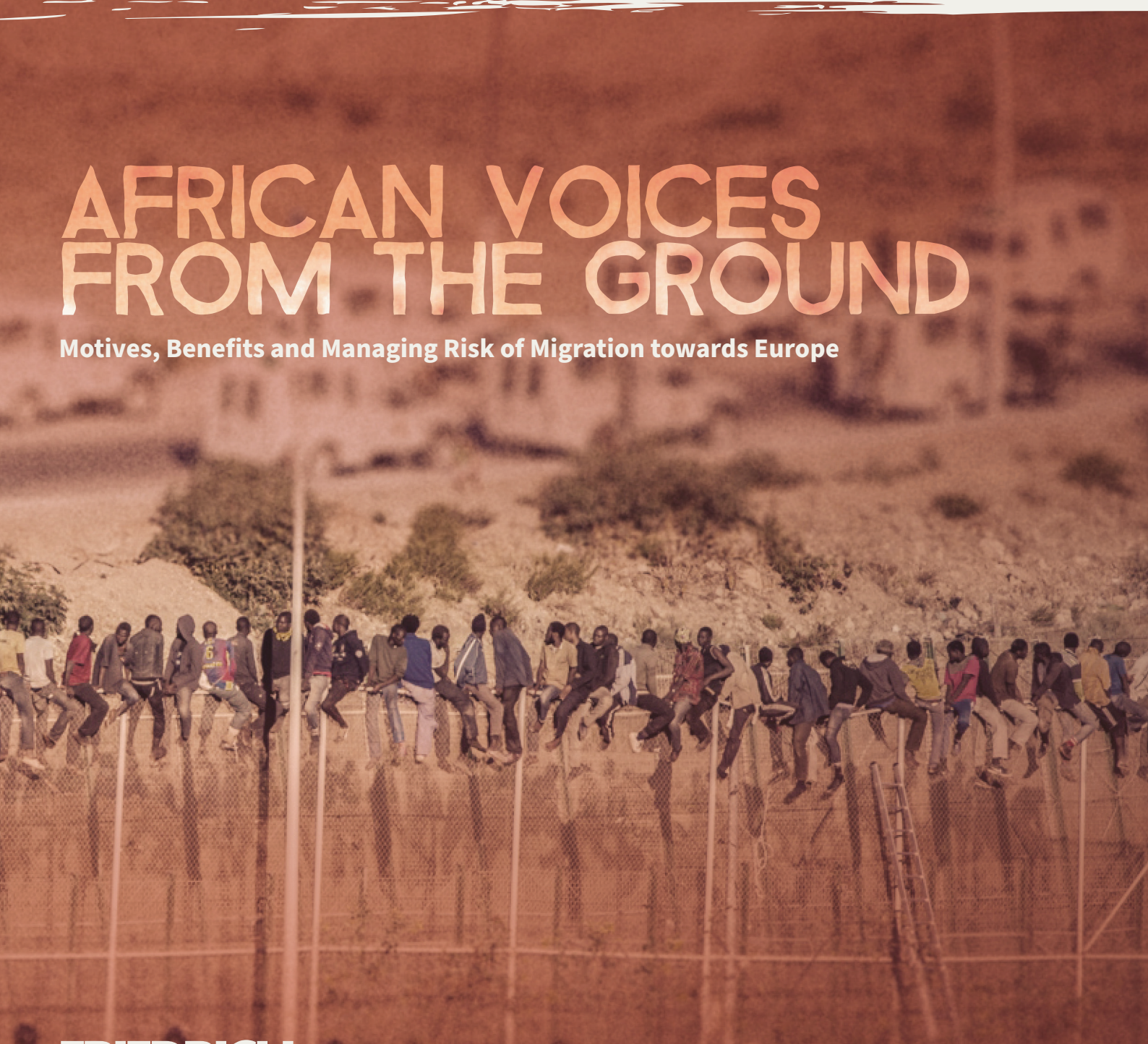
AFRICAN VOICES FROM THE GROUND

Motives, Benefits and Managing Risk of Migration towards Europe



FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG

INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES
ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY

AFRICAN VOICES FROM THE GROUND

Motives, Benefits and Managing Risk of Migration towards Europe

Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES)

Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS)

About the Author

Amr Abdalla, Ph.D.

Dr. Abdalla is a Professor Emeritus at the United Nations-mandated University for Peace (UPEACE). He is also the Senior Advisor on Conflict Resolution at the Washington-based organization KARAMAH (Muslim Women Lawyers for Human Rights).

From 2014 to 2017 Dr. Abdalla was the Senior Advisor on Policy Analysis and Research at the Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) of Addis Ababa University. In 2013 and 2014, he served as Vice President of SALAM Institute for Peace and Justice in Washington, D.C. From 2004-2013 Dr. Abdalla was Professor, Dean and Vice Rector at UPEACE. Prior to that, he was a Senior Fellow with the Peace Operations Policy Program, School of Public Policy, at George Mason University, Virginia. Dr. Abdalla was also a Professor of Conflict Analysis and Resolution at the Graduate School of Islamic and Social Sciences in Leesburg, Virginia.

Dr. Abdalla's academic and professional careers are multi-disciplinary. He obtained a law degree in Egypt in 1977 where he practiced law as a prosecuting attorney from 1978 to 1986. During the first half of the 1980s, i.e. 1981-1986, he was a member of the public prosecutor team investigating the case of the assassination of President Sadat and numerous other terrorism cases. Dr. Abdalla then emigrated to the U.S. where he obtained a Master's degree in Sociology and a Ph.D. in Conflict Analysis and Resolution from George Mason University. He has been teaching graduate classes in conflict analysis and resolution, and has conducted training, research and evaluation of conflict resolution and peacebuilding programs in numerous countries in Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Europe and the Americas.

Dr. Abdalla has been an active figure in promoting inter-faith dialogue and effective cross-cultural messages through workshops and community presentations in the United States and beyond. He pioneered the development of the first conflict resolution teaching and training manual for Muslim communities titled ("… Say Peace"). He also founded Project LIGHT (Learning Islamic Guidance for Human Tolerance), a community peer based anti- discrimination project funded by the National Conference for Community and Justice (NCCJ). In 2011, he established with Egyptian UPEACE graduates a program for community prevention of sectarian violence in Egypt (Ahl el Hetta).

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Cover Picture: Sub-Saharan refugees and migrants attempt to cross the razor wire fences that separate Morocco and the Spanish enclave of Melilla.

Picture taken by: Jose Palazon/ Global Post

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Preface

The Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) at Addis Ababa University in collaboration with the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) African Union Cooperation Office is pleased to present the final report on the collaborative research project on migration entitled "Voices from the Ground". Flight and migration have become major global issues of our time. According to the UNHCR, the number of refugees reached more than 65 million people in 2016 - its highest level in decades. At the same time, increasing flows of migration worldwide have created new momentum for a dialogue over policy and opened new avenues to discuss the topic in a more comprehensive way. This research project aims at giving people from the ground a voice in the discourse on migration, as they are often left out in the debate. Furthermore, many of these debates are rather emotional and are lacking when it comes to objective facts and research. This is often the case when one looks at the current discourse surrounding the migration crisis in Europe and the way Europe is trying to "solve" this issue with a short-term strategy. It is against this background that this report provides original grounded knowledge and insight into the issue of migration in Africa, which is a pressing problem not only for Africa, where most of these migrants originate and where most of the migration is taking place, but also for the recipient countries of Europe.

The research report is based on four country studies on Ethiopia, Mali, Senegal and South Arica, where voices from the communities on the ground, migrants who have returned, civil society actors as well as government officials have been collected and analysed. These countries were chosen because they represent a good mix of countries of origin, transit and destination. We would like to thank the four universities which carried out the studies: Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia, the University of Bamako, Mali, the University of the Sahel, Senegal, and the University of Pretoria, South Africa.

Our special thanks go out to the principal investigators in each of the universities and their teams for carrying out the field research and writing the detailed country reports. A big thanks to all of you for your contributions to the completion of this project.

We would also like to express our appreciation to the FES for providing research grants to participating universities; and to Florian Koch, Director of the FES-AU Cooperation Office, and Professor Amr Abdalla, former Senior Advisor for Policy Analysis and Research at IPSS, for their vision, leadership and supervision of the research project till the end. Furthermore, the Flight and Migration Competence Center (FMCC) and its director Marcel Rauer would like to thank the IPSS for its productive cooperation and overall coordination of this research project. We would like to thank Lettie Tembo Longwe, Dr. Pamela Mbabazi, Elshaddai Mesfin, Dr. Mercy Fekadu and Zeynya Shikur as well as the IPSS management for their support, helping to ensure the timely and successful completion of the report.

Through the consolidated and compiled report based on "Voices on the Ground" data and information gathered by the four sampling countries, the IPSS and FES hope to provide insight into the push and pull drivers of irregular migration in Africa and then derive policy recommendations for African policymakers as well as proposals on how to frame the discourse between African and European stakeholders and how to cope with this challenge more effectively and in a manner that is beneficial for both continents. We also hope the report will serve as a valuable reference work for researchers, educators and other policy experts.

Kidane Kiros, (PhD)
Director
Institute for Peace and Security Studies
Addis Ababa University
Ethiopia

Florian Koch
Former Director
African Union Cooperation
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
Addis Ababa Office, Ethiopia

Marcel Rauer
Director
Flight and Migration Competence Center (FMCC)
Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung
Addis Ababa Office, Ethiopia

1.

Background and introduction

Although migration has posed a challenge to many parts of the world, discussions surrounding it have intensified since the massive influx of refugees and migrants into Europe in 2015. This event triggered a wider and more thorough debate on migration. The issue of migration is no longer perceived as being a solitary issue and is instead increasingly viewed as a multi-dimensional challenge that is heavily intertwined with other policy areas such as trade, social, economic, foreign and security policy. A case in point was the intervention of NATO forces in Libya without regard to the consequences of its actions and what it would mean for peace and stability in the region. Today, Libya is in turmoil and one of the foremost routes for refugees on the way to Europe.

Increasing flows of migration worldwide have created new momentum for the policy dialogue and opened new avenues to discuss the topic in a more comprehensive way. In addition, the debate over migration is no longer confined to e. g. Africa or Asia, which have been struggling with migration for years, but has become an item on the agenda for global forums. It is now being addressed by the G 7, UN, the G 20 and others. This is important, as migration is a highly complex issue in today's globalized world and needs to be discussed by various stakeholders. Although the debate is slowly changing, migration is still, first and foremost, seen as a security challenge. Countries of destination and transit for the most part perceive migrants and refugees as a threat to national security and respond accordingly, i.e. by trying to secure their borders and keep migrants out. A security-based approach will neither stop migration, nor will it be able to make it more beneficial to the stakeholders involved, however. Hence, what is needed are more intelligent and more flexible approaches that protect migrants and refugees as well as their human rights in countries of destination, transit and origin, and which help these countries to profit from migration. For this to happen, there needs to be more political dialogue between stakeholders in Africa as well as external actors. It is furthermore important to include non-security agencies in such a dialog, like ministries of labour, justice, foreign affairs, etc., along with non-state actors such as civil society organizations (CSOs).

Arguably, Africa is the continent most affected by migration and forced displacement and has been witnessing high numbers of migrants and refugees for many years. In order to address this challenge, the AU and its member states have adopted far-reaching and progressive policy frameworks. These have largely failed to be implemented in Africa, however, even if states are willing to implement the decisions taken on migration. This is mainly due to insufficient knowledge and capacity as well as different national interests among African member states. It is very apparent that there is a lack of political dialogue between African states, RECs and the AU on how to deal with migrants and refugees and make migration and mobility more beneficial to the African member states. Apart from a strengthened dialogue between African stakeholders, it is important to include external actors like the EU, UN and others in the debate. These actors are not only funding many of the migration-related activities in Africa but can also provide their insight and knowledge on issues such as the free movement of people.

The need for research on African voices from the ground

An improvement in migration governance alone will be pointless if the root causes are not addressed at the political level. Such a dialogue must take place between African stakeholders on the one hand and external African partners on the other. To be effective, the dialogue must, among other things, include research-based perspectives from African communities across the continent that constitute sources of and transit routes for migration.

Specific objectives of the project included:

- Conducting research on "African Voices from the Ground" in four African countries representing four regions (Sahel, West, South and Horn of Africa);
- Including voices of civil society in the dialogue on migration;
- Establishment of a continuous migration platform, offering an understanding of migration issues;
- Establishment of a network among groups working on migration at the regional and global levels;
- Developing recommendations for policy over the medium term /a governance-related action plan on migration that will achieve regional compliance with AU frameworks and the conclusion of global conventions based on priorities identified by multi-stakeholders, including migrants;
- Discussing and developing long-term approaches toward migration;
- Developing policy recommendations for African decision-makers;
- Developing specific recommendations for the EU-Africa partnership.

VARIABLES

1. Demographics of communities and individuals;
2. Motives for migration among members of those communities;
3. How risk is calculated and managed as part of the migration process;
4. Perception of the benefits to the community from the migration of its individuals;
5. The actual impact (benefit and loss) of migration on these communities;
6. Understanding the dynamics of the brain drain;
7. Cultural or social pressure (the need to succeed because communities have invested in the migrants, shame);
8. Measuring the overlap or gap between policies and CSO work and the perception and needs of people with regards to the above items.

AUDIENCES

(Who do we talk to?)

1. Potential individual migrants;
2. Returning individual migrants (visiting or permanently);
3. Family members of individual migrants;
4. Community leaders (local, traditional, religious or appointed, educators);
5. "Middlemen" in the migration business;
6. CSOs working on migration issues from different angles: rehabilitation, re-integration, awareness-raising (need to be nuanced; Swiss and other stakeholders funding Nollywood to produce movies on dangers along the routes to Europe);
7. Government institutions working on migration (police and government ministries).

INSTRUMENTS/TOOLS

1. Official Statistics
2. Interviews
3. FGD

2. Research methodology

This research project set out to gather data from communities by using systematic research methods in four countries representing four regions of Africa: Senegal (West Africa), South Africa (Southern Africa), Mali (Sahel) and Ethiopia (Horn of Africa). Later, an additional component was added: interviews with twenty migrants in one country of destination (United Kingdom). The following universities conducted the research in the four respective countries:

- Department of Political Science and International Relations, Addis Ababa University, Ethiopia;
- Faculté des Sciences Humaines et des Sciences de L'éducation, Université de Bamako, Mali;
- Centre for Development Studies (CEDES), University of The Sahel, Senegal;
- Centre for the Study of Governance Innovation, Department of Political Sciences, University of Pretoria, South Africa.

The research focused on collecting information from citizens and civil society organisations as well as government officials and professionals working on migration issues in those countries and communities. This final report represents the key findings from the four country reports and data from the interviews with migrants in the United Kingdom (UK).

The research phase of the project started by selecting the four universities, IPSS, FES, after which the respective university staff met in Addis Ababa in a research design workshop held on 5 May 2017. The aim was to lay out the framework for how the research was to be conducted in the selected regions by defining and breaking down the different parameters, variables and audiences of the migration research project.

Research questions and assumptions

The research design workshop participants performed brainstorming over their key assumptions and guiding principles before embarking on the task of developing the research methodology. They agreed, as a premise, that migration - despite all the risks associated with it, including drowning in the Mediterranean or being abused physically and sexually during the journey - is still a calculated decision often supported by the community as well as family members who view migration as a blessing. This is a perspective and a voice from the ground that this project sought to explore.

Furthermore, regarding the impact on communities, two mutually reinforcing areas were emphasised: the brain drain and remittances. Workshop participants discussed the need to look at the dynamics of the brain drain causing countries of origin to lose qualified citizens, who concurrently fill gaps in the labour markets of their respective country of destination. At the same time, the remittances that families and communities receive back home from migrants in Europe should not be underestimated. It is important to explore this aspect as a perceived positive factor in migration that legitimises the sacrifices of African migrants and their families or communities, giving pride to migrants and receiving acknowledgment from their communities back home. Workshop participants also suggested placing a focus on the financing of the migration process. Migration to Europe is an expensive undertaking, hence it is important to look where migrants get the financial resources they require and which role their communities and families play in the process.

