

AN ANALYSIS OF URBAN STRUCTURAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC
CHARACTERISTICS IN EAST AFRICA : A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF
KENYA AND UGANDA

by

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DECLARATION

Except where otherwise indicated, this thesis
is my own work.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, appearing to read "H. Geria".

Harry Moses Geria

April, 1980

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A B S T R A C T

The primary objectives of this thesis are twofold. First, it is an attempt at international comparative study, using two neighbouring developing countries, Kenya and Uganda. These are countries with similar historical and cultural backgrounds, and are more or less at similar stages of economic development. Comparison is intended to provide for a critical assessment of the impact of the different urbanization policies on the urbanization process and patterns. This leads to the second objective, which specifically is an examination of the demographic characteristics of the urban areas in each of the countries, and their implications for short-term and long-term urbanization policies in the context of national development planning.

A fairly long introduction has been given to this thesis in Chapters I and II. This has been necessary for the understanding of the analyses which follow. Chapter I is a general introduction, covering, among others, definitions, the present nature of urbanization in developing countries generally, and a brief examination of the urbanization policies in Kenya and Uganda. Chapter II gives a historical account of urbanization in East Africa in general. Chapter III covers the structural aspects of urbanization, while Chapter IV is concerned with the demographic aspects. It may be pointed out that Chapters III and IV individually are preceeded by brief definitions, reviews and evaluations of the data used, as well as discussions of problems associated with them. Such observations indicate the limitations faced by the analyses, particularly with regard to available published information. Chapter V is a summary and discussion of the findings of the study.

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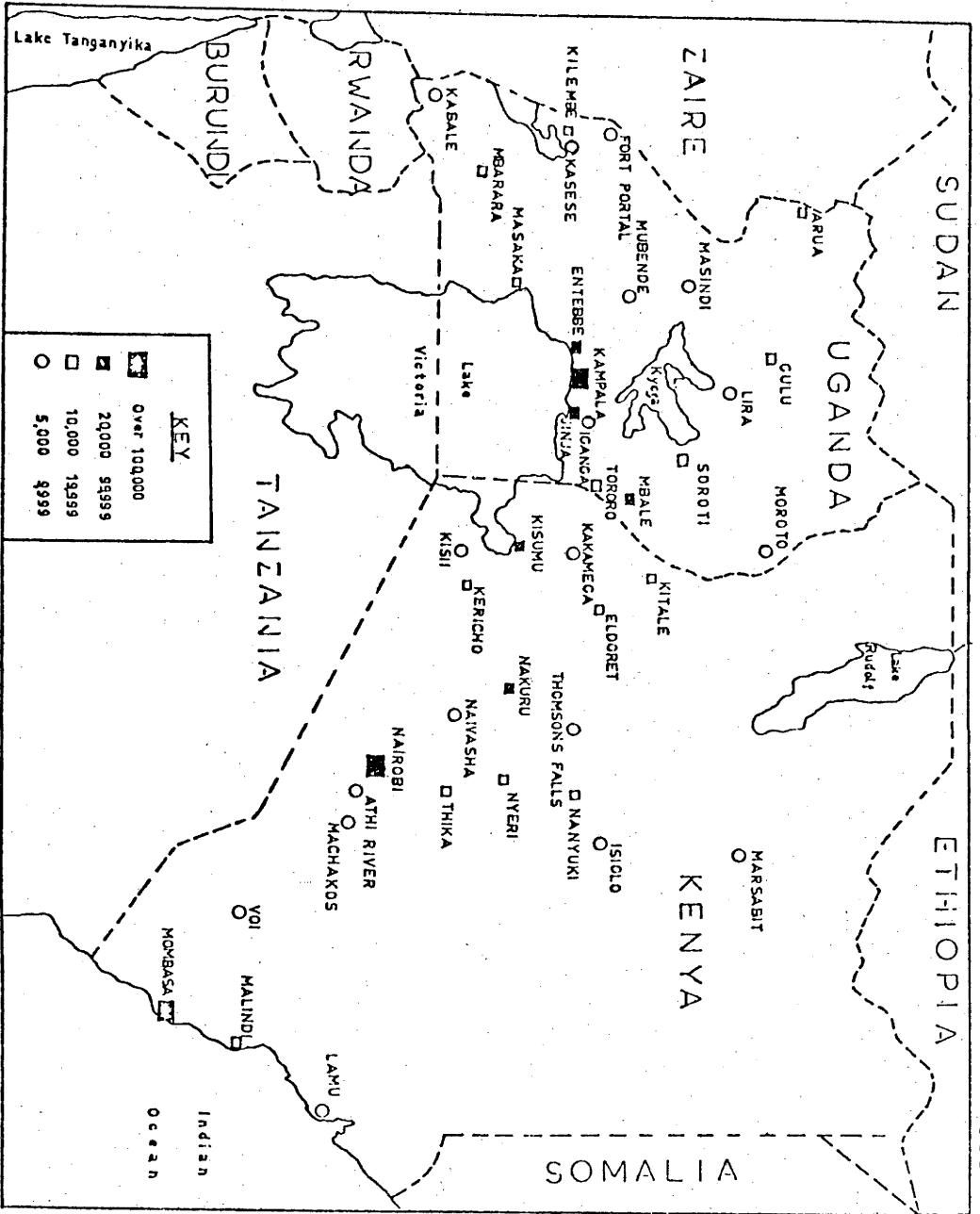
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THE URBAN AREAS WITH 5,000+ INHABITANTS IN KENYA & UGANDA 1969



CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

Until recently demographic studies have tended to neglect two important aspects of population change, namely migration and urbanization. This has been especially true with regard to tropical Africa as pointed out by Prothero (1968) and Van de Walle (1968). The General Conference of the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population (IUSSP) recognised in 1969 that the increasing urbanization of the world's population, and the social and economic implications, required some attention from demographers. With regard to the Africa region the Conference noted that little attention had been given to these phenomena, yet Africa's urban population was growing much more rapidly than most of the major regions of the world. The United Nations Population Division (1970) estimated that the urban population of Africa increased by 64% from 48 million in 1960 to 77 million in 1970. This figure contrasts strongly with an increase of 37% in the world's urban population, and 58% in the urban population of the less developed regions during this decade. Furthermore it has also been estimated that between 1950 and A.D. 2000 Africa's urban population will increase ten times, while the rural population will increase by only two and a half times. By numbers this means that by A.D. 2000 the urban population of Africa will be 320 million, compared with the total population of the continent of 270 million people in 1960 and 344 million in 1970. (United Nations, 1970.)

Another statistic which illustrates the importance of research into urbanization in Africa is that of population distribution by size of urban places or agglomerations. For example in 1920 Cairo was the only city in Africa with over 500,000 people. By 1960 there were just over ten cities with that number of people. It is projected that there will be over forty-five such cities by 1980. Some of the most significant aspects of these developments have been summarised in two separate studies as

follows. That "although in Africa where generally the proportion of urban to rural inhabitants are comparatively low, even a relatively small migration (to urban areas) can have a drastic effect on the rate of growth of urban populations" (International Bank, 1972: 11). Secondly that "the impact of urbanization will press most heavily upon those societies which at present are most deficient in the economic, technological and managerial resources required to maintain and improve complex urban environments " (Ford Foundation, 1972: 2). Finally the United Nations (1967: 71) observed the following with respect to the Africa region :

"..... the need for policies to cope with existing as well as the potentially more serious problems of both rural and urban places is matched by the pressing need for research on which to base policy decisions..... Documentation of the extent and character of the urbanization process in Africa and the role of rural-urban migration remains one of the major research challenges facing demographers. Indeed Africa exemplifies the conclusion that the magnitude of the problems of internal migration and urbanization are not matched either by the quantity or quality of the existing data on these phenomena or the analyses which so far have been undertaken."

The hitherto lack of attention to these problems have been attributed among other reasons, to lack of basic data, lack of appreciation of existing urban data, and shortage of skilled personnel (Goldstein, 1974: 7).

The statistical study of urbanization, even with the most basic data available, can be of great advantage to planners and policy makers. For instance knowledge of the levels and patterns of urbanization can help them to relate these measures to other quantifiable attributes of urbanization and urban facilities. In other words other demographic characteristics of populations interact with the urbanization process differently in time and space, and lead to different problems which have to be identified. Thus the

concentration of population in a few large urban centres of a country or region may present different types of problems than if the population had been more evenly distributed among several smaller urban centres. Then again the relationships between, say, population distribution and industrial locational decisions are useful to know since they also partly influence the patterns of urbanization. But before laying down the aims and scope of this study, it is crucial to first define urbanization in general, as well as to establish one definition to be adopted for this study in particular.

1.2 Definitions

Several attributes have been used to define "urbanization" and "urban areas" or cities. The attributes include demographic, economic, socio-cultural as well as psychological characteristics. Thus Kerr and Simmons (1975: 168) define urbanization as "the development and spread of the physical and non-physical aspects of what might be called city life". Steigenda (1975: 113) defines it as "a process of continuous change in the pattern of population distribution". Davis' (1968: 3) definition comes close to the one preferred for this study, and he defines urbanization as "the switch from a spread-out pattern of human settlements to one of concentration in urban centres". The preferred definition for this study is that of Tisdale (1942: 311) who defines urbanization as "the process of population concentration". This definition, unlike the foregoing, is simple and lacks ambiguity. In fact Tisdale convincingly demonstrates that this definition is the only one where there is positive and consistent association between urban growth and population concentration. It dismisses definitions based on the spread of ideas, practices, traits and characteristics spreading from the urban centre into the surrounding areas, because such definitions imply that the city is the cause of urbanization, rather than the product of urbanization. Furthermore they do not explain the appearance of cities. They are therefore vague, ambiguous and inconsistent. Tisdale's definition enables urbanization to be viewed in its totality in both time and space.

This is especially important if we recognise that as long as cities grow in size or in numbers urbanization is taking place. It therefore means that urbanization can take place or stop at any point in time or space. The implications are that there can be urbanization in one place or another; or at one time and not at another. Also there can be absence of urbanization even if there are many cities. It also means there can be de-urbanization. In short the end of population concentration marks the end of urbanization. Urbanization in this study should therefore be understood in this way.

"Urban areas" or cities on the other hand have been defined in legal or administrative terms (city, municipality, township), or in geographic terms (localities, agglomerations). The demographic terms have been employed (population size and/or density); and economic variables (the prevalence of non-agricultural activities). Psychological criteria have not been omitted either. Many of these definitions seem appropriate, but each one has its flaws. For analytical purposes any one or a combination of these definitions may be employed. Thus David (1969: 7) recommends that the definitive attributes of cities applied in a study should be clearly geared to the theory being pursued and the nature of the research derived from it. The United Nations (1969: 7-11) upholds this view in many of its own studies as well as recommendations. For a general definition of cities or urban areas the one consistent with the definition of urbanization preferred above is that of Tisdale who defines cities as "points of concentration". This definition encompasses most others offered above, except the psychological and to some extent the economic criteria. In this study a combination of both administrative and demographic definitions will be used since they are suitable in the context of the data available for this study.

1.3 Urbanization in the developing countries

Current urbanization in the developing countries, seen in terms of the definition adopted above, has some similarities with the

causes of urbanization in the developed and highly industrial countries, but under different circumstances. The manner in which the process of urbanization is taking place in the developing countries, and the patterns of cities produced, are however, quite different from what has been the case in the now developed industrial countries. Yet explanations of the manner of urbanization in the developing countries today too often tend to be entirely based on the theoretical conceptualisations conceived out of Western cultural experience of urbanization. The source of this confusion has been adequately provided by Mehta (1976: 587-8). He asserts that urbanization which is a demographic concept has been closely associated with industrialization which is an economic concept. This is a false premise as far as the developing countries are concerned. Industrialisation is only one of the many stimuli which encourage urbanization, and in the circumstances of the developed countries it has come to dominate all other stimuli. In the west by the time the industrial revolution took place, most other stimuli like monetary economy, political power, and international trade had been firmly established, and had themselves already contributed almost all their share to urbanization. Trade and commerce, for instance, contributed to capital formation. A relatively high degree of education enabled the acquisition of skills. Mechanisation of agriculture made excess labour available to the industrial sector mainly concentrated in the urban areas.

In the developing countries the transition is not that smooth. Industrialisation is not a dominant force for urbanization because of historical circumstances. Most of the countries have just recently become independent from foreign rule. Friedman (1973: 21) concedes that political power is not yet firmly consolidated, with many of the countries being loosely integrated and at the same time lacking genuine sovereignty.

During foreign rule cities in the developing countries were nothing more than outposts for international trade with the mother countries, and were naturally not integrated into the regional

economies (Mehta, 1976: 658). The predominantly subsistence economy was monetised to very limited levels. But after independence, with the desire to develop fast, the social and economic programs of the new governments sparked off a set of stimuli which operate side by side to stimulate urbanization. Some of them are :-

- (a) rapid spread of monetary economy into the rural areas, giving people more purchasing power, thus giving the previously administrative towns commercial functions,
- (b) the establishment of manufacturing industries in urban centres; as well as the provision of educational, health, and other social amenities largely in the urban areas,
- (c) improved communication and transport systems that led to easier access to urban areas, and increased mobility in general,
- (d) improved hygiene and reduced death-rates and increased live birth rates leading to rapid populations increase. For instance Kigezi district in Uganda has an average density of 320 persons per square mile, making the district one of the most heavily populated in the country, and resulting in rural land shortage and consequently out-migration from the district. Some of these people head for the urban areas.
- (e) the tendency for these countries, especially at the early stages of development, to be characterised by inherited polarised development involving migration of resources - people, skills and capital from peripheral areas to the major centres of development, where opportunities are perceived to exist. The problem is that "favoured regions, once established (whether they are rational for the system as a whole or not) tend to (sustain themselves through cumulative causation which)

leads to increasing economic inequalities" (Myrdal, 1957: 26). He proposes two solutions which involve massive government intervention and control, and the need for development planners to innovate and experiment in an attempt to channel and extend the benefits of development to peripheral areas. However, very few governments in these essentially neo-colonial countries, have actually in practice attempted to improve some of the inequalities.

It is these and other stimuli which make urbanization a much more rapid process in the developing countries, and requiring urgent and effective response from the governments.

1.4 Aims and Scope of the present study

In an essentially broad topic such as this, several themes inevitably arise, and choosing only one for analysis would mean ignoring others closely related to it. An attempt is therefore made, as far as possible, to consider a couple of others alongside the main theme or objective in order to give the study a fair and comprehensive treatment. The major objective is here stated first, and the others follow in order of importance. The objectives of this study therefore are :-

- (1) To examine on a comparative basis the trends, patterns, and processes of urbanization in Kenya and Uganda, and their relationship to existing policies on urbanization and urban development planning, and their implications for national development strategies.

Comparison has been undertaken largely because Kenya and Uganda are two countries with similar cultural backgrounds, similar colonial histories (British Administration), and are more or less at similar stages of economic development. Comparison therefore affords a critical assessment of policies on urbanization in each country, since urbanization varies in structure

from country to country, even where the degree may be the same. In short, patterns and trends vary with particular circumstances and policies.

- (2) To examine the demographic characteristics of urban areas in each of these countries and their impact on current and future urbanization processes and patterns.

The objectives stated above may be difficult to achieve, especially in view of data problems which are discussed Section One of Chapter Three, and in parts of some chapters. This is the major problem limiting the scope of the study. However, every effort will be made to pursue the two objectives as far as possible, especially since these are areas in which most of the current developmental issues lie; and requiring more specific studies for individual countries in order to facilitate improved urbanization strategies.

A brief look at the Development Plans of Kenya for 1970-74 and Uganda for 1971/2 - 1975/6 shows that substantial sections were devoted to urban development and urbanization. It may be pointed out that earlier development plans did have sections on urban development strategies and urbanization. However, these latter plans contain some of the most explicit policies with regard to urbanization. The fact that they (the plans under consideration) were formulated immediately after the study periods merely means a late realisation of the problems of urbanization, especially as it affected the larger cities; and it is considered legitimate to relate them to the study period since they provide an opportunity to examine whether (a) these plans were rational in view of the recent past and, (b) whether they offer the desired solutions to the immediate and future urbanization problems.

