Acculturation and translocalism in an ethnically plural society: Agricultural labour migrants in the Kenyan Rift Valley

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Agricultural, Environmental and Food Economics

School of Agriculture, Policy and Development
Department of Applied Economics and Marketing

Lydiah Ominde Nyambok

December 2021

Declaration of original authorship

I confirm that this is my own work, and the use of all the material from other sources has been properly and fully acknowledged.

Lydiah Ominde Nyambok

December, 2021

ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the nexus of acculturation, translocalism and wellbeing of rural migrants in an ethnically plural society in the Kenyan Rift Valley. The study contains three interrelated essays. The first essay contests the overgeneralised representations that deny the diversity of migration outcomes. Building on the common themes of migration, "why people move" and "migrants' settlement experiences", the essay explores the diversity of rural-rural migration and settlement experiences and the extent to which migrants can settle in the Rift Valley. It uses in-depth interviews to characterise a broadly defined immigrant group such as migrants from western Kenya, based on their motivations for migration, premigration expectations, post-migration reality, and settlement trajectories. The results demonstrate how migrant characteristics and reasons for migration shape the degrees to which migrants settle in the destination localities, paying particular attention to the settlement trajectories taken by migrants who cannot permanently settle in the Rift Valley's rural milieu.

The second essay brings in the analysis acculturation process for internal migrants in ethnically diverse societies; in doing so, it builds a more comprehensive picture of the dynamics of acculturation in the Rift Valley, a region in Kenya where internal migration is often a cause of hostility and deep-seated ethnic intolerance between internal migrants and their hosts. Data on the perceived relative importance of nine migrant characteristics to four acculturation preferences, namely marginalisation, separation, assimilation, and integration, is collected through a survey-based vignette experiment. The vignette experiment's data is analysed using a conditional logistic regression model. Perceptions arising from the results suggest that the factors exerting the most substantial influence on acculturation processes were levels of education and experience of ethnic discrimination. The chapter is concluded by

relating the findings to policies designed to enhance the experience of acculturation in the hope of achieving more positive outcomes.

The final essay analyses the nexus of translocal linkages, acculturation, and three dimensions of wellbeing: subjective, economic, and relational wellbeing, thus building on the theorisation that a more significant number of African migrants will continue to maintain ties to their rural origin provided that neither the wage level at destination nor the livelihood activities in the place of origin suffice to support an average migrant household. The chapter utilises cross-sectional data collected from a sample of 301 migrants in the Rift Valley. The marginal effects and the significance level of different translocal linkages and acculturation strategies affecting the subjective, economic and relational wellbeing were estimated using an unconstrained generalised ordered logit model. The results suggest that, although subjective, economic and relational wellbeing are affected differently by varied translocal linkages, employment status is of more substantial importance for wellbeing than translocal linkages and acculturation strategies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

Thanks first and foremost to the over 300 migrants who are the stars of this thesis. They opened their homes and created time for our strange questions, and, in the process, improved my understanding of their journeys and experiences in the Rift Valley.

This work would not have been possible without the help of my supervisors, Dr Giacomo Zanello and Dr Alex Arnall, and my earlier supervisor, Dr Francisco Areal. I am highly indebted to them for their advice, direction and encouragement.

Financial support from the Commonwealth Scholarship Commission for the entire PhD programme, including this research and living expenses in the United Kingdom, made my studies a full-time job and is greatly appreciated

Throughout fieldwork in Nakuru and Kericho counties, I was assisted by four enthusiastic enumerators: Shadrack, Sagwe, Samuel and Ogaji. Besides interviewing and occasionally translating the Luhya words, they accompanied me in unsafe locations. Carolyn Lyle also assisted me to proofread the thesis.

My family, especially Dad and Mum, nurtured my curiosity about the world. They have been wonderful role models whom I continue to look up to just as much as I did when I was little. Thank you very much, Caleb Omondi Ogwel and Sonia Felicity, for being supportive during this meandering PhD journey; you are the very personification of love and kindness.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract iii
Acknowledgement v
Table of contents vi
List of tables viii
List of figures ix
1 Introduction 1
1.1 The theoretical and empirical perspective of internal migration 1
1.2 Problem statement 6
1.3 Research objectives 7
1.4 Relevance and contribution of the case study 9
1.5 Structure of the thesis 9
2 The physical context of the research, fieldwork and overview of the methodology 12
2.1 Socio-political description of study areas 12
2.2 The physical description of study areas 15
2.3 Sampling and data collection 22
2.4 Selected characteristics 28
2.5 Overview of conceptual framework 31
2.6 Positioned subjectivity of the researcher in the context of the study area 36
3 The extent to which migrants settle in the destination locality: Evidence from the Kenyan Rift Valley 39
3.1 Introduction 40
3.2 Literature review 42
3.3 The history of the research area, research methods and sample characteristics 50
3.4 Research findings and discussions 65
3.5 Conclusions 80
4 Vignette experiment on the acculturation of internal migrants in the Kenyan Rift Valley 83
4.1 Introduction 84
4.2 Literature review 87
4.3 Study area, materials and methods 91
4.4 Results and discussion 100
4.5 Policy implications and conclusion 108
5 The nexus of wellbeing, translocal linkages and migrant adjustment 112
5.1 Introduction 113
5.2 Literature review 114

5.3 Data and Methods 123
5.4 Results and discussion 134
5.5 Conclusions 150
6 Conclusions 152
6.1 Summary 152
6.2 Significance of the research findings 156
6.3 Limitations of the study and suggestions for further research 159
7 References 161
8 Appendix 173
8.1 The first essay 173
8.2 The second essay 174
8.3 The third essay 178
8.4 Cross-sectional survey questionnaire 179
8.5 Interview schedule 188
8.6 Vignette survey 189

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2-1: Demographic indicators of the two counties of the Rift Valley and at the country level.....19
Table 2-2: Demographic indicators of the migrants' origin.....22
Table 2-3: Key quantitative characteristics of 301 participants.....29
Table 2-4: Key qualitative characteristics of 301 participants.....29
Table 3-1: General characteristics of migrants.....59
Table 3-2: Similarities and differences of migrant typologies in the Rift Valley.....59
Table 4-1: Attributes and attribute levels.....95
Table 4-2: Odds ratios for the conditional (fixed effects) logistic regressions for the acculturation strategies.....100
Table 4-3: Comparison of conditional logit coefficients using Wald test for seemingly unrelated estimation (SUEST).....102
Table 5-1: Data description for dependent variables.....130
Table 5-2: Data description for independent.....131
Table 5-3: Control variables.....131
Table 5-4: Change in wellbeing.....135
Table 5-5: Migrants' satisfaction with aspects of wellbeing before and after migration.....135
Table 5-6: Correlation coefficients for the association between perceived changes in subjective wellbeing, economic wellbeing, and relational wellbeing.....136
Table 5-7: Estimation coefficients of the ordered logit model and generalised ordered logit model for subjective, economic, and relational dimensions of wellbeing.....138
Table 5-8: Average marginal effects for the generalised ordered logit model.....140

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2-1: Map of Kenya and the two counties 15
Figure 2-2: Components of fieldwork 23
Figure 2-3: Conceptual framework for the study 33
Figure 4-1: Example of a vignette set 96
Figure 5-1: Predictive margins for subjective wellbeing 146
Figure 5-2: Predictive margins for economic wellbeing 147
Figure 5-3: Predictive margins for relational wellbeing 147

1 INTRODUCTION

This introduction has five sections. The first section presents section discusses the theoretical and empirical perspectives of internal migration, followed by three sections on the problem statement, research objectives, relevance and contribution of the case study. The final section explains how the thesis is structured overall.

1.1 The theoretical and empirical perspective of internal migration

International Organization for Migration (2015) defines internal migration as populations' temporary or perpetual change of residence within a country's administrative boundaries. It is a significant component of global population mobility, and, unlike international migration, it is independent of other nations' migration policies. According to United Nations conservative estimates, there are 740 million internal migrants globally, roughly four times as many as international migrants (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2016, International Organization for Migration, 2015). Internal migration in the Kenyan Rift Valley context is populations' temporary or perpetual change of residence that involves crossing both administrative and ethnic boundaries. Sanders (2002) defines an ethnic boundary as a pattern of social interaction that creates and subsequently underpins in-group members' self-identification and outsiders' confirmation of group distinctions. The daily life and the livelihoods of an increasing number of people are frequently influenced by internal migration and translocality across ethnic and geographic boundaries. According to Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013b), translocality defines the phenomena encompassing mobility, migration, circulation and spatial interconnectedness.

Three broad and interrelated theoretical and empirical perspectives explain the dynamics of internal migration in developing countries. The first perspective, the structural-functionalist approach, explains migration and its effects within a broad pattern of social relationships and

social structural conditions, including economic variables (Oucho, 2014). This perspective underlines the historical expansion of capitalism, suggesting that migration may improve individual returns. However, the long term economic and social effects in the sending and receiving areas may either be positive or negative. Structural functionalists consider rural sending areas a reserve for human and capital resources for capitalist expansion (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013a). On the one hand, migration may foster increasing spatial welfare inequalities by draining higher value resources from rural areas than the wages flowing back (De Haas, 2010). On the other hand, migrants' knowledge and capital transfers may also promote development in the sending and receiving areas (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013a)

The second theoretical and empirical perspective is neoclassical economics, which considers migration a form of optimal allocation of production factors. The relocation of labour from subsistence rural agriculture to industrial sectors is a precondition of economic growth and development (De Haas, 2010). The neoclassical perspective assumes that migrants are uniformly rational actors, maximising utility by moving from backward rural areas to modern urban places in response to economic opportunities at their destinations (Lawson, 1999). The most notable neoclassical migration theorists were Harris and Todaro; they introduced the basic two-sector model of rural-urban migration formulated according to data from Kenya (Todaro, 2007). The model considers rural-urban migration as a rational economic decision based on actors' calculations of costs and benefits. Todaro's (1969) model postulated that migration occurred because of higher expected urban income in the face of rural unemployment (Oucho, 2014). The model set the stage for subsequent econometric analysis of migration focused on examining push and pull factors.

The third theoretical and empirical perspective is the pluralistic view of migration. It includes the new economics of labour migration and the analysis of migrations as a livelihood strategy

(Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013a). Analysis of migration as a livelihood strategy allows more analytical space for migrants' agency, where migrants employ dynamic manoeuvres to diversify and spread or mitigate risk imposed by external conditions (Sharma, 2008). According to the new economics of labour migration, the real incentive to migration is spatial diversification of labour assets over physically distributed and geographically different markets, which maximises economic prospects by adding an extra source of income to households and spreading livelihood risks (Mberu and Mutua, 2015, Greiner, 2011). From this perspective, the family's dispersal is an endogenous livelihood strategy aimed at risk-spreading, asset management, and minimising the cost of living. Studies aligned with the pluralistic perspective, such as Owuor (2007), Agesa (2004) and Bigsten (1996), have concentrated on how rural households allocate their labour resources between rural and urban areas to maximise net income. They have generated ample evidence beyond the traditional focus on permanent rural-urban moves (Lucas, 2007).

In attempts to broaden the scope of the pluralistic view of migration, livelihood scholars paying attention to spatial mobility and its outcomes alongside migration scholars gradually recognising the significance of livelihood contexts have come to adopt somewhat similar views on the notion of translocal and relational perspectives of migrants' livelihoods (Long, 2008, Greiner, 2010). As a result, the migration development nexus stresses the need for a contextualised translocal perspective in the ongoing debates (Benz, 2014). The concept of translocality is an instrumental framework for understanding migration and people's embeddedness during mobility (Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2017, Ogone, 2015). A fundamental conception of translocalism is the notion of interconnected processes of social change in geographically disparate units, emphasising the importance of spatial connections (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013a). Within the translocal perspective, the research has concentrated on the increasingly blurred categories of rural and urban spatial dichotomy (Greiner and

Sakdapolrak, 2013a). Benz (2014) draws attention to the complex interplay between local and extra-local influences in a particular place.

Unlike the other two components of population dynamics (fertility and mortality), internal migration has received much research attention from most social sciences in the past decades (Chamberlin et al., 2018). In sub-Saharan Africa, rural-rural migration is quantitatively most important, given that a high proportion of the population resides in rural areas (Oucho, 1998). Nonetheless, policy formulations, governments and most of the research concentrated on rural-urban migration (Agesa, 2004, Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013a) and, to a limited extent, on urban-rural migration following rising urban poverty and unemployment (Owuor, 2007, Bigsten, 1996). Consequently, many scholars assume that rural-urban migration characterises agricultural transformation and economic growth with scholarship on rural-urban translocal linkages dominating research on migration and development (Chamberlin et al., 2018, Hirvonen, 2016).

Circulation of migrants is an outstanding feature of internal migration in sub-Saharan Africa that links origin to destination, enabling multiple exchanges between migrants and stayers (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013a). In the region, the home concept unambiguously refers to location-specific capital comprising land, relatives, and friends, making it a place to keep enduring translocal linkages (Oucho, 1998). Past studies offer several reasons why migrants maintain translocal links with their origins. First, the rural residence represents a haven for migrants should there be a change in the circumstances that led to the initial migration, such as loss of employment or economic deterioration in the destination locality (Owuor, 2007). Secondly, migration driven by expected employment opportunities may involve a gamble of different outcomes among migrants; thus, those who prove successful may stay on while those who are disappointed may want to keep the option of returning to their place of origin

(Lucas, 2007). Finally, migration may be taken as a saving strategy with the intent from the outset of returning home with the accumulated savings.

Chamberlin et al. (2018) contend that the phenomenon of rural mobility is far more common in developing countries; thus, rural-rural linkages influencing the growth of rural economies could address the socioeconomic challenges of ongoing demographic shifts. Firstly, it may ease pressure on land and improve the viability of smallholder agriculture by balancing population densities across space as land-seeking migrants move from densely populated regions to sparsely populated regions. Secondly, the movement of labour migrants from low-density regions to high-density regions may have broad socioeconomic impacts comparable to rural-urban migration. Like rural-urban migrants who exert pressure on already overstretched urban resources, rural-rural labour migrants may exert pressure on already limited land access, thus restricting the capacity of densely populated rural regions to offer sustainable agricultural livelihood opportunities in the future. However, rural-rural labour migrants, although functionally similar to urban migrants, may enjoy more resilient livelihood security, depending on their ability to access land or engage in some form of agriculture. Lucas (2007) recommends scrutinising rural-rural migration, contending that rural-rural migration from subsistence to plantation agriculture, from dry farming to irrigated areas and between villages with low correlation in drought incidences can play roles comparable to rural-urban migration.

Rural-rural migration is a substantial component of internal migration flows in sub-Saharan Africa, and policymakers ought to augment its positive impacts on development while minimising the adverse effects. The study uses the Kenyan Rift Valley, a stable in-migration region, as a case study to explore the dynamics of rural-rural migration. According to Odipo (2018), the Rift Valley hosts Kenya's largest internal migrant populations, many of whom

originate from Western Kenya. After the first few migrants from Western Kenya to the Rift Valley in the colonial era, the migration stream began to swell to the current unprecedented levels (International Organization for Migration, 2015).

1.2 Problem statement

Like the other sub-Saharan countries, Kenya has little regard for rural-rural migration, yet it is as common as rural-urban migration, accounting for more than 40% of the total migration (Oyvat and wa Gĩthĩnji, 2020). Often, a subsistence narrative that underpins rural-rural migration suggests that the aspiration to realise livelihood security is a significant motivation to migrants in this stream. The narrative assumes that the rural areas present a homogenous whole even though they do not (Lucas, 2007) and often overgeneralises rural-rural migrants as unskilled and poor (Kuiper, 2019), thus obscuring critical dimensions of migrant characteristics and the socioeconomic consequences of rural migration such as acculturation and translocalism. Berry et al. (2006a) define acculturation as the cultural and psychological changes due to contact between different cultural groups and their members. It is unlikely that all rural-rural migrants are subsistence-oriented, have uniform acculturation, and keep similar translocal linkages (Trager, 2005). As migrants contend with the processes of acculturation and translocalism, the ethnically plural in-migration areas in Kenya become prone to social problems such as ethnopolitical competition, ethnic discrimination, and violent conflicts. Understanding the dimensions of rural-rural migration and its after-effects of acculturation and translocalism can help address social problems in migrant destinations.

Rural-rural migration and its consequences may have important implications for migrants' wellbeing but remain poorly appreciated in the Kenyan context and many other countries. In current migration and economic development literature, the focus has been on migrants' adjustment to international migration; the comparable acculturation of the internal migrants in

ethnically plural societies hardly appears in the literature (Tutu et al., 2018). A central argument of translocal scholarship is that migrants often retain ties to the place of origin while establishing new ties in their destination (Tilghman, 2014). Trager (2005), knowing that not all migrants maintain translocal linkages with their origins or even forge new ties at their destinations, called upon researchers not to ignore the absence of linkages in certain groups of migrants but instead interrogate the circumstance under which migrants may sever linkages. Although connections between home villages and other destinations are well-researched themes in studies of migration and urbanisation in Africa and are distinctive facets that set migrants from the continent apart (Sakdapolrak, 2014, Steinbrink, 2009, Greiner, 2010, Tilghman, 2014, Oucho, 2014), the variation of linkages is not yet fully addressed in the literature. Therefore, research needs to go above mere documentation of translocal linkages and extend to question-driven analysis of, for example, the effect of these linkages on the actors' lives (Tilghman, 2014). Also, given the scarcity of literature on the acculturation of internal migrants in ethnically diverse societies in developing countries, it is relevant to extend studies to under-researched regions of the world to build a more comprehensive picture of the dynamics of acculturation in different contexts.

1.3 Research objectives

This study seeks to extend understanding of rural-rural migration and its consequences by exploring the experiences of migrants in the Rift Valley, Kenya's most popular rural in-migration area. Of great interest in the study is the extent of the migrants' acculturation in the destination and the translocal linkages that migrants maintain with their rural places of origin, and how migrants' acculturation and translocal linkages to their origins affect their wellbeing. The study focuses on three overarching objectives:

- Firstly, it explores the diversity of rural-rural migration and settlement experiences in the Rift Valley's rural milieu. The objective specifically focuses on the following three questions:
    - What are the divers of internal migration to the Kenyan Rift Valley?
    - What are the premigration expectations and post-migration experiences in the Rift valley?
    - To what extent are migrants able to settle in the destination locality?
- Secondly, it explores the contributions of individual migrant characteristics to the perceived processes of acculturation in settlement destinations. Under this objective, we assess the following hypothesis:
    - H_{01}: There is a relationship between migrant characteristics and migrant preferences for each of the four acculturation strategies: separation, assimilation, marginalisation and integration
- Finally, it analyses how translocal linkages and migrant adjustment affect the subjective, relational and economic dimensions of migrant wellbeing. The objective explicitly assesses three hypotheses:
    - H_{02}: There is a positive association between migrant adjustment levels at the destination and subjective, economic and relational wellbeing.
    - H_{03}: There is a positive relationship between translocal linkages and subjective, economic and relational wellbeing
    - H_{04}: Socioeconomic status positively correlates subjective, economic and relational wellbeing

1.4 Relevance and contribution of the case study

Despite the prevalence of rural-rural migration in sub-Saharan Africa (Oyvat and wa Gĩthĩnji, 2020), the region lacks consistent information on this stream of internal mobility; thus, significant questions remain about the dynamics of the rural-rural stream migration. The migration stream has received inadequate and biased scholarly attention, being viewed as an act of desperation by marginalised households (Chamberlin et al., 2018). Consequently, the migration experiences, responses and outcomes of contemporary rural-rural migrants is scarcely understood. Due to the potential benefits of rural-rural migration in enhancing livelihood opportunities, the current study flags rural-rural migration dynamics in relevant ethnically plural societies across the sub-Saharan Africa region using Kenya as a case study, thus contributing to the body of literature on this often-overlooked stream of migration. The main findings would generate valuable insights for effective policy formulation in the sub-Saharan Africa region and Kenya's two-tier levels of governance on how to desirably influence migration outcomes to support intra-county national diversity in a devolved system without triggering social problems such as anti-migrant sentiments and ethnic violence. The study investigates the diversity of rural-rural migrants and their broader migration experiences in shaping the interrelationship between acculturation, translocalism and wellbeing. The study contributes to the limited scholarly literature on rural-rural migration and the methodology of studying internal migration.

1.5 Structure of the thesis

The thesis has two preliminary chapters: the present introduction and Chapter 2, which describes the Rift Valley and its suitability as a study area attracting masses of internal migrants. Chapter 2 also provides an overview of the study's methodological approaches and

data collection tools. These preliminary chapters are followed by three self-contained core chapters, specifically Chapters 3, 4 and 5. An introduction, literature review, empirical and analytical methods, data description, empirical results, and conclusion sections frame each core chapter as an essay on one of the primary research objectives.

Chapter 3 presents the study's first objective, drawing on Lawson (1999); it employs in-depth interviews with rural-destined migrants in the Kenyan Rift Valley to understand how they interpret their origins and where they now are, giving prominence to the similarities and differences in their narratives. The migration literature often concludes that economic factors provide the major motive for migration and generalises migrant groups as homogeneous; this chapter seeks to change that by recognising multiple motivations in the migrant narratives that contribute to various migration experiences.

Chapter 4 reports the study's second objective, which extends Berry's two-dimensional model of acculturation (Epstein and Heizler 2015) to contribute to the generalisation of acculturation theory in ethnically plural societies. The study makes a methodological contribution by implementing an experimental vignette that removes respondents' awareness of their behavioural stimuli as it assesses the contribution of migrant characteristics to four acculturation preferences, namely marginalisation, separation, assimilation, and integration.

Chapter 5 reports the final objective of the study on the nexus of wellbeing, translocal linkages and acculturation of migrants. It analyses survey data using generalised ordered logit regression to explore how migrants' rural-rural linkages and acculturation strategies affect their subjective, economic and relational wellbeing.

Chapter 6 concludes the thesis by summarising key findings from the three self-contained core chapters. It subsequently highlights the relevance of the study findings to academia and policy, then discusses the study's limitations and makes a suggestion for further research.

2 THE PHYSICAL CONTEXT OF THE RESEARCH, FIELDWORK AND OVERVIEW OF THE METHODOLOGY

This chapter comprises six sections. The first two sections introduce the social and political contexts and physical description of the study area's historical and economic background, focusing on the two counties where we collected the data, which included the demographic characteristics. It also gives an overview of the Western Kenya region where the study participants originated. It relies on the 2019 Kenya population and housing census reports (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019), the 2018 Kenya migration profile (Odipo, 2018), and the Kericho and Nakuru county development plans (County Government of Kericho, 2018, County Government of Nakuru, 2018). The third section describes the phases of the fieldwork and details the justification for the study approach and each of the sampling procedures and data collection methods in the study. A description of the sample characteristics follows, focussing on the translocal linkages, wellbeing, migration factors, and demographic characteristics are presented in the fourth section. The fifth section provides an overview of the conceptual framework: each chapter will provide more details specific to the analysis. The final section presents the positioned subjectivity of the researcher in the study area and explains its potential influence on the fieldwork and data collection.

2.1 Socio-political description of study areas

The socio-political discourse in Kenya reflects two competing identities, one at the nation-state upheld by the legal, rational and bureaucratic framework and the other at sub-national defined by social customs, practices and non-bureaucratic structures in ethnic communities (Ndegwa, 1997). The nation-state identity grants all its members legal citizenship that

emphasises individual rights and does not extract obligations. However, the ethnic identity at the subnational level subordinates individual rights and demands certain actions in the public arena to preserve and advance the community. Ethnic discrimination remains a huge threat to Kenya's national unity under such competing identities, each presenting an individual with contradicting rights and obligations. Although Kenyan legal and policy framework promises equality and protection from direct or indirect discrimination against any of its citizens on the grounds of ethnic or social origin, its vision of democracy contingent on the majoritarian variety and presumption of autonomous individual actors remains at odds with the reality of individuals fulfilling ethnic obligations and interpreting laws in favour of their subnational community at the expense of the nation-state unity (Ndegwa, 1997).

Ethnic discrimination in the Rift valley is driven mainly by three factors. Firstly the engrained expressions of politicisation of ethnic identity in Kenya, including patronage and ethnic favouritism; ethnicity and succession politics; ethnic parties and coalitions; and ethnic voting, are faultlines informally exploited by local-level actors and elites within incipient democratic institutions to mobilise and compete for power and economic resources (Jenkins, 2012). For example, the majority rule in democratic institutions guarantees disproportionate host community representation in the Rift-Valley county governments and quasi-government agencies. Migrants, on the other hand, can only remotely influence the dynamics in their settlement destination, going by their minority status. At ethnic levels, migrants are conceptualised as 'guests' thus expected to abide by certain rules of hospitality that are flexible and open to highly contextual negotiations and renegotiations of who is and is not welcome (Jenkins, 2012). The host community widely believes that they should benefit from patronage and public policy decisions, receive a disproportionate share of public resources, decide on the rules of the guest visit, and put their foot down when the guests are nonconforming (Burgess et al., 2015). According to Jenkins (2012), the host-guest

relationship impacts power distribution and access rights to benefit from the land, housing, employment, education, protection against arbitrary arrest and detention, and in worst cases, the right to life. Depending on the local political contexts, the host society can recognise migrants as welcome guests who are, in essence, close allies, cousins, or even brothers, broadening access to resources and infrastructure services. Similarly, the host society can also brand migrants as unwelcome occupants, should they be seen as opposed to the host community, thus recognisable as enemies or strangers with limited access to resources.

Secondly, ethnic discrimination is driven by perceptions of horizontal inequalities in land and capital endowment resulting in socioeconomic and political differentiation between ethnic groups. Consequently, key decision-makers or members of the host ethnic group view the very act of taking up residence and land in a stranger's territory as accepting a costly subordinate social status, disproportionate allocation of social, economic and political resources within ethnic territories and the bestowment of advantages to groups considered to belong to their socially constructed ethnic community to resources and opportunities despite prohibition and proscription against ethnic discrimination in Kenya's legal framework (Burgess et al., 2015).

Finally, ethnic discrimination results from the scarcity of economic resources, especially land, which is both an arena and object of competition, is perceived to be caused by many migrant communities in the Rift Valley. Although private land markets where migrants can acquire land exist. The durability and persistence of migrant label due to the ascriptive nature of ethnic identity sustain an inherent suspicion that migrants endeavour to control their settlement destination politically and benefit disproportionately from factors of production and employment opportunities that do not 'belong' to them while also having their own rural home in which they can dominate (Jenkins, 2012).

Ethnic discrimination, like any other form of discrimination, may impede economic growth, negatively influence decision-making in the public sphere, lower the provision of public goods and lower the quality of macroeconomic policies as the firms or governments adopt "second best" policies to limit discrimination distortions (Hjort, 2014). The evidence of Hjort (2014) from a Kenyan flower firm data indicated an output gap between mixed teams and homogeneous teams, with vertically mixed teams being eight per cent less productive and horizontally mixed teams five per cent less productive than homogeneous teams implying a lower allocative efficiency due to ethnic discrimination.

2.2 The physical description of study areas

The study area for this research is Kericho and Nakuru, as shown in Figure 2-1.

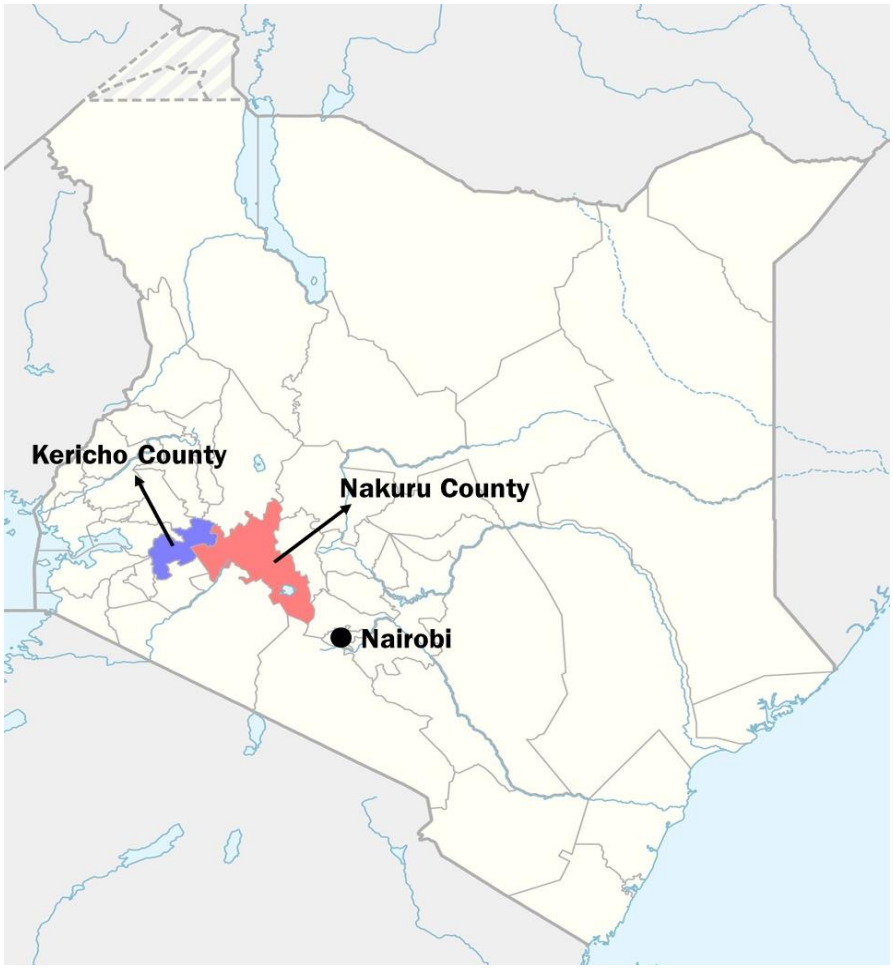

Figure 2-1: Map of Kenya and the two counties

The two counties are part of the Rift Valley region which consists of fourteen counties: Turkana, West Pokot, Samburu, Trans-nzoia, Uasin Gishu, Elgeyo Marakwet, Nandi, Narok, Baringo, Laikipia, Nakuru, Kajiado, Kericho and Bomet. Farming, the main economic activity in the Rift Valley, includes smallholder farms of less than five acres (two hectares) that coexist with the region's many large farms, ranches, and plantations. Agri-based enterprises in the Rift Valley are associated with the farming of tea, flowers, vegetables, coffee, pyrethrum, maise, wheat and barley and rearing of cattle and sheep. Trans-nzoia, Uasin Gishu, Nandi and Bomet produce maize, and Narok produces wheat, all under a capital-intensive mechanised production system that requires a limited number of professionals. Turkana, West Pokot, Samburu, Elgeyo Marakwet, Baringo, Laikipia and Kajiado are semi-arid and thus used for either ranching or nomadic pastoralism, which also require very limited labour resources. Kericho hosts most commercial tea farms, factories, multinational tea companies, and a few horticultural farms, whereas Nakuru hosts most horticultural farms (flowers and vegetables) and companies (Kenya Human Rights Commission, 2008). According to the 2019 Kenya population and housing census, Nakuru has the largest population, whereas Kericho is the seventh most populated after Uasin Gishu, Narok, Kajiado, Trans-nzoia and Turkana (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019).

In the colonial era, the Rift Valley was the focus of European settler farmers, because of its reliable precipitation and large tracts of fertile soil. The colonial administration declared the Rift Valley a commercial agricultural area where males of African descent only worked temporarily as labourers and not for permanent settlement and participation (Ominde et al., 2021). The European settler farmers recruited migrant labour temporarily, paid low wages to discourage family reunification and accommodated the migrant workers in their quarters. The situation gave rise to migrant labour circulation between rural origins and the commercial agricultural areas provided the migrants remained employed (Oucho et al., 2014). The Rift

Valley's thriving agricultural sector made it Kenya's essential receiving area for labour migrants. Its attractiveness was due to large tracts of land for agricultural activities, which contributed to the availability of jobs in the agriculture-related enterprises and the settlement of migrant labourers in the region (Odipo, 2018). Subsequently, a symbiotic relationship developed between the Rift Valley and other rural areas, predominantly in Western Kenya, which became a dependable reservoir of cheap labour procured for commercial agriculture in the Rift Valley (Oucho et al., 2014).

Up to now, Western Kenya remains the most prominent net out-migration area in the country's migration system, while the Rift Valley region is the second most preferred in-migration area after Nairobi. Odipo (2018) estimates that about one-third of internal migrants in the Rift Valley originate from Western Kenya and that the phenomenon of circular migration persists among most migrants. According to Lang and Sakdapolrak (2014), the ethnic mix due to in-migration has shaken rather than solidified the foundation of national solidarity in the Rift Valley, making it a suitable location to study internal migration in ethnically plural societies. Consequently, the Rift Valley remains a hotbed as the scramble for land between different ethnic groups continues. The region is affected regularly by the consequences of a conflict-prone internal migration system that sets migrant labourers and migrant settlers against host communities.

Table 2-1 reports some of the critical socio-demographic indicators of the two counties of the Rift Valley.

Table 2-1: Demographic indicators of the two counties of the Rift Valley and at the country level

Demographic indicators	Nakuru	Kericho	Kenya
Population	2,162,202	901,777	47,564,296
Land area (sq. Km)	7,462	2,479	580,876.3
Population density (No. per sq. Km)	290	370	82
Total agricultural land (ha)	357,968	135,269	10,032,857
Farming households in subsistence agriculture %	85.0	89.9	88.7
Farming households in commercial agriculture %	13.3	9.3	8.0
The proportion of agricultural land for subsistence agriculture %	75.6	87.3	84.0
The proportion of agricultural land for commercial agriculture %	23.2	12.2	9.6
Persons in the Labour Force %	46.5	45.8	54.1
Unemployment Rate, 15-64 years (%)	10.4	5.6	13.3
Poverty rate %	29.1	41.3	36.1

Source: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2019)

2.2.1 Kericho County

Kericho county is in the Southern part of the Great Rift Valley, about 256km from Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya. The county is the native home of the Kalenjin tribal group. Notable internal migrant tribes in Kericho are Luos, Luhyas, Kikuyus, Kisiis, Kenyans of Somali origin and Kenyans of Indian origin. According to the 2019 Kenya population and housing census, Kericho's population was 901,777, as shown in Table 2-1, with an annual population growth rate of 2.4% (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019). The county benefits from robust national and county roads connecting it to other counties. It also enjoys a favourable climate with moderate temperatures of 17^0C and experiences two rainy seasons: the long rainy season between April and June and the short rainy season between October and December (County Government of Kericho, 2018). The main economic activity in the county is tea growing and processing.

According to the County Government of Kericho (2018), landlessness within Kericho remains a critical challenge that requires attention, despite ongoing resettlement programmes

undertaken by the national and County governments, and is often a source of ethnic conflicts between migrants and their hosts. Agricultural land occupies more than half of Kericho county, with 118,044 ha for subsistence farming and 16,562 ha for commercial farming (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019). The large-scale and medium-scale holders are mostly multinationals and a few individuals who utilise their land for tea and flower farming, whereas small scale farmers utilise their lands for food crops and livestock production. The primary source of income for Kericho's people comprises proceeds from farm produce such as tea, pineapples, coffee, sugarcane, potatoes, maise, and horticultural crops; wages from employment by 33 multinational companies such as tea farms and factories are another primary source of income. The neighbouring counties provide markets for their agricultural produce, especially food crops.

As of the 2019 census, the Kericho labour force stood at 412,975 (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019), which translates to about 45.8% of the population. A more significant percentage of people work under contract terms in multinational companies such as tea factories and flower farms, and seasonally with the road and building construction companies. Self-employment in independently owned farms contributes to more than 50 per cent of employment in the county. However, about 48 per cent of the population in Kericho is economically inactive, a dependency challenge for the working and active population (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019). The rural settlement contributes a more significant percentage of the economically inactive persons. An increase in cottage and processing industries investment will be necessary to create job opportunities for the increasing labour force.

2.2.2 Nakuru county

As shown in Table 2-1 above, Nakuru is home to about 2.1 million people, and the majority reside in rural areas (County Government of Nakuru, 2018). External and internal migration into and within the county are mainly responsible for the population increase. The dominant communities in Nakuru are Kikuyu and Kalenjin; other significant tribes present in the county include Luo, Luhya, Maasai, Kamba and Meru. The availability of natural resources, soil fertility and rainfall, pasture, infrastructure, economic opportunities, proximity to urban areas and security are vital influences on the county's settlement patterns.

Favourable wet climatic conditions suitable for agriculture-based economic activities such as dairy and crop farming and early white settlement schemes shaped Nakuru's rich agricultural background in the colonial era. To date, agriculture remains a significant economic activity: the county is almost self-sufficient in food production. Consequently, the land is the primary source of livelihood for many people as all socioeconomic activities depend primarily on it; hence, land ownership and use rights are critical in influencing growth in Nakuru.

Despite relatively high unemployment rates, nearly half the population are economically active in the county's labour force (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019). Fourteen per cent of the county's population are self-employed; however, most wage earners are in the private sector, mainly in the flower, tea and coffee farms. Continuing migration into the county puts pressure on the county's infrastructure, further exacerbating the unemployment issue (County Government of Nakuru, 2018).

2.2.3 Migrants' origin in Western Kenya

Western Kenya, a predominantly rural region, borders the Rift Valley. It is the origin of most of the migrants in the study, which comprises four counties, namely Bungoma, Busia, Vihiga

and Kakamega, and is the native home to the Luhya ethnic group. The region is of demographic and policy interest because its movements demonstrate how population pressure interacts with other social and economic factors to facilitate out-migration from the rural setting.

Table 2-2: Demographic indicators of the migrants' origin

Demographics	Busia	Vihiga	Kakamega	Bungoma
Population	893,681	590,013	1,867,579	1,670,570
Land Area (sq. Km)	1,700	564	3,017	3,024
Density (Persons per sq. Km)	526	1,047	619	552
Persons in the Labour Force %	48.3	50.8	48.0	46.4
Unemployment Rate, 15-64 years (%)	6.4	6.0	6.7	6.5
Poverty rate %	59.5	36.6	33.3	32.4

Source: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (2019)

The Western counties' land areas per person in Table 2-2 are smaller than those of Nakuru and Kericho, as shown in Table 2-1, maybe suggesting a likely strain on land resources due to the higher population densities. The unemployment levels in western Kenya were lower than in Nakuru, ranging from 6.0 to 6.7 per cent, and slightly higher than in Kericho; it could be because people have migrated, due to the inability to find a job in the origin county. In contrast, the number of people below the poverty line in the western counties was higher than in Nakuru and lower than in Kericho, except for Busia, which had more people. The difference between employment and poverty rates in western Kenya and those in the two Rift Valley counties might suggest that the stable migration between the two regions is potentially an outcome of livelihood diversification at the destination rather than problems of unemployment or poverty at the place of origin (Owuor, 2007).

