THE SECURITY-MIGRATION-DEVELOPMENT NEXUS REVISED: A PERSPECTIVE FROM THE SAHEL

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FOREWORD

ERNST STETTER AND NATHALIE TOCCI

For a progressive Europe that aspires to a deeper and more meaningful relationship with Africa, disentangling stereotypes from reality is key.

Africa matters, but not because of the flows of migrants coming to Europe's shores, and the security risks these flows may pose, as some forces would have us believe. The nexus of security, migration and development in Africa is crucial, but unfortunately often hijacked by voices in *both* continents that do not want the relationship between Europe and Africa to flourish. To support their claims, fake data and misguided assumptions are often employed either to safeguard the status quo or to obscure the fundamentals of this relationship, ignite fear, cast doubt, and perhaps most importantly influence policy in a regressive direction.

On the grounds of the diverse political, economic and geostrategic landscape in Africa, the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) and the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) present this publication as a result of a year-long research project aimed at providing an evidence-based analysis of the security, migration and development nexus in the Sahel. The Sahel was selected as an illustrative case of wider dynamics because it is characterized concomitantly by migration push factors, developmental needs and security concerns. By focusing on the Sahel, this publication re-conceptualizes this nexus and the related EU and US policies, while exploring opportunities for transatlantic cooperation in the region.

Both through its analyses of selected countries and its thematic chapters, we believe this publication provides key evidence based policy recommendations. We also believe that this vol-

ume offers important insights that will encourage a more informed discussion of the challenges and opportunities that bind Africa and Europe together.

Brussels – Rome, December 2017

INTRODUCTION

BERNARDO VENTURI AND VASSILIS NTOUSAS

This publication is the final product of the project *The security–migration–development nexus revised: a perspective from the Sahel,* conducted by the Foundation for European Progressive Studies (FEPS) of Brussels and the Istituto Affari Internazionali (IAI) of Rome, together with the National Democratic Institute (NDI) of Washington, with the support of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation.

This research aims at re-conceptualizing the migration–development–security nexus through the analysis of this linkage in the Sahel region, and in particular vis-à-vis three case countries: Niger, Senegal and Sudan. The publication also recasts the European Union and the United States approaches to these dynamics and explores current and potential partnerships in the region.

The first contribution by Luca Raineri (Research Fellow at the Sant'Anna School of Advanced Studies of Pisa) and Alessandro Rossi (independent consultant) provides a reality check of the security–migration–development nexus in the Sahel. The researchers provide a frame for a coherent, more evidence-based and less fear-based policy-making, along with local co-ownership in the implementation of policies.

The first case study, Niger, is analysed by Mahamadou Danda (*École Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature* – ENAM). A vulnerable country, Niger's situation has been aggravated by the destabilization of Libya in 2011 and by terrorist raids on its borders with Mali and Nigeria. The massive flow of Nigerien migrants and of migrants in transit is triggered by social and economic factors. Irregular migration such as it is experienced in Niger has both a positive and a negative impact in terms of

development and security. Danda discusses how to deal with the root causes of forced relocation and irregular migration by boosting economic opportunities, professional training, equality of opportunity and security.

The case of Senegal is analysed by Souleymane Sagna (independent consultant) in chapter three. The author shows a strong link between migration and development in light of the huge financial revenues that it generates, and security as reflected in the stories of migrants who challenged smugglers and human traffickers on their route to Europe, as well as in the terror attacks that stroke European and West Africa states performed by religious extremists from external countries, using the routes of migrants.

The last case study, Sudan, by Bashair Ahmed (Executive Director of Shabaka Social Enterprise, and Doctoral Researcher at the University of Sussex) presents a different reality because Sudan is a source, transit and destination country for asylum seekers, refugees and migrants. Over the last few years, European countries have become a preferred destination for a small but growing number of migrants from the Horn of Africa, who have limited options for legal migration. Nonetheless, the prevailing perspective of immigration to Europe from the Sudan, and the Horn of Africa generally, remains primarily focused on securing EU borders, which undermines the nuanced discussion needed for safe migration around how security, development and migration intersect.

Following these three case studies, the publication includes two chapters focused on the role of the EU and the US in the region. Audra K. Grant (Senior Manager, National Opinion Research Center at University of Chicago) discusses how US policy in the Sahel has been usually described as ambiguous, and primarily focused on military-strategic interests in the region. Her chapter outlines that although US interests in the Sahel are minimal, the mounting fragility in the region has brought the region closer to the fore of US policy concerns. Although there are still uncertainties regarding the direction of the current US

administration's Africa policy, there exist a number of opportunities for the US to engage in the Sahel.

Bernardo Venturi (Researcher at IAI) argues that the Sahel has become an area of experimentation on the security–migration–development nexus for the EU. The Union's support in the Sahel region is part of an emerging European foreign policy approach that externalizes the bloc's security. This is the framework in which an analysis of Africa–EU relations in these domains should take place. However, while the security–migration–development nexus exists, for the EU to predicate its foreign policy on it is also controversial, especially in the Sahel.

In the last chapter, there is a report of the main issues discussed during the final conference of the research project held in Addis Ababa on 11 December 2017. The chapter offers a summary of the main features, shortfalls and dilemmas discussed by the experts, diplomats, stakeholders, policymakers and practitioners that attended the conference, all focusing on the security–migration–development nexus in the Sahel.

In conclusion, we would like to thank Rakeb Abate (NDI Senior Programme Manager, Southern and East Africa), Sophia Moestrup (NDI Deputy Director for Central and West Africa) and Cody Cibart (NDI Programme Officer, Southern and East Africa) for their useful insights and valuable support.

1
THE SECURITY–MIGRATION–DEVELOPMENT NEXUS IN THE SAHEL: A REALITY CHECK

LUCA RAINERI AND ALESSANDRO ROSSI

Migration is a hotly debated issue.[1] Policy discourses, and sometimes policies *tout court*, tend to rely on apparently trivial correlations which lack meaningful empirical substantiation. The reality is much less straightforward and requires a nuanced analysis to interpret it accurately. The emotions and attention stirred in the public debate in the EU and US by migration issues reveal in different ways an identity crisis and only widen the gap between potential evidence-based long-term policies and actual reactive short-term policies. With a view to fostering evidence-based policy-making, this policy brief departs from media sensationalism and presents the lessons learnt from the academic literature and past experiences about the complex relationships between migration, development and security in the Sahel region. While each of these concepts lends itself to plural interpretations, an effort of analytical clarity is needed to avoid any blurring of ideas. The Sahelian region provides a particularly relevant case study because it combines significant international migratory flows, new and traditional expressions of widespread insecurity, and major challenges in promoting development in a region lying at the very bottom of the Human Development Index.

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1. Migration and migrants are used here based on the definition of international migrants given in UN documents, i.e. "a person who is living in a country other than his or her country of birth". See UN Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), *International Migration Report 2015. Highlights* (ST/ESA/SER.A/375), New York, United Nations, 2016, p. 4, http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/publications/migrationreport/index.shtml.

1. Tsunami or mountain creeks? A reality check of migration in the Sahel

The modalities of migration within and from sub-Saharan Africa result from the complex interaction between geopolitical and economic dynamics, both at global and local levels. In the Sahel, a "semiarid region of western and north-central Africa extending from Senegal eastward to the Sudan",[2] the nexus between migration and two other multifaceted policy areas, security and development, is as fundamental as it is difficult to grasp, let alone to govern. It cannot be addressed without providing in first place an empirically informed baseline of who migrates, where, for how long and why.

In spite of the prevailing alarmist rhetoric treating migration as a sudden emergency, migratory flows from Africa to Europe represent a long-standing phenomenon with deep historical roots and rapidly changing patterns. The volume of flows along these routes has varied considerably across time. For example, between 2010 and 2014 the most relevant route for flows from the Sahel towards Europe, the Central Mediterranean Route (CMR), has varied significantly, up to 80 percent from one year to the next, with sharp increases in 2011 and 2014, and a significant decline in 2012.[3]

While in the early 2000s migrants reached the EU by boat largely from the shores of Senegal and Mauritania heading towards the Canary Islands, or from Morocco to southern Spain, migratory flows along these routes are now considerably reduced. In 2016, 10,631 attempts of illegal border-crossing were detected between Spain and Morocco,[4] while there were only

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2. So the Encyclopaedia Britannica, https://www.britannica.com/place/Sahel. It therefore forms a transitional zone between the arid Sahara (desert) to the north and the belt of humid savannas to the south, including countries such as Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Burkina Faso, northeast Nigeria, Niger, Chad, and Sudan.

3. Frontex website: *Central Mediterranean route*, http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/central-mediterranean-route.

4. According to Frontex data, figures are soaring in 2017. See "Western Mediter-

671 entries via the Atlantic route.[5] Instead, figures of crossings along the CMR connecting North Africa to Italy have soared significantly in the last few years.[6] This is also due to a shifting geopolitical landscape: before 2011, the entry into force of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Italy and Libya in 2009 had allegedly reduced migratory flows of an estimated 75 percent along the CMR, although at high human and economic costs. While the treaty is sometimes presented as a successful blueprint, one should remember that the former regime consented to stem migratory flows on the condition that Italy bore the bulk of the costs – and control measures consistently failed to shield migrants from suffering significant human rights abuses).[7] In addition, Italy agreed to a number of major investments, including a 5 billion euros worth highway across the whole of the country. Following the collapse of the Gaddafi regime, and the failure of the subsequent process of state-building, arrivals by sea in Italy displayed a sharp upward trend, amounting to about 43,000 in 2013, 170,000 in 2014, 153,000 in 2015, 181,000 in 2016 and 119,000 in 2017 (see Table 1). The prominence of Libya, and namely of the north-western towns of Sabratha, Zuwara and Zawiya, as a collecting and launching point for migrants is due to the large impunity enjoyed by smugglers, and to the unlikelihood of migrants being returned by EU authorities. This route draws deeply into sub-Saharan Africa and the Sahel: according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), more than half the total number of migrants who reached Lampedusa in 2014 passed

ranean Route" data in Frontex website: *Migratory Routes Map*, http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/migratory-routes-map.

5.   According to Frontex data, the so-called Atlantic Route used to be the busiest irregular entry point for the whole of Europe, peaking at 32,000 migrants arriving on the Canary Islands in 2006. The numbers dropped dramatically since 2007, following bilateral agreements between Spain and Senegal and Mauritanians. Frontex website: *Western African route*, http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/western-african-route.

6.   See Frontex website: *Central Mediterranean route*, http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/central-mediterranean-route.

7.   Mattia Toaldo, "Migrations Through and From Libya: A Mediterranean Challenge", in *IAI Working Papers*, No. 15|14 (May 2015), p. 6-7, http://www.iai.it/en/node/4183.

through the Nigerian town of Agadez.[8] Migrants in transit here rose from an estimated 40–60,000 in the early 2010s to more than 250,000 in 2016.[9] It is significant that within West and East Africa freedom of movement is underpinned by regional treaties,[10] thereby facilitating regular migration to the north of Agadez. Further north, the Libyan borders are porous and controlled by local militias with vested interests in the business of migration. These aspects contribute to consolidating the prominence of this route for Sahelian nationals. Indeed, the top three countries of origin for migrants hitting the CMR in 2014 were Syria, Eritrea and Mali; in 2015 Eritrea, Nigeria and Somalia; in 2016 Nigeria, Eritrea and Guinea; and in 2017 Nigeria, Guinea and Ivory Coast (see Table 1).[11]

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8. Peter Tinti and Tom Westcott, "The Niger-Libya Corridor. Smugglers' Perspectives", in *ISS Papers*, No. 299 (November 2016), p. 9, https://issafrica.org/uploads/paper299_2.pdf.

9. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), *The Role of Organized Crime in the Smuggling of Migrants from West Africa to the European Union*, New York, United Nations, 2011, https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/migrant-smuggling/the-role-of-organized-crime-in-the-smuggling-of-migrants-from-west-africa-to-the-european-union.html; Fransje Molenaar, "Irregular Migration and Human Smuggling Networks in Niger", in *Clingendael CRU Reports*, February 2017, https://www.clingendael.org/publication/turning-tide-0.

10. For instance, art. 59 of the ECOWAS treaty states the right of entry, residence, and establishment, and art. 104 of the Treaty for the Establishment of the East African Community.

11. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *Italy Country Update - December 2016*, January 2017, https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/53095. It is worth stressing that different legal profiles add up in the figures mentioned above and coalesce in the general category of migrants: in many cases, for instance, Eritreans and Somalis qualify for refugee status (alongside with Syrians, obviously); this is less often the case for other nationalities, including Senegalese, Ivorians, and Guineans. Similarly, Nigerian and Malian migrants heading to Europe largely originate from regions which are relatively less affected by insecurity and civil war, such as the Edo State and the region of Kayes, respectively. While a specific pattern of human trafficking has been detected in the eastern leg of the trans-Saharan migrant route, connecting Eritrea to central and northern Europe (see Sahan Foundation and IGAD Security Sector Program (ISSP), *Human Trafficking and Smuggling on the Horn of Africa-Central Mediterranean Route*, Nairobi, Sahan Foundation, February 2016, http://www.sahan.eu/wp-content/uploads/HST_Report_FINAL_19ii2016.pdf), the facilitation of human mobility from West Africa relies more on flexible, non-hierarchical agreements, thus making it more difficult to disentangle cases of smuggling and of traffick-

Table 1 | Nationalities of migrants arriving in Italy along the CMR

	2014		2015		2016		2017	
1°	Syria	42,000	Eritrea	39,000	Nigeria	37,000	Nigeria	18,000
2°	Eritrea	34,000	Nigeria	20,000	Eritrea	20,000	Guinea	10,000
3°	Mali	10,000	Somalia	12,000	Guinea	13,000	Ivory Coast	10,000
4°	Nigeria	9,000	Sudan	9,000	Ivory Coast	12,000	Bangla-desh	9,000
5°	Gambia	8,000	Gambia	8,000	Gambia	11,000	Mali	7,000
Total		**170,000**		**153,000**		**181,000**		**119,000**

Sources: Italian Ministry of the Interior and UNHCR, 2018.[12]
Note: All figures approximate.

These figures have attracted considerable media attention, as well as uncountable policy speculations. It is true that in 2015 the number of international migrants worldwide was the highest ever recorded, reaching 244 million (up from 232 million in 2013). However, the share of the world population represented by international migration has remained relatively constant over the past few years, at around 3 percent.[13] In the year 2015, absolute migration figures were

ing of human beings (see Arezo Malakooti, *Mixed Migration: Libya at the Crossroads. Mapping of Migration Routes from Africa to Europe and Drivers of Migration in Post-revolution Libya*, Altai Consulting for the UNHCR, November 2013, https://www.altaiconsulting.com/?p=5956). The trafficking of Nigerian women destined to the prostitution market in Europe represents a notable exception.

12. Italian Ministry of the Interior, *Cruscotto statistico giornaliero*, http://www.libertaciviliimmigrazione.dlci.interno.gov.it/it/node/1300; UNHCR, *Italy Sea Arrivals Dashboard - December 2017*, 11 January 2018, https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/61547. See also the UNHCR website: *Operational Portal: Refugee Situations - Mediterranean Situation*: Italy, https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean/location/5205.

13. International Organization of Migration (IOM), *Global Migration Trends Factsheet 2015*, 2016, https://publications.iom.int/node/1507. It has been rightly observed that the size of the European population would have fallen in the absence of positive net migration. See UNDESA, *International Migration Report 2015. Highlights*, cit.

pushed up by the numbers of migrants originating from the Middle East, to the extent that arrivals across the Aegean Sea were five times higher than along the CMR. And yet fears that the entry into force of the EU–Turkey deal, in March 2016, would result in an increasing pressure along the CMR has failed to materialize so far, as the sheer figures and trajectories of migrants reaching Italian shores testify.[14] Moreover, the magnitude of south–north movements (towards OECD countries) pales when compared with the continued growth of south–south migration flows (across developing countries).[15] Available statistics suggest that 84 percent of the migrant population originating from West Africa moves inside the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) area,[16] while in East Africa 1.6 million South Sudanese have been displaced in neighbouring countries, and not to Europe, since the start of the conflict in December 2013.[17] Hence, while it is by now clear that the CMR is the most dangerous for migrants' safety worldwide,[18] the widespread rhetoric of a migrant flood, or of an "African tsunami" swamping European shores is largely misleading and needs to be reviewed. For if there is a sea of migrants, only a few creeks dribble out of Africa, with significant variations across time in intensity flow and routes.

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14.   Table 1 with CMR figures 2014-2017 shows the majority of nationalities of migrants along that route as being very different form the ones mostly concerned by the Turkey deal: 93,935 undocumented entries, with three top nationalities being Nigeria, Bangladesh and Guinea. See Frontex website: *Migratory routes map*, http://frontex.europa.eu/trends-and-routes/migratory-routes-map.
15.   IOM, *Global Migration Trends Factsheet 2015*, cit.
16.   Tahar Benattia, Florence Armitano and Holly Robinson, *Irregular Migration between West Africa, North Africa and the Mediterranean*, Altai Consulting for IOM Nigeria, December 2015, http://globalinitiative.net/?p=19362.
17.   Data provided by the Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat (RMMS), accessed in January 2017. See RMMS website: Mixed Migration Monthly Maps, http://www.regionalmms.org/index.php/data-trends/monthly-maps.
18.   Tara Brian and Frank Laczko (eds.), *Fatal Journeys. Tracking Lives Lost during Migration*, Geneva, International Organization of Migration (IOM), 2014, https://publications.iom.int/node/113.

2. The migration-development nexus

Public discourse, policy debates and even international policies addressing migratory flows are often premised on the common-sense idea that less development results in more migration and that income differentials alone amount to a key push factor. This idea posits without doubt that migration is linked to economic development, in as much as it represents a strategy of resilience for coping with the limited absorption capacity of local job markets. However, both the academic literature and the lessons learnt from past experiences in managing migratory flows challenge the validity of these assumptions. Economics literature has demonstrated that higher levels of economic and human development do not automatically result in a reduction of migratory flows; rather, they are associated with higher overall levels of migration. In other words, economic development has a "U-curve effect" on emigration, that starts decreasing only after a long period of sustained economic growth.[19] This can be explained by the fact that people need resources (economic, social, intellectual) to migrate, thereby suggesting that opportunity, rather than income differentials alone, contributes to triggering the choice of migration. Interestingly, it is not the poorest countries in the region who account for the largest proportion of migrants arriving irregularly in Europe. Niger, Chad and Burkina Faso rank at the very bottom of UNDP's Human Development Index, and are located at the core of migration routes to Europe, and yet the majority of the migrants originate from more developed and more distant countries such as Nigeria, Senegal and Ivory Coast. Such findings invite one to reconsider the widespread assumption about the "prototypical" profile of the migrants heading to Europe: even though conclusive data are lacking, one could claim that in many cases the majority of long-range migrants are not the starving poorest, but the unemployed middle class. One could also argue that bad governance and patronage politics nurture migration more

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19. Hein de Haas, "Migration Transitions. A Theoretical and Empirical Inquiry into the Developmental Drivers of International Migration", in *IMI Working Papers*, No. 24 (2010), https://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/publications/wp-24-10.

than sheer hunger, in as much as unequal opportunities, poor provision of public services and badly managed family planning policies constrain the youth's access to the job market.

This means that claims to curb migration by fostering economic development are utterly misleading, given that initially developmental policies and foreign direct investments are likely to result in more, not less, emigration, at least in the short to medium term. On the other hand, the longer-term effects of migratory flows can contribute to overturn the alleged correlation between migration and development: in many cases, migration can be seen not as the consequence of less development, but as the cause of more development.[20] Migrants' remittances abroad contribute significantly to the sustenance of communities at home, and often sponsor schemes of local development and the provision of basic services. In Senegal, for instance, the remittances of the diaspora are said to amount to the first source of foreign currency in the country. In Nigeria, their estimated value surpasses 20 billion dollars per year, representing about 8 percent of the country's total gross domestic product (GDP).[21]

Admittedly, these figures could be much higher if the value of remittances through informal channels were also considered.[22] In other words, if properly managed the resources produced through migration have the potential to empower the countries of origin, fund the development of infrastructure to preserve their human capital, and even facilitate return migration. However, one should be cautious about the potentially ambivalent role of diasporas, as both a resource for development

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20. Kathleen Newland, "What We Know About Migration and Development", in *MPI Policy Briefs*, No. 9 (September 2013), http://www.migrationpolicy.org/node/4013.

21. Alexandre Devillard, Alessia Bacchi and Marion Noack, *A Survey on Migration Policies in West Africa*, Vienna-Dakar, ICMPD and IOM, March 2015, p. 259, https://publications.iom.int/node/44.

22. Given its reliance on official statistics, the World Bank Remittances database does not provide figures for countries like Eritrea or Somalia, although they are likely to be very significant. See World Bank website: *Migration and Remittances Data*, https://goo.gl/caKG5x.

and peacebuilding, and as a spoiler of inclusive solutions.[23] Long-distance involvement by exiled communities in conflicts of their homeland is by no means a new phenomenon, but in today's interconnected world the possibilities of transnational mobilization and political action have clearly increased, through multiple means including major financial operations. How this financial and social capital with international reach is then used by conflict-relevant actors on the ground can have a decisive impact. Specific co-development programmes can contribute to overseeing the use of these resources and maximizing their positive social impact, in order to foster community develop-ment, ensure gender equality and prevent brain drain.

At a regional level, seasonal patterns of rural flight and of re-gional migration (most notably towards North Africa) repre-sent a key strategy to cope with the dry season in places like Mali and Niger, and therefore amount to a significant compo-nent of families' livelihoods.[24] It is hardly surprising, then, that both migration and smuggling are widely seen locally as an opportunity, rather than as a threat.[25] In this sense, since 2000 ECOWAS and IOM inaugurated the Migration Dialogue for West Africa (MIDWA), a forum explicitly aimed at discussing ways to unleash the potential of regular migration within ECOWAS, and in 2008 ECOWAS initiated a Common Approach on Migration Process, reaffirming its commitments to remove obstacles to the free movement of persons, the benefits of migration for ECOWAS, and the defence of the rights of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees. In the same vein, the 2006 Africa Un-ion's (AU) Migration Policy Framework for Africa sets out to promote intra-continental mobility.[26]

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23. See examples in Liisa Laakso and Petri Hautaniemi (eds.), *Diasporas, Devel-opment and Peacemaking in the Horn of Africa*, London, Zed Books, 2014, http://urn.kb.se/resolve?urn=urn:nbn:se:nai:diva-1874.
24. Fransje Molenaar, "Irregular Migration and Human Smuggling Networks in Niger", cit.
25. Peter Tinti and Tom Westcott, "The Niger-Libya Corridor", cit.
26. African Union, *The Migration Policy Framework for Africa* (EX.CL/276 (IX)), Executive Council 9th Ordinary Session, Banjul, 25-29 June 2006, http://ar-chive.au.int/collect/oaucounc/import/English/EX CL 276 (IX) _E.PDF.

However, the assumptions of the policy frameworks that outside actors – such as the EU and the US – have sponsored and designed to address migration in the Sahel fail to consider this evidence adequately. As a key stakeholder in the region, the EU has tried over the past three decades to consider the need for a comprehensive approach on the external dimension of its migration policy in relation to development. In practice, however, political pressures and concrete constraints in implementation have put the EU in the uncomfortable position of trying to keep together a multidimensional understanding of migration governance with the common-sense view of a direct and proportional correlation between "better economic opportunities at home" and a decrease in migration flows.[27]

The view set out in the 2011 Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM),[28] and further developed in the 2015 Agenda for Migration and its subsequent implementing documents,[29] recognizes that migration is a symptom of poverty as well as of conflict and weak governance, but also an opportunity for improving livelihoods and development, observing that "regional labour mobility schemes encouraging South-South mobility can bring an important contribution to local development".[30] This understanding is also enshrined in the subsequent frameworks of cooperation between the EU and the regional bodies dealing with migration in the Sahelian area: with the AU, the EU signed a Joint Declaration on Migration and Development in 2006,[31] followed by specific

27. European Commission, *A European Agenda on Migration* (COM/2015/240), 13 May 2015, p. 16, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/TXT/?uri=celex-:52015DC0240.

28. European Commission, *The Global Approach to Migration and Mobility* (COM/2011/743), 18 November 2011, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/TXT/?uri=celex:52011DC0743.

29. European Commission, *A European Agenda on Migration*, cit.; and European Commission, *On establishing a new Partnership Framework with third countries under the European Agenda on Migration* (COM/2016/385), 7 June 2016, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/TXT/?uri=celex:52016DC0385.

30. European Commission, *A European Agenda on Migration*, cit., p. 16.

31. African Union and European Union, *Joint Africa-EU Declaration on Migration*

summits and action plans; with Western and Central African countries, the EU initiated a process of cooperation in 2006 (called the Rabat Process), and with countries in the Horn of Africa in 2014 (the Khartoum Process), aimed at clamping down on irregular migration while fostering opportunities for local development. Building on these frameworks, the Valletta Political Declaration and Action Plan of November 2015, while recognizing that "a comprehensive approach is necessary for boosting sustainable economic, social and environmental development", aspire to "address the root causes of irregular migration", including by "reducing poverty" and "supporting inclusive economic growth through investment opportunities and the creation of decent jobs".[32] To this end, the Valletta Summit has launched a EU Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF) of 2.8 billion euros streamlining European aid to tackle the root causes of migration, including, most notably, the lack of development and job opportunities, thereby corroborating the idea that more development aid leads to less migration.

Whilst the related public discourse reproduces the (misleading) link "more development aid, less migration", the manifest gap between rhetorical claims and implementation further complicates the picture of the effectiveness of EU migration policies in the Sahel,[33] and most notably of the EU Trust Fund for Africa. On the one hand, the real aid flow differentials seem to be largely allocated in favour of enhanced border controls and other security measures, including capacity building and equipment for law-enforcement agencies, thereby targeting more immediate consequences rather than the root causes

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and Development, Tripoli, 22-23 November 2006, http://ec.europa.eu/development/body/tmp_docs/2006/Joint_declaration_22110_AU-EU.pdf.

32. Council of the European Union, *Political Declaration - Valletta Summit*, 11-12 November 2015, p. 2, http://europa.eu/!dG66Dd.

33. Interestingly, this also seemed to be the case with the 2011 EU Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel, which crucially addressed migratory flows as well. See Tuesday Reitano and Mark Shaw, "People's Perspectives of Organised Crime in West Africa and the Sahel", in *ISS Papers*, No. 254 (April 2014), https://issafrica.org/uploads/Paper254E.pdf.

of migration.[34] On the other hand, the imperative to curb migration at all costs risks distorting even the genuine developmental ambitions of foreign policies in the Sahel. In a number of cases the sourcing of additional finances by the EU and its Member States in order to address the refugee crisis has come at the cost of ongoing and planned development activities. In other cases, it has decreased the flexibility and the availability of aid funding for development cooperation. The EUTF sponsoring scheme, too, has partly relied on the existing aid delivering processes and funds, thereby limiting itself in some cases to "relabel" and "repackage" previously allocated resources. While streamlining migration and its alleged root causes, the principles of local ownership and necessity have often been overlooked. The urge to strengthen development and political cooperation with countries that are strategically relevant from a migration perspective has led to neglecting others who could be more or equally in need of support.[35]

Moreover, security imperatives risk overriding the development concerns. External actors in the Sahel, including the US, the EU and EU Member States, put a growing emphasis on hardened border control, pushing state and non-state actors in the Sahel to reduce the margins for unconstrained cross-border mobility (for instance in view of larger funding prospects), irrespective of the final destination of the flows and of their socio-economic significance for the survival of local communities.[36] Yet the neglect of the broader political economy of migration has al-

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34. Jaïr van der Lijn, "For the Long Run. A Mapping of Migration-Related Activities in the Wider Sahel Region", in *Clingendael Reports*, January 2017, http://reliefweb.int/node/1897474. However, a EU officer posted in Nairobi, interviewed for this research in March 2017, disputed this view, suggesting that, in practice, the concrete implementation of the projects funded by the EUTF is smoothed in more human-rights oriented interventions.

35. Anna Knoll and Andrew Sheriff, "Making Waves: Implications of the Irregular Migration and Refugee Situation on Official Development Assistance Spending and Practices in Europe", in *EBA-reports*, No. 2017:01 (February 2017), http://eba.se/en/?p=5239. See also the investigative reports of Diverted Aid: https://innovation.journalismgrants.org/projects/diverted-aid.

36. Fransje Molenaar, "Irregular Migration and Human Smuggling Networks in Niger", cit.

ready proved detrimental to the effectiveness of these strategies. In several Sahelian countries, cross border informal economies and workforce mobility, admittedly including smuggling, represents in fact one of the few available economic opportunities especially in the remote peripheral regions where natural resources are scarce.[37]

3. The migration-security nexus

The links between migration and security are manifold, not least due to the polysemy of the concept of security. Security perceptions around migration vary sharply across the continents, and involve diverging concepts of security: for instance, while European (and increasingly American) public opinion often associates migratory flows with a threat to their security and identity, Africans tend to see migration as an opportunity for humanitarian protection and economic security.[38] Instead of arbitrarily focusing on a unilateral understanding of security (state security, human security, food security, etc.), it can be worth asking in each case what the direction of the stated correlation between migration and (in-)security is, and whose security the nexus is about.

Long before it became such a controversial political issue, migration was widely seen – especially in the Sahel – as a key strategy for local communities to cope with food and environmental insecurities, in a region characterized by patterns of severe climate change, unpredictable agricultural output and famine. Legal insecurity and human insecurity are also important issues: the refugee protection framework is not an exception to the uncertainty of law implementation in large areas of the Sahel, and provides a significant incentive for refugees to seek a more protective

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37. Ibid.; Mattia Toaldo, "Migrations Through and From Libya", cit.
38. For a good overview on these narratives see Anna Knoll and Frauke de Weijer, "Understanding African and European Perspectives on Migration. Towards a Better Partnership for Regional Migration Governance?", in *ECDPM Discussion Papers*, No. 203 (November 2016), http://ecdpm.org/?p=25035.

framework in Europe. Even beyond the search for greater security at individual and community level, migration can contribute to states' security – which is less often recognized. As institutional weaknesses and unpredictable access to natural resources have the potential to represent major drivers of conflict and civil war, migration can be said to represent a safety valve to absorb the demand of employment of a quickly expanding youth often trained in little but fighting. Taking the road (of migration) thus represents an alternative to taking up arms, and can significantly contribute to regional stability and global security.

Policy frameworks sponsored by external actors in the Sahel tend to see things the other way around: migration is not the cause of greater security, but the consequence of greater insecurity. While this intuitive link is at first sight indisputable, a plethora of counterexamples urge us to nuance such a view and to reject a purely mechanical understanding of push and pull factors, as often resorted to in policy discourses. Significant patterns of migration from Somalia are clearly influenced by widespread insecurity there, but a similar dynamic of insecurity and state collapse in Central African Republic have not resulted in the same migratory trends. While an authoritarian regime contributes to pushing Eritreans to migrate in search for a greater personal security, the same does not occur in other authoritarian and ruthless regimes in the Sahel, such as Chad. Migratory flows from countries experiencing internal conflicts and terrorism, such as Mali and Nigeria, do not originate from the hardest-hit regions, such as Kidal or Borno State respectively, but from relatively less violent ones, such as Kayes and Edo State. And most migrants along the CMR (over 63 percent) come from countries where there is currently no war. Senegal, Ghana, Guinea, Nigeria, Gambia, Cameroon and Sierra Leone accounted for the strongest relative increases in 2016 compared with 2015.[39] Hence, while insecurity is a con-

39. Bram Frouws, "The Italian Connection: Getting the Analysis Right Using Data Not Myths", in *RMMS Feature Articles*, 17 January 2017, http://regionalmms. org/index.php/research-publications/feature-articles/item/60-the-italian-connection-getting-the-analysis-right-using.

tributing factor, its impact on migration from and through the Sahel is overwhelmingly mediated by other aspects, including economic and cultural issues.