As for the risks associated with the journey, the workshop participants stressed the importance of assessing religious logic as a mitigating factor. It was noted that some migrants tend to assume that their life is in God's Hand, which gives them a fatalistic feeling of immunity to the threat of death they face during their long, arduous and often dangerous journeys, regardless of how often such risks are highlighted in media reports.

Regarding demographics, the participants also emphasised the importance of looking at the influence of certain parameters such as gender which influence the choice of countries of destination, as is the case with Horn of Africa migrants, who for instance mostly migrate to the Gulf countries.
Accordingly, the workshop participants generated the following specific variables to focus the research on:

- Demographics of communities and individuals;
- Motives for migration among members of those communities;
- How risk is calculated and managed as part of the migration process;
- Perception of the benefits to the community from the migration of its individuals;
- The actual impact (benefit and loss) of migration on those communities;
- Understanding the dynamics of the brain drain;
- Cultural or social pressure (the need to succeed because communities have invested in the migrants, shame);
- Measuring the overlap or gap between policies and CSO work as well as the perception and needs of people with regards to the above items.

The chart below summarises the target audiences and research instruments used in relation to the eight variables. The appendix includes additional information on the indicators for each variable and the sample sizes of the various target audiences.

Implementation of the research

The research was conducted in four African countries (Ethiopia, Male, Senegal and South Africa) and conducted on migrants in one European country (UK). In the four African countries, researchers identified at least three communities with large numbers of migrants in Europe, returning migrants or community members contemplating migration. In addition to interviewing community members, the researchers conducted interviews with government officials and CSO staff. The research was carried out between June and September 2017, before being completed with the submission of the reports to IPSS and FES.

All universities used standard interview forms that reflected the themes and indicators listed above (included in the appendix). This ensured consistency in collecting data across the four countries. The single researcher in the UK also used a comparable interview form with migrants. The chart below includes information on the number of communities where the research was conducted as well as the number of interviewees across the different sectors:

Audience	Ethiopia	Mali	Senegal	South Africa	United Kingdom
Number of Locations	3	1	3	3	20 current migrants 12/8
Potential migrants	70	35	80	142	
Male/female	51/19	24/11	55/25	92/50	
Returning migrants	30	24	20	72	
Male/female	11/19	15/9	12/8	45/27	
Government officials	10	4	7	21	
Male/female	8/2	4/0	4/3	7/14	
CSO staff and community leaders	8	12	12	38	
Male/female	6/2	9/3	6/6	12/26	
Family members	5	25	5	101	
Male/female	3/2	18/7	1/4	65/36	

3. Findings

"...My parents do not have a good income to fulfil the needs of the family. I believe that migration will enable me to fill this gap. After settling in the destination country, I will first support my family and then I will pursue a better education." (day labourer, Addis Ababa)

"As a woman, I couldn't stand the daily harassment; I felt that I don't belong to the people anymore." (female Egyptian migrant living in the UK)

This section includes the key findings for each of the research topics broken down by country and is followed by an overall summary of the main themes across all countries.

3.1. Motives for migration among members of those communities

South Africa

Key topics

- Education and studies (most common among college graduates)
- Reunion or following in the footsteps of relatives who migrated before them
- Stability and sustainability (financial, social, security-related, etc.)

The research findings from South Africa suggest that several factors serve as motives and incentives for migration. These go beyond simple categorisation into 'push' and 'pull' factors that is so pervasive in the literature on migration. For example, while some respondents indicated that they migrated in search of employment, others did so for purposes of educational advancement, exposure and gaining international experience in countries of destination. Others said that they migrated because they faced, among other things, economic hardship, political persecution, political instability, wars, crime, domestic violence and poverty in their countries of origin. However, except for countries that experienced extreme cases of insecurity, political repression and war (as was the case for Somalia, Eritrea and the DRC), the main reason for migrating for most of the other respondents was the search for better economic and employment opportunities. Even respondents who used political pretexts to apply for asylum openly stated that the main reason for leaving their country was economic. Also, almost all migrants had used their own savings, family money and support from friends to migrate. This observation amplifies the NELM perspective, which forwards the argument that migration decisions are not taken in isolation by individuals, but that other people affected, such as families and even communities, are also involved (Massey et al. 1998 cited in Mafukidze 2006). Consequently, migration can be a strategy of reducing risks that threaten individuals, families and communities (Hagen-Zanker 2008; Stark and Levhari 1982 cited in De Haas 2008). This thus illustrates that the causes and motivations for migration transcend the push-pull dichotomy.

Migrants and those contemplating migration continue to voice the need for peaceful environments. Additionally, people planning to migrate expressed a desire for sustainable livelihoods, noting that Europe provides an environment where one can meet such needs. In this regard, those contemplating migrating mainly sought better living conditions. It emerged that there was a tremendous desire for decent pay, although not necessarily decent jobs, and many of the respondents stated that they dreamed of this. Several participants were quoted as saying that they wanted:

"…To get a better life, make more money, employment opportunities. To be recognised as a human being and not as a refugee because in (South Africa) with the refugee status I have… I am not exposed and I miss so many opportunities. So if I go to Europe maybe they will recognise me as one of them, like a citizen, then you will have the right to go wherever you want. To get a better education and more skills since it is a developed world."

"To migrate for economic reasons, to have a better life because to be honest the life we live here is quite different from the life in Europe so I want to enjoy the difference in Europe."

Some of the respondents' feedback included the fact that Africa's current political and social climate remains very volatile, therefore acting as an incentive for migration. Economic circumstances, high levels of poverty and inequality, and the lack of social and political security are critical drivers of migration among Africans. Consequently, individuals and whole families make informed choices to foster migration within the family milieu. The main objective is to safeguard their lives and ensure the social and economic well-being of children and families.

Ethiopia

Key topics

- Greener pastures abroad
- Education
- Seeking employment
- Better income

Looking at motivations and incentives for migration in Ethiopia, young people interviewed in Addis Ababa as well as the Hadiya and Kembata-Tembaro districts believe that pastures are greener abroad. Accordingly, 93.2% of the prospective migrants responded that their main motivation for migrating was their desire for a better income and living conditions in the countries of destination, while the remaining 6.8% opted for better educational opportunities and political freedom. There is a strong feeling among youth that migration abroad would help them to improve their income. A day labourer interviewed for the study from Addis Ababa said:

"The main reason for my decision to leave the country is to have a better income. My parents do not have a good enough income to meet the needs of the family. I believe that migration will enable me to fill this gap. After settling in the country of destination, I will first support my family and then I will pursue a better education."

The persons surveyed maintain that dire poverty is pushing them and their friends away from their home country. The push from meagre income, which is far from covering the costs of basic needs, is supplemented by young people's perception that migration is a plausible way out of their existing frustration. According to one unemployed youth from Hadiya district:

"Those who migrate achieve positive change in their lives better than those who work in Ethiopia. This is because of the lack of sufficient opportunities to get a job and prosper in the country."

Here, it is not only the unemployed who are contemplating migrating, but also those who are employed both in the public and private sectors. 62% of prospective migrants surveyed are self-employed, government employees or private sector employees. For them, the main reason to migrate is that their income is insufficient to sustain their day-to-day lives. In addition, migrants are expected to support their families.

Potential migrants expressed their frustration towards the very low pay that jobs offer. Monthly earnings from jobs are far below the amount of money required to cover expenses such as rent, food consumption and school fees for children. This finding is also underpinned by a study conducted by the Addis Ababa Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs (AABoLSA) entitled "Survey of Establishment Profile and the State of Decent Work in Addis Ketema and Akaki Kaliti, suburbs of Addis Ababa". In the study, 70% of the survey participants consider their income to be less than adequate for their day-to-day living costs and needs.

Mali

Key topics

- Economic migration
- Migration for the purpose of education

In Mali, the reasons given for migration by potential or returning migrants and their relatives overlap. These include economic, social, cultural, and education motives. For the relatives of migrants, the reasons for migration include such factors as the family's state of insecurity, the impossibility of finding work in the country of departure, studies being abandoned, the motive of gain, the desire to travel, the opportunity to work as a professional, the desire to register in a European football club and family jealousy to conflicts between relatives.

As for candidates for migration, the motives mentioned are numerous. These different forms of migration may exist concomitantly in the same family, however.

The motives behind economic migration are closely tied to people's need to improve their own and their families' socio-economic condition. It can be viewed as a "migratory project" in a "quest for a better tomorrow" and to have economic benefits. A migrant's relative justified their decision to send her second boy to Spain as follows:

"Today, the school no longer enables access to employment, so we have gathered the means to send the younger child of the family to Spain ... if the others have succeeded there, he will also succeed because their currency is more valued than the CFA."

The images that are conveyed in the media about Europe, as well as the impression made by returning migrants, encourage young people to leave. Europe is presented or thought of as a place of sure-fire success. From this perspective, it is a logical sequence borne out of economic structures on a global scale, resulting in a bipolarity that divides the present world into two unequal geopolitical groups: a rich, developed world, and therefore a world of immigration; and a poor, underdeveloped world, and therefore a world of emigration.

This bipolarity helps account for the picture Malians have of Europe, especially of France. Through the money they send back, Malian migrants also contribute to this picture. At ground level in Mali, the focus is on daily tasks: clothing, health care, purchases of foods, etc. Remaining remittances are used to cover other expenses like marriages, baptisms, engagement ceremonies or funerals, or administrative procedures that require financial mobilisation. It is difficult for a Malian migrant to avoid any of these expenses. In addition to current expenditures, taxes should be added to the list along with remuneration of seasonal workers, which most families need to make ends meet because of the lack of employment opportunities in their country. Moreover, migrants are expected to bring gifts for their close or distant relatives, thereby meeting important symbolic demands for their part. A returnee migrant from Bamako put it thus:

"I came home from France just a month ago, but I was overwhelmed by the social demands coming from all sides. These are really unforeseen expenses. It is not like in France where you plan your expenses."

Migrants themselves help perpetuate this practice in the guise of the lavish lifestyles exhibited by certain returnee holiday-makers, like renting luxurious mansions, vehicles coveted by the populations, or cash hand- outs.

The number of young Malians migrating for education and to better their chances of professional employment has significantly increased since 2015. Young Malians migrate through opportunities such as scholarships. For a long time, migration for educational purposes was not the main factor in waves of Malian migration. Over the last twenty years, however, the proportion of Malian students in France has increased considerably. Leaving Mali for educational reasons takes place in various contexts with problems that evolve over time:

"When I went to Europe, I had received a scholarship. Because when you study there, you have more opportunities to integrate into professional life."

Given the integration opportunities offered by foreign degrees, many Malian parents send their children to study abroad as an investment in the future.

In essence, the motives stated by respondents are essentially economic and express a desire for individual empowerment. Migrants have an image of an "accomplished, enlightened, experienced man who has money". This symbolic dimension is strong and attracts single women who hope to marry migrants, as is the case in the Kayes region.

Senegal

Key topics

- Economic migration
- "Paradise" of Europe

In Senegal, unemployment is the most common motivation for migration. In addition, social media and testimonies of migrants persuade thousands of young Senegalese that life is better in Europe. Thousands of Senegalese, mostly young people, desire to leave their country for Europe. As one local community leader said to the research team:

"Young people see no future here [in Senegal]; that's why they want to go to Europe."

Senegalese migration is gender-balanced, with as many women as men wanting to leave Senegal for Europe. Most potential migrants are unskilled or unemployed and come from rural areas. This shows that migration is a two-way journey in Senegal: people move from their villages to semi-urban or urban areas, and from urban areas to Europe. This is evidenced in the words of a 27-year-old man surveyed in a village at Tambacounda, who was preparing to leave behind his wife, two children and the only life he has known in the pursuit of a quest shared by many young men across Senegal: reaching Europe.

"I don't have anything here. That is why I want to go, why I need to go," he said, glancing at several men in the village laying nearby in the shade, snoozing through the still, sweltering afternoon. "This country is not for young men," added one of the men lying nearby, a potential migrant.

In the Senegalese context, unemployment is the most common type of motivation and incentive. A young man interviewed in Dakar said; "I was unemployed. I had no job for six months. My only option was to go somewhere else." Another said, "Staying here is a waste of time." A woman interviewed in northern Senegal said, "It is better to work on farms in Europe than in Senegal." A family member of a repatriated refugee added, "young people see no future here. That is why they want to go to Europe." A potential migrant in Tambacounda affirmed that "to get a job with a salary is impossible." And a failed migrant, who founded an association of repatriates, stated that unemployment has driven over 1,000 young men from Goudiry, a small village in Tambacounda, to journey to Europe since 2013.

Unemployment is high among both educated and uneducated youth, and both groups wish to migrate. Within a sample of 100 youths interviewed, 42 hold qualifications from an institute of higher education. Among this group, just 10% have attended school for four years or less, whereas 25% possess at least four years of tertiary education. All in all, the proportion of Senegalese youth with tertiary education who emigrate is 24.1%, meaning that most Senegalese immigrants, though having some education, are young people without tertiary education. Migration for educational reasons features equally in responses. 12.3% of potential migrants would like to migrate to obtain education or training in Europe.

The lure of Europe, or "Paradise Europe", comes next after unemployment. Equipped with smartphones and televisions, paid for mainly by remittances, youth in Saint Louis and Tambacounda are plugged into social media and TV shows offering a taste of life in Europe too tantalizing to resist. "One friend phoned me," related a returning migrant in Saint Louis, "telling me that Europe is a thousand times better than Africa.' I looked on Facebook, I saw the nice pictures—it drove me to go."

Migrants in the UK

Key topics

- Economic opportunities and search for a better life
- Financial and economic hardship, escaping poverty
- Lack of job opportunities
- Political repression, arbitrary arrest, detention, torture
- Violence and war
- Lack of freedom
- Career advancement
- Sexual harassment, domestic violence
- Access to better health care
- Religious or tribal marginalisation and repression

The interviews conducted with migrants in the UK indicate that there are a number of reasons for leaving the country of origin that can be categorised as economic, political, security-related as well as social and cultural motives.

Several migrants stated that they were motivated to migrate in search for a better life for themselves and their families, as they faced poverty and financial and economic hardship in their country of origin. Most of them emphasised the lack of job and career opportunities as their main motive to migrate to Europe. One respondent from Ethiopia noted:

"I hoped that instead of the small house, which is barely enough for me and my wife, we would live in a big house with a secure job. I hoped for my children to live a better life than me. I wished that I would lead a happy life and be able to protect my family from the never-ending problem of poverty."

One respondent from Somalia mentioned the search for better health care due to his illness. He said:

"I am only 28 and I suffer from three permanent diseases, and type 2 diabetes is one of them. I'm am not looking for money as much as I'm am looking for a healthy life where I can be treated well as a human being. Nothing else matters."

Political motives for migration range from political repression in the form of arbitrary arrest, detention and torture to religious and tribal marginalisation. As one respondent from Egypt put it:

"Lack of freedom pushed me to migrate. There's no way to breathe dialogue into Egypt. People cannot express their opinions on politics or the economy on social media or even when riding on public transportation. Everyone is afraid. Fear is all-pervasive and I'm in danger of ending up in jail again merely because I don't not like this corrupt regime and I don't not support it. I was arrested and tortured more than once for covering stories as a non-union journalist."

In a similar context, a political refugee from Chad who later became a British citizen cited the violations of rights in his country and the repercussions on him because of his political views. As he put it, "before I came here, I was tortured in my country for political reasons. My foot was chronically injured."

Furthermore, security-related motives such as violence and war pushed some of the respondents to leave their country, as exemplified by one respondent from South Sudan:

"After I lost so many members of my family due to violence, I had no hope left except to migrate and look for a new home with privileges that would help me overcome all the bad things I went through in my country. One time, I was shot in the leg. My house was burned. I suffered from the burn marks for so long. To be safe, I had no other option but to migrate".

Social and cultural motives were expressed particularly by female migrants who faced the challenge of cultural pressure and discrimination against women in their own countries, pushing factors to migrate to foreign countries. Two women from Sudan and Chad expressed that they have better opportunities and more freedom in the UK than in their home countries.