1.5 Overview of urbanization policies in Kenya and Uganda

The development plans of both Kenya and Uganda list several policies regarding urbanization and urban development. Only the key statements will be summarised at this stage, leaving details for critical discussion in the final chapter in the light of the

findings of the study.

Kenya's Development Plan for 1970-74 views urbanization as follows :

"The interdependence between rural and urban areas grows in the process of development, and with it comes the enhancement of the role of towns as the producer of goods and services and consumer of agricultural production. This interaction leads to cumulative self-sustaining growth (emphasis mine). Urbanization, resulting from expansion of economic opportunities, will therefore be encouraged and will be seen as complementary to rural development in the effort to achieve national development goals..... In addition to their role as rural service centres, many towns, particularly the larger national and provincial towns, have an important independent role e.g. as centres of industry and tourism, (as well as) centres for rural migrants seeking employment and social benefits.... this additional role is one of the prime factors in rapid urban population growth and also the physical form of towns" (Kenya Government, 1974: 114).

As a general strategy the plan designates four levels of urban centres to stimulate rural development, (a) urban centres, mostly district headquarters, as the main commercial centres for every district (b) rural centres to serve at least 40,000 people, (c) market centres to serve about 15,000 people and, (d) local centres to serve about 5,000 people. (Kenya Government, 1974: 120).

It is important to note that the philosophy of this plan has an inherent assumption behind it which relates to the role of towns as already indicated above. It assumes, as Kabwegyere (1979: 308) rightly observed "that the industrial change is a precondition for development, and, as more people engage in industry, secondary and tertiary economic activities, the more development comes about".

The development plan for Uganda lists several policies designed to relieve the critical problems of urban areas (emphasis mine). These include increased rural development as an alternative in addition to expanding urban employment opportunities through manufacturing, construction, commercial activities, government personnel services, improved water and sewerage services, health and communication facilities.

As regards the crucial issue of the distribution of urbanization all over the country, there exists a controversy as to what policies to adopt. Thus there is no explicit policy, as the plan notes :-

- (a) "(It is doubtful) whether the concept of 'optimum' size of towns has any fairly immediate practical relevance in Uganda.... the government does not have any evidence to show that any of the present towns in Uganda is in danger of growing to an absolute size that would, per se, be harmful to any aspect of the life of the country.... The government is of the view that various considerations involved in (the question of the size to which individual towns should be allowed to grow) need much study before any definite policy on it is adopted." (Uganda Government 1972: 111).
- (b) "The other typical question regarding urban development is whether government should, as a matter of policy, deliberately promote the growth of towns in particular regions, even at the expense of growth elsewhere... The real issue of the relative (emphasis not mine) growth of towns, however, concerns the geographical

distribution of the activities associated with urban areas. This raises the crucial matter of industrial location policy besides critical constraints in industrialisation efforts e.g. demand for technology (and) optimum location questions." (Uganda Government, 1973: 111-2).

This question has again been committed to further study from which long-term plans based on the notion of 'growth centres' or 'poles' could be formulated as a means of promoting industrial development in upcountry areas.

Despite the lack of a definite policy on influencing the distribution of urbanization through industrialisation, however, some interim measures adopted are made explicit :-

"(Whereas the overriding concern will be to promote the greatest possible volume of industrial activity, government will do nothing to direct industrial enterprises away from their optimum economic locations. Consequently government will not commit itself to any important level of assistance to industries which get set up in uneconomic locations.... It needs to be emphasised, however, that (this measure) does not negate the application of social criteria in the evaluation of industrial projects, since locational considerations are as relevant to the use of these criteria as they are in purely commercial evaluation." (page 112)

The plan affirms government's commitment, on the other hand, to encouraging 'foot-loose' industries which it sees as the economic basis for the future establishment of larger and larger industrial undertakings. Assistance to 'foot-loose' industries would be

directed mainly at those which are outside the present region of relative industrial concentration, namely the Kampala-Jinja-Mbale-Tororo and Masaka belt. The plan concludes ;~

"Outside the type of activity mentioned (above), government will not, in general, use industrial development policy as a vehicle for influencing the growth of particular urban areas" (page 113).

In summary the significant points to note in Uganda's plan just considered are, (a) the need for further studies to verify the necessity of regulating urbanization, (b) the government attitude to industrial location by implication resembles that of Kenya, (c) giving industry the freedom to continue concentrating in favoured urban areas and regions, (d) the recognition of the importance of 'foot-loose' industries as an important base for industrial development in the context of the country.

1.6 Literature Review

An increasing amount of work is being done on migration and urbanization on features of social and economic change in the developing countries, even though it dates only a couple of decades back. The peculiar trend with these migration studies is that they have developed so unevenly (Simmons, et al, 1977: 9). In their review on research findings on internal migration in Africa, Asia and Latin America, they report that there are abundant studies describing the social and demographic characteristics of migrants that analyse the leading causes of out-migration from rural areas. They contrast this with the remarkably few studies that evaluate the consequences of migration in places of origin and destination. The two major reasons they give to account for such uneven attention are (a) narrow disciplinary concerns and, (b) reliance on census and survey data for migration studies. While census data "impedes the testing of complex theoretical models (Todaro, 1976: 55) narrowly focussed research design have led to neglect of some important aspects of internal migration (Simmons et al, 1977: 9-10).

The literature on migration and urbanization in East Africa have not been exceptions to the foregoing pitfalls. Nevertheless, the available studies may still be seen as essential ground-work for more diversified work that may be done in the future.

In Kenya Ominde (1965) used the 1962 census data to analyse the population dynamics of the country, giving regional backgrounds to the problem. Morgan (1969) traces urban origins in Kenya historically and treats the urban network using the 1962 Census data on the basis of regions and sub-regions. He also examines urban distribution and functions, giving only a brief treatment to the relationship between town-planning and population growth. Gaile (1976) reviews the processes affecting the spatial rural-urban development in Kenya, while Ominde (1977) outlines the spatial population change in Kenya, with emphasis on the mobility process and its contribution to the development problems in urban areas.

One study which looks at the spatial dimensions of modernisation was undertaken by Soja (1968). The study takes account of problems of social, economic and political change in the development process, and uses principal component analysis to identify the most critical factors involved in nation-building (Soja, 1968: 106). The role of urbanization is seen merely as "enhancing communicative behaviour and patterns of modernisation" (Soja, 1968: 48).

Urban unemployment in Nairobi has a rich literature, possibly because of its "political sensitivity in urban areas" (Simmons, et al, 1977: 8). Some of the works include those of International Labour Organisation (1972), Maitha, (1973), Weeks, (1975), Collier and Rempel (1977). Housing problems in Nairobi have also been investigated by Etherton, (1971), Saffier, (1972), and the United Nations (1965) among others.

Like in Kenya, studies on urbanization, per se, are hard to find, for Uganda but an increasing amount of work has continued to be done on internal migration, dating as far back as early 1950s, for instance Powesland's (1954) study of immigrant labourers in Buganda. Elkan

(1956) examined the problem of labour shortage in urban areas in Uganda, while Hutton (1972) studied the opposite situation of labour surplus in urban areas in Uganda. These two studies are significant in that by presenting opposite labour supply conditions in a little under twenty years, they throw some light on the problem of rural-urban migration and urbanization in general.

It is also important to point out that many other studies in Uganda relating to urbanization are in fact micro-studies originating largely from sociologists. The works of Halpeny (1975) on ethnic migration in one of Kampala's slum areas and Obbo's (1972) study of women's careers in low-income areas of Kampala, are two examples in point.

However, a few demographic studies have also featured in the literature on urbanization in Uganda, although again with restricted scope. A prominent example is Hirst (1974) who analysed the social geography of Kampala, with emphasis on population density gradients, distribution of migrants in terms of residential segregation, and a typology of age structures. This study was based on age and sex and place-of-birth data for Kampala, and was aimed at illustrating the usefulness of published data needed by town planners for more efficient planning.

Besides these notable studies, Langlands (1971) devotes a section each to looking at the urban populations of each district of Uganda in his series of Occasional Papers dealing with the population geography of each district. The urban areas are only looked at in terms of population size, growth-rates, boundary changes and rank order.

1.7 Data Sources

The data sources for this study largely derive from published census volumes. A summary of the publications is given below, and the full titles appear in the references. Supplementary data from other sources available have also been listed. An evaluation of the census data is carried out in the first section of Chapter Three.

Kenya : Main Sources

- (a) Ministry of Economic Planning and Development
(1964-1966). Kenya Population Census 1962, Volumes
1 to 5.
- (b) Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (1970-77).
Kenya Population Census 1969, Volumes 1 to 4.

Supplementary sources

- (c) Ministry of Planning and Economic Development, Nairobi.
Kenya : Statistical Digest, Volumes 1 to 8 (1953-1970).
- (d) Kenya : Statistical Abstract. 1961-1972.
- (e) Kenya : Economic Survey. 1967-1972.
- (f) Ministry of Justice and Constitutional Affairs,
Department of the Registrar General : Kenya Registrar
General's Report 1963-1973.

Uganda : Main Sources

- (a) East African Statistical Department (1960). General
African Census 1959, Volumes 1, 2 (Parts 1-5).
- (b) Ministry of Economic Affairs, Statistical Branch, Entebbe.
1961. Uganda Census 1959. African Population.
- (c) Ministry of Economic Affairs, Statistics Branch, Entebbe
1961. Uganda Census 1959. The Non-African Population.
- (d)
Uganda : Statistical Abstract 1970.

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORY OF URBANIZATION IN EAST AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

It has been strongly suggested that contemporary urbanization and dynamics of urban change in East Africa can be best understood in the framework of the underdevelopment process which started with the colonial era, and continues today within the context of international economic relations. To entirely detach any study of urbanization in East Africa from this premise is inappropriate (Soja and Weaver, 1976: 233-4). That this view is not merely an ideological orientation is shown by other writers who have used the same approach in their various studies on aspects of East African social, economic and political conditions. Examples include Amin (1972), Brett (1973), Leys (1974) and Gutkind and Wallerstein (1976).

It may be pointed out that this perspective is an extension of "dependency theory" expounded in Latin America to explain the political economies of those countries. Briefly "dependency theory" in the contemporary sense refers to "a situation in which domestic industrialisation has occurred along with increasing economic denationalization; in which sustained economic growth has been accompanied by rising social inequalities; and in which rapid urbanization and the spread of literacy have converged with the ever more evident marginalization of the masses" (Sunkel and Paz, 1970). A critical synthesis of the literature on 'dependency theory' has been provided by Chilcote (1974:4-29) and no attempt will be made here to restate the theory per se, nor elaborate its strengths and weaknesses. Rather, a historical review of the nature of urbanization in pre-independence and post-independence East Africa will be outlined in this chapter as a prelude to the understanding of the chapters that follow.

2.2 Urbanization before colonial contact

There are records of the existence of towns along the East African coast as early as the Christian era. Some of the best documented are the chronicles of individual towns like Kilwa and Manda (near Lamu in Kenya) by merchants and Arab geographers like Ibu Batuta in 1331. Mombasa, Barawa and Zanzibar towns are other towns with pre-colonial origins. All available historical records indicate the long contact these towns had had with the Persian Gulf and the Far East, including Indonesia, by way of long-distance maritime trade (Chittick and Berg, 1968: 100-119).

This development, however, had little influence in the interior of East Africa until when the Arab slave trade of the nineteenth century led to the creation of new towns in the interior, including Tabora, Mpwapwa and Ujiji (all in Tanzania).

Prior to that places in the interior that could be described as towns were royal capitals of kingdoms such as Buganda (Mengo-Kampala), Toro (Fort Portal) and Bunyoro (Masindi), all in Uganda.

On the whole the interior of East Africa was a region of a mixture of dispersed as well as compact villages by the time of European contact in late nineteenth century.

2.3 Incipient town-forms and their locational selection

One way to explain the location of towns in East Africa is in terms of the model of transport expansion in underdeveloped countries proposed by Taaffe, Morrill and Gould (1953: 503-529). Because this is a historical model based on empirical studies in several developing countries, (hence its choice), it gives a satisfactory idea about the current distribution of urbanization, which is a unique spatial expression of colonial locational decisions geared toward achieving specific objectives (Brett, 1973: 71). The model stipulates that transport expansion is a continuous process of spatial diffusion, sporadic in nature and is influenced, among others, by economic, social and political factors.

The model of transport expansion states that lines of penetration started off at the coast and ran into the interior. They were designed to :-

- (a) connect an administrative centre at the coast with the interior for better political and military control; this also guarded against other rival powers from encroaching on territory already claimed,
- (b) reach areas of potential agricultural export production,
- (c) reach areas of mineral exploitation.

The relevance of this model to urbanization is that the development of a penetration line and its proliferation of branches set in a series of spatial processes and readjustments as the comparative locational advantages of all centres shifted over time. Some ports and island centres located on penetration lines or their branches grew, while those, especially the purely administrative upcountry centres either stagnated or declined. This point is illustrated in Chapters Three and Four. It needs to be pointed out, however, that a number of centres, especially in Uganda, namely Kampala, Entebbe, Mbale and to some extent Ford Portal were either capitals of indigenous kingdoms or in the case of Mbale the headquarters of an expanding Bugana kingdom (Twaddle, 1966: 28). Their presence and convenient locations made it politically expedient for the expatriate administrative centres to be located adjacent to them.

In Kenya the railhead at Mombasa of the Uganda Railway is one important factor that led to Mombasa's first growth while its former rivals Lamu and Malindi stagnated. Most of the other Kenyan towns, aside from these ports, were of expatriate creation. The Kenyan capital Nairobi started in 1899 as a camping station for contractors of the Uganda Railway. Because of long delays in laying the line across the Rift Valley, often through thick forests and over several escarpments, Nairobi was maintained as a centre of operation for a long time. This precipitated its development into a rapidly-

growing service centre. Its location in the Kenya highlands, with cool climate and fertile soils quickly led to its emergence as the main administrative and service centre (Morgan, 1966: 100).

The dates of inception of some of Kenya and Uganda's towns give some idea of the expatriate influence on the location of towns :

<u>Town</u>	<u>Date of Inception</u>
Nairobi	1899 (camping station for railway builders)
Nyeri	1902
Machakos	1898
Kitui	1897
Kampala (near Mmengo)	1890 (Mmengo is formerly capital of Buganda Kingdom)
Jinja	1901
Mbale	1902 (established by Kakungulu, the Buganda ruler of Eastern Uganda. Became administrative town in 1904 under Sir James Sadler.)
Lira	1914 (Purely administrative)
Soroti	1914 (Purely administrative)

These original towns and others which emerged consequently can be seen as the beginnings of town growth throughout East Africa.

2.4 The colonial period

The assumption of colony status by Kenya and Protectorate status by Uganda mean the incorporation of these countries into the colonial political economy, and thus part of the international economic system. The pattern of urbanization which developed under this system was along the lines of what Brett (1973: 54-55) called the "four layers" of colonial political economy, with the following structure :

- (a) The creation of a strong administrative apparatus to maintain law and order, collect taxes and manage the economy efficiently.

- (b) The creation of primary producers, mainly in agriculture. (Kenya and Uganda do not really possess significant mineral resources.)
- (c) The establishment of some export-based industries, (especially processing of raw materials) in the capital cities, and
- (d) The creation of middlemen, especially consisting of Asians, to link the primary producers with foreign owned industries; they also ran commerce.

According to Soja and Weater (1968: 241) it is the ways in which these 'layers' interrelate and affect the allocation of human and capital resources which largely determined the patterns of East African urbanization.