Policy discourses and the practices of foreign actors in the Sahel, including the EU and some of its Member States, convey the idea that the enhancement of local security forces and border controls can contribute to reducing irregular migration by inhibiting opportunities for smuggling. In a similar vein, US policies in the region tend to assume that the "ungoverned" borderlands in the region represent a fertile ground for major global security threats, such as terrorism and organized crime (which are sometimes conflated, in spite of the lack of adequate evidence). Hence, programmes such as the Pan-Sahelian Initiative and the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership have undertaken to enhance border controls and strengthen local security apparatuses in the region.[40] This approach risks to present as support to development and the rule of law many actions which are in their essence counter-insurgency operations. However, it is worth noticing that tougher border security risks discouraging regional patterns of informal mobility and short-term economic migration to neighbouring countries, which are not only alternatives to long-haul migration but also favour regional development without carrying significant security risks. Moreover, such policies challenge local ownership as they sharply contrast with, for instance, the ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration; yet, in order to be effective, such measures need to be part of a comprehensive regional framework, as tougher border controls in one country risk displacing the problem rather than tackling it head-

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40. The Pan-Sahelian Initiative (PSI) and the Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP) refer to the US-sponsored programmes aimed at fostering security in the Sahel. The PSI was a relatively small programme, lasting from 2002 to 2004 to assist the border enforcement efforts of Mauritania, Mali, Niger and Chad. Since 2005 it expanded into the TSCTP: intervening in Algeria, Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, and Tunisia, it was endowed with a 500 million dollar budget and mandated to assist local efforts to counter terrorism in a multi-dimensional fashion, linking development, security and rule of law.

on. Unilateral initiatives by individual states through bilateral actions with transit countries can thus create challenges for neighbouring states. Italy's and Germany's deals with Sudan and Niger are examples of this short-sighted approach. The EU itself acknowledges that, as a result of the anti-smuggling activities carried out by Niger, Mali is increasingly likely to be used as an alternative transit country.[41] In the US, similar views have been recently put forward.[42]

Furthermore, foreign support to security forces and border controls in the countries of origin and transit is based on the idea that Sahelian states lack the capacity, but not the willingness, to fight irregular migration. In many cases, however, this assumption does not stand empirical scrutiny. Local state authorities are in fact well aware that migration leads to employment and that remittances represent a key driver of resilience for local communities and development for the whole country. Hence, they might resort to foot-dragging, and turn a blind-eye on irregular migration to resist foreign pressures. This trend is not new: already in 2014, IOM recognized that

> the *quartiers* or *les ghettos* in the towns where migrants accumulate, and the involvement of police, soldiers and border officials appear to be [...] 'normalized' and accepted [...]. Much of this can be attributed to the fact that many of the local economies are now highly dependent on smuggling, encouraging authorities to turn a blind eye.[43]

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41. European Commission and High Representative of the Union, *Annual Report on the Sahel Regional Action Plan* (SWD/2016/482), 23 December 2016, http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-5009-2017-INIT/en/pdf.

42. US State Department, *Framework for Border Security and Management Programs: A Compilation of Lessons Learned and Best Practices*, Washington, 2017 (Unclassified electronic copy obtained by the authors via the National Democratic Institute).

43. Tara Brian and Frank Laczko (eds.), *Fatal Journeys*, cit., p. 112. In the framework of an interview conducted in Bamako in 2014, a senior Malian officer plainly admitted that "migrant smugglers are perfectly known by Malian authorities. We could put them all in jail in less than 24 hours. But remittances bring many more riches to the country than anything else, so no one has a real interest to disrupt the business chain".

Even beyond that, an increasing amount of evidence is pointing at the pervasive collusions between migrants' smugglers and state authorities, including within the security apparatuses and the political establishments. Irregular migration can thus approximate the dynamics of a state-sponsored racket. Niger, Eritrea, Sudan and Libya exemplify these dynamics, and contribute to explaining the resilience and impunity of smuggling networks in spite of international efforts.[44] The effectiveness, let alone the legitimacy, of pouring resources into the hands of these actors to stop migration is highly questionable. Moreover, the implicit support to corrupt regimes, bad governance and state-sponsored rackets risks to represent a greater challenge to regional – and European – security in the long run.

However, one should stress that even an enhanced border enforcement carried out in a comprehensive, transparent, accountable and effective manner would not be completely secure and risk-averse. Both the available academic literature and the lessons learnt from past experiences underscore that, in many cases, the obstruction of legal avenues for regular migration does not lead to a significant reduction of departures, but to a greater resort to professional smugglers and traffickers capable of circumventing the new barriers. Illustrative of this trend are the routes carved out by Senegalese migrants through Libya, or by Eritrean migrants across the Sinai, when a renewed border enforcement shut down the "traditional" routes across Mauritania and Sudan, respectively.[45] And the professionalization of smuggling networks, as a result of great-

44. Sahan Foundation and ISSP, *Human Trafficking and Smuggling on the Horn of Africa-Central Mediterranean Route*, cit.; Peter Tinti and Tom Westcott, "The Niger-Libya Corridor", cit.; Floor El Kamouni-Janssen, "'Only God Can Stop the Smugglers'. Understanding Human Smuggling Networks in Libya", in *Clingendael CRU Reports*, February 2017, http://globalinitiative. net/?p=18965; Fransje Molenaar, "Irregular Migration and Human Smuggling Networks in Niger", cit.

45. Tara Brian and Frank Laczko (eds.), *Fatal Journeys*, cit.; Tahar Benattia, Florence Armitano and Holly Robinson, *Irregular Migration between West Africa, North Africa and the Mediterranean*, cit.; Sahan Foundation and ISSP, *Human Trafficking and Smuggling on the Horn of Africa-Central Mediterranean Route*, cit.

er border enforcement and sanctions, can end up reinforcing organized crime, corruption and bad governance.[46] There is little doubt that the shrinking of legal avenues for regular migration and the rise of criminal organizations as alternative providers of mobility increases the vulnerability of migrants and severely undermines their human security.[47]

A number of externally sponsored policies dealing with migration and security emphasize that irregular migration provides a major source of income for non-state actors such as organized crime and terrorism. The dismantling of the business model of migrants' traffickers is thus presented as contributing to international peace and security.[48] However, that migration breeds organized crime and/or terrorism (and that organized crime and terrorism can be easily conflated) is not as straightforward as these policies seem to assume. Undoubtedly, major migratory flows from Eritrea have provided a fertile ground for the development of transnational organized crime – yet one needs to underscore that the latter is reportedly linked to state actors.[49] In Nigeria, human smuggling and trafficking are largely performed by criminal-tribal networks, while there is no evidence of the involvement of terrorist organizations such as Boko Haram. In Mali, the presence of feared terrorists in the north is reportedly an incentive to look for alternative routes, and has contributed to fostering the role of Niger's Agadez as a regional hub. In the case of Libya, despite the lack of conclusive evidence, controversial reports

46. UNODC, *The Role of Organized Crime in the Smuggling of Migrants from West Africa to the European Union*, cit.; UNODC, *Corruption and the Smuggling of Migrants*, January 2013, https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/human-trafficking/2013/unodc-launches-paper-on-corruption-and-the-smuggling-of-migrants.html.
47. Tara Brian and Frank Laczko (eds.), *Fatal Journeys*, cit.; Sahan Foundation and ISSP, *Human Trafficking and Smuggling on the Horn of Africa-Central Mediterranean Route*, cit.
48. See European Union Foreign Affairs Council, 20 April 2015, http://europa.eu/!HQ67mQ.
49. "Eritrean human smugglers have penetrated their country's political establishment". Sahan Foundation and ISSP, *Human Trafficking and Smuggling on the Horn of Africa-Central Mediterranean Route*, cit., p. 30.

have contributed to inflating media anxiety about Daesh's alleged racket of migrant smuggling and plans to attack Italy via migrant boats,[50] and the possible linkages between smuggling and terrorism is increasingly called into question by EU officials.[51] And plentiful observations suggest that, as a general rule, human smuggling across West Africa resorts to the services provided by "homespun" networks through flexible arrangements, rather than to organized criminal cartels.[52] In the past, it was recognized that "the assistance provided to sub-Saharan African migrants had been small-scale, focused on a single border or short leg of the journey which had to be paid for separately".[53] The prevalence of horizontal and porous dynamics of coordination among "service providers", especially in the Sahel, demonstrates that organized crime and terrorist groups are far from being the main enablers of migratory flows, and that the latter do not necessarily reinforce the former. It is rather the shrinking of legal avenues for migration that contributes to empowering criminal syndicates, leading one to conclude that the criminal professionalization of human smuggling is often the outcome, not the cause, of that securitization of migration which, ironically, is purported to fight terrorism and organized crime.

Existing policy frameworks addressing migration in the Sahel demonstrate the limited attention paid to the lessons offered by the struggle of the international community against other illicit flows, such as drugs: an exclusive focus on the supply side is likely to result in increasing human rights abuses, uncontrollably soaring costs and limited effectiveness.[54] Hence, just as

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50. Mattia Toaldo, "Migrations Through and From Libya", cit.
51. Kateryna Ivashchenko-Stadnik et al., "How the EU is Facing Crises in its Neighbourhood. Evidence from Libya and Ukraine", in *EUNPACK Papers*, 31 March 2017, http://www.eunpack.eu/node/77.
52. Tara Brian and Frank Laczko (eds.), *Fatal Journeys*, cit.; Tahar Benattia, Florence Armitano and Holly Robinson, *Irregular Migration between West Africa, North Africa and the Mediterranean*, cit.
53. UNODC, *The Role of Organized Crime in the Smuggling of Migrants from West Africa to the European Union*, cit., p. 35.
54. Frank G. Madsen, *Transnational Organized Crime*, London and New York, Routledge, 2009.

in the case with the war on drugs, the "war on irregular migration" is likely to generate its own monsters, and even greater insecurity.

4. Options to improve the EU and US contributions to the governance of the security–migration–development nexus in the Sahel

The international actors, chiefly the EU and the US, intervening in the Sahel on the policy triangle migration/security/development share responsibility to avoid harmful impacts and to improve the governance of these policy areas, a governance intertwined with the wider level of governance in the region. Consequently, our main recommendations are:

- To avoid misgivings and miscommunications linking migration policies with development cooperation. There is no evidence of immediate links between the contexts and the beneficiaries of the two policies.[55] The risk of misplacing taxpayers' money and expectations is very serious, both in terms of internal and external (unintended?) political impacts.
- Development efforts would have a greater impact on the governance of migration if some key preconditions were systematically ensured, including a more direct involvement and ownership of local authorities and civil society organizations, taking into account the diaspora-generated actual or potential development dynamics, and a more realistic approach to market analysis in the preparatory steps of development programmes.[56] Moreover, no development effort will be successful without ensuring that funds are properly

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55. See also Steffen Angenendt, Anne Koch and Amrei Meier, "Development Cooperation and Addressing 'Root Causes'", in *Forced Migration Review*, No. 52 (May 2016), p. 29-30, http://www.fmreview.org/solutions/angenendt-koch-meier.html.
56. See examples in "Thinking Ahead: Displacement, Transition, Solutions", in *Forced Migration Review*, No. 52 (May 2016), http://www.fmreview.org/solutions.html.

funnelled through the empowerment of good governance and rule of law.

- Criminal smuggling networks are as strong as the migrants are disempowered. Policies premised on interdictions have proven to be counterproductive on the long run, and bear significant human, economic and reputational costs, and should be limited. Provision of services and legal protection beyond and notwithstanding the legal status of migrants in a specific territory would go a long way to providing migrants with incentives for avoiding criminal networks. Moreover, a growing amount of evidence shows that the promotion of regular avenues to human mobility and remote application for refugee status (such as the "humanitarian corridors") represent more viable and sustainable solutions.

- In this vein, too repressive a governance of migration should be avoided, as it multiplies the shortcomings of the weak rule of law systems in the region, including the lack of an enabling environment for civil society and the high frequency of human rights violations. From this perspective, the promotion of good governance, the rule of law, accountability and transparency can contribute to reducing the scope of smuggling, putting an end to the impunity of criminal organizations, foster development and inhibit migratory flows. Blind support to security agencies and controversial deals with authoritarian regimes – for example in Sudan, Ethiopia, Chad and Egypt – should be discontinued.

- At the level of international agreements, while it is understandable that bilateral agreements (such as the EU "Compacts") with single countries along migration routes are seen as more quickly implementable than support for the complex AU policy architecture, the latter still deserves attention and support in certain initiatives, especially where relevant to improve the continental mobility framework and thus probably reduce incentives for extra-continental migration.

- Last but not least, public authorities should highlight the positive contribution that mobility has made to the well-being and the peaceful progress of the involved continents,

both towards general audiences and specific ones, namely in schools. Conversely, inflammatory rhetoric drawing on controversial "nexuses" – such as those between migration, terrorism and criminality – should be avoided in order to prevent misunderstandings and undue anxiety. The manifold benefits that migration can bring about – in terms of global development and security – should contribute to calling into question policies whose implicit aim seems to be, *de facto*, only to reduce migration flows.

2
THE SECURITY–MIGRATION–DEVELOPMENT NEXUS IN THE SAHEL: A VIEW FROM NIGER

MAHAMADOU DANDA

1. The status quo: Niger's domestic and external environment

The most "Sahelian" country in the entire Sahel and sharing borders with Algeria, Libya, Chad, Nigeria, Benin, Burkina Faso and Mali, Niger has a surface area of 1,266,491 square kilometres.[1] It regularly hovers around the bottom of the Human Development Index (HDI) of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). In 2016, Niger came 187th out of 188 countries, scoring an HDI value of 0.353.[2] In 2012, it had a population of 17,129,076 and the highest annual demographic growth rate (3.9 percent), and one of the highest fertility rates in the world with 7.6 children per woman.[3]

All these threats and weaknesses mean that Niger is facing numerous challenges and issues in terms of demographics and food security – not to mention migration, the environment and development.

What basic aspects should we retain with regards both to Niger's domestic environment (strengths and weaknesses) and

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1. The country's surface area, which previously stood at 1,267,000 km², is estimated to stand at 1,266,491 km2 since the verdict handed down in a border dispute between Niger and Burkina Faso, which was regulated by arbitration at the International Court of Justice in The Hague in 2014.
2. See the UNDP website: *Niger Country Profile*, http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/NER.
3. Institut National de la Statistique (INS) Niger, *Résultats préliminaires du 4éme recensement général de la population et de l'habitat (RGPH 2012)*, April 2013, http://www.stat-niger.org/nada/index.php/catalog/61.

to its external environment (threats and opportunities)? What are the issues and challenges facing Niger in its role as the epicentre of migration in West Africa?

1.1 The chief features of Niger's domestic and external environment

Since the collapse of the Libyan state, which used to adopt strong and dissuasive methods in the struggle against migration, Niger's situation as a transit country for thousands of migrants departing for the Maghreb nations and Europe has deteriorated considerably.

Thanks to its geostrategic position, Niger is *de facto* becoming a structural hub, a "key centre" for migration throughout the Sahel.[4] It has become a crossroads of international migration and one of the main transit countries used by migrants from West and Central African countries bound for North Africa and Europe. The region of Agadez is now the central hub of international migration region-wide. Niger at this juncture is also a strategic partner for Europe in the struggle against irregular immigration because it has joined forces with the latter in order to counter this scourge, which is becoming a fully-fledged political drama for Europe. Nonetheless, Niger seems to take pleasure in receiving migration aid as a trade off.

In terms of its weaknesses and strengths, Niger has over the last quarter of a century been subjected to multiple "jolts" at once political, social and security-related – which have paralyzed the country's march towards better living conditions for its people, causing social tensions to rise and further complicating the entire security aspect. These jolts included the armed uprisings of the 1990s and 2000s which have left behind them a breeding ground of former combatants: bold, indeed rash, young men who are positively warlike in their handling of weapons

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4. The notion of "key centre" was used by William Lacy Swing, General Director of the International Organization for Migration (IOM), during his visit in Niger in March 2017.

and trafficking in narcotics, who are experts in the mountains and caves of the country's Aïr Mountains and the dunes of its Ténéré desert and who are equipped with "Thurayas".[5] These youngsters, who have become accustomed in the recent past to making easy money from trafficking in all manner of commodities, have now adopted the role of *passeurs*, or "guides", for illegal migrants.[6]

In addition to this militarization, the problems of development, security and migration are extremely topical for Niger. A fully-fledged component of the Sahel–Sahara region, the country currently has to cope in its northern zone, which is not always controlled by the central government, with the activities of international terrorist cells and networks of traffickers in all kinds of goods. Niger has been carrying within it the germ of a "transit country" for migrants – chiefly from West Africa, heading for the Maghreb and Europe – since 1990. The irregular migrant *passeurs* work in a vast desert area which is difficult for the armies of the various countries in the Sahel–Sahara belt to monitor. The security situation appears to have been aggravated by the repercussions of the Libyan crisis.

The other type of threat facing Niger is inherent in its geo-strategic position. This exposes it to exploitation as the prime route for all kinds of trafficking (human beings, drugs, arms, etc.) as well as favouring interaction between international organized crime and terrorist networks, which helps the criminal activities of both to prosper.

All these threats gnawing away at the country are amplified by the consequences of climate change, which are having an

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5.   Thuraya is a telephone device that uses satellites to allow the user to communicate in the desert. It is regularly used by nomads and by all those moving around in the desert – including terrorists and rebels – particularly in the northern part of Niger.
6.   Adamou Mahman Coulibaly, *Réflexion sur le lien entre migration, développement et* sécurité, Master thesis, Institut de Formation aux Techniques de l'Information et de la Communication (IFTIC), Université Abdou Moumouni de Niamey, 2017, p. 4.

impact on the Nigerien people's daily lives. They are prompting the youngest among them – who are in search of employment and/or some means of support, as well as facing many other contemporary challenges – to entertain the notion of migrating, preferably to Libya or Algeria, in the hope of escaping their fate. This constitutes proof that Niger has become the epicentre of irregular migration in West Africa.

1.2 Niger, the epicentre of migration in West Africa: issues and challenges

Migration towards North Africa was initially the preserve of Nigeriens from the regions of Zinder (centre–east) and Tahoua (centre–west), and was traditionally characterized by regional and seasonal economic migration patterns. It was only in 1990 that migrants from other African countries began to join the trend. According to Hania Zlotnik,

> [m]uch of international migration in the continent occurred and still occurs outside a regulatory framework, partly because few African countries have a well-articulated policy on international migration and even fewer seem to enforce their laws and regulations on immigration and emigration rigidly.[7]

From the fall of Muammar Gaddafi's regime and the collapse of the Libyan state in 2011 until late 2014, the *passeurs*, who were extremely familiar with the labyrinthine nature of the Nigerien desert routes, would depart the city of Agadez in broad daylight on board vehicles laden with migrants from West Africa, bound for Libya or Algeria. In 2016, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) took in close to 6,300 returning migrants in its four transit centres in Niger. Almost half of them

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7. Hania Zlotnik, *Migrants' Rights, Forced Migration and Migration Policy in Africa*, Paper prepared for the Conference on African Migration in Comparative Perspective, Johannesburg, 4-7 June 2003, p. 1, http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.586.5923&rep=rep1&type=pdf. See also Savina Ammassari, "Migration Management and Development Policies: Maximising the Benefits of International Migration in West Africa", in *ILO International Migration Papers*, No. 72 (January 2006), p. 2, http://www.ilo.int/global/topics/labour-migration/publications/WCMS_201440.

came from just two countries – Guinea (24 percent) and Senegal (21 percent), and over 50 percent from other West and Central African countries.[8]

According to European Union statistics, approximately 90 percent of West African migrants travel through Niger to reach Libya, while the IOM (2014) maintains that 60 percent of migrants crossing Libya and the Mediterranean heading for Europe transit through Niger.[9] An expert hailing from the region of Agadez argues that the situation can be explained by the stringency of border controls – not to say the outright sealing of borders – by Egypt, and/or the East African (Eritrean, Somali) migrants' need to skirt Sudanese territory.[10] Thus, both Nigerien nationals and others – including Gambians, Malians, Burkinabes, Senegalese, Ivorians, Cameroonians, Ghanaians, Liberians and Nigerians – all converge on Agadez. Evidence gathered on the ground shows that most migrants transiting through Agadez are not of Nigerien origin, although there is no guarantee that this situation will remain fixed.

We can distinguish two major migrant-flow axes in Niger:

- One, pointing "south–west–north", is used chiefly by West African migrants – particularly Senegalese, Gambians, Ghanaians, Ivorians, Malians, and Burkinabes – transiting through Agadez bound for Libya and, if possible, for Europe. These are mostly young men, with few professional qualifications, in search of economic opportunities and leaving behind them large families, for whom they have to provide financially.
- The other, pointing "south–north", is used by migrants from Nigeria and from Central Africa – in particular from Chad,

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8. International Organization for Migration (IOM), *IOM Niger 2016 Migrant Profiling Report*, August 2017, p. 9, http://gmdac.iom.int/node/324.
9. Peter Tinti and Tom Westcott, "The Niger-Libya Corridor. Smugglers' Perspectives", in *ISS Papers*, No. 299 (November 2016), p. 9, https://issafrica.org/uploads/paper299_2.pdf.
10. These remarks were made by Rhissa Ag Boula, a former leader of the Tuareg rebellion, former Minister of Tourism, Adviser to the President of the Republic, and Agadez Regional Council member.

the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Cameroon, together with those from Niger – transiting through the regions of Zinder and then, via Agadez, heading for Algeria. This axis might be being fuelled in the longer term by the numerous Nigerian and Chadian refugees who have fled Boko Haram terrorists and settled in the region of Diffa, in the far southeast of Niger. This is a basically rural population seeking protection, security and economic opportunities in order to cater for their basic needs.

Actually, restrictions enforced by Nigerien legislation adopted in 2015, which criminalized all forms of human trafficking, and the stringency of defence and security officers' controls have forced would-be illegal migrants to take unofficial paths that are far less well monitored and which are far more risky, thus placing their lives in danger.

2. Links between migration, security and development in Niger

2.1 The significance and scope of the migration, security and development paradigms

Migration, a social phenomenon, is perceived as a movement of individuals or of an entire people from one country or region to another for economic, political or cultural reasons.[11] This ambivalent notion is illustrated by the fact that for their country of origin, the migrant can make a quality contribution by playing a catalyzing role for the private sector, for international trade and for traditional and decentralized international-development cooperation. For their host country, the migrant also contributes to the economic dynamic thanks to their ability to fill a labour-market gap consisting of the unqualified, poor-

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11. Adam Katialla, *La migration clandestine au Niger de 2010 à 2015*, Level 2 Dissertation, École Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature (ENAM), Niamey, 2017, p. 9.

ly-paid and undeclared jobs that the local population no longer wishes to perform.

Development as a concept comprises a group of notions whose meaning often differs radically from one culture to another, as Gilbert Rist has pointed out.[12] The issue of development is also a political one on account of the relationship forged between its conception, devised in the planning stage, and its implementation on the ground. Development in the global sense is "an issue declined in different ways by the political and administrative players".[13] The same term designates procedures and processes for action that relate now to the local level, now to the regional level, now to the urban social level – but which always rest on an inter-institutional partnership. Development is seen as a political fact, in the pursuit of which each community must be able to find its own way forward in keeping with its character and allowing for the reality of its environment. The documentation concerning development in Niger highlights the fact that development, if properly interpreted, should never be imposed – much less, implemented – from the outside.[14] This approach to development has been adopted in Niger since the effective establishment of territorial communities' elected entities in 2004 and the development of local development plans (LDPs) as the tool for the country's local development management.

Security, for its part, is perceived as an objective situation based on material, economic and political circumstances, which results in the absence of danger to people or threats to property and which therefore strengthens people's confidence.

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12. Gilbert Rist, *The History of Development. From Western Origins to Global Faith*, London and New York, Zed Books, 1997.
13. Jacques Palard, cited in Mahamadou Danda, *Politique de décentralisation, développement régional et identités locales au Niger: le cas du Damagaram*", Bordeaux, Université Montesquieu - Bordeaux IV, 2004, p. 66, https://tel.archives-ouvertes.fr/tel-00370355.
14. This formula was used in political speeches by all Nigerien governmental authorities, from 1989 to 2017.

Moreover, the massive influx of migrants leaving from or travelling through Niger raises the issue of the haemorrhaging of the country's own workforce – and thus of the relationship between migration, development and security. But what might the causes of irregular migration be, seen through Nigerien eyes?

2.2 The causes of irregular migration in Niger

Niger, an integral part of the Sahel–Sahara region, has always been a place of migration: a land of ancient movement made up of long-distance trade, of pastoral livestock raising, of the search for farmland, of the pilgrimage to Mecca and so forth.

Climate constraints, moments of insecurity and the need for trade also lie at the root of population shifts; when a series of droughts follow on from one another, for instance, people migrate in search of more bearable living conditions elsewhere. All of the peoples in present-day Niger consider their ancient habitats to have been either in the Sahara or on its southern edge.[15] According to Professor Djibo Hamani, the best illustration of the migration phenomenon, inasmuch as it is still incomplete today, is to be found in certain Tuareg groups. The Tuareg population may be encountered in every region of Niger and their movement is still ongoing. These days, most Tuaregs are to be found on farmland in the south, combining agriculture with livestock raising and occasionally even with traditional caravan activities.[16]

The deterioration in the security situation in the Sahel has also meant that Niger has become a country in which all forms of movement, whether voluntary or enforced, overlap: refugee movements, internally displaced persons and returning populations.

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15. Djibo Hamani, *Les fondements historiques de l'Unité nationale nigérienne ou les bases d'une renaissance annoncée*, communication at the Forum on Security and Development in the Nigerien Sahel–Sahara Region, Arlit (Niger), 2012, p. 3.
16. Ibid.

The massive flow of Nigerien migrants and of those in transit is triggered by socio-economic factors (the search for money to buy food, to get married, to build or buy property, to pay family expenses and so on) amplified by the coming-of-age of young human potential with no framework capable of allowing it to be put to good use.[17] This explains why an overwhelming majority (73.2 percent) of migrants either transiting through or departing from Niger are young people aged between 15 and 34 – in other words, a valid workforce with men estimated to account for some 93 percent of its members.[18]

Moreover, observation of reality on the ground shows that poverty can prompt citizens to resort to all kinds of rash, suicidal ventures once the pressure of the economic crisis and poverty increases and becomes entrenched.

Poverty in Niger is undermining families and individuals alike, prompting Nigeriens to seek a better life elsewhere – albeit more often in the Maghreb than in Europe, because they are primarily illiterate rural people with few qualifications and either totally or broadly unfamiliar with Europe in its geography and its history. In the countries of the Maghreb, however, Nigeriens feel less culturally out of place because they have some knowledge of the practice of Islam and can easily fit in with the Arab culture in Algeria and in Libya, inasmuch as they will have had a network of social ties (relatives, friends and acquaintances) in those counties of destination for several decades.

The truth of the matter is that Nigeriens migrate chiefly towards neighbouring African countries. A survey conducted by the National Institute of Statistics (*Institut National de la Statistique*, INS) in 2013 showed that only 13 percent migrated to Libya while 87 percent were shared out among the countries of

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17. Seventy percent of the Nigerien population is aged under 24, while 50 percent is aged between 0 and 14. Roughly 40 percent of the population lives below the poverty line. Approximately 2 million Nigeriens required food aid in 2016.

18. Adam Katialla, *La migration clandestine au Niger de 2010 à 2015*, cit., p. 51.

the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), with over 38 percent opting for Nigeria. Roughly 90 percent of irregular Nigerien migrants come from the regions of Tahoua (38 percent), Tillabéry (24 percent), Dosso (16 percent) and Zinder (12.7 percent).

The migration of women and children is reaching worrying proportions in Niger due to their exploitation and trafficking towards Algeria and Libya and, to a lesser extent, towards Nigeria and Benin. The growing number of women migrants reflects a change in migrant strategy focusing on a particular "skill" – namely prostitution.[19]

The determining factors in the situation that migrants from Zinder experienced in southern Algeria in 2015 were of a sociocultural and economic nature. This was because southern Zinder (specifically, the departments of Magaria and Matameye) has the highest population density in Niger (more than 100 people per km2 in Matameye), and its women have developed a tradition of migrating to Saudi Arabia over the past few decades. The opportunity offered to them by Algeria, another Muslim country, had therefore provided them with the chance to relocate towards that country. The new development since 2015 is that families who stay behind in Niger entrust these Algeria-bound migrants with their (generally under-age) children – in the hope of "remote" financial support in the future – to serve as beggars-cum-fundraisers and as a workforce, thereby fuelling all kinds of slave labour once they reach Algeria.[20]

Yet unlike in certain countries of the West African Economic and Monetary Union (*Union Économique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine* – UEMOA) – such as Senegal, Burkina Faso and Mali – the remittances recorded from Nigerien migrants do not represent a major source of currency revenue.

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19. In Agadez, pimping appears to have developed with the presence of both local and foreign girls seeking funds to pay for their desert crossing.
20. Adamou Mahman Coulibaly, *Réflexion sur le lien entre migration, développement et* sécurité, cit., p. 2.

2.3 Links between migration and development

The sole aim of development is the improvement of living conditions for people in a country with the help of internal and external resources. It is precisely the search for such resources that underpins Nigerien migration.

It has been demonstrated that once migrants reach a destination, their financial remittances help enormously to improve the living conditions enjoyed by their families back home. The revenue generated by the "migration industry" in Agadez, the crossroads city, benefits a vast number of players such as drivers, *passeurs*, "ghetto" owners and even certain Nigerien government officials – particularly, defence and security forces officials who levy fees, charges and other sundry tolls.[21] According to Peter Tinti, migrant trafficking in the Agadez region is part of a "broader political economy".[22]

Thus, the adoption of repressive measures such as those enshrined in the 2015 law is considered by human-rights-defence organizations in Niger as being "born out of European policies against illegal immigration".[23] These organizations argue that "[i]t's because of the barriers placed in their way that the irregular migrants take enormous risks and regularly end up dead."[24] In other words, each government strategy and set of measures designed to contain irregular immigration apparently generates equal and opposite strategies for illegal migrants and their associates to get around those measures and to use more isolated routes – and all regardless of the potential human cost.

21. Peter Tinti and Tom Westcott, "The Niger-Libya Corridor. Smugglers' Perspectives", in *ISS Papers*, No. 299 (November 2016), https://issafrica.org/research/papers/the-niger-libya-corridor-smugglers-perspectives.
22. Peter Tinti, "In Niger, Anti-Smuggling Efforts Risk Trading One Crisis for Another", in *African Arguments*, 13 January 2017, http://africanarguments.org/?p=19578.
23. Hamadou Tchierno of the Alternative Association Citizen Space, a local human rights NGO, cited in Ibrahim Manzo Diallo, "EU Strategy Stems Migrant Flow from Niger, But At What Cost?", in *IRIN News*, 2 February 2017, https://www.irinnews.org/node/259270.
24. Ibid.

Yet despite everything, seen from the standpoint of the local economy, migrants transiting through the cities of Niamey and Agadez contribute to the emergence of activities that produce a revenue for those territorial communities – in particular for migrant-aid networks, small trading businesses and so on.[25] As things currently stand, EU support has not yet begun to have an effect on these populations in terms of revenue-producing activities. Yet the strengthened security measures in terms of a reinforcement of defence and security forces' capabilities and equipment in the area have broadly helped to minimise residual insecurity.

Nonetheless, the massive influx of irregular migrants in Agadez poses a threat to security, in view of the porous nature of Niger's borders.

