EMIGRATION MOBILITY TRENDS AND PATTERNS IN KENYA: A SHIFT FROM SOUTH-NORTH TO SOUTH-SOUTH MIGRATION

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ABSTRACT: *The study explores emigration levels, trends and patterns of Kenyan migrants, using the macro data collected during the 2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census. In Kenya, little was known of its emigrant's destination. This research aimed to establish the size, composition and distribution of Kenyan emigrants. The results show that although the United States and United Kingdom remain key destinations, there was a shift in the size, composition, trends and patterns to within Africa. The conclusion focused on related policy implications on development, with a focus on the impacts of migration in the region, cross-border migration and economic blocks for the development of both the country of origin and destination.*

KEYWORDS: Emigration; Levels, Trends And Patterns; South-South Migration; Research And Policy Implications; Development.

INTRODUCTION

The emigration of Kenyans in large numbers is a relatively recent phenomenon. The first two decades after independence in 1963, few Kenyans emigrated and lived abroad due to costs and other factors. Ghai (2004: 2) noted that the main reason for the shift in migration patterns was the deterioration in Kenya's economy in the 1980s. While the first two decades after independence witnessed high economic and employment growth with new opportunities opening up for Kenyans in all sectors, the situation reversed over the past 25 years, especially in the 1990s with negative per capita income growth (for instance, -4% in 1992) and worsening income inequality (51 GINI Index in 1992), (World Bank, 2012). The rapid pace and intensity of globalization, and a growing gap in living standards between Kenya and the developed countries, and increase in personal insecurity have encouraged out-migration (Ghai, 2004:2). Most so, cross-border migration has been enhanced by business opportunities in the neighbouring countries (Ngugi, 2012).

Table 1 depicts that the majority of Kenyan emigrants are located within African countries; which, is consistent with Crush's (2011a) observation that Africa itself is the lead destination for African migrants. The World Bank migration database shows that 91 per cent of the Kenyan emigrants went to African countries in 1960. This share fell to 53.2 per cent in 1970

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but gradually increased over the years to almost 99 per cent in 2000. Asia was the second most important destination, followed by Europe and the Americas. A similar pattern is reflected in the Global Migrant Origin Database (GMOD), where in the year 2007, 82 per cent of the Kenyan migrants went to African countries. However, only a few of Kenyan migrants went to the Caribbean, Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific. These statistics underscore the importance of South-South migration compared to South-North migration. According to the World Bank database, there was a significant reduction in the number of Kenyans who migrated to the rest of the world compared to other African countries.

Table 1: Distribution of Kenyan Emigrants in the Diaspora

Region	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2007 (GMOD)
Africa	54,245	84,506	94,683	104,773	538,128	876,695
Asia (including China, India and the Middle East	3,678	38,608	30,830	21,801	966	92,731
Europe (including Eastern Europe)	788	30,834	22,367	12,678	920	70,674
Americas (including Latin America	302	4,006	6,299	8,762	161	19,329
Caribbean	35	163	768	1,431	21	2,496
Australia and New Zealand	216	427	226	0	6	849
Pacific	11	25	12	0	0	262
Total	59,275	158,569	155,185	149,445	540,202	1,063,036

Source: World Bank Migration Data (1960-2000) and Global Migrant Origin Database (GMOD) (2007)

Within Africa, Uganda and Tanzania account for the bulk of Kenyan migrants (Table 2). This has been consistent over the years, although in the year 2000, there was an unusual increase in the number of migrants to these countries. This might be attributed to the liberalization of their economies in 2000. However, on the basis of the GMOD database, Tanzania appears to have become the most preferred destination by Kenyan migrants in the year 2007, followed by Uganda. This is perhaps due to the recent signing of the Eastern Africa Common Markets Protocol, which has witnessed an increase in the flow of persons, goods and services in the region.

Table 2: Distribution of Kenya's Emigrants across Africa

Countries	1960	1970	1980	1990	2000	2007 (GMOD)
Uganda	28,535	33,323	39,950	46,795	351,083	33,571
Tanzania	17,062	39,074	38,473	37,313	61,151	123,410
Sudan	2,286	312	1,936	3,714	48,296	n.d
Somalia	2,259	1,610	1,874	2,144	36,512	n.d
Ethiopia	871	4,634	6,026	7,493	20,332	n.d
Rwanda	643	512	953	1,431	4,634	n.d

Cong, Democratic Republic	572	477	860	1,275	4,108	7,005
Burundi	551	534	867	1,226	3,973	2,743
Mozambique	311	n.d	329	691	2,253	n.d
Nigeria	235	n.d	249	522	1,694	1,019
Cote d'Ivoire	2	n.d	2	4	14	4,147
Ghana	n.d	n.d	n.d	n.d	n.d	4,128
South Africa	n.d	n.d	1	2	7	1,066
Zambia	57	n.d	61	127	415	1,035
Burkina faso	2	n.d	2	4	14	2,006
Guinea	6	n.d	6	13	44	1,694
Others	853	4,030	3,094	2,019	3,598	7,515
Total	54,245	84,506	94,683	104,773	538,128	189,339

Source: World Bank Migration data (1960-2000) and Global Migrant Origin Database (2007)

Analysis of the two databases, however, notes that they differ in terms of the most preferred African destination by Kenyan migrants. For instance, the World Bank database has Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Burundi, Mozambique and Nigeria as the nine most important destinations in their order, after Uganda and Tanzania. On the other hand, the GMOD database identifies the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Burundi, Burkina Faso, Guinea, South Africa, Zambia and Nigeria as the most important destinations in their order, after Tanzania and Uganda. These inconsistencies may either suggest a shift in the pattern of Kenyan migrants in the last decade and/or problems associated with the datasets. These concerns are also shared by Ratha et al. (2011) who highlight the challenge of estimating the size of the African diaspora due to incomplete datasets and differences in defining both migrants and Diasporas.

Past studies on emigration trends and patterns

Emigration of nationals of Eastern African countries is driven by several factors, including search for labour opportunities, the high unemployment rates, political instability, regional climate variability, armed conflict and individual projects such as pursuit of studies and family visits. The choice of destination countries is related to factors such as geographical proximity, cultural affinity, historical and personal links and standards of living. According to data by Migration DRC (2007), in 2005, the African continent was the main destination for most nationals of Eastern Africa, except for those from Comoros, Djibouti, Ethiopia, Madagascar, Mauritius, Uganda and Sudan. However, Africa was the second continent of residence for nationals of these countries.

The United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) (2010) reveals that in 2005, about 1.6 million persons chose to emigrate to other Eastern African countries. This included Eritreans (23.7%), Burundians (20.1%), Somalis (13.3%), Rwandese (11.6%), Sudanese (11.3%), Kenyans (10%) and Tanzanians (4%). Other nationals of Eastern Africa account for less than 2 per cent. It noted that a large number of nationals of Eastern African countries left their countries because of armed conflict and political instability, as exemplified by the number of refugees from the region representing 17.7% of the global stock of refugees, most

of them coming from Somalia (44%), Sudan (22.7%), Eritrea (12.9%), Rwanda (8.4%), Burundi (6%) and Ethiopia (4%).

