Migration in Eastern Africa

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Essays in Honour of Professor John Oyaro Oucho

Edited by

Elias H.O. Ayiemba and Alfred T. Otieno

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

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This book first published 2025

Cambridge Scholars Publishing

Lady Stephenson Library, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE6 2PA, UK

British Library Cataloguing in Publication Data
A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

ISBN: 978-1-0364-4281-1
ISBN (Ebook): 978-1-0364-4282-8

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List of Abbreviations and Acronyms

AABLA	All Africa Business Leaders Award
ACP	African, Caribbean, and Pacific Group of States
AFIDEP	African Institute for Development Policy
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
ALRM	Arid Lands Resource Management
AMADPOC	African Migration and Development Policy Centre
ARUA	African Universities Research Alliance
ASAL	Arid and semi-arid lands
ASCL	African Studies Centre Leiden
ASEAN	Association of South East Asian Nations
AU	African Union
AUC	African Union Commission
AU-MPFA	African Union Migration Policy Framework for Africa and Plan of Action
AURLMSA	African Union Report on Labour Migration Statistics in Africa
AWEP	African Women Entrepreneurship Programme
BCN	Baringo County News
BOU	Bank of Uganda
CAPI	Computer-Assisted Personal Interview
CBOs	Community-Based Organisations
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CD4D	Connecting Diaspora for Development
CDF	Cumulative Distribution Function
CI	Confidence Interval
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CORDAID	Catholic Organization for Relief and Development Aid
DDP	District Development Plan
DEMAC	Diaspora Emergency Action and Coordination
DHS	Demographic and Health Survey
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
EAC	East African Community
ED4D	Entrepreneurship by Diaspora for Development
EIDs	Economically Induced Disasters
EU	European Union

FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
GCC	Gulf Cooperating Countries
GCIM	Global Commission on International Migration
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GHG	Greenhouse Gases
GOK	Government of Kenya
HCP	Health Care Professionals
HDDS	Household Dietary Diversity Score
HFIAS	Household Food Insecurity Access Scale
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HIVOS	Humanist Institute for Development Cooperation
ICCO	Inter-Church Cooperative for Development Cooperation
ICPD	International Conference for Population and Development
ICT	Information and Communication Technologies
IDPs	Internally Displaced Persons
IFRC	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
ILO	International Labour Organization
INGO	International Non-Governmental Organization
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IUSSP	International Union for the Scientific Study of Population
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JMLP	Joint Labour Migration Program
KANU	Kenya African National Union
KDA	Kenya Diaspora Association
KDCN	Kenyan Diaspora Community in the Netherlands
KDHS	Kenya Demographic Health Survey
KES	Kenya Shilling
KFS	Kenya Forest Service
KFWG	Kenya Forest Working Group
KIPPRA	Kenya Institute for Public Policy Research and Analysis
KMTC	Kenya Medical Training College
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KPHC	Kenya Population Housing Census
KWS	Kenya Wildlife Service
LMICs	Low and Middle-Income Countries
MAHFP	Months of Adequate Household Food Provisioning
MECC	Migration Environment Climate Change

MECLEP	Migration, Environment Climate Change Evidence for Policy
MFRS	Mau Forest Rehabilitation Secretariat
MGLSD	Ministry of Gender Labour and Social Development
MIDA	Migration for Development in Africa
MOFPED	Ministry of Finance Planning and Economic Development
MoH	Ministry of Health
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
MPFA	Migration Policy Framework for Africa
MSSRC	Maintenance of Social Security Rights Convention
MWP	Migrant Workers Pay
NCPD	National Council for Population and Development
NEMA	National Environment Management Authority
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NIDs	Naturally Induced Disasters
NMP	National Migration Policy
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OR	Odds Ratio
PoE	Point of Entry
PPPs	Public, Private, Partnerships
PSDI	Population and Social Development Institute
PWDs	Persons with Disabilities
RDO	Refugee Diaspora Organization
RECs	Regional Economic Communities
RoK	Republic of Kenya
SACCO	Savings and Credit Cooperatives
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-Based Violence
SIDs	Socially Induced Disasters
SSA	Sub-Saharan Africa
SSHAP	Social Science in Humanitarian Action Platform
TRQN	Temporary Return of Qualified Nationals
UAERA	Uganda Association of External Recruitment Agencies
UBOS	Uganda Bureau of Statistics
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs

UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNEP	United Nations Environment Program
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNSC	United Nations Statistical Commission
UPFYA	Uganda Parliamentary Forum on Youth Affairs
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
USD	United States Dollars
VSO	Voluntary Service Overseas
WB	World Bank
WHAMH	World Health Assembly on Migration and Health
WHO	World Health Organization

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

First, we wish to acknowledge the entire family of Professor John Oucho. We appreciate the fact that you allowed him time, space and opportunity to serve others here in Kenya, in other parts of Africa and beyond the continent. We are also grateful for the time and sources that you gave us in the process of writing this book.

The University of Nairobi was Professor Oucho's other family. It gave him the credentials to be a renowned teacher, mentor, researcher and consultant. It is at UoN that he established his reputation as a scholar of migration studies, where he taught and mentored others and where he initiated research networks that survive to date. We thank many of his former students and colleagues, especially in the Department of Geography and Environmental Studies and later the Population Studies and Research Institute, where he was once a director.

To the many organisations that called on Professor Oucho's expertise and services, including the government of Kenya, the East African Community (EAC), the Inter-Governmental Authority for Development (IGAD) and the United Nations Fund for Population Activities (UNFPA) for whom he worked as the regional director in some countries in Africa; we express our gratitude.

We are grateful to Professor Aderanti Adepoju, who initiated Oucho into migration research, publication and scholarship and was his close friend, with both of them attending and organising many migration workshops and conferences on migration together until Oucho died in 2017.

Finally, we highly appreciate the authors of these chapters, who used their resources and spare time to contribute to this collection in honour of the contribution of Professor John Oyaro Oucho to research and scholarship on migration in Africa.

INTRODUCTION

Global debates among scholars and policymakers on the nexus between population migration and development have been contestable, as seen in the literature on migration. This lacuna in published research on migration is attributed to significant variations in research objectives, the scope of migration variables surveyed and the quality of migration data collected in spatio-temporal contexts. The core problem in migration data analysis is, therefore, the interplay between the quality of data used, the time frame in data collection, the scope of the analysis embracing variables used and areal coverage (regional space), and expertise. Consequently, the results obtained in such research are often unreliable due to the inability to control for multicollinearity. Some of the chapters in this book have attempted to resolve this problem in their research.

In traditional scholarly discourse, population migration is perceived as a human survival strategy as well as an instrument of social change at the individual and community levels. However, in contemporary debates on migration, there are concerns about the reluctance of governments to enact sustainable migration policies, which would guarantee the human rights of migrants and provide human security for citizens. These three issues are the common threads that link all the 16 chapters in this book. Therefore, migration as one of the parameters of the dynamics of population growth, whether positive or negative, has a vital impact on human capital at all levels of societal mobility, whether vertical or horizontal. Consequently, all states require integrated and sustainable development programmes and projects that prioritise population mobility processes, which are locality-specific or are broad—regionally and nationally—and extend beyond national boundaries.

Observed situations in relation to migration studies require effective international collaboration in standardising methods of data collection, durations of data collection, the scope of migration variables and methods of monitoring and evaluation of migration data, to mention a few. Such global standards would enable regional and international comparability of migration data, which could enable migration scholars to identify globally acceptable migration theories and practices that would be exploited for policy formulation and implementation. Furthermore, international standardisation of migration research methods could enhance an understanding of and offer solutions to threats of heterogeneity in urban spaces, improve an understanding

of emerging forms of family formations and unions, explain why migration processes threaten the security of host countries, and clarify how migrants could become instruments of environmental conservation and management as well as aid in understanding social change in cities that could be harnessed to produce positive processes for cities development.

This book is published in honour of the late Professor John Oyaro Oucho. This collection of essays is meant to celebrate him as an intellectual icon of scholarship on migration in the East African region. Because of the dearth of research and publications on migration, especially for postgraduate students, in the region, it is hoped that this anthology will motivate younger scholars to emulate the exemplary dedication and contribution to migration scholarship by the late Professor Oucho. We also imagine that the book could provoke policymakers in the region to prioritise policies on the human rights of migrants in all aspects of national development.

