(Draft)

An Overview of the State of International Migration in Horn and East Africa Feleke Tadele ¹

Abstract

This paper maps out the current state of international migration in East and Horn of Africa. It attempts to outline how migration is researched and the latest dynamic of migration is changing with respect to the feminization of migration, diversification of migration destinations, transformation of labor flows into commercial migration, and brain drain from the region.

The paper further highlights that the traditional pattern of migration within and from the region—male-dominated, long-term, and long-distance—is increasingly becoming feminized. Anecdotal evidence reveals a striking increase in migration by women, who had traditionally remained at home while men moved around in search of paid work. A significant share of these women is made up of migrants who move independently to fulfill their own economic needs; they are not simply joining a husband or other family members.

Attempts are also done to map out the migration flows and routes within and across the region by presenting examples of influx of migrants from various parts of the sub-Saharan region, including Ethiopia, Kenya, and Uganda to North Africa such as Libya, Egypt, Algeria and Morocco that reportedly served as transit routes for migrants to Europe. It give also attention to the migration of skilled East and Horn of Africans through brain circulation within the region. It disclosed that skilled professionals, pressured by instable political and economic conditions, have found other African countries specially the southern African countries such as Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa as convenient destinations for migration.

The paper argues that most migration studies has so far focused on brain drain, remittance and trafficking mainly from international political economic view. The paper attempts to analytically review existing studies and reflect how the understanding of 'wellbeing' can offer a new perspective on how both the process and the outcome of migration experience may have different meanings for individual migrants, migrant families or even communities/ countries of migrants in different transactions. It further highlights that meanings and values are changing with migration experiences and, in turn, shape the identities and wellbeing of individual migrants.

Key words: Migration, Wellbeing. Brain Drain, Trafficking, Remittance

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I. -INTRODUCTION

This paper maps out the key features of migration trends and patterns in the Horn and East Africa. It argues that the link between migration and development has rarely been recognized as important aspect of people's livelihood strategies and wellbeing in most of the Horn and East Africa. The governments of these countries have mostly labeled migration in its negative aspects and portray it as a responsible factor for underdevelopment such as incidence of urban poverty, HIV-AIDS transmission and expansion of crime. As a result, migration process was restricted and discouraged by the introduction of various policy regimes such as travel permits, check-points and lack of social protection.

The paper depicts current debates and theoretical perspectives with respect to migration and development studies. It highlights the relevance of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework to migration studies in the context of history; vulnerabilities and capabilities of households. But it also recognizes that the Framework does not take into consideration migrants spatial complexities and interconnections as their focuses are either on rural or urban livelihoods. In this respect, the paper attempts to share the insight from the proponents of migration and rural-urban linkages and underlines the fact that households in the Horn and East Africa countries often undertake multiple livelihood strategies in order to diversify livelihood sources across various spatial areas including international migration. The paper constructs its argument further through presentation of the WeD framework, which provides a guide for the understanding of migration in the context of wellbeing.

The paper attempts to outline the key features of migration in relation to migration and livelihoods, internal migration and the poor, women and migration, international migration and brain drain, remittance and migration, studies and information on migration in the Horn and East Africa Region. The paper is informed by the review of available literature on migration, livelihood and wellbeing in the Region and informed by the author's own migration and refugees' studies experience in Ethiopia and other counties of the Region.

II- THE CONTEXT

The Horn and East Africa Region, which consists of Djibouti, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Kenya, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda is, in many ways, a strategic location in the global geopolitical landscape, especially following the 9/11 attacks, with international interest centering on oil deposits, and access to the Red Sea and the Arabian Peninsula. The region has the greatest ethnic and religious diversity in Africa. It is also endowed with rich cultural heritage and valuable natural resources such as timber, fisheries, and oil.

Pervasive poverty is manifested by the fact that the majority of the people lack secure access to productive resources and to high quality basic services. They endure the loss and destruction of violent conflict, and suffer the shocks caused by economic adjustment or climate change. In many cases, the absence of effective governance has denied them the opportunity to exercise their rights as citizens and to reach their full potential to live in or leave their countries of origin.