Kenya, just as the other Eastern African countries has seen a considerable proportion of its high skilled professionals leaving the home country for better opportunities in the countries of the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). According to OECD's data, the majority of them have completed tertiary education (UNDP, 2009). For instance, the top ten Eastern African countries with the highest rate of tertiary graduates in their emigrant stock in OECD countries are Tanzania (40.7%), Sudan (39.7%), Uganda (39%), Burundi (38.8%), Rwanda (34.9%), Madagascar (31.7%), Djibouti (29.7%), Ethiopia (29,2%), Kenya (27.2) and Mauritius (24.4%), (OECD, 2009).

Eastern African countries have a long history of cross border and intra-regional labour migration (Cross et al., 2006). Intra-regional migration is more important between countries of the Greater Horn of Africa, partly because of their geographical proximity. Over time, labour migration has been promoted within the region by the development of labour intensive industries especially in sectors such as agriculture and mines (Adebusoye et al, 2006).

Destination countries for highly skilled and semi-skilled labourers vary among countries but it can be considered to be closely related to colonial history and trade routes as well as countries' specific context. Commonwealth Member States, for example, are the main destination countries for English-speaking countries in the region (Migration DRC, 2007). Other destinations include the United States of America, the United Kingdom, Gulf States and France, especially for French speaking countries in the region such as Comoros, Madagascar and to some extent the Seychelles. However, due to the geographical position, islands states in Eastern African have also a long history of labour migration toward and from Asia and Oceania. For example, in 2003 in Mauritius, 86 per cent of migrant workers were from China and India (Hein, 2004).

The gender dimension of labour migration is also important and needs to be brought into the picture. Indeed, while labour migration of men is mainly oriented towards labour intensive industries, increasing number of female migrants are involved in cross-border migration for trade activities and internal labour migration. Cross-border labour migration is very intense within East African Community (EAC) countries while in Island States such as Mauritius, internal migration of women for labour purpose is an important phenomenon (Masinjila, 2009; Ragodoo, 2009). Moreover, due to irregular migration, it is reported that increasing number of female migrants are involved in sex industries as a result of their own choice or sometimes constrained by traffickers; with Gulf States being the main destination countries (Adepoju, 2007).

Cline (2007), following his analysis of climate-related agricultural models, estimates that by 2080, production losses in countries within the Equatorial belt could rise to 60 per cent (Cline, 2007; IOM, 2009a). Given these estimates, further environmentally induced migrations can be foreseen, especially in the Greater Horn of Africa given their geographic position. In this context, more attention needs to be paid to the topic. Evidence suggests that the Eastern African region has witnessed large flows of irregular migrants originating from other African regions and Asia.

Irregular migration is often associated with trafficking in persons, especially in the Greater Horn of Africa (IOM, 2008). Indeed, this part of the continent has long been considered as a

source, transit, and destination areas for women, and children subjected to trafficking in persons. Victims of trafficking in persons are believed to be engaged in forced labour and illegal activities in urban areas. Women are reported to be trafficked to Gulf States, while young boys and girls are recruited for exploitation in various types of forced labour, including agricultural and domestic work and horse jockeys (IOM, 2008; 2009b).

Despite all efforts undertaken by Eastern African States to eradicate this phenomenon, the United States *Department of State* (2010) indicates in its 2010 Report on Human Trafficking that many countries in the region do not fully comply with the minimum standards for the elimination of trafficking. These countries include: Burundi, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Madagascar, Rwanda, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania and Uganda.

DATA AND METHODOLOGY

The emigration data compiled for the purposes of this article come from 2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census; being, the first time in the history of Kenya censuses that emigration data were collected. Data were desegregated into households with emigrants and those without emigrants. Data collected were on members of the household who had emigrated in the last 15 years prior to census date. The data provide insights of both country of origin and a country of destination (using country of birth and nationality) as was collected using the emigrant's questionnaire. A household questionnaire was used as a first step to establish existence of an emigrant in the household.

 The quality checks involved verification of emigration data as contained in the main questionnaire against that in the emigrants' questionnaire in the 2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census. However, there were some deficiencies on data due to inability to completely merge all the household questionnaires (with a response of having had an emigrant in the last fifteen year) with the respective emigrant's questionnaires. The anomaly led to a reduction in the number of emigrants and households (i.e. cases) in the analysis. This is because all the households that stated having had an emigrant but could not be merged with their subsequent emigrant's questionnaires were not included for analysis. Nonetheless, the analysis establishes the levels and distribution of emigrants by age, sex and counties and national level, using descriptive statistics.

Results

This section presents analysis on the quality of emigration data and measurement issues as deemed relevant in this article. More so, the utility of the household and emigrant's questionnaire to this study is noted. The following sub-themes are available: national and county emigration trends; migration age schedules; emigration by sex; migration direction and mobility flows are discussed. The following questions were used to collect data for this article: (i) E-03: What is <NAME>'s sex? (ii) E-04: How old is <NAME> (Record age in completed years using two digits. If under 1 year old record "0" and If 95 years record "95" (iii) E-07: What was <NAME>'S destination? (iv) E-08: What is <NAME>'s country of current residence? and (v) E-09: What was <NAME>'s year of departure? Figure 1 depicts the forty seven county administrative units of Kenya; basically as the emigrants' places of origin. However, this article notes that the 2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census data,

which is used in the analysis, was collected by districts as the administrative units, not the counties.
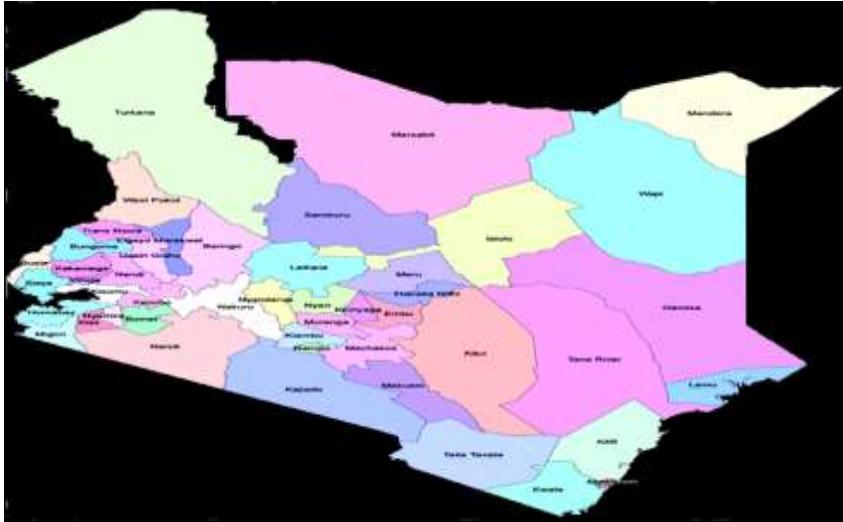