The authors of the various chapters represent a diversity of disciplinary expertise, with the majority having a background in migration as their discipline of specialisation. The authors come from academic backgrounds in demography, sociology, environmental planning and management, geography, population geography and economics, among others. In this context, the broad categorisation of migration as internal and international is adequately covered, including migration sub-categories such as forced and voluntary, as well as other formal types of migration streams such as rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-urban, urban-rural and cyclic migrations. Most of the studies focus on Eastern Africa.

The book should be valuable to postgraduate students specialising in studies on migration and development or migration policy, environmental planning and management, community development, urbanisation, human impact on the environment, human security, and rural settlement, amongst many others. It could also be a valuable field handbook for UN agencies, UNHCR, IOM and other international and local organisations dealing with humanitarian aid.

The book has 16 chapters. Chapter 1 is a narrative of the life and times of Professor Oucho as an African academic icon on migration research, a university don in Kenya, Africa and other parts of the world, and his advisory role to governments on migration issues and his consultancy services. Chapter 2 by Alfred Agwanda is entitled "A review of contemporary issues in migration studies." Agwanda argues that interdisciplinarity in migration studies is characterised by debates on theoretical explanations of causes of migration issues. Consequently, these studies have introduced new and continually evolving migration concepts, which, though, lack comprehensive theorisation on the causes of migration. He, therefore,

advocates for integrated approaches to the conceptualisation of migration based on the systems approach as suggested by de Haas.

Chapter 3 is jointly authored by George Odipo and Alfred Agwanda. It is entitled "Repositioning mobility and migration in Africa for sustainable development." The main objectives of this chapter are to examine the interconnections between human mobility and human dignity and to assess the extent to which migration data is available or missing in migration surveys across selected African countries. The authors analyse studies of mass migrations in Africa, which have been largely funded by wealthy developed countries and other international organisations, whose agendas tend to determine the nature of migration data collected in such studies as dictated by their interests and not the policy focus of the countries' governments and researchers from those countries. They, therefore, suggest that more comprehensive and collaborative research on migration that embraces mobility, migration, and human dignity, with sub-themes on migrants' rights and opportunities at destination and origin, transnational migration and open access to migration data base should be supported.

Chapter 4 is entitled "The Oshwals of Kenya and role of Indian migrants in nation-building Kenya" by Parita S. Shah. This study offers a rich history of Indian immigration to East Africa from the 19th century onwards. It focuses on the socioeconomic contribution of one of the major Asian communities in the region, who, among others, immigrated to East Africa as labourers for the colonial government, which was contracted to build the East African railway line from the port of Mombasa to Kisumu in Kenya. After completing the work, they settled in different parts of East Africa and started contributing immensely to the social and political wellbeing of the communities in the region, especially in Kenya, where the majority of the Oshwal community settled. Their visionary work impacted human capital development through education, healthcare services and industries, which created massive employment and stimulated urbanisation in East Africa.

Chapter 5, which is entitled "An overview of urbanisation and the impact of climate Change in Kenya," is authored by Kivuti Karingi. It gives a historical perspective of urbanisation in Kenya during pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods by focusing on the determinants of urbanisation with an emphasis on rural-urban migration and diverse policies that were unique to those periods and how they impacted urbanisation in Kenya. In addition, it examines how urban-sprawl has impacted the surrounding rural agriculture and its association with climate change.

Chapter 6 by Anne Khasakhala and Mary Muyonga is entitled "Insights from the 2019 Population and Housing Census on youth migration

in Kenya." It focuses on patterns of recent migration among the youth in Kenya based on different migrant characteristics such as age, sex, county of enumeration, the reasons for movement and preferred county of destination. Data for the analysis was derived from the 2019 Kenya National Housing and Population Census. From the data, the authors derived indices on migration rates and migration preference. The data revealed that the peak migration age was 20–24 years in most counties and that females had a higher propensity to move than males. The other demographic indices used were sex-specific outmigration rates that provided three different age patterns. The study gives several results, namely gender differentials in migration and shows increased feminisation of migration affecting counties such as Vihiga, Nyeri, and Siaya, among others.

