

Internal migration and social livelihood networks in Uganda

Janne Savolainen

University of Jyväskylä, Finland

janne.s.savolainen@jyu.fi

Abstract

Africa is standing tall despite the economic downturn that has plagued most of the developed world. As the continent is gearing up to take more active role in the world economy it is only suitable to ask how moving labor force impacts to the cohesion of a multiethnic society on the one hand and to traditional social relations on the other. This paper observes internal labor migration in Uganda, where we have seen signs of frustration between internal migrants and local population. Currently Ugandan migration policies are concerned with international migration and its side effects such as brain drain and remittances. Despite the wide scale of internal population flows in the country the phenomenon has not attracted attention from policy makers nor from local academics.

This paper explores internal migration from the point of view of location of arrival. The questions this paper focuses on concerns (1) the operation of migrant networks and (2) how wide scale internal migration impacts to the cohesion of the multiethnic society and lastly (3) how high economic growth impacts to internal population movement patterns and how institutions and society at the location of arrival could be transformed to be more inclusive towards migrant population.

This paper draws on from quantitative and qualitative fieldwork undertaken for a PhD research between May-July 2010 in Kampala, Uganda. The material consists of a survey with a sample size of 645 combined with in-depth interviews with internal migrants and policy makers. The data was collected in Kampala which is the capital of Uganda and also the preferred destination for internal migrants in the country.

Table of Contents

1. Introduction	1
1.2 <i>Theoretical framework</i>	2
1.3 <i>Research data</i>	4
2. Nature of economic growth in Uganda and its impact on population flows	4
3. Theory of communicative action and internal migration	6
3.1 <i>Theory of communicative action and life world</i>	7
3.2 <i>System</i>	8
3.3 <i>Differentiation of the life world and social system</i>	12
4. Internal migration and institutions in Kampala	14
5. Conclusions	16

1. Introduction

This paper is a part of my PhD thesis that observes internal labour migration in Uganda. The subject is timely because globalization requires and unleashes huge productive forces that in many parts consist of cheap migrant work force.

Globalization has made the world more interconnected and interdependent than ever before. Areas connected together increasingly speak universal digital language that both integrates globally the production and distribution of words, sounds and images of culture and customizes them to the tastes of identities (Castells 1998, 2). As we will see, Kampala is very much a modern African city that is connected to the rest of the world through communication technologies and this impact drastically to the taste culture of people living in the city. This interconnectedness is at the very heart of modernization as I understand it in this paper. The reality is very much different for those who live in other smaller urban areas of Uganda not to speak about those living in rural areas. On the other hand the theory of Communicative Action, used in this paper, suggests that modernisation is characterized by increased systemic complexity, which rises from increased steering capacity, differentiation of media steered subsystems, inclusion and value generalisation. I will return to this later in section 3.

The aim of the research is to increase our understanding on how wide scale rural-urban internal migration directed towards Kampala impacts on national unity and cohesion of the society. I am also interested about the question of how high economic growth impacts to internal population flows and how institutions in a multiethnic society can be transformed to be more inclusive for all of the various ethnic groups. In my research as well as in this paper, I am focusing on migrants who move to Kampala, which is the economic and political centre of Uganda. Kampala is the point which ties Uganda to the global market economy and to the global political order. This gives an excellent opportunity for a researcher to ask how a migrant from a traditional sphere of life can cope with the requirements set by modernizing way of life in Kampala and how this new environment changes their way of thought. My respondents suggest that the differences in tastes and preferences in Kampala are hugely different from what migrants had known before moving.

Manuel Castells has written extensively about the network society, as he calls modern societies thoroughly penetrated by information technologies. He writes about how the world has gradually transformed, due to the influence of market economy, to an interdependent system working as a unit in real time (Castells 1998, 4). As a practical example, Uganda as well as Rwanda aims to use their

new internet connection based on optic fibre to offer customer call centre services for global corporations. This is just an example on how East Africa is a part of interconnected world that operates 24/7. No matter how interconnected the world is, it is clear that the development is uneven, as there are still “dark” areas that are not connected to the world at all. The unevenness is clear in Uganda. The people who travel to Kampala from other cities or from rural areas face a whole new brave world in Kampala.