2.4 Links between migration and security

The lack of security in certain localities close to Niger's borders can also be a driving force behind migration towards the Maghreb and Europe. Along the Niger–Mali border, this relative insecurity is due to the activities of Islamist movements; on the Niger–Nigeria border, it is a result of Boko Haram's terrorist activities; and on the Niger–Chad–Libya border, it is due to the activities of Tuareg and Toubou armed groups. Thus, security issues become factors for migration – and that migration, in turn, has a security impact both on the migrants themselves and on the countries through which they cross or in which they settle.

Migration as it is experienced from Nigerien territory is an often suicidal venture for the migrants concerned because no security precautions are adopted.[26] According to Giuseppe Loprete,

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25. Samuel Hall, *Selling Sand in the Desert. The Economic Impact of Migration in Agadez*, January 2017, https://reliefweb.int/node/2166939.
26. The price for crossing the Sahara is set at 150,000 CFA francs (or 230 euros) per person. See David Sim, "African Migrants Heading for Europe Die of Hunger and Thirst in Sahara Desert", in *International Business Times*, 28 May 2015 (updated 30 December 2015), http://ibt.uk/A006J5n.

the IOM head of mission in Niger, this explains why hundreds of them perish each year between the Sahara and Libya due to lack of water or food, or due to accidents or different forms of abuse.[27] According to a local International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) official in the Agadez region, 44 migrants, mostly Nigerian and Ghanaian, died of thirst after being abandoned by their *passeurs* in the Nigerien desert (in the country's northeastern Bilma region) at the end of May 2017.[28] The following month, some 50 migrants died of thirst in the desert after being left in the lurch by the *passeurs* who were supposed to bring them to Libya.[29]

The security of the "human cargoes" that set out from Agadez bound for Libya and Algeria is evidently precarious. From the migrants' point of view, their vulnerable condition means that many of them end up engaging in drug trafficking, are exposed to such illnesses as HIV/AIDS or engage in prostitution in an effort to put together the money required to fund their crossing. These factors jeopardize their security, both during their journey and afterwards.

The migration issue is also a factor for domestic security for a country such as Niger, because it is capable of fostering a climate of insecurity in the transit regions – particularly in Agadez, an obligatory transit point for migrants bound for Libya or Algeria.

Where security in the localities of transit or destination is concerned, the presence of a large number of people of varied origin and age groups makes peaceful cohabitation problematic. Unhealthy conditions and the absence of public hygiene due to the sudden, enormous increase in population upsets the ecosystem and weakens the environment – not least, on account

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27. Ibid.
28. International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC), *Tragedy in Remote North-Eastern Niger Highlights Dangers Migrants Face When Crossing the Sahara*, 2 June 2017, http://media.ifrc.org/ifrc/?p=34286.
29. Joe Penney, "Why More Migrants Are Dying in the Sahara", in *The New York Times*, 22 August 2017, https://nyti.ms/2vVm6Lv.

of the resultant accumulation of refuse. This concentration of people, when added to the multicultural nature of the players concerned, is a source of social tension between locals and migrants, thus raising the issue of security in relation to living conditions.

Furthermore, the intensity of widespread terrorist activity on Nigerien soil combined with the illegal circulation of small arms in the country poses a constant threat to public order, stability and security in its territories and communities.

The positive aspect is that migration for a country of both origin and transit such as Niger is also a factor for social regulation in communities faced with issues such as extreme poverty, the impact of climate change, recurrent food shortages, a rapidly growing population, fragile governance, corruption and ongoing social tension.

Yet it is to be deplored that migrant management is chiefly security-based and repressive, with the emphasis being placed on border monitoring and on the struggle against illegal migrant trafficking, to the detriment of a preventive approach.

In its capacity as a crossroads of international irregular migration facilitating transit towards "destination Europe" via the Maghreb, a reflection on the triangular relationship between migration, development and security is required in Niger's case in order to better control the situation both "upstream" and "downstream" of the country's irregular migration movement.

The massive influx into Agadez of irregular migrants from several localities, in both Niger and Africa as a whole, has meant that the country now faces a huge security deficit, not only to offset the insufficient infrastructures in the fields of health, education, hygiene and sanitation due to the huge concentration of human beings in the city, but also to ensure that migrants do not bring in any prohibited items (firearms, drugs and so on) or engage in human trafficking.

According to the President of the Agadez Regional Council, the entry into force of the 2015 law making all forms of human trafficking a crime and thus curbing irregular migration via Niger has meant that over 10,000 operators offering various services to migrants have now joined the ranks of the unemployed in the region of Agadez, thus creating another kind of insecurity. The risk must be that the ranks of these now jobless young people become a breeding ground for recruitment by terrorists or by other armed groups present in the Niger–Libya–Algeria triangle.

Indeed, among the migrants lurk all kinds of individuals, including expert and highly professional criminals. If Niger blocks these people's passage to Europe while, at the same time, no move is made to promote labour-intensive activities in their areas of departure, then they are going to remain in Niger, mix with the local population and find young unfortunate Nigeriens to help them with their criminal activities in the area. In any event, they will be unable to return home without achieving their goal, or at least a consolidation goal – particularly since their arrival in Niger will have already cost them a great deal of money. They have a number of options open to them:

- to join rebel groups or terrorist movements;
- to engage in drug production and/or distribution;
- to forge money and engage in other forms of extortion;
- to engage in other kinds of economic crime (highway robbery, armed robbery, etc.).

There is a major risk that migrants sent back home or in transit, whether Nigerien or from other countries, may have a corrupting influence on young Nigeriens through conduct pointing to easy profit, and thus fuel incurable social ills. For the moment, there are no figures concerning migrants' involvement in criminal activities aside from a few isolated instances involving the detention of drug traffickers, women and girls engaging in prostitution in Agadez, and vehicle robbery by armed bandits in the Sahel–Sahara region.

Yet those migrants who do succeed in reaching the city of Agadez often make a positive contribution through their purchases in the food and transport sectors, and their procurement of the services of guides, to local social and economic life.

3. Local authorities' and international players' responses

Niger formalized its strategy in the struggle against irregular migration by adopting Law No. 2015-36 of 26 May 2015 on human trafficking.[30] Sources in country's Ministry in charge of the Interior and of Security suggest that the adoption of this law made it possible in 2016 to intercept 113 vehicles, to report 126 drivers and *passeurs* and to bring thousands of would-be irregular migrants back to Agadez.

Also, thanks to partnerships with Niger's multilateral cooperation partners, transit centres were opened in Agadez and in Niamey in 2011 to assist migrants returning from Libya and Algeria. The European Union has opened a permanent office in Agadez for the EUCAP Sahel Niger mission, which it has devised in the context of its Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP).[31]

Actually, Niger is one of the leading beneficiaries in West Africa of the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa, with almost 145 million euros already committed.[32]

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30. The law, inter alia, provides for 5 to 10 years of imprisonment for *passeurs* found guilty of human trafficking. See *Loi No. 2015-36 du 26 mai 2015 relative au trafic illicite de migrants*, https://www.unodc.org/res/cld/document/ner/2015/loi_relative_au_trafic_illicite_de_migrants_html/Loi_N2015-36_relative_au_trafic_illicite_de_migrants.pdf.
31. This office supplies the Nigerien security forces with equipment and trains them with regard to migration and in techniques for collecting intelligence and making arrests.
32. See the European Commission website: https://ec.europa.eu/trustfundforafrica/region/sahel-lake-chad/niger.

A triangular agreement involving Niger, France and Spain, designed to combat irregular migration and illegal migrant trafficking, among other things, to the tune of 6 million euros, was signed in March 2017 in an effort to bolster cooperation between the three countries' police forces.[33]

In the context of a strengthening of territorial communities in order to tackle the consequences of migration and its impact on resident populations, a programme designed to improve the management of migration challenges, co-funded by the EU Emergency Trust Fund and the German Development Agency, was launched in early March 2017.[34]

To contain the security threats on Niger's stretch of border with Mali, Algeria and Libya, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) launched the REGARDS project, funded by the UN Peacebuilding Fund (PBF), the implementation of which is guaranteed through cooperation with non-governmental organizations (NGOs).[35]

All the projects and funding initiatives mentioned above benefit from the active cooperation of government bodies and structures both prior to and in the course of their implementation. Their perceptible – if limited – effects include, among other things, a boost to confidence in relations between the country's population and its defence and security forces' officers towards consolidating peace. This situation has been made possible

33. Oumarou Moussa, "Signature de l'accord tripartite Niger-France-Espagne contre la migration irrégulière. Renforcer la coopération entre les services de police des trois pays", in *Le Sahel*, No. 1731 (17 March 2017), p. 15, http://lesahel.org/index.php/societe/item/13777.
34. European External Action Service (EEAS), *Lancement des activités du programme 'Améliorer la gestion des défis migratoires' (ProGEM), cofinancé par le Fonds fiduciaire de l'Union Européenne et la Coopération allemande*, 27 February 2017, http://europa.eu/!WF66tq.
35. See the website of the UN Multi-Partner Trust Fund Office: *PBF/NER/B-1: Renforcement de l'Engagement communautaire pour la Gestion Alerte des Risques de Destabilisation Sociales et Securitaires – REGARDS*, http://mptf.undp.org/factsheet/project/00098292.

thanks to the imperative need to guarantee social tranquillity and to combat insecurity on Niger's borders with Mali, Algeria and Libya. As things stand today, dialogue is ongoing between the people living on this border strip and Niger's defence and security forces under the auspices of the NGO AHAROG,[36] in the context of the REGARDS project. The impact of these operations has not yet made itself felt because they are relatively recent, have not yet achieved optimum implementation and because no evaluations of them are currently available. Yet Nigeriens' overall perception is that all funding can only help in the struggle against irregular migration and the security of the EU, whose Western members are obsessed with that issue.

In addition to the EU support system, the charity organization Caritas Développement-Niger (CADEV-Niger), acting through the Catholic Church, has been operating a "migrant support project" for the past three years, in the context of which the Church's pastoral ministry to migrants in Niger seeks to offer hope to those in distress by welcoming them into its two centres located in Niamey and in Agadez. These micro-initiatives on a human scale are intended to discourage potential irregular migrants from embarking on such a risky venture, provided that the content of the sensitising operation conducted in these centres is well thought out and implemented with tact and skill on the basis of a pedagogic approach tailored to cater for its specific target group (men, women, and adolescents).

In order to contain the haemorrhage of potential irregular migrants, one might also envisage innovative solutions for mobilizing domestic resources based on transparency while failing to encourage widespread corruption.

Furthermore, it is necessary to tackle the root causes of the forced relocation of peoples, as well as of irregular migration, by boosting economic opportunities, professional training, equality of opportunity and security. In the process, such measures would:

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36. AHAROG is a registered Nigerien NGO engaged in pastoralism, strengthening capabilities and non-violent conflict management.

- strengthen the capability of Niger's regions and munici-
palities to conduct their own analysis of the local conse-
quences of migration in order to pinpoint the needs of their
resident population and of transiting or returning migrants;
and
- identify recommendations for concrete action and imple-
ment them with a view to guaranteeing and bolstering so-
cial cohesion between residents and transiting or return-
ing migrants, while improving the prospects offered to the
population at large.

Our perception is that aid – such as it is dispensed to Niger in
the classic, traditional form of official development assistance
(ODA) in general, and in the context of the struggle against
irregular migration in particular – could eventually become a
kind of "drug" unless it is geared to helping people to do with-
out it in the longer term.[37]

Also, the issue of governance, in the sense of leaders' ability to
anticipate migrant movements must continue to occupy a cru-
cial place in facing the country's multiple development chal-
lenges. Governance must also prevent any possible spillover
on the part of a population that increasingly aspires to take its se-
curity and its development policies into its own hands, thanks
to new modes of communication that facilitate the circulation
of information and the pooling of ideas.

Conclusion and recommendations

Seen both as a test and a challenge, migration today has been
described as "a sign of the times", "an important factor of the
labour market worldwide".[38]

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37. Dambisa Moyo, *Dead Aid. Why Aid Is Not Working and How There Is a Better Way for Africa*, New York, Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2009.
38. Pope Benedict XVI, *Migrations: A Sign of the Times*, Message on the occasion of the 92nd World Day of Migrants and Refugees 2006, 18 October 2005, https://w2.vatican.va/content/benedict-xvi/en/messages/migration/docu-ments/hf_ben-xvi_mes_20051018_world-migrants-day.html.

Thus, it remains a non-negotiable fact with which twenty-first century man is simply going to have to get to grips, otherwise it is in danger of being confined to the sidelines of the world's social, political and economic development.

This is because migration – whether free or forced, legal or irregular – involves issues and challenges that concern both security and development. An analysis of the security–migration–development triangle needs to be territorialized down to the level of Nigerien micro-territories (municipalities, cantons, village clusters and individual villages) when planning development, in order to better guarantee the relevance and scope of its impact and effects.

In short, the struggle against irregular migration cannot be implemented only at the level of transit countries; it must rather, indeed primarily, focus "upstream" on the countries of departure or of origin. The strategy currently being adopted by the EU and Niger consists of paying out money in order to shift the problem into the lap of the transit countries.

In the longer term, we may fear in Niger's case that tempting criminal activities may develop and spread throughout its territory and that it will no longer be able to contain, never mind neutralize, them. If that stage is ever reached, the country will not be able to backtrack and so it would inevitably become a destination country.

In conclusion, the solution to be hoped for to the problem of migration, whether irregular or otherwise, is the development of African countries and the promotion of a peace that the West has a prime duty to encourage and to assist.

Recommendations for the state of Niger and its entities

- identify and update intelligence on new irregular migrant routes and strengthen monitoring by defence and security officers (police, customs officers, the army, the national guard);

- improve the country's legal arsenal, including implementation of the law of 2015, and regulate transit in order to no longer be at odds with the right of residence and settlement guaranteed to all ECOWAS citizens;
- ensure the strict application of commitments made in the context of the African Union and of other international organizations in order to discourage all potential irregular migrants and all "service providers" behind the irregular migrant network;
- bolster the capabilities of territorial communities (regions and municipalities) and of the state's peripheral representatives in order to intensely sustain training and information projects designed, on the basis of the laws currently in force, to apprise the communities in the areas under their jurisdiction of the risky and suicidal nature of irregular migration;
- improve the education system in order to keep young people in their country, their village or their neighbourhood for longer;
- in the very short term, promote actions designed to find new occupations for occasional guides and *passeurs* who were once combatants in Niger's former armed rebel fronts;
- the civil and military authorities in the transit areas must be more vigilant and committed to neutralizing and preventing the reactivation of the various driving forces and service providers behind the irregular migrant network.

Recommendations for the European Union

- work with European territorial communities in order to facilitate certain services for migrants who have already settled there – in particular, access to basic services – and to manage their files judiciously;
- make room in its plans for the socio-economic development of its relevant regions for the "irregular migration" dimension that is now fated to become a long-term issue: as necessary an evil for migrants and for their countries of origin as it is for intake countries both in the North and in the South;

- provide short- and medium-term aid in order to strengthen democracy and good governance by honouring the EU's pledge to allocate 0.7 percent of GDP to ODA;
- counter certain Western powers' instigation to armed conflict and rebellion, which is designed to weaken a country's unity and to exploit its resources (applies particularly to Mali, Libya and Sudan).

Recommendations for the United States of America

- support the funding of projects for education infrastructure, health, village hydraulics and pastoral activities, and energy;
- help to impart a fresh boost to the private sector and to diversify public–private partnerships;
- help the migrants' countries of origin to improve their cross-border security and intelligence systems.

Recommendations for the African Union

- serve as an interface with the EU by formalizing a coordination mechanism for tracking irregular migration and regularly ensuring that the strategies developed by the EU to contain the phenomenon are in accordance with the laws in force in the subgroups (ECOWAS, CEMAC, etc.) on the African continent in respect of the "free movement of persons and their goods".

Recommendations for non-governmental organizations (NGOs)

- promote and develop programmes to accompany various activities in the context of projects to be set in motion, taking into account both migrants and the resident population.

3
THE SECURITY–MIGRATION–DEVELOPMENT NEXUS IN THE SAHEL REGION: A VIEW FROM SENEGAL

SOULEYMANE SAGNA

It is not surprising that Senegal is both country of origin and destination for thousands of migrants. In fact, Senegal shares long borders with Mali to the east; Mauritania to the north; Guinea Bissau and the Republic of Guinea to the south; and with the Republic of the Gambia, an enclave inside Senegal itself. As a result, Senegal benefits from important financial resources from its migrant nationals and the immigrants established on its soil. As of 2013, more than 244,000 immigrants, mainly from West Africa, were admitted to Senegal, while more than 164,000 nationals chose to leave the country for better employment opportunities abroad.[1]

According to the World Bank, Senegalese migrants sent home more than 1.6 billion dollars in 2015, amounting to more than 10 percent of the country's gross domestic product (GDP) and exceeding the levels of international aid for Senegal.[2] According to the update forecasts, Senegal may receive around 2.3 billion dollars in 2017.[3]

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1. Agence National de la Statistique et de la Démographie (ANSD), *Recensement general de la population, de l'habitat, de l'agriculture et de l'elevage. Rapport définitif 2013*, Dakar, September 2014, p. 235 and 246, http://www.ansd.sn/ressources/rapports/Rapport-definitif-RGPHAE2013.pdf.
2. World Bank, *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2016*, 3rd ed., December 2015, http://www.worldbank.org/en/research/brief/migration-and-remittances.
3. World Bank, "Migration and Remittances: Recent Developments and Outlook. Special Topic: Return Migration", in *Migration and Development Briefs*, No. 28 (October 2017), p. 28, http://www.knomad.org/node/1187.

However, behind this positive record lies the ugly face of migration, whose features include thousands of people entangled in the intricate networks of human trafficking, modern-day slavery, ill-treatment and the deprivation of liberty. Worse, we assist in the increase of Senegalese migrants caught up in the traps of human traffickers and religious terrorist groups that flourish in the Sahel and the Sahara Desert on their way to Europe.

1. The changing patterns of migration routes from Senegal

In the 1970s, a period of chronic drought affected rural communities in the Sahel region, including Senegal. As a result, most young people who relied on farming for their living moved to cities, towns or the capital for alternative income. Others chose to move to neighbouring countries, including Mauritania, Côte d'Ivoire, the Gambia and Mali. Although the government was eager to curb this rural depopulation trend, the structural adjustment programme imposed by the international financial institutions – principally, the World Bank – did not allow the possibility of Senegal mobilising funds for agricultural reforms likely to help the youth in its rural communities.

The luckiest managed to reach European countries, with France, Italy and Spain as their main destinations. Today, in addition to these traditional destinations, Senegalese migrants target other European nations and also American countries – including those in Latin America, from where they attempt to enter the United States.

1.1 From flight itineraries to trans-Saharan routes

If initially migrants were travelling mostly by plane with a visa, important restrictions on visa processing, entry clearance and asylum increased the number of irregular journeys and impacted on the cost of migration.[4] These changes inflated

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4. David Lessault and Marie-Laurence Flahaux, "Regards statistiques sur l'his-

travel costs. From less than 500,000 francs CFA (or 760 euros), the costs requested by persons connected with national and international trade fairs and festivals increased to 1–2 million francs CFA (1,500–3,050 euros) to cover visas, flight tickets and plane embarkation, with the possibility of placing 10–15 migrants among corporate-organization delegates and cultural-group performers. Other smugglers offered 4–5 million francs CFA (6,100–7,600 euros) with guarantees of arrival at the chosen destination. This became a flourishing racket, rapidly detected by destination countries' border controllers with the arrest of prominent artists and other members of the diaspora.[5]

At the same time, many Senegalese migrants in the Maghreb countries stumbled upon the possibility of reaching Europe via the Mediterranean Sea. The result was a snowball effect among the Senegalese, who started to target the Maghreb countries as a transit point to Europe. This was facilitated by the very low sea-travel cost (300 euros) compared with flight costs (up to 6,000 euros, including commissions) and the absence of visa requirements for Senegalese to enter Mauritania, Mali and Morocco – and also by new interstate roads from Senegal to the Maghreb countries via Mauritania.

Discussions with deported Senegalese migrants reveal two main routes with correspondingly different itineraries: the sea and the desert.

1.1.1 The ocean route

The sea route was not familiar among migrants, with the exception of some rare cases occasionally reported by the press

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toire de l'émigration international au Sénégal", in *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, Vol. 29, No. 4, p. 59-88, http://remi.revues.org/6640.

5. Papa Wemba, an African musical icon, was arrested by the French police for smuggling of migrants through his group "Viva la Musica". In June 2017, the president of the association Senegalese at Cannes, Djibril Dia, was arrested for the same reasons.

about clandestine "passengers".[6] In the mid-2000s, a sudden rush to the shore of Thiaroye-sur-Mer – a village of fishermen in a suburb of the Senegalese capital, Dakar – revealed the migration disaster that had decimated the youth in that area. According to Thiaroye residents, a local sailor had informed his fellows from Tenerife that it was easy to reach Europe by transiting through the Canary Islands.[7] All that was needed was a good captain who could use a GPS system. This started a rush from Senegalese shores to the Canaries, with hundreds dying at sea. As a result, the European Union countries formulated strategies to curb this trend or eradicate it altogether. Thanks to close border-control cooperation between the Senegalese authorities and the EU's border-control agency, Frontex, the exodus diminished drastically. This cooperation is part of bilateral agreements.[8] In reaction, however, smugglers moved to northern Mali; up north to the Mauritanian coast; and then to Morocco, Algeria and Libya.

1.1.2 The desert route

Many Senegalese migrants transit through Mauritania, cross the Morocco border and from there take boats to Spain. Others transit through Mali, where their itineraries lead them to Gao, Kidal and Tessalit before entering Algeria through, Bordj-Mokhtar and Regane. From Algeria, they cross into Morocco, head to Tangier from where they cross the Mediterranean sea or jump over the wired fence with the risk of being deadly wounded to find themselves at the Ceuta/Melilla enclave; in the Spain territory. Others go from Gao to Agadez, Niger, in order to enter Libya before heading for Italy.

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6. Natalie Castetz, "Le macabre voyage du cargo 'MC Ruby' en procès…", in *Libé-ration*, 14 November 1995, http://www.liberation.fr/france-archive/1995/11/14/le-macabre-voyage-du-cargo-mc-ruby-en-proces-en-1992-huit-clandestins-sont-tues-et-jetes-par-dessus-_149815.

7. Thierry Oberlé, "L'exode en pirogue des Sénégalais vers l'Europe", in *Le Figaro*, 1 June 2006 (updated 15 October 2017), http://www.lefigaro.fr/international/2006/06/01/01003-20060601ARTFIG90018-l_exode_en_pirogue_des_senegalais_vers_l_europe.php.

8. Bilateral agreements include co-development aid and management of migration flows lead of Frontex. The co-development component supports farming projects for voluntary returnees and candidates to regular migration.

However, it is important to mention that if many young West Africans boarded from the Senegal shore in artisanal boats, the efficient border surveillance put in place together with Frontex led many of them, including Guineans and Gambians, to move to Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and then Libya while others fly to Morocco, from where they get in touch with smugglers for the Mediterranean Sea voyage. Sometimes, smugglers ensure that immigrants are boarded but do not cross with them. In discussion with immigrants in Germany, a Guinean reported that in his case, the smugglers chose one immigrant among them who was educated enough, and trained him for a week in order to familiarise him with the sea and the GPS navigation system. Once they were sure that he had the basic knowledge required, smugglers boarded migrants late in the night and sail for 12 hours along the coast from Algeria to Libya, before heading to Lampedusa in Italian waters. That is to say that smugglers not only have tactics to avoid detection by Frontex patrols but they mitigated risks to be arrested by European security forces and tried for human trafficking and migrants smuggling.[9]

Senegalese migrants choosing the desert or the sea are aware of the dangers, but they have a blind determination to reach Europe by any means. They are motivated by a popular slogan used as a viaticum: "*Barca wala Barsax*" – literally, "Barcelona or Hell".[10]

The goal of these ocean routes is to reach Europe from the North African coast. Most of the migrants interviewed in Germany confirmed that they had spent some months or even a couple of years in Algeria, Morocco or Libya working and taking the time to connect with smugglers. Others had been detained in immigrant-retention centres in Libya, and in some cases at Tamanrasset. It is important to remember that the smugglers are well organised, and in fact hire former irregular migrants – Senegalese, Nigerians, Cameroonians and Ghanaians among

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9.   Author's interview with a migrant met at the Benjamin Franklin Village, a refugee camp in Mannheim, 17 October 2017.

10. Author's interview with Zoro at Mbao, Dakar, May 2017.

them – working in connection with smuggler nationals in the Maghreb countries of departure.

In terms of payment, many irregular migrants and asylum seekers encountered in Mannheim said that there were various packages: 600 euros for one trip attempt, or 2,500 and up to 3,000 euros for a guarantee to be taken to European shores whatever the number of failed attempts.[11] When a trip is scheduled, migrants connect smugglers with their families at home who pay the fees. In some cases, migrants' relatives – perhaps an uncle, aunt, brother or father already established in Europe – make the payment via bank transfer.[12]

1.1.3 *Implications of the involvement of criminal networks, including human traffickers, terrorist groups and smugglers*

According to a returnee who took the Mali–Algeria–Morocco route, a variety of actors is involved in exploiting migrants. There are "wingmen", working with bus drivers and motel tenants, and also accommodation tenants and smugglers. These tenants are real tour operators for migrants by making arrangements between migrants and travel-document forgers or by connecting them to smugglers and human traffickers. Wingmen also systematically report to the police, gendarmerie officers about migrants staying in their accommodation facilities or boarding at bus stations.

The vulnerability of migrants increases when they are stranded en route due to lack of funds. While in transit in the Maghreb countries, migrants ask their families for additional money through mobile-phone-based cash transfers or, failing that, seek manual work among local populations as laundrymen, cooks or water providers – or other unqualified jobs such as

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11. According to a Guinean migrant met at Karlsruhe on 7 November 2017, a few of migrants like him may have the chance to embark for free on recommendation of an empathic security guard or an employer for whom their work during they stay in the country of boarding.

12. Author's interview with a Gambian migrant met at the Benjamin Franklin Village, 17 October 2017.

masons' apprentices or porters. They thus constitute cheap and readily available labour, vulnerable to ruthless exploitation and human trafficking.

Wingmen and motel tenants are, for the most part, human traffickers. They provide food and transit accommodation, and forge travel documents and bus tickets to final destinations. They also provide credit in order to help migrants to connect with their families, and receive money to pay incurred fees and for forged passports. In the worse cases, as confirmed by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), stranded migrants simply fall into the hands of such unscrupulous groups who abduct them and claim ransoms from their families.[13] The plight of women and young girls is worse, since – in addition to exactions, which they share with other, male migrants – they are often the victims of rape and sexual exploitation by human traffickers. Those who attempt to resist are beaten, stabbed or killed.[14]

Interviewed migrants mentioned no recruitment attempts by religious extremist groups but these could be easily identified. One Senegalese migrant said that he saw jihadist elements at Kidal and Tessalit in North eastern part of Mali before entering Algeria.[15] By contrast, criminal acts against migrants, such as those reportedly committed by the notorious Ghanaian national Sam Eric Ackom,[16] are frequent in makeshift camps settled in no-man's-land areas close to borders, where long-standing migrants may become smugglers themselves; in order to survive, they also join the gangs.[17]

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13.   IOM, *IOM Learns of 'Slave Market' Conditions Endangering Migrants in North Africa*, 11 April 2017, https://www.iom.int/node/81017.
14.   As was the case of A.B., a Guinean women who is currently applying for asylum in Germany. Author's interview, Karlsruhe, 23 October 2017.
15.   According to my informant, Jihadists could be easily recognized as they circulate with their own weapons and do not gather with other community members.
16.   Gavin Jones, "Italy Arrests Ghanaian for Trafficking, Torturing Migrants", in *Reuters*, 18 March 2017, http://reut.rs/2nQgqLL.
17.   In the camps, migrants create groups by national and regional affinity: Gambian, Senegalese, Guinean and Bissau Guinean; Malian, Nigerian Ivorians; Nigerian, Congolese, Cameroonian, and other sub-Saharan nationalities. Author's interview with Zoro at Mbao, Dakar, May 2017.

Not to mention the practice of slavery that shocked the international public opinion after the CNN's report of slavery auction in Libya by human traffickers.[18]

In towns, the police and gendarmerie security agents are aware of trafficking of all kinds. They know what happens in motels and on the roads but they are, at the same time, part of the system. Still, according to my informant in Mali, security forces at Kidal and at Gao, further south in Mali, know migrants in advance from fellow travellers-by and separate them from other passengers, searching them in separated rooms at checkpoints where they are in a racket. For instance, at Gao, each migrant was obliged to pay 30 euros; at Kidal, they were forced to hand over 40 euros each. In Algeria, specifically at Bordj-Mokhtar and Regane, illegal migrants invariably pay 1,000 Algerian dinars (equivalent to 7.70 euros).[19]

1.2 The legal and policy framework for the management of migration to Senegal: border control, taxation and the right to establishment

Until recently, most Senegalese legislation on migration focused on the economic and fiscal aspects of regular immigration. It was based on interstate agreements covering visa-free entry and reciprocity on job access in the agricultural, education, construction and mechanical engineering. The core legislation in this respect is the Law No. 71-71 and its implementing Decree No. 71-860 of January 1971, which specifies the conditions regarding entry, stay, taxation, expulsion and the repatriation of migrants. This legal framework governs migration, the right to establishment and social security as well as the mobility of border communities, including trans-border commerce, health and circular pastoral migration and other climate-related displacement – including flood and drought.

18. See Nima Elbagir, Raja Razek, Alex Platt and Bryony Jones, "People for Sale. Where Lives are Auctioned for \$400", in *CNN Reports*, 14 November 2017, http://cnn.it/2zF37qv. In July 2017, international NGOs and IOM already revealed such practice on migrants stranded in Libya.

19. Ibid.

National legislation was thus shaped to accommodate migrants rather than to ban them from entering or staying. Today – in a context of high mobility and transnational criminality, not to mention religious extreme violence – the Senegalese government has acceded to recent international conventions in order to address these crimes.

1.2.1 A legal framework strengthened to deal with irregular migration and related crimes

Senegal has adopted and ratified most of the international legal instruments pertaining to human-rights standards. More specifically, since 2003 the country has been part of the United Nations' International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families adopted by the UN General Assembly resolution 45/158 of 18 December 1990. This convention deals with workers, and their families, who have a regular migrant status.

However, in the context of religious extremism, trafficking and people smuggling, and child exploitation, the Government of Senegal subsequently ratified the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and its protocols,[20] to combat trafficking in persons and the smuggling of migrants.[21] In the same vein, it enacted Law No. 2005-06 relating to the fight against human trafficking and similar practices, and to the protection of victims.[22] A further piece of legislation, Law No. 2009-16, was adopted in order to address the sponsorship

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20. The text is available in the website of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC): https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/organized-crime/intro/UNTOC.html.
21. Law No. 2003-17 of 18 July 2003: *Loi autorisant le Président de la République à ratifier la Convention des Nations unies contre la Criminalité transnationale organisée et les Protocoles qui s'y rapportent, signés à Palerme (Italie), en décembre 2000*, http://www.jo.gouv.sn/spip.php?article4301.
22. Law No. 2005-06 of 10 May 2005: *Loi relatif à la lutte contre la traite des personnes et pratiques assimilées et à la protection des victimes*, http://www.jo.gouv.sn/spip.php?article3640. This law was adopted by the Senegalese government to combat child exploitation in the streets of Dakar by poor families from Mali, Niger and Guinea Bissau.

of terrorism, with the aim of controlling funding to religious groups and individuals.[23]

At the regional level, Senegal is part of the main African legal system. In this framework, it is important to mention that the African Union (AU; formerly the Organization of African Unity, OAU) did not adopt a specific protocol for migrants but rather established the Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa in 1969. The Convention insists on the right to *non-refoulement*, and the protection of refugees from torture and ill-treatment. In addition, a Special Rapporteur on refugees, asylum seekers, migrant and internally displaced persons (IDPs) was established at the 35th session of the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights (ACHPR) held in Banjul in May 2004 in order to monitor the situation of these groups in Africa.[24]

Senegal is also a signatory to other African protocols that contain dispositions applicable to migrants. For instance, Articles 12-(3) and (5) of the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights prohibits the mass expulsion of migrants and guarantees other rights affecting them, including the right to nationality and birth registration. The regional system also encompasses other relevant dispositions protecting migrant women and children[25] – especially the right to nationality and family reunion, and, among others, the right to property.