A woman who migrated from Sudan stated that her family's pressure on her to get married was one of the challenges that forced her to migrate. She believed that in the country of destination she may have more rights as a woman. A woman from Chad also mentioned "domestic violence, lack of safety and having no sense of belonging whatsoever" as challenges that forced her to leave her country through illegal migration.

Female respondents also mentioned sexual harassment, domestic violence and humiliation of women as one of their motives in migrating. One migrant from Egypt remarked:

"As a woman, I could not stand the daily harassment. I felt like I don't belong to the population anymore. You always run into someone who checks how you dress and how you look and forces their habits and traditions on you. I could not go anywhere without finding someone who would touch or harass me, be it physically or verbally. Thus, I lost all sense of safety and security in my country."

3.2. How risk is managed and calculated as part of the migration process

South Africa

Key topics

- Major risk of safety and exploitation on the journey
- De-skilling because of the lack of recognition of their qualifications
- Getting papers in a European country
- Cultural challenges in a European country
- Racism

Respondents were aware that the journey migrating to Europe poses many hazards. Even people who had not (yet) tried to migrate exhibited an awareness of the risks and dangers involved. Despite their experience or knowledge, they still took the risk, as reflected in the following quotes:

"Many of my friends have been reportedly pushed back by border authorities in Europe…."

"The journey to Europe is particularly dangerous, with more deaths at sea in the Mediterranean…."

"A number of African migrants kidnapped…put into jail against their will for several days and nights…."

"I heard that several migrants were physically and sexually abused…"

"…inaccessibility or lack of accessibility and safe routes to Europe…"

"Many African migrants are abused by smugglers and criminal gangs at several points along the Mediterranean routes…"

"Very hard to adapt to the language and culture of Europe…"

Conflicts, poor governance and human rights violations have substantially contributed to major human displacements in Africa (Williams and Baláž 2012). Because of such conflicts, migrants from the Horn of Africa and some from Zimbabwe were more than ready to risk death to escape the misery, poverty and hardships they faced in their home countries, as is illustrated by the following quotes:

One participant from Eritrea in Western Cape stated:

"In Eritrea at that time people use to migrate on foot to the Sudan and later on to Libya, where they get a boat to Italy, while others go through the desert to Israel and some go to Ethiopia. When they go to Ethiopia they shoot them. People can start migrating in a group of ten people and when they leave for the Sudan they can be killed. This can either be done by human traffickers who take their money and sometimes kill them or leave them in the desert and at the end of the day only one or two people reach their final destination. We have lost lots of lives in the desert. People are escaping from hardship back home."

Referring to himself, another interviewee from Zimbabwe in Johannesburg reported:

"People are being killed by political leaders and their supporters only because they support another party. It is tough to be in poverty and when you support a party you think will bring change, you are persecuted for that."

Another source of risk included the fact that it was "now difficult to get visas, especially work visas, to many European countries" (female South African respondent, Durban). Respondents stated that in many cases, this had forced them to consider other means of migration to Europe, which might involve being smuggled. Human trafficking has become a lucrative business in the North Sahel region and the Horn of Africa. According to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), more than 70% of migrants arriving in Europe by boat from Africa have been exploited or trafficked on their journey (Kelly 2016).

Particularly in these human smuggling channels, crime and death is a serious risk, especially in transit countries or between them (see the quotes from migrants provided above). Additionally, some of the respondents noted that they were aware of immigration scams advertised in newspapers and dodgy Internet platforms. Such scams promised or claimed that visas could be processed, and job placements provided in Europe. However, these turned out to be human smuggling and trafficking syndicates that targeted especially young women for recruitment into drug trafficking and prostitution.

Other risks highlighted by respondents relate to exploitation in destination countries, particularly in labour markets, due to the absence of proper documents. In some cases, even migrants with the necessary cultural and social capital suffer from this de-skilling because their qualifications are not recognized. This created a large pool of exploitable and weak migrants in many European countries. In this regard, the experiences of some returned migrants also reveal that the way in which Africans perceive Europe must change to mitigate the risk of migration. Many migrants who have returned to South Africa responded to the perception and risk of migrating to Europe by giving warnings. For instance, a Nigerian respondent from Western Cape had the following to say:

"No, not at all, I would not encourage people to migrate to Europe because when you get there it's so frustrating, like what I faced in Cyprus is different from what I faced here in South Africa. I could not stay in certain apartments because I did not hold a European Union passport. I might encourage someone to go there to study, but still, no…"

A male returnee from the Netherlands whom we found in the Western Cape also added:

"Well in Holland it was not easy to get a paper, I applied for asylum which was never granted, which is why I had to find my way to the UK. There it was better because you could work using some other means but getting a bank account was not easy. Back home we believed it would be much easier to get to Europe but when we got there it was not what we expected."

Ethiopia

Key topics

- Death, sickness, disability, hunger, robbery and rape
- Risk mitigation: language training, religion, network of family members and friends

Once the journey is started, various types of risks are anticipated in transit countries. Prospective migrants are aware of different types of physical and psychological abuse. From the prospective migrants interviewed, 52.3% of the male respondents and 15% of the female respondents stated that they anticipated hardship such as sickness, disability, hunger, robbery and rape. 26.7% of the male respondents and one female respondent expressed fears of deportation. According to one prospective migrant from Hosanna:

"As I will be an irregular migrant, I expect a harsh journey to South Africa. These challenges are to be expected because I will be travelling on the ground, crossing the borders of different countries. Some hurdles that I foresee include: shortage of food and drinks on the route, getting lost, burglary, being detained by the police, sickness, etc."

Close to 20.9 % of male and 5% of female respondents mentioned death as a possible occurrence in migration. One young man from Addis Ababa said, "during my journey to Germany, I anticipate different challenges including sickness, shortage of food and even death." A majority of female respondents (75%) do not expect any harm from migration, as they are contemplating migrating along regular routes to the Middle East.

Those fortunate migrants who reach South Africa are not welcomed with rose petals. Instead, another round of obstacles awaits them. Physical and psychological abuse by employers, harsh working conditions such as

long hours and low pay as well as eviction from jobs without receiving a salary are common stories heard from returnees from South Africa. Returnees from South Africa frequently say that their assets are stolen by burglars and many migrants lose their lives. In recent years, xenophobic reactions by host communities have been pushing many migrants to return home.

Despite expecting the aforementioned hazards, young people continue to pursue migration, relying on certain types of risk mitigation. 19% of prospective migrants stated that they were preparing for their journey, accumulating information to improve success rates as well as obtaining language training, which is crucial to communicating in transit as well as in the countries of destination. A businessman from Addis Ababa relates:

"In order to minimise the extent of problems I may face during my journey to Germany, I am planning to collect relevant information. So far, I've heard that if you pay a lot of money to smugglers, it reduces the challenges and I plan to do that. This could help to make the journey less painful. In addition, my brother lives in Germany and he will assist me by sending money in the case of any detentions."

Religion is also considered to be a mechanism for mitigating risks among prospective migrants. One thing they cite is faith in deciding to be on the road with "God" to enable them to succeed in their journey. In this respect, an informant who is a family member of a migrant in Hosanna said, "migration is regarded as a good option in our religion because Biblical figures such as Joseph and Abraham migrated and obtained good things in their lives." In the Hadiya and Kembata-Tembaro districts, where Protestant Churches have a strong following, praying for migrants just before they start their journey has become a common religious practice. In the past, such events were held publicly, with many people taking part in them. However, it has shifted to more private spheres since the government condemns such events and urges Churches to preach against irregular migration.

Another risk mitigation strategy of migrants from Addis Ababa, Hadiya and Kembata-Tembaro districts is maintaining networks of family members and friends who are already in countries of destination. Before they leave to countries of destination, relatives and friends communicate possible challenges on their route along with remedies. Once migrants reach their destination, relatives and friends support them in the initial stage by providing them with a place to stay until they settle. Moreover, acquaintances are sources of information that may be of use in handling legal matters and job searches.

Mali

Key topics

- Social, particularly religious support in the migration effort
- Illegal migration as a last resort, as many persons try to find legal means to leave the country of origin
- Integration into the country of destination often as the first anticipated danger
- The host community is often helpful in providing support for newly arriving migrants

In popular Malian belief, the word "tunga" - meaning adventure in Bambara is associated with difficulty and danger. Hence, in many Sub-Saharan African countries, blessings, ritual sacrifices and the making of lucky charms always precede one's departure.

For some potential adult migrants in their forties, there are no more serious challenges than those encountered in the country of origin in terms of poverty and misery. For other young candidates who do not have foreign travel experiences, they may face problems integrating into host society.

A few of the potential migrants, particularly the least literate generally eager to leave, are aware of the danger that may exist outside Mali's borders. They have heard about bad experiences in connection with illegal migration. They believe that once the migrant leaves the country of origin, he or she will automatically face challenges. However, the emigration project is not abandoned. Depending on needs, the latter category of migrants seeks contact with networks of intermediaries to get out of such situations. For the majority of those interviewed in Mali it was noted that as a last resort, they will solicit the help of the Almighty, who is the "Lord of unexpected solutions." Hoping for good fortune, all these candidates put their lives in the hands of God.

In addition, the research reveals that migrants use different routes. According to one member of a migrant's family:

"My son left for Gabon. He arrived safely there after two weeks of driving. He shared some stories about his experiences in Gabon. I admit that I was very scared. That is why I do not encourage anyone to cross illegally. He told me that they slept in forests, crossed dangerous waters and were even tortured. He could have lost his life there if it had not been for our prayers and blessings."

Whether they are potential migrants or returnees, everyone would like to leave by legal routes to avoid harassment on clandestine roads, as this prospective migrant explains:

"I do not wish to go away in a hassle; if I leave, it shall be under legal conditions. I do not want to go like an undocumented immigrant. That is why I said that I do not want to leave illegally, so I prefer to overcome all these problems before leaving."

On the other hand, these challenges can persist in the country of destination, and prospective young immigrants are aware of this. However, they are aware of the difficulties they may encounter in the country of destination. On potential migrant said:

"I know it will not be easy. The very act of integrating is a problem. In addition, you do not have family around. Those are the challenges we have to face."

The long history of immigration from Mali has contributed to the establishment of a network of solidarity in host countries. An important factor in migration is the funds needed to undertake the journey. At this stage, a great majority of interviewees of all ages and both genders hope for financial support from relatives already settled in Europe.

A few interviewees, however, especially male students, hope to benefit from a scholarship within the framework of international cooperation. Regardless of the time it may require, less literate candidates, for example, apprentice carpenters, work accordingly to save up the amount of money needed for the trip.

Migrants have different ways of financing their venture. On the one hand, parents (usually the father) of the emigrant sells cattle or plots to raise financial resources. In other cases, the emigrant himself, through "resourcefulness", i.e. working in various countries (Algeria, Libya and Gabon) gradually earns and saves up money. Other journeys are financed by uncles or stepfathers who are already established in Europe, or by networks of smugglers, who are paid by the migrant or his relatives.

Indeed, the risk in the country of destination is mitigated by the assistance provided by former emigrants, who have experienced the same difficulties in adapting. A returnee has aptly described this solidarity like this:

"When I arrived in my host city, I found the Malian diaspora, as you could call it. These people started talking to me a lot.... They really began to take care of us in the first few weeks and I was made to understand that I should not be afraid and that I had to do everything possible to live up to the expectations of Mali. I think I went to look for the resources deep inside myself and gradually I started eating, I learned to speak the language and also got used to eating the food. I think that is how things happen."

In the specific case of Soninké migrants, the largest group of Malian migrants to France, a chain of solidarity was set up following the first generation of immigrants. As described by Mahamet Timera as far back as 1996, diaspora groups tend to construct community structures similar to those in Mali. The social contract of communities of nationals, based on shelters for emigrants in France, involves the establishment, under the guidance of notables, of a form of social control designed to guarantee the continuity of affective and financial relations between emigrants and their families back in the village. The ultimate function of such an organisation is to minimise the risks of wastage.

Senegal

Key topics

Anticipated risks for migrants include:

- Loss of quality of life
- Social pressure from the family back home
- Unemployment

These risks are mitigated through:

- Belonging to a network
- Shared life
- Marriage to a European citizen
- Relying on the prayers of the "marabouts", their talisman and hard work

Both returning and potential migrants and their families agree that the loss of quality of life (compared to life in Senegal), isolation, exploitation, discrimination, financial needs, high expectations, underemployment, social pressure and loss of life are some of the anticipated risks associated with migration to Europe. High expectations from home by families of the migrants and social pressure are cited as the most pressing anticipated risks. One returning migrant interviewed described his experience of these two risks as follows:

"Once you call to say you've reached Europe, the family at home begins to count your days, to remind you that you have spent one month, two months... in Europe.They expect you to send remittances on a regular basis to them [that is, parents, spouses and children] ... This used to be easy, but now it is tough ... If you are lucky, you can send up to €200-300 a month they expect you to pay for your tickets for periodic travel to and from Senegal, in addition to paying for part of the household needs of the [extended] family back home."

Unemployment is the next high-scoring anticipated risk. Most Senegalese graduates who travel to Europe rarely find jobs commensurate with their level of education. One returning (and potential) migrant in Dakar, a geography graduate, related how he became a street vendor after repeated attempts to get a decent job in Italy had failed:

"One euro, one euro please, to buy a sandwich, I did not sell anything today." Those were his magic words. "We walk all day long, seven days a week, for months, sometimes for years. We snake into all possible streets, every little corner of downtown Milan, wherever pedestrians have access. We look for fortunate encounters, someone willing to slip a hand into their pocket and flip us one euro, or, pretending to be in need of a lighter, a new packet of napkins or some extra socks. Our quest is just about little monetary rewards, where a good job had failed."

The measures undertaken to manage these risks include belonging to a network, a shared life or marriage to a European citizen, asylum, relying on the prayers of the 'marabouts' and their talisman, and hard work. Belonging to a network explains the meaning of the well-known expression in Senegal "modou-modou." Originally, the word was borrowed from the dominant Wolof language and pejoratively described international migrants from rural areas who were members of the Wolof ethnic group and Mouride "brotherhood". Through a shift in meaning, resulting from the growing participation of urbanites in the expatriation process, the word ended up being positively applied to all emigrants, regardless of their original cultural backgrounds. Senegalese migration networks are varied, but mostly encompass family alliances and religious affiliations. One potential migrant who was interviewed said that "as a talibe (or disciple), I don't have much of a problem. I just make an agreement with the marabout, and in return contribute to his projects back home once I am in Europe." Many of the Senegalese street vendors commonly seen in Italy, France and Spain selling sunglasses, bags and souvenirs are members of a highly industrious, entrepreneurial branch of Sufi Islam, the Mouride. With regard to family alliances, one potential female migrant added, "I rely on my family members in Europe to help me get there."

Another characteristic of Senegalese migration is that it is at the same time a mystical entrepreneurship, which is why 64.9% of respondents explicitly referred to the intervention of "marabouts". One migrant said, "I succeeded in entering Italy from Libya thanks to the talisman and the prayers of my marabout." Migrants believe in the destiny ordained for them by Allah, so "marabouts" inform them of the decision to migrate. The high cost of traffickers forces some mothers to sell their gold jewellery (most of the journeys were financed by mothers),

while of them some put up their land and houses as collateral, and/or the family pays for the journey. Loans that are taken out, mortgaging of houses and the large amount of money involved move potential migrants to consult a "marabout" prior to migrating because they want to ascertain whether they will have a safe arrival in Europe and avoid destitution.

Migrants in the UK

Key topics

- Adaptation to expected hardships
- Traveling with people you know
- Having money to pay off smugglers and criminals
- Avoiding arguments with smugglers
- Having a network of relatives or friends in Europe who can help (with travel costs, arrival, etc.).
- Friends in Europe help immigrants as soon as they arrive (especially with immigrants from the same nationalities).
- Challenges on the journey, particularly on the route through Libya (being left in the desert, sexual harassment, etc.)