Figure 1: The 47 Counties as Units of Administration in Kenya

Source: Kenya National Bureau of Statistics

Emigration Levels

Analysis of emigrants by province of origin is shown in Figure 2, indicating that there were 160,351 emigrants, distributed as follows: the majority were from Rift Valley (20.8 percent), followed by Central province (17.8 percent) and Nairobi (17.1 percent). The data also show that the least number of emigrants were from North Eastern (2.9 percent), followed by Coast (7.5 percent). Yet, both Nyanza and Western provinces fall between the two extremes. Since not all household questionnaires where there was mention of having had an emigrant was merged with the respective emigrant's questionnaires, only 95,647 emigrants were captured using the emigrant's questionnaire (Appendix 4b). Nairobi and Kiambu had over 10,000 emigrants each, which accounts for more than half the total number of emigrants from the ten top leading counties with emigrants.
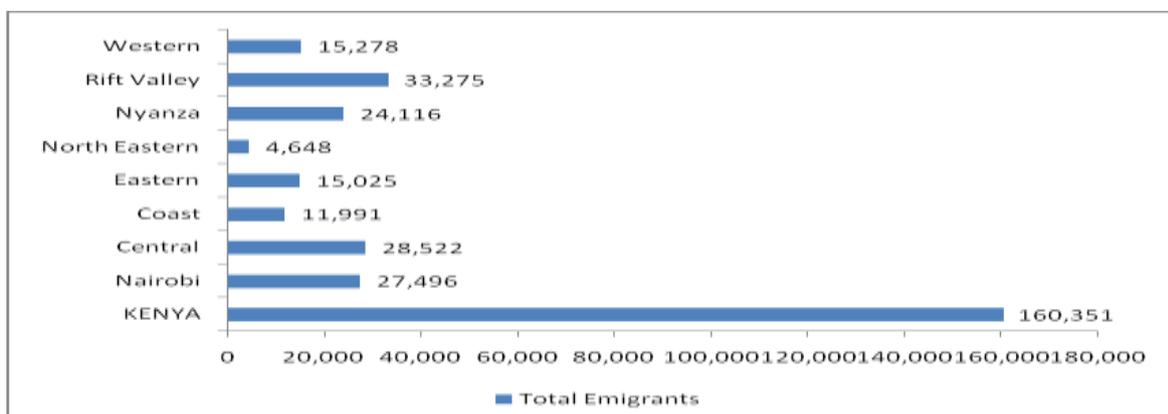
Figure 2 Kenyan Emigrants by Province based on Household Questionnaires (2009)

Source: computed by the authors

Emigration Trends

The observed migration trajectory confirms Kenya's emigration trend. There is a general upward trend in the number of emigrants from Kenya (Figure 3). Nonetheless, between 1995 and 2009 there was a drop in the number of emigrants from Kenya in 1996.
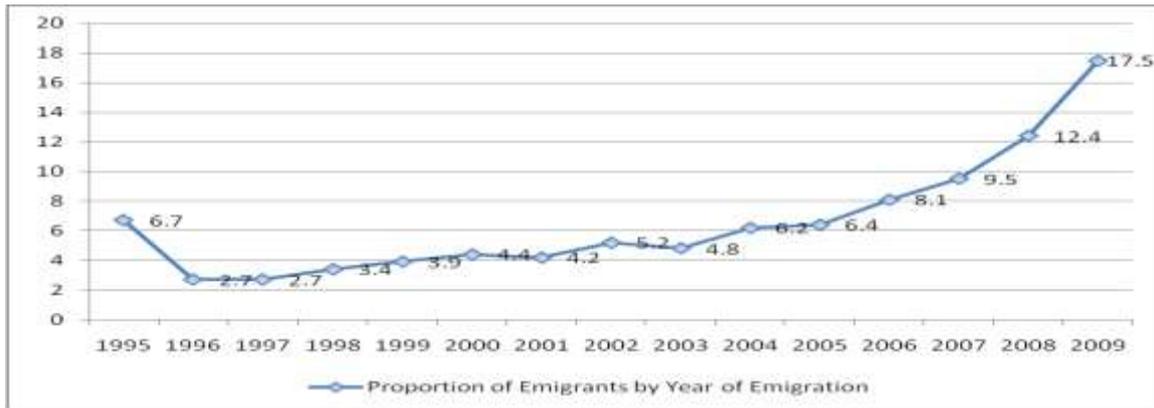

Figure 3: Emigration Trend by Year of Departure, 1995-2009 – based on Emigrants Questionnaires (2009)

Source: computed by the authors

Age Migration Schedules

Analysis of age-sex data shows that there is similarity in the national emigration age migration schedules (Figures 4). Both figures depict a one-peaked migration age pattern, rather than the standard four-peaked Age Migration Schedule (Rogers, 1992b:240). The observed age-migration schedule, that is characteristic of the Kenya emigration pattern, implies that majority emigrate either because of employment opportunities or in search of educational opportunities in institutions of higher learning elsewhere.
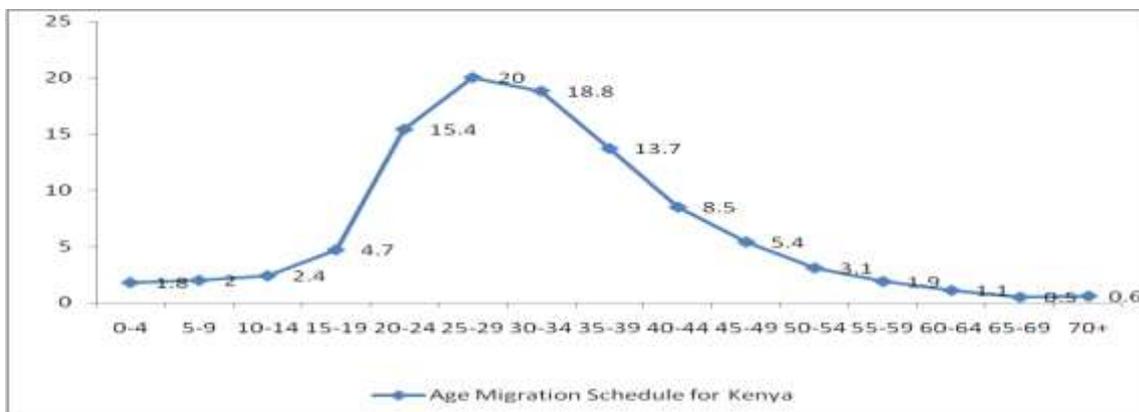

Figure 4: Age Migration Schedule for Kenya, 2009 - based on Emigrants Questionnaires (2009)

Source: computed by the authors

The 0-4 age group of migrants implies children migrating with their young parents. This mobility mirrors adult migration to a large extent, with those aged 15-24 years migrating probably to seek educational opportunities in other countries, particularly in the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada, South Africa and Uganda (Odipo, 2012) On the other hand, those aged 25-39 years presumably migrated to seek employment opportunities across frontiers. By and large, Figure 5 depicts the majority of emigrants from Kenya in the age bracket 15-39 years, being those who presumably left to seek for education opportunities (37 percent) and employment (35 percent) (Odipo, 2012).