Chapter 7 is entitled "Factors influencing family formation among migrants in urban Kenya" by Alwenya Kennedy. The chapter shows that migrants are at higher risk of entry into union and early childbearing than non-migrants. Several factors that influence this demographic behaviour are discussed. The chapter explores various types of family formation using the Kenya Demographic and Health Survey data of 2003 and 2008 for a comparative analysis. Both descriptive and cross-tabulation methods are used. The results showed that Nairobi County had lower numbers of migrant women in a union compared to those who were not in a union due to many factors. In addition, migrant women originating from a wealthy background or who were employed generally had a small number of children born during adolescent and young ages.

Chapter 8, authored by Samuel Owuor, focuses on "Urbanisation, migration, and household food security in Nairobi, Kenya." Owuor argues that the future is urban, and urbanisation will continue to pose major challenges, especially in Sub-Saharan African countries. The author suggests that these will include a disproportionate distribution of the population, high levels of poverty, economic vulnerability, and food insecurity. Using the city of Nairobi as a case study, the author discusses the challenges in depth using illustrations from relevant data covering urbanisation trends in Nairobi over time, from 1948 to 2019. His findings reveal that Nairobi will continue to increase in population, which will create acute urban poverty, urban food insecurity, etc. The author recommends that the county government of Nairobi should localise in its plan the New Agenda and Sustainable Development Goal 11 on making cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient, and sustainable, and fully implement the City of Nairobi Food Systems Strategy (2022), and the Nairobi City County Urban Agriculture Promotion and Regulation Act (2015).

Chapter 9 is entitled "Uganda's labour externalisation to the Gulf Cooperating Countries and its implications." The chapter is authored by John Mushomi and others. The authors assess the role of migrant social welfare and social security amongst labour migrants as determined by the migrant's socioeconomic and demographic characteristics, labour externalisation and pathways to labour externalisation. They used a cross-sectional survey that employed quantitative and qualitative methods to collect data from more than 800 migrant workers returning from the Gulf Cooperating countries to Uganda. The results showed that there was a high increase in the demand and export of cheap migrant labour from Uganda, especially young women. This is attributed to high levels of unemployment in Uganda, which force migrants to risk travelling to Middle East countries through unregistered and unlicensed companies. However, the situation has created employment opportunities for young migrants. The authors recommend that the government should fully regulate the externalisation industry and establish embassies in countries where they are missing, as well as sign memoranda of understanding with all labour-importing countries in the Middle East, among other policy initiatives.

Chapter 10 by Antony Ong'ayo is entitled "The Kenyan Diaspora in the Netherlands and transfer of skills and experience." Ong'ayo examines how self and collective interests among diaspora communities drive them to transfer their skills and experiences to their countries of origin. Using the Kenyan diaspora in the Netherlands as a case study, the findings based on rich survey data reveal that knowledge and skills transfer takes place physically and virtually through digital platforms. Moreover, diaspora transnational practices link marginalised groups in the global south with the north through an exchange of knowledge and experiences that involve professionals. He recommends a well-structured policy framework to enhance the contribution of diaspora participation in the development of their country of origin.

Chapter 11, which is authored by Isiah Nyandega and others, "Consequences of migration for environmental degradation and climate change in the Mau forest complex in Kenya," examines how migration driven by landlessness in the surrounding regions and deliberate government excision of forest land for political expediency has adversely impacted one of Kenya's largest water towers, the Mau Forest Complex in the Rift Valley region in Kenya. The chapter uses satellite images and maps to show the spatial destruction of the Mau Forest cover through agricultural activities and demonstrate scientifically declining rainfall trends. It uses other climatological data to show evidence of climate change in the forest ecosystems and the surrounding areas due to anthropogenic activities. It

highlights the failures of past policies to sustain the environmental conditions of the forest and makes recommendations for new policies that could effectively sustain the environmental management of the Mau Forest Complex.