Most migrants interviewed in the UK who took illegal routes were to some extent aware of the risks involved in the journey. According to some of them, this was helpful in adapting to the hardships they faced during the journey. 47.6 % of the interviewees crossed through Libya, and all of them reported serious hardships during their journey, including physical abuse and sexual harassment. One respondent from Angola explained the ordeal thus:

"I jeopardised my life leaving Angola illegally. I hoped to travel to Europe through Libya because I have acquaintances and good connections there. However, it didn't help me endure the physical abuse. I worked in Libya for a year without any pay."

The immigrants who migrated through illegal means used inflatable plastic boats to cross the Mediterranean, provided by the smugglers. One female interviewee told about the danger of being exposed to sexual harassment, which became worse when they were "stored" for a week waiting for their turn on a boat. This is indicative of the fate of the migrants, who are at the mercy of the smugglers and the dangers of the journey.

Sexual harassment is common on the journey, especially for female migrants. As one woman from Chad put it: "Women suffer from sexual harassment or rape if those around them are that bad." Similarly, another woman from Chad described her personal experience of sexual harassment: "After I arrived, I faced so many cases of harassment since I was a female amidst other immigrants." A woman from the Comoros also shared her experience on how migration exposed her to the dangers of sexual harassment. She said: "I was harassed and violated so many times. I was never able to keep silent. This made me go through so much trouble … I was afraid of getting arrested or being forced to live in Italy."

Traveling with friends or people they know, having money to pay off the smugglers and criminals and avoiding arguments with the smugglers were some of the risk-mitigating tactics that the migrants used as part of the migration process. One female immigrant from the Comoros mentioned that having friends from the same town during the journey made the situation better for her whenever there was a risk of vulnerability to sexual harassment. Furthermore, friends living in Europe helped them with their expenses for their travel and helped them with financial and non-financial resources to settle in the country of destination. Once they reached their destination, support was not only provided by friends, but also by immigrants of the same nationalities.

3.3 Perception of the benefits to the community from the migration of its individuals

"If you tighten your belt in Europe and work hard for seven years, you attain the same standard of living as the Senegalese middle class." (returning migrant from Senegal)

"Many migrants contribute to the growth of the domestic economy by sending money back to Senegal. In fact, this represents around ten percent of GDP." (government official in Senegal)

The discussion under this topic covers elements of three subtopics:

- The actual impact (benefit and loss) of migration on those communities;
- Understanding the dynamics of the brain drain;
- Cultural/social pressure (the need to succeed because communities have invested in the migrants; shame).

This is because information on the three variables was either not recorded sufficiently across the four African countries and the UK or could not be sufficiently inferred from the information on the perceptions of benefits to communities.

South Africa

Key topics

- Acquiring skills
- Better jobs and salaries
- Remittances
- Knowledge and technology transfer
- Returnees turn into investors

The many respondents in South Africa who sought access to better education through migration hoped to acquire skills that would benefit them and enhance their competitiveness in the work and business environment. Based on this, one respondent stated:

"Generally, I know that many people migrate for economic reasons, but also the present trend toward migration is marked by a lot of people migrating for educational purposes because from where I come from there has been a drop in the quality of education, especially at the tertiary level so people place value on going out to get a better education and also in the job market most degrees obtained outside the country are seen by employers as superior to qualifications obtained within the country".

Another respondent, a female South African from Durban, said "the benefits I hope to gain are better job opportunities, a steady salary and an increase in the standard of living." The majority of the respondents reiterated that migrating to Europe and earning relatively high salaries increased their chances of channeling their earnings into productive investments.

While there were expected benefits of migrating to Europe to the migrants, they also hoped to meet the needs of their families back home. Moreover, there was a transfer of skills and knowledge to their home communities that constituted direct or indirect expectations of migrants. These were reflected by the responses of a South African respondent from Cape who stated that:

"Whatever things they learn there they bring back into our society. For instance, they increase knowledge about things like how to care for and respect each other, how to take care of visitors that come to your country, how people behave in that country and how they want us to behave..."

Another interviewee said:

"My community receives remittance from its migrants; they also get sponsors so that they can move to Europe, too …"

Migrant communities play a critical role in the transfer of ideas within the community to encourage others to migrate. Additionally, returning migrants are expected to bring skills, businesses and create opportunities for members of the community while networking to help others travel. Many return migrants and would-be migrants cited such benefits to the community, which seemed to have become a norm. A Nigerian migrant in Western Cape commented thus:

"If he voluntarily comes back, he is coming back for a purpose, and if he is coming back, he is coming back to set up something for himself and start a job, and any of these options he takes will have a positive impact on the community and country at large. Aside from this, his knowledge and experience can benefit others, who might be able to learn a thing or two from him which will help them improve their living conditions. This is because you never can tell what he is coming back with. What he is coming back with might be able to help other people set up one or two economic ventures that might help reduce unemployment in the community."

To reiterate, the perceived benefits of migration include job opportunities for the migrants, poverty reduction at the household level, bringing energy and innovation to the country of origin, helping to improve living conditions, and benefits to communities through a brain gain. Migration was thus perceived to be very important to social and economic development at the individual household and community levels.

Ethiopia

Key topics

- Physical and psychological harm
- Social and family disintegration
- Remittances and investments

The social impact of migration described by respondents in Ethiopia includes family disintegration, loss of interest in education and arranged marriage. Family members are forced to live apart when some of them decide to migrate, while others stay behind. In the Kembata-Tembaro and Hadiya districts, it is common for girls to have arranged marriages with a stranger from Ethiopia who has migrated to South Africa. According to the interviewees, being married in such a manner has even become a major life goal for girls and young women, which is demotivating them from going to school (key interviewee from Kembata- Tembaro district, Bureau of Labour and Social Affairs). Loss of interest in education is also common among boys and young men, as migrating to South Africa is a grand aspiration. Children often say that they are going to school until their parents send them to South Africa.

Irregular migration appears to have a limited impact with regard to the brain drain. Indeed, most of the prospective migrants interviewed for this study (80%) had not received a college degree, nor did any of the returnees interviewed. While discussing migrants' expectations regarding occupations in destination countries, one can sense their feelings of hopelessness in their present situation in Ethiopia, as they are willing to engage in any kind of employment. They may not discuss their occupation as migrants with family members and friends out of embarrassment, but they are prepared to take on any kind of job. One university graduate said:

"The reason behind my aspiration to migrate preferably to England or any other European country is to earn a better income, which will improve life for me and my family. Therefore, I am ready to take up employment in any kind of job as long as it brings good money. I heard being a janitor or a waiter pays well in Europe and I will most probably find a job in such occupations."

Though there is an extended list of hazards that migrants may face, there are also substantial benefits for migrants, family members, and the community at large. For many families of migrants, remittances have become an important source of income. Some also use remittances to build family assets and improve their income. In the city of Addis Ababa, according to the Central Statistical Agency (CSA) urban employment/unemployment survey, 11,904 people were dependent on remittances as their main income in 2015. The impact of remittances is also quite visible in Hosanna town. Informed persons say that many of the buildings in Hosanna were built by remittances from South Africa. The same holds true for many of the buildings that were constructed in Durame, the capital of the Kembata-Tembaro district. Remittances are also important source of income for many families in both the Hadiya and Kembata-Tembaro districts. Regarding the benefits of migration, a returnee in Durame, Kembata-Tembaro district, said:

"I have managed to save money from my twelve-year stay in South Africa. After returning home, I invested the money to buy the largest hotel in Durame town along with two other partners. The hotel makes a significant profit, which encourages us to continue providing the service. It also makes a contribution to the community since young people are employed by the hotel. The tax we pay also contributes to public goods."

Mali

Key topics

- Support by the community
- Development of communities through investment (water and sanitary projects, education, real estate, etc.)
- Monetisation benefit to the family and community
- Migrated and settled Malians as safe havens for their relatives
- Possible negative effect on social cohesion and roles within families

Migration is primarily perceived as advantageous to the migrants themselves and their families. Going to France, Spain or Gabon is associated with expectations of social advancement for the migrant. If in the past one's status was based on possession of a sufficiently full granary in Malian villages, it has become more and more monetised. Apart from the use of money itself, this monetisation is also associated with "ostentatious" signs of wealth (motorcycle, television set and radio), which are key aspects of interaction between young people. In other words, to attain social recognition, a young person must secure a cash income and purchase consumer goods valued by his age cohort, hence the need to emigrate.

In general, prospective candidates for migration are almost unanimous in saying that migrants contribute to:

- The construction or renovation of old houses, mosques, schools, dispensaries, bridges and access to clean water;
- The payment of medical prescriptions, educational expenses, water and electricity bills;
- Healthcare for community members through occasional shipments of medicines in the case of illness as well as medical devices such as blood-pressure monitors and electronic sport devices to maintain health;
- The payment of expenses for Muslim festivals (Ramadan and Tabaski/Eid-al-Adha), ceremonies for baptism, weddings and funerals;
- The supply of household electrical appliances and cars for sale and, consequently, the provision of work to young people in the community.

According to the interviewees, migrants also contribute to socioeconomic development. They help improve access to basic social services, as is the case in the Kayes region. Particularly in this region, some of the sanitary, school and water-supply projects have been sponsored by migrants. Another positively perceived consequence is an emerging decentralised form of cooperation, for instance twinning projects through migrants, such as the Somankidi (Kayes) project. Some migrants have furthermore invested in real estate and trade between France and Mali.

The research confirms the many perceived and actual benefits of migration: transfers of resources, knowledge, help for the poor and the creation of new businesses. Furthermore, the research also found that migrants play an important role in connection with donations to members of the community (shoes, clothing and other accessories, electronic devices such as refrigerators or blood-pressure monitors, as

well as cash transfers). If they become naturalised in the host country, migrants can help host relatives (nephews and nieces).

Thus, the benefits of migration to the community comprise all those tangible and intangible assets that parents who have stayed at home expect from the migrant. A father of a migrant stated that his expectations were mainly of a financial nature. He would like his son to contribute to the well-being of the family. While the family initially loses an able worker, this loss will be compensated as soon as the migrant has reached Europe and obtained wage employment.

On the other hand, migration also involves disadvantages at the individual level. Indeed, a migrant married in Mali and absent for a long time may risk his marriage breaking up. Since the parents of migrants are opposed to family reunification1, the migrant has no choice but to wait for his or her legal paperwork to go through in the country of immigration before returning to Mali. The negative social and personal impact can be summarised as follows:

a. Inability for the migrant to attend funerals of friends and relatives in the country of departure due to the absence or legal paperwork for entering and leaving the foreign territory;
b. Significant changes in the migrant's personality and possible assimilation;
c. Possible socialisation in a dangerous milieu in the host country, and consequently possible loss of life;
d. Arrest and imprisonment of the migrant in the country of destination and inability for the community to receive news and thus permanent mourning for him or her
e. Inability to participate adequately in the education of children abroad;
f. Exodus, the departure of the able-bodied persons from the village and their loss to the community.

In addition, there are disadvantages for the community such as financial dependency on the migrant. The second disadvantage found in the study relates to the destruction of the family nomenclature due to the departure of the eldest child:

"Often this causes a total imbalance within the family. My eldest son was the last of my sons to marry. It should have been the opposite. Therefore the cadet becomes the eldest because he assumes responsibility very quickly."

Departure can contribute to a weakening of kinship, especially when migrants refuse to respond to the financial demands of their parents. However, the main negative consequence of Malian migration is the heavy dependence on migration income. About 85% of the EUR 416 billion in remittances in 2015 was used for consumption. Among other consequences deserving mention in France include the risk of sexual harassment and rape in shelters in France, difficulties obtaining access to certain social rights, acculturation and identity problems for the second generation of migrants.

Senegal

Key topics

- Social advancement through the ability to buy land and build houses to rent out
- Remittances account for 10% of GDP
- Gainful employment
- Overcoming poverty
- Families deprived of their able-bodied members
- Discrimination and exploitation in the country of destination
- Financial support for the family is expected

Benefits from migration, according to the respondents from Senegal, include social advancement, remittances, employment, overcoming poverty, savings, skills and international contacts (23). A returning migrant interviewed in Dakar summarised the primacy of social advancement as follows: "If you tighten your belt in Europe and work hard for seven years, you attain the same standard of living as the Senegalese middle class." With regard to remittances, an engineer who had migrated to Italy fourteen years ago and was visiting Senegal for the first time since then summed up the phenomenon as follows:

1 Because when a wife reunites with her husband, the parents will think that the migrants will not contribute or will contribute very little to the expenses of the family.

"Dakar has become one of Africa's 10 most expensive cities to live in. Near the current airport, and in Yoff, Ouakam, Ngor and the chic district of Almadies, land is expensive and the cement keeps flowing. Anyone who can afford it —mostly through remittances from families with migrants — is building houses to rent out for anywhere between $190 and $1,900 a month."

A government employee who was interviewed underscored the importance of remittances to the Senegalese economy. According to him, "Many migrants contribute to the growth of the domestic economy by sending money back to Senegal. In fact, this makes up around ten percent of GDP."

Families of migrants are perceived as being "rich" and as having "conquered poverty". Viewed as a social achievement, these families are readily approached in times of distress by other poor families for financial support. They are also expected to drive cars sent from Europe, wear clothes bought in Europe and maintain a steady average standard of living. However, there is a negative impact on the financial resources of the sending family (especially regarding irregular migration, which is expensive). On top of flight costs of approximately € 900, there are also security payments of about €1,500 to obtain a business visa. But many families ask an intermediary to obtain European visas for their members, which raises the costs of the trip to more than € 5,000.

The aspect of brain drain deserves mentioned as well. According to the World Bank (2010), 24.1% of those Senegalese with tertiary education emigrated in 2010. Approximately 54.1% of doctors trained in the country and 26.9% of nursing staff have left Senegal.

Logically enough, considering the awareness of the hazards facing migrants, pressure from home is the major social issue associated with migration to Europe. One deported migrant lamented that "a month after I arrived in Europe, my family called to remind me that a month had gone by without me sending anything." This study illustrates that migrants are quite aware of their exposure to other hazards, too. Some mention discrimination, highlighting the restlessness that characterises random living, talk about the loss of life and the many families in Dakar suburbs and many Senegalese villages grieving over departed sons and daughters. One activist put it this way: "Since the past decade, about 1,000 young people have left this village, but no more has been heard from half of them."

Exploitation and isolation feature equally prominently as negative effects of migration. While many families are happy to get a phone call from their members announcing their arrival in Europe, many find it difficult to cope with the separation that comes with it.

Migrants in the UK

Key topics

In the host country:

- Migrants benefit more than the host community
- The host community gets to learn about a new culture and language from migrants; migrants bring diversity to the host community
- Migrants do jobs for minimum wage without asking for benefits
- Migrants pay taxes, which contributes to the economy of the host country.

In the country of origin:

- Financial support for family members and friends
- Benefits to immediate family, but not the community
- Acquiring knowledge that might be beneficial to the community back home
- 11 interviewees out of 12 who came to their country of destination illegally with assurances that they would never have to go back to their country no matter what.

Some interviewees contended that migrants benefit more than the host community. At the same time, most respondents mentioned that migrants bring diversity to the host community in terms of new culture and language, benefiting the community of destination. In economic terms, with migrants performing jobs for minimum wage, often working jobs nobody else wants to do and paying taxes, some respondents stated that they benefit from, and contribute to, the economy of the country of destination. According to one respondent:

"It helps the economy in general. An English national, for instance, can't or won't work at a factory for 18 hours, but I can. In addition, I'm not asking the government for any benefits or aid. All I'm asking for is refugee status and residency."

Moreover, the kind of job some legal migrants do is beneficial to the country of destination and its population. One female migrant from Sudan, who had graduated from medical school, voiced her opinion that the host society would benefit professionally and humanitarianly when she becomes a doctor. In addition to this, through their work immigrants also play a significant role in ensuring peaceful coexistence between migrants and the local community in the country of destination. One female migrant from Ghana who works in the UK as a manager put it this way:

"Now I'm working on a project that encourages active participation in education to develop an understanding of local and global issues to help us broaden our mutual understanding and challenge stereotypes that lead to discrimination and racism by starting with students. I think this will benefit the society I live in here, help it to be successful and produce new ideas."

