

**Evolving patterns of migration to Southern Sudan  
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### **Abstract**

The paper is based on an exploratory study set out to examine the current movement of people to Southern Sudan from Uganda and the extent to which such movements are a result of historical, political, economic and social inter-linkages between the people of Uganda and southern Sudan. In particular, the study explored movements of Ugandans to southern Sudan after the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement in January 2005. The study was based on three research questions that is, what historical, political, economic or social factors bind the people of Southern Sudan and Uganda; to what extent do these inter-linkages offer an explanation for the current movement of people? What factors facilitate the movement of people between the two countries? A desk review of available literature and field visits were carried out as part of the data collection process. Field research, using a qualitative approaches, was carried out in Southern Sudan in the towns of Yei and Kajo Keji; in Uganda, Koboko, Moyo and Adjumani. Data analysis was based on emerging themes using ATLAS software. The findings of the study revealed that South Sudan as a country emerging out of conflict has attracted a wide array of migrants. This has been facilitated in part by prior linkages between south Sudan and Uganda. However, it is difficult to measure the extent to which prior linkages contribute to population movements.

**Key Words:** Migration, migration, Post conflict, South Sudan, labour, trade, repatriation and

## **Introduction**

South Sudan today as a country emerging out of a 22 year old conflict is at the centre of varied population movements from the region. Taking Uganda as an example, it is evident that current population movements towards south Sudan are partly because of prior political, economic, and social inter linkages. Migrations are characterised by labour movements, trade and repatriation of refugees. These movements are embedded in not only economic opportunities but also social and cultural ties between the sending and receiving countries.

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## **Overview of migration processes in Africa**

Migration processes especially in Africa are a combination of complex causal factors and processes. Migration in Africa is dynamic responding to and being affected by changing economic, social, political, ecological conditions and processes (Akin and Baker, 1995:11). Africa is characterised by high population growth rates, a predominantly rural population, low access to drinking water, high illiteracy levels, low enrolment levels in schools, and high infant and maternal mortality rates (African Development Bank, 2006). In addition, the continent today is experiencing high levels of poverty and under development. In 2005, 46% of the African population was said to be living on less than \$1 a day (ECA, 2006). Majority of the people have no jobs or secure sources of income and this is compounded by a low labour absorption capacity in the formal sector (Ibid.). The consequence of this has been high levels of youth unemployment, female under employment and growth of the informal sector (ILO, 2002; ECA, 2006).

Further to that, the continent is largely marginalised from the global economy as a supplier of raw materials and cheap labour. Although the continent is endowed with abundant natural resources, they have been of no use to lift the continent out of poverty. For instance, countries such as Liberia, Angola, Democratic Republic of Congo and Sudan have failed to utilise their resources for development. Instead they have turned into epicentres of armed conflict. This has not only resulted into under development, but also mass population outflows. Population flows are characterised by diversification of migration destinations, transformation of labour flows into commercial migration, brain drain, refugee flows, feminisation of migration and the increasing role of regional organisations in fostering the free flow of labour (Adepoju

2004). Academic study of African migration has mainly focussed out migration to other continents with limited scholarship on intra continental migrations. The impact of migration on development, poverty alleviation and the way it transforms social relations on the continent remains largely under studied. As Cross and Omoulabi (2006) observe, migration in Africa is one of the most direct outcomes of poverty and social disturbance. Population trends are characterised by rural to rural, rural to urban migration, inter state, regional and international migration of people. In addition, migration impacts on food security, education, institutional development along with public health and order (ibid.). The paper takes on a case study of evolving patterns of migration to Southern Sudan from Uganda. In the first section it explores the aims and objectives of the study and the methodology used; then examines the theories of migration and lastly examines the Sudan as an evolving destination area due to historical, political and economic and social factors.

### **Theoretical approach**

Migration here is understood as the movement of people from one region to another. Skeldon (1990) defines migration as the spatial movement of people at various times of their lives for various reasons. It involves relocation within geographical space and is characterised by a permanent or semi permanent change in residence. Migration can be internal within a state, between states or regions and international. Several scholars have pointed out that no single definition of migration can be applied in all contexts (Mafukidze, 2006; Portes and Dewind 2004). As a result, there are several approaches, depending on discipline to explain the migration phenomena. Three approaches, that is, economic, historical approach and migration systems theory as explanations of population flows are analysed here.