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23. Law No. 2009-16 of 2 March 2009: *Loi relative à la lutte contre le financement du terrorisme*, http://www.jo.gouv.sn/spip.php?article8317.
24. In the mandate of this ACHPR Special Rapporteur, set by the Resolution 72 adopted at the 36th session held in Dakar in November 2004, the protection of migrants was not mentioned. The mandate was extended to cover the migration issue under the ACHPR Resolution 95 adopted at the 39th session held in Banjul in May 2006. See the ACHPR website: *Special Rapporteur on Refugees, Asylum Seekers, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons*, http://www.achpr.org/mechanisms/refugees-and-internally-displaced-persons.
25. These are the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa and the African Charter on the Rights and Welfare of the Child. See the ACHPR website: *Legal Instruments*, http://www.achpr.org/instruments.

It is also important to mention the domestication, through Law No. 2007-04 of 12 February 2007, of the AU Convention on the Prevention and Combating of Terrorism adopted at Algiers on 14 July 1999.[26] These instruments contain relevant dispositions on the transfer of funds from abroad.

At the sub regional level, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) adopted a treaty oriented more closely towards economic integration and the right to establishment. It was strengthened by the additional protocol A/P.1/5/79 of 29 May 1979 on the free movement of persons and the rights to stay.[27] This protocol governs the general principles behind the free circulation of people, allows enter without visa and alleviates the requirement for residence permits for citizens from the West African community. This protocol is completed by a set of additional protocols governing: (a) the rights of migrants and their condition of expulsion,[28] (b) the rights to residence and specific dispositions relating to seasonal and border workers, (c) the settlement of disputes between member states, and (d) the conditions of implementation of the right to establishment and the promotion of investments. It also sets up a judicial body – the ECOWAS Court of Justice, charged with jurisdiction over human-rights cases[29] and the protection of migrants' free-movement rights.[30]

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26. Law No. 2007-04 of 12 February 2007: *Loi modifiant le Code de procédure pénale relatif à la lutte contre les actes de terrorisme,* http://www.centif.sn/Loi2007_04.pdf.
27. Protocol A/P.1/5/79 of 29 may 1979 Relating to Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment. The text is available in the ECOWAS Documentation website: http://documentation.ecowas.int/legal-documents/protocols.
28. See the additional Protocols A/SP.1/7/85 of 6 July 1985, A/SP.1/7/86 of 1 July 1986, A/SP.1/6/89 of 30 June 1989, and A/SP.2/5/90 of 29 May 1990.
29. Article 39 of the Supplementary Protocol A/SP1/12/01 of 12 December 2001 on Democracy and Good Governance gives the ECOWAS Court of Justice the power to hear, inter alia, cases relating to violations of human rights.
30. The Court decided on many cases relating to violations of the rights to free movement in the ECOWAS Community. See the judgment No. ECW/CCJ/JUD/05/17 of 10 October 2017 on the case "Benson Olua Okomba v. Republic of Benin", http://www.courtecowas.org/site2012/pdf_files/decisions/judgements/2017/ECW_CCJ_JUD_05_17.pdf.

1.2.2 Migration management based on agreements, cooperation policies and institutional development

In addition to these legal measures, Senegal relies on a set of policies and practices related to migration. In doing so, institutions and departments had been set up and development policies adapted to include migration and development, the reintegration of returned migrants and the facilitation of economic investments.

The Senegalese Government has therefore established five institutions designed to retain nationals from migrating through employment and occupational initiatives and the creation of agencies including but not limited to the National Action Fund for Employment (*Fonds national d'action pour l'emploi* – FNAE), the National Fund for Youth Promotion (*Fonds national de promotion de la jeunesse* – FNPJ), the Agency for the Execution of Works of Public Interest (*Agence d'exécution des travaux d'intérêt public* – AGETIP), the Project for the Promotion of Rural Micro-businesses (*Projet de promotion des micro-entreprises rurales* – PROMER) and the Labour Service within the Directorate of Employment. However, such institutions were not covered by a formal, national migration policy. Senegal is currently drafting such a policy, which will be validated probably before the end of 2017.

Lastly, in terms of migration-control policies in connection with co-development, Senegal signed important cooperation agreements for the management of migration flows with Spain.[31] These include the selection and training of Senegalese workers so that they qualify in jobs specified in the Spain and Senegal agreement. Senegal also signed an agreement relating to the concerted management of migration flows with France on 23

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31. See the Law No. 2008-19 of 22 April 2008: *Loi autorisant le Président de la République à ratifier la Convention entre le Gouvernement de la République du Sénégal et le Gouvernement du Royaume d'Espagne sur la Coopération dans le domaine de la Prévention de l'Emigration des mineurs sénégalais non accompagnés, leur protection, leur rapatriement et réinsertion, signée à Dakar, le 5 décembre 2006*, http://www.jo.gouv.sn/spip.php?article7006.

September 2006, and renegotiated it in September 2008 in Dakar.[32]

Concerning Italy, several agreements in relation to migration were signed with Senegal, such as the one signed on 4 August 2009 in order to promote private-sector development in favour of the Senegalese diaspora established in Italy. This accord was followed by other relevant agreements, including the *Accord pour l'exécution du Programme 'Connaissance innovatrice et développement local'*, of 9 February 2011; the *Accord Programme intégré de développement economique et social* (PIDES), of 28 October 2010; and the *Accord cadre de coopération au développement*, of 7 December 2011 – all signed in Dakar.[33]

These agreements laid the basis for comprehensive co-development programmes targeting regions with high rates of migrants – especially in the sectors of agriculture and local development; the private sector and economic local development; and social protection, gender and education. Several of these programmes have been completed or are being currently implemented – among them, the *Plateforme d'appui au secteur privé et à la valorisation de la diaspora sénégalaise en Italie (PLASEPRI)*[34] which concentrates on the creation of a financial and technical assistance platform in order to support the development of the Senegalese private sector through the valorisation of the economic potential of the local community and diaspora in Italy. This programme is part of other initia-

32. For the text of the agreement see the French Decree No. 2009-1073 of 26 August 2009: *Décret portant publication de l'accord entre le Gouvernement de la République française et le Gouvernement de la République du Sénégal relatif à la gestion concertée des flux migratoires (ensemble trois annexes et une déclaration), signé à Dakar le 23 septembre 2006, et avenant à cet accord (ensemble deux annexes), signé à Dakar le 25 février 2008*, https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/eli/decret/2009/8/26/2009-1073/jo/texte.

33. See Ministry for Foreign Affairs and Senegalese abroad, *Cadre juridique de la coopération entre le Sénégal et l'Italie*, December 2013, http://www.diplomatie.gouv.sn/node/16.

34. For more information on PLASEPRI see the M4D website: http://www.migra-tion4development.org/en/node/40241.

tives covering the transfer of knowledge in the agricultural and financial sectors, and is accompanied by the facilitation of the channelling of remittances and access to reintegration-project funds.[35]

1.3 The impact of migrant populations, settlement and occupations in the national economy

The most recent population census, taken in 2013, estimated that 164,901 Senegalese (1.2 percent of the population) left the country – mainly from Dakar (30.3 percent of the emigrant total), Matam (13.8 percent), Saint-Louis (9.6 percent), Diourbel (9.3 percent) and Thies (8.9 percent). Europe is the main destination for these migrants (44.5 percent), followed by West Africa (27.5 percent) and Central Africa (11.5 percent).[36]

As for the immigrant population, it is estimated at 244,953 – that is, 0.23 percent of the resident population.[37] They are mostly settled in the regions with greatest socio-economic opportunities – namely Dakar, the capital, with 45 percent of total immigrants; Tambacounda (7.1 percent); Thies (6.7 percent); Kolda (6.1 percent); Ziguinchor (6 percent); Saint-Louis (5.9 percent); and Diourbel (4.9 percent). In the capital, immigrants mostly live at Medina Rebeuss, Gueule Tapée and in peripheral areas – including Grand Dakar, Grand-Yoff and Ouakam – but also in the suburbs, in areas such as Parcelles Assainies, Pikine, Keur Massar and Rufisque.

These statistical data on immigrants do not display division based on nationality, but Guineans are the most visible immigrant community and Mauritanians had traditionally ranked as the second largest group of immigrants in Senegal behind Guinean Fulanis who started to flee to Senegal after the inde-

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35. See the presentation of the Italian Cooperation Office in Dakar: http://www. adl.sn/node/329.

36. ANSD, *Recensement general de la population, de l'habitat, de l'agriculture et de l'elevage*, cit., p. 247.

37. Ibid., p. 235 and 244.

pendence of their country to flee the dictatorship of President Sékou Touré starting from 1958. However, things have changed since the communal conflict between Senegal and Mauritania of 1989 and the deportation of black Mauritanians to Senegal. Before this crisis, Mauritanians ran the majority of the small "corner" shops in Senegalese villages, towns and cities; afterwards, however, their places were taken by Guineans. During the conflict, up to 120,000 black Mauritanians were deported to Senegal by the very Mauritanian government security forces[38] through riverboats and military trucks and cargo planes because of their claims for equal citizenship rights.[39] However, starting in 1994, most of them returned spontaneously while 24,000 returned in the framework of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) voluntary-repatriation operations from 2008 to 2012. Today, thousands of Mauritanian refugees remain in Senegal after the closure of the UNHCR operation in 2012, but their presence can hardly be quantified because they belong to cross-border communities – including the Fulani, the Wolof and the Soninke. Additionally, they can easily cross border checkpoints unseen because of family ties shared with their Senegalese counterparts. Other West African nationalities – including Nigerians, Malians and Nigeriens – are to be found working in the motor-parts, fabrics, African cosmetics and food sectors, as well as in artisanal fisheries and leather tanneries, among others.

Because of their occupations and settlement patterns, migrants in Senegal undoubtedly contribute to the country's economic development. Yet, it is difficult to quantify the level of their contribution to the gross domestic product (GDP). In part, this is because of an informal taxation system, especially for non-registered businesses, but it is also because of something that Christian Santoir mentioned 30 years ago regarding

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38. See Janet Fleischman, *Mauritania's Campaign of Terror. State-Sponsored Repression of Black Africans*, New York, Human Rights Watch, April 1994, https://www.hrw.org/node/257200.
39. Marion Fresia, *L'expérience d'un déplacement forcé: les modes de réappropriation de la 'contrainte' dans le Village de refugies mauritaniens de Ndioum au Sénégal*, Marseille, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 2001.

Mauritanians in Senegal: "the absence of accounting [allows] to cover [up] commercial operations […] the volume of transaction being unknown, it is [not] easy to judge an activity seen as lucrative without being able to prove it formally."[40]

By contrast, it is much easier to extrapolate from figures of the contribution of Senegalese nationals abroad, in the form of remittances sent by migrants. These flow thanks to banking and mobile-phone money-transfer tools that ensure traceability – although parallel systems exist at borders, allowing the sending of remittances outside official financial channels.

The most recent population census, carried out in 2013, estimated the Senegalese migrant population at 0.23 percent of the resident population. At the same time, Senegalese migrants left the country in the numbers indicated above, at the opening of this section.

2. The nexus between migration and development in Senegal

In their paper on migration and remittances, Dilip Ratha, Sanket Mohapatra and Elina Scheja indicated that

> [t]he main channels through which migration alleviates poverty are increased incomes from remittances, [… and] access to finance for starting a new business, as well as tapping [in] to the knowledge and resources provided by the international community of the migrant diaspora.[41]

This assertion applies to regions in Senegal with large diaspora communities in Europe and the United States, where migrants

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40. Christian J. Santoir, "L'émigration Maure: une vocation commerciale affirmée", in *Cahiers de l'ORSTOM, Série Sciences Humaines*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1975), p. 138, http://www.documentation.ird.fr/hor/fdi:01324.
41. Dilip Ratha, Sanket Mohapatra and Elina Scheja, "Impact of Migration on Economic and Social Development. A Review of Evidence and Emerging Issues", in *World Bank Policy Research Working Papers*, No. 5558 (April 2011), p. 3, http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/617151468332982240.

have substantially changed the social and economic pattern of their home localities and communities through the flow of financial resources and goods that they send home. Part of their remittances goes to consumption, better health care, transportation and education. In the region of Louga, for instance, migrants contributed not only to the improved accessibility of their villages but also to the increased urbanization of towns, where the more successful among them built modern houses.

Their investments in the local economy are thus visible but not easily quantifiable. Migrants tend to invest in high-profit sectors, including motor parts, construction materials, motor sales, property and transportation. However, a few invest in small and medium-sized enterprises – a sector traditionally dominated by long-standing Lebanese immigrants and their descendants, who, as early as in the colonial period, had exercised a stranglehold on fabrics, groceries, electronics and household equipment. Even so, a huge amount of money is sent by the Senegalese diaspora, and the Government of Senegal makes efforts to secure and encourage their investments in the economic and social development of the country.

2.1 Government development programmes and the place of migrants' remittances

According to the World Bank, in 2014 Senegalese migrants send home a total of 1.6 billion dollars in remittances – 10.3 percent of the country's GDP.[42] The Government of Senegal is aware of this important financial "pot", and has set up policies and practices in order to regulate migration and channel this contribution towards development projects. Therefore, various institutions have been put in place with the mission of valuing the contribution of Senegalese migrants to the national community-development process by securing the protection and promotion of their rights and facilitating their development projects.

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42.   World Bank, *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2016*, cit.

To that end, the Government of Senegal attributed to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Senegalese abroad the mission to encourage and support the social and economic investments of the Senegalese diaspora in the national territory, favour their intellectual contribution to national development and put in place for Senegalese abroad and their families, measures and facilitation of access to housing.

Furthermore, relevant directorates and agencies had been created and attached to the ministry in order to address Senegalese migrants' needs, including the Directorate for the Support of Investment and Projects (*Direction de l'appui à l'investissement et aux projets* – DAIP),[43] with its mission to collect and monitor the projects of migrants and ensure their follow-up; and the Directorate of promotion and assistance of the Senegalese Abroad (*Direction à la promotion et à l'appui des Sénégalais de l'exterieur* – DIPASE), whose mission is to acquire plots of land on behalf of the Senegalese abroad and facilitate their development in partnership with public or private property agencies. DIPASE has also the role of assisting migrants with dire social conditions in their host countries.

In order to facilitate DAIP, the Support Fund for Investments of Senegalese Abroad (*Fonds d'appui à l'investissement des Sénégalais de l'exterieur* – FAISE) was established by Decree No. 2008-635 of 11 July 2008. These funds are meant to support investment projects submitted to, and found eligible for funding by, DAIP.

Besides the institutional framework, the Government of Senegal has developed partnerships with the main countries hosting Senegalese migrants – including France, Italy and Spain, as well as some African nations. These included, among others, the Co-development Partnership with France, signed on

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43. DAIP was created by Decree No. 2007-908 of 31 July 2007. See also the Decree No. 2012-633 of 11 July 2012 relating to the attributions of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Senegalese Abroad.

25 May 2000,[44] and the Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals (TOKTEN) project. The latter was supported by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and dedicated to national development through the transfer of the knowledge of Senegalese experts in the diaspora and their connection with actors in the public and private sectors in host countries and Senegal. Migration for Development in Africa – MIDA – funded by the Italian Development Cooperation also constitutes a successful experience.

Unfortunately, the multiplicity of institutions and ministerial departments creates confusion and seriously affects the efficiency of the country's remittance policies. This is also in part because there has to date been no current migration policy that combines these dispersed initiatives. But, also, there is no clear "road map" for the effective use of remittances, despite the fact that they are five times as large in scope as international development-cooperation funds. Most of the time, remittances play a subsidiary role in Senegal, replacing the state where it has failed to provide services. Migrants from the same community may fund drilling operations to ensure access to water[45] or, as in the case of the Association of Migrants from Sebikhotane, to offer four ambulances to hospitals in their department – Rufisque.

2.2 State monitoring and administrative policies for tracing, securing and facilitating remittance: gaps and prospects

The main difficulty for the state in channelling remittances derives from their private character. The autonomous man-

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44. For the text of the agreement see the French Decree No. 2000-1056 of 25 October 2000: *Décret portant publication de la convention de codéveloppement entre le Gouvernement de la République française et le Gouvernement de la République du Sénégal, signée à Paris le 25 mai 2000*, https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/affichTexte.do?cidTexte=JORFTEXT000000767533.

45. Hamidou Dia, "Les investissements des migrants dans la vallée du fleuve Sénégal: confiance et conflits d'intérêts", in *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, Vol. 23, No. 3 (2007), p. 29-49, https://remi.revues.org/4201.

agement of remittances places government development services in the position of merely of orientating, facilitating and assisting. In addition, a large part of the state administration is too corrupt or inefficient to ensure sound administrative procedures for enterprises. The government has made strenuous efforts to offer accelerated procedures though development agencies like the Agency for Investment Promotion and Major Projects (*Agence pour la promotion de l'investissement et des grands travaux* – APIX), but it lacks an efficient communication strategy with which to build confidence among migrants.

3. European perceptions of the nexus between migration and security

The unremitting tides of migrants and refugees washing up onto the shores of European and transit countries, and the impossibility of stopping the population flows and the associated crimes – including smuggling, human trafficking and extreme religious violence – pose a real threat to the national security of both Senegal and the European countries.

Additionally, recent terror attacks in destination countries – in France (November 2016), Belgium (March 2016), Germany (December 2016) and the United Kingdom (June 2017) – were reportedly carried out by religious extremists hidden in the refugee and migrant flows, as well as the growing number of radicalized young Muslim Europeans of immigrant extraction.

This is a matter of concern for European countries and their public opinion, both of which find that migration poses a security issue. The horrors of the attacks, the victims caught in the act of carrying on their everyday lives, directly affect host societies who, in return, develop the feeling of a threat to their lives and the expression of their culture.[46]

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46. Mervyn Frost, "Thinking Ethically about Refugees: A Case for the Transformation of Global Governance", in Edward Newman and Joanne van Selm (eds.), *Refugees and Forced Displacement: International Security, Human*

As a result, there is a debate raging in Europe on whether borders should or should not be open to migrants, but also about burden sharing. In France, for instance, rightist militants demand simply the expulsion of migrants whom they perceive as a threat to national cohesion and identity; in Germany, meanwhile, a section of public opinion finds the government of Angela Merkel too generous vis-à-vis migrants. This is to say that immigration authorities in destination states are under pressure to implement firm and restrictive entry-clearance policies, and tighter border surveillance.

3.1 National security threats and migration trends in and out of Senegal

Constituents in some European receiving countries perceive migrants as threats to national security and to their secular and cultural identity. West African states, although relatively poor countries, are also affected by such considerations – but with lesser intensity.

In November 2015, a terrorist group killed 23 people during an assault on the Bamako Radisson Blu Hotel in the Malian capital. Two months later, on 15 January 2016, it was the turn of the Cappuccino restaurant and the Splendid Hotel in Ouagadougou, Burkina Faso to be attacked, and 29 civilians were killed. On 13 March 2016, 19 people, including three special-force members, were killed and 33 injured at the Grand Bassam Beach resort in Cote d'Ivoire as it was raided by radical extremist groups. These attacks have in common the fact that the killers came from Mali, where members of violent Islamic radical groups are operating.[47]

Vulnerability, and the State, Tokyo, United Nations University Press, 2003, p. 109-129, https://collections.unu.edu/view/UNU:2434.

47. According to CNN and BBC reporting, attacks were carried out by terrorist groups affiliated to Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb. See Tim Lister, "Burkina Faso Attack Demonstrates Al Qaeda Revival in Africa", in *CNN*, 16 January 2016, http://cnn.it/1JRs3eZ.

On 28 August 2014, a young Ebola-infected Guinean, fleeing the epidemic disease in his country, illegally crossed the border into Senegal and claimed health care at a Dakar hospital. Many citizens subsequently started to feel insecure in dealing with Guinean migrants because of the deadliness of this disease. Accordingly, resentment against Guinean immigrants increased – although, up to the time of writing they had not been subjected to violence.

From the above, it is clear that migration affects national security. However, this should not overshadow the fact that migration itself reflects insecurity. Migrants' motivation in their flight is to escape threats to food insecurity, environmental degradation and breaches of human security – namely, the deprivation of social and economic rights, conflicts and political persecution.

3.2 Security at the heart of migration out of Senegal: from causal to induced effects

Senegalese populations generally do not see immigration as a matter of national security, but nationals who take the migrant routes to Europe do so because they find remaining in their country a threat to security in its broader sense – for themselves and their families. Indeed, Senegal is affected by a high rate of unemployment; the degradation of its traditional farming system due to climate change, land scarcity and an absence of adequate government-led agricultural vision; high illiteracy; and a costly health-care system. All these features are constitutive of food, environmental and human insecurity.

Interviewed Senegalese migrants affirm that they leave their country by necessity; the determination to escape a lack of jobs and financial resources arises from the requirement to cover the basic needs of their parents and relatives. They are lured by successful migrants for whom medication, education, food, adequate housing and self-esteem is no longer a challenge. As Hamidou Dia puts it,

> These new figures of success display new material attributes with an unquestionable visibility: beautiful and wide houses, parabolic antennas, fancy cars, Hi-Fi equipment and a type of far-fetched attire, sponsoring, baptism, weddings, religious ceremonies, public political events, or others.[48]

Another migrant showed a strong sense of dignity and self-esteem: when asked whether he was married, a young shoemaker – an internal migrant encountered in the capital – said that he would first have travelled to Angola, where his cousin had migrated. He added that in his home village, if he did not have the same amount of money as his fellow villagers who had migrated, he would be considered a loser; he would not gain respect.[49]

However, with regard to international migration, the Senegalese authorities and national public opinion do express security concerns associated with immigration. They do so in the light of terror attacks perpetrated by migrants in neighbouring countries, but also on account of reports of cases of Senegalese nationals involved in religious extremism abroad.

3.3 Government national-security strategies and regional cooperation as an effective response to migration and security crises

Senegal has not yet been the target of terror attacks; however, according to the country's security authorities, several of its citizens migrated abroad to join the Boko Haram terrorist group or are fighting under the banner of terrorist groups in Libya and Syria.[50] The Senegalese Government has undertaken several measures and reinforced the country's national-securi-

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48. Hamidou Dia, "Les investissements des migrants dans la vallée du fleuve Sénégal", *cit*.
49. Author's interview with Salif Diop, a shoemaker located in Place de l'Indépendance, Dakar, 16 March 2017.
50. Benjamin Roger, "Terrorisme: ces Sénégalais qui ont rejoint l'État islamique en Libye", in *Jeune Afrique*, 27 January 2016, http//www.jeuneafrique.com/2974480/politique/terrorisme-ces-senegalais-qui-ont-rejoint-letat-islamique.

ty architecture in order to challenge security threats from nationals and immigrants involved in religious terrorist groups.[51]

In 2017, at least five immigrants have been arrested in Senegal for membership of terrorist groups.[52] This development can be attributed to the efforts of the Senegalese Government to secure the country's borders. The Senegal authorities tightened the border surveillance system by reinforcing the capacity of the Directorate of Aviation and Border Police (*Direction de la Police de l'Air et des Frontières* – DPAF) with more staff, surveillance and equipment, including the planned acquisition of ultralight aircrafts for a better surveillance of the nation's borders with Mali and Mauritania. DPAF plays an important role in cooperation with Frontex in order to combat human trafficking, irregular migration and cross-border criminality.[53] These measures also include the examination of the intelligence resources available in various security branches by the General Delegation of National Intelligence (*Delegation générale au renseignement national* – DRN); this process includes the General Directorate for Internal Intelligence (*Direction général du renseignement interieur* – DGRI) and the General Directorate of External Intelligence (*Direction général du renseignement extérieur* – DGRE), in addition to the Anti-terrorist Unit (*Cellule de lutte anti-terroriste* – CLAT) created by Decree No. 2003-388 of 30 May 2003.

Concluding remarks and recommendations

Senegal and European countries are increasing the number of programmes to turn migration into a win–win process through

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51. Camille Belsoeur, "Entre islam radical et frontières poreuses le Sénégal craint la contagion terroriste", in *Slate.fr*, 25 January 2016, http//:www.slate.fr/story/112945/senegal-terrorisme-aqmi.

52. Benjamin Roger, "Sénégal: arrestation de trois jihadistes présumés à Dakar", in *Jeune Afrique*, 12 April 2017, http//www.jeuneafrique.com/429047/politique/Senegal-arrestation-de-trois-jihadistes-presumes-a-dakar.

53. See the website of the Senegal Ministry of the Interior: *Politique de sécurité publique*, http://www.interieur.gouv.sn/securite-interieur/politique-de-securite-interieure.

the concerted management of migration flows by means of co-development accords, remittance valorisation and a strengthening of security apparatuses through cooperation. However, these efforts to mitigate the migration crisis seem to have had little impact on migrants' actual movements. There is a need for new approaches in the management of migration flows, greater cooperation from sending countries and concerted common policies between regional economic and legal mechanisms, including the European Union and the African Union, as well as robust co-development initiatives and projects.

Recommendations to the Government of Senegal

- Senegal must finalise and implement its first migration policy in order to address the root causes of migration and set a clear road map to reduce migration flows. This could be done by supporting youth initiatives, especially in the field of agriculture, and training in emerging vocations and disciplines related to the development of the country's extractive-resources sector and to the recent announced discovery and exploitation of oil, expected to generate wealth that will inevitably bring migrants into Senegal.
- Diplomatic delegations in transit countries should reach out to migrant associations with a view to ensuring that they are properly registered at consular services, in order to better ensure migrants' protection and security.
- Bearing in mind the fact that many refugees end up to becoming irregular migrants, Senegal should reform its migration and asylum legislation in order to incorporate new protection issues related to climate change, human trafficking and sexual abuse. Moreover, asylum seekers should benefit from legal counsel during hearings, to ensure that their applications are duly treated.
- Since roughly 2007, Senegal has increased the number of institutions and other services dedicated to facilitating, encouraging and supporting socio economic projects likely to encourage potential candidate for migrants to stay and work in the country. To have a real impact, however, these

institutions need strong communication strategies and sustained sensitization campaigns in order to reach candidates for migration, as well as unified practices and databases for a better monitoring and follow-up of achievement.

- More communication is needed to de-escalate and depoliticise the debate over readmission policies, by discussing and unveiling readmission agreements and operations to ensure that the rights of migrants are respected.
- In terms of migration-data management, Senegal is currently updating national ID cards with biometric chips. This trend should be extended as soon as possible to all ECOWAS countries in order to fill the gaps in migration-data registration. Accordingly, border-control offices should be equipped with digital equipment that read such biometric ID cards for an effective and updated database on the identity of nationals and migrants crossing its borders.
- The Senegalese Government should provide immigration services with modern equipment – namely, adapted vehicles, surveillance and communication kits – and sufficient human resources for an enhanced intervention by border surveillance and immigration.

Recommendations to the African Union

- Members of the AU should strongly speak out and engage member states in order to ensure that migrants in their territories benefit from protection against xenophobia, intolerance and human-rights abuses. Moreover, in the light of natural disasters – including famine, drought and food insecurity – the AU should exercise leadership in the debate over the effects of climate change on the lives of millions of farmers obliged to migrate to neighbouring countries, who are already confronted with communal strife and conflicts.
- The AU is committed to address migration, mobility and employment in a multidimensional approach. But, it remained deliberately silent on the attacks against migrants in the Maghreb countries and in the Republic of South Africa. The AU should ensure that hosting states duly protect migrants' rights, by adopting directives and regulations and

taking measures against member states who fail to protect migrants against xenophobia and violence.

- Lastly, bearing in mind the serious violation of migrants' and refugees' rights in many member states, and those states' failure in their duty to protect, the AU should work towards the adoption by host countries of rules and directives on the protection of migrants, refugees and IDPs.

Recommendations to the European Union

- The EU commitment in the Rabat and Khartoum processes is appreciated. However, besides implementing unilateral policies, the EU should directly involve sending countries during European summit talks for improved implementation of recommendations and responsibility sharing.
- The co-development approach can be a relevant solution for reducing migration. However, projects should not be limited to agriculture; rather, they should be integrated into national programmes after effective evaluation of the specific local needs of each region.
- Bearing in mind that persistent political instability and corruption are an important "push factor" in youth migration in Africa, the EU should make development aid conditional on effective democratic governance in the management of national resources for social inclusion and the widest possible enjoyment of social and economic rights.
- National civil-society organizations can play an important role in the fields of media and community outreach in order to make young people aware of the dangers of irregular migration. The EU should support training and awareness programmes in order to make community based and local NGOs agents of change in the field of development, education and the fight against irregular migration.

4

THE SECURITY–MIGRATION–DEVELOPMENT NEXUS IN THE SAHEL REGION: A VIEW FROM SUDAN

BASHAIR AHMED

Sudan is a source, transit and destination country for asylum seekers,[1] refugees[2] and migrants[3] transiting along the Eastern African migratory route and into North Africa in what have been referred to as mixed migratory flows.[4] There are several economic, social and structural factors, as well as conflicts, that compel people to leave their homes, and those who are seeking better opportunities and migrate to Europe and other locations. However, with limited or no options to legally migrate, many undertake cross-border journeys that violate mi-

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1. An asylum seeker is someone who has left their country of origin seeking asylum in another country under the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugee and is waiting for a decision as to whether or not they are a refugee.
2. According to Article 1 of the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugee, a refugee is a person who is "unable or unwilling to return to their country of origin owing to a well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion".
3. There are no universally accepted definitions for terms such as irregular migration, thus this chapter uses the terms "migration" to denote short-and long-term cross human movements. This is defined by the International Organization for Migration (IOM) as "The movement of a person or a group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State", which includes "migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes, including family reunification". See the IOM website: *Key Migration Terms*, https://www.iom.int/node/103. Moreover, a migrant is defined as a person residing in a foreign country for more than one year whether the means to migrate are regular or irregular, and irrespective of the causes of migration was voluntary or forced.
4. Bram Frouws and Olivia Akumu, "Pushed and Pulled in Two Directions: An Analysis of the Bi-Directional Refugee and Migrant Flow between the Horn of Africa and Yemen", in *RMMS Briefing Papers*, No. 1 (May 2016), http://www.regionalmms.org/images/briefing/Pushed_and_Pulled.pdf.

gration laws and policies. Along these numerous routes, they face harsh conditions and unscrupulous smugglers, risking trafficking, and punitive treatment by government authorities. This often results in widespread human-rights violations, gaps in migrant protection and significant human suffering.

For the European Union, with almost daily news reports of migrants, many of whom are refugees, losing their lives as they undertake the journey to Europe in 2010s, 2015 saw the so-called "migrant crisis" take centre stage in European politics. In response to a surge of migrants and refugees arriving on European shores, coupled with the lack of a unified political response to the crisis, the EU has taken drastic steps to gain control of the situation, including striking deals with governments that it once condemned for their poor human-rights records – among them, Sudan.

The intersection of migration, development[5] and security presents a unique challenge in an increasingly globalized world. These three factors are already beginning to combine in ways that undermine traditional understandings of migration and that offer ample reason to revisit established concepts of security[6] and borders, and how these relate both to development

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5. The term "development" refer to the broader concept of "human development" and the process of "enlarging people's choices and enhancing human capabilities", including "social freedoms that cannot be exercised without political and civic guarantees". See Amy Hong and Anna Knoll, "Strengthening the Migration-Development Nexus through Improved Policy and Institutional Coherence", in *KNOMAD Working Papers*, No. 15 (June 2016), p. 1, https://www.knomad.org/node/467. In the context of migration, development is often seen as a lack of development and in turn a "push" factor, rather as opportunities or choices for those who migrate.

