CHANGING PERSPECTIVES OF INTERNAL MIGRATION IN EASTERN AFRICA

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This paper analyses the changing perspectives of internal migration in Eastern Africa, hereby delineated as the region encompassing the traditional East Africa and the Horn of Africa. It relies on literature survey of published work and analysis of data over the last five decades. Internal migration perspectives have been changing as voluntary migration continued alongside forced and irregular internal migration in virtually all the countries of the region, precipitating diverse consequences for development in areas both of origin and destination. This paper is expected to chart future research to inform national policies and programmes on internal migration in Eastern Africa.

1. Introduction

Over four centuries ago, a notable student of migration identified three categories of migration that denote continuity and change: movements that took place in the past, but which have now ceased to exist; movements that have persisted from the past into the present; and movements that have developed in recent times, mainly during the present, then the 20th century (Prothero, 1968: 20; quoted in Oucho, 1981: 70-1). Considering migration in Africa during pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial eras, Hance (1970: 130-140, quoted in Oucho, 1981: 70-1)) argued that European-initiated developments stimulated economically motivated movements which persisted in the post-colonial period. The two human geographers’ tempo-spatial analysis of migration helps to underline the subject of this paper, namely the changing perspectives of internal migration in Eastern Africa – a region part of which experienced colonialism, and the other part was never colonised, the latter having to emulate the former in managing migration.

The purpose of this paper is to analyse the nature and extent of the changing perspectives of both voluntary and involuntary types of internal migration in Eastern Africa based on existing published and grey literature as well as documents in the public domain over the last half century. It provides selected evidence that typifies particular countries during successive epochs of internal migration due to demographic imperatives, policy stances or other factors. After this introductory section, the paper analyses the topic in six consecutive sections: appreciation of studying internal migration in Eastern Africa; a brief explanation of the typology of internal migration in Eastern Africa; sources of data and methodological challenges; temporal analysis of the changing perspectives of internal migration in respective Eastern African countries; research and policy and the challenges and opportunities that they present; and concluding remarks.

2. Studying migration in Eastern Africa

Internal migration studies tend to capture the changing perspectives of political, economic, socio-cultural, and other developments as well as environmental conditions in particular countries, and do not lend themselves to regional generalisation with the exception of special cases where migration is caused by regionally pervasive phenomena. In Eastern Africa, such pervasive events include assessment of population displacement due to drought that engulfs the region (Ginneti and Franck, 2014). The pastoralism-mobility-conflict linkages do affect development and simply dismissing them as inconsequential has far reaching implications for security.
Analysing internal migration from a human capital perspective, Todaro (1980: 363) contends that understanding the causes, determinants, and consequences of internal migration is central to a better understanding of the nature and character of the development process and is essential for formulating appropriate policies to influence this process in socially desirable ways through recognition of economic and social policies that directly or indirectly affect rural and urban real incomes.

Internal migration has also been analysed in terms of livelihoods. Issues such as poverty, inequality, capabilities, vulnerability and environment enter the calculus of migrants’ rights and livelihoods (de Haan, 2000). Analysis of these involves different social scientists with diverse interests on internal migration.

Among the early migration studies in East Africa are Southall’s (1961, 1969) anthropological work in the region; Monsted and Walji’s (1978: 137-) study of the region which attributed rural-rural migration to land shortage, environmental hazards, unemployment, migration selectivity and family structure; Hirst’s (1969) study of net migration patterns in Tanzania; Dak’s (1968) spatial analysis of migrants in Uganda; and Ominde’s (1968) seminal work on land and population movements in Kenya, concurrent with Soja’s (1968) comprehensive study of Kenya’s geography of modernisation. In Kenya, these were followed by a survey of rural-urban labour migration by economists (Rempel et al., 1970, Harris and Todaro, 1970; Rempel, 1978, 1981) and Knowles and Anker’s analysis of income transfers (Knowles and Anker, 1977, 1981) in the same country. While some studies reported their findings in descriptive statistics, all other studies applied appropriate multivariate statistical techniques that, however, corroborated results of the seminal work on internal migration in various countries.

Eastern Africa is a region encompassing countries with diverse geographical, historical, political, demographic and socio-economic backgrounds that render it an obvious candidate for analysis of the changing perspectives of internal migration. In geographical terms, the region has diversity in terms of relief, climatic and ecological conditions that shape the human population, flora and fauna; historically, the countries in the region range from those that were never brought under colonialism to those formerly under British, Belgian and French rule, and in their evolution the countries have adopted different political systems which precipitated equally different results.

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1 The geographical region dubbed ‘Eastern Africa’ is defined differently by scholars, policymakers and development partners. In the United Nations system, for instance, it encompasses the two Great Lakes region countries of Burundi and Rwanda; traditional East African states of Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania; Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia and Somalia in the Horn of Africa; and the islands of Comoros, Mauritius, Reunion and Seychelles, Malawi, Madagascar, Mozambique, Zambia and Zimbabwe. In other systems, in particular the World Bank, the last five countries fall within Southern Africa. This paper adopts the delimitation consisting of the East African and Horn of Africa countries.

2 Ethiopia up to 1993 when Eritrea separated from it, was never colonised; Djibouti was under French rule; Burundi and Rwanda were under Belgian rule; Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania were British dependencies; and Somalia was under British rule, with part of it under Italian rule.
demographically, the countries have extremes of large and small populations; and in socio-economic terms, there is diversity in a number of social and economic indices that manifest themselves in various shades of poverty hence all the countries of the region still ranking as low-income. These aspects of diversity are crucial in understanding and appreciating the topic of this paper. It should be emphasized from the outset that this is not a paper based on research in a particular country at a given point in time; rather, it is an overview of internal migration in Eastern Africa over half a century to provide a basis and rationale for systematic research and appropriate policies on internal migration in a region that has lagged behind all other African regions in systematic migration research.