For various social, political and economic reasons, the region has been characterized by migration of huge number of population across international boarders mostly as refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs). The displaced, widows, and orphans are all especially vulnerable for these reasons. In many cases, the displaced have little political representation and lack the protection afforded to host communities by security services. The internally displaced also lack the protection afforded to refugees through international legislation – such is the case with approximately four million people displaced in Sudan. Even refugees, despite this legal protection, are often denied their rights and can be amongst the most vulnerable part of society. The protection needs of 'environmental refugees', in particular, have been underestimated by international bodies including the UN.

Some countries like Ethiopia have experienced increased pattern of migration beyond the Horn and East Africa Region notably after the 1974 Socialist Revolution. The political regimes in the country induced hundreds of thousands of Ethiopians to flee from forced resettlement, ethnic violence, and humanitarian disasters. The proxy conflict that has erupted between Ethiopia and Somalia had also displaced many more people.

The political unrest, inter-ethnic clashes and the urban unemployment have reportedly remained to be the main pushing factors for international migration even after the change of the socialist government regime in 1991. Ethiopia has continued to experience international exodus of professionals and high number of internal migrants until to date.

Similarly, the experience of international migration in Uganda has been high due to comparatively unstable political conditions and repression. It was reported that Ugandans who had studied and qualified abroad chose to remain outside the country. While Japan and the Middle East have attracted mainly the business skills and lower skilled cadres, America, Canada, and Europe have tended to attract the professional and higher skilled persons. There is also a significant deployment within Africa where the highly skilled (doctors and teachers) have been attracted southwards especially to DRC and others in Kenya, Tanzania, South Africa and Botswana.

The trend of long-term international migration in Kenya has also become common due to the deterioration in economic performance, political repression, corruption and personal insecurity. A good proportion of Kenyan labour has migrated to Southern Africa and the Middle East, while others seek opportunities in USA, Canada, UK and other European Countries. Majority of the emigrants, with the exception of those to the Middle East, are professionals, technicians and business persons. Many workers also traveled to the Gulf States, and also interestingly to Rwanda, Burundi and the Congo in search of low skilled employment during the 1990s. There was also recruitment of Kenyan teachers to countries as diverse as the Comoros Islands, Seychelles, Rwanda, Burundi and the Congo.

Although Tanzania is comparatively stable, it admitted thousands of hired foreign workers in government projects or organs as well as in investment and business. The number of non citizen who are current working in Tanzania from selected nationalities include India , China ,South Africa , Kenya , U.K, Pakistani, Australia , Canada ,USA , Italy , France , Zimbabwe , Japan , Germany , Netherlands, Uganda and Ghana .

There has been significant movement within, from and to Rwanda over past decades, especially forced migration due to conflict and famine. However, due to the complexities and scale of these historical population movements and a lack of statistics, it is difficult to obtain accurate figures on the current numbers of Rwandan nationals living outside Rwanda.

To sum up, the region has been challenged by highly volatile political and economic situation so that its millions of people were forced to migrate out of the region mainly to other African countries, the west, European Union and the Gulf. The trend of migration for the most highly skilled and trained human resources has also increased tremendously during the past two decades. Despite all these trends, internal migration within the respective countries is much higher and more important to the poor than the other types of international migration.

III. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The aim of this section is to examine the main theoretical perspectives behind development and migration studies. It is evident that until recent years, this has been a relatively under-researched subject, and the paper draws its argument from the recent theoretical perspectives that give migration a fresh look and explanation in the context of livelihood and well-being studies.

De Haan and Rogaly (2002) argue that a livelihoods approach views migration as one of a set of strategies that households and communities use to diversify and support well-being. Migration, in the livelihoods approach, is understood as a spatial separation between the location of a resident household or family, and one or more livelihood activities engaged in by family members. Thus the immediate connections of migration to the livelihoods framework are to human capital since migration involves mobility of

labor and the set of activities that comprise the occupational portfolio of the household. In addition, different types of migration play multiple and complex roles in reducing the vulnerability of households, and in potentially enabling virtuous spirals of asset accumulation that can provide households to come out of poverty (Ellis, 2003).