### **Economic theories of migration**

Economic theories of migration place an emphasis on the importance of income and opportunity differentials between sending and receiving areas in the migration decision. In addition, focus is on individual motivation to move to areas where they expect to have better life opportunities (Massey, 1999). Neo classical economic theorists assert that people move from low income and opportunity areas to those which offer better life opportunities (Ibid. Mafukidze, 2006). According to the proponents of this theory, all stakeholders benefit from the migration process. Sending areas benefit from migrant remittances, reduction in unemployment and associated costs. Receiving countries acquire needed labour and skills, increase in populations resulting into larger markets for goods and services. Migrants themselves acquire jobs, improved living standards and improved social standing within the sending countries.

Migration, on the other hand, cannot be explained only in the context of individual choice and higher incomes. Several factors such as socio-economic context, institutional arrangements, political marginalisation, armed conflict, natural disasters and restrictions on access to and utilisation of resources make people leave their countries.

### **The Historical approach: the dependency school**

Based on the anti capitalist dependency perspective of the 1970's, the historical approach views migration as a product of unequal distribution of political power across nations. People move from peripheral to core areas under the expansion of global capitalism (Wallestein 1974). Global capitalism, on the other hand, perpetuates inequalities and reinforces stratified economic order (Massey 1998:34; Mafukidze 2006). Core areas develop at the expense of the periphery in world characterised by unequal distribution of economic and political power (Castles and Miller 2003). One of its main proponents, Samir Amin, has argued that the centre created the periphery as its complementary opposite (Amin 1995:30). African nations are joined to the global economy predominantly as suppliers of raw materials and labour (Ibid.). Migration within poor countries is limited because majority of countries are not integrated into the global economy, produce similar goods and services and experience similar levels of poverty and underdevelopment. This resulted into the migration of skilled labour in the form of "brain drain" from poor to developed countries. This greatly undermined the development of the periphery

The historical approach however, denies the importance of agency and individual choice in the migration process. Individuals and nation states have an ability to define their own goals and act upon them. Choices can be made even in the face of manipulation, subversion and threats from those that exercise power over individuals and nation states (Kabeer, 1999).

### **Migration systems theory**

Migration systems theory attempted to correct the one sided biases in the economic and historical approaches in the explanation of migration processes. Taking on an interdisciplinary approach, migration systems theory posits that migration is an outcome of prior linkages between the sending and receiving countries based on colonisation, political influence, trade and investment or cultural ties (Castles and Miller 2003). People move to those areas and regions where they have connections and or information. Systems theory offers an explanation why migrants choose particular destinations; highlights the importance of shared history, social networks, language and political factors. It is embedded within social transformation studies that in part examine how global forces affect local communities and national societies with diverse historical experiences, economic and social patterns, political institutions and cultures (Castles, 2001).

Systems theory views migration as an outcome of interrelated factors at all levels such as political relations, mass culture connections and social networks and facilitated in part by intermediary factors such as smugglers, Non Governmental Organisations, information and communication technologies. Sending and receiving areas are interconnected by transnational processes that affect all areas of social, economic, political and interpersonal relationships. In addition, it provides a lens through which to understand current migration patterns and how migrants construct and reconstitute their lives in more than one society. The next section examines the relevance of migration systems theory in understanding the evolving patterns of migration to Southern Sudan. It offers an overview of the historical, economic and social inter linkages between Uganda and southern and an examination of intermediary factors facilitating the movement of people.