3. Typology of Internal Migration
Previous studies have distinguished between voluntary and involuntary migration. While the former is spontaneous and attributable to certain triggers of migration, the latter is forced by circumstances beyond the control of individual or groups of migrants.

Broadly speaking, migration is either voluntary or involuntary (referred to by others as ‘forced’). The IOM draws distinction between the two broad types as shown in Table 1.

Table 1 Distinguishing features of voluntary and involuntary migrants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issue</th>
<th>Type of migrant</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Decision to move</td>
<td>Voluntary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Moving on own volition</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Linkages with people/ institutions at destination</td>
<td>High likelihood of having these links</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dominant language, culture, food, etc. at destination</td>
<td>Likely to ‘nucleate’ where these are dominant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal belongings, money and other assets</td>
<td>Likely to move where these are different</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adjustments</td>
<td>Relatively easy on account of joining earlier migrants</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Return to origin</td>
<td>Not obligatory</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


However, IOM’s (2008) distinction is too broad to enable one appreciate the types spatial mobility taking place in a country. A general typology is illustrated by Table 2, which was originally presented in Oucho (1998: 97) based on the works of Oucho and Gould (1993), table 7-1, page and Gould and Prothero (1975). These types of internal migration have been
encountered in sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) since the colonial period, with some forms of circulation emerging only since the independence era (Oucho, 1998: 96). Not analysed in this paper because of lack of data, is irregular migration which comprises human trafficking and migrant smuggling, and which is more pronounced in international migration.

### Table 2 Typology of internal migration in sub-Saharan Africa

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Circulation</th>
<th>Periodic</th>
<th>Seasonal</th>
<th>Long-term</th>
<th>Displacement</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rural-rural</td>
<td>Rural-urban</td>
<td>Urban-rural</td>
<td>Urban-urban</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Direction</strong></td>
<td>Movement of produce and livestock dealers</td>
<td>Movement of agricultural produce dealers</td>
<td>Movement of urban goods dealers (e.g. soap, foods, medicine)</td>
<td>Movement of the self-employed (e.g. traders)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Periodic</strong></td>
<td>Pastoral displacement due to environmental degradation, drought</td>
<td>Return migration of urbanites during peak agricultural seasons; on retirement or loss of employment</td>
<td>‘Repatriation’ of unemployed; labour migration to rural agro-industrial &amp; mining nodes; return of returnees &amp; unsuccessful urban migrants (who can be rural-urban migrants later)</td>
<td>Ethnic/clan conflict-triggered; from environmental degradation &amp; land clashes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Seasonal</strong></td>
<td>Labour migration to agriculture wage sector, mining, other rural sectors; agricultural land colonisation; resettlement of economic nodes &amp; land consolidation; spontaneous migrants from population pressure areas</td>
<td>Movement of employed &amp; under-employed out of agriculture; spontaneous migration to suburbs, shanty towns, slums</td>
<td>Movement of transferred workers; the self-employed (traders; relocating business people)</td>
<td>From political, ethnic, or religious conflict</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Rural out-migration to urban areas and ‘economic islands’ in rural settings has roots in the colonization of sub-Saharan Africa; it ‘began in many Africa countries as a result of colonial policies and practices, which superimposed a monetized economy on peasant production’ (Eicher and Baker 1984, quoted in Nkamleu and Fox, 2006: 6). From Starting in the last quarter of 19th century, multifarious mechanisms of displacing migrants from their rural homes were in place: they included a high degree of coercion of the population as cheap labour, later becoming voluntary; colonial taxation policies that required cash payments and therefore necessitated wage work; the colonialists’ introduction of cash crops for European markets, the cash-crop growing areas providing employment for rural-rural migrants (p.6). Added to this was the emergence of urban centres that had increasing employment opportunities, thus setting in motion stable rural-urban migration.

4. Data Sources and Methodological Challenges
Data on internal migration often originates from census data. The three traditional East African countries – Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania – have held censuses virtually at the same time in the period since 1948 under the auspices of regional integration and having shared experience in that data source. Unfortunately, other Eastern African countries had no censuses/had census data that were underutilised before the 1990s because of political turmoil and civil wars that ravaged them. Over the last decade, Eastern African countries, with the exception of Somalia that has governance problems, have undertaken censuses that permit analysis of voluntary internal migration. Less attention is given to involuntary internal migration, presumably due to its sensitivity and because national governments are seldom irrefragable in internal displacement of population attributed to poor, undemocratic governance, among other problems.

A major methodological challenge in analysing internal migration stems from the disciplinary diversity in which geography/regional science, anthropology, economics, demography, political science and anthropology vary in definitions, data and units of analysis; the latter ranging from individuals to households, communities, regions or nations (Oucho, 1996: 90). The disciplinary variations also manifest themselves in data analysis and interpretation of results, sometimes resulting in incomparable perspectives.

As elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa, Eastern Africa has never had national migration surveys in the mould of Demographic and Health Surveys, Living Standards Surveys and other surveys on socio-economic conditions. This implies individual countries’ reliance on limited data that fall short of capturing the causes and consequences of internal migration. Different institutions, among them UN agencies (e.g. UNHCR, OCHA, UNEP and UNHABITAT) have concentrated

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3 Eastern African countries held their first population censuses as follows: Kenya, Uganda and Tanganyika (since 1964 Tanzania) in 1948; Rwanda in 1978; Burundi in 1979; Djibouti in 1983; and Ethiopia (including Eritrea up to 1993) in 1984. For details on migration questions asked, see J.O. Oucho (1996: 93), and for details on internal migration in African censuses and surveys, see Ramachandran (1987).
on aspects of internal migration within their mandates, though rarely combining their efforts to develop common grounds and identify divergent issues.\(^4\) An important source is the series on ‘country migration profiles’ by either the IOM or other agencies and Global Forum for Migration and Development (GFMD) overviews if respective countries.