6. Security is commonly envisaged as a threat to state survival, and has largely been defined by the Cold War experience. However, this understanding has evolved over time and it has become widely accepted that the concept no longer entails solely state security but also regional, societal and human security. In relation to migration, security does and should not rest solely on protecting borders from undocumented migrants; migration most often occurs because people are seeking opportunities, but they might also be seeking protection. See Mark Duffield, *Global Governance and the New Wars. The Merging of Development and Security*, London and New York, Zed Books, 2014.

and migration and to development policies and practices. After all, migration is one of the main driving forces behind economic and human development.

The protection and security of migrants are nowadays often forgotten and, as avenues for legal migration grow more limited, individuals are taking greater risks. This is manifested in the steady reports of human-rights violations and the drowning of thousands of migrants attempting to cross the Mediterranean Sea, often in unsafe boats. Growing incidents of human trafficking and lack of protection for irregular migrants is a cause for concern, for which both sending and receiving countries bear responsibility.

1. Setting the scene: Migration data to, across and from Sudan

Since its independence in 1956, Sudan has been engulfed in conflicts, political instability, economic and environmental degradation, lack of sustainable forms of livelihood, famine and population displacement. Its long-established tensions between centre and periphery are driven by a chronically unjust division of power, wealth and investment, and by an inability or unwillingness on the part of the central government to manage the ethnic, religious and cultural diversity of this vast country.[7] The first and second North–South civil wars[8] cost the lives of more than 2 million people, and led at the time to the largest number of internally displaced persons (IDPs) in the world.[9] In 2011, South Sudan gained its independence from Sudan – becoming the youngest nation in the world, but also dividing the country along existing fault lines. However, grievances in Su-

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7. Douglas H. Johnson, *The Root Causes of Sudan's Civil Wars*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 2003.
8. The first civil war (1955-1972) ended with the signing of the Addis Ababa Peace Agreement in 1972. The second civil war began in 1983, triggered by the imposition of Shari'a law by the Government of Sudan.
9. Human Rights Watch, *Sudan, Oil, and Human Rights*, November 2003, https://www.hrw.org/node/255619.

dan's South Kordofan and Blue Nile states, which lie along its border with South Sudan, remain unaddressed, as provisions laid out for them in the 2005 Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA)[10] were never fully implemented.

In Darfur, western Sudan, a separate conflict broke out in 2003, which displaced nearly 2 million people and caused an estimated 200,000 to 400,000 deaths. Currently, Sudanese President Omer Hassan al-Bashir is subject to an arrest warrant, issued by the International Criminal Court (ICC), on five counts of crimes against humanity, two counts of war crimes and three counts of genocide carried out by his forces in Darfur.[11] The dire situation in the region continues unabated, alongside current conflicts in the Nuba Mountains and Blue Nile state, which have intensified since 2015.[12] Since the start of the war in the Nuba Mountains in 2011, nearly 250,000 Sudanese refugees have fled to South Sudan;[13] at the same time, conversely, there are also around 772,000 South Sudanese seeking refuge in Sudan.[14] Currently, Sudan has one of the largest IDP populations in the world: 2.3 million.[15] Several factors beyond the ongoing conflict are driving the displacement of these populations, in-

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10. The Comprehensive Peace Agreement was an accord signed on 9 January 2005, by the Sudan People's Liberation Movement (SPLM) and the Government of Sudan to end the second civil war, which began in 1983. It included provisions for withdrawal of troops, democratic governance, the share of oil revenues and referendum for South Sudan's independence.

11. For more information see the International Criminal Court (ICC) website: *Al Bashir Case: The Prosecution v. Omer Hassan Ahmad Al Bashir* (ICC-02/05-01/09), https://www.icc-cpi.int/darfur/albashir.

12. International Crisis Group (ICG), "The Chaos in Darfur", in *ICG Africa Reports*, No. 110 (22 April 2015), https://www.crisisgroup.org/node/460.

13. United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), *5 Years Into South Kordofan Conflict, Refugees Are Still Fleeing*, 3 June 2016 http://www.unhcr.org/news/briefing/2016/6/5751495f17d.

14. Including 352,462 South Sudanese living in Sudan prior to December 2013. In November 2017, official population statistics were amended to include South Sudanese living in Sudan prior to December 2013, when conflict broke out in South Sudan. See UNHCR, *Sudan: Refugees from South Sudan as of 31 Dec 2017*, 14 January 2018, https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/61571.

15. United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UNOCHA), *Sudan: Humanitarian Snapshot*, 30 September 2017, https://reliefweb.int/node/2265819.

cluding the direct threat of violence as well as flooding, under-nutrition, lack of sanitation and health care, and inadequate education. In response to its poor human-rights record, as well as its acting as a haven for suspected terror groups, Sudan has come under a range of arms embargoes and economic sanctions from the United States and the EU.[16]

Following the referendum that led to the creation of South Sudan, Sudan's income from oil revenues decreased by half; prior to the separation, they had accounted for 95 percent of the country's exports.[17] To absorb the shock produced by this loss of oil revenue, the Bi-lateral Agreement on Oil and Related Matters was drawn up in order to allow Sudan to gain some of the income from the oil fields in South Sudan, and for landlocked South Sudan to be able to transport oil through its pipelines to Port Sudan on the Red Sea and onwards to international markets.[18] Despite the agreement, there has been a significant economic decline in Sudan, leading to a reduction in basic services and the removal of fuel subsidies, which has had a knock-on effect on food and other basic commodity prices. In September 2013, worsening economic conditions led to mass protests across the country, which were violently quashed,[19] and a civil-disobedience campaign in 2016 to protest against the government's announcement of fuel-subsidy cuts and the rise in the cost of food, medicine and electricity.[20]

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16. US President, *Executive Order 13067: Blocking Sudanese Government Property and Prohibiting Transactions with Sudan*, 3 November 1997, https://www.hsdl.org/?abstract&did=1891; European Union, *Restrictive Measures (Sanctions) in Force*, updated 4 August 2017, http://ec.europa.eu/dgs/fpi/documents/Restrictive_measures-2017-08-04-clean_en.pdf.

17. See the World Bank website: *Sudan: Overview*, last updated 12 October 2017, http://www.worldbank.org/en/country/sudan/overview.

18. Michael Tobias Geiger et al., *Sudan Country Economic Memorandum. Realizing the Potential for Diversified Development*, Washington, World Bank, 30 September 2015, http://hdl.handle.net/10986/25262.

19. Human Rights Watch, *"We Stood, They Opened Fire". Killings and Arrests by Sudan's Security Forces during the September Protests*, April 2014, https://www.hrw.org/node/256537.

20. Amnesty International, *Courageous and Resilient: Activists in Sudan Speak Out*, September 2017, https://www.amnesty.org/en/documents/afr54/7124/2017/en.

Armed conflict, coupled with poor transport infrastructure and insecurity, has chronically obstructed the provision of humanitarian assistance to affected populations, and has been exacerbated by the government's decision to expel the staff of international organizations in the country and restrict access to certain populations.[21] These measures combine with the Government of Sudan closing down the operational space that national and international non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have to operate in the country, thereby stifling efforts to provide critical assistance to vulnerable populations.[22]

Poverty, conflict and serious human rights violations have meant that migration is often the only route available for citizens seeking refuge or opportunities. Those with relatives or links with the diaspora have better access to resources and information, and are better able to seek opportunities outside the Horn of Africa region. The diaspora's role is also significant when considering perceptions among communities inside countries of origin that migration will lead to social and economic gain – and is thus a factor in migratory movements in the region.[23] However, migration from the Horn of Africa largely remains within the region itself.[24]

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21. For example, see: United Nations Country Team-Sudan, Statement attributable to the Humanitarian Country Team in Sudan on the *de facto* expulsion of UN senior official and OCHA Head of Office Mr. Ivo Freijsen, 22 May 2016, https://reliefweb.int/node/1536201.

22. Mehari Taddele Maru, *Shrinking Civil Society Space in the Horn of Africa. The Legal Context*, Utrecht and Khartoum, Pax and Al Khatim Adlan Center for Enlightenment (KACE), August 2017, http://www.kacesudan.org/?p=11956.

23. Günter Schröder, *Migratory and Refugee Movements In and From the Horn of Africa*, Berlin, Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, November 2015, http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/iez/12081.pdf.

24. Research and Evidence Facility (REF), *Migration and Conflict in the Horn of Africa: A Desk Review and Proposal for Research*, London and Nairobi, EU Trust Fund for Africa (Horn of Africa Window) Research and Evidence Facility, 15 March 2017, https://www.soas.ac.uk/ref-hornresearch/research-papers/file120035.pdf.

2. Migration patterns

Sudan is characterized by widespread inequalities in its service provisions,[25] which have necessitated rural-to-urban migration for those seeking improved livelihoods, access to health services or educational opportunities. For example, nearly 70 percent of residents in northern Darfur live below the poverty line, compared to approximately 30 percent in the capital, Khartoum.[26] The estimated total for international migration is considerably less than those who are internally displaced. An estimated 1.5 million migrants (of which 665,908 are refugees)[27] who migrated mainly to neighbouring countries, especially Ethiopia and Chad, or Gulf countries,[28] in addition to a smaller minority who have migrated to Europe and North America.

Despite an increase in the number of Sudanese who attempt to migrate along the eastern Mediterranean route – almost 9,000 in 2015 – most international migrations among Sudanese is to the Gulf region. Over the past three decades, many Sudanese migrated to Gulf countries in order to seek work during that region's oil boom and the deterioration of Sudan's economy.[29] During an intensifying civil war in South Sudan, economic decline and endemic human-rights violations, some Sudanese who had ventured to the Gulf as migrants felt compelled not to return to their country of origin. Those with the resources and relevant

25. Naomi Crowther et al., *Inequalities in Public Services in the Sudan. Using a Perceptions-Informed View to Drive Policy in Education, Health and Water Provision*, London, London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE), 13 March 2014, https://www.gov.uk/dfid-research-outputs/inequalities-in-public-services-in-the-sudan-using-a-perceptions-informed-view-to-drive-policy-in-education-health-and-water-provision-lse-master-of-public-administration-mpa-capstone-report.

26. Ibid., p. 7.

27. KNOMAD Data: *Emigration: Sudan*, https://www.knomad.org/data/migration/emigration?tid[237]=237.

28. UNDESA and UNICEF, *Sudan: Migration Profiles - Common Set of Indicators*, 2014, https://esa.un.org/miggmgprofiles/indicators/files/Sudan.pdf.

29. Munzoul A.M. Assal, *Refugees From and To Sudan*, Cairo, Paper presented at the Meeting on Migration and Refugee Movements in the Middle East and North-Eastern Africa, Cairo, 23-25 October 2007, http://schools.aucegypt.edu/GAPP/cmrs/Documents/MunzoulAssal.pdf.

social networks chose to migrate further on to North America and Europe, mainly the UK, and, to a lesser extent, to Australia.[30]

Sudan is also an important host for migrants and refugees in the Horn of Africa, in comparison with other routes.[31] Presently, there are 940,499 refugees and asylum seekers in Sudan, with the largest group, totalling 772,715, being South Sudanese.[32] Other nationalities include Eritreans, Chadians and Ethiopians. There is an increasing number of Syrians, estimated at some 100,000 people, but many of them choose not to register as refugees as they do not require a visa to enter Sudan, have no restrictions on their length of stay and are granted access to the country's social services.[33] Thus, the true numbers of all the aforementioned refugees are likely to be much higher – especially for Eritreans and Ethiopians, due to historical migration during Eritrea's war for independence from Ethiopia[34] and the subsequent Eritrea–Ethiopia border war. The number of refugees in Sudan is also increasing as more people are displaced from South Sudan due to increasing violence and the famine that has been declared in parts of that country.[35] Consequent-

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30. IOM UK, *Sudan. Mapping Exercise*, July 2006, http://www.iomuk.org/sites/default/files/doc/mapping/IOM_SUDAN.pdf.

31. There are diverse routes undertaken by those migrating from or through the Horn of Africa region: the eastern route (into Yemen to Saudi Arabia and beyond); the southern route (down the eastern corridor via Kenya towards Southern Africa); the northern route (Egypt, via Sinai and into Israel) and the western route, through Sudan and Libya and onwards to Europe. However, as some of these routes are closed (such as Israel) or become more dangerous (Yemen), the Sudan route has become more and more viable for those seeking to migrate outside the region.

32. UNOCHA, *Humanitarian Bulletin: Sudan*, No. 1/2018 (1-14 January 2018), https://reliefweb.int/node/2421679.

33. "Sudan Hosts about 100,000 Syrians, Says Refugee Commission", in *Sudan Tribune*, 10 October 2016, http://www.sudantribune.com/spip.php?article60491.

34. The Dergue, known as the Derg is a Marxist military junta, led by Mengistu Haile Mariam. The Derg overthrew the then Emperor Haile Selassie in 1974 and Ethiopia was marked by systematic human rights violation and remained in power until 1991. John Young, *Peasant Revolution in Ethiopia. The Tigray People's Liberation Front, 1975-1991*, Cambridge and New York, Cambridge University Press, 1997.

35. IPC, *IPC Global Alert on South Sudan*, June 2017, http://ipcglobalalert.wixsite.com/southsudan.

ly, these figures must be considered with caution since they do not necessarily fully reflect the situation on the ground.

When it comes to destination countries, there appears to be significance in colonial ties, with the UK often the chosen destination, in addition to seeking out opportunities for long-term migrations, as is the case with the Diversity Immigration Visa (DV) Program in the US,[36] also known as the "lottery", and the points system in Canada.[37]

The diaspora's role in current migration from or through Sudan is often underplayed, yet it is a significant player, with remittances estimated at 513 million dollars in 2015 alone.[38] The World Bank considers diasporas as a "potent force for development for their countries of origin, through remittances, but also, importantly, through promotion of trade, investments, research, innovation, and knowledge and technology transfers".[39] Not only diasporas often prove an important resource in providing information about destination countries and relevant policies and opportunities, they may in addition be the main funder for regular or irregular migration journeys as well as the provider of financial and social support once those migrants arrive in their transit or/and destination country.[40]

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36. The US's Immigration and Nationality Act (INA) provides a limited number of visas for a class of immigrants known as "diversity immigrants," from countries with historically low rates of immigration to the US. See the US Department of State website: *Diversity Visa Program - Entry*, https://travel.state.gov/content/travel/en/us-visas/immigrate/diversity-visa-program-entry.html.

37. Based on its Immigration and Refugee Act, 2001, Canada selects skilled workers, based on their needed skills in the country, to become permanent residents in Canada. See Library of Congress, *Points-Based Immigration Systems: Canada*, last updated 9 June 2015, https://www.loc.gov/law/help/points-based-immigration/canada.php.

38. World Bank, *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2016*, 3rd ed., Washington, World Bank, 2016, p. 238, http://hdl.handle.net/10986/23743.

39. Sonia Plaza and Dilip Ratha (eds.), *Diaspora for Development in Africa*, Washington, World Bank, 2011, p. xi, http://hdl.handle.net/10986/2295.

40. Jennifer Cole and Christian Groes (eds.), *Affective Circuits. African Migrations to Europe and the Pursuit of Social Regeneration*, Chicago and London, University of Chicago Press, 2016.

3. Local, national and regional migration drivers and enablers

While numerous factors contribute to the global growth in human trafficking and smuggling, strong research evidence suggests that smugglers may profit when border controls tighten, in turn exposing migrants to risk, exploitation and vulnerability.[41] In the case of Sudan, insecurity and political failure coupled with economic decline and increased migration have created an opportunity for criminal smuggling and trafficking to develop and expand. Corruption is endemic in the country, with reports of Sudanese officials being accused of colluding in smuggling and trafficking as well as human-rights violations against migrants and their own civilians.[42] The human rights conditions in the country can drive uncertainty on how Sudan can be a partner in the protection of migrants, which in turn undermines the US' and EU's reputations as champions of human rights.[43]

Freedom of expression is also being stifled regularly, with "red lines"[44] imposed by the Sudanese Government on any issues regarded as sensitive. For example, newspapers have regularly been confiscated, with some of their offices closed and journalists routinely interrogated by police and the National Intelligence and Security Service (NISS).[45] NGOs and

41. See Hein de Hass, *Smuggling is a Reaction to Border Controls, Not the Cause of Migration*, 5 October 2013, http://heindehaas.blogspot.co.uk/2013/10/smuggling-is-reaction-to-border.html; Europol and INTERPOL, *Migrant Smuggling Networks. Executive Summary*, May 2016, https://www.europol.europa.eu/node/1128.
42. Human Rights Watch, *World Report 2018. Events of 2017*, January 2018, p. 518, https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2018.
43. UK All Party Parliamentary Group for Sudan and South Sudan, *Engagement beyond the Centre: An Inquiry Report on the Future of UK-Sudan Relations*, February 2017, https://reliefweb.int/node/1904418.
44. "Red lines" is a reference to topics deemed as sensitive or views seen as disagreeing with the Government of Sudan position on issues such as the conflicts in Darfur and human rights violations by security forces.
45. Amnesty International, *Sudan Government Stifling Media and Civil Society*, 2 April 2015, https://www.amnesty.org/en/latest/news/2015/04/sudan-government-stifling-media-and-civil-society/.

civil-society organizations (CSOs) do not fare well either, with threat and actual closure of organizations under the guise of procedural and legal issues by the Humanitarian Aid Commission (HAC), travel restrictions, intimidation and violence against staff.[46] In 2006, the Sudanese Voluntary and Humanitarian Work Act came into force. However, it became a tool for imposing excessive controls on the operations of NGOs and CSOs and for allowing the government to restrict or shut down those they perceive as not aligned with their goals.[47] These various conditions may be contributing to drivers of migration from Sudan.

With the significant economic decline experienced since the loss of oil revenue, following the secession of South Sudan in 2011, the Government of Sudan imposed austerity measure and removed subsidies from key items, such as flour and petrol. Regional disparity is also a challenge, especially between rural and urban areas and particularly in and around Khartoum, which accounts for 60 percent of the national GDP.[48] The series of measure leading to worsening economic condition sparked massive protests across the country in 2013, and again in 2016.[49] These were put down violently, with arrests, incommunicado detentions and killings.[50]

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46. Mehari Taddele Maru, *Shrinking Civil Society Space in the Horn of Africa*, cit.
47. KACE, *A Study of the Sudanese Voluntary and Humanitarian Work Act 2006*, March 2015, http://www.kacesudan.org/?p=12610.
48. See UNDP website: *About Sudan*, 2016, http://www.sd.undp.org/content/sudan/en/home/countryinfo.html.
49. In September 2013, a wave of protests began after President Omar Hassan al-Bashir announced an end to fuel and other subsidies. Protests started in Wad Madani and quickly spread to Khartoum, Port Sudan, El Obeid, and other towns. The measure, alongside weakening currency and price hikes, impacted negatively on living conditions across the country. In 2016, following further governments's austerity measures and the violent response to the 2013 protests, Sudanese opted for "civil disobedience" protests, in which they stayed at home at did not go to school, university or work.
50. See Human Rights Watch, *"We Stood, They Opened Fire"*, cit.

4. The impact of conflicts and (in-)security on migration

Conflicts generally disrupt development, and so migration occurs not only due to insecurity but also with the aim of seeking improved livelihood opportunities. In addition, unequal development can contribute to migration where there are more opportunities, resources and services in one area; in Sudan, it has contributed to increased rural-to-urban migration. The populations affected by the insecurity arising from these conflicts also adopt strategies largely based on mobility in order to protect themselves. This is often unsustainable, leading to increased dependency on aid.

Ranking at only 165 out of 188 in the 2016 Human Development Index (HDI),[51] the Sudanese, as well as migrants hosted in the country, have limited options for their livelihoods. The pressure is likely to grow with a massive demographic shift in Sudan, where more than 60 percent of the population is now below the age of 25.[52] In addition to social and political crises, the combination of these pressures is culminating in the mass dispersal of populations across the region and beyond. This includes a small but growing number of those who attempt to reach European shores across the treacherous sea route. In 2017, more than 6,200 Sudanese made it to Italy, along with around 7,000 Eritreans, 7,100 Malians, 9,000 Bangladeshis, 9,500 Ivoirians, 9,700 Guineans and 18,100 Nigerians.[53]

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51. See the UNDP website: *Sudan Country Profile*, http://hdr.undp.org/en/countries/profiles/SDN.
52. United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), *World Population Prospects: The 2017 Revision, Volume II: Demographic Profiles*, 2017, p. 721, https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/Publications/Files/WPP2017_Volume-II-Demographic-Profiles.pdf.
53. UNHCR, *Italy Sea Arrivals Dashboard - December 2017*, 11 January 2018, https://data2.unhcr.org/en/documents/details/61547. See also the UNHCR website: *Operational Portal: Refugee Situations - Mediterranean Situation*: Italy, https://data2.unhcr.org/en/situations/mediterranean/location/5205.

Most of the smuggling and trafficking in eastern Sudan is reported to be dominated by the Rashaida,[54] who reside in the region. However, in recent years other groups based in eastern Sudan have joined the fray – notably, *Al-Shukria* and *Al-Habab*. But, as border controls tighten and with limited opportunities to migrate legally, people will not be deterred from migrating and will opt to undertake treacherous routes into Sudan.[55]

Smuggling and trafficking generally occur at so-called "hot spots". In Sudan, the east of the country is a significant site and is at the forefront of these activities. Eastern Sudan has been, for decades, host to large numbers of migrants and refugees from neighbouring Ethiopia and Eritrea. According to the police in Kassala, there has been a significant increase in human trafficking and smuggling in that state, with at least 200 cases of trafficking in Kassala state alone in 2016.[56] Khartoum is also a key transit point for those attempting to travel to Libya and on to Europe; migrants seek employment there to raise funds for their onward journeys.

In its attempt to curb irregular migration, the Government of Sudan has employed the country's Rapid Support Forces (RSF)[57] in order to bolster its border controls, especially on the Sudan–Libya frontier. The use of such militias or special forces, rather than relying on traditional forces such as the army and the police, has long been deployed by the Government as a form of counterinsurgency strategy for controlling persistent

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54. The Rashaida are a grouping of Bedouin Arab ethnic groups inhabiting Sudan, as well as Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, UAE, Oman and Jordan.
55. Michael Collyer et al., "Conditions and Risks of Mixed Migration in North East Africa", in *MHub Studies*, No. 2 (November 2015), p. 28, http://www.mixedmigrationhub.org/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/Conditions-and-Risks-in-Mixed-Migration-in-North-East-Africa.pdf.
56. "'Human Trafficking Rise in Kassala': Sudan Police Chief", in *Radio Dabanga*, 2 October 2016, https://www.dabangasudan.org/en/all-news/article/human-trafficking-rise-in-kassala-sudan-police-chief.
57. The RSF evolved from the so-called *Janjaweed* militias, who have been at the forefront of the Sudanese Government counter-insurgency strategy in the Darfur conflict.

armed uprisings across the country.[58] However, this securitization of migration does not consider the protection needs of migrants – especially those being trafficked, who often face prosecution for migrating illegally and deportation without due process.

5. Borderless borders? Sudanese and neighbouring countries' migration governance

Despite the various challenges in Sudan, what continues to make it an important destination and transit hub for migrants and refugees from the region? The Horn of Africa is an area engulfed by conflicts, humanitarian disasters and political crises, with devastating results for many of its people, who suffer from a low HDI.[59] Subsequently, this has led to the mass dispersal of populations across the region and beyond in their hundreds of thousands, if not millions, making it a major centre for temporary and permanent emigration. The ripple effects of these crises, geopolitical interest and endemic cycles of violence, has also led to military engagement in the region – such as the US' military operation in Somalia in the early 1990s;[60] and multiple United Nations, European Union and African Union peacekeeping missions. Such events, and increasingly negative public sentiments in the "Global North" towards migration generally, have presented – whether by the media, development organizations or host governments – migration from the Horn of Af-

58. Suliman Baldo, "Border Control from Hell. How the EU's Migration Partnership Legitimizes Sudan's 'Militia State'", in *Enough Project Reports*, April 2017, https://enoughproject.org/reports/border-control-hell-how-eus-migration-partnership-legitimizes-sudans-militia-state.
59. Sudan at 165, Djibouti at 172, Ethiopia at 174 and Eritrea at 179, South Sudan at 181 out of 188. There was no ranking for Somalia. See UNDP, *Human Development Report 2016. Human Development for Everyone*, 2016, p. 200, http://hdr.undp.org/en/2016-report.
60. The battle of Mogadishu was part of an operation fought on 3 and 4 October 1993, in Mogadishu, Somalia, between forces of the United States supported by UNOSOM II, and Somali militiamen loyal to Mohamed Farrah Aidid who had support from armed civilian fighters.

rica as a challenge to receiving countries, which might even be perceived as a source of insecurity. Despite this, most of the movement in the region is South–South migration, with only a small percentage of people choosing to migrate to Europe. To understand the drivers of irregular migration to and through Sudan from neighbouring countries, exploring the context of the origin country can shed some light on why Sudan is important.

With limited freedom, forced conscription and lack of opportunities, hundreds of thousands of Eritreans are fleeing their native land, highlighting the worsening situation in that country. With no legal avenues available to reach their chosen destinations, these migrants resort to travel via dangerous routes where many risk losing their lives, place themselves at the mercy of unscrupulous smugglers or being held to ransom by human traffickers.[61] In 2015, Eritreans were among the most numerous of those attempting the risky crossing routes to Europe by boat, which has led to thousands of deaths and disappearances, and to torture and trafficking.[62] However, it should be noted that with increased border controls in Sudan and Egypt, the number of Eritreans who arrive in Italy has declined since 2016.[63]

Sudan – with its obvious border link, shared ethnicity and an established history of long-term migration to the country during more than 30 years of Eritrea's war of independence – is a critical destination country for Eritreans. However, with Sudan's own current conflicts and its economic woes, many Eritrean are choosing to merely transit through the country. Despite the various risks, they now hope for better opportunities

61. United Nations Human Rights Council (OHCHR), *Report of the Commission of Inquiry on Human Rights in Eritrea* (A/HRC/29/42), 4 June 2015, http://undocs.org/A/HRC/29/42.

62. Michael Collyer et al., "Conditions and Risks of Mixed Migration in North East Africa", cit.

63. Bram Frouws, "The Eritrean Exodus: What Happened in 2016?", in *RMMS Feature Articles*, 9 February 2017, http://regionalmms.org/index.php/component/spsimpleportfolio/item/62.

upon reaching Europe's shores where the majority of asylum applications are accepted.[64]

Despite its poor human-rights record and endemic poverty,[65] Ethiopia has become one of fastest growing non-oil economies in Africa,[66] and is seen by the international development community as one of the few "success stories" in the region. However, grievances persist and disparities in development have led Ethiopians to migrate to Sudan in search of work opportunities, with many in the agricultural sector as well as in domestic work in the east of the country and Khartoum. Migration to the Gulf states has been a more prominent feature in Ethiopian migration trends over the past decade, albeit largely irregularly, with the majority taking the eastern route through Djibouti to Yemen; however, this trend has waned following the outbreak of conflict in Yemen in 2015.[67]

Since the outbreak of war in their own country in the late 1980s, and the fall of its government in 1991,[68] Somalis have sought refuge in neighbouring countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia, Djibouti and across its waters in Yemen, as well as Gulf countries. The decades of fighting between rival warlords has meant that Somalia was ill equipped to deal with natural disasters such as drought, and around half a million people died in the Somali famines of 1992 and 2010–12 – with even more at risk in the

64. Michael Collyer et al., "Conditions and Risks of Mixed Migration in North East Africa", cit.
65. See UNICEF website: *Statistics by Country: Ethiopia*, https://data.unicef.org/country/eth.
66. African Development Bank, "Ethiopia Economic Outlook", in *African Economic Outlook 2018*, January 2018, https://www.afdb.org/en/countries/east-africa/ethiopia/ethiopia-economic-outlook.
67. Bina Fernandez, "Irregular Migration from Ethiopia to the Gulf States", in Philippe Fargues and Nasra M. Shah (eds.), *Skilful Survivals. Irregular Migration to the Gulf*, Cambridge, Gulf Research Center Cambridge, 2017, p. 243-267, http://gulfmigration.eu/?p=5927.
68. Somalia was without a formal parliament for more than two decades after the overthrow of President Siad Barre in 1991 and the northern region of Somaliland proclaimed independence, but is yet to be recognized by any other countries.

impending famine as of 2017.[69] However, with conflicts and a hostile reception in Kenya, Sudan is becoming an important transit point for Somalis. Nonetheless, there is no data or research in this area.

South Sudan stood to benefit from inheriting the bulk of the former Sudan's oil wealth following its secession in 2011. But continuing disputes with Khartoum, rivalries within the governing party and a lack of economic development shrouded the future of the world's newest country. The young state plunged into crisis in December 2013 amid a power struggle that erupted into a conflict, killing thousands and prompting more than 2.2 million people to flee their homes by the time a tentative internationally mediated peace agreement was signed in August 2015. Renewed fighting,[70] and declared famine,[71] has led to more people to flee their homes to neighbouring countries, with Uganda, Ethiopia and Sudan being the main destinations. These numbers are only expected to increase.

6. How is migration managed?

Where, how, when and with whom people migrate often depends on the options available to them, with many of those options being determined, both directly and indirectly, by policy. In the case of Sudan, migration policy has largely been determined by internal and regional factors such as foreign relations with migrants' origin countries. Since the onset of the European migration "crisis", the EU has taken drastic steps to protect its external border and sought to incentivize key transit countries' governments to reduce or stop migration from or

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69. UNOCHA, *Horn of Africa: A Call for Action*, February 2017 https://reliefweb.int/node/1906393.

70. International Crisis Group (ICG), "Instruments of Pain (II): Conflict and Famine in South Sudan", in *ICG Africa Briefings*, No. 124 (26 April 2017), https://www.crisisgroup.org/node/5431.

71. UN, *UN Aid Chief Urges Global Action as Starvation, Famine Loom for 20 Million across Four Countries*, 10 March 2017 http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=56339.

through their borders to Europe. These measures came in the form of mechanisms and agreements, notably the Khartoum Process,[72] which have been heavily criticized for lacking transparency and controls vis-à-vis human-rights protections.[73]

The Africa–EU Strategic Partnership in 2007 was followed by further accords, including the Khartoum Process in 2014, which provided a platform for political cooperation among the countries along the migration route between the Horn of Africa and Europe.[74] The Valletta Summit on Migration, held in Malta in November 2015, aimed to address the challenges of the European migrant crisis; it resulted in the EU establishing an emergency trust fund to promote development in Africa, in return for African countries' efforts in reducing irregular migration from their territory.[75]

In eastern Sudan, the police and army presence around refugee camps is reported to have been bolstered after several kidnapping incidents by human traffickers targeting refugees.[76] Since improvements in its relationship with Eritrea, the Government of Sudan has also returned detained Eritrean asylum seekers without allowing them the opportunity to register as refugees, thereby contravening international laws.[77]

Efforts to manage irregular migration from the Horn of Africa are, however, helping Sudan's emergence from being a pariah

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72. The Khartoum Process, also known as the EU-Horn of Africa Migration Route Initiative, was established in 2014. It is a high level, inter-continental political process that aims to harmonize political cooperation among countries along the migration route between the Horn of Africa and Europe.

73. Lutz Oette and Mohamed Abdelsalam Babiker, "Migration Control à la Khartoum: EU External Engagement and Human Rights Protection in the Horn of Africa", in *Refugee Survey Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 4 (December 2017), p. 64-89.

74. For more information, see the Khartoum Process website: http://www.khartoumprocess.net.

75. For more information, see the European Council website: *Valletta Summit on migration, 11-12/11/2015*, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/meetings/international-summit/2015/11/11-12.