In addition, those who emigrated due for employment and/or business purposes can be traced within the region, in Uganda, Tanzania and South Sudan. Yet, it is noted that those who emigrated to seek education opportunities or in search of more skilled employment (as lecturers, nurses, doctors or other reasons) are traced to the more developed countries like the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom and the Republic of South Africa (Odipo, 2012).

Emigration by Sex

Determining the relative importance of the motivations by individuals to explain migration is a particularly difficult exercise; moreover, there have been unresolved questions on determining 'how and by whom' migration takes place by gender. This is partly because these moves are likely to depict a different pattern, depending on the cultural context and historical factors. Our analysis establishes that there is a near gender balance in the number of emigrants from the 47 counties of Kenya (Figure 5), except for Garissa, Tana River, Siaya, Elgeyo Marakwet and Narok. This could be attributed to the gender roles in the above mentioned areas, whereby, culturally it is the responsibility of men to provide the household needs, such as consumables (food and clothing), education, health and investment resources, as land, cattle and farming equipment. Due to such responsibilities, it is therefore incumbent upon men to migrate in such of jobs and incomes to avail the household requirements.
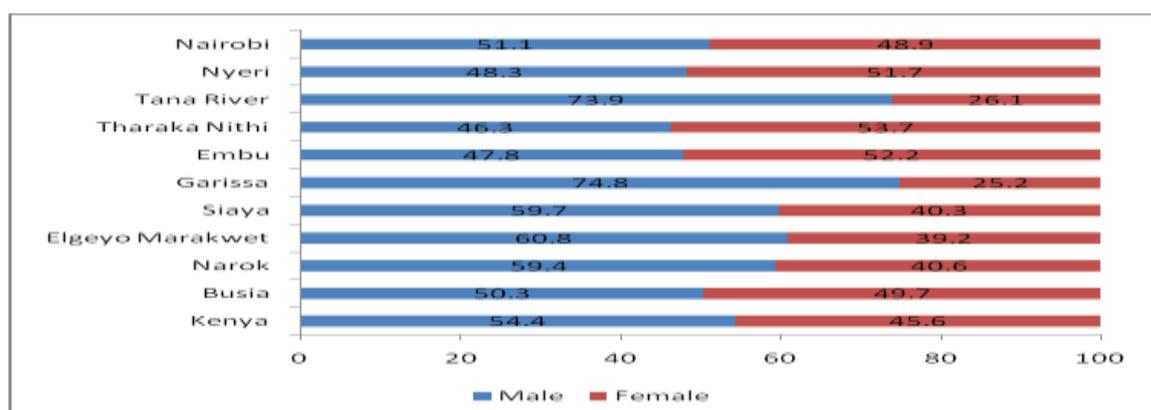

Figure 5: Kenyan Emigrants by Sex and Counties, 2009 - based on Emigrants Questionnaires (2009)

Source: computed by the authors

The article takes cognizance that in the recent past to date, the policies which were hindering or limiting migration of women in the pre- and colonial Africa were and continue to be reviewed. This turn of events has had a rekindled effect on the migration of women, and thereby a remarkable upsurge in the number of emigrant women just as are men from rural to urban areas, and to different parts of the world. This could be plausibly be attributable to increase in exposure to both men and women as a result of education, and more so, that family-related reasons appear to dominate, at least for residential mobility, and work-related reasons dominate for longer-distance migration.

Emigration Patterns

According to the World Systems hypothesis on mobility, migration is more likely to occur between past colonial powers and their former colonies, facilitated by the cultural, linguistic, administrative, transportation, and communication links existing between the two. Within core destination countries, the management of the world economy is concentrated within a relatively small number of urban centres where banking, finance, professional services, and highly technologically developed infrastructure coalesce. Given the strong demand for services from unskilled workers and the decline of heavy industrial production in those cities coupled with highly developed transportation and communication links with peripheral countries, these countries are likely to attract a large proportion of international migrants (Sassen, 1991).

This article shows that the most preferred countries of destination, in descending order are: the United States (29%), Uganda (13%) and the United Kingdom (8%), respectively (Figure 6a).
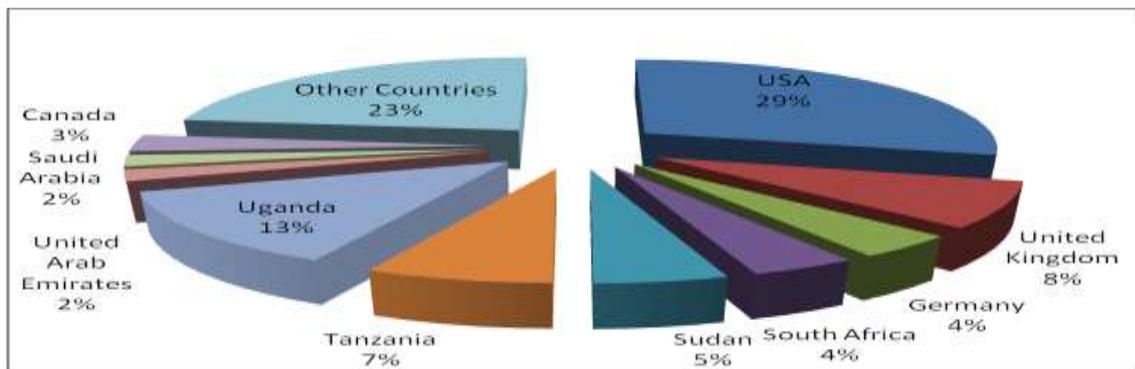

Figure 6a: Kenyan Emigrants by Countries of Destination, 2009 - based on Emigrants Questionnaires (2009)

Source: computed by authors

In addition, there has been irregular emigration from Kenya, to a large extent provoked by economic, social, political and security factors. There are also cases of family reunification following male-dominated migration to Uganda, Tanzania, the Middle East countries (United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia) and Sudan. In addition, the contracting of formal and informal employment opportunities over the past decade has been a contributing factor. Figure 6b depicts the ten (10) most source counties of emigrants in Kenya .
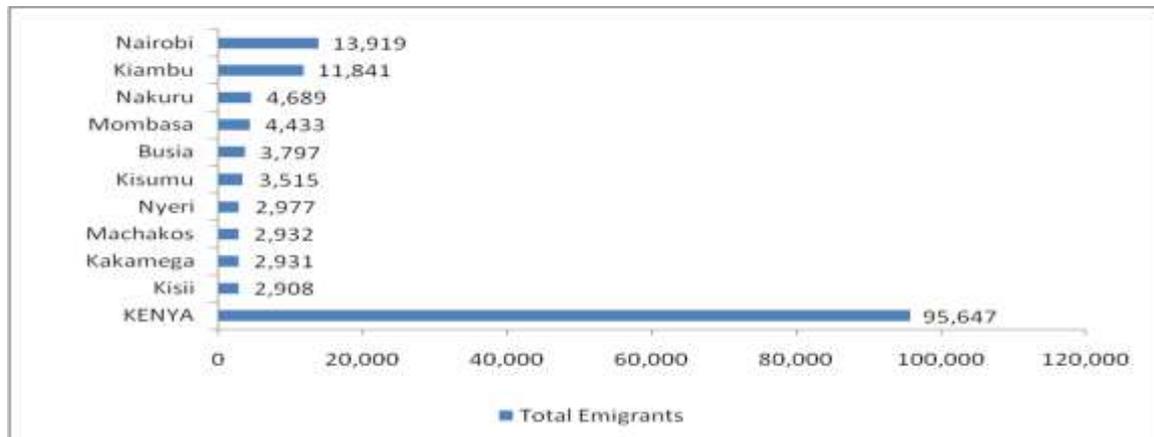
Figure 6b: Kenyan Emigrants by Counties based on Emigrants Questionnaires (2009)