### **History of migrations in the Sudan**

Sudan is the largest country in Africa covering an area of 250 million hectares and is bordered by Egypt and Libya in the north, Ethiopia and Eritrea to the east, Central Africa republic and Democratic Republic of Congo to the west and Kenya and Uganda to the South. Migration processes are embedded in the long history of conquests and resource exploitations that date back to medieval times. One of these invasions was that of the Turkish-Egyptian in the 19<sup>th</sup>

Century that established the first form of central government in the Sudan (Holt and Daly, 2000). The new rulers facilitated the religious division of the Sudan with Moslems and Arabs dominating the north and Christians in the south (Goldsmith et al, 2006). The centralised nature of the Turkish-Egyptian administration was unfamiliar and unpopular both in north and south Sudan. This gave rise to the Mahdist revolution in the late 1800s (Holt and Daly, 2000; Johnston 2003). They declared a Jihad and set out to spread Islam not only in the north but also in the south, aggravating southern tribes who were mainly pagan and did not embrace Islam. Supported by the southern tribes, an Anglo-Egyptian force defeated the Mahdists and established a condominium government with the British wielding political control (Ibid.). The emerging administration saw a division of the north and the south. The north was governed according to Islamic laws and the south according to the British system. In the 1930's the British developed a southern policy that called for a reduction in the exploitation of resources in the south; abolition of the slave trade; preservation of cultural diversity of the black southerners; curbing of the spread of Islam in the south and into central Africa; and the separation of African Sudan from Arab Sudan (Goldsmith et al, 2006; Johnston 2003). Moreover, the policy sought to exclude the Egyptians, northern Sudanese and other Moslems from trading with the southerners (Ibid.). Following the Egyptian and northern resistance to the 1930 policy, the British in 1946 took a decision to grant independence to the Sudan as a whole (Johnston, 2000). In 1947, they proposed a legislative assembly in which the north and the south were equals. The southern communities perceived themselves as different from the Arab north. They sought autonomy from the North because of differences in ethnic composition, natural resource endowments, governance structures, and religious composition. They preferred unity with British East Africa which was ethnically and geographically closer (Goldsmith et al, 2006). These questions, unresolved at the time of independence in 1956, laid a foundation for decades of civil wars in Sudan.

South Sudan was marginalised in the independence process from 1951 to 1956. For instance, a Constitutional Commission established to propose safeguards for the south in 1951, rejected a federal system of government for the South. Moreover, the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement in 1953 that granted self-governance to Sudan did not include participation by the south. The conflicts between the north and the south also have their roots in the fact that Southern Sudan is rich in natural resources such as Oil and other minerals, diverse cultural, religious and ethnic orientations while the north is less so (Goldsmith et al, 2002:187-190). On the other hand, the northern polity and economy is highly centralised whereas southern Sudan is more spatial and a product of historical isolation (Ibid. Johnston 2000). Conflicts were not just over autonomy but also over resources. Sudan has been characterised by civil wars such as the Anyanya rebellion of 1955 -1972 and the Sudan People's Liberation Army (SPLA from 1983- 2005). The conflicts only ceased because of peace agreements between the north and the South, that is, the Addis Ababa agreement (1972) and Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) of January 2005). It is important to note that Uganda and Ethiopia were also embroiled in several civil wars that led to massive displacements of people into Southern Sudan. The conflicts had several consequences such as massive displacements, breakdown of social service delivery systems, under development and out migration of people.

### **Refugee movements between Southern Sudan and Uganda**

Social and political inter linkages between the Sudan and Uganda were partly as a result of shared refugee movements. A refugee according to the 1951 Geneva convention and its protocol of 1967 is a person who is outside his own country, who has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or political opinion and who as a result of that fear is unable or unwilling to return to this country or to avail himself of its protection. The 1969 OAU convention extended this definition to cover "every person who, owing to external aggression, occupation, foreign domination or events seriously disturbing public order

in either part or the whole of his country of origin or nationality, is compelled to leave his place of habitual residence in order to seek refuge in another place outside his country of origin or nationality". Refugees were hosted in various countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia, Chad, Zaire (Democratic Republic of Congo), Egypt and Uganda.

