

ADDIS ABABA UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES
INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES

**MANAGING IRREGULAR MIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO EUROPE:
AN AFRICAN SOLUTIONS PERSPECTIVE**

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Thesis Submitted to the School of Graduate Studies of Addis Ababa University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Peace and Security Studies.

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Addis Ababa

May, 2017

Dedicated to: My Beloved Dad

**Daye, you are and will be in my flesh and blood in the future and generations
to come. I will keep making you proud.**

**I am the chosen one when God made you my Dad. I will see you when my
contract ceases. You know how much I love you.**

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LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AfSol – African Solutions for African Problems

AMU/UMA- The Arab Maghreb Union

AU – African Union

CENSAD - Community of Sahel-Saharan States

COMESA - Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa

EAC- East African Community

ECCAS - Economic Community of Central African States

ECOWAS- Economic Community of West African States

EEA – European Economic Area

EU – European Union

EUROSUR - The European Border Surveillance System

GAMM - Global Approach to Migration and Mobility

GDP – Growth Domestic Product

IGAD – Intergovernmental Authority on Development

INA – Immigration and Naturalization Act

IOM – International Organization on Migration

IPSS – Institute for Peace and Security Studies

NEPAD - The New Partnership for Africa's Development

RECs – Regional Economic Communities

SADC - Southern African Development Community

UK – United Kingdom

UN – United Nations

US –United States

DEFINITION OF TERMS

Illegal migration – is unauthorized entry or stay in a host country. According to this thesis, illegal migration can also mean irregular migration.

Pre-migration measures– this is a measure taken in the country of origin before an individual is called a migrant.

Post-migration measures – this is a measure taken in the country of destination after an individual is called a migrant.

FRONTEX – the European Agency for the Management of Operational Cooperation at the External Borders

Immigration – to enter into a country of which one is not a native for permanent residence;

Migration system – is a procedure that is incorporated in migration;

Non-refoulement– the practice of not forcing refugees or asylum seekers to return to a country in which they are liable to be subjected to persecution;

Host country – is used interchangeably with the country of destination.

ASAP–it has the same definition with that of AfSol (African Solutions for African Problems);

ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the three principles of AfSol frameworks; ownership, commitment and shared values, and how this framework could be used to manage the irregular migration from Africa to Europe. Employers and isolate the importance of applying the AfSol framework in managing irregular migration, policies of different States regime that.

The study employed an exploratory qualitative study design where purposive and snowballing sampling techniques were used to select the six experts who have done extensive work on migration and AfSol framework. A semi-structured interview was used to collect the data whereby triangulation approach was used to validate the accuracy of gathered data, after which a thematic analysis was done. The researcher has also taken the rules and regulations of handbook of IPSS.

Based on the findings, the researcher identified that pre-migration measures were not incorporated into the policies of the destination countries while in the frameworks of AU and REC's migration policies, pre-migration measures such as free movement of Africans within the African States were considered but not implemented.

Hence, Africans, the people, and the Government should take the initiative to understand their problems and to come up with their own solutions. The solutions can be identified from African values; values that can be shared by the African States and for this to happen there should be a commitment among the African States and Africans.

Key terms: *Pre-migration Measures, Post Migration Measures, Irregular migration, AfSol framework and Peace and Security.*

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background of the study

Nowadays, regulating the movement of people from one place to another has become a problem. Governments and officials have been discussing the issue of migration for decades now and are yet to find the solutions (Mutume, 2006). There are two kinds of migration; regular migration which is the mobility of people from place to place with legal authorizations from both countries of origin and destination. And irregular migration is which involves an unauthorized cross-border movement of migrants.

According to the International Organization for Migration (IOM), an irregular migrant is,

A person who, owing to unauthorized entry, breach of a condition of entry, or the expiry of his or her visa, lacks legal status in a transit or host country. The definition covers inter alia those persons who have entered a transit or host country lawfully but have stayed for a longer period than authorized or subsequently taken up unauthorized employment (also called clandestine/undocumented migrant or migrant in an irregular situation). The term "irregular" is preferable to "illegal" because the latter carries a criminal connotation and is seen as denying migrants' humanity.

Based on this definition, irregular migrants are people staying or living in countries other than their country of origin without authorization.

Various kinds of literature classify irregular migration into different categories. For instance, irregular migrants are classified into two groups based on the public debate in Europe. One is irregular migrants who come to the EU as a result of war or political, ethnic or religious persecution; these migrants are called political refugees. These refugees are entitled to a specific legal status under the 1951 Geneva Refugee Convention (Matthee, 2015). The second are irregular migrants who come to Europe in order to improve their socio-economic position. These migrants are categorized as economic migrants or even economic refugees. These economic

migrants do not have a protected status under international law as compared to that of political refugees (Matthee, 2015). The paper will pertain to the latter category of irregular migrants.

Irregular migration has been manipulated by the industrial countries in order to gain resources including manpower limiting the mobilization of goods, services, and capital for the poor nations (Mutume, 2006). This argument is balanced as it explains the exhausting burden of irregular migration on the destination governments and countries. It's often a one-sided cry from the poor nations when citizens suffer from the traumatizing experiences as they fled to their destination. Perhaps managing irregular migration through implementing policies which are "African" could be an efficient way to solve the problem. Before discussing irregular migration as a specific problem that should be managed through African solutions, let us define what irregular migration is and examine how irregular migration could be a problem.

Worse yet, the phenomena of irregular migration have recently been associated with terrorism, complicating the problem further. This has made it necessary to focus on designing migration management strategies in countries of origin, both at a national and regional level.

There are diverging views when discussing irregular migration. Some suggest that there are various benefits to irregular migration, while others defend their position considering the negative impacts it imposes on both the host and countries of origin. Nevertheless, both parties agree on the necessity of having in place proper regulations on migration. The human rights violations, as well as the risky sea journey that often ends in migrants' death, should be stopped and fought for by all means.

Those who argue in favor of regulated migration believe that it is not necessarily a zero-sum game. There are positive economic and socio-cultural effects of the brain drain, one of which is remittance. Remittances of African migrants contribute considerably not just to the well-being of their extended families at home, but to poverty reduction and development on a national level in general. Emphasizing this point, Dirk Kohnert states that remittance constitutes the second largest source of external private finance, besides foreign direct investment. The, a counteracting 'brain gain', i.e. new value systems, political and spiritual orientations, acquired by migrants in Europe, results in a transfer of knowledge and of innovations(Kohnert, 2007).

On the other hand, developing nations suffer from the devastation of brain drain as the economic burden of educating their students exerts an unbearable pressure on the loss of the educated part of a society (Shah, 2008). Young part of the society is prone to immigration. It's usually this societal group that takes the risk and faces the challenging routes in irregular migration. As a result, origin countries suffer from the loss of their energetic societal group which could have been a backbone of the country's economic, social and political growth.

Host countries derive both positive and negative consequences of irregular migration. For instance, prior to the oil crisis in 1973, the host countries (Europe) benefited from irregular migrants who filled the need for industrial laborers. And with the expansion of the service industry in mid-1980, irregular migrants were also used to fill the labor demand that could not be met with native workers (Triandafyllidou, 2016). However, at the same time, irregular migration can be disadvantageous to the host countries as it can create ethical formation which can fundamentally change the cultural, social, economic and political fabric of societies as seen in the rise of extreme right-wing, anti-Islam and anti-immigrant parties in Europe (Castles, 2013).

Despite the many arguments nationalists might pose to defend their anti-migration sentiments, many believe these countries bare a responsibility for the recent trends. Dirk Kohler suggested that the European Union and its member states share a heavy dual responsibility for the continuing migration pressure: That is since they fostered over decades corrupt and autocratic regimes with dire disregard to principles of 'good governance'. The outcome of these regimes is still to be felt today and constitutes one of the underlying factors for politically motivated migration. In addition, the EU contributed to Africa's growing economic depression, due to the damaging effects of European selfish external trade policy (Kohnert, 2007).

Nevertheless, member States of the EU remain concerned about their security, since migration is considered to be a security issue. That is, migration tends to be viewed as a security issue in security studies since the 1980s. There are two perspectives with regards to the question "whose security", national security and human security in countries of destination, countries of origin and transit (Wohlfeld, 2014).

The above article suggested that it is irregular migration that is seen as posing both national security and human security threats. Though labeling an issue a security threat has significant

implications in terms of laws, norms, policies, and procedures. In the migration context, the label has been used to justify harsh and restrictive policies. These policies impact the migrants, resulting in an inability of asylum seekers to access safe countries, migrants smuggling and human trafficking, unsafe passages and contributing to growing anti-migrants tendencies. They also result in a gap between the protection that migrants formally enjoy under international law and the realities they experience as they travel and work across different countries (Wohlfeld, 2014).

Consequently, one also has to note emerging differences between the interests of migrants and the states trying to control their movements and entry but also the interests of governments and NGOs and civil societies in these countries (Wohlfeld, 2014).

In fact, many European countries have focused on border control as a solution to managing the number of migrants entering the country; however not proved effective. Though questionable, current EU migration programs and concepts are border security under a prevailing emergency frame has generated absurd incentives, negative path dependencies and devastating consequences (McNevin, 2017). Even development-oriented approaches are bound to fail, if not backed by sustainable immigration policies. These policies are likely to be sustained if they take into account the contextual setting and the cultural values of their addresses, Africans.

1.2. Statement of the Problem

Africans are perpetually on the move, perhaps more so than other regions in the world. The movements are both intra- and inter-continental in response to political, economic, demographic, and peace and security-related problems. This thesis will mainly focus on the irregular migration of Africans to Europe. So far, much has been done to control or manage the irregular movements of Africans to other countries and continents. Measures taken so far have however failed to manage irregular migration. This thesis will attempt to shed light on the challenges of proposed solutions and explore homegrown solutions that can be implemented to police irregular migration, specifically examining the possibility of applying the framework of AfSol in the search for an effective solution for the 'problem' of irregular migration.

1.3. Research Objectives

This study has both general and specific objectives.

1.3.1. General Objective

- To show the applicability of the framework of AfSol in managing irregular migrations.

1.3.2. Specific Objectives

- To examine whether migration is a problem to the countries of origin and destination countries.
- To identify the relationship between irregular migration and peace and security.
- To explore the applicability of AfSol framework in managing the irregular migration from Africa to Europe.

1.4. Research Questions

The research will answer the following four key questions.

1. What are the major arguments Problematising migration?
2. What policies and actions emerged following the problems or securitization of migration?
3. What are the achievements and failures of these actions and policies? Why have these policies and actions failed or succeeded?
4. What should be done vis-à-vis the principles of the AfSol framework?

1.5. Significance of the Study

The study will have the following significance.

- To obtain a general understanding of AfSol in the context of managing irregular migration.
- To identify possible “African solutions” for irregular migration.
- To give some insight to researchers about this topic.

1.6. Scope of the Study

The study is limited geographically to the continent of Africa. The research is concerned about the framework of AfSol and how this framework can be applied in managing irregular migration in Africa.

CHAPTER TWO: REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter discusses irregular migration in Africa. It also shows major arguments of migration as a problem to the countries of origin and destination. It will also discuss the routes African migrants use to reach their destination country in Europe. The chapter will also identify and explain the framework of AU migration policies and the concept of AfSol principles in relation to irregular migration. Furthermore, it will touch upon various articles that debate about migration solutions.