There are some Eastern African countries that recently have examined the sources, nature, scope and limitations of their migration data. Overall, several improvements in migration data management are possible. In Tanzania out of the 16 institutions assessed, only 6 have databases, namely the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS), National Identification Authority (NIDA), the Immigration Services Department, the Tanzania Airports Authority, the Tanzania Revenue Authority (TRA) and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). A total of four have data in digital form but no databases, namely the Tanzania Employment Services Agency (TAESA), the Export Processing Zones Authority (EPZA), Tanzania Trade (TANTRADE) and University of Dar es Salaam (Kweka, n.d.: 7). Unfortunately, apart from the use of data for institutional reporting, there is lack of data sharing, which limits their utilisation (p. 14).

Assessment of migration data in Kenya suggests that while data portals exist for access to data, their use is limited. Among the institutions the consultant for this exercise visited, only the Kenya National Bureau of Statistics (KNBS) has a data sharing mechanism, using the databases in websites such as KenInfo, IMIS and KeNADA. Unfortunately, the efficiency of migration data sharing is hampered by red tape in obtaining information, lack of knowledge of existing migration data, the aggregation of data produced, as well as the long lag periods between collection and publication of data. Often, relevant institutions and policymakers are not aware of what data exists and how it could be used for decision-making and planning (Olum, 2013: 7).

The two cases underline one important point: that the collection and storage of migration of data are completely different from data utilization and sharing within the countries.

Against this chequered data situation, this paper has relied on secondary data sources, literature relating to their analysis or other sources. This poses a challenge that could be transformed into an opportunity: lack of comparable data that calls for either a sweep of internal migration based on successive “rounds of censuses” with similar data coverage in countries of the region or an Eastern African internal migration survey. That is an ideal which the regional economic communities in Eastern Africa – the East African Community (EAC) and the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) – should strive to achieve.

5. Changing Perspectives of Internal Migration

There are four broad phases of internal migration perspectives in Eastern Africa:

- Immediate post-independence euphoria and emergent migration patterns in the former British dependencies;

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\(^4\) With the ‘UN now operating as One’ or ‘One UN’, it will be increasingly easy for UN agencies working on internal migration to share experience and operations where each one of them has comparative advantage.
• Involuntary migration and the resultant internal displacement of population (IDP) as civil war raged in the former Ethiopia (later to become separate countries of Eritrea and Ethiopia in 1993) and Uganda during Idi Amin’s dictatorship (1971-1979), followed by uneasy calm in 1980-1986 and authoritarian pseudo-military regime since 1986;
• Migration attributed to political changes after Tanzania abandoned *ujamaa*\(^5\) and Kenya struggled with the second episode of multi-party democratisation, precipitating the IDP phenomenon that remains a menace in the country; and
• Current internal migration situation as all Eastern African countries normalise to address internal migration-development nexus, including normalcy in Burundi and Rwanda that resettled their returning refugees after the 1994 genocide.

These phases underlined the strong link between several factors and internal migration in Eastern African countries, among them socio-political changes, environmental hazards (floods, drought) that caused famine and sustained poverty. However, they did not operate in a precise sequence as involuntary migration, for instance, has been persistent due to the vagaries of climate change in the region.

\(^5\)Swahili word for ‘socialism’ which gripped the country in XXX until its proponent and the country’s founding President, Mwalimu Julius Nyerere, confessed the failure of the experiment.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Post-independence euphoria (1960s-1970s)</th>
<th>Involuntary and IDPs (1980s-1990s)</th>
<th>During major political changes</th>
<th>Current (since 1990s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Burundi</td>
<td>Involuntary due to political upheavals</td>
<td>Voluntary</td>
<td>Anarchy and involuntary migration (IDPs)</td>
<td>Voluntary; Resettlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Djibouti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eritrea</td>
<td>Overthrow of fascist monarchy and emergence of socialism; <em>Kebele</em> system; IDPs due to civil war</td>
<td>Overthrow of fascist monarchy and emergence of socialism; <em>Kebele</em> system; IDPs due to Eritrea-Ethiopia war</td>
<td>IDPs; Voluntary as Eritrea and Ethiopia usher in separate governments</td>
<td>Voluntary; Resettlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethiopia</td>
<td>Overthrow of fascist monarchy and emergence of socialism; <em>Kebele</em> system; IDPs due to civil war</td>
<td>Overthrow of fascist monarchy and emergence of socialism; <em>Kebele</em> system; IDPs due to Ethiopia-Eritrea war</td>
<td>IDPs; Voluntary as Ethiopia and Eritrea usher in separate governments</td>
<td>Voluntary; Resettlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenya</td>
<td>Voluntary; Involuntary (land settlement)</td>
<td>Voluntary</td>
<td>Voluntary</td>
<td>Voluntary; Involuntary (IDPs in 1991-3; 1997; 2008)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwanda</td>
<td>Involuntary due to political upheavals</td>
<td>Voluntary</td>
<td>Genocide and Involuntary migration (IDPs)</td>
<td>Voluntary; Resettlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tanzania</td>
<td>Voluntary; Involuntary (<em>ujamaa</em>) through ‘villagisation’;</td>
<td><em>Ujamaa</em> through ‘villagisation’; Voluntary and reorganisation</td>
<td>Voluntary and reorganisation</td>
<td>Voluntary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uganda</td>
<td>Voluntary</td>
<td>Involuntary in Amin regime (1971-79) and short-lived regimes (1980-86)</td>
<td>Voluntary; Involuntary in the north since the NRA regime; Resettlement</td>
<td>Voluntary; Resettlement</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Somalia</td>
<td>Voluntary</td>
<td>Voluntary: Involuntary</td>
<td>Involuntary after overthrow of Siad Bare in 1991</td>
<td>Anarchy and involuntary migration; Some resettlement</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Based on available literature.

