shillings per person). It takes in most cases less than one week to collect enough money (three or four thousand shillings) to return the body back home by chartering a *matatu* for three days.

After six months or a year of the death of A in Nairobi, his family and close kin propose the chairman or general secretary that they would like the Viguma to prepare and perform *ilishoma* for late A. Judging from the record book, if it is well known that A or they have been good active members of Viguma, the president convenes a meeting, *komitii* (to discuss the matter), members of which are all the chairmen of sixteen village branches, one chairman of the special urban branch. (Kabete), and four top officials of the Viguma. Provided that their proposal meets with approval of the *komitii*, the general secretary will set the date of *ilishoma* and go to the Nairobi Provincial Headquarter to obtain a permit to raise subscriptions. After that more than 1500 invitation letters are printed and distributed to all the members and their



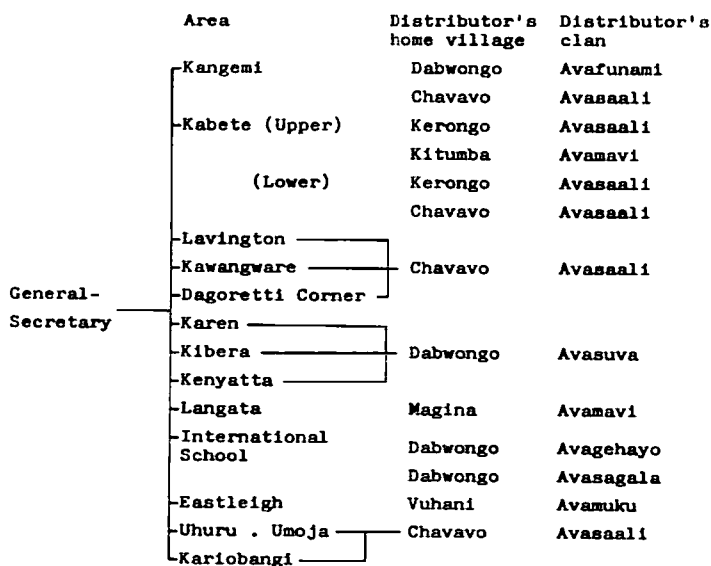


Fig. 12. Distribution network of notice letters of Viguma.

friends under joint signature of the president, general secretary and a chairman in charge of the migrants from A's village. Though they sporadically live in Nairobi, Viguma delivers these letters not by post but by hand. It has established a splendid delivery network (Figure 12).

Thus, the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi admirably run Viguma for themselves making full use of their own experiences and brains, majority of whom are lower-class both politico-economically and socially.

## AN ANALYSIS OF ATTENDANTS OF VIGUMA CO-OPERATIVE ACTIVITIES

### An Analysis by the Three Sub-principles

In this chapter we would like to examine attendants of Viguma's activities such as transporting the deceased back home and performing *ilishoma*. All the cases of these activities during the author's research periods are shown in Table 19. There are three types of attendants, members of Viguma (all are the Maragoli), other Maragoli migrants (non-members) and non-Maragoli migrants. But the latter two types of attendants are scarcely observed in its activities. Take an example of an *ilishoma* performed on April 5th, 1981 at Kawangware near Kangemi, where there were 210 attendants. Of them, only five were non-Maragoli migrants and 29 were Maragoli but non-members of Viguma. More than 80% (81.9%) were Viguma's members, namely, migrants from four sub-locations in South Maragoli. Consequently all this leads us to pay much more attention to the analysis of Viguma's members. What kind of factor exerts the greatest influence on the members' decision whether they join in the co-operative activities or not in each case? First, we will consider three sub-principles as the factors within the framework of Viguma based on the home-boy principle. These three are, the village sub-principle, the clan sub-principle and the urban locality sub-principle.<sup>(28)</sup> According to a combination of these three sub-principles, we can classify all the attendants of each

Table 19. Cooperative activities of Viguma during 1980-1981.

		The deceased's home village	The deceased's clan	The deceased's urban residential area
6 Apr. 1980	A	Chavavo	Avamenge	Kangemi
3 Aug. 1980	A	Kerongo	Avasaali	Kabete
31 Aug. 1980	B	Kerongo	Avasaali	Kabete
27 Sep. 1980	B	Lyamagale	Avasaali	Kawangware
30 Oct. 1980	B	Lyamagale	Avamavi	Loresho
15 Jan. 1981	B	Chavavo	Avasaali	Kangemi
23 Jan. 1981	B*	Magina	Avamgezi	Kabete
1 Feb. 1981	A	Kerongo	Avasaali	Kabete
5 Apr. 1981	A	Chavavo	Avasaali	Kawangware
22 Apr. 1981	B	Chavavo	Avasaali	Kibera
2 May 1981	B	Dabwongo	Avasuva	Kabete
7 June 1981	A*	Magina	Avamgezi	Kabete
5 July 1981	A	Kerongo	Avagehayo	International School
2 Aug. 1981	A	Chavavo	Avasaali	Kangemi

A: A ritual for remembrance, *ilishoma*; B: Cooperative activity for transporting the deceased back home.

