



**T.C**  
**ÇANKIRI KARATEKİN UNIVERSITY**  
**SOCIAL SCIENCES INSTITUTE**  
**POLITICAL SCIENCES AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

**THE MIGRATION POLICY OF AFRICAN UNION: THE**  
**CASE STUDY OF SOMALIA**

**Kalia MOHAMED ADEN**

**MASTER'S THESIS**

**Supervisor**

**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Burçin DEMİRBİLEK**

**Çankırı- 2024**



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## SCIENTIFIC ETHICS STATEMENT

In the process from the proposal stage to the conclusion of the study titled *The Migration Policy Of African Union: The Case Study Of Somalia*, which I prepared as a masters thesis. I carefully followed the academic ethics and rules, that I obtained all the information in the thesis within the framework of academic ethics and tradition, that I prepared in accordance with the rules of writing the thesis. I declare that I cited every citation as a reference and that the works I have benefited from are those shown in the bibliography.

23/05/2024

Signature

Kalia MOHAMED ADEN

## **THESIS ACCEPTANCE AND APPROVAL**

### **ÇANKIRI KARATEKİN UNIVERSITY TO THE DIRECTORATE OF THE INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL SCIENCES**

Çankiri Karatekin University to the Directorate of The Institute of Social Sciences  
This study titled *The Migration Policy Of African Union: The Case Study Of Somalia*,  
prepared by Kalia Mohamed Aden was found successful unanimously as a result of  
the thesis defence held on 23/05/2024 and was accepted as a Masters thesis in the  
*Political Science and International Relations* by our jury.

#### **THESIS JURY MEMBERS (Title, Name and Surname)**

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Burçin DEMİRBILEK .....

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#### **APPROVAL**

This Thesis has been accepted by the jury determined in the session of Çankırı  
Karatekin University Social Sciences Institute Administrative Board, dated  
23/05/2024 and numbered .....

Prof. Dr. Coşkun POLAT

Director of the Institution

## **PREFACE**

A topic like migration is as extensive as it is interesting and enriching. As a global phenomenon whose characteristics are constantly changing and evolving, migration is as old as humanity itself. Shaping societies, cultures and economies across the globe, particularly in Africa, where it reveals highly complex and significant characteristics that are influenced by historical, economic, social and environmental factors. The relevance of this subject derives from its actuality and its significance for public policy, but also from its deep impact on individual lives and communities around the world. After all, migration in Africa is not simply about moving people from point A to point B, but rather about aspirations, challenges, conflicts and opportunities. During the course of writing my thesis, I had the opportunity to read and analyze the academic work of several authors I had never known about before. This has taught me a lot about the subject and shed light on the complexity of this worldwide phenomenon.

I would like to thank first and foremost God for giving me the chance to continue my postgraduate studies, and my loving parents for their unconditional support and love.

I am grateful for my supervisor, Assoc. Prof. Dr. Burçin DEMİRBILEK for her patience and help during the writing of my thesis. Also to Assist. Prof. Dr. Çağlar EZİKOĞLU for his help and understanding during the my Master's program.

To my sister Moudan who has been my right hand, my confidante and helped me a lot during my master's course.

**23/05/2024**

**Kalia MOHAMED ADEN**

## ABSTRACT

**Thesis Title** : The Migration Policy Of African Union: The Case Study Of Somalia  
**Author of the Thesis** : Kalia MOHAMED ADEN  
**Supervisor** : Assoc. Prof. Dr. Burçin DEMİRBILEK  
**Department** : Political Science and International Relations  
**Type of Thesis** : Master's Thesis  
**Acceptance Date** : 23/05/2024

The African Union has long grappled with the complexities of migration across the continent, a challenge that is both a reflection of and a response to diverse political, economic, and social factors. This thesis explores how the regional organisation is dealing with this phenomena by collaborating with other international organisations, regional economic communities as well as the governments of its member states to adopt appropriate strategies. Taking for case study Somalia, one of the East African countries whose population exodus has been going on for more than 25 years, the thesis examines how the AU addresses the factors driving migration in Somalia which are mainly political and environmental but also protects the refugees and advocates for their rights both within and outside Somalia. This thesis also sheds light on the challenges encountered in migration governance in the country and makes recommendations for improving the effectiveness of AU initiatives.

**Keywords:** Migration, African Union, Governance, Somalia, Refugee

## ÖZET

|                      |                                                    |
|----------------------|----------------------------------------------------|
| <b>Tezin Adı</b>     | : Afrika Birliđi'nin Göç Politikası: Somali Örneđi |
| <b>Tezin Yazarı</b>  | : Kalia MOHAMED ADEN                               |
| <b>Danışman</b>      | : Doç. Dr. Burçin DEMİRBİLEK                       |
| <b>Anabilim Dalı</b> | : Siyaset Bilimi ve Uluslararası İlişkiler         |
| <b>Tezin Türü</b>    | : Yüksek Lisans Tezi                               |
| <b>Kabul Tarihi</b>  | : 23/05/2024                                       |

Afrika Birliđi uzun zamandır kıtadaki göçün karmaşıklığıyla boğuşmaktadır; bu sorun hem çeşitli siyasi, ekonomik ve sosyal faktörlerin bir yansıması hem de bunlara bir yanıt niteliğindedir. Bu tez, bölgesel örgütün diđer uluslararası örgütler, bölgesel ekonomik topluluklar ve üye devletlerin hükümetleriyle iş birliđi yaparak uygun stratejiler benimsemek suretiyle bu olguyla nasıl başa çıktığını araştırmaktadır. Nüfus göçünün 25 yılı aşkın bir süredir devam ettiđi Dođu Afrika ülkelerinden biri olan Somali'yi vaka çalışması olarak ele alan tez, Afrika Birliđi'nin Somali'de göçü tetikleyen temel olarak siyasi ve çevresel faktörleri nasıl ele aldığını, aynı zamanda mültecileri nasıl koruduđunu ve hem Somali içinde hem de dışında haklarını nasıl savunduđunu incelemektedir. Bu tez aynı zamanda ülkedeki göç yönetimindi karşılaşılan zorluklara ışık tutmakta ve Afrika Birliđi girişimlerinin etkinliđinin artırılması için tavsiyelerde bulunmaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Göç, Afrika Birliđi, Yönetişim, Somali, Mülteci

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

|               |                                                      |
|---------------|------------------------------------------------------|
| <b>ACHPR</b>  | African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights      |
| <b>AFDB</b>   | African Development Bank                             |
| <b>AMISOM</b> | African Union Mission in Somalia                     |
| <b>AU</b>     | African Union                                        |
| <b>AUC</b>    | African Union Commission                             |
| <b>ECOWAS</b> | Economic Community of West African States            |
| <b>EU</b>     | European Union                                       |
| <b>ICCPR</b>  | International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights |
| <b>IDP</b>    | Internally Displaced Person                          |
| <b>IOM</b>    | International Organization for Migration             |
| <b>OAU</b>    | Organization of African Unity                        |
| <b>PAP</b>    | Pan-African Parliament                               |
| <b>UN</b>     | United Nations                                       |
| <b>UNHCR</b>  | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees        |

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Migration is a practice as ancient as time, and it is not different in the cradle of humanity that Africa represents. From ancient communities' nomadic tendencies to contemporary migration, people had so many reasons to leave their birth place; it can be economic, political, or environmental. But as everything in the world when not controlled it becomes a problem. Among the entities promoting orderly and human migration practices across the continent, there is an African Union. The continental organisation plays an important role in the African migration governance, proposing policies, initiatives, sending missions (AMISOM) and establishing 'Regional Economic Communities' (REC) (Kimenyi & Kuhlmann, 2012; Williams, 2018).

The migration in Africa, especially in Somalia which is the case study of the thesis, became a huge problem. Leaving their country for either neighbouring ones or even a different continent, the intervention of the African Union became important, working with the help of other entities to ensure peace and thriving, so there is no reason for citizens to seek other horizons (Gundel, 2002; Albrecht & Haenlein, 2016; Bruton & Williams, 2014).

This thesis focuses on the AU's approach for managing migration within Africa by using Somalia as a case study to illustrate the application of the AU's strategies in a context marked by significant migration dynamics. The first chapter addresses the historical migratory flows in Africa that refers the general factors, driving its consequences, provides a clear view on the origins of these practices and thus facilitating the understanding of the contemporary situation of this problem. After this introductory chapter, a presentation of the subject studied (African Union), its governance initiatives and the policies applied in Africa regarding migration are explained. The AU actors in migration and refugee protection policies are also mentioned in the second chapter. Refugees can be described as "persons who are outside their country of origin for reasons of feared persecution, conflict, generalized violence, or other circumstances that have seriously disturbed public order and, as a result, require international protection" (United Nations [UN], n.d). Regarding this, Migrants refer "...a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or

permanently, and for a variety of reasons...” (International Organisation for Migration [IOMa], n.d.). Another related important term is Internally Displaced Persons which mean “...persons or groups of persons who have been forced or obliged to flee or to leave their homes or places of habitual residence, in particular as a result of or in order to avoid the effects of armed...” (The UN Refugee Agency [UNHCRa], n.d.).

Moving forward to the third chapter that explains the policies and initiatives found in earlier chapters to the case of Somalia. After analyzing the history of the conflicts, consequences and factors that cause migration in Somalia. the country faces many difficulties from terrorists threat to natural disaster. Finally, this thesis analyzes if the actions which are taken by the organizations are fruitful or not. Regarding this, by all the initiatives and policies applied by the AU, migration flow can be reduced and becomes more regulated in the future. Finally, the conclusion chapter mentions the findings of this thesis, then recommendations so that this research may serve in ameliorating of the issues ongoing.

### **1.1. Literature Review**

The African Union (AU) is one of the important international organisations, which refer institution drawing membership from at least three states, having activities in several states, and whose members are held together by a formal agreement (Karen, 2024), has undertaken initiatives and implemented strategies to tackle the interrelated issues of migration and refugees in Africa. Not surprisingly, academics and authors have extensively documented the methods and initiatives that are introduced and implemented by the continental organization to address the issue of migration on the continent.

Kleist (2016, pp. 1-3) claims that hope plays a crucial role in migration, especially for people facing economic and social difficulties. It is a powerful driving force, like the light at the end of the tunnel which pushes people to embark on risky journeys in search of a better life. Nowadays, thanks to the internet, television as well as modern means of transport, these people feel hopeful that their lives will improve if they decide to relocate elsewhere. This is particularly true for many people in Africa, although many of these people can not move easily because of strict rules and inequalities or because they do not have enough money. Kane & Leedy (2013, pp. 2-6) outline the extent of

migration in Africa in the 21st century, both within countries, between countries and across continents, and show Africa's key role in the spread of this global phenomenon. They argue that although migration is caused by economic, social and even political factors, the colonial period has also had a profound impact on migration trends in Africa, and demonstrates a link between community life on the continent and migration.

Regarding the management of the migration within the continent, Makina & Pasura (2023, pp. 137-138) have a critical analysis regarding the way the AU manages the free movement of persons in the continent. They are wondering if the aspirations of the organisation align with the actions and policies of member states. They point out some reluctances especially from regional powerhouses like South Africa. The authors also affirm that depending on the regional economic communities the progress in terms of free movement of people may be different.

Manga (n/d, p. 3) states that how countries and organisations handle issues like irregular migration. People nowadays have a different opinion about the irregular migration before they used to focus on government rules but now they focus on how different groups can work together to solve the problems. They suggest that it is important to have both strict rules and broader ways of managing migration in order to make sure that everyone follows the rules and the migration is dealt with appropriately.

Furthermore, in his analysis of one of the African Union's instruments for managing African migration, Dieng (2017, pp. 281-282) indicates the importance of the Kampala Convention as the first regionally recognized instrument of its kind. Indeed, the convention addresses each of the causes of internal displacement, whether due to political instability or natural disasters. However the author argues that while the instrument has demonstrated consideration and effort to protect people on the move, it has gaps and weaknesses that merit closer observation.

Adepoju (2009) highlights the critical role of regional cooperation in effective migration management and the efforts of the 'Economic Community of West African States' (ECOWAS) in supporting the African Union's broader migration strategies. The author calls for greater coherence and harmonization of migration policies across

African nations and argues that inconsistencies in national policies which can undermine regional frameworks. Moreover, he shows the importance of protecting migrants' rights and advocates for policies that ensure humane treatment and legal protections and sees the AU's frameworks as positive steps but notes significant challenges in their implementation.

The research of Crush (2010) critically examines the migration policies in Southern Africa with a focus on the application of the African Union's frameworks in the region. The author points out significant gaps between the AU's comprehensive migration policies and their implementation at the national level, and note that many member states struggle with capacity and political to enforce these policies effectively. Crush (2010) emphasizes the importance of managing labor migration to benefit both sending and receiving countries, advocating for policies that address the needs of migrant workers, including legal protections and access to social services. Also, recommends that the AU should strengthen institutional frameworks, enhance data collection on migration, and foster robust regional cooperation. Additionally, the need for policies that address the socio-economic drivers of migration, such as poverty and unemployment, viewing migration as an opportunity for economic development if managed properly.

Landau (2012) explores the complexities involved in regional integration and migration policy within Africa. Also, the ambitious goals of the African Union in creating cohesive migration policies but highlights the significant challenges in achieving these goals. The author is critical of the gap between policy formulation and implementation and argues that while the AU has developed comprehensive frameworks, actual implementation at the national and regional levels is often inconsistent and ineffective. Landau (2012) affirms the need for stronger institutional frameworks to support the AU's migration policies, suggesting that better coordination and resource allocation are essential for effective policy enforcement. Also, the protection of migrants is a central concern in Landau's analysis which advocates for policies that not only facilitate migration but also ensure the protection of migrants' rights and their integration into host communities. Additionally, one of the main hurdles in effective migration management is the lack of adequate resources, calling

for increased funding and capacity-building initiatives to support the implementation of AU migration policies.