Kampala is virtually the only modernizing metropolis in Uganda with more than a million inhabitants and it differs from the rest of the country by its infrastructure, economy, life rhythm and institutions. Labor market offers itself as an excellent platform to study interaction of modernizing and traditional Uganda, because it is the arena where internal migrants interact with different groups and where agreements about labor contracts and profits are made. Hardly anyone who has visited almost any of the African capitals or other major cities in the continent can argue that those cities are not modernizing. These cities are connected to the world of internet through satellites or cables. As an example, an optic fibre cable reached Kampala during late 2010 and it made internet connection much faster than it used to be. Kampala also has a number of high class hotels and most companies operating in Uganda have their company head quarters in Kampala. Besides fancy company head quarters, high office buildings for the use of the government are being rapidly built all over the high class suburbs of Kampala. The city also has a number of HQs of international aid organization, such as UNDP, WHO, IOM, Unicef etc. all this makes the city very international and makes connections to the world outside tighter.

Even though I have argued that Kampala is very much a modern city in the sense of its institutions, infrastructure and international atmosphere, I would not want to suggest that Uganda, or any other Africa society, follows modernizing strata familiar to the western world. If we agree that those major cities are modernizing in the sense that they are ever more tightly connected to the global market economy and to the capitalist mode of production, what follows is that the advancing capitalist mode of production is changing and in some ways destroying traditional, non-monetized, forms of solidarity between people. I am suggesting in this paper that the Theory of Communicative Action (TCA) developed by Jurgen Habermas can be modified and used as a framework to explain the difficulties that many African societies, including Uganda, have in developing national unity.

1.2 Theoretical framework

The approach that I am taking is that to be able to say something about social cohesion, I need to be able to explain two separate developments. First, I need to explain how mutual understanding

between people can be reached and secondly I need to explain how the uneven development of globalization impacts to national cohesion. The theoretical framework offers an explanation to the process of mutual understanding while at the same time explaining the uneven developments is the Theory of Communicative Action (TCA) by Jurgen Habermas.

Habermas has developed his theory by using John Searle's language-action perspective (Fotion 2000). Like Searle, Habermas sees that to reach successful communication, parties to communication has to be able to refer to something that exists. The concept of the life world is central to the TCA. In short, the life world is the stock of knowledge that each of us individually possesses and uses to interpret the reality. This stock of knowledge is necessary for the formation of mutual understanding, as people have to know the reference points of discussions. Habermas builds his theory on the nature of communication. We communicate with each other by redeeming and claiming validity claims in which we claim something that the hearer can criticize against the life-world. Habermas seeks to integrate his theory of modern (capitalist) societies both the action-theoretical and the systems-theoretical perspectives. This ultimately holds a question about how subjective meaning and motivation of action from individual perspective contributes to the function of a society (Baxter 1987, 53). To answer this question, Habermas creates suggestion that society goes through evolution in which society is differentiated into system and life world. It is the systemic evolution that increases system's capacity to steer and control action more effectively. The life world evolves through evolution of its three components: culture, society and personality. Habermas calls this process a rationalization of the life world and this process leads to more complex economic and administrative systems.

Though the theory is designed to describe how Western societies have developed through the last three or four centuries, as we live in an interconnected world today, no matter do we accept it or not, this theory has repercussions to the developing world and to their development strata. As I will argue in this paper, this theory holds potential for observing migration as a phenomenon where people with different conceptions about the life world meet and where money and power have developed into steering mediums that help people to communicate and bring negotiations to an end effectively.

At the very core of my argument is that money has become a medium that transmits information between people belonging to different ethnic groups. As I will argue in this paper, monetized values have penetrated deep into the domain of the life world in the Ugandan society. This increases the difficulties that people have in reaching mutual understanding about something in the life world.

Money has taken the dominant position in communication between people. Habermas argues that originally the role of language has been to enable people to form common understanding about the world which we they live in. However due to the process which begun in the 17th century, this role of language has changed to the direction of individual goal orientation (rationalization of a society). Different forms of generalized communications, forms of language that are not depended on life world, have enabled this process to develop, where language does not necessarily refer to the life world anymore.

1.3 Research data

My PhD research's data consists of a survey and interviews. Same data has been used in this paper. The respondents belong to labor force by their age, which means that they are from 14 to 64 years old. The sample size of the survey is 645 respondents. I decided to divide respondents according to their ethnic background, so that I included largest and most mobile ethnic groups from each geographical region of Uganda that are: East, North, West and South-West (Kampala is in the Central region). The data also includes 12 interviews with migrants who live in Kampala and interviews with government officials. The survey mapped migrants' socio-economic background and migration experiences while the interviews aimed to reach the migrants' life stories and how these persons are constructing their identity after their move to Kampala.

2. Nature of economic growth in Uganda and its impact on population flows

The Uganda Bureau of Statistics (Ubos) has classified internal migrant as a person who was born in Uganda, the previous residence was within Uganda and at the time of the census had stayed in the district for a period not exceeding 5 years. The 2002 census revealed the population of Uganda to be 23 million, however today the number stands closer to 33 million (CIA World Fact Book). Of the population of 23 million in 2002, 3.1 million (13 %) were enumerated outside their district of birth and hence were classified as internal migrants (Ubos 2002).