\*The same person, a female migrant, whose husband comes from Lyamagale village and belongs to Mavi clan.

case into eight categories. For instance, providing a migrant A of X clan, from Y village, in Z area died in Nairobi, Viguma is to organize co-operation to raise money for transport of his body back home or a ritual for remembrance *ilishoma* for him and his family. Then all the attendants of these activities of Viguma bifurcate by each of the three sub-principles, whether they come from the same village (X) or not, whether they belong to the same clan (Y) as A's, and whether they live in the same residential area (Z) in Nairobi as A lived before his death. A combination of these three bifurcations, each of them is based on one sub-principle of the three, will make up eight categories of all attendants. In the same manner, we can group all the members of Viguma into eight categories (I-VIII) in each case of its cooperative activities (Table 20). The members are nearly nine hundred migrants from sixteen villages that cover four sub-locations (all the villages in two sub-locations and a part of villages in another two sub-locations) in South Maragoli location. Using this categorization, we can easily know the total number as well as the number of actual attendants of each category in individual case shown in Table 19. Restricted in data collection,<sup>(29)</sup> the author could classify all the mem-

Table 20. Typology of the Viguma members by their relation to the deceased.

Category	Village sub- principle	Clan sub- principle	Urban locality sub- principle
I	+	+	+
II	+	+	-
III	+	-	+
IV	+	-	-
V	-	+	+
VI	-	+	-
VII	-	-	+
VIII	-	-	-

If one member shares the same sub-principle with the deceased, its relation is represented as (+), whereas if he does not, it is (-).

Table 21. Attendants rate of the member's Category IV, VI and VII.

Case (1981)	Category		
	IV	VI	VII
15 Jan.		0/0 (0%)	10/75 (13.3%)
23 Jan.		1/13 (7.7%)	4/28 (14.3%)
1 Feb.	20/33 (60.1%)	0/2 (0%)	21/57 (36.8%)
5 Apr.		2/7 (28.6%)	13/74 (17.6%)
22 Apr.		1/24 (4.2%)	1/11 (9.1%)
2 May	1/39 (2.6%)	0/0 (0%)	7/66 (10.6%)
7 June		2/13 (15.4%)	28/86 (32.6%)
5 July	7/36 (19.4%)	3/5 (60.0%)	0/2 (0%)
5 Aug.		4/7 (57.1%)	14/75 (18.7%)
Total	28/108 (25.9%)	13/78 (16.7%)	98/474 (20.7%)

bers from five villages of Vuguru sub-location (234 migrants) into eight categories (I–VIII) in three cases from 1981 and into four categories (V–VIII) in the remaining six cases of the same year. But we will focus here on the IV, VI and VIII categories alone, where only one sub-principle could be at work by itself (Table 21).

Firstly, Table 21 shows that the clan-principle can provide too weak a base for sufficient cooperation by itself (the VI category). In other words, the total number of the migrants of the VI category is much less as compared with that of the IV and VII category. The VI category has the smallest potential capacity to send out real attendants to Viguma's cooperative activities. This weakness remains unchanged even if we add the migrants of the II and V category to the VI, both of which are closely related to the clan sub-principle.<sup>(30)</sup> That weakness is caused by characteristics of the South Maragoli society that numerous small clans are so scattered all over the home-location that they cannot be well integrated in town. In contrast with this sub-principle, the IV category based on the village sub-principle alone has more capacity. In spite of the limitations for data collection that we can get only three cases which produce this IV category out of all the nine cases (see Table 21), the attendants of these three cases are half as much again as those of the nine cases seen in the VI category. Moreover it is the VII category based on the urban locality principle alone that has much more potential capacity than these two. Table 21 will suggest a solution to the problem that within the framework of the home-boy principle, which sub-principle can be expected to cause sufficient quantitative extension of social relations in the eighth situation.