In 1955, Uganda received the first influx of Sudanese refugees because of the Anyanya rebellion in Southern Sudan. The country is estimated to have received over 178,000 Sudanese majority of whom were soldiers fleeing the rebellion (Holbron, 1975). By 1973, Uganda was host to over 75,000 Sudanese refugees some of whom were settled in organised settlements and others lived independently, with friends or relatives among the Ugandan population (Holborn, 1975). Some even found work in the sugarcane plantations and copper mining industries (Ibid.). Refugees were able to build close social ties with the Ugandans through shared resources such as land and water in areas where they were settled; education institutions and through small scale trade. The importance of close social and ethnic ties became prominent when Ugandans, after the overthrow of the government of Idi Amin in 1979 sought refuge in Southern Sudan. Harrell-Bond (1986) asserts that majority of the Ugandan refugees lived outside refugee settlements because of the close ethnic and social relations with their hosts. It was more of a reciprocation of the Ugandans hospitality when the latter were refugees.

Further to that, migrations have been facilitated by close ethnic and cultural ties between the people of South Sudan and Northern Uganda. For instance, the Didinga, Lotuho, Acholi, Kuku, Zande, Bari, Madi and Kakwa of Sudan have close ethnic ties, linguistic and affinities with the tribal groups of northern Uganda. Ethnic relations are drawn from the fact that they have a common language, customs and beliefs. In addition, both share a common experience of marginalisation in the colonial period and a history of migrations in the search of work. Despite internationally drawn borders, the people of northern Uganda and south Sudan have maintained close social and cultural ties. The sameness in language and customs has to a greater extent facilitated cross border movements between the two countries. Close ethnic relations are vital in the migration flows such as labour movements, trade and refugee movements. Refugees, from West Nile were hosted by their same ethnics in southern Sudan. In fact, as Harrell Bond (1986) notes, majority of the refugees prefer self settlement to life in organised settlements. For instance, the Ugandans, who fled to Sudan after the 1979 Tanzanian invasion, were welcomed by the same people they hosted in the 1950's.

One consequence of this has been the growth and development of Koboko town in the West Nile region of Uganda and Kaya in Sudan. It was established that because of close ethnic and social ties, traders are able to transcend administrative roadblocks to trade. For instance, some Sudanese refugees instead of living in the settlements, they established small scale business enterprises in Koboko town. They were also able to engage in cross border trade with other parts of southern Sudan that were under the control of the Sudan Peoples Liberation Army. The trade in Koboko, which had become a major conduit of goods destined to Southern Sudan attracted Ugandan traders who later explored other opportunities in Southern Sudan.

### **Political factors impacting on migration**

Political relations between countries determine the composition and direction of migration flows. Sudan had a troubled relationship with many of its neighbors and the international community because of its aggressively Islamic stance. For instance, in the 1990s Uganda, Kenya and Ethiopia formed an ad-hoc alliance called the "Front Line States" with support from the United States to counter the government of Sudan's influence. The fear of the Sudan influence forced many of her southern neighbours to host rebel groups fighting against the Khartoum government. For instance, Uganda hosted the Sudan African National Union (SANU) and was a major

supply route for Israeli weapons to the Anyanya rebels (Woodward, 1988). However, when the allegiances changed in 1969, with the coming to power of the government of Niemeiry and support of Idi Amin in 1971, the Anyanya lost support in Uganda. Moreover, Uganda at the time was acting in accordance with prevailing diplomacy of showing solidarity to Arab countries after the 1967 Arab-Israeli war (Mushemeza, 1998). The close reviving of political ties between Uganda and Sudan meant that the rebel groups fighting in Uganda were no longer welcome. It also facilitated the repatriation of refugees With the signing of the Addis Ababa agreement of 1972(Pirouet, 1988; Woodward 1988) and the CPA in 2005.

The importance of political ties was evident in the direction refugees took during and after Amin's regime in Uganda. During Amin's regime because of the close ties between Sudan and Uganda, hardly any refugees crossed to the Sudan. Refugees instead fled to Kenya, Tanzania and Zambia among others. On the other hand, in 1979, when the Tanzanian army overran Kampala, Idi Amin, and his soldiers fled northwards to Sudan. It is estimated that over 350,000 people about 70% of the West Nile population, fled to neighbouring Sudan and Zaïre between 1980-1985. In 1984, those who fled to the Sudan alone, were estimated at 300,000 and up to 500,000 in 1986 (Gersony 1997). Ethnic relations of the people of West Nile to Idi Amin, the fear of annihilation by the Tanzanian led forces and close social relations with the people of southern Sudan, led to the displacement of almost the entire population.