The study conducted by Waldron & Hasci (1995), on migration issues in Somalia plays a pivotal role in enhancing our understanding of migration dynamics in the region. By consolidating existing research and offering a comprehensive analysis, the study addresses gaps, resolves ambiguities, and presents a holistic perspective on migration in Somalia. The authors stress out the significance of understanding the complex contextual factors underlying humanitarian issues in Somalia to provide pertinent and effective responses. Their work not only shows the cultural and societal aspects of Somalia but also advocates for nuanced strategies to tackle the diverse challenges associated with migration in the region.

Hammond (2014)'s examination of migration and displacement issues in Somalia presents a critical overview of the historical context and progression of these phenomena in the nation. Starting with refugee patterns dating back to the 1980s, Hammond (2014) elucidates the driving forces such as conflict and famine that prompted many Somalis to flee to neighboring countries like Ethiopia, Kenya, Yemen, and Djibouti. Furthermore, this study offers insights into the turbulent period spanning from 1991 to 2014 showing the successive waves of displacement and repatriation experienced by Somali communities. The author states Somalia's erstwhile role as an important host country for refugees until the late 1980s and underscores the differential impacts of conflict-induced displacement across various social strata, particularly among groups with distinct livelihood backgrounds.

The World Bank Group (2013) sheds light on the disputed status of Somaliland, which classifies migrants from the South as refugees from another country rather than as IDPs, deviating from norms in other regions. It provides a comparative analysis of IDPs, migration catalysts, and vulnerabilities as well as how they are handled by local authorities. Furthermore, it links the vulnerability of pastoral nomadic and agrarian communities to environmental shocks and conflicts. The study emphasizes that recurring droughts, clan conflicts, and a lack of social protection compel numerous families and communities to leave their natural habitats for urban areas, where basic services are accessible or alternative livelihoods can be pursued. Nonetheless, it also

underscores the absence of adequate policies or resources from authorities to support IDPs and their failure to seek lasting solutions, including voluntary relocation.

In their book, Kreiger, Panke & Pregernig (2020, pp. 60-64) critically analyse the relationship between climate conflicts, environmental degradation and migration taking as case study Southern Somalia. Their point is that armed conflict in Somalia is not only driven by environmental factors but is also influenced by political conflict, governance issues and the actions of powerful individuals and non-state actors. They advocate for an approach that addresses the cause and also the immediate impacts of these issues. The dynamics and displacements within and out of south central Somalia, Lindley (2013, pp. 294-295), argues that is not only a symptom of conflicts because Somalis have a routine of moving for living. Indeed, they are a nomadic people but the conflict changed their mobility patterns.

Moreover, Marchand, Reinold & Dias e Silva (2017, pp. 40-41) affirm that Somalia faces important challenges when it comes to managing migration. The country does not have comprehensive laws and it has difficulties with border management so, it needs assistance for displaced people. They also suggest that Somalia should engage more with the Diaspora and should prepare strategies to help the migrants to return back. Adeola (2015, pp. 260-261) explains the ability of the AU to help combating against Xenophobia that is caused by migration in Africa. Additionally, the organisation has the power and should use it to promote peace, cooperation and the respects of human rights. Like they did before as shown documents like the 'Solemn Declaration' and other policy documents. However even if these declarations emphasize the need for states to address xenophobia, there is a lack of specificity regarding the roles of relevant AU institutions in achieving this goal.

Another important perspective is presented by Ali (2020, pp. 2-6) that reflects on the complex identity challenges faced by Somali migrants and refugees. The author recounts a personal experience of being mistaken for a Somali refugee while obtaining a Kenyan passport, underscoring how Kenyan authorities often fail to distinguish between Kenyan Somali citizens and Somali refugees. This misidentification reflects broader issues where refugees and migrants, particularly from conflict zones like Somalia, are frequently viewed as security and economic threats. This perception is exacerbated by policies shaped by the global War on Terror, which have led to the

securitization and politicization of refugee and migrant identities. The author highlights the need for a deeper understanding of migration dynamics within their historical and socio-political contexts. Additionally, the text calls for more rigorous research on the impacts of migration policies, the negotiation of gender identities, and mobility trends within Somali diaspora communities. The author emphasizes the significant contributions of Somali migrants and refugees to both their host countries and Somalia, suggesting that these communities play essential roles in economic, political, social, and security development. This perspective enriches the literature by providing insights into the lived experiences and systemic challenges faced by Somali migrants and refugees, and by calling for more nuanced and comprehensive studies on these issues.

Fellin (2013, pp. 2-4) highlights a significant period in Somalia's history, particularly focusing on the political changes in 2012, including the end of the 'Transitional Federal Government' (TFG) and the election of a new president, Hassan Sheikh Mohamud. The author underscores both the progress and the persistent human rights challenges, especially for internally displaced persons (IDPs) and minority groups like the Rahanweyn and Bantu and calls for attention to the complex dynamics of displacement, the exploitation of aid, and the ongoing need for research and dialogue about the roles of clan identity and diaspora networks in protecting vulnerable populations during conflicts. Additionally, Fellin (2013) emphasizes the significant contributions of the Somali diaspora to the country's economy and infrastructure and suggests the necessity for further study in this area.

The International Refugee Rights Initiative (IRRI)'s report (2017, p. 3) examines how the increased securitization of refugee policies affects their daily lives. Based on 80 interviews with Somali refugees living in Kenya, Uganda, and the United States, as well as interviews with NGO, UN, and government officials, the report highlights the realities faced by refugees when governments link forced migration and insecurity, a connection that is both incorrect and has serious consequences. The report indicates that current security strategies do not protect countries or refugees. Instead, they create fear, exclusion, and can cover up criminal activities. Although many Somalis are fleeing violence from Al-Shabaab, the report shows that their situation reflects a global

tendency to view those fleeing "violent extremism" as extremists themselves and therefore as a threat.

Noor (2007, pp. 1-3) discusses the absence of a national authority since 1991, to address the issue of internal displacement points to a strong dependence on external actors, notably the 'Transitional Federal Government' (TFG) and nascent institutions such as the 'National Commission for Refugees'. However, governance issues limit their effectiveness, which requires a reliance upon the international community and Somali non-governmental organizations (NGOs), often supported by local benefactors, to provide protection and assistance. A critical gap highlighted by the author is the inadequate implementation of institutional frameworks like the Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement and the imperative for bolstering local capacity and engagement. Moreover, the discourse emphasizes the necessity for nuanced policy responses tailored to the distinct exigencies of displacement in Somalia. The humanitarian situation in Somalia necessitates urgent action, and requires robust engagement from multilateral entities such as the United Nations (UN) and the African Union (AU) to address the protracted cycle of violence and displacement.

## **1.2. Research Methodology**

### **1.2.1. Research Problem**

Migration is still a problem in Africa, in this thesis the African Union is focusing its efforts in initiatives that can resolve the main research question, which is "How does the African Union address the migration issue through the example of Somalia/in the case of Somalia?".

The migration touches the whole Africa, but this thesis focuses on the case of Somalia. Their first initiative, and one this study heavily talks about being the mission they sent in the country, with funds, military and the help of other governmental or non-governmental organizations. Facing lack of both resources and infrastructure, the Union faces the double challenge of having to address crucial security and mobility needs in its quest to promote free movement across the continent (Gatta, 2019, pp. 21-26). This thesis therefore looks at how regional initiatives respond to these challenges, while also highlighting areas where rights are being compromised. When successful, the latter has many benefits for migrants and also contributes to social cohesion and

economic development, but it can also be undermined by other obstacles such as discrimination and lack of access to opportunities. Additionally, this thesis not only analyzes the challenges and consequences, but also highlight successful migration initiatives.

### **1.2.2. Research Objectives**

This thesis sets out an objective which is to evaluate the management of the migration by the African Union in order to judge the effectiveness of its actions regarding the case of Somalia and propose solutions for effectiveness.

### **1.2.3. Significance of the Study**

The significance of the study “aim is to explain the need for your research and the particular contribution your research has to make to the promotion of academic knowledge in your particular field of study” (Adu & Badaru, 2022, p. 32). The significance of this thesis is the governance of migration and refugees undertaken by the African Union (using as a case study Somalia) is deep and multidimensional in that migration is a fleau that affects every society in every country and specially for a country who is suffering from it for a decade. The thesis aims to raise awareness about how migrants and refugees are treated in host countries as well as help the policy makers to make a change and adjust their policies to national migration policy of the member states.

Another important point is that this research addresses important gaps in the academic literature, especially with regard to critiques of EU policies and strategies concerning its governance of migration on the continent. This serves as a foundation for future investigations and may inspire other researchers to explore related issues or to develop some of the findings presented in this study

### **1.2.4. Research Methodology**

“The term Methodology refers to the way in which we approach problems and seek answers” (Taylor, Bogdan & DeVault, 2015, p. 3). This research uses a qualitative approach rather than a quantitative one. A range of empirical materials, including case studies, personal experiences, life stories, interviews, historical, interactive observational, and visual texts that depict ordinary and troubling events and meanings

in people's lives, are studied in qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005, p. 2). It provides a better picture of the experiences and perceptions of this problem, a different point of view and possible solutions; providing a full and comprehensive perspective on the subject. This thesis examines a number of case studies in the progress of our work, including specific situations or communities affected by migration, in an attempt to understand how these policies impact on people's daily lives, and thus identify patterns of success and failure, and understand the wider context.

In addition, academic literature and document analysis have been used to answer the research question. This includes reviewing policy documents, NGO reports, academic articles and other relevant material. The aim being the understanding of the official discourse around migration and refugees in Africa and to identify policies and initiatives then to compare these documents with the realities and perceptions collected in the field. These methods together offer a multidimensional approach to explore and understand the complexities of migration and refugee governance in Africa.

#### **1.2.5. Research Design**

The research design refers to the overall strategy and analytical approach which have been chosen to integrate, in a coherent and logical way and ensure that the research problem will be addressed (De Vaus, 2001). For this thesis, on the governance of migration of refugees by the AU, for a rather exploratory and descriptive approach have been opted. Firstly, the exploratory aspect is important to delve into the subject without making pre-determined assumptions, and thus opens the way to new explorations. It therefore paves the way to implement policies and initiatives in the AU way to manage migration in Somalia. Secondly, the descriptive approach supplies a more in-depth representation of AU policies, their implementation and impacts. This method allows to portray the reality of AU policies in the real world, thus bringing the facts to reality and giving us a concrete platform for analysis and discussion.

#### **1.2.6. Data Collection Methods**

“Data collection is the process of collecting data aiming to gain insights regarding the research topic” (Taherdoost, 2021, p. 10). The study includes an analysis of various types of official African Union documents, such as conventions and protocols, as well as declarations, as they provide direct information on the legislative and political

framework established by the organization to manage migration within the continent. This helps to analyze the extent and limits of current efforts. In addition, NGO reports are examined as they offer a critical approach or alternative perspective on the implementation and impact of migration policies.

Similarly, academic articles are essential for an in-depth understanding of the academic discourse around migration, offering theoretical analyses, methodological critiques and empirical studies that can be very useful to understand the subject further. As well as they provide a direct understanding of the regulations and directives that shape the management of migration and refugees, examining laws and policies also help to gain a more in-depth understanding of the issues involved. By analyzing these documents, researchers can trace the evolution of policies over time, understand legal responses to migration challenges and assess the conformity of policies with international human rights standards.

## **2. CONTEXTUALIZING MIGRATION AND REFUGEES IN AFRICA**

Africa is the second largest continent in the world, from East to West, North to South the amount of cultural wealth and horizon. But one of the things that is recurrent and happens the most is the migration. What is migration? With a close look at the third and fourth definition in the book of Dingle & Drake (1986, p. 114) "(3)a seasonal to-and-fro movement of populations between regions where conditions are alternately favorable or unfavorable (including one region in which breeding occurs)" and (4) movements leading to redistribution within a spatially extended population". So the person who moves from one place to another looking for a work, a better life or for other personal reasons within a country and also between different countries on the same or different continents is called a migrant.

The next section looks at these African migration dynamics in detail. Starting with an analysis of the historical migratory flows that have shaped the continent over time, from pre-colonization to the slave trade, and on to migration linked to colonization. Then, the different types of migration and the factors driving them are explained. Finally, with an analysis of the geographical areas of origin and destination of migrants from Africa as well as detailing the richness and complexity of migratory movements on this vast continent are examined.

### **2.1. Historical Migratory Flows in Africa**

#### **2.1.1. Ancient migrations**

Africa, commonly called the "cradle of humanity", "the motherland", is considered as holder of history the place that has seen the beginning of humanity. Important archeological and anthropological finds highlight Africa's distinct role in human evolution, specially, in the Rift Valley region of the Easter part of Africa. This region, which includes what is now Ethiopia as well as Kenya and Tanzania is well known for making important fossils, and other evidences of early human life, such as the earliest evidence of bipedalism, tool using, and art. According to Gundling (2010, pp. 318-319), these findings signal the start of a journey that would spread humanity around the world. Some of the factors of the dynamic process of the humanity evolution (in

this case Africa) are the diverse ecology and the climate. Hominis exploited their environments and climate change also shaped their behavior and evolution (Elton, 2008, pp. 383-385). And for a quick definition of the word Hominin, "Hominin, any member of the zoological "tribe" Hominini (family Hominidae, order Primates), of which only one species exists today—Homo sapiens, or human beings. The term is used most often to refer to extinct members of the human lineage, some of which are now quite well known from fossil remains: H. neanderthalensis" (Britannica, n.d).