Each of these 'layers' was hierarchically structured and geographically centred around capital cities, Nairobi and Kampala which themselves were situated in areas already possessing high agricultural potential. This meant locational decisions on infrastructure such as roads, railway lines, health facilities, education facilities as well as agricultural innovations and support were also largely centred around the capital cities and their immediate hinterlands. Meanwhile upcountry areas shared very little of these benefits or merely stagnated. In his discussion of the patterns of polarised development in Uganda Bakwesegha (1974: 53) points out that it did not take long for the resource-rich or "favoured" areas to emerge as the only core region in the country. He also concedes that the majority of the people outside the core region were for the most part conveniently neglected, and continued to work in their traditional agrarian economy. Eventually, however, the people in the peripheral areas found they could only raise cash for taxes and purchase of personal items by seeking employment in the core region. This led to remarkable "migration of cheap, unskilled labour to the core regions at wages that barely covered their subsistence" (Seidman, 1970: 13-18). Such disproportionate distribution of opportunities between regions, and hence populations is characteristic of, and underlies external

dependency, rather than being responses to demands by local populations (Leys 1974: 33).

Although in Kenya and Uganda differences in the extent of external influence existed, at least one thing was common. That is the deliberate discouragement of Africans from taking up permanent residence in urban areas. This policy of creating labour reserves for expatriate agriculture and manufacturing industries, once again was more prominent in Kenya. For instance Africans were forbidden by legislation to grow the same crops like tea and pyrethrum to eliminate competition with settler agriculture. In Uganda, however, local conditions such as an already dense population in the "favoured areas" (like Buganda), dictated in favour of peasant production (Btett, 1973: 218).

Manufacturing industries were also confined to the larger urban areas, were capital-intensive in most cases and were heavily protected by tariffs (Weeks, 1975: 95). They did, however, provide considerable employment for Africans, although at the same time attracted unnecessary numbers of unskilled labour into the cities.

In short, conditions were such that Africans were only required in the towns as sources of labour for limited periods. Asians were restricted to urban centres and specified rural areas (usually trading centres) where they could conduct their role as middlemen. This situation was later to accentuate the primacy of East African capital cities after independence when legal restrictions on spatial mobility and residence were removed.

2.5 Post-independence urbanization

Urbanization during this period is essentially what this study is about. It may be looked at in terms of the relationship between the growth of the existing cities and towns and the policies formulated by governments of these newly-independent countries to deal with rural-urban migration and urbanization.

The question to answer is whether the policies on urbanization as stated in the development plans referred to in Chapter One consider current urbanization and its distribution as serious

developmental problems in each of these countries. And if so whether they offer satisfactory solutions to the problem. This question, which this study tries to answer, is vital because the initial conditions of urbanization outlined in the foregoing section have not altered significantly for the better. In fact more favourable conditions for rapid urbanization have arisen, such as relatively widespread educational and infrastructural services after independence. The chapters that follow try to explore in comparative terms the patterns, levels and trends in urbanization in Kenya and Uganda in the foregoing context.

CHAPTER THREE

ANALYSIS OF STRUCTURAL CHARACTERISTICS

3.1 State of the data used

The relevant published data relating to urbanization from the most recent censuses of Kenya and Uganda are reviewed briefly below, with reference to :-

1. The census procedures,
2. Availability of comparable statistics,
3. National definitions of 'urban', and
4. Changes in urban boundaries.

3.1.1 Review of the census procedures

Kenya's 1962 Census was taken simultaneously for both Africans and non-Africans. This was carried out in two stages, the general census and the sample census. The general census used three schedules. Schedule 'A' was a simple questionnaire for Africans in rural areas. Schedule 'B' and 'C' were more detailed and were used respectively by Africans and non-Africans in urban areas. Variations in detail were minor but basic questions were similar (Kenya Government, 1966: 9). Non-Africans in rural areas also used Schedule 'C' for the general census. The sample census was later conducted for Africans in rural areas using Schedule 'B'. The urban population appears to have been reasonably well-enumerated under this procedure, although problems derived from an enumerator-supervisor ratio of 20-25:1 was seen as too high for maximum efficiency in the urban areas (Kenya Government, 1966: 4).

The 1969 Population Census, the first in independent Kenya, was the most comprehensive in both coverage and level of accuracy. The validity of this claim is emphasised by the fact that a separate volume of the census report was produced for the urban areas (Kenya Government, 1971, a). The range of tabulations produced enables adequate comparison to be made with the 1962 census

data on urban areas, as well as with Uganda, though the Uganda data lacks a few comparable tabulations. Besides other demographic surveys, economic and industrial surveys as well as statistical abstracts provide information that can be used to check any discrepancies that might be detected in the census data.

The 1959 Uganda Census was conducted separately for Africans and non-Africans, with a four-month interval in between. This was to ensure that non-Africans were counted at a time (March) when most of the European population was not away for leave in Europe. This separate system also made it possible to use a much more detailed form for non-Africans and on a 100% basis. Africans resident on non-African premises (largely domestic servants) were enumerated together with non-Africans in March. The African population was enumerated in August on account of dry weather which ensured easier communications almost throughout the country (Uganda Government, 1974: 2). The African census was conducted in two stages, the General and Sample Censuses, both being canvassed by enumerators. The non-African census was self-administered due to their higher literacy. The enumerator-supervisor ratio was 40:1, and this very high figure at a time of low levels of literacy may have affected overall efficiency substantially (Uganda Government, 1961: 3). Also the fact that Africans on non-African premises were enumerated earlier could have introduced errors relating to double-counting and omissions among this group of people. However, such errors would have been small; for example in the two largest cities, Kampala and Jinja, the proportions involved were respectively 5% and 6% of the African population.

The 1969 Uganda Census, like Kenya's, was much more complete in coverage and accuracy. This time, however, Africans and non-Africans were enumerated simultaneously for reasons relating to national integration and procedural expediency (Uganda Government, 1974: 5). Also the general and sample census were conducted simultaneously to reduce costs. The sample census used the schedules for urban areas with a few additional questions, and

these were administered by enumerators to 10% of the rural population during the general census. The census volumes contain all the basic information on all urban areas, as well as very rich information on the three largest cities, Kampala, Jinja and Mbale. Their analysis will provide a picture of the demographic and urban structural characteristics of Uganda's towns.

3.1.2 Availability of comparable statistics

For developing countries like Kenya and Uganda the amount of published data on urbanization is limited, and in many cases defective. Yet the rapid social change, both structurally and spatially, makes comparison even within the same country difficult. But given the reality of these dynamics and the available data at hand, Gibbs and Davis (1961: 435) conclude that "since the individual researcher lacks the resources necessary to construct measures of urbanization that go beyond official statistics..... full though careful use (should be made) of officially published urban statistics for comparative research".

According to the data at hand, safe comparisons over time and between Kenya and Uganda are feasible in the following areas among others :

- (1) Structure or Pattern of Urbanization - urban structure changes over time and between countries. Even countries with the same degree of urbanization can have different urban structures. In other words spatial distributions vary with particular circumstances. We can therefore compare -
 - (i) The total number and proportion of people in urban areas,
 - (ii) Total number of urban areas,
 - (iii) The number and proportion of people in a given urban size-class,
 - (iv) The number and proportion of urban units in a given size-class.

These comparisons are possible for Kenya and Uganda over the census periods specified.

(2) Demographic characteristics -

- (i) Rates of growth
- (ii) Estimates of the characteristics of urban population growth, especially rural-urban migration,
- (iii) Age and Sex structures, which have important bearings on urban labour-force and employment. It also throws some light on urban fertility behaviour.

All these characteristics can be contrasted with those in the respective rural areas to assess the impact of urbanization on economic development, as well as future pattern of urban growth.

3.1.3 National definitions of urban areas in Kenya and Uganda

According to the United Nations Demographic Year Book (1960:350 and 1962: 305) localities in Kenya and Uganda were of type (b) defined as "localities with fixed boundaries, commonly under the jurisdiction of local or urban forms of government". At the world level localities in type (b) category can have one or a combination of the following characteristics :-

- (i) districts which include a central agglomeration and the surrounding territory that is administered from the central place,
- (ii) separate cities wholly urban in character,
- (iii) city limits fall inside the edge of the agglomeration.

The aggregate of these localities often comprise the urban population as defined by the particular country. In the East African context, these localities are variously known as cities, municipalities and urban districts.

For Kenya's 1962 census urban areas carried the legal definition and they were classified as "municipality", "Grade A" and "Grade B" townships, and Trading Centres. It was realised, however,

that in practice all the Trading Centres, plus many of the Grade B and a few Grade A townships had very small populations, and could not reasonably be referred to as towns. Also two major towns, Mombasa and Nanyuki were found to be seriously under-bounded if only the legal definition applied. The census therefore provided information on their peripheral populations who were regarded as urban. Nairobi and Mombasa both had data published for city proper and their extra-provincial districts. In order to overcome these discrepancies the demographic factor was introduced in addition to the legal definition, and urban areas were defined as "those towns with total populations of over 2000 inhabitants" (Kenya Government, 1966: 23). This definition was maintained in 1969 (Kenya Government, 1974: 15).

The Uganda 1959 census definition of 'urban' was not so clear-cut. Urban areas were defined as "the 15 largest towns" (United Nations, 1962: 305). The smallest of the 15 towns had a population of at least 3000 inhabitants. The 1969 Census gave "special treatment to all towns and trading centres with populations in excess of 100 persons" (Uganda Government, 1971: ii). However, published data defined as urban only those towns with populations in excess of 1000 persons (Uganda Government, 1970: 16). Legal status was considered unsuitable because some of the gazetted townships had fewer people than 100 (in fact one gazetted township had been submerged under water by 1969). Meanwhile other non-gazetted townships had populations close to 1000 people. A new limit is therefore set for this study.

3.1.4 Some notes on boundary changes

One major boundary change of considerable significance for this study occurred in Nairobi in 1963, just after the 1962 Census. A Regional Boundaries Commission recommended extending the boundaries of Nairobi Extra-Provincial District beyond the then existing one for two reasons. First it was meant to take care of adequate land for future residential and commercial use. Secondly it was designed to incorporate peri-urban and dormitory dwellers who

actually depended for their livelihood or employment in the city of Nairobi (Hallman and Morgan, 1967: 98). In fact, besides extensive low-density residential areas on cheaper land, the areas incorporated in the new boundaries also contained considerable concentrations of industrial establishments all strongly linked with Nairobi (Hallman and Morgan, 1967: 105). Thus these people were already strongly urban in their occupational characteristics and, in order to ensure that the 1969 Census figures are more comparable with that of 1962, the population of Nairobi has been adjusted to reflect the new boundaries (Kenya Government, 1966: 4). Since no boundary changes occurred between 1963 and 1969, the comparable population of Nairobi appear in this study as 343,500 for 1962 and 509,286 for 1969.

Similar boundary changes also took place in Kampala in 1968 just one year before the 1969 Census. But since Kampala's published population figure in 1959 was that of an agglomeration (United Nations, 1964: 171), it can be presumed that the new Kampala district boundaries more or less followed the limits of the agglomerations considered for the 1959 census. Kampala's population has also been adjusted to reflect intercensal boundary changes, hence the figure for 1959 is 122,700 and 330,700 for 1969.

The smaller centres in both Kenya and Uganda also experienced boundary changes, but more particularly for centres in Uganda (Soja and Weaver, 1976: 246). But it is difficult to adjust for these because precise information on them is lacking. This may introduce some errors in the analysis which follows. However, what is already known about the definitions of urban in Kenya and Uganda, plus some United Nations recommendations (United Nations, 1974: 10) concerning boundary changes under legal/demographic definition, some level of confidence can be placed in the overall analysis. It has been stated that urban definition in the countries under study carry demographic and legal definitions. In both countries changes in the boundaries of some smaller urban areas occurred during the intercensal periods. These changes may be seen as a response to existing situations in each of the urban areas affected. According

to the United Nations, such flexibility usually parallels the trend in the population of the physically urbanized terrain. In such a case the difference between administered urban terrain and areas under dense settlement are negligible. The assumption is that administrative changes are made approximately in proportion to the geographic expansion of densely built-up areas. If in some cases "over-boundedness" occurs, still the errors in estimating rates of urban growth are less because fewer people at rural-type densities are involved (p.10). Therefore attempting to adjust for these changes in the smaller centres could easily be erroneous because of insufficient information.

The next section, however, proceeds with the actual analysis itself.

3.2 The degree of urbanization

Urbanization as a dynamic process may be measured using a variety of indices. An index of urbanization essentially is a relative measure which assists in tracking changes over time in the level of urbanization in a country, or between countries. Several such indices have been developed (Gibbs 1961, 1966; Davis 1972; Arriaga 1967, 1975). Since different indices are suited for different assumptions and for different levels of urbanization, the choice of the indices and assumptions involved form an integral part of this chapter.

3.2.1 The Choice of the "floor" of the urban category

In order to achieve a fair international comparison between Kenya and Uganda, it seems appropriate that a different lower limit or :floor: should be used to achieve a more rigorous definition of urban places in terms of population size. It has been pointed out by Davis and Gibbs (1961: 435) that census definitions are likely to introduce distortion, rather than standardisation in comparative analysis because besides differences in the lower limit in defining urban areas, in general the occurrence and numbers of places under 2,000 or 5,000 or even 10,000 sometimes relate more to density and

rural settlement pattern, than resulting primarily from economic development activities. The choice of the "floor" must therefore take into account the level of economic development as well as the settlement pattern.

In the case of East Africa therefore 5000 has been preferred as the lower limit for the purposes of this analysis, and this may be justified on the following grounds :-

- (a) East Africa had no strong urban tradition like West Africa. East Africa was composed of dispersed homesteads or compact but nevertheless isolated villages as already explained in Chapter Two. It could be argued that places with 5000 or more inhabitants have a sufficiently different character as to be a reasonable choice.
- (b) Choosing a limit above 5,000, for example the conventional 20,000, would seem inappropriate in the context of East Africa where the level of economic development is low, as well as for the fact that East Africa has the lowest level of urbanization in the Africa region, and indeed one of the lowest levels among the world regions. A limit of, say, 20,000, for this analysis would therefore distort the real picture of urbanization in East Africa.
- (c) It has been shown elsewhere (Davis, 1972: 33-34) that the proportion of urban population in smaller urban centres constitute only a small proportion of the total urban population of a country or region. Depending on what particular country or region is being studied, the exclusion of small urban centres makes little difference in the percentage urban. For this and the two foregoing reasons above, census definitions of urban places as 2,000 persons in Kenya and as 100 persons in Uganda (Section 3.1.3), have been dropped in preference for 5,000. This also affords a common definition for international comparative analysis between the two

countries.

The validity of Davis' concept is illustrated in Table 1 for Kenya and Uganda by offering a number of alternative lower limits.

3.2.2 The degree of urbanization measured

Taking the most commonly used and understood index - the percentage of the total national population living in urban places over certain size limits - the figures for Kenya and Uganda are given in Table 1. It should be noted that various lower limits have been presented merely to illustrate the effect of definition on the degree of urbanization as measured by this index. Based on the chosen lower limit of 5,000, the proportion of Kenya's population living in urban places was 8.1% in 1962, and it rose to 9.1% in 1969. For Uganda the proportions are lower, 3.5% in 1959 and 6.1% in 1969.

3.3 Growth in the size of urban populations and their patterns in Kenya and Uganda

Some characteristics of urbanization in Kenya and Uganda are compared in terms of population size and their growth rates, numbers of urban areas and their dynamics, as well as distribution of population in these urban areas. These simple measures provide a useful basis for comparative studies in that they help analyse the nature and patterns of urbanization in common and satisfactory manner.

3.3.1 Growth in the size of urban populations

Two methods for determining urban population growth rates were suggested by Davis and Casis (1946: 186-297), and they provide contrasting but nevertheless useful results which adequately explain the nature of urban population growth. The first method termed the "class method" considers only the actual numbers of people in specified urban size-classes at given dates, regardless of whether some of the urban areas have moved into higher size-classes, or dropped to lower ones, or merely remained stationary. The second method, called the "city method" traces specific urban areas in a given size-class from the first census date through to the second census date, regardless of whether those urban areas in question have changed classes or not.