2.3 Sampling and data collection

The study purposively sampled the Rift Valley due to a stable in-migration stream that has changed little since independence as both old and new commercial farms and agri-based

industries continue to recruit cheap migrant labour from established sources in western Kenya. The migrants often arrive with double expectations: to work and acquire land for settlement and farming. Although the Rift Valley comprises fourteen counties, as discussed in section 2.1, the study specifically sampled Kericho and Nakuru counties because of its established tea, vegetable and floriculture industries, which attract high numbers of migrant labourers given the labour-intensive nature of producing and processing the highly perishable crops for export (Kazimierczuk et al., 2018).

The fieldwork entailed four components, namely in-depth interviews, a cross-sectional survey, a focus group discussion, and an experimental vignette survey, as shown in Figure 2-2.

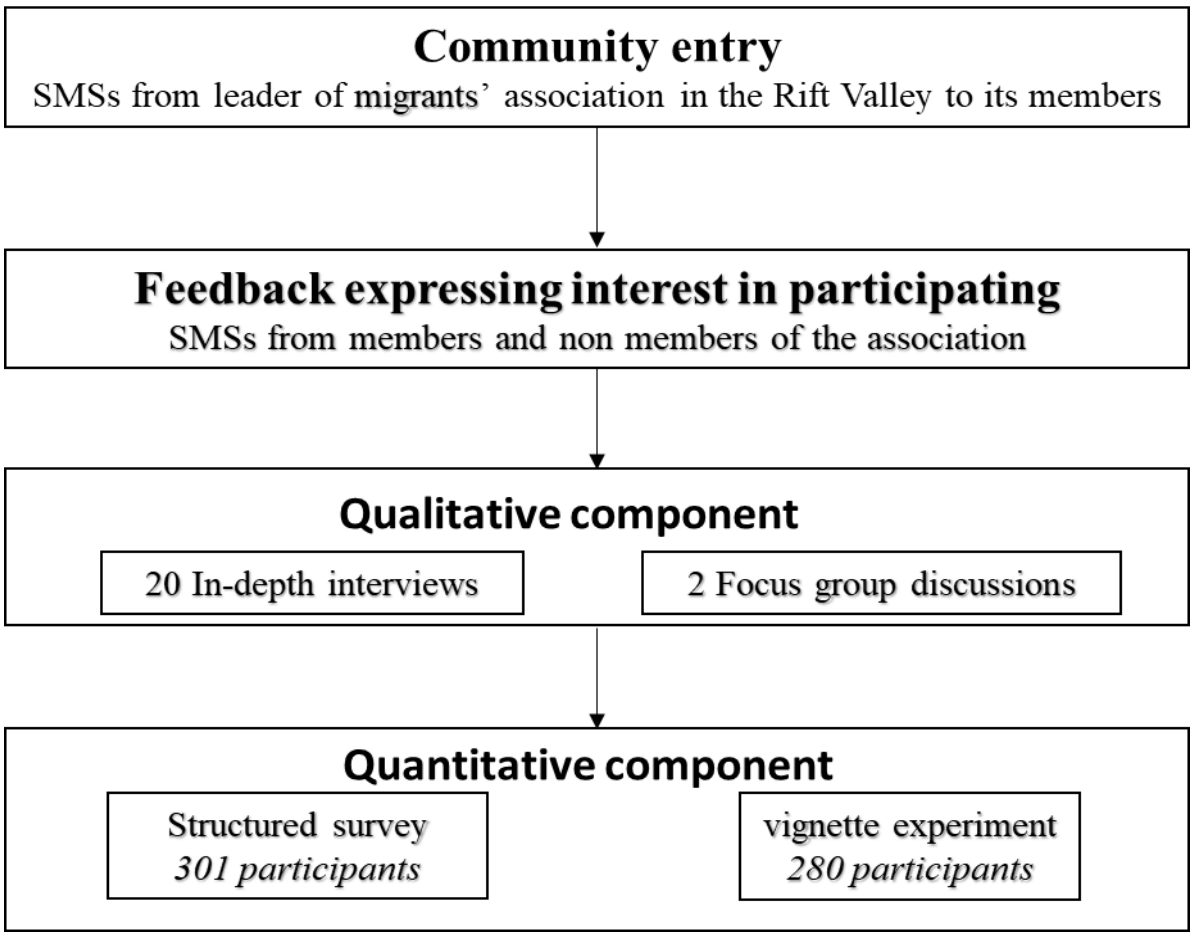

Figure 2-2: Components of fieldwork

I identified and trained four enumerators for two days to help implement the fieldwork's various components and collect data from internal migrants living in Kericho and Nakuru between February and September 2020[1]. The enumerators were undergraduate university students with proficiency in the English, Swahili and Luhya languages. Due to an inadequate command of the Luhya language, I relied on the assistance of the enumerators to bridge the language gap, particularly when a respondent preferred to use the native language rather than English or Swahili. The enumerators accompanied me to the migrants' residences during the qualitative data collection and helped with translations. During the quantitative data collection, we divided the tasks to ensure more data collection or processing at one time.

We identified the study's participants through initial face-to-face contact with a female leader in a migrants' association. The study relied on the interaction between rural-rural migrants from western Kenya; snowball sampling in which participants help to recruit other participants. The initial contact sent out text messages to the association members, asking them to contact us if they were willing to participate in the study. Several people who expressed their willingness to participate in the study provided multiple entry points to begin snowballing and recruiting additional participants at all stages of data collection. Accessing the study population through multiple entry points and collecting data from a large sample mitigated the inherent selection bias in the snowball sampling technique. Participation in the study was limited to the individuals who consented as per the guidelines in the ethical clearance obtained from the School of Agriculture Policy and Development's (SAPD) Ethics Committee.

[1] The data was collected during the COVID-19 pandemic period hence some of the migrants' responses may have been affected by the difficulty posed by the pandemic restriction measures.

The research took a mixed-methods approach that entailed a focus group discussion, in-depth interviews, a cross-sectional survey and a vignette experiment. Firstly, the methods were chosen because they fit the time horizon and budget for the research. Secondly, they allowed us to collect much data unavailable in any dataset in a short amount of time and facilitated data analysis. The respondents' answers were taken at a specific moment; hence the data collected may not represent long-term trends, given that changes can occur in individual circumstances over time. However, employing the four different data collection techniques minimised the consequences of the inability to establish temporal links between independent and outcome variables and facilitated the triangulation of the information collected.

The first phase of data collection involved in-depth interviews following an interview schedule (see section 8.5 for details). The breadth and complexity of the issues of migration and identity made in-depth interviews preferable as they allowed exploration of thoughts, experiences and feelings of migrants through extensive proving and spontaneous response to questions (Thyer, 2001). A total of 20 interviewees gave accounts of their lives before and after migration during the interviews. They also explained why they chose a certain extent of participation in the host and origin cultures. We interviewed four participants in the Luhya language, fourteen in Swahili, and one in English. The interviews lasted 45 minutes on average. The interviews were audio-recorded using a digital voice recorder in the language used and translated directly into English. The in-depth interview data served three purposes; first, it helped me to understand the migrants' lives before their migration, with all the attendant journeys, experiences, and outcomes. Secondly, the data provided a basis for the more extensive cross-sectional survey on internal migration. Also, the data offered insights into relevant factors for acculturation which were later narrowed down into attributes and attribute levels through focus group discussion and included in the vignette experiment on the acculturation behaviour of migrants.

The second data collection phase entailed a cross-sectional survey between February and March 2020. Several considerations influenced the choice of a cross-section survey. Firstly, while some socio-demographic data was available through published sources such as the world bank data collected in 2009 on migration in Kenya and Afro barometer Kenya datasets, there was no information on individual settlement experiences, translocal ties or identity issues. Secondly, a questionnaire offered a semi-structured means of collecting richer and more detailed data that shed light on the complex processes that underlie spatial mobility (Thyer, 2001). The breadth and complexity of the issues involved made a face-to-face administration of the electronic questionnaire preferable to a self-administered survey. The number of questions in the questionnaire, coupled with the time commitment and literacy skills involved in its completion, meant it was potentially offputting to informants in a self-administered paper format. Failure to answer all the questions were likely as a result. A self-administered survey also lacked opportunities for interacting with informants or probing their responses.

To optimise data collection, four field enumerators administered a semi-structured questionnaire (see section 8.4 for details) using electronic tablets to 301 migrants identified through snowball sampling technique (149 respondents in Nakuru and 152 respondents in Kericho) from western Kenya who had lived in the Rift Valley for at least 12 months. The snowball sampling technique has been critiqued for being non-representation of the study population as many people in many links are more likely to be selected, thus potentially causing a selection bias in research (Bernard and Bernard, 2013). In the cross-sectional survey, we minimised the likely selection bias by accessing the study population through multiple entry points provided by several people who expressed their willingness to participate in the study. Also, collecting data from a large sample of 301 mitigated the inherent selection bias. The cross-sectional survey covered all the 20 migrants who

participated in the in-depth interviews. The questionnaire contained four sections. The first section asked about the migration characteristics of the participants. The other sections of the questionnaire sequentially probed the migrants' identity and sense of belonging, adjustment, translocal linkage behaviour and wellbeing. The last section of the questionnaire included information on the demographic characteristics and household assets of the migrants.

We implemented a vignette survey experiment that combines the high internal validity of experiments with the high external validity of survey research in the third data collection phase. Several considerations influenced the choice of vignette experiment over conservative cross-sectional survey. Firstly, its suitability for investigating human judgments by representing the lives of others instead of that of the respondent reduced the emotional tension associated with the sensitivity of acculturation of migrants due to recurrent ethnic profiling and conflicts in the Kenyan Rift Valley (Stoebenau et al., 2019). Secondly, the absence of the respondents' cognisance of the study objective and treatments due to experimental manipulations could reduce social desirability bias (Kootstra, 2016, Lee and Scott, 2017, Stoebenau et al., 2019). Thirdly, the experimental manipulations also concealed the identity of the subject tested, allowing examination of the perceived role of the multiple factors on acculturation in respondents' views.

We intended all the 301 migrants in the cross-sectional survey to participate in a survey-based vignette experiment. However, data collection stopped in April and May due to COVID restrictions. When we resumed the data collection in June, the enumerators could not trace some participants in the cross-sectional survey as they had temporarily moved back to their places of origin, following the uncertainty posed by the pandemic. Consequently, the study's initial design of conducting a survey-based vignette experiment to follow-up all the 301 migrants in the cross-sectional survey was unattainable, resulting in the loss of the capability

to append the socioeconomic and demographic factors which were likely to result in the differences in individual perceptions to the vignette experiment data. The enumerators administered the vignette experiment questionnaire to 280 migrants (136 respondents in Nakuru and 144 respondents in Kericho) identified through cluster sampling instead of the earlier non-probability snowball sampling technique, using tablets, between June and September 2020. We presented each participant with 16 vignette sets (see 8.6). Each vignette set in the experimental survey described two hypothetical migrants presenting variable plexuses of information on each migrant's length of residence in the Rift Valley, age at first migration, level of education, income status, the experience of discrimination, mother's origin, spouse's origin, membership of migrant associations, and family residence. At the end of each vignette set, we asked the respondents to indicate which of the two migrants, based on the attribute levels, was likely to be separated, marginalised, assimilated, and integrated.

2.4 Selected characteristics

The study included 301 migrants, fifteen of whom were second-generation migrants. Respondents were either household heads or spouses, and a migrant household typically has four to five members on average. Most of the respondents worked as general workers or supervisors in the tea and vegetable fields or flower greenhouses, where they executed or oversaw all kinds of crop maintenance and harvesting tasks, and in the packhouses grading, sorting and piling flowers for transport to cold rooms or the airport. Other positions mentioned by the respondents included transporters, security guards, managers and office staff in the companies' human resources, welfare, accounts, legal offices and technical staff such as electricians and carpenters in maintenance departments, crop production and protection specialists, medical doctors and nurses in companies' hospitals and teachers in the companies' schools. The sample included migrants of different ages, sex, education and

employment status, as shown in Table 2-3 and Table 2-4, which summarises the characteristics of the study participants.

Table 2-3: Key quantitative characteristics of 301 participants

Quantitative variables	Mean	Sd	Min	Max
Age (years)	36.9	10.36	18	72
Household size	4.5	2.71	0	15
Years of schooling	13.2	3.45	3	22
Monthly income	28,568	29,246	1,000	200,000
Age at first migration (years)	19.5	9.37	0	45
Residence in origin community(years)	15.6	7.84	0	45
Residence in Rift Valley (years)	15.2	11.39	0	59
Overall life after migration	3.8	1.05	1	5
Standard of living after migration	3.7	1.10	1	5
Family relationships after migration	4.1	1.07	1	5
Overall life before migration	2.3	1.10	1	5
Standard of living before migration	2.3	1.12	1	5
Family relationships before migration	3.5	1.30	1	5

Table 2-4: Key qualitative characteristics of 301 participants

Factor variables	Factor levels	Count	Frequency
Sex	Female	93	30.9%
	Male	208	69.1%
Employment status	Employed full time	96	31.9%
	Employed part-time	146	48.5%
	Unemployed	59	19.6%
Reasons for migration to the Rift Valley	Job search	139	46.2%
	Job offers	78	25.9%
	Family reunification	77	25.5%
	Education	51	16.9%
	Marriage	17	5.7%
	2nd generation migrants	15	4.9%
	Family problems	11	3.7%
Translocal and acculturation behaviour	Participation in destination associations	225	74.8%
	Participation in origin associations	200	66.5%
	House ownership in the origin community	160	53.2%
	The intention of returning to the origin community	156	51.8%
	Farming in the origin community	116	38.5%
	Split householding	112	37.2%

The figures in Table 2-3 next to ‘overall life’, ‘standard of living’ and ‘family relationships’ before and after migration measure degrees of satisfaction with the dimensions of wellbeing using a 5-point Likert scale.

The mean satisfaction of three wellbeing dimensions was higher after migration than before migrations, thus supporting the neoclassical migration theory assumption of a solid positive payoff to migration or insinuating that migrants who are very unsatisfied with their wellbeing outcomes may have returned to their origin or moved elsewhere. The average monthly income of the respondents was 28,568, implying the majority of migrants belonged to the middle-income group comprising households with a monthly income ranging between Kenya shillings 23,671 and 119,999 (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2017)

Over two-thirds of the respondents (69.1%) were men. The mean age group was 36.9 years, and the mean age at first migration was nineteen and a half years, suggesting that most individuals migrate soon after completing secondary education. Concerning education, the mean years of schooling are 13.2 years, implying that the majority of the respondents had more than secondary school education, which is usually 12 years. 48.5 per cent of migrants held part-time jobs, 30.9 per cent were in full-time employment, and 19.6 per cent were unemployed. Most of the respondents were lifetime migrants when categorised by the average length of residence in the Rift Valley of 15.2 years. The migrants moved to the Rift Valley for a combination of reasons, but the leading motives were job searches and job opportunities reported by nearly half (46.2%) and slightly over a quarter of the respondents (25.9%) respectively, while the least common cause, migration due to family problems, was reported by 3.7 per cent of the respondents.

More than half of the migrants (53.2%) owned houses in the origin community, with approximately a half (51.8%) expressing an intention to return to the origin sometime in the future. The migrants somehow balanced their participation in the destination and origin communities, with almost three-quarters of the respondents (74.8%) participating in destination associations, whereas two-thirds (66.5%) participated in origin associations. More

than a third of the respondents (38.5%) have some farming activities in their origin community. Also, another third of the respondents (37.2%) are in a split household arrangement, meaning that they and members of their household belong to two households, one in the Rift Valley and the other in their place of origin.

2.5 Overview of conceptual framework

The first analytical chapter qualitatively explores the diversity of rural-rural migration and settlement experiences in the Rift Valley's rural milieu. Relying on the past literature on migration (Hagen-Zanker, 2008), we anticipate that agricultural labour migration to the Rift Valley would be motivated by various factors, including changing demography, macro-economic and labour markets factors such as labour supply and demand, technological developments, societal and non-economic considerations and other markets, regulatory and institutional structures (Green, 2017). We qualitatively compare migrants' reasons for migrating, premigration expectations and post-migration realities and unearths varying typologies of migrants in the destination locality who struggle with dislodgment from the intimacy of their society of origin as they familiarise themselves with settlement society and adjust to its demands. The migrants' typologies stem from the variations in migration motivations, socioeconomic characteristics and choices of acculturation and translocal behaviours; they thus differ in their wellbeing outcomes

The two subsequent analytical chapters quantitatively apply two distinct theoretical perspectives of migrants' adjustments: Berry's two-dimensional acculturation model (Berry et al., 2006b) and translocalism (Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2017, Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013b), which both rely on the proportion of migrants' involvement in origin and destination societies to investigate migration and settlement experiences in an ethnically plural society. The second analytical chapter uses a survey-based vignette experiment to assess the relative importance of

nine migrant characteristics validated in the Kenyan context to four acculturation preferences: marginalisation, separation, assimilation, and integration. The survey-based experimental methodology was considered suitable for combining the high internal validity of experiments with the high external validity of survey research. Data from the experiment contained interdependent separate observations clustered within replies from individual respondents, so they were estimated using a conditional logistic regression.

The basis of the third analytical chapter arises from the premise that acculturation and translocal linkage behaviours and socioeconomic and migration factors jointly influence the three dimensions of wellbeing upon migration. Since all the three dependent variables measuring wellbeing changes (i.e., changes in overall life, the standard of living, relations to family and friends) are ordinal response variables, an ordered logit model is deemed suitable for estimating the factors' influences.

The study's conceptual framework in Figure 2-3 is a quantitative refinement of the two theoretical ideas, following on the empirical insights in the literature that factors efficient acculturation and translocal ties are vital to migrant wellbeing (Göregenli et al., 2016, Fox et al., 2013, Epstein and Heizler 2015, Ma and Xia, 2020, Wang and Fan, 2012, Garcia et al., 2020). The starting point of the conceptual framework is the expectation that contextual migration-related factors and socioeconomic characteristics associated with different acculturation strategies and intensities of translocal linkages may significantly affect wellbeing outcomes directly or indirectly through their influence on acculturation preferences or translocal linkage behaviours.

According to Ma and Xia (2020), migrants who adopt the integration strategy generally report optimal wellbeing since they can positively experience belongingness in the receiving society, continue to obtain social benefits as they identify with their culture, and are supported by both

societies. However, migrants adopting the marginalization strategy present significant low levels of wellbeing because they lack social support in origin and destination (Miao and Xiao, 2020). Although migrants adopting either separation or assimilation strategies report relatively suboptimal wellbeing, with varied specific levels due to various social contexts (Ma and Xia, 2020. In the study, acculturation is measured using two proxy composite variables: adjustments and identity indices. High adjustment and identity indexes suggest integration. A high adjustment index and a low identity index imply assimilation. A low adjustment index and a high identity index hint at separation, while low adjustment and identity indexes point toward marginalization. On the other hand, the intensity of translocal ties is measured by five variables: physical, all give and all receive exchange linkages, split householding, and ownership of a house in origin. We hypothesize that higher levels of adjustment and identity indices and higher intensities of translocal linkages result in higher levels of wellbeing.

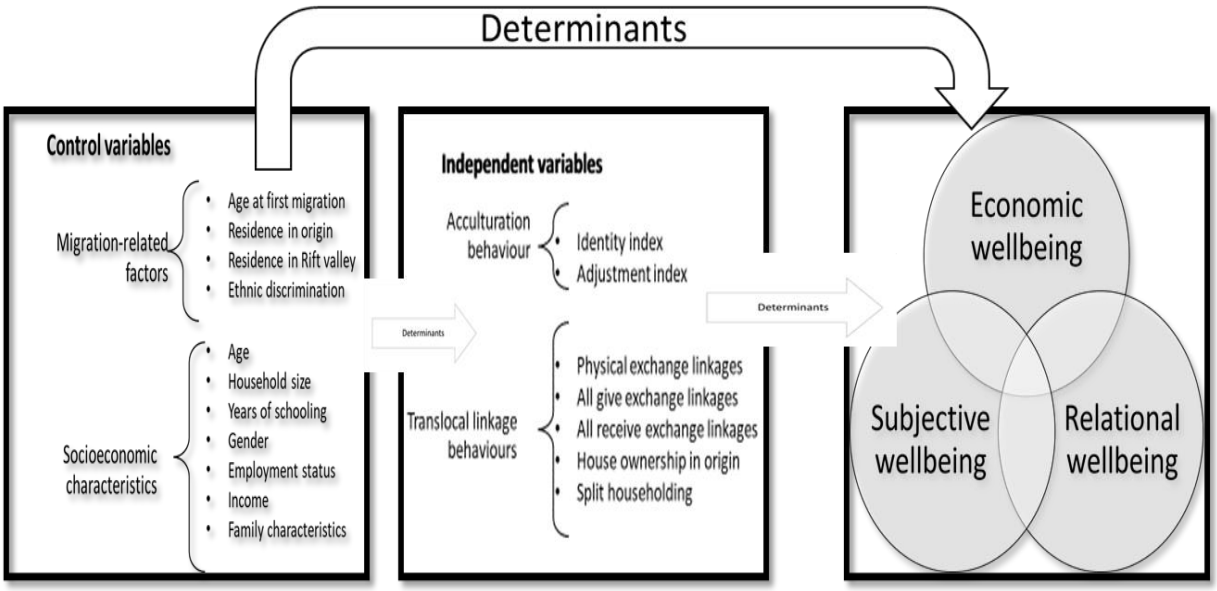

Figure 2-3: Conceptual framework for the study

2.5.1 Migration related factors

This section considers four factors: age, age at first migration, residence in origin, residence in the rift valley, and ethnic discrimination. An individual age has a known relationship to the way acculturation and wellbeing after migration proceeds; for example, when migration starts early, the processes of integration or assimilation seems smooth, perhaps because one's primary culture is not sufficiently advanced to require much culture shedding. Age is a proxy for the life course, given that key migration events tend to occur progressively through the life course. Propensities to migrate, and reasons for migration, vary over the life course (Green, 2017). Miao and Xiao (2020) found that the age of the assimilation and marginalization groups was lower than the integration group.

The literature reveals that younger migrants have stronger knowledge and learning capacities than their elder counterparts in understanding host languages and dialects, accepting different social norms and fostering relationships with members of the host communities (Ma and Xia, 2020). Based on the literature, we anticipate that age at migration will positively affect integration and assimilation but have an inverse relationship with separation and marginalization. We also anticipate that migration age positively correlates with wellbeing by moderating differences among migrants engaging in distinct acculturation strategies.

Length of residence in origin is a proxy measure of exposure to the origin culture, whereas the length of residence in the Rift valley measures exposure to destination culture. Longer exposure to the host culture than the origin culture improves adaptation to local contexts and conditions, but longer exposure to the origin culture than the host culture encourages the perpetuation of the origin culture. The findings of past studies indicate that a shorter length of residence in the destination leads to a lower host culture adoption (Miao and Xiao, 2020, Lin et al., 2017), thus associated with separation and marginalization.

The literature widely reports that the choices of the migrants' acculturation preferences are shaped by the attitudes and behaviours of the host towards the migrant group. According to Tutu et al. (2018), dens of intercultural interactions like the Kenyan Rift valley may have conflict possibilities due to a likelihood of migrants feeling unwelcome due to perceived or actual discriminatory actions by the host. Experience of discrimination introduces the reality of minority status, unfair stereotyping, and ethnic conflicts, thus having a significant negative effect on an individual's wellbeing and desire to participate in the host culture (Miao and Xiao, 2020, Lin et al., 2017). Past studies show that a hostile or discriminatory host society causes migrants to intensify their ethnic identities and resist adopting the host's identifications, practices, and values (Schwartz et al 2010, Kalmijn and Kraaykamp, 2018). Consequently, we hypothesize that: assimilation and integration preferences are associated with lower perceived levels of discrimination among migrants, whereas separation and marginalization inclinations are associated with higher perceived levels of discrimination among migrants.

2.5.2 Socioeconomic characteristics

Socioeconomic status variables, including education, employment, and income status, are key determinants of acculturation and wellbeing as they impact migrants' self-esteem and migration-related stress. Low education, employment, and income statuses are predictive of higher stress and economic vulnerability, thus inhibiting engagement in translocal linkages and the destination life as these may involve immediate financial costs to the migrant (Tilghman, 2014). The findings of past studies suggest that for socioeconomic status, compared with the integration groups, the separation and marginalization groups showed lower socioeconomic status (Lin et al., 2017). A group of socially or economically disadvantaged migrants are likely to face a deficiency of different forms of capital and more

stress, resulting in exclusion and lower levels of wellbeing (Lin et al., 2017). On the other hand, higher socioeconomic status, for instance, having a higher monthly family income, education and a job, translates into better wellbeing outcomes for migrants and are associated with assimilation and integration (Miao and Xiao, 2020, Lin et al., 2017).

It is difficult to predict the role of gender on translocal ties and acculturation of migrants. Also, previous studies found mixed wellbeing effects associated with gender; however, in reviewing the literature, we argue that females' transiency in patriarchal societies predisposes them to integrate or assimilate and be less motivated to maintain translocal ties because they can access more equal gender roles and achieve higher status through migration (Tilghman, 2014).

Family characteristics such as the place of origin of a migrant's spouse or mother and family residence are important predictors of translocal linkages to home and acculturation. One of the main ways family characteristics influence migrants' translocalism and acculturation is ascertaining identity and allegiance (Tilghman, 2014). When a migrant has a spouse or a mother who originates from another community and has a family residence outside the origin, how they view their own identity may not necessarily change; however, they may alter their allegiance to their place of origin to reflect their parental or spousal origins. We expect migrants with spouses or mothers from other ethnic groups and a residence outside the rural place of origin to have weaker translocal linkages and tend towards assimilation or integration, while those migrants who have a spouse or mother with shared origins and have a residence in the origin to have strong translocal linkages and tend towards separation.

2.6 Positioned subjectivity of the researcher in the context of the study area

The motivation to research on rural-rural migrants, specifically agricultural labour migrants, came from multiple experiential and academic sources. Childhood observations of bleak

media campaigns depicting desperate situations and pejorative descriptions of migrants by non-migrants citizens generally left many misunderstandings and stereotypes about this group of people. The topic was chosen based on the literature review and interest in agricultural livelihoods derived from completing undergraduate and postgraduate training in agricultural extension and agricultural economics. As research interest shifted towards agricultural labour migration and having worked in the Rift Valley at some point, I began to see the agricultural labour migrants as resourceful and hard-working Kenyans contributing immensely to the agricultural export sector. The unique success stories of commercial agriculture at the side of the Rift valley's social problems are both attributed to the influx of agricultural labour migrants into the region (Kuiper, 2019). From this was born a general interest in rural-rural migration that later became focused on acculturation, translocalism and wellbeing of agricultural labour migrants in the Kenyan Rift Valley.

The researcher's personal experiences indicated that the socio-demographic and their broader migration experience are key in shaping the adjustment in the settlement destination, translocal ties to the place of origin and migrant wellbeing. Age, employment status, motivation for travel, social networks and socioeconomic status seemed particularly important in this regard. I was in my early twenties when I first moved to the Rift Valley in 2009; having many extended relatives in the region and the compulsory requirement to undertake an industrial attachment in one of the multinational agricultural companies as part of my undergraduate studies motivated my migration. Another opportunity to work for an agrochemical company in the area provided a basis to live in the metropolitan Rift Valley for a further one year with frequent visits to the rural areas. Personal knowledge of some researched migrants, previous work in the area, and my ethnic identity, which the migrants considered friendly to their ethnic group, ensured easy access to the study population and fostered trust to ask more insightful questions and secure honest answers during the

fieldwork. However, I had no idea of what being a labour migrant in the rural area entailed and the importance of ethnicity in such settings. The migrants considered me an outsider given my non-residence in the rural Rift valley, position as a student abroad and lack of ability to speak their ethnic language.

3 THE EXTENT TO WHICH MIGRANTS SETTLE IN THE DESTINATION LOCALITY: EVIDENCE FROM THE KENYAN RIFT VALLEY

Abstract

Using qualitative data from the Kenyan Rift Valley, this chapter explores the diversity of rural-rural migration and settlement experiences and the extent to which migrants can settle in the Rift Valley's rural milieu. We classify migrants into three typologies, challenging the representation of migrants, primarily labourers with a common origin, as a unified group with similar migration and settling experiences. Overall, the findings suggest that expectation violations, social disarticulations, and discrimination embody unintentional and spontaneous migration and settlement experiences in the Rift Valley, creating integration difficulties for voluntary migrants and consequently pointing to conflicts of belonging. The challenging experiences encourage the retention or renewal of translocal connections with the origin community, self-reinvention or opting for different settlement trajectories, depending on individual migrants' unique circumstances. These migration and settlement experiences have implications for policymaking in devolved governance systems that regard migration and development as alternates instead of linked processes, because they cling to sedentary concepts of development and ignore the role of migrants in developing places.

Keywords: *Migration and settlement experiences, expectation violations, social disarticulations, ethnic discrimination*

3.1 Introduction

Internal migration remains a top item on the political and social agenda influencing most development processes in developing nations. However, internal migration is usually under-documented and understudied in Africa and other parts of the world (Odipo, 2018, Kuhn, 2015). Although governments in developing countries have implemented many spatial distribution policies intended to check internal migration, they have little leverage for influencing migration outcomes in socially desirable ways; moreover, most targeted migration interventions often produce inconsistent results (Lucas, 2016). In consequence of migration-related societal changes, two themes, why people move and migrant settlement experiences, have gained importance in social science research. Although scholars have developed and tested many migration theories from both economic and livelihood perspectives (Hagen-Zanker, 2008), they have generally neglected agro-industrial labour migration in Africa.

Consequently, the topics of Africa's labour migrants' past, future or settlement remain largely unexplored, making room for numerous media reports and non-governmental organisations' campaigns to spread half-truths and overgeneralised representations that deny the diversity of migration outcomes and motivate deficit discourses that stereotype migrants (Kuiper, 2019, Ghosh, 2007). The media reports' assumption of a standard settlement experience and homogeneous identity for a group of migrants with a common origin, based on an illusion of shared ethnicity or extreme poverty, is irrational and may lead to misguided migration policy formulation. The migrants' settlement experiences in the Kenyan Rift Valley warrant more scholarly consideration than they have received at present, given the diverse broad socioeconomic contexts and individual social and financial circumstances confronting migrants in their origin communities and destinations.

The argument of this chapter is that the diversity of the migrants' households and the general economic, social, and political settings in the migrants' origin communities and destinations may often result in their differential degree of settlement in the host society. Whereas a wide recognition of the various reasons why people move and settle in other destinations exists, there is limited understanding of whether individual migrants' specific reasons for migration (Ghosh, 2007), premigration expectations and post-migration realities shape settlement trajectories. Also, explorations of the challenges migrants brave in the labour markets and at their destinations hardly ever consider how such experiences vary. Whereas some migrants adapt completely to their destination settlements, others do not regard continuing residence in a particular place as settling. Building on the common themes of migration, "why people move" and "migrants' settlement experiences", this chapter helps to dispel the over-generalisation of migrants' positions and bridge the knowledge gap by exploring differences and similarities between rural-rural migrants in the Rift Valley. Most of the migration work has looked at drivers or push and pull factors with less focus on the settlement process; therefore, this study also fills the knowledge gap by examining the migrants' settlement trajectories in the Rift Valley's rural milieu, and the coping strategies of the unsettled migrants. The chapter focuses explicitly on the premigration expectations and post-migration realities of a subcategory of a broadly defined immigrant group, 'the migrants from Western Kenya'. Western Kenya is a prominent source of internal migrants in the rural-rural migration stream, who are victims of the consequences of over-generalisation in the Rift Valley, their destination locality (Kuiper, 2019). Oddly, Western Kenya's unemployment rates and poverty levels are not significantly different from those in the Rift Valley (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019), making the study population distinctive and challenging the scholarly accounts that view migration in purely economic terms, as a result of extreme poverty (Sharma, 2008).

The rest of the chapter has four subsequent sections. The second section surveys the migration literature to outline why and how people move and explores the relationship between migrants' agency and the experiences attributable to their pre-migration expectations and realities. The third section briefly describes the historical context of the research area, the methods used to collect data and the characteristics of the study sample. The fourth section draws on six months of research in the Kenyan Rift Valley between February and September 2020, during which we conducted twenty in-depth interviews, field observations and two surveys with a sample of 301 and 280, respectively, as part of a PhD research project designed to examine rural-rural migration to the Rift Valley. The results presented in the chapter draw on the twenty in-depth interviews to reflect on the diversity of migrants and migration experiences and their varying degrees of settlement. Although migration to the Rift Valley is often assumed to result from regional differences in the supply and demand for agricultural labour, land inequality and migrant networks (Oyvat and wa Gĩthĩnji, 2020), the findings suggest that people migrated to the Rift Valley for additional non-economic reasons, sometimes seeking adventure, or fleeing family disputes. The results also suggest that expectation-reality discrepancy, social disarticulation, and discrimination vitiate migration and settlement experiences in the Rift Valley. The study's conclusion in section 5 relates the findings to policymaking in devolved governance systems, arguing that they should acknowledge that migration and settlement experiences shape migrant realities, which may initiate stagnation or development at the destination and the site of origin.

3.2 Literature review

3.2.1 Why people move

Migration is a complex phenomenon in which social, political, economic, environmental, and demographic factors interact, so cannot be attributed to a single factor (Vigil, 2017). Lee's

push and pull theory in 1966 suggested that differences between the place of origin and place of destination were responsible for pushing out individuals from a homeland and attracting them towards a destination (Castelli, 2018, Van Hear et al., 2018). The push-pull model understands migration as a response to global inequalities and geographical differences in wealth, freedom, and wellbeing (Carbone, 2017). The classical economic literature suggested that migrants' low incomes pushed people from their places of origin and better prospects in more affluent areas pulled people to their destinations (Todaro, 2007). However, critics of the push-pull explanation of migration view it as a typical simplification that limits understanding of such complex phenomena (Tataryn, 2020). Also, the push-pull model fails to explain why so few people migrate or why the share of migrants over the world population remains low (3%) and relatively unchanged for at least the past half-century, given that economic opportunities are often far from ideal everywhere (Carbone, 2017). Others have suggested that the push-pull model lacked a framework that could bring the lists of factors into an explanatory system and failed to account for the multiple and changing motives an individual migrant might have for leaving home (Van Hear et al., 2018).

While acknowledging critiques of the push-pull model, this study maintains that it still offers helpful insights into external forces that shape the migration process. Van Hear et al. (2018) argue that structural forces imperceptibly affect each potential migrant by making specific decisions, routes, or destinations within the range of people's capabilities more probable. According to Cummings et al. (2015), the structural forces are multifaceted and interact, resulting in the inception of migration and the perpetuation of movement. For instance, environmental factors like climate change interact with other migration drivers such as human, financial, social, and natural capital to restrict or increase the distances moved, thus determining whether movements are internal or international (Vigil, 2017). Similarly,

political pressures may bring about inadequacies in human and economic development that trigger migration.

Van Hear et al. (2018) identified four drivers of migration that together created the structural conditions under which people decide to move or stay put: predisposing, proximate, precipitating, and mediating drivers. They identify predisposing factors as contributing economic, political, environmental, social, and geographical factors, which contribute to create a likely context for migration. Economic factors encompass variations in earnings, livelihoods and living standards between regions of origin and destination, shaped by the unfolding political economy and its inequalities. Political factors comprise the relative prevalence of conflict, persecution and other threats to human rights and security, frequently linked to nation-building, disintegration, or reconstitution in origin regions. Environmental differences between origin and destination regions take account of the existence or absence of resources, the relative fertility of the soil, water and land availability and the extent of forest cover. Geographical factors include proximity to borders, while the nature of the desired destination may also act as a predisposing driver of migration. According to Van Hear et al. (2018), proximate drivers directly influence migration and result from the aforementioned predisposing features. In origin, proximate drivers manifest as a downward spiral in the economic or business cycle and the security or human rights environments following oppression or a power struggle, displacement by large-scale development projects and pronounced environmental deterioration. Economic or broader societal improvement, new employment and education opportunities, business development, and the pursuit of trade constitute proximate factors in the destination. Precipitating drivers trigger actual depart or stay decisions among populations and are attached to recognisable events (Van Hear et al., 2018). On the push side, this may include events in the economic (financial crisis, a sudden rise in unemployment, a factory closure, a collapse in farm prices, the imposition of punitive

taxation or the breakdown of health, education, or other welfare services), political (persecution, disputed citizenship, the escalation of conflict, massacre, an outbreak of war and invasion) and natural (earthquakes, hurricanes, and floods) spheres. On the pull side, new employment opportunities, a relaxed environment for small businesses and temporary relaxation of immigration controls are features that may precipitate migration. Van Hear et al. (2018) define mediating drivers as those that permit, aid, hinder, speed up, establish, and reduce migration, including the presence, absence or quality of transport, communications, information, and resources necessary for migration.

The structural factors aforesaid cannot alone explain migration: attention must also be paid to additional micro-level conditions including age, gender, health, language and ethnicity; personal resources such as finances, skills and education; perceptions; and aspirations and attitudes (Mberu and Sidze, 2017). Furthermore, meso-level factors linking people with their broader society cannot be ignored: for instance, knowledge of social networks plays a crucial role in understanding the final migration decision of an individual (Castelli, 2018). However, concentrating on micro-level conditions and meso-level factors may understate the extent to which structural dimensions also shape migration. The global recognition that the poorest rarely migrate due to resource limitations, has meant that development rather than poverty strongly drive migration, especially over greater distances (Carbone, 2017, Flahaux, 2017). For example, Sharma (2008), in his study of male labour migration from Nepal to India, observed that the desire to participate in modern life rather than economic compulsions motivated migration. In other instances, the increasing accessibility of modern communication technologies, allowing people to compare lifestyles elsewhere with their local situations, may have increased people's abilities and aspirations to move. Adepoju (2017) contends that unbalanced economic growth without much job creation to satisfy the growing skilled younger generation's increasing expectations, especially in African countries,

consequently nurtures willingness to find better job conditions elsewhere. Contrary to popular belief, African migrants neither look exclusively for better socio-economic opportunities outside their place of origin nor passively respond to external factors such as poverty, environmental disasters, and demographic pressure through out-migration (Flahaux, 2017). Instead, African migration is an intrinsic dimension of economic and social development driven by an interplay between structural forces and individual agency, thus reflecting millions of people's rational decisions to seek new opportunities outside their restrictive local environments (Mberu and Sidze, 2017).

3.2.2 Migrants' agency attributable to premigration expectations and post-migration realities

Whereas potential migrants' agencies allow them to act for themselves, their actions are constrained or facilitated by structural forces. For instance, in Kenya, although internal migrants have rights to residency and ownership of land and property in any part of the country as provided for in articles 39 and 40 of the Kenyan constitution and article 22 of the Citizenship and Immigration Act (Laws of Kenya, 2013), political ethnicization of devolution and bureaucratic structures constrain the claim to these legal rights in some parts of the country. The findings of Abbas (2016) also show a national and local incongruence problem in India that gives internal migrants second-class citizenship or denies internal migrants' legal status and access to their citizenship rights resulting in ethnopolitical obstructions operating as informal practices at local levels. Consequently, in India and Kenya, migrants' agency is constrained by ethnopolitical factors that lie beyond the scope of any migrant's social relations.