Source: computed by authors

The emerging pattern could also imply that there was mobility of families from particular villages or regions to a new country or to cities in which earlier immigrants had set in motion chain migration by assisting their relatives to migrate or join them. The noted migration pattern could be used to explain "chain-migration" typical of internal migration processes, whereby young people, born and bred in rural and small urban centers, move farther to bigger urban centres, to be compensated, sometimes insufficiently, and sometimes more than sufficiently, by immigration from smaller centres and rural districts.

Emigration to the United Kingdom (UK)

The longstanding colonial ties between Kenya and the United Kingdom, since the 1880s, have played a significant role on immigration of Kenyans into the United Kingdom. Figure 7a shows that Nairobi has the majority of emigrants (14.7%) to the United Kingdom. It is also important to observe that of the 47 counties in Kenya, the Central Kenya and upper Eastern Kenya counties of Kirinyaga, Muranga, Kiambu, Embu and Tharaka Nithi favoured the United Kingdom as the most preferred country of destination. This could be explained by the longstanding link the White Settlers and the colonial administrators had with inhabitants of this region of Kenya. Imprints of the White settlement remain in the form of agricultural plantation crops, dairy and horticultural farming (Odingo, 1971). In addition, it could be explained by the constant and growing need for education, both at tertiary or post-secondary level, and university education in the United Kingdom's prestigious universities (Oucho, 2002).
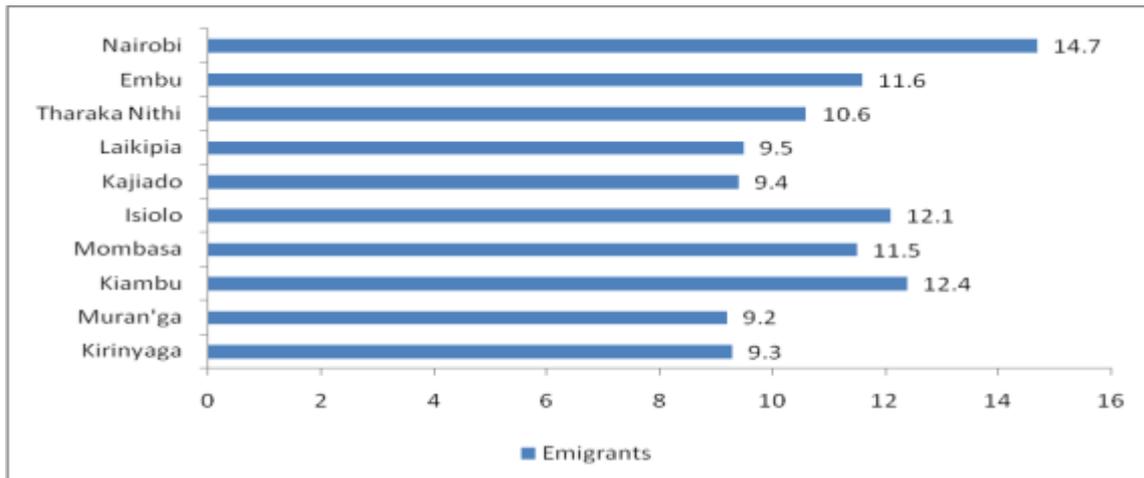
Figure 7a: Percent distribution of Kenyan Emigrants to the United Kingdom, 2009 - based on Emigrants Questionnaires (2009)

Source: computed by author

Emigration to United States of America (USA)

Emigration of Kenyans to the United States goes back to the 1960s during the US airlift which made many Kenyans move to the country for higher studies. Coupled, with the positive image, in terms of pushing for good governance in developing countries, the United States also wooed many professionals and other employment seekers alike due to its open system as "a land of opportunities". With its "Green Card" policy (a policy that legalizes non-citizens to be the United States' citizens), many Kenyans have migrated courtesy of this scheme. Unsurprisingly, Kenya has the highest number of African students in the United States; which means that a large number of emigrants from Kenya migrated there because of education opportunities (The US State Department, 2010).

Figure 7b shows emigration trend, that at county level more than half of emigrants from Kisii, Nyamira and Nandi immigrated to the United States. The emigration from Kisii to USA is highly linked to the role of religion; that is, the Seventh Day Adventists, who came in this region, and facilitated the movement by giving training opportunities to the converts (mainly, the church leaders) in the USA. This was then followed by the relatives inviting their siblings and other relatives to join them in the USA. Kisii County had the highest number of county emigrants having migrated to the USA. Nonetheless, of the ten leading counties with emigrants in that country, Rift Valley Province counties - Nandi, Bomet, Kericho, Nakuru and Uasin Gishu - posted half of them. However, of the three top leading counties with the highest percentage of their emigrants in the country are in Nyanza which had two-third of the share, as evidenced by Kisii (56.2 percent) and Nyamira (54.6 percent) counties.
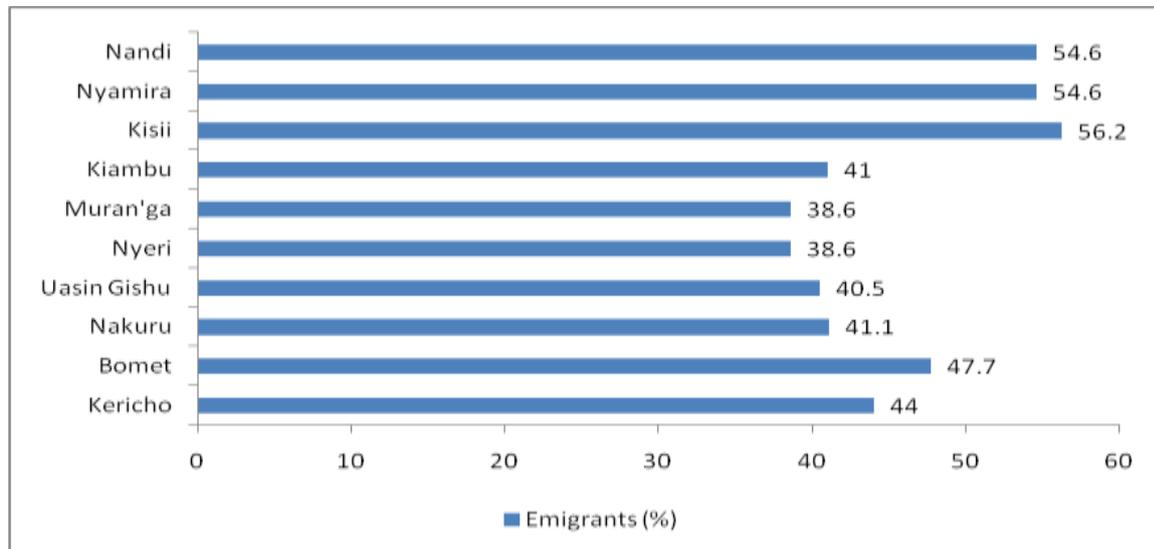
Figure &b: Percent Distribution of Kenyan Emigrants to the USA, 2009 - based on Emigrants Questionnaires (2009)