TABLE 1.

Percentage of Kenya and Uganda's Population living in "urban"
places.

Country	Census year.	Census defins. of "urban"		Urban as 5000+		Urban as 10000+		Urban as 100000+	
		Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.	Unadj.	Adj.
KENYA	1962	7.8	8.7	7.2	8.1	6.4	7.3	5.2	6.1
"	1969	-	9.9	-	9.1	-	8.5	-	6.9
UGANDA	1959	3.8	4.0	3.3	3.5	2.8	3.0	1.8	1.9
"	1969	-	7.8	-	6.1	-	5.5	-	3.5

NOTE: The adjustments reflect boundary changes for Nairobi and Kampala only.
For the smaller centers see Section 3.1.4.

Source: Calculated from Census Reports of Kenya and Uganda.

Growth rates calculated using these methods are presented in Table 2(a) and 2(b) below, and are compared and contrasted for both countries.

According to Table 2(a) the total population of urban areas in Uganda increased by 355,226 inhabitants between 1959 and 1969, compared with 299,373 for Kenya over the seven years between 1962 and 1969. These increases represent growth-rates of 8.8% per annum and 5.0% per annum respectively. These rates seem plausible for these developing countries which still have low levels of urbanization by world standards (United Nations, 1971: 139-151, Davis, 1969: 51-53), hence these relatively high figures can be expected.

Considering the growth-rates in Table 2(a) with respect to urban size-classes, the 5000-9999 category in both countries recorded the slowest rates of growth. This is also the category where differences in growth-rates between the countries is highest, with Kenya registering only 0.3% per annum as against Uganda's 5.8% per annum. Also in each of Uganda and Kenya the fluctuation in growth-rates among the various size-classes is considerable.

Table 2(b) in contrast yields growth-rates almost in the opposite, especially for the smallest two class-sizes. For instance the growth rate for the category 5000-9999 rose from 0.3% to 2.6% per annum in Kenya, while for Uganda it was almost halved from 5.8% to 2.7% per annum. Also the overall rates of growth are reduced to 4.6% in Kenya and to 7.1% per annum in Uganda. However, the growth-rates for the size-class 100,000 and over in both countries, and the 20000-99999 size-class in Kenya coincide in both Tables 2(a) and (b). This is obvious considering that the same population figures have been used. The real explanation seems to be that this coincidence reflects the absence of new urban areas joining these particular size-classes. Conversely therefore it can be deduced that the higher over-all rates of growth for both Uganda and Kenya observed in Table 2(a) were due to urban areas graduating from one size-class to another. Under this premise then, the opposing growth-rates in the 5000-9999 size-class seen above may be interpreted in similar terms.

TABLE 2.

Changes in the growth of Urban populations and Numbers of Urban Areas
in Kenya 1962-1969 and Uganda 1959-1969.

Population increase by the "CLASS" Method.

Urbanization Characteristic	First Census date.		Second Census date.		Absolute change		Average annual per- cent growth	
	KENYA 1962	UGANDA 1959	KENYA 1969	UGANDA 1969	KENYA '62-69	UGANDA '59-69	KEN. 5.0	UGAN. 8.8
Population of Urban areas by size-classes.								
5000- 9999	69862	29432	71396	53410	1534	23978	0.3	5.8
10000-19999	44005	35429	90685	100047	46680	64618	9.9	9.5
20000-99999	61707	38519	79582	97149	17875	58630	3.6	8.6
100,000+	523075	122700	756359	330700	233284	208000	5.2	9.2
All size-cla- sses.	698649	226080	998022	581306	299373	355226	5.0	8.8

Population increase by the "CITY" Method.

Urban areas by size- classes.								
5000- 9999	69862	29432	83883	38822	14021	9390	2.6	2.7
10000-19999	44005	35429	48207	52874	4202	17445	1.3	4.0
20000-99999	61707	38519	79582	52509	17875	13990	3.6	3.1
100,000+	523075	122700	756359	330700	233284	208000	5.2	9.2
All size- classes.	698649	226080	968031	474905	269382	248825	4.6	7.1

Number of Urban areas by size-classes.

5000-99999	11	4	11	8	0	4	0.0	6.7
10000-19999	3	3	7	7	4	4	11.4	8.0
20000-99999	2	1	2	3	0	2	0.0	10.0
100,000+	2	1	2	1	0	0	0.0	0.0
All size- classes.	18	9	22	19	4	10	2.9	7.1

Source: Calculated from Census Reports of Kenya and Uganda.

That in Kenya proportionately fewer places qualified for the first time into the urban category to replace those in the 5000-9999 class which had hitherto moved into the next higher class-sizes. On the other hand, in Uganda proportionately more new places qualified into the urban category to replace those which had left that size-class, hence increasing the growth-rates in this size-class. This interpretation is supported by 2(c) especially with reference to each class-size.

3.3.2 The nature of urban population increases

Table 2(a) showed that overall population of urban areas increased by 299,373 persons in Kenya and 355,266 persons in Uganda. These increases may be attributed to two different origins,

- (i) the growth in population size of those urban centres that satisfied the "urban" definition (5000 inhabitants) at the first census date, respectively 269,382 persons in Kenya and 248,825 persons in Uganda (Table 2(b)).
- (ii) the population increase contributed by places graduating into the urban category only between the two census dates.

Table 3 identifies the number contributed by the emergence of new urban centres at the second census date, as well as what Gibbs (1961: 418) calls the "net growth-rate" represented by the first horizontal column in the table. According to the table the number contributed by the emergence of new centres was 29991 persons in Kenya between 1962 and 1969; compared with 196,401 persons in Uganda during the decade 1959 to 1969. These figures respectively represent 10% and 30% of the total increase in the population size of urban areas in Kenya and Uganda. In Kenya only four new places emerged, compared with ten in Uganda where their contribution to total population increase for urban areas was higher. It follows then that the increase in urban population size due to growth in existing urban areas was 90% for Kenya and 70% for Uganda. The conclusion is drawn therefore that the emergence of new urban centres played a substantially more important role in the urbanization process in

TABLE 3.

Contribution of "new" Urban centers to the over-all population increase in urban areas at the second census date and the "net growth-rates" in urban population size.

Urban size-class.	Population at first census date.		Population at second census date.		Percent. rate of growth.	
	KENYA 1962	UGANDA 1959	KENYA 1969	UGANDA 1969	KEN. '62-69	UGAN. '59-69
5000+ at 2 nd . census date.	707012	248408	998022	581306	4.8	8.0
5000+ at 1 st . census date.	698649	226080	968031	474905	4.6	7.1
New urban centers during intercensal period.	8363	22328	29991	106401	16.0	13.1

Sources of data: 1. Table 2.
2. Computed from census reports.

Uganda than in Kenya, whereas growth in existing urban centres played a more important role in Kenya than in Uganda. The validity of this conclusion may be augmented if differences between "net rates" and "gross rates" of growth (Gibbs 1961: 418) are compared within and between Kenya and Uganda. The gross rates are the overall growth rates derived using the "class method" in Table 2(a), which are 5% per annum for Kenya and 8.8% per annum for Uganda. The net rates as presented in the first horizontal column of Table 3 are obtained from tracing back to the first census date the total population of all places "urban" at the second census date, regardless of whether they qualified as "urban" at the first census date or not. Their growth-rates are then calculated; and these net growth rates

of 4.8% per annum for Kenya and 8.0% per annum for Uganda are certainly lower compared with the gross rates, reflecting in both countries the impact of new urban centres on the urbanization process.

But when the gross and net figures are compared within each country, the differences between them is larger for Uganda than for Kenya, hence confirming the conclusion reached above. It is worth noting, however, that the "new" urban places are in fact a net balance between the total number of urban areas at the second census date, minus the total number at the first census date. This distinction is important especially since a few urban centres actually declined below the urban category during the intercensal period, and could not be counted in considering changes in numbers of urban centres at each of the census dates.

3.3.3 Population Concentration in urban areas

The distribution of urban populations in Kenya and Uganda by urban size categories are presented in Table 2. The dynamics of change in each urban category, and for the countries over the census periods are also evident there. A measure of urban population distribution (namely concentration) is attempted in this section because of its important bearing on national development in terms of policy decisions on urbanization regulation. The United Nations (1979a:70-71) describes urbanization as an element in the process of modernisation; and points out that "the problem of concentration lies not so much in the process of shift from a predominantly rural to a predominantly urban distribution of population within the national boundaries, but rather the inability of many governments to regulate it to the best advantage..... Attempts by governments in developing countries to contain overconcentration in big cities has (so far) been minimal". The actual situation in Kenya and Uganda are measured below and compared, and their implications for future urbanization policies assessed.

The measurement involves both algebraic and geometric (graphic) procedures, and uses the lorenz curves from which two indices may

be derived, (a) the Gini or Concentration ratio and (b) the index of concentration. Lorenz curves and concentration ratio were first adapted from economics for the measurement of population concentration by Hoover (1941: 199-205) and elaborated by Duncan (1956: 27-32).

By definition the Gini or Concentration ratio expresses the area on the graph between the Lorenz curve and the diagonal as a proportion of the entire area below the diagonal (Figure 2). In other words it measures the state of unevenness of population distribution at a given point in time.

The Lorenz curve which is constructed by plotting cumulated percentages of the number of urban areas (Y_i) against the corresponding cumulated percentages of population (X_i) would follow the diagonal throughout if all urban categories had equal populations; and it would coincide with the X axis if all urban population was concentrated in only one category. The variations between these hypothetical extremes of complete evenness (equal population) and complete concentration is indicated by the degree to which the Lorenz curve departs from the diagonal. The value of the ratio varies between 0 and 1; the higher the ratio the greater the concentration.

The index of concentration algebraically is the maximum of the set of n values of $(X_i - Y_i)$. The " n values" refers to all values of this difference. Geometrically it is the maximum vertical distance from the diagonal to the Lorenz curve (Figure 2). The main purpose of this index in this section is to establish the percentage differences between the distributions of urban populations in Kenya and Uganda at the specified census dates, as well as to find out in what urban-size categories concentration has occurred most.

The formula used for calculating the Gini ratios in Table 4 is that given by Duncan (1956: 30) and is :-

$$CR = \left(\sum_{i=1}^n X_i Y_{i+1} \right) - \left(\sum_{i=1}^n X_{i+1} Y_i \right) \text{ where:}$$

CR = concentration ratio (or Gini Index)

X_i, Y_i = the respective cumulative percentages of the number of urban areas and population

n = the number of urban size-categories.

Table 3.4 shows that the values of the concentration ratios are higher in Kenya than in Uganda, being .7100 for Kenya in 1962 and .5585 for Uganda in 1959. The respective values for 1969 are .7402 and .6452. This means that the level of urban concentration is higher in Kenya than it is in Uganda. It is also evident from the Table that both countries registered rises in the values of this index, indicating increased concentrationⁱⁿ these countries between the specified census dates. It may be emphasised that in spite of these increases the level of concentration still remained lower in Uganda, as the positions of the Lorenz curves in Figure show.

As already stated the index of concentration specifies in percentage terms the differential concentration of urban populations among the various urban size categories, both within and between Kenya and Uganda over time, that is respectively 1962-1969 and 1959-1969. The values of this index can be read from Table 4, where the maximum values among the set of n values of $(X_i - Y_i)$ are picked for each country for all census dates and multiplied by 100 to convert them to percentages. The values of the index are represented geometrically by the lengths of the perpendicular lines ab, cd, ef and gh lying at points where the distance between the Lorenz curves and the diagonals are maximum.

The values of this index are 64% in 1962 for Kenya and 49% in 1959 for Uganda. The difference in the index of concentration between the countries being 15%. Respective comparable figures for 1969 are 67%, 53% and 14%. These differences in the index of concentration between Kenya and Uganda are quite significant in themselves because they are considerably large. Some of the reasons

TABLE 4 (a).

Computation of Gini Concentration Ratios and Indices of Concentration
for Kenya and Uganda by Urban size-categories arranged by number of
urban units.

(a) KENYA 1962.

Urban size category.	Populat- ion.	Number of urban areas.	PROPORTION.		CUMULATIVE PROPORTION.		$X_i - Y_i$	$X_{i+1} Y_i$	$X_i Y_{i+1}$
			Pop'n.	Urban areas.	Pop'n.	Urban areas.	X_i	Y_i	
All size Classes.	698649	18	1.0000	1.0000					
5000- 9999	69862	11	.1000	.6111	1.0000	1.0000	-	.3889	.9000
10000-19999	44005	3	.0630	.1667	.9000	.3889	.5111	.2000	.3255
20000-99999	61707	2	.0883	.1111	.8370	.2222	.6148	.0930	.1664
100,000+	523075	2	.7487	.1111	.7487	.1111	.6376	-	-
								$X_i Y_{i+1} =$	1.3919
								$X_{i+1} Y_i =$	.6819
Maximum Value of $(X_i - Y_i) =$								Gini Concentration Ratio =	.7100

(b) UGANDA 1959.

All size Classes.	226080	9	1.0000	1.0000					
5000- 9999	29432	4	.1302	.4445	1.0000	1.0000	-	.5555	.8698
10000-19999	35429	3	.1567	.3333	.8698	.5555	.3143	.1933	.3961
20000-99999	38519	1	.1704	.1111	.7131	.2222	.4909	.0792	.1206
100,000+	122700	1	.5427	.1111	.5427	.1111	.4316	-	-
								$X_i Y_{i+1} =$	1.3865
								$X_{i+1} Y_i =$	.8280
Maximum Value of $(X_i - Y_i) =$								Gini Concentration Ratio =	.5585

NOTE: Multiplications follow order of cumulations i.e from bottom to top of arrays.

Source: Computed from census Reports of Kenya and Uganda.

TABLE 4 (b).

Computation of Gini Concentration Ratios and Indices of Concentration
for Kenya and Uganda by urban size-categories arranged by number of
urban units.

(a) KENYA 1969.