2.1. Irregular Migration, Concept, and Definition

Although there is no clear or universally accepted definition of irregular migration, according to the IOM, irregular migration is defined as “a movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries”. From the perspective of destination countries it is the entry, stay or work in a country without the necessary authorization or documents required under immigration regulations. On the other hand, for the origin country, the irregularity is seen in cases in which a person crosses an international boundary without a valid passport or travel document or does not fulfill the administrative requirements for leaving the country.

In order to have a general understanding of the concept of irregular migration, hereunder, the researcher will try to touch upon major arguments of migration as a problem

Types of Migration - Migration is the movement of people from one place to another;

- It could be Internal or International migration. Internal migration is when people migrate within the same country or region. On the other hand, International migration is when people migrate from one country to another country (Bitesize, 2014).
- It can also be classified into two; voluntary or economic migrations and involuntary or forced migrations. The latter category of migration is prompted by political instability, sudden and dramatic regime changes, ethnic tensions and confrontations, and proxy civil wars (Agadjanian, 2008). Whereas the former category of migration is initiated by economic factors within the country of origin. As it has been said migration to be a

movement; this movement has its own impact for both, receiving and sending countries (Bitesize, 2014).

2.2. Major Arguments on the problem of migration:

Factors for Migration- Migration can be economic, social, political or environmental. There are usually push and pull factors for migration. Push factors include lack of services, lack of safety, high crime, crop failure, drought, flooding, poverty, and wars in the country of origin. Some of the pull factors include higher employment, more wealth, better services, good climate, better safety, less crime, political stability, more fertile land, lower risks from natural hazards in the country of destination (Bitesize, 2014).

Harm: The negative impact of migration on the Host or Destination countries:-

- Although temporarily, depression of wages may occur for the citizens of the host country since employers have a choice of hiring migrants at a low rate.
- Employers ignore productivity, training, and innovation because they tend to hire low skilled manpower for the relatively low pay.
- Migrants may be exploited since they do not have legal papers that allow them to stay or work in the country they are prone to accept whatever conditions employers impose on them.
- Infrastructures, job opportunities, and public services may not be sufficient due to the reason of growth in population owing to migrants.
- There may be integration difficulties and friction, as there is a cultural and social difference between local people and migrants especially the African and Middle Eastern migrants who come to Europe, have often no relatives, friends or even the vague possibility of a job. They are left to fend for themselves, living on public or private charity, and small, often illegal, trade. And also they are culturally, religiously and linguistically different from citizens of host countries (Milanovic, 2015).
- Large movements of people lead to more security monitoring since ease of movement may facilitate organized crime and people trafficking (EMBRACE, 2012).
- Furthermore, citizens of European countries have difficulty in absorbing the idea of migrants not only due to cultural or religious differences but also to the lack of history of

being a land of immigration. It has generally been an emigrant continent, from the Hebrides and Ireland in the north to Sicily and Greece in the south (Milanovic, 2015).

Harm: The negative impact of migration on the countries of Origin:-

- Economic disadvantage through the loss of young workers and loss of highly trained people, especially health workers. As the 2013 United Nations report shows one in nine Africans with a tertiary education—2.9 million people were living in developed countries in Europe, North America and elsewhere. This is a 50% growth in the past 10 years, more than any other region in the world. Brain drain can be extremely harmful if you live in an African nation with a limited pool of qualified individuals, to begin with (Firsing, 2016).
- Social problems for children left behind or growing up without a wider family circle (EMBRACE, 2012).

2.3. Irregular Migration in Africa

According to the United Nations, it is estimated that more than 31 million African migrants spread in both Africa and overseas. Out of which 10.4 million are refugees and asylum seekers. This number is expected to quadruple in 30 years, and by 2050 one in four international migrants will be African. Every year close to 100,000 mixed migrants cross through various routes: the Mediterranean, the Gulf Aden, and the Southern Africa. These routes put migrants at the highest possible risks including death, slavery, and torture (Mehari, 2015). Dr. Mehari in his article examines migration governance in Africa and mega-trends in mobility and displacement. Stating that in Agenda 2063 and other AU normative frameworks, the ultimate aim of IGAD policies on migration, particularly the AU Migration Policies, is to ensure migration is *voluntary and legal* through methods that respect the human rights of migrants and collaboration among actors, including migrants, countries of origin, transit and destination (Mehari, 2015).

The AU migration policies do not seem to incorporate African Solutions this could be one reason behind the increasing number of people migrating irregularly. So this thesis suggests that the solutions incorporated within the AU migration be African solutions.

2.3.1. Irregular migrants from Africa to Europe

Presently, there are three main routes of irregular migration from Africa to Europe: from West Africa through Morocco to Spain, from West and Central Africa through Agadez to Libya and from the Horn of Africa to Libya through Khartoum (DeLargy, 2016).

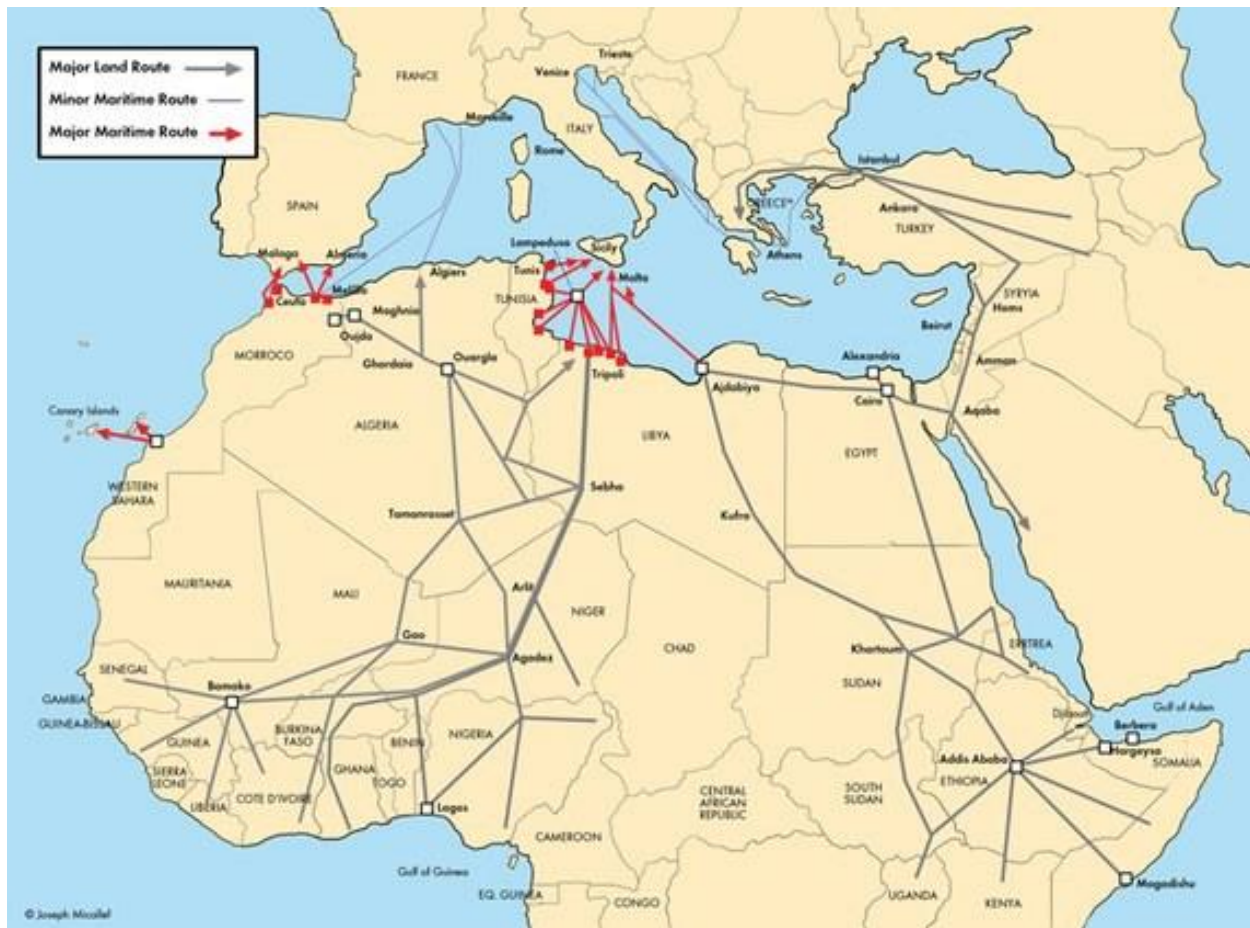


Figure 2.1 Major Routes from Africa to Europe

Source: Major routes from Africa to Europe, (DeLargy, 2016)

It seems, however, that new routes are also being used. Almost 5000 people from African countries (mostly Somalia's) registered as refugees in Serbia or Kosovo last year, indicating that some are starting to take the Balkan routes used by Syrians. Some are also settling in Turkey and a few have even taken the sea route to Greece recently (DeLargy, 2016).

Thousands of people are migrating from Africa, crossing the Sahara to Libya hoping they will survive an expensive and dangerous Mediterranean crossing to Italy. Indeed, until mid-2015

when the attention turned to the mass arrivals of refugees in Greece, it was Italy that had been coping almost alone with the increasingly desperate “irregular” Mediterranean crossings, almost all of which were from North African shores (DeLargy, 2016).

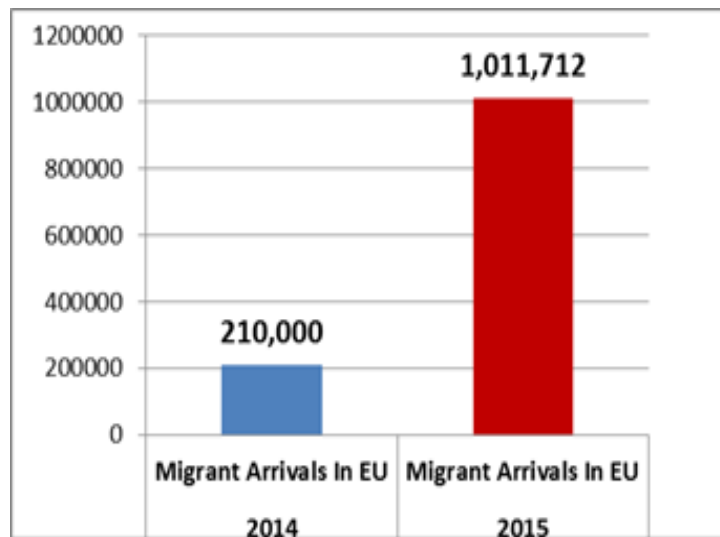


Figure 2.2 Numbers of African Migrants to Europe

Source: Irregular migration in Horn of Africa Increases in 2015, (Murphy, 2016)

According to the report, Eritrea was the leading country of origin for migrants arriving in Italy, with over 37,000 Eritrean migrants arriving in 2015. Over 11,000 Somalis and almost 9,000 Sudanese also made it to Italy. This represents over 66,000 migrants arriving in Europe from the Horn of Africa, or 6.5 percent of overall arrivals (Murphy, 2016). Of the 3,771 migrants who drowned in the Mediterranean in 2015, 359 were from the Horn of Africa and 1,220 were from Sub-Saharan Africa. The remaining 879 originated from the Middle East or North Africa (Murphy, 2016).