De Haan (2002) further identified that the causation and intention of migration include a broad spectrum of factors such as monetary and non-monetary as well as voluntary and forced migration, where decision-making occurs within a broad context of factors at the micro (individual and household circumstances), meso (socio-economic conditions at source and destination areas) and macro-levels (speed and unevenness of the development process and national and international policy environment). Scoones (1998) identified, on his part, 'livelihood resources' (human, physical, social and environmental capital) and institutions (formal and informal) as important factors that facilitate or impede access to alternative livelihood strategies.

It is, therefore, evident that that the development of the Sustainable Livelihood Framework (SLF) has diverted a lot from the economic models of migration (Todaro, 2004), which used to emphasize the rational choice of individuals in migration process. The SLF has helped to explore the influence that agencies, capital and assets have on migration process and patterns (Moser 1998, Carney 1998; Long, 1992). SLF also allowed the understanding of migration in the context of history; vulnerabilities and capabilities (see Ellis, 2000).

Studies influenced by the Livelihood Framework demonstrated that historical contexts, inequalities and policy regimes affect migration process, trends and effects. McDowell and de Haan (1997) using livelihood framework indicated that history plays significant role in influencing migration. They argue that livelihoods and poverty clearly affect and are affected by migration, but that migration experiences are often context specific. Migrants from some areas migrate not necessarily because they are among the poorest but groups can develop a tradition of migration once certain patterns of migration exist. In illustrating this, they cited the cases of the Gurage, the Gamo, the Tigrai and some Amhara migrations experiences in Ethiopia, where early migration has led to patterns of subsequent flows of new migrants. They further remarked that it is not only poverty that causes migration but that inequality also plays a significant role in inducing migration. Their research in Ethiopia also disclosed that distress migration notably related to internal conflict and trade migration is reported to have involved relatively non-poor or rich people.

Although the migration and livelihoods discourse has given new impetus into the development dimension of migration, recent studies reflected that the livelihood framework is inadequate to understand the experiences of contemporary migrants. Kothari (2002) argues that households in developing countries often undertake multiple livelihood strategies in order to diversify livelihood sources across various spatial areas in the context of social, economic, political, environmental and historical circumstances. Proponents of urban-rural linkages (Tacloi, 2006) also underlined the fact that migration is far more complex than just a purely economically motivated demographic shift from

rural to urban areas. They disclosed that different groups move to different destinations and for different reasons but the people and their locations are not necessarily rural or urban. One can maintain linkages between the two through adopting different linkage strategies such as exchange of information and technology, remittance, investment in areas of origin or accumulation of assets in different locations.

The supporters of the urban-rural linkage discourse, therefore, pointed out that the classification of development or poverty reduction policies and practices into either 'rural' or 'urban', fails to fully recognize the opportunities and the constraints that rural-urban linkages offer to livelihoods as well as social and cultural transformation (Club du Sahel ,2000; Hoang, et. al, 2005). Ellis and Harris (2004) also pointed out that making an absolute dichotomy between rural and urban areas undermines the interdependent points of production, consumption and market, which directly contribute to the creation of greater gross national output. Therefore, they shared a new perspective on rural-urban linkages and offered useful lens for the understanding of the complexities of people's livelihoods and their strategies.

Proponents of urban-rural linkages argue that the interaction between urban and rural areas include 'spatial' linkages, such as flows of people and goods, money and information. It also includes linkages between different sectors such as the agricultures and the non-agricultures., which includes different types of mobility/ migration. It indicates that there is a need for an alternative paradigm for development policy and practice that recognizes the significance of both rural and urban dimensions, and the variations in the form and nature of rural-urban linkages (Baker, 1995; Ellis, 1998; Dogulass, 1998; Club du Sahel, 2000, Tacoli, 2002, 2006; Hoang, et. al, 2005).