Secondly, we will focus not on the capacity but on the percentage of actual attendants to the total members of the category (Table 21). Though every category shows about 20% of the attendants rate, the IV category based on the village sub-principle alone is indicative of relatively higher rate, while the VI, based on the clan sub-principle alone shows the lowest rate. It reveals that the former sub-principle acquires greater importance and that a myth of the clan (sub) principle as the absolute being gives way. As the rate is liable to sharp fluctuations, depending on individual cases (Table 22), it is not possible to draw a conclusion from limited data presented here. It should be affected by his personality, social status and network for mutual aids of the deceased. Though we have so far examined it in terms of the three sub-principles, we will try to make a quantitative analysis in the next section taking the external variables of Viguma's members as indices.

#### An Quantification Analysis by the External Attributes of the Attendants

In this section we will take an example of 234 members of Viguma, who come from Keron-go, Lyamagale, Dabwongo, Changuzi and Musunguti village of Vuguru sub-location and

Table 22. Attendants of cooperative activities of viguma by home village, by Case 1981.

Home Village	Case								
	15 Jan. B*	23 Jan. B	1 Feb. A	5 Apr. A	22 Apr. B	2 May B	7 June A	5 July A	2 Aug. A
Kerongo (70)**	8	5	50	14	6	9	17	10	13
Lyamagale (71)	15	8	16	14	2	4	15	6	6
Dabwongo (68)	7	8	43	7	4	10	21	13	11
Changuzi (13)	0	0	1			1	1	0	1
Musunguti (13)	2	2	7	0	1	2	4	1	1
Magina (44)	6	10	19	11	4	4	14	6	12
Mahanga (60)	3	2	6	15	2	2	10	2	7
Chavavo (205)	20	17	28	11	7	3	54	22	59
Chambale (90)	21	4	4	26	3	7	13	4	28
Chanzeze (80)	5	2	4	15	9	7	9	9	20
Inavi (62)	12	9	14	38	7	12	17	9	11
Madzuu (37)	3	1	9	8	6	2	7	6	4
Egago (55)	5	14	4	23	16	7	36	1	7
Nameza (25)	3	3	5	3	0	2	3	2	2
Vondega	1	1	4	1	0	1	1	1	1
Gilwazi (6)	0	0	0	3	1	1	0	0	0
Total (899)	106	86	214	190	69	74	222	92	183

\*B: Cooperative activity of raising money for transporting the deceased migrant back to his home village: A: An urban ritual for remembrance, *ilishoma*.

\*\*The total number of members of Viguma is enclosed in parenthesis.

examine the extent to which these external variables of the migrants influence participation in cooperative activities of Viguma and which of these variables have greater effect on it. This paper will consider the following eleven attributes as variables. They are: (1) coincidence of the deceased's village and the member's village, (2) coincidence of the deceased's clan and the member's clan, (3) coincidence of the deceased's urban residential area and that of the member, (4) the member's village, (5) his clan, (6) his urban residential locality, (7) his occupation, (8) his marital status, (9) his generation, (10) coincidence of the member's residence and that of his wife, and (11) the members' sex (Table 23). These eleven variables, correlated with each other, might decide the external criterion whether the members of Viguma join in its cooperative activities. Consequently, it is not significant to take account of simple correlation of one variable ( $x_1$ ) with the external criterion ( $y$ ), for it should be already complexly affected by other ten ( $x_2$ - $x_{11}$ ) variables. We will, therefore, use partial correlation by removing the effects of other ten variables from simple correlation between  $x_1$  and  $y$ . In order to compute it, Hayashi II, a quantification theory, developed by Guttman and Hayashi (Guttman, 1941; Hayashi, 1952, 1954), will be employed here.

In order to adopt the quantification analysis of Hayashi II, each variable should be relatively independent of each other. It is, therefore, necessary to check ETA of each by two of the eleven variables. If it is below 0.7, these two variables can be regarded independent of each other.

$$ETA = \left( 1.0 - \frac{\sum_i \{ \sum_j f_{ij} j^2 - [(\sum_j f_{ij})^2 / (\sum_j f_{ij})] \}}{\sum_i \sum_j f_{ij} j^2 - [(\sum_i \sum_j f_{ij})^2 / N]} \right)^{1/2}$$

Examining ETA of each by two of the eleven variables, high correlation is recognized in only one pair between the attendant's urban residential area and his occupation. (ETA 0.82179). It reflects a trend of habitat segregation of the Maragoli migrants according to their economic status. For example, there are relatively many migrants in Eastland (including

Table 23. Eleven external variables of members of Viguma.