Over the past five years, the numbers of arrivals in Europe from North Africa have been significant even as the demography has changed. The Spanish route has become less active due to the agreements between Spain and Morocco and Senegal on border management and returns. But in Italy and Malta, over 170,000 arrived in 2014 and over 150,000 in 2015. Eritreans seem to play the single greatest role in the African migration to Europe. In 2013, 7500 Eritreans and 3000 Somalis arrived in Sicily and in terms of overall European asylum requests; Eritreans were

the second biggest groups after Syrians. By 2014, Syrians (most of whom had lost residency in Egypt after the new regime came to power) had joined the groups leaving from Libya, as well but in 2015 Syrians tended to use the safer Egyptian sea route, leaving the Italy route again to those arriving from West Africa and the Horn. Last year, according to IOM, Italy saw the arrival of migrants and refugees from dozen countries. The main countries of origin were Eritrea, Nigeria, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Gambia, Mali, Senegal, Bangladesh and Ghana (DeLargy, 2016).

Looking at the data on actual African refugee asylum applications in the EU states for 2014, Eritrea led with almost 50,000, followed by Nigeria, Somalia, Gambia, and Sudan. Within these numbers, perhaps the most surprising thing is the heavy presence of Gambians. In 2015, data through November shows Eritrea (over 44,000), Nigeria (28,000), Somalia (24,000), and Gambia (12,000), with Senegal, Sudan, Mali, Ethiopia, Morocco, Guinea and Libya following with over 5000 each (DeLargy, 2016).

A few years ago, the African migrants to Europe were predominantly young men but nowadays there are more and more young women and also families with children (especially among Eritreans). A worrying trend in 2015 was the arrival of an increasing number of unaccompanied minors, especially Eritreans, but also a large number of Egyptian youth (from specific villages, it seems) (DeLargy, 2016).

African migrants and refugees are coming from very different situations – the young Gambian journalist may have different reasons for leaving his home than the unemployed Ethiopian high school graduate. Neither of them might be considered a political refugee according to the 1951 Refugee Convention but they both share the same desperation and the same aspirations as the Darfur mechanic displaced by war or the young Eritrean refugee leaving boredom and destitution in a camp in Sudan. They are all seeking simply to live a life with dignity, to study, to work and earn a living, to help their families. The measure of their desperation is that they engage with smugglers knowing full well the dangers involved in the journeys. Many have already lost friends or relatives and yet they forge ahead. In some cases, their families have made heavy sacrifices to finance the journeys (DeLargy, 2016).

2.4. AfSol, Concept, and Definition

The origin of African Solutions for African Problems (ASAP), can be traced back to the Pan-African ideals of self-worth, self-reliance, independence and African ingenuity and creative imagination. Most recently, it has applied in relation to conflict management and security issues besieging the continent. While the notion of ASAP is indeed a major change in policy orientation, it is still awaiting its clear articulation.

‘African Solutions for African Problems’ has, nonetheless, been hailed as a watershed moment for the African political landscape in which there is an ‘arrival of Africans’ resulting in ‘a paradigm shift from the beggar mentality’ to one that is proactive and self-assured. It is a discourse that helps Africans take ownership of continental challenges which are not necessarily experienced elsewhere in the world (or in the same way for that matter). It is a mantra that helps to instill a drive toward finding more localized answers to issues of poverty, drought, and disease while simultaneously investing in the capacity building. It is a claim of agency and policy independence which helps to firmly place Africa and African agendas within an increasingly complex political landscape.

Furthermore, based on the workshop that was conducted in September 2014 on AfSol (African Solutions for African Problems), experts have reached a common understanding that ownership, commitment, and shared values be considered principles for future discussions and researches in discovering African solutions for African problems (Report, December 2014).

At the continental and regional level, AfSol represents the hallowed African traditions of collective problem solving championed by elders in the spirit of "African brotherhood" and "good neighborliness". It is in line with such tried and tested traditions of collective self-help that the AU constituted the Council of the Wise, while ECOWAS has a Council of Elders for use in their conflict prevention and management efforts. In a sense, then, AfSol represents a clear effort by the AU and RECs to modernize widely accepted African customs dating back to time immemorial. It is, therefore, a commendable initiative that is aimed at taking ownership of and domesticating age-old African conflict prevention and resolution mechanisms at the continental and regional levels to suit contemporary needs and challenge (Sesay, 2016).

2.4.1. The Three Principles of AfSol

AfSol concepts, principles, practices, and policy are intertwined (Okello, 2016). The three principles of AfSol are ownership, commitment, and shared values. These principles were formulated to address peace and security concerns. The thesis will attempt to demonstrate the relationship between irregular migration, peace and security concerns, and consequently how AfSol could be used as one tool to address irregular migration.

2.4.1.1. The Principle of Ownership

Ownership as an ideal of AfSol is also related to having local civil society organizations that can promptly provide humanitarian assistance, and participate in post-conflict reconstruction processes. It is also related to continental and regional capabilities of learning from best practices in addressing continental peace and security issues and deployment of peacekeeping forces in different sub-regional settings. This kind of learning process helps African institutions to standardize best practices, develop the capacity of the subsidiary, and share their burdens. In addition, it creates more participation at grassroots levels by utilizing local knowledge and institutions (Gebremichael, 2016).

African ownership is about doing it in one's own way, i.e, having a solution which emerges from Africans. Africans are able to tackle their own problems best because they are more familiar with their problems than external actors (Report, 2014). Therefore, irregular migration in Africa is best addressed with African leaders lending a voice to the design of migration programs and policies.

2.4.1.2. The Principle of Commitment

For AfSol to materialize there has to be some level of commitment to providing resources. The commitment of countries should be extended to monitoring illicit financial flows, which undermine the activities of the continental and sub-regional organizations. For this, legal systems are required to monitor corruption and irregular border trades, which contribute to the financing of terrorism (Gebremichael, 2016). This, in turn, requires harnessing good governance.

The commitment of leaders at national, regional and continental level is crucial to the promotion of good governance. It's not only the leaders who bear responsibility in this regard, citizens

should also play a role through electing appropriate leaders and becoming active participants in democratic processes (Report, 2014).

2.4.1.3. The Principle of Shared Values

The issue of shared values has been broadly discussed by the scholars. These values are the basis for commitment and ownership of African peace and security challenges. Each individual state has its own values, some of which it shares with its neighboring States. Africa is a platform where the shared values form a ground for an Africa wide identity. On the other hand, any African value found at a certain location shared with others should be reflected in the solution designed for the people of that locality since it is ‘shared’ among individuals, creating the basis of their collective identity.

Shared history, geography, and identity are the basis for shared values. Africans have a shared history that goes back to the days of slavery and colonialism. This identity creates a longing for Africans to create a peaceful and united Africa. All stakeholders, governments, think tanks, citizens and the Diaspora share this responsibility.

However, this does not necessarily mean that these solutions represent solutions agreed to by all African countries. It also implicates the acknowledgment of diversity and willingness to accommodate and embrace different actors and their values in the process of decision-making, is critical to AfSol.

To achieve this goal, the shared values should encompass tolerance, solidarity, collective security, responsible leadership and citizenry committed to justice, practical solutions and human rights. These values are not based on romanticizing the past but are instead based on making practical and realistic links between tradition and other ‘adopted’ systems. Some of these values can therefore directly be applicable in managing irregular migration. For instance, it has been indicated in some articles that African cultural values include a sense of; community life, good human relations, the sacredness of life, sacred and of religion, respect for authority and the elders and others (Emeka.at). Then if the sense of respect for authority and the elders is one aspect of African cultural values, it can be used to manage irregular migration. Hence, through having responsible leadership and citizenry committed to justice and practical solutions, it would minimize the hardship to manage irregular migration.

Another very important point is the need to consider other value systems. Africa exists with the global system, where it has been interacting with other parts of the world; therefore its solutions should be cognizant of the similarity or contradiction it has with these global values systems, not necessarily to conform to it but to handle the situation with understanding (Report, 2014). Hence, African solutions should take into account global values that go hand in hand with African values.

In this paper, the researcher will attempt to use the framework of AfSol to address irregular migration issue.

CHAPTER THREE: METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Research Design

In this study, qualitative method of research approach was used to study the problem at hand. The idea behind the qualitative method of research is to establish the meaning and provide a deeper understanding of a program, event or organization. It is hence considered most suitable for conducting this study since the purpose behind it is mainly concerned with understanding irregular migration in terms of being problematic to countries of origin and countries of destination and the framework of AfSol. Another justification for choosing this type of research method is with regard to its flexibility. It allows the study to shift its phase throughout the process. This gives room for making some alteration or modification whereby the researcher is able to improve the research questions and change a particular element of the study. Such kind of flexibility has enabled the researcher to accommodate the changes that had occurred during the process of data collection (Kothari, 2004).

As indicated in the previous section of this research, the main objective of this study is to understand the applicability of the framework of AfSol in managing irregular migration. Therefore, the research design that is believed to suit the study well is a method of exploratory study. It is one of the popular methods of qualitative research whereby it involves original interviews on a limited scale with interested parties and individuals with a view to secure greater insight into the practical aspects of the problem (Creswell, 2009). It enables a researcher to emphasize on the discovery of ideas and insights.

Furthermore, it is an important tool because the research design is flexible enough to permit the consideration of many different aspects of a program. It is also beneficial for a researcher since it allows a combination of approaches such as archival of documents and interviews (Kothari, 2004).

3.2 Data collection

Qualitative research method employs a combination of several strategies of inquiry, methods of data collection and data analysis. The most common methods of data collection include interviews, focus group discussion, direct as well as participant observation and document or text analysis (Creswell, 2009). In order to address the research questions, there was a need to obtain

information and gather data from both primary and secondary sources i.e. the experts on irregular migrations and AfSol, and also relevant documents and literature. Accordingly, the researcher has employed interviews and document analysis which seemed a more appropriate method for data collection. During data collection, by taking the time available and the research questions into consideration, the researcher has made extensive use of in-depth interviews with informants both personal and if possible, through telephone interviews.

3.1.1. Primary Data

3.1.1.1 Semi-Structured Interview

Interviews are the most commonly used methods of data collection in qualitative research. It can take different forms and are usually classified as structured, semi-structured and unstructured forms of interview. While the former type of interview is usually designed using more rigid questions with less flexibility in the form of predetermined questions, the latter enjoys a greater degree of flexibility and is designed using open-ended questions for participant responses. With regard to semi-structured interview, questions may be using some kind of structure and still have open-ended questions in which participants are allowed to provide their own meanings and interpretation beyond the defined questions (Berg, 2001).

Qualitative interviews are interactive allowing the researcher to have verbal communication with participants either in the form of a one-on-one interview or can take the form of focus groups in a larger group interview. It is a productive tool as it enables the researcher to make sure that relevant issues are brought into the discussion so that knowledge and assumptions are constructed (Mason, 2002).