It is evident that migration has both positive and negative outcomes on nations, regions, communities, households and individuals. An important positive outcome, in this regard, is the growing evidence of resource transfers or remittances in supporting the livelihoods of those that stay behind when some family members migrate. The nature and level of remittances varies widely depending on the accessibility of the home village, employment opportunities, the costs of living, the ease of remitting, and the 'orientation' of the migrant. For instance, a comparative review of empirical work on rural household income portfolios in Sub-Saharan Africa by Reardon (1997) found that on average fifteen percent of rural incomes are accounted for by remittances.

Another study indicated that the remittances from migration accounts for as much as twenty-five percent of income in Asian countries such as Sri Lanka (von Braun & Pandya-Lorch, 1991). Income from remittances is reportedly used for investment in land, or land improvements including reclaiming previously degraded land (Tiffen et al, 1994), purchase of hired labour and better farm inputs (Carter, 1997; Evans & Ngau, 1991), investment in children's education (Hoddinott, 1994) and in other cases on social ceremonies and cultural rituals. Even if income from remittances is small, the limited amounts of additional cash can make huge differences to the options available to people to get a foothold on ladders out of disaster situations (Sharp et al, 2003). Similarly, McDowell (1996) argues that the size of remittances for poor households can be very low

but it is vital to improve food security since it helps to diversify risks and ensure support in times of harvest. Remittances can also stimulate agricultural intensification where practices allow the head of household (who may be a woman or a less senior man) to employ labour, and use the remitted earnings for purchase of equipment, seeds, fertilisers or oxen for ploughing.

The exchange of ideas and knowledge, and changes in the skills and capabilities of those who migrate and those who stay behind is another positive contribution of migration (Ellis, 2003). The transfer or introduction of new technologies and ways of living to rural areas is also often attributed to the influence of migrants. Worku (1995), in his study of Gurage migration in Ethiopia argued that the impacts of migration are not merely economic, but that the interaction brings about cultural change through ideas, skills and attitudes, and that migration makes rural villagers more receptive to change in areas such as technology. He found that Gurage migrants are responsible for a dramatic change in the attitudes, values and beliefs of both migrant and non-migrant households.

Although there seems to be an emerging consensus of recent literature on migration emphasising the above positive attributes of mobility (de Haan, 1999; Skeldon, 2002; 2003), there are also negative sides to mobility. Worku (1995) argues that migration in Gurage is responsible for greater rates of divorce, deviant sexual behaviour and mental illness. It involves the introduction of new habits such as consumption of locally made alcohol, cigarettes and transmission of STDs, in particular HIV/AIDS. Migration can also result in a greater workload for women, and inflation of bride wealth caused by income migrants. In some circumstances migration may impoverish, or perpetuate the chronic poverty of those who migrate or stay behind (Kothari, 2003). This argument seems to apply mainly to societies where male out-migration predominates and where there are low levels of remittances (ibid, 2003).

A notable advance in livelihood frameworks and urban-rural linkages studies is the development of the WeD Framework at the University of Bath, U.K. The WeD Framework contributes additional conceptual and methodological tools that can be adopted to study migration. It provides cultural resources, which are symbolic, religious and identity-forming resources that are developed out of the norms, values and meanings attached to a particular environment or place (McGregor, 2003). This means that migration can be embedded within these socio-cultural structures and resources, which, in turn, they give migration particular forms. As the framework helps to understand 'wellbeing', it provides a perspective on how the 'same' migration experience may have different meanings for individual migrants, migrant families or even communities of migrants in different transactions. It helps to explore how meanings and values are changing with migration experiences and how these, in turn, shape the identities and wellbeing of individual migrants. Furthermore, the WeD Framework offers a combination of methods such as analysis of policy regimes, community level profiles, a household level survey of resources and needs and a review of quality of life, which helps to analyze individual migrants experiences at various level in a holistic manner (Gough I, McGregor A., Camfield L, 2006). The WeD framework also provides analytical tool to understand the impact of policy regimes, political economy and social

institutions on migration process. The framework helps to understand people's responses associated with the opportunities and risks of migration and the ways that individual and collective action affects objective states of the welfare of migrant individuals and the subjective perceptions of quality of life at individual, household and community levels.