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6The *Kebele* system is a tight system of neighbourhood administration and control in urban Ethiopia (*kebele* – Amharic for ‘neighbourhood’). Historically the *Kebele* became the urban equivalent to the so-called Peasant Associations (PAs), founded by the military revolutionary government (the *Derg*), after dismantling Ethiopia’s monarchy and finally arresting Haile Selassie I (Attributed to Dr. Magnus Treiber of Universität Bayreuth Fachgruppe Ethnologie GWII Universitätstr. 3095440 Bayreuth)
4.1 The Post-independence Euphoria and Emergent Internal Migration

Reviewing literature on theoretical and empirical approaches underlying migration research in sub-Saharan Africa, Eicher and Baker (1984, quoted in Nkalemu and Fox, 2006: 6) identify three broad and interrelated theoretical perspectives on migration: structural-functionalist, neoclassical economics, and political economy. The *structural functionalist* approach examines the individual decision to migrate within a broad pattern of social relationship and social-structural conditions (including some economic variables), generally presenting a positive view of migration. The *neoclassical economics* perspective treats migration as an economic phenomenon in which the migrant weighs the costs and returns from current and future employment opportunities; Todaro’s (1969) model of rural-urban labour migration, however, introduced the opposite view, arguing that migration occurred because of higher urban ‘expected incomes’ in the face of unemployment, and set the stage for subsequent econometric analysis of internal migration. The *political economy* approach, considered as providing the main explanation of migration, underlines the historical expansion of capitalism, positing that ‘while migration may improve the private economic return of the individual migrant, the net short- and long-term social and economic effects of migration may be negative in the source area and positive in the receiving area.’ Before the seminal econometric work of Todaro and his associates, migration research in Africa was almost exclusively the domain of anthropologists, sociologists, and geographers whose work generated a large body of knowledge on the characteristics of migrants and the migration process, but little information on the economic factors affecting migration.

The immediate post-independence in the three East African countries with independence of Tanzania in 1961, Uganda in 1962 and Kenya in 1963 ushered in spontaneous out-migration to urban areas and to ‘economic islands’ of development in rural areas. The period marks a significant change in internal migration, especially rural-urban migration that had been restricted by the colonial administration. Unlike the colonial period when only males were allowed to migrate, it was a period when rural-urban migration, for instance, involved male migrants being joined at destinations by family members; and soon females began migrating in their own right. Selected milestones are worth noting.

In Kenya, the colony *par excellence* where rural-urban migration was restricted during the colonial period, internal migration picked up and increased rapidly, among other things spurring rapid urbanisation. Ominde’s (1969) seminal study on internal migration in the county analysed the subject broadly, examining four types of voluntary migration: rural-rural; rural-urban, inter-urban (then minimal) and urban-rural including return migration that was perceived to be inevitable given the perception that urban migrants were temporary residents at their destinations. With the Institute for Development Studies (IDS) at the University College Nairobi

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7In later work, Todaro (1980: 365) confesses that ‘it is important to recognize… that these migration models were developed largely in the context of advanced industrial economies and, as such, implicitly assumed the existence of full or near-full employment in urban areas.’
University of Nairobi since 1970) enjoying vibrant scholarship, Rempel, Todaro and Harris undertook a rural-urban labour migration survey which generated several publications: the Todaro (1969) model of rural-urban labour migration; Rempel’s (1971) PhD thesis on rural-urban migration and urban unemployment, presumably inspired by the Todaro model; a survey of rural-urban labour migration (Rempel et al., 1970); the Harris-Todaro (1970) two-sector model of labour migration, unemployment and development. Ominde’s geographical study and Todaro and associates’ economic analyses inspired economists and social anthropologists to study rural-urban migration and urban-rural links (Weisner, 1972: Johnson and Whitelaw, 1974; Moock, 1978; Hoddington, 1994) and collaborative demographic and economic studies (Mukras and Oucho, 1984; Oucho, 1996). Thus, internal migration studies sprouted in Kenya, inspiring similar studies in the neighbouring countries.

This remarkable feat in internal migration research was concurrent in Tanzania where other social scientists emulated the trend. One of the earliest internal migration studies in Tanzania was Hirst’s (1967) identification of migration regions of Tanganyika (Tanzania before its union with Zanzibar in 1964). In his analysis of net migration patterns in the country, Hirst (169: 29) found that migration was directed to pockets of employment, such as: the Dar es Salaam-Kilosa belt along the Central railway; most of the areas around Tanga; the coastal sector in the Southern Province then; Arusha-Moshi area close to Mount Kilimanjaro; the Southern highlands area around Iringa, around Lake Victoria and western region where mining, sock farming and commercial crop farming (tea, coffee and wattle bark) took place. Hirst (1971) undertook a migration survey of Bukoba town along Lake Victoria which provided useful insights into migration within and to the Lake Victoria Basin. Barnum and Sabot (1979, quoted in Karlsson, 2008: 9) studied migration and education relationship. Unlike Kenya where female rural-urban migration was forbidden, in Tanzania, origins of female rural-urban migration can be traced back to the colonial period. From the 1950’s and forward urban ward migration increased among women, a phenomenon Sabot attributes to husbands bringing along their wives to town. Böök, 1987, quoted in Karlsson, 2008: 9) argues that as women were becoming increasingly independent, they moved to towns because of economic opportunities and to join their husbands or other relatives. Mbonile’s (1996: 91) study, based on a migration survey of Makete District in Tanzania, found a vicious cycle of labour migration whose foundations were laid by Germans by their establishment of labour reserves to serve plantations along the coast, and in the northeastern part of the country. In a subsequent study, Mbonile and Lihawa (1996) undertook a study of female migration of barmaids to the city of Dar es Salaam. They found that the barmaids were aged 15-29 years and 82 percent of them had a maximum of primary education; a bar supervisor boasted of employing young barmaids, saying: “We do not employ old women because most of our customers like young charming girls full of smiles” (Mbonile and Lihawa, 1996: 173).