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A: Member; B: The deceased	
<hr/>	
Q2, A's home village	1: Dabwongo, 2: Lyamagale, 3: Changuzi, 4: Musunguti, 5: Kerongo.
Q3, A's clan	1: Avasaali, 2: Avamenge, 3: Avamuku, 4: Avagehayo, 5: Avamgezi, 6: Avafunami, 7: Avasuva, 8: Avatemboli, 9: Avamavi, 10: Avakivuta, 11: Avasagala, 12: Other.
Q4, A's urban residential area	1: Kangemi, Kabete (Kangemi, Kabete, Kawangware, Westland). 2: Kibera (Kibera, Kenyatta, Karen, Langateka). 3: Eastland (Eastleigh, Jericho, Muthaiga, Uhuru, Umoja). 4: International School (International School, Thika). 5: Not fixed. 6: Other.
Q5, A's occupation	1: Non-skilled (watchman, factory worker, sweeper, field assistant, domestic servant, messenger, shop-boy, hotel/bar worker). 2: Semi-skilled (mason, carpenter, painter, cook, driver, assistant laboratory technician, junior electrician, plumber). 3: Clerical (clerk, teacher, preacher, shop-keeper). 4: Job-seeker (job-seeker, daily paid construction labourer). 5: Other.
Q6, A's marital status	1: Married, 2: Unmarried,
Q7, A's generation	1: Kijana*, 2: Mzee.**
Q8, Coincidence of A's residence and his wife's residence	1: Separate, 2: Together.
Q9, A's sex	1: Male, 2: Female.
Q13, Coincidence of A's home village and B's home village	0: + (same) Yes, 1: - (different) No.
Q14, Coincidence of A's clan and B's clan	0: + (Yes), 1: - (No).
Q15, Coincidence of A's urban residential area and B's urban residential area.	0: + (Yes), 1: - (No).

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\*Literally the youth, but here we call as *kijana* those who do not have any child or have children that do not yet leave school.

\*\*Literally the old, those who have children that have already left school are regarded as *mzee* in this table.

Table 24. Partial correlation coefficient of ten variables.

Variables	
Q13	0.12152976
Q14	0.01019482
Q15	0.03007630
Q2	0.14005595
Q3	0.22366196
Q5	0.16961217
Q6	0.01078267
Q7	0.04009762
Q8	0.14035624
Q9	0.08972645

Table 25. The numeric value assigned to each variable and its range.

Variable	Value	Range
Q13		0.99
Yes (+)	-0.84	
No (-)	0.15	
Q14		0.08
Yes (+)	-0.07	
No (-)	0.01	
Q15		0.22
Yes (+)	-0.18	
No (-)	0.04	
Q2		1.54
Dabwongo	-1.06	
Lyamagale	0.48	
Cha guzi	0.14	
Musunguti	0.30	
Kerongo	-0.29	
Q3		2.76
Avasaali	-0.04	
Avamenge	-0.06	
Avamuku	-0.10	
Avagehayo	-0.20	
Avamgezi	1.30	
Avafunami	0.56	
Avasuva	-0.15	
Avatemboli	1.18	
Avamavi	0.84	
Avakivuta	1.92	
Avasagala	0.87	
Other	1.00	
Q5		1.84
non-skilled	0.31	
Semi-skilled	-0.51	
clercal	-1.03	
job-seeker	0.52	
other	0.81	
Q6		0.33
married	0.00	
unmarried	0.33	
Q7		0.25
kijana	0.09	
mzee	-0.16	
Q8		1.33
separate	0.22	
together	-1.11	
Q9		1.44
male	-0.07	
female	1.37	

(-): drive for participation; (+): counter-drive for participation.

Uhuru-Umoja Estate), who are engaged in clerical jobs, whereas the majority are non-skilled or semi-skilled labourers in Kangemi and Kabete. Hence it is reasonable to drop either of the two variables and to compute partial correlation coefficients by the rest ten variables. But there is one question, the members of Viguma in some cases join in a *ilishoma* or fund raising meeting for returning the deceased back home, but they do not in other cases. To what extent do these ten variables influence their participation in cooperative activities of Viguma?

Examining discriminant function efficiency of these ten variables to the external criterion that they participate in or not, the discriminant function efficiency is below 70% (63%) and it means that the criterion cannot be sufficiently explained by the ten variables alone. The Maragoli migrants in Nairobi organize and develop social relations under a behavioural law that cannot be explained in terms of either old fashioned concepts of anthropology alone such as tribe, clan or of lineage or modern practical factors alone like economic status.