This paper, therefore, attempts to map out the available migration studies and review the migration experiences and anecdotal examples across the countries of the Horn and East Africa.

IV- MAIN FEATURES, PATTERNS AND CHALLENGES OF MIGRATION IN THE REGION

4.1- International Migration Feature and Brain drain

One of the key features of migration in the region is the loss of human resources for many countries of origin, which is manifested in terms of "brain drain". This may give rise to insecurity and political, economic or social tensions in countries of destination. Various reports indicated that the Horn and East Africa Region has been a major source of brain drain to the developed countries of the North (Dejene, 2005). This South-North migration is sustained, *inter alia*, by the reliance of the Horn and East African countries particularly Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and Uganda on training their citizens with the help of countries such as Australia, Belgium, Canada, France, Italy, Portugal, Spain, the United Kingdom and the United States of America that have historical connections.

The dynamics of migration in each of the countries in the region illustrates such process of brain drains. For instance, although Uganda initiated the on-going Economic Recovery Program that involved implementation of various economic reforms since 1987, a significant number of Ugandans has moved out of the country in search of employment. Both skilled and non-skilled persons have moved, while Japan and the Middle East have attracted mainly the business skills and lower skilled persons, other countries like America, Canada, and Europe have tended to attract the professional and higher skilled persons (IOM, 2005).

Emigration of Kenyan professionals and technicians is of vital concern to national development effort. Emigration of Kenyans in large numbers is a relatively recent phenomenon and has mainly been caused by deterioration in economic performance (collapse of tourism and textile sub-sectors), worsened income distribution, unemployment, political repression, corruption and personal insecurity. A good proportion of Kenyan labour has respectively migrated to Southern Africa and the Middle East, while others seek opportunities in USA, Canada, UK and other European Countries. Majority of the emigrants, with the exception of those to the Middle East, are professionals, technicians and business persons (Ibid, 2005).

The international migration experience has diverse consequences for both migrants and the country. While some migrants may get employment opportunities, better incomes and access to superior health, others end up in low quality jobs even below their academic

qualifications. To the country, it is a loss of talent and investment on one hand and, on the other, creation of employment opportunities for those left behind. Since it may not be possible to stem emigration of talented and educated citizens form the region, it is important that polices be developed to enable the country benefit from the contributions of citizens from the region. One of the positive outcomes of international migration that attracted most researchers, donors and government has been remittances and this will be dealt at great length in the following section.

4.2- International Migration and Remittances

This section deals with remittances, which are one of the most visible developmental effects of migration. International migration of Horn and East Africans has reportedly resulted in the growing size of resource transfers or remittances to support the livelihoods of those that stay behind when some family members migrate. Although little is still known about the impact of remittance on poverty, some studies indicate that remittance alleviate poverty at the household level in some countries, among others by funding child schooling, reducing child labour, increasing family health and expanding durable good ownership (Yang, 2004).

For instance, a comparative review of empirical work on rural household income portfolios in Sub-Saharan Africa by Reardon (1997) found that on average fifteen percent of rural incomes are accounted for by remittances. Income from remittances is reportedly used for investment in land, or land improvements including reclaiming previously degraded land (Tiffen et al, 1994), purchase of hired labour and better farm inputs (Carter, 1997; Evans & Ngau, 1991), investment in children's education (Hoddinott, 1994) and in other cases on social ceremonies and cultural rituals.

Even if income from remittances is small, the limited amounts of additional cash can make huge differences to the options available to people to get a foothold on ladders out of disaster situations (Sharp et al, 2003). Similarly, McDowell (1996) argues that the size of remittances for poor households can be very low but it is vital to improve food security since it helps to diversify risks and ensure support in times of harvest. Remittances can also stimulate agricultural intensification where practices allow the head of household (who may be a woman or a less senior man) to employ labour, and use the remitted earnings for purchase of equipment, seeds, fertilisers or oxen for ploughing.