A recent study on determinants of internal migration in Tanzania found the migration differentials – gender, age, marital status, levels of education, skills level and household
characteristics of family size and household income – to be significant and consistent with the model of human capital and previous empirical literature (Msigwa and Mbongo, 2013).

Under the stewardship of Langlands, the Department of Geography at the Makerere University College (Makerere University since 1970) in Uganda made strong inroads into migration research. Langlands (1971) article on population mapping of Uganda inspired geographers in the University of East Africa, then consisting of university colleges in Kampala, Nairobi and Dar es Salaam before assuming full university status in 1970. This work provided insights of Uganda’s population growth and distribution including internal migration over several decades. Dak’s (1968) work represents the genre of scholarship at that time, later followed by analyses of Uganda’s census data.

For Djibouti, food insecurity has been a persistent cause of internal migration as population relocates from areas with poor to those with good food security; this occurring in the face or unemployment that exacerbates the level of food insecurity (Vella, 2012). The country is so small that internal migration does not depict a particular regional pattern. Moreover, the country is a major transit route for Ethiopians destined for the Middle East, most of them getting stranded before their travel papers are ready.

4.2 Involuntary Migration and Its Implications

The UN Secretary-General’s IDP Representative compiled The Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement Persons (OHCHR, 1998) which defines IDPs as:

persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of in order to avoid the effects of armed conflict, situations of generalised violence, violations of human rights or natural or human made disasters, and who have not crossed an internationally recognised State border.

In Africa, the question of IDPs received impetus when the African Union Convention for the Protection and assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (better known as the ‘Kampala Convention’) was adopted by the AU member states in 2009. Apart from reaffirming the tenets of the Guiding Principles of 1998, the Kampala Convention articulates the obligations and roles of the AU, armed groups, international organisations and the civil society to respond and prevent internal displacement. Among other things, the Kampala Convention, in Article 10, urges the AU member states to prevent internal displacement caused by ‘development induced projects; and, where necessary, to compensate those affected. The significance of the Kampala Convention is not only its ratification by the requisite number of AU states, but also its conferment of monitoring role on the AU and its associates in Africa.  

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8The most recent overture was the AU secretariat’s response to internal conflict in South Sudan in late 2013 and early this which pitted the government against a rebel group of those who had once served in that country’s government. Previously, the AU secretariat has intervened in Somalia that has had no government since 1991.
Eastern Africa has witnessed the menace of internally displaced persons (IDPs) since the 1960s. According to the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA), there were 4.3 million IDPs in April 2010; the magnitude itself is irritating. By the end of 2012, UNHCR estimated the number of IDPs to be 412,000 in Kenya and 78,796 in Burundi, and no data on other Eastern African countries; the latter attributable to lack of verification to ascertain the presence of IDPs.

A closely related document is the Protocol on the Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons of 2006 within the framework of the Great Lakes Pact on Peace, Security and Stability. Iwabukuna (2011: 136) draws attention to Article 5 (1) of the Protocol which gives the definition of IDPs as:

*Persons or groups of persons forced or obliged to flee or leave their homes or places of habitual residence in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of large scale development project, and who have not crossed an internationally recognized border.*

The similarity of the Great Lakes Protocol and the Kampala Convention is their invocation of development projects as a trigger of displacement. For a region undergoing post-conflict reconstruction and discovering a host of minerals including oil, displacement is inevitable and expected to precipitate a number of problems that planners and policy makers hardly appreciate in the absence of empirical evidence from sound research. Burundi, Rwanda, Eritrea and Ethiopia are still in the post-conflict reconstruction mode, while Tanzania, Uganda and Kenya have discovered oil and minerals that will inevitably change patterns of internal migration.

The main triggers are internal conflicts, inter-communal fighting and insecurity, as well as natural disasters, including floods and drought to which the region is prone. A Relief Web report attributed to OCHA notes that the situation of IDPs did not change much in Eastern African in the five years 2007-2012. But that is before internal conflict erupted in South Sudan and before the Al Shabaab menace hit Kenya, displacing those who are lucky to escape.9

*Ethiopia-Kenya-Somalia Pastoral Areas*

In dry lands of the Horn of Africa, there is some relationship between pastoralism and conflict. Pastoralists in Kenya, Ethiopia and Somalia have been displaced by one or a combination of forces, namely the legacy of colonialism; violence and conflict; cattle raiding; human rights violations; border politics; small-arms proliferation; activities of militaries and militant groups;

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9This is a group of Muslim terrorists who have declared war on Kenya after the country, along other AU member states, sent its troops to restore peace in Somalia. The Al Shabaab has exploited the porous Kenya-Somalia border to cause mayhem including detonating bombs, hand grenades and other devices in selected urban centres in Kenya. This development has affected Kenya’s longstanding attractiveness as the tourist destination of choice.
and the effects of the conflict in Somalia. Ethnic conflicts have been found to increase the risk of political instability, which has affected herd mobility, and the threat of real or perceived armed conflict (Ginneti and Franck, 2014: 15).

**Burundi:**

Burundi is one country where involuntary internal migration has been persistent. The 1972 civil conflict, for example, resulted in large numbers of IDPs in Burundi and the problem peaked in 1993, when an estimated nine percent of the Burundian population fled to neighbouring countries and 12 percent of the population sought refuge in other areas within Burundi (UNOCHA, 1993, quoted in Fransen and Ong’ayo, 2010: 23) with many IDP sites created. Consequently, there occurred forced relocation (also called regroupement) which involved the forced movement of entire communities, usually by the government, to permanent or semi permanent sites often directly or indirectly under the control of military units” (Bennett, 2000: 27, quoted in Fransen and Ong’ayo, 2010: 23). By 2009, Burundi had about 100,000 IDPs (Fransen and Ong’ayo, 2010: 26), a major drop from 281,000 IDPs reported in 2003 by the International Crisis Group (p. 28) following reintegration of former IDPs.