Research has largely ignored how the correspondence or mismatch between post-migration realities and pre-migration expectations may potentially contribute to the range of migrants'

agencies and experiences (Okeke-Ihejirika et al., 2020, Covington-Ward, 2017). Unlike economic models of migration, behavioural models such as value-expectancy and expectancy violation theories explain people's movement through the lens of expectations which makes them relevant to assessment of the extent to which migrants settle in the destination locality. According to the value-expectancy model, potential migrants base their ultimate migration decisions on the expected likelihood of attaining desired values and goals (Hagen-Zanker, 2008). De Jong et al. (1983) confirmed that subjective expectations of attaining values and goals in certain destination localities are significant determinants of migration decisions.

The expectancy violation theory emphasises the negative experiences resulting from unmet expectations created well before a prospective situation and includes positive outcomes when experiences exceed previously formulated expectations (Negy et al., 2009). Earlier studies have shown a complex relationship between pre-migration expectations and post-migration adjustment (Wang et al., 2010). Some studies associate high expectations and optimism with better adjustment to post-migration life. In contrast, others argue that the discrepancy between migrants' expectations and actual life in the destination may create a strong sense of relative deprivation and make migrants unhappy with their life resulting in maladaptation (Liu et al., 2017). The findings of Vohra and Adair (2000) supported the violation expectation theory and showed that a negative discrepancy between what one has and what one expected at the beginning of migration correlates negatively with life satisfaction and vice versa.

The literature shows that prior information held, social networks, demographic characteristics, work and educational status determine expectations before migration (Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2009). However, the portrayal of distorted, or even accurate, positive images of destination life by the media or immigrants already living at the destination generates imperfect information that may create favourable impressions on potential migrants and increase the

chances that they will simply follow this lead instead of using the information to make rational decisions (Negy et al., 2009). As observed by Zhang et al. (2009) on internal migration, and Covington-Ward (2017) and Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2009) on international migration, the potential migrants may develop high or unrealistic expectations about life in the destination; for instance, they may expect to experience easy acclimatisation to new environs, good access to suitable employment, and so on, after arriving at the destination. According to Okeke-Ihejirika et al. (2020), migration decisions based on inaccurate information have not received sufficient consideration: the migrants may have overestimated the benefits of life at a particular locality, overlooked the possibility of unemployment, and underrated the cost of living, thus raising their pre-migration expectations above the level that the realities of life at the destination could satisfy.

Van Hear et al. (2018) mentioned that many motives based on differences between origin and destination, including pursuing a higher quality of life and escaping poverty, drive migration. Nevertheless, the post-migration reality for most people is that they may face a mixture of positive and negative experiences at their destination. Their expectations may or may not coincide with reality. The literature suggests that migrants with the most positive experiences often adapt their expectations, or have realistic expectations in the first place; conversely, migrants who are unable to adjust their expectations to reality tend to return disillusioned and often worse off than before leaving (Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2009). The expectancy violation theory captures the phenomenon and posits that migrants can meet their goals and have positive experiences if their premigration expectations coincide with migration reality. It also includes the converse: migrants' experiences may be negative if incongruence between expectations and reality force individuals to reconstruct their lives at the settlement destinations by adjusting their expectations, as dictated by external and internal factors, or to return to their origins. Based on the expectation violation theory, Negy et al. (2009) tested the

effect of violated expectations on acculturation stress. Their findings suggest that highly optimistic migrants holding unrealistic expectations about life in the destination often predispose themselves to undue stress as they adjust to that life.

A limited number of studies address migrant adjustment by looking at the incongruence between pre-migration expectations and post-migration realities. One of the few studies is Covington-Ward (2017), who, without specifically alluding to either the value-expectancy model or expectancy violation theory, explains the role of expectations in migration experience. The author points out challenges to integration in the destination cultures due to migrants' unrealistic expectations of wealth and an easier life. Because of such expectations, migrants arrive unprepared for the reality of cultural suspicions and overtones. In a further study on the return migration experience, the findings of Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2009) show that incomplete information from relatives and friends already at the destination is responsible for latent tension and conflicts between migrants and their families' expectations. Implicit in the studies is the importance of improving the provision of information and resources used in determining the expectations of migrants and their families', thus fostering more successful integration. Dealing with misinformation is one of the primary issues that internal or international migrants, regardless of origin or whether migration is voluntary and forced, have to cope with during their everyday interactions at the destination localities, as they try to adapt to migration realities. How they cope or adapt to the destination reality depends on individual circumstances, such as information flow and the level of financial dependency between migrant and home (Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2009).

Upon migration, it is also possible that migrants may encounter experiences whose challenges they underestimated or that they never expected in the first place, such as discrimination and shifts in social relations affecting access to resources (Milgroom and Ribot, 2020). The

discrepancy between expectation and reality, as well as underestimating the importance of expectation itself, create social tension, insecurity and competition for resources with their hosts: these encounters force migrants to reconfigure their identity by defining themselves in terms of difference from their hosts (Milgroom and Ribot, 2020, Wang et al., 2010, Negy et al., 2009). Gatwiri and Anderson (2021) show that the continuous scrutiny and questioning of the status of international migrants of African descent within the nation-state and local communities in Western and settler-colonial societies has been a force driving their construction as perpetual strangers. These experiences can also make migrants highly mobile, circulatory and also embedded in places subjectively constructed, for instance, a home (Naumann and Greiner, 2017).

The next subsection reviews the literature on how the macro, meso and micro-level drivers of migration and migrants' agency have played out historically in the Kenyan context. It also presents the data collection and analysis techniques used in the chapter, as well as the sample characteristics.

3.3 The history of the research area, research methods and sample characteristics

3.3.1 Kenya's experience of internal migration

Kenya has been a testbed for a wide range of internal migration hypotheses in the last couple of decades. The scholarship has advanced understanding of the causes and consequences of rural-urban migration (Oucho, 2014, Bigsten, 1996, Agesa, 2004, Agesa and Kim, 2001, Oyvat and wa Gĩthĩnji, 2020, Sindi and Kirimi, 2006, Ramisch, 2016, Mberu and Mutua, 2015, Owuor, 2007). Focusing on the activities of rural-urban migrants has enabled scholars to explore several topics such as remittance, the role of different forms of livelihood assets,

the role of gender, rural-urban linkages, family, and circular migration. Though previous scholarly investigations of rural-urban migration have proved useful, there is a need for a deeper understanding of the diversity of rural-rural migrants and their settlement experiences, which the current literature underrepresents.

From a quantitative point of view, the concentration on rural-urban movements has led to the neglect of rural-rural migration, yet the migration stream constitutes a significant share of internal migration dynamics. The Kenya Integrated Household Budget Survey 2005/2006 estimates that 12% of the rural population migrated to other rural areas, whereas 13% migrated to urban areas (Oyvat and wa Gĩthĩnji, 2020). These figures demonstrate that rural to rural migration is as important as rural-urban migration. Furthermore, the disparities in economic developments, considered as significant push and pull factors occurring between rural and urban areas, are also apparent within rural areas. Besides, the assumption of the homogeneity of rural areas and rural-rural migrants is unconvincing in Kenya and many other developing nations (Lucas, 2016).

Internal migration literature in Kenya has examined its causes and consequences from economic and livelihood perspectives (Oucho, 2014, Bigsten, 1996, Agesa, 2004, Agesa and Kim, 2001, Oyvat and wa Gĩthĩnji, 2020, Sindi and Kirimi, 2006). In Kenya, empirical evidence following the Harris-Todaro model (1970) collectively shows that expected income differences are important influences behind rural-urban migration (Oyvat and wa Gĩthĩnji, 2020). The study of Bigsten (1996) on circular migration found that the pull of high urban wages dominates over the push of land scarcity. These results support the assumption that migration from one region to another is a rational endeavour to take advantage of economic opportunities (Oyvat and wa Gĩthĩnji, 2020). Similarly, the results of Agesa and Agesa (2005) showed that a wider wage gap between males and females in urban, as opposed to rural areas,

was an incentive for male migration in Kenya. Other studies by Agesa and Kim (2001) and Agesa (2004) on family migration versus split migration revealed that economic and non-economic factors such as age, household size, human capital skills, job security, and the origin of the migrant household moderate migration motives and the optimal allocation of household labour resources between rural and urban areas. Other literature suggests that migration is a livelihood strategy to diversify risks arising from vagaries of the weather, such as crop and animal diseases (Lucas, 2016).

3.3.2 Migration from Western Kenya to the Rift Valley

Colonial policies and capitalist expansion in the pre-independence period were key predisposing drivers that contributed to migration in Kenya (Oucho, 2014). The rural areas were divided into different compartments, assigned to commercial agriculture, a labour reserve, and subsistence agriculture. Labour migration towards the Rift Valley was encouraged in the pre-independence phase to meet commercial agriculture's demands. Western Kenya's proximity to the Rift Valley, with which it shares a border, also aided the migration stream as the cost necessary for migration was much less than the cost of migrating to the other regions.

Temporary labour migration from subsistence rural economies, mostly by unskilled males, was allowed in the Rift Valley for as long as they could find jobs or remain employed in the commercial farms. Once retired at the end of their working life, they returned to their rural origins. Temporary labour migration in the colonial era produced the feature of a 'two households' family, with the men running the households in the destination settlement as the women, barred from migrating, took care of a household in the rural areas (Macharia, 2003). At independence in 1963, the booming post-independence economy and the abolition by the serving government of the stringent colonial policies, implemented through an internal

passport system, that prevented any permanent settlement in the Rift Valley, opened the floodgates for more internal migration (Oyvat and wa Gĩthĩnji, 2020). Consequently, migration patterns shifted from temporary to more permanent settlements and altered the proportion of migration by gender, increasing the number of female migrants in the Rift Valley (Oucho et al., 2014, Sindi and Kirimi, 2006).

The subsequent government regimes continued to implement a myriad of unbalanced procapitalist policies closely linked to those of the colonial period, which led to an inequitable agricultural system biased toward large farms and cash crops and perpetuated underdevelopment and low farming investment in Western Kenya, which was dominated by subsistence agriculture, devoted to raising of food crops (Bradshaw, 1990). Inequality remained evident in the distribution of farmlands in the Rift Valley, and the flow of capital in and out of agriculture: the Rift Valley's high-value export crops (flowers, tea and vegetables) continued to attract a high level of private, direct investment, both national and foreign, at the expense of food crops grown in the subsistence level and less reproductive agricultural system (Hall et al., 2017). At the same time, increasing demographic pressure in Western Kenya intensified competition for scarce land resources, thereby deepening the difficulties faced due to the inequitable development policies.

The rebirth of multiparty politics in the early 1990s and the subsequent political activities during the national election campaigns led to the reconstruction of ethnicity, ethnic mobilisation and ethnic conflicts, triggering temporary and permanent return migrations to Western Kenya every five years (Kuiper, 2019). Political motivated ethnic conflicts peaked in the Rift Valley during the 2007 general election, forcing the national government to momentarily intervene through repatriation of migrants, mainly from western Kenya to their origin communities. Following the 2010 constitutional reform, Kenya embraced a political

and economic governance system that introduced devolved county governments alongside the national government, which contributed to sustained economic growth and more equitable social development inclusive of the previously underdeveloped Western Kenya region over the past decade. As a result, unemployment rates in the Western Kenya counties is lower than in Rift Valley's Nakuru county, while the poverty line of three out of four western Kenya counties is lower than in Rift Valley's Kericho county (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019).

In summary, the context of migration from western Kenya to the Rift Valley suggests that driver complexes exclusively attributable to individual circumstances rather than regional differences drive migration between the two regions. The migration stream predates the economic opportunities created by commercial agriculture in the Rift Valley, and is closely connected with demographic pressure on the Western region and its relative deprivation arising from land inequality (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019, Oyvat and wa Gĩthĩnji, 2020), resulting in geographical differences in labour demand and supply (Lucas, 2016). The availability of large tracts of arable land, water resources for irrigation and sustained high levels of private, national and foreign investment in the Rift Valley's high-value crops continue to maintain the region's status as a critical rural in-migration area for labour migrants and rural populations searching for better opportunities (Odipo, 2018). Working in the commercial farms has, over time, become a preserve of Western Kenya migrants. Contemporary migration has shifted mainly to being a set of multidirectional movements shaped by economic interdependencies and political, legal, and economic reforms and facilitated by geographical proximity: the political economy of ethnic conflicts and the extension of family and social networks between the communities of origin and Rift Valley both play crucial roles in slowing down and perpetuating the migration stream, respectively. As in other movements, people choose destinations where pre-existing social connections

already exist (Oucho et al., 2014). Despite the gains in social development in the country, movements from the Western region to the Rift Valley remains Kenya's most noticeable and stable migration stream.

3.3.3 Data collection and analysis

This study used snowball sampling for recruiting interview participants. Data from the interview informed a more extensive cross-sectional and experimental survey. Moreover, purposive sampling works best in describing the experiences of this group of rural-rural migrants (Bernard and Bernard, 2013). The study assumed that the rural-rural migrants from western Kenya were likely to contact one another, so snowball sampling in which participants help recruit other participants was an effective and appropriate sampling method. We identified the study's participants through initial face-to-face contact with a female leader in a migrants' association. The initial contact sent out text messages to the association members, asking them to contact us if they were willing to participate in the study. Several people expressed their willingness to participate, some of whom had heard about the study from their friends.

We approached the potential participants in their houses, mainly in the evening after work, to explain the study and interview those who consented to the ethical clearance guidelines obtained from the School's Ethics Committee. The interview domains included living at home before migration, the journey to the Rift Valley, the dynamics of life in the Rift Valley, and their future. We conducted a joint in-depth interview with a recent migrant couple who had two years of residence in the Rift Valley, and 18 individual in-depth interviews. The interviews lasted 45 minutes on average except for the joint interview that lasted an hour and a half. Fourteen interviews were audio-recorded in Swahili, four were audio-recorded in Luhya, and one was recorded in English using a digital voice recorder. All the interviews

were transcribed word for word in English with the help of the field enumerators. The English transcripts, stored as 19 Microsoft Word documents, constituted the study data. We imported the transcripts into a MAXQDA project.

We subjected the 19 interview transcripts to sequential qualitative text analysis (Kuckartz, 2014). In the first step of the qualitative analysis, we identified the characteristics of the respondents' migration pathways in the Kenyan Rift Valley. We commenced the qualitative analysis by reading the interview transcripts repeatedly to acquaint ourselves with the data. We subsequently highlighted key text and passages in each interview transcript and coded inductively and deductively using a combination of evaluative and thematic codes in MAXQDA (Morse et al., 2017, Kuckartz, 2014, Kuckartz and Rädiker, 2019). The interview guidelines provided the basis of the first round of coding of text and passages. It included broad domains such as life at home before migration, the journey to the Rift Valley, the dynamics of life in the Rift Valley, and the future of the migrants. Afterwards, we refined the first round of codes into subtopics borrowing from common themes in the migration literature.

The final coding system consisted of nine parent codes shown in Appendix 8.1-1, which emerged from the interview data. The coding system includes two evaluative codes, namely bicultural relationship and overall life satisfaction. Bicultural relationships are defined according to strong and weak ties to origin and settlement destinations, while we define overall life satisfaction on a three-point scale. The coding system also comprises six parent thematic codes drawn by either auto coding of lexical search of text in the data or through in vivo coding of passages from the interview. In the final step of data analysis, we undertook a type building analysis following the emergent final codes in narrations of the respondents. We selected similarity analysis for coded interview transcripts to build the typologies of migrants.

We built the typologies of migrants in MAXQDA by subjecting the 19 coded interview transcripts to a similarity analysis which involves the calculation of Euclidean distances between document transcripts based on the frequency of emergent subcodes (Kuckartz, 2014). The similarity analysis procedure generated three clusters of respondents, which we refer to as typologies of migrants in the subsequent section. We identified the distinguishing features of the typologies of migrants by reviewing the interview transcripts and codes from each of the three clusters separately.

3.3.4 Sample characteristics

Rural migrants who come to the Rift Valley from Western Kenya differ in their general characteristics, vulnerability/wellbeing, and future settlement plans. Table 3-1 illustrates the general characteristics of the sample. There were 20 participants in the in-depth interviews (12 Male and 8 Females). The median and mean age were thirty-seven and thirty-eight years, respectively, with a broad range in actual age, as the youngest participant was twenty-five while the oldest was sixty years old. The median and mean length of residence were seven and eleven years, respectively, with a broad range in residence, as the newest arrival had lived in the Rift Valley for one year while the oldest had been in the Rift Valley for forty-two years. Ten participants were married, seven were single, two were separated, and one was a widow.

Based on our empirical findings, we loosely group the migrants into three typologies resulting from the qualitative narratives' similarity analysis, as illustrated in Tables 3-1 and 3-2. The typologies unearth general trends and characteristics we use to contextualise migration and settlement experiences in the Rift Valley. They demonstrate the complexity of migration outcomes in a single social setting and support earlier literature that contests the generalisation of migrants as a single homogeneous group (Kuiper, 2019). Rural-rural

migrants from Western Kenya in the Rift Valley are very diverse in their reasons for migration and translocalism, as shown in Table 3-2.

Table 3-1: General characteristics of migrants

					Typology of migrants		
Interviewee	Gender	Age (years)	Marital status	Length of Residence (years)	Type 1	Type 2	Type 3
Respondent 1	Male	38	Married	12			✓
Respondent 2	Male	35	Single	10			✓
Respondent 3	Female	38	Separated	18	✓		
Respondent 4	Female	50	Widow	18	✓		
Respondent 5	Male	28	Single	1		✓	
Respondent 6	Male	32	Single	5		✓	
Respondent 7	Male	35	Married	10	✓		
Respondent 8	Male	25	Single	1		✓	
Respondent 9	Male	34	Single	1		✓	
Respondent 10	Female	40	Married	15		✓	
Respondent 11	Male	60	Married	42		✓	
Respondent 12	Female	37	Married	7		✓	
Respondent 13	Male	50	Married	7		✓	
Respondent 14	Female	40	Married	7		✓	
Respondent 15	Female	26	Single	5		✓	
Respondent 16	Male	47	Married	5		✓	
Respondent 17	Male	25	Single	25	✓		
Respondent 18	Male	31	Married	2	✓		
Respondent 18	Female	27	Married	2	✓		
Respondent 19	Female	47	Separated	17		✓	

Source: Author

Table 3-2: Similarities and differences of migrant typologies in the Rift Valley

			Reasons for migration			Settlement trajectory	
Typology	Membership	Translocal linkages	Family disputes	Work	Adventure	Deferred	Keep a dual life
Type 1	6	Severed Ties	✓	✓		✓	
Type 2	12	Kept ties for survival		✓		✓	✓
Type 3	2	Kept ties for altruism		✓	✓		✓

Source: Author

3.3.4.1 Type 1 migrants

Type 1 migrants comprise four permanent migrants and two temporary migrants. One migrant, Respondent 17, never really stayed in his father's region of origin and had minimal knowledge of his "labelled home"; he is nevertheless considered a migrant despite being a son of a migrant father and a native mother. This typology of migrants moved to the Rift Valley to escape family disputes associated with flawed land succession or marriage dissolution; these circumstances compelled severance of ties to their native origins and forfeiture of the home to which they otherwise might have returned. Respondent 3, in her late thirties, came straight to Naivasha from her place of origin, then moved away for two years. Her main reason for coming back to Naivasha was marital conflicts.

"[I] moved to Naivasha at the age of 18 in 2002; I visited my brother in Naivasha, during which I met a man here and got married. [My] husband was a prison warden, and we stayed here (Naivasha) *until 2016; he was then transferred to Homa-bay and later transferred to Kisumu (Respondent 3, Pos. 5). [I] separated from my husband in July 2018 following a disagreement, so I decided to come back here* (Naivasha) *with the children to look for a job and raise the children. (Respondent 3, Pos. 7).*"

The migration of Type 1 migrants may have alleviated physical vulnerability; nevertheless, it transmitted the poverty and economic vulnerabilities they experienced in their places of origin to the Rift Valley. Migrants in this typology had *ad hoc* work arrangements as sessional workers in the commercial farms. Unlike many unsuccessful migrants who quickly migrate away from the Rift Valley in search of better opportunities (Kuiper and Greiner, 2021), these migrants lacked the means to relocate to an alternative place and had no home to return to. The Type 1 migrants' engagement in ad hoc jobs supports the position of Tataryn (2020) that precarious employment is a consequence of precarious socioeconomic status.

As per the classification of migrant types, Type 1 migrants are the most vulnerable group, having arrived in the Rift Valley under severe livelihood pressure because of familial conflicts that limited their social capital and access to land. Job insecurity further exacerbated their livelihood vulnerability. Members of this typology had rolling challenges of landlessness and limited translocal linkages. Protecting precarious migrants like type 1 migrants, whose socio-economic statuses are at most risk of exploitation, may require more interventions, such as resolving conflicts at home, poverty reduction programmes, and a favourable policy and legal framework.

3.3.4.2 Type 2 migrants

Most of our sample members belong to this typology. The typology consists of twelve migrants depicted in Table 3-1. Type 2 migrants are moderately vulnerable. They have access to land and social capital in their place of origin, enabling material and food transfers between origin and destination. Most type 2 migrants were recent arrivals in the Rift Valley with less than ten years of residence. The typology is thus considered transient, with most of its members expected to transition to other typologies within ten years or relocate elsewhere. In this category, Respondents 10, 11 and 19 seemed to be outliers. They shared the type 2 migrants' features but had been in the transition phase for an extended period, as evidenced by a residence of more than ten years, which is the normal classification of a permanent resident. Members of this typology retained strong translocal linkages to their origin, evidenced by their regular visits to the rural areas, exchange of gifts with their kin and ongoing plans to resettle in their place of origin once they had amassed sufficient means to meet specific targets. There is probably an overlap between the ties that type 2 maintained for survival and altruism, although the survival ties aimed at smoothing consumption constraints were more pronounced in their narratives. Many migrants in the typology had realised their

private gains because of migration and reported improvements in their material wellbeing as captured by the statements of Respondent 13 and Respondent 14, respectively:

"Compared with how [I] was at home, my life has improved, I was finding it hard to raise school fees for my children, but now with the employment in the Rift Valley, I can educate them, they are no longer sent away for lack of school fees. Life in Naivasha is not bad though [I] am only here to work for a short period. (Respondent 13, Pos. 7)"

"When [I] work in the flower company, I have peace of mind since I am expecting a salary at the end of the month to be able to pay bills and do ABC. Working here stops [me] from idling and being a beggar. (Respondent 14, Pos. 7)"

Their stay in the Rift Valley was borne out of the realisation that it was better than their homes for achieving short-term goals during their working life such as building a house, buying land, paying the children's school fees, or buying a motorbike. The aspirations of Type 2 migrants resemble those of urban migrants studied by Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013b) and Owuor (2007), whose places of origin remained vital safety valves. Type 2 migrants often described their primary purpose in the Rift Valley as working and earning money during their active phase, as illustrated by Respondent 6 in his early thirties. He also came straight to Naivasha from his origin community. He came strictly to look for work, having been informed of the opportunities by a relative.

"[I] came to Naivasha in 2015. Life in [my] origin was hard; it was difficult to earn any money; that is why we are here to look for work and earn a living. [I] heard information about job opportunities in the flower farms and companies from my sister who once lived here. [My] sister has since moved out of Naivasha, but I remain. (Respondent 6, Pos. 3)"

3.3.4.3 Type 3 migrants

The two men who make up Type 3 are also permanent migrants[2], given their residence in the Rift Valley for ten-plus years, as shown in Table 3-1. This typology of migrants was the least vulnerable; they owned land, had access to social capital in both their place of origin and destination, and had income from employment and other sources. The migrants in this typology came from modest economic backgrounds and currently belong to a relatively influential group that owns land in the Rift Valley; consequently, they maintain their ties with the origin for reasons other than the need for survival. They claimed to derive the impetus to improve their livelihoods from the benchmarks presented by their reference groups in the Rift Valley. They mainly moved to the Rift Valley for adventure, despite having reasonable professional qualifications that could land them in employment almost anywhere in Kenya.

The account of Respondent 1, a man in his late thirties who knows most parts of Kericho County, illustrates the typology's reason for migration. He is a successful medium scale farmer and works as a legal officer in one of the tea companies. He came to the Rift Valley to join his wife, who was already working in the area.

"Life at home was not badly off; the only challenge of living there is getting engaged in very ordinary and unchallenging activities and tasks, for example, community social events and small-scale farming, which does not pay much. (Respondent 1, Pos. 3)." "When [I] left home, I went to several other places before arriving in Kericho. [I] first went to Homa-bay, then to Port Victoria and Kisumu. All these places presented [me] with challenges. [I] moved to Kericho for two major reasons. One, [I] felt I could have holistic development away from my

[2] Respondents 1 and 2

relatives. Secondly, [I] was dating, and my girlfriend was working in Kericho. We later got married and [I] joined her here. (Respondent 1, Pos. 5).” Further corroboration is also apparent in Respondent 2’s narration: “*Life was not hard at home, but so many services and conveniences were not available there. Life there* [at home] *was all about waking up and doing small tasks such as going to the farm. (Respondent 2, Pos. 3).” In* contrast, Respondent 1 described the Rift Valley as *“a peaceful and competitive society with people who present different standards every day, standards which were encouraging hard work. (Respondent 1, Pos. 7).*”

Type 3 migrants considered life in their places of origin unexciting and unfavourable to their potential; consequently, they favoured out-migration away from their origins. However, it is paradoxical that the migrants, who detested farming in their rural communities of origin before migration, were actively involved in it after migrating. Respondent 2 continued to farm and keep livestock on his ancestral land; Respondent 1 owned medium-scale farmland in the Rift Valley, where he grew vegetables on contract for a local supermarket. Type 3 migrants’ reasons for migration support the scholarly accounts that better socio-economic opportunities outside the place of origin are not the sole drivers for migration, and migration is not a passive response to external push-pull factors but an individual search for livelihood options (Carbone, 2017, Sharma, 2008, Mberu and Sidze, 2017). The migrants’ opinions on the dissimilarities between the Rift Valley and their rural origins in Western Kenya and their farming involvement suggest that migration was merely an experience of life in a distant place resulting from ostensible regional inequalities rather than real differences in opportunity structures.

The various migration narratives in the three typologies reveal the diversity of reasons bringing rural Western Kenya migrants to the Rift Valley, which included escaping family

conflicts and marital difficulties, pursuing perceived job opportunities, seeking adventure away from a restrictive community of origin and taking advantage of proximity to the borders or existing networks at the destination. Respondent 11 specifically mentioned the collapse of a sugar company at his place of origin that rendered him jobless. Most participants' narratives confessed erroneous beliefs about differences in employment, development, and living standards between origin and destination at the pre-migration phase but later found out they conflicted with the destination realities. One such belief was that the place of origin offered inadequate opportunities to earn a living, thus forcing people to seek opportunities in other localities. While most migrants came straight to the Rift Valley, a few first moved into other regions where they were introduced to hardships such as lack of food or shelter, instability, unemployment, and ethnic discrimination, which prepared them to face the Rift Valley's challenges. As argued in section 3.2.2, pre-migration experiences and beliefs may shape migrants' views of the Rift Valley as an ideal settlement destination, arousing expectations of its potential that might not tie in with reality.

3.4 Research findings and discussions

This section explores migration and settlement experiences, using the migrants in the Rift Valley's rural milieu as a case study. It considers how the issues identified in section 3.2 played out in the Rift Valley and draws out two common emergent themes in the case study: expectation-reality discrepancy and social disarticulation and discrimination. It then reflects on how the migrants cope with their post-migration experiences of violation of expectations, social disarticulation, and discrimination.

3.4.1 Expectation-reality discrepancy

As section 3.2.2 highlights, pre-migration expectations have a crucial bearing on the adjustment and settling process for migrants depending on how far they deviate from reality (Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2009). The exploration of the in-depth interviews reveal that unrealistic pre-migration expectations, developed from the imperfect information they acquired through interactions with their social networks already in the destination motivated migration to the Rift Valley. For most respondents, contact with relatives and friends generated unrealistic expectations. However, upon arrival at the destination, they discovered how far they were from the reality of destination life. Their high expectations are a result of inaccurate information flows from migrants already in the Rift Valley. Within the study's sample, most respondents with unmet expectations are type 2 migrants, who migrate to the Rift Valley to look for work or respond to short-term economic needs.

A common pre-migration expectation type 2 migrants held was that of numerous job opportunities available to everyone in the Rift Valley, as expressed in the sentiments of Respondent 9, a trained primary school teacher and relatively new arrival in the Rift Valley:

"[I] came to Kericho one year ago. [My] friend who lived here informed me of numerous job opportunities with high salary scales in the many private schools where the company employees sent their children; [I] thought the salary would make me self-sufficient in a few months. [I] also knew the cost of living was relatively low compared to places like Nairobi or Nakuru town; that meant the salary I would earn would be more than enough for my needs. [My] job search here has not been successful so far; I have sent out applications to three schools, but they have not responded or asked me to wait. Life is now difficult on [my] side; I have had to take casual jobs for the time being that are not related to my teaching profession, manual duties in the tea company. [I] am not selective now; I am just out to earn a little cash as I keep hanging around and wait for the schools to respond. (Respondent 9, Pos. 5-7)."

Upon arrival, Respondent 9 discovered the reality of the labour surplus in the Rift Valley, making securing high-paying jobs hard and inhibiting the migrant's capacity to rebuild a life in the Rift Valley. The quick realisation that the Rift Valley, like other regions, had limited well-paid job options made him make a major adjustment to life at the destination by settling for underemployment. The perception of the Rift Valley as a region untroubled by a labour surplus situation is a pre-migration expectation that does not match reality, but it was held by many other migrants in the study. In the migrant community in the Rift Valley, especially for the more recent arrivals, many like Respondent 9 found work as wage labourers in the flower, tea, or vegetable farms. However, these are not typically the occupations individuals with relatively high education level envision (Kuiper, 2019). The circumstances of Respondent 9 and those of other migrants in similar positions imply a loss of welfare stemming from either the use of time by underemployed workers anticipating selection for jobs with higher wages or entry into the labour market by migrants from relatively favourable positions in the rural origins at a relative disadvantage (Todaro, 2007).

Success and an easy life are other common premigration expectations among people intending to migrate to the Rift Valley. It can be related to the perception reflected in the statement, "*having a job amounts to having a good life (Respondent 6, Pos. 7)*". Nevertheless, the expectations of success and an easy life are almost never met in the Rift Valley. Instead, the post-migration experience of precarious jobs and stressful work rhythms was widespread, as most migrants found it difficult to find decent jobs; hence, they were either underemployed or in spontaneous employments. Contrary to their expectations, work in the Rift Valley was precarious, challenging, and stressful, as expressed by Respondents 15 and 16,

"[I] expected to succeed in Naivasha before coming and thought that my life would be okay by the time I returned home; however, life here has its share of ups and downs; it has its

share of challenges, it is not that easy, it involves a lot of "hustling". [I] leave for work and get there, and the work is very stressful, which means I have no peace. At one time [I] am working, and another time I am stopped. (Respondent 15, Pos. 5-7)."

"There is neither good nor bad here; the situation here is one of endurance. Sometimes [I] go to work and do not earn enough; sometimes, I am without a job, which often causes conflicts with the people I live with. As a man, [I] must endure the hardship. Just like the migrants, the locals are also kept on casual employment and thus also suddenly and temporarily stopped from work; the difference is that in most cases, the locals view us (migrants) *as the people taking up their jobs which create conflicts. (Respondent 16, Pos. 7)."*

Respondent 15's statement above emphasises the unexpectedly stressful nature of the Rift Valley jobs that demand perseverance and patience if workers are to meet their day-to-day needs and make some savings for the future. The terms 'hustling' and 'struggling' or 'hustler' are widespread descriptions of the economic situation for several participants. In line with the findings of Kuiper (2019), most migrants like Respondent 15 disliked the stringent regulations and the working rhythm within the farms involving long unstructured working hours. However, those hanging on had recognised that life and work in the Rift Valley, where they must pay for everything, could still be more manageable than at the place of origin, since the earnings from the work, however demanding, were more rewarding than practising small-scale agriculture, where the possibility of total loss was high, due to weather variability.

The precarious nature of jobs, as described by Respondent 16, limits livelihoods, especially during an off-peak time, and creates grounds for more conflict between migrants and their hosts. Many other respondents reported having on and off jobs due to the seasonality of the agro-based companies' production and operations. However, the sporadic nature of employment and the failure of earnings is not enough to make ends meet were far from most

migrants' expectations. As was the case with those on short term contracts described by Kuiper (2019), fluctuating labour conditions severely constrained some migrants' ability to plan much further ahead than the next day.

As in other studies on migration expectation, imperfect information emerges as a critical issue affecting migration decisions in the Rift Valley (Covington-Ward, 2017, Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2009, Negy et al., 2009). The source of unrealistic expectations about the abundance of job opportunities, success and an easy life was imperfect information from their social network, making people decide to move to the Rift Valley. Although the prevailing literature concentrates on the significance of social networks in reducing migration's effective cost and risk by either sharing information on job opportunities or hosting the migrants when they arrive at the destination (Cliggett, 2000), the accuracy of the information is rarely addressed. According to Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2009), imperfect information flowing from the social networks are problematic for potential migrants given that that information is never homogeneous among all typologies of migrants and types of information flows. However, the experiences of the migrants in our sample suggests that attention also needs to be paid to imprecision in disseminating information within the migrants' networks, resulting in the miscalculation of migration choices.

The findings of unrealistic pre-migration expectations of job opportunities, success and an easy life entertained by internal migrants in the Kenyan Rift Valley support the results of Zhang et al. (2009) on internal migration and the results of Covington-Ward (2017), Sabates-Wheeler et al. (2009) and Negy et al. (2009) on international migrants. The narratives of migrants with negative discrepancies between premigration expectations and postmigration experiences reveal social and economic adjustment problems that may require the migrants to lower their expectations. The results supported the suppositions of the expectancy violation

theory as we observe that the migrants' unmet expectations contributed to the negative migration experiences of the type 2 migrants.

When we examine the experiences of Type 1 migrants, who, in addition to looking for work, escape family disputes, the results run counter to our expectations. Their safety expectations were met, so there was no discrepancy there, but they had a negative discrepancy in work expectations. They thus experienced more settlement and adjustment challenges than the other two typologies. We consider that the imperceptible results reflect the complexity and subjectivity inherent in migrant adjustment and settlement experiences. Although discrepancies between pre-migration expectations and post-migration realities, including the lack of discrepancies, may not always influence migrant adjustment and settling experience consistently, it is among many variables that may influence migration and settling experiences.

Conversely, migrants who find their realities at the destination match or exceed their expectations manage to fulfil their goals, experience positive integration in the host community, and participate more in aspects of destination life such as owning land and property. Within the study's sample, Type 3 migrants are some of those who met and even exceeded their expectations. Type 3 left because life in their origin communities was unexciting and unlikely to enable them to fulfil their potential. Migrants in typology 3 are from relatively well-to-do families; thus, their migration does not represent a household strategy, and the pressure to remit is limited. Moreover, they have a relatively good education which we assume allowed them to be selective and rational in processing the information they receive from contacts, and to understand the compromises and sacrifices involved in adaptation in the Rift Valley (Negy et al., 2009).

3.4.2 Social disarticulation and discrimination

In response to questions about their life in the Rift Valley, the migrant voices draw attention to challenges inhibiting their ability to adjust to life at the destination and settle down. The post-migration challenges most frequently mentioned by the respondents were othering, perpetual stranger-hood, and ethnic discrimination, all of which are manifestations of social disarticulation.

3.4.2.1 "The local people here behave like we do not deserve to be here": Ethnic discrimination

Ethnic discrimination came up in every respondent's narrative. In accordance with the observations in the literature (Milgroom and Ribot, 2020, Wang et al., 2010, Negy et al., 2009, Tutu et al., 2018), ethnic discrimination in the Kenyan Rift Valley privileged certain groups, usually the locals, over migrants, consequently establishing perceptual borders between migrants and their host. The interviewees shared stories of their many encounters with this practice. The prominent example often cited in the migrants' stories was the 2007/2008 post-election violence, which marked the peak of ethnic profiling of migrants by the natives.

Another specifically reported encounter with ethnic discrimination was the loss of access to school fee bursaries, as recounted by Respondents 10, 14 and 16, respectively:

"Although [my] children were born here, they could not get school fee bursaries when I applied for them; it is the bursaries committee consisting of mainly government officials that declared them ineligible because we are not locals; that made us understand our position here as workers and nothing more than strangers to the locals. (Respondent 10, Pos. 9)."

"[I] live here and I regard myself as belonging to Naivasha because I live here, but there is already so much ethnic discrimination here; for example, when the school fee bursaries are

advertised, they are awarded only to the locals. If [I] apply for the same bursaries in my birthplace or marital home, I am told that the child does not go to school at home, which leaves the children at a disadvantage. (Respondent 14, Pos. 7)"

"When [I] applied for a school fee bursary for my child who was joining Form 1 here, the bursaries committee told me that I had not reached that level, yet they awarded the bursaries to locals who came after me with children in the same class. They discriminated against [my] child and me because I am not local. (Respondent 16, Pos. 9)."

The three accounts of discrimination in the disbursement of school fees bursaries suggest cases of migrants being subordinate to the hosts. The subordinate relationship has implications for the migrants' claim to citizenship rights, described in the last paragraph of 3.2.1. The migrants could not secure bursaries for their children, as authorities and committees informally limited access to the locals. Fear of hostility and experiences of ethnic violence from the locals prevented migrants from completing claims to residence and settlement rights in the Rift Valley. It was clear that, for migrants, living together with their hosts in the Rift Valley never meant equality, regardless of the national legal framework providing equal access to citizenship rights to the migrants and their hosts (Laws of Kenya, 2013).

Because of the discriminatory practices, migrants reconfigured their relationship with the host and their own kinsfolk. One realignment of these relationships, created by strengthening translocal linkages with their kin, induced migrants to consider their stay in the Rift Valley as a short-term venture. Respondent 19, a female migrant, despite staying put in the Rift Valley for 17 years, depicted intensified translocal linkages attributable to ethnopolitical turmoil in her statement:

"[I] relate well with the people at home, though after the post-election violence in 2007/2008, my relationship to my relatives at home became closer and more intense; we know violence can erupt at any time, and we could be sent back to our homelands anytime given that we are strangers here. Every day, the people at home would call [me] to find about our lives here. [I] keep my job, so I must keep living here. (Respondent 19, Pos. 8)."