This diversity in the environment presented itself to be as much of a blessing than a challenge for the people living there. For example, for people living in the Sahara Desert, acquiring the ability to domesticate wild animals like camels as well as learning to navigate using the stars was a must, and in the opposite side where the survival in the dense tropical forests depend on the flora knowledge, which plant is used in medicines, which one is a poison, as well as hunting and fishing (Robinson, 2021; Bennett & Robinson, 2000). The development of fishing and maritime navigation skills was spurred by the abundance of marine resources along Africa's coastline. Every one of these adaptations helped develop survival skills and since it was less of a problem the development of social structures was finally possible. Making movements for trade and cultural exchange more easier with time, and migration for resource research was gradually developing.

According to Parker & Rathbone (2007, p. 8), the early African societies were largely shaped by the trade routes that crossed the continent. These routes promoted and helped tribes and communities in the sharing of ideas, languages, and cultural customs in addition to the trade of goods. As time went alliances were being formed, language was being learned outside their original place where they belong, beverage and food as well, creating a very rich cultural tapestry in the whole continent. This exchange between those communities was an important factor in the development of a complex network between. In fact, these migrations were more than just a human movement across space, it also altered the social and cultural and linguistic aspect (Adepoju, 1995, pp. 29-30). Human societies evolved across the continent, and went from small nomadic bands of people to larger and diverse interconnected civilizations depending on their environment. Additionally, these yearlong migratory movements have affected contemporary African societies. So, Africa plays an incredibly important role

in the global story of human evolution, and cultural development; as highlighted by its very rich history of migration.

### **2.1.2. The slave trade**

The slave trade a profoundly dark period in history, which lasted from the 16th to the 19th century and had affected Africa the most but also the rest of the world, is an organized, cruel and brutal system of kidnapping and selling as well as deporting at least millions of human beings unwilling to leave their precious land and family. This leads to an effect on all parts of Africa that participated willingly or not. Indeed, the history of African migration is tied to the period of the transatlantic slave trade often referred to as the “great migration” (Idemudia & Boehnke, 2020, p. 16). During this period 12 millions of Africans were forced to leave their mother land and be sent to other continents as slaves and in horrible conditions. As understood in historian Thornton (1998, p. 7) indicates that the era of history saw the displacement of millions in number of Africans without their consent which caused a massive demographic economic and cultural repercussions, that is still felt even in modern times. The traders and colonizers were accused of enslaving people in sugarcane, cotton, and tobacco fields to make money out of it (and in horrible conditions), they considered the black skin as inferior and were accusing them of it being the fruit of their sinful action and this color was the judgment of God (Wood, 2010, pp. 65-66). They also accused them of engaging in cannibalism, female mutilation, sexual intercourse with animals, and didn't even deem to take the time to understand this culture different from theirs and how even if complex they were sophisticated societies (Wood, 2010, p. 70).

While their conditions on land, in the fields and in everyday life is more than unacceptable, the journey to these colonized lands was a nightmare, out of 12 millions loaded in the spaceships only 11 million survived the way. 1 million lives were lost unfairly, and no consequence will be faced by them, it was considered to be a loss of money. If the seasickness was not a problem, violence for any reason, malnutrition to save money, and disease due to the impossibly small space were a major problem during these journeys (Walvin, 2013, pp. 9-14).

The transatlantic trade was not the only one, the trans-Saharan and Indian oceans trade was also operated. For the case of trans-Saharan trade, it was stated that at least 8000/

year were sent to the Maghreb using all available roads through the Sahara or else. This number was even going up to 20,000 sometimes more (Wright, 2007, p. xiv). These slaves were mostly used for different everyday life activities, leisure and big work. The women and girls were sent in homes to be used as household servants, entertainers and unfortunately as concubines. The main reason why they were acquiring women was sexual purposes, but the men were used as strong arms, doing the hard work or even fighting in their wars. And were replenishing 15% of their "stock" of slaves every year (Wright, 2007, p. 3).

The Indian Ocean trade was involved in the capturing and selling of East Africans most of the time, then sending it to countries like India, Arabia, as well as the islands of the Indian Ocean. In east Africa, slaves worked in a variety of sectors but mainly to produce "agricultural commodities (cloves, coconuts, grain, copra, oil, and sugar) for both domestic and global consumption" as globalization created new markets in an expanding global economy" (Hopper, 2008, p. 6; Cooper, 1977; Allen, 1999; Campbell, 2005).

The consequences of these forced movements are multiple and profound. Demographically, Africa experienced a massive depletion of its population, with some experts estimating the continent may have lost up to a third of its population. Rodney (1972) explains that the massive exportation of Africans as slaves had dramatic repercussions on the demographics and social structures of the continent. The socio-cultural effects are equally significant. Entire cultures were uprooted, languages lost, and traditional knowledge eroded. As Achebe (2000, pp. 13-14) points out that the slave trade not only deported millions of Africans, it also created a profound crack within communities, affecting interethnic relations to this day.

In addition, the descendants of slaves in America, the Caribbean, and Asia still bear the scars of this period in their mind and history. The African diaspora, scattered across the world because of the trade, can now be found anywhere in the world; they have nevertheless managed to preserve and reinvent its cultural traditions, while profoundly influencing the cultures of their new, non-choose homelands. As Blyden (1887) explained, Africans and their descendants conserved fragments of their cultural heritage adapting them to the realities of their new environment.

### **2.1.3. The Colonial Era**

The colonial era saw Africa changing profoundly and this change directly affected the movement of its people. The Berlin Conference 1884-1885 often referred as the "Scramble for Africa", laid a base for the colonial sectioning of Africa, where each of them took a country to colonize, with a little regard for existing ethnic, linguistic, or cultural entities, drew borders that often-divided communities and merged diverse groups under a single colonial administration (Eyffinger, 2019, p. 1039). This created a problem even until present times, since fully united groups were separated and two groups with sometimes nothing in common were forced to coexist; which is why colonization is a major factor in the displacement or migration of African communities (Eyffinger, 2019).

The colonial powers, eager to exploit the continent's vast resources, often resorted to violence to make sure they got what they wanted. Workers were relocated to build colonial infrastructure or work as much in mines than plantations (Henriet, 2015, p. 340). This reshaped the ethnic and economic placement and map in the continent, people who had no ties in a country were seen moving and forced to live there and adapt. In some regions, like the Belgian Congo, entire populations were enslaved, forced to work in appalling conditions, especially in rubber extraction. Such practices caused population displacements, either to escape colonial brutality or to meet labor demands in specific areas (Henriet, 2015; Stanard, 2013; Jackson, 2020).

Concurrently, the colonial period saw the emergence of major infrastructure projects such as railways, ports, and roads. These projects, while facilitating the transportation of goods to colonial metropolises, also created labor attraction centers (Adepoju, 1995, p. 90). Workers often migrated from their original regions to these developing areas, hoping to find employment opportunities. This rural exodus laid the foundation for migration movements to urban centers, a phenomenon that has intensified over time and continues to influence African demographic dynamics today (Adepoju, 1995, p. 98).

Moreover, colonial administrations promoted the cultivation of certain raw materials, like cocoa in Ivory Coast or coffee in Ethiopia, requiring significant labors from locals. This encouraged intra-African migration, as workers moved to regions where labor

demand was high (Frankema, Green & Hillbom, 2014, pp. 20-23). It is also crucial to underline the impact of colonial educational policies. Colonial powers established education in foreign language, mathematics and other important things in schools they created, in the unique goal to use them in their administrative interests. This concentration of educational institutions in urban centers attracted many Africans eager for education, causing another form of migration (Rodney, 2010, p. 439)

In summary, the colonial era profoundly reshaped migration dynamics in Africa. Artificial boundaries, the economic demands of the colonial powers, major infrastructure projects, and educational policies all played a role in shaping the patterns and directions of migration on the continent during this crucial period of its history. These movements, triggered by the interventions and interests of colonial powers, laid the groundwork for the migration challenges the continent faces today.

#### **2.1.4. The Postcolonial Era**

Spanning from the late 1950s to the present, the post colonial era represents a period marked by profound socio-political transformation, leading to significant migratory movements within the continent. The arbitrarily drawn borders by colonial powers often failed to take into account ethnic, linguistic, and cultural realities, laying the groundwork for post-independence tensions (Nair, 2013, pp. 3-5).

*“Kenya and almost every African country was birthed by the ending of empire. Our borders were not of our own drawing. They were drawn in the distant colonial metropolises of London, Paris and Lisbon, with no regard for the ancient nations that they cleaved apart.”* (United Nations Security Council, 2022, p. 8).

They divided the land from European capitals, with limited knowledge of the geography, history, and ethnic composition of Africa and the direct consequence has been the emergence of internal conflicts in many newly independent countries. Angola, for example, experienced a civil war that lasted nearly three decades, from 1975 to 2002. Thousands of Angolans were being forced to run from their homes while seeking refuge in neighboring countries and causing one of the biggest refugee crises in Southern Africa (Pearce, 2012, pp. 442-445). Sudan, the largest country in Africa by area before the secession of South Sudan in 2011, also experienced decades of civil war. The dichotomy between the Arab north, and the predominantly Christian and

animist south, aggravated by the existing rivalries for control of resources, led to massive displacements making Sudan the start of one of the largest numbers of refugees in Africa (Medani, 2011, p. 135; Medani, 2012, p. 278).

Another case being, The Rwandan genocide of 1994, where million defenseless people were slaughtered during a three-month period (Uvin, 2001, p. 75), not only led to internal displacements but was also the cause of a massive influx of refugees to neighboring countries, including two other countries, Tanzania and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Alongside these forced displacements, the postcolonial era also witnessed significant movement towards urban centers. Post-independence economic policies, combined with the hope for a better life in cities, led to rapid urbanization. Indeed, a lot of Cities like Lagos and Kinshasa have become megacities, attracting migrants from within the country and even beyond national borders, motivated by the search for economic chances as well as education and a modern lifestyle.

## **2.2. Types of Migration**

There are three main types of migration: internal migration, cross-border migration, and international migration. “Internal migration takes place in large part in response to imbalances between the regions of a country, the dominant direction of such movement being dictated by the locational bias of employment-generating projects” (Adepoju, 1998, p. 389).

The inner migration is primarily the result of the search for a job and a chance for a better life; like the drought and floods that compel rural populations to migrate towards big cities for a more secure ground and easier access to food. These movements can be seasonal, as is often the case for agricultural workers, or permanent, with individuals or families settling permanently in urban areas. Nevertheless, this migration can also have a positive effect. In fact, internal migration can stimulate and do good to the economic growth of urban areas by creating jobs and boosting the economy in the country. It also helps in both diversifying the local cultures and changing social standards (Adepoju, 1998, pp. 392-393).

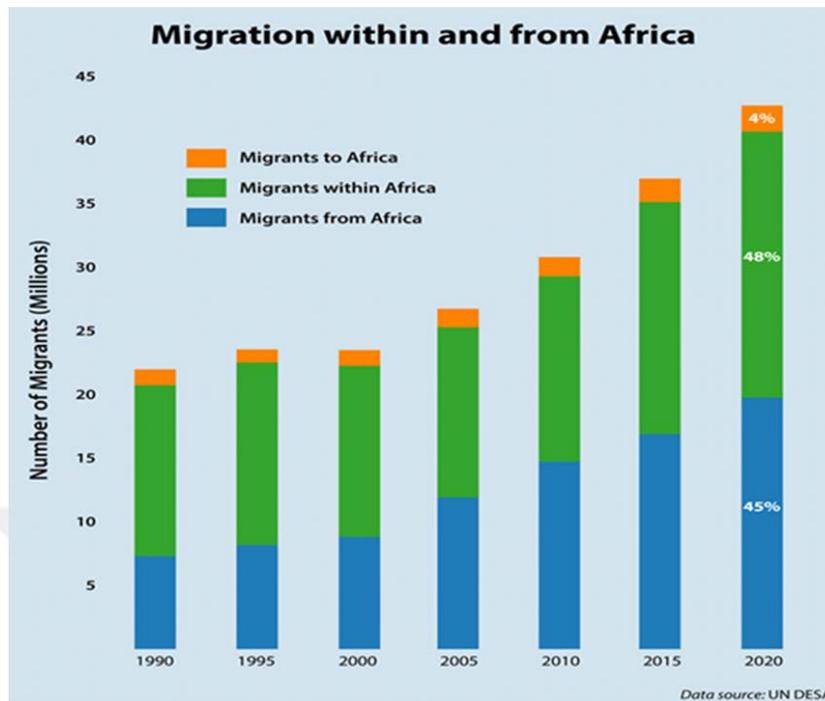
The international migration from Africa to another continent, comes for social, political, as well as economic factors. Migrants are seeking chances for a better life outside their native continent. This form of migration can be legal with migrants

entering countries on the basis of work and study, or residence visas, or illegal, where migrants use irregular means to cross borders, often at the risk of their lives. Not only during the hard way trying to hide from authorities, but they are also easy target for human traffickers as well as organ traffickers, since their movement and their identity are not registered in the hosting country' data basis, it is most of the time nearly impossible to assure their security (Orrenius & Zavodny, 2015, pp. 669- 671).

Moreover, this immigration causes “Brain drain” in Africa, which is defined as “the international transfer of human resources and mainly applies to the migration of relatively highly educated individuals from developing to developed countries” (Docquier & Rapoport, 2006, p. 1). Thus, since qualified individuals are looking for better and higher paying opportunities fitting their knowledge it deprives the continent of essential talent and exacerbates the skills deficit in key sectors such as health and education (El-Khawas, 2004, pp. 37-39). The good side being that these remittances can support families, start businesses, and contribute to the development of their communities (Bracking, 2003, pp. 636-637). Moreover, African migrants abroad are an important source of skills, experiences, and international contacts. Their return or engagement with their home country can lead to the transfer of skills and knowledge and inspire beneficial innovations.