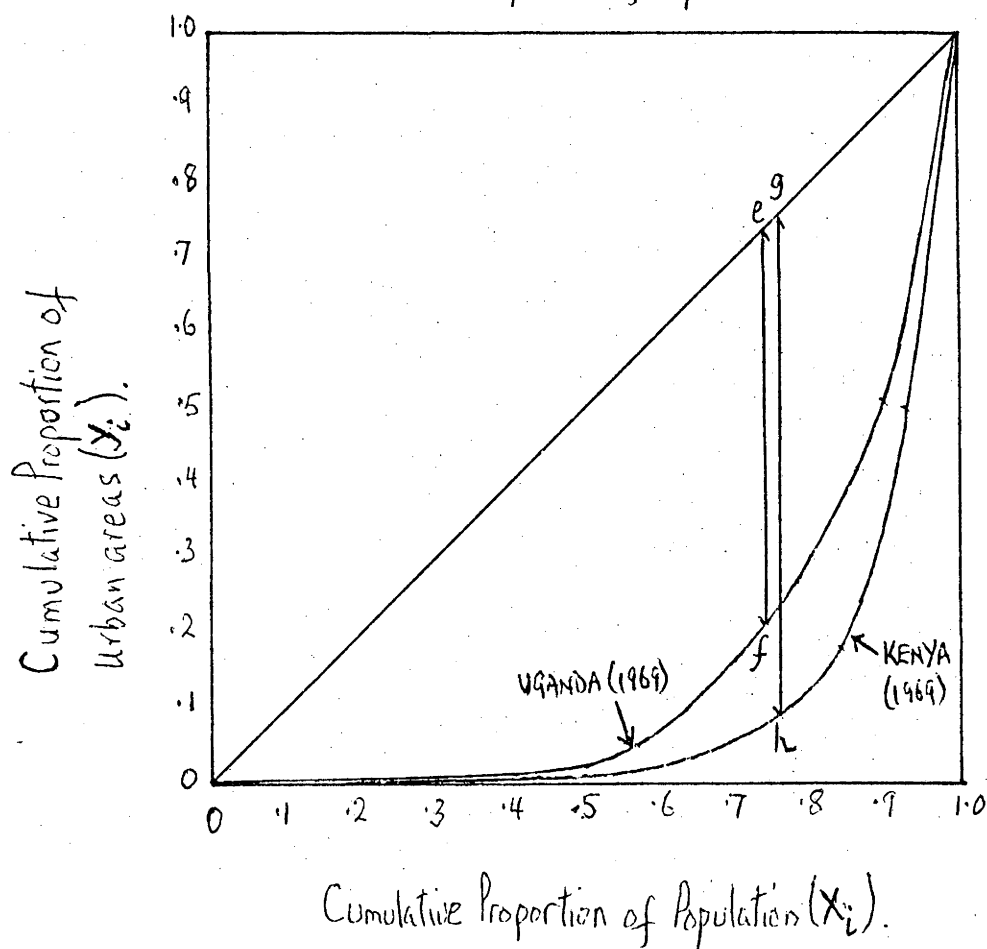
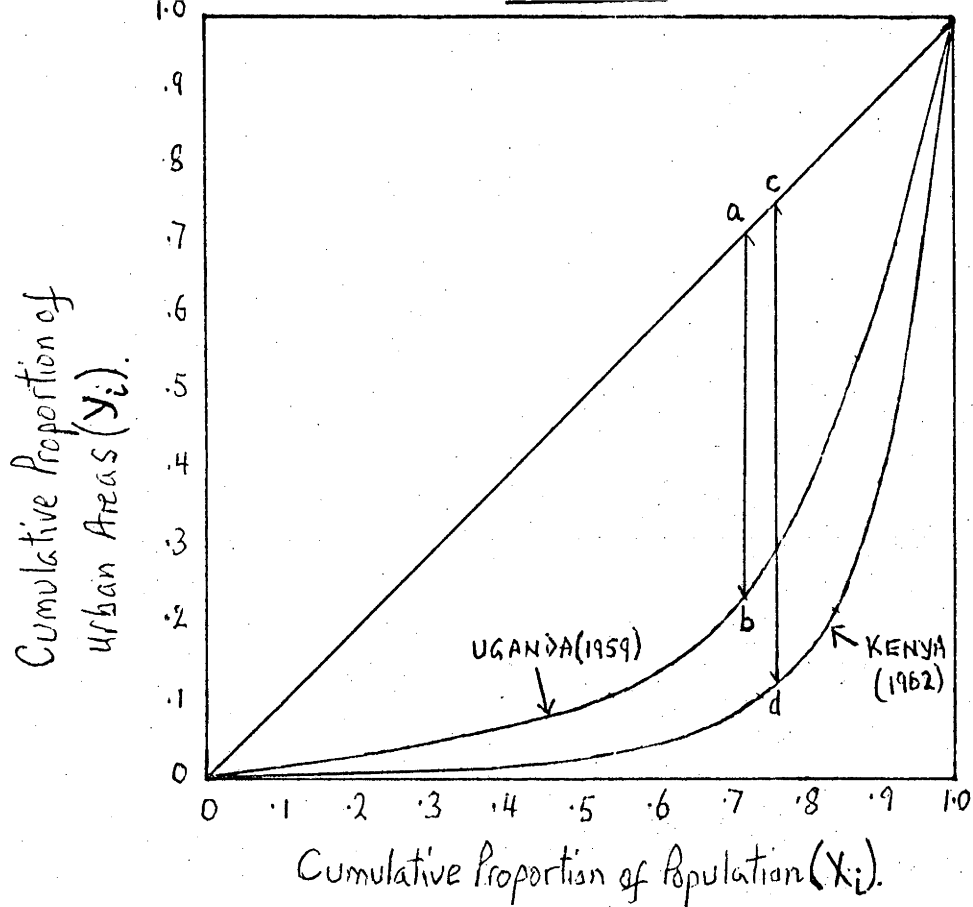
Urban size category.	Populat- ion.	Number of urban areas.	PROPORTION		CUMULATIVE PROPORTION.		$X_i - Y_i$	$X_{i+1} Y_i$	$X_i Y_{i+1}$
			Pop'n.	Urban areas.	Pop'n.	Urban areas.	X_i	Y_i	
All size Classes.	998022	22	1.0000	1.0000				.7449	1.4851
5000- 9999	71396	11	.0715	.5000	1.0000	1.0000	-	.5000	.9285
10000-19999	90685	7	.0909	.3182	.9285	.5000	.4285	.1688	.4188
20000-99999	79582	2	.0797	.0909	.8376	.1818	.6558	.0761	.1378
100,000+	756359	2	.7579	.0909	.7579	.0909	.6670	-	-
								$X_i Y_{i+1} =$	1.4851
								$X_{i+1} Y_i =$	.7449
Maximum Value of $(X_i - Y_i) = .6670$								Gini Concentration Ratio =	.7402

(b) UGANDA 1969.

All size Classes.	581306	19	1.0000	1.0000				.8088	1.4540
5000- 9999	53410	8	.0919	.4211	1.0000	1.0000	-	.5789	.9081
10000-19999	100047	7	.1721	.3684	.9081	.5789	.3292	.1912	.4261
20000-99999	97149	3	.1671	.1579	.7360	.2105	.5255	.0387	.1198
100,000+	330700	1	.5689	.0526	.5689	.0526	.5163	-	-
								$X_i Y_{i+1} =$	1.4540
								$X_{i+1} Y_i =$	.8088
Maximum Value of $(X_i - Y_i) = .5255$.								Gini Concentration Ratio =	.6452

NOTE: Multiplications follow order of cumulations i.e from bottom to top of arrays.

Source: Computed from Census Reports of Kenya and Uganda.



Lorenz curves for measuring Urban population Concentration in Kenya 1962 and 1969 and in Uganda 1959 and 1969 in relation to the urban-size categories.

for such differential concentrations are given in Section 3.3.4. However, change in the index between the countries over the periods registered a drop of 1%. This nominal decrease in concentration does not actually reflect the spread of population among the urban areas, rather it appears to indicate greater concentration in Uganda between 1959 and 1969 where the increase in the value of this index exceeded Kenya's increase between 1962 and 1969 by 1%. This observation should not be seen as contradicting an earlier conclusion in Section 3.3.2 that the greater proportion of overall urban population increase in Uganda was primarily due to the emergence of new urban centres. The distinction must be made between the process of urbanization (from which that conclusion was drawn), and the state of population concentration as represented by the index of concentration. The values of this index for both countries clearly show that the level of concentration is still lower in Uganda than in Kenya, despite a slightly greater percentage increase.

One other observation from Table 4 is that if the maximum values of $(X_i - Y_i)$ are matched with their respective urban size categories, maximum concentration may be said to occur in different urban size-categories. In Kenya the maximum values of $(X_i - Y_i)$ which are .6376 in 1962 and .6670 in 1969, fall at both dates in the 100,000 + urban size-category. In Uganda .4909 for 1959 and .5255 for 1969 both fall in the 20,000 - 99,999 urban size-category. This may be interpreted as bearing important policy implications in terms of the distribution and regulation of urbanization both in the short-term and long-term planning strategies.

In conclusion the indices of concentration discussed above are open to ambiguity and criticism as effective measures of urban population concentration. The following points are made in relation to the weaknesses of the indices. First, the indices are relative measure, and may thus be regarded as just one way of establishing what level of population concentration characterises a country. Secondly the value of the indices will be affected by the number of units (in this case number of urban areas) considered, as well as population

size on which to base the class-size intervals. The 20,000 - 99,999 category could have been divided into two classes had there been towns with population between 50,000 and 99,000 inhabitants. There is none in either Kenya or Uganda. Lastly the different intercensal intervals, 7 years in Kenya and 10 years in Uganda obviously have some influence on the outcome of the calculations, and this discrepancy cannot be compensated for in any way.

3.3.4 Some reasons for the divergent patterns of growth and levels of concentration

It has been noted in Table 2 (a) that the overall population of urban areas increased by 299,373 persons in Kenya and 355,000 persons in Uganda. Table 2 (c) also shows that in Kenya only four new urban centres graduated into the urban category as defined for this study, contributing only 10% to the total urban population increase. This leaves the remaining 90% attributable to 'old' urban areas. In Uganda ten new urban centres emerged, contributing 30% to the total urban population increase, while the 'old' urban centres contributed the remaining 70%. A conclusion was thus reached on the role of 'new' and 'old' urban centres in the urbanization process in each country in Section 3.3.2.

The preceding section examined concentration levels and percentage differences in terms of concentration ratios and index of concentration. The foregoing differences observed may be due to several reasons, and some of them are outlined below :-

- (a) Historically Kenya was a colony, and the virtual emptiness of the Kenya highlands encouraged large-scale expatriate agriculture. Hence the largest and most fertile part of the country was set aside for 999-year leases to European farmers (Brett, 1973: 171). This move was supported by a policy of discouraging Africans from taking up permanent residence in urban areas so as to create labour reserve for expatriate agriculture and manufacturing industries. Africans were further forbidden by legislation from growing

the same crops like tea, pyrethrum and coffee to eliminate competition with expatriate agriculture, and maintain cheap sources of labour. By independence there were already large pools of unskilled and landless people in the reserves, such that it is hardly surprising that during the seven year period between 1962 and 1969 the number of Africans grew at a compound annual rate of 11.1% in Nairobi and in Mombasa at 7.6%. These figures contrast with the growth rate of African population during the fourteen year period between 1948 and 1962 which were 6.5% per annum for Nairobi and 7.1% per annum for Mombasa.

Kenya's first five-year development plan indicates that the government did little to define an overall urban development policy. Thus in 1965 at government request, a United Nations Mission published a report, recommending as one of the priorities the decentralisation of urbanization in Nairobi particularly (Bloomberg and Abrams, 1965). There appears to have been no major efforts to implement this particular recommendation, and in the short-run at least there is the following evidence: In 1970 nearly half of Kenya's reported employment was in urban areas. Nairobi and Mombasa controlled 34% of the total national employment reported, and 75% of the employment in urban areas with 5000 or more inhabitants (Kenya Government, 1971c: 192 and 193). These two cities also consumed 54% of the national wage bill, and nearly 83% of the total wage-bill for urban areas as defined above. Their combined population in 1969 represented 75.8% of the total urban population in places with 5000 or more people.

- (b) In Uganda an already dense population in the most productive parts of the country bordering Lake Victoria, made large-scale expatriate agriculture impracticable. More important perhaps, was the fact that Uganda had a

protectorate status, and these reasons led to the decision by the authorities that peasant production should prevail (Brett, 1973: 219). Rapid population increase and inequalities in regional development are probably the basic reasons for rapid urbanization in Uganda in the period 1959 to 1969. Despite the lack of clear-cut urbanization policy in the first ten years of independence, comparable statistics with Kenya's above show a somewhat different trend. For example in 1970 Kampala and Jinja commanded only 24.3% of the reported national African employment, and 34.6% of the national wage bill paid to African employees (Uganda Government, 1970: 107, 109, 113). Figures for non-African employment and wage bill by towns are unavailable, but non-Africans constituted only 4% of the total national employment reported; the figures given above for African employment are, however, consistently lower when compared with Kenya's. Also a comparison cannot be made between Kampala and Jinja on the one hand, with the rest of the urban areas because data is available only for five of the nineteen towns under consideration. Nonetheless these two cities contained 66% of the total urban population in places with 5,000 or more inhabitants.

In conclusion there seems some evidence to suggest that Uganda should start formulating comprehensive urbanization policies in view of the rapidly rising level of urban population concentration in view of the values of concentration ratios already seen above. As well as taking steps to start decentralising Kampala which doubled its population during the intercensal period, and already contains over 55% of the total urban population, the 20,000 - 99,999 category also requires a close watch, since maximum concentrations occur here.

In Kenya the high level of concentration in Hairobi has in fact been recognised for some time, such as by the United Nations Mission in 1965. The scale of the problem as already illustrated above seems to demand, in addition to decentralisation, radical rural

development effort if urbanization policies are to be effective.
This idea is expanded later in the main conclusion.

CHAPTER FOUR

ANALYSIS OF DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

4.1.1 Introduction

Demographic characteristics of urban populations include urban population growth and composition of the population. Urban population growth consists of three components - natural increase, rural-urban migration, and reclassification of the population in the urban fringe into the urban boundaries. Urban population growth is the subject of the first part of this chapter, and composition of urban populations is discussed in section 4.2.

The analysis of urban population growth undertaken below is a limited one, restricted only to rural-urban migration, since the other two components, natural increase and re-classification, could not be analysed. The lack of data on re-classification is associated with boundary changes as already discussed in section 3.1.4. Natural increase, however, can hardly be dissociated from migration since the two are simultaneous processes; hence most of the reasons explaining lack of data for natural increase are basically the same as for migration data. In addition birth and death registration statistics in the urban areas of Kenya and Uganda are inadequate as supplementary sources of data on natural increase. For example vital statistics are available only for four towns in Kenya, and unobtainable for any of the towns in Uganda. Even where the data is available for some towns in Kenya, however, the problem of coverage raises doubts about their reliability. For these reasons it is impracticable to consider natural increase in this analysis. The fact that urban population growth has been included in spite of these short-comings is to demonstrate (a) that even limited data can still be worthwhile if carefully utilised and (b) the need for more adequate data collection in the future.

4.1.2 Review of migration data for urban areas in Kenya and Uganda

The lack of data or weaknesses in available data can be traced back to problems in census planning. In Kenya and Uganda the birth-place data which is basic for the analysis of migration suffers from a number of such problems. First the censuses of Kenya and Uganda define birth-place very broadly in terms of districts, except for Nairobi and Mombasa in Kenya; and Kampala, Jinja and Mbale in Uganda. These large urban areas are exceptional because they were treated as districts in their own right in the censuses. Such a broad definition makes it difficult to distinguish between rural and urban areas of origin. Accordingly migration to towns within Kenya and within Uganda can be seen as district-town movement rather than purely as rural-urban movement, except for the urban areas mentioned above. However, knowing the recency of urbanization in Kenya and Uganda, and taking into account the low degrees of urbanization in those countries, the contribution of persons born in towns to the total volume of district migrants is likely to be negligible. Movement to urban centres can, for practical purposes, be regarded as equivalent to rural-urban migration. Another difficulty with the broad definition is that migrants from rural parts of a district to their own urban centre cannot be distinguished from those born in that particular urban centre. It is therefore a dilemma whether to classify those 'born in same district' as non-migrants or not.

A second serious short-coming of migration data is that the censuses of Kenya and Uganda have never included questions on duration-of-residence except for international migrants, and on 'place-of-previous residence' (Table 5).

The absence of these questions makes it impossible to differentiate life-time migrants from temporary migrants. The final problem is an historical one, relating to the tabulation and publication of relevant data which are essential for research and for general administrative use. In their review of census taking in Africa

TABLE 5.

Birth-place data in colonial and post-colonial censuses in
Kenya and Uganda.