In conducting this study, the researcher used semi-structured interviews whereby open-ended questions with a follow-up or probes were designed for gathering more detail during the process of data collection. This was done with a primary aim of generating detailed views of participants that may incorporate any embedded perceptions they may have regarding the problem under study. This was primarily done in order to provide both the researcher and the participants to reshape the direction or the flow of the interview so that a rich description of the issue could be made. The researcher interviewed a total of six experts that have done extensive work on AfSol and irregular migration.

3.1.2. Secondary Data

3.1.2.1. Document Analysis

Document analysis is a secondary source of data collection tool in qualitative research. This was extensively employed particularly prior to conducting primary data collection. In developing the body of literature review, a number of documents relevant to the topic of the study were used. To this end, various works of researchers and academicians on similar topics that assess the underlying factors of irregular migrations, policies used to manage irregular migration and their implication on the countries of origin and countries of destination were brought under close scrutiny. Books, articles, journals, reports and audiovisual materials on issues of irregular migration and migration policies from both countries of origin and destination are also utilized.

3.2. Sampling Techniques

Overall a total of six informants were selected from the pull of experts working on the matter of migration and AfSol. According to Dawson (2002), sampling technique entails a careful selection of smaller and more manageable number of people to take part in undertaking a research. There are two main types of sampling designs namely; probability and non-probability sampling. Purposive sampling technique is a method identified as a non-probability sampling procedure. The underlying assumption behind this technique is that since there is no guarantee that each item of the population will be included in the sample, the researcher has to use his/her judgment to select a smaller sample out of the entire population that is believed to be representative of the whole (Kothari, 2004). The informants are selected through the use of purposive sampling technique. This was primarily done because the researcher intended to collect data from a particular subset of the population who are considered more suitable for conducting the study.

Therefore, it should be made clear that participants in the study were selected not randomly but based on the reliable information the researcher had on their education and career background. After the researcher understood what kinds of expertise were needed for the study, it was easier to map out the kind of sample that was needed which is feasible to conduct the study. Hence, in terms of obtaining solid information about irregular migration, AfSol and policies implemented in those regards, it was sought best to contact the experts who have done extensive work on

migration and AfSol framework with the aim of obtaining their perspective regarding the matter of interest. Hence, in order to make a detailed exploration of these dynamics, the researcher has intentionally selected this sampling technique.

Furthermore, as Babbie (2007) illustrated, snowball sampling is one of the methods of data collection under a non-probability sampling technique. It is a process employed when locating particular subjects in a study is difficult to do so such as experts but within the context of this research; experts of irregular migration and AfSol. Thus, the researcher is required to collect data on few individuals of the target group then ask those people to provide information or suggest other subjects. As a result, snowball sampling is employed to locate and include the aforementioned unit in the sample.

3.3. Tools of Data collection

Qualitative data was collected through semi-structured interviews in order to have specific and detailed information from key informants.

The researcher outlined research questions which were used as a guide to conducting the semi-structured interviews in order to have specific and detailed information from key informants. The interview guidelines are attached as an annex on the research paper.

3.4. Data Analysis and Interpretation

Throughout the research, the main approach of analysis has been qualitative data analysis. Qualitative analysis is a non-numerical interpretation of gathered data or observation into a meaningful manner with the aim of identifying underlying patterns and relationships (Babbie, 2007). It is fundamentally interpretive. This means that the researcher makes an interpretation of the data. This includes developing a description of an individual or setting, analyzing data for themes or categories, and finally making an interpretation or drawing conclusions about its meaning personally and theoretically, stating the learned and offering further questions to be asked (Creswell, 2009). The data gathered through the semi-structured interview will be heard from the recording, coded, transcribed and organized the response respectively.

The researcher also made use of thematic analysis; one of the qualitative methods for data analysis. This is done with the aim of reducing gathered data into different categories and

homogenous groups in order to isolate meaningful patterns. Thematic analysis is an inductive analysis which enables the premise of the study to emerge from the data and not be imposed by the researcher. This method of data analysis also enables the researcher to conduct data collection and analysis simultaneously (Dawson, 2002). Hence using this approach, the researcher conducted continuous transcribing of field notes mostly done after each interview.

By employing this method, the researcher arranged the data into different categories in order to convey the common and differing themes and ideas emerged from gathered data. The data was then reduced in a meaningful manner by making a detailed interpretation and description of the setting. In doing so, the researcher was able to identify and analyze the common perception of participants. Furthermore, in order to validate the accuracy of gathered data, the researcher employed a triangulation approach. Triangulation is a technique of verifying the finding of a study through the use of different strategies; by incorporating several viewpoints and methods (Creswell, 2009). Hence, the researcher employed this strategy to avoid bias and ensure the validity of the research. As such, the researcher triangulated different sources by incorporating varied standpoints from both primary and secondary sources of information which assist to understand the commonality and divergence of ideas.

3.5. Limitation of the Study

African Solutions for African Problems is still an ongoing debate. There are several reports discussing the issue, but there is a dearth of research materials focused exclusively on this subject matter. Hence, the limited availability of literature on the topic was one challenge. Also due to delayed and no response from certain international organizations, it was hard for the researcher to contact and receive relevant information from several key informants.

3.6. Ethical Considerations

In conducting a research, it is of paramount importance that a researcher pay due attention to some ethical behaviors and field ethics. In conducting this study, the researcher took the rules and regulations of IPSS handbook into consideration. As such, the anonymity and confidentiality of informants are ensured throughout the research. The researcher explained the purpose of the study in advance and obtained the consent of informants prior to their participation in the study.

In doing so, the researcher made sure that informants took part voluntarily without any deception. The researcher did not record interviews indiscriminately without obtaining prior permission. The researcher also tried to maintain a neutral position during the study so as to avoid biased judgment. Furthermore, the researcher also made sure to properly acknowledge the work of other researchers or document materials used in conducting this study by employing a careful citation of their works which is indicated in the reference section of this study.

CHAPTER FOUR: POLICIES, ACTIONS, AND IMPLEMENTATION IN LIGHT OF AFSOL FRAMEWORK

This chapter analyses migration policies of destination countries like United States of America, European Union, and the United Kingdom. Furthermore, the framework of migration of the African Union and Regional Economic Communities of Africa are touched upon. The researcher analyzes these policies in order to identify the solutions that these different countries apply to manage migration, specifically irregular migration. In addition, the researcher also tried to analyze the success or failure of these policies with regards to the implementation in light of AfSol.

4.1 Major actions taken as a solution for migration:

4.1.1 By destination countries

4.1.1.1 United States

According to the Independent Task Force on U.S. Immigration Policy goal reforming immigration policies and practices is one of the craft strategies. The Task Force report stated that immigration is vital to the long-term prosperity and security of the United States. In the global competition to attract highly talented immigrants, the United States must ensure that it remains the destination of the first choice. The report also finds that immigrants, who bring needed language and cultural skills, are an increasingly important asset for the U.S. armed forces. What is more, allowing people to come to this country to visit, study or work is one of the surest means to build friendships with future generations of foreign leaders and to show America's best face to the world. Hence, the Task Force finds that getting legal immigration right will also help policymakers tackle the issue of illegal immigration (Jeb Bush and Thomas F. McLarty III, 2009).

Currently, immigration to the United States is based upon the reunification of families, admitting immigrants with skills that are valuable to the U.S. economy, protecting refugees, and promoting diversity principles.

Family Based Immigration - Family unification is an important principle governing immigration policy. The family-based immigration category allows U.S. citizens and lawful permanent residents to bring certain family members to the United States (Council, 2016).

Employment-Based Immigration - The United States provides various ways for immigrants with valuable skills to come to the country on either a permanent or a temporary basis.

Per-Country Ceilings - In addition to the numerical limits placed upon the various immigration preferences, the INA also places a limit on how many immigrants can come to the United States from any one country. Currently, no group of permanent immigrants (family-based and employment-based) from a single country can exceed seven percent of the total amount of people immigrating to the United States in a single fiscal year (Council, 2016).

This is not a quota to ensure that certain nationalities make up seven percent of immigrants, but rather a limit that is set to prevent any immigrant group from dominating immigration patterns to the United States.

Refugees and Asylum seekers - There are several categories of legal admission available to people who are fleeing persecution or are unable to return to their homeland due to life-threatening or extraordinary conditions. This is to give protection to the Refugees, Asylum seekers, and other Vulnerable Populations.

The Diversity Visa Program - The Diversity Visa lottery was created by the Immigration Act of 1990 as a dedicated channel for immigrants from countries with low rates of immigration to the United States. Each year 55,000 visas are allocated randomly to nationals from countries that have sent less than 50,000 immigrants to the United States in the previous 5 years. The Diversity Visa program has become one of the only avenues for individuals from certain regions in the world to secure a green card. To be eligible for a diversity visa, an immigrant must have a high-school education (or its equivalent) or have, within the past five years, a minimum of two years working in a profession requiring at least two years of training or experience. Spouses and minor unmarried children of the principal applicant may also enter as dependents. A computer-generated random lottery drawing chooses selectees for diversity visas. The visas are distributed among six geographic regions with a greater number of visas going to regions with lower rates of

immigration, and with no visas going to nationals of countries sending more than 50,000 immigrants to the United States over the last five years (Council, 2016).

People from eligible countries in different continents may register for the lottery. However, because these visas are distributed on a regional basis, the program especially benefits Africans and Eastern Europeans.

Under other forms of humanitarian relief – there are two aspects temporary protected status and deferred enforced departure. Temporary protected status is given to people who are in the United States but cannot return to their home country because of “natural disaster,” “extraordinary temporary conditions,” or “ongoing armed conflict”. Deferred enforced departure provides protection from deportation for individuals whose home countries are unstable, therefore making return dangerous (Council, 2016).

As stated above the American immigration policy provides requirements and rights of migrants from other continents. However, America's exceptional status as a "nation of immigrants" is being challenged by globalization. This is making both migration and terrorism much easier. Since the formation of the present America as a nation, is a result of immigrants from all over the world. Typical illegal aliens come to America primarily for better jobs and in the process add value to the U.S. economy. Nevertheless, they also take away value by weakening the legal and national security environment. When three out of every 100 people in America are undocumented (or, rather, documented with forged and faked papers), there is a profound security problem (Kane, 2006).

As before, it is seen that the favored approach of a policy of benign neglect can no longer be tenable due to the various after-effects of migration.

Various efforts directed at improving the immigration policy have focused on a wide variety of changes in policy, including improving border security, strengthening employer verification of employment, establishing a new temporary guest worker program, and offering some level of amnesty to illegal immigrants living in the United States (Kane, 2006).

In US history, various Immigration laws have been passed that included granting legalization to millions of unauthorized immigrants in 1986, imposing sanctions on employers who hired unauthorized immigrants, border control, and prioritized enforcement of laws on hiring immigrants and tightened admissions eligibility in 1996, 2002 and 2006. Moreover, in 2012 and 2014, President Barack Obama took executive action to allow young adults and unauthorized-immigrant parents of U.S.-born children to apply for deportation relief and a work permit respectively, which is still on hold because of a legal challenge by 26 states (Cohn, 2015).