Though we point out again that these ten variables cannot clearly discriminate the criterion, it is interesting to focus on partial correlation coefficients of the ten variables (Table 24), the numeric value assigned to each variable and its range (Table 25). Table 24 shows that it is such variables as the attendant's village, clan, occupation, coincidence of his residence with his wife's and coincidence of his village with the deceased's village that have relatively greater influence on the criterion (partial correlation coefficient of these variables are all over 0.1). According to this, a typical image of the attendant will be reconstructed; namely, a migrant who comes from Dabwongo or Kerongo village belongs to Avamavi, Avafunami or Avagehayo, is engaged in clerical occupation, lives in Eastland with his wife and children and comes from the same village as the deceased's. This result should be explained in terms of three perspectives.

The first perspective is related to a formation process of welfare associations in Nairobi. Paying much attention to it, it will be realized why the migrants of specified clans, from specified villages tend to join the Viguma's activities more than other members irrespective of the deceased's village or clan. The migrant from those villages of multi-clan co-inhabitation type like Kerongo or Dabwongo shows a higher percentage of attendance while the members from a village of one-clan dominant type such as Changuzi are indicative of a comparatively low rate of attendance. It leads to that those clan members such as Avafunami or Avagehayo who inhabit the former type village tend to be more positive to the cooperative activities. But in case of Avamavi, although it is the majority clan of Lyamagale, a village of the single-clan dominant type, wealthy migrants from the village actively join in them, which pulls up the percentage of attendance of Avamavi as a whole. That the migrants from the former type villages tend to more actively join in them is due to the fact that these villages produced some of key organizers of Viguma at the time of its formation. In case of the villages of one-clan dominant type, they were still coloured by the cooperation patterns based on clan associations which used to enjoy great popularity in the 60's and was already behind the times. On the contrary, the migrants from the former type newly organized territorial associations like a village association beyond the framework of descent groups (clans). Viguma might be considered an extension of this.

The second perspective is economic conditions of the members, which can be measured by their occupation. Those migrants who get clerical jobs tend to be more co-operative in the Viguma's activities to make more amount of contribution (Table 26). while unskilled migrants who are pressed with daily life do not show so high percentage of attendance as the former, though it is remarkable that even job-seekers without any cash employment show 14.5% of attendance rate. These results suggest that some factor, which cannot be understood in terms of economic conditions alone, is at work. The variable of coincidence of the member's residence with his wife's also exerts comparatively greater effect on the criterion because it has higher correlation with his occupation (Table 27). The wealthy migrant tends to live under the same roof with his family due to the stable income from his clerical job and psychological orientation to urban way of life, and he can afford to make a frequent contribution in each case of the Viguma's activities. That is why the migrants who live together with their wives show higher rate of attendance.

The third perspective is most noticeable. Those migrants who come from the same village

Table 26. Percentage distribution of the migrants by occupation and amount of contribution.

Amount of Contribution (Shillings)	Type of occupation				
	Non-skilled	Semi-skilled	Clerical	Job-seeker	Other
0/-	706 (80.0%)	241 (74.4%)	65 (65.7%)	200 (85.5%)	16 (88.9%)
1/- - 5/-	108 (12.2%)	27 (8.3%)	10 (10.1%)	25 (10.7%)	2 (11.2%)
6/- - 10/-	45 (5.1%)	25 (7.7%)	8 (8.1%)	8 (3.4%)	—
11/- - 20/-	7 (0.8%)	15 (4.6%)	4 (4.0%)	1 (0.4%)	—
21/- - 30/-	9 (1.0%)	10 (3.1%)	6 (6.1%)	—	—
31/- - 50/-	4 (0.4%)	4 (1.2%)	6 (6.1%)	—	—
100/- - 270/-	3 (0.3%)	2 (0.6%)	—	—	—
Total	882	324	99	234	18

Table 27. Percentage distribution of the migrants by occupation and co-residence of husband and wife.

Occupation	Separate	Together	Total
Non-skilled	621 (80.2%)	153 (19.8%)	774
Semi-skilled	288 (94.1%)	18 (5.9%)	306
Clerical	54 (60.0%)	36 (40.0%)	90
Job-seeker	144 (94.1%)	9 (5.9%)	153
Other	9 (50.0%)	9 (50.0%)	18

as the deceased's demonstrate a relatively higher percentage of attendance. In contrast with this, the migrants of the same clan as the deceased's show an extremely lower attendance rate. Those four major variables mentioned in the former two perspective (the member's village, clan, occupation and coincidence of his residence with that of his wife's) might be explained in terms of "conventional" factors such as a formation process of Viguma or economic conditions, but this variable (coincidence of the member's village with the deceased's) is much more closely related to changes and reorganization of the social principles or ideology. Still today, a great number of the same clan members as the deceased's come to his place to keep a wake (*mulukuzu*) from neighbouring villages in the homeland. Clan control over a series of funeral rite are still deeply rooted in the rural society, it has, however, suffered striking deterioration in Nairobi. Instead, village control over them has become influential. It is in accord with the development of new patterns of social relations within the traditional ideology.