Chapter 12, whose title is "Understanding internal migration and human security nexus in Kenya in the context of environmental disasters," is authored by Elias Ayiemba. The author argues that mass population movements linked to environmental disasters in Kenya create threats that qualify to be categorised as constituting a threshold of human insecurity. He further observes that global discourse on human security threats that are linked to environmental disasters is riddled with contradictions because there is no standardised and clear-cut threshold for human security. However, his extensive review of publications and unpublished data by the government of Kenya, as well as publications by local and international agencies, including United Nations-published material, led him to conclude that a myriad of elements of eco-stress, cultural adaptations, and systems of governance often compounds the impact of internal migration on human security. In addition, migration creates new challenges and opportunities that impact individual, community and state security services and policies. The author also argues that environmental disasters, internal migration and the human security nexus have not been adequately researched in Kenya, which implies that the available data cannot aid in the formulation and adoption of appropriate policies for the sustainable provision of human security services and adaptation strategies. The author, therefore, recommends that the government of Kenya should update the revised migration policy, which has not been enacted into law.

Chapter 13 is authored by Mohamed Muse. It is entitled "Remittances and the Somali diaspora humanitarianism." The author explores how remittances and other goods, which the Somali diaspora transfer to their family members, are important in the development of Somalia and its security. The study is based on qualitative research, and its conceptual framework is guided by the human security approach. After evaluating several studies on human security, Muse identified one vital missing indicator in such models as remittances. This missing indicator was especially in studies on the Horn of Africa, and Somali in particular. The author argues that *Danwadag* is a valuable global Somali diaspora network that is used to transfer financial resources and other goods that contribute to human security in Somalia because it responds to humanitarian crises, emergencies and other socioeconomic shocks experienced by the society.

Chapter 14 is entitled "Inter-linkages of forced migration and human rights." It is authored by George Odipo. The study uses data on refugees

collected during the 2019 Kenya population and housing census. A detailed description of the refugee situation in Kenya is provided, with emphasis placed on evidence of migration-vulnerability linkages. The author then discusses the legal and institutional model and explains the strengths and weaknesses of the model in relation to protecting the human rights of refugees. He concludes by proposing a series of recommendations on how to protect the rights of refugees. The main strategy that he suggests is that the government of Kenya should ratify the international treaties that protect the rights of refugees and develop guidelines and policies to reduce poverty.

Chapter 15 is entitled "Impact of urban-rural migration streams on rural development in Kenya." It is authored by Stellamaries Kyuvi. The study emphasises the impact of returning migrants on rural development and the devolved system of governance in Kenya. The data used is based on a qualitative survey between 2013 and 2020 of returning migrants who had lived in the city for more than five years in rural areas. The findings show that a large percentage of returning migrants were in early adulthood, aged 30–39 years and middle age, aged 40–65 years. These cohorts represented 44 per cent and 53 per cent of the population studied, respectively. The major reasons for returning were the increased cost of living in urban centres and attractive employment and business opportunities created by the devolved system of county governments. The returning migrants were, therefore, contributing effectively to development in rural agriculture, business, information, and skills transfer, as well as contributing to increased collection of tax revenue in rural areas.

The last chapter, 16, is authored by John Mushomi and others and is entitled "Migration, Covid-19 health consequences for Africa." It depicts a gloomy picture of the ill-preparedness of governments worldwide against sudden outbreaks of disease pandemics that threaten the provision of effective healthcare services, as seen in the case of COVID-19. The authors use the experiences of the poor governance policies and practices of African governments to support their view, thus endorsing the notion that the threshold of human security embraces many threats and is indeed broad.

Elias H. O. Ayiemba & Alfred A. Otieno

CHAPTER 1

PROFESSOR JOHN OYARO OUCHO: THE LEGACY OF A MIGRANT ACADEMIC OF MIGRATION

OTHIENO NYANJOM

1.0 Introduction

The life story of the late Professor John Oyaro Oucho is a classic case of the foundational in life coinciding somewhat neatly with the consequential; he is the quintessential migrant who became a notable migration scholar. 'Prof'—as he was to many of his acquaintances, emerged from the very humble locality of Rageng'ni hamlet in his beloved Uyoma peninsula in present-day Siaya County, Kenya, to become a globally-acknowledged scholar of populationsStudies in general, and migration studies in particular. His childhood was a tapestry of 'families,' as reflected in an unpublished biography[1] of his much-venerated mother, the multiply widowed Agnes Omwandho *nyar Aluoch* (Oucho 2017). Prof was an only son in his mother's marriage. He was named Oucho after his biological father.