A recent development in Burundi is rural-urban migration as urbanization sets in, though increasing rather slowly; only 2.2 percent of the total population was urban in 1960, increasing to 10.6 percent in 2005. Projecting increased urbanization, the Burundi government formulated a National Housing and Urban Development Policy to improve urban planning thereby increasing the urban poor’s access to housing (XXX: 29) as rural-urban migration is bound to increase.

**4.3 Migration attributed to Political Changes**

**Kenya:**

Kenya is on record as a country where the new wave of multi-party politics and democratisation was preceded by ethnic conflict in 1991-93 and in 1997, peaking in the post-2007 presidential election. A country once described as “an island of peace and tranquillity in the disturbed waters of persistent conflict in the Greater Horn of Africa” (Oucho, 2002), plunged into post-election violence that almost dismembered it (Oucho, 2010). To date, most IDPs in the country have not been resettled. Bigsten’s (1996) article on circular migration of smallholders continues the debate which has been consistently witnessed in Kenya and underlines that migration decision is more a household affair than an individual matter, that the pull of high urban wages is more important than the push of land scarcity, and that rural development policy does not have much promise as a strategy for stemming rural out-migration. These findings not only corroborate studies undertaken in Kenya before Bigsten’s (1996) article; they are also corroborated by a recent study of out-migration in the country (Oucho et al., 2014). Clearly, they underline the necessity to study internal migration at both origins and destinations, among other things to
appreciate the ramifications of devolved governance for changes expected to take place in internal migration.

A recent study of internal displacement in Kenya identifies three types of IDPs: persons displaced by politically instigated violence or inter-communal hostilities, such as competition over lands or other resources; persons internally displaced by natural disasters, whether or not triggered by climate change; and persons internally displaced by development projects or projects on the preservation of the environment, including those forcibly evicted, who remain without proper relocation and sustainable reintegration (Sheek et al., 2012: 3). These categories of IDPs and more suggest that no single discipline can successfully unravel all the causal factors.10

Kenya’s internal dynamics remain the same as several decades ago. Western Kenya remains the main net out-migration area in rural-rural and rural-urban migration systems. As in previous studies, a recent study suggests that urban migrants in Nairobi and the regional city of Kisumu maintain strong links with their rural origins to which they expect to return permanently, and that devolved governance which has created counties provides impetus for return to and investment in rural areas (Oucho et al., 2014).

A unique development is the APRHC’s survey of urbanization, poverty and health dynamics in the Nairobi slum settlements, results of which are presented in a special issue of the *Journal of Urban Health* (2011). It is the first ever comprehensive survey of a regional city in Eastern Africa and one that other surveys could build on. It provides insights of a study the African Migration and Development Policy Centre (AMADPOC) wishes to explore in greater detail and against the backdrop to how migration to slum areas has changed, not changed the livelihoods of in-migrants and immigrants.

4.4 Recent and Current Migration Trends

*Ethiopia:*  
In Ethiopia, internal migration has been due to adaptation and survival. Mberu’s (2005: 17) study of internal migration and household living conditions in the country, points out that in the wake of past migration due to environmental degradation, famine and war, recent migration, as found by other researchers, it is associated with restructuring of the country in new regional federating states according to ethnic/linguistic composition. Earlier, Gebre (2001, quoted on Mberu, 2005: 17) referred to internal migration as ‘stress migration’ under duress of economic reforms, political crises and famine. A recent study by Atnafu and Mulugeta (2014) on rural out-migration to urban areas underlines rural poverty as the main trigger and urban destination as a basis for abandoning rural origins as well as providing the launch pad for emigration to the Middle East.

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10For details on how Kenya is handling IDPs, see *The Prevention, Protection and Assistance to Internally Displaced Persons and Affected Communities Act No. 56 of 2012* (National Council for Law Reporting, 2012).
According to the Internal Displacement Monitoring Centre (IDMC), no attempts have been made by the Ethiopian government or international organizations to estimate the number of internally displaced people (IDPs), nor are international organizations and media allowed access to the affected areas in Ethiopia (IDMC, 2009, quoted in Fransen and Kuschminder, 2009: 13). Another form of involuntary internal migration is trafficking. Fansen and Kuschminder (2009: 17) note that while trafficking of women and children in Ethiopia from rural to urban communities is reportedly increasing, there are no exact numbers to substantiate this flow; children are trafficked to work as domestic workers, in cottage industries such as weaving, or into prostitution, and both boys (aged 8-14 years) and girls (aged 8-24 years), with the latter more substantial; and the facilitators of the crime are family, friends, or trusted community members who work for a broker and receive a commission. Priya and Grimm (2004) noted that in Ethiopia mobility has increased as population movement controls have been relaxed or removed and movements include those to a few in-migrating areas with large, often irrigated, farms (RESAL 1999, quoted in Priya and Grimm, 2004: 10).

An Ethiopian Labour Force Survey (LFS) yielded similar findings as the 2007 Ethiopia Population and Housing Census in respect of types of voluntary internal migration. It found that rural-rural migration was by far the most important type, followed by rural-urban and urban-urban types that were virtually at par (Casacchia et al., 1999: 58); female migration (57 percent of the total) was heavier than that of males (p.59); and 48.9 percent intra-regional migration was rural-urban (p. 61). This probably reflects spontaneous migration that has been taking place in the country in the post-normalcy (since 1991) period.