Type of Census.	Country.	Year.	Form of enumeration of Birth-place question.	Number of specified Birth-places.	Data Published	
					No. of Birth-places by residence tabulations.	Other Information
Colonial censuses	Kenya)					
	Uganda)	1948	10% Sample	—	None	De-jure pop.
	Uganda	1959	5% Sample	17	None	None
	Kenya	1962	All urban areas, 10% rural sample.	42	7	None
Post-colonial census.	Kenya	1969	All urban areas, 10% rural sample.	41	8	None
	Uganda	1969	All urban areas, 10% rural sample.	18	21	None

Source: Masser, I and Gould, W.T.S. Inter-regional migration in Tropical Africa (Chapter 2.) Institute of British Geographers, Special Publication No. 8, London. (1975).

as a whole from the point of view of data concerned with the analysis of migration, Masser and Gould (1975: Chapter 2) contrast colonial censuses with post-independence censuses. They found that on the whole, birth-place questions were under-rated in preference for tribal distributions. Table 5 summarises the contrasting manner in which migration data was collected, tabulated and published in Kenya and Uganda. It is clear from the table that for both countries in 1948 and for Uganda in 1959 urban areas did not receive any special treatment in the administration of the birth-place question. Even the data on the birth-place question for the whole country was not published. The Uganda 1959 census volumes, however, contain tabulations on tribal distributions at parish level (Uganda Government, (1960a, b & 1961)). Since tribal origins and place-of-birth are not synonymous, there is no way to compare these data with the 1969 data. The Uganda 1969 census was, however, conducted fairly closely in accordance with the United Nations recommendations for the 1970 round African censuses (United Nations, 1968). Urban areas received 100% coverage on the birth-place question, although the definition of place-of-birth as a district still poses a problem. The Kenya 1962 census is the only colonial census for which tabulations of place-of-birth by place-of-residence data were published, with urban areas receiving similar treatment as in Uganda's 1969 census. There is much in common between Kenya's 1969 and 1962 censuses and Uganda's 1969 census.

Against that background and for convenience in this study, only the birth-place data for the 1969 censuses of Kenya and Uganda are considered for analysis and comparison. A few comments on some differences in detail between the published data for both countries in 1969 need to be pointed out before actual analysis commences.

1. The Uganda 1969 census eliminated questions on tribal origins entirely, and migration data was published in the following form :-

- (a) Population by district of residence, district or country of birth and sex.
- (b) Population by district, main birth-place, age-group and sex.

Birth-places were designated as 'same district', 'same province', 'elsewhere in Uganda' and 'outside Uganda'.

In the 1969 census volumes, however, only the three largest urban areas, Kampala, Jinja and Mbale, have these data published. The rest of the urban areas had their data merged with the districts in which they are located. This loss of information has produced a major deficiency in the Ugandan data.

2. In Kenya, migration data was published for all urban areas, and place-of-birth data tabulated as follows :-

- (a) Population by urban area, sex, adult/children.
This tabulation is restricted to Nairobi and Mombasa only.
- (b) Population by urban area, tribe or nationality and birth-place for the rest of the urban areas.

Birth-places were designated in the same way as in Uganda.

3. In Uganda the non-African population was not tabulated by birth-places for the main towns, thus making it difficult to place this group under any of the birth-place categories. In Kenya the non-African population was however tabulated under each of these categories for every town. It is therefore possible to isolate the non-African population from the African population in Kenya and use only the African population to compare with Uganda. The proportion of non-Africans in each urban area in both countries is given in column 9 in Table 6. All the problems

associated with migration data discussed above have been borne in mind while interpreting rural-urban migration as an important component of urban population growth.

4.1.3 Analysis of birth-place data for urban populations in Kenya and Uganda

Table 6 gives the percentage distribution of African population by birth-place categories for all urban areas of Kenya and three urban areas of Uganda in 1969. The table also gives similar distributions for the total national populations so that further comparison can be made. As already discussed in the preceding section, column 4 for the urban areas includes those born in each urban area plus those born in the same district where those particular urban areas are located. The percentages in column 4 for urban areas are therefore higher than they ought to be. For the same reason the proportions born in the same province are lower than they ought to be. Only Nairobi escapes this problem since it was treated as a separate census district, as well as a province of its own. Because of this, the birth-place categories have been interpreted in this section as they appear in Table 6, since designating them in conventional terms as "non-migrants", "short-distance migrants" and "long-distance migrants" could be misleading.

In order to make maximum use of Table 6, comparison between Kenya and Uganda has also been accompanied by comparison within Kenya between the larger urban centres with 10,000 or more people, and the smaller ones with under 10,000. This division, though arbitrary, also serves to make comparison between Kenya's larger urban centres more agreeable with Uganda's three largest urban centres. Subsequent use of the terms 'larger urban centres' and 'smaller urban centres' carry the above definitions.

The percentages of Africans born in the same district are high in both countries, being 82% for Kenya as a whole and 79% for Uganda. These figures clearly indicate that the African population is not very mobile at the national level. Excluding

TABLE 6.

Urban populations of Kenya and Uganda, average annual recorded growth (percent), and birth-place composition (percent).

(1)	POPULATION. (1969)	ANNUAL GROWTH '62-69.	BIRTH-PLACE CATEGORIES (AFRICANS ONLY).					NON- AFRICAN POP'N.	TOTAL.
			Same dist- ict.	Same prov- ince.	Other provi- nces.	Out- side coun- try.	Not stated.		
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
KENYA	10942705	3.3	81.7	4.0	11.0	0.6	0.7	1.9	100
NAIROBI*	509286	5.5	24.1	-	65.3	10.2	0.4	-	100
MOMBASA*	247073	4.5	36.7	19.9	31.6	11.8	0.0	-	100
NAKURU	47151	3.0	27.2	5.7	55.0	1.5	0.8	10.5	100
KISUMU	32431	4.6	23.4	24.5	26.8	2.3	0.1	23.0	100
THIKA	18387	3.9	27.4	37.7	24.5	0.4	0.1	9.9	100
ELDORET	18196	-1.1	14.6	7.9	54.4	3.5	5.0	14.7	100
NANYUKI	11642	1.5	28.9	7.1	57.5	0.5	0.2	5.7	100
KITALE	11573	3.1	29.6	8.3	46.5	3.7	0.1	12.2	100
MALINDI	10757	8.6	35.4	10.7	22.1	1.8	0.2	29.8	100
KERICHO	10144	3.9	34.5	6.7	47.0	0.7	0.1	11.0	100
NYERI	10004	3.4	29.0	8.8	16.6	0.9	33.9	10.8	100
ISIOLO	8201	5.8	56.3	20.6	16.3	1.1	3.2	2.5	100
THOMSON'S F.	7602	5.1	25.1	37.3	33.1	0.4	0.1	4.0	100
LAMU	7403	3.4	55.9	8.0	2.3	0.9	0.1	32.8	100
NIVASHA	6920	5.5	33.9	5.5	56.9	1.3	0.1	2.3	100
MARSABIT	6635	13.0	28.5	2.5	56.2	3.8	7.1	1.9	100
KAKAMEGA	6624	5.3	54.9	6.6	27.1	1.2	0.1	10.0	100
MACHAKOS	6312	6.5	67.1	5.2	17.8	1.1	0.2	8.5	100
KISII	6080	4.0	47.0	19.2	20.5	1.3	0.1	11.9	100
ATHI RIVER	5343	-0.4	53.9	2.7	38.6	1.2	0.3	3.3	100
ELBURGON	5343	8.5	48.8	3.7	31.0	0.5	14.6	1.3	100
VOI	5313	10.1	3.6	0.8	2.7	0.2	86.7	6.0	100
	(1969)	'59-'69.							
UGANDA	9548848	3.5	79.4	5.9	5.5	7.8	0.4	1.0	100
KAMPALA	330700	9.2	31.6	16.6	24.6	15.8	0.2	11.3	100
JINJA	52509	3.0	22.0	14.1	28.6	17.8	0.0	17.6	100
MBALE	23544	5.4	35.0	21.1	13.3	8.1	0.1	22.0	100

Source: Calculated from Census Reports of Kenya and Uganda.

NOTES: 1. Population and Annual growth-rates in columns 2 and 3 refer to both Africans and non-Africans.
2. * Percentages for Nairobi and Mombasa include both Africans and non-Africans. This is a limitation due to the way migration data for these cities was published (See Section 4.1.2).

(cont'd)

3. The percentage Total in column 10 is the sum of columns 5,6, 7,8 and 9. Totals may not always add to 100 because of rounding.

Nairobi and Mombasa whose proportions born in the same district include non-Africans, Kenya's larger urban centres display lower percentages of Africans born in the same district compared with the smaller centres. The percentages born in the same district in Uganda's three urban areas are similar to those in Kenya's larger urban centres. This means therefore that the larger urban centres in these two countries get greater proportions from other districts, provinces and from outside the country. Thus among Kenya's urban centres the one which relies most on other districts, provinces and other countries for its population growth is Eldoret which, significantly, is one of the larger centres in Kenya. Eldoret, besides being the administrative headquarters of Uashin Gishu district, also lies in a prosperous farming area, thus becoming an agricultural, industrial and rail centre in the west of the Rift Valley. These activities were thus able to attract greater numbers of people from outside Uashin Gishu district. On the other hand the town which draws most of its population from the same district is Machakos, with 67% of its population born in the same district. It is again significant that Machakos is one of the smaller urban centres in Kenya. Of the three urban areas in Uganda, Jinja draws most of its population from outside Busoga district in which the town is situated. This appropriately reflects Jinja's role of being the largest industrial city in Uganda.

Taking the category born in the same province in Table 6, the proportion for Kenya as a whole (4%), is lower than that for Uganda (6%). In both countries, however, the national figures are lower than for their respective individual urban areas. Unlike the category born in the same district, there is no obvious difference between the proportions for the larger and smaller urban centres in Kenya. Nevertheless, some outstanding cases exist. Thika with 38% and Thomson's Falls with 37% draw most of their population from their surrounding provinces. Thika

has several advantages which make it a favoured destination for migrants from the local province. The town is located in a rich agricultural area, thus it shares in the growing prosperity associated with investment in modern farming of the surrounding lands. Its plentiful water supplies, cheaper land and proximity to Nairobi (less than 30 miles) made Thika an excellent alternative industrial site to Nairobi, hence attracting migrants from the Central Province (Ominde, 1968: 70). It will be noted in Section 4.2.3 that Thika is one of the towns with a high adult population. Thomson's Falls, at the northern end of the Kenya highlands also draws its population from the central province, but its age composition is quite different from Thika's as will be seen in section 4.3.2.

The category 'born in other provinces' offers some striking differences. At the national level the percentage for Kenya is twice that in Uganda, being 11% and 5.5% respectively. This clearly shows that the level of inter-provincial movement is higher in Kenya than in Uganda. But the percentage distribution for each of the countries are once again considerably lower than for their individual urban centres, indicating that more migrants will cross provincial boundaries to reach urban centres, compared with those moving to other rural areas. Looking at Kenya's urban centres, the larger ones consistently have higher percentages born in other provinces compared with the smaller urban centres. Again there are exceptional cases. Nairobi, despite the fact that its proportion of 65% includes non-Africans, seems almost certainly to be the urban centre with the largest percentage of people born outside Nairobi extra-provincial district. Nairobi is the administrative capital of Kenya, the largest city, the commercial and industrial hub of not only Kenya but the whole of East Africa. The urban centre with the least proportion of people born in other provinces is Lamu, with only 2%. Lamu is isolated from the economic heartland of Kenya, and so relies on the surrounding district for its population growth. Consequently it

has nearly 60% of its population born in the same district; it is also the urban centre with the highest percentage of non-African population of 33%. The non-African population largely consists of people of Arab origin who have lived in the coastal towns of East Africa for several generations (see Chapter Two). In fact Lamu's low proportion of people born in other provinces is reflected strongly in the composition of its population discussed in the analysis of age distribution. In Uganda, unlike in Kenya, the capital city is clearly not the urban centre with the highest percentage of people born in other provinces. Instead the industrial city of Jinja stands out as the urban centre with the highest percentage in this category, for reasons already outlined above.

Considering the "born outside the country" category, the differences between Kenya and Uganda are most clearly marked. At the national level only 0.6% of Kenya's African population was born outside the country compared with Uganda's 8%. Since the percentages of people born outside Nairobi and Mombasa include both Africans and non-Africans, it is difficult to compare their figures directly with Uganda's. However, Table 6 indicates that even the total proportion of those born outside each of Kenya's towns are less than the African proportion in each of the Ugandan towns born outside the country. Further, it is also evident that the larger proportions of those born outside Kenya in each of Kenya's towns are actually non-African. The reasons for such high percentages of African international migrants in Uganda's urban centres relates partly to the inflow of refugees from neighbouring African countries including the Sudan, Zaire, Rwanda and Burundi during the mid-1950s and throughout the 1960s. African refugees in Uganda numbered 215,000 by 1967 (Kabera, 1977: 13). Also there were large numbers of Kenyans and Tanzanians working in Uganda. Thus for example, Kampala's 1969 African population can be broken down as follows: 3.6% born in Rwanda, Burundi, Zaire and the Sudan, 12% born in Kenya and Tanzania, and the remaining 9.2% born in other African countries.

Finally taking the non-African population in Kenya and Uganda, it is significant that there were twice as many in Kenya as in Uganda, being 2% and 1% respectively. It is also important to note that among Kenya's urban centres, the coastal towns of Lamu and Malindi have the highest percentages of non-African population, hence reflecting to a large extent their long history of urbanization, particularly of the Arab population.

4.2.1 Problems of comparing age-groups between Kenya and Uganda

Age and sex distributions are valuable indicators of long-term migration, and of the male and female labour supply in different areas; as well as helping in the interpretation of fertility rates and trends.

The age and sex distribution for Kenya and Uganda are analysed in the following section, with a view of finding out the impact of the urbanization process on the composition of urban populations, and their implications for planning strategies. The comparisons are made only for the 1969 censuses because the published age groupings are reasonably comparable. It is difficult to compare the 1969 age groupings either within or between the countries with the earlier censuses because of widely different age groupings. For example the published age data for Kenya's 1962 census has only two categories, under 15 years (children) and 15 years and over, or adults (Kenya Government, 1964 Volume I and Advance Reports on Volumes I and II). In contrast Uganda's age-groupings for 1959 was a little more detailed, with five different age-groups (Uganda Government, 1974: 4 and 16). It must be pointed out that the critical ages for 1969 in both Kenya and Uganda have been taken as 15 and 50. This upper limit of 50 years falls rather short of the more conventional 60 or 65 years for old age groups. But age 49 had to be adopted because it was the highest age in the statistics of both countries where uniformity existed, hence setting the upper limit. Furthermore the

incompatibility between the countries caused by grouping the ages between 29 and 49 severely limits the analysis of the younger persons who are usually more susceptible to migration. Despite these limitations, however, analysis of age and sex distribution in the urban areas is still worthwhile.

4.2.2 The distribution of urban areas by age

Table 7 (a) and (b) present in three broad age groups the age distribution of urban areas for both sexes, males and females. For an easy and broad comparison, only the distribution of urban areas for both sexes in all three age categories in each country are represented in Figures 3(a) and (b) using triangular graphs. The triangular graph (or trifactor diagram), by its ability to combine three variables for analysis, enables graphic representation of the three-fold age structure, hence summarising and presenting that information in a visual form.

Quite generally, the distribution of dots on the graphs show whether certain urban areas have similar characteristics, i.e. a cluster of dots, or whether they are dissimilar and therefore the dots widely dispersed. The graph for Uganda reveals two major clusters. The codes for the towns indicate that the lower cluster is made up of upcountry towns, namely Gulu, Arua, Fort Portal, Kabale, Mubende and Tororo. All these towns have low percentages of their populations in the 15-49 age group. These are clearly towns peripheral to the core of Uganda's economic zone, and they provide limited employment opportunities. Tororo, however, is rather a misfit here since it is a growing industrial town, with cement works, chemicals and fertilizer industries, a textile factory and a few other industries. The only likely explanation seems to be that most of its labour-force is drawn from the surrounding rural areas rather than migrants from elsewhere.

The upper cluster includes the capital, Kampala, the major industrial city of Jinja, as well as Mbale. It also includes towns like Entebbe and Iganga which lie in the heart of the

TABLE 7 (a)

Age distribution in Kenya's urban areas by broad age-groups and sex 1969. (All figures are percentages.)