Today, movements of Ugandans to South Sudan are partly because of close political ties between the governments of Southern Sudan (GOSS) and Uganda. There has existed a strong relationship between the Sudan People's Liberation Army and the government of Uganda. The Museveni government offered support to the SPLA struggle in Southern Sudan and played a leading role in the peace process leading to the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) (Kwaje 2004). The political will among the African states to host refugees from Sudan and support the liberation struggle gave them political capital and a vested interest in the government that was later to emerge in Southern Sudan. It was established that traders and labour migrants attribute their decision to travel to the Sudan to the close relationships and support from the two governments. The flow of traders is further facilitated by the presence of migrant communities who not only provide useful information about demand for goods, but are also some of the main consumers.

### **Importance of Social networks in the migration process**

Social networks play a major role in both the migration of people. Migrant networks connect migrants in destination and source countries through ties of kinship, friendship, and a shared community origin. Kinship ties and friendship between Sudanese refugees in Uganda and their hosts have triggered off a circular flow of people between the two countries. The interconnectedness between Ugandans and Sudanese draws from a long history of refugee flows between the two countries (Harrell-Bond, 1986; Allen, and Morsink, 1994; Allen, 1996). It is important to note that whereas Uganda and Kenya employed a settlement policy for refugees with restricted freedoms on movement, most refugees preferred self settlement. Livelihoods were pursued in two domains that is, the official space permitted for refugees – usually camps or organised settlements where they engage in programmes that are designed for them by relief agencies and on the other hand, the informal sector often outside the settlements where they engage in illegal or illicit activities (Jacobsen 2002, Allen and Morsink 1994). Informal sector engagements usually translate into onward movements for host populations at the time of repatriation of refugees or as rear bases for the returnees.

The importance of social networks in migration flows can be adduced from the role of migrant communities in receiving countries. One of the consequences of labour migration is

the creation of 'ethnic communities'. Migrants tend to conglomerate or live in particular areas of a nation state. What binds them together is the fact that they come from the same country and common interests in the host country. Torres (2006) observed, labour markets build interests and attitudes at the individual level and shape consensus or conflict at the societal level. It was established that in Juba, there is a Ugandan community with an elected leader. The Ugandan community in Juba has been instrumental in advocating and protecting the rights of Ugandans in Juba. In addition, it links traders, especially those involved in the informal sector to the South Sudan market. Migrant communities provide the social support networks for the sustenance and continuity of migrant identity. Migrant communities act as nodes of interconnection that link sending and receiving countries. As Massey(1998) observed, migration tends to become self sustaining with the increase in number of linkages created by migrants.

### **Return migration (Repatriation) to Southern Sudan**

Besides refugee movements, political factors and inter state relations are important in repatriations and return migrations. Government of Uganda relations with that of Sudan and the government of Southern Sudan on the other determined repatriation movements. For instance, following the Addis Ababa agreement of 1972 many refugees who had fled to Uganda in 1955 were able to return to southern Sudan. Interestingly, there were no subsequent refugee movements from Sudan until 1982 when the principles of the agreement were abrogated with the imposition of Sharia law. The ensuing Sudan Peoples Liberation Army (SPLA) conflict was only brought to an end with another peace agreement in January 2005 brokered by the Inter Governmental Authority on Draught (IGAD). In the wake of the agreements, the UNHCR was always quick to negotiate tripartite agreements with refugee hosting countries. For instance, within the first 9 months of the signing of the CPA in January 2005, it was expected that 90,000 IDPs and 50,000 refugees would be repatriated to their homes (Bennet 2005). South Sudanese were repatriated from Central Africa Republic, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya and Eritrea among others. By June 2007, the organisation had repatriated 56,208 refugees (UNHCR 2007). The number of spontaneous returnees was estimated at 90,516 (Ibid.).