Uganda

The immediate post-Amin period saw the rebel activities that lasted five years (1981-1985), during which period and estimated 750,000 people were displaced and fled their habitual residences to other safer areas in Uganda including the urban areas of Kampala and Jinja. While actual numbers of those forced to flee the area can only be estimated due to lack of clear statistics, the war in ‘Luwer Traingle’ is believed to have displaced thousands of residents. Special camps for those fleeing were erected at Mulago Hill (Yellow House) and an accommodation settlement created for the cattle keepers in Mbuuro Park in western Uganda. At the end of the war, majority of the internally displaced persons (IDPs) returned to their homes albeit with settling difficulties (Mulumba and Olemba, 2009: 12-13). This episode underlines one important point: that IDPs eventually return to their home areas where they feel safest. Table 4 shows that northern Uganda was hardest hit as all the camps were located in the region, and has had rebel activities since 1986. Uganda is a classical Eastern African country that, after a brief political administration, underwent military rule and quasi-military rule since 1986, fuelling the numbers of IDPs and exacerbating poverty. The IDP situation has been compounded by new cases of IDPs and returnees that are not well documented in the country.
### Table 4 Distribution of IDPs in Uganda in September 2005-May 2006

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Number of IDP camps</th>
<th>Total IDPs</th>
<th>Total households</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Lira</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>351,020</td>
<td>70,455</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pader</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>348,538</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kitgum</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>331,167</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apac</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>107,130</td>
<td>n.a.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gulu</td>
<td>52</td>
<td>460,226</td>
<td>118,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>164</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,599,081</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In the 2002 Uganda Population and Housing Census, only 1.3 million of the total national population of 23 million were internal migrants and were equally distributed between sexes (Uganda Bureau of Statics, 2006: 16). This implies that both sexes migrate equally. The *Uganda Migration Profile* (IOM, 2013: 17) reported that internal migrants represent approximately 6 per cent of the Ugandan population according to census data, although 14 per cent of the population was enumerated outside their district of origin. More than half of internal migrants are located in the Central Region, which includes Kampala, 44 percent of them aged 15-29 years and 37 percent 15 years. The search for employment opportunities dominates reasons for migration, but in Karamojong, pastoralism is the main reason.¹¹

Uganda developed the National Policy for Internally Displaced Persons in August 2004, one of the first countries to adopt a national policy derived from the Guiding Principles. The policy primarily aimed to address the needs of persons displaced by the armed conflict as well as the needs of persons displaced by natural or human-made disasters (p. 41). But how the IDP policy will resonate with the National Migration Policy, which has been on the drawing board since 2011, remains an unknown quantity.

Uganda has a good record of events that have accounted for IDPs published by the Government of Uganda. The causes range from environmental hazards (floods, drought and landslides) to epidemics (IOM, 2013: 57). Surprisingly, the government is silent on rebel activities as a cause of IDPs, especially in the north of the country.

**Persistence of circular migration**

Circulation between origins and destinations has been a persistent feature of internal migration in Eastern Africa. It was partly responsible for urbanization in the region (Elkan, 1967). It is in fact part of a household strategy to maintain or improve the traditional livelihood base such as farming. Generally, town dwellers will often retain ‘ancestral land’ in their region of origin, as noticeable in southern and northern Tanzania (Potts, 2000, quoted in Priya and Grim, 2004: 14) and in Kenya where urban migrants maintain strong rural-urban links (Mukras and Oucho, 1983; Oucho, 1996). Thus, circulation has persisted across successive epochs of internal migration in the region.

¹¹The Uganda Migration Profile was developed through a joint effort of the Government of Uganda, IOM, NORAD and SIDA in line with the IOM strategy for developing national migration profiles that help to reveal the situation of all types of migration, their causes and consequences for development and policy frameworks to address the issues identified.
presumably because of the presence of ‘location-specific capital’ (Da Vanzo and Morrison, 1982) or ‘origin-specific capital’ (Oucho, 1996) that render inevitable period return and remigration.\textsuperscript{12}

\textit{Kenya:}

A unique development is the APRHC’s survey of urbanization, poverty and health dynamics in the Nairobi slum settlements, results of which are presented in a special issue of the \textit{Journal of Urban Health} (2011). It is the first ever comprehensive survey of a regional city in Eastern Africa and one that other surveys could build on. It provides insights of a study the African Migration and Development Policy Centre (AMADPOC) wishes to explore in greater detail and against the backdrop of how migration to slum areas has changed, not changed the livelihoods of in-migrants and immigrants. Lessons from the Nairobi survey are no doubt instructive for other urban areas that evolved differently and have equally different profiles.

\textit{Tanzania:}

A study on linkages between internal migration and the urban transition in Tanzania (Muzzini and Lindeboom, 2008) addressed three pertinent questions: What are the main patterns of internal migration in mainland Tanzania? What are the main migratory flows to and from regional headquarters? What is the typical socio-economic profile of migrants and how does it differ from the profile of the non-migrant population? Among other results, the study found that while net migration to urban areas is low, its turnover is high (p. 43); that rural-rural and urban-urban migration are both important driving forces of migration at the regional level but by no means contribute to urban demographic growth (p. 47), and their contribution different by region (p.49). For a large country with urban areas of varying sizes, the study provides lessons that are essential in not only migration sensitive urban planning but also urban-rural linkages.

\textbf{A Note on Return migration}

This has been taking places that previously had been the origins of IDPs and rural out-migration when rural-urban migration was particularly important. Priya and XXX: 12 report that Bigsten and Kayizzi-Magerwa (1992, quoted in Potts, 1995) observed return migration from Kampala in Uganda as urban living standards dropped in the 1970s and 80s; that in Tanzania return migration was documented from large urban centres due to the impacts of structural adjustment (Mbonile, 1995, quoted in Potts, 1995); and that in Ethiopia, over half a million men were demobilised from the army in the early 1990s after the end of the civil war returned to their villages having gained skills useful for non-agrarian pursuits. Return migration is a type of internal migration which has received the least attention in Eastern Africa except in cases of returning former involuntary out-migrants; the return of voluntary migration, though noted in a veiled recognition of circular migration still requires studying.