Oucho was much beloved by his industrious and Christian mother, who did everything to make him "a prominent man"[2] and "a man of no mean achievements"[3]. However, Oucho's performance in the 1958 Kenya African Primary Education (KAPE) exams fell short of his own and the wider community's expectations. He did not make it to the much-celebrated Maseno School, settling instead for a less glamorous primary three teaching course at Siriba Teachers Training College in Maseno. While teaching in various schools and maturing into family life, private study enabled him to

[1] By 2017 Prof had drafted the biography which was seen by this author and is in the custody of his wife Mrs. Margaret Oucho and her children.
[2] This self-assessment is found in the sub title of Omwandho's biography.
[3] This reference to Oucho's success is in the biography's Preface but recurs in the biography.

eventually acquire a doctoral degree from the University of Nairobi in 1976. If Oucho had, up to this point, migrated for educational self-actualisation, these experiences were merely foundational for the migratory life he was just setting out on.

Oucho's malaria and tsetse fly-infested western Kenyan homeland was largely geo-climatically hostile to European colonial settlement. In the absence of conflicts over land expropriation such as were seen in what became the White Highlands[4], missionary education led to the indigenous western Kenyans providing early clerical labour to colonial enterprises. Meanwhile, others from the region provided settler agriculture with a migrant labour pool, among them target workers who returned to their ancestral villages once they had sufficient wages for the multiple colonial government taxes: the graduated personal tax, hut tax, poll tax, etc.

In Oucho's case, completion of his primary level education led him to Siriba Teachers Training College to train as a teacher. Siriba was a mere stone's throw away from Rageng'ni, in a manner of speaking, the kind of distance people easily traversed on foot if one did not have bus fare or if one missed the rare bus plying such rural routes. Akin to the migrant labourers to the Kericho tea plantations whom Oucho would later research,[5] Siriba students like Oucho and the many others attending educational institutions across Kenya migrated seasonally, suffering periodic absences from home akin to those of seasonal target labourers on the settler plantations. Thus, the search for the layers of formal education he would eventually acquire provided Oucho's pioneering migratory experiences.

Later on, with a PhD, Oucho subsequently undertook academic tenures in Ghana (1989–92), Botswana (1996–2004), and the UK (2007–10). In between, he travelled extensively, covering more than 40 countries across the globe. Nevertheless, in all these perambulations, Oucho was firmly rooted emotionally and functionally in Kenya to the University of Nairobi and its Population Studies Research Institute (PSRI).[6] Arguably, therefore, as much as Oucho migrated—or even merely travelled, out of the country and out of PSRI, his core employer since 1985—he was an invariable returning migrant, returning to PSRI and, indeed, to Rageng'ni, where he was eventually buried in 2017. Oucho's is a life cycle captured by a few lines in neo-Ohangla musician Odosh Jasuba's love song, *Show me the way*:

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[4] For a refreshing African study of the settler contexts, see Ojwando Abuor (1970).
[5] Migrant labourers to the Kericho tea plantations were the subject of Oucho's (1976) doctoral thesis.
[6] Occasionally, this is referred to as the Institute of Population Studies and Research. See https://psri.uonbi.ac.ke/index.php/basic-page/about-us.

(E kwath) dhiang' ochodo, dhiang' dhi gi uno…
To kapiny godhiambo,
Dhiang' riek, dhiang' oparo lowe!