The exchange of ideas and knowledge, and changes in the skills and capabilities of those who migrate and those who stay behind is another positive contribution of migration but less visible and documented (Ellis, 2003). The transfer or introduction of new technologies and ways of living to rural areas is also often attributed to the influence of migrants. Worku (1995), in his study of Gurage migration in Ethiopia, for instance, argued that the impacts of migration are not merely economic, but that the interaction brings about cultural change through ideas, skills and attitudes, and that migration makes rural villagers more receptive to change in areas such as technology. He found that Gurage migrants are responsible for a dramatic change in the attitudes, values and beliefs of both migrant and non-migrant households.

The vast majority of migrants are making meaningful contributions to their countries of origin in terms of "brain gains" and remittances. There is growing recognition that migrants send home more money to developing countries than States send as development aid.

The governments of the region have so far taken certain policy measures to promote the flows of remittance available from the Diaspora. Such policy measures include allowing duty free imports of defined items; granting of land for house construction, allowing bank deposit in foreign exchange; and providing different investment incentives. (Dejene, 2005; AHEAD, 2004.). The countries in the Region have begun to develop the potential economic contribution of the Diaspora, rather than encouraging them not to leave. In Uganda, the liberalisation of financial markets, especially trade in foreign exchange, and the granting of permission for foreign denominated bank accounts, are said to have increased remittances. The Bank of Uganda Forex and Trade Department is now generally supportive and positively inclined towards granting permission to Money Transfer Organisations (MTOs). There is also some interest in using Micro-Finance Institutions (MFIs) as providers of money transfer services, and evidence across the region suggests that these may be more effective in channeling resources to the poorest than international banks and corporations that lack local knowledge.

4.3- Trafficking and smuggling of migrants in the Region

Trafficking of children is a complex undertaking, involving many players, and it is both a regional and a national problem. Studies indicated that migrant trafficking and smuggling pose heavy threats to migrants' rights, in particular those of women and children. Victims of these deplorable practices often lack both knowledge of the risks and legal consequences of resorting to such illegal practices and information on the realities awaiting them at their destination. For instance, young girls and women abducted from conflict zones in the Horn and East Africa are forced to become sex-slaves to rebel commanders or affluent men in Sudan and the Gulf States.

Migrant trafficking and smuggling has become a global business generating huge profits for traffickers and organized crime syndicates leaving thousands of children and youth very vulnerable.

The Horn and East Africa is the main gate way for countries such as Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Somalia and the Sudan to the external world mainly to the middle east countries and, there by, to European destinations. The region has remained to serve the major route for trafficking. Women and girl children are the primary trafficking victims owing to various factors related to underdevelopment, poverty, economic disparities, inequitable socio-economic structure, armed conflict, dysfunctioning families, lack of education, harmful traditional practices, urban-rural migration and gender discrimination.

The presence of a large military concentration and the availability of a big commercial coast line in Djibouti, the lack of strong legal or institutional protection in Somalia, the

existence of extreme poverty and unemployment in Ethiopia have reportedly contributed to the trafficking of girl children mostly to Lebanon, Bahrain, Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates (SC-Canada ,2006).

A large number of children are also trafficked within the continent of Africa and within urban areas in their own countries. In Horn and East Africa the level of awareness about child trafficking is very limited. Following studies such as the situational analysis by the IOM and another study by GTZ, it was found that there is little awareness of the problem and an even greater lack of concerted effort to solve the problem by stakeholders (IOM, 2005).

Despite the existence of a general notion among people, authorities and anti-trafficking offices in the specific nations in the region regarding the prevalence of trafficking there is no detailed information regarding children who could be victims of trafficking, magnitude, methods, factors encouraging trafficking, identifying victims of trafficking (sexual exploitation – prostitution), possible protection and treatment measures, information and evidence about child trafficking, mechanisms for documenting information and evidences etc. Without having strong and extensive information from the ground it would be difficult to address the problem in a most sustainable manner.

4.4- The Situation of Displaced populations: IDPs and refugees in the Region

As stated on the out set, the Horn and East Africa has been a region of civil wars, environmental disasters (drought and famine) and ethnic conflicts, which have displaced large numbers of people. This has been witnessed particularly due to the wars in the Horn of Africa (involving Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and southern Sudan). The genocide in Rwanda, armed conflict in Burundi and the warfare in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), on its own, produced large volumes of refugees which heavily taxed the capacity of host countries such as Tanzania, Uganda and Sudan.