Currently, President Trump has proposed the following measures to combat irregular migration, and migrants; building the Mexican-Border wall, publicizing crimes and stripping privacy protections of undocumented immigrants; enlisting local police to enforce the new immigration policy; building new detention facilities for 'illegal' migrants; discouraging asylum seekers; and speeding up deportations. However, there is still a debate going on that the memorandum fixates on the significant expansion of the scope of expedited removals which is going to be costly, time taking and may even attract illegal migrants (Semotiuk, 2017).

As indicated by The Task Force, in regards to the actions that are considered to be taken by the U.S;

"There needs to be a grand bargain that addresses three issues. First, there should be legislation that reforms the legal immigration system so that it operates more efficiently, responds more accurately to labor market needs, and enhances U.S. competitiveness. Second, the integrity of the system needs to be restored through an enforcement regime that strongly discourages employers and employees from operating outside that legal system. Finally, there must be a humane and orderly way to allow many of the roughly twelve million migrants currently living illegally in the United States to earn the right to remain here legally."

In addition, the Task Force suggested that there should be an effective enforcement regime centered on three elements: first, a comprehensive and accurate system that discourages employers from hiring unauthorized migrants; second, tougher enforcement at the borders that stops those who should not be admitted at a U.S. land border or port of entry; and, third, closer cooperation among federal, state, and local law enforcement officials in enforcing immigration laws.

The Task Force also stated that *“The continued failure to devise and implement a sound and sustainable immigration policy threatens to weaken America’s economy, to jeopardize its diplomacy, and to imperil its national security.”*

The above arguments show that irregular migration is a problem to the US. The Task Force stated that the presence of millions of undocumented migrants distorts the law, distracts resources, and effectively creates a cover for terrorists and criminals. Therefore, the American immigration policy has to include pre-migration measures to manage irregular migration. However, as it stands the immigration policy mainly focuses on post-migration measures rather than pre-migration measures. The failure to police irregular migrants can therefore partially be attributed to this gap.

4.1.1.2 European Union

The issue of irregular migration from African countries has created considerable tension within the European Union. According to IOM, in 2015, more than a million people were reported to have arrived in the EU via Mediterranean maritime routes with 3771 people reported dead or missing (IOM, 2016). This disorderly, dangerous and large-scale arrival of people with its associated horrifying death toll has driven the issue of immigration to the top of the political agenda in the many European Union States.

Even though migration policy is only one part of the effort to bring down net migration, it plays a major role in decreasing the numbers of inflow. According to EU Commission, the EU has developed short and medium to long-term agendas on migration. The short-term focus on further funding FRONTEX (European Border and Coast Guard Agency) joint search and rescue operations and strengthening the role of Europol as an intelligence hub for dismantling criminal networks so as there is a smooth settlement of migration while maintaining protection to the locals. The long-term agenda, however, try to incorporate the following four pillars:

1. Reducing the incentives for irregular migration: the focus is on addressing the root causes of irregular migration in non-EU countries, dismantling smuggling and trafficking networks and defining actions for the better application of return policies.

2. Saving lives and securing the external borders: this involves better management of the external border, in particular through solidarity towards those Member States that Plan to at the external borders, and improving the efficiency of border crossings.
3. Strengthening the common asylum policy: with the increases in the flows of asylum seekers, the EU's asylum policies need to be based on solidarity towards those needing international protection as well as among the EU Member States, whose full application of the common rules must be ensured through systematic monitoring.
4. Developing a new policy on legal migration: Trafficking in the future demographic challenges the EU is facing, the new policy needs to focus on attracting workers that the EU economy needs, particularly by facilitating entry and the recognition of qualifications.

The EU has developed an integrated border management strategy in order to fight irregular migration. This strategy uses technological platforms to police the movement of irregular migrants both at the border and upon entrance.

Aside from the Commission taking strong action to prevent irregular migration, by ensuring that each EU State effectively controls its own portion of the EU's external borders, build trust in the effectiveness of the EU system of migration management, and ensure that the fundamental rights of migrants are fully respected. It also has developed legislative measures, including:

- Strengthening the mandate of FRONTEX so that it can act more effectively at the external border.
- Establishing an evaluation mechanism to verify the correct application of the Schengen rules that provide entry to EU states without internal border checks.
- Intensifying coordination between border surveillance authorities (through the European Border Surveillance System – EUROSUR) and considering the feasibility of creating a European system of border guards (EuropeanCommission, 2017).
- Establishing rules for the surveillance of the external sea borders in the context of operational cooperation coordinated by FRONTEX.

In recent years substantial reforms to non-EU immigration have taken place with the aim of reducing the number of irregular migrants. These measures include raising the skills required for

non-EU workers, ensuring that students are genuinely interested in learning by interviewing applicants, raising the income threshold required to sponsor a non-EU spouse, and shutting down large numbers of bogus colleges. However, only a small reduction in flow has been recorded.

EU countries have attempted to ‘externalize’ border controls towards the Maghreb countries by pressuring North African countries to clamp down on irregular migration, and to readmit irregular migrants in exchange for development aid, financial support for border controls, military equipment, and limited numbers of temporary work permits for immigrants (Haas, 2008).

In 2011, Global Approach to Migration and Mobility (GAMM) was published by the European Commission and approved by the council as a common strategy for migration. The approach guarantees respect for the human rights of migrants while maintaining the priorities of better organizing legal migration, fostering well-managed mobility, preventing and combating irregular migration, eradicating trafficking in human beings, maximizing the development impact of migration and mobility, promoting international protection, and enhancing the external dimension of asylum. Although it did not last long, this approach, which is called the Conventional response tried to incorporate the needs of migrants, countries of origin, countries of destination, and other partners. The main reason for the failure of the approach was the inability of member states to agree on the humanitarian dimension of the migration phenomena.

The goal specific approaches that were also used include fencing Europe but without making changes to the visa, asylum and immigration policies made little impact in regulating migration (Attinà, F. (2017).

Although securing the borders to manage irregular migration could be a solution benefiting the EU, it nevertheless does not address the concerns of African migrants who pay a hefty price to come to their countries of destination. EU policies should, therefore, take the humanitarian perspective into account, and factor the price migrants pay into account when designing policies. In order to do this, this paper proposes for grass root measures targeted at discouraging migration in countries of origin.

4.1.1.3 United Kingdom

In 2015 there were an estimated 631,000 immigrants to the UK and 298,000 emigrants giving a figure for net migration of 334,000. Reducing net migration as proposed would still allow for substantial flows each way. Hence a more effective immigration control and enforcement of immigration law are needed. A target for net migration remains essential for focusing government policy so it is welcome that the government remains committed to reducing net migration to the tens of thousands.

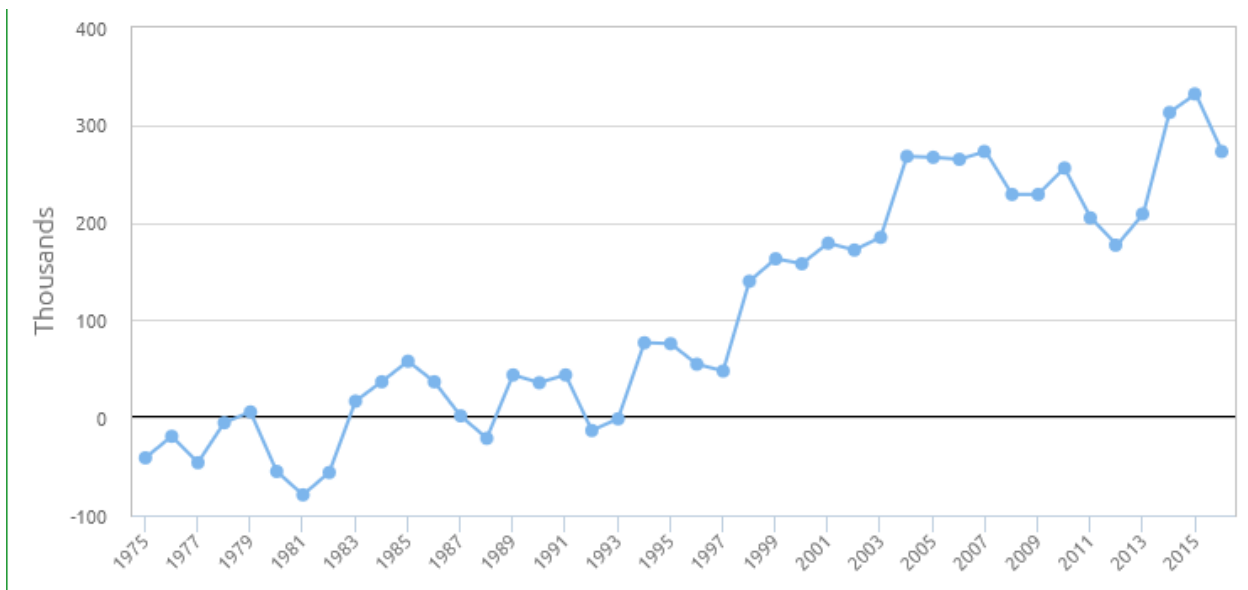


Figure 4.3: Net migration to the UK 1975 - September 2016

Source: Office for National Statistics, long-term international migration by Citizenship Data, UK

Despite some reduction in migration from outside the European Union, overall net migration rose to a third of a million. This is largely because net migration from the EU doubled due to the ongoing disparity in wealth between Eastern Europe and the UK together with the Euro zone crisis affecting Southern Europe. Net migration from Europe is now almost equal to that from outside the EU. This no doubt played an enforcement role in the decision taken by the British people to leave the European Union (The UK, 2016).

Chancellor Angela Merkel of Germany and President Hollande of France have demanded that all European countries take “fair share” of migrants. According to the authors, “fair share” is described as the number of migrants to each country’s GDP, and that will mean Britain would

receive most of the migrants. This “fair share” description brought a question which says “why not link the number of migrants each country takes to its population density?” In this case, Britain is the most densely populated country in Europe (The euro probe, 2016).

The recent immigration policy of the UK set out twelve points which provide a sensible strategy for managing inward migration in a way that would support the economy, the work for their businesses and address public concerns. These are; the UK should seek to remain as close to the EU's single market as possible, European Economic Area (EEA) immigrants already resident in the UK should be granted the right to remain on terms no less favorable than at present, the Government should abandon its net migration target, International students and academics should continue to have unrestricted access to UK universities, accurate migration data, better migration planning by the public sector, keep the immigration processing system simple, stronger enforcement against abuse of the immigration system, a Migration Impact Fund to help communities adjust to demographic change, encourage and enable better integration, educate British workers for the needs of the UK labor market, and build a new national consensus on immigration.

Though, immigration was a prominent factor for many of the people who voted last June (2016) to leave the EU, the new policy options taken by the UK are not that different from previous positions taken by the EU. The UK therefore also needs to look at pre-migration measures.

4.1.2 By African states

4.1.2.1 Regional Economic Communities

Africa's Regional Economic Communities (RECs) include eight sub-regional bodies which make up the African Economic Community. The Community was established in 1991 by the Abuja Treaty. It provides the overarching framework for continental economic integration. These are: the Arab Maghreb Union (AMU/UMA) in the North, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in the West, the East African Community (EAC) in the East, the Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD) in the East, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) in the South, the Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA) in the Southeast, the Economic Community of Central African States

(ECCAS) in the Center, and the Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CENSAD) in the North (Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2016).