URBAN AREA.	UNDER 15 YEARS.			15-49 YEARS.			50+ YEARS.		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both sexes	Male	Female.
NAIROBI	34.7	17.3	17.4	59.4	38.2	21.2	5.9	4.0	1.9
MOMBASA	35.4	18.4	17.0	57.9	35.7	22.2	6.7	4.1	2.6
NAKURU	43.0	21.4	21.6	52.7	31.4	21.3	4.3	2.6	1.7
KISUMU	39.6	19.0	20.6	55.7	33.6	22.1	4.7	3.2	1.5
THIKA	30.2	16.4	13.8	61.7	39.7	22.0	8.1	3.0	5.1
ELDORET	42.3	21.1	21.2	53.6	32.7	20.9	4.1	2.9	1.2
NANYUKI	43.7	21.8	21.9	50.4	28.7	21.7	5.9	3.4	2.5
KITALE	43.5	21.3	22.2	51.9	31.6	20.3	4.6	3.1	1.5
MALINDI	36.2	18.9	17.3	54.0	31.6	22.5	9.8	5.5	4.3
KERICHO	37.8	18.8	19.0	57.6	36.8	20.8	4.6	2.9	1.7
NYERI	31.4	15.5	15.9	62.0	39.4	22.6	6.6	4.6	2.0
ISIOLO	39.7	20.9	18.8	51.2	28.3	22.9	9.1	5.2	3.9
THOMSON'S F.	44.3	22.5	21.8	49.8	29.7	20.1	5.9	3.5	2.4
LAMU	40.8	20.6	20.2	43.4	20.4	23.0	15.8	6.9	8.9
NAIVASHA	41.3	19.9	21.4	53.5	33.1	20.4	5.2	3.3	1.9
MARSABIT	39.5	20.4	19.1	48.0	28.3	19.7	12.5	5.5	7.0
MACHAKOS	34.7	17.2	17.5	59.4	36.6	22.8	5.9	4.2	1.7
KAKAMEGA	39.9	20.1	19.8	54.9	32.9	22.0	5.2	3.4	1.8
KISII	35.9	18.0	17.9	59.6	39.1	20.5	4.5	3.0	1.5
ATHI RIVER	39.0	20.0	19.0	57.1	38.9	18.2	3.9	2.9	1.0
ELBURGON	49.5	24.5	25.0	43.2	22.8	20.4	7.3	3.9	3.4
VOI	39.2	19.8	19.4	54.8	34.3	20.5	6.0	4.3	1.7
URBAN AVER- AGE.	39.2	19.7	19.4	54.2	32.9	21.3	6.7	3.9	2.8
NATIONAL AVERAGE	48.4	24.6	23.8	41.8	20.4	21.3	9.8	5.1	4.8

Source: Calculated from Kenya 1969 Census Reports, Volumes 1 and 2.

TABLE 7 (b).

Age distribution in Uganda's urban areas by broad age-groups and sex 1969. (All figures are percentages.)

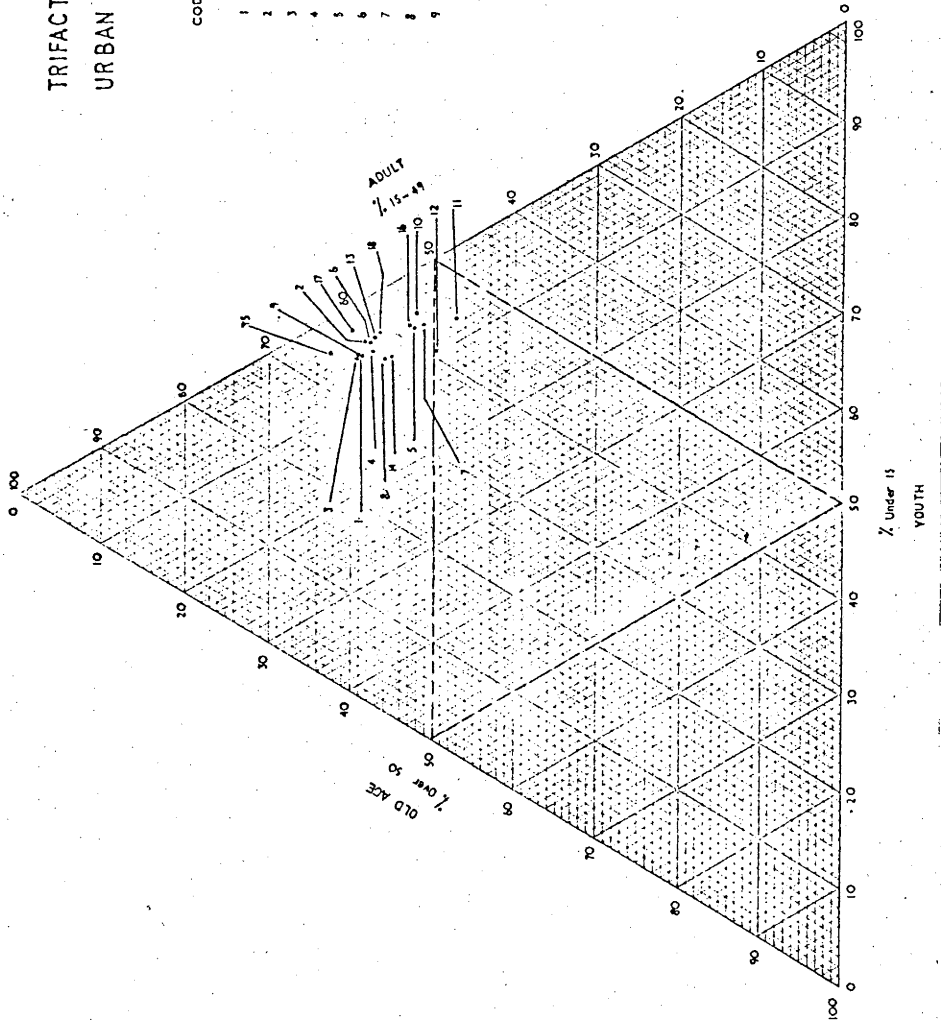
URBAN AREA.	UNDER 15 YEARS.			15-49 YEARS.			50+ YEARS.		
	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female	Both Sexes	Male	Female
KAMPALA	35.5	17.2	18.3	58.8	34.9	23.9	5.7	3.0	2.7
JINJA	37.2	17.9	19.3	58.8	35.6	22.9	4.3	2.8	1.5
MBALE	35.0	16.6	18.4	59.2	34.8	24.4	5.8	3.6	2.2
ENTEBBE	36.8	17.6	19.2	57.3	34.2	23.1	5.9	3.2	2.7
GULU	41.8	20.7	21.1	52.3	28.1	24.2	5.9	3.0	2.9
MBARARA	37.5	18.6	18.9	57.7	33.1	24.6	4.8	2.6	2.2
TORORO	42.8	21.2	21.6	51.1	27.5	23.6	6.1	3.8	2.3
MASAKA	36.7	18.1	18.6	56.0	31.4	24.6	7.3	3.8	3.5
SOROTI	35.2	16.7	18.5	59.1	32.7	26.4	5.7	3.6	2.1
ARUA	43.2	22.0	21.2	52.1	28.2	23.9	4.7	2.4	2.3
KABALE	45.4	21.6	23.8	47.1	24.4	22.7	7.5	3.6	3.9
FORT PORTAL	40.6	20.1	20.5	49.9	27.6	22.3	9.5	4.4	5.1
LIRA	38.2	18.8	19.4	57.2	30.1	27.1	4.6	2.9	1.7
IGANGA	37.4	18.8	18.6	55.3	30.3	25.0	7.3	4.3	3.0
KASESE	34.0	16.3	17.7	62.5	38.5	24.0	3.5	2.5	1.0
MUBENDE	41.5	19.3	22.2	52.9	28.3	24.6	5.6	2.5	3.1
MOROTO	37.7	18.9	18.8	60.0	36.2	23.8	2.3	1.9	0.4
MASINDI	39.0	18.0	21.0	56.9	34.8	22.1	4.1	2.5	1.6
URBAN AVER- AGE.	38.6	18.8	19.8	55.8	31.6	24.1	5.6	3.1	1.6
NATIONAL AVERAGE.	46.1	23.2	22.9	43.0	21.4	21.6	10.8	5.8	5.0

NOTE: Kilembe has been excluded due to unavailability of detailed age data. However, this should not significantly affect the urban and national averages.

Source: Calculated from 1969 Census Report Volume 1 The Population of Administrative Areas.

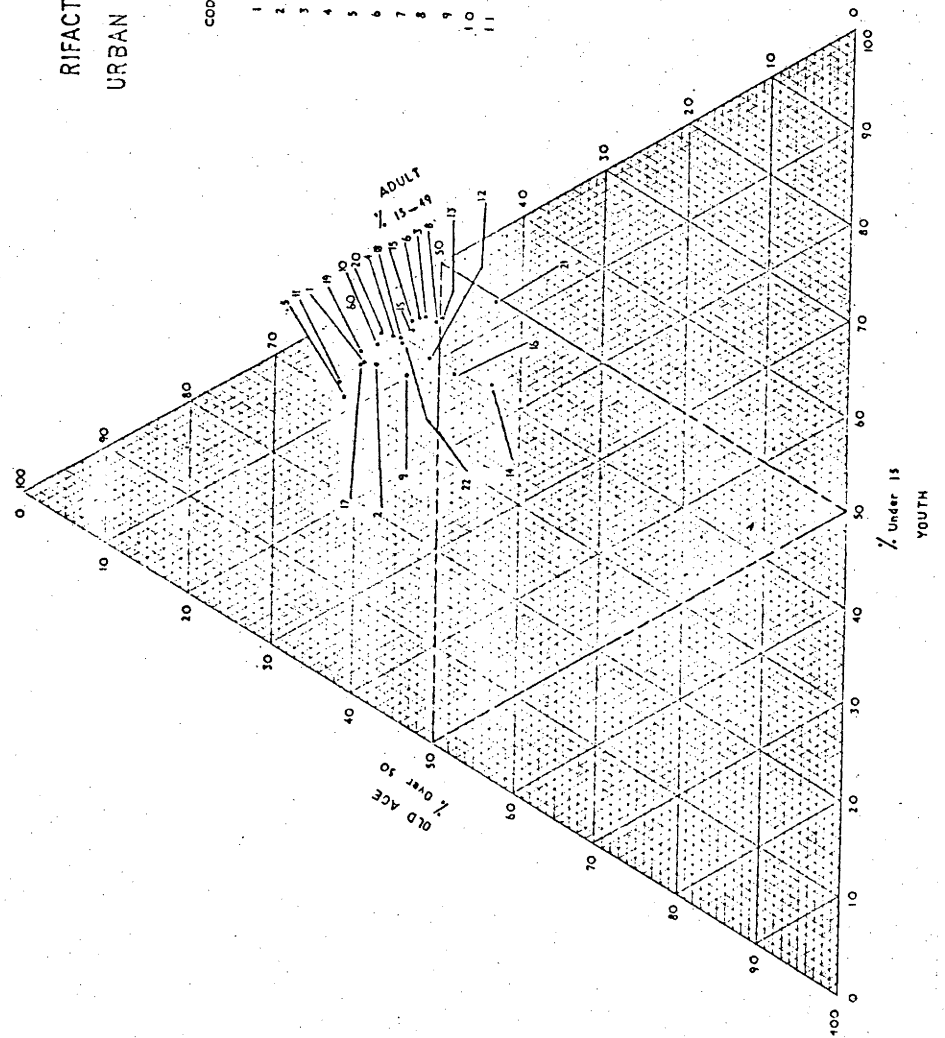
TRIFACTOR DIAGRAM SHOWING
URBAN AREAS PLOTTED BY AGE

UGANDA: 1969



RIFACTOR DIAGRAM SHOWING URBAN AREAS PLOTTED BY AGE

KENYA : 1969



country's major economic region. Then a few other upcountry towns like Moroto, Mbarara, Masaka and Masindi fall in this category because they are largely institutional towns, with large military populations. Other upcountry towns which also fall in this category are Lira, Soroti and Kasese, each having some significant industrial activities located there.

In comparison, Kenya has no clear cut clustering in the distribution of the urban areas by age. The distribution of the dots on the graph assumes an elongated shape. However, a few towns stand out as isolated from the main body of the dots. These include Elburgon, Marsabit and Lamu which are all upcountry towns and clearly very peripheral to the more favoured Kenya highlands. The lack of clear-cut clustering in Kenya does not in any way imply an equitable distribution of opportunity among the various towns, and this is clearly illustrated in Section 3.3.4.

4.2.3 Analysis of age distribution for the urban areas

Tables 7(a) and (b) are used to examine and compare in detail the age distribution for the main urban areas in Kenya and Uganda.

The Under 15 age-group:

The percentages for both sexes for each urban area does not exceed 50%. This is true for both Kenya and Uganda. In Kenya the highest percentage for both sexes in this age-group is 49%, achieved by Elburgon. This is attributable to its low proportion of internal migrants (Table 6), which in turn is indicative of the limited opportunities such a small town can offer to the working age population.

In Uganda the highest percentage for the same age-group is 45% for Kabale in the extreme south-west. Kabale lies in Kigezi district, one of the two districts with the highest population densities and land-shortage problems (Langlands 1970:13). It has no industries of any sort, and its population declined between the 1959 and 1969 censuses, registering an annual growth-rate of -2.8%. Kigezi district, including Kabale town, has the lowest sex-ratio in the country of 87 males per 100 females. The district also has the lowest sex-ratio of 47 males per 100 females for the age-group 15 and over (Uganda Government 1976: 6). Hence Kabale, like the rest of the district in which it is situated, experienced high out-migration in the adult age-group, leaving behind considerable proportions of children and aged persons.

Comparing the age group 'under 15' by sexes, the percentages of males and females in the urban areas are more or less balanced for both countries, averaging 18.8 for males and 19.8 for females in Uganda; and 19.7 for males and 19.4 for females in Kenya. This shows that this age group is less affected by migration, compared with the adult age groups. Another significant observation is that the national average for both males and females in this young age-group is higher compared with their respective urban averages. This clearly reflects the relative deficiency of the young age-group in urban areas.

The 15-49 age group:

The percentages for both sexes for the majority of urban areas in both Kenya and Uganda lie between 50 and 60%. Only two towns in Kenya, namely Thika and Nyeri, have adult populations for both sexes exceeding 60%; and four other towns, Lamu, Thomson's Falls, Marsabit and Elburgon each have less than 50%. The high percentages observed for Thika and Nyeri are striking because such high proportions may be expected for larger cities, say over 100,000; but these two towns have a far smaller population than that. The reasons for each one will depend on the particular

circumstances prevailing in these towns. The situation in Thika has already been given in section 4.1.3. Nyeri's case is a little harder to explain because the place-of-birth statistics for 1969 has a 40% "not stated" component. Further, unlike Thika, Nyeri has few industrial facilities and its level of infrastructure is below that of other municipalities (Kenya Government, 1974: Part II 121). Nevertheless, its status as a provincial town, its location at the edge of the Kenya highlands, and the rather acute problems of land shortage in the surrounding rural district - four acres per family on average - make Nyeri still a viable destination for the adult population from the surrounding rural district.

In comparison Uganda has only one town, Kasese, which has more than 60% of its population in the adult age group, and two others, Kabale and Fort Portal, have less than 50%. Kasese's high percentage of adults can be directly related to its location and function. The town is a rail-head which grew principally because of the development of the copper mines at nearby Kilembe. The railway was extended from Kampala to Kasese in 1954 specifically for the purpose of transporting copper concentrate from there to the smelter at Jinja. The copper ore from Kilembe is concentrated at a plant in Kasese, and the town houses mine workers, and has attracted other services to itself. The town's high growth rate of 13% per annum between 1959 and 1969 is readily associated with a large influx of migrants in the adult ages, and Table 7 (b) shows that Kasese has the highest percentage of males when compared with all of Uganda's towns.

For those towns with adult proportions (of both sexes) less than 50%, two in Kenya, Marsabit and Lamu, have had their cases attributed to isolation, as pointed out in section 4.1.3. The remaining two, Elburgon and Thomson's Falls are relatively closer to Nairobi, possess no special attraction to adult migrants, and so seem to lose their adult population directly to Nairobi or other towns. The two towns in Uganda, Kabale and Fort Portal with less than 50% suffer from isolation and lack of opportunity. Kabale's

case has already been explained in detail at the beginning of this section. Fort Portal, in addition to isolation, also registered negative growth: -0.4% per annum during the intercensal period.