Source: computed by authors

Emigration of Kenyans to the United States through Germany as evidenced by the analysis of the 2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census implies a hierarchical-cum-spatial process of step-wise moves. It further annotates the spatial expression of the socio-cultural transformation of an individual or family moving gradually from a traditional-rural sector to a modern urban sector via intermediate counties. This could be due to high costs of transportation or acquiring some requisite skills at the centres of call, to enable them to move to their final destinations. To that end, this study observes that emigration from Kenya do not follow one simple pattern but exhibits diverse patterns.

Emigration to Uganda

This study notes that the Kenyan counties bordering Uganda had most of their emigrants moving to Uganda than any other counties. For example, Busia County (75.1 percent) had more than three-quarters of its emigrants in Uganda than any other county. It is plausible to note that ethic groups that inhabit Busia County are also found on the other side of the Kenya-Uganda border. The blood-relationship among the Kenya-Uganda border inhabitants, particularly, among the Samia, Banyala, and Teso, makes it easier for them to cross the border and live in Uganda (legally or illegally). It is further noted that the counties of Siaya (29.9 percent), Kakamega (31.9 percent) and Bungoma (45.0 percent), had almost more than one-third of their emigrants in Uganda, too (Figure 7c).
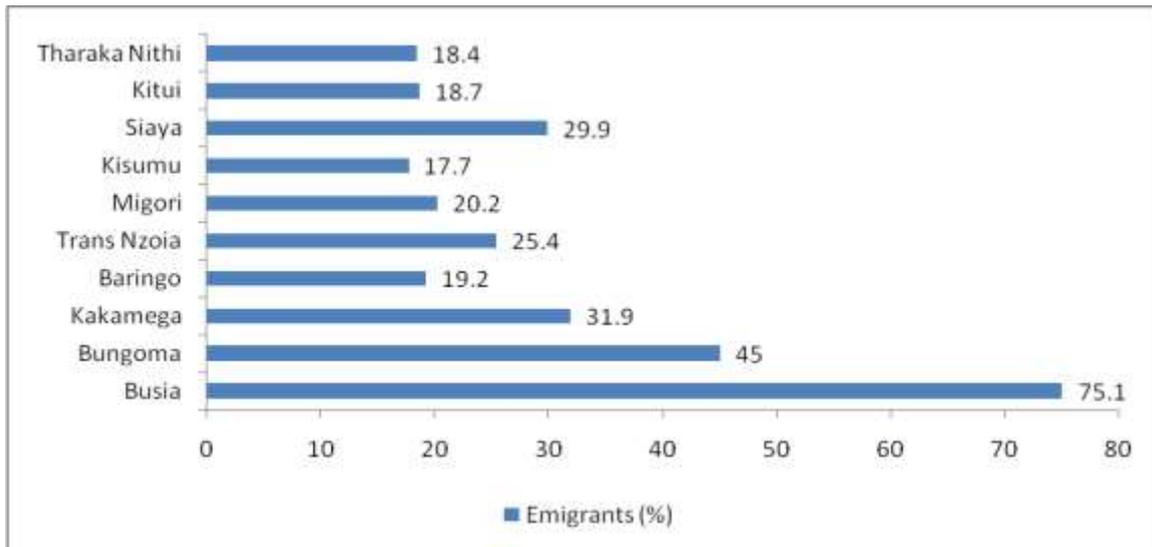
Figure 7c: Percent Distribution of Kenyan Emigrants to Uganda, 2009 - based on Emigrants Questionnaires (2009)

Source: computed by authors

This could plausibly be explained by short-distance migration, requiring less time and cost to migrate. Equally, it also provides an opportunity for being in constant touch with family members at places of origin. There are also those who emigrated due to education, businesses and work. The high number of Kenya emigrants to Uganda and Tanzania can be traced from the historical links between Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda since the colonial times of the British rule, when there was a lot of close working relationship between the three countries. More so, it can be explained by the high number of Kenya cross-border business activities in the two countries, and more so by the Kenya students studying in the tertiary institutions in Uganda. This is because the cost of education in Uganda is perceived to be cheaper than in Kenya.

Emigration to United Arab Emirates (UAE)

Analysis in this study notes that the two counties of Lamu and Mombasa had the highest percentage of their emigrants having immigrated to the United Arab Emirates and Saudi Arabia. The longstanding strong links between the Coastal region of Kenya and the Arab world, as Figure 7d shows, is traceable in history. For instance in the early 19th century, the East African coast was under the control of the Sultan of Oman whose capital was in the city of Muscat on the southern coast of the Arabian peninsula. The interior of East Africa was divided into a number of local states which included the Christian kingdom of Ethiopia, the animist kingdom of Buganda and many smaller states.
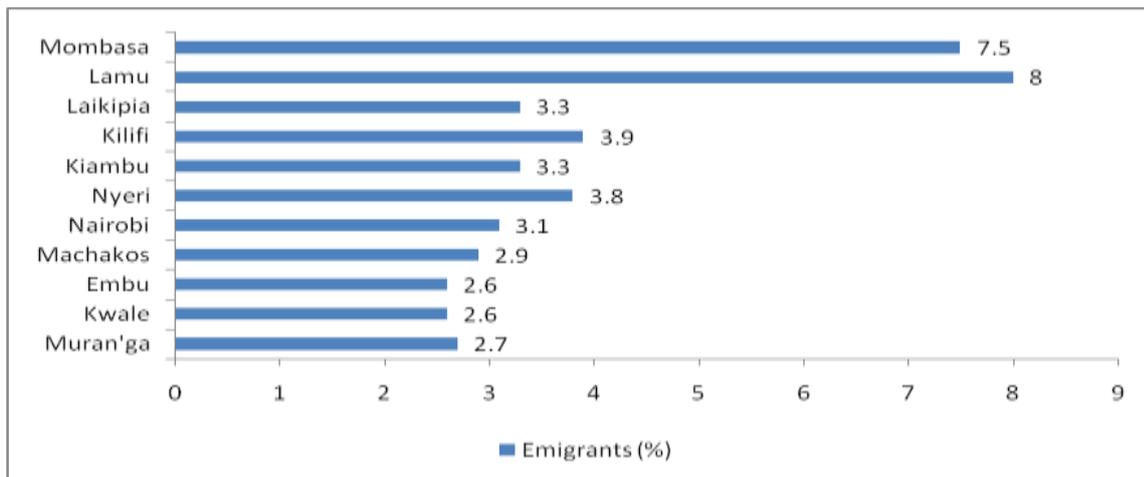
Figure 7d: Percent Distribution of Kenyan Emigrants to United Arab Emirates (UAE), 2009 - based on Emigrants Questionnaires (2009)