The IDPs situation mostly in the most affected countries of Sudan, Somalia and Eritrea tend to remain at the mercy of the very regimes that have caused their plight. Among those most affected in displacement situations are women and children who are often exposed to the consequences of lack of health care and education, to systematic human rights violations and to sexual violence. Therefore, regressive data need to be maintained to strengthen knowledge about the situation of IDPs in the region.

4.5- Inter-regional Migration Features

Inter-regional migration has historically been common among the countries of the Horn and East Africa. People to people relations, particularly among the pastoralists and local traders, across the boarder of the respective countries of the Horn and East Africa region has been maintained through exchange of natural resources and transactions of business. As the region hosts significant number of pastoralists, they have been moving from one boarder to another despite the official boundary limitations.

The migration of highly skilled professionals is a more recent phenomena growing in the region so that what is called the brain drain is being altered by brain circulation within the region. Reports indicated that skilled professionals in the region, pushed by uncertain political and economic conditions at home, have found more stable countries particularly the countries of the southern African region such as Gabon, Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa to be convenient alternatives to the West and the Gulf.

Despite the potential contributions of inter-regional migration to economic and social wellbeing in the region, this aspect of migration has not been given the necessary research attention, policy priority and donors back-up.

4.6- The feminization of migration

Migration in the horn and east Africa revolved around male migrants on account of biased employment opportunities, the type of work available and an inequitable provision of education. Nonetheless, in recent decades, with increased access to and attainment of higher education and skills training, higher female labour participation rates and more employment opportunities for women, female migration has become a significant phenomenon involving both autonomous and associational migrants.

The number of female migrants is estimated to have increased three folds. Previous research, like the migration phenomenon itself, has tended to concentrate on male migration, leading to a paucity of data on female migrants. For instance, Ethiopia's migration feature indicates that permanent migration of women is greater than for men and increasing number of women are now also migrating temporarily for work-related reasons to urban areas and the Gulf states (Goldstein et al, 2000).

4.7. Research and Knowledge Gaps

It is common that all the horn and east African governments have either ministries or departments of foreign affairs, home affairs and labour which deal with aspects of international relations, immigration obligations and employment conditions of immigrant populations, respectively. This potentially provides a viable institutional framework to build national approaches to international migration.

Nonetheless, there is often limited institutional capacity and insufficient coordination at the national and regional levels since most of the institutions have no functional working arrangements to regional and international migration.

Lack of data and, consequently, lack of knowledge of the nature, patterns and problems of migration phenomena are critical issues that constrain both knowledge and appreciation of migration in horn and east Africa. Thus, migrants are frequently misunderstood, their motives misinterpreted and their contribution to development trivialized. As a result, there is persistent suspicion between migrants and their host society.

Existing migration data in the Horan and East African region is not comprehensive and not easily comparable. Data on labour migration in the region is not readily available comprehensively. It is also not easy to aggregate them at regional level due to differences in coverage, definitions of variables used and timeframe of collected data. This is largely because various non-governmental and government institutions collect and process specific data and information in accordance with their specific needs. The Region also suffers from lack of harmonization of concepts and definitions of variables of migration statistics.

Institutions dealing with labour migration data lack capacities and resources. In general the capacities of these institutions are limited by varying degrees of research budget and shortage of staff.

Lack of cooperation between government institutions/agencies responsible for administering, collection and processing of migration data; lack of common Migration database are also additional sources of knowledge gaps.

At both regional and sub regional levels, there are no well-developed structures for dealing with international migration. Regional organizations such as the OAU and ECA deal with migration on an ad hoc basis and do not have divisions or departments devoted exclusively to international migration issues. However, although all economic groupings are devoted to free movement of the citizens of their member States, much has remained at the level of rhetoric rather than been realized across the Horn and East Africa Region.