### **Organised Repatriations to Southern Sudan end of June 2007**

<b>Year</b>	<b>Families</b>	<b>Individuals</b>
2005	85	212
2006	6,657	20,996
2007 (June)	10,609	35,000
<b>Total</b>	<b>17,351</b>	<b>56,208</b>

Going by the figures, it can be concluded that majority of the returnees prefer unassisted return as compared to assisted return through the UNHCR. One of the hindrances of going through UNHCR is signing of exit papers and lack of assurances of free return on arrival in Southern Sudan. Moreover, because of being already established within the countries of asylum many would be returnees prefer to maintain their status quo until they are assured of a livelihood. In Yei, in a returnee community in Lutaya, it was ascertained that UNHCR had failed to fulfil its commitments of providing refugees with food for six months after repatriation. Given that at the time of return there were no rains, it was difficult for them to survive.

Repatriation was negotiated and implemented before putting in place the physical infrastructure, social services and security important for returning populations. It was also

established that majority of the returnees go back to Uganda or DRC when they fail to meet livelihood goals.

*We were returned during the dry season. The UNHCR promised to give us food rations until the rains came,. However, ever since we settled, we have not received any food. Instead, we have resorted to cutting grass to sell and others have opted to return to Uganda and Democratic Republic of Congo. (Focus Group Discussion with Community leaders in Lutaya.)*

Repatriation immediately after conflict poses a challenge to the social services delivery systems. It was established that social services such as schools and health facilities are largely in a poor state. The health care system is more or less non functional. Yei and Kajo Keji hospitals face acute shortages of staff, equipment and drugs. During the field work, it was found out that even the few medical workers available had taken over eight months without pay.

The education system too faces similar hardships as the health care system. They too face a lack of staff, low enrolment levels, poor sanitation.

It was interesting to note how the communities cope with this state of affairs. For instance, refugees prefer to remain in Uganda where they are assured of quality education for their children. Others such as the community leader in Yei think it is better to send their children to Uganda for education.

*"I prefer to send my child to Uganda to study. There are better schools than we have here." Community leader, Yei*

In Kajo Keji it was established that the schools still utilise the Ugandan curriculum and examination system. As a result, majority of those who return retrace their movements to their former host countries. Others maintain two homes, that is, one in Uganda and the other in Sudan (Interview, June 2007). This is done to maintain their access to essential social services present in Uganda while accruing economic benefits in the Sudan.

Social services such as health care and education for the children partly an important role in the migration decision making process. The absence of schools and quality health care services influenced the repatriation decision of the refugees to southern Sudan. The migration decision is also based on availability and quality of social services such as health and education. It was established that availability of social services determined whether individuals moved with their families. It was established that Uganda women with children were discouraged from looking for work in Sudan because of the poor state of schools and health facilities (Interview, NGO worker June 2007).

Repatriation programmes place an emphasis on return as a durable solution and fail to explore reasons why some refugees may prefer to remain in the host country. Interest is in those who return with no analysis of who (in terms of skills) registers for return and how they envisage their livelihood survival on return. Such data would be vital in revealing the motivations and agency of migrants in the repatriation process. Available data on repatriation only reveals statistics of those who returned and from where (UNHCR 2007; US Committee for Refugees 2004). There is no information on the skills, of those who choose to return.

Other gaps in the repatriation data is that of refugees who choose to remain within the country of asylum. There is no data on refugees who choose to remain in a host country and why they would choose to do so. For instance in a 1972 /1973 repatriation exercise in Southern Sudan, 72.2 % of the refugees were repatriated, 6% remained in Uganda and the rest were unaccounted for at the end of the exercise (Akol, 1994). In the present repatriation exercise, it is interesting to note that some refugees maintain two homes in Uganda and Sudan. Among the factors cited for not returning include: owning property in Uganda, lack of social services

such as education and health facilities, wives that have remarried (sometimes to soldiers and hence a fear of repercussions is they reclaim them), the high cost of living and poor infrastructure.. Prunier (1994) asserts that Rwandan refugees from Uganda returned in a rational and calculated way. They left their relatives looking after their houses in Uganda with the hope that if things did not go well in Rwanda, they would return to them. Social ties and ethnic relations facilitate the integration of refugees into host population and naturalisation of refugees into the host population. Where the host population is hospitable, majority may not see a need for return especially if they have established themselves and have secured livelihoods. .Repatriation processes therefore fail to see refugees as transnational migrants who may wish to benefit from their new found status.