76. UNHCR, *UNHCR Deeply Concerned about Abduction of Asylum-Seekers in Eastern Sudan*, 5 June 2015, http://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/press/2015/6/5571bce09.

77. UNHCR, *UNHCR Concerned by Expulsions from Sudan*, 2 June 2016 http://www.unhcr.org/uk/news/press/2016/6/574fed7d4.

state by forging closer ties with countries in the region, as well as with Europe and the US. The Government of Sudan is co-operating with European countries due to its status as a major thoroughfare for migration in the region. It sees this as an opportunity to improve relations with the West, leading eventually to the normalization of relations and the lifting of sanctions.[78] However, there has been scathing criticism from activists who see these relations as support for the Government despite its human-rights record.[79]

Sudan is already partly benefitting from a 46 million dollar regional programme to "better manage migration" in the Horn of Africa and 2 billion dollars under the European Commission's Emergency Trust Fund for Africa in its attempt to curtail irregular migration, in addition to 112 million dollars of aid "to address [the] root causes of irregular migration and forced displacement", including a special focus on the conflict-affected regions of Darfur, South Kordofan and Blue Nile, as well as eastern Sudan, and on enhancing immigration controls along Sudan's border with South Sudan.[80] The US is also playing a part in building cooperation with Sudan and bringing it in from the cold. Before his departure, the then US President Barack Obama partially lifted some sanctions that had been imposed on Sudan since 1993,[81] and in October 2017 economic sanctions were revoked.[82] Critics of these agreements question whether

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78. International Crisis Group (ICG), "Time to Repeal U.S. Sanctions on Sudan?", in *ICG Africa Briefings*, No. 127 (22 June 2017), https://www.crisisgroup.org/node/5509.

79. Kristy Siegfried, "Sudan and Eritrea Crackdown on Migrants amid Reports of EU Incentives", in IRIN News, 25 May 2016, http://www.irinnews.org/node/256247.

80. European Commission, *EU to Announce €100 Million Development Package for Sudan to Address Root Causes of Irregular Migration and Forced Displacement*, 5 April 2016, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_IP-16-1206_en.htm.

81. US Department of the Treasury, *Treasury to Issue General License to Authorize Transactions with Sudan*, 13 January 2017, https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/jl0707.aspx.

82. US Department of State, *Sanctions Revoked Following Sustained Positive Action by the Government of Sudan*, 6 October 2017, https://www.state.gov-/r/pa/prs/ps/2017/10/274659.htm.

the funds, even if they are focused on migration management, can be fully tracked.[83]

These improved relations with Sudan have been met with condemnation from various quarters, including rights groups and politicians who cite lack of progress in reducing human-rights violations by the Government of Sudan and the sending of mixed signals.[84] Criticism also came from Government officials; Ismail Omer Tirab, a committee member of the Sudanese Government's National Committee to Combat Trafficking, alleged that "the EU wants Sudan to be a large prison for migrants".[85]

7. Legal framework and policies governing migration in Sudan

Sudan ratified the 1951 Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees and its 1967 Protocol, and the 1969 Organization of African Unity (OAU) Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems in Africa. The country's asylum policy and practice are governed by the Asylum Regulation Act 1974.[86] Sudan has not, however, ratified the African Union Convention for the Protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa (the Kampala Convention).

The Government of Sudan has increased its efforts to combat trafficking in and through Sudan, and in March 2014 Sudan signed into law anti-trafficking legislation that prescribes between three and ten years' imprisonment for acts of traf-

83. Arthur Neslen, "EU Urged to End Cooperation with Sudan after Refugees Whipped and Deported", in *The Guardian*, 27 February 2017, https://gu.com/p/62284.

84. UK All Party Parliamentary Group for Sudan and South Sudan, *Engagement beyond the Centre*, cit.

85. Bashair Ahmed and Salih Amaar, "Escaping Sudan's 'Prison': Deciphering the Realities of the EU-Sudan Migration Deal", in *Shabaka Articles*, 7 February 2017, https://wp.me/p97dip-11x.

86. Lutz Oette and Mohamed Abdelsalam Babiker, "Migration Control à la Khartoum", cit.

ficking, between five and 20 years' imprisonment for aggravated trafficking and capital punishment in cases where the trafficking victim dies or other serious crimes, such as rape, are committed.[87] However, it does not criminalize all forms of human trafficking. The anti-trafficking legislation included the establishment of the National Committee to Combat Human Trafficking, tasked with developing the national coordination body and a National Plan of Action.[88]

However, progress in terms of legislative advancement has been overshadowed by reports of involvement by the Sudanese Armed Forces (SAF), the National Intelligence and Security Services (NISS) and the country's police in human smuggling and trafficking. This raises serious questions about the credibility and commitment of the Government in the fight against human trafficking and smuggling. This is especially significant for the use of the Rapid Support Forces (RSF), who are alleged to have committed gross human-rights violations in Darfur.[89] Despite increased efforts, shortcomings remain in attempts to curb irregular migration from or through Sudan. The relevant legislation has not been implemented fully, with only a few cases of prosecution, a lack of protection for victims of trafficking, and the returning of refugees and asylum seekers without recourse (*non-refoulement*).

Conclusion and recommendations

Migration, security, and development are inextricably linked, and policies in one area can promote positive outcomes in another. Understanding the linkages between migration, security and development is important not just to support more effec-

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87.   Michael Collyer et al., "Conditions and Risks of Mixed Migration in North East Africa", cit.
88.   Ibid.
89.   "Sudan's Security Forces Abort Smuggling of 115 Illegal Immigrants", in *Xinhua*, 8 January 2017, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2017-01/08/c_135964634.htm.

tive policy coordination and outcomes but also to help correct unsubstantiated assumptions regarding migrants. Migration from the Horn of Africa to Europe and the US is viewed as an "influx" or "crisis" for these countries, despite the numbers being relatively small compared with migration within the region, and is often viewed as a security threat. Border controls are an integral component of well-managed migration; they can help match migrants' skills to labour-market demands and ensure protection for those seeking asylum, while also empowering migrants to contribute to development in their countries of origin. Equally, and especially where policy is poorly coordinated, unintended consequences can ensue. Thus, it is important to understand the underlying causes that are leading to undocumented migration, and to understand the profiles of those who are migrating and why they are willing to take the risk despite an increasingly hostile reception in Europe and the US.

The EU migration deal with Sudan has arguably become an opportunity for the Sudanese Government to come in from the cold, and its relations with the EU and the US appear improved. This has become apparent since the US eased sanctions on Sudan after two decades of embargo, citing improvement on humanitarian access, the mitigation of conflicts within Sudan and progress on counter-terrorism.[90] The country has actively attempted to comply by shifting its support from Iran and joining the Gulf coalition in the war in Yemen. Sudan is also an important player in counter-terrorism efforts, which led the US to ease sanctions against it, citing humanitarian improvements. However, these normalized relations with Sudan, which the US previously designated as a terror sponsor, are related more closely to political manoeuvring in the region and specifically to counter-terrorism cooperation.

The level and quality of information available to people moving irregularly differ across nationalities, ages, education levels and migration motivations. However, research has found that

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90. US Department of State, *Sanctions Revoked Following Sustained Positive Action by the Government of Sudan*, cit.

many people moving through irregular channels are aware of the dangers of their chosen route, and yet still choose to travel.[91] Importantly, many refugees, migrants and asylum seekers weigh the risks of the journey against the dangers and difficulties at home and the benefits and opportunities at their destination. However, there is a lack of understanding by policymakers of the way in which migrants make decisions, and further targeted research is needed. Policymakers should also consider the structure and economy of smuggling networks, which could help to locate weak spots and pressure points.

The *Government of Sudan* should:

- Cease returns to all countries without due process.
- Provide intercepted or stranded migrants with protection and support services in accordance with international law.
- Seek to address the root cause of conflicts in Sudan, and provide protection for IDPs and migrants within its borders.

The *African Union, the European Union and the US Government* should:

- Use their existing bilateral political dialogue with the Government of Sudan to discuss protection and due process for migrants and refugees, including its obligations on *non-refoulement*
- Direct funding to local and national organizations that support young people access updated, reliable information on migration risks and how to mitigate these risks. Also, provide funding for organizations and diaspora communities who provide employment opportunities, job creation, technical and vocational training, and business loans.
- Support initiatives to provide advice and humanitarian assistance to migrants along key points on the migratory trails, both reception centres and mobile units, and to offer protection and support services for intercepted or stranded migrants. This should include providing information points

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91.   Michael Collyer et al., "Conditions and Risks of Mixed Migration in North East Africa", cit.

for family tracing, supporting victims of irregular migration and trafficking through humanitarian assistance, offering passage to stranded migrants, and a formal referral system to facilitate the identification and provision of comprehensive services to victims of trafficking.

- Ensure that any future policies and programmes are evidence-led and include the participation and needs of affected communities, civil society, diaspora and other actors working on the ground.
- Support and provide more avenues for legal migration within the Horn of Africa, the wider region, Europe and the US.

5
THE EU AND THE SAHEL: A LABORATORY OF EXPERIMENTATION FOR THE SECURITY–MIGRATION–DEVELOPMENT NEXUS

BERNARDO VENTURI

The Sahel represents a litmus test for the new approach to Africa of the European Union. The region is the "transmission belt" between the Mediterranean basin and sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), and it plays a central role in geographical terms and beyond. It is probably the area of Africa where the security–migration–development nexus – a complex scenario, in which geopolitics, principles and "lines on a map" are not enough do understand the reality on the ground – is at its most tangible. A deep understanding of local socio-economic and political dynamics is necessary in order to establish fruitful interactions between the EU and the Sahel.

This chapter firstly analyses African Union–European Union (AU–EU) relations in the security, development and migration domains. It shows how the nexus is present, but also how working on it is controversial. Then, attention is specifically devoted to the security–migration–development nexus in the Sahel, an area where the EU is experimenting with new approaches and policies. Possible alternatives to and integrations with the current policies are presented, as well as recommendations to the EU.

1. AU–EU relations ten years after the Joint Africa–EU Strategy

The EU's relations with its African partners are currently in a stimulating phase. The Union has intensified its bonds with the African continent, at least through official documents and dec-

larations. For instance, the EU Global Strategy (EUGS) states that Union "will invest in African peace and development as an investment in our own security and prosperity".[1]

Are Africa–EU relations really at a crossroads? Certainly, some key events are in flux. After the 5th AU–EU Summit in late November 2017,[2] it is time to start the process of revising the Cotonou Agreement.[3] Meanwhile, the EU will also draft its next Multiannual Financial Framework (MFF), the "ceiling" and budgetary system that determines economic commitments for each policy area. The new MFF will have a significant impact on Africa–EU relations in the fields of development cooperation, peace and security, and economic investment.

The security–migration–development nexus is at the core of EU-African relations. In the past, these were mainly based on the economic and development dimension, but the issues of peace and security have progressively gained importance since the early/mid-1990s.[4] In addition, all the current main EU documents on migration also refer to development- and security-related issues.[5] In the 2014–2017 Roadmap, peace and

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1. European External Action Service (EEAS), *Shared Vision, Common Action: A Stronger Europe. A Global Strategy for the European Union's Foreign and Security Policy*, June 2016, p. 36, https://europa.eu/globalstrategy/en/node/339.

2. The summit is a high-level appointment taking place every three years (at least in theory) in the Joint Africa-EU Strategy framework. The Joint Strategy, launched by the African Union and the EU in 2007, defines the overall Africa-EU Strategic Partnership and strives to bring Africa and the EU closer together through the strengthening of economic cooperation and the promotion of sustainable development, democracy, peace and security. The 2017 summit took place formally first time between AU (and not Africa) and the EU after the return of Morocco to the AU.

3. The Cotonou Agreement represents a comprehensive partnership agreement covering the EU's relations with 79 countries, including 48 countries from Sub-Saharan Africa. Its central objective is to reduce and eventually eradicate poverty and to contribute to the gradual integration of ACP countries into the world economy.

4. Fernanda Faria, "Crisis Management in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Role of the European Union", in *EUISS Occasional Papers*, No. 51 (April 2004), https://www.iss.europa.eu/node/68.

5. For instance, see the documents of the European Commission: *An European*

security comprise the first priority out of the five listed, while "human development" and "sustainable and inclusive development [together with] growth and continental integration" occupy two other slots. The issue of migration is relegated among the "global and emerging issues".[6]

In the field of peace and security, the EU is one of the AU's most significant partners. In fact, it provides considerable funds to the AU[7] – and in particular to the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA), which includes the African Peace Facility (APF).[8] The APF, with its three components – African Peace Support Operations (PSOs), operationalization of the APSA and initiatives under the Early Response Mechanism – is a pivotal element of AU–EU cooperation, and has increased the AU's role as the continent's leading organization responsible for peace. However, some shortfalls are apparent: the APF's capacity-building element is still weak; funding procedures are too complex; and, chiefly, the mobilization of African resources is still limited.[9]

The EU is also conducting nine Common Security and Defence Policy (CSDP) missions in Africa (out of a total of 17) – three of

Agenda on Migration (COM/2015/240), 13 May 2015, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/TXT/?uri=celex:52015DC0240; *Global Approach to Migration and Mobility* (COM/2011/743), 18 November 2011, http://eur-lex.europa.eu/legal-content/en/TXT/?uri=celex:52011DC0743.

6. The 2014-2017 Roadmap is the main outcome of the 2014 fourth Africa-EU Brussels Summit. See Africa-EU Partnership, *Roadmap 2014-2017*, 4th Africa-EU Summit, Brussels, 3-4 April 2014, http://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/en/node/7911.

7. The partnership with the AU has three main dimensions: strengthening the political dialogue, making the African peace and security architecture fully operational and providing predictable funding for the AU's peacekeeping operations.

8. The APF was created in 2003 and is funded through the EU's European Development Fund (EDF). Since its creation, more than 2.1 billion euros have been allocated to the APF. The 11th and last EDF was created by an intergovernmental agreement signed in June 2013 – as it is not part of the EU budget – and entered into force on the 1st March 2015, after ratification by all member states.

9. Nicoletta Pirozzi, Nicolò Sartori and Bernardo Venturi, *The Joint Africa-EU Strategy*, Brussels, European Parliament, November 2017, http://www.europarl.europa.eu/thinktank/en/document.html?reference=EXPO_STU(2017)603849.

them in the Sahel.[10] All these missions have limited mandates and short timeframes, and usually have only a marginal impact on the conflicts in the region.[11] Typically, EU missions are deployed alongside, and to some extend in cooperation with, missions undertaken by African regional organizations, by the UN or by individual EU countries (especially France).[12]

The EU therefore remains a crucial partner for Africa in terms of both financial and technical support; however, in the future the AU will probably be offered more multilateral support[13] and should be able to increase its own resources.[14]

Lately, however, migration has become not just a priority[15] but also something of an obsession for the EU.[16] The Valletta Sum-

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10. The current missions are: EU Border Assistance Mission (EUBAM) in Libya; EUCAP Somalia, assisting host countries develop self-sustaining capacity for enhancement of maritime security; EUCAP Sahel Mali and EUCAP Sahel Niger supporting the internal security forces in those countries; EUNAVFOR Somalia-Operation Atalanta, countering piracy off the coast of Somalia; EUTM Mali, a training mission for Malian armed forces; EUTM RCA in the Central African Republic, to contribute to the country's defence sector reform; EUTM Somalia, a military training mission in Somalia.
11. For example, the stabilization of the security conditions or the improvement of the humanitarian situation.
12. For instance, the French mission Barkhane in the Sahel.
13. For instance, China has left behind the country's reluctance to engage in peacekeeping operations and is currently involved in peace and security initiatives on the continent, both in terms of financial assistance and of technical support on similar components of the EU. In 2015, China provided 100 million dollars to the AU to support the building and operation of the African Standby Force and the African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises (ACIRC).
14. In 2016, the African governments decided to implement a 0.2 percent levy on eligible imports to finance the AU. This decision represents a relevant basis for relaunching the financial strategy of the APSA, but currently just a few countries have implemented the decision. Significantly, the World Trade Organization and the US cast doubt on the legality of the implementation of the new self-financing mechanism. For more information, see Philomena Apiko and Faten Aggad, "Analysis of the Implementation of the African Union's 0.2% Levy. Progress and Challenges", in *ECDPM Briefing Notes*, No. 98 (November 2017), http://ecdpm.org/?p=29532.
15. The framework document for the EU is: European Commission, *A European Agenda on Migration*, cit.
16. See chapter 2 in this volume.

mit (11–12 November 2015)[17] was dominated by the EU's migration agenda, with a strong focus on security aspects (this approach reinforced the perception of an unbalanced partnership, with European interests on one side and African challenges on the other). The EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa,[18] established during the high-level meeting, has confirmed the shift towards the securitization of migration and a focus on European short-term interests without paying close attention to local (African) needs, long-term challenges related to poverty eradication, human rights or political dialogue.[19]

The development domain between the EU and Africa is regulated by the Cotonou Agreement and by the Joint Africa-EU Strategy (JAES). The EU has made great efforts to improve its aid impact, effectiveness and coordination among its member states within a global vision of development. However, three issues have compromised EU–SSA relations in this field: the EU Commission's privileging of trade liberalization over development, the risk of the securitization of EU development policy and conditionality on incentivizing democratic governance.[20] In particular, in recent EU documents and policies development cooperation has been firmly tied to issues of security

17. The Valletta Summit produced a Political Declaration and an Action Plan, including the establishment of an Emergency Trust Fund for stability and addressing root causes of irregular migration and displaced persons in Africa, made up of 1.8 billion euros from the EU budget and European Development Fund, combined with contributions from EU member states and other donors. See the Africa-EU Partnership website: *2015 Valletta Summit on Migration*, 18 November 2015, http://www.africa-eu-partnership.org/en/node/8325.

18. European Commission, *A European Union Emergency Trust Fund for Africa*, 12 November 2015, http://europa.eu/rapid/press-release_MEMO-15-6056_en.htm.

19. James Mackie, Matthias Deneckere and Greta Galeazzi, "Matching Means to Priorities", in *ECDPM Challenges Papers*, No. 8 (January 2017), p. 2, http://ecdpm.org/?p=25611; Elise Kervyn and Raphael Shilhav, "An Emergency for Whom? The EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa – Migratory Routes and Development Aid in Africa", in *Oxfam Briefing Notes*, November 2017, http://hdl.handle.net/10546/620380.

20. Maurizio Carbone, "EU-Africa Relations in the Twenty-First Century: Evolution and Explanations", in Maurizio Carbone (ed.), *The European Union in Africa. Incoherent Policies, Asymmetrical Partnership, Declining Relevance?*, Manchester and New York, Manchester University Press, 2013, p. 5.

and migration. The migration–development nexus, however, is affected by the narrow focus adopted in addressing the root causes of irregular migration. As a consequence, this phenomenon's deep and complex implications – from the role of the diaspora to the tangible effects of development policies on mobility – remain unexplored. The security–development nexus is consolidated but at the same time controversial – especially for non-governmental development actors. The EU is strengthening this connection, and the Sahel is a key arena for it, but with the risk of merging its operational instruments and reducing development resources instead of, for example, integrating them from currently separate budgets.

In conclusion, is the EU actually investing in African peace and development as an investment in the EU's own security and prosperity, as indicated by the EUGS? If this means that the EU is investing in security and prosperity in Africa because this is a European interest, then that is certainly true. The EU, as stated in the EUGS, is combining interests and values, but on the African continent the former category (security) seems to be leading the latter (development). However, the idea that African security and development *per se* are a priority for the EU seems to be farther from the truth, or at least to be jeopardized by the securitization process in Africa, the externalization of border control and fragmented approaches to mobility and migration – policies that often clash with realities and needs "on the ground".

2. The EU approach to the Sahel

Some commentators have argued that the EU "Strategy for security and development in the Sahel has been used as a 'laboratory of experimentation' for the implementation of the Comprehensive Approach".[21] The Sahel has recently been in the

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21. Elisa Lopez Lucia, "Performing EU Agency by Experimenting the 'Comprehensive Approach': The European Union Sahel Strategy", in *Journal of Contemporary African Studies*, Vol. 35, No. 4 (2017), p. 451. The comprehensive approach is considered an integrated and coordinated response to address

global spotlight due to famines, terrorism, anti-state rebellions, and arms, drugs and human trafficking. Due to this scenario and its potential consequences for Europe, the region seems to be the first area, at least in Africa, where the EU is following the EUGS's interest-driven doctrine. Consequently, its Sahel strategy includes four lines of action – development, security, political and military – under the same framework. Indeed, "the EU Sahel strategy [has been] the comprehensive approach '*avant la lettre*'".[22]

The EU has contributed to the ushering of the Sahel region into what we may consider the fourth phase of its recent history, after playing a key role in the previous three. Following the eras of colonization, post-colonialism and development-co-operation partnerships, the Sahel now finds itself in the securitization era. Clearly, EU support in the Sahel region is part of an emerging European foreign policy that externalizes the bloc's security. As Ángel Losada, the EU Special Representative (EUSR) for the Sahel, has commented, "the security in the Sahel is the security for Europe".[23]

In March 2011, the EU adopted the two-page *Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel* for Mali, Mauritania and Niger.[24] Three years later, it extended the strategy's scope to Burkina Faso and Chad. The strategy foresees four strands of action: (1) development, good governance and internal-con-

sustainable development, peace and security, especially in complex fragile situations. See Fernanda Faria, "What EU Comprehensive Approach? Challenges for the EU Action Plan and Beyond", in *ECDPM Briefing Notes*, No. 71 (October 2014), p. 1, http://ecdpm.org/?p=14625.

22. Damien Helly and Greta Galeazzi, "Avant la lettre? The EU's Comprehensive Approach (to Crises) in the Sahel", in *ECDPM Briefing Notes*, No. 75 (February 2015), p. 3, http://ecdpm.org/?p=16419.

23. Annemarie van de Vijsel, "Security at Home and Abroad: European Support for the G5 Sahel Force", in *The Broker*, 19 July 2017, http://www.thebrokeronline.eu/Blogs/Sahel-Watch-a-living-analysis-of-the-conflict-in-Mali/Security-at-home-and-abroad-European-support-for-the-G5-Sahel-force.

24. Council of the European Union, *Council Conclusions on a European Union Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel*, 3076th Foreign Affairs Council Meeting, Brussels, 21 March 2011, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/uedocs/cms_Data/docs/pressdata/EN/foraff/120075.pdf.

flict resolution; (2) politics and diplomacy; (3) security and the rule of law; and 4) countering violent extremism.[25]

In April 2015, the EU's Foreign Affairs Council adopted the Sahel Regional Action Plan (RAP) 2015–2020, which was reviewed and updated at the beginning of June 2016.[26] RAP's four key priorities are: (1) preventing and countering radicalization; (2) creating appropriate conditions for youth; (3) migration and mobility; and (4) border management, and the fight against illicit trafficking and transnational organized crime. While the security–development nexus was incorporated into the Strategy, migration was not mentioned – and it was only included in the RAP alongside border control. However, migration played a crucial role already in the Sahel–Council conclusions of June 2016. The Sahel Strategy of 2011 is still the framework document for EU action in the area. Yet, after reading the current priorities and lines of action, it appears to be out of date.

The CSDP missions in the area have adapted to the EU's new priorities.[27] The EU launched three CSDP missions, known as EUCAP Sahel Niger, EUCAP Sahel Mali and the EU training mission in Mali (EUTM). The decision to deploy a CSDP mission in the Sahel was actively promoted by France, Italy and Spain, while Germany, Poland and the Nordic countries were more reluctant.[28]

The EU launched the civilian mission EUCAP Sahel Niger in 2012 with the objective of helping that country to fight terrorism

25. Council of the European Union, *Council Conclusions on Implementation of the EU Strategy for Security and Development in the Sahel*, 3304th Foreign Affairs Council Meeting, Brussels, 17 March 2014, http://www.consilium.europa.eu/media/28735/141577.pdf.

26. Council of the European Union, *Council Conclusions on the Sahel*, 3477th Foreign Affairs Council Meeting, Luxembourg, 20 June 2016, http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-10393-2016-INIT/en/pdf.

27. European Commission and EEAS, *Annual Report on the Sahel Regional Action Plan* (SWD/2016/482), 23 December 2016, http://data.consilium.europa.eu/doc/document/ST-5009-2017-INIT/en/pdf.

28. Nicoletta Pirozzi, *The EU's Comprehensive Approach to Crisis Management*, Geneva, Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces (DCAF), June 2013, p. 15, https://www.dcaf.ch/node/12780.

and organized crime. The mission provides advice and training in order to support Nigerien security institutions in strengthening their capacities, in line with the EU Strategy for Security and Development. In January 2015, the EU Council launched a second civilian mission: EUCAP Sahel Mali. Its task is to support the Malian internal security forces in ensuring constitutional and democratic order. Finally, the Union launched an EU (military) Training Mission in Mali (EUTM Mali) in 2013.[29] Then, as the EU Commission declared, "the three CSDP missions in the Sahel have been adapted to the political priorities of the EU, notably following the EU mobilization against irregular migration and related trafficking".[30]

Additionally, in the context of the Africa–EU partnership, following the donor conference organized by the AU Commission in early February 2016, the European Commission adopted in April 2016 a financing decision setting aside 50 million euros from the APF in support of the Lake Chad Basin Commission Multi-National Joint Task Force (MNJTF) in its fight against Boko Haram, the Islamist separatist movement in northern Nigeria, as mandated by the AU Peace and Security Council.[31]

Besides these measures, the EU supports specific projects through the Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace (IcSP).[32] In 2015, over 40 million euros was mobilized under the IcSP for crisis-response measures in the Sahel.[33] The programme includes grassroots projects related to peacebuilding

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29. On the lessons learned from CSDP missions in the Sahel, see Nicoletta Pirozzi, *EU Crisis Management after Lisbon. A New Model to Address Security Challenges in the 21st Century?*, Cambridge, Intersentia, 2015, p. 111-115.
30. European Commission and EEAS, *Annual Report on the Sahel Regional Action Plan*, cit., p. 3.
31. Joint Communiqué by Federica Mogherini, EU High Representative/Vice-President of the Commission; Neven Mimica, EU Commissioner for International Cooperation and Development; and Smail Chergui, AU Commissioner for Peace and Security, 1 August 2016, http://europa.eu/!NF97Fx.
32. A map and description of the projects is regularly updated by Peace Direct: *EU IcSP Map*, https://icspmap.eu.
33. European Commission and EEAS, *Annual Report on the Sahel Regional Action Plan*, cit.

and local capacity building, and others related to border control and security.[34]

As indicated above, the EU has also established an EUSR in the Sahel. The incumbent, Ángel Losada, was appointed in December 2015. The EUSR plays a part in reaching out to the region and guiding EU action there. He is also mandated with helping coordinate the EU's overall approach to the crisis, using the EU Sahel strategy as a basis. In addition, to ensure coherent implementation, the EU has appointed a coordinator for its Sahel strategy and a task force, based in Brussels which meet informally every month, mandated with the evaluation and the implementation of the strategy.

With regard to development, the EU already enjoys close and substantial cooperation with each of the five Sahel countries.[35] Since 2016, the Union has also supported countries in the Sahel mainly via the Emergency Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF).[36] Before the Valletta Summit, the EU had already established a process of cooperation with western Central African countries through the so-called Rabat Process (2006) and with countries in the Horn of Africa through the Khartoum Process (2014), with the aim of reducing irregular migration while fos-

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34. For instance, in the Diffa region (Niger) a specific peacebuilding project (Peacebuilding and Stability Project Support in the Diffa Region, https://icspmap.eu/pdf/?format=single&contract_number=367852) is implemented as well as a border management project (Reinforcing Border Security in the Diffa Region, Sedini IBM, https://icspmap.eu/pdf/?format=single&contract_number=367859).

35. Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, and Niger.

36. European Commission, *A European Union Emergency Trust Fund for Africa*, cit. The EU Trust Funds are *ad hoc* pool funds covering unexpected or emergency situations, managed by the European Commission. Two types of trust funds have been established in the 11th EDF Financial Regulation (Article 42): Emergency and Post-Emergency Trust Funds and Thematic Trust Funds. The EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa (running until 31 December 2020) is the largest trust fund in place. The EUTF for Africa pools together funding from the 11th European Development Fund (EDF), the European Neighbourhood Instrument (ENI), other financial instruments such as the Development Cooperation Instrument (DCI) as well as EU Humanitarian Aid and Civil Protection (DG ECHO) and DG Migration and Home Affairs (DG HOME).

tering opportunities for local development. However, the EUTF represents a leap forward in terms of cooperation in the security–migration–development nexus.

The EU's approach to development and migration has the merit both of connecting the two fields and of recognizing that the migration challenge can be managed only through cooperation with African countries. However, aid flow seems to be largely allocated in favour of areas with enhanced border controls and other security measures.[37] As Stefan Lehne explains,

> political pressures arising from the strong anti-immigration feelings in many EU countries have resulted in an overly narrow focus on discouraging migration and increasing returns of irregular migrants. Apart from the initiative's rather modest offer of financial assistance, the EU takes neither the interests of its African partners nor the protection needs of vulnerable migrants and refugees adequately into account.[38]

The attempt to create more flexible instruments in order to respond to emergencies and crises through the trust fund has therefore raised concerns about the diversion of aid for wider foreign-policy objectives and the lack of transparency in the fund's governance structure.[39] The EUTF risks becoming disconnected from other development programmes, while the Migration and Mobility Dialogue (mentioned in the JAES Roadmap) seems disconnected and lacking in influence when compared with the other programmes. The International Crisis Group has criticized these compacts as "legally, morally and practically" problematic, arguing that their impact will be limited if they fail to focus on the drivers of migration.[40] Overall, the

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37. See chapter 1 in this volume.
38. Stefan Lehne, "Upgrading the EU's Migration Partnership", in *Carnegie Articles*, 21 November 2016, http://ceip.org/2g8QDdU.
39. European Parliament resolution of 5 April 2017 on addressing refugee and migrant movements: the role of EU External Action (2015/2342(INI)), http://www.europarl.europa.eu/sides/getDoc.do?type=TA&reference=P8-TA-2017-0124&language=EN; James Mackie, Matthias Deneckere and Greta Galeazzi, "Matching Means to Priorities", cit.
40. International Crisis Group (ICG), "Time to Reset African Union-European Union Relations", in *ICG Africa Reports*, No. 255 (17 October 2017), p. 8, https://www.crisisgroup.org/node/5677.

EU's migratory policies with respect to the Sahel seem mainly intended to serve the Union's internal objective of curbing migration flows: the EU is taking a "whatever works approach" to stopping the flow of migrants from Africa. This factor could weak its relations with African partners because the latter feel that money has been spent on securing borders rather than, as promised, on migration's root causes.[41]

Within this framework, the EU's support for the G5 Sahel grouping deserves special attention. Established in February 2014 and originally presented as a vehicle for strengthening the bond between economic development and security, the G5 soon became heavily focused on security concerns. The initiative – involving Niger, Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali and Mauritania – sees a 5,000-strong battalion of troops operating in the region. Some analysts regard the G5 as mainly following a Western-led agenda. However, others consider that prioritizing security is a necessity since governments are under pressure from citizens to tackle insecurity.[42] Crucially, the G5 is not made up of Europeans but a multinational force "owned" by Africans themselves.[43] The EU favours *ad hoc* initiatives like the G5 because AU member states commit their own resources to them, and because this approach also generates greater local ownership.