The other reconfiguration was the superficiality of the relationships migrants claimed to have with their hosts, contrary to the genuine relationships they had anticipated, this lack of closeness hindered integration into the Rift Valley's host society, as captured by the statements of Respondents 14 and 19, respectively:

"We have that 'Habari-Nzuri - (What is the news-good)' *relationship, and it cannot go deeper than that even when you are in the middle of a crisis because the local people here behave as if we do not deserve to be here; they, especially the Kikuyus, discriminate against us. We cannot change their feelings towards us. (Respondent 14, Pos. 9)."*

"[My] relationship with the locals is okay; I see them with my eyes, but I live in fear; I can only have a superficial relationship with them. [I] exercise a lot of caution and restraint in my daily life to reduce the chances of facing discrimination. (Respondent 19, Pos. 9)."

As Respondent 14 states, migrants' children are disadvantaged as they face discrimination in the Rift Valley and the place of origin. Along similar lines, Respondent 1 highlights more consequences of ethnic discrimination in his statement:

"There are certain things that [I] can only accomplish if I get back to my native county. For example, [my] children can only get a national ID after getting an authorisation letter from the chief of my native place of origin, especially if the chief in my current settlement destination does not know them well. Secondly, there are jobs and appointive positions

preserved for the locals, which [my] children and I are technically barred from, given that I am an outsider to this county. (Respondent 1, Pos. 11)."

3.4.2.2 "We are nothing more than strangers to the locals": Othering and perpetual stranger-hood in the Rift Valley

When residing in the Rift Valley, migrants describe themselves as "strangers", a definition suggesting no claim to rights and resources in the Rift Valley, as members of the host community, who hold ancestral claims to the destination land make critical decisions that determine access to most resources. While most rural-rural migrants from Western Kenya exercised their rights to residence in the Rift Valley as peaceable and hard-working citizens, their status within the region and host communities is continuously scrutinised and questioned, despite the fact that the legality of their residences is acknowledged by the constitution (Laws of Kenya, 2013). Even though the migrants are physically undistinguishable, the locals set them apart, because of their recognisable surnames, culture, and accents. They are also stereotyped as poor or members of a particular political organisation, categorisations they may never have previously associated with themselves. The othering and the perpetual stranger-hood status applies to all migrants in the Rift Valley, regardless of whether they are recently arrived, permanent, or established. The migrants make up diverse groups, with a wide range of social and financial possibilities and a variety of origin and destination localities. Nevertheless, the changes in material relations upon migration make them all develop a sense of insecurity, adopting an 'us and them' mentality that forces them to define themselves in terms of difference from the Rift Valley locals (Milgroom and Ribot, 2020), and consequently take on their new identity as strangers.

In response to threats of othering, some migrants reported negotiating resource access in the Rift Valley by carefully juggling cultures. For example, Respondent 2, occupying in-between

spaces with the feeling that reducing the importance of his ethnicity was the way to access the Rift Valley's resources, reported, *"I must pretend to be loyal to the native community and try not to show my ethnicity. (Respondent 2, Pos. 7)."* Unlike Respondent 2, who was superficially ceding ethnic allegiance to the host community, other migrants positioned themselves as outsiders, expressed perpetual stranger-hood and denied belonging to the Rift Valley. For instance, Respondent 1 revealed his sense of stranger-hood in his statement: *"[I]am friendly to the people who live here, just as they are friendly to me, except that I feel like an outsider. (Respondent 1, Pos. 9)."* The stranger and outsider positions adopted by migrants in the Rift Valley reinforce boundaries and cleverly dislodge migrants from the Rift Valley, making them strangers whose familiar land is elsewhere. Such figurative dislocation may inflame competition over land, pasture, jobs, political power, and privileges, with migrants' engendering more social rupture, conflict, and dissolution (Kuiper, 2019, Milgroom and Ribot, 2020). Othering in the Rift Valley translates into a conflict of belonging, including questioning entitlement to local resources; a strong connection between these processes also appears in the findings of Gatwiri and Anderson (2021), where scrutiny and questioning of the status of international migrants within the local communities caused othering. Whether othering begins or ends this process, the link with migrant insecurity is indisputable.

3.4.3 Coping with the expectations-reality discrepancy, social disarticulation, and discrimination

Encounters with violated expectations, social disarticulation, and discrimination slow down the permanent settlement in the Rift Valley by making settling and integration at the destination highly stressful to migrants. Consequently, only a few manage to settle, while the majority remain unsettled. While shared commonalities in migration experiences abound, the challenges the Rift Valley presents require different coping mechanisms across migrant

typologies, reflecting the diverse degrees to which migrant groups can settle depending on their unique circumstances. Sections 3.4.3.1 and 3.4.3.2 discuss two coping mechanisms built around the everyday challenges in the Rift Valley: dual settlement and deferred settlement trajectories.

3.4.3.1 Dual settlement trajectory

The dual settlement trajectory involves migrants deriving benefits from working in the Rift Valley while at the same time contemplating returning home, where they had a proper sense of belonging, at the end of their working life. All the type 3 migrants and some of the Type 2 migrants displayed this trajectory. A majority had commitments to both origin and destination life as neither the wage level at destination nor the livelihood activities in the place of origin sufficed to support an average migrant household (Tostensen, 2004). Thus, they needed to juggle the cultures of two localities to attain a reasonable livelihood. Migrants on this trajectory must come to terms with the likelihood of occupying in-between space and carefully negotiate existence in two different but interrelated spaces as a means of survival as expressed in Respondents 10's statement:

"We have two lives, which are very different and incomparable, one in Naivasha and the other at home, and there are things I can own at home but not in Naivasha like land. (Respondent 10, Pos. 9)."

The migrants recognised the need for the Rift Valley employment opportunities and the farm income, land, and other resources at their place of origin. They thus regarded the Rift Valley as a workplace and the origin as a haven, a source of economic security and a dependable resource pool during uncertain economic and political hard times, or if conditions in the Rift

Valley become unendurable. Respondent 12, a 37-year-old female, plainly describes her view of the Rift Valley as follows:

"*For me, Naivasha is just a workplace; when the working phase is over, we must get back home. Naivasha is just a place for seeking money; [you] must go back home with the amount you have got (Respondent 12, Pos. 11)".*

Here, Respondent 12's view neither hints at an absence of attachment to the Rift Valley as a place nor vetoes the idea that her place of origin is perfect; instead, she asserts a right to occupy and work in the Rift Valley (Kuiper, 2019). For other migrants holding views like that of Respondent 12, translocalism was an adaptive tool that facilitated the development of performative competence. Migrants negotiate coexistence in the Rift Valley and the place of origin through continued identification with their destination and rural localities. In other instances, migrants downplayed their ethnicity, as depicted in Respondent 2's statement, *"I must pretend to be loyal to the native community and try not to show my ethnicity. (Respondent 2, Pos. 7)."* The findings support similar research involving other internal migrants in the Copperbelt, Zambia, who acquired performative competence to enable them to negotiate the downturn in their fortunes more successfully (Tostensen, 2004).

While the migrants experienced gains in private welfare and material circumstances, the improvements did not induce permanent settlement in the Rift Valley. Instead, the migrants used part of their earnings to plan for resettlement and invested heavily in maintaining a position in their place of origin just in case conditions deteriorated in the Rift Valley. They retained strong ties through gift exchanges, visits to kin, land ownership and livestock rearing to safeguard their future entitlement to assets in their origin communities, despite establishing themselves elsewhere. A dual settlement trajectory has also been a coping strategy in other African countries such as Zambia, where internal migrants established themselves in the

frontier settlements where they lived for several years while concurrently maintaining their official status in their home villages (Cliggett, 2000). According to Cliggett (2000), the dual life allowed migrants to explore better farming opportunities in the settlement destination while receiving other benefits in their origin communities, such as food handouts and assistance from relief programmes.

3.4.3.2 Deferred settlement trajectory

In the deferred settlement trajectory, migrants are stuck with the complexity of economic, social, cultural, and individual challenges that keep them unsettled in their place of origin, the Rift Valley, or any other place. Where migrants hold precarious jobs, lack alternative means of livelihood, have no land or home to return to and have pressing responsibilities for supporting their immediate family, they are more likely to defer their future settlement to fate, conceding that they had little choice in the matter, given their weak socio-economic status. In this study, certain migrants recounted postponing their settlement plans indefinitely; even when not at home in the Rift Valley, they considered their rural places of origin hostile, yet moving to an alternative place was out of the question, due to limited resources. Such migrants consider their life in the Rift Valley as problematic but beyond their control.

Examples of migrants with a deferred settlement trajectory are Respondents 3, 4, 7, 17 and 18. Respondent 3 led a solitary life in Naivasha, having distanced herself from relatives and friends in her birthplace, marital home, and destination. She stated that her life in Naivasha was not good, but she had no option when both relatives and friends left her isolated, though she had children who needed education and food. Respondent 3 initially moved to Naivasha with her brother; she later got married in 2008 and moved from Naivasha to join her husband in Kisumu in 2016. Two years later, she separated from her husband and moved back to Naivasha with her children. She worked on commission for credit microfinance and later

turned to domestic work as she continued to look for a decent job. Respondent 3 could not eke out a living in the Rift Valley and had a relatively small network consisting of only her children, who were minors, thus lacking social support systems that could help her to address her post-migration challenges.

Respondents 18, a migrant couple, moved to the Rift Valley citing limited job opportunities in their place of origin in Mumias, Kakamega County. The couple confessed that their life in Mumias was better than life in the Rift Valley but were unwilling to return, as they did not get along with their relatives at home. The male respondent reported that they were anxious about the ethnic profiling in the Rift Valley and the host community's distant relationship with migrants. However, they were not going to move anywhere else; he stated, "*If there is peaceful coexistence then we will stay here, but even when there is violence, we will still stay here. We will not return to Mumias. My wife and I are not going to move around here and there. (Respondents 18, Pos. 9).*" Although they owned a house on a parcel of land in Mumias, they did not have any title deed or land registration document. A land succession dispute divided man's family into factions, prompting his father and brothers to buy land elsewhere outside the home county. The couple also reported being unsettled in the Rift Valley because, as migrants, they did not understand the locality well and could not tell which parts of it were good or bad. The couple wished they could move to Kitale, in Bungoma County, which they considered not so far and not so close to their origin but lacked the means to convert their wishes into reality.

Although Respondents 3, 4, 7, 17 and 18 were unsettled and not at home in the Rift Valley, it was difficult to tell where their homes would finally be. The restricted labour market position of the respondents leaves them stuck in the Rift Valley, incapable of meeting their migration aspirations and with little hope of settling in the Rift Valley or moving elsewhere.

3.5 Conclusions

The study contributes to the scanty literature on the migration and settlement experiences of internal migrants. Firstly, the chapter shows that, despite their similar origins, rural-rural migrants in the Rift Valley are diverse in their settlement trajectories, thus challenging their image as a homogenous group occupying and settling in the Rift Valley in a uniform manner. Like the translocal social field of mineworkers described by Naumann and Greiner (2017), uneven job opportunities and resource differences set apart the migrant workers in the Kenyan Rift Valley and reflect an increasing socio-economic stratification. As depicted by the three typologies in section 3.3.4, there are multiple reasons for migration, including erroneous beliefs about differences in wages, social structure, and opportunities between Western Kenya and the destination that do not tie in with reality. Often the sources of these unrealistic beliefs are social networks, usually involving former migrants or friends and family living at the destination. The finding raises questions: firstly, as to the reliability and accuracy of the information offered inexpensively to potential migrants and, secondly, on the ability of potential migrants to gather and handle information.

Migration experiences in the Rift Valley suggest private gains in material wellbeing that go hand in hand with expectation violations, social disarticulation, and discrimination arising from the political notions of ethnic territories, which challenge the legitimacy of migrants' claims to local level citizenship, rights and resources. Becoming strangers induces most migrants to retain or rekindle translocal connections with their origin communities, reinvent themselves in the face of everyday realities, and temporarily create localised ways to live in the Rift Valley. In the short term, migrants may accept a subordinate relationship with the host and downplay their ethnicity. In the long term, as discussed in section 3.4.3, a few migrants settle permanently in the Rift Valley; however, most migrants remain unsettled and

opt for either a dual settlement trajectory or postponed settlement plans. The settlement trajectories embody unintentional and spontaneous migration and settlement experiences consequent on the decisions of many different actors, each making choices in a particular context.

Confronted by the crises of expectations violation, social disarticulation and discrimination, migrants react by changing the direction and location of their exchanges and development. In the case of migration from western Kenya to the Rift Valley, individuals who evaluated residence in migration destinations as high-risk sought to protect themselves from the uncertainties and dangers at their destinations by making material and non-material investments at an intended home elsewhere, a situation that reduces investment in the Rift Valley but transfers unexpected benefits to the origin. However, shifting migrants' development initiatives away from the Rift Valley in favour of the origin has implications for policymaking in devolved governance systems, which cling to sedentary concepts of development, ignoring the roles of the absent/temporary population of migrants in developing places and regarding migration and development as alternatives instead of linked processes.

Conflicts of belonging in Kenya's Rift Valley and elsewhere in developing countries, raising questions about who is entitled to benefit from local resources, stand at odds with policymakers' need to understand the translocal forces that shape the local comings and goings of the migrant population. For instance, the system of devolved governance adopted in Kenya fails to acknowledge the linkages that offer migrants opportunities to combine assets from their place of origin and at their destination. Therefore, it disrupts the migrant population's entitlement to local resources, since their dual settlement trajectories disqualify them from being community members in cases where this status would be beneficial to them, or may sideline them everywhere, as discussed in section 3.4.2. A time has come to

acknowledge that migration and settling experiences shape migrant realities, initiating stagnation or development in destinations and places of origin. It is, therefore, necessary to rethink policymaking in the context of devolution or any decentralisation, focusing on improving livelihood opportunities within administrative boundaries, and acknowledge migration and translocal linkages as everyday parts of life and development as more people move from place to place and engage in dual or networked livelihoods.

4 VIGNETTE EXPERIMENT ON THE ACCULTURATION OF INTERNAL MIGRANTS IN THE KENYAN RIFT VALLEY

Abstract

The acculturation process for internal migrants in ethnically diverse societies has received little academic attention, even less in the context of low-income countries where internal migration is often a cause of hostility. We filled this gap by building a more comprehensive picture of the dynamics of acculturation in the Rift Valley, a region in Kenya that has witnessed deep-seated ethnic intolerance between internal migrants and their hosts. We used a survey-based vignette experiment to assess the perceived relative importance of nine migrant characteristics for four acculturation preferences, namely marginalisation, separation, assimilation, and integration. Using a conditional logistic regression model to analyse the vignette experiment's data, we found that levels of education and experience of ethnic discrimination were perceived as substantial contributors to acculturation processes. We concluded by relating the findings to policies aimed at enhancing the experience of acculturation in order to produce more positive outcomes.

Keywords: *Internal migration, Acculturation, Vignette experiment, Ethnic discrimination*

4.1 Introduction

Internal migration in developing countries has contributed to economic development, in addition to people's experience of acculturation and the rise of ethnically plural societies (Ma and Xia, 2020). However, such ethnically plural societies are prone to social problems, such as ethnopolitical competition, ethnic discrimination, and violent conflicts (Tutu et al., 2018). These problems pose an integration challenge to social planners in the global south (McDoom, 2019). Most African countries have embraced a preservationist position that allows culturally diverse migrants to settle in their destinations, notwithstanding their customs (Tutu et al., 2018, Tutu et al., 2017). Although destination localities consist of spatially delineated ethnic enclaves (Adams and Van de Vijver, 2017), mixtures of migrants and hosts predominate in other locales, which are examples of intercultural living (Tutu et al., 2018). Revealing the richness of ethnic diversity and building an inclusive national identity are significant challenges for African nations (Adams and Van de Vijver, 2017).

Social engagement between migrants of diverse ethnicities and their host communities leads to acculturation, a process influential not only for local socio-economic development and stability but also for migrant wellbeing (Zhang et al., 2018). Göregenli et al. (2016) defined acculturation as the process of cultural and psychological adjustment resulting from continuing contact between migrants and their hosts. While most studies focus on the acculturation of international migrants (Mohanty et al., 2018, Ma and Xia, 2020), the reality of the acculturation process for internal migrants with ethnically diverse societies has received little attention (Tutu et al., 2018). The limited evidence in the internal migration literature reveals identity integration issues, adjustment patterns, and experiences comparable to international migration (Wang and Fan, 2012, Zhang et al., 2018, Ma and Xia, 2020, Göregenli et al., 2016, Tutu et al., 2018). Given the paucity of literature on the acculturation

of internal migrants in ethnically diverse societies in developing countries, it is helpful to extend studies to under-researched regions of the world to build a more comprehensive picture of the dynamics of acculturation in different contexts.

This study focuses on internal migration from one rural area to another in Kenya, a country in East Africa that has witnessed significant movements of internal migrants in the past two decades. The large commercial plantations and the availability of large tracts of land for farming activities and settlement have attracted migrants to the Rift Valley, an area characterised by fast economic development (Odipo, 2018). Some internal migrants in the Rift Valley, despite their long-standing residence, continue to identify with their origin society only, rather than with both the host and origin societies. Such migrants are mainly labelled as outsiders by themselves and by the host indigenous communities. The maladaptive socio-cultural acculturation of migrants and their hosts often triggers ethnic resentment, which causes recurrent animosity and violent conflicts in the region. A series of historical conflicts, culminating in the violence following the December 2007 elections, prompted the Government of Kenya to establish the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC). The commission's function includes promoting tolerance, understanding, and acceptance of diversity in all aspects of national life and encouraging full participation by all ethnic communities in the social, economic, cultural, and political life of other communities (Government of Kenya, 2008).

This study adopted the two-dimensional model of acculturation, which refers to the concurrent spiralling associations with both origin and host societies (Zhang et al., 2018), to explore the relative perceived importance of selected socio-demographics for acculturation preferences of internal migrants in the Kenyan Rift Valley. In doing so, it aimed to contribute to the infrequent literature on the acculturation of internal migrants and the development of

acculturation theory in the context of ethnic pluralism. To achieve the aim of the study, we implemented an experimental vignette that removed respondents' awareness of their behavioural stimuli, thus improving on the previous work on acculturation that relied on self-reports.

The innovative methodology used in this study combines both the high internal validity of experiments and the high external validity of survey research (Dülmer, 2016, Auspurg and Hinz, 2015). The survey-based experimental methodology overcame the limitations of cross-sectional data in earlier studies (Göregenli et al., 2016, Yue et al., 2020, Wang and Fan, 2012). First, the vignette experiment overcame the reversed causality problem that usually arises in cross-sectional studies if one asks, "How integrated are you?" Secondly, it overcame the limitation of systematic unobserved individual preferences that determine selection into different modes of acculturation. There was no unobserved heterogeneity within the hypothetical migrant profiles in this study, as the vignette experiment limited the factors of interest to nine. Thirdly, unlike a conservative cross-sectional analysis of migrants and their acculturation habits, the vignette experiment allowed for a quantitative assessment of the relative importance of all selected socio-demographics for acculturation preferences at once. The experimental approach confines our analysis to quantifying the perceived relative effects of different socio-demographic factors and discrimination experiences on the likelihood of a specific acculturation type and not the reality of the acculturation process for internal migrants. The study assumes that respondents accurately perceive the underlying causality, given that they are internal migrants; hence, the findings correspond to the actual causal effect. The findings contribute to understanding the perceived relative impact of different socio-demographic factors and discrimination experiences on the likelihood of a specific acculturation behaviour being adopted by internal migrants in the Kenyan Rift Valley. By positioning the findings within the national policies landscape, we contextualised actions in a

way designed to enhance the experience of acculturation towards more positive outcomes and alleviate the deep-seated ethnic intolerance between the internal migrants and their hosts in the Rift Valley.

4.2 Literature review

4.2.1 Theoretical framework

Early theorists of migrant adjustment believed that the acculturation process was unilinear or unidirectional towards assimilation. All migrants adapt to the national or mainstream culture (Adams and Van de Vijver, 2017). Assimilation theorists expected that immigrants' original ethnic behavioural patterns would weaken as their mainstream cultural patterns strengthened (Kim et al., 2013). The unidirectional model projected an eventual unification with the host community, characterised by loyalty and substantial compliance with the host community's norms, values, and codes of conduct and a weak relationship with the community of origin (Epstein and Heizler, 2015). However, subsequent scholarly works critiqued the unilinear or unidirectional model for ascribing cultural supremacy to the receiving society and treating identification with host and origin societies as mutually exclusive.

Therefore, this study aligns with the two-dimensional model of acculturation (Berry et al., 2006a), which recognises four acculturation processes: assimilation, integration, separation, and marginalisation (Epstein and Heizler 2015). Integration in this context means incorporating and exhibiting equally strong allegiance to the community of origin and the host society. In contrast, marginalisation means an insubstantial commitment to or profound disconnection from both the primary culture and the culture of origin. Separation occurs when a migrant maintains allegiance to the community of origin, combined with insubstantial participation in the host community, whereas assimilation occurs when migrants commit to the host culture and suppress their own (Epstein and Heizler 2015).

The two-dimensional model persists for studies concerning international migrants' adaptation in the settlement destination. However, research on the acculturation of internal migrants remains scarce in developing countries. A few studies, mostly limited to the Chinese context, have validated the viability of the two-dimensional model with internal migrants and have produced results like those on international migration (Yue et al., 2020, Wang and Fan, 2012, Ma and Xia, 2020). The two-dimensional model of acculturation could also apply to the Kenyan context, given that both Kenya and China are culturally very diverse. Unlike China, the site of most acculturation studies on internal migration, Kenya supports ethnic pluralism policies, and migrants face no internal visa system (such as China's hukou system) that limits assimilation or integration into the host society. On the premise that migrants adopt acculturation strategies based on their perception or interpretation of the host culture (Mohanty et al., 2018), we examined factors influencing acculturation from the migrants' perception, which may be contrary to the viewpoint of the host society.

4.2.2 Empirical review of the acculturation of internal migrants

Pyakuryal et al. (2011) suggested that a shift from traditional agricultural and close familial relationships to modern, industrial, and impersonal social contexts by internal migrants in the rural-urban migration stream is as daunting as international migration. In their view, internal migrants may become strangers in a familiar land, depending on their acculturation preferences (Tutu et al., 2018). At the personal level, factors such as age at migration, length of stay, level of education, and economic status are significant for acculturation (Epstein and Heizler 2015, Garcia et al., 2020). The findings of numerous empirical studies (Wang and Fan, 2012, Ma and Xia, 2020, Göregenli et al., 2016, Fox et al., 2013) suggest that a long time spent in the host community not only surmounts the initial difficulty of adaptation (Wang and Fan, 2012) but also augments the acquisition of knowledge of customs and language essential

for work (Tutu et al., 2018). The passage of time allows attitudinal changes in migrants and their hosts, thus accelerating the processes of assimilation and integration (Tutu et al., 2018, Yue et al., 2020, Tutu et al., 2017). Using acculturation preference constructs in Ghana, Tutu et al. (2018) found that a more extended stay in the host community weakens migrants' contact with their extended family, thus reorienting them to accept the host culture.

Similarly, Yue et al. (2020), in their study of rural-urban migrants' acculturation in China, pointed out that migrants tend to gradually discard their original culture as a consequence of a more extended stay in cities away from their home town. In line with previous literature, Göregenli et al. (2016) found that the length of time spent in cities significantly predicts integration preference among rural-urban migrants in Turkey. Contrary to most findings of acculturation studies, however, Wang and Fan (2012) found that the duration of stay did not influence identity integration.

Previous scholarly works also suggest that education affects acculturation. Evidence in the literature suggests that education liberalises one's social, political, and cultural values and expands one's opportunities in life (Yue et al., 2020, Wang and Fan, 2012, Kalmijn and Kraaykamp, 2018). According to Tutu et al. (2018), highly educated migrants are more likely to accept host culture orientation because they know better how to handle cultural diversity and have better market participation, which exposes them to more multi-ethnic contacts in public and private spheres (Kalmijn and Kraaykamp, 2018). Exposure to multi-ethnic contacts may facilitate learning about the outgroup. This new knowledge sequentially moderates prejudice (Pettigrew and Tropp, 2008) and reduces internal divisions between loyalties, aspirations, and fears connected with origin and host societies (Gaines Jr and Reed, 1995). In view of the literature, we hypothesise that higher education is likely to foster outgroup

orientation strategies such as assimilation and integration while hindering in-group orientation.

An additional personal characteristic associated with acculturation in the literature is the age of migration (Çaro, 2013, Ma and Xia, 2020). According to Ma and Xia (2020), older migrants have difficulty mastering new languages, social norms, and developing relationships with the local people, because knowledge acquisition and learning capabilities are inversely related to age. Çaro (2013) related a younger age of migration to more flexibility concerning keeping or challenging traditions and older age of migration to more conservativeness in upholding traditions. As a result, older migrants retain stronger connections with the origin community, while younger ones develop a greater willingness to interact with the host society (Çaro, 2013). Furthermore, clear memories of life before migration may be non-existent for younger migrants owing to their more prolonged exposure to the destination culture and limited experience in the original culture (Ma and Xia, 2020).

At the community level, social capital and the context of reception influence acculturation (Epstein and Heizler 2015). A harsh reception experience, such as discrimination, poor and unsafe neighbourhoods, and a lack of access to jobs and other social resources, may increase stress and difficulties associated with acculturation. Discrimination, for instance, increases the risk of maladaptive behaviours (Du and Li, 2015, Kim et al., 2018, Sudhinaraset et al., 2012). In an unfavourable context of reception, migrants may buffer themselves by clinging tightly to their ethnic traditions, resulting in separation (Kalmijn and Kraaykamp, 2018).

The literature review above provides insights into the personal level and community context factors for acculturation. We validated some of the factors in the Kenyan context and incorporated them as attributes of the experimental research design. In the next section, we outline the study area and discuss the elements of the innovative experimental design we used

to explore the contributions of individual migrant characteristics to the acculturation process of internal migrants in Kenya.

4.3 Study area, materials and methods

4.3.1 Study area

The Kenyan Rift Valley, where we carried out the study, is a cultural mosaic consisting of diverse languages, religions, cultures, values, and socio-economic backgrounds. Although predominantly rural, the Rift Valley is an interesting study location for exploring the acculturation of internal migrants; it is a hive of agri-based economic activities with a unique ethnic mix due to stable in-migration since 1963 (Oyvat and wa Gĩthĩnji, 2020). We interviewed migrants in two counties, Kericho and Nakuru, out of the 14 counties of the Rift Valley. In comparison to other counties, Kericho and Nakuru counties house many labour migrants from established sources in Nyanza and the western regions of Kenya because of opportunities to work in the labour-intensive commercial farming of tea and flowers (Lang and Sakdapolrak, 2014). Internal labour migrants, at the onset of migration, consider employment on commercial farms as an additional source of family income and as a temporary livelihood. Consequently, many circulate between the Rift Valley and countryside origins, where they have a social base and farmland. Some initially temporary migrants ultimately settle permanently in the vibrant ethnic enclaves at the destination due to increased attachment to those localities.

Until recently, Kenya lacked an inclusive national migration policy, and its pockets of migration policy strategies only targeted rural-to-urban migration streams to decelerate urban population growth rates (International Organization for Migration, 2015). Rural-to-rural migration to the Rift Valley, unlike rural-to-urban migration, proceeded unchecked. Historically, different acts of parliament informally promoted integration up to 2008. To

suppress the recurrent ethnic conflicts in the in-migration areas like the Rift Valley, the government of Kenya has since institutionalised the management of ethnic diversity by the establishment of the 2008 National Cohesion and Integration Act and ultimately the NCIC to nurture a national identity of its citizens and promote unity in diversity (Owino, 2013).

4.3.2 Behavioural patterns associated with acculturation preferences in the Kenyan Rift valley

In Kenya, anyone living outside their rural home is viewed as a '*mgeni'*, which means a 'foreigner/guest' or, more commonly, '*mhamiaji*', which means a 'migrant'. While the migrant label is somehow durable and persistent, applying to even families who have lived in an area for generations, perhaps with younger members who never have even set foot in their rural home (Jenkins, 2012). The foreigner or guest element is remarkably flexible and open to negotiation and renegotiation based on the acculturation orientations drawn around political affiliation, use and acceptance of host ethnic languages, names, food and culture (Abubakar et al., 2012).

Questions about who is and who is not welcome in the settlement destinations may be raised and debated repeatedly to set migrants' acculturation preferences apart. Assimilated migrants (*wahamiaji wa asili*) view the host community as brothers or cousins and vice versa. Their loss of touch with their origin, competence in the ethnic language of the host and often use of the host's burial, food and naming customs makes them more acceptable to the host. For example, assimilated migrants may perform the rituals and customs of burying in the destination instead of the pervasive practice of burying the dead in the ancestral land. According to Jenkins (2012), claims to belong and ethnic rights in the destination may be justified by the existence of ancestral graves.

On the other hand, integrated migrants (*wahamiaji jumuishi*) consider the host as allies and friends and vice versa. Like assimilated groups, they live in spaces that are usually a mix of various migrants and their host, a case of multicultural living. They hold to their customs but have partly adopted certain cultural practices of the host communities. For example, integrated migrants maintain the style and customs of the marriage of their ethnicities, name and circumcise their children following their traditional practices, and regularly travel to celebrate their ethnic festivals. However, the migrants also often participate in host festivals, marriage and burial ceremonies and prepare traditional meals associated with the host ethnic groups.

Separated migrants (*wahamiaji waliojitenga*) live in predominantly migrants spaces in largely homogenous ethnic enclaves, mostly named after a prominent place in the majority group's homeland, for example, '*Kakamega Ndogo*' meaning '*little Kakamega*' in Kericho. Occupying the enclaves and reproducing home locality through music, ritual celebrations, food, dress, and ethnic languages reflects the affective attachment of separated migrants to the origin and accentuate their visibility in the destination area, making them either strangers or enemies of the host community (Jenkins, 2012).

There is no equivalent local description of marginalisation preference as the chances of developing a cultural sense of identity exclusive of either the original or receiving cultural contexts are often very low in the Kenyan context. However, it was understood as the possibility of a migrant not practising the cultural norms of the origin or the host community.

4.3.3 Vignette experiment

Vignettes are short descriptions of hypothetical characters in specified circumstances to whose situation the respondent is invited to respond (Finch, 1987). Although we are not aware of the application of vignette experiments to acculturation studies, the technique has a long

history in exploring attitudes, beliefs, and causal relationships on sensitive issues (Kootstra, 2016, Lee and Scott, 2017). Recurrent ethnic conflicts in the Kenyan Rift Valley have made the acculturation of migrants a sensitive social process: the use of conservative cross-sectional survey instruments to discuss and measure it has become problematic. Consequently, we employed a vignette experiment because of its suitability for investigating human judgments by representing the lives of others instead of that of the respondent, thus reducing emotional tension (Stoebenau et al., 2019). The use of experimental manipulations additionally conceals the identity of the subject tested, allowing examination of the perceived role of the multiple factors on acculturation in respondents' views. The absence of the respondents' cognisance of the study objective and treatments also reduces social desirability bias (Kootstra, 2016, Lee and Scott, 2017, Stoebenau et al., 2019).

We obtained insights into potential attributes and attribute levels included in the vignette experiment through a literature review of Lang and Sakdapolrak (2014), Timotijevic and Breakwell (2000) and Epstein and Heizler (2015). In the literary works, factors such as age, length of residence, language, age at arrival, mobility, origin, profession, education level, economic status, religion, friendship cycles as well as the characteristics of the communities inhabiting the place, such as the community's preference for ingroup or outgroup culture, size of the community, economic development, social composition and bonds determine a migrant adjustment and acculturation in the destination locality. We understood the vignette's potential attributes and their possible levels by conducting 19 in-depth interviews with migrants living in the Rift Valley on their acculturation behaviour, focusing on why they chose a certain extent of participation in the host and origin cultures. Subsequently, we carried out two focus group discussions to interrogate the relevance of the many factors from the literature and the in-depth interviews to the Kenyan Rift valley context. In the two focus group discussions, the participants listed the nine factors that mostly influence migrant adjustment in the Rift Valley

context by way of consensus. Unexpectedly the lists elicited from the two independent focus group discussions contained similar factors summarised in Table 4-1.

Table 4-1: Attributes and attribute levels

Factor	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
Length of residence in Rift Valley	1 year	6 years	11 years	16 years
Age at first migration	2nd Generation migrant	7 years old	14 years old	21 years old
Level of education	Primary level	Secondary level	Tertiary college level	University level
Household income status	Low income	Middle income	High income	
Experience of ethnic discrimination in the labour market and residential environments	No	Yes		
Mother's origin	Different ethnic group	Same ethnic group		
Spouse's origin	Different ethnic group	Same ethnic group		
Membership of a migrant association	No	Yes		
Family residence	Siblings & parents live in the community of origin	Siblings & parents live outside the community of origin		

Each vignette set described two hypothetical migrants presenting variable plexuses of information on each migrant's length of residence in the Rift Valley, age at first migration, level of education, income status, the experience of discrimination, mother's origin, spouse's origin, membership of migrant associations, and family residence. We presented each participant with 16 vignette sets (see *Figure 4-1: Example of a vignette set*). At the end of each vignette set, we asked the respondents to indicate which of the two migrants, based on the attribute levels, is likely to be separated, marginalised, assimilated, or integrated.

CE_ChoiceTask1. Which of the following migrants is likely to be:

	Migrant 1	Migrant 2
Length of residence in the Rift valley	11 yrs.	1 yr.
Age at first migration	2nd generation migrant	14 years old
Level of education	Primary school	Tertiary college
Household income status	High income	Middle income
Experience ethnic discrimination in the labour market and residential environments	No	No
Mother's origin	Same ethnic group	Different ethnic group
Spouse's origin	Same ethnic group	Different ethnic group
Membership to migrant association	No	Yes
Family residence	Siblings & parents are living outside community of origin	Siblings & parents are living in community of origin

	Migrant 1	Migrant 2
Separated:	○	○
Assimilated:	○	○
Marginalised:	○	○
Integrated:	○	○

Figure 4-1: Example of a vignette set

4.3.4 Study design and questionnaire

Combining the nine emergent attributes and various attribute levels in Table 4-1would have resulted in 6,144 possible vignette scenarios. A questionnaire with a complete factorial design consisting of all the vignette scenarios is extensive and impractical to evaluate (Walker et al., 2018). Quota designs, specifically fractional factorial and D-efficient designs, are alternative approaches for reducing a full factorial design (Auspurg and Hinz, 2015). Evidence in the literature suggests that a D-efficient design requires a smaller sample size than a random orthogonal design to estimate all parameters at statistical significance, thus it is better than fractional factorial designs (Rose and Bliemer, 2013). Bliemer and Rose (2011), in a comparative study of orthogonal designs and efficient designs, showed that efficient designs

produced lower standard errors in the estimated parameters compared to the orthogonal design, thus outperforming the orthogonal design. The fractional factorial designs are always orthogonal, but they are not necessarily balanced (Dülmer, 2016). In the experiment, we opted for a D-efficient design that relaxes the orthogonality requirement and allows the balance of a design to be improved, an aspect often sacrificed by fractional factorial designs to preserve orthogonality (Dülmer, 2016).

We developed a D-efficient design in NGENE using Fedorov's algorithm. Two vignette dimensions (length of residence, age at first migration) are quantitative metric variables. We treat the remaining dimensions as categorical variables. Our design consisted of two blocks of 16 pairs of vignette scenarios constructed based on the D-efficiency, thus maximising balance and orthogonality. With the number of rows specified in our design, all the attributes did have a level balance except household income status. The design had a D-error = 0.06, A-error =0.15, and S-estimate =78.31. With a sample of 32 vignette scenarios out of the possible 6,144, we estimated all scenario-specific main effects (i.e., to determine the influence of migrant attributes on acculturation preference for marginalisation, separation, assimilation, and integration). Each question started with a detailed description of two migrants (see Figure 4-1). We randomly assigned respondents to a block and randomised the order of the vignette pairs in qualtrics. In each vignette scenario, we asked the respondents to consider the specific migrant descriptions as realistic and to choose the migrant who was most likely to adopt marginalisation, separation, assimilation, and integration. We explained to the respondents the meaning of marginalisation, separation, assimilation, and integration in Swahili as follows: marginalisation as identification with neither host nor origin cultures (kutokujitambulisha na tamaduni za asili au tamaduni za kigeni), separation as identification with origin culture only (kujitambulisha au utamaduni wa asili pekee), assimilation as identification with the host culture only (kujitambulisha na utamaduni wa ugenini pekee), and integration as identification

with both the host and origin cultures (kujitambulisha na tamaduni zote za kikabila na za kigeni). An interpretation problem that may have arisen because of translating the four acculturation profiles from English to Swahili may have had negligible effects on the assignment of hypothetical migrants to a particular acculturation preference. The questionnaire further contained a question on the gender of the respondent. To derive reliable inferences based on an S-estimate of 78.31, we required sample size of at least 79 migrants to participate in the vignette experiment. We interviewed 280 participants (54% male and 46% female) recruited from twenty-eight randomly selected "nyumba kumi" clusters of migrant neighbourhoods in the two counties of the Rift Valley (Kericho and Nakuru). We administered the vignette experiment questionnaire face-to-face, using a tablet between June and September 2020.

4.3.5 Statistical analysis

Our vignette experiment had 16 vignette pair evaluations per respondent, which resembles a one-to-one case-control study where the one option that is selected matches the one case, and the other option that is not selected matches the control (Menard, 2010). Given the interdependence of separate observations clustered within individual respondents (matched vignette pairs and multiple observations per respondent), a conditional logistic regression was the most appropriate estimation procedure (Menard, 2010). Using the software Stata 16, we analysed the data estimating a conditional (fixed effects) logistic regression. The vignette experiment contained four dependent variables (marginalisation, separation, assimilation, and integration) for each pair of vignette scenarios. We coded the dependent variables as 0 if a respondent did not select a migrant for a particular acculturation preference and 1 if a respondent selected a migrant for a particular acculturation preference, that is, marginalisation, separation, assimilation, and integration. The equation for the conditional logistic regression model is $Logit(Y) = \beta_i X_i + \gamma_k Z_k$, where X represents the characteristics

of the individual making the choice, and Z represents the characteristics of the choices. We specified the conditional logistic regression model as follows: $Logit(Y) = \sum_{k=1}^{n} \gamma Z$. The predictors $Z_1, Z_2, \ldots Z_k$ typically represent the attributes of the hypothetical migrants as set out in Table 1. The attributes potentially influence whether an individual adopts an acculturation behaviour or not. $\gamma_1, \gamma_2 \ldots \gamma_k$ represent the coefficients of the attributes.

4.4 Results and discussion

We estimated a conditional logistic regression model for each dependent variable, as shown in Table 4-2 (see section 8.2 for details).