From an economic perspective, once migrants start working legally, paying taxes and serving the community, the host country benefits the same way that it benefits from all other inhabitants. As long as immigrants do not engage in illegal work, host countries benefit from the opportunities offered to migrants.

Most of the respondents analysed the benefits to the country of origin in economic and financial terms. The majority mentioned financial support to family members and friends as the main benefit for their home country. They also noted that the immediate family benefits more than the community from its migrants. According to one Sudanese respondent: "Until now, my society didn't benefit from me. However, if you mean my family, it's completely normal that I send them aid in small quantities, as I don't work here officially..."

However, by helping their families, these migrants are sharing the burden of their community. They help their families to obtain access to resources to meet their basic needs, like education, etc., which in turn helps their society. One female immigrant from Burkina Faso illustrated it this way: "I was also able to support my family so much. That was my goal from the beginning. I helped my siblings finish their education."

On the other hand, migrants who study in the country of destination assert that their studying will help solve problems in their countries of origin. One respondent asserted that "my acquisition of knowledge that might be beneficial to the community back home also benefits the country of origin."

Almost all respondents who have come to the UK illegally (11 out of 12) are determined not to go back to their countries of origin no matter how difficult their situation might be in the host country. One respondent who migrated from Chad illegally expressed strong views when it came to her going back to her country. She said: "Even if I live as a homeless woman, I'd never choose to go back to my country. Prison in Italy is a lot better than going back."

Similarly, another respondent who migrated illegally from South Sudan stated that he would not go back to South Sudan. In his words, "no one chooses to go back to death."

3.4 Measuring the overlap or gap between policies and CSO work as well as the perception and needs of people with regards to the above items

South Africa

Key topics

- Policies targeting undocumented migrants
- Awareness, training and advice on migration, the law and dangers of migration
- No support for would-be migrants
- Perceptions and actual involvement of migrants in crime and deteriorating economic conditions

The research on South Africa showed that officials in government departments working on migration were generally unwilling to be interviewed for the study. In Western Cape Province, for example, despite a persistent search for respondents and efforts to clearly explain the purpose of the study to targeted government departments, none of the officials there agreed to be interviewed. However, interviews were obtained with some government officials in Gauteng and Kwa Zulu Natal (KZN) Provinces. The approval procedures to interview these officials were long and tedious. Despite the high rate of refusal by government officials as well as the short time frame available for the collection of data, some of the officials in the departments that were considered important by the researcher were nevertheless interviewed. The officials from the two provinces who were interviewed included 16 in Gauteng and five in KZN Province. Among the 16 officials in Gauteng were seven males (44%) and nine (56 %) females. In KZN, five (100%) of the government respondents were female. In contrast to government officials, workers in CSOs in all three provinces eagerly participated in the research. Of all the 38 CSO workers interviewed, 25 were from Gauteng, five from KZN and eight from the Western Cape Province. In terms of gender, the CSO respondents included nine (36%) females and 16 (64%) males in Gauteng, five (100%) females and no males in KZN and three (38%) females and five (63%) males in Western Cape Province.

Government officials and workers in CSOs provided interesting responses concerning migrants who had returned to South Africa from Europe. They contended that the migrants had returned because they lacked skills. As a result, they concluded, the migrants were unable to cope with skill requirements in Western countries.

One official in the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) in Pretoria, however, stated that the department always advises South African citizens not to take risky decisions to emigrate without proper documentation or enough money. This advice was borne out of concerns that human trafficking has been on the increase. According to the official, young girls were being promised work in some European countries, only to be forced to work as prostitutes there. The official said the DHA was therefore carrying out public awareness campaigns to caution "our neighbouring countries' citizens to refrain from illegally crossing borders in order to get here [South Africa] and then transiting to Europe." Another noteworthy finding related to the way in which some government officials perceived immigrants. This is reflected by the words of a local government official in the city of Johannesburg in an interview:

> *"The current high rate of migration to the city of Johannesburg has in a way contributed to economic problems and this definitely requires and will continue to require the attention of both legislators and policy-makers. If we let it all spiral out of control, it will have a devastating impact on the city".*

The views of government officials also in general revolved around rising levels of crime, illicit trade and deteriorating economic conditions in South Africa with regard to immigrants. Accordingly, the officials strongly implied that migrant communities should respect and abide by the law of the country. This view of immigrants partially explains why a Pretoria-based CSO has been engaging in this type of migrant-related activities that are at the heart of its mission. The CSO used both traditional and digital media to educate Nigerians about the processes and legal regimes associated with migration. As the focus of this particular CSO was on working with Nigerians in South Africa, workers in the CSO equally expressed major concerns regarding differences between the legal regime of South Africa and Nigeria regarding immigration. In their opinion, Nigeria was far more open and accommodating to foreigners and investment than South Africa.

The view of government officials associating immigrants with crime and economic decline was confirmed by the respective responses of the directors of two CSOs. According to them, the South African government was becoming increasingly "anti-migrant". One of them went on to say:

> *"the South African government has become totally anti-migrant and institutional xenophobia prevalent at law-enforcement agencies and other institutions concerned with migrant issues like the DHA and South African Social Security Agency (SASSA). The government no longer respects and enforces its laws and is instead working on drafting an unabashedly anti-migrant White Paper."*

Interestingly enough, a Pretoria-based DHA officer offered a response that seemed to suggest that South Africa was losing its attractiveness in favour of Europe in the eyes of migrants because of the state of the economy there. In his words:

> *"Of late the economy has been facing challenges (low growth and increasing levels of unemployment) and migrants are now finding new opportunities in the West. Europe is becoming a promising destination for many African migrants."*

Based on interview data from the government departments and CSOs contained in this report, South Africa has no solid policies for raising awareness, performing training and providing advice on migration, the law and dangers of migration as well as support for would-be migrants. There are policies against undocumented migrants, however. This should not be surprising given rising levels of intolerance towards migrants globally, as they are associated with various ills, including, but not limited to, their involvement in crime and perceived contribution to declining economic conditions in host countries.

Ethiopia

Key topics

- Governmental policies regarding job-creation and training
- Policies against smugglers and traffickers
- Awareness-raising activities

The Government of Ethiopia (GoE) is addressing the problem of irregular migration with three main instruments – job-creation, "legalisation" of labour migration, and prevention of irregular migration. In this respect, institutions provide training for unemployed youth and regional agencies responsible for the development of micro and small enterprises provide support ranging from loans to market linkages (Addis Ketema, suburban Office for Labour and Social Affairs). There has not been much progress in expanding legal labour migration, as the GoE's ban on labour migration to Middle Eastern countries put in place in 2013 has not yet been lifted. Prevention of irregular migration is approached in two ways. First, the GoE and its partners perform various awareness-raising activities on the hazards of irregular migration. To achieve the awareness-raising objective set by the government, a special task force was established to regulate irregular migration starting at the regional level and going down to the lowest local government levels (Kembata-Tembaro District Office for Labour and Social Affairs). Second, the judiciary takes legal action against smugglers (Hadiya Zone Office for Labour and Social Affairs). However, these preventive efforts were viewed, according to interviewees, as insufficient in terms of containing the influx of irregular migrants.

This action is perceived as insufficient because, despite the inception and implementation of policies, the government is unable to curb irregular migration, which is more likely to intensify unless the strong network of smugglers is broken (interviews with FSCE and OPRIFSC). When it comes to the implementation of job-creation policies, there are variances between regions. For instance, there is better performance in the provision of training through various TVET institutions and business start-ups through MSEs in Addis Ababa than in Hadiya and Kembata-Tembaro districts. Interviews conducted with the Offices of Social and Labour Affairs in Hadiya and Kembata-Tembaro districts confirm that the provision of skill-training and the establishment of business-development support for MSEs is far from meeting the demands of unemployed and underemployed youth. Even in Addis Ababa, where the MSE strategy is being implemented more effectively, the dearth of work significantly dampens the prospects of establishing a business. Moreover, red tape in government programmes to facilitate skills-training, loans, and work demotivate young people (interview with OPRIFSC).

Relevant government institutions in Addis Ababa receive significant support from CSOs in providing training and job-creation opportunities for prospective migrants and returnees (Addis Ketema, Suburban Office for Labour and Social Affairs). The CSOs supporting such government initiatives in Addis Ababa include the Organisation for Prevention, Integration and Rehabilitation of Female Street Children (OPRIFSC), Hope for Children Australia, the Mission for Community Development (MCDP), and the Forum on Sustainable Child Empowerment (FSCE). MCDP implements projects focusing on awareness-raising activities concerning the dangers of irregular migration. Moreover, the CSO is constructing schools in rural areas, which indirectly impacts migration to foreign countries by improving windows of opportunity for youth in their region of origin. Livelihood projects with income-generation activities are also being carried out in areas with a high influx of migrants (interview with MCDP). Returnees benefit from training and the provision of seed money to start businesses. Similarly, OPRIFSC, FSCE and Hope for Children Australia carry out awareness-raising activities and returnee-focused initiatives providing skills-training and seed money (interview with Hope for Children Australia). Furthermore, OPRIFSC provides psychosocial support for returnees. Nevertheless, striking a balance between supply and demand remains a challenge, as the needs of many unemployed and underemployed youths are still not being met.

The job-creation initiative is lagging in Hadiya and Kembata-Tembaro districts. The focus is instead on awareness-raising regarding the ills of irregular migration. In addition, although there are many returnees in the two districts, they are not getting much support in terms of rehabilitation and reintegration either from the government or the CSOs. Despite the intensity of migration in these areas, only a few CSOs are working in the field of migration, including the Kembata-Tembaro district Youth Association, World Vision and Retrack. These CSOs are for the most part implementing projects to prevent children between the ages of 14 and 17 from dropping out of school, as this is the initial step that prospective migrants take. They are also performing awareness-raising activities highlighting the hazards of migration.

Senegal

Key topics

- Diverging views from CSOs and the government regarding a comprehensive migration policy.
- Several initiatives, policies and programmes exist, even in collaboration with the EU and others, but the impact is not evident.

One CSO representative interviewed stated that "the Senegalese government has no migration policy". Another interviewee supported this stance by reminding the team of what former President Abdoulaye Wade once said:

"No one has ever said that you should not leave. We need order, organisation and discipline. I do not want to stop you from going - on the contrary. Emigrants settled abroad send back money that benefits their families and themselves, as Wade had said."

Another CSO representative said: "My observation, and I am not alone on this, is that there are migration programmes, but there is no national or regional policy on migration." This was also emphasised by another CSO representative: "My opinion is that there are many initiatives, programmes, and projects that are being implemented in collaboration with EU partners and NGOs, but all that is not being done on the basis of a clear, well elaborated national migration policy." One NGO worker expressed her disappointment with this "cacophony" at the state level each time a debate ignites over migration policy:

"The Ministry of the Interior will say that they are in charge of the matter; the Ministry of Youth will say they are in charge of the matter; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs will also claim it as their domain. The same goes for the Ministry for Senegalese Emigrants."

The government officials interviewed expressed opinions differing from CSO representatives, as illustrated by an official from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs: "I am surprised to hear from a section of the CSOs that we have no national migratory policy. Since 2013, we have resurrected the Ministry for Senegalese Emigrants (Ministère des Sénégalais de l'Extérieur)." One official at the Ministry for Senegalese Emigrants also disagreed with the CSOs, adding:

"We have had MPs and senators who were Senegalese emigrants as well as a member of the Economic and Social Council. We cannot say we have no migration policy." An academic interviewee chose to put it this way, "If young people are helped with how to earn a decent living at home, most will stay back and work and not migrate."

In general, CSOs criticise that, although there are migration programmes, no national or regional policy on migration is effectively in place. In fact, many initiatives, programmes and projects are implemented in collaboration with EU partners and non-governmental organisations. These measures are taking place in the absence of any clear, well elaborated national migration policy. CSOs get involved in the organisation of workshops, conferences and forums on migration and the reintegration of returned migrants as well as advocacy work on labour migration and social protection.

The Senegalese government, however, disagrees with the criticism voiced by CSOs, citing the Ministry for Senegalese Emigrants (*Ministère des Sénégalais de l'Extérieur*) as the main agency for dealing with issues relating to migration, as well as other agencies such as the Office for Acceptance, Orientation and Follow-Up of Actions for Returning Emigrants (Bureau d'Accueil, d'Orientation et de Suivi des Actions de Réinsertion des Émigrés, BAOS) and the Agency for the Promotion of Investment and Large Projects (Agence pour la Promotion des Investissements et des Grands Travaux, APIX).

Mali

Key topics

- Governmental restructuring efforts
- An active but fragmented civil society

Since the end of 1991, the government of the republic of Mali has addressed the issue of migration at the institutional level by instituting agencies and institutions assigned for this purpose, such as the High Council of Malians Abroad in 1991 and the Ministry of Malians Abroad in 2004. Regarding the resources generated, migration partly compensates for the shortcomings of the state in some parts of the country2. The Head of the General Delegation of Malians Abroad reasserts that: "National and international opinion should know that what Malian migrants send was estimated in 2016 at 481 billion CFA francs. This amount far exceeds development aid provided by France."

The state of Mali is aware of migrants' contribution to the national economy but wants to provide it a legal footing. Against this background, the Information Centre and Management of Migration (CIGEM) was created in 2009 with EU funding totaling 10 million Euros. Therefore, Mali and its partners (the EU, Spanish Cooperation, and IOM, etc.) are working on in-depth sensitisation at the level of the districts where emigration is concentrated:

"Recently, the Netherlands has allocated 300 million FCFA to raise awareness in those areas of Mali where emigration is concentrated. To raise awareness and screen documentary films on the tragedy of illegal migration, the Ministry has targeted the main areas of emigration. The team will also visit schools to carry out advocacy work."

The CIGEM has not yet achieved its objectives, however, which is why it is being restructured.

Malians abroad are mainly organised in the High Council of Malians Abroad (CSDM). It is plagued by internal divisions due to leadership issues. This has given birth to the Supreme Council of the Malian Diaspora[3]. Most of these migrant associations believe that, above and beyond awareness-raising, it is necessary to offer an opportunity for integration of young people who are potential migrants. For migrant associations, the state plays more the game of Europeans. A member of CARIMEX put it thus:

"If you prevent people from emigrating, at least give them some work. Instead, the state does not offer any jobs and plays the anti-migration game of the Europeans. Therefore, there are no more alternatives other than illegal ones as long as legal ways of emigrating are closed."

2 The region of Kayes, a main source of emigration, survives thanks to money transferred to its citizens, who invest mainly in the following social areas: defraying family expenses, health centres, agriculture and vegetable farming, children, etc.
3 https://twitter.com/csdmalienne?lang=fr

Another CSO working on the issues of migration is The Assistance Center for the Returnees and Integration of Malians from Abroad (CARIMEX). It works mainly on the integration of returned migrants. The centre believes that the state has abandoned this form of integration since the failure of returnee assistance initiated by France. The government, according to the head of the Center, prefers to focus on the repatriation of Malians from Libya and Algeria. It has become clear that without assistance, these returnees will eventually turn to irregular migration once again.

According to the president of CSDM, "It is only by reducing poverty in Africa that we can genuinely curb illegal immigration. It is therefore urgent to foster the development of human rights, democracy and protection of the environment in African countries. To do this, we must invest in infrastructure and improve livelihoods in order to maintain the local population and especially young people."

The Association of Expelled Malians (AME) is another important CSO working on migration[4]. The AME, which was established 20 years ago, participates in migration summits organised worldwide. The association aims to promote mutual assistance among migrants and supplement this with institutional support for returnees who are in difficult situations. In 2008, it led a series of peaceful protest marches in Mali opposing re-admission policies proposed by France under the Nicolas Sarkozy administration. The AME has organised radio broadcasts, met with Malian politicians and held discussions with CIMADE in France opposing the signing of the agreements on migration. Thanks to the efforts of AME and its partners, these agreements have not been signed. Finally, the AME expressed its concerns at the end of the EU-Africa summit held in Valletta (Malta) on 12 and 13 February 2017. According to its president, Ousmane Diarra:

> *"The struggle against so-called illegal immigration is a priority under the policy put in place by the European Union, which considers this form of migration to be dangerous. This attitude of the European Union is to focus on the consequences without worrying about the root causes of migration. While the reasons for our compatriots to leave are known, it is the lack of employment for young people, their difficult economic and professional situations and especially the lack of prospects characterising their daily lives."*

Malian civil society is attempting through informal discussions to "demystify the myth of a better life elsewhere by cultivating a desire to live better," (Ousmane Diarra, AME).