Source: computed by authors

Emigration to Saudi Arabia

The relationship between Kenya and Saudi Arabia which was heightened during the early 19th Century seems to have persisted to date. New links are emerging, such as immigrating to the Middle East state in search of formal or informal job opportunities; it is reported that there are approximately over 38,000 Kenyans living in the United Arab Emirates, and about 20,000 in Saudi Arabia. Figure 7e depicts that Lamu County's (22.4 percent), more than double Kilifi County (10.1 percent), leads all the Kenyan counties in the percentage number of migrants by counties who immigrated to Saudi Arabia. On the whole, the counties from Coast Province had the highest share of their emigrants to Saudi Arabia, namely Tana River (9.0 percent), Kwale (9.5 percent), Kilifi (10.1 percent), Mombasa (16.0 percent) and Lamu (22.4 percent).
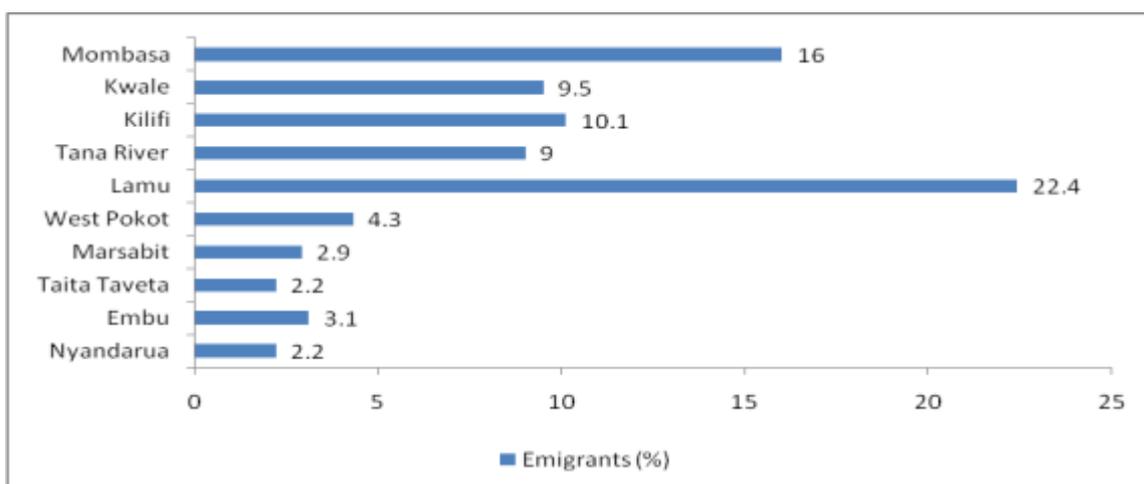

Figure 7e: Percent Distribution of Emigrants to Saudi Arabia, 2009 - based on Emigrants Questionnaires (2009)

Source: computed by authors

Saudi Arabia and United Arab Emirates remain key business and commercial trade partners with Kenya in the region. The partnership between Saudi Arabia and the Coastal region of Kenya goes back to the early periods of Arab traders in East Africa, whereby there were frequent movements between the two regions. This also culminated in the Arab dominance and establishment of the Consulates of Oman in the Zanzibar, Mombasa and Malindi towns. To date, there are lots of lands owned by absent farmers who live in the Arab world. It is therefore plausible to infer that such linkages do contribute to the observed migration of the Coastal people to Saudi Arabia.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The observed trends and patterns of emigration in Kenya are driven by several factors, such as search for job opportunities, high unemployment rates, climate variability and vulnerability to climatic shocks and, individual projects such as pursuit of studies and family visits. The choice of destination countries is related to factors such as geographical proximity, cultural affinity, historical and personal links and standards of living.

Kenyans have a long history of international, cross border, intra-regional labour migration (Cross et al, 2006; Nkamleu et al, 2006; Adepoju, 2007). Labour migration is enhanced within the region by the development of labour intensive industries especially in the agriculture and mining sectors (Adebusoye et al, 2006). In Eastern and central Africa regions, Tanzania, Uganda, Rwanda, South Sudan and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are the main destination countries for workers coming from Kenya. It is noted that, while labour migration of men is mainly oriented towards labour intensive industries, an increasing number of female migrants are involved in cross-border migration for trade. This labour migration pattern is enhanced within the East African Community (EAC) member States (Masinjila, 2009); with most of the Kenya emigrants moving to countries in the southern hemisphere than to the north. The noted migration pattern counters the theory that much of the emigrants from the south heads to the north, but rather enhances the south-south migration pattern. This calls for partnership development among developing countries to enhance economic cooperation, labour mobility treaties and political unions.

In Kenya, impacts of climate change and global warming range from inter-annual rainfall fluctuations, droughts, desertification and floods. This leads into reduction of arable and grazing lands, destruction of assets such as livestock, food scarcity, unemployment, tension over access to limited natural resources and health problems (UNDP, 2007). Thus, emigration constitutes an adaptation and income diversification strategy for the most affected households in the region (UNDP, 2007; Black et al, 2008; IOM, 2010). For example, during the years of intense drought that Ethiopia faced from 1999-2004, out-migration was one of the coping mechanisms adopted by families to escape famine and reduce the burden on the household (Ezra, 2001, UNDP, 2007). The negative impacts of climate change and global warming are expected to continue in Kenya, and the region. Cline (2007) estimates that by 2080, production losses in countries within the equatorial belt could rise to 60 per cent (Cline, 2007; IOM, 2009). This suggests that public authorities should work hand in hand with local people in order to reduce the impacts of climate change and enlarge the range of choices of the most vulnerable in the region.

Kenya's emigration trends and patterns corroborate Massey (1989) findings, noting that once the number of network connections in an origin area reaches a critical level, migration becomes self-perpetuating, because it creates the social structure to sustain the process (Appleyard, 1992). Network effects explain the (often unintended) perpetuation of migration, often over formally closed borders, irrespective of original causes of migration (Waldorf, 1998). The facilitating role of such "family and friends networks" makes migration difficult for governments to control. Network connections are a form of social capital that people draw upon to gain access to employment abroad (Massey et al., 1993:448). Besides material and human capital (education, skills, knowledge), social capital is one –third of the crucial migration resources in enabling and inspiring people to migrate. Noting that past studies on Kenyan emigration have been mainly micro-surveys,, describing only levels and trends, often falling short of establishing the link between emigration and network connections, it would be appropriate if further researches using macro-survey data are instituted to bridge the gap.