[When tethered in pasture, a cow breaks free and disappears with the rope… but come evening, the cow is smart, and remembers to return with the rope to its shed!][7]

1.2 Explaining migration

The traditional approach to explaining migration is to centre the discussion around one of the many growing theories available in the literature[8] as if all the others do not apply. However, looking at Professor's peregrinations, it is quite evident that motive of a rustic 16-year-old for going to Siriba was certainly not the same as to that of a 53-year-old PhD-holder's for going to Botswana. Could Maslow's (1943) hierarchy of needs be at play in shaping some migration motives across lifetimes: many youthful migrants will likely be driven to secure physiological needs, with migration in later years merely delivering self-actualisation. Second, the inclination to see migration as movement across borders, and especially as movement overseas, at the expense of the arguably more significant movement within countries and, indeed, within the African continent (Assembly 2018). These concerns arose while browsing Oucho's literature, leading to a suggestion that a single theory cannot adequately explain all migration across geographical and time domains.But, it was also obvious to me that some of the professors at PSRI and the University of Nairobi contemporaries seemed content to neither migrate vertically in academia nor migrate at all geographically, not with comparable frequency. If it is fair to assume that Oucho's migrations were about personal welfare improvement, then what of his contemporaries' who seemed to be immobilised?

Migration theories are broadly categorised into those that *pull* some migrants from their origins to new domestic or global destinations and those that *push* other migrants out of their 'origins' into similar diaspora. The methodologies of understanding migration are also significantly determined by the academic discipline of studies, whether it is geography, sociology, economics, etc. This also determines whether the approach is quantitative, qualitative, or both, and which of the modes of data collection are preferred,

[7] See https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zrorwAMjs_k&t=1518s, minutes 7.30 to 8.01.
[8] See for example, Bueno and Prieto-Rosa's (2019) review of a set of the theories.

whether a single method approach or mixed methods approach.[9]

Theories of migration, and indeed, of returning migration, are an evolving context, often guided significantly by how nations interpret emerging migration management frameworks such as the Global Compact governing migration (Assembly 2018) and refugees (UN High Commission for Refugees 2018). A partial analysis of migration frameworks is found in Bueno and Prieto-Rosa (2022), who focus on theories that initiate and perpetuate international migration. However, de Haas (2021) provides a more comprehensive review of the jungle of theories on the subject. De Haas' (2021) review is refreshing because he recognises the valuable work of Amartya Sen in explaining human welfare. Sen (1999) acknowledges the fundamental inequalities in processes towards and the outcomes of people's substantive welfare status. Instead, he emphasises that having been born human, what is important is for duty-bearers to equalise opportunities—education, health, livelihoods, etc.—for such humans to realise their potential capabilities, which in turn determines their entitlements.

De Haas (2021: 22–23) sees migration—and indeed, return migration and non-migration—as entitlements that depend on an individual's *aspirations* concerning migration and their *capabilities* to migrate. The approach overcomes the conceptual and empirical straightjackets inherent in the traditional theories of migration. One can have no aspiration to migrate but where it exists, it is either *instrumental*, such as to seek greener pastures, or *intrinsic* for migration's sake. Following Sen, migration is characterised as a fundamental human freedom that allows one to choose to migrate or not depending on one's capability to negotiate the needs for migration—getting a passport, visa, ticket etc. Thus, when aspiration and capacity are both high, one is *voluntarily mobile*, as opposed to feeling trapped—*involuntary immobility*—when aspiration is high, but the capability is low. Conversely, when both aspiration and capability are low, one suffers *acquiescent* immobility, where they resign to stay, but a low aspiration when the capability is high leads to *voluntary immobility* or *involuntary mobility* in the case of refugees or 'soft deportation.'

De Haas (2021, 23–30) juxtaposes the personal aspiration/capability context with the macro contexts—states and their policies, for example—that structure aspirations and capabilities. Such *macro* contexts include *negative liberties* that are obstacles to movement and *positive liberties*, which reflect a person's ability to take control of their circumstances. These liberties—the 'structure'—define migration as 'agency,' which in turn defines 'mobility' as the decision to choose whether to migrate or not. When

[9] The individual methods include the (household) survey, key informant interviews, participant observer, focus group discussions, among others.

negative and positive liberties are low, then migration is *precarious*, often undertaken by poor people over short distances, such as by rural-to-urban migrants, undocumented labour migrants, 'failed' asylum seekers, and the internally displaced. However, low negative migration liberty alongside high positive liberty results in *distress* migration, such as flight from threats to life but with the means to move. Conversely, high negative liberty with low positive liberty leads to *improvement* through migration for 'greener pastures,' while high negative and positive liberties occasion *free* migration of the wealthy, skilled 'lifestyle' migrants.