4 The AME was created on 6 October 1996 following the massive expulsion of Malians throughout the world (France, Angola, Saudi Arabia, Liberia, Zambia, etc.). At that time, our compatriots, destitute and humiliated by their misadventure, met in the High Council of Malians Abroad in Bamako. The association aims to promote mutual assistance among migrants and provide institutional support for returnees who are in difficult situations.

4.

EU migration initiatives in Ethiopia, Mali and Senegal

The European Union (EU) has been supporting and funding numerous projects in Africa with the objective of reducing illegal and irregular migration to Europe. A review of the main activities described and listed at the European Union's Emergency Trust Fund for Africa website[5] indicates that efforts in Ethiopia, Mali and Senegal focus on issues relating to alleviating poverty, improving good governance and conflict prevention, while increasing economic and employment opportunities. Such issues, as this research has shown, are among the core root push factors and causes of migration from these countries. The statements provided in the following, taken directly from the website mentioned above, offer an EU perspective on each of the three countries and show how selected examples of EU-funded projects address issues of illegal and irregular migration.

Ethiopia[6]

Ethiopia is the destination for thousands of refugees as well as a transit country and source of migrants seeking opportunities beyond its borders. The EU aims to create economic and employment opportunities here, particularly for vulnerable people, through vocational training, access to micro-finance or by developing industrial parks. It supports Ethiopia in addressing the long-term development and protection needs of refugees and their host communities, as well as in tackling the root causes of instability and internal forced displacement.

Project: Stemming irregular migration in northern & central Ethiopia (SINCE)

Summary

The project seeks to contribute to reducing irregular migration from northern and central Ethiopia by improving living conditions of the most vulnerable section of the population, including potential migrants and returnees, with a specific focus on youth and women.

General objective

The main objective is to create greater economic and employment opportunities by establishing inclusive economic programmes. These programmes create employment opportunities, especially for young people and women focusing on rural towns and urban areas, particularly Addis Ababa, in the most migration-prone regions (Amhara, Tigray, Oromia and SNNPR) of Ethiopia, including vocational training, creation of micro and small enterprises and starting up of small livelihood activities. Some actions will support returnees after their return to their places of origin.

Mali[7]

Mali is made ever more fragile by the deterioration of the security and humanitarian situation in the northern and central regions as well as sustained migratory activities, Mali is facing many challenges. Being an important country of origin and transit with irregular migration, Mali benefits, in addition to the other instruments of cooperation of the European Union, from the support of the Emergency Trust Fund for Africa. The support assists in the creation of economic opportunities (Kayes, Sikasso, Koulikoro), migrant protection and return assistance (through the creation of assistance centres in Bamako and Kayes) and help for the sustainable reintegration of migrants.

These actions are complemented by supporting proper functioning of civil status and creating employment and training opportunities, as well as efforts to raise awareness of the risks of irregular migration. In the northern and central regions, the Emergency Trust Fund for Africa is focusing on the management of border areas (Mopti) and the strengthening of national and regional capacities to fight against criminal, terrorist and trafficking networks. Given the chronic fragility characterising the north, the Trust Fund also supports the strengthening of resilience of communities and households vulnerable to food and nutrition insecurity in conjunction with the EDF (PRORESA) and ECHO to respond effectively to the different dynamics of the crisis.

5 https://ec.europa.eu/trustfundforafrica/
6 https://ec.europa.eu/trustfundforafrica/region/horn-africa/ethiopia
7 https://ec.europa.eu/trustfundforafrica/region/sahel-lake-chad/mali

Project: Job creation through an improvement in the cashew nut sector to mitigate the causes of emigration in the regions of Sikasso, Kayes and Koulikoro

Summary

This project aims to improve economic and employment opportunities of the populations living in the regions of Kayes, Sikasso and Koulikoro through the improvement of production, processing and marketing of cashew nuts to mitigate the causes of emigration. It will directly and indirectly benefit nearly 80,000 people.

General objective

Contribute to the fight against poverty and sustainable development of the population of Mali by enhancing the cashew value chain.

Specific objective

Increased economic opportunities and employment, and improved food security of the population in the regions of Kayes, Sikasso and Koulikoro to mitigate the causes of emigration through the improvement of production as well as the processing and marketing of cashew nuts.

Senegal[8]

Senegal has one of the most stable democracies on the African continent. Efforts to stimulate economic growth and provide basic social services have been implemented in the "Emerging Senegal Plan". However, poverty and unemployment rates remain high, especially in rural areas.

In this context, and in addition to the European Union's other instruments of cooperation, the actions of the Emergency Trust Fund for Africa aim to create economic opportunities and employment. These actions support vocational training, establishment of value chains, strengthening of business competitiveness, mobilisation of diaspora resources and migration governance as well as assistance to returning migrants and their sustainable reintegration. These actions are complemented by improved resilience to food and nutrition insecurity, food diversification and access to basic services for the most vulnerable.

Project: Developing employment in Senegal: strengthening business competitiveness and employability in areas characterised by migration

Summary

This programme aims to promote the employment and professional integration of young people in areas where migrants tend to come from. It seeks to upgrade companies in high-potential sectors (with the Business Upgrades Office and the Agency for SME Development and Management and strengthen the professionalisation of the workforce in these sectors and regions.

General objective

Promoting employment especially for young people through the improvement of services on offer (training and professional integration) and fuelling demand (by strengthening companies) in the source regions of migration.

Specific objectives

- OS.1. Strengthen the fabric of local businesses.
- OS.2. Broaden equitable access to vocational training.
- OS.3. Promote access to funding for programme beneficiaries (currently being formulated).
- OS.4. Inform people about economic opportunities in Senegal.

8 https://ec.europa.eu/trustfundforafrica/region/sahel-lake-chad/senegal

Project: to support the reduction of migration through creation of rural employment and establishment of village and individual farms in Senegal

Summary

The programme aims to improve living conditions in rural areas to reduce illegal emigration, fight poverty and support the resilience of the population. Activities to be implemented are: land development for Natangue farms, technical support and training of farmers. This project falls under the priorities established within the framework of the EPA Program for Development (PAPED) of West Africa.

General objective

To improve living conditions in the rural areas of the intervention zones to reduce illegal emigration, fight poverty and encourage the resilience of the population.

Specific objectives

Contribute to the creation of jobs and wealth in regions more susceptible to emigration through the development of farmed land and technical support and training of farmers.

5. Country recommenda-tions

Based on the above findings, the following recommendations are made. Besides informing the field of policy and stimulating a dialogue and debate over migration and the way in which it relates to people on the ground and the state, a better understanding and improvement of "African Voices from the Ground" regarding the topic of migration should be attained.

South Africa

For the government of South Africa

- Efficient management of migration requires institutional arrangements like rules, regulations, procedures, steps, etc. to serve as mechanisms for regulating migration between Africa and Europe. In this regard, it is recommended that joint efforts be made by all relevant stakeholders especially government authorities in Africa and Europe. This helps ensure establishment of such institutional structures and mechanisms on issues related, but not limited, to travel documents and visas.
- It is recommended that detailed strategic plans of action including time frames that address all challenges noted in the review process be prepared. A properly planned and well-integrated migration-management plan is key to achieving sustained development at all levels. Effective and successful international migration management requires systematic integration and partnerships among all stakeholders such as governments, non-governmental organisations (NGOs), CSOs and community-based organisations (CBOs). This will help to develop a common vision, goal, integration and cooperation among various actors on issues of migration. This can also translate into strategic planning and review surrounding the issues and impact of international migration management.
- There is also a need to set up programmes that will facilitate the return of those who migrate to obtain an education, training and to acquire skills. This would facilitate the transfer of skills back home and help reverse the potential brain drain. Opportunities should be created for these persons to establish themselves back in their communities when they return.
- Along with working with returnees to sensitise populations that might want to migrate, it is recommended that such returnees receive support in the form of counselling and debriefing as well as provide them with opportunities to engage in profitable economic activities.

For civil society organisations

- Information is key in terms of empowering would-be migrants to make informed decisions about migration and the situation in Europe. In response to questions regarding risks involved in undertaking the migratory journey to Europe, for example, some respondents clearly indicated that people who especially decide to use the services of human smugglers "do not have information" about the reality of both the journey and situation in Europe. Hence, the researcher strongly recommends systematic and sustained information and sensitisation campaigns targeting the African population, and especially those who are most likely to migrate be carried out. These persons should be made aware of the realities of migration and conditions in Europe including risks and challenges associated with engaging the services of human smugglers. Returnees would be most effective communicators and living examples suited for some of the activities aimed at effectively providing information about migration.
- Stakeholders such as governments, NGOs, CSOs and CBOs within and between Africa and Europe should endeavour to improve and strengthen existing links and channels for exchanging information on the status of migration and initiatives being undertaken and for coordinating the affairs of migrants in general. In this connection, it is recommended that inter-state and inter-institutional partnership should be improved.
- Further, the dialogue on issues of migration should be systematic, regular and sustainable. It is recommended that, if such exists, seminars and workshops on African migration issues for and by relavant groups (migrants, CSOs, community members, self-help groups, NGOs and GO-relevant departments) be supported to provide platforms for dialogue, exchange of information and experience as well as discussion and formulation of migration policies and, finally, the implementation of strategies that arise from such initiatives, with all relevant actors at all levels.

Ethiopia

- The government of Ethiopia needs to acknowledge that underemployment is an important factor in irregular migration. Therefore, setting a minimum wage which enables people to meet their basic needs should be considered.
- Offices of the judiciary in areas of Ethiopia which are prone to irregular migration should make better efforts to take legal measures against traffickers and smugglers.
- Government offices should increase budgets allocated to stem irregular migration, as initiatives for activities such as MSEs and awareness-raising are far from sufficient.
- Micro and small enterprise offices are required to conduct thorough research concerning demand and supply for goods and services for various economic groups under formation as business enterprises in sectors such as construction are stagnating.
- Provision of support to start up small businesses that work outside of the MSE scheme would offer benefits. Indeed, as the government cannot provide support to all unemployed and underemployed young people through MSEs, it is prudent to devise policies that could help small businesses that operate outside of the MSE framework.
- The government should create partnerships with the private sector to create jobs for young people is an additional recommendation. So far, the main policy of the government has been to use MSEs to provide jobs for youth. It is important, however, to devise policies that offer incentives to the private sector to hire young people who are vulnerable to migration.
- Relevant government offices in the Hadiya and Kembata-Tembaro zones involved in job-creation should strengthen the MSE scheme, which is assessed as being weak so far.
- In the Kembata-Tembaro district, there are limited CSO income-generation initiatives. CSOs working on job-creation should expand their activities to the Kembata-Tembaro zone to curb the problem of irregular migration.

Mali

The study found that migration is a socially accepted practice and perceived to be beneficial from the perspective of resources it allows migrants to acquire and the community to meet primary needs. Increasing insecurity, climate change, growth disparities between cities and rural areas in Mali will lead to further impoverishment of rural areas. These factors constitute a fertile ground for the development of migration in Mali, with the factors fuelling it being essentially of an economic nature. Beyond the desire for personal autonomy envisaged by prospective candidates for migration, the quest for wealth remains fundamental to their migration project. Communities see migration as a short-term solution to their chronic misery.

Prospective candidates as well as their families know about prejudice against migrants in terms of various vulnerabilities, but they all believe that migration remains a better alternative to unemployment and is also a means of attaining personal autonomy.

Recommendations at departure levels

- Work with municipalities and traditional authorities to raise awareness about child retention in the school system.
- Set up reception centres in the structures that will work closely with authorities.
- Advocacy with women who form the core of families should be made. Mothers are very respectful of children and young people. In some cases, it is they who sell their gold and pets to finance migration. In other cases, it is the mothers who encourage the departure of their children, especially when those of their co-wives have migrated. On the other hand, in Malian society the education of children is largely a woman's task. Thus, if they are made aware of the dangers of migration, they can deter their children from taking this route.
- Income-generating activities aimed at children and young people: In Mali, income-generating activities range from construction trades (tiling, painting, electricity, finishing of houses), processing of local products (crafts, fruit, etc.), hotels and restaurants.
- Young people should be trained at the state's vocational retraining and training centre.
- The government should set up vocational centres in certain localities.

At the destination level

- Actively involve "brokers" (people who specialise in brokering seasonal workers for clients) to avoid child labour;
- Conduct quarterly missions in gold-mining areas: Migrants tend to not tell the truth about their tribulations in host countries. They lie about their living conditions, discrimination and employment problems. Government missions can help to make potential candidates aware of realities in host countries. To this end, the government can film the rooms in which migrants live in France as well as relate testimonies by migrants on the real situation.

At the institutional level

- Take measures to protect migrant minors: The Malian government has ratified international conventions on the protection of minors. Local authorities should therefore be involved in the fight against child labour. For example, they can challenge parents whose children work at the many gold mining sites in their area. Awareness-raising should focus on real difficulties in host countries, ranging from migrants' living conditions to efforts to receive a residence visa.
- Create a psychotherapeutic system for children who became victims of sexual violence and abuse;
- Create a semi-annual consultation framework for actors involved in the phenomenon;
- Contribute to the launch of initiatives to combat the phenomenon in town councils through programmes for economic, social and cultural development (PDSEC);
- Support and encourage young people to engage in professional activities, particularly in the field of agriculture (sewing, welding, fish farming, market gardening, livestock, etc.);
- Create processing plants in municipalities (food, soap, etc.) to offer youth jobs;
- Upgrading and nurturing the henna culture and supporting young people in processing it: Henna is a natural product much appreciated by Malian women and women from neighbouring countries. Henna is a dye of vegetable origin obtained from the dried leaves of an odoriferous plant. By training young people in its conservation and transformation, they can be assured of a significant source of income.
- Organise awareness creation at the local level through local radio stations and exchange groups on the consequences of the phenomenon: In addition to the importance of talking about the consequences of migration, it is also important to focus on those sectors offering opportunities in Mali. Emphasis can also be placed on the criteria for access to government services for young people and private entrepreneurship such as the Self-Renewable Fund for Employment (FARE) and exemptions for young entrepreneurs.

At the African level

- Create a Sub-Saharan Africa migration observatory. This is a watch structure that will help authorities and their partners anticipate decisions;
- Reinvigorate migration consultation frameworks. These frameworks already exist formally, but they need to be operationalised;
- Promote vocational training. Provide opportunities for young people to better stabilise the juvenile cohort who are the main ones involved in undocumented migration;
- Building the capacity of young graduates so that they can stand out in other ways. Training in personal development, writing résumés and cover letters;
- Promote legal migration by informing candidates about emigration conditions and opportunities in host countries. It should also be ensured that migration is a source of development for both host and origin countries. Similarly, it is necessary to combat illegal emigration. The implementation of the latter requires the conclusion of bilateral agreements between countries of departure and host countries.

Senegal

For the Senegalese government

- An end must be put to the Senegalese government's contradictory migration policies. Issues relating to migration should be handled in a decentralised way by various ministries, thereby reducing overlapping concerns. A ministry for Senegalese emigrants (Ministère des Sénégalais de l'Extérieur) set up to tap into the potential they offer to support the country's development policies and other agencies created by the Senegalese government such as the Office for Acceptance, Orientation and Follow-Up of Actions for Returning Emigrants (Bureau d'Accueil, d'Orientation et de Suivi des Actions de Réinsertion des Émigrés, BAOS) and the Agency for the Promotion of Investments and Major

Projects (Agence pour la Promotion des Investissements et des Grands Travaux, APIX) should be better managed (especially in terms of transparency) in order to be able to offer a clear policy on migration.