To sum up, the quantification analysis of the attendants points of the following results: (1) the criterion cannot be sufficiently explained by the attendants' external attributes (ten variables alone); (2) Taking (1) into account, it is the first variable of coincidence of the member's village with the deceased's that exerts a relatively greater effect on the criterion. It means he who comes from the same village as the deceased's tends to join in a transport money raising, gathering or *ilishoma*. All these reveal that a myth of clan as an absolute principle has broken down and new patterns of social relations based on administrative territorial unit have developed.



## CONCLUSION

Here we will take up again for discussion the purpose of this study, that is to say, elucidation of the retribalization phenomenon of the African rural-urban labour migrants. Much has been argued about it, and in most cases, political-oriented formal ethnic associations led by "big men" in a specified urban area have become the subject of investigation. But in case of the Maragoli migrants in Nairobi the retribalization phenomenon typically occurs among the poor migrants of the lower classes rather than among the Maragoli migrants as a whole. This paper is to point out that the retribalization phenomenon among the Maragoli migrants appeared as nothing less than a survival mechanism on the extreme edge of subsistence in a severe, unstable urban environment. The poor Maragoli migrants are forced to manage to secure the base for their daily life, to maintain the minimum standard of living as well as to cope with urgent difficulties like death or sickness of their family. These minimum necessities for daily life cause the Kerongo migrants to make use of, or adaptively change a combination of such social relations as based on clan, lineage, extended family, village neighbourhood, urban neighbourhood and locality in different situations so that they can involve more and more poor migrants in the mutual help activities. This entire process of reorganization and extension of social relations should be crystallized into the retribalization phenomenon. In order to elucidate this process, we adopt the following procedures:

Firstly, several situations, where social relations are developed and organized, are chosen from the daily life of the Kerongo migrants in Kangemi. Secondly, the forms of reorganizing social relations (network/group type) are examined in each situation. Thirdly, the principles of reorganizing them (clan-lineage/village-homeboy/urban neighbourhood-locality principle) are verified in each situation. And finally, we analyse how the village-homeboy principle, which has been rapidly developed in town is embedded and re-interpreted in a traditional and dominant ideology of unilineal descent.

Following these procedures, a reorganization process of the Maragoli migrants' social relations could be described in each situation. Then we will grasp the retribalization phenomenon as their complex whole in its totality. This paper takes an example of the eighth situation, a part of this complex whole, and focuses on social relations organized on the occasion of cooperation for transporting a deceased migrant back to the home village and preparing and performing *ilishoma* for him and his family. They are closely connected with traditional Maragoli funeral rites and ideas of life and death, which have been one of the most important cooperative activities in the traditional Maragoli society. These activities are still mainly done by the extended family and clan members in the home land but these are scarcely done by them in Nairobi, where they are replaced with home-boys. For the home-boy principle has been newly developed in town as a base for cooperation. It might be pointed out that even in such a most traditional and culturally conservative situation as is concerned with funeral rites, the principle of reorganizing social relations has gradually changed from the clan-lineage principle to the home-boy principle, though it is already provided with legitimacy within the framework of the traditional ideology.

As a matter of course, this change observed in the eighth situation cannot apply to other situations. Because each situation has its own process of reorganization. Accordingly, it becomes more important to extract its own mechanism and process of reorganization from each situation and to positively analyse their complex whole in order to grasp retribalization phenomenon in its totality. Especially much more attention should be paid to the third situation (the borrowing and lending of money) where the urban neighbourhood principle plays a leading part in organizing social relations rather than the home-boy principle. It is not until

we get to this point that we can lay not the migrants but the townsmen on the table for consideration. It leads to concentration of our discussion on greater problem of class and ethnicity. Our eyes have been averted from this problem by urban ethnicity, which Parkins calls a "false consciousness or a form of mystification (Parkin, 1975)."

Consequently, apart from making clear a mechanism of the entire retribalization phenomenon by extracting and investigating a reorganization process of social relations in each situation, it remain to be proved that we should relieve this urban ethnicity of the role as a veil which has mystified a fundamental contradiction in an urban environment and should illuminate a complex phenomenon that is caused by both class and ethnicity. This paper plays an introductory part for it.