Africa's RECs constitute key building blocks for economic integration in Africa, as well as key actors working in collaboration with the African Union (AU), in ensuring peace and stability in their regions. As the building blocks and implementing arms of the African Union (AU), the RECs have been central to various transformative programs of the continent, including the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) which was adopted in 2001, and the AU's Agenda 2063 adopted by its Summit in January 2015, and its First Ten-Year Implementation Plan adopted by the 25th Summit of the AU in June 2015 (Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2016).

Beyond their role in peace and security, RECs have the immense challenge of working with governments, civil society and the AU Commission in raising the standard of living of the people of Africa and contributing towards the progress and development of the continent through economic growth and social development (Office of the Special Adviser on Africa, 2016).

The AU's long-term goal is to achieve unrestricted regional and continental mobility (Hannes, 2016). One specific element of the AU's Agenda 2063 is therefore to introduce an African passport. It also aims to abolish visa requirements for all African citizens in all African countries by 2018 as a way of solving the ongoing problem of irregularity, curbing out-migration from the continent and promoting intra-African trade. Many RECs, too, are placing freedom of movement and mobility at the heart of their integration policies. RECs like ECOWAS and IGAD have made good progress in this area (Hannes, 2016).

Managing migration has been an agenda item for RECs and individual States within Africa. States have discussed how to best manage this issue, both amongst themselves and with other community blocks. As an instance, one can mention the discussions between African Countries and the EU at the EU-Africa Summit on Migration in Valletta in November 2015. From the European perspective; addressing the Mediterranean Sea of migration, enhancing cooperation on legal migration and mobility, reinforcing the protection of migrants and asylum seekers, combating exploitation, migrant smuggling, and trafficking in human beings, and improving cooperation on return, readmission and reintegration were the focus area (Hannes, 2016).

In an effort to address migration, EU States have been putting pressure on West African countries like Senegal, Gambia, and Guinea to crack down on (irregular) migration. However, entertaining this concern and taking measures to control migration might be at odds with the freedom of movement and the right to work guaranteed under ECOWAS agreements like 1971 protocol of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) on the Free Movement of Persons, and the Right of Residence and Establishment Act. These instruments guarantee citizens of Member States the right to settle work and do business in other ECOWAS member States. Although the implementation of the protocol on free movement leaves much to be desired, West African States have few legal means to 'combat illegal migration' as long as migrants' presence on their territories is legal. Also, on a practical level, it seems virtually impossible to impede people from moving given the widespread corruption, and the lack of enforcement capacity—if Europeans are unable to seal off their borders, African states can hardly be expected to do so either (Haas, 2008).

The Southern African migration system, which centered on South Africa and involves its neighbors as migrant senders, has developed since the late 19th century in parallel with the emergence and growth of the South African mining industry. The West African migration system emerged from the rubble of the French and British colonial empires and has been strongly imprinted by their legacies. In West Africa, migration dynamics were linked to the formation of capitalist economies, initially in large urban centers but later spreading to other urban settlements and even to the countryside, and resulting in regional and social inequalities. At the same time, regional migration was facilitated by the development of infrastructure and transportation as well as the diffusion of Western languages and cultural values (Agadjanian, 2008).

Regional international institutions have also played an important role in shaping inter-country migration movements (Agadjanian, 2008). For instance, the South African Development Community (SADC), which includes mainly the countries of the southern African region, and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) particularly implement inter-country migration movements.

SADC was created in 1992, replacing the Southern African Development Coordination Conference established in 1980. Unlike its predecessor, whose primary objective was to reduce

the member countries' dependence on South Africa, the main goal of SADC is to promote integration and cooperation among all member states, including post-apartheid South Africa. Likewise, ECOWAS was established in 1975 to promote free movement of goods, capital, and people, and specifically to facilitate entry and residence of ECOWAS citizens into any member country. Therefore, despite a number of inefficiencies, these organizations have catalyzed regional international migration through the simplification and eventual elimination of visa and travel documentation requirements, and advocacy of migrants' economic and political rights (Adepoju, 2000).

For REC's inter-country movement among African countries is set as a solution to minimize the irregular migration. Of course having an integrated Regional Economic Communities in Africa could be one prospective solution. But this is not enough to reduce the number of migrants taking unsafe routes to destination countries; the economic status in each community has to be developed. In order to have this development, we need skilled and educated Africans. Therefore, REC's Policy should incorporate pre-migration measures as well.

4.1.2.2. *African Union*

The AU Commissioner for Social Affairs, Dr. Mustapha Sidiki Kaloko, said the free movement of Africans within the continent would reduce the number of migrants risking their lives on dangerous journeys to other continents. He also emphasized on the economic benefits of free intra-African movement by citing as an example the experience of Rwanda and Mauritius, countries which allow visa-free movement for Africans.

Considering the difficulty and practical inability to stop migrants from crossing borders, there is a clear sense of deadlock around the issue (Haas, 2008). The economic needs have been the “push factor” behind both regular and irregular migration, while the “pull factor” relates to the attraction of the rich countries to prospective immigrants and migrants (B. Oriola, 2011).

Amongst the solutions put forth to address the migration crisis on the African continent is silencing guns and creating sustainable peace (Tashobya, 2016). The second is focusing on establishing strong economies with comprehensive education facilities, vast employment opportunities, and well-functioning leadership institutions (Tashobya, 2016).

As Dr. Mustapha SidikiKaloko, African Union Commissioner for Social Affairs said “If we make this continent suitable for everybody, maybe the number of people moving across the Mediterranean Sea to Europe might decrease. This means; diversifying our economy, industrialization, increasing productivity and jobs, good health services, good education and good infrastructure on the continent. These are long-term solutions to migration." He also stated that "People want to make us believe that people are moving away because of poor governance, wars, and political reasons. But when it comes down to grassroots, most of the people move away from this continent for economic reasons.”

According to the UN report currently, 250 million people live outside their countries and out of this Africans constitute 8.5 percent of this number.

There are African Union policies on migration that emphasize the importance of governing forced migration as a priority of the African Union. These are the "Migration Policy Framework for Africa", the "African Common Position on Migration and Development", the "Joint AU-EU Declaration on Migration and Development", and the "Ouagadougou Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings, Especially Women and Children".

The Migration Policy Framework for Africa which was adopted in 2006 in Banjul, The Gambia, articulates a comprehensive and integrated policy guideline on irregular migration. It proves more comprehensive than other AU policies because, the framework particularly gives focus to combating irregular migration, and establishing comprehensive migration management systems which can contribute to enhancing national and international security and stability. According to the framework, this can be made feasible through taking actions at national, continental and international level. One of these actions could be identifying the root causes of irregular migrants and isolating societal values which can be applied as a solution.

In order to effectively manage migration, the root causes of migration should be addressed, and this can be done through recognizing the current dimensions and the implications of irregular migration on peace, stability, and security. The ultimate aim of the policies is to ensure migration is voluntary and legal encompassing methods that reflect the respect for human rights of

migrants and collaboration among actors, including migrants, countries of origin, transit, and destination.

Therefore, one can conclude that creating a conducive environment for the free movement of Africans within Africa, could be one way of managing migration, the second is silencing guns and creating sustainable peace and third is focusing on establishing strong economies with comprehensive education facilities, vast employment opportunities, and well-functioning leadership institutions.

Still, AU migration policies are considering solutions through top-bottom approach rather than bearing in mind grass root solutions which can easily be integrated among Africans. Since this approach is not costly, time taking and difficult.

4.2. Why and how these measures failed or succeed

As seen in the previous paragraphs, various measures were taken in regards to migration in US, EU, Britain, and Africa. Most of these measures have brought little effect and can be deducted as failures.

According to IOM if more is not done in regards to migration and unless the situation of migration is not looked as an opportunity but rather as a problem, the efforts of building more walls, tightening visa regimes and trying to restrict movement is simply not working as it is seen in the death toll of irregular migrants (Swing, 2015).

It can be perceived that African migration to Europe is commonly seen as a tidal wave of desperate people fleeing poverty and warfare at home trying to enter the elusive European El Dorado. Typical ‘solutions’ proposed by politicians include increasing border controls or boosting African ‘stay-at-home’ development (Haas, 2008). Although different policies were developed and implementations of these policies were tried, the effect was not that considerable especially since the number of member countries has increased in the union, affecting the management of irregular migration for instance disagreement between member states of the European Union in regards to mechanisms and strategies of the collective management of the migration flows.

African development is also unlikely to curb migration as it will enable and inspire more people to migrate. Furthermore, despite lip service being paid to ‘combating illegal migration’ for political and diplomatic reasons, neither European nor African States have much genuine interest in stopping migration (Haas, 2008). Based on this article, the reason for the African States not to have a genuine interest in combating illegal migration could be as a result of the income that generates out of remittances. While on the other hand, for the European States could be low labor market.

Immigration to the United States is based upon the principles of the reunification of families, admitting immigrants with skills that are valuable to the U.S. economy, protecting refugees, promoting diversity, and other forms of humanitarian relief.

Various efforts as to immigration policy have focused on a wide variety of changes in policy, including improving border security, strengthening employer verification of employment, establishing a new temporary guest worker program, and offering some level of amnesty to illegal immigrants living in the United States. However, to achieve results, immigration reform must be comprehensive. Since a lopsided, ideological approach that focuses exclusively on border security while ignoring migrant workers (or vice versa) is bound to fail (Kane, 2006).

In US history, various Immigration laws have been passed that included granting legalization to millions of unauthorized immigrants in 1986, imposing sanctions on employers who hired unauthorized immigrants, border control, and prioritized enforcement of laws on hiring immigrants and tightened admissions eligibility in 1996, 2002 and 2006. However, in 2012 and 2014, President Barack Obama took executive action to allow young adults and unauthorized-immigrant parents of U.S.-born children to apply for deportation relief and a work permit respectively which is still on hold because of a legal challenge by 26 states (Cohn, 2015).

Currently, President Trump has proposed building the Mexican-Border wall; publicizing crimes of undocumented immigrants; stripping privacy protections; enlisting local police as immigration enforcers; new detention facilities; discouraging asylum seekers, and speeding up deportations to solve the migration issues. However, there is still a debate going on that the memorandum fixates on the significant expansion of the scope of expedited removals which is going to be costly, time taking and may even attract illegal migrants (Semotiuk, 2017).

CHAPTER FIVE: FINDING AND ANALYSIS

Under this chapter, the researcher will analyze data collected through interviews and document review. The analysis will be done in a manner that addresses the research questions and objectives.

5.1 Migration as a problem

Before delving into whether or not African solutions can be implemented to solve irregular migration, one has to first establish migration as a problem. According to the literature reviews, migration per se is not a problem. However, if it is unmanaged then that will directly be a problem to the countries of destination as well as for countries of origin. Moreover, As Dr. Mehari stated;

*"Migration has a problem but is not a problem by itself. Most progress in humankind came as a result of mobility of people from place to place. Partly with migration of people comes migration of ideas, migration of technology, and transfer of knowledge"*¹

This migration of ideas, capital, labor and skills that exist among human kinds through progress are actually the result of migration. Hence, it cannot be a problem by definition.