This research also upholds the relevance of Zelinsky's (1971) hypothesis of mobility transition, which noted that migration peaks when young people enter the labour force to take up employment as either skilled workers or unskilled workers or businessmen, or those mobile due to educational opportunities in the higher institutions of learning in other countries or domestic workers. The study also observes that migration declines steadily with age, with no distinctive "retirement" phase, since the absence of welfare state means that people must work until death. In more recent studies, the term network migration has often been used to describe the process of what used to be 'chain migration'. Networks can be defined as sets of interpersonal ties that connect migrants, former migrants, and non-migrants in origin and destination areas through bonds of kinship, friendship, and shared community origin (Massey et al 1993:448). These social bonds and the feeling of being part of one (transnational) community also explain why migrants tend to remit substantial amounts of money to non-migrants—whereas neo-classical, individual-centred approaches towards migration leave no room for remittances (Djajic, 1986; Taylor, 1999).

Migration rates by age based on data from the 2009 Kenya Population and Housing Census depict a relatively universal profile. Although not identical to, but brings out some semblance to that observed by Rogers' theoretical model (Rogers and Watkin's, 1987). For instance, the Rogers' theoretical model notes that up to age 17, individuals' mobility parallels that of their parents, that is, that of economically active adults between the ages of 30 and 49 years. Between ages 18 and 30, a sharp increase in mobility is observed, which is attributable to young people entering the labour market, leaving the parental home, moving into first union. That is, the mobility corresponding to the transition to adulthood. A small rise is observed around retirement (between ages 60 and 70), followed by an increase in mobility in old age, corresponding to moving into care accommodation or to being looked after by one's children.

The age-sex profile is a compact summary of how migration is actually experienced, a measure of who is most likely to move at what point in their lives and whether and how this differs by gender. The socio-economic forces driving the migration are embedded in the curves, but only age is represented in the profile. Thus, the age-profile can be used to guide investigations into age and gender-specific socio-economic forces underlying migration. It is worth indicating that the age-sex migration schedule experienced by the Kenyan emigrants does not follow the classical pattern of the model migration schedule. It has a uni-modal distribution with a peak in the early twenties associated with entry into the labour force, higher education or marriage. This age group depicts a people migrating in their prime, that

is, it is a positively selected sub-group of the population. At older ages the intensity of migration rapidly declines and is near its minimum by ages 45. An exception is male in-migration at older ages, which has a sub-mode at age 55 associated with retirement.

The female mode starts at a younger age and, compared to males, women aged 15-19 have a high probability of in- and out-migration. The rates remain high for 20-24-year-olds in both sexes. These young adults are moving for purposes of higher education, working or looking for work and the formation of formal or informal unions. A proportion of the female migration profile is made up of woman moving into the husband's household at the time of union formation, but women also enter the labour market or study away from home.

The male peak is from age 20-24 and is associated with young men living for work or education. The out-migration curve for males has a lower peak which is displaced slightly to the right, that is, the average age for male in-migration is higher than the average age of male out-migration. The displacement is associated with men returning home from work-related migration that took them away earlier. After age 30, the likelihood of return in-migration is higher than out-migration. This effect is more muted, but still present in the female curve, that is, the average age for female in-migrants is higher than out-migrants reflecting an out and return movement for work related migration. It implies that this displacement is lower for women, which in most circumstances constitute a more permanent migration.

The age groups 0-15 years old show a clear pattern which is identical with that of adults aged 25-35 years older. It was noted that these children are dependent migrants, who accompany their parents. It can be plausibly be inferred that household level factors drive the children's migration and not the age of the child, a status commensurate with their dependency level. In the Kenyan situation, children can move unaccompanied, as in a foster situation where the care of the child is transferred temporarily to a relative living in a more advantageous situation. It is also worth noting that the age group 5-14 years is the school-going age for children, whose primary obligation would be to occupy themselves with their basic studies. It would therefore be assumed that levels of migration are at the lowest in this age group. Nonetheless, their migration is noted not to have disappeared as there are still some older children migrating with their parents. This therefore calls for education policies that make it mandatory for school-going age children to be enrolled in school, as this would limit the mobility of children of this age.

The African Union's Migration Policy Framework acknowledges the potential benefit of labour migration for both sending and receiving countries and recommends to governments and Regional Economic Communities (RECs), to undertake bilateral and multilateral efforts to strengthen the cooperation on labour migration. It also calls for an incorporation of the provisions from Conventions No. 97 and No. 143 of the International Labour organization (ILO) related to migrant workers and the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families into their national legislation. It is noted that each country in the region has its specific policy, although to some extent they are similar (Musonda, 2006).

To date, the following countries in this region have ratified the ILO Convention No. 97, Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius and Tanzania, while only Kenya and Uganda have ratified the ILO Convention No. 143 (ILO, 2010). Furthermore, Rwanda, Seychelles, and Uganda have ratified the International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families (Unites Nations, 2010). This indicates that several countries in

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the region have not ratified any of these conventions. Given the high level of irregular migration flows in the region, several irregular migrants work without work permit and thus any legal protection. In some cases, they face critical situations under which their basic rights are abused (Cross et al, 2006; United states Department of State, 2010).

Often, children do work in order to support their families. Hence, the international labour organization recommended that all children should be protected against economic exploitation and worse forms of child labour (Noguchi, 2005). Although most countries in the region have ratified treaties to combat child labour, few of them have implemented them. Consequently, despite all governments' efforts in this regard, more and more children are involved in the process in part because of high poverty and trafficking in persons. Of the most affected countries, Kenya is among them; that is, Ethiopia, Kenya, Uganda and Tanzania (Shitundu, 2006).

The EAC launched on the 1st July 2010, the East African Common Market Protocol which allows free movement of labour, capital, goods and services within the sub-region. However, the process of harmonization of migration policies among EAC Member States has not yet been completed. Furthermore, other regional economic communities (RECs) such as COMESA and SADC guarantee temporary labour mobility for nationals of their Member States (Varma, 2009).

Generally, legal frameworks of labour migration in Eastern Africa are restricting irregular labour migration and advocate for legal channels in the framework of bilateral or regional agreements. Yet regular labour migration is good for investments if migrant's skills are susceptible to cover specific skill shortages in the receiving country (Musonda, 2006), in others, migrant workers are seen as unwelcome. In order to increase the total benefit and reduce the total cost of intra-regional migration for the region as a whole, there is a need to take a holistic approach in assessing the impacts of labour migration in the region. Thus, more research on the topic should be undertaken.

Participation of women traders in cross-border migration, particularly in trade can benefit communities, nations, and regions by providing opportunities for increasing national exports, improving the flow of products to supply-deficit areas, and generating income for impoverished households. A strong legal framework for equal treatment, though a good first step, needs to be combined with infrastructure development, trade process reforms, and supportive policies that create a safe, transparent, and accessible trading environment for all women traders.

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