Table 4-2: Odds ratios for the conditional (fixed effects) logistic regressions for the acculturation strategies

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
	Marginalization	Separation	Assimilation	Integration
Acculturation				
Length of residence in Rift Valley	0.933***	0.848***	1.146***	1.149***
	(-4.10)	(-8.53)	(7.48)	(8.68)
Age at first migration	1.078***	1.166***	0.887***	0.845***
	(3.75)	(6.87)	(-5.69)	(-9.05)
Secondary school	0.645***	0.602***	1.516***	1.557***
	(-4.31)	(-5.11)	(4.08)	(4.94)
Tertiary education	0.885	0.711**	1.701***	1.254
	(-1.01)	(-2.81)	(4.33)	(1.89)
University education	0.506***	0.199***	3.770***	3.706***
	(-3.46)	(-7.53)	(6.31)	(7.64)
Middle income	0.723***	0.973	0.787***	1.087
	(-5.32)	(-0.52)	(-4.46)	(1.29)
High income	0.864**	1.109	0.871**	1.042
	(-3.07)	(1.91)	(-2.67)	(0.87)
Experience of ethnic discrimination	1.650***	3.126***	0.366***	0.379***
	(7.50)	(15.75)	(-14.69)	(-12.59)
Mother with same ethnicity	0.846***	1.504***	0.616***	1.099*
	(-4.33)	(8.49)	(-11.69)	(2.37)
Spouse with same ethnicity	0.676***	1.985***	0.381***	0.791***
	(-6.43)	(14.73)	(-17.68)	(-7.48)
Membership of migrant association	0.669***	1.219***	0.644***	1.396***
	(-9.28)	(4.09)	(-9.06)	(7.48)
Family resides in the community of origin	0.883***	1.053	0.858***	1.180***
	(-4.03)	(1.28)	(-3.36)	(4.58)
Observations	8942	8942	8942	8942
Log lik.	-2818.3	-2427.6	-2430.6	-2565.1
Chi-squared	450.1	472.3	853.1	380.5

Notes: Exponentiated coefficients; t statistics in parentheses.
Significance levels: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$.

In general, all the variables operate in the direction that one would expect, with the length of residence, age at migration, level of education, and experience of ethnic discrimination results

in Table 4-2 suggesting a similarity in the predicted directions for acculturation profiles that entail host society engagement, such as integration and assimilation profiles. We have also established similarities in predicted directions for acculturation that entail host society non-engagement, such as marginalisation and separation. The results also show that all family context variables, such as mother's ethnicity, membership of a migrant association, and family residence, are positively related to strategies favouring origin culture maintenance, i.e. separation and integration. The family context variables all work to protect the original ethnic identity. The results suggest similarity in the predicted direction for acculturation profiles that entail ethnic society immersion, such as separation and integration, and a similarity in the predicted direction for acculturation profiles that entail ethnic society non-engagement, such as assimilation and marginalisation. Together with the findings of other studies, this study shows that family context stimulates in-group orientation and immersion.

To compare the coefficients of the four conditional regressions models, we used the Wald test for seemingly unrelated estimation (SUEST). Table 4-3 summarises the results of the Wald test of coefficients.

Table 4-3: Comparison of conditional logit coefficients using Wald test for seemingly unrelated estimation (SUEST)

	S-A	S-I	A-I	M-S	M-A	M-I
Length of residence in Rift Valley	78.39***	144.86***	0.01	13.84***	57.82***	66.73***
Age at first migration	48.35***	125.22***	2.82	6.86**	38.84***	69.35***
Secondary school	25.57***	49.56***	0.04	0.21	34.00***	31.85***
Tertiary education	16.27***	11.99***	2.95	1.53	12.84***	3.63
University education	58.10***	123.31***	0.00	9.91**	43.01***	53.27***
Middle income	5.42*	1.83	15.05***	14.52***	1.16	15.65***
High income	6.47*	0.73	6.12*	11.22***	0.01	6.03*
Experience of ethnic discrimination	268.63***	239.51***	0.25	72.06***	163.21***	133.26***
Mother with same ethnicity	126.23***	26.70***	91.80***	80.61***	33.38***	18.06***
Spouse with same ethnicity	333.82***	229.73***	146.89***	214.90***	82.27***	4.62*
Membership of migrant association	58.96***	3.76	145.75***	79.81***	0.37	97.78***
Family resides in the community of origin	7.19**	4.60*	27.00***	10.87***	0.28	30.73***

Notes: Separation (S), Assimilation (A), Marginalization (M), Integration (I). Significance levels: * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$

The findings point to differences between the four acculturation preferences and their association with the factors theorised to encourage or constrain each of them. In general, the migrants attach substantial importance to university-level education and experience of ethnic discrimination, as shown in Table 4-2. In all the four acculturation preferences, university education is more significant than the effect of the experience of ethnic discrimination. Both university education and the experience of discrimination have the most substantial effect on separation, followed by integration, then marginalisation and the weakest effect on assimilation. For both university education and experience of discrimination, the Wald test of coefficients in Table 4-2 confirmed a significantly more substantial effect on separation than on marginalisation. In contrast, the Wald test of coefficients revealed that the perceived effects of university-level education and discrimination on the assimilated preference were not significantly different from the perceived effects on the integrated preference.

The analysis revealed that outgroup orientation increased with education. Our results indicate that a university-level education increases the probability of assimilation and integration more than threefold. The finding of a weak endorsement of origin culture maintenance in migrants with higher education and weak endorsement of host culture adoption in migrants with lower levels of education suggests that higher education is beneficial to host society identity. We argue that a further increase in the average level of education would imply a narrowing of the social distance between migrants and their hosts, making separation and marginalisation more improbable. The view that people with higher education tend to have fewer conservative values, enabling assimilation and integration, explains this finding (Kalmijn and Kraaykamp, 2018). The literature on the relationship between acculturation and education is inconsistent (Huijnk et al., 2012, Nekby et al., 2009). The literature in cross-cultural psychology suggests a positive association between education and ethnic identity, implying a probability of separation or integration with higher education; however, economic literature suggests a

negative correlation between ethnic identity and education, implying a probability of assimilation or marginalisation with higher education (Nekby et al., 2009). Nekby et al. (2009) showed that the probability of assimilation or separation compared to integration is uncorrelated to measures of educational achievement.

Results in Table 4-2 show that the likelihood of separation from their hosts more than triples, whereas discrimination reduces the possibility of either assimilation or integration by more than 60%. The result aligns with the evidence in the literature suggesting a detrimental influence of discrimination on successful acculturation of internal migrants (Sudhinaraset et al., 2012) as well as international migrants (Abu-Rayya, 2009, Schwartz et al., 2010, Kim et al., 2018, Lee, 2019, Mohanty et al., 2018). Perceived or actual discrimination intensifies ethnic identities and causes resistance to adopting the host society's identifications, practices, and values. Discrimination introduces the reality of minority status, unfair stereotyping, and ethnic conflicts. These trigger a negative response, where migrants become more oriented to their ethnic groups to protect themselves: a phenomenon known as reactive ethnicity or oppositional culture (Schwartz et al., 2010, Kalmijn and Kraaykamp, 2018).

Age at migration was perceived as the weakest factor for assimilation, followed by the length of residence in the Rift Valley. For marginalisation, the perceived weakest factor is the length of residence in the Rift Valley, followed by age at migration. The length of residence and age at migration had moderate effects on separation and integration, respectively, compared to other factors. Length of residence comes in the ninth and tenth positions for separation and integration, respectively. On the other hand, age at migration is in the tenth position for separation and the eighth for integration. The Wald test of coefficients in Table 4-3 revealed a significantly stronger effect of length of residence and age at first migration on separation than marginalisation. The Wald test of coefficients, in contrast, showed that the perceived

effect of length of residence and age at migration on the perceived assimilated preference was not significantly different from the perceived effect on the integrated preference. In comparing the four acculturation strategies, length of residence had the most potent effect on separation, followed by assimilation and integration, and the weakest effect on marginalisation. Also, age at migration had the most substantial effect on assimilation, followed by integration, then separation and lastly marginalisation.

A shorter length of residence in the Rift Valley is associated with a higher likelihood of separation and marginalisation preferences. In contrast, a lengthy residence in the Rift Valley improves the likelihood of assimilation and integration. Our finding on the perceived effect of length of residence in the host community contradicts the results of Wang and Fan (2012), which establish no relationship between duration in the settlement destination and host society identification for internal migrants in China. Nonetheless, it is consistent with the bulk of the migration literature, which claims that extended duration of stay and sustained exposure to the host culture reflect a desire for attachment to the host society once the initial adaptation difficulty is overcome (Ma and Xia, 2020, Huijnk et al., 2012). The literature has recognised that those who have had a long residence in the host community are better integrated or assimilated (Mohanty et al., 2018).

In agreement with previous empirical studies, age at migration has an inverse relationship with assimilation and integration but a positive association with marginalisation and separation (Schwartz et al., 2010, Petreñas et al., 2019). Scholarly works link migration at a younger age to little resistance to host culture values, practices, and identification as well as the ability to learn (Schwartz et al., 2010, Petreñas et al., 2019). On the other hand, older age limits knowledge of the host environment, learning additional languages and social norms, and makes starting relationships with the host community challenging (Ma and Xia, 2020).

Unlike older migrants, younger migrants experience longer exposure to the destination culture than to the society of origin, which enhances their orientation to the host group and their adaptation to the host context.

The limited possibility of marginalisation preference among migrant groups is a possible reason for the significantly stronger perceived effects of university education, the experience of discrimination, length of residence and age at migration on separation and marginalisation, respectively. It is also a potential explanation for why the length of residence and age at migration has the weakest effect on marginalisation compared to other acculturation strategies. The chances of an individual developing a cultural sense of identity exclusive of either the original or receiving cultural contexts are often very low (Schwartz et al., 2010).

The Wald test of coefficients, in contrast, showed that the perceived effect of secondary school education and tertiary education on the assimilated preference were not significantly different from the perceived effect on the integrated preference. The Wald test of coefficients reveals that the effects of middle-income status, high-income status, family residence in the community of origin, and membership of a migrant association on assimilation are not significantly different from their effects on marginalisation. Family residence in the community of origin does not influence integration, while the effect of membership of a migrant association on integration is not significantly different from its effect on separation. On the contrary, the Wald test of coefficients reveals a more substantial negative effect of the mother's ethnicity on assimilation than on marginalisation and a more substantial positive effect on separation than on integration. Also, the Wald tests for the coefficient for spouse's ethnicity show a more negative effect on assimilation than on marginalisation and a more negative effect on marginalisation than on integration.

It is noteworthy that the influence of income status is inconsequential for integration and separation preferences, but this is not surprising given that certain studies have noted the marginal influence of economic factors on acculturation (Kalmijn and Kraaykamp, 2018, Wang and Fan, 2012, Fox et al., 2013). The finding is somewhat analogous to the result of Wang and Fan (2012), who suggested a minor consequence of monthly income for a migrant's chances of integration. High-income relative to low-income status was negatively correlated with marginalisation and assimilation, as shown in Table 4 2. Similarly, middle-income status was inversely related to marginalisation and assimilation. According to Kalmijn and Kraaykamp (2018), assimilation is not likely when migrants achieve economic success. This result indicates the limited role of the economic positions of individual migrants in acculturation (Kalmijn and Kraaykamp, 2018, Fox et al., 2013). Our finding implies that economic accomplishment may be extraneous to migrants' socio-cultural integration.

It is also important to note that family contextual factors are pertinent, particularly when examining their role in perpetuating separation preference. For instance, having a spouse of the same ethnicity nearly doubles the chances of separation, whereas having a mother from the same ethnic origin increases the likelihood of separation by 50%. The spouse's ethnicity and the mother's ethnicity are the second and fourth most prominent contributors to the probability of being in the separated profile. However, the contribution of these contextual factors to integration, assimilation, and marginalisation is modest. This finding suggests that family context matters for both ethnic-cultural maintenance and host-cultural adaptation attitudes, but not to the same extent. The family context is more strongly related to socio-cultural maintenance than socio-cultural adaptation (Huijnk et al., 2012). Apart from family residence outside the community of origin, all other family context variables embed migrants into their ethnic community and reduce the opportunities for ethnic assimilation. Unexpectedly, our study showed that family residence outside the community of origin does

not influence separation and lowers the likelihood of integration but raises the probability of assimilation and marginalisation. As expected, membership of a migrant association as opposed to non-membership lowers the odds of absolute involvement with the host society and lowers the odds of complete disconnection with both host and origin societies. Thus, it is correlated negatively with marginalisation and assimilation. Similarly, membership of a migrant association as opposed to non-membership raises the probability of partial or absolute engagements with the origin society and is thus positively associated with separation and integration. Membership of migrant associations, just like any social group membership, furthers a sense of belonging and a sense of emotional attachment (Adams and Van de Vijver, 2017).

In summary, the results from the vignette experiment were comparable to past studies on acculturation that employed non-experimental research techniques; this indicates that an individual's stated acculturation behaviour is consistent with the actual acculturation behaviour.

4.5 Policy implications and conclusion

The migrants' characteristics and family context variables all proved to influence the perception of acculturation behaviour, but not to the same degree. Experience of discrimination and a university-level education contribute immensely to acculturation, as evidenced by the magnitude of the odds ratios. Experience of discrimination had the most substantial influence on separation and marginalisation. If a migrant experienced ethnic discrimination in the Rift Valley, their chances of adopting a separation acculturation strategy increased threefold, and the chances of marginalisation increased by 65%. This study shows that the critical hindrance to achieving integration in the Kenyan Rift Valley is ethnic discrimination. This finding emphasises the need for the Kenyan government to tackle the

issue of continuing discrimination on the grounds of ethnicity, in addition to the protections offered under the National Cohesion and Integration Act. It is relevant to the Kenyan public debate on creating a non-discriminatory society many citizens aspire to have. Although the country has made substantial progress in increasing the protection of rights to non-discrimination in its legal and policy framework, this hardly translates into tangible changes on the ground. There is still a clear need to improve the implementation and enforcement of existing laws tackling ethnic discrimination at all levels. One line of action that might mitigate the problem of ethnic discrimination would be to give prosecutorial powers to independent bodies such as the NCIC, which has the mandate to eliminate ethnic discrimination and promote tolerance among Kenyans. The NCIC has remained dormant because it lacks the prosecutorial powers to enforce laws against people who incite others to ethnic violence (Nyaura, 2018).

A university-level education had the most substantial influence on assimilation and integration; it more than tripled the likelihood of these two acculturation strategies. The relationship between education and integration or assimilation suggests that migrants' accumulation of human capital through education is conducive to their identification with host residents. This finding aligns with the belief that better-educated people can acquire and apply positive values in society (Maende, 2016). The role of education in the lives of migrants and their hosts is vital, as it helps people to develop their abilities to understand and connect with others in their environment. Our findings justify the government policy position that education is not only free but also compulsory. Although Kenya acknowledges the perceived advantages of education for integration and guarantees free and universal access to basic education (primary and secondary) for all citizens in the Basic Education Act 2013 and in the Constitution of Kenya (2010), factors related to poverty and economic choice may impede access to education. The policy framework does not guarantee the achievement of education,

and hence, integration. Stakeholders in public education need a more inclusive approach to address all the institutional and economic obstacles hindering integration mechanisms that lead towards national cohesion.

Although there are numerous scholarly works on acculturation upon international migration, the literature on the acculturation of internal migrants in developing countries remains scarce, despite evidence suggesting identity integration issues, adjustment patterns, and experiences comparable to international migration. This study examined the contribution of migrants' characteristics to the perception of acculturation of internal migrants in the Kenyan Rift Valley, using an innovative vignette experiment to contribute to the methodology and the rare pieces of literature on the acculturation of internal migrants in under-researched regions of the world. This methodological approach facilitated examination of the acculturation of internal migrants from the individual viewpoints of migrants, rather than looking at the broader process of acculturation involving both migrants and their hosts.

While we found that migrants' characteristics and family context variables influenced the acculturation process to variable extents, our results further reinforce evidence on the role of education and discrimination in acculturation processes. Migrants' perceived tendencies to assimilate or integrate are connected with low levels of discrimination and high levels of education, whereas tendencies to separate or marginalise relate to high levels of discrimination and low levels of education.

The use of vignette experiments in exploring attitudes, beliefs, and causal relationships in social processes is on the rise. Applying an innovative vignette experiment is a methodological contribution of this study that demonstrated the feasibility of eliciting the determinants of acculturation behaviour. Our vignette experiment offered insights into subjects' acculturation behaviour dictated by postulated individual circumstances. Although

specific motivations and characteristics of individual migrants are likely to affect their perceptions of acculturation preference, it was not within the scope of the study to address the issue of individual heterogeneity in the perception of migrant preferences.

5 THE NEXUS OF WELLBEING, TRANSLOCAL LINKAGES AND MIGRANT ADJUSTMENT

Abstract

Many migration studies in Africa suggest that internal migrants develop multiple identities and retain translocal linkages to their home villages, resulting in a dual living system that simultaneously places migrants at their place of origin and destination. However, the effects of the translocal linkages and migrant adjustment on wellbeing have received hardly any academic attention. We fill the gap in knowledge by investigating factors affecting rural-rural migrants' relational, economic and subjective dimensions of wellbeing, paying particular attention to translocal linkages and migrants' adjustments. Using generalised ordered logit models to analyse the cross-sectional survey data, we find that socio-economic factors, especially employment status and wealth, have more substantial effects on the three dimensions of wellbeing than migrants' adjustments and translocal linkages. We contextualise the findings in relation to policies for enhancing migrants' access to the county-level job market in their settlement destinations.

Keywords: *Internal migration, Acculturation, Translocal linkages, wellbeing*

5.1 Introduction

There is worldwide recognition of wellbeing as an alternative measure for a country's success. The aim of any economic and social policy should perhaps be to improve wellbeing since traditional economic success measures such as per capita income or gross domestic product leave numerous valuable things in life (Winkelmann, 2005, Bartolini and Bilancini, 2010). An upsurge in the number of theoretical and empirical studies on the wellbeing of general populations and international migrants signals progress in understanding indicators of success in people's lives (Bak-Klimek et al., 2015, D'Isanto et al., 2016). Only recently, the wellbeing of internal migrants has received academic attention. So far, most studies concentrate on the effects of socioeconomic status on the economic and subjective dimensions of the wellbeing of rural-urban migrants, thus neglecting rural-rural migrants and other dimensions of wellbeing such as relational wellbeing (Liu et al., 2017).

Literature from the wellbeing studies indicates that migrants have low living standards (Nowok et al., 2013, Knight and Gunatilaka, 2010). However, a missing explanation of the low standard of living that remains unexplored in the literature is the nexus between dimensions of wellbeing, migrants' adjustment and the spatial agency connecting origin and destination, often known as translocal linkages. Translocal linkages connect immobile people in origin and mobile people destination and facilitate the circulation of resources, ideas, knowledge, and identities (Naumann and Greiner, 2017). The linkages include exchanges of material goods, money and knowledge; reverse linkages from the place of origin to the migrant; and non-exchange behaviours such as returning visits, split householding and owning land or housing in the place of origin (Tilghman, 2014).

This chapter investigates the factors that influence rural-rural migrants' subjective, economic and relational dimensions of wellbeing in the Kenyan Rift Valley, paying particular attention to translocal linkages and migrants' adjustment to fill in these knowledge gaps. Empirically,

we treat wellbeing as a multidimensional concept comprising subjective wellbeing (overall life satisfaction), economic wellbeing (living standard satisfaction), and relational wellbeing (satisfaction with relationships with family and friends). We use the ordered logit and generalised ordered logit models to identify the factors significantly influencing migrants' wellbeing dimensions based on questionnaire data collected in Kericho and Nakuru counties of Kenyan Rift Valley. This study goes beyond earlier studies on internal migration in Kenya by focusing mainly on the often neglected rural-rural migrants and examining the effect of migrants' translocal linkages and adjustment on subjective, economic and relational dimensions of wellbeing. To the best of our knowledge, no study has attempted to sort out the intricate nexus of the three dimensions of wellbeing, translocal linkages and migrant adjustment in Kenya.

The rest of the paper has into four sections. The following section reviews the literature on migration, translocalism, the economic, subjective and relational dimensions of wellbeing and presents the study's working hypothesis. Section three presents the data collection and analysis methods, a description of study variables and the sample characteristics. Section four presents and discusses the study's findings. The final section concludes the study by contextualising the findings with policies to enhance the migrants' access county-level job market.

5.2 Literature review

5.2.1 Migration and translocalism

Translocalism implies a relational perspective that blurs the representation of spatial dichotomies of space and place or rural and urban. Multiple connections traverse the spatial dichotomies besides circumstances and occurrences at one place explain and influence the conditions of another connected place (Benz, 2016, Benz, 2014). Translocal subjectivities

occur through geographical mobility, then shaped via links to kin and places in the communities of origin (Harris and Prout Quicke, 2018). The migration does not spontaneously lead to translocalism, but it establishes either symbiotically, retaining identification with the place of origin or through recurrent interaction entailing physical contact or material exchange linkages within individuals' translocal networks (Beauchemin and Safi, 2020, Lata, 2017). Greiner (2010) stated that translocalism could transform actors' lifestyles and translocal spaces as individuals exchange ideas, resources, and practices and implement destination conveniences in the places of origin and vice versa.

Internal migrants, unlike international migrants, are more likely to have more intense translocal ties given the freedom to move back and forth without restrictions of another country's migration policy. A dual living system with one foot in the rural homes and the other foot elsewhere, making translocality a common phenomenon among most migrants (Tilghman, 2014). The enduring translocal linkages between home villages to other destinations have attracted research interests in various academic disciplines in developing countries, where rural origins remain materially, symbolically and economically central to the mobile and immobile population (Sakdapolrak, 2014, Steinbrink, 2009, Greiner, 2010, Gidwani and Ramamurthy, 2018, Benz, 2014, Benz, 2016, Naumann and Greiner, 2017). For instance, Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013a) observed that the internal migrants in Kenya keep intense connections with the origin as they add some origin elements to their livelihoods in various destinations. The finding dissipates the migration assumption that mobility decreases people's sense of belonging to a place and reveals that migration may allow for simultaneous belonging to multiple places and strengthen translocal linkages (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013a).

Many studies in Africa have described how mobility patterns shape the nature, extent, directions and dynamics of translocal relations between rural and urban spaces (Greiner,

2010, Naumann and Greiner, 2017, Steinbrink, 2009). The studies suggest that African migrants are likely to develop multiple identities that combine origin and destination lifestyles due to ethnic pluralism policies endorsing multiple group memberships promoted by most governments in the continent. Consequently, the migrant population often remain highly mobile, circular and embedded in a 'home' they usually construct and imagine based on their experiences of safety, trust, support and stability.

The strength of translocal connections has different implications for social resilience and wellbeing (Petrou, 2018, Peth and Sakdapolrak, 2020). From the angle of vulnerability and livelihood research, several studies suggest that social support from the intentional involvement in translocal linkages and social ties positively influences social resilience (Benz, 2014, Sakdapolrak, 2014). A plethora of literature on migration and development suggests migrants organise their livelihoods in a translocal social context without the restraint of spatial demarcations in response to livelihood insecurities, for example, dwindling agricultural production per capita and prevalent food insecurity in origin, and declining employment opportunities in destination areas (Ramisch, 2016, Owuor, 2007). According to Oucho (2007), mutual linkages between families in the origin and destination areas support the migrants' livelihoods and significantly reduce vulnerabilities for these family units, a position supported by Owuor (2007) findings indicating a considerable use of rural resources to subsidise life in urban destinations. Steinbrink (2009) showed that the translocal linkages are an integral part of livelihood systems that span the rural-urban divide, given the risks and uncertainties in each locality. Greiner (2010), similarly, noted that the movement of people accompanied by remittance and transfer of resources secured livelihoods in both rural and urban areas and reflected the mutual interdependence of the social spaces. In Kenya, a third of households have their members residing in multiple locations but continue to coordinate the

livelihood activities across distance in the spirit of shared social, economic and other ties (Ramisch, 2016, Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013a).

Unlike other forms of translocal linkages, remittances continue to receive scholarly interest because it is easier to measure than other linkages (Tilghman, 2014). Several studies have shown that remittance is of significant importance to the wellbeing of migrant workers, their households, and their sending communities (Anamoa-Pokoo and Badasu, 2018). However, qualitative scholarship on the effects of other forms of translocal linkages on wellbeing has grown over the past two decades (Owuor, 2007, Ramisch, 2016, Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013a, Lang and Sakdapolrak, 2014). The qualitative studies show diverse effects of translocal linkages on wellbeing that may be at odds, such as threats, for instance, societal degeneration, generation gap increase and social solidarity destruction versus the potentials in providing higher education, employment, and off-farm income accessibility structures (Benz, 2016). Greiner and Sakdapolrak (2013a) drew attention to the conflicting influences of translocal linkages on migrant-sending communities in Kenya, where the exchange of money and ideas contributed to the environmental recovery and increased crop yields in Machakos district in Kenya but was associated with heavy dependence on remittance and agricultural de-intensification among migrants sending households in the Nyanza province of Kenya.

5.2.2 The three dimensions of wellbeing

Dolan et al. (2008) and Copestake (2008) definition of wellbeing as “a state where an individual meets his or her needs, acts meaningfully to pursue one’s goals and enjoys a satisfactory quality of life” overcomes the dominance of the economic dimension of wellbeing emphasised in the migration development nexus (Peth and Sakdapolrak, 2020). Wellbeing is a highly subtle concept in research because of its multidimensional nature encompassing material prosperity, good social relationships and connections, human

capabilities, security, political voice, and governance. However, the chapter focuses only on economic, relational, and subjective dimensions identified and defined in White (2010) framework of analysing wellbeing. White (2010) framework defines the economic dimension of wellbeing as material prosperity in terms of assets, welfare, and living standards; the relational dimension of wellbeing as social aspects related to social relations and public services and the human aspects concerned with individual capabilities, attitude to life, and relationships, and the subjective dimension of wellbeing is an individual's perception of satisfaction with his or her overall life. Subjective wellbeing is the most salient dimension in research, followed by economic wellbeing, while relational wellbeing is the least researched dimension[3].

The relationship between these three dimensions of wellbeing has been under intense debate with divergent views on their interconnections. White (2010) framework show that the three dimensions of wellbeing are interrelated, thus helping constitute instead of negating each other. However, the findings of empirical studies exploring the relationship between economic wellbeing and subjective wellbeing remain mixed. Brüggen et al. (2017) argue that people with the same level of economic wellbeing may perceive their subjective wellbeing differently since subjective wellbeing may fluctuate extensively amid different perceptions of the housing conditions, political environment, physical health and that the processes shaping wellbeing may vary over time (Chen et al., 2019). Several studies support the Easterlin happiness-income puzzle by showing that individuals might experience increased economic wellbeing alongside decreases in subjective wellbeing, thus, suggesting that growth in asset

[3] A literature exploration on the three dimensions of well-being in the Social Sciences Citation Index of the Web of Science on 24/10/2021 found 1903 published articles on subjective wellbeing, 530 published articles on economic wellbeing and 40 published articles on relational wellbeing.

base does not necessarily translate into feelings of happiness or life satisfaction (Chen et al., 2019, Stillman et al., 2015). On the contrary, numerous other studies using cross-sectional and time-series data have challenged the Easterlin paradox and shown positive relationships between material wealth and happiness or life satisfaction (Cai and Park, 2016, Carver and Grimes, 2016, Brown and Gray, 2016, Guzi and de Pedraza García, 2015, Angelini et al., 2015). Their findings suggest that people with higher economic wellbeing measured as income or material wealth have better subjective wellbeing measured as life satisfaction.

Not many studies have investigated the relationship between the relational and the other two dimensions of wellbeing; nevertheless, its independent analysis is infrequent and receives minimal attention, mainly as a constituent of social capital (van der Horst and Coffé, 2012, Colombo et al., 2018). Sometimes relational wellbeing features as a social determinant of overall life satisfaction measured in terms of quality of social support, civic engagement and positive relationships with others (White, 2017). Looking at the three dimensions of wellbeing, Becchetti et al. (2011) and (2008) argue in support of relational treadmill that spending disproportionate time chasing higher levels of material wealth crowds out the time spent in a social relationship, leads to relational poverty and reduces subjective wellbeing measures. The authors' argument justifies the Easterlin paradox that material wealth increases up to a particular threshold beyond which it depresses relational wealth by diminishing the amount of time dedicated to relational activities and their findings show that income positively affects self-declared life satisfaction via consumption but negatively correlates with life satisfaction via reduced enjoyment of relational goods (Becchetti et al., 2008, Becchetti et al., 2011). Correspondingly, Bruni and Stanca (2008) found that although relational goods significantly affect life satisfaction, people tend to consume material goods with instant rewards and declining marginal utility at the expense of relational goods, which have gradual returns and increasing marginal utility. Bartolini and Bilancini (2010) also suggest that

economic affluence favours subjective wellbeing only if it does not lead to a decline in the consumption of relational goods.

Literature on internal migrants' economic and subjective wellbeing in developing countries usually compares migrants to urban natives. The studies suggest that migrants generally depict the precariousness of living and working conditions of migrants (Liu et al., 2017, Anamoa-Pokoo and Badasu, 2018). The studies hardly investigate how migrants appraise their relational wellbeing. Often the theoretical and empirical studies suggest that the wellbeing of migrants is a consequence of life experiences, statuses such as income, education and marital status, personality and dispositional factors such as personality traits, locus of control and self-esteem (Bak-Klimek et al., 2015). However, these studies have not analytically interrogated how migrants translocal linkages and adjustment may affect migrants' subjective, economic and relational dimensions of wellbeing.

Based on the literature, we set forth three working hypotheses and assume that the three dimensions of wellbeing are interrelated and constitute each other.

Hypothesis 1. Migrants with higher adjustment levels at the destination have a better subjective, economic and relational wellbeing.

A migrant adjustment implies levels of integration in the Kenyan context, which approves pluralism and multi-cultural policies; hence, internal migrants tend towards integration as an optimal adjustment strategy. A few studies on social integration indicators amongst migrants found they significantly predicted wellbeing levels and that the absence of integration led to social isolation and lower wellbeing levels (Vohra and Adair, 2000, Appau et al., 2019, Berry and Hou, 2016). Sustaining high levels of two or more identities concurrently, for example, with origin and destination (Du, 2017), can provide individuals with social support in both crises and happy times; thus, it remains essential for migrants (Petrou, 2018, Harris and Prout

Quicke, 2018, Correa-Velez et al., 2015). However, having high levels of identity to groups that individuals do not like or often conflict with may negatively influence their wellbeing (Appau et al., 2019).

Bak-Klimek et al. (2015) argue that integration in the destination localities might assist immigrants in acquiring additional resources that may foster wellbeing and augment their likelihood of coping positively in difficult life situations and reducing stress levels. Similarly, Correa-Velez et al. (2015) claim that high levels of ethnic identity may result in greater caution concerning discriminatory experiences and have cushioning effects against discrimination, which lessens the incorporation of negative incorporation stereotypes one's self-concept may explain the positive association between identity index and relational wellbeing (Jin et al., 2012). Appau et al. (2019) assert that well-integrated individuals enjoy high social capital, which they can utilise for economic and social gains. The findings of Angelini et al. (2015) suggest that a sense of belonging to the destination culture affects immigrants' wellbeing positively, but identifying with the native culture does not significantly affect life satisfaction.

Hypothesis 2. Migrants with more translocal linkages between the origin and destination have a better subjective, economic and relational wellbeing

Qualitative studies have highlighted diverse behaviours and attitudes which are the manifestation of translocal linkages to places of origin deemed essential to migrant wellbeing in anthropological literature (Greiner, 2010, Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013a, Tilghman, 2014); however, many of these claims are unable to provide reliable answers to the question: "what is the influence of translocalism on wellbeing?" Despite the general positive association between translocal linkages and wellbeing, some circumstances may indicate more significant linkages with the origin do not indicate better wellbeing. According to

Beauchemin and Safi (2020), leaving behind relations as one migrates predisposes them to keep translocal links to origin functional in dealing with the unfamiliarity and threats of destination settlement, such as the outsider labelling of migrants. However, not all translocal linkages are the same. Some linkages are more desirable than others, and such translocal linkage desirability shapes the sense of wellbeing. Tilghman (2014) found that receiving exchange linkages were more beneficial to migrants as they transferred resources that relieved migrants' daily food consumption, money scarcities, and other irregularities. On the contrary, participating in physical translocal linkages on account of the customs of reciprocity were less desirable as they consume migrant's resources (Tilghman, 2014).

Hypothesis 3. Migrants with higher socio-economic status have a better subjective, economic and relational wellbeing.

Several studies focusing on the effects of socio-economic statuses, such as employment, assets, and wealth, confirm the importance of economic conditions higher income and full-time employment for determining immigrants' wellbeing (Warfa et al., 2012, Nowok et al., 2013, Kundu and Niranjan, 2007, Headey, 2010, Angelini et al., 2015). Correspondingly, wellbeing studies find lower social statuses associated with unemployment inversely related to wellbeing (Hayo and Seifert, 2003, Dolan et al., 2008, Easterlin, 2006, Lucas et al., 2004). In particular, employment status relates strongly to subjective wellbeing (Warfa et al., 2012, Nowok et al., 2013, Kundu and Niranjan, 2007, Headey, 2010), economic wellbeing (Hayo and Seifert, 2003, Verbič and Stanovnik, 2006, Cracolici et al., 2014) and relational wellbeing (Menon et al., 2015). D'Isanto et al. (2016) stated that full-time employment provides individuals with a certain level of financial independence. According to Kundu and Niranjan (2007), households with employed individuals report higher per capita income and consumption beyond a certain threshold, signifying a high level of economic wellbeing, positively associated with subjective wellbeing (Kundu and Niranjan, 2007).

Prilleltensky (2008) supports the notion of a social gradient that makes people with higher education and social status consistently achieve better health and wellbeing outcomes than those in the rank immediately below them. In other words, the social gradient translates into relative deprivation. Liu et al. (2017) findings that highly educated and well-paid migrants were happier than those with low education levels, and low pay substantiates the presence of the social gradient. However, Gokdemir and Dumludag (2012) results were self-contradictory as they established that higher education levels predicted higher life satisfaction for Turkish immigrants, yet lower education level was associated with higher life satisfaction for Moroccan immigrants. Vohra and Adair (2000) findings were inconsistent with prior literature, establishing no correlations between wellbeing and socio-economic status, particularly education.

Several studies have investigated the role of migration-related factors in accounting for a change in wellbeing (Liu et al., 2017). The results reveal contradictions as to the role of the socio-economic and migration-related factors. For instance, Nowok et al. (2013) claim a limited and mixed influence of socio-economic factors such as age, gender, marital status, and education on wellbeing. Whereas the findings of Angel and Angel (1992) show significantly diminished life satisfaction with age, the systematic review by Bak-Klimek et al. (2015) revealed that migration-related factors such as length of migration or age at migration and that socio-demographics such as gender or age were not significant predictors of wellbeing across the reviewed studies.

5.3 Data and Methods

5.3.1 Data collection

A cross-sectional study was carried out with the help of four field enumerators between February and March 2020, with a total of 301 migrants from western Kenya and lived in

either Kericho or Nakuru counties of Rift Valley for more than three months. We sampled the two counties due to a stable in-migration stream attributable to established labour-intensive tea and floriculture industries, which recruit high numbers of labour migrants from Nyanza and Western regions of Kenya (Kazimierczuk et al., 2018). We used nonprobability sampling in identifying individual migrants owing to the lack of a sampling frame. We identified the study's participants through an initial face contact with a lady leader in a migrants' association. The study presumed interaction between rural-rural migrants from western Kenya; thus, snowball sampling in which participants help recruit other participants, effectively identified participants. The initial contact sent out text messages to the association members, asking them to contact us if they were willing to participate in the study. Several people expressed their willingness to participate in the study, most of whom were various tea and flower companies' employees, provided multiple entry points to begin snowballing and recruiting additional participants. Study participation was limited to the individuals who consented as per the guidelines in the ethical clearance obtained from the Ethics Committee. We acknowledge the inherent selection bias in this participant recruitment technique that may limit the validity of the sample. However, the sample is large enough to overcome selection bias. Four field enumerators administered a semi-structured questionnaire face-to-face using electronic tablets to 149 (49.50%) respondents in Nakuru county and 152 (50.50%) respondents in Kericho county.

5.3.2 Description of variables

5.3.2.1 Measurement of change in wellbeing[4]

Past literature has assessed the wellbeing of migrants in using longitudinal data on satisfaction before and after migration and using cross-sectional data which ask respondents for evaluations of change in life satisfaction before-after a move, or at the moment in time after the move (De Jong et al., 2002). Due to the absence of longitudinal data on migrants' wellbeing in Kenya and the lack of a perfect control group to analyse the association between migration and wellbeing, we opted to collect cross-sectional data by asking respondents to explicitly state their level of satisfaction with three dimensions of wellbeing before and after the move.

We used overall life satisfaction to represent subjective wellbeing (Nowok et al., 2013, De Jong et al., 2002, Stillman et al., 2015, Switek, 2016), living standards to denote economic wellbeing (Hayo and Seifert, 2003, Switek, 2016) and satisfaction with friends and family to capture relational wellbeing. Our wording of the question on subjective wellbeing follows on Nowok et al. (2013). We asked participants to state their level of satisfaction with their overall life before and after migration. We used a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1(Extremely dissatisfied) to 5 (Extremely satisfied).

Economic wellbeing was subjectively analysed (Hayo and Seifert, 2003). Subjective measures of economic wellbeing in past empirical studies explicitly ask respondents to evaluate their economic situation or ability to make ends meet compared with a specific reference group or a particular anchor (Jaikumar et al., 2018, Cracolici et al., 2014, Hayo and Seifert, 2003, Verbič and Stanovnik, 2006). This study goes along with the conventional measure with modification to suit the migration context where the respondent needs to evaluate their economic

[4] Dependent variables

circumstances subjectively before and after the move. We asked the respondents to state their level of satisfaction with their standard of living before and after migration using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1(Extremely dissatisfied) to 5 (Extremely satisfied). We computed economic wellbeing change by subtracting the level of satisfaction reported for each dimension before migration from after migration.

In attempts to quantify the relational dimension of wellbeing, Musingarabwi (2016) applied a "relational wellbeing index", which measured social connectedness to one's number of close relationships and social networks. In contrast, Britton and Coulthard (2013) applied the 'Governance Relationship Assessment' (GRA), which considers how relationships shape behaviour and governance and how people are satisfied with those relationships. In this study, we measure relational wellbeing subjectively by asking the respondents in the sample to state their level of satisfaction with friendship and familial relationships before and after migration using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1(Extremely dissatisfied) to 5 (Extremely satisfied) to lower the response burden for the participants. The study adopted the relational dimension of wellbeing measurement from Menon et al. (2015), which obtained satisfaction specific to intra-family interactions within the couple and between parents and children. We computed change in relational wellbeing by taking the difference between the level of satisfaction reported for each dimension after and before migration. For a change in each dimension of wellbeing, a respondent could receive any of the nine levels of scores ranging from -4 to 4, with -4 being the most negative change in wellbeing and 4 being the best positive change in wellbeing. The resulting nine change levels in well-being scores were folded to construct ordinal variables with three levels (1 = negative changes, 2 = no change, and 3 = positive changes). as follows: negative change group, which comprises all scores ranging from -4 to -1; no change group containing the 0 scores; and a positive change category, which covers all scores ranging from 1 to 4.