Economy of Uganda has been growing steadily at the rate of 5.8%, 2010 estimation. Most of this growth comes from cash crop production, such as tea, cotton and coffee beans. (CIA World Fact Book) Though the economy is depending on agricultural production, the population movement out from rural area seems to be increasing. There are several pulling and pushing factors driving internal migration in Uganda. The economic opportunities in Kampala are just a one pulling factor

among others. If we do not include internal and international refugees in Uganda, most pressing issues for population flows are population growth and climatic disturbances both of which contribute to degrading livelihoods through out the country.

Degrading livelihoods force people to move after income. Over 60 % of my survey respondents informed that their income before they came to Kampala came either from agriculture or from sales. As both of previously mentioned pushing factors for migration hit especially hard on livelihoods that depend on land, it is easy enough to draw conclusions how population growth and climatic disturbances increases population flows from rural areas to urban areas. I observed in my previous paper on how climate change and population growth push population from rural areas.

What it comes to the geographical distribution of internal migrants, most of the recent migrants (66 %) were enumerated in urban areas. The Central region of Uganda is the only region which has a positive net migration (+272 255). This is because Kampala attracts most of the migrants. The Western region had the highest negative out migration rate (-105 740). The Eastern Uganda has second highest net out migration (-99 168). Despite relative peace and repatriate programs in the Northern district, it also has a high negative out migration rate (-67 347). (Ubos 2002) The high out migration in Northern Uganda can be in parts explained with old statistics and the current net out migration is probably lower.

Though Ugandan economy is depending on agricultural production, the statistics clearly shows to us that Kampala draws migrants. According to my survey, especially professions related to security employ internal migrants as 18 % of the respondents informed that they work either as police officers or security guards. The largest employer was sales sector, as 23 % of the respondents informed that they work as salespersons. Together these two professions count for 41 % of the professions where the respondents work. 61 % of the respondents informed that they work in informal sector (do not pay taxes nor contribute to pensions). This gives as a good picture about the large scale of informal sector, thou I acknowledge that every respondent might have not known if their employer pays his or her taxes or contribute to their pensions. The nature of the professions that mainly employ internal migrants in Kampala raises a question about the nature economic growth and whether it is pro-poor in nature. Pro-poor growth is important for social cohesion and for social equality and social equality is evermore important in the context of a multiethnic society. The poor and vulnerable should be able to benefit from economic growth. Without equal opportunities to economic growth, social cohesion is hard to achieve. For further details about informal sector in Kampala see Bibangambah (1992).

In the next section I will first go in to detailed description of Theory of Communicative Action and then I will move on to explain how I am going to utilize this theoretical framework in observing internal migration in the multiethnic society of Uganda. After going through the theoretical approach, I will discuss about the implications of this approach to the question of social unity, social equity and how non inclusive institutions in Kampala can be said to have been developed as a result of differentiation in the life world and in the system.

3. Theory of communicative action and internal migration

As noted by authors before (e.g. Aina 1995) it is often controversial and provocative to discuss about development processes. The controversy often arises due to different theoretic and ideological stands. In this chapter I will explain why I have chosen to use the theory of Communicative Action to explain to impacts of internal migration on cohesion of Ugandan society. I want to explain how this theory that describes development of Western societies could possibly be transformed to explain developments in a society with non western cultural and political traditions.

In the world as interconnected as ours is we have to accept that modernizing regions are tightly interconnected together, even though I acknowledge that the modernizing stratas' of different regions vary considerably. What I argue is that when a certain level of modernization has been achieved, what follows is that exchanges steered by money and bureaucracy increase. Both, bureaucracy and money as steering mediums spread to cover new areas of life, where it has not previously influenced (Baxter 1987, 79). What follows from this is that "old" mechanisms that used to mediate actions are losing their meanings. According to Jurgen Habermas, this "old" mechanism was language. Even though I am not defending of existence of any single modernization patterns, what I am suggesting is that in many parts all humans communicate and interact with each other by following certain rules of communication and that in certain ways these rules of communication change due to the fact that money steers action in new areas of life.

This is a process what Habermas calls "colonization of the life world by the system". In systemic level, communication aiming at mutual understanding between individuals is reduced and taken over by such steering mediums as money and power. Communication through these new mediums is much more efficient as reaching mutual understanding is not required anymore. Thou the theory itself is centred on communication, my interest is not per se on communication but instead in what

follows when the steering mediums replace language based communication. To understand this development, we have to begin from the nature of language and life world and then I will move on to describe how the systemic mechanisms replace language in a process what Habermas calls colonization of the life world.