\textsuperscript{12} Such capital consists of close relatives, friends and property (land, livestock, etc. at the origin that induces out-migrants to return for assurance of sustained belonging, care and possession
5 Research and Policy: Challenges and Opportunities

5.1 Previous and Future Research

Eastern African countries, through the EAC and IGAD, should strive to evolve a common data-generation system including periodic surveys that would best serve them to undertake systematic analysis of internal migration to inform policy and develop appropriate migration management programmes. The IGAD Regional Migration Policy Framework (IGAD-RMPF) and the Regional Consultative Process (RCP) do provide impetus for such a move. The IGAD initiatives are developments that the EAC should emulate.\textsuperscript{13}

Research on environmental impact of internally displaced persons has not received much attention in Eastern Africa where IDPs are rampant. Issues raised in a previous study of sub-Saharan Africa (Oucho, 2007) are instructive for systematic research in the region on IDPs generated by a variety of circumstances. The current interest focuses on migration-environment-climate change linkages in the region, which will soon involve researchers from different disciplinary backgrounds.\textsuperscript{14}

5.1 Policy Challenges and Opportunities

Once an internal migration system develops, it maintains its own dynamics. Policy measures such as rural development are but a palliative and do not seem to go far enough in stemming rural out-migration. As urbanisation spreads in rural settings, it is likely to continue attracting rural-urban migration and at the same time stimulating urban-urban migration between urban centres of varying sizes. With virtually all Eastern African countries pursuing ‘national visions’ or long trajectories of development planning, these two forms of migration are likely to generate opportunities for individual migrants as well as national and sub-national economies.

Circular migration occurring in Eastern African countries constitutes both a challenge and an opportunity for individual countries. It enables migrants to keep abreast of situations in both origins and destinations; and the final move, return migration, involves returnees who may be either an asset or a liability in their home areas to which they return. These require different policies as Eastern African countries grapple with national and diverse variants of devolved governance.\textsuperscript{15}

5.3 Towards Enhanced Management of Internal Migration

\textsuperscript{13}The author has recently completed a study on ‘Development of the EAC Regional Labour Policy, prepared within the framework of the Protocol on the East African Community Common Market (PEEACCM) with particular focus on free movement of labour.

\textsuperscript{14}The IOM Regional Office for East and Horn of Africa has nominated AMADPOC as a member of the Technical Working Group on the EU-funded project Migration, Environment and Climate Change: Evidence for Policy for the period May 2014-December 2016.

\textsuperscript{15}Devolved governance varies from regions in Tanzania to states make up the Federal Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, regions in Eritrea, regions in Djibouti, districts in Uganda, provinces in Burundi and Rwanda and counties in Kenya – all of which are meant to involve the local population in governance.
In a keynote address to an internal conference on migration displacement in sub-Saharan Africa in the context of migration-security nexus, the author (Oucho, 2009: 11) drew an important conclusion:

I conclude by urging migration scholars and other stakeholders to cooperate more closely and to desist from compartmentalizing a phenomenon, which keeps changing its complexion as well as its effects.

Management of internal migration has been an issue of grave concern in developing countries. Some insights are worth highlighting here. Lucas (1997) suggests a number of policy issues and options, namely direct controls on mobility; influencing urban pay and labor costs; rural development to stem rural out-migration; industrial location; investing in infrastructure; the nature and dispersion of education; and structural adjustment and development strategies. Yet these rely on proper analysis of internal migration based on sound data and taking cognizance of the changing perspectives of migration.

DFID’s (2007) strategy, Moving out of Poverty – Making Migration Work for Poor People – gives impetus to the management of internal migration in Eastern Africa. Among important issues it proposes are: migration-poverty reduction-development links through migration and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs); the potential of migrant remittances to reduce poverty; and how migration influences social and political development. The strategy also proposes how migration could work for the poor – through planning for internal mobility and addressing the rights of migrants (DFID, 2007: 10-32). Indeed, the Migrating out of Poverty Research Programme Consortium (MOP/RPC) stems from this strategy hence AMADPOC’s work in Eastern Africa. Even after the MOP.RPC terminates, it will have opened up opportunities for further research and policymaking in internal migration-poverty reduction-development links in Eastern Africa, among other developing capacities of institutions and individual researchers, policymakers and other stakeholders.

Contemporary development paradigms in Eastern African countries – MDGs and Visions 2000 series – must of necessity incorporate internal migration. Obsession with international migration belies the significance of internal migration that promises to remain important as the former diminishes over time. Research and policymaking provide avenues for systematic handling of internal migration issues in the region.

6 Conclusion

This paper has shown that internal migration in Eastern Africa consists of a variety of voluntary and involuntary types in all countries of the region. Both rural-rural and rural-urban types of migration dominate voluntary migration as internal displacement of population (IDP) persists in every country due to either natural or human causes, or both. Most countries in the region have had migration profiles that depict common and peculiar features of internal migration, their causes as well consequences. Yet a minority has developed migration policies to guide migration management against the backdrop of migration profiles. It is time the RECs in Eastern Africa shared experience to develop appropriate internal migration policies that often have a bearing on
international migration which students of migration, policymakers and other stakeholders are increasingly becoming obsessed with. The paper provides a basis for making a plunge into systematic research, policy development and putting in place appropriate internal migration management programmes. Relative silence on irregular internal migration – trafficking and smuggling – is a curious feature in Eastern Africa where the problem exists with crimes associated with it appearing in the media, which implies its severity in the face of lukewarm response by government authorities, researchers and other stakeholders. Future research in Eastern Africa has to address not only the causes, but also the consequences and policy implications of different types of internal migration. This paper provides vital information for future research across various strands of national development, challenges and opportunities.

References