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## NOTES

- (1) Mayer distinguished townsmen (townrootedness) from migrants by two kinds of level (Mayer, P. & I., 1961: 9). One is an objective level and another is a subjective one. The former includes such elements as location of family and close kins, frequency of visit to home-village and location of property, while the latter means a psychological orientation.
- (2) Census data for 1948, 1962, 1969 and 1979 shows the number of inhabitants to have been 258,085, 266,794, 509,286 and 834,549 respectively. Its population has shown an increase of 312.8% from 1962 to 1979, while the rate of population growth amounts to only 3.4% from 1948 to 1962.
- (3) Rempel built a model of rural-urban migration in Kenya. It was  $M_{ij}(t) = f\{V_j(t) - V_i(t), V_i(t), D_{ij}(t), E(t), C_{ij}(t), A_j(t) - A_i(t), A_i(t)\}$  (Rempel, H., 1970). He analysed determinants of migration when one decides to go out of his village (i) to some urban centre (j) to work. He made it clear that  $D$  (cost for transportation) was an important determinant as well as  $V$  (expected income stream),  $E$  (quality of labour available for employment),  $C$  (clan contacts from i in j) and  $A$  (amenity available).
- (4) This paper uses the term of not "tribe" but "ethnic group", because the term of tribe is liable to be associated with the "past false image" (Parkin, D., 1975: 265-266) stereotyped and invented by many people since explorers and missionaries invaded Africa. It is not therefore suitable for explaining the contemporary phenomenon. Wallerstein considered a rural social group as "tribe" and an urban cultural sub-group as "ethnic group" (Wallerstein, E., 1960: 477). But we will use the term of ethnic group in both senses here. Although it is true that it might give a false impression as if it settled all problems on "tribe" (Gulliver, P. H., 1969: 8), it is more pertinent to adopt "ethnic group". Because it is more "value free" and appropriate to explain "contemporary and broader grouping" (Cohen, A., 1969: 4, Colson, E., 1968: 202-203). But the term of retribalization and supertribalization are relevant concepts to analyse the contemporary urban phenomenon. Consequently we will use these terms in this paper as they are.
- (5) It is Rouch who pointed out that ethnicity was not fixed but more flexible in town (Rouch, J., 1956). He made it clear that those migrants of different ethnic groups who came afar from neighbouring home locations tended to form a new ethnic group and he called it supertribalization. In his study on Copperbelt towns, Mitchell described that in urban situations a Chewa

person was identified with the ethnographically dissimilar but geographically close, Ngoni by a Lungu person, who in turn, was identified by the Chewa person as the ethnographically similar but nevertheless distinct Bemba who also like the Lungu, live in the Northern Province of Zambia (Mitchell, J. C., 1956: 39, 1974: 18-21). The similar phenomena were reported by Southall, A., (1961: 39, Gulliver, P. H., (1969: 21) and Paden, J. N. (1970: 245). Maragoli, together with other 16 Bantu-speaking ethnic groups settled down in Western Kenya has formed a new supertribe called Luyia. This supertribalization of Luyia has made so much steady progress that it is not uncommon that Maragoli person is regarded as a Luyia person by such majority ethnic group members as Kikuyu and Luo in Nairobi.