France and Germany have pledged funds to the G5 and asked the international community for its contribution. France – in synergy with its Operation Barkhane against Islamist militant groups in Mali – was behind an EU decision in June 2017 to award 50 million euros to the G5 Sahel group with resources taken from the APF.[44]

41. Ibid., p. 22-23.
42. Paul Melly, "Sahel: Breeding Insecurity", in *The Africa Report*, No. 94 (October 2017), p. 22-27, https://issuu.com/theafricareport/docs/tar94.
43. The military aspect is coordinated by the respective countries' Chiefs of Staff.
44. There has been discussion with the AU about it because the G5 Sahel falls outside the normal AU-REC APSA (African Peace and Security Architecture) because the five countries have taken their own initiative and there is no REC corresponding to this region. The support to the G5 could therefore undermined the political agency of the AU and of regional organization as ECOWAS.

The G5 Sahel also represents a possibility to garner international support on peace and security in Africa. Since June 2017, the force has been supported by the the UN Security Council, which unanimously welcomed it.[45] Following the EU's funding, China has expressed an interest in contributing and the US Government has pledged 60 million dollars.[46]

Some analysts have criticized the move to propose a military solution for a region hit hard by poverty and unemployment, arguing that around 12,000 UN troops, along with 4,000 French, at least 800 American and 5,000 G5 forces conducting "asymmetrical" attacks on 500–1,000 terrorists could jeopardize the situation instead of improving it.[47] The EU and its member states have increased their military presence in the region not only to counter the terrorist threat but also in an effort to seal its southern border. The risk with this approach is that "the terrorist recruits start believing [their own] ideology, the ranks grow, and thus the nature of combat and the threat change".[48]

More specifically, it is not clear how the G5 itself contributes to the development listed among its four objectives.[49] The EUSR for the Sahel stated that "they will provide security to the NGOs and the programmes and projects from the EU and the member states working there. EU projects and programmes".[50] However, in the pincer movement between security and mi-

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45. UN Security Council resolution 2359 (2017) on Peace and security in Africa (S/RES/2359/2017), 21 June 2017, https://undocs.org/S/RES/2359(2017).

46. US Department of State, *United States Pledging up to $60 Million in New Support for Security Assistance in the Sahel Region*, 30 October 2017, https://www.state.gov/secretary/remarks/2017/10/275175.htm.

47. Azad Essa, "G5 Sahel Counterterrorism Force Explained", in *Al Jazeera*, 3 November 2017, http://aje.io/4zw59.

48. Ibid.

49. The mandate comprises four objectives: (1) fight against terrorism, illegal drug trafficking and human trafficking; (2) contribute to the reinstallation of the state authorities where they are absent; (3) contribute to humanitarian aid, and (4) contribute to development actions taking place in the region.

50. Annemarie van de Vijsel, "Security at Home and Abroad: European Support for the G5 Sahel Force", cit.

gration management, the space for bottom-up development is shrinking. Nonetheless, the link between development and security appears clear and shared by all the European institutions and by the majority of the stakeholders. Without defining clear priorities, giving priority to military solutions could jeopardize other efforts. For instance, in 2014, France spent 543 million euros in security in the Sahel, compared with 202 million euros in bilateral development assistance.[51] As Rojan Bolling and colleagues have explained,

> initial goals of combining security and development issues in a synergistic manner could be supplanted by a more 'pragmatic' approach that seeks to consolidate (top-down) security gains, leaving behind development and reform.

But they conclude, "However, it is exactly this bottom-up development-focused approach that will ultimately provide more sustainable people-centred security."[52]

Intra-institutional dynamics in Brussels plays an important role behind the development–security tension. The DG DEVCO[53] feels itself marginalized, and sees its vision of the EU as a development actor in Africa being constrained, while the European External Action Service (EEAS) tries to lead the whole process in a way similar to a national ministry of foreign affairs. Officials in DG DEVCO want to plan the European Development Funds (EDF) jointly in order to avoid being relegated to the position of an implementing agency. However, the terms of this joint programming were so vague that EEAS officials were able to seize the opportunity provided by the Sahel strategy to take

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51. Camille Laville, "Les dépenses militaires et l'aide au développement au Sahel: quel équilibre?", in *FERDI Working Papers*, No. 174 (November 2016), http://www.ferdi.fr/fr/node/3370.

52. Rojan Bolling, Karlijn Muiderman and Annemarie van de Vijsel, "Will Development Be Short Changed in Europe's Externalized Foreign Policy?", in *The Broker*, 31 July 2017, http://www.thebrokeronline.eu/Blogs/Sahel-Watch-a-living-analysis-of-the-conflict-in-Mali/Will-development-be-short-changed-in-Europe-s-externalized-foreign-policy.

53. DG DEVCO is the department dealing with development at the European Commission.

the lead and define the priorities of the strategy without really consulting DG DEVCO. As a result, the Comprehensive Approach often appears as little more than a justification for the EEAS to push for the prioritization of security imperatives.[54]

Overall, the European Union has, in the Sahel, been testing options for regional approaches – among them, the project Counter Terrorism Sahel and programmes on food security.[55] The EU has committed significant resources, with a total of more than 5 billion euros to the Sahel coming from the EDF for 2014–20 as well as other instruments and sources (regional, thematic, European Investment Bank, etc). The Union's differentiated commitment has also produced information sharing between EU staff, Operation Barkhane by France, MINUSMA and other EU member states engaged in the region such as Denmark or the Netherlands. However, doubts remain on the EU's overall strategy, which appears too determined by a short-term focus on migration and lacking in a deep understanding of local social and economic dynamics, such as regional mobility.

3. A comprehensive approach beyond shortcuts

How can the EU fine-tune its approach to the Sahel? If a shortfall can be identified about the EU activities in the region, it is about real local-driven and long-term approaches. Some improvements are possible through scenarios that the EU has not prioritized or has not fully explored. If the Sahel is a "laboratory of experimentation" for the implementation of the integrated approach, then the EU could consider some analyses and options in more depth.

Firstly, the migration–development nexus seems to be more mentioned than explored in EU documents and by the Sahel strategy. Similarly, the projects financed in the area through

54. Elisa Lopez Lucia, "Performing EU Agency by Experimenting the 'Comprehensive Approach'", cit.
55. Damien Helly and Greta Galeazzi, "Avant la lettre?", cit.

the Africa Trust Fund are not based on in-depth analysis. Although it might seem counter-intuitive, supporting development and growth does not on its own amount to tackling migration – at least, in the short run. A recent study in low-income countries has confirmed that the "evidence that aid can greatly and sustainably deter emigration from poor countries is weak at best".[56] Additionally, "Aid flows may have a positive effect on economic growth – though this remains controversial – but more importantly, economic growth has historically raised emigration in almost all developing countries."[57] Has the EU considered these analyses, accordingly adapting its approach to the migration–development nexus? Deep and systematic reflection and evaluation appear to be missing from its main documents, policies and project implementation. For instance, the same study highlights the facts that high youth unemployment is a cause of migration and that an improvement in this field could help reduce migration. However, the report also shows that "most donor projects have had little success creating youth employment at large scale".[58] The Africa Trust Fund could follow the same trend, at the very least checking the scale of the projects funded.

As previously discussed, the *military engagement* in the region is heavy and could downgrade efforts in the development field. In addition, it is also probably not well enough coordinated between France, the US, the UN and the G5. The point, however, is not just coordination but the fact that foreign military interventions rarely succeed. The opposite can, in fact, be true: a heavy foreign (at the moment basically *Western*) presence can have distorting effects (e.g. the use of armed drones). Security measures are essential, but will only ever be a temporary fix. The EU, through its leverage and its integrated approach, could be more vocal on how the military dimen-

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56. Michael A. Clemens and Hannah M. Postel, "Deterring Emigration with Foreign Aid: An Overview of Evidence from Low-Income Countries", in *GLM|LIC Synthesis Papers*, No. 8 (November 2017), p. 15, https://glm-lic.iza.org/publications/sp/sp8.

57. Ibid., p. 15-16.

58. Ibid., p. 16.

sion is dealing only with the symptoms rather than root causes of problems.

Support for local processes of peace, mediation, facilitation and reconciliation in the Sahel could represent further "added value" for the EU. For instance, in early September 2017 Mahmoud Dicko, leader of the High Islamic Council of Mali (*Haut Conseil Islamique*), along with other Malian religious leaders, travelled for talks to troubled northern and central areas of the country in order to explore options for restoring social stability and bringing an end to violence.[59] Another example is the NGO named AHAROG in Niger, which supports dialogue between the local populations and the defence and security forces. The project is financed by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) and the Office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).[60] These examples represent genuine locally led innovation that deserves support.

In addition, policymakers and analysts have often perceived the Maghreb and the Sahel as two discrete entities. Since the 2000s, this distinction has seemed increasingly obsolete; security threats, concerns and perceptions have pushed the two regions closer together.[61] However, mobility between them is nothing new. The EU, which is already working in synergy with the countries of western Africa, still misses the chance to support a greater regional integration between North Africa and the Sahel. One positive result of such a move could be to limit the appeal of operating in the informal sector while providing opportunities for legal work in the Sahel.[62] It is critical

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59. "Koulouba: Mahmoud Dicko rend compte de sa mission de Kidal", in *Maliweb. net*, 13 September 2017, http://www.maliweb.net/?p=2527812.
60. Mahamadou Danda, "The Security–Migration–Development Triangle in the Sahel, Seen from a Nigerien Standpoint", cit.
61. For instance, the Danish institute for International Studies (DIIS) has launched *The Sahel-Maghreb Research Platform*. See DIIS website: https://www.diis. dk/en/node/7059.
62. Andrew Lebovich, "Bringing the Desert Together: How to Advance Sahel Maghreb Integration", in *ECFR Policy Briefs*, July 2017, http://www.ecfr.eu/

to establish dialogue with all elements of border communities (including local leaders, ethnic groups, religious leaders and nomads) and representatives of civil society.[63] This approach could also avoid damaging border communities – often economically and politically marginalized – and their economies, tied as they are to interregional mobility.

Finally, the issue of raw materials is not addressed in the Sahel strategy, but it is pivotal for the area as well as for other African regions. Raw materials and energy products represent 51.6 per cent of EU imports of goods from Africa. This gives an idea of how economic relations are still grounded on extractivism in the South–North direction. In particular, some Sahelian countries have trade agreements with France that are not advantageous for them. The EU could involve France in a discussion in order to establish a consistent local-development policy in the Sahel. In addition, over the last decade, the EU's request to Africa to eliminate export restrictions has raised increasing concerns in many African countries.[64] EU policy coherence appears crucial if the Union's Sahel strategy is to be a successful "laboratory".

Recommendations

On the basis of the analysis conducted above on EU–SSA relations in the fields of peace and security, migration and development, it is possible to set out some recommendations for the EU:

publications/summary/bringing_the_desert_together_how_to_advance_sahelo_maghreb_integration_7215.

63. US Department of State, Unclassified document. See Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF), *Good Practices in the Area of Border Security and Management in the Context of Counterterrorism and Stemming the Flow of "Foreign Terrorist Fighters"*, New York, September 2016, p. 11, https://www.thegctf.org/Cross-Cutting-Initiatives/Border-Security-Initiative.

64. Isabelle Ramdoo, "Shopping for Raw Materials. Should Africa Be Worried about EU Raw Materials Initiative?", in *ECDPM Discussion Papers*, No. 105 (February 2011), http://ecdpm.org/?p=5116.

- *Restore the link between the allocation of development funds and long-term development goals*. EU internal priorities and migration-flow management should not divert development aid from the pivotal objectives of eradicating poverty and should respect the principle of joint planning with local partners. With this in mind, DG DEVCO should maintain a key role in development programmes.

- *Prioritize the human rights of migrants*. The EU and its member states should pay constant attention to the human rights of migrants, including human-rights frameworks and monitory mechanisms, in all its agreements with single countries or regional organizations.

- *Make efforts to integrate economic and development initiatives into border-security programming* in order to help address the underlying causes of vulnerability, illicit trafficking and cross-border crime. It is particularly challenging to discern licit from illicit trafficking in many parts of the region given historically significant, traditional caravan trading routes and networks on which communities rely for survival, and to which there are seldom viable alternatives.

- *Increase the number of regular migrants*. Enhancing regular migration is a way of offering opportunities to African citizens and decreasing irregular migration. The mobility of students and scholars should be boosted. In addition, the option of using offices and embassies outside the EU to process applications for asylum and refugee status before migrants reach Europe should be considered.

- *Improve intra-Sahel and Sahel–Maghreb integration*. Focus on migration, economic reform, security coordination and regional institutional frameworks. The EU should assist these countries to regularize and legalize population flows.

- *Support local processes of mediation and dialogue*. The EU has improved its capacities on mediation and peacebuilding in the Sahel – for instance, through training for its per-

sonnel. Now it is time to fully support local efforts, applying a context-sensitive approach.

- *Explore the migration–development nexus* and its dynamics in the Sahel, and fine-tune existing projects. To this end, the impact of the Africa Trust Fund should be monitored and future projects should adapt consequently.

- *Keep support for military intervention as a last resort, and with a proportionate use of force*. Establish a regular exchange with France and the US, and monitor the consequences of military interventions (e.g. the use of armed drones).

6.
US POLICY IN THE SAHEL: SHIFTING STRATEGIES AMID SHIFTING THREATS IN A VOLATILE REGION

AUDRA K. GRANT

In the immediate post-Cold War era, US policy towards the Sahel[1] was uneven and limited. Presently, however, the Sahel has garnered more attention from the US, due primarily to a confluence of destabilizing dynamics such as terrorism, criminal networks and weak governance, causing its policymakers and military leaders to rethink their Africa strategy. US policy towards the Sahel has been essentially a reflection of its general management of the African continent as whole. US engagement in the region has been minimal relative to that of other areas, and engagement where it exists tends to emphasize military and strategic security concerns. Today, however, the Sahel is at the epicentre of changing US policy in Africa. Although uncertainties abound concerning the potential direction of US policy in Africa with the new presidential administration, there are nevertheless opportunities to engage with Africa in productive ways. This chapter discusses US policy in the Sahel and the various approaches that have characterized US engagement. The first section begins with a discussion of the importance of the Sahel and how US policy towards Africa has evolved. The second portion turns to US interests in the Sahel, while the third discusses key instruments of US policy in the Sahel region, including approaches to strategic and human security. The chapter concludes with remarks on questions raised regarding US policy against the backdrop of the new priorities of the current presidential administration, and offers recommendations for moving forwards.

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1. The Sahel region is generally an area encompassing West and North Central Africa from Senegal to Sudan.

1. Why the Sahel matters

The United Nations Security Council has described the Sahel region of Africa as an "arc of instability".[2] Populated by fragile, poorly governed states with beleaguered economies, the Sahel has become beset with conflict and a confluence of violent militancy, illicit trade networks and environmental degradation that has led to widespread food insecurity.[3] Endemic poverty along with environmental and security pressures have resulted in an increase in migration, as persons from sub-Saharan Africa in search of better opportunities attempt the perilous journey across the Sahel to the Mediterranean and Europe beyond.

Although US interests in the Sahel have been minimal historically, the expansion of transnational threats and domestic crises have pushed the region closer to the forefront of US strategic concerns. Violent militancy is now acknowledged as a growing threat to peace and security in the Sahel – and elsewhere in Africa – as demonstrated by the expansion of terrorist activity over recent years in Niger, Mali, Mauritania and Algeria. Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb (AQIM) and Boko Haram, in particular, have managed to broaden their geographical reach and augment their operational capacity.[4] Competition for influence with the Islamic State (IS), which has also increased its activities in the volatile Sahel region, has additionally fuelled

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2. UN Security Council, *Peace and Security in Africa* (S/PV.6965), 6965th Meeting, New York, 13 May 2013, http://undocs.org/S/PV.6965; UN, *'Arc of Instability' across Africa, If Left Unchecked, Could Turn Continent into Launch Pad for Larger-Scale Terrorist Attacks, Security Council Told*, 13 May 2013, https://www.un.org/press/en/node/168650.

3. In 2017, the UN estimated that as many as 30 million people throughout the Sahel were food insecure. See UNOCHA website: *About the Sahel*, http://www.unocha.org/sahel/about-sahel. See also European Commission, *Sahel: Food and Nutrition Crisis. ECHO Factsheet*, March 2017, https://ec.europa.eu/echo/files/aid/countries/factsheets/sahel_en.pdf.

4. AQIM, in particular, has been able to effectively integrate itself into communities, through inter-marriage with clan and tribal community members, and the creation of a myriad of fluid alliances with local actors that have grievances against the state. Indeed, the group has demonstrated remarkable resiliency despite efforts to counter its activities.

terrorist attacks, as groups jockey for credibility and power. Indeed, IS Islamists have breathed new life into Islamist militancy in the Sahel, bringing additional challenges for the US in the region.[5] No less important are the humanitarian crises that have emerged in the Sahel, as thousands of migrants from West and Central Africa fleeing conflict and dismal economic prospects in their home countries travel through Niger to Libya and Europe.

For the US, and the wider international community, the Sahel is critical because of its potential for future instability. US allies, including Algeria and Morocco, are geographically proximate to Europe and have long-standing ties to the region; Nigeria is a pivotal state in West Africa; and prolonged, simmering conflict in Mali demands attention, as does Niger's ongoing struggles with governance, extreme poverty and migration.[6] Key US partners – France, Morocco and Nigeria – have looked to the US for assistance in order to combat the various threats to regional and country-level stability. If such recent requests are any indication, the US will need to re-evaluate aspects of its role in the Sahel region.

2. The evolution of US policy in Africa

Among the Western powers, France has traditionally played the more significant role in Sahelian Africa. Having colonized swaths of North and West Africa in the mid-nineteenth century, the country remains an important military, economic and political actor in the region long after its departure in the 1960s following African independence.[7] Core goals of the current

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5. Sudarsan Raghavan, "Death of Four U.S. Soldiers in Niger Hint at the Shadow War against ISIS in Africa", in *The Washington Post*, 3 November 2017, http://wapo.st/2zuFqCh.

6. Michael Werz and Laura Conley, *Climate Change, Migration, and Conflict in Northwest Africa. Rising Dangers and Policy Options across the Arc of Tension*, Washington, Center for American Progress, April 2012, https://ampr.gs/lmPBDO.

7. European interaction with West Africa, however, dates back as far as the 15th century, when the Portuguese traders engaged the region.

French presence include the protection of African governments friendly to French interests and the defence of French economic concerns, which include access to critical resources such as uranium in Niger.

US interests in Africa and the Sahel, by contrast, have historically been inconsistent and peripheral. Africa, as a whole, was not a major region of engagement or foreign-policy interest for the US until World War II and the ensuing Cold War. During this period, international patron–client relationships emerged among Cold War "protagonists"[8] seeking to secure influence in Africa. For their part, African governments seeking access to financial aid and economic markets demanded concessions from the two primary Cold War rivals, the US and the Soviet Union.[9]

The end of the Cold War in 1989 saw a cessation of the brutal proxy wars and regional rivalries that had plagued Africa, but relegated the region to the margins of US policy throughout the 1990s. Under President Bill Clinton, the US flirted with humanitarian intervention in Africa by sending troops to Somalia. The subsequent deaths of US soldiers and the UN entanglement in that country's civil war, however, ended robust US involvement in Africa. For a long period, the "Somalia syndrome" was the guiding principle of US foreign policy towards African conflicts, which rendered humanitarian interventions politically and operationally impractical.[10]

The year 1994 brought a sharp reminder that old Cold-War outlooks or benign neglect would no longer hold in the mid-1990s, as demonstrated by the deadly Rwandan genocide, which the international community and the US were shockingly ill-prepared to address as compared to their intervention in the former

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8. Alex Thomson, *An Introduction to African Politics*, 3rd ed., London and New York, Routledge, 2010, p. 164.

9. Ibid., p. 165.

10. US forces were trying to capture Islamist leader, Abdulkadir Mohamed Abdulkadir, a Kenyan Somali who was believed to have plotted the attacks on the Kenyan Parliament and UN headquarters in Nairobi.

Yugoslavia. The Clinton Administration, answering to withering criticism of the limited US and international response to Rwanda, attempted to adopt more proactive Africa policy objectives that related to health care, democracy, human rights and the environment. In 1999, for example, the US launched the Partnership for Economic Growth and Opportunity in Africa to help facilitate the continent's integration into the global economy.[11] Despite such efforts, however, US activity was still limited to the bombing of a weapons factory in Sudan in response to the 1998 attacks on its embassies in Kenya and Tanzania, and special operations to stem Islamist militancy in the Horn of Africa.[12]

The aftermath of the 2001 September 11 attacks saw a change in US intervention and general approach to Africa during the George W. Bush era. US policy towards Africa was more focused, acknowledging not just military strategic interests but also humanitarian ones. US policy – embodied partly in the creation of the United States Africa Command (AFRICOM) in 2007 – emphasized training African militaries and bolstering intelligence capacities in order to meet external threats rather than direct intervention that put "boots on the ground". AFRICOM is also intended to promote development, health care, education, democracy and economic growth, in addition to security. In other words, the institution is intended to project soft power in Africa. While this new approach was driven by the 9/11 terrorist attacks in the US, the change in direction was also shaped by earlier efforts by the Clinton Administration to develop stronger ties between the US and Africa.

Bush's conceptualization of US policy interests in Africa differed from that of Clinton. For Bush, though attention to human security was consistent with America's core values, terrorism was ultimately the main strategic priority. Addressing both interest dimensions, in addition to AFRICOM, the administration estab-

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11. Edmond J. Keller, "Meeting the Challenges of Strategic and Human Security Interests in US-Africa Relations, or the Orphaning of 'Soft Power'?", in *Africa Review*, Vol. 4, No. 1 (2012), p. 1-16.

12. Alex Thomson, *An Introduction to African Politics*, cit., p. 167.

lished the President's Emergency Plan for Aids Relief (PEPFAR), a 15 billion dollar programme designed to deal with Africa's HIV/AIDS epidemic, as well as the Millennium Challenge Account (MCA) to increase US economic aid to African countries that fulfilled certain political and economic criteria. It was along the strategic dimension that the US expressed a focus on international terrorism that continues to the present day. As far as interventions go, however, US support to Nigerian peacekeeping troops in Liberia during 2003 is the only effort noted in Africa during the Bush Administration. Such overt intervention was the exception rather than the rule throughout the 1990s and early 2000s.

The inauguration of recently outgoing president, Barack Obama, was met with high expectations of a more vigorous US Africa policy. His Kenyan roots and prestige as the country's first African-American president raised hopes that the US would now work even more closely with Africa than previous administrations had. However, the continent remained low on the administration's priority list. It was not until his second term that Obama would embark on promising, but late initiatives. In 2014, for example, he held the US–Africa Leaders Summit, which was a platform for promoting three key administration programmes: the Africa Youth Leaders programme, which offered professional opportunities for young Africans with private businesses; Trade Africa, emphasizing trade with East Africa; and Power Africa, the administration's signature policy launched in 2013 to double access to electricity in Africa. Power Africa goals included committing 7 billion dollars in investments over five years to connect 20 million households and businesses to electricity. The summit signalled a significant move from government–government relations to private-sector-based ties.[13] Further, the Feed the Future (FTF) programme, another hallmark effort, is intended to improve food security in countries through increased agricultural production, trade and economic development, drawing on the resources of 11 US agencies. Of the 19 original FTF

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13. Aakritri Sethi, "Obama's Policy towards Africa: A Blend of Competition and Roadblocks", in *Africa Trends*, Vol. 3, No. 4 (October-December 2014), p. 4-8, https://idsa.in/node/16969.

countries, 12 are in Africa. Other key policies include the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, which permits duty-free imports for selected African nations. The Obama Administration also helped West African countries combat the 2014–16 Ebola outbreak, providing aid, training and 3,000 personnel.[14]

Despite Obama's attention to the human-security dimension, his Africa policy was characterized by dramatic militarization, and retained the same emphasis on security as other administrations had. AFRICOM activities also expanded, as evidenced by the increased use of drones, naval exercises, covert military operations and train-and-equip programmes, which now encompass 49 countries.[15] Illustrative of the Obama Administration's priorities on security issues, the US sent 100 troops to Uganda in order to combat the terrorist group, Lord's Resistance Army (LRA).

Nonetheless, the US approach in Africa appears to be shifting – and nowhere is this more apparent than in the Sahel. As instability has mounted in the region, the US has assumed a more overt posture there in contrast to the much lower profile that has characterized its approach in the past. The US is drawing more heavily on basing facilities, as well as surveillance and training missions, in order to address more region-specific threats and risks. This includes supporting friendly governments and establishing a stronger military presence more capable and ready to respond to security threats in the Sahel region.[16] The next section assesses, more specifically, US interests in the Sahel that drive the country's policy.

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14. Teresa Welsh, "A Complicated Legacy", in *US News*, 28 July 2015, https://www.usnews.com/news/the-report/articles/2015/07/28/obamas-legacy-on-africa-lacks-compared-to-bush.

15. Aakritri Sethi, "Obama's Policy towards Africa", cit. Critics of the Obama administration's emphasis on security have argued that it has emboldened authoritarian regimes pass counter-terrorism laws to suppress civil society, as did Ethiopia in 2009. See Ian Livingston, "Obama's Legacy in African Security and Development", in *Order from Chaos*, 25 July 2016, http://brook.gs/2agwJLc.

16. Keith Somerville, "Why It's Not All about Security as West Beefs Up Military in Africa's Sahel", in *Mail & Guardian Africa*, 27 October 2016, http://mgafrica.com/article/2016-10-27-why-its-not-all-about-security-as-west-beefs-up-military-in-africas-sahel.

3. US interests in the Sahel

3.1 Economic interests

The Sahel is an important supplier of oil and other natural resources, and the region's countries are strategically located in the middle of much of the world's transport and trade routes.[17] Niger is the world's fourth largest producer of uranium, and has two mines that provide 7.5 percent of the world's uranium-mining output.[18] The country's uranium is used in the nuclear programmes of major US allies such as France. Also, Algeria is a major producer of oil and natural gas, and there is speculation that there are major gas reserves in Niger, Mali and Mauritania.

On the whole, however, US trade and investment in the Sahel is rather low. After two decades of oil exploration, discoveries in the region have not been substantial. Moreover, against the backdrop of decreasing US reliance on foreign energy sources, the need for oil and gas from partners, such as Algeria, may decline in the future.

For other countries – including France, Nigeria, Algeria and South Africa – economic ties to the Sahel are far more significant. South Africa, especially, is pivotal for Mali's gold-mining sector. The precious metal is Mali's leading export commodity, and exports have grown.[19]

There are assessments that cast US interests in the Sahel – and elsewhere in Africa, in fact – within the context of broader

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17. Mark LeVine, "Old Wounds, Deep Scars: US Intervention in Africa", in *Al Jazeera*, 11 October 2013, http://www.aljazeera.com/indepth/opinion/2013/10/old-wounds-deep-scars-us-intervention-africa-20131010101130448232.html.
18. John Campbell and J. Peter Pham, "Does Washington Have a Stake in the Sahel?", in *CFR Expert Briefs*, 10 January 2014, http://on.cfr.org/2BGTl8K; World Nuclear Association, *Uranium in Niger*, updated November 2017, http://www.world-nuclear.org/information-library/country-profiles/countries-g-n/niger.aspx.
19. John Campbell and J. Peter Pham, "Does Washington Have a Stake in the Sahel?", cit.

competition between the US and China for access to natural resources; each country has larger aims of exerting political and economic influence in the region.[20] It is worth noting, however, that US economic interests in the Sahel were present before the more recent US attention on China's involvement in Africa. In 2000, the US passed the Africa Growth and Opportunity Act, which offered African countries trade and other economic preferences. Yet, robust economic relations have not been a primary driver of US interests in the Sahel.

3.2 Security interests

It is US interests in containing security threats to itself and its allies in the Sahel that have led to a shift in the country's strategic role in the region. Criminal activity in the Sahel has increased significantly since the early 2000s – particularly kidnap for ransom, drug smuggling in cocaine and cannabis, and weapons and human trafficking. Such activities are enabled by an amalgam of networks of groups, institutions and individuals that include myriad state actors at multiple levels, who profit from illicit trade.[21]

Terrorism complicates this potent mix. While Islamist militant groups such as AQIM, Boko Haram and Ansar al-Sharia[22] have

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20. Keith Somerville, "Why It's Not All about Security…", cit. Also, LeVine explains that US trade with sub-Saharan Africa is concentrated on oil and minerals from Nigeria, Angola and South Africa, while China is focused on building local infrastructure. See Mark LeVine, "Old Wounds, Deep Scars", cit.

21. Sergei Boeke, "Al Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb: Terrorism, Insurgency, or Organized Crime?", in *Small Wars and Insurgencies*, Vol. 27, No. 5 (2016), p. 914-936, https://doi.org/10.1080/09592318.2016.1208280; Christopher S. Chivvis and Andrew Liepman, *North Africa's Menace. AQIM's Evolution and the U.S. Policy Response*, Washington, RAND, 2013, https://www.rand.org/pubs/research_reports/RR415.html; Modibo Goïta, "West Africa's Growing Terrorist Threat: Confronting AQIM Sahelian Strategy", in *Africa Security Briefs*, No. 11 (February 2011), https://africacenter.org/publication/west-africas-growing-terrorist-threat-confronting-aqims-sahelian-strategy; Wolfram Lacher, "Organized Crime and Conflict in the Sahel-Sahara Region", in *Carnegie Papers*, September 2012, http://ceip.org/2lMjuuO.

22. Ansar Al-Sharia announced its dissolution in May 2017. See "Libya's Ansar al-Sharia Announces Dissolution", in *Al Jazeera*, 27 May 2017, http://aje.io/9fj3.

not directly targeted US soil, recent attacks on US targets abroad such as the deadly assault on the US Embassy in Benghazi, and on non-governmental organizations and business interests, raise alarm.[23] Moreover, the late-October 2017 killing of four US soldiers by Islamist militants in southwest Niger, near the Mali–Niger border, sharply underlines the complexity of on-the-ground conditions and volatility of the region. The intensification of rivalry between IS and AQIM for recruits and influence will probably only exacerbate this already precarious security environment.

Also of concern are experienced and armed North African fighters involved in the Syrian conflict, who are now returning home. Without proper attention, these veterans could become a threat to Sahelian governments and the US' European allies. The porous border areas of the Sahel pose challenges to Sahelian-government attempts to monitor and control movements across the region's poorly governed territory.

Cocaine smuggling in the Sahel is also on the rise. The activity grew in the region during the mid- to late 2000s, when cartels from Latin America began looking to Europe to replace saturated US markets. The drugs are first shipped to countries such as Guinea Bissau, and then are moved to Algeria, Libya or Morocco. Smuggling is facilitated by militant groups, such as AQIM, whose telecommunications, money laundering and cash-management skills have been strengthened through the collaboration with drug cartels in Colombia and Bolivia.[24] According to 2012 UN Office on Drugs and Crime figures, 30 tonnes of cocaine from South America transited the Sahel, en route to Europe, generating 1.2 billion dollars in profits for trafficking networks, some 500 million dollars of which was laundered in local Sahelian economies.[25]

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23. Joshua C. Burgess, "No Time to Hit Snooze in North Africa and the Sahel", in PolicyWatch, No. 2205 (10 February 2014), http://washin.st/2Eon0mg.

24. Kerry A. Dolan, "The Secret of Al Qaeda in Islamic Maghreb Inc.: A Resilient (and Highly Illegal) Business Model", in *Forbes*, 16 December 2013, https://www.forbes.com/sites/kerryadolan/2013/12/16/the-secret-of-al-qaeda-in-is-lamic-maghreb-inc-a-resilient-and-highly-illegal-business-model.

25. United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), *UNODC Chief Briefs*

Smuggling generally is widespread practice in the Sahel region, particularly along the porous border area between Algeria and Mali. Basic goods such as oil, wheat and petrol are traded on a black market that thrives on goods smuggled illegally from Algeria to Mali.[26] Drug convoys use old caravan routes and smugglers' knowledge of ancient hidden trails, making traffickers difficult to detect.[27] Islamist militants also reportedly earn revenue from imposing taxes on narcotics smugglers in return for safe passage. Although the drugs are not destined for US markets, this trafficking is relevant to US interests as the funds enable the capacities of militant groups to conduct attacks in the long run.