5.3.2.2 Measurement of migrant translocalism[5]

This study is contrary to numerous ethnographic and qualitative studies on translocal connections (Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2020, Peth and Sakdapolrak, 2020, Kallis et al., 2019) employed a quantitative approach to assess the effects of translocal linkages on wellbeing. Remittance is the most commonly quantified translocal connection because its measured more straightforwardly (Tilghman, 2014). Based on 'practice-oriented conception of translocality (Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2018), we compute the extent of everyday aspects of migrant linkages documented in the literature, such as exchange linkages, physical and emotional connections (Petrou, 2018, Harris and Prout Quicke, 2018, Peth and Sakdapolrak, 2020) except for remittance.

We collected data on the exchange and physical linkages following Tilghman (2014) approach, which entailed asking the respondents to recall and report the number of instances in the last twelve months when they had participated in the following activities, namely: visited family members in origin, participated in migrants' associations' activities, hosted a family member visiting the place of residence, gave financial assistance and or material goods to family members at the origin, received financial assistance and or material goods from family members at the origin. The number of times one hosted guests, visited origin, and participated in migrant's associations were summed up, and we refer to them as *physical exchange linkages*. The remaining activities were categorised as *all give exchange linkages*, and *all receive exchange linkages* depending on whether the respondent gave or received financial assistance and material goods. Similar to Tilghman (2014), a higher frequency of the exchange linkages was posited to indicate stronger translocal ties to home. The use of count

[5] First set of independent variables of interest in the analysis.

measures of exchange linkages allowed for creating single variables that merge activities for analysis. However, it combined very different activities and did not consider the magnitudes of each activity in an occurrence; for example, giving financial/ material assistance worth a hundred Kenya shillings is considered a single incidence, just as giving financial/ material assistance worth ten thousand Kenya shillings.

Other standard social practices such as owning a house/home in origin and splitting household members, which create translocal space of exchange, were also included in the empirical framework (Mueller, 2015, Peth and Sakdapolrak, 2020, Petrou, 2018, Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2018). Data on house ownership and split householding were collected as stand-alone dummy variables by asking respondents whether they owned a residential house in origin and whether their spouse and or children were living in origin.

5.3.2.3 Measurement of migrant adjustment[6]

The study embraced the notion of migrant adjustment, defined as migrants commitment to both origin and destination localities and their people (Mueller, 2015, Peth and Sakdapolrak, 2020). Firstly, data on the commitment to origin were collected by asking the respondents to state their level of agreement with aspects of their identity using fourteen questions focusing on ethnic affirmation, identity achievement, and identity behaviour adapted from Phinney (1992) Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure (MEIM) scale. The findings of Kazarian and Boyadjian (2008) supported the value of the Multigroup Ethnic Identity Measure as a valid and reliable scale for assessing the trajectory of ethnic identity development. We constructed the identity index as a composite variable of the fourteen questions from the MEIM scale

[6] Second set of independent variables of interest in the analysis.

measured using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree) for each question.

Secondly, data on the commitment to the destination were collected by asking the respondents to state their level of agreement to twenty questions modified from Suinn–Lew Asian Self-Identity Acculturation Scale (Suinn et al., 1987) on aspects of their adjustment in the destination such as other ethnic group behaviour and participation in other ethnic events. The questions in Suinn–Lew Asian Self-Identity scale were validated to measure acculturation in a study by Hashemi et al. (2020). We also constructed the adjustment index as a composite variable of the twenty items adapted from the Suinn–Lew Asian Self-Identity scale measured using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 (Strongly disagree) to 5 (Strongly agree) for each question.

We chose weighting as a methodological approach in constructing the composite variables (adjustment index and identity index) because it attributes explicit importance to every criterion in a composite index. An equal weighting scheme was contemplated for its simplicity of construction. On the claim of objectivity, we also considered eliciting weights using principal component analysis and used factor loadings of the first component to serve as weights for the indicators.

We compared the influence of the weights derived from these two techniques on the dimensions of wellbeing and found that their effects were not different; thus, we settled on the equal weighting scheme because of its widespread use in developing composite indicators in the literature. Consistent with the recommendation of Phinney (1992), we computed a total score for identity index by summing the responses to the fourteen questions on identity. A respondent could receive a final composite score ranging from 14 to 60 for the identity index. We similarly computed a total score for the adjustment index by summing the responses to

the twenty questions on aspects of their adjustment in the destination settlement. Therefore, a respondent could receive a final composite score ranging from 20 to 100 for the Adjustment index.

The study included several standard control variables of socio-demographic and migration characteristics identified in Bak-Klimek et al. (2015) systematic literature review. These include continuous variables such as age at first migration, length of residence in origin, length in Rift Valley, respondent age, household size, and years of schooling. Dummy variables such as sex and employment status. The study uses the wealth index as a proxy measure of socio-economic status, given that it is much more stable than income and consumption (Poirier et al., 2020). It is computed based on the DHS methodology described by Rutstein (2015) as a composite variable through principal component analysis of questions of asset ownership, characteristics housing, and access to services. A detailed description of the variables selected for analysis is present in Table 5-1 and Table 5-2.

Table 5-1: Data description for dependent variables

Variable	Description
Change in subjective wellbeing	An ordinal variable with three levels constructed by folding the nine levels of change in wellbeing scores generated as a difference in overall life satisfaction before and after the migration (1 = negative changes, 2 = no change, and 3 = positive changes).
Change in economic wellbeing	An ordinal variable with three levels constructed by folding the nine levels of change in wellbeing scores generated as a difference in satisfaction with standard of living before and after the migration (1 = negative changes, 2 = no change, and 3 = positive changes).
Change in relational wellbeing	An ordinal variable with three levels constructed by folding the nine levels of change in well-being scores generated as a difference in satisfaction with friends and family before and after the migration (1 = negative changes, 2 = no change, and 3 = positive changes).

Table 5-2: Data description for independent

Variable	Description
Adjustment index	A continuous composite variable created as a sum of the five points Likert scale responses (ranging from 1 = Strongly disagree to 5 = Strongly agree) to twenty statements on the respondent's level of agreement with aspects of their adjustment and life in the destination settlement.
Identity index	A continuous composite variable created as a sum of the five points Likert scale responses (ranging from 1 = Strongly disagree to 5 = Strongly agree) to fourteen statements on the respondent's level of agreement with aspects of their identity and belonging to their place of origin.
Physical translocal linkages	A continuous composite variable created as a sum of the number of times one hosted guests and or visited the place of origin and or participated in migrants' associations in the last twelve months
All give exchange linkage	A continuous composite variable created as a sum of the number of times one gave financial assistance and/or material goods to family/friends at the place of origin in the last twelve months
All receive exchange linkage	A continuous composite variable created as a sum of the number of times one received financial assistance and/or material goods from family/friends at the origin in the last twelve months
House in the place of origin	Dummy variable indicating whether a migrant owns a house in the place of origin
Split householding	Dummy variable indicating whether a migrant has a spouse and or children residing in the place of origin

Table 5-3: Control variables

Variable	Description
Age at first migration	Age of the respondent in years when they first moved from origin
Residence in the place of origin	Length of residence at the place of origin in years
Residence in the Rift Valley	Length of residence in the Rift Valley (Kericho or Naivasha) in years
Age	Age of the respondent in years
Household size	Number of people in a household
Years of schooling	Number of years in full-time schooling/education
Wealth index	A composite score computed through PCA of asset ownership, housing characteristics, and access to water and electricity.
Sex	Dummy variable equal to 1 if gender is female
Employment status	Type of employment (0=Employed full-time, 1=Employed parttime, 2=Unemployed)

5.3.3 Empirical framework

The change in the three dimensions of wellbeing is considered a function of translocal linkages, socio-economic status, and demographic characteristics. Since all the three dependent variables measuring wellbeing changes (i.e., changes in overall life, the standard of living, relations to family and friends) are ordinal response variables, an ordered logit model

is deemed suitable. Initially, we estimated the ordered logit models as shown in Table 5-6 and performed a brant test on the ordered models. The significant test statistics for identity index and adjustment index in the subjective wellbeing estimation and significant test statistic for identity index in the economic wellbeing estimation in Table 5-6 provide evidence of a violation of parallel regression assumption[7], thus an indication that the effects of these explanatory variables significantly vary across different categories of the dependent variables (Williams, 2006).

We, therefore, estimated a generalised ordered logit which allowed all the beta estimates to vary across categories of j by relaxing the proportional odds assumption (Williams, 2005, Williams, 2006).

Formally the generalised ordered logit can be written as follows:

$$P(Y_i > j) = g(X\beta_j) = \frac{\exp(\alpha_j + X_i\beta_j)}{1 + \{\exp(\alpha_j + X_i\beta_j)\}}, \qquad j = 1,2,\ldots,M-1$$

where M is the number of categories of the ordinal dependent variable. From the specification above, the probabilities that Y will take on each of the values 1, 2..., M are equal to

$$P(Y_i = 1) = 1 - g(X_i\beta_1)$$

$$P(Y_i = j) = g(X_i\beta_{j-1}) - g(X_i\beta_j) j = 2,\ldots,M-1$$

$$P(Y_i = M) = g(X_i\beta_{M-1})$$

[7] See details of the brant test in the appendix 7.3 1

This study includes what factors have been deemed relevant in the literature to well-being changes. We rank the possibilities as "negative change," "no change," and "positive change" as ordered. We estimate the regressions along the following lines:

$$y_i^* = \boldsymbol{\beta_1} A_i + \boldsymbol{\beta_2} B_i + \boldsymbol{\beta_3} C_i + \boldsymbol{\beta_4} D_i + \boldsymbol{\beta_5} E_i + e_i$$

Where

y_i are the outcomes of interest for household i. These include a change in subjective wellbeing, economic wellbeing, and relational wellbeing.

β_{1-5} are the vector of variables

A_i is a series of indicators of migrant adjustments, such as adjustment index and identity index.

B_i is a series of indicators of translocalism such as adjustment index, identity index, physical translocal linkages, All give exchange linkage, all receive exchange linkage, a house in the place of origin, and split householding.

C_i is a series of migration controls including age at first migration, residence in the place of origin, and residence in the Rift Valley.

D_i comprises socio-demographic characteristics, such as age, household size, education, sex, and employment status.

E_i denotes a wealth index computed using principal component analysis on a set of household asset ownership, housing quality, and access to services and e_i is a random error.

There are M = 3 alternatives, and there are M - 1 = 2 thresholds μ_1 and μ_2, with $\mu_1 < \mu_2$. If sentiment toward change in wellbeing is in the lowest category, then $y_i^* \leq \mu_1$ and the alternative "negative change" is chosen, if $\mu_1 < y_i^* \leq \mu_2$ then the alternative "no change" is chosen, and if sentiment towards changes wellbeing is in the highest category, then $y_i^* > \mu_2$ Furthermore, "positive change" is chosen. That is,

$$y = \begin{cases} 1(negative\ change)\ if\ y_i^* \leq \mu_1 \\ 2(no\ change)\ if\ \mu_1 < y_i^* \leq \mu_2 \\ 3(positive\ change)\ if\ y_i^* > \mu_2 \end{cases}$$

We estimated six different models to assess the determinants of self-perceived changes in overall life, the standard of living, and the relational dimension of wellbeing among migrants. The study estimated the determinants of each dependent variable using an unconstrained generalised ordered model.

5.4 Results and discussion

This section first presents and discusses changes in subjective, economic, and relational wellbeing before and after migration and the results of correlation analysis of the three dimensions of wellbeing. Secondly, it presents and discusses the econometric estimations of the ordered logit and generalised ordered logit models. For each dimension of wellbeing, we estimated a model that includes: two indicators of migrant adjustment (adjustment index and identity index), five indicators of translocalism (physical translocal linkages, all give exchange linkage, all receive exchange linkage, a house in the place of origin, and split householding), migration controls variables (age at first migration, residence in the place of origin, and residence in the rift Valley) and socio-demographic characteristics (age, household size, education, sex, employment status and wealth index).

5.4.1 Change in wellbeing

Table 5-3 shows a low absolute percentage of migrants reporting increased relational wellbeing and a nontrivial faction reporting decreased relational wellbeing as a result of internal migration.

Table 5-4: Change in wellbeing

Change in wellbeing	Negative change	No Change	Positive Change
Subjective wellbeing	5.65%	14.29%	80.07%
Economic wellbeing	5.98%	16.94%	77.08%
Relational wellbeing	8.97%	68.11%	22.92%

In general, results show a high absolute percentage of migrants reporting increased subjective and economic wellbeing. Furthermore, over 80% of the migrants experienced changes in their subjective and economic wellbeing contrary to the set point theory of wellbeing, which presumes different but unchanging levels of wellbeing among adult persons explained by hedonic adaptation to life circumstances (Headey, 2010, Kahneman et al., 2006).

Equivalently, the mean satisfaction with overall life, living standard, and relations on a five-point scale is higher after migration than before migration, as shown in Table 5-4 below.

Table 5-5: Migrants' satisfaction with aspects of wellbeing before and after migration

	Mean satisfaction		Test of equality of means
Dimensions of wellbeing	After migration	Before migration	P-value
Subjective wellbeing	3.75	2.33	0.00
Economic wellbeing	3.72	2.35	0.00
Relational wellbeing	4.10	3.54	0.00

As per the results, the average level of migrants' subjective, economic, and relational wellbeing after migration falls in the category of satisfied ones, thus aligned to the neoclassical migration theory assumption of a solid positive payoff to migration. However, it could also insinuate that migrants who were very unsatisfied with their wellbeing outcomes may have returned to their origin or moved elsewhere. The finding contradicts De Jong et al. (2002) computations of somewhat lower percentages of migrants that felt a positive change in subjective wellbeing after migration.

We used correlation analysis to analyse the association between subjective, economic, and relational dimensions of wellbeing amongst internal migrants and present the correlation coefficients in Table 5-5.

Table 5-6: Correlation coefficients for the association between perceived changes in subjective wellbeing, economic wellbeing, and relational wellbeing

	Subjective wellbeing	Economic wellbeing	Relational wellbeing
Subjective wellbeing	1.000		
Economic wellbeing	0.812*	1.000	
Relational wellbeing	0.046	0.030	1.000

The positive correlation coefficient for all three dimensions of wellbeing supports the assumption that the dimensions of wellbeing constitute each other. All the same, it is encouraging to find such a relationship in our data. The signs in the correlation coefficients are as expected and consistent with prior literature (Hayo and Seifert, 2003, Britton and Coulthard, 2013), confirming a solid interlink and overlap of material, relational subjective dimensions but is at odds with the propositions of the relational treadmill and the Easterlin paradox.

The monotonic relationship between subjective and economic wellbeing is substantial and statistically significant, as indicated by a correlation coefficient of 0.812. The relationship between subjective wellbeing and relational wellbeing and the relationship between economic wellbeing and relational wellbeing are both positive but not significant, indicated by the correlation coefficient of values of 0.046 and 0.030, respectively. The weak model correlation between relational wellbeing and life satisfaction is in line with the findings of Umphrey and Sherblom (2014). Thus, the general presumption emerging from Table 5-5 is that economic wellbeing is likely to bear overall life satisfaction (subjective wellbeing) substantially. According to Britton and Coulthard (2013), material affluence is visibly essential for overall life satisfaction.

5.4.2 Determinants of change in wellbeing

Table 5-6 shows the regression estimates for change in subjective, economic and relational dimensions of wellbeing. To further interpret the significance of β coefficients, we computed the average marginal effects for all covariates on the probability of all outcomes assessed while holding constant the values of the variables in the model. Table 5-7 shows the corresponding average marginal effects for the generalised ordered logit model.

Following the results, the variables that support subjective wellbeing are comparable to the factors that explain economic wellbeing other than split householding and schooling years, which explain subjective wellbeing and economic wellbeing separately. The estimates show that adjustment index, residence in origin, age, and wealth index positively reinforce subjective wellbeing and economic wellbeing but are negatively associated with identity index, house ownership in origin, age at migration, residence in the Rift Valley, and unemployment.

Table 5-7: Estimation coefficients of the ordered logit model and generalised ordered logit model for subjective, economic, and relational dimensions of wellbeing

	Change in subjective wellbeing			Change in economic wellbeing			Change in relational wellbeing		
	Totally constrained (ologit)	Totally unconstrained (gologit)		Totally constrained (ologit)	Totally unconstrained (gologit)		Totally constrained (ologit)	Unconstrained (gologit)	
VARIABLES		Negative	No change		Negative	No change		Negative	No change
Adjustment index	0.012	0.074**	0.001	0.018	0.079**	0.009	0.007	0.005	0.005
	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Identity index	-0.030	-0.169***	-0.022	-0.038*	-0.165***	-0.030	0.069***	0.072***	0.072***
	(0.02)	(0.06)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.05)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
Physical translocal linkages	-0.036	-0.033	-0.033	-0.029	-0.026	-0.026	-0.048**	-0.048**	-0.048**
	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
All give exchange linkages	-0.000	-0.000	-0.000	0.002	0.002	0.002	-0.003	-0.003	-0.003
	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.01)	(0.00)	(0.00)	(0.00)
All receive exchange linkages	0.025	0.022	0.022	0.033	0.030	0.030	0.065***	0.065***	0.065***
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.02)	(0.02)	(0.02)
House in the the place of origin	-1.190***	-1.228***	-1.228***	-0.870**	-0.911**	-0.911**	-0.209	-0.195	-0.195
	(0.46)	(0.46)	(0.46)	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.33)	(0.33)	(0.33)
Split householding (No)	0.891**	0.903**	0.903**	0.302	0.333	0.333	-0.314	-0.317	-0.317
	(0.45)	(0.45)	(0.45)	(0.42)	(0.43)	(0.43)	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.34)
Age at first migration	-0.105**	-0.107**	-0.107**	-0.122***	-0.129***	-0.129***	-0.042	-0.038	-0.038
	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Residence in place of origin	0.058*	0.060*	0.060*	0.065**	0.069**	0.069**	-0.029	-0.030	-0.030
	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Residence in the Rift Valley	-0.072	-0.078*	-0.078*	-0.096**	-0.102**	-0.102**	-0.028	0.013	-0.043
	(0.04)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.04)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)
Age of the respondent	0.086*	0.091*	0.091*	0.113**	0.117**	0.117**	0.038	0.037	0.037
	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.03)

Table 5-6: Estimation coefficients of the ordered logit model and generalised ordered logit model for subjective, economic, and relational dimensions of wellbeing (Continued)

	Change in subjective wellbeing			Change in economic wellbeing			Change in relational wellbeing		
	Totally constrained (ologit)	Totally unconstrained (gologit)		Totally constrained (ologit)	Totally unconstrained (gologit)		Totally constrained (ologit)	Unconstrained (gologit)	
VARIABLES		Negative	No change		Negative	No change		Negative	No change
Household size	-0.032	-0.020	-0.020	-0.100	-0.097	-0.097	-0.077	-0.079	-0.079
	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.10)	(0.11)	(0.11)	(0.09)	(0.09)	(0.09)
Years of schooling	-0.096	-0.097	-0.097	-0.093	-0.101*	-0.101*	-0.116**	-0.114**	-0.114**
	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.06)	(0.05)	(0.05)	(0.05)
Wealth index	0.295***	0.294***	0.294***	0.322***	0.325***	0.325***	0.146**	0.149**	0.149**
	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.10)	(0.07)	(0.08)	(0.08)
Female	0.059	0.100	0.100	0.354	0.395	0.395	-0.486	-0.467	-0.467
	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.39)	(0.40)	(0.40)	(0.32)	(0.32)	(0.32)
Employed part-time	-1.218**	-1.235**	-1.235**	-1.008**	-2.239***	-0.972**	-0.314	-0.257	-0.257
	(0.51)	(0.52)	(0.52)	(0.48)	(0.71)	(0.49)	(0.33)	(0.34)	(0.34)
Unemployed	-2.130***	-2.059***	-2.059***	-2.157***	-2.290***	-2.290***	-0.997**	-0.941**	-0.941**
	(0.58)	(0.59)	(0.59)	(0.55)	(0.57)	(0.57)	(0.44)	(0.44)	(0.44)
Constant 1	6.261**	9.757***	4.917*	5.870**	9.572***	4.418*	1.105	0.311	-2.993
	(2.50)	(3.50)	(2.55)	(2.41)	(3.15)	(2.50)	(1.97)	(2.01)	(2.00)
Constant 2	4.586*			4.023*			-2.999		
	(2.48)			(2.39)			(1.98)		
	*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1								

Table 5-8: Average marginal effects for the generalised ordered logit model

		Subjective wellbeing	Economic wellbeing	Relational wellbeing
Adjustment index	Negative change	-0.003*	-0.004*	-0.000
	No change	0.003	0.003	-0.000
	Positive change	0.000	0.001	0.001
Identity index	Negative change	0.008**	0.008**	-0.005***
	No change	-0.005	-0.004	-0.006**
	Positive change	-0.003	-0.004	0.011***
Physical translocal linkages	Negative change	0.002	0.001	0.003*
	No change	0.003	0.002	0.004*
	Positive change	-0.004	-0.003	-0.007*
All give exchange linkage	Negative change	0.000	-0.000	0.000
	No change	0.000	-0.000	0.000
	Positive change	-0.000	0.0002	-0.001
All receive exchange linkage	Negative change	-0.001	-0.002	-0.005*
	No change	-0.002	-0.003	-0.005*
	Positive change	0.003	0.004	0.010**
House in the place of origin	Negative change	0.053*	0.043*	0.014
	No change	0.097**	0.075*	0.016
	Positive change	-0.150**	-0.118*	-0.030
Split householding	Negative change	-0.039*	-0.016	0.024
	No change	-0.072*	-0.028	0.024
	Positive change	0.111*	0.045	-0.048
Age at first migration	Negative change	0.005*	0.006**	0.003
	No change	0.009*	0.011**	0.003
	Positive change	-0.014**	-0.017**	-0.006
Residence in place of origin	Negative change	-0.003	-0.003*	0.002
	No change	-0.005	-0.006*	0.002
	Positive change	0.008*	0.009*	-0.005

Table 5-7: Average marginal effects for the generalised ordered logit model (continued)

		Subjective wellbeing	Economic wellbeing	Relational wellbeing
Residence in the Rift Valley	Negative change	0.004	0.005*	-0.001
	No change	0.006	0.009*	0.007*
	Positive change	-0.010	-0.014*	-0.007
Age of the respondent	Negative change	-0.004	-0.006*	-0.003
	No change	-0.007	-0.010*	-0.003
	Positive change	0.012	0.016*	0.006
Household size	Negative change	0.001	0.005	0.006
	No change	0.002	0.008	0.006
	Positive change	-0.003	-0.013	-0.012
Years of schooling	Negative change	0.004	0.005	0.008*
	No change	0.008	0.009	0.009*
	Positive change	-0.012	-0.014	-0.017*
Wealth index	Negative change	-0.013**	-0.016**	-0.011
	No change	-0.024**	-0.027***	-0.012
	Positive change	0.037**	0.044***	0.023*
Female	Negative change	-0.004	-0.018	0.037
	No change	-0.008	-0.033	0.032
	Positive change	0.013	0.052	-0.069
Employed part-time	Negative change	0.038*	0.074**	0.016
	No change	0.091**	0.038	0.026
	Positive change	-0.129**	-0.112*	-0.042
Unemployed	Negative change	0.091**	0.077**	0.078
	No change	0.175***	0.263***	0.055
	Positive change	-0.266***	-0.340***	-0.133*
	N	301	301	301
	*** p<0.01, ** p<0.05, * p<0.1			

5.4.2.1 Are there associations between migrant adjustment and change in wellbeing?

The results suggest that the identity index influences all three dimensions of wellbeing, confirming the centrality of the 'home identification' to migrants' wellbeing emphasised in qualitative studies (Petrou, 2018, Harris and Prout Quicke, 2018, Correa-Velez et al., 2015). At mean levels, the variation in the probability of negative changes in subjective and economic wellbeing significantly and positively correlates with an increase in identity index, thus contrary to the study's first hypothesis and the evidence of Correa-Velez et al. (2015) of a stronger positive association of ethnic identity with economic and subjective wellbeing. In contrast, the variation in the probability of a negative change or no change in relational wellbeing correlates with an increase in identity index are slightly significant and negative. The corresponding "slope" of identity index on the probability of a positive change in relational wellbeing is positive and imperative. On the contrary, the identity index positively relates to relational well-being, supporting the postulation that higher levels of ethnic identity are associated with higher relational well-being levels. The results imply that identifying more with the native culture is injurious to living standards and overall life satisfaction but benefits relational wellbeing. Generally, the results on migrant adjustment levels as measured by the identity index reject the hypothesis that migrants with higher adjustment levels at the destination have a better subjective and economic well-being but support relational well-being.

The adjustment index is associated with both subjective and economic wellbeing but does not affect relational wellbeing. The effects adjustment index on the probability of negative changes in subjective and economic wellbeing are negative and significant. That effect vis-a-vis the probability of a no change or positive change in subjective and economic wellbeing is positive although different from zero. The results imply that identifying more with the host society benefits living standards and overall life satisfaction. In general, the results on migrant

adjustment levels as measured by the adjustment index supports the hypothesis that migrants with higher adjustment levels at the destination have a better subjective and economic wellbeing but remains inconclusive concerning relational wellbeing.

The adjustment and identity index coefficients are merely relevant to the negative change typology, indicating a weak subjective and economic wellbeing response to the migrant adjustment variables. In both cases, the adjustment index and identity index do not always respect the parallel-lines assumption, and their effects change when one passes from the negative change category of subjective wellbeing to the no-change one. The adjustment and identity indices are more significant when one experiences negative changes in subjective and economic wellbeing. This result is substantively meaningful; it implies that moving from not feeling conversant to feeling completely familiar and identifying with the host society correlates with wellbeing.

5.4.2.2 Are there associations between translocal linkages and change in wellbeing?

The results suggest that house ownership in origin is nontrivially associated with subjective and economic wellbeing but not relational wellbeing. House ownership in origin relative to non-ownership increases the likelihood of perceiving a negative change in overall life satisfaction and the standard of living by 5.3% and 4.3%, respectively, increasing the probability of perceiving a no change in overall life satisfaction and the standard of living by 9.7% and 7.5% respectively and reduces the odds of perceiving a positive change in overall life satisfaction and the standard of living by 15% and 11.8% respectively.

Split householding is related to subjective wellbeing but have no effects on both economic wellbeing and relational wellbeing. It lessens the likelihood of reporting a negative change in subjective wellbeing and no change in subjective wellbeing by 3.9% and 7.2% in that order. However, it increases the probability of perceived a positive change in wellbeing by 11.1%.

This effect of split householding arrangement contrasts Knight and Gunatilaka (2010) finding, revealing that having a child in origin had a depressing influence on subjective wellbeing. In Kenya, split householding arrangement is considered a pragmatic economic strategy to reduce vulnerability by allowing livelihoods in a social context uncontrolled by spatial demarcations (Oucho, 2007, Owuor, 2007, Ramisch, 2016, Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013a).

All receive exchange linkages are associated with relational wellbeing, implying that the ability to get help from origin has a positive but significant effect on satisfaction with the family and friends, as shown by the positive coefficient of all receive exchange linkages hence compatible with the finding of Menon et al. (2015). However, the effects of all receive exchange linkages on the probability of change in subjective and economic wellbeing are insignificant. The effects of physical translocal linkages on the probability of change in subjective and economic wellbeing are insignificant but negatively associated with a change in relational wellbeing; this is somewhat unexpected relative to the studies that often indicates relational wellbeing benefits of joint production and consumption of relational goods by those involved in physical exchanges (Bartolini and Bilancini, 2010).

Contrary to our expectation, the subjective, economic and relational wellbeing models in Table 5-6 and Table 5-7 suggest that the association between translocal linkages and wellbeing are far more complicated than we hypothesised. The subjective, economic and relational dimensions of wellbeing tend to be influenced by different translocal linkages (Liu et al., 2017) and that not all translocal linkages between the origin and destination translate a better subjective, economic and relational wellbeing. The results reveal that all give exchange linkage affects none of the dimensions of wellbeing despite being used and theorized to measure translocalism in other African studies (Tilghman, 2014). The ‘all give exchange linkage’ measure, although constructed as carefully as possible given the data, do not likely reflect an obvious direct benefit or detriment to any dimension of migrants wellbeing in the

Rift Valley Kenyan context. There is a need to qualitatively understand why the variations in translocal linkages do not strongly influence the dimensions of wellbeing in the future.

5.4.2.3 Do relationships exist between the dimensions of wellbeing and socio-economic status?

Among the other socio-economic status variables, the effects of employment statuses on all three dimensions of wellbeing are substantial. The highest wealth index and full-time employment are the most influential requisites for satisfying subjective, economic, and relational wellbeing. As expected regarding employment status, we find that the likelihood of feeling a positive change in subjective wellbeing, economic wellbeing (Cracolici et al., 2014) and relational wellbeing is highest when in full-time employment and lowest when unemployed. The results show that the unemployed migrants consider their overall life satisfaction, the standard of living, and satisfaction with friends and family as relatively bad. Unemployment is the most substantial negative effect among the employment status dummies. From this, we find that unemployment reduced the chances of feeling a positive change in subjective wellbeing, economic wellbeing and relational wellbeing by 26.6%, 34% and 13.3%, respectively. Part-time employees also feel less well subjectively, economically and relationally; despite this, when one passes from being unemployed to part-time employment, the probability of experiencing the positive changes in subjective wellbeing, economic wellbeing and relational wellbeing rise by nearly half, as indicated by the average marginal effects of 12.9%, 11%, and 7.8% respectively. The finding is compatible with the literature that unemployment not only diminishes the economic and subjective dimensions of wellbeing (Warfa et al., 2012, Nowok et al., 2013, Kundu and Niranjan, 2007, Headey, 2010) but also may essentially undermine the quality of relations with friends and family (Menon et al., 2015).

Figures 5-1, 5-2, and 5-3 below depict the other socio-demographic characteristics that significantly correlate to the three dimensions of wellbeing.

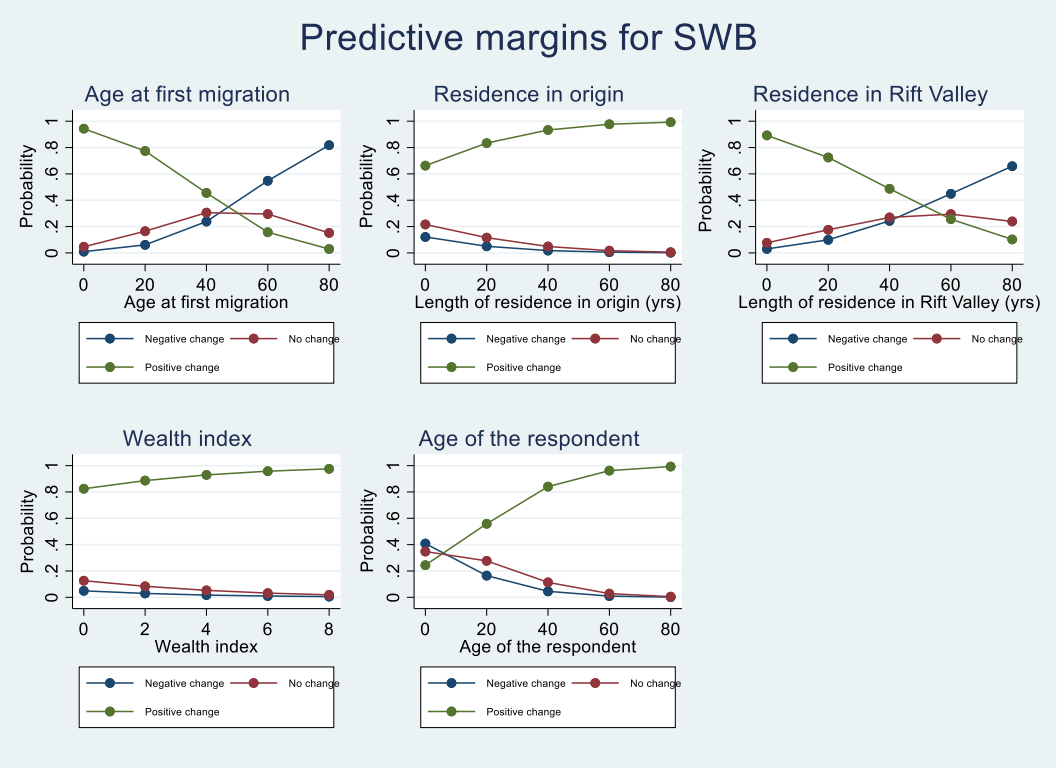

Figure 5-1: Predictive margins for subjective wellbeing

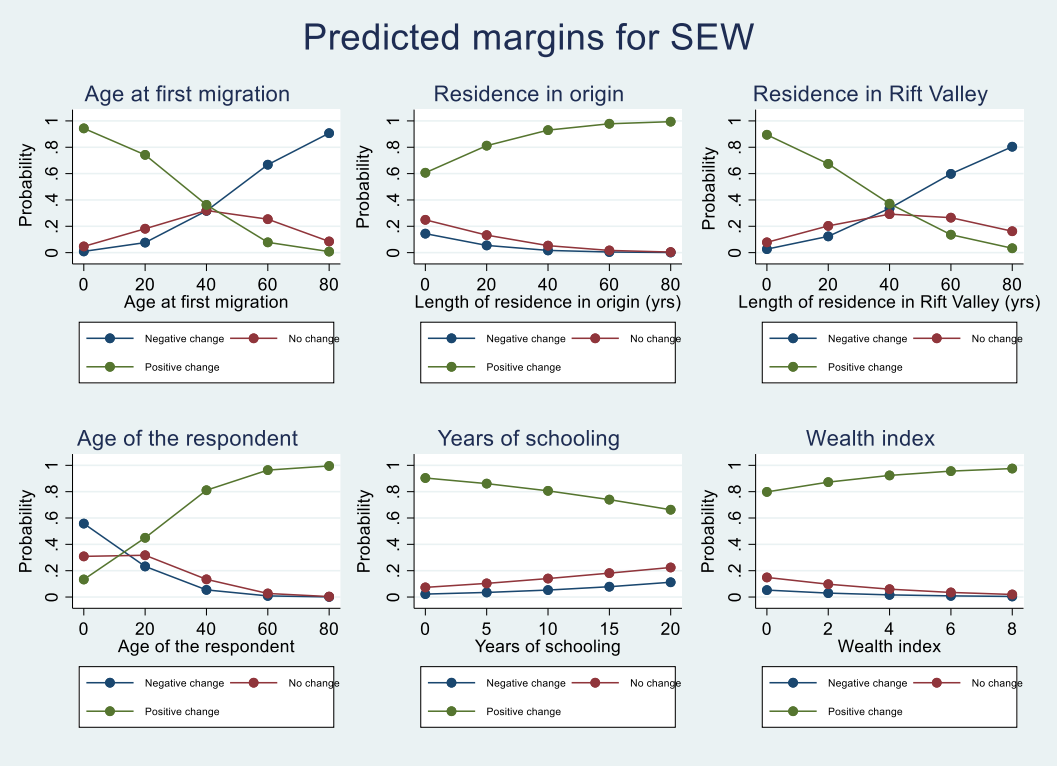

Figure 5-2: Predictive margins for economic wellbeing

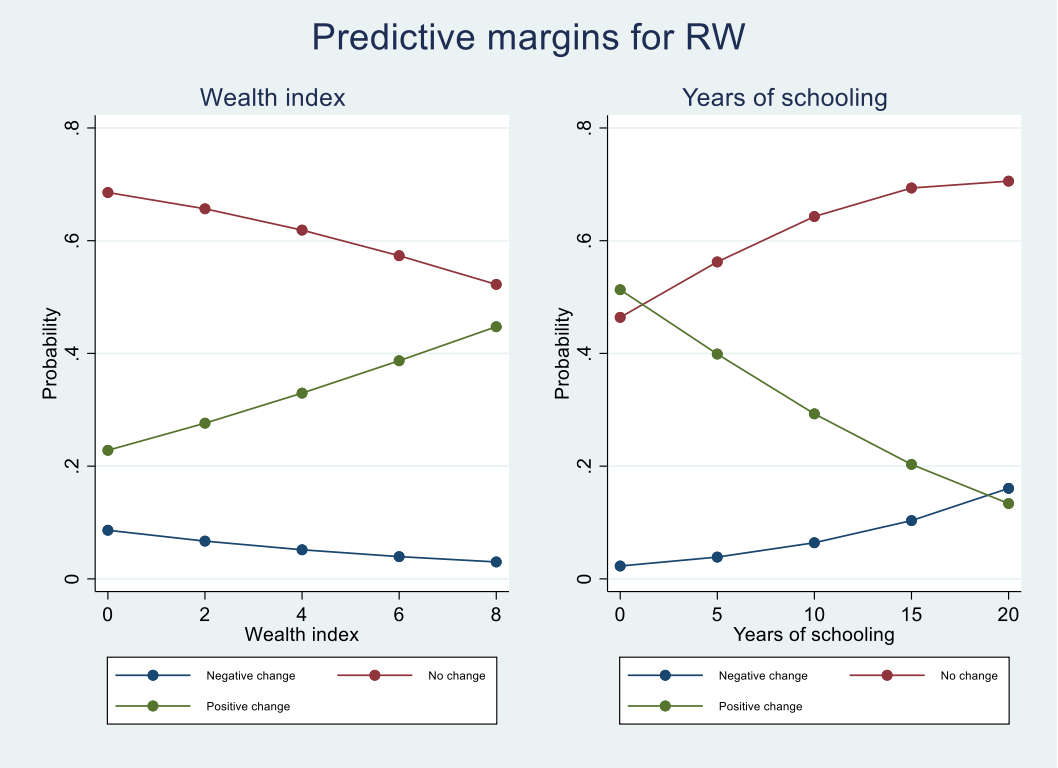

Figure 5-3: Predictive margins for relational wellbeing

Another socioeconomic status variable that substantial correlated to the three dimensions of wellbeing is the wealth index. Predictive margins of wealth index illustrated in Figures 5-1, 5-2 and 5-3 show that it raises the likelihood of reporting positive changes in overall life status, living standard, and satisfaction with familial and friendship relationships. These outcomes are akin to economists' typical anticipation that increases in material goods endowment move in the same direction with life satisfaction (Easterlin et al., 2010, Easterlin, 2006, Kahneman et al., 2006, Hayo and Seifert, 2003). However, material goods may have a transient effect on subjective wellbeing as people adapt to higher material circumstances. The positive and significant effect of the wealth index on relational wellbeing implies that satisfaction with familial and friendship relationships is significantly worse for impoverished migrants or better wealthy migrants.

Years of schooling which measures education status predict economic and relational wellbeing but not subjective wellbeing, thus agreeing with the finding of Menon et al. (2015). The predictive margins of years of schooling on economic wellbeing and relational wellbeing indicate an inverse relationship depicted by graphs in Figures 5-2 and 5-3, respectively. The finding may be partly because Kenyan households in the Rift Valley have comparable human capital stocks. The results imply that the chances of reporting a positive change in economic wellbeing reduce with higher levels of schooling, which is surprising and contradicts the discussions in the literature that the level of wellbeing increases with a higher level of education (Cracolici et al., 2014, Hayo and Seifert, 2003, Liu et al., 2017, Prilleltensky, 2008) but corresponds to the finding of Gokdemir and Dumludag (2012) among the Morrocan migrants.

