

# **Migration and Human Security-Related Risks in the Horn of Africa**

## **Analysis of EU and AU Institutional Cooperation Effectiveness**

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### **Abstract**

The Horn of Africa region is receiving criticism for the size of new migration trends and human security related risks. In order to provide a critical perspective on new migration trends and critical human security issues, this study will primarily focus on the roles of the EU and AU, two regional institutions, in resolving the cases that have been looked at. The finding indicates the migration policies and activities generated by both institutions have been facing new confronts. The escalating instances of terrorist networks, political strife, and domestic scuffles are to blame for the illegal migration related issues and for new irregular migration trends. Recently, the Horn region has been the origin, transit, and final destination for illegal and irregular migrants. As well, migrants who are seeking asylum and refugees travel within the area and beyond for a variety of factors, including socio-economic conditions in their respective countries of origin and human rights concerns. Irregular and illegal migration is increasing in the region mainly facilitated by illegal dealers, smugglers and traffickers. These trends of migration make it a challenge to identify diverse types of migrants and their specific security vulnerabilities. Particularly, in the Republic of Somalia and N. Sudan the poor people are generally seen as those affected by terrorist fear, and conflict-induced migration and some are migrating for hidden objectives which is related to third-party agendas mainly can cause security threats to host countries. Indeed, migration both within countries and across borders can be seen as an integral part of labour markets and livelihoods across countries. The rising migration and securities-related risks need EU-AU and horn of Africa institutional cooperation mechanisms mainly the regional securities and intelligence institutions shall focus on promoting common strategies and policies to minimize illegal and irregular migration and human insecurities-related risks.

**Keywords:** EU, AU, IGAD, Migration, Security, Institutional Policies, Horn of Africa.

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### **I. Introduction**

Migration is the movement of individuals and groups of people, to settle in another country or place, often across an administrative boundary regularly or formally, illegally or irregularly which is increasing recently. On the other hand, immigration is when people move from other places to a place to settle while emigration is when people move out to new places.

Africa is not left out of these and migration within, and out of the Africa is a critical demographic dynamic closely tied to the broader social issues, economic and political instability and its processes. Thus, in 2018, the African Union (AU) in its Treaty regarding the free movement of persons, right of residence and right

of establishment outlined a set of general rules to facilitate migration between the AU member states<sup>1</sup>. AU and its securities and intelligence organisations face dramatic challenges relating to conflict, refugees and illegal migration, and activities of local and transnational criminals. African migration trends within the continent have a long history, shaping the way in which distinct regions have been populated. This has played a key role in the region's population ever since the early northward migrations, the Bantu expansions within Africa 2000 years ago.

The countries in the Horn of Africa region are places of origin, transit and destination countries for people who have left their homes irregularly and illegally. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) estimates the number of migrants in the Horn of Africa at around 5.7 million (2021), 51% of whom are on the move within the region. Often out of necessity, many travel irregularly with no valid paper<sup>2</sup>. In the horn of Africa, the drivers, as well as critical issues of migration have been grave matters. The local, national and regional responses to migration-related movements are less effective due to weak cooperation trends within the region. Crossing borders either by choice brings both risks and opportunities for migrants. Among the member countries mainly N. Sudan, Somalia and Eritrea are facing new challenges mainly due to terrorist movements, domestic conflict and security vulnerabilities and economic needs-related factors. Moreover, asylum seekers, refugees and illegal migrants moving within the region are increasing at an increasing rate. Besides, beyond a variety of factors, including political instability and ill-governed socio-economic conditions, the illegal and irregular migration in the region makes worse situations and critical challenges to identifying types of migrants and their specific vulnerabilities. They frequently turn to smugglers to facilitate their journey, putting themselves at great risk, for example, of becoming victims of human trafficking. The countries in the Horn of Africa often have poor infrastructure, weak legal frameworks and shortage of expertise to solve the issues.

However, for many years, the institutional cooperation between European Union (EU)-AU can be seen as a good effort to ensure human rights protections and legal migration. Regarding responses for migration related issues, the EU-AU have been promoting policy to address the mixed migration context of countries in the Horn of Africa. But still, the weak institutional cooperation needs further strong efforts from both sides. The regional securities and intelligence institutions also needs domestic government cooperation, support and actions, to promote proactive policies and strategies. Within the growing literature on migration, issues of conflict-related displacements together with other factors have come to the fore. It is assumed across many countries that migration is caused by the fears of terrorist attacks, domestic conflicts and political instabilities, and economic challenges. The regional securities and intelligence institutions have weak cooperation trends in these areas.