3.1 Theory of communicative action and life world

The Theory of Communicative action will operate as theoretical framework through which impacts of internal migration are observed. The central concepts in this theory are the life world and the social system. I will begin by introducing the concept of the life world. The phenomenological tradition has conceived the life-world as the "horizon" within which individuals seek to realize their projected ends (Baxter 1987, 46). The life world as a concept of horizon of understanding has long roots in German critical theory thinking. Habermas in his part has continued to develop the concept by giving communication a central role in how the life world evolves through time. According to Habermas, the original use of language has been to act as a tool through which individuals can reach consensus about their aims. He calls this as a communicative action. This action relies on a cooperative process of interpretation, in which participants relate simultaneously to something in the objective, social, and the subjective worlds (Habermas 2007, 120). Those taking part in communication use the reference system of the subjective, objective and social world as an interpretative framework within which they work out their common situation definitions (Habermas 2007, 120). In short, we can describe the life world as a culturally transmitted and linguistically organized stock of interpretative patterns.

The nucleus of communicative action is that in communicative action participants pursue their plans cooperatively on the basis of a shared definition of a situation. To explain how life world organizes our world of experiences I will quote Habermas: "The life worldly stock of knowledge is related in many ways to the situation of the experiencing subject. It is made up from sedimentations of formerly actually present experiences that are bound to situations. Inversely, every actually present experience is inserted into the flow of lived experience and into a biography, according to the set of types and relevance found in the stock of knowledge, and finally, each situation is defined and mastered with the help of the stock of knowledge" (Habermas 2007, 128). From the viewpoint of the life world, society can be described as a network of communicatively, that is communication aimed at reaching mutual understanding, mediated cooperation. What binds individuals together and secures the integration of a society is a web of communicative action that thrives only in the light of cultural traditions (Habermas 2007, 149). What is important is that members of a society

construct life world from common cultural traditions and draws societal processes into cooperative processes of interpretations. It is important to understand the role of the life world in creation of cohesion in a society. It can be presumed that the ability of the life world to bring cohesion comes under stress when people from different environments mix, and to be precise, by environment I do not mean countries or cultures per se, but areas where the systemic and life world differentiation have reached different stages. I will continue to explain about this differentiation later. Here it is necessary only to emphasize that the focus is on differentiation of the system and life world and not about cultural mixing and adaptation.

What I have been suggesting so far is simply that the life world exists as a stock of knowledge the people use in communication and that we can take this concept as a universal part of human existence. Whether we are living in the industrialised or in the developing world, the basis and the rules of the life world, and communication, remain the same. Why the concept of the life world is so interesting in this regard is that what binds individuals to one another and secures the integration of a society is the web of communicative actions that succeeds only through existing cultural traditions. The integration of society takes place at the life world level and not in the systemic level that is out of the reach of a society's members' knowledge. Systemic mechanisms, such as money and power, operate beyond the experience based life world. Money and power are steering mediums which do not depend on the life world experiences and so they do not require mutual understanding between people that aim to reach a mutually acceptable end. I will go into more detailed description of the social system in the next section. So far I have argued that with this theoretical approach I can observe the cohesion of the Ugandan society. Besides cohesion, I also want to argue that this theoretical frame work is suitable to be utilized to observe internal migration especially in the context of a multiethnic environment. Internal migration in a multiethnic society is particularly interesting phenomenon because in a country where there is many, historical, cultural spheres, there are also differences in the life world forming experience base. I am arguing that in this environment, common life world as a stock from where to draw common knowledge does not exist as such, not at least in the same sense as in ethnically homogeneous societies.

3.2 System

The idea about rationalization of a society has long roots in the German sociology. In short, rationalization of a society means increasing complexity of structures of a society that appears after society (life world) differentiates out of subsystems of the economy and the state administration.

The mechanism that allows this process to continue is called steering medium. The idea I am after with observing rationalization of a society is that money (one of the steering mediums) has become a measure also in such areas of life that do not have the aim of making more money, such as social solidarity.

Habermas has combined Durkheim's and Mead's theory of rationalization. According to Habermas, Durkheim refers to trends in the alteration of lifeworld structures that grows from increasing differentiation between culture, society and personality. Mead's view on the other hand dealt with language and especially linguistification of the sacred which leads into rational potential of action oriented to mutual understanding (Habermas 288). Here we can see the basis of Habermas theory of social system and how it has its basis in differentiation of the life world's structures and language as a medium for mutual understanding. In case of Uganda, there are multiple languages and multiple historical sources of cultural spheres. In this sense, it should be relevant question to ask, has money taken role from money as medium transmitting information? On the other hand we also have a question regarding the culture and its role in national cohesion in the country with huge rural-urban migration.