### **Economic factors in South Sudan migration to Uganda**

Current patterns of migration are characterised by both skilled and non skilled labour movements. Labour movement between Uganda and Sudan date back to the pre independence period when British labour policies in Uganda attracted migrant labour from South Sudan. Sudanese labour was important in Uganda because of a colonial policy which advocated that certain areas of Uganda remain under developed in order to ensure a constant supply of labour to favoured areas of Buganda and Busoga (Ahluwalia, 1995). Migrant labour emerged out of complex processes involving the nature of the colonial state, the configuration of rural social formations and struggles between African workers and capital (Zezeza, 2003). For instance, in 1925, the colonial department of labour recruited 11,771 from Ankole, Kigezi and Rwanda and Burundi; 5,229 from West Nile and Belgium; 1,855 from Lango and Acholi (Powersland 1973). In 1928, contracted labour from West Nile stood at 5,002 and free labour (those who searched for employment) was 1,710 (Ibid. Ahluwalia, 1995). Proximity and ethnic relations between the people of Southern Sudan and Northern Uganda-West Nile) meant that many Sudanese were recruited into the Ugandan labour force. According to Mulumba (2005) Sudanese migrated to Uganda in the 1940's with a motive of saving money for bride wealth and purchase of a bicycle.They were attracted to Uganda by the demand for labour on farm lands, sugar plantations, construction sector and cotton ginneries mainly run by the Indians(Ibid.).

Today, however, there is a reversal of migration with Southern Sudan becoming a main destination area for both skilled and non skilled labour. Uganda faces a problem of unemployment and under employment. As a result, the inability to engage in substantive employment or income generating activity is forcing many people to leave Uganda in search of decent work (productive and secure jobs that provide adequate income and reasonable work conditions). According to the 2002/03, Uganda National Household survey, the Uganda labour force was estimated at 9.8 million of which 53 percent are females. Of these, 36 percent (over 3.5 million people) are employed in agriculture. The share of youth in labour employment was 58% and the share of women in non agricultural employment was 28%. This has forced many Ugandans to seek employment in other countries including those emerging out of conflict such Iraq and South Sudan.

Further to that, the informal sector exceeds formal sector activities.According to the International Labour Organisation the informal sector consists of small operations involving self-employed persons, unpaid family members and privately owned enterprises producing mainly services or other non tradables (ILO 2005). More people who find work in the informal sector as compared to the formal one. For instance was in 2003, it was estimated that 57.4% of the working population in Uganda was self employed and 24.7 % employed as unpaid domestic workers (UBOS, 2006). The informal sector is characterized by instability, low salaries, and absence of work related benefits. It is a direct result of the Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs)

in Uganda that saw government cease to be the main employer. As a result, out migration becomes one of the livelihood options.

The main pull factors for Ugandans to Southern Sudan remain the demand for skilled labour; higher wages and proximity to home. For instance, a medical doctor who leaves Uganda for Southern Sudan earns three times their current salary (Interview Moyo, May 2007). As a result many professionals such as teachers, medical workers, mechanics, accountants and development workers are attracted to south Sudan. In addition, there has been a sizeable number of Ugandans from the informal sectors especially traders that work in Southern Sudan. An interview with the Kampala Traders Association chairman in Kampala revealed that Sudan offers a lucrative market for Ugandan products such as food stuffs and consumer goods such as soft drinks, soap and textiles. One challenge faced however, Ugandan custom authorities do not record this form of trade. Available data shows that between October 2003 and January 2004 Uganda informally exported goods worth US \$ 6.7 million and informally imported goods worth US \$ 1.4 million (UBOS 2006). The demand for foods and services in Southern Sudan opened a lucrative market for Ugandan goods. In addition, traders, such as those organised under the Kampala City Traders Association (KACITA) have established business links with south Sudan. This is evidenced by vibrant cross boarder trade at Oraba and Kaya on one hand and Moyo and Nimule on the other. Other destination towns include Juba, Yei, Nimule and to a lesser extent, Kajo Keji.