The migration in Africa can also be done from one country to another, it is called “a cross-frontier migration” and these movements are framed by political agreements, like the Economic Community Of West African States (ECOWAS), which has as part of its goal to facilitate the movement of people between countries (Adepoju, 2002, pp. 12-14; Nti, 2024, pp. 69-72). Zeleza (1997) indicates that, the successful implementation of these agreements doesn't come without national security concerns and border control. But one of the main cons of the cross-migration are the discrimination the migrants face in those countries, the exploitation in work, and difficulties accessing basic needs and services in those countries that normally propose it, under the excuse of their non-local status. The unregulated movements across borders can also conceal illegal activities such as human trafficking, drug trafficking ...etc. The bright side being that the economy of the hosting country can be developed due to more offers of employment, the cultural and social aspect to being brightened and expanding (see Figure 2.1).

**Figure 2.1:** “Migration within and from Africa”



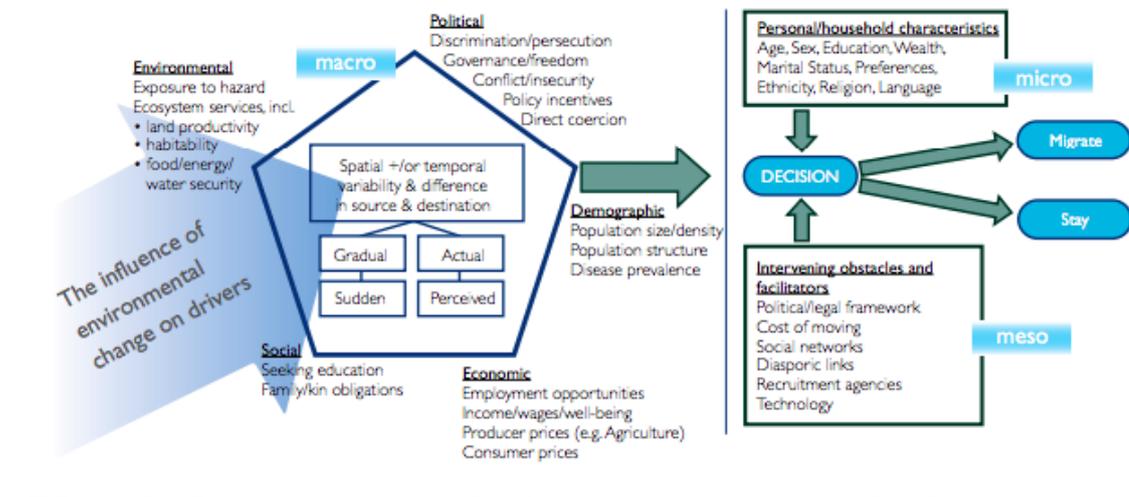
**Source:** (Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 2023, p. 2).

### 2.3. The Factors Driving Migration

During the last two decades, it has become generally acknowledged that there are a number of compelling causes of migration and its perpetuation. In fact, when considered together, these forces can be seen as the driving forces behind migration. “Drivers” are then the factors which get migration going and keep it going once it begins (Van Hear, Bakewell & Long, 2012, p. 7).

In Africa, this phenomenon is driven by a range of factors which represent the continent's socio-economic, political and environmental realities. In fact, a complex combination of macro-factors that act on the level of society, and micro-factors operating on either a family or personal level, determines the nature of migration in the continent (see Figure 2.2).

**Figure 2.2:** Complex drivers of migration: macro-, meso- and micro-factors



**Source:** (Foresight: Migration and Global Environmental Change, 2011, p. 33).

### 2.3.1. Economic Factors

The first major cause of migration in Africa is poverty and the lack of opportunities. Indeed in many African countries, deep economic inequalities have led to a significant disparity between rich and poor, resulting in a wide economic gap (Van Hear et al, 2012, p. 7). When a country's economic policies favor one small minority of the population, namely the elites and multinational firms, with all the resources, wealth and economic opportunities concentrated on this small minority, a large proportion of the population finds itself economically marginalized, with limited access to opportunities and resources. Such an economic cleavage leads to an environment where opportunities for success are unequally distributed, advantaging the fortunate while the poor struggle to meet their most basic needs (Faist, 2016, pp. 326-327; Faist, 2019). Those who come from economically disadvantaged backgrounds often face systemic obstacles to quality education, adequate healthcare, decent jobs and other economic opportunities.

Another issue is the lack of adequate infrastructure, which seriously limits local economic opportunities. For example, poor or non-existent roads make it difficult to transport goods to markets, which in turn complicates the marketing of agricultural products and the creation of efficient supply chains. In addition, lack of access to electricity makes it difficult for local businesses to function, especially those that

depend on energy for their operations, such as the manufacturing and service industries (Porter, 2013; Starkey & Hine, 2014).

Confronted with these realities, many people feel obliged to search for alternatives outside their country of origin. Migration then becomes a means of breaking the cycle of poverty and economic oppression, and offers the prospect of a better life elsewhere (Kanu, 2019, p. 43). Migrants hope to find greater economic opportunities, access to education and decent jobs, as well as a higher standard of living for themselves and their families, in other parts of the world.

### **2.3.2. Socio-political Factors**

Sociopolitical factors also constitute a significant part of the drivers of migration in Africa. It can be armed conflicts, political instability, human rights violations, and they all affect the everyday life of people, forcing them to migrate to other lands. Security is one of the main reasons a person can stay or leave their home country. Armed conflicts make the place less safe, opening doors to humanitarian crises, and forcing people to seek refuge in other countries, most of the time illegally and in really those conditions (Betts, Loescher & Milner, 2013). Recent examples show the crisis in South Sudan where clashes between rival factions have forced movement of millions of people who migrated either inside national borders or to neighboring countries like Uganda, which has hosted over a million South Sudanese refugees (Assal, 2011, p. 4). Political instability, like that observed during recent controversial elections in the Democratic Republic of Congo, also causes population movements. Indeed, conflictual electoral periods in Africa are often marked by an increase in internal and cross-border mobility, due to fears of violence and repression. Contested results have prompted many Congolese to cross the Congo River into Congo-Brazzaville to escape potential unrest. Political vulnerability can also result from coups, change of regime or prolonged political transitions; which most of the time leave a power vacuum and a sense of insecurity in the country (Betts, 2013, pp. 4-6).

Another point is human rights violations that include ethnic or religious persecution as well as political repression, and gender-based or sexual violence are deeply disturbing factors of migration. For example, in Ethiopia, the conflict in the Tigray region has been marked by reports of horror and human rights violations, forcing people to move

to Sudan. The search for safety and stability is a powerful driver of migration. Individuals and families fleeing conflicts or instability seek refuge in countries with more stable governance systems and solid institutions that can offer protection and opportunities. Despite that, this migration is often perilous and can lead to situations of increased vulnerability such as displacement in overcrowded camps, or dependence on humanitarian aid (Morrissey, 2012).

### **2.3.3. Environmental Factors**

According to Herrmann & Svarin (2009, p. 1), "...The principal factor that encourages people to leave their homes in the country side is the frequent recurrence of natural disasters, which undermine agricultural development and cause food crises...".

The environmental factors affects the migration from Africa for at least four reasons: the continent heavily relies on natural resources and agriculture, the first one is the climate change; followed by weak infrastructures, such as flood defenses; then we have their states that are often characterized by weak institutions, less capable of adapting to climate change; finally its high poverty rate undermines the resilience of local populations to climate shocks These environmental factors also count a range of natural and anthropogenic phenomena that degrade ecosystems and affect the possibility of populations subsisting on their ancestral lands. "The vulnerability of some African countries especially the land-locked countries of the Sahel region to environmental degradation-drought, flood or other disasters– also results in a wave of migration of displaced persons who literally cross national borders and settle in the neighbouring countries..." (Adepoju, 1995, p. 94).

For example, repetitive droughts in East Africa have had a spoiling impact on the lives of farmers and herders, reducing access to water and annihilating livestock, leading to internal or even cross-border displacements. Comparable, floods are often resulting from an abnormally intense rainy season that can destroy homes, and infrastructure, forcing people to move for their safety and to rebuild their lives elsewhere (Goffner, Sinare & Gordon, 2019).

Cyclone Idai is a case study illustrating the effects of natural disasters on migration. In 2019, it devastated the southeast of Mozambique which caused an important amount of human loss and the destruction of critical infrastructure, indeed 1.85 million people

needed assistance and 146,000 people were internally displaced (Podesta, 2019, p. 1). This had as consequences the movement of touched communities to temporary shelters that shows how much these people are to extreme weather events. While some prefer to go back after the catastrophe others make them their permanent home and this happens especially when the affected areas can no longer support a return to their previous life. But the adaptation to a new environment itself is a challenge, the difficult integration and competition for already limited resources in their new communities are highly present (Mashula, Ntombela, Kunene, Sehlapelo & Pophiwa, 2021). In summary, environmental factors are essential drivers of migration that require special attention and specific responses to mitigate the impact of climate change and promote resilient and adaptive societies in Africa.

#### **2.4. The Geographical Areas of Departure and Arrival**

African migrations in 2023 are marked by a steady increase, with over 40 million African migrants representing a 30% rise since 2010, with a range of destinations both within the continent and outside (Africa Center for Strategic Studies, 2023, p. 1). Despite the lack of proper and reliable data, an analysis using recent data from the ‘Global Bilateral Migration Database’ (GBMD) and the ‘Determinants of International Migration’ (DEMIG project) (Flahaux & De Hass, 2016, p. 1) and population census data from 15 ECOWAS countries (Awumbila, Benneh, Teye & Atiim, 2014, p. xiv) confirms that the majority of African migrants continue to move within the continent. Indeed, people move between countries in the continent and most of the time in wealthy countries such as South Africa, Ivory Coast, and Nigeria, which are among the top five migration destinations on the continent (see Table 2.1).

South Africa, with its most industrialized economy on the continent, attracts migrants from all over Southern Africa and beyond for their mining industries, financial services, and commerce. In West Africa, Ivory Coast is known as a center of agro-industry, particularly for cocoa and coffee, and attracts migrants mostly from Burkina Faso, its neighbor with which it shares common cultural attributes. The Nigerian side with its rich oil industry and vast domestic market does attract regional labor in search of better economic opportunities for themselves. These migrations are also formed by regional agreements that facilitate the free movement of people such as those promoted by the ECOWAS (Awumbila, Benneh, Teye & Atiim, 2014, p. 18).

**Table 2.1:** Top 10 African Destination countries by numbers of migrants

| <b>Country of destination</b> | <b>Immigrant population</b> | <b>Total Population</b> | <b>Percentage Immigrant Population</b> |
|-------------------------------|-----------------------------|-------------------------|----------------------------------------|
| <b>South Africa</b>           | 2,860,495                   | 58,801,926              | 5                                      |
| <b>Ivory Coast</b>            | 2,564,857                   | 26,811,790              | 10                                     |
| <b>Uganda</b>                 | 1,720,313                   | 44,404,611              | 4                                      |
| <b>Sudan</b>                  | 1,379,147                   | 44,440,486              | 3                                      |
| <b>Nigeria</b>                | 1,308,568                   | 208,327,404             | 1                                      |
| <b>Ethiopia</b>               | 1,085,517                   | 117,190,911             | 1                                      |
| <b>Kenya</b>                  | 1,050,147                   | 51,985,780              | 2                                      |
| <b>DRC</b>                    | 952,871                     | 92,853,164              | 1                                      |
| <b>South Sudan</b>            | 882,252                     | 10,606,227              | 8                                      |
| <b>Libya</b>                  | 826,537                     | 6,653,942               | 12                                     |

**Source:** (Africa Center for Strategic Studies, (2023, p. 2).

For destinations outside of Africa, Italy has become the most receiving country in the EU, with over 115% of irregular migrant arrivals in Europe (Llach, 2023). In fact, Italy has seen an Exceptional influx of African migrants with more than 145,000 people arriving by sea in 2023, compared to about 88,000 in the same period in 2022 (Fonju & Amadou, 2024, p. 4; Ricozzi, 2023, p. 1) reflecting a complex migration crisis. Tunisia has also come to the forefront surpassing Libya as the main departure point for migrants crossing the Mediterranean to Europe. The most common nationalities among these migrants include Guinea, Ivory Coast, Egypt, and Tunisia itself (Gartenstein-Ross, Barr, Willcoxon & Basuni, 2015, p. 38; 45)

Moreover, most of the African migrants, mainly those moving without official documentation, face high levels of vulnerability to exploitation and also human trafficking, either en route or once arrived at their destination country. Tragedies at sea are not less uncommon with frequent shipwrecks, and an alarming number of deaths but also disappearances (Aziz, Monzini & Pastore, 2015, pp. 12-14; 53).

Moreover, North African migrants predominate among those crossing the Mediterranean (De Haas, 2008, pp. 29-31). The response of countries to migration

often focuses on repressive measures rather than creating safe and regular pathways for migrants, thus exacerbating risks and vulnerabilities.