According to the socio-economic status variables, our model results partially support hypothesis 3 (concerning employment status and wealth index) but reject it (concerning education status measured by years of schooling).

The other control variables, mainly migration and demographic variables, have no correlations with relational wellbeing. All the migration-related variables correlate to subjective and economic wellbeing, contrary to Bak-Klimek et al. (2015) claims of them not being predictors of wellbeing. All migration and demographic variables except gender and household size are separately associated with subjective and economic wellbeing. The no difference in the three dimensions of wellbeing between males and females adds to the literature's inconclusive results. The finding is coherent with Bak-Klimek et al. (2015) review and Gokdemir and Dumludag (2012) finding among Turkish migrants but at the same time contradicting Gokdemir and Dumludag (2012), which showed higher levels of wellbeing amongst Moroccan women than men.

Figures 5-1 and 5-2 correspondingly depict that positive changes in overall life satisfaction and living standard are inversely related to age at migration, implying that the older one is when one migrates, the less satisfactory the adaptation process. The results are comparable to Angel and Angel (1992), who revealed diminished life satisfaction with migration later in life. Literature contends that the process of integration is intolerable as the age at migration rises due to reducing adaptive capacity; hence later migration life results in significant loss of social networks and a hard time acclimatising to change associated with difficulty in recreating social contacts (Angel and Angel, 1992).

The results in Figure 5-1 and Figure 5-2 generally suggest positive but diminishing returns separately to the respondent's age on subjective and economic wellbeing, thus contradicting the u-shaped relation between wellbeing and age commonly highlighted in the literature (Steptoe et al., 2015, Winkelmann, 2005). Nevertheless, it supports the findings of other studies (McAdams et al., 2012, D'Isanto et al., 2016) that an additional increase in age for those who are not at younger age group levels is unlikely to increase overall life satisfaction or standard of living in the long run but is incompatible with the evidence presented by Bak-Klimek et al. (2015), which altogether rejected age as a predictor of wellbeing. A possible justification for the results is that decreases in other life circumstances that deteriorate with ageing can offset the numerous improvements in life spheres (McAdams et al., 2012).

The findings that immigrants' subjective and economic wellbeing generally do not improve with their length of stay in the Rift Valley illustrated in Figure 5-1 and Figure 5-2 are a contradiction to the assumption that the length of stay in the settlement destination makes migrants better informed (Knight and Gunatilaka, 2010, Liang et al., 2008). Hendriks and Burger (2019) attribute the negative association to the slow realisation of aspirations and frustrations from perceptions of living through low conditions relative to the native

population. In contrast, the length of stay in origin moves in the same direction with subjective and economic wellbeing.

5.5 Conclusions

The chapter examined the determinants of subjective, economic and relational dimensions of wellbeing in the Kenyan Rift Valley using data from a cross-sectional survey and unconstrained generalised ordered models. It mainly focuses on the extent to which translocal linkages, migrant adjustment and socio-economic status influence the three dimensions of wellbeing. The descriptive analysis revealed that migrants are more satisfied with their overall life, living standards and relations to families and friends after migration than before migration. It also corroborates the positive interlace between the three dimensions of wellbeing and substantial economic well-being bearing on overall life satisfaction.

The unconstrained generalised ordered models indicate that identity index, adjustment index, house ownership, employment status and wealth index correlated to economic and subjective wellbeing. Also, the years of schooling are associated with economic wellbeing, whereas split householding correlates to subjective wellbeing. The results also show that identity index, receive linkages, physical linkages, employment status, wealth index, and years of schooling are associated with relational wellbeing. Generally, the finding implies that migrant adjustment and translocal linkages have a more confounded relationship to wellbeing than the literature suggests (Tilghman, 2014). We argue that not all higher migrant adjustments levels nor stronger linkages between origin and destination translate into better subjective, economic and relational wellbeing because transforming them into an actual livelihood strategy may be mediated by many socio-economic contexts.

The findings suggest that socioeconomic statuses, particularly employment status and wealth index, have more substantial effects than the migrant adjustment and translocal linkage variables. The findings confirm the centrality of jobs to migrants' wellbeing. Although the national legislations outlaw discrimination and promote equal employment opportunities for all Kenyans, jobs remain few resulting in preferential treatment and nepotism, which disfavours migrants as counties reserve specific jobs to the de jure population (natives only) rather than the de facto population (including migrants and natives) (World Bank, 2021). Therefore, policy reforms prioritize removing discriminatory practices against migrants in the county-level job market. Secondly, the policy reforms should remove the obstacles that increase the operation cost for private companies, which currently create ninety per cent of new jobs. Also, local authorities and the county governments ought to accept the 'jua kali' and other informal self-employment where most Kenyans, mainly internal migrants, work as legitimate sectors of the economy and standardise their business licences, rather than subjecting them to maltreatment.

6 CONCLUSIONS

Policymakers in Kenya often overlook rural-rural migration and the consequences of translocalism and acculturation for wellbeing, yet it is as common as urban migration, accounting for about 40% of total migration (Oyvat and wa Gĩthĩnji, 2020). Literature on translocalism is limited to mere descriptions of existing rural-urban (Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013a, Owuor, 2007) and international connections (Benz, 2014), but variations in the connections have yet to be adequately tackled. Similarly, there is hardly any literature on the adjustment of internal migrants to ethnically plural societies, as most scholarly work focuses on acculturation after international migration. This thesis filled the literature gap by investigating rural-rural migration and its consequent acculturation and translocalism in the ethnically diverse Kenyan Rift Valley.

Three subsequent sections of this chapter conclude the study. The first section summarises and incorporates the three essays' main findings to achieve the study objectives we set. Section 2 highlights the significance of the research findings for the literature on rural migration and policy. The final section concludes with the limitations of the study and a suggestion for further research.

6.1 Summary

6.1.1 Objective 1

The first objective detailed in Chapter 3 was to explore the diversity of rural-rural migration and settlement experiences in the Rift Valley's rural milieu through a qualitative analysis of nineteen in-depth interviews. The categorisation of three types of migrants in the Rift Valley with differing personal backgrounds exemplifies diversity in the Rift Valley's migration and settlement experiences. The study supports the assertions of Kuiper (2019), challenging the homogenous representation of migrants that ignores the different ways in which personal

contexts interact with meso-level factors such as ethnic discrimination to bring diversity to migration experiences (Lucas, 2007). The first type of migrants came from hostile rural origins, and moving to an alternative location was not feasible due to resource constraints, so they were forced to postpone their settlement plans, despite not being at home in the Rift Valley. The second type of migrants benefited from working and earning wages in the Rift Valley and invested in maintaining a position in their place of origin in preparation for retirement, resulting in partial and simultaneous existence in the two localities. Type three migrants considered life in their place of origin unexciting and unlikely to enable them to fulfil their potential; consequently, they worked and invested in the Rift Valley, with the intention of settling there permanently, but maintained connections with their place of origin.

Consistently with the literature (Covington-Ward, 2017, Sabates-Wheeler et al., 2009, Negy et al., 2009, Zhang et al., 2009), most migrants entertained unrealistic expectations of job opportunities, success, and easy life, contrary to the realities of the Rift Valley, due to imperfect information flows between migrants and their networks. The expectation-reality discrepancies often caused negative migration experiences. Migration also introduced migrants to elements of social disarticulation such as othering, perpetual stranger hood and ethnic discrimination at the destination, which often led to questioning their claims to local resources and citizenship rights, and limited the extent of their integration and settlement in the host society.

6.1.2 Objective 2

The second objective of the thesis, achieved in Chapter 4, was to investigate the effects of various socio-demographic characteristics and the experience of discrimination on the expected preferences for four different types of acculturations among domestic migrants in the Kenyan Rift Valley. The four types of acculturations considered are integration,

assimilation, separation and marginalisation. We conducted a vignette experiment presenting each of the 280 participants with 16 vignette sets, each describing two hypothetical migrants presenting variable plexuses of information on each migrant's length of residence in the Rift Valley, age at first migration, level of education, income status, the experience of discrimination, mother's origin, spouse's origin, membership of migrant associations, and family residence. The study used a conditional logistic regression model to analyse the experimental data.

The results suggested that migrants attached considerable importance to the experience of ethnic discrimination and level of education, with university education being the most significant. The effects of both university education and the experience of discrimination are strongest on separation, followed by integration, then marginalisation and weakest on assimilation. The results aligned with the literature's evidence on the detrimental influence of discrimination on the acculturation of internal migrants (Sudhinaraset et al., 2012) and international migrants (Abu-Rayya, 2009, Schwartz et al., 2010, Kim et al., 2018, Lee, 2019, Mohanty et al., 2018) but added to the literature's inconsistency on the relationship between acculturation and education by supporting the findings of Kalmijn and Kraaykamp (2018) but differing from Nekby et al. (2009), which suggested that educational achievement was not related to acculturation processes.

6.1.3 Objective 3

Chapter 5 assessed the effects of translocal linkages and migrant adjustment on the subjective, relational and economic dimensions of migrant wellbeing to achieve the third objective of this thesis. We used generalised ordered logit models to analyse cross-sectional survey data collected from 301 participants. The study measured wellbeing before and after migration using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1(Extremely dissatisfied) to 5 (Extremely

satisfied); then, the change in each wellbeing dimension was computed by subtracting the level of satisfaction reported for each dimension before and after migration. The study relied on three working hypotheses to achieve the objective. The first was that migrants with higher adjustment levels at the destination have superior subjective, economic and relational wellbeing. Adjustment and identity indices measured the migrant adjustment levels. The results suggest that a high adjustment index (the migrant identifies more with the host society) is favourable to a migrant's living standard and life satisfaction; however, a high identity index (the migrant identifies more with society of origin) is detrimental to economic and subjective wellbeing but beneficial to relational wellbeing. The identity index results rejected the first hypothesis on subjective and economic wellbeing but supported its claim on relational wellbeing; however, the adjustment index results supported the first hypothesis on subjective and economic wellbeing but remain inconclusive concerning relational wellbeing.

The study measured translocal linkages using house ownership in the place of origin, split householding, receiving, giving and physical movement to test the second hypothesis that migrants with more translocal linkages between the place of origin and destination have superior subjective, economic and relational wellbeing. The results suggest that all give and physical exchange linkages only predicted relational wellbeing; split householding predicted subjective wellbeing, while house ownership predicted subjective and economic wellbeing. Contrary to the literature claiming that translocal linkages between origin and destination are constructive to wellbeing, the results suggest that the association between translocal linkages and wellbeing is far more complicated than the second hypothesis suggests. The model results partially supported the third hypothesis, that migrants with higher socioeconomic status (employment status and wealth index) have superior subjective, economic and relational wellbeing; nevertheless, they reject its claim concerning education status measured by years of schooling, which have an inverse relationship to relational and economic wellbeing.

6.2 Significance of the research findings

6.2.1 Academic Relevance of research findings

Scholarly accounts have played a key role in widening our understanding of migration and people's embeddedness during mobility (Ogone, 2015, Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2017). The linkages migrants maintain between origin and destination and their adjustment to their destination are of great interest to internal and international migration scholars (Trager, 2005). The economic explanations of dependencies, translocal linkages and migrant adjustment patterns between rural-urban areas dominate contemporary internal migration literature on Africa (Owuor, 2007, Tostensen, 2004, Porst and Sakdapolrak, 2018, Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013a). Throughout, the thesis makes a case for more scholarly attention on rural-rural migration, which constitutes a significant share of internal migration dynamics and is of as great consequence as rural-urban migration and international migration (Lucas, 2016, Oyvat and wa Gĩthĩnji, 2020).

The thesis contributes to the literature on the often-overlooked rural-rural migration stream in three ways. First, it recognises the diversity and contradictions in migration and settlement experiences arising from the migrant narratives. Contrary to the literature that often associates migration with poor welfare outcomes (Oyvat and wa Gĩthĩnji, 2020), this study has clearly shown that internal migration flows to the Rift valley with better economic outcomes that are likely to persist despite ethnic differences and discrimination. However, agricultural labour migration to the Kenya Rift valley is not purely economic; it is additionally motivated greatly by non-economic factors such as the history of colonisation that perpetuated the establishment of social networks, family disputes and desire for adventure as individuals transition into adulthood.

Secondly, by exploring the relative perceived importance of selected socio-demographics for acculturation preferences of rural-rural migrants, the study shows the relevance of the acculturation theory to internal migration in the context of ethnic pluralism. The study also generates information on how acculturation and translocalism in ethnically plural societies influence the subjective, economic and relational dimensions of wellbeing alongside the socioeconomic and demographic characteristics. The findings support the already existing literature that employment enhances all dimensions of wellbeing (Warfa et al., 2012, Nowok et al., 2013, Kundu and Niranjan, 2007, Headey, 2010).

The thesis also makes two methodological contributions. In Chapter 4, the study demonstrates the applicability of implementing an experimental vignette methodology to assess migrant characteristics' influences on four acculturation preferences: marginalisation, separation, assimilation, and integration. The experimental manipulations of hypothetical migrants' circumstances remove respondents' awareness of their behavioural stimuli and improve the previous acculturation work that relied on self-reports (Göregenli et al., 2016, Yue et al., 2020, Wang and Fan, 2012). The innovative methodology combines the high internal validity of experiments and the high external validity of surveys (Dülmer, 2016, Auspurg and Hinz, 2015), thus overcoming the limitations of reversed causality and systematic unobserved individual preferences and allowing quantitative assessment of all selected socio-demographics' relative importance for acculturation preferences once. Also, in Chapter 5, the study makes a methodological contribution, firstly by going beyond mere documentation to quantify forms of translocal linkages other than remittance, and secondly by quantifying measures of migrant adjustment, which qualitative literature has suggested affects wellbeing (Owuor, 2007, Ramisch, 2016, Greiner and Sakdapolrak, 2013a, Lang and Sakdapolrak, 2014).

6.2.2 Policy relevance of the research findings

To conclude, we endeavour to point out how the main findings can inform policies that utilise the richness associated with ethnic diversity and build a peaceful, cohesive, united, and integrated Kenyan society inclusive of all people. The negative influence of ethnic discrimination on integration, migration and settlement experiences confirmed by the qualitative analysis in Chapter 3 and quantitative analysis in Chapter 4 suggest that tangible benefits of the legal and constitutional frameworks aimed at enhancing Kenya's social stability and creating a society free from ethnic discrimination have not to be realised so far in the Kenyan Rift valley. The continued existence of discrimination based on ethnicity calls for more actions, such as giving the National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) prosecutorial powers, to realize the benefits of existing legal statutes. Over the years, Kenya has made substantial progress in its legal and policy framework to protect the rights of all its citizens, including internal migrants, against various forms of ethnic discrimination; however, these hardly translate into tangible changes on the ground. Although the NCIC has specialised knowledge and investigates many ethnic discrimination cases, the legal framework bestows prosecutorial powers on the office of the director of public prosecutions (ODPP), which deals with an array of many other criminal proceedings besides ethnic discrimination cases (Laws of Kenya, 2013). Consequently, the NCIC cannot conclude its cases promptly and lacks powers to act further if the persons accused of ethnic discrimination and violence fail to obey their summons (Nyaura, 2018).

The finding on the influence of employment on wellbeing justifies extension to the flower and tea processing industries, where most migrants work, of the requirement to represent Kenya's diversity by having no more than one-third of employees from the same ethnic group, to remove migrants' discriminatory practices in the job market and create equal employment opportunities for all citizens (Government of Kenya, 2008). The permissive and proscriptive

positive measures on ethnic discrimination in the job market apply only to public institutions but need to extend to private enterprises.

6.3 Limitations of the study and suggestions for further research

One of the study's limitations is the potential bias of the observational nature of the data caused by the self-selection of migrants, especially in Chapter 5. Although we collected information unavailable in any dataset in the cross-sectional survey, we could not establish a temporal link between independent variables, such as translocal linkages and migrant adjustment, and the outcome variable: change in wellbeing. To deal effectively with the problem of selection bias, Stillman et al. (2015) exploited natural experiment survey data to deduce the impact of migration from Tonga to New Zealand on migrants' wellbeing. No dataset is available in Kenya from such a natural environment; consequently, the study lessened the selection bias by adding in-depth interviews and a vignette survey.

Another limitation arose from the data collection during the COVID-19 pandemic period; some of the migrants' responses may have been affected by the difficulty posed by the pandemic restriction measures. Also, the study's initial design of carrying out a survey-based vignette experiment as a follow-up of all the 301 migrants in the cross-sectional survey was unattainable following the uncertainty posed by the pandemic. Consequently, it was impossible to infer the socio-economic and demographic differences on individual perception, especially for the vignette.

Unlike previous studies (Göregenli et al., 2016, Yue et al., 2020, Wang and Fan, 2012) that rely on conservative surveys (revealed preference approach) observing or asking respondents directly about their acculturation behaviour to capture actual causal effects, this study gained insights on respondents' general belief about the relative importance of different determinants of acculturation behaviour using a stated preference approach. Because the respondents were

domestic migrants, we assumed they accurately perceived the underlying causality justifying the study's stated preference approach. Further research should consider conducting a comparative study using both conservative and vignette surveys on the same population sample and comparing results to establish a difference or correspondence between the two approaches and open the floor for a proper discussion of the reasons.

7 REFERENCES

ABBAS, R. (2016). Internal migration and citizenship in India. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 42(1)**,** 150-168.

ABUBAKAR, A., VAN DE VIJVER, F. J., MAZRUI, L., ARASA, J. & MURUGAMI, M. 2012. Ethnic identity, acculturation orientations, and psychological well-being among adolescents of immigrant background in Kenya. *The Impact of Immigration on Children's Development.* Karger Publishers.ABURAYYA, H. M. (2009). Acculturation and its determinants among adult immigrants in France. *International Journal of Psychology,* 44(3)**,** 195-203.

ADAMS, B. G. & VAN DE VIJVER, F. J. (2017). Identity and acculturation: The case for Africa. *Journal of Psychology in Africa,* 27(2)**,** 115-121.

ADEPOJU, A. (2017). Nigeria: Leaving Africa's Giant. In: CARBONE, G. (ed.) *Out of Africa: Why People Migrate*. Milan: Ledizioni-LediPublishing**,** 119-139.

AGESA, R. U. (2004). One Family, Two Households: Rural to Urban Migration in Kenya. *Review of Economics of the Household,* 2(2)**,** 161-178.

AGESA, R. U. & KIM, S. (2001). Rural to urban migration as a household decision: Evidence from Kenya. *Review of Development Economics,* 5(1)**,** 60-75.

ANAMOA-POKOO, S. & BADASU, D. M. (2018). . Remittance flow to households of internal migrants in Ekumfi District of the Central Region, Ghana.*Ghana Social Science Journal,* 15(2)**,** 57-89.

ANGEL, J. L. & ANGEL, R. J. (1992). Age at migration, social connections, and well-being among elderly Hispanics. *Journal of Aging and Health,* 4(4)**,** 480-499.

ANGELINI, V., CASI, L. & CORAZZINI, L. (2015). Life satisfaction of immigrants: does cultural assimilation matter? *Journal of Population Economics,* 28(3)**,** 817-844.

APPAU, S., CHURCHILL, S. A. & FARRELL, L. (2019). Social integration and subjective wellbeing. *Applied Economics,* 51(16)**,** 1748-1761.

AUSPURG, K. & HINZ, T. (2015). Multifactorial experiments in surveys: Conjoint analysis, choice experiments, and factorial surveys. In: Wollbrings, T. & Keuschnigg, M. (eds) *Experimente in Den Socialwissenschaften*, Baden-Baden: Nomos, 291-315.

BAK-KLIMEK, A., KARATZIAS, T., ELLIOTT, L. & MACLEAN, R. (2015). The determinants of well-being among international economic immigrants: A systematic literature review and meta-analysis. *Applied Research in Quality of Life,* 10(1)**,** 161-188.

BARTOLINI, S. & BILANCINI, E. (2010). If not only GDP, what else? Using relational goods to predict the trends of subjective well-being. *International Review of Economics,* 57(2)**,** 199-213.

BEAUCHEMIN, C. & SAFI, M. (2020). Migrants' connections within and beyond borders: insights from the comparison of three categories of migrants in France. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 43(2)**,** 255-274.

BECCHETTI, L., PELLONI, A. & ROSSETTI, F. (2008). Relational goods, sociability, and happiness. *Kyklos,* 61(3)**,** 343-363.

BECCHETTI, L., TROVATO, G. & LONDONO BEDOYA, D. A. (2011). Income, relational goods and happiness. *Applied Economics,* 43(3)**,** 273-290.

BENZ, A. (2014). Mobility, multilocality and translocal development: changing livelihoods in the Karakoram. *Geographica Helvetica,* 69(4)**,** 259-270.

BENZ, A. (2016). Framing Modernization Interventions: Reassessing the Role of Migration and Translocality in Sustainable Mountain Development in Gilgit-Baltistan, Pakistan. *Mountain Research and Development,* 36(2)**,** 141-152.

BERNARD, H. R. & BERNARD, H. R. (2013). *Social research methods: Qualitative and quantitative approaches*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

BERRY, J. W. & HOU, F. (2016). Immigrant acculturation and wellbeing in Canada. *Canadian Psychology/psychologie canadienne,* 57(4)**,** 254-264.

BERRY, J. W., PHINNEY, J. S., SAM, D. L. & VEDDER, P. (2006a). Immigrant youth: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation. *Applied Psychology,* 55(3)**,** 303-332.

BERRY, J. W., PHINNEY, J. S., SAM, D. L. & VEDDER, P. E. (2006b). *Immigrant youth in cultural transition: Acculturation, identity, and adaptation across national contexts*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

BIGSTEN, A. (1996). The circular migration of smallholders in Kenya. *Journal of African Economies,* 5(1)**,** 1-20.

BLIEMER, M. C. & ROSE, J. M. (2011). Experimental design influences on stated choice outputs: an empirical study in air travel choice. *Transportation Research Part A: Policy and Practice,* 45(1)**,** 63-79.

BRADSHAW, Y. W. (1990). Perpetuating underdevelopment in Kenya: The link between agriculture, class, and state. *African Studies Review,* 33(1)**,** 1-28.

BRITTON, E. & COULTHARD, S. (2013). Assessing the social wellbeing of Northern Ireland's fishing society using a three-dimensional approach. *Marine Policy,* 37(1)**,** 28-36.

BROWN, S. & GRAY, D. (2016). Household finances and well-being in Australia: An empirical analysis of comparison effects. *Journal of Economic Psychology,* 53**,** 17-36.

BRÜGGEN, E. C., HOGREVE, J., HOLMLUND, M., KABADAYI, S. & LÖFGREN, M. (2017). Financial well-being: A conceptualization and research agenda. *Journal of Business Research,* 79(C)**,** 228-237.

BRUNI, L. & STANCA, L. (2008). Watching alone: Relational goods, television and happiness. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization,* 65(3-4)**,** 506-528.

BURGESS, R., JEDWAB, R., MIGUEL, E., MORJARIA, A. & PADRÓ I MIQUEL, G. 2015. The value of democracy: evidence from road building in Kenya. A*merican Economic Review*, 105(1), 1817-51

CAI, S. & PARK, A. (2016). Permanent income and subjective well-being. *Journal of Economic Behavior & Organization,* 130(C)**,** 298-319.

CARBONE, G. E. (ed.) (2017). *Out of Africa: Why People Migrate*. Milan: Ledizioni-LediPublishing.

ÇARO, E. 2013. Winners or Losers? The Adjustment Strategies of Rural-to-Urban Migrants in Tirana, Albania. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 39(3)**,** 501-519.

CARVER, T. & GRIMES, A. 2016. Income or consumption: Which better predicts subjective wellbeing? Working Papers 16_12, Motu Economic and Public Policy Research.

CASTELLI, F. 2018. Drivers of migration: why do people move? *Journal of Travel Medicine,* 25(1)**,** 1-7.

CHAMBERLIN, J., SITKO, N. & JAYNE, T. 2018. Rural-rural migration, Land and labor markets in Zambia. 30th International Conference of Agricultural Economics, July 28-August 2 2018, Vancouver, British Columbia 277404, International Association of Agricultural Economists.

CHEN, J., KOSEC, K. & MUELLER, V. (2019). Moving to despair? Migration and well-being in Pakistan. *World Development,* 113(C)**,** 186-203.

CLIGGETT, L. (2000). Social components of migration: Experiences from Southern Province, Zambia. *Human Organization***,** 59(1),125-135.

COLOMBO, E., ROTONDI, V. & STANCA, L. (2018). Macroeconomic conditions and well-being: do social interactions matter? *Applied Economics,* 50(28)**,** 3029-3038.

COPESTAKE, J.(2008). Wellbeing in international development: What's new? *Journal of International Development: The Journal of the Development Studies Association,* 20(5)**,** 577-597.

CORREA-VELEZ, I., GIFFORD, S. M. & MCMICHAEL, C. (2015). The persistence of predictors of wellbeing among refugee youth eight years after resettlement in Melbourne, Australia. *Social Science & Medicine,* 142**,** 163-168.

COUNTY GOVERNMENT OF KERICHO (2018). *Second Generation County Integrated Development Plan 2018-2022*. Kericho_County_Integrated_Development_plan_2018-2022(4).pdf

COUNTY GOVERNMENT OF NAKURU (2018). *Nakuru County Integrated Development Plan 2018-2022.* Nairobi: Economic, Social Rights Centre - Hakijamii.

COVINGTON-WARD, Y. (2017). "Back home, people say America is heaven": Pre-migration expectations and post-migration adjustment for Liberians in Pittsburgh. *Journal of International Migration and Integration,* 18(4)**,** 1013-1032.

CRACOLICI, M. F., GIAMBONA, F. & CUFFARO, M. (2014). Family structure and subjective economic well-being: Some new evidence. *Social Indicators Research,* 118(1)**,** 433-456.

CUMMINGS, C., PACITTO, J., LAURO, D. & FORESTI, M. (2015). *Why people move: Understanding the drivers and trends of migration to Europe.* London: Overseas Development Institute.

D'ISANTO, F., FOUSKAS, P. & VERDE, M. (2016). Determinants of well-being among legal and illegal Immigrants: Evidence from South Italy. *Social Indicators Research,* 126(3)**,** 1109-1141.

DE HAAS, H. (2010). Migration and development: A theoretical perspective. *International migration review,* 44(1)**,** 227-264.

DE JONG, G. F., ABAD, R. G., ARNOLD, F., CARINO, B. V., FAWCETT, J. T. & GARDNER, R. W. (1983). International and internal migration decision making: a value-expectancy based analytical framework of intentions to move from a rural Philippine province. *International Migration Review,* 17(1-2)**,** 470-484.

DE JONG, G. F., CHAMRATRITHIRONG, A. & TRAN, Q. G. (2002). For Better, For Worse: Life Satisfaction Consequences of Migration 1. *International Migration Review,* 36(3)**,** 838-863.

DOLAN, P., PEASGOOD, T. & WHITE, M. (2008). Do we really know what makes us happy? A review of the economic literature on the factors associated with subjective well-being. *Journal of Economic Psychology,* 29(1)**,** 94-122.

DU, H. (2017). Place attachment and belonging among educated young migrants and returnees: The case of Chaohu, China. *Population, Space and Place,* 23(2)**,** 1-16.

DU, H. & LI, X. (2015). Acculturation and HIV-related sexual behaviours among international migrants: A systematic review and meta-analysis. *Health Psychology Review,* 9(1)**,** 103-122.

DÜLMER, H. (2016). The Factorial Survey: Design Selection and its Impact on Reliability and Internal Validity. *Sociological Methods & Research,* 45(2)**,** 304-347.

EASTERLIN, R. A. (2006). Life cycle happiness and its sources: Intersections of psychology, economics, and demography. *Journal of Economic Psychology,* 27**,** 463-482.

EASTERLIN, R. A., MCVEY, L. A., SWITEK, M., SAWANGFA, O. & ZWEIG, J. S. (2010). The happiness–income paradox revisited. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences,* 107(52)**,** 22463-22468.

EPSTEIN, G. S. & HEIZLER , O. J. (2015). Ethnic identity: a theoretical framework. *IZA Journal of Migration and Development,* 4(1)**,**1-11.

FINCH, J. (1987). The Vignette Technique in Survey Research. *Sociology,* 21(1)**,** 105-114.

FLAHAUX, M.-L. (2017). Demystifying African migration: Trends, destinations and returns. In: CARBONE, G. (ed.) *Out of Africa: Why People Migrate*. Milan: Ledizioni LediPublishing, 31-50.

FOX, R. S., MERZ, E. L., SOLÓRZANO, M. T. & ROESCH, S. C. (2013). Further Examining Berry's Model: The Applicability of Latent Profile Analysis to Acculturation. *Measurement and Evaluation in Counseling and Development,* 46(4)**,** 270-288.

GAINES JR, S. O. & REED, E. S. (1995). Prejudice: From Allport to DuBois. *American Psychologist,* 50**,** 96-103.

GARCIA, J. G., DINARDO, J., NUÑEZ, M. I. L., EMMANUEL, D. & CHAN, C. D. (2020). The Integrated Acculturation Model: Expanding Acculturation to Cultural Identities in Addition to Race and Ethnicity. *Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development,* 48(4)**,** 271-287.

GATWIRI, K. & ANDERSON, L. (2021). Boundaries of Belonging: Theorizing Black African Migrant Experiences in Australia. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health,* 18(1)**,** 38, doi: 10.3390/ijerph18010038.

GHOSH, S. (2007). Transnational ties and intra-immigrant group settlement experiences: A case study of Indian Bengalis and Bangladeshis in Toronto. *GeoJournal,* 68(2-3)**,** 223-242.

GIDWANI, V. & RAMAMURTHY, P. (2018). Agrarian questions of labor in urban India: Middle migrants, translocal householding and the intersectional politics of social reproduction. *The Journal of Peasant Studies,* 45(5-6)**,** 994-1017.

GOKDEMIR, O. & DUMLUDAG, D. (2012). Life satisfaction among Turkish and Moroccan immigrants in the Netherlands: The role of absolute and relative income. *Social indicators research,* 106(3)**,** 407-417.

GÖREGENLI, M., KARAKUS, P. & GÖKTEN, C. (2016). Acculturation attitudes and urban-related identity of internal migrants in three largest cities of Turkey. *Migration Letters,* 13(3)**,** 427-442.

GOVERNMENT OF KENYA (2008). *The National Cohesion and Integration Act. No. 12 of 2008. Revised edition 2012.* [Nairobi]: TheNational Council for Law Reporting with the Authority of the Attorney-General. http://kenyalaw.org/kl/fileadmin/pdfdownloads/Acts/NationalCohesionandIntegrationAct_No12of2008.pdf

GREEN, A. 2017. Understanding the drivers of internal migration. Internal migration in the developed world, 31-55.

GREINER, C. (2010). Patterns of translocality: Migration, livelihoods and identities in Northwest Namibia. *Sociologus,* 60(2)**,** 131-161.

GREINER, C. (2011). Migration, translocal networks and socio-economic stratification in Namibia. *Africa,* 81(4)**,** 606-627.

GREINER, C. & SAKDAPOLRAK, P. (2013a). Rural-urban migration, agrarian change, and the environment in Kenya: a critical review of the literature. *Population and Environment,* 34(4)**,** 524-553.

GREINER, C. & SAKDAPOLRAK, P. (2013b). Translocality: Concepts, applications and emerging research perspectives. *Geography Compass,* 7(5)**,** 373-384.

GREINER, C. & SAKDAPOLRAK, P. (2016). Migration, environment and inequality: perspectives of a political ecology of translocal relations. In: McLeman, R., Schade, J. & Faist, T. (eds.)*Environmental Migration and Social Inequality.* Cham: Springer, 151-163.

GUZI, M. & DE PEDRAZA GARCÍA, P. (2015). A web survey analysis of subjective well-being. *International Journal of Manpower,* 36(1)**,** 48-67.

HAGEN-ZANKER, J. (2008). *Why do people migrate? A review of the theoretical literature*. Maastricht Graduate School of Governance, Working Paper MGSoG/2008/WP002, no. 28197, 1-26.

HALL, R., SCOONES, I. & TSIKATA, D. (2017). Plantations, outgrowers and commercial farming in Africa: agricultural commercialisation and implications for agrarian change. *The Journal of Peasant Studies,* 44(3)**,** 515-537.

HARRIS, D. & PROUT QUICKE, S. (2018). "It doesn't make me any less Aboriginal": The complex politics of translocal place-making for Indigenous tertiary student migrants. *Population, Space and Place***,** e2191.

HASHEMI, N., MARZBAN, M., SEBAR, B. & HARRIS, N. 2020. Validating the suinn-lew Asian self-identity acculturation scale among middle Eastern Migrants: Linear versus orthogonal approaches. *Shiraz E Medical Journal,* 21(6)**,** 1-12.

HAYO, B. & SEIFERT, W. 2003. Subjective economic well-being in Eastern Europe. *Journal of Economic Psychology,* 24(3)**,** 329-348.

HEADEY, B. (2010). The Set Point Theory of Well-Being Has Serious Flaws: On the Eve of a Scientific Revolution? *Social Indicators Research,* 97(1)**,** 7-21.

HENDRIKS, M. & BURGER, M. J. (2019). Unsuccessful subjective well-being assimilation among immigrants: The role of faltering perceptions of the host society. *Journal of Happiness Studies***,** 21(6), 1985-2006.

HIRVONEN, K. (2016). Temperature changes, household consumption, and internal migration: Evidence from Tanzania. *American Journal of Agricultural Economics,* 98(4)**,** 1230-1249.

HJORT, J. 2014. Ethnic divisions and production in firms. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics,* 129(1)**,** 1899-1946.

HUIJNK, W., VERKUYTEN, M. & COENDERS, M. (2012). Family life and acculturation attitudes: A study among four immigrant groups in the Netherlands. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 38(4)**,** 555-575.

INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION FOR MIGRATION (2015). *Migration in Kenya: A Country Profile*. Geneva: UN Migration IOM Publications Platform. https://publications.iom.int/books/migration-kenya-country-profile-2015

JAIKUMAR, S., SINGH, R. & SARIN, A. (2018). 'I show off, so I am well off': Subjective economic well-being and conspicuous consumption in an emerging economy. *Journal of Business Research,* 86**,** 386-393.

JENKINS, S. 2012. Ethnicity, violence, and the immigrant-guest metaphor in Kenya. *African affairs,* 111(1)**,** 576-596.

JIN, L., WEN, M., FAN, J. X. & WANG, G. (2012). Trans-local ties, local ties and psychological well-being among rural-to-urban migrants in Shanghai. *Social Science & Medicine,* 75(2)**,** 288-296.

KAHNEMAN, D., KRUEGER, A. B., SCHKADE, D., SCHWARZ, N. & STONE, A. A. (2006). Would You Be Happier If You Were Richer? A Focusing Illusion. *Science,* 312(5728)**,** 1908-1910.

KALMIJN, M. & KRAAYKAMP, G. (2018). Determinants of cultural assimilation in the second generation. A longitudinal analysis of values about marriage and sexuality among Moroccan and Turkish migrants. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 44(5)**,** 697-717.

KAZARIAN, S. S. & BOYADJIAN, M. D. 2008. Validation of the multigroup ethnic identity measure among ethnic Armenian adolescents in Lebanon. Identity: An International Journal of Theory and Research, 8(1), 335-347.

KAZIMIERCZUK, A., KAMAU, P., KINUTHIA, B. & MUKOKO, C. (2018). Never a rose without a prick:(Dutch) multinational companies and productive employment in the Kenyan flower sector. *ASC Working Paper Series*, 142.

KENYA HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION (2008). *A Comparative Study of the Tea Sector in Kenya: A Case Study of Large Scale Tea Estates.* Nairobi: Kenya Human Rights Commission.

KENYA NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS (2017). *Economic Survey*. Nairobi: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics.

KENYA NATIONAL BUREAU OF STATISTICS (2019). *Kenya population and housing census volume IV: population by county and sub-county*. https://open.africa/dataset/2019-kenya-population-and-housing-census

KIM, H.-J., CHOI, H.-J., LEE, K.-W. & LI, G.-M. (2018). Acculturation strategies used by unskilled migrant workers in South Korea. *Ethnic and Racial Studies,* 41(9)**,** 1691-1709.

KIM, Y. M., NEWHILL, C. & LÓPEZ, F. (2013). Latino acculturation and perceived educational achievement: Evidence for a bidimensional model of acculturation among Mexican-American children. *Journal of Human Behavior in the Social Environment,* 23(1)**,** 37-52.

KNIGHT, J. & GUNATILAKA, R. (2010). Great Expectations? The Subjective Well-being of Rural-Urban Migrants in China. *World Development,* 38(1)**,** 113-124.

KOOTSTRA, A. (2016). Deserving and Undeserving Welfare Claimants in Britain and the Netherlands: Examining the Role of Ethnicity and Migration Status Using a Vignette Experiment. *European Sociological Review,* 32(3)**,** 325-338.

KUCKARTZ, U. (2014). *Qualitative text analysis: A guide to methods, practice and using software*. London: Sage.

KUCKARTZ, U. & RÄDIKER, S. (2019). *Analyzing qualitative data with MAXQDA*. Cham, Switzerland: Springer.

KUHN, R. (2015). Internal Migration: Developing Countries. *In:* WRIGHT, J. D. (ed.) *International Encyclopedia of the Social & Behavioral Sciences,2*nd ed. Oxford: Elsevier.

KUIPER, G. (2019). *Agro-industrial Labour in Kenya: Cut Flower Farms and Migrant Workers' Settlements*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

KUNDU, A. & NIRANJAN, S. (2007). Migration, Employment Status and Poverty: An Analysis across Urban Centres. *Economic and Political Weekly,* 42(4)**,** 299-306.

LANG, B. & SAKDAPOLRAK, P. (2014). Belonging and recognition after the post-election violence: A case study on labour migrants in Naivasha, Kenya. *Erdkunde***,** 68(3), 185-196.

LATA, L. N. (2017). Migration and Urban Livelihoods: A Translocal Perspective in Dhaka, Bangladesh. In: FOZDAR, F. and STEVENS, C. (eds) *Refereed Proceedings of TASA 2017 Conference: Belonging to a Mobile World*. Perth: The Australian Sociological Association Conference, 57-66.

LAWS OF KENYA 2013. *The Constitution of Kenya: 2010*. Chief Registrar of the Judiciary. http://kenyalaw.org:8181/exist/kenyalex/index.xql

LAWSON, V. (1999). Questions of migration and belonging: understandings of migration under neoliberalism in Ecuador. *International Journal of Population Geography,* 5(4)**,** 261-276.

LEE, K. J. & SCOTT, D. (2017). Racial Discrimination and African Americans' Travel Behavior:The Utility of Habitus and Vignette Technique. *Journal of Travel Research,* 56(3)**,** 381-392.