Social integration through communicative action means that the main mechanism for integration is mutual understanding; however, when consensus breaks down or can not be reached, the second option is strategic action. This type of action is not directed towards consensus but is goal-directed instead. Habermas explains that "*goal-directed actions are coordinated not only through processes of reaching understanding but also through functional interconnections that are not intended by them and are usually not even perceived within the horizon of everyday practice*" (Habermas 150). Money is one of the systemic mechanisms that can bring communication to an end without having to reach mutual understanding. Money operates through markets.

The social system is made up of those forms of communication that make it possible to coordinate activities without relying on achieving mutual understanding through validity claims. This systemic level consists of generalized communications and steering mediums. Generalized communications are early forms of steering mediums and as proceeding forms of steering mediums, they are not completely independent from life world experiences. Generalized communications are ways to compress meanings and to increase the efficiency of communications in coordinating action. The forms of generalized communication have "evolved" along side with the evolution of society. The earliest forms of generalized communications were *prestige* and *influence* and they were still dependent on the life world but not as much as communication which has to convince people for

mutual understanding (Wilson 1998, 427). Steering mediums are “evolved” versions of generalized communications that are completely independent from the life world. Steering medium contains its own meaning and the operation does not require rising and redeeming validity claims (Wilson 1998, 427). Operation of validity claims depend on the life world experiences but this is not needed to operate steering mediums. Money and power are the clearest examples of steering medium. Money transmits messages about offers and their acceptance or rejection without need for criticisable validity claim. Market is an example of how steering medium of money coordinates interaction with great efficiency between individuals on a large scale.

In this paper I am treating money as a steering medium in much of the same way as Wilson (Wilson 1998) has previously done in his research regarding fishing industry in Lake Victoria. I am not treating money in the same sense as mainstream economists of today tend to see it. Instead, I aim to show how money can be observed as having other roles in a society than just a measure of wealth. In my paper, money will be understood as a mechanism of intensifying communication between people.

Often money has been seen as coordinating action through market mechanisms that depend on users’ rational motivation to make more money. However, the difference in steering medium approach is that when following this approach I should be able to avoid the mainstream approach that suggests that actors are rational maximizers. This is important notion for the theoretical framework that I am proposing here. As I will argue in the following section, money has in some ways taken the role of language as a mechanism of reaching mutual understanding. The way that steering medium approach works, is that the approach takes the need for maximizing money as deriving from the rules that make the coordination of economic action possible. According to Wilson (Wilson 1998, 429), maximizing control of the medium is an assumption built into the rules that create the medium, the assumption is important if economic activity is to be coordinated by that medium. Because of the way that steering medium of money is constructed, an individual who tries to use the steering medium of money in a non-maximizing way would not be allowed to continue to act this way. In other words, he or she would be considered financially irresponsible. (Wilson 1998, 429) Because now I can approach markets without treating people as rational economic actors and I don’t have to take rational maximizing as an essential character in people. As also Wilson (1998, 429) has already argued, understanding markets as interactions coordinated by steering medium, explains economic behaviour without trying to show why behaviour that does not seem to be self interested is really self-centred.

What all this has to do with a research observing migration in Uganda? What I am observing in this paper is internal migration between areas that are in a different stage of “social evolution”. By social evolution, I mean the differentiation of the life world and the social system. The differentiation of the life world means rationalization of a society, which means the differentiation of a society from culture through a separation of institutional system from world views (Baxter 1987, 49). This means that culture is less and less significant factor in decision making. The differentiation of the social system means increasing complexity of society, which means that political and market institutions are becoming increasingly complex and eventually they invade new areas of life. This is the phenomenon that is at the centre of my interest, has money changed relations between people and communities and if so, how does it impact to the cohesion of the Ugandan society.

Besides internal differentiation, the life world and the system differentiates from each other at the same time. This means that the life world, which at first exists together with the system, loses the significance of its role and it becomes more and more like its own subsystem alongside the subsystems of economy and political. In the process, system mechanisms get separated from previously mentioned structures that take care of social integration. Here steering medium steps in, as modern societies eventually attain a level of differentiation at which increasingly autonomous organizations are connected with each another by money and power. According to Habermas, steering mediums steer social intercourse that has been largely disconnected from norms and values (Habermas 2007, 153).