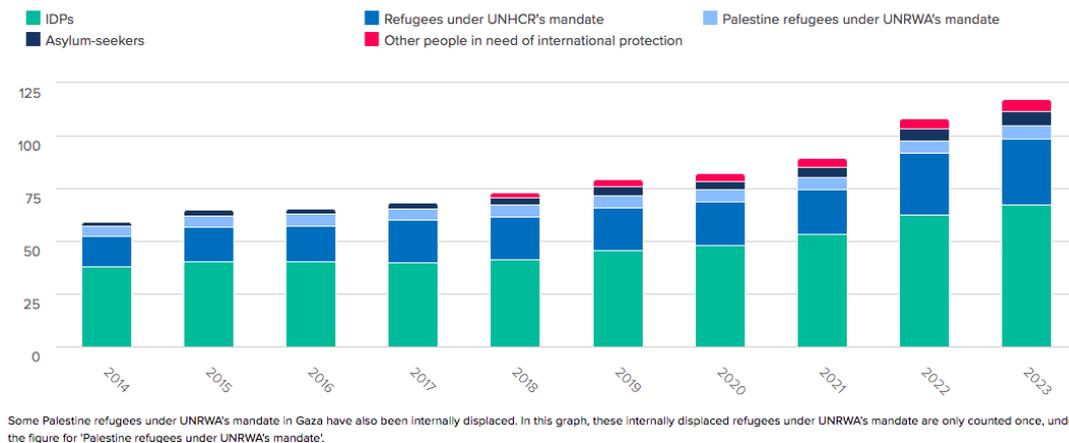
## **2.5. Causes of Forced Displacement in Africa**

“A refugee is someone who has been forced to flee his or her country because of persecution, war or violence. A refugee has a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, political opinion or membership in a particular social group. Most likely, they cannot return home or are afraid to do so. War and ethnic, tribal and religious violence are leading causes of refugees fleeing their countries” (USA for UNHCR, n.d).

They are often protected by law and can seek asylum in other countries for their own protection. At the end of 2015, the number of refugees, asylum-seekers and internally displaced persons forcibly displaced worldwide due to armed conflicts, other situations of violence, persecution or human rights violations reached an unprecedented 65.3 million (Bazirake, 2017, p. 61). By examining events from a few years and analyzing the causes and consequences in a broader sense, one can observe that conflicts, governance issues and socio-economic crises contribute significantly to the displacement of millions of people. In fact, the UNHCR reported in September 2023 that the number of individuals displaced primarily due to war, persecution, violence and human rights violations has exceeded 110 million people (UNHCR, 2023, p. 3), which is quite a figure, more than 1 in every 74 people on Earth has been forced to flee. This situation happens the most in Africa, and conflicts that happen in countries such as Sudan and Democratic Republic of Congo does not help it, same case for the natural disasters and insecurity experienced in places such as Somalia.

This brings us to the point where we must think about how the international community has been unable to address or prevent conflicts, which is a major reason for the significant displacement of populations across the globe (see Figure 2.3).

**Figure 2.3:** People forced to flee worldwide (2014-2023)



**Source:** (UNHCRb, n.d).

Take Ethiopia, for example, where regional tensions have turned into major security crises, particularly in the Amhara region, which has become the heart of the conflict due to several factors. To start the region is known for recurrent ethnic and political tensions, which aggravated even more the implication of the Fano Militia, this armed group is not officially recognized but already have a lot of influence due to their key role in regional conflicts. The reason why they are still operating is the support of locals that consider them as protectors of the identity of the Amhara, which is an important ethnic group in Ethiopia. Their rise to power and involvement in conflicts raises complex questions about regional autonomy and the distribution of power within the Ethiopian federal state (Clapham, 2017; Demerew, 2024, p. 13). These conflicts are not only seen as an armed struggle, but they also reflect deeper struggles for political autonomy, resource management and recognition within the Ethiopian federal system. Another important point is that Amhara town is close to the capital Addis Ababa, the location is problematic because this proximity has strategic implications, as these conflicts can have a direct impact on national and regional stability. If the region's stability is not assured, this could keep going over into neighboring regions and potentially threaten Addis Ababa's security (Abebaw, 2016; Teshome, 2021; Abbink, 2006).

In the Democratic Republic of Congo, the conflicts with several rebel groups displaced 1,7 million people, mainly in the eastern provinces (Tamm & Lauterback, 2011, p. 2). One of the groups that caused the most harm and caused the most displacement of

populations is the M23, formed by former rebels who had been integrated into Congolese army mutinying in 2012. The group has caused multiple serious disruptions, including taking control of large parts of North Kivu (Vogel & Stearns, 2018, pp. 697-699). Their struggle is seen as a fight for the autonomy and protection of Congolese Tutsis and has often led to widespread violence and human rights violations, exacerbating the humanitarian crisis. What's more, in addition to ethnic and political tensions, the region is rich in natural resources, particularly precious minerals, prompting various armed groups to fight for control of these lucrative resources, leading to repeated violence and aggravating the situation (Autesserre, 2010). Mass displacement in the DRC is therefore the result of several interconnected factors.

North Kivu province is particularly hard hit, with a million displaced people (Ekyamba, 2022). The IOM is doing its best to help by providing shelter and emergency supplies, by also monitoring the displacement of the North Kivan people (IOM, 2023). These examples illustrate how internal and regional conflicts, often linked to ethnic tensions and struggles over resources, lead to massive displacements that affect not only displaced people but also host communities, and can destabilize regional politics (Milner & Loescher, 2011).

Even with the hard work of the government and the international organization, the governance issues to international response mechanisms cause important problems and they require comprehensive strategies that address both immediate humanitarian needs and long-term political solutions. Most of the challenges it faces are the underfunding, the complexity of the conflicts and the scale of displacement.

## **2.6. Humanitarian and Economic Consequences of Displacement**

Another one of the main consequences of the displacement in Africa are humanitarian and economic. In fact, the continent keeps facing major crises that uproot millions of people, leading to widespread humanitarian emergencies. These people keep suffering even after their displacement and psychological traumas caused by loss of life can persist through a lifetime (Getanda, Papadopoulos & Evans, 2015, pp. 6-8). The separation of families due to forced displacement represents a profound human tragedy which reflects the multifaceted nature of the refugee crisis in Africa. Families are separated in the haste and chaos of conflict or natural disaster situations. They strike

at the very core of individuals' social and emotional unity. Family dislocation in humanitarian crises leads to a multitude of psychological and emotional challenges. The reconnection of those lost families can often be a real problem, because of the lack of funds, limited technology and too many demands coming in. The basic needs can also be a challenge to provide, such as more space, enough supplies and schooling; due to the important amount of refugees coming fast it becomes hard to find accommodations for them at the same rate (Gieseken, 2017, p. 122).

Overcrowding in camps can also contribute to the spread of infectious diseases, threatening the health of all, but even more so that of susceptible people, especially the young and the very elderly (Lam, McCarthy & Brennan, 2015, pp. 2628-2630). Schools in refugee camps are frequently underfunded, overcrowded, and lack educational resources and qualified instructors willing to overcome the discomfort of these camps. However, armed conflicts in key mining areas have led to a reduction in manufacturing, thereby disrupting the global delivery chain. For instance, the manager of mineral-rich territories by means of armed organizations and violence in these regions have made mining difficult and perilous (Couttenier, 2023, pp. 213-215). It also affects the economy of the country, for example in DRC the mining infrastructures have regularly been broken or destroyed for the duration of conflicts, requiring significant investments for its reconstruction. The financial results of these disruptions are numerous, like the discount of the mining manufacturing has brought about a decrease in export revenues for the DRC, immediately impacting its economic system (Wardeh & Marques, 2021, p. 2741). Secondly, the employment that these mining offers are important and represent a big part of the income of some groups, and they were also affected by it. The loss of jobs and profits exacerbates poverty and meals lack confidence, increasing the vulnerability of local populations (Wardeh & Marques, 2021, pp. 2750-2751).

The mining is not the only thing affected, the disruption of the DRC's mineral supply also has a great implication, for example the cobalt which is a vital piece for the manufacturing of batteries for electric power vehicles and digital devices is mainly extracted in DRC, so this whole sector is affected by it (Olivetti, Ceder, Gaustad & Fu, 2017, p. 229). This can result in a boom in the prices of these products on the global market, affecting purchasers and industries in many countries.

To conclude, the monetary impact of forced displacement in the DRC and the disruption of mining shows how local conflicts may have unreliable results, affecting the economy of the country. Pressured displacements in Africa constitute a disaster that needs a comprehensive reaction, no longer confined to emergency aid however encompassing techniques for monetary improvement and reconstruction (Barnett, 2021; Matabisi, 2011).



### **3. THE AFRICAN UNION (AU)**

#### **3.1. From the OAU to the AU**

The most important date that changed the history of Africa solidarity was the first congress of Independent African States, and it was organized by the prime minister of Ghana Kwame Nkrumah and held in Accra, Ghana on April 15, 1958, (Johnson, 1962, pp. 426-429). Spokespersons of several African nations who had the same objective came together to liberate Africa from outside domination and exploitation. The countries that participated were Egypt, Ethiopia, Ghana, Liberia, Libya, Morocco, Sudan and Tunisia, and the Peoples' Union of Cameroon (Legum, 1958, p. 82). During this congress, the "African Freedom Day" was created. It was crucial in the history of post-colonial Africa because it represented the African liberation movement and showed how much African countries struggled against colonial domination and oppression and helped to wake other regions and continents about their situation. This permitted them to finally see a collective future together as Africans. Indeed, African Freedom Day was not just a symbolic celebration, but also a powerful political act affirming African identity and interstate solidarity. They shared their aspirations for freedom, independence and self-determination, which are the most important values of liberation movements across the continent. Moreover, it facilitated discussions and meetings between leaders and activists from different countries to meet and discuss alliances and work left to do (Kim, 2007; Marcum, 1959).

The first meeting with Casablanca group and Monrovia groups. Even with the different way they approach ideologies they came together to be a big part of the shaping of Africa's political landscape of the time. The Casablanca group comprising countries like Ghana, Egypt, Mali, Guinea and Morocco, and Libya, was characterized by its radical and Pan-Africanist positions, they are advocating for a stronger Africa a more united one and more aggressive against colonialism. On the other hand, the Monrovia group regroups countries like Nigeria, Senegal, Liberia, and Côte d'Ivoire, adopted a less aggressive approach where they want African unity, cooperation and national sovereignty (Adogamhe, 2008, pp. 10-11).

These discussions were essential for reconciling various visions of Pan-Africanism and laying the groundwork for more formal continental cooperation. It came to the

creation of the OAU in 1963, which is the continental identity that represents how much the Africans were aspiring for unity and solidarity among its people in the fight against colonialism. The organization was a compromise between radical and moderate visions of African unity, establishing a platform for political and economic cooperation while respecting the sovereignty of its member states (Murray, 2004; Agbi, 1986). But later the organization was highly criticized. Indeed, the OAU was seen as ineffective and accused of being an accomplice in the perpetuation of authoritarian regimes in Africa (Mohammed, 2015, p. 103). They even nicknamed them the "trade union of tyrants" (Van Walraven, 2010, p. 47; Van Walraven, 2004, p. 200), because of its policy of non-interference, which resulted in the silent acceptance of authoritarian practices and resistance to democratic change. The African leaders used the OAU for mutual legitimation and not for a tool of accountability, which led to a lack of progress in the democratic governance and human rights on the continent.

In this context and to respond to the critics against the OAU, the Constitutive Act of the African Union was adopted in 2000 during the Lomé summit in Togo which marked a milestone in the development of Pan Africanism (Bedjaoui, 2012; Okoloise, 2017, p. 328; 342). This important document received ratification from fifty three member states and brought about a transformation by replacing the OAU with the AU. The creation of the continental organization happened on May 26, 2001, in Addis Ababa and the official launch which took place on July 9, 2002, in Durban, South Africa was an important ceremony signifying that the AU was operational (Thobane, Neethling & Vreÿ, 2007).

Moreover, one notable provision within the Constitutive Act is its ability to intervene in member states when severe human rights violations occur such as war crimes, genocide or crimes, against humanity as it was exemplified by Article 4(h): "the right of the Union to intervene in a Member State [...] in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity [...]"<sup>1</sup>

This provision signifies a departure from the non intervention policy of the OAU. In those days it was a principle to refrain from interfering in the affairs of member states

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<sup>1</sup> African Union. Constitutive Act of the African Union. [https://au.int/sites/default/files/pages/34873-file-constitutiveact\\_en.pdf](https://au.int/sites/default/files/pages/34873-file-constitutiveact_en.pdf).

as it aimed to uphold the sovereignty and independence of young African nations. However this principle often hindered response to crises leaving many conflicts and human rights violations insufficiently addressed. The adoption of the AUs Constitutive Act marked a recognition by member states that certain grave situations necessitate intervention to safeguard citizens lives and fundamental rights. This approach reflects an increasing realization that stability and security in one part of the continent can have effects across the region (Packer & Rukare, 2002, pp. 365-367). With these changes, the AU worked to distance itself from the negative image of the OAU and establish itself as a driving force for positive change in Africa, trying to balance national sovereignty with regional and continental responsibilities.

Simultaneously this act established bodies within the union effectively organizing its functioning which are the Assembly of Heads of State, Executive Council, AU Commission, Pan African Parliament. Finally, the African Court of Justice and Human Rights (Kumssa & Jones, 2014, pp. 17-18).

### **3.2. Objectives of the AU in Governance and Security in Africa**

As mentioned above, the achievement of maximum security and the promotion of democratic government on the African continent will be the AU's top priorities, even if this will not be easy. Indeed, creating a stable and prosperous environment for each of its member countries is one of the main goals of the AU. To keep this commitment, the union has launched a number of important projects, all aimed at strengthening an essential aspect of democracy.