- To date, Senegalese "policies" have done little to try to stop migration, instead the government is concentrating on expanding opportunities for legal emigration. The government is hoping that emigration by its citizens will help relieve the country's strained employment situation. This has not been the case to date. While many migrants contribute to the growth of the domestic economy by sending money back to Senegal, as World Bank figures show, the main beneficiaries of this money are the construction sector and to a lesser extent the manufacturing sector, as many expatriate Senegalese are suspicious of the government's handling of finances.
- The negative consequences of migration (risk of irregular migration, brain drain and mass deaths) have largely been downplayed to date. The Senegalese government once launched the "Return to Agriculture" programme (Retour vers l'Agriculture, REVA) to create employment opportunities for young people in the agricultural sector. Such programmes should now be bolstered and supported by a series of other projects aimed at reducing climate change and pressures in rural Senegal to migrate by creating rural development opportunities.
- With regard to bilateral relations with European countries and organisations, international pressure owing to huge flows of migrants to the Canary Islands has led to border controls being tightened up. As a result, Senegal has signed bilateral agreements on migration policy with several European countries. These bilateral relations should be geared toward the overall goal of migration management and not just filling government purses when it agrees to take its citizens back.

For the AU and regional mechanisms

Migration is driven by a complex web of factors. Unemployment, social crisis, strife, climate change and religious fundamentalism all drive migration. The AU and other regional mechanisms should work to promote:

- Peace and security
- Democracy and human rights
- Trade and infrastructure
- Achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs)
- Energy and adaptation to climate change
- Employment
- Development of knowledge-based societies

Towards an AU-EU dialogue on migration

The EU has so far adopted a restrictive and tightly controlled approach to migration governance. This is aimed at reducing irregular migration by means of various control mechanisms and border controls in other countries. With this approach, repatriation agreements are also concluded so that illegal immigrants to the EU are sent back to their homelands or to transit countries. This kind of reactive, short-term prevention of immigration is known as "remote control", or as the "coercive approach".

The AU-EU dialogue should explore alternatives to this security-focused approach through a more comprehensive strategy. This should be based on a preventive approach known as the "root causes approach". Because this often also takes account of the interests of EU Member States, the countries of origin and the migrants themselves, it could become a more "comprehensive approach". This strategy is to focus predominantly on reducing undesired migration through more long-term prevention strategies, rather than the short-term avoidance of (irregular) migration.

Migrants in the UK

- Having as much information about the journey and the host country: Information, specifically about the situation during the journey and living conditions in host countries, is essential for immigrants before they start travelling to countries of destination. In this regard, a respondent who is originally from South Sudan described the challenge he faced when he was exposed to exploitation and various assaults because officials did not provide him adequate information. Another respondent from the Central African Republic shared related experiences he had had with smugglers while on the journey: "They don't study the weather or the atmosphere, either. They only care about their own safety and whether they can leave and cross or not. This causes them problems with the weather and risks in the

middle of the sea." This shows that it is imperative for immigrants to receive adequate information about situations they may face during the journey and about the host country before they start travelling. It appears that the horrors they face during the transit journey far exceed everything that they have anticipated and prepared for. At the same time, they find themselves prisoners of the steps they have already taken, which are difficult to retract.

- Try to learn the language of the host country before you arrive. Most of the immigrants mentioned that the language barrier was one of the biggest challenges both on the journey and once they arrived in the countries of destination. Therefore, learning the language of the host country before migrants leave for the host country may help cope with some of their challenges. It helps them, for example, to communicate readily with officials, facilitating their residential status and helping them find jobs of their choice. One respondent who migrated from Chad expressed her concern about language barriers as a challenge to migrants as follows: "There is a language barrier. One of the reasons I love Britain is that my English is very well [sic.]." Along these lines, an immigrant from Algeria related the difficulty he faced because of the language barrier. He stated, "In the beginning, the challenge was harder, when my language was so bad and my money was not enough."
- Obtaining education is beneficial to the host community: Most of the respondents other than those who went to the UK on study visas do not pursue education, instead focusing only on work. A few among them take English courses at academic institutions because studying the language helps them get along with the locals and more easily find employment. However, if they pursue education or vocational training that are needed by the host community, it will benefit the host community and help them create a broader access to employment opportunities. A Sudanese migrant also stated that the language barrier was her challenge in finding work. She said, "I have not worked so far because I started studying the language to be able to work with it". Respondents from Ghana and Angola similarly stated that they are studying English in school.

6. Overall summary and recommendations

The accounts from the four countries, in addition to the stories of migrants in the UK, echoed and confirmed several themes that have been identified by previous research, and shed light on some new dimensions of the migration experience. Together, findings that conform to the existing results of research as well as the new dimensions offer a fresh perspective on what the different stakeholders including African governments and the EU should do and what they should consider as possible new initiatives or directions that would go hand in hand with existing ones.

Migrants confirmed that they are pushed to migrate to Europe for a variety of reasons as the ones indicated below.

- Economic pressures in their home countries, unemployment or inadequate gainful employment are common in all four countries, as well as to a great extent for migrants to the UK.
- Political oppression and bad governance are also strong push factors for many.
- A sense of despair due to economic and political pressures pushes young people to accept the gamble and risks, as they feel that they have nothing to lose, and that whatever they confront, be it on the journey or in the country of destination, it will be worth it.
- Women added a new dimension that is not that prevalent in the literature on migration push factors: cultural repression, harassment and abuse in their home countries. It appears that for some women the motive for migrating was not necessarily dictated by economic and political pressures, but rather by cultural factors.

The Europe that is in the minds and imagination of these young people is a Europe that offers employment, good governance, respect for human rights and a bright future. This research showed that some returning migrants and those who are in the UK do not necessarily find this imaginary utopia to really exist, and despite conflicting accounts about the wealth of migrants or the hardships they undergo, the continuous influx of migrants down to date demonstrates that the utopian narrative is the one that prevails in the minds of youth.

And it is not only young people who buy into the utopian story; the rest of the community often seems to subscribe to it as well. Some interviewees described the decision and planning of migration of one member of the community to be a project for the family and community to contribute to. This research confirms that the image of a Europe that offers opportunities for youth to find gainful employment and to support their families and communities back home is alive and well.

At the same time, youth and communities are aware of the risks associated with the journey and even with the formative period in the country of destination. They seem to have found the means to mitigate these, however:

- Spiritual convictions supported by spiritual leaders in their communities provide an alternative defence against these risks: Fatalism and an attitude of “it is all in God’s hands” was a theme that cut across East, West and Southern Arica in this research.
- With such convictions, young people turn to spiritual leaders or gurus to guide them in selecting propitious dates and routes for their journeys. All this may sound trivial depending on one’s orientation toward spirituality or religion. But the fact is that spirituality and religion are used to offset fears and mitigate the risks associated with the migration journey.
- In addition, especially in West Africa, spiritual and religious networks provide a soft landing for migrants in destination countries, and continuous support. As a result, a new migrant who benefits from this network will be compelled to reciprocate in the future with newly arriving migrants, thus allowing the network of support to continue to thrive from one generation to the next.

However, migrants who were interviewed in the UK, and some returning migrants, confirmed that risks during the journey are reaching new heights of abuse and even torture. Political shifts in Libya and the Sahel zone underlie new patterns of dealing with migrants. Organised crime, arms and human trafficking have made the journey extremely dangerous.

Communities in the countries where the research was conducted continue to benefit from remittances they receive from migrants in Europe. Some of the benefits of remittances are:

- Often remittances fill in the gaps in budgets in the home countries and contribute to economic and infrastructural projects in addition to supporting families and community members. These findings are also consistent with the known and confirmed literature.
- Remittances and their impact on the lives of families and communities are among the strongest affirmations that migration to Europe is worth all the costs to the community and that it is worth taking the risks.

- However, such gains do not come without a price. Several interviewees discussed the social and emotional costs associated with migration like families splitting up, the social order within families being disrupted, and marriages falling apart. Loneliness and different forms of despair develop among migrants, especially when faced with unfriendly or even racist attitudes in the countries of destination.

An important insight from migrants in the UK relates to their perception of how countries of destination benefit from migration. Several argued that they perform jobs and work a number of hours that the locals would rarely agree to. They also argued that they pay taxes, with the economies of these countries profiting as a result.

The EU has been active in addressing especially economic and employment factors that push youth to migrate. The review of the programmes conducted in Mali, Ethiopia and Senegal indicates that they all seem to target these dimensions. It is plausible to assume that if young people have gainful opportunities in their own communities, then they will be less likely to contemplate a risky migration journey to Europe. Such efforts may bear fruit over the long term and should continue. However, focusing on additional dimensions, as will be explained in the recommendations below, may complement existing efforts and may contribute to short and medium-term effects. The EU should not only concentrate on preventing migration by addressing community economic issues, job-creation and support with technical issues such as vocational training, etc. It should also address the root causes, which are, more often than not, the lack of good governance and cultural abuse (especially in the case of women). If there is no good governance, and if cultural abuse persists, then economic and job-creation support programmes will most likely not work, either. At the same time, working on governance related to cultural abuse issues can be a highly sensitive task from the perspective of sovereignty and identity. It is with considerations such as these in mind that the EU should continue to support the "Migration Policy Framework for Africa" (MPFA) and help ensure that its current approach does not undermine regional integration agendas (e. g. EAC or ECOWAS) or the AU's migration governance efforts (MPFA) or the agenda of the CFTA.

Recommendations to the EU:

a) Motivations for migration

1. The EU in cooperation with African nations should continue with efforts to expand economic and employment opportunities, especially in communities with high rates of migration to Europe. These efforts, if supported by an emphasis on the social and emotional gains associated with keeping families and communities together, may lead to even more convincing as well as viable alternatives to migration.

2. The EU should continue to explore and develop policies that allow legal migrants to work in Europe while being able to return home. This may be a win-win approach for both continents. Obviously, there is an "appetite" for migrant work in Europe that continues to attract migrants from Africa. Such a realisation may help policymakers on both continents explore arrangements that would be beneficial across the board.

3. The EU should tacitly engage African women's organisations, civil society and governments on issues of cultural abuse, especially when women are the target. Such issues are highly sensitive and require careful methods of cooperation and support to ensure the utmost consideration of identity and cultural sensitivities.

b) The journey

1. The EU should assess the impact and effectiveness of existing comprehensive multi-organisational task forces that are addressing security issues in the Sahel and on the Libyan route. The issues that confront migrants include serious violations of human rights requiring urgent intervention at multiple levels such as military, cultural (working with tribes and ethnic groups) and political.

2. The EU should engage spiritual and religious leaders to recognise the risks and dangers that especially illegal migrants confront, and to develop responses that deter youth, instead of giving them confidence and blessings to embark on such dangerous journeys. Working through religious and spiritual leaders in Africa has been a successful approach in addressing a variety of issues ranging from education of girls to child vaccination, HIV/AIDS and other health issues.

c) B**enefits to communities**

1. **Assess the impact** and effectiveness of existing programs that offer incentives for remittance transfers by legal migrants. Governments and financial institutions on both continents probably already have regulations that make it difficult for an illegal migrant to transfer funds from a country of destination to the home country. At the same time, these remittances are often of significant importance to families and communities. Therefore, in addition to restricting transfers of funds **byillegalmigrants,offeringincentivestolegalmig**rantsmayencouragemoreyouth,theirfamilies and communities to only pursue legal means of migration.

2. Assess the impact and effectiveness of existing programmes that focus on the development of a migration counter-narrative. Such narratives are, or should be, based on experiences of current or returning migrants, and highlight that migration to Europe comes at a cost and involves losses that may undermine any material gain in the form of remittances. Media can play a key role in disseminating effective messages in this regard.

Recommendations for African policymakers

- Make sure that you do not only depend on EU funds. You should raise your own resources and own the process. One criticism is that quite a few African states are eager to receive the funds, but they lack the interest/political will to follow up on the process or improve realities on the ground (lack of good governance).
- Because harassment and others are one of the push factors for women, governments should ensure better protection of women. The EU could help here.

Recommendations for European and African policymakers

- Include local CSOs more and more effectively, and outfit them with the resources they need. This also goes for monitoring and evaluating projects on the ground, including the three special programmes mentioned in the above recommendations.
- Address root causes in a policy dialogue and do not shy away from sensitive political topics.

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Appendix

Variables and their Indicators

Variables	Indicators
Demographics of communities and individuals	**Communities** Gender (male, female); Ages; Education; Economic mode (Agriculture, pastoral, industrial); Migration destinations; Socio-economic status; Language as a factor? (E.g. Senegal and France as a primary destination); Colonial Heritage? (E.g. Nigeria and the UK); Labor Market and Employment; Religion as a factor?
	Individuals Gender (male, female); Ages; Education; Language and Religion of individual; Socio-economic status; Destinations (actual or potential); Employment status; Networks (families or acquaintances in destination countries; cases of South Africa); Local and national networks (E.g. “Religious Brotherhood” in Senegal).
Motives for migration among members of those communities	**INDUCTIVE RESEARCH; BE OPEN TO EXPLORE AND UNDERSTAND ANY MOTIVES EXPRESSED.** Will be categorized in the analysis section.
How risk is managed and calculated as part of the migration process;	How do individuals rationalize the decision and process of migration? What are the benefits that you think about while migrating? What are the possible challenges that you can think about? What are risks that are encountered in transit countries? How are transit risks rationalized? What are their respective coping mechanisms? The 4 questions above apply to the individual, family, community levels.
Perception of the benefits to the community from the migration of its individuals	How has the community benefitted from its migrants? What have been negative impacts, if any? The questions above should include triggering inquiries by the researcher(s) on social, family, and other dimensions beyond financial

The actual impact (benefit and loss) of migration on those communities;	Need to look at and review actual data (look at the quality of life, divorce rates, improvement of services…) Take case studies; conduct observations of places that can demonstrate such impact (e.g. on services, infrastructure, job creation, family issues, socio-economic status, individual wealth, etc…)
Understanding the dynamics of brain drain	To be addressed under variables 2- 5. It includes: Statistics on the increase/decrease of the number of migrants with certain level of education and skills; Impact of brain drain on origin communities/countries; Impact on migrating individuals; Quality of work and income in destination countries; Psychological Impact (shame, failure to the origin community).
Cultural/Social Pressure (the need to succeed because communities invested in the migrants; shame);	To be addressed under variables 2-5. It includes: Pattern of community support to migrants (what does the community do to support the process of migration); Cultural and Social expectations of Migration Dividends; Concept of Individual Responsibility to their families and communities.
Measuring the overlap or gap between policies and CSOs work and the perception/ need of people with regards to the items above.	Review of Government policies and CSOs activities on migration; Identify areas of overlap or gaps between the findings related to variables 1-6 and the actual policies and activities.

Selection Criteria and Size of Populations

Population	Selection Criteria	Size	Remark
Communities	Migrating communities as diversified as possible	3-5	It should be noted that in the selected areas, migrating communities are well known: in South Africa it is communities from Gauten, Durban and Cape town; in Senegal it is communities from Matam and fishermen villages in Lebu; and in Ethiopia, research has shown that it is communities from Addis Ketama Sub-city in Addis Ababa and Hadiya Zone in SNNPR that transit through South Africa; Ensure gender representation; Consult IOM and similar statistics on the issue.
Individuals	Individuals contemplating to migrate; Returning Individuals for good or temporary period.	100/country Focus Group Discussions (FGD) carrying a maximum of 15 participants	Ensure gender representation.
Government, CSOs, community leaders	Ensure that in the case of CSOs, they be ones that have a track record in migration issues; Ensure that for governments, institutions, those dealing with migration are targeted.	5-7 of each group	Ensure gender representation.
Job placement agencies/ middlemen		5/country	
Family members		5/country	Ensure gender/youth representation.

Interview Form for Government

Instructions to the Interviewer:

This interview form is designed to interview government officials working on migration issues. All interviews must be confidential, and no interviewee should be identified personally. All interviewees must be assured that their identity will not be revealed as part of this research. The research analysis will use their responses confidentially, and will not be attributed to them in any form.