V- Conclusion

The paper has so far disclosed that migration is an ongoing livelihood strategy in the Region, though it is not easily visible and its importance is often not acknowledged. The migration experiences of individuals also took several types involving differences in terms of duration (short-term or long-term; seasonal or permanent) and directions (rural to urban; rural to rural; urban to urban; urban to rural; domestic, inter-regional or international migration).

Dealing with forced displacement continues to be an important issue in the region, and recent regional initiatives have focused on developing a regional framework for IDPs protection. There is considerable scope to facilitate regional networks to support such initiatives with evidence based policy proposals, linking university-based centres dealing with forced migration and IDPs in Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, Somalia and Sudan.

The initiative of having regional passports like that of the "East African passports" and temporary passes is a good start to speed up movement between countries in the region, as well as a range of other initiatives to promote greater regional integration needs to be further strengthened. This process shall be supported and the exploration of freer movement of people could be considered alongside liberalisation of trade in goods and services in the Region.

Most of the governments of the countries in the region have recently shown interest in promoting links with Diaspora groups, and these initiatives could be facilitated. It is good to build the capacity of the governments in research and knowledge management sector. This will help inform them to have protection measures to their citizens working abroad and to expand legal labor migration opportunities for the benefit and development of their countries of origin.

In relation to migration of the poor, policy shall build on knowledge about the transfer mechanisms and uses of remittances to support community-based credit, savings, transfer and investment initiatives. Studies on the establishment of effective legal instruments is advised since it can result in building trust, avoiding costly operations and mitigating unnecessary bureaucracy.

Particular attention may need to be paid to intra-regional migration to South Africa and the Gulf. Understanding of the significance and socio-economic impact of immigration into the Horn and East African countries, including that of temporary workers and refugees, is also a priority. Such understanding could contribute to a more informed policy debate in the face of proposals to limit migration (as recently in Kenya) or to adopt a more restrictive stance towards refugees (as recently in Tanzania).

The presence of relatively strong regional institutions such as the Refugee Law Project at Makerere University in Uganda, the Refugee Studies Programme at the University of Dares-Salaam and the Centre for Refugee Studies at Moi University in Kenya, builds a fertile ground for regional research initiatives to have a strong input to more effective migration policy, especially in relation to the recent dynamics of migration within and out of the region.

Although useful migration research exists, there remains a need for deeper understanding of the relationships between migration and development in the region, including estimates of the scale of internal and inter-regional migration and its impact on wellbeing. In most countries in the region, recent survey data on internal migration that is nationally representative is simply unavailable leave alone other more complex regional migration studies.

Ways should, therefore, be found to fill the research gaps. These include, but not limited to, the followings:

- The need to form a regional migration studies network that serves a clearing house for facilitating recent research experiences on the subject and that promotes exchanges of views.
- The need to move beyond livelihoods framework and incorporate the study of migration from "wellbeing" perspectives.
- The need for promoting policy oriented migration studies and disseminating policy briefings in the region. For instance, one of the policy implications is to avoid the negative consequences of excessive international migration of skilled

human labor by improving conditions in the migrants' countries of origin. Another key areas of policy implication is the creation of an enabling environment for migration, recognition of the problems faced by international migrants and the establishment of a strategy to protect the rights of migrants. This can include the facilitation of free movement and mobility through the prevention of the expulsions of migrants, the promotion of migrants rights' to work and the provision of relevant information through the media. Furthermore, policy responses are required to promote the wellbeing of migrants through promoting the formation of international diasporas' associations, supporting collective action by international migrants, regulating employment agencies and establishing minimum standards and regulating brokers particularly to avoid trafficking.

- The presence of more research on special protection for the most vulnerable categories of migrants; particularly, women, youth and children is key in research and policy arena. In this regard, the studies need to focus on the protection of women from violence and rape; the promotion of youth employment and the protection of children from abuse by brokers and employers.
- Future migration studies need to incorporate the WeD framework, which can offer an alternative tool to analyze cultural aspects in migrants lives in addition to social and economic capitals. It helps to explore how meanings and values of migrants are changing with migration experiences and how these, in turn, shape the identities and wellbeing of individual migrants. The framework also offers how development policies, structures and social networks affect the pattern and level of migration.

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