What is important is that the systemic mechanisms have to be connected and institutionalised into the life world. Otherwise they are not able to steer action as they would not be understandable. This connection between the life world and the system is taken care of by market and political institutions, which are steered by the processes of exchange and power towards natural reality. New economic and bureaucratic areas emerge in modern societies, where social relations are regulated via money and power. Norm-confirmative attitudes and identity-forming social memberships are neither necessary nor possible in these spheres (Habermas 207, 154). I believe that most of us who have visited, and or lived, in a metropolis in developing world, can agree about existence of a certain level of modernization in those areas. It is also easy to see the development of market and political institutions in those cities as well as to notice their connection to the global economy via airports, harbours and railroads. I believe this interconnection and advancement of capitalism and of market economy has, in certain degree, unified the systemic mechanisms, whether we live in developed or developing world. David Held’s formulation of globalization supports this view, as he

understands globalization as: widening, deepening and speeding up of worldwide interconnectedness in all aspects of contemporary social life, from cultural to the criminal, the financial to the spiritual (Held 1999, 2).

I am making an assumption that the area around Kampala is “differentiating” in a different pace as compared to the rest of the country. This assumption should allow a strong base for this theoretical framework. I am basing my argument regarding differentiation to the fact that Kampala is the political centre as well as the centre of the economy in Uganda. However there is one exceptional character in the case of Uganda and that is that there are seven ancient kingdoms in Uganda and each of them have their own cultural traditions and spheres of life. As already mentioned in the introduction, the characters of modern society include high degree of internal complexity, which rise from increased steering capacity, differentiation of media-steered subsystems, inclusion and value generalization. We can identify, at least in some degree, all of these characters from the society surrounding Kampala.

3.3 Differentiation of the life world and social system

Now I will go into more detailed description about the evolution of society and I want to ponder, why the differentiation of the life world and social system advances at a different pace in Kampala than in rest of the country. Besides observing only the pace of differentiation, I also suggest that the evolution of society is different by its nature in Uganda when compared to western societies. However, despite the differences, the TCA should still fit to observe internal migrants’ economic behaviour and cohesion of the society in Kampala. The cohesion of society and migrants’ economic behaviour are especially meaningful questions in the view of livelihoods of the poor and pro-poor growth.

According to Habermas, the medium of money has a structure-forming effect for the social system as a whole only when the economy is separated off from the political order. Habermas traces the separation of economy and politics to the early modern Europe, where there arose a differentiated subsystem called the capitalist economy that operated via the money medium. This subsystem required a reorganization of the state, so that the subsystems of economy and political administration can form complementary relationship. These subsystems as well as the life world are interconnected via the steering medium of money (Habermas 2007, 165).

The life world consists of three components which are: *culture* (stock of knowledge), *society* (legitimate structures through which membership in social groups is regulated) and *personality*

(competence that makes people capable of speech and action) (Baxter 1987, 47). As his theory describes how the life world is defined and how it changes through the structural alteration of society, he has to be able to describe how the life world is reproduced through time. This means answering to the question how society is maintained and how its identity is secured even though culture and institutions change. Reproduction of the life world means reproduction of the three pillars it consists of. The processes through which the life world is reproduced are cultural reproduction, social integration and socialization. In the view of this theoretical frame work, modernization is seen as a rationalization of a society. This rationalization process affects to the pillars of society in the following way: the braking of the cultural tradition that means the development of competing conceptions of the good; in society, the development and institutionalization of a formal conception of the legal person and the institutionalization of positive forms of legal authority; in personality, the differentiation of skills, attitudes and motivations (Baxter 1987, 54). The rationalization of a society means breaking of traditions and increase in institutions and in institutional power.

In case of western societies, to which this theory was originally designed, systemic mechanisms remain tightly connected to mechanisms of social integration, only so long, as they attach to pre-existing social structures, that are in other words the kinship system. According to Habermas, with the formation of new political power that no longer derives its authority from the prestige of leading descent groups, but from the juridical basis, the power mechanisms detaches itself from kinship structures (Habermas 2007, 165). This type of development that detaches power from kinship system and increases systemic complexity leads ultimately to the development of the state structures. Now, of course, the experience of the state development process has been very different for those states that were colonized, as the institutions were in many cases brought from outside and installed by outsiders. This was also the case in Uganda. Besides modern state structures, the same kind of systemic differentiation also created the modern market system.

Markets for goods are based on symbolic value exchange system that is steered by the medium of money. This new system of exchange has detached markets from earlier forms of exchange. Now, I understand markets as something natural to human life, it is a form of exchange that takes different forms in different societies through time. The current capitalism led market economy has penetrated into most parts of the world and in most cases it has removed traditional exchange systems from its way. The current system has connected even some of the remotest parts of the world to the global economy. However, the depth of the connection varies widely, even inside countries, as also in the case of Uganda, where we can see areas that are tightly connected to the world market while other

areas are connected more thinly. I see this connection to the world markets and political system as an important factor in increasing differentiation in the sense that Habermas understood it.