LEE, S. (2019). Determinants of identity: the influence of generational status, religiosity, and school context on immigrant identity in Europe. *International Review of Sociology,* 29(3)**,** 446-463.

LIANG, Z., GUO, L. & DUAN, C. (2008). Migration and the well-being of children in China. *The Yale-China Health Journal,* 5**,** 25-46.

LIN, Y., ZHANG, Q., CHEN, W. & LING, L. 2017. The social income inequality, social integration and health status of internal migrants in China. *International Journal for Equity in Health,* 16(1)**,** 139.

LIU, Y., ZHANG, F., WU, F., LIU, Y. & LI, Z. (2017). The subjective wellbeing of migrants in Guangzhou, China: The impacts of the social and physical environment. *Cities,* 60(Part A)**,** 333-342.

LONG, N. (2008). Translocal livelihoods, networks of family and community, and remittances in central Peru. In: IOM (International Organization for Migration) (ed.)*Migration and development within and across borders: Research and policy perspectives on internal and international migration*. Geneva: IOM 37-68.

LUCAS, R. E. (2007). Migration and rural development. *eJADE: electronic Journal of Agricultural and Development Economics,* 4(1)**,** 99-122.

LUCAS, R. E. (2016). Internal migration in developing economies: an overview of recent evidence. *Geopolitics, History, and International Relations,* 8(2)**,** 159-191.

LUCAS, R. E., CLARK, A. E., GEORGELLIS, Y. & DIENER, E. (2004). Unemployment alters the set point for life satisfaction. *Psychological science,* 15(1)**,** 8-13.

MA, Z. & XIA, Y. (2020). Acculturation Strategies, Age at Migration, and Self-rated Health: An Empirical Study on Internal Migrants in China. *Social Science Research***,** 93, 102487.

MACHARIA, K. Migration in Kenya and its impact on the labor market. Paper prepared for Conference on African Migration in Comparative Perspective, Johannesburg, South Africa, 4-7 June, (2003). http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.596.4329&rep=rep1&type=pdf

MAENDE, J. B. (2016). Role of Higher Education Expansion in Enhancing Cohesion and Integration in Kenya. *Journal of African Studies in Educational Management and Leadership,* 7(2)**,** 62-75.

MBERU, B. U. & MUTUA, M. (2015). Internal Migration and Early Life Mortality in Kenya and Nigeria. *Population, Space and Place,* 21(8)**,** 788-808.

MBERU, B. U. & SIDZE, E. M. (2017). The hidden side of the story: Intra-African migration. In: CARBONE, G. E. (ed.) *Out of Africa: Why People Migrate*. Milan: Ledizioni-LediPublishing**,** 73-94.

MCADAMS, K. K., LUCAS, R. E. & DONNELLAN, M. B. (2012). The role of domain satisfaction in explaining the paradoxical association between life satisfaction and age. *Social indicators research,* 109(2)**,** 295-303.

MCDOOM, O. S. (2019). Ethnic inequality, cultural distance, and social integration: evidence from a native-settler conflict in the Philippines. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 45(9)**,** 1532-1552.

MENARD, S. (2010). *Logistic regression: From introductory to advanced concepts and applications*. Los Angles: Sage.

MENON, M., PENDAKUR, R. & PERALI, F. (2015). All in the family: how do social capital and material wellbeing affect relational wellbeing? *Social Indicators Research,* 124(3)**,** 889-910.

MIAO, S. & XIAO, Y. 2020. Does acculturation really matter for internal migrants' health? Evidence from eight cities in China. *Social Science & Medicine,* 260 (1)**,** 113210.

MILGROOM, J. & RIBOT, J. (2020). Children of Another Land: Social Disarticulation, Access to Natural Resources and the Reconfiguration of Authority in Post Resettlement. *Society & Natural Resources,* 33(2)**,** 184-204.

MOHANTY, J., CHOO, H. & CHOKKANATHAN, S. (2018). The acculturation experiences of Asian immigrants in Singapore. *Asian Population Studies,* 14(2)**,** 153-171.

MORSE, J., WOOLF, N. H. & SILVER, C. (2017). *Qualitative analysis using NVivo: The five-level QDA® method*. New York: Routledge.

MUELLER, D. (2015). Young Germans in England visiting Germany: translocal subjectivities and ambivalent views of 'home'. *Population, Space and Place,* 21(7)**,** 625-639.

MUSINGARABWI, S. (2016). *Time-use and wellbeing in Onesi, Namibia.* Master's Dissertation, University of Cape Town.

NAUMANN, C. & GREINER, C. (2017). The translocal villagers. Mining, mobility and stratification in post-apartheid South Africa. *Mobilities,* 12(6)**,** 875-889.

NDEGWA, S. N. 1997. Citizenship and ethnicity: an examination of two transition moments in Kenyan politics. *American Political Science Review,* 91(1)**,** 599-616.

NEGY, C., SCHWARTZ, S. & REIG-FERRER, A. (2009). Violated expectations and acculturative stress among US Hispanic immigrants. *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology,* 15(3)**,** 255-264.

NEKBY, L., RÖDIN, M. & ÖZCAN, G. (2009). Acculturation identity and higher education: Is there a trade-off between ethnic identity and education? *International Migration Review,* 43(4)**,** 938-973.

NOWOK, B., VAN HAM, M., FINDLAY, A. M. & GAYLE, V. (2013). Does migration make you happy? A longitudinal study of internal migration and subjective well-being. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space,* 45(4)**,** 986-1002.

NYAURA, J. E. (2018). Devolved ethnicity in the Kenya: Social, economic and political perspective. *European Review of Applied Sociology,* 11(16)**,** 17-26.

ODIPO, G. (2018). *Migration in Kenya: A Country Profile 2018.* Nairobi, Kenya: International Organization for Migration.

OGONE, J. O. (2015). Intra-national ethnic diasporas: popular culture and mediated translocal spaces in Kenya. Jaramogi Oginga Odinga University of Science and Technology Repository. http://ir.jooust.ac.ke:8080/xmlui/handle/123456789/2944

OKEKE-IHEJIRIKA, P., YOHANI, S., SALAMI, B. & RZESZUTEK, N. (2020). Canada's Sub-Saharan African migrants: A scoping review. *International Journal of Intercultural Relations,* 79**,** 191-210.

OMINDE, S. H., INGHAM, K. & NTARANGWI, M. (2021). Kenya. *Encyclopedia Britannica.*

OUCHO, J. O. (1998). Recent internal migration processes in sub-Saharan Africa: Determinants, consequences, and data adequacy issues. In: BILSBORROW, R.E. (ed.)*Migration, urbanization, and development: New directions and issues*. Norwell: Kluwer Academic Publishers 89-120.

OUCHO, J. O. (2007). Migration and regional development in Kenya. *Development,* 50(4)**,** 88-93.

OUCHO, J. O. (2014). *Changing perspectives of internal migration in eastern Africa*. Nairobi: University of Nairobi, Nairobi African Migration and Development Policy Centre (AMADPOC).

OUCHO, J. O., OUCHO, L. A. & OCHIENG, V. (2014). Is Migration the Solution to Poverty Alleviation in Kenya? Rural-Urban Migration Experiences of Migrants from Western Kenya to Kisumu and Nairobi. Migration out of Poverty Working Paper 21. Brighton:

University of Sussex.http://www.migratingoutofpoverty.org/files/file.php?name=wp21-oucho-oucho-ochieng-2014-is-migration-the-solution-to-poverty-in-kenya.pdf&site=354
OWINO, O. S. (2013). The language factor in the search for national cohesion and integration in Kenya. *Les Cahiers d'Afrique de l'Est/The East African Review***,** 47, 57-69.
OWUOR, S. O. (2007). Migrants, urban poverty and the changing nature of urban-rural linkages in Kenya. *Development Southern Africa,* 24(1)**,** 109-122.
OYVAT, C. & WA GĨTHĨNJI, M. (2020). Migration in Kenya: beyond Harris-Todaro. *International Review of Applied Economics,* 34(1)**,** 4-35.
PETH, S. A. & SAKDAPOLRAK, P. (2020). Resilient family meshwork. Thai-German migrations, translocal ties, and their impact on social resilience. *Geoforum,* 114**,** 19-29.
PETREÑAS, C., IANOS, A., LAPRESTA, C. & SANSÓ, C. (2021). Acculturation strategies and attitudes and their relationship with the identification of descendants of migrants in the Catalan school context. *Journal of Youth Studies***,** 24(1), 19-39.
PETROU, K. (2018). Generational differences in translocal practices: Insights from rural-urban remittances in Vanuatu. *Population, Space and Place,* 24(6)**,** e2145.
PETTIGREW, T. F. & TROPP, L. R. (200). How does intergroup contact reduce prejudice? Meta-analytic tests of three mediators. *European journal of social psychology,* 38(6)**,** 922-934.
PHINNEY, J. S. (1992). The multigroup ethnic identity measure: A new scale for use with diverse groups. *Journal of Adolescent Research,* 7(2)**,** 156-176.
POIRIER, M. J. P., GREPIN, K. A. & GRIGNON, M. (2020). Approaches and Alternatives to the Wealth Index to Measure Socioeconomic Status Using Survey Data: A Critical Interpretive Synthesis. *Social Indicators Research,* 148(1)**,** 1-46.
PORST, L. & SAKDAPOLRAK, P. (2017). How scale matters in translocality: uses and potentials of scale in translocal research. *Erdkunde***,** 71(2), 111-126.
PORST, L. & SAKDAPOLRAK, P. (2018). Advancing adaptation or producing precarity? The role of rural-urban migration and translocal embeddedness in navigating household resilience in Thailand. *Geoforum,* 97**,** 35-45.
PRILLELTENSKY, I. (2008). Migrant well-being is a multilevel, dynamic, value-dependent phenomenon. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 42(3-4)**,** 359-364.
PYAKURYAL, A., TAUSIG, M., SUBEDI, S. & SUBEDI, J. (2011). Strangers in a familiar land: the psychological consequences of internal migration in a developing country. *Stress and Health,* 27(3)**,** e199-e208.
RAMISCH, J. J. (2016). "Never at ease": cellphones, multilocational households, and the metabolic rift in western Kenya. *Agriculture and Human Values,* 33(4)**,** 979-995.
ROSE, J. M. & BLIEMER, M. C. (2013). Sample size requirements for stated choice experiments. *Transportation,* 40(5)**,** 1021-1041.
RUTSTEIN, S. O. (2015). Steps to constructing the new DHS Wealth Index. *Rockville, MD: ICF International*. https://dhsprogram.com/programming/wealth%20index/Steps_to_constructing_the_new_DHS_Wealth_Index.pdf
SABATES-WHEELER, R., TAYLOR, L. & NATALI, C. (2009). Great expectations and reality checks: The role of information in mediating migrants' experience of return. *The European Journal of Development Research,* 21(5)**,** 752-771.
SAKDAPOLRAK, P. (2014). *Building Resilience through Translocality: Climate Change, Migration and Social Resilience of Rural Communities in Thailand*. TransRe Working Paper No. 1. Bonn: Department of Geography, University of Bonn.
SANDERS, J. M. 2002. Ethnic Boundaries and Identity in Plural Societies. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 28(1), 327-357.

SCHWARTZ, S. J., UNGER, J. B., ZAMBOANGA, B. L. & SZAPOCZNIK, J. (2010). Rethinking the concept of acculturation: implications for theory and research. *American Psychologist,* 65(4)**,** 237-251.

SHARMA, J. R. (2008). Practices of male labor migration from the hills of Nepal to India in development discourses: Which pathology? *Gender, Technology and Development,* 12(3)**,** 303-323.

SINDI, K. & KIRIMI, L. (2006). A test of the new economics of labor migration hypothesis: Evidence from rural Kenya. Paper presented at the American Agricultural Economics Association Annual Meeting, Long Beach, July 23-26, 2006. ageconsearch.umn.edu/record/21257/?In=en

STEINBRINK, M. (2009).) *Population Studies,* 23 (Supplement)**,** 220-252.

STEPTOE, A., DEATON, A. & STONE, A. A. (2015). Subjective wellbeing, health, and ageing. *The Lancet,* 385(9968)**,** 640-648.

STILLMAN, S., GIBSON, J., MCKENZIE, D. & ROHORUA, H. J. (2015). Miserable migrants? Natural experiment evidence on international migration and objective and subjective well-being. *World Development* 65(C)**,** 79-93.

STOEBENAU, K., KYEGOMBE, N., BINGENHEIMER, J. B., DDUMBA-NYANZI, I. & MULINDWA, J. (2019). Developing Experimental Vignettes to Identify Gender Norms Associated With Transactional Sex for Adolescent Girls and Young Women in Central Uganda. *Journal of Adolescent Health,* 64(4)**,** S60-S66.

SUDHINARASET, M., MMARI, K., GO, V. & BLUM, R. W. (2012). Sexual attitudes, behaviours and acculturation among young migrants in Shanghai. *Culture, health & sexuality,* 14(9)**,** 1081-1094.

SUINN, R. M., RICKARD-FIGUEROA, K., LEW, S. & VIGIL, P. (1987). The Suinn-Lew Asian self-identity acculturation scale: An initial report. *Educational and psychological measurement,* 47(2)**,** 401-407.

SWITEK, M. 2016. Internal migration and life satisfaction: Well-being paths of young adult migrants. *Social Indicators Research,* 125(1)**,** 191-241.

TATARYN, A. (2020). Re-conceptualizing labor law in an era of migration and precarity. *Law, Culture and the Humanities,* 16(3)**,** 477-498.

THYER, B. A. 2001. The Handbook of Social Work Research Methods. Thousand Oaks, California.

TILGHMAN, L. M. (2014). *City Livelihoods and Village Linkages: Rural-urban Migrants in Tamatave, Madagascar.* PhD Dissertation. Athens: University of Georgia.

TIMOTIJEVIC, L. & BREAKWELL, G. M. 2000. Migration and threat to identity. Journal of Community & Applied Social Psychology, 10(5), 355-372.

TODARO, M. P. (2007). Internal Migration in Developing Countries: A Survey. In: EASTERLIN, R. A. (ed.) *Population and Economic Change in Developing Countries.* London and Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 361-402

TOSTENSEN, A. (2004). *Rural-urban linkages in sub-Saharan Africa: Contemporary debates and implications for Kenyan urban workers in the 21st century*. Bergen: Chr. Michelsen Institute.

TRAGER, L. (ed.) (2005). *Migration and economy: Global and local dynamics*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.

TUTU, R. A., BOATENG, J., AMEYAW, E. E. & BUSINGYE, J. D. (2017). Acculturation inclinations and subjective health status of internal migrants in James Town, an urban slum settlement in Accra. *Journal of Population Research,* 34(2)**,** 165-183.

TUTU, R. A., BOATENG, J., AMEYAW, E. E. & BUSINGYE, J. D. (2018). "Togetherness in Difference": Perceived Personal Discrimination and Acculturation Preferences

among Internal Migrants in a Poor Urban Community in Accra. *Journal of Asian and African Studies,* 53(2)**,** 297-313.
UMPHREY, L. R. & SHERBLOM, J. C. (2014). The relationship of hope to self-compassion, relational social skill, communication apprehension, and life satisfaction. *International Journal of Wellbeing,* 4(2), 1-18.
VAN DER HORST, M. & COFFÉ, H. (2012). How Friendship Network Characteristics Influence Subjective Well-Being. *Social Indicators Research,* 107(3)**,** 509-529.
VAN HEAR, N., BAKEWELL, O. & LONG, K. (2018). Push-pull plus: reconsidering the drivers of migration. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies,* 44(6)**,** 927-944.
VERBIČ, M. & STANOVNIK, T. (2006). Analysis of subjective economic well-being in Slovenia. *Eastern European Economics,* 44(2)**,** 60-70.
VIGIL, S.D. T. (2017). Climate change and migration: Insights from the Sahel. In: CARBONE, G. E. (ed.) *Out of Africa: Why People Migrate*. Milan: Ledizioni Ledi-Publishing**,** 51-71.
VOHRA, N. & ADAIR, J. (2000). Life satisfaction of Indian immigrants in Canada. *Psychology and Developing Societies,* 12(2)**,** 109-138.
WALKER, J. L., WANG, Y., THORHAUGE, M. & BEN-AKIVA, M. (2018). D-efficient or deficient? A robustness analysis of stated choice experimental designs. *Theory and Decision,* 84(2)**,** 215-238.
WANG, B., LI, X., STANTON, B. & FANG, X. (2010). The influence of social stigma and discriminatory experience on psychological distress and quality of life among rural-to-urban migrants in China. *Social Science & Medicine,* 71(1)**,** 84-92.
WANG, W. W. & FAN, C. C. (2012). Migrant workers' integration in urban China: Experiences in employment, social adaptation, and self-identity. *Eurasian Geography and Economics,* 53(6)**,** 731-749.
WARFA, N., CURTIS, S., WATTERS, C., CARSWELL, K., INGLEBY, D. & BHUI, K. (2012). Migration experiences, employment status and psychological distress among Somali immigrants: a mixed-method international study. *BMC Public Health,* 12(1)**,** 749.
WHITE, S. C. (2010). Analysing wellbeing: a framework for development practice. *Development in practice,* 20(2)**,** 158-172.
WHITE, S. C. (2017). Relational wellbeing: re-centring the politics of happiness, policy and the self. *Policy & Politics,* 45(2)**,** 121-136.
WILLIAMS, R. (2005). Gologit2: Generalized Logistic Regression Models for Ordinal Dependent Variables. North American Stata Users' Group Meetings 2005 21, Stata Users Group.
WILLIAMS, R. (2006). Generalized Ordered Logit/Partial Proportional Odds Models for Ordinal Dependent Variables. *Stata Journal,* 6(1)**,** 58-82.
WINKELMANN, R. (2005). Subjective well-being and the family: Results from an ordered probit model with multiple random effects. *Empirical Economics,* 30(3)**,** 749-761.
WORLD BANK (2021). *Kenya Economic Update: Rising Above the Waves*. Washington, D.C.: World Bank Group.
YUE, Z., FONG, E., LI, S. & FELDMAN, M. W. (2020). Acculturation of rural-urban migrants in urbanising China: a multidimensional and bicultural framework. *Population, Space and Place,* 26(1)**,**1-16.
ZHANG, B., DRUIJVEN, P. & STRIJKER, D. (2018). A tale of three cities: negotiating ethnic identity and acculturation in northwest China. *Journal of Cultural Geography,* 35(1)**,** 44-74.

ZHANG, J., LI, X., FANG, X. & XIONG, Q. (2009). Discrimination experience and quality of life among rural-to-urban migrants in China: the mediation effect of expectation–reality discrepancy. *Quality of Life Research,* 18(3)**,** 291-300.

8 APPENDIX

8.1 The first essay

Appendix 8.1-1: Emergent code system from the data

Parent code	Sub-Code	Cod. seg. (All documents)
Access to land and other resources	Owns land in the Rift Valley	2
	No access to land	7
	Land access in the place of origin	9
Bicultural relationships	Weak relationship with the place of origin	5
	Weak relationship with the host society	8
	Strong relationship with the host society	10
	Strong relationship with society in place of origin	15
Future	No home to return to	13
	Established in the Rift Valley	4
	The Rift Valley is just a workplace	18
Life in the Rift Valley	Importance of employment	8
	Ethnic discrimination	7
	Stranger position	8
	Precarious work	7
Migration contacts and network	Got information on job opportunities through contact	8
	Hosted by a contact	10
	Friend(s)	7
	Parent	2
	Sibling	9
Other livelihood activities	Self-employed	4
	Other paid jobs	1
	Farming crops and keeping livestock	7
Overall life satisfaction	Dissatisfied with life in Rift Valley	9
	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied with life in Rift Valley	4
	Satisfied with life in Rift Valley	9
Social reasons for migration	Education	3
	Desire for adventure	5
	Family conflicts	8
	Marriage/Marriage dissolution	3
Economic reasons for migration	Lack of services	1
	Job and higher wage prospects	26
	2nd generation migrant	1

8.2 The second essay

Appendix 8.2-1: Marginalisation

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Length of residence in Rift Valley	0.933	0.016	-4.1	0	0.903	0.964
Age at first migration	1.078	0.021	3.75	0	1.036	1.121
Level of education						
Secondary school	0.645	0.066	-4.31	0	0.529	0.787
Tertiary education	0.885	0.107	-1.01	0.311	0.698	1.121
University education	0.506	0.1	-3.46	0.001	0.344	0.745
Income status						
Middle income	0.723	0.044	-5.32	0	0.641	0.815
High income	0.864	0.041	-3.07	0.002	0.788	0.949
Experience of ethnic discrimination						
Yes	1.65	0.11	7.5	0	1.448	1.881
Mother's ethnicity						
Mother with same ethnicity	0.846	0.033	-4.33	0	0.785	0.913
Spouse's ethnicity						
Spouse with same ethnicity	0.676	0.041	-6.43	0	0.6	0.762
Membership of migrant associations						
Yes	0.669	0.029	-9.28	0	0.615	0.728
Family residence						
Family resides outside place of origin	1.132	0.035	4.03	0	1.066	1.203

Appendix 8.2-2: Separation

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Length of residence in Rift Valley	0.848	0.016	-8.53	0	0.817	0.881
Age at first migration	1.166	0.026	6.87	0	1.116	1.218
Level of education						
Secondary school	0.602	0.06	-5.11	0	0.495	0.731
Tertiary education	0.711	0.086	-2.81	0.005	0.56	0.902
University education	0.199	0.043	-7.53	0	0.13	0.302
Income status						
Middle income	0.973	0.052	-0.52	0.605	0.877	1.08
High income	1.109	0.06	1.91	0.056	0.998	1.232
Experience of ethnic discrimination						
Yes	3.126	0.226	15.75	0	2.712	3.602
Mother's ethnicity						
Mother with same ethnicity	1.504	0.072	8.49	0	1.368	1.652
Spouse's ethnicity						
Spouse with same ethnicity	1.985	0.092	14.73	0	1.812	2.174
Membership of the migrant association						
Yes	1.219	0.059	4.09	0	1.109	1.341
Family residence						
Family resides outside place of origin	0.95	0.038	-1.28	0.199	0.878	1.027

Appendix 8.2-3: Assimilation

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Length of residence in Rift Valley	1.146	0.021	7.48	0	1.106	1.187
Age at first migration	0.887	0.019	-5.69	0	0.851	0.924
Level of education						
Secondary school	1.516	0.155	4.08	0	1.241	1.852
Tertiary education	1.701	0.209	4.33	0	1.337	2.163
University education	3.77	0.792	6.31	0	2.497	5.692
Income status						
Middle income	0.787	0.042	-4.46	0	0.708	0.874
High income	0.871	0.045	-2.67	0.008	0.787	0.964
Experience of ethnic discrimination						
Yes	0.366	0.025	-14.69	0	0.32	0.418
Mother's ethnicity						
Mother with same ethnicity	0.616	0.026	-11.69	0	0.568	0.668
Spouse's ethnicity						
Spouse with same ethnicity	0.381	0.021	-17.68	0	0.342	0.424
Membership of migrant associations						
Yes	0.644	0.031	-9.06	0	0.585	0.708
Family residence						
Family resides outside place of origin	1.165	0.053	3.36	0.001	1.066	1.273

Appendix 8.2-4: Integration

	Odds Ratio	Robust Std. Err.	z	P>|z|	[95% Conf. Interval]	
Length of residence in Rift Valley	1.149	0.018	8.68	0	1.114	1.186
Age at first migration	0.845	0.016	-9.05	0	0.815	0.876
Level of education						
Secondary school	1.557	0.14	4.94	0	1.306	1.855
Tertiary education	1.254	0.15	1.89	0.058	0.992	1.585
University education	3.706	0.636	7.64	0	2.648	5.186
Income status						
Middle income	1.087	0.07	1.29	0.198	0.957	1.234
High income	1.042	0.05	0.87	0.386	0.949	1.144
Experience of ethnic discrimination						
Yes	0.379	0.029	-12.59	0	0.326	0.441
Mother's ethnicity						
Mother with same ethnicity	1.099	0.044	2.37	0.018	1.017	1.189
Spouse's ethnicity						
Spouse with same ethnicity	0.791	0.025	-7.48	0	0.744	0.841
Membership of migrant associations						
Yes	1.396	0.062	7.48	0	1.279	1.523
Family residence						
Family resides outside place of origin	0.847	0.031	-4.58	0	0.789	0.909

8.3 The third essay

Appendix 8.3-1: Brant test of parallel regression assumption

	Change in subjective wellbeing		Change in economic wellbeing		Change in relational wellbeing		
	chi2	p>chi2	chi2	p>chi2	chi2	p>chi2	df
All	16.09	0.517	21.21	0.217	18.16	0.379	17
Adjustment index	4.39	0.036	2.5	0.114	0.04	0.842	1
Identity index	5.17	0.023	4.14	0.042	1.84	0.175	1
Physical translocal linkages	0.85	0.356	0.59	0.443	0.13	0.719	1
All give exchange linkage	0.2	0.655	0.1	0.755	0.93	0.335	1
All receive exchange linkage	0.63	0.426	1.37	0.242	1.12	0.29	1
House in the place of origin	1.99	0.158	0.38	0.536	0.25	0.62	1
Split householding	0.27	0.605	0.67	0.412	0.35	0.552	1
Age at first migration	0.11	0.745	0.39	0.535	0.05	0.825	1
Residence in place of origin	1.32	0.251	0.71	0.399	0.59	0.443	1
Residence in Rift Valley	0.56	0.454	3.29	0.07	1.66	0.197	1
Age	0.62	0.429	2.52	0.112	0.94	0.332	1
Household size	0.01	0.92	1.37	0.242	0.31	0.575	1
Education	2.58	0.108	3.23	0.072	0.01	0.939	1
Wealth index	1.59	0.208	1.35	0.246	0.04	0.839	1
Sex	0.18	0.675	0.42	0.518	1	0.318	1
Employment part time	3.21	0.073	3.54	0.06	0.24	0.627	1
Unemployed	1.62	0.202	1.16	0.282	1.25	0.263	1

8.4 Cross-sectional survey questionnaire

MIGRATION FACTORS

Q1 Age at first migration_____

Q2 Which year did you arrive in the Rift Valley (Kericho or Naivasha)?

_____

Q3 How many counties have you lived in, including your home county and current destination?

_____

Q4 How many times have you migrated to Kericho/Naivasha?

_____

Q5 How many years did you intend to live in Kericho/Naivasha?

_____

Q6 How many years did you live in your place of origin?

_____

Q7 Do you have a house in your place of origin?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q8 Do you intend to return and settle in your place of origin?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q9 Do you participate in a community organization with links to your destination?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q10 Do you participate in organizations with links to your origin?

Yes (1)

No (2)

IDENTITY AND BELONGING

Q11 Rate the extent of your agreement with the following statements about your identity and belonging.	Strongly agree (1)	Somewhat agree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Somewhat disagree (4)	Strongly disagree (5)
I like listening to radio programs in my ethnic language. (1)					
My children need to learn the values of my ethnic culture. (2)					
It is very important to maintain my ethnic culture. (3)					
I am an active member of my ethnic group. (4)					
My ethnic culture is rich and precious. (5)					
I am very much part of my culture. (6)					
I am most comfortable in my culture. (7)					
I identify with my ethnic culture. (8)					
I often get together with people from my ethnic group. (9)					
If I were to live elsewhere, I would still want to retain my ethnic culture (10)					
It is very important to remain close to my ethnic culture. (11)					
Most of my friends are from my ethnic group (12)					
I go to social events with people from my ethnic group. (13)					
My ethnic culture has positively impacted on my life. (14)					

MIGRANT ADJUSTMENT

Q12 Rate the extent of your agreement with the following statements about your life.	Strongly agree (1)	Somewhat agree (2)	Neither agree nor disagree (3)	Somewhat disagree (4)	Strongly disagree (5)
I believe that I might acquire some elements of other Kenyan cultures (1)					
I identify with most Kenyan cultures. (2)					
I am interested in learning more about other ethnic groups. (3)					

I am very attached to some aspects of other Kenyan cultures. (4)					
Most Kenyan cultures tend to be rich and precious. (5)					
I enjoy learning about the views and approaches of other ethnic groups. (6)					
I enjoy exchanging ideas with people from other ethnic groups (7)					
I am proud of other Kenyan cultures (8)					
I learn new ideas as I interact with people from other ethnic groups (9)					
I listen to the music produced by the artist from other ethnic groups. (10)					
I listen to radio programs in other Kenyan languages. (11)					
I have many close friends from other ethnic groups. (12)					
I go to social events with people from other ethnic groups. (13)					
I like to learn about the ways of life of other ethnic groups. (14)					
I like to observe people from other cultures, to see what I can learn from them. (15)					
Meeting people of other cultures has greatly benefited me. (16)					
I want to acquire the cultural characteristics of all Kenyan people. (17)					
I would like to become more Kenyan than my ethnic group (18)					
I often get together with people from other ethnic groups. (19)					
Many of the people at the places where I go to have fun and relax are from other ethnic groups. (20)					

TRANS-LOCAL LINKAGE BEHAVIOUR

Q13 How often do you telephone people in the origin locality in a week?

Daily (1)

4-6 times a week (2)

2-3 times a week (3)

Once a week (4)

Never (5)

Q14 How many times did you undertake the following events in 2019?

Participate in migrants' associations activities (1) _____

Hosted guest(s) from my origin when they visit the Rift Valley (2)
_____

Give financial help to people from my origin (3) _____

Give food/goods to people from my origin (4) _____

Receive financial help from people from my origin (5) _____

Receive food/ goods from people from my origin (6) _____

Visit the place of origin (7) _____

Farm at the place of origin (8) _____

Acquire land or built a house at the place of origin (9) _____

Q15 Indicate whether the linkage activity mentioned below is your most or least preferred.	Most preferred (1)	Least preferred (2)
Telephoning people in the place of origin (1)		
Participating in migrants' association's activities (2)		
Receiving guest(s) from my place of origin when they visit the Rift Valley (3)		
Giving financial help to people from my place of origin (4)		
Giving food/goods to people from my place of origin (5)		
Receiving financial help from people from my place of origin (6)		
Receiving food/ goods from people from my place of origin (7)		
Visiting the place of origin (8)		
Farming at the place of origin (9)		
Having land or a house at the place of origin (10)		

WELLBEING

Q16 How satisfied are you with the following aspects of your wellbeing?	Extremely satisfied (1)	Moderately satisfied (2)	Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied (3)	Somewhat dissatisfied (4)	Extremely dissatisfied (5)
Your current life? (1)					
Your life before migration? (2)					
Your current relationship with friends? (3)					
Your current relationship to family? (4)					
Your current standard of living? (5)					
Your standard of living before migration? (6)					
Your relationship to friends before migration? (7)					
Your relationship to family before migration? (8)					

DEMOGRAPHIC AND HOUSEHOLD CHARACTERISTICS

Q17 Sex of the respondent

Male (1)

Female (2)

Q18 What is your county of birth?

_____

Q19 What is your home county?

_____

Q20 What is the age of the respondent?

_____

Q21 Household size? _____

Q22 Does some of your children currently live in your native origin?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q23 Does your spouse currently live in your native of origin?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q24 Marital status

Married (1)

Widowed (2)

Divorced (3)

Separated (4)

Never married (5)

Q25 Employment status

Employed full-time (1)

Employed part-time (2)

Unemployed looking for work (3)

Unemployed not looking for work (4)

Retired (5)

Student (6)

Disabled (7)

Self-employed (full or part-time) (8)

Housewife (9)

Q26 Why did you move to the Rift Valley (Kericho or Naivasha)?

Job opportunity/ Job transfer (1)

Search for work (2)

Education (3)

Accompanied/ Joined other family members (4)

Drought/Famine (5)

Health problems (6)

Death of spouse (7)

Marriage (8)

Inadequate agricultural land (9)

Divorce/marriage dissolution (10)

Conflict with family members or with local norms (11)

Family problems (12)

I was born here (13)

Q27 Years of schooling?

_____

Q28 What is your level of education?

Primary school (1)

High school (2)

Some college (3)

2-year college (4)

3-year college (5)

4-year undergraduate degree (6)

Masters degree (7)

Doctorate (8)

Q29 What is the type of tenure of your current dwelling?

Owned (1)

Rent-free or subsidized from employer (2)

Rented from employer (3)

Rent-free or subsidized from relatives/ friends (4)

Rented from relatives/friends (5)

Rented from an individual landlord (6)

Q30 What type of dwelling does your household live in?

Family house (1)

Apartment in a building (2)

Single room (3)

Rooms in a house (4)

Hut (5)

Others (6)

Q31 What is the main construction material of the exterior walls?

Bricks/Stones (1)

Wood/offcuts (2)

Mud (3)

Prefabricated (4)

Tin (5)

Straw (6)

Iron sheets (7)

Others (8)

Q32 Do you have a separate room for cooking?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q33 Does your dwelling have electricity?

Yes (1)

No (2)

Q34 How many separate rooms does the dwelling have?

_____

Q35 What is your average household income per month in KES?

_____

Q36 Does your household own any of the following assets at present?	Yes (1)	No (2)
⊗Agricultural land (1)		
⊗Non-Agricultural land (2)		
⊗Residential House (3)		
⊗Rental building(s) (4)		
⊗Tuk Tuk (5)		
⊗Radio (6)		
⊗Television (7)		
⊗Refrigerator (8)		
⊗Sound system (9)		
⊗Livestock (10)		
⊗Computer (11)		
⊗Mobile phone (12)		
⊗Non-mobile telephone (13)		
⊗Bicycle (14)		
⊗Animal drawn cart (15)		
⊗Vehicle (16)		
⊗Motorcycle (17)		
⊗Tractor/Harvester (18)		
⊗Gas cooker (19)		
⊗DVD player (20)		

8.5 Interview schedule

Home

1. Life experience at the place of origin prior to migration
2. Reasons for living in the place of origin in Nyanza.
3. Nature of the journey from the place of origin

The journey to the Rift Valley

4. Expectations about the Rift Valley
5. Reasons for coming to the Rift Valley
6. Settling down in the Rift Valley

Life in the Rift Valley

7. Positive and negative life experiences in the Rift Valley
8. Handling life experiences in the Rift Valley
9. Reasons for continuing to reside in the Rift Valley

Dynamics

10. Relationships with the place of origin
11. Relationships with the Rift Valley
12. Comparison of life at the place of origin vs life in the Rift Valley

Future

13. Future ambitions/plans as a migrant in the Rift Valley
14. Plans concerning the place of origin
15. Effects of devolution on your migration experience

8.6 Vignette survey

Appendix 8.6-1: Attribute coding

Attribute	Label	Coded level	Uncoded level
A1	Length of residence in Rift Valley	0	1 year
		1	6 years
		2	11 years
		3	16 years
A2	Age at first migration	0	2nd Generation migrant
		1	7 years old
		2	14 years old
		3	21 years old
A3	Level of education	0	Primary level
		1	Secondary level
		2	Tertiary college level
		3	University Graduate
A4	Household income status	0	Low income
		1	Middle income
		2	High income
A5	Experience ethnic discrimination in the labour market and residential environments	0	No
		1	Yes
A6	Mother's origin	0	Different ethnic group
		1	Same ethnic group
A7	Spouse's origin	0	Different ethnic group
		1	Same ethnic group
A8	Membership of migrant association	0	No
		1	Yes
A9	Family residence	0	Siblings & parents are living in community of origin.
		1	Siblings & parents are living outside community of origin.

Appendix 8.6-2: Vignette experiment

Choice situation	Block	A1_1	A1_2	A1_3	A1_4	A1_5	A1_6	A1_7	A1_8	A1_9	A2_1	A2_2	A2_3	A2_4	A2_5	A2_6	A2_7	A2_8	A2_9
1	1	11	0	8	2	0	1	1	0	1	1	14	14	1	0	0	0	1	0
2	1	16	0	16	0	1	1	0	0	1	16	0	16	2	0	0	1	0	0
3	1	11	14	8	2	1	0	0	0	0	16	21	14	1	0	1	1	1	1
4	1	6	7	16	0	1	1	1	1	0	6	0	8	2	1	0	0	1	1
5	2	1	14	12	1	0	1	0	0	1	11	0	8	0	1	0	1	0	0
6	2	16	0	14	0	0	0	0	1	1	6	0	8	0	1	1	0	1	0
7	2	6	21	12	2	1	0	0	1	0	16	7	8	0	0	1	1	0	0
8	1	16	0	14	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	7	8	1	0	1	1	0	0
9	2	11	21	12	2	0	1	1	1	0	1	21	8	0	1	1	0	1	1
10	1	6	14	8	0	0	1	1	1	1	11	14	12	2	1	1	0	0	0
11	2	6	7	14	0	1	0	1	0	0	6	0	8	1	0	1	0	1	1
12	2	16	7	16	0	0	0	0	0	0	11	14	16	2	1	1	1	1	1
13	2	16	7	8	1	1	1	0	0	1	11	21	16	0	0	1	1	1	0
14	1	16	0	16	1	0	0	1	0	1	6	0	8	0	1	1	0	1	0
15	2	11	0	16	2	1	1	0	1	0	1	0	8	2	1	0	1	0	0
16	1	6	14	14	0	0	1	0	0	0	16	7	14	2	1	0	1	1	0

8.6 2: Vignette experiment (continued)

Choice situation	Block	A1_1	A1_2	A1_3	A1_4	A1_5	A1_6	A1_7	A1_8	A1_9	A2_1	A2_2	A2_3	A2_4	A2_5	A2_6	A2_7	A2_8	A2_9
17	2	16	7	12	2	0	1	1	0	0	1	21	14	0	0	0	1	1	1
18	2	16	14	16	0	1	0	1	0	1	6	14	8	2	0	0	1	1	1
19	1	11	0	8	1	1	0	1	1	1	1	21	16	2	0	1	0	1	0
20	1	11	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14	14	0	1	0	1	0	1
21	2	16	0	16	1	0	0	1	0	1	1	7	14	2	1	0	0	1	0
22	2	11	0	12	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	14	14	2	1	1	0	0	1
23	1	16	21	16	2	1	0	1	0	0	11	21	12	0	0	1	0	1	1
24	2	1	14	12	2	0	1	1	1	1	16	7	16	2	1	1	0	1	0
25	1	11	14	8	2	0	0	0	1	1	6	21	14	0	1	1	1	1	0
26	1	16	0	16	2	0	1	1	1	0	11	0	14	2	1	0	0	0	1
27	2	16	14	12	2	1	1	0	1	1	11	21	16	2	0	0	1	0	1
28	1	16	0	16	0	1	0	0	0	0	1	14	14	2	1	1	1	1	1
29	1	11	14	12	0	1	1	1	1	1	1	21	8	2	0	0	1	0	0
30	2	1	0	8	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	14	16	2	1	0	1	0	1
31	2	11	0	8	2	0	1	1	0	1	6	14	16	0	0	0	0	1	0
32	1	1	14	16	1	0	1	0	0	1	11	0	12	0	1	0	1	1	1