*"Migration is actually the source of progress. However, it has problems in it because migration is leaving one's own comfort zone. Vulnerability, whoever that person is even a president with all his protection when he moves from his palace to the outside his vulnerability to certain degree increases let alone a person seeking for economic benefit or fleeing persecution. The vulnerability is associated with migration and for that, it is a problem but it is not a problem by itself."*²

His position is supported by others who wrote on the topic. Another expert on the topic had also supported this position by arguing that migration in and of itself is not a problem. Rather, the

¹ Interviewee: Mehari Taddele Maru, 2017

² Ibid

problems are those factors prompting migration such as pull factors like terrorism and maybe the mode of migration.³

Furthermore, Dr. Mercy argued that the problem causing migration usually has to do with peace, security and stability concerns in countries of origin.

This paper sides with the views of the experts, migration and of itself is not a problem. It is, however, a cause and a result of many other problems, both for the countries of origin and the countries of destination.

When it comes to irregular migration, experts have agreed that it is a problem. Addressing this question Dr. Mehari argues that irregular migration by definition is not clear. In his opinion, irregular migration is not a legal concept, illegal is the right one. Politically, to say illegally is not correct, but legally there is no definition of irregular migration. To say irregular would be politically correct because there is a crossing of a border or entry that is not authorized or without papers. Immediately all jurisdictions make it at least a petty offense.

He goes on stating that in some jurisdiction it is even a hard crime. But still it is illegal hence the correct concept and description is illegal migration. In order to make it politically correct, the international community called it irregular migration. The reason that irregular migration has become a problem unlike general migration is because the country where the irregular migrant is (country of destination) will not give protection to the irregular migrant because irregular migrants are actually criminal: petty or hard, depending on the purpose that the irregular migrant is doing it for; for example stealing, theft or act of terrorism can be categorized under the hard crimes. While, when the irregular migrant is doing it for his/her own advantage it can be a petty offense of transgression of a law of a country.

For migration to be legal it has to fulfill some sort of permission, documentation because entry to a country is not a right, an exit is a right. Therefore, one needs to get permission; the Sovereign State has to give the irregular migrant permission. In contrast, if the Sovereign State does not

³ Interviewee: Mercy Fekadu, 2017

give permission while the irregular migrant is inside the country of destination then it means traversing the law of that country.⁴

People who move without proper approval or documentation and when the approval has to be certified through documentation like visa or agreement of some sort then for that reason it is noticeable that many people who are migrating without documentation do it for the sake of improving their own livelihood most of the time so it becomes less of criminal out of humanity, out of political consideration one can call it irregular but as a concept it is the most un-concise definition of irregular migration.⁵

*“Irregular migration has become a big challenge, although different organization like some governments will prefer to use the term illegal migration while societies like the human rights societies prefer the term irregular migration, the term depends on who you talk to. All in all irregular migration will be people moving from place to another especially trying to find heavens elsewhere for economically, socially and political reasons.”*⁶

As it has been indicated that some of the basic reasons why people move include economic reasons and political reasons, which is a very big challenge in Africa today. One can take as an example the cases of South Sudan, Mali, and Nigeria. In order to help irregular migrants, one must first understand the reason for irregular migration. Understanding the reason for migration might also help States design Sympathetic policies and grant migrants better rights.⁷

From the perspective of human rights, irregular migration is a normal part of life and it should be allowed to happen with some kind of monitoring and regulation mechanism.⁸ It is not a security problem *per se* but it is a big security issue in a sense that the migration itself is not a problem; the aftermath of the consequences is the problem.

It could be a debate about whether the chicken or the egg that comes first in regards to whether the security threat causes migration or the reverse. Moreover, the cultural diversity Africans bring to host communities might be a barrier for community integration. However, this should

⁴Interviewee: Mehari Taddele Maru, 2017

⁵Interviewee: Mehari Taddele Maru, 2017

⁶Interviewee: Ndubuisi Christian Ani, 2017

⁷ Ibid

⁸ Interviewee: Tsionawit Gebreyohannis, 2017

not hinder States from accepting migrants, but should instead inspire them to create mechanisms that prompt smooth integration. When these are not available, that's when the challenge comes from, that's when the peace and security issues come in; between migrants and the locals. Therefore, irregular migration is not a peace and security issue *per se*, but how different states and actors manage that is the problem. One should also sensitize the local people to be tolerant of different cultures.⁹ In cognizance of the negative consequences of irregular migration, States have adopted policies and taken various measures. The success and failures of these measures have been adequately addressed above, it will thus benefit readers more to move on to address the heart of the matter, whether or not African solutions should be taken into account to address the problem of irregular migration.

5.2. Irregular Migration in regards to the principles of AfSol framework

This paper takes its understanding of African centered solutions from IPSS publications. AfSol has three principles, ownership by the people and African institutions, commitment by African actors because many national and international regional frameworks in Africa lack implementation and the problem to that is political will so we put down frameworks that we are not committed to, and shared values, this has the assumption that Africans have their own values that values should not necessarily be internationalized, that each context, each locality has its own context, its own values. And those values and cultures and understanding of self should be respected and put into consideration when designing solutions.

Irregular migration can be a lot of things, is tied with peace and security in a lot of different ways. Starting from the individual migrant, economic status, family status and bodily security of the irregular migrant while taking the road to the host communities has its own impact on peace and security. The road to the people the irregular migrant interacts with as smugglers and destination countries so each of them have their own uniquely defined problems and challenges that need contextual answers, contextual solutions.¹⁰

⁹Interviewee: Ndubuisi Christian Ani, 2017

¹⁰Interviewee: Ndubuisi Christian Ani, 2017

An African solution to irregular migration will not offer a one-size-fits-all solution, it will rather provide for solutions that will fit circumstances as they stand. The journey of a single migrant can involve different scenarios, depending on the contextual setting and the value of the community, an African solution tailor-made to address the migrant's situation can be provided for. The solutions could be economic which could deal with managing government spending. For instance, these days' governments in the western countries spend a lot, which means when migrants go to those countries instead of contributing to the economy they become takers from the government. Because the government has huge welfare systems the migrants just benefit from the system. Therefore like the past where migrants use to contribute a lot to the economy, presently the migrants milk the government. Hence these are solutions that can come from Africa.

However, the solutions that should be applied to Europe and the solutions for Africa are too different. African governments and African leaders who are very disconnected from their own people should walk into the community and understand the local context, understand the problem and it's not just the west it's our leaders that do not understand our context.¹¹

*"We need more migration, more mobility within African countries. One of the solutions Africa has put to solve its problem is an integration that can lead to prosperity of people where jobs will be sought and created, capital and goods can flow freely, skilled labor can get more access to the labor market."*¹²

Integration is a function of mobility of goods, services, capital, and people. AfSol has to encourage free movement as an approach; this approach is African and has to be implemented in order to render effective migration management results. Many of the RECs now have free movement arrangements, this was an African solution tailored for an African problem. Non-African problem and intervention, European intervention is undermining this initiative because they are pushing member states to control the movement of people. So there should be an

¹¹Interviewee: Mercy Fekadu, 2017

¹²Interviewee: Mehari Taddele Maru, 2017

important intervention, strong action on countering this pressure that is coming from EU and others.¹³

*"AfSol is a framework, it is actually one of the initiatives we started at IPSS, I am happy to be one of them. I was employed on the basis that I am a pan-Africanist, and I feel very strongly about it and I know that solutions for peace and security in Africa are by Africans, for Africans with Africans. It is a democratic process for me. It has some good principles that we need to anchor on, some good principles that need to guide us and it is still within the pan-African movement."*¹⁴

AfSol is about greater responsibility within Africa in terms of being implemented in trying to resolve African challenges and also African actors being responsible for the conceptual part of it. It is not only been like African phase, for example, the intervention in Somalia, it has African boots but it's questionable by the interviewee (Sunday, 2017) that the Africans were involved conceptually. Based on the interviewee (Christian, 2017) experience as he had both implementation and conceptual stage; furthermore, he stated that it is something that;

*"From our conceptual background, experiences we can develop indigenous solutions to the challenges. Some people say for example, that democracy is imported but that is not the case because when you can look at our situations in history, you realize that some of our traditions have democratic values but it depends on how you apply it. Also, there are international values like human rights that were not just accepted."*¹⁵

Hence, it is relevant to discuss one of the important African Frameworks and its cornerstones- AfSol and the three principles of the AfSol framework.

The three principles of AfSol framework in light of irregular migration

The first principle is ownership this emphasizes the need to take ownership of our own efforts, to solve our problems, and take ownership of our resources- our human capital. Africans, the resources of the continent are moving to Europe and Africans need to take ownership of their welfare, their betterment, of their problems, of their progress, and their education.

¹³ Ibid

¹⁴ Interviewee: Sunday Angome Okello, 2017

¹⁵ Interviewee: Ndubuisi Christian Ani, 2017

The second principle is commitment; this requires States to provide solutions to their own problems. When it comes to the reality there is lack of commitment in Africa. Dr. Sunday mentioned an example, i.e., *“How much money does it take if Africans cannot build its own African union complex but the Chinese are giving us if we take like 0.8% of our GDP pay that money alone will build two of this building alone. Why we are not committed? Why are we not putting just one dollar or one percent of our GDP per year to commit for something we believe in?”*¹⁶

African ownership requires African actors to own the means like for example in terms of migration how to hear African voices, greater owning the process of handling the issue of migration. Some States are talking about trying to manage migration but the AU is not giving a greater voice in that respect. The whole issue of *non-refoulement* and that a lot of Africans are being deported back from Europe and their rights being denied but still barely hear stronger voices from Africa about how this can influence global policies.¹⁷

*“I want a stronger voice that replies to for instance, the EU in that the AU see you are doing that but realize that we as an international body have non-refoulement policy and if migrants come to you, they need to go through a fair process to determine their international standards, whether they are refugees or not, and on how to address them. Also from looking at our own internal makeup as Africa, there a lot of countries that are exceptional in terms of accepting refugees, even acceptance within the societies, how is that going to influence international policies?”*¹⁸

In terms of AfSol ownership is about Africans taking initiative, taking the lead on understanding what their problems are and what they believe their solutions are.¹⁹

"Afsol is complicated in that who is funding it and also if African ownership is implemented, who is going to own it, to what extent, at what level. If African solution is being implemented to tackle irregular migration, it also needs international effort as well. If African actors especially should develop stronger ownership, should develop stronger a sense of conceptual thinking. For instance, china recently launched a road initiative, as usual, several African countries are

¹⁶Interviewee: Sunday Angome Okello, 2017

¹⁷Interviewee: Ndubuisi Christian Ani, 2017

¹⁸ Ibid

¹⁹Interviewee: Elshaddai Mesfin, 2017

*jumping on the wagon which is good but Africa is not going with the same capacity or even the same voice as the Europeans. One of the things is that some leaders are very greedy that they do not want to leverage on their capacity especially when we have the natural resources. There is lack of unity between African actors due to corruption and such, to achieve the idea of African solution. In order for the African solution to happen, a chain of things needs to happen like taking care of smaller things."*²⁰