Habermas has himself described how the TCA can be utilized in global analysis of modernization. The basis is in life world and system differentiation. According to Habermas, a global assumption follows regarding the analysis of modernization processes that rationalized life-world is both uncoupled from and made dependent upon increasingly complex, formally organized domains of action, like economy and the state administration. (Habermas 2007, 304) This would suggest that modernization could generally be observed as a result from differentiation of economy and political order of a society.

4. Internal migration and institutions in Kampala

Next I want to take a look how institutions in Kampala can be viewed from the TCA point of view. By using this theoretical framework to observe the institutional structure I hope to be able to create an approach which can be utilized to observe the difficulties that internal migrants, foreign to the institutional structure of Kampala, have in coping with the new environment. My aim is to increase understanding about the barriers that internal migrants face when trying to enter the labor market on the one hand and when doing business with the state officials. This has important repercussions on the internal migrants' personal experiences after they settle to live in Kampala.

According to the TCA, institutions have a lot to do with the systemic maintenance. According to Habermas, system maintenance is defined by a set of cultural values embodied in the institutional orders of the society in question or anchored in the motivational basis of personality (Habermas 227). This means that cultural values are present in prevailing institutional arrangement of society. As these values are taken from the cultural system, they have the power to define the system's basic structures whatsoever for the sake of system self-maintenance. Through the concept of life world, the sphere of validity claims, which is located in the free floating cultural meanings, would be incorporated from the start into empirical context of action. As we view consensus formation, which is critical for the system maintenance, as a mechanism for coordinating actions and if we assume, as Habermas suggests (231), that the symbolic structure of the life world are reproduced through the medium of communicative action, then the independent logics of cultural value spheres are built into the validity basis of speech and thus into the mechanisms whereby complexes of

communicative action are reproduced. We can see how culture as a component of life world affects to the cohesion of society.

A number of the respondents told about difficulties in communication with the indigenous population of Kampala and with those who have lived in Kampala for a long period of time. Language is the most obvious reason behind difficulties in communication, however even more common difficulty was the life world instead of language gap. One respondent informed that “*It was not easy to adapt (to life in Kampala), because people are confident about themselves but in village people are traditional. There is no segregation between people in village but in Kampala it’s all about who you know*”. This type of responses suggests that there are significant differences within Uganda about how and what type of information people draw from their life world experiences. As people have differing background understandings, the cost of reaching mutual understanding is high. This makes controlling action challenging.

Following the theoretical frame work described in the previous sections, I want to suggest that money has become a steering medium steering action and making it faster for people to reach agreement without having to reach mutual understanding through redeeming and claiming validity claims. Money is already a common steering mechanism in the systemic-level between institutions. As respondents’ responses suggest, money has also penetrated deep into relations between people and to ways they interact with each other. As an example one respondent confirmed that “*a bribe has to be paid but it cannot guarantee work for you, you pay and you fail*”.

Wilson (1998) has already studied and applied steering medium approach to markets in his study on fishing communities in Lake Victoria in Tanzania. He concludes his study by arguing that steering medium approach to markets through distinction between steering medium based on empirically motivated ties and other forms of generalized communications based on empirically motivated trust seems fruitful way of understanding markets and networks (Wilson 1998, 449). The suggestion he derives from the theory of communicative action is that markets govern economic activities tied to material phenomena, whereas networks control such activities when they are tied to social relationships (Wilson 1998, 425). This relation between markets and networks is also relevant for this study, as for example one of the respondents told that “*It is all about who you know in Kampala and not about applications (job applications). Networks rule*” while another agrees by stating that “*jobs go with networks, you need someone to give you work*”. To give the bigger picture about the markets and networks within the labour market in Kampala, 59 % of respondents in my survey informed that employers treat people of the same ethnic group better than ones from a different

ethnic group”. On the other hand internal migrants also felt that in their everyday interaction members of other ethnic group request extra payments more often than members of their own. This gives us a hint on just how important networks really are for internal migrants in Kampala.

5. Conclusions

Globalization has made the world more interconnected and interdependent than ever before. However, despite the interdependence of regions, the world is not evenly connected as some areas are more tightly connected to the international economy and political system than others. As I have argued, in case of Uganda, Kampala is an area that is more tightly connected to the world than other parts of the country. Signs of this connection can be found from infrastructure as well as from cultural aspects.