- (6) Most of major towns in East Africa were established and developed as Colonial Administrative centres. They were suddenly built in the homeland of a certain ethnic group. According to Parkin, it is useful to distinguish "Host tribe" from "Migrant tribe" in order to analyse an urbanization process of such towns (Parkin, D., 1969). The former, who originally occupied these areas, regards the city as historically and culturally theirs. The latter are people who have flowed into the city. In case of Nairobi, the "host tribe" is Kikuyu and the Luo, Luyia (including Maragoli) and Kalenjin are the "migrant tribes".
- (7) The Maragoli migrants in Kangemi show neither a marked trend toward exclusive inhabitation against other ethnic groups nor total interaction with all of them. That is why we avoid using the term "community".
- (8) Census data for 1962 (then Kangemi used to be a part of Kiambu District), 1969 (it was already incorporated into Nairobi) and 1979 show the number of inhabitants to have been 4,177, 9,173 and 20,924 respectively.
- (9) The density of population in North and South Maragoli location is 614 and 542 person per square kilometres respectively. These are some of those locations that have the highest population density in Kenya.
- (10) Each household of Kerongo village has one or two plots on an average.
- (11) Mock carried out his field work in Bulala village, South Maragoli. He reported out that 61% of adult male villagers went out of the village to work (Mock, J., 1975).
- (12) When a migrant himself or his family suffers from a disease or some accident, and is forced to go to hospital, he urgently needs cash. And when his wife who is on a temporary visit to him returns home or he himself has to return home, he needs cash for transport fares (70/- one way by bus) and such presents for his family as clothes, shoes or sugar. These are all unexpected expenses.
- (13) Every loan association adopts a system of an advance payment of interest. When one borrows 100/- from a certain loan association he has to pay interest of 20/- or 25/- in advance and after that he can be accommodated with 100/- at last. At the end of that month, if he cannot return the borrowed money, he has to pay another 20/- or 25/-.
- (14) All the villagers are Christians except one Moslem. But church activities are mainly sustained by married women and old people. This pattern is also observed in Kangemi.
- (15) These married women who join in the religious gathering borrow or lend a small amount of money, sell or buy used clothes, and exchange information on part-time jobs such as a house-maid or a nurse-maid.
- (16) At the time of June, 1981, there were only six women (two of them in Kangemi) who went out of Kerongo to find a job or to work. There were three women who stayed with their husbands in town. All this reveals that as far as the Kerongo migrants are concerned, the church activities (mainly done by women) are of little importance.
- (17) There are two situations in which a migrant is forced to borrow money. In one case he borrows a small sum of money (4-5/-) to buy sugar, tea leaves or maize flour or for a bus fare to city centre. In the other case, he needs a round sum of money (80-100/-) as unexpected expenses (see note 12). The former is closely connected with maintenance of the daily life, while the latter relates to unexpected accidents such as death or disease.
- (18) "Home-boy" was translated by Harris-Jones from *bakumwesu* of Bemba word. Similarly Mayer translated *amakhaya* of Xhosa word into "home people" (Harris-Jones, 1969: 299, Mayer, P. & I., 1961: 99-101.)
- (19) Traditionally, Maragoli had never had any paramount chief (Wagner, G., 1949). But the colonial administration produced a location chief for its convenience.
- (20) In contrast with *ilidala*, all the places where one can earn cash without coming back home to sleep are called *iligulu*.
- (21) In considering the urban neighbourhood of this case, neighbours are limited to the Maragoli tenants alone and those of other ethnic groups are not taken account of.
- (22) A number of studies on patron-client relation in Africa have been presented. Hausa landlords

- and cattle traders (Cohen, A., 1965), baraship of Nupe (Nadel, S. F., 1951: 123) and Tusti-Hutu relation in Rwanda are examples, Lemarchand classified African traditional political clientelism into four types: (i) patrimonial, (ii) feudal, (iii) mercantile, and (iv) saintly (Lemarchand, 1977).
- (23) It is four major clans only that have clearly segmented sub-clans (*mlango*). Clan segmentation cannot be recognized in the rest of small clans.
  - (24) A Maragoli person classify all people of Maragoli into kinds, relative clan members (Avasigu) and enemy clan members (Aviko). He is allowed to marry with the latter alone but never with the former (Mwenesi, J. M., 1976).
  - (25) A traditional idea of *kegenge* is merged with Christianity and sometimes called *amademon* after the fashion of Christianity.
  - (26) G.E.M.A. (Gikuyu Embu Meru Association), Akamba Union and Luo Union are examples. But these ethnic associations were compulsorily disbanded by the President in 1980, because they had aggravated tribalism.
  - (27) Viguma is made up of those migrants from sixteen villages of four sub-locations (the number of women is enclosed in parenthesis).
    - i. Viguru sub-location (all villages)—Kerongo: 70(5); Dabwongo: 68(6); Lyamagale: 71(6); Magina: 44(1); Musunguti: 13(0); Changuzi: 13(1).
    - ii. Mahanga sub-location (all villages)—Mahanga: 60(0); Chavavo: 205(17); Chanzeye: 80(15); Chambale: 90(2); Inavi: 60(4).
    - iii. Chagenda sub-location (a part of villages)—Nameza: 25(5); Vondegga and Gilwazi: 6(0).
    - iv. Madzuu sub-location (a part of villages)—Madzuu: 37(5); Egago: 55(12).
  - (28) In this case locality means a residential area in Nairobi such as Kangemi, Kabetete, Makongeni, Kibera or Eastleigh.
  - (29) The author was allowed to have access to the record book by the general secretary, Mr. Dickson Majusi. The members whom he could confirm about their clan, occupation, age, urban residential area and friendship network were limited to the migrants from five villages of Viguru sub-location alone.
  - (30) Both of the III and V category are related to the clan sub-principle. In the III category, members and the deceased have the village and the clan sub-principle in common, while in the V category, they have the urban locality and the clan sub-principle in common.

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