The fact that in both Kenya and Uganda the majority of the urban areas have between 50 and 60% of their population in the 15-59 age group seems to indicate the growing magnitude of rural urban migration. If urbanization is not properly regulated it seems certain that the proportion of this age-group will continue to rise in the future, leading to massive unemployment as is already evident in larger cities such as Nairobi.

When comparing the average age distribution for the adult age-group, for both sexes, between Kenya and Uganda, both similarities and differences emerge. For example the percentage average for both sexes in both countries are very similar, 55.8 for Uganda and 54.2 for Kenya. Again the percentage average for males in both countries is similar. Further, the averages for males are higher than for females in both countries. But the difference between the sexes is greater in Kenya, indicating a greater male presence in the urban areas. Also the urban average for females in Uganda exceeds that in Kenya by 3%, indicating there are slightly more female adults in Uganda's towns, compared with female adults in Kenya's towns.

Comparing the national averages for adults of both sexes with their respective urban averages for the two countries, it is evident that the urban averages in both countries, in general, exceed the national averages. This confirms the expected situation where towns attract more people of both sexes from the adult age group rather than the young or aged. Kenya's national average for females is the same as the urban average, once again confirming the relative deficiency of adult females in Kenya's towns.

The 50+ age-group:

In both countries the national averages for both sexes exceed the urban averages. In Uganda the national average is almost twice the urban average for both sexes, whereas in Kenya it is under one and a half times as much. The difference between the sexes is once again larger in Kenya, being nearly twice as much as it is in Uganda. This clearly indicates the relative deficiency of females in this old age-group in Kenya's urban areas as was the case with the 15-19 age-group.

Two towns in Kenya, however, have significantly high proportions of 'old age' people for both sexes. Lamu has 16%, of which nearly 9% are female; and Marsabit has 13% of which 7% are female. These are rather unique cases because they are the only towns where the percentage of females for all age groups is significantly higher than for every other urban area in Kenya. Lamu, with its 16% in the 50 years and over category being the highest percentage among all the towns, owes its peculiarity to reasons already indicated earlier. The town's population therefore displays a relatively well-urbanized ageing population; and this seems to be due to out-migration in the 15-49 years age-group, particularly of the male sex. In fact Lamu is quite isolated from the main core of Kenya's economic region. Marsabit, with 12.5% in the 50+ age-group, suffers from out-migration in the 15-49 age group. Table 4 shows a considerable non-response to the birth-place question of 7% and, possibly a higher degree of age misstatement by local people in this peripheral semi-desert region, which both seem to have been responsible for this high figure.

4.2.4 Conclusion

Age distribution reveals some significant points, especially with regard to urbanization policies. The percentages for both sexes in the adult population is of particular importance in this connection. On average the proportions of adults of both sexes are high in both Kenya and Uganda. The more peripheral towns are, however, more deficient in adult populations than those which lie

at or near the main economic regions of each country. This obviously reflects the unattractiveness to migrants of upcountry towns compared with the better-placed towns. In terms of policy this raises different questions for each country. For Uganda it would require in the first place government's commitment to formulating policies for influencing urbanization. The really crucial argument on which to base urbanization policy is not the general concept of 'optimum size' of towns as the development plan 1971/2 - 1975/6 suggests, but rather of formulating realistic policies which take into account the geographical distribution of activities associated with urban areas. It is the distribution of such activities, particularly industrial location, which are responsible directly for migration of labour to different urban areas, hence determining the pattern and magnitude of urbanization. In this respect Uganda has time on its side, for besides having a lower degree of urbanization than Kenya at the present time, the problem of land shortage (principally due to congested rural population in a few areas) is yet in its early stages. Also in spite of the spontaneous resettlement of landless people in other rural areas, increased rural-urban migration is inevitable in the near future and could then be handled effectively if there was a concrete urbanization policy.

On the other hand, in Kenya, 1970-74 development-plan emphasises cumulative self-sustaining growth. This also has implications for industrial location, hence it affects the distribution of urbanization. It means that the core regions and their respective urban areas have the advantage of attracting industries and the best infrastructure at the expense of peripheral regions and their towns. These circumstances imply that the migration of labour into such favoured urban areas will continue to increase, with the result that economic development and urbanization will remain polarised. It is difficult therefore to envisage the ease and effectiveness of implementation of the urbanization strategy outlined in section 1.5; specifically the

four levels of urban centres designed to stimulate rural development.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This study has attempted to focus on the urban structural and demographic characteristics of Kenya and Uganda, with a view to identifying and comparing their causes, processes and patterns. Limitations of published data and the difficulty of comparing data internationally have emerged as some of the more serious problems encountered throughout this thesis. Nevertheless, a number of significant findings relevant for policy consideration are summarised below.

Urbanization in both Kenya and Uganda differ from the developed countries in terms of the stimuli and circumstances under which the process of urbanization took place in the developed countries. The urban centres of Kenya and Uganda, with a few exceptions, are of expatriate creation. Their locational patterns and growth in pre-independence years reflect the structures of colonial political economies, characterised mainly by polarised development, and involving the migration of skills and capital from peripheral to core areas of economic activity. This study has shown that these structures have persisted more or less intact throughout the post-independence era, as is evident in the urbanization policies reviewed in Chapter I. Some of the findings of this study essentially call for a reconsideration of those policies under these circumstances.

The average population growth-rates of urban areas overall in each country substantially exceed the average national growth rates. The gap is particularly wide in Uganda which has an average annual population growth-rate of 8.8% for the urban areas between 1959 and 1969, compared with 3.5% for the whole country. This contrasts with Kenya where the annual population growth rates were 5% for the

urban areas and 3.3% for the country as a whole for the period 1962 to 1969. Of the urban population increases between those dates, however, the contribution of 'new' urban centres to the total urban population increase was greater in Uganda (30%) than in Kenya (10%). In this respect, therefore, the process of urbanization differs between Kenya and Uganda. The role of new urban centres in the urbanization process is much more important in Uganda, while 'old' urban centres played a much more important role in Kenya.

The distribution of urban population among various urban size-classes as measured by the concentration indices, gives some insight into the magnitude and direction of urbanization in these countries. It is clear that there are particular urban size-classes which tend to be the most favoured destination of migrants. This implies therefore that those urban size-classes so preferred stand out as centres with special advantages in employment and other opportunities. In Uganda the industrial cities of Jinja and Mbale fall in this category in addition to the capital, Kampala. In Kenya it is the metropolitan cities of Nairobi and Mombasa where most of the urban population is concentrated. These are clearly manifestations of continued polarised urbanization, or put in another way, it is uncontrolled urbanization, resulting in a few cities containing a very large percentage of the urban population.

In terms of policy these findings have important implications if viewed along with the urbanization policies reviewed in Chapter I. In Kenya the 1970-74 development plan states that "urbanization will be encouraged and seen as complementary to rural development to achieve national development goals". Hence the plan designates various levels of "growth poles" to stimulate rural development aimed at reducing rural-urban migration. Already it has been stated that 90% of the urban population increase between 1962 and 1969 was contributed by existing or 'old' urban centres. In addition to disproportionate distribution of employment

opportunities and incomes (Section 3.3.4), other statistics also show that the larger urban areas continued to expand their shares in these areas at the expense of the smaller urban centres. For instance in 1971 the value of new private construction in Nairobi stood at nearly 89%, of all private building in urban areas. In contrast, the value for six other main towns in 1971 collectively stood at 1.5%, compared with 7% in 1967. (Kenya Government 1972:124). It may be pointed out that private construction accounts for about 85% of all building in 1971, and public building for 15%. Trends such as these cast doubts about any successful implementation of declared development goals. Furthermore, Kenya's overall spatial distribution of population has been described as "extremely unacceptable" and requiring reduction in internal migration (United Nations, (1979b:131)). Effectively then, as a matter of policy, alterations are called for in both the urban and rural configurations. Unfortunately Kenya's resettlement schemes have not achieved much in controlling rural-urban migration, (Mawethu, 1978:83). An effective urbanization policy must therefore involve support for the "growth poles" designated in the plan. Growth poles, in this case the other urban centres aside from Nairobi and Mombasa, have themselves to be stimulated before they can stimulate rural development. This could be done through explicit action such as offering inducements to entrepreneurs through tax concessions to invest in disadvantaged urban centres. This could speed up decentralisation efforts.

For Uganda policy requirements on urbanization must focus on two areas. First the overall urban population growth needs to be reduced, although this should be done selectively, beginning with the largest city, Kampala which doubled its population between 1959 and 1969. Secondly, it seems to be time to formulate both short-term and long-term urbanization policies in view of the distribution of urbanization revealed in this study. While the 1970/71-1975/76 Development Plan

expresses doubts about the relevance of optimum size of towns in Uganda, this seems to be an over-optimistic view. Urbanization policy cannot be based on size alone, but factors such as efficient management of urban areas play vital roles - the provision of adequate employment opportunities, infrastructure, and medical care, among others. It is these and other factors which decide optimality, hence the need for a definite urbanization policy. Such policy would take advantage of the present distribution of urbanization which, compared with Kenya, is still quite favourable. Firm industrial location policy could probably be the first step to encourage the development of upcountry urban centres as alternative destinations for migrants. The present policy of non-interference in industrial location as a weapon for influencing the distribution of urbanization seems to be due partly to the lack of adequate detailed information in this area. It is not surprising then that the plan leaves a number of major urban policy decisions pending further studies (Section 3.3.4). Under these circumstances it would seem to be appropriate to have an independent specialised organ within the Ministry of Planning whose job would be to do field research relevant for formulation of urbanization policy. The present dependence on institutions such as the University for such research could be reduced since the University has diverse roles to play and may not furnish the planning authorities with all the necessary research needed. The same proposition applies equally to Kenya.

It may be worthwhile at this stage to introduce some of the recent arguments against the role of the "growth-poles" concept in development in some third world countries like Kenya and Uganda. Among the proponents of such arguments are Mehta (1975:656-666) and Kabwegyere (1979:307-315) as already noted in Sections 1.3 and 1.5 respectively. Kabwegyere's argument is summarised here in relation to Kenya and Uganda. Briefly his argument runs as follows : That while urbanization has been used as one of the indexes of development and modernisation, there are in fact certain assumptions underlying it. The main assumption is that industrial change is

a precondition for development; and the more people engage in industry, in secondary and tertiary economic activities, the more development comes about. He points out that whereas 'growth-poles' and their interconnecting infrastructure are necessary for development, they must be placed in their proper context if they are to lead to development (pp.309). Thus, in the first instance, growth in infrastructure, or health services, for example, must be accompanied by growth not only in awareness of the existence of these services, but also growth in conditions that allow the population to have access to these services. Secondly, he points out that the population must participate in and experience development either at personal level such as through employment in profitable occupation, or by active involvement in the decision making process with regard to plans and priorities for the development of resources at the community and ultimately the national level. Their involvement means they will critically influence decisions about how, when and in what form they acquire benefits. In short, non-participation by the people in the development process and decision-making ultimately is an imposed growth, and means little to the people in the development area. Finally, the growth-generating resources and the opportunity to participate in generating those resources must be equitably distributed if development is to be meaningful to the population.

If arguments such as the above are related to the history of urbanization in Kenya and Uganda (Chapter Two), especially the role of urban centres in colonial economies; and considering that those roles have basically remained unchanged throughout the post-independence period, then one could logically ask the following question. How can 'growth-poles' be expected to provide the momentum for rural development when the large urban centres such as Nairobi have not done it?" It is clearly not enough to identify 'growth-poles' and stimulate their growth. This would merely lead to the perpetuation of the exploitation of the countryside. Practical steps should be taken to incorporate the three conditions outlined in Kabwegyere's argument in urbanization policies in

particular and national development policies in general; and their implementation attempted. A look at the reviews of the development plans of Kenya and Uganda show that these critical points are not even implied anywhere in the Plans. That, and the findings of this study so far summarised above, demonstrate that there is much more to be desired in the urbanization policies of both Kenya and Uganda.

The age and sex compositions are another important area in urbanization policy, for they are indicators of the productive capacity of the population, and so are of significant economic and social consequence. For example the demand and provision of employment, housing, hospitals, schools and other services in both rural and urban areas require the basic information relating to the age structure and composition of the population. This study reveals a very uneven distribution of population by age and sex among the urban centres themselves in each country; between urban centres and their respective national averages; as well as differences in these variables between the two countries. For example in urban areas the proportion of adults (15-49 years) for both sexes varies between 43% and 63% in both Kenya and Uganda. These ranges contrast markedly with the proportions of children (0-14 years) of both sexes in urban areas. The range is between 34% and 46% in Uganda; and between 30% and 49% in Kenya. Differences in sex composition of urban populations and national averages have also been identified. For example, whereas there are proportionately more adult males and females in urban areas of each of these countries compared with children and aged persons, there are more female adults in Uganda's towns compared with Kenya's. These distributions have implications for fertility, for instance, whereby the presence of large numbers of females in urban areas could act as a positive momentum for accelerating urban population growth. It would also affect the occupational composition of urban areas, and thus call for adjustments in the range of jobs that could be taken up by females. Lastly the predominance of adults in urban centres leads to labour shortages in rural areas and this in turn can

affect the overall performance of the economy. It is against these backgrounds that urbanisation patterns and trends deserve serious attention and constant monitoring in order to keep up-to-date in development planning.

APPENDIX 1

EXTRACTS FROM DEFINITIONS AND EXPLANATIONS
OF CONCEPTS AND ITEMS, 1969 (KENYA)Place of Residence

The population data presented by area e.g. province and district census reports are not strictly a count of residents of that particular area. This is so because the method used to assure a complete and unduplicated count was to adopt a "Census Night" time-reference point. This time reference was the night of 24/25 August, 1969. Therefore the data refer to where the person spent the night of 24/25 August, whether as a visitor or a resident. Thus, persons spending the night in hotels or boarding with friends or relatives were considered as residents of the place they were staying. Persons in institutions e.g. prisons, hospitals and army barracks were counted as residents of the area in which the institution was located. Special cases, such as herdsmen, fishermen, or people travelling at night were counted as residents of their regular household. The vast majority of the people, however, spent Census night in their own private dwellings. Thus the data on geographic divisions mainly reflect the true status on residence.

Place of Birth

The data on place of birth was derived from answers to question (f) of the "B" schedule dispensed to 10% of the rural population and all the urban population. Respondents were instructed to report place of birth as the district where the person was actually born and not in terms of the mother's usual residence. The district of birth referred to boundaries as of August 1969, and not those existing at the time of birth.

The statistics on district of births are of value mainly for the information they provide on the movements of the population from one district to another within Kenya. They, however, do not afford

any indication of the amount of migration within a given district; nor do they take any account of intermediate movements between the time of a person's birth and the time of the census. Foreign-born persons were asked to report their country of birth.

1962 - Schedule "B" for Urban Areas and 10% Rural Sample

Birthplace questions were asked of all urban residents. The question on "Period of Residence" was asked of only immigrants.

APPENDIX 2

EXTRACTS FROM THE UGANDA 1969 CENSUS
SCHEDULE 'B' USED IN ALL URBAN AREAS AND 10% RURAL SAMPLE

Birth-place (Column (g))

"For persons born in Uganda, state district of birth; for persons born outside Uganda, state country of birth."

The data collected by this question was then tabulated at district level in two forms, one by broad birth-place categories of born in district where enumerated, born elsewhere in Uganda, and born outside Uganda by sex and five-year age-groups. The other tabulation was by district or country of birth by sex.

Birth-place question 1959

The question was similar to 1959. Time results were tabulated for the numbers born in district were enumerated, born elsewhere in Uganda, and born outside Uganda by district. The tabulation was never published, largely because of doubts about its accuracy. (Uganda Government, 1976; Volume IV:31).

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