*"In terms of AfSol shared values, is an understanding that you cannot put the entire continent and all Africans in one box and say this is Africa, sometimes people have this perspective that everywhere there is a village and you just have animals roaming around in the streets. Nobody understands Africa in terms of having roads structured buildings and everything which kind of pushes us to make hasty generalizations. So African solutions in terms of shared values understand that there are some principles, there are some ideas that are shared by most countries."*²¹

The African Union is a platform that actually harnesses more or pioneers to the idea of African solution. Because the AU is based on the principle that Africans share something and want a common future for their continent. For instance, reconciliation principles like that of Gacaca in Rwanda. Principles of Gacaca is about forgiveness and talking about one's own sins out loud in a community, in the circle of elders, the idea of consulting with elders to come up with solutions. AfSol in terms of commitment is something that is very lacking. AfSol is a wonderful idea but operationalizing it becomes a problem.²²

*"AfSol ideas are in the air on the paper in terms of ideals only and are never implemented. Gacaca is a wonderful idea but you don't see it being used for instance, in South Sudan, they proposed to have a hybrid court that is to be based on Gacaca and forgiveness but so far nothing has been seen. So there is no commitment in implementing it that is the problem."*²³

²⁰Interviewee: Ndubuisi Christian Ani, 2017

²¹Interviewee: Elshaddai Mesfin, 2017

²² Ibid

²³ Ibid

In fact, the commitment of African centered solutions in terms of having a relationship with other partners like EU is important as result of globalization. However, the point of Africans taking the lead and African centered solutions will be questioned because;

“Africans may propose solutions but maybe they may not have the capacity to finance the solution so you have the aid of donor countries but then here comes a very big part of where if you do not finance something how do you claim ownership as one of the principle and pillars of AfSol that’s the problem you have in peace support operations some of their initiatives comes from the continent, comes from peace and security of African Union Commission but funding always come from the UN. The UN and the EU contributing countries, this means that they will not fund unless they have a vested interest in the conflict which questions whether there is an African agency in that solutions and that’s why the first step make sure there is more of a partnership instead donor funder and recipient relationship is the idea of capacity building in order to further understand on how you can implement AfSol.”²⁴

But the problem is until the capacity of Africans build what would happen until then. Suggestion that was given by one of the interviewee²⁵ is that because the paradigm shift in the world partnership is an option, *“partnership in that Africans not only lead the solution but also find a way in financing a portion of those solutions even if it’s a tiny bit, even 5% is a start then you can go from there and that financing comes from another pillar of AfSol which is commitment if Africans are committed to their vision, they will be able to finance.”²⁶*

Therefore, through commitment, if Africans try to finance their own solution at least the portion of it would be a big start. The more Africans have ownership over financing, the more Africans will have the capacity, and many more ideas of partnership come, then AfSol can be operational.

Based on this analysis an African Solution that could manage irregular migration is the implementation of RECs and AU policies. Since these policies incorporate the idea of integration, free movement of Africans between the African States.

²⁴Interviewee: Elshaddai Mesfin, 2017

²⁵s Ibid

²⁶ Ibid

However, to identify African Solutions for irregular migration deep researches on African values, culture and norms should be done.

Understanding the perspectives of African communities and teaching members of the community that life can be better in their country that they can excel in their country.

While discussing AfSol the role of elders and religious leaders is prominent in preaching and teaching the communities at the root level. AfSol is also about trusting leaders of governments though one of the problems in Africa is lack of good governance. Hence, peace and government can actually take the lead in making sure that life is better in the country of origin.

CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

6.1 Conclusion

There is no debate in regards to migration being a problem; however, the argument arises on irregular migration. Some argue that irregular migration is not a problem per se but a cause or a result of it. While others are adamant about irregular migration in that it causes a detrimental effect on the public services, economic standards and peace and security issues.

It was seen that many of the policies that failed in countries of origin as well as countries of destination were because

- Some of the migration policies are not sound, and focus only addressing the problem at hand and not foresee the consequences in the future.
- Policies that are ratified are not implemented nor overseen by those who ratified them especially in cases of the African Union.
- Many countries of destinations for migrants only focus on the post-migration measure without really understanding the cost, without calculating the level of the outcome and most of all the impact of the policies on both the migrants and the locals.
- As has been discussed above, it is critical to identify the causes of irregular migration from the root. This paper has identified political and economic factors as two of the main causes. Political factors include instability, lack of political liberty, war and State persecution, while the economic factors include the lack of work opportunity and other trade-related limitations. While some of these causes lead to the extension of protection to migrants, i.e. through asylum status and refugee status, others like economic factors do not necessarily allow migrants to gain a formal recognition by host countries.
- Identifying this major push factors will enable policymakers to design effective solutions to tackle irregular migrations. This paper has identified some of these solutions in the discussions above. To summarize, the paper advocates for peace and security interventions in countries of origin, working on good governance, and creation of work opportunities and the design of trade policies that cater to the needs of citizens.

- Also addressing the pulling factors, such as; better development, better education and better lifestyles of destination countries, in the African States via bringing those same services and privileges within the country of origin.

The origin of AfSol which is African centered Solutions for African Problems can be traced back to the Pan-African ideals of self-worth, self-reliance, independence and African ingenuity and creative imagination. Most recently, it has been used in relation to conflict management and security issues besieging the continent. While the notion of AfSol is indeed a major change in policy orientation, it is still awaiting its clear articulation.

The idea of AfSol advocates that instead of waiting for donor partners or countries outside of Africa to bring about solutions to Africans it will be more fruitful if Africans can take the lead in proposing their own solutions. It is about Africans taking the initiatives to resolve their own problems.

Based on the framework of AfSol, there are three principles. The principle of ownership is about taking the initiative to identify African problems and providing African solutions. The principle of shared values, on the other hand, is about identifying African values which can serve as a solution to an African problem. And the principle of commitment is about assuring implementation. The initiatives taken by Africans to overcome a problem have to be implemented.

The relationship between irregular migration and peace and security is another main point that was discussed in this thesis. It is clearly indicated that irregular migration is a cause as well as a result of peace and security issues. Since among the various reasons that render irregular migration a problem include difficulty in managing undocumented migrants entering into country of destination, brain drain in the country of origin and modes of travel chosen by migrants that can end devastatingly.

In discussing with experts, the paper has also been able to identify other solutions like the regional integration of African States, in order to have free movement of Africans for different purposes including trade. As a result, there could be a possibility that migrants would prefer to stay in Africa.

This paper advocate for the application of African solutions to African problems; which in this case is irregular migration. It also promotes for implementing frameworks like AfSol to tackle this problem because the principles as has been demonstrated in the chapters above prove adaptable to the issue at hand. The principles of Shared Value, Commitment and Sense of Ownership can be cornerstones to implementing migration policy frameworks that take into account the African context.

Therefore, in order to manage irregular migration taking pre-migration measures would be advantageous.

6.2 Recommendation

- There are many policies which are ratified by the AU on the framework of migration; specifically managing irregular migration, but those policies are not implemented yet. So the African States should be committed to implementing those policies to manage irregular migration.
- It is also recommended that free movement of Africans among the African States should be encouraged as that can affect the irregularity of the migration in the continent.
- Researchers, as well as policymakers, should be committed to exploring more about the AfSol framework and its principles. In order to come up with homegrown solutions for African problems.
- So as to have ownership of solutions to their own problems and minimize the influences of donor countries the African States need to build their financial capacity.
- Developing on the shared values of African States by recognizing African cultures, values and norms in the eyes of Africans will promote unification of African states which in turn can bring sustainable improvement in regards to Africans perception towards the benefits and also the pride of being an African in an African country. This is recommended since the ideological change in Africans can play a major role in counteracting the pulling factors.
- Further studies on irregular migration are also recommended as to extensively understand the situation and bring about effective solutions.

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Annex 1: List of Informants and Interview Date

No.	Name	Date of Interview	Position
1.	Mehari Taddele Maru, (Ph.D.)	May, 2017	Adjunct Assistant Professor, College of Law and Governance Studies Consultant on migration Issues
2.	Sunday Angome Okello, (Ph.D.)	May, 2017	Assistant professor at Institute for Peace and security, Addis Ababa University
3.	Mercy Fekadu, (Ph.D.)	May, 2017	Researcher at Institute for Peace and security, Addis Ababa University
4.	Ndubuisi Christian Ani, (Ph.D.)	March 2017	Researcher on Conflict Prevention and Risk Analysis Institute for Security Studies Addis Ababa
5.	Tsionawit G/Yohannes, (Mrs.)	April 2017	Program Manager, Danish Refugee Council
6.	Elshaddai Mesfin, (Ms.)	April, 2017	Researcher and Policy data office Assistant at Institute for Peace and security, Addis Ababa University

Annex 2: Consent Letter

Dear sir/madam

Name of Organization and Position:

My name is Eden Zegeye and I am a second year Masters student at the Institute for Peace and Security Studies. I am currently working on my thesis titled "MANAGING IRREGULAR MIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO EUROPE: AN AFRICAN SOLUTIONS PERSPECTIVE". I would really appreciate to have your input in the subject matter.

This thesis will require few minutes of your time. During this time, you will be interviewed about your experiences and knowledge about AfSol and Migration. The interviews will be conducted wherever you prefer and find convenient and will be transcribed.

Thank you so much in advance.

I have read the above information regarding this thesis on MANAGING IRREGULAR MIGRATION FROM AFRICA TO EUROPE: AN AFRICAN SOLUTIONS PERSPECTIVE
And have given my consent for my name to be mentioned in the research paper.

Name: _____

Date: _____

Annex 3: Interview Guide: For Experts on AfSol

1. What is AfSol? What is your understanding of AfSol?
2. What are the major principles of AfSol?
3. Are you considering irregular migration while dealing with the framework of AfSol?
If yes, what kind of African solutions have you found? If No, why not?
4. Have you considered African cultural values (local remedies) while drafting migration policies?
5. Do you think the frameworks reflect African Solutions (cultural values or local remedies)?
If 'Yes', what are the cultural values that were used? If 'No', why not?
6. How does irregular migration relate to peace and security?
7. Do you think solutions applicable to solve peace and security problems could be appropriate to manage irregular migration? Yes or No?
8. If yes, what kind of Solutions have you noticed or come across? How can it be applicable?
9. If 'No', why?

Annex 4: Interview Guide: For Experts on Migration

1. Do you think migration is a problem?
2. How do you understand irregular migration? Do you see it as a problem in relation to either countries of origin or destination?
3. If possible, can you mention the measures taken against irregular migration in Africa or around the globe?
4. Have you come across with solutions that manage irregular migration through home grown solutions?
5. How do you relate irregular migration with peace and security?
6. Do you think irregular migration is a security threat? Its impact on peace?
7. How do you manage irregular migration? Was it effective?
8. What do you suggest? What are your suggestions to manage irregular migration?
9. Do you think it would be practical to apply the framework of AfSol in managing irregular migration?

DECLARATION SHEET

I, the undersigned, declare that this thesis is my original work, has not been presented for a degree in any other university and that all sources of materials used for the thesis have been dully acknowledged.

Name: Eden Zegeye Hailemariam

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Advisor:

Name:

Signature: _____

Date: _____