First of all, the African Union recognizes that the first step towards democracy is to ensure free and fair elections. This is why the African Union sends observers to monitor not only election day, but also pre-election campaigns and the broader political environment, in order to prevent electoral fraud and promote transparency among voters<sup>2</sup> (African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights [ACHPR], 2011). Equally, by undertaking awareness-raising campaigns on the importance of voting, understanding political processes and how they work, the AU is

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<sup>2</sup> Guidelines for African Union Electoral Observation and Monitoring Missions.  
<https://caselaw.ihrda.org/api/files/15105872398920mydov2ejz55j78aduglxlxr.pdf>.

trying to educate citizens about their rights and duties (Makinda & Okumu, 2007, pp. 61-62). It is important for them to understand how their political system works, and educating citizens strengthens their participation and makes them aware of their responsibilities as voters. Civic education is thus an essential part of the quest for democratic government within a state. It also involves the promotion of inclusive government, as the AU encourages states to be inclusive and to respond to the wishes and needs of their entire population, including minority and marginalized groups, without discriminating between them. This requires the adoption of measures guaranteeing the participation of all sectors of society in the political process. The AU's participation in the 2010-2011 electoral crisis in Côte d'Ivoire is a significant illustration of its dedication to democracy. Following contested elections and post-election turmoil, the organisation acted as a mediator, fostering conversation between parties and assisting in the restoration of the constitutional system. This intervention not only helped to resolve an immediate conflict, but also underlined the importance of the union's ongoing commitment to democratic stability in Africa (Sidibé, 2013; Daniel & Enweremadu, 2020, p. 214)

The AU's second goal is to preserve peace and security, which is one of its top priorities, through significant efforts to avoid and settle disputes on the African continent. As a result, they send troops to turbulent or unstable areas, intervening directly in crises. The most important of these missions is the AU's operation in Somalia, known as AMISOM, which was invaded by the terrorist Somali organization and is now stationed across the Middle East and North Africa (Moolakkattu, 2010, p. 158). The situation was critical.

Williams (2018) stated that even though AMISOM has encountered several strategic obstacles in accomplishing its peace goals in Somalia, the troops' presence contributed significantly to the country's stabilization, even though the issue of preserving a long-term, sustainable peace still needs to be addressed. In addition to applying non-military tactics, the Union also employs diplomacy and mediation to try to find more amicable means of settling disputes, such as urging communication between the involved parties and seeking out points of agreement. To deal with and resolve the underlying causes of conflict and advance permanent peace and security on the continent (Williams, D'Alessandro, Darkwa, Helal, Machakaire & Rupesinghe, 2018).

Strengthening Africa's legal system and judicial institutions is another goal of the AU. This is an essential step in bringing justice and equality to the continent. This program is essential to the sustained development of African countries because it promotes peace and stability in the area while also guaranteeing justice and the preservation of human rights. Building a robust and independent court that is free from political or other pressures and capable of handing down just verdicts is essential to establishing the rule of law. The fundamental component of this endeavor is judicial independence. This implies that in order to enable the just and impartial administration of the law, judges and tribunals must be independent of outside influences. Acknowledging this need, the AU strives to enhance legal frameworks and strengthen judicial capacities in member states (Oppong, 2006, pp. 296-298). This initiative includes training programs for judges and judicial staff, developing African judicial standards and supporting legislative reform to align national laws with international human rights principles. Such actions aim to ensure that judicial systems are not only competent but also tailored to the specific needs and challenges of Africa.

Additionally, the AU endeavors to promote respect for human rights across the continent. This involves monitoring and reporting human rights violations, as well as providing legal assistance and support to victims of such violations (Landau, 2010, p. 319). In fact, the AU places great emphasis on safeguarding fundamental freedoms and human rights as a means of upholding universal principles and advancing human dignity throughout the continent. The organisation seeks to guarantee the protection and advancement of human rights in each of its member nations through a range of programs and legislative measures (Mosissa, 2014, pp. 70-83). In reality, these initiatives are extremely important in the fight against misinformation and prejudice, which are frequently the primary causes of abuses of human rights. The AU aims to increase public knowledge and comprehension of the significance of basic liberty by teaching people about their rights and the principles of those rights (Gruhn, 2003, p. 369).

The 2010–2019 African Decade of People with Disabilities is a well-known example of these initiatives. This campaign was a significant effort to raise awareness of the issues and challenges faced by Africans who are disabled. According to Degener (2017, pp. 41-44), this effort helped advance the involvement and rights of people with

disabilities, a population that faces significant barriers to achieving basic freedoms and is often shunned. Equally, Human rights protection is integrated into AU peace missions, as AMISOM in Somalia, to guarantee that military actions respect international norms in this regard (Williams, 2018). In conclusion, the AU plays an essential role in promoting effective democratic governance, as well as in maintaining peace and security in Africa. But also to strengthen judicial institutions and ensure respect for human rights.

### **3.3. Governance of Migration in Africa**

The sections above have provided an overall view of African migration and presented the regional organization, namely the AU as it plays a role in maintaining peace and security on the continent. This raises the questions of how to define the governance of African migration and the necessity of regulating these migratory flows.

The term "migration governance" is used when describing any actions which are taken by different actors like the local and national governments, regional organisations or even international institutions in order to manage or regulate the migration (Geddes, 2021, pp. 8-9; Geddes and Lixi, 2018, p. 60).

Furthermore, uncontrolled migration can have serious consequences for both the country of departure and the host country. Indeed, the first consequence is the criminalization of migrants. Because when crossing borders, migrants may face difficulties and therefore may opt for illegal means, such as using smugglers or entering a country clandestinely and thus becoming "clandestines" (European Commission, 2014, p. 172). Even if it's out of necessity, these actions expose the migrant to legal risks and reinforces negative perceptions in the host society as they are seen by all as criminals. This causes migrants to be stigmatized.

The second consequence is the brain drain, which is the loss of talent and qualified human resources in the countries of origin (Docquier & Rapoport, 2006, p. 2). Considered to be investments in their countries because they are trained at the expense as well as the capacity of key sectors such as health, education, scientific research and innovation (Skeldon, 2009, pp. 7-8). At the same time, it increases social and economic inequalities between developed countries who benefit from the influx of talent, and developing countries whose human resources are becoming more and more depleted.

The third consequence of uncontrolled migration is that it can lead to a massive influx of migrants, which the host country is unable to manage because of its limited accommodation capacity. This leads to social and economic tensions, as the resident population and migrants compete for limited employment and housing opportunities, thus causing local conflicts and intensified competition (Manbe & Salawu, 2013, p. 32-33). Meanwhile, the fluidity of borders can also be exploited by human trafficking networks, which facilitate the illegal trade of people. These networks take advantage of weaknesses in control and surveillance systems to sneak people across borders, often in dangerous and degrading conditions. The problem is that such practices encourage human trafficking and the exploitation of migrants which contribute to the spread of social and security problems linked to uncontrolled migration (Ellis & Akpala, 2011, pp. 18-20).

Finally, “uncontrolled migration” also brings with it the phenomenon of ghettos and slums. Indeed, when migrants move into urban areas without an appropriate regulatory framework, they concentrate in informal neighborhoods due to economic limitations. These areas quickly become centers of marginalization and poverty, where the inhabitants are ethnic minorities who face challenges such as unemployment, crime, discrimination and lack of access to healthcare and education. Moreover, they are neglected by public authorities and policies (Martínez, 2014, p. 3; Martínez, Piedramartel & Agnew, 2015). For all these reasons it became necessary to manage the flow of human mobility in the continent. For all these reasons it became necessary to manage the flow of human mobility in the continent.

The International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines migration governance as the traditions and institutions that regulate the authority over migration, mobility and nationality exercised in a country, including the governmental capacity to formulate and effectively implement appropriate policies in these areas (IOM, 2015, p. 1). Thus, migration frameworks, agreements, treaties and protocols are the foundation of migration governance which includes national laws, policies and practices, bilateral and regional cooperation and intergovernmental arrangements or programs, as well as international cooperation. It can generally be divided into three levels.

The first is the national level. This means that all countries have some form of immigration policy and legislation in place which governs entry and the right of

residence and settlement within their borders. The second level is the regional level, which means that member countries of the REC conclude protocols regulating the free movement of people within their respective regions. Indeed, the migration may be different from region to region.

The African continent has eight REC which are:

- The Community of Sahel Saharan States (CEN-SAD)
- The Common Market for Easter and Southern Africa (COMESA)
- The East African Community (EAC)
- The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS)
- The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS)
- The Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)
- The Southern African Development Community (SADC)
- The Arab Maghreb Union (AMU)

Moreover, these protocols may be either intra-regional (within the regional economic communities) or inter-regional, which makes them continental (Fioramontio & Nshimbi, 2016, p. 14). The third level of migration governance, the international or global level, generally refers to the management and regulation of population movements on a global scale, in accordance with various international instruments. One of the main documents guiding this governance is the Global Compact for Safe, Secure, and Regular Migration, adopted in December 2018 by the United Nations General Assembly and represents a framework for international cooperation to address migration-related issues in a way that is considered holistic and coordinated (Klein, Solomon & Sheldon, 2018, p. 584).

#### **3.4. AU Actors in Migration and Refugee Protection Policies**

The governance of migration within the AU is divided between these various committees. They cover all issues concerning the movement of Africans within the continent and beyond.

- *Subcommittee on Refugees, returnees, and internally displaced persons:* Migration is managed by the Executive Council who is prepared by the Permanent Representatives Committee, which deals with the needs of refugees and internally displaced people. Empowered to make autonomous decisions, it helps the AU to create policies for displaced people during humanitarian crises by assessing needs on the ground and working with NGOs and regional groups as well as member states (Sharpe, 2013, pp. 82-83).
- *The coordinating Committee on Forced Displacement and Humanitarian Action:* Conceived as an advisory body to better connect the AU and refugee protection actors (African Union [AU], 2015a).
- *The Humanitarian Affairs, Refugees, and Displaced Persons Divisions (HARDP):* It functions as a technical body helping to coordinate the work of the Sub-Committee on Refugees, Returnees and Internally Displaced Persons. This division is very important for the AU as it helps to develop policies, make decisions and organize activities related to forced displacement. It should be noted that although HARDP has a technical mandate, it has important power as it almost entirely controls the Sub-Committee's work program (Sharpe, 2013, p. 87).
- *The Division of Labour, Employment and Migration:* It handles all aspects of migration, such as people moving to work in other countries, human trafficking and money transfers. This department is also responsible for an institute that helps member countries, remittance senders and recipients alike, to use this money to develop their countries (AU, n.d.; AU, 2006a, p. 7).
- *The conflict prevention and early warning Division:* It is in charge of border management and pilots the African Union Border Program. This program aims to avoid and resolve border-related conflicts and encourage regional and continental integration, thus helping to prevent conflicts in Africa (AU, 2017).
- *The Citizens and Diaspora Directorate:* It helps Africans, whether living in Africa or elsewhere in the world, to participate in AU affairs. The Diaspora Department is the focal point for interaction between the AU and Africans living outside the continent (AU, n.d.).

- *The specialized technical Committee on Migration, Refugees and Internally Displaced Persons:* It is to strengthen humanitarian response in Africa by creating an African humanitarian agency and improving aid to populations in need of assistance. It also aims to promote knowledge of international humanitarian law and discuss a comprehensive Humanitarian Policy Framework for Africa, covering disaster management, epidemic response and the role of the African Response Force in humanitarian crisis and disaster situations (AU, 2018a, p. 60; AU, 2018b; AU, 2018c).
- *The African Labour Migration Advisory Committee:* It aims to defend the rights of migrant workers and their families. Its work includes monitoring the protection of migrant workers' rights, coordinating labor, social security and tax laws related to migration between countries, and proposing migration management policies to member states and regional organizations (AU, 2019).
- *The Special Rapporteur on Refugee, Asylum Seekers, Migrants, and Internally Displaced Persons:* Its work involves checking on the situation of these people, finding out how they can be better protected, helping member countries and the AU to draw up appropriate policies, and discussing these issues with states, international organizations and NGOs (ACHPR, n.d.).
- *The African Institute for Remittances (AIR):* It helps member countries to use remittances for economic and social development, and to better count them. It also works to reduce transfer costs (AU, 2018a; AU, 2018d).

### **3.5. Main Migration Policies of the AU**

Regarding the governance of forced displacement, the AU stressed the need for rules to help these people who most often move across borders and sadly who are deprived of their livelihoods, their property, and even their fundamental rights. In this context, the Kampala Convention, adopted in 2009, came into force three years later, in 2012 (Okello, 2019, p. 349). The latter represents an agreement aimed specifically to protect and provide assistance to IDPs within the continent. Moreover, it represents the first legally binding instrument devoted exclusively to this issue, it is very important and special because it makes each member state responsible and accountable for the protection of these IDPs. This means that each state must be able to ensure that the

rights and needs, such as basic services like food, water, shelter and health care, of these people on its territory are respected and fulfilled (Dieng, 2017, p. 273).

Regarding the free movement of people in the continent, the AU adopted two main initiatives in 2006 to regulate it which are: The African Common Position on Migration and Development, and the Migration Policy Framework for Africa (revised in 2018), (Achieme & Landau, 2015).

The framework advocates the fact that the right migration management can be beneficial for both countries of origin and destination and that on the other hand, poorly managed migration flows can lead to hostile attitudes towards migrants such as discrimination, human rights violations and even acts of violence against them. It supposed to assist the REC and addresses questions like labour migration, border management, irregular migration, forced displacement, the human rights of migrants, internal migration, migration data collection, the connexion between migration and development, as well as the cooperation between AU member states and regional partnerships (Onyango, 2022, pp. 577-578).

Moreover, it represents the first continental framework to provide comprehensive guidelines for the development of migration policies. In fact, the Commissioner for Social Affairs of the AU declared at the 32nd Ordinary Session of the Executive Council of the AU in January 2018 in Addis Ababa that this revised framework and its action plan, along with other legal instruments, demonstrates the intention of Africa to take the maximum advantage of migratory flows to boost the continent socio-economic development (Urso & Hakami, 2018, p. 20).

Regarding the African Common Position, it was first developed for the 2006 Africa-Europe Ministerial Conference on Migration and Development, which was also discussed at that same year United Nations High-Level Dialogue on International Migration and Development (AU, 2015b, pp. 1-2). Its principal areas of interest have been expanded to cover issues such as migration and development, human resources and brain drain, remittances, trade, migration and peace, security and stability, migration and human rights, gender, regional initiatives and access to social services. In each of these areas, it proposes recommendations at various levels, whether national, regional, continental or international (AU, 2006b, pp. 4-7). Furthermore, it

strongly urges AU member states to integrate the issue of migration into their national development plans, and to align their national laws with international conventions on the protection of migrants rights because the African Common Position promotes a human rights-based approach to migration.