The findings of the study revealed that there a substantive number of people from neighbouring countries seek work in south Sudan. They are attracted by availability of job and business opportunities wide array of job opportunities available. One of the challenges of studying migration to Sudan, however, is the absence of statistical data on labour movements. To overcome this limitation, the study analysed profiles of 120 people on a job listing website between January and May 2007. The website lists jobs available in Sudan in various sectors such as accounting and finance, automotive, banking, information technology, finance and banking; health care, hospitality, managerial, teaching, Non Governmental Organisations and even bar jobs. The analysis aimed at finding out: who wishes to work in Sudan by nationality and desired employment. It was ascertained that 48% of applicants were from Kenya, 30% from Uganda, 7 % from South Sudan and 8% did not reveal their country of origin. (See table below)<sup>1</sup>.

#### **Job applications to Southern Sudan by country of origin**

<b>Applications by Country of origin</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
Algeria	1
Ethiopia	2
India	1
Kenya	48
Serbia (Belgrade)	1
South Sudanese	7
Tanzania	1
Uganda	30
United States of America	1
No country cited	8

Source: <http://jobs.classifieds1000.com/Sudan>

Majority of the jobs applied for were related to Information and Communication technology (27%), Business sector 16% and Education sector 15%. The profiles are in tandem with the labour demands in Southern Sudan. What was evident from the profiles that an expressed desire to 'help' in the rebuilding of southern Sudan. This desire, however, can be interpreted as gaining access to the numerous jobs available in the NGO sector.

One probable reason why Uganda and Kenya are contributing the largest number of potential migrants is that both countries were host to South Sudanese for two decades. The period of

hosting refugees from Sudan provided information on the country of origin, proximity and ability to organise travel and the existence of jobs in various sectors. For instance in Kajo Keji, it was interesting to find Ugandans, recruited by a Sudanese in a restaurant. Through the education sector, living within the same villages or urban dwellings with the Sudanese created a complex relationship of roles and interpersonal relationships between the South Sudanese and their hosts. Information available on Ugandan and their interconnection with Southern Sudan reveals that in one town, Nimule, South Sudanese continue to use Ugandan currency, school curriculum, telephone network and even goods and services (Monitor, 2007). Access to information about the destination country plays a major factor in the migration decision. Migrants decide on destination depending on available information, expected wages, the ability to maintain close ties with home among others. The growing use of Information and Communication Technologies (ICTs) in Sub Saharan Africa has provided an avenue for both employers and job seekers to interface in a virtual space. In addition, ICTs enable migrants to maintain close links with their families. This is important for migrants who do not wish to move with their entire families especially where security and social services are not guaranteed. The World Wide Web is also providing new alternative destination countries for migrants as compared to the 'traditional countries of emigration' such as the United States, Germany, and Canada among others. Today countries such as Botswana, South Africa, South Sudan, Kenya and Iraq are becoming destination countries for migrant workers.

### **Non Governmental Organisations as facilitators of labour migration**

Non Governmental Organisations attract a large number of skilled personnel to Southern Sudan. The importance of the non governmental organisations can be attributed to the failure of states, especially in the developing countries to pioneer development and poverty alleviation. Non Governmental Organisations on the other hand were considered as better able to promote development because they worked directly with grass root communities (Borchgrevink, 2006:261). Today South Sudan is home to over 100 NGOs non Governmental Organisations operating in different locations. A look at relief web vacancies reveals that, between May and June 2007 alone, over 298 vacancies were advertised in Southern Sudan. The role of Non Governmental Organisations in the labour market is largely understudied. Non Governmental Organisations attract skilled labour and act as intermediaries in transnational migration of labour.

### **Conclusion**

South Sudan as a country emerging out of conflict has attracted a wide array of migrants. Demands for skilled labour in various sectors, business opportunities in emerging towns and improved security have all attracted population movements. Population movements are attracted in part by prior linkages between the sending and receiving countries. Ethnic, social, economic, historical and political ties all contribute to the migration of people. Despite this, however, it is difficult to ascertain the extent to which each of these factors contribute to migration. The findings show that linkages are dynamic and keep changing in relation to individual and state interests. Moreover there is a question of agency in relations to well being while making the migration decision.

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