By cultural aspects I mean the international atmosphere of the city and also the experiences of internal migrants’ which suggests that they have difficulties to understand “the way of thought” of those who have lived in Kampala for a long time. These cultural aspects include tastes such as music, clothing, cars etc. Some interviewed internal migrants also informed that they have difficulties in returning to the way of life that was common to the village or area they used to live in. I have tried to show in this paper, how this difference in tastes and preferences could possibly be interpreted to be a result from different level of systemic and life world differentiation. The complexity of society around Kampala has a tremendous influence on migrants’ ability to settle to city life and gaining livelihood. The TCA could offer itself as a tool helping to understand how this differing development affects to the social cohesion.

By infrastructure as a sign of deep connection to the world system, I mean technological innovations such as light cable internet connection and high and modern office buildings not seen elsewhere in Uganda. There are also a number of international companies present in Kampala. These companies are mostly South African by origin, such as Game, Shoprite and Nandos. However, what does not speak on behalf of deep connection of Kampala and the world system is that the labor force is not international and we cannot speak of international division of labor in Kampala nor in Uganda in general. While there are some international companies, they are few and do not yet employ significant number of people. While this might be the case, the argument is that Kampala is still much more connected than the rest of the country.

Networks were common topic in Migrants' stories. It seems that the difficulties that migrants have in adapting to the new life style of Kampala results in increasing reliance on relatives and friends who have been established in Kampala before. These networks can aid migrants to interact with people with same type of background and world view. It appears to be relatively common experience among internal migrants that they have to pay extra payments for those who do not share the same ethnic background, as 26, 5 % of my respondents answered yes to the following question: "In your everyday interactions, do members of other ethnic groups request bribes from you more often than members of your own?" From this view, networks offer more reliable and equitable arena to conduct business. Weak or non existing connections were also mentioned as reason for not setting up a business in Kampala, as some respondents complained about not trusting strangers.

The second aim given for this paper was to asses the impact of wide scale internal migration to the cohesion of the multiethnic society of Uganda. In this paper I have aimed to develop a theoretical foundation for observing this question. The theory of communicative action provides a point of departure for analyzing how culture, society and personality, the foundations of the life world according to Habermas (Habermas 1979), contribute to the cohesion in multiethnic environment. According to the theoretical foundation language is the mechanism that reproduces these life world structures but the question is, what role does money, as a medium helping to reach mutual understanding between different groups, play. Migrants' experiences seem to support this interpretation that money plays significant role in mediating communication between people originating from different cultural spheres.

References

- Aina Tade (1995) "Internal Non-metropolitan Migration" in Baker Jonathan and Aina Tade (eds.) *The Migration Experience in Africa*. pp.41-53. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala.
- Baxter Hugh (1987) "System and Life-World in Habermas's Theory of Communicative Action" in *Theory and Society*. Vol. 16, No. 1, pp.39-86.
- Bibangambah Jossy (1992) "Macro-level Constraints and the Growth of the Informal Sector in Uganda." pp.303-313 in Baker Jonathan and Pedersen Poul (eds.) *The Rural-Urban Interface in Africa*. Nordiska Afrikainstitutet, Uppsala.
- Castells Manuel (1998) *The rise of the network society*. Blackwell, Oxford
- CIA World Fact Book: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/>
- Dews Peter (1999) "Habermas and the desublimation of reason" in Dews Peter (ed.) *Habermas, A Critical Reader*. p. 1-25. Blackwell, Oxford.
- Dews Peter (eds) (1986) *Habermas: Autonomy & Solidarity*. The Thetford Press
- Ellis Frank (2003) "A Livelihoods Approach to Migration and Poverty Reduction".
- Fotion Nick (2000) *John Searle*. Princeton University Press, Princeton.
- Giesbert Lena (2007) "Seeking Opportunities: Migration as an Income Diversification Strategy of Households in Kakamega District in Kenya". GIGA working paper.
- Habermas Jurgen (1979) *Communication and the Evolution of Society*. Heinemann, London.
- Habermas Jurgen (2007) *The Theory of Communicative Action, The Critique of Functionalist Reason*. Polity Press,
- Held David, McGrew Anthony, Goldblatt David, Perraton Jonathan (2002) *Global transformations, Politics, Economics and Culture*. Polity Press, Cambridge.
- Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2006) 2002 Uganda Population and Housing Census. Kampala.
- Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2006) Uganda National Household Survey 2005/2006. Kampala.
- Uganda Bureau of Statistics (2010) Statistical Abstract. Kampala.

Government of Uganda (2009) The State of Uganda Population Report 2009.

Wilson Douglas (1998) “Markets, Networks, and Risk: An Analysis of Labor Remuneration in the Lake Victoria Fishing Industry” in *Sociological forum*. Vol. 13, No. 3, pp. 425–456