Date of the interview: _____

Location of the interview (Country, Province/City/Town/Village):_____

Background Information:

a.1. Gender: _____

a.2. Position/Title: _____

a.3. Name of government agency: _____

a.4. Kindly describe briefly the nature of work of your agency as it relates to migration issues.

Context of Work in Migration

b. 1. What does your government make of the recent surge of migration to Europe? (Interviewer: please seek as much elaboration with the responses.)

b.2. What are the legislations in regard to migration and what institutions are at the forefront of implementing them?

b. 3. What activities, initiatives does your government undertake with regards to migrants contemplating to migrate at any costs? Please elaborate (awareness raising, tracking traffickers)

b.4 What activities, initiatives does your government undertake with regards to returning migrants? Please elaborate (in terms of rehabilitation, re-integration, building capacity)

b.5 How do you engage CSOs in the above works/activities you do?

b.6 What gap (s) do you think CSOs can fill?

b.7 How do you engage communities in the above works you do?

b.8 What gap (s) do you think communities can fill?

b.9 What kind of changes concerning governmental migration management will be coming up the next 5 years?

b.10 Do you engage with other governments concerning transboundary migration?

b.10.1 If, yes how? (Please elaborate)

b.10.2 If no, why? And do you contemplate ways in which you can engage with other government? (Please elaborate)

Perceived Benefits and Losses of Migration

c.1. What are your position(s) on migrants and communities' perspectives that migration will change their life for the better? Please explain.

c.2. What are advantages or disadvantages to the country from migration of its citizens to Europe? Please explain. (Raise the case of remittances)

c.3 How does your government engage in providing other alternatives to potential and/or returning migrants?

c.4. Any additional comments?

Interview Form for CSOs

Instructions to the Interviewer:

This interview form is designed to interview members of CSOs working on migration issues. All interviews must be confidential, and no interviewee should be identified personally. All interviewees must be assured that their identity will not be revealed as part of this research. The research analysis will use their responses confidentially, and will not be attributed to them in any form.

Date of the interview:_____

Location of the interview (Country, Province/City/Town/Village):_____

Background Information:

a.1. Gender:_____

a.2. Position/Title: _____

a.3. Organization/Affiliation (CSOs/Government):_____

a.4. Kindly describe briefly the nature of work of your organization/agency.

b. Context of Work in Migration

b. 1. What does your CSO make of the recent surge of migration to Europe? (Interviewer: please seek as much elaboration with the responses.)

b.2. What do you think are the motivations behind such a journey?

b. 3. What activities, initiatives does your CSO undertake with regards to migrants contemplating to migrate at any costs? Please elaborate

b.4 What activities, initiatives does your CSO undertake with regards to returning migrants? (especially for those for whom the journey has failed) Please elaborate (in terms of rehabilitation, re-integration, building capacity)

b.5 How do you perceive the governments work on migration?

b.6 What kind of changes or challenges in migration governance/management by your government do you foresee/fear/wish for in the next 5 years?

b.7 Does your CSO engage with the government in the above activities?

b.7. 1 If yes, how?

b.7.2. What are the advantages or challenges encountered in your work together? Please explain.

b.8 Does your CSO engage the communities/families in the activities you do? How?

b.9 What role do you think communities/families can play in the work you do? Please explain.

b.10. What are imposed limitations in your work with migrants/migration?

c. Perceived Benefits and Losses of Migration

c.1. What are your CSO's position(s) regarding any benefits or losses to the communities of the migration of their members?

c.2. How does your CSO support communities regarding migration issues?

c.3 What are the challenges that your CSO face in working with communities? Please explain.

c.4. Any additional comments?

Interview Form for Individuals

(Returned Migrants)

Instructions to the Interviewer:

This interview form is designed to interview returned migrants. All interviews must be confidential, and no interviewee should be identified personally. All interviewees must be assured that their identity will not be revealed as part of this research. The research analysis will use their responses confidentially, and will not be attributed to them in any form.

Date of the interview: _____

Location of the interview (Country, Province/City/Town/Village):_____

a. Background Information:

a.1. Gender: _____

a.2. Age: _____

a.3. Level of Education: _____

a.4. Employment Status and Type: _____

a.5. Religion (if appropriate to ask):_____

a.6. Ethnicity/Tribe (if appropriate to ask):_____

a.7. Other identity elements important for the context of the individual (also, if appropriate to ask):_____
_____

a.8. Social or religious networks that are important for the context of migration: _____
_____

b. Motives and Plans to Migrate:

b.1. What were your motives to migrate?

b.2. How did you raise the funds to migrate?

b.3. Did your community (family and other members of the community) support you to migrate?

b.4. What challenges did you face in the journey in both transit and destination countries? How did you deal with the challenges and risks?

c. The Migration Experience:

c.1. Where do\did you live in Europe?

c.2. How long have you stayed outside of your home country?

c.3. What kind of work do\did you do in the destination country?

c.4. What challenges do\did you face in the destination country?

c.5. Did you go to school or seek to go to school in the destination country? If yes, please explain what kind of education and with what objectives?

c.6. Do\did you receive any support, from family or friends at the destination country?

d. Returning Home:

d.1. If you returned to your home country for good, why did you return?

d.2. What benefits have you gained by migrating?

d.3. How have your family and community benefitted from your migration, if any?

d.4. What have been the impacts (positive or negative) of migration to you and your family and community, if any?

d.5. Would you encourage anyone to migrate? If so, why?

d. 6 Did you and/or how did you perceive the governments/CSOs work in your destination country/in your home country on migration issues?

d. 7 What kind of changes concerning governmental migration management do you fear/wish for in the next 5 years?

Interview Form for Individuals

(Who plan or contemplate the idea of migrating to Europe)

Instructions to the Interviewer:

This interview form is designed to interview members of communities who plan or contemplate the idea of migrating to Europe. All interviews must be confidential, and no interviewee should be identified personally. All interviewees must be assured that their identity will not be revealed as part of this research. The research analysis will use their responses confidentially, and will not be attributed to them in any form.

Date of the interview: _____

Location of the interview (Country, Province/City/Town/Village): _____

Background Information:

a.1. Gender: _____

a.2. Age: _____

a.3. Level of Education:_____

a.4. Employment Status and Type:_____

a.5. Religion (if appropriate to ask):_____

a.6. Ethnicity/Tribe (if appropriate to ask):_____

a.7. Other identity elements important for the context of the individual (also, if appropriate to ask):_____
_____

a.8. Social or religious networks that are important for the context of migration:_____

Context of Migration

b.1. What are your motives to migrate? (Interviewer: please seek as much elaboration with the responses. And look out for forced/economic migration responses. Also, if it is temporary or permanent move)

b.2. What is your planned final destination of migration?

b.3. Why this particular country?

b.4. How do you raise the funds that enable you to migrate?

b.5. Do you have any friends, relatives or kin in the country of destination?

b.6. What are the benefits that you hope to gain by migrating? (interviewer: please prompt the respondent to different possible benefits, not only monetary)

b.7. What are the possible challenges that you think you will face in your home country in order to migrate?

b.8. If you plan on migrating through transit countries, what are risks that you think you may encounter?

b.9. How do you plan to deal with those risks?

b.10. If your journey fails, would you do it all over again to the same destination?

b.11. Would you consider another destination country? If yes where and why?

Perceived Benefits and Losses of Migration

c.1. How has your community benefitted from its migrants?

c.2. What have been negative impacts of migration to the community, if any?

c.3. Do you think that your migration will bring any benefits to your community? If yes, please explain.

c.4. What are the expectations that your community have of its migrants?

c.5. Does your community (family and other members of the community) support your migration plans? Please explain whether the answer is yes or no, or a combination of the two.

c.6. What kind of work do you expect to do in the destination country?

c.7. Do you see any challenges you might face in the destination country?

c.8. Do you plan to seek education in the destination country? If yes, please explain what kind of education and with what objectives?

c.9. What support, if any, do you expect to receive from family or friends or the diaspora? at the destination country?

c.10. Would you encourage anyone to migrate? If so, why?

c.11. What will you do if you cannot find suitable work or education in the destination country?

c.12. Will you return to your community if you cannot find suitable work or education in the destination country? (interviewer: ask this question only if the respondent did not state it as part of the response to question c.11.)

c.13. What could be the solutions to the challenges faced by migrants (at personal, home country, transit and country of destination levels)?

Interview Form for Individuals

(Family members of individuals who have migrated to Europe)

Instruction to the Interviewer:

This interview form is designed to interview family members of individuals who have migrated to Europe. All interviews must be confidential, and no interviewee should be identified personally. All interviewees must be assured that their identity will not be revealed as part of this research. The research analysis will use their responses confidentially, and will not be attributed to them in any form.

Date of the interview: _____

Location of the interview (Country, Province/City/Town/Village):_____

a. Background Information:

a.1. Gender: _____

A.2. Age: _____

a.3. Level of Education: _____

a.4. Employment Status and Type: _____

a.5. Religion (if appropriate to ask):_____

a.6. Ethnicity/Tribe (if appropriate to ask):_____

a.7. Other identity elements important for the context of the individual (also, if appropriate to ask):_____ _____

a.8. Social or religious networks that are important for the context of migration: _____ _____

a.9. What is your relationship to the migrant? _____

b. Motives and Plans of Migration:

b.1. When and why did the individual migrate?

b.2. Where does s/he live now?

b.3. How did s/he raise funds to migrate?

b.4. Were there any relatives or friends in the country of destination?

b.5 What were the challenges that the migrant faced to reach his or her final destination? How did s/he deal with the risks?

c. The Migration Experience and Impact:

c.1. What kind of work does the migrant work in the destination country?

c.2. What are your expectation from the migrant?

c.3. How did your family benefit from the migration of a family member?

c.4. What are the impacts (positive or negative) of migration of a family member to the family?

c.5. What are the impacts (positive or negative) of the migrant of a family member to the community?

c. 6 How is the migration of a migrant perceived within the family/community?

c. 7 Will there be the chance of inspiring spillover effect?

c. 8 will there be the chance of recognition not to migrate in the family/community? (Please explain)

c. 9 What reactions/impacts (positive or negative) would a possible (in-/voluntarily) return of the migrant to your family/community have?

c. 10 how do you perceive the governments' and or CSOs' work on migration? (Please explain)

Interview Form for Individuals

(Who currently resides in Europe)

Instructions to the Interviewer:

This interview form is designed to interview African migrants in Europe. All interviews must be confidential, and no interviewee should be identified personally. All interviewees must be assured that their identity will not be revealed as part of this research. The research analysis will use their responses confidentially, and will not be attributed to them in any form.

ID: _____ Date of the interview:_____

Location of the interview (Country, /Locality):_____

Background Information:

a.1. Gender:_____

a.2. Age:_____

a.3. Country of Origin:_____

a.4. Level of Education:_____

a.5. Employment Status and Type (back in your home country):_____

a.6. Religion (if appropriate to ask):_____

a.7. Ethnicity/Tribe (if appropriate to ask):_____

a.8. Other identity elements important for the context of the individual (also, if appropriate to ask):_____
_____

a.9. Social or religious networks that are important for the context of migration:_____

a.10. When did you start your migration journey (month and year)?_____

a.11. When did you arrive to this country (month and year)?_____

a.12. Please explain the legality of your residence in this country since you arrived.

Context of Migration

b.1. What were your motives to migrate? (interviewer: please seek as much elaboration with the responses. And look out for forced/economic migration responses. Also, if it is temporary or permanent move)

b.2. What was your planned final destination of migration? Did you reach it? If not, why?

b.3. Why this particular country?

b.4. How did you raise the funds that enable you to migrate?

b.5. Do you have any friends, relatives or kin here in this country where you reside now?

b.6. What are the benefits that you feel that you gained by migrating? (interviewer: please prompt the respondent to different possible benefits, not only monetary)

b.7. What are the challenges that you faced in your home country in order to migrate?

b.8. If you migrated through transit countries, what were risks that you encountered, if any?

b.9. How did you deal with those risks?

b.10. If for any reason you are sent back home, would you do it all over again to the same destination?

b.11. Would you consider another destination country? If yes where and why?

Perceived Benefits and Losses of Migration

c.1. In general, how has your community benefitted from its migrants?

c.2. In general, what have been negative impacts of migration to the community, if any?

c.3. In general, what are the expectations that your community have of its migrants?

c.4. What benefits, if any, did your family or community gain so far by your migration? please explain.

c.5. Does your community (family and other members of the community) support your migration plans? Please explain whether the answer is yes or no, or a combination of the two.

c.6. What kind of work are you doing, if any, in the country where you reside now?

c.7. What challenges, if any, do you face in the country where you reside now?

c.8. Are you studying in the country you reside in now? If yes, please explain what kind of education and with what objectives?

c.9. What support, if any, do you receive from family or friends who live in the same country where you reside now?

c.10. Would you encourage anyone to migrate? If so, why?

c.11. What can you say that you achieved so far by migrating?

c.12. If you are not working or studying, what will you do if you cannot find suitable work or education in the country where you reside now?

c.13. Will you return to your community if you cannot find suitable work or education in the destination country? (interviewer: ask this question only if the respondent did not state it as part of the response to question c.12.)

c.15. What could be the solutions to challenges faced by migrants (at personal, home country, transit and country of destination levels)?

About Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung Flight and Migration Competence Center (FMCC)

The Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) is the oldest political foundation in Germany with a rich tradition in social democracy dating back to its foundation in 1925. The foundation owes its formation and its mission to the political legacy of its namesake Friedrich Ebert, the first democratically elected German President.

Cooperation between the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (FES) and the African Union (AU) dates back to the early 2000s. A more formalized partnership emerged in 2011, when the FES and the African Union Commission signed a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on Cooperation and Mutual Assistance. In early 2015 the FES AU Cooperation Office was established to coordinate the work with the AU. Until then the FES Ethiopia Office, established in 1991, had been responsible for the cooperation with the AU.

In 2019, the FES Flight and Migration Competence Center (FMCC) was founded in Ethiopia to coordinate and strategically align the work of the Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung in the areas of flight and migration on the African continent. The aim is to improve the dialogue between Africa and Europe and to ensure an objective and fact-based discussion.

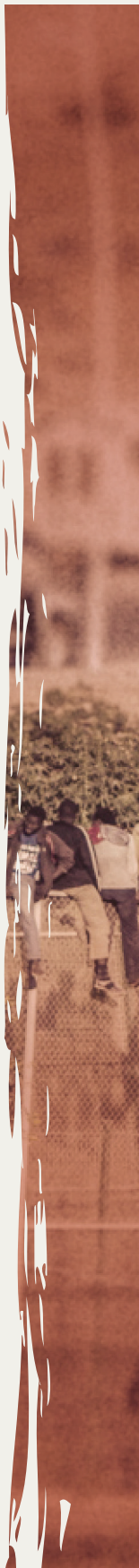
FRIEDRICH EBERT STIFTUNG

Arada Kifleketema
Queen Elizabeth II street
P.O. Box 8786
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
Tel: +251 (1)-11 233 245/46
+251 (1)-11 233 855
E-mail: info(at)fes-au.org
Web: www.fes-au.org

About Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS)

The Institute for Peace and Security Studies (IPSS) at the Addis Ababa University is the premier institute for education, research, and policy dialogues on peace and security in Africa. IPSS produces skilled professionals and academicians in conflict prevention, management, resolution, peacebuilding, and promotes the values of a democratic and peaceful society. IPSS also serves as the secretariat of the Tana High-Level Forum on Security in Africa, an annual high-level gathering of heads of state, policymakers, academia, and the private sector to discuss and find solutions to Africa's challenges in peace and security. Its Africa Peace and Security Programme (APSP), a joint initiative with the African Union, is mandated by the AU Executive Council Decision (EX.CL/567 XVI), and the follow-up Memorandum of Understanding signed between the two institutions, to take up the intellectual efforts of finding African-led solutions to peace and security challenges of the continent.

The Institute for Peace and Security Studies is located in the Faculty of Business and Economics campus of Addis Ababa University in Sidist Kilo, next to the Goethe Institute and Modern Art Museum.

IPSS

Tel: +251 (1) 11 245 660
P. O. Box: 1176
Addis Ababa, Ethiopia
E-mail: info@ipss-addis.org