Trafficking of weapons is also rife in the Sahel, as is kidnap for ransom – a most lucrative enterprise. Groups net millions from ransoms paid to free Western hostages.[28]

Also important are the areas of the Sahel that have become centres for human smuggling. Specifically, Agadez in Niger, formerly a key corridor for the caravan trade, is now a major hub for the transport of persons. The area is a transit point for refugees and migrants attempting to reach Libya and the shores of Europe, despite the incredible dangers associated with the journey. For Nigerien smugglers, who call themselves "migrant

Security Council on Drugs and Crime in West Africa, 12 July 2012, http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/frontpage/2012/July/unodc-chief-briefs-security-council-on-threats-of-drugs-and-crime-in-west-africa.html; Marc Mémier, "AQMI et Al-Mourabitoun. Le djihad sahélien réunifié?", in *Études de l'Ifri*, January 2017, p. 31-34, https://www.ifri.org/fr/node/12512; UNODC, *World Drug Report 2017. Vol. 5: The Drug Problem and Organized Crime, Illicit Financial Flows, Corruption and Terrorism*, New York, United Nations, May 2017, p. 35, http://www.unodc.org/wdr2017/field/Booklet_5_NEXUS.pdf.

26. Wolfram Lacher, "Organized Crime and Conflict in the Sahel-Sahara Region", cit.; Colin Freeman, "Revealed: How Saharan Caravans of Cocaine Helped to Fund Al-Qaeda in Terrorists' North African Domain", in *The Telegraph*, 26 January 2013, http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/worldnews/africaandindianocean/mali/9829099/Revealed-how-Saharan-caravans-of-cocaine-help-to-fund-al-Qaeda-in-terrorists-North-African-domain.html.

27. Ibid.

28. AQIM, for example, netted between 75 million to 91.5 million dollars in 2010 from kidnap for ransom activities.

service providers"[29] and are accustomed to operating in the open, trafficking used to be a thriving enterprise. However, European pressure on Niger to crack down on these "services" has pushed the trade underground. Smugglers attempting to circumvent detection have turned to using hidden roads that are even more dangerous than the commonly used routes in order to move migrants illicitly. These migrants face horrific abuse and neglect as they traverse Niger, and dangerous conditions also await many in Libya, where they are further exploited. Equally alarming, Nigerien smugglers have attracted other criminal elements, engaged in the weapons and narcotics trades.

3.3 Democracy and human rights

The US has little expertise or a long-established presence in the region. Given the uncertainties of the current US Administration's approach to democracy promotion, there are also doubts as to how much priority democratization in the Sahel will receive.

Overall, US interests in the Sahel have been marginal, but the region is of increasing importance to friends and US allies such as France, Morocco and Nigeria. The close US–France relationship has important ramifications beyond the US and Europe, while Morocco can play the dual role of being an important partner in the Middle East as well as in sub-Saharan Africa.[30] Niger also sees the value of a more visible and robust US presence. Against the backdrop of weak military and law-enforcement capacity, US support and assistance, in the form of training and advising, equips local forces to combat militants on their own. However, the amount of US funds committed to this endeavour are still small compared to those spent in other regions, such as the Middle East.[31]

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29. Michelle Hoffman, "Deadly Trade through Niger Snares Refugees and Migrants", in *UNHCR News*, 4 August 2017, http://www.unhcr.org/en-us/news/latest/2017/8/598427614.

30. John Campbell and J. Peter Pham, "Does Washington Have a Stake in the Sahel?", cit.

31. The US has committed billions to efforts to assist militaries in Afghanistan

4. US approaches to transnational security threats in the Sahel

Security threats and risks currently dominate US policy and its growing interest in the Sahel. To address these issues, the US relies on an assortment of military and civilian approaches, briefly described below.

4.1 Military instruments

Since the 9/11 attacks, the US has committed large amounts of military aid to the Sahel region and Africa in general. The Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership (TSCTP), established in 2005, is a multifaceted, multi-year strategy implemented jointly by the Department of State, the US Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Department of Defence in order to help partners in West and North Africa increase their immediate and long-term capabilities to address terrorist threats and prevent the spread of violent extremism.[32] TSCTP members include Algeria, Chad, Libya, Mali, Mauritania, Morocco, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal and Tunisia.

Between 2009 and 2013, the US allocated 288 million dollars in TSCTP funding, according to a 2014 report by the Government Accountability Office. Niger was one of the top recipients, netting more than 30 million dollars. The programme focuses on:

- improving the capacity of North and West African militaries and law-enforcement actors to conduct counterterrorism operations;
- enhancing border-security capacity in order to monitor, restrain and restrict terrorist movements;

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and Syria, but only tens of millions in Mali and Niger. See Phillip Carter and Andrew Swick, "Why Were US Soldiers Even in Niger? America's Shadow Wars in Africa, Explained", in *Vox*, 26 October 2017, https://www.vox.com/world/2017/10/26/16547528.

32. See the US Department of State website: *Programs and Initiatives*, https://www.state.gov/j/ct/programs/index.htm#TSCTP.

- strengthening the rule of law, including access to justice, and law enforcement's ability to detect, disrupt, respond to, investigate and prosecute terrorist activity;
- countering terrorism financing (such as that related to kidnapping for ransom); and
- reducing community support for violent extremism.[33]

Complementary to the TSCTP, the Security Governance Initiative (SGI), created in 2014, is a joint endeavour between the US and selected African partners that seeks to improve security-sector governance and capacity in order to address transnational and domestic security threats emanating from terrorism and illicit activity in Africa. The US committed 65 million dollars to the programme during its first year, adding further funds based on need. Four of the six participant countries – Niger, Nigeria, Mali and Tunisia – are located in the Sahel.

In the latest sign of an ever-increasing US emphasis on counterterrorism operations in the Sahel region, the US is building a 100 million dollar base in Agadez, Niger. As the only country in the region willing to allow a US base, and as a major recipient of TSCTP funding, Niger has positioned itself to be the key regional hub for US military operations, with Agadez serving as the primary outpost for launching intelligence, surveillance and reconnaissance missions against a plethora of militant groups.[34] The US has also built a drone base in Niger, and is in the process of constructing a second base.[35]

This second military base would add to the existing US presence in Niger. The US currently shares facilities in the capital, Niamey, with French forces engaged in Operation Barkhane against Islamist militant groups in Mali. It also provides intel-

33. US Department of State, "Africa", in *Country Reports on Terrorism 2016*, July 2017, https://www.state.gov/j/ct/rls/crt/2016.
34. Nick Turse, "U.S. Military Is Building a $100 Million Drone Base in Africa", in *The Intercept*, 29 September 2016, http://bit.ly/2d7IHKC.
35. Greg Myre, "The U.S. Military in Africa: A Discreet Presence in Many Places", in *NPR*, 20 October 2017, https://n.pr/2x8P3BP.

ligence on Boko Haram militants operating in Niger, northern Nigeria, Chad and northern Cameroon to those respective national governments.

Indeed, its Niger base signals a significant change in the US approach to the Sahel – largely in response to changes in the region's security challenges, which are mounting. Previously, the US has not enjoyed access to a bricks-and-mortar structure in the region, and has had difficulties finding a host country for a base in Africa. It has relied, instead, on some 60 outposts located across 34 African states.[36] The only permanent base that exists is in Djibouti, more than 3,000 miles from the Sahel.[37] Fortunes, however, appear to be changing.

In addition, the US signed, in May 2016, a military cooperation agreement with Senegal that allows for the "permanent presence" of US troops in Senegal[38] to help address security issues facing the country. The US will have access to Senegalese airports and military installations in order to respond to security as well as health needs.[39]

The International Military Education and Training (IMET) programme brings African military officers to US military academies and schools for instruction. Countries that receive IMET training include TSCTP members Nigeria and Senegal, and also Botswana, Ethiopia, Ghana, Kenya and South Africa.

The US also employs more specific efforts to counter violent extremism in the Sahel. Initiatives include:

- enhancing understanding of the sources of violent extremism and mobilizing effective interventions;

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36. Keith Somerville, "Why It's Not All about Security...", cit.
37. Eric Schmitt and Scott Sayare, "New Drone Base in Niger Builds U.S. Presence in Africa", in *The New York Times*, 22 February 2013, https://nyti.ms/2I1FZwL.
38. "US-Senegal Deal Gives Washington Permanent Access to African Country", in *Press TV*, 3 May 2016, http://www.presstv.com/Detail/2016/05/03/463675/US-Senegal-deal-Africa-Dakar.
39. Ibid.

- encouraging and assisting partner governments to adopt more effective policies and approaches to prevent and counter violent extremism;
- using foreign-assistance tools and approaches, including development, in order to reduce the political, social and economic factors that contribute to community support for violent extremism;
- empowering credible local actors that may have an influence on local perceptions; and
- strengthening the capacity of government and non-state actors to promote the rehabilitation and reintegration of individuals who have been exposed to radicalization.

Maghreb–Sahel Capacity Building for Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) are key USAID programmes designed to combat militancy.[40]

Heightened security concerns in the Sahel have been a catalyst for the US to deepen security cooperation with France. The two nations are working in concert to bolster the military capabilities of Niger, Chad and Mali, as well as Nigeria and Cameroon. US–French cooperation has evolved since the early 2000s.[41] The collapse of Gaddafi's Libya and the subsequent flow of armed fighters into the Sahel may have been the catalyst for this greater collaboration. In Niger, for example, France has launched Operation Barkhane – an ambitious counterterrorism effort that began in July 2014. US–French cooperation builds on French successes in Mali and growing US interest in countering terrorism in the Sahel. To that end, the US provided 10 million dollars to assist French activities in Niger, Mali and Chad. This may suggest a mutual acknowledgement that while France knows the Sahel better, the US is in a better position financially to assist the French military, which faces resource constraints. The arrangement has deepened further recently, as evidenced by the unprecedented embedding of an Ameri-

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40. See USAID website: *Countering Violent Extremism*, https://www.usaid.gov/countering-violent-extremism.
41. Keith Somerville, "Why It's Not All about Security…", cit.

can military planner at the headquarters of the French operational command.[42] However, working together at the strategic level has been met with challenges amid disagreement over the creation of an independent 5,000-person Sahelian security force.[43]

4.2 Civilian instruments

Civilian tools are also part of the US approach in the Sahel, and entail building overall government capacity to address extremism through helping governments develop strategies to deal with extremism, and strengthening local and community-level actors. US CVE programmes also seek to enhance the role of religious figures, civil society, women and youth in CVE efforts. Initiatives also include counter-messaging, and enhancing police roles and the justice sector of countries.

Justice-sector capacity is addressed through the US Department of State, Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement (INL) programmes. INL training efforts help countries of the Sahel build effective rule-of-law institutions, and strengthen their criminal-justice systems and police, courts and anti-crime efforts – addressing a range of activities from trafficking in persons, goods, weapons, drugs and wildlife to money laundering, cybercrime and intellectual-property theft.

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42. The French military has concentrated its air power, including three Mirage fighter jets, and mission headquarters in Chad; its five Reaper reconnaissance drones in Niger; its special operations troops in Burkina Faso; and its logistics hub in Ivory Coast. Eric Schmitt, "U.S. Military Offers Support, but Not Troops to Aid France in Africa" www.nyt.com, at https://www.nytimes.com/2017/05/12/world/africa/africa-us-military-aid-france.html?mcubz=0&_r=0.

43. The current administration is averse to multilateralism in Africa and is set to cut support to the UN, which would use the force to support its peacekeeping mission in Mali. In addition, the force would likely not be capable of conducting operations. The French, for their part, may be seeking an exit strategy from the Sahel, and are looking to the force to ease that transition, in addition, to looking for a new funding source. See Michael Shurkin, "US-French Dustup Over Counterterrorism in the Sahel," in U.S. News and World Report, June 23, 2017.

Working with Sahelian partner governments, INL programmes deliver assistance that encourages civilian security and criminal-justice-sector reform in order to support US policy objectives in the Sahel aimed at promoting stability. Programmes entail democratic reform, improving access to justice, developing professional law-enforcement entities, supporting local justice-sector officials and strengthening corrections systems. Legal advisors have also been placed in US embassies in order to support justice-sector development and capacity building in countries including Niger, Mali, Nigeria, Benin, Senegal and Mauritania.

The US State Department's Bureau of Counterterrorism (CT) uses a range of tools and programmes to isolate and weaken terrorist groups and their support networks. CT leads Department of State efforts to designate terrorist organizations and individuals, and freezes their financial assets, blocks their financial transactions and prevents others from providing them with material or financial support. Terrorism designations lead to sanctions against groups and individuals, and encourage coordinated action between the US and partner governments to disrupt the terrorists' activity through denying them access to national financial systems and triggering law-enforcement action.

The Global Counterterrorism Forum (GCTF) is a multilateral body that seeks to promote civilian cooperation on counterterrorism. The GCTF is composed of 30 countries and the EU. The forum focuses on several key themes, including the criminal-justice sector and the rule of law; countering violent extremism; and capacity building in the Sahel, the Horn of Africa and South East Asia.

5. US approaches to human security in the Sahel

Although security concerns dominate US Sahel strategies, US policy still considers human-security risks and objectives. Previous US strategies on human security in the Sahel and Africa

generally have emphasized strengthening democratic institutions, encouraging economic growth, and advancing peace and security. From 2000 to 2010, the US provided 6.5 billion dollars to TSCTP countries through USAID.[44] In 2015, it provided 274 million dollars to the Sahel for humanitarian assistance.[45] Recently, the US committed 630 million dollars to four countries, three of which are located in Africa – Nigeria, Somalia and South Sudan – in order to help support efforts to combat severe famine, disease and conflict.[46] Niger is the recipient of USAID assistance targeted on populations affected by the climatic, economic and man-made shocks that have plagued the region in recent years. Much of this assistance comes from the Office of Foreign Disaster Assistance and the Office of Food for Peace, and emphasizes interventions in the fields of improving livelihoods, food security and agricultural production.[47] Aid also comes in the form of health and nutrition programmes that strengthen populations' resilience and coping mechanisms. Specific support for refugees and displaced persons in the Sahel comes from the US Department of State through its Bureau of Population, Refugees, and Migration.[48]

Attention to the human-security dimension is critical, and will require sustained humanitarian assistance as well as diplomacy. This is even more important in the light of the risks that accompany the growing US military presence in Niger and the Sahel generally. As a case in point, villagers allegedly helped militants to ambush US soldiers in Niger in November 2017. While the villagers' motives are unknown, the incident is a testament to the precarious operational environment. The US could also face a potential backlash among Muslim-majority populations that are

44. John Campbell and J. Peter Pham, "Does Washington Have a Stake in the Sahel?", cit.
45. See USAID website: *The Sahel*, last updated 3 June 2016, https://www.usaid.gov/crisis/sahel.
46. The fourth country is Yemen. The current humanitarian budget for the four countries for the current fiscal year is 1.8 billion dollars.
47. See USAID website: *Niger: Working in Crises and Conflict*, last updated 19 April 2017, https://www.usaid.gov/niger/working-crises-and-conflict.
48. Ibid.

suspicious of its motives. The strengthening of militaries also re-inforces elites and state power – a dynamic that could exacerbate inequalities and conflict between citizens and state elites. Moreover, some observers, citing Chad as an example, express concern that improving certain countries' military capacities may embolden them to intervene in the affairs of neighbouring countries or to behave with impunity against their own populations.[49]

Thus, humanitarian assistance and attention to human security could offer a helpful counterbalance to the more muscular US military footprint in the region. Though the Sahelian migration crisis is primarily seen as more of a European than a US concern, it is in the US' interests to ensure that areas affected by weak governance – where poverty and environmental degradation meet grievances over central governments and complaints about extractive industries – do not become recruiting grounds for extremists.[50]

6. Looking ahead: The Trump administration and Africa

The direction of the Trump Administration's Africa policy is still uncertain. Given the expanding security challenges in Africa and the Sahel, the administration is stepping up its level of military engagement in the Sahel region, a process already under way under Obama. Training, reconnaissance and support missions are likely to increase further. However, the White House's interest in other issues – areas traditionally of concern to past US administrations – is, thus far, noticeably absent. Nor have indications emerged of significant plans, strategies or initiatives that might define the current administration in contrast to its predecessor.[51]

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49. Hilary Matfess, "US Support for Chad May Destabilize the Sahel", in *Al Jazeera*, 6 March 2015, http://america.aljazeera.com/opinions/2015/3/us-support-for-chad-may-destabilize-the-sahel.html.
50. See Michael Werz and Laura Conley, *Climate Change, Migration, and Conflict in Northwest Africa*, cit.
51. John Campbell, "Trump's Dangerous Retreat from Africa", in *Foreign Policy*, 3 November 2017.

The Trump Administration's proposed budget provides further indication of its evolving policy towards Africa, as evidenced by what would be a dramatic decline of US development assistance to Africa. The administration intends to decrease the US Department of State's budget by a staggering 30 percent, a vivid contrast to the near 10 percent increase (52.8 billion dollars) envisioned for the US Department of Defence. This will undoubtedly have a tremendous impact on US humanitarian and development assistance to Africa. To the extent that assistance is often an extension of diplomacy, such cuts would blunt a key US foreign-policy instrument. Moreover, the budget would reduce US peacekeeping contributions to Africa, incapacitating UN missions in the region.[52]

The administration says that it intends to continue PEPFAR, even though allocations would still decrease by 800 million dollars.[53] It also appears supportive of maintaining a US military presence in the region, and is committed to addressing transnational crime. Specifically, Trump issued a new Executive Order on Transnational Criminal Organizations, by which "the United States will continue to assist our partners to strengthen their security footprint and capabilities to combat today's threat networks".[54] The order affirms the administration's commitment to strengthen and sustain its resolve and capabilities in order to protect the US and erode the power of transnational criminal networks, and to cut off groups from their illicit revenue and access to the financial system.[55] In another encouraging move, key administration positions that were long vacant have now been filled by seasoned Africa experts. While this is

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52. Half of UN peacekeeping missions are in Africa.
53. John Campbell, "Trump's Dangerous Retreat from Africa", cit., p. 3.
54. See US Department of State, *Trans-Africa Security: Combating Illicit Trafficking and Organized Crime in Africa*, Remarks by David M. Luna, Senior Director for National Security and Diplomacy Anti-Crime Programs, Washington, 12 May 2017, https://www.state.gov/j/inl/rls/rm/2017/270858.htm
55. Ibid. For the text of the executive order, see US President, *Executive Order No. 13773: Enforcing Federal Law with Respect to Transnational Criminal Organizations and Preventing International Trafficking*, 9 February 2017, https://www.gpo.gov/fdsys/pkg/FR-2017-02-14/pdf/2017-03113.pdf.

far from the formulation of a coherent policy, the administration does seem cognizant of the need to harness and bring expertise to the region in order to address its complexities.[56]

Withdrawal of US engagement in Africa would probably yield outcomes similar to those seen in the Middle East: other countries – such as China, India, Iran and Turkey – will be more than willing to step in and fill the vacuum. African hegemons – Nigeria, South Africa and Ethiopia – may also seek to augment their role. Yet, these governments diverge with the US on democracy, human rights and approaches to security.[57]

Conclusion

The Sahel, once on the periphery of US foreign-policy concerns, has assumed a higher profile. The confluence of illicit trade, terrorism, conflict and government fragility has pushed the region further towards the forefront of US concerns in Africa.

There are uncertainties regarding the approach of the new US presidential administration, however. The publicized plans of the Trump Administration to cut development assistance and increase military aid suggest a greater role for the armed forces, including US military provision of humanitarian assistance in the Sahel. AFRICOM, however, has in the past fallen short in its ability to deliver in the area of human security and, critics say, lacks the experience to do so.[58] There are also risks of alienating local populations from their US-friendly governments – and from the US itself, as mentioned previously.

The Trump Administration's stated commitment to combat terrorist and trafficking networks requires a multi-faceted ap-

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56. John Campbell, "Trump's Dangerous Retreat from Africa", cit., p. 2.
57. Ibid., p. 3.
58. Edmond J. Keller, "Meeting the Challenges of Strategic and Human Security Interests in US-Africa Relations, or the Orphaning of 'Soft Power'?", cit., p. 15.

proach. For this, the US will have to demonstrate the political will to exercise the diplomacy necessary to address the complex environment of Africa and the Sahel, and also be prepared to administer humanitarian and other forms of assistance. The migration challenges facing Niger and the Sahel in general present an opportunity for doing so. Though the US is probably comfortable letting France take the lead in the Sahel given that country's extensive economic, political and cultural ties to Africa, the shadow of France's history in the region means that French intervention is not without controversy. Therefore, the US could use this as an opening to craft a carefully managed and more visible role for itself. If it does not remain engaged, the alternative may be the growth and expansion of extremist groups that could further destabilize the region.

Recommendations for the US

- US policy in Africa and the Sahel should not rely primarily on military-security strategies. Poverty, underdevelopment, and weak or poor governance provide permissive environments for terrorism and violence; thus, development assistance remains an important foreign-policy tool that should be at least maintained, not eliminated. While democracy and governance programming may be less abundant under the current administration, non-military support that improves governance and institutional capacity would also contribute to reducing the root causes of terrorism and instability.
- The US should cultivate stronger multilateral and bilateral relationships with African countries, particularly if future US policy in Africa means a retreat from the region. Relations with Mali, Niger, Nigeria and other Sahelian countries will be critical if the US is to successfully tackle those goals deemed mutually important, such as terrorism.
- Initiatives that provide educational and employment opportunities for vulnerable populations are vital, and therefore, should be supported through appropriate programming. Youth and women are key target groups. In many African

    and Sahelian countries, females represent half of the population – and over half of populations overall are youth under 30 years of age.

- The US and the EU should continue to look for collaborative ways of confronting the terrorist threat in the Sahel. US–French cooperation in particular should produce a fruitful partnership, in which each country draws on the strengths and competencies of the other.
- Given the role of the EU and US in dislodging the Gaddafi regime, special efforts would be appropriate to support the development of a representative government in Libya. It would be prudent to address the political crisis in that country, which has so far been a major contributing factor to the instability in the greater Sahel region, as well as the migration crisis now facing Europe.
- Where possible, the US should try to develop collaborative approaches with newer players – such as the Gulf states, Turkey and China – in its dealings within Sahel region, and with African hegemons such as South Africa or Nigeria.
- Given the importance of multilateral approaches, the US should continue to support AU peacekeeping efforts through supporting the United Nations indirectly, and find ways to support the peace and security efforts of the African Union (AU) and its region economic equivalent, ECOWAS (the Economic Community of West African States).

7
NOTES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

BERNARDO VENTURI AND VASSILIS NTOUSAS

This section highlights some of the main issues discussed during the final conference of the research project "The security–migration–development nexus revised: a perspective from the Sahel", held in Addis Ababa on 11 December 2017. The event gathered African, American and European scholars and practitioners in order to discuss the role of local and external actors in dealing with security, migration and development in the Sahel. The points below should be considered a supplement to the previous chapters in respect of further research.

The need to propose a new reading of the "triangle" comprising migration, security and development emerged at the conference. This issue was regarded as pivotal in order to avoid the narrow and populist view that migratory flows are necessarily a threat to European security, that development aid must be increased to limit migratory movements and that border security must be tightened increased to stop the passage of migrants.

Changing this paradigm will also contribute to modifying the narrative surrounding this triangular arrangement. This will reframe the discourse on migration so that it no longer conveys misleading or distorted ideas, and accurately portrays the importance of migration and the positive role that it can play. A global and holistic view of the migration phenomenon – coherent in the short, medium and long term – can therefore emerge, supporting a multilateral dialogue in order to take into account international migration and strengthen its governance. The debates also highlighted the fact that the media is shaping negative narratives on migration, and that this issue should be addressed.

Two particularly stimulating issues, which were discussed from various perspectives, are the role of youth and whether migration is an alternative to taking up weapons – topics that deserve further investigation. Expanding legal options for migration could also represent an alternative to combat and becoming involved in violent dynamics. However, migration is not the only alternative: in the medium and long run, development could play a pivotal role in creating alternatives to emigration.

Another issue discussed through the conference panels was the impact of border securitization on regional mobility and development. A distinction between border management and border securitization was clarified. Border management refers to a "smart" approach of dealing with the people involved in crossing the border, with a deep understanding of migration dynamics. This approach could have a positive impact on security and development. Conversely, border securitization does not involve a deep understanding of migration dynamics and risks having a negative impact on security and development. To this extent, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) represents the most advanced regional integration forum in Africa and could be an example to follow. The smarter approach of border management would also include considering free movement of people and free trade as two sides of the same coin.

In general, it was stressed that there is no evidence that security is undermined by migration. Against this background, it appears clear that smart solutions are needed instead of erecting barriers. For example, instituting legal pathways of migration is pivotal in dismantling illegal networks.

Food insecurity is certainly among the root causes of migration. It is relevant to note that women represent 43 per cent of agriculture capacity in the Sahel. Closing the gender gap is therefore critical because it could improve women's resilience in agriculture, and this line deserves further research and attention.

Overall, migration has a positive impact on the Sahel region, as witnessed by the case studies presented at the conference. However, innovative approaches are necessary – for instance, financial platforms to support young people. Additionally, in dealing with migration it may be crucial to think in terms of "micro-territories" and taking pains to understand the local social and economic dynamics.

It was also underlined that the broad political framework for African governments is represented by Agenda 2063, the ambitious and long-term programme of the African Union for a prosperous future for the continent. A key issue to be considered is the vulnerability of the place of origin of the migrants. This fragility is a root cause for leaving, and it should be addressed consistently.

In terms of fragility, the European Union has analysed how in peripheral Sahelian areas where it is engaged, some local features are always present: such areas are nearly always far from the region's capital cities, state services are almost non-existent and unemployment is high. The EU is achieving some positive results on specific projects, and this model should be extended. A practical way could be to work on a geographical target in order to map local projects and capacities. This might help to identify and enlist more Sahelian human resources, thereby improving local understanding and monitoring.

Concerning US engagement in the Sahel, it remains clear that Africa is not currently a priority for the US Government. However, the Trump Administration has demonstrated that Africa is very much on its radar – by, for instance, increasing military interventions, trade and investment in the region. It remains critical, however, to design interventions that address particular population segments such as young people and women. A positive example of this approach is represented by the Young African Leaders Initiative, an effort to invest in the next generation of African leaders.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACHPR	African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights
ACIRC	African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises
ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific countries
AFRICOM	United States Africa Command
AGETIP	Agence d'exécution des travaux d'intérêt public (Senegal)
APF	African Peace Facility
APIX	Agence pour la promotion de l'investissement et des grands travaux (Senegal)
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
AQIM	Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb
AU	Africa Union
CADEV-Niger	Caritas Développement-Niger
CLAT	Cellule de lutte anti-terroriste (Senegal)
CMR	Central Mediterranean Route
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
CSDP	Common Security and Defence Policy
CSO	Civil-Society Organization
CT	Counterterrorism
CVE	Countering Violent Extremism
DAIP	Direction de l'appui à l'investissement et aux projets (Senegal)
DCI	Development Cooperation Instrument
DG DEVCO	European Commission Directorate-General for International Cooperation and Development
DG ECHO	European Commission Directorate-General for European Civil Protection and Humanitarian Aid Operations

DG HOME	European Commission Directorate-General for Migration and Home Affairs
DGRE	Direction général du renseignement extérieur (Senegal)
DGRI	Direction général du renseignement interieur (Senegal)
DIPASE	Direction à la promotion et à l'appui des Sénégalais de l'exterieur (Senegal)
DPAF	Direction de la Police de l'Air et des Frontières (Senegal)
DRC	Democratic Republic of Congo
DRN	Delegation générale au renseignement national (Senegal)
DV	Diversity Immigration Visa
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EDF	European Development Fund
EEAS	European External Action Service
ENAM	École Nationale d'Administration et de Magistrature
ENI	European Neighbourhood Instrument
EU	European Union
EUBAM Libya	EU Border Assistance Mission in Libya
EUCAP Sahel Mali	EU Capacity Building Mission in Mali
EUCAP Sahel Niger	EU Capacity Building Mission in Niger
EUCAP Somalia	EU Capacity Building Mission in Somalia
EUGS	EU Global Strategy
EUNAVFOR Somalia	EU Naval Force Somalia (Operation Atalanta)
EUSR	EU Special Representative
EUTF	EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa

EUTM Mali	EU Training Mission in Mali
EUTM RCA	EU Training Mission in the Central African Republic
EUTM Somalia	EU Training Mission in Somalia
FAISE	Fonds d'appui à l'investissement des Sénégalais de l'exterieu (Senegal)
FNAE	Fonds national d'action pour l'emploi (Senegal)
FNPJ	Fonds national de promotion de la jeunesse (Senegal)
FTF	Feed the Future
GAMM	Global Approach to Migration and Mobility
GCTF	Global Counterterrorism Forum
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
HAC	Humanitarian Aid Commission (Sudan)
HDI	Human Development Index
ICC	International Criminal Court
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICRC	International Committee of the Red Cross
IcSP	Instrument contributing to Stability and Peace
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
IMET	International Military Education and Training (USA)
INA	Immigration and Nationality Act (USA)
INL	International Narcotics and Law Enforcement
INS	Institut National de la Statistique (Niger)
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IS	Islamic State
JAES	Joint Africa-EU Strategy
LDP	Local Development Plan
LRA	Lord's Resistance Army
MCA	Millennium Challenge Account
MFF	Multiannual Financial Framework

MIDA	Migration for Development in Africa
MIDWA	Migration Dialogue for West Africa
MINUSMA	United Nations Multidimensional Integrated Stabilization Mission in Mali
MNJTF	Multi-National Joint Task Force
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NISS	National Intelligence and Security Service (Sudan)
OAU	Organization of African Unity
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
OHCHR	United Nations Human Rights Council
PBF	United Nations Peacebuilding Fund
PEPFAR	US President's Emergency Plan for Aids Relief
PIDES	Programme intégré de développement economique et social (Senegal)
PLASEPRI	Plateforme d'appui au secteur privé et à la valorisation de la diaspora sénégalaise en Italie
PROMER	Projet de promotion des micro-entreprises rurales (Senegal)
PSI	Pan-Sahelian Initiative
PSO	African Peace Support Operation
RAP	Regional Action Plan
REGARDS	Renforcement de l'Engagement communautaire pour la Gestion Alerte des Risques de Destabilisation Sociales et Securitaires
RMMS	Regional Mixed Migration Secretariat
RSF	Rapid Support Forces (Sudan)
SAF	Sudanese Armed Forces
SGI	Security Governance Initiative
TOKTEN	Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals

TSCTP	Trans-Sahara Counterterrorism Partnership
UEMOA	Union Économique et Monétaire Ouest Africaine
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNOCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
UNODC	United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime
US	United States
USAID	US Agency for International Development

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The nexus of security, migration and development in Africa is crucial, but certainly not only because of the flows of migrants coming to Europe. It is evident that development, migration, peace and security are connected in several ways, but more light needs to be shed on the concrete effects of their interactions. In this complex framework, the Sahel region represents an important region where the security–migration–development nexus is particularly present and deserves further analysis. This research aims at re-conceptualizing this nexus through the analysis of this linkage in the Sahel region, and in particular vis-à-vis three case countries: Niger, Senegal and Sudan. The publication also recasts the European Union and the United States approaches to these dynamics and explores current and potential partnerships in the region.

FEPS is the progressive political foundation established at the European level. Created in 2007, it aims at establishing an intellectual crossroad between social democracy and the European project. As a platform for ideas and dialogue, FEPS works in close collaboration with social democratic organizations, and in particular national foundations and think tanks across and beyond Europe, to tackle the challenges that we are facing today. FEPS inputs fresh thinking at the core of its action and serves as an instrument for pan-European, intellectual political reflection.

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