1.3 Oucho, the migrant academic of migration

Accession to academic statuses can hardly be achieved for most Africans in the confines of one's locality of birth or origin. While the earliest educational steps are indeed most efficiently and effectively acquired at the feet of mothers and other close relatives, one must move from home to climb the academic ladder. Consequently, there is an inevitable link, an inescapable synergy, between academia and migration. For one, the departing British coloniser left Kenya a network of inequitably distributed government and missionary owned and/or operated primary and secondary education institutions, alongside a few privately-owned facilities. There was little fanfare over which primary schools children went to, invariably attending the nearest one in the neighbourhood. However, extensive bragging rights attended the mere accession to secondary education, especially to a select group of secondary schools, among which was the Maseno School that Oucho did not make it to.[10] Up to the early 1970s, the secondary O-level and A-level education systems across East Africa were unitary, based on a University of Cambridge curriculum. Graduation led to the University of East Africa, with nationals of the three countries attending the constituent college that best suited their academic aspirations—Dar es Salaam being distinguished for law studies, Makerere for medicine, and Nairobi for engineering.[11] This arrangement eventually ended with the 1977 EAC's political and physical insecurities visited on the region by president Idi Amin of Uganda and the attendant collapse of the EAC. Thus, in Kenya both secondary and university education nurtured migrants.

[10] As with other colonial facets of Kenyan life, education had been racially segregated; and the 'best' African secondary schools, were invariably missionary controlled.

[11] While Nairobi became a full-fledged university in 1970, the (Kenyan) lion, (Ugandan) crested crane and (Tanzanian) giraffe in its coat of arms harks back to its University of East African origins. See https://uonbi.ac.ke/news/uon-50-look-logo.

Given de Haas' (2021) four migrant categories relating to the structures (negative and positive liberties), aspirations, and capabilities (agencies), which one did Oucho's movements, over time, belong to?

Born in 1943, Oucho was among the generation that had no formal early childhood education in the 'native reserves', a benefit made available only to European and Asian children and migrant labourers such as those working in the tea and coffee plantations[12]. Formative education would have been at the feet of the mother and father, older siblings, uncles, aunties and, very importantly, grandparents. The latter were privileged to say and hear things that were not to be shared widely. Additionally, formative education for girls came through the aunties and grandmothers, while boys like Oucho found a formidable classroom *ekwath*—at pasture with the animals. Such education also came through the extended family and clan to whom such children belonged collectively, as documented by Malo (1952;1961), Mboya (1938) and Ochola-Ayayo (1976), among others.[13]

Oucho did not say when he started his formal education, but he eventually sat his KAPE at Nyagoko Intermediate School in 1958. He was adjudged "a precocious boy" for not only being 15 years old in a class that had students who were as much as six years older than him but because he was also considered among the candidates whose performance would lead to a good secondary school. Sitting that KAPE exam at the nearby Maranda Intermediate School arguably represents Oucho's first instance of voluntary migration. Since the colonial government did not offer KAPE at Nyagoko, and Oucho's aspiration and capacity were high, the structures moved him to sit the exam at Maranda, where it was offered. His aspiration was intrinsic—the only son of the well-heeled Omwandho had no alternative but to be educated. Nevertheless, it was also instrumental as education was the key to employment that would secure independence from "parasitic begging from neighbours," which Omwandho abhorred (Oucho, 2017: 12).

While Oucho's second instance of migration took him slightly further afield to Maseno, it was to Siriba Teacher Training College rather than the much-desired, elite Maseno High School that he, his mother and the Nyagoko community had set eyes on. Nyagoko had apparently outperformed neighbouring schools in locally arranged preparatory tests, especially in English, in which he was a top student. However, Oucho notes that complacency resulted in no one from his school getting a distinction in English, even if Nyagoko's results were a 'bumper harvest' with an unprecedented ten students progressing to elite further education. However,

[12] See Mbugua (2004).

[13] Other sources include Ayany (1952), Cohen and Atieno-Odhiambo (1987) and Ogot (1967).