On the other hand, the AU Agenda 2063, Aspiration 2, aims to create an African continent without borders, favoring the free movement of people, capital, goods and services to boost trade and investment between Africans. It also calls for the abolition of all visa requirements. In fact, this initiative will help to increase tourism, fill skills gaps in the labor market and allow the youth to travel for studies wherever they want in the continent but also creates jobs (DeGhetto, Gray & Kiggundu, 2016, pp. 94-96). This would also help strengthen Africa's position on the world trade scene. However, despite the belief that lifting visa restrictions is an integral part of this vision, the African Development Bank notes that, so far on average, African countries are more restrictive on visas between themselves than open "Only 20 percent of nations allow Africans to enter without visas, with 25 percent are offering visas on arrival..." (Gowreesunkar, 2019, p. 294).

Thus, Agenda 2063's original goal of visa-free travel for all African citizens to all African countries by 2018 has clearly slipped behind schedule. It has proved to be too ambitious, partly because of the slow progress on ratifying the protocols on the free movement of people. One assumes that visas will first be lifted within the regional economic communities, prior to being extended to the wider economic communities (Gowreesunkar, 2019, pp. 295-296).

A further initiative of the AU is the Joint Program on Labor Migration, adopted officially in 2015 by African leaders along with the support of the ECA, the ILO and the IOM (Urso & Hakami, 2018, p. 20). The full program is designed to improve the governance and regulation of labor migration in Africa. It focuses on protecting the rights of migrant workers, by promoting the portability of skills, the mutual recognition of qualifications and the creation of an African qualification framework, as well as the portability of social security benefits and fair recruitment practices. One of the main objectives of the Joint Program on Labor Migration is to develop a human rights-based approach to migrant workers' access to social security rights (see Table 3.1) (Teye & Oucho, 2023, p. 614).

The 2018 Kigali Summit saw the conclusion of a crucial agreement between 30 African countries, known as the African Union Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and the Right of Establishment which allows citizens of AU members states to move freely, reside and settle in other member states, help to create a safer and more regulated environment for migration (Adeola, 2019, pp. 269-271). This agreement is also significant because it explicitly recognizes the link between trade and migration. This means that it recognizes that easing the movement of people across borders by eliminating both tariff and non-tariff barriers, and facilitating the movement of goods, services and people across borders can contribute to economic growth and sustainable development across the continent. The agreement is part of the wider context of the ‘African Continental Free Trade Area’ (ACFTA), which is an ambitious initiative to create a free trade zone across the entire African continent, encompassing a population of 1.2 billion people and a gross domestic product of over \$2.5 trillion (Urso & Hakami, 2018, p. 21; Songwe, 2019, p. 97).

**Table 3.1:** “AU’s Migration Policies”

| Policy                                                                                              | Year | Topic             | Binding |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|-------------------|---------|
| OAU Convention governing the specific aspect of Refugee problem in Africa                           | 1969 | Refugees          | NO      |
| The Migration policy framework for Africa                                                           | 2006 | Migration General | NO      |
| Africa Common Position on Migration and Development                                                 | 2006 | Migration General | NO      |
| Declaration on the African Union Border Programme                                                   | 2007 | Borders           | NO      |
| Convention for the protection and assistance for IDP in Africa “Kampala Convention”                 | 2009 | IDPs              | YES     |
| Minimum Integration Programme                                                                       | 2009 | Labor Migration   | NO      |
| Khartoum Declaration on AU-Horn of Africa Initiative on Human trafficking and Smuggling of Migrants | 2014 | Trafficking       | NO      |
| Joint Labor migration governance for development and integration in Africa Programme                | 2015 | Labor Migration   | NO      |
| Declaration on Migration                                                                            | 2015 | Migration General | NO      |

**Source:** (Urso & Hakami, 2018, p. 19).

## 4. CASE STUDY OF SOMALIA

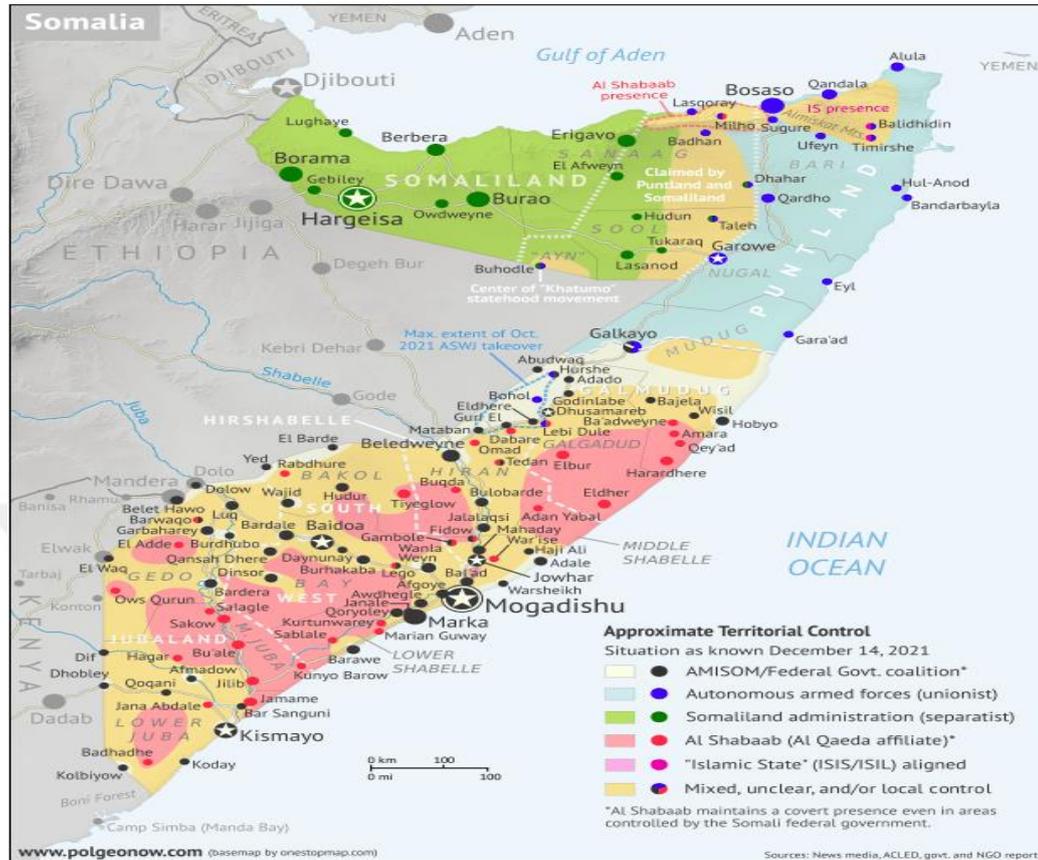
“Migration has been a feature within the Somali territories for centuries. Historically, large numbers of nomadic pastoralists and agro-pastoralists have moved within the region in response to seasons and climate scarcity...” (Avis & Herbert, 2016, p. 18).

### 4.1. Country Profile

Somalia, located on the Eastern tip of the Horn of Africa, became an independent nation in 1960, when British Somaliland and Italian Somalia were merged into a single state. The country's semi-arid, flat terrain supports nomadic pastoralism, agriculture along its two main rivers, and coastal fishing. Ethnically homogeneous, Somalis are all Sunni Muslims and speak mutually intelligible dialects of the Cushitic Somali language (Kluijver, 2023, p. 10; Touval, 1963 see also Mukhtar, 2003, pp. 1-4; Mohamud, Mat & Çevrimli, 2022, pp. 24-25).

Moreover, important Somali populations also reside in Ethiopia (around 5 million), Kenya (nearly 3 million), and Djibouti (0.5 million) as well as the estimated population global Somali diaspora is nearly 1.5 million (Kluijver, 2023, p. 10), primarily consists of migrant workers in the Gulf countries, business communities across East and Southern Africa and the Middle East, and refugees in Western Europe and North America. The country has a strategic position in the Horn of Africa, near vital maritime routes like the Bab el-Mandeb strait and the Suez Canal. The area now known as Somalia was divided before into an English protectorate (now Somaliland) and an Italian colony thus both regions gained independence in 1960 and unified to form the Somali Republic. Indeed, In 1969, a military coup brought dictator Siyad Barre to power, who ruled until the state collapsed in January 1991. Since then, Somalia has lacked an effective central government (Venugopalan, 2017, p. 1; Dahir, 2022).

**Figure 4.1:** Political geography Somalia / Approximate Territorial Control 30 April 2021.



**Source:** (Political Geography Now, 2023. <https://www.polgeonow.com/search/label/somalia>).

Officially, according to the UN and the federal government, the entire territory belongs to the Federal State of Somalia but the northwestern region of the country which is about a quarter of the territory, seceded in 1991 and is now called “Somaliland” (Pham, 2012, p. 3). This area is the most stable and developed, with a relatively effective government. Even though it is not recognised internationally, it is claimed by the federal government (Pham, 2012, p. 24). Most of southern and central Somalia is controlled by the insurgent movement Al Shabaab which also has influence in the cities, including the capital Mogadishu (Pham, 2012, pp. 1-2). The federal state is divided into five member states and a capital region called Benadir. Among these states, Puntland has the most autonomy, with its own constitution, economic and monetary policy, foreign relations, and armed forces (Dahir & Ali, 2024, pp. 90-92).

The other member states, Jubaland, South West State, Galmudug, and Hirshabell have all different degrees of autonomy from Mogadishu, but, aside from the towns and main roads protected by AMISOM, now renamed ATMIS, most of their territory is actually controlled or influenced by Al Shabaab (Mutuma Wyne & Waweru Thuo, 2022, pp. 1-2). There is a small presence of the Islamic State in Puntland and Mogadishu, spreading to other areas. The Federal Government of Somalia, even with important international support, has limited control over the country's territory (Anzalone, 2018).

Furthermore, migration in Somalia is influenced by a variety of social, economic and political factors. In this final chapter, the main reasons why the Somali people migrate, as well as the profile of migrants and how migration affects the country, will be examined as well as how the AU is managing this important migratory and refugee flow.

#### **4.2. Causes of Migration**

Since the 1990s, Somalia has been plunged into a series of violent battles. There has been constant fighting between political groups and militias, creating great political instability, power struggles and feuds between different clans and armed factions (Hansen, 2004, p. 6). Such violence has had serious consequences for ordinary people and for the country as a whole. In fact, the fighting has destroyed roads, hospitals and schools, and forced many people to leave their homes. The result is that civilians find themselves caught in a never-ending cycle of violence, with no hope of security or stability. Many Somalis have had to leave their homes to find safety and protection for themselves and their families (Crouch, 2018, pp. 12-13). They fled for fear of violence, persecution and reprisals, but also because they hoped to find better living conditions and greater security elsewhere.

Another major issue is the high level of unemployment in the country which is a source of concern. In fact, “unemployment among people aged 15 to 64 is estimated at 54 per cent in 2012. The unemployment rate for youth aged 14 to 29 is 67 per cent, one of the highest rates in the world. Females experience higher unemployment than males, 74 per cent and 61 per cent respectively” (Dalmar, Ali & Ali, 2017, p. 200). Indeed, the combination of alarming unemployment and widespread poverty creates a vicious

circle in which individuals and families struggle to meet their basic needs. The result is widespread economic instability, affecting not only the quality of life of Somali citizens, but also the country's overall stability. High unemployment limits economic opportunities for Somalis, particularly young people, who make up a significant proportion of the working population, and the lack of decent, well-paid jobs leads to an under-utilization of skills and talents, which hampers the country's potential for economic development (Ali, Hassan, Yusuf, Nur, Adan, Aweys & Eno, 2022, p. 500).

The hunger and drought started all in 2006 and 2008 were there was no rain (but even before that the food situation deteriorated in 2001 because of the heavy rains in Ethiopia that resulted in floods in Southern Somalia, that is when migration started, this region saw repeated drought following the already strong natural disturbance, the worst year being 2011. After the continual degradation of the situation was declared the state of famine by the United Nations in two regions (Lower Shabelle and Bakool), (Williams, 2018, p. 78).

Lastly, political instability in Somalia is a persistent problem that hinders the country's economic and social development. The establishment of Siyaad Barre's authoritarian rule and Somalia's dependency on Cold War allies as well as socialist economic policy, and regional power politics were key factors (Jones, 2008, p. 194; Khapoya & Agyeman-Duah, 1985).

In fact, Barre came to power through a coup, ending Somalia's brief experiment with democracy. His regime initially gained support due to economic revival and national unity but soon became despotic, banning freedoms and persecuting opposition (Omar, 2002, p. x). Somalia's reliance on external aid rather than internal development led to economic stagnation. Barre's corrupt governance favored his clan Darood and consequently, increasing inequality and mistrust among clans. Regional conflicts, particularly with Ethiopia later destabilized the country. The 1977 war over the Ogaden region and subsequent events led to the rise of armed opposition, ultimately resulting in Barre's ousting in 1991 (Besteman, 1996, pp. 580-582). Thus efforts to rebuild Somalia must address internal clan divisions and regional power dynamics to be successful (Kluijver, 2023, pp. 258-260). This period of turmoil led to the disintegration of central authority, leaving the country without a strong functioning central government, clan factions and militias emerged, controlling different parts of

the Somali territory and vying for power and resources, thus creating a climate of widespread instability (Achour & Lacan, 2012, pp. 82-83).

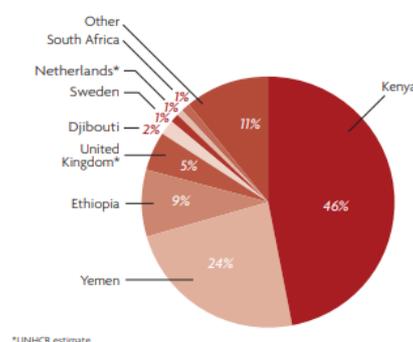
Another big problem is that political uncertainty discourages foreign investment and hampers economic development, as companies are reluctant to set up in such an unpredictable and risky environment. Furthermore, the absence of effective governance translates into an inability to provide basic services such as security, education, healthcare and infrastructure, exacerbating the already precarious living conditions of the population. Somalis, faced with an uncertain future and limited employment prospects, feel compelled to seek opportunities elsewhere, whether within the country or abroad.

### 4.3. Profile of Somali Migrants

Somali migrants can be found in a diverse range of situations around the world, but they often share common characteristics:

- Refugees: Armed conflict and persecution in Somalia have led to a significant number of forced displacements, making Somalis one of the world's largest refugee groups (Hammond, 2014, p. 2). *“Today, there are 714,390 Somali refugees and asylum seekers living in neighboring countries like Kenya (308,367), Ethiopia (276,412), Uganda (69,533) and Yemen (46,750). More than 35,600 refugees and asylum seekers live inside the country and nearly 3 million people are internally displaced across Somalia”* (USA for UNHCR, 2023).

**Figure 4.2:** Somali Refugee by country of Asylum

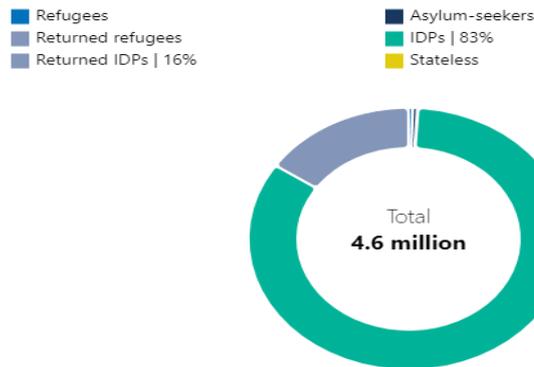


**Source:** (UNHCR, 2009, p. 50).

Living conditions in refugee camps, particularly in Kenya and Ethiopia, are often precarious, with limited access to drinking water, food and health services. In addition, Somali refugees often face discrimination and hostility in their host countries, further complicating their situation (Hammond, 2014, pp. 9-11). This situation highlights the need for a coordinated humanitarian response and effective refugee protection policies, at both national and international level, to guarantee the safety and well-being of Somali refugees and to address the root causes of their displacement.

- Economic migrants are largely driven by high levels of poverty and unemployment in Somalia. Faced with limited opportunities in their home countries, many young people turn to migration as a means of supporting themselves and their families (Kibikyo & Omar, 2009, p. 1). In fact, poverty is one of the main drivers of economic migration in Somalia. Some choose to migrate to neighboring countries such as Kenya and Ethiopia, where they may find work in sectors such as agriculture, construction and services and this cross-border migration is facilitated by the geographical proximity and cultural ties between Somalia and its neighbors. While other people choose to migrate to Gulf countries and are attracted by better-paid job opportunities in sectors such as construction, trade and domestic services.
- Internally displaced persons: Millions of people are displaced within Somalia as a result of armed conflict, inter-communal violence and natural disasters such as drought and flooding. No doubt that is creating a major humanitarian crisis, with disastrous consequences for displaced populations. In fact, Somalia has one of the largest internally displaced populations in the world, for example, 6.7 million people got affected due to the drought in 2016-2017 (DanChurchAid, 2020, pp. 21-22). This estimate shows the extent of the crisis and underlines the urgent need for an effective response to meet the needs of these vulnerable populations. Moreover, IDPs are largely dependent on humanitarian aid for their survival.

**Figure 4.3:** Somalia, population types in 2024



**Source:** (UNHCR, 2024). <https://reporting.unhcr.org/operational/operations/somalia>

#### **4.4. Specific Involvement of the African Union in Somalia**

Minimizing violence and insecurity in Somalia is crucial to migration management, and the AU's efforts, particularly through its Mission in Somalia (AMISOM/ ATMIS), have had a significant impact in this region. Indeed, AMISOM was deployed in 2007 to support the Federal Government of Somalia in its efforts to restore stability and combat armed groups such as Al-Shabaab (Williams, 2013, p. 1).

Together with the Somali National Army (SNA) they succeeded in recapturing several urban centers, pushing al-Shabaab into rural areas. This represents an improvement in security and a step forward in the fight against al-Shabaab. However, in response, al-Shabaab has adopted asymmetric warfare tactics, carrying out several high-profile attacks in 2013 and 2014, including the occupation and hostage-taking at the Westgate mall in Nairobi and the attack on the presidential palace, Villa Somalia. They have focused on maintaining security in key urban areas, protecting civilians, building the capacity of Somali security forces and facilitating an environment conducive to the delivery of humanitarian aid (Williams, 2013, p. 2). As a result, by reducing levels of violence and insecurity, AMISOM has contributed to a number of positive changes as violence and instability are major factors driving many Somalis to flee their homes which resulted in forced internal displacement or departure for other countries. AMISOM's presence has helped to reduce these displacements by creating a safer, more stable environment (Williams, 2013, p. 6).

Another point is building institutional capacity for border management and combating irregular migration in Somalia which is a key priority to ensure effective and secure management of migratory flows. The AU, in collaboration with the Somali government, has undertaken efforts to improve these capacities. This collaboration has made it possible to identify specific needs and challenges, and to put in place strategies adapted to local realities. Progress has been made in improving border infrastructure, training personnel and acquiring surveillance equipment. However, gaps remain in terms of resources and coordination between the various government agencies involved. The AU also revised the 'African Migration Policy Framework and Action Plan (2018–2030)' one of the many points abroad is the Convention of Kampala that covers the internal migration of refugees and protects them from being thrown out, from the African host country or mistreated (AU, 2018b, p. 7). For instance;

**The Dadaab and Kakuma Refugee Camps (Kenya):** The creation and administration of these refugee camps in Kenya influence Somali migration trends in fact, these camps deliver crucial services, including protection, food, shelter, and healthcare, providing a temporary yet essential haven for Somali refugees (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000, pp. 209-210). What helps these camps is the support from international organizations like the UNHCR which enables them to accommodate large numbers of refugees, easing the immediate burden on Somalia and its neighboring countries even though the presence of these camps also attracts more Somalis to seek refuge in Kenya, potentially resulting in extended stays and increased reliance on international assistance (Montclos & Kagwanja, 2000, pp. 208-209).

**Resettlement and Integration Programs (Ethiopia):** Ethiopia's resettlement and integration initiatives enable Somali refugees to obtain employment, education, and healthcare, which improve their quality of life and future prospects. These programs offer immediate relief while also encouraging self-sufficiency among refugees. Consequently, fewer Somalis might seek to migrate elsewhere, as they can rebuild their lives in Ethiopia (Hammond, 2008, pp. 517-518; Abebe, 2018). Furthermore, community-based support efforts that benefit both refugees and local populations help promote social harmony and mitigate tensions that could otherwise cause further displacement.

The Kampala Convention has greatly improved how Puntland and Somaliland handle displaced people and help refugees. It ensures quick and effective emergency aid like shelter, food, and healthcare for those displaced within the country (Adeola, 2020a, p. 6; Adeola, 2020b, p. 503). By teaching local communities how to respond better, it makes them more capable of managing crises on their own. And also, the fact that they are cooperating among aid groups means resources are used efficiently and programs that help refugees who choose to return home provide housing and job help. That is the reason why these countries took responsibility in rehabilitating these refugees into camps and later society (Adeola, 2020b, pp. 497-498).

Challenges: But the challenges faced highlight significant obstacles in helping IDPs and returning refugees effectively. Indeed, limited resources can affect the quality and reach of aid available to these populations while securing sustainable funding for long-term support remains a critical issue. And ongoing conflicts in the region lead to continuous displacement, requiring flexible programs to meet the evolving needs of displaced people. Moreover, integrating returnees back into communities can create tensions, especially when resources are scarce or unevenly distributed. Thus, ensuring enough economic opportunities for both IDPs and returnees is vital for long-term stability and development in these areas (Guistiniani, 2010, pp. 365-366).

For the case of the PAC, since the whole continent of Africa adheres to it, is helping secure the routes of migrations, authorize the free circulation of everyone in the continent as the treaty of Abuja notified. This will help somalia refugee with no access to common transport such as flight and trains, in the hard situation they are in to still be able to flee the country without taking dangerous and illegal routes while looking to attain other country, and lose their life on the way (AU, 2019b, p. 5). “The Khartoum Process: European Union-Horn of Africa Migration Route Initiative”, which is one of the strategies of the AU, has many adherents, like Suisse who sees 5000 asylum-seekers from Somalia. The initiative includes countries from both the EU and the Horn of Africa. Switzerland is a notable adherent, dealing with a significant number of Somali asylum-seekers, around 5,000 individuals (Moret, Baglioni & Efionayi-Mäder, 2006, p. 33).

### 1. Action Plan:

- Combating Human Trafficking: The initiative focuses on fighting human trafficking and migrant smuggling to protect migrants from exploitation and danger.
- Facilitating Return and Reintegration: Programs are in place to assist migrants who wish to return to their home countries, providing support for their reintegration into society (Moret, Baglioni & Efonayi-Mäder, 2006, pp. 43-44).

### 2. Safe Asylum Process for Somalis in Switzerland:

- Clear Routes for Asylum: Switzerland provides structured and safer routes for Somali asylum-seekers, allowing them to seek refuge without resorting to dangerous, irregular migration paths.
- Support for Returnees: For those who choose to return to Somalia, the Swiss government offers safe return options and assistance with reintegration. This support ensures that returnees can reestablish themselves in Somalia under favorable conditions (Moret, Baglioni & Efonayi-Mäder, 2006, pp. 37-40).

### 3. Impact on Somali Asylum-Seekers:

- Safe Migration: Somali asylum-seekers in Switzerland benefit from a secure and documented process, reducing risks associated with irregular migration.
- Reintegration Assistance: Returnees can receive help reintegrating into Somali society, including financial aid, vocational training, and other support services to facilitate a smooth transition back home (Moret, Baglioni & Efonayi-Mäder, 2006, pp. 23-30).

## **5. RECOMMENDATIONS**

### **5.1. Humanitarian Assistance and Drought Relief**

Asking for more funds and help from other organizations specialized in humanitarian aid, like the WFP and sending specialist to help heal the lands from the drought and create domes to grow fruits and vegetables. And provide humanitarian aid, including food, water, medical supplies to all affected regions of Somalia specially in the South region. Then the logic following is creating strategies and initiatives to mitigate the impacts of future droughts. Finally, invest in long-term development projects focused on improving water infrastructure, irrigation systems, and agricultural productivity.

### **5.2. Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding**

For the case of the civil war inside the country, serving as a middleman is the most important role here, help them discuss the differences and propose solutions a during meetings, consider every ethnic clan inside Somalia and make them feel seen, because the main reason of these problems are the power hunger and the feeling of being left behind, so promoting social cohesion is the main objective. For peacebuilding purposes, the implementation of inclusive and transparent governance structures that address the political, economic, and social needs of all Somalis is needed. The training of Somalia security forces should be intensified and taken more seriously to enhance stability and prevent the resurgence of violence.

### **5.3. Countering Al-Shabaab and Extremism**

The coordinated military operations against Al-Shabaab should be multiplied to not give them a chance to recover from the last battle until they are decided to leave the lands of the Somalis, but for this to happen more troops are needed which can be provided by other members of the African Union. The help to other needing country should be mandatory and not an option, if possible, to make sure that whatever the AU enterprising is, it will never have an effective problem as well as founding problem, for example working to strengthen regional cooperation and diplomatic efforts to address cross-border security threats, such as arms trafficking and illicit financial flows. They can help financially if they don't want to send military forces, or send instead specialists the needed material to help resolve the problem, so many ways to

help is possible, but that should first be mandatory. There should also be an enhancement of the intelligence-sharing and cooperation among regional and international partners to disrupt terrorist financing and recruitment activities. There should also be a multiplication of the community-based programs aiming at countering violent extremism.

#### **5.4. Promoting Socio-Economic Development**

To develop the socio-economic development of the country, there should be investment on the education, vocational training that are missing cruelly in the country. Job creating programs are also important to provide opportunities for the young peoples, and help as well those who want to create small businesses go into entrepreneurship. This will stimulate and spur economic recovery and reconstruction of the country and maybe one day even make the country an independent self-producing country in terms of raw material, fruits and vegetables and even more. For the international aspect, international partnerships and investment in the development of the economy is primordial, like energy saving projects, and other important sectors.

## 6. CONCLUSION

The AU is actively involved in Somalia, trying to keep things stable by sending peacekeepers and helping build up Somalia's abilities. They see migration as part of bigger issues like making peace and protecting people's rights. And work together to solve the root problems that cause migration in order to make sure migrants are treated fairly by implementing effective policies.

They are big on getting countries to work together (RECs) because migration is not just a Somalia problem it affects lots of places. But it's not all smooth sailing. There are still security problems and sometimes they struggle to get everyone on the same page. Indeed, the mission in Somalia is yet to be done and is still encountering challenges such as missing funds, the non-cooperation of state members and even the government itself, which slows down the speed of the work, resulting in a non-better situation even today. It is very important to work on the development of new strategies fitting the changing situation of Somalia, work limitation of Al-Shabaab power and provide enough humanitarian aid to the needy.

Controlling the corruption and the funds stealing should also be a priority because even if they are provided with more funds, it will end up disappearing under a politician's wallet with small chances of recovering it. Future research could explore innovative strategies for improving effectiveness, such as integrating local perspectives and leveraging technology.

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