This study provides the illegal and irregular migration trends, and its complex and new tendencies, critical factors, situations and institutional perspective in the Horn of Africa. Based on a critical analysis of EU and AU institutional policies efforts and roles the study explored some of the progressive outcomes too. The study aims to establish a comprehensive overview of institutional efforts mainly the roles and effectiveness in addressing new migration and security-related dynamics. The background comprises existing efforts by AU and EU to gain a better understanding of migration. We also identify the negative and positive aspects of migration and its impacts on peace, securities and development. We applied qualitative methods and the data are analyzed using the analytical and exploratory method to achieve the objective.

The article has six sections: section one is focusing on the introduction and research methodology procedures, second section focuses on the literature review and conceptualization of migrations in Africa. The third section examines the efforts of EU-AU Policies in addressing new migration and security risks, fourth section looks into trends, drivers and dynamic patterns of migration, fifth section focuses on the EU-AU institutional cooperation policies' effectiveness towards new migration issues in the horn of Africa and the last section focus on the conclusion.

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<sup>1</sup> Jolade Omedel\* and Arinze Ngwube. 25-40, 2017: The Role of African Union (AU) in Curtailing Migration Problems in Africa: <https://www.thaiscience.info/journals/Article/SUIJ/10986840.pdf>. University of Ilorin Ilorin.

<sup>2</sup> GIZ: January 2023. Promoting safe, orderly, and regular migration from and within the Horn of Africa <https://www.giz.de/en/worldwide/117840.html>

## **II. Literature Overview and Conceptualization of Migrations in Africa**

Africa region has been faces illegal, irregular and regular migrations. Regular migration entails moving to another country and AU member countries after obtaining an official document. It involves fulfilling the required procedures of the host country. Illegal and Irregular migration implies moving to another country through unofficial means. In this regard, mainly smugglers and traffickers play a major role in facilitating irregular migrants. However, migration remains a pillar of social and economic factors in the African continent, and internal and international migration share overlaps and similarities<sup>3</sup>.

Since the 1960s, African migration has reshaped routes as well as regional and international interconnections, with relations being newly recovered from the past. In 2015 and early 2016, the irregular migration issue dominated the political agenda of the EU as hundreds of thousands of migrants and people in need of international protection started to move via Turkey, across Greece and the Western Balkans, towards their desired destination countries, such as Germany, Sweden and Finland<sup>4</sup>. From Horn of Africa Khartoum is also a place where people-smuggling networks are used to reach Libya and Somali and Eritrean migrants, however, prefer to travel from Sudan to Egypt in order to depart African shores from Alexandria.

The average cost for a Somali migrant who would try to reach Italy via Alexandria is between USD 4 000 and 5 000. Migrants from the Horn of Africa using Egypt as their last departure country are choosing the land route from Somalia or Eritrea to Addis Ababa (Ethiopia) and from there on to Khartoum. An alternative route to reach N. Sudan runs through Nairobi (Kenya) and South Sudan. Once in Khartoum, the migrants travel in groups of 50–60 people, using a land route to Aswan (Egypt) via open cars and trucks. Migrants taking this route sometimes use counterfeit Sudanese passports to cross the Egyptian-Sudanese border, since it is easier for Sudanese nationals to enter Egypt<sup>5</sup>. The migration phenomenon in Africa can be better understood within the context of the political and historical evolution of African societies. It is also related to the effects of colonization and decolonization on the economy. More precisely, migration issues have been shaped by pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial governance approaches.

The phenomenon of forcible movement within and from the continent continued throughout the colonial rule, mainly to provide labour for the advancement of colonial economies. Post-colonial African migration, on the other hand, is predominantly intraregional. The majority of African migration occurs within the region and particularly between neighbouring countries. More than 52% or 18 million of the 34 million African-born migrants lived in Africa in 2015. Particularly in 2015, 14% or 34 million of the 244 million international migrants were born in Africa<sup>6</sup>.

Young women and men migrants from Africa are seen exclusively as poor citizens who are searching for better economic opportunities. Critical factors that led people to migrate from Africa to other places are domestic conflict, and poverty. The climate-related displacement also have been acknowledged as central drivers of migration. Besides domestic political issues are also aggravating migration in Africa. In the pre-colonial era, population movements in Africa were associated largely with the prevailing socio-political issues.

Illegal brokers promote migrants to move to another country. Human traffickers not only facilitate entrance into another country but also profit unlawfully sexual services provided by trafficked migrants. Other critical issues are also related to the sale of human organs such as kidneys, is profit-making area for traffickers. Migration has advantages and disadvantages for both sending and destination countries. Anyways, remittances are some of the biggest benefits of migration for African countries. Migration from and into Africa has continued to rise with globalization effects recently. A curious connection exists between globalization on the one hand and migration on the other hand. The increasing trend in the incidents of migration is partly attributable to the phenomenon of globalization, which not only weakens the state but also renders its borders irrelevant<sup>7</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> Vullnetari, Julie, 'The Interface Between Internal and International Migration', In T. Bastia and R. Skeldon (eds.), *Routledge Handbook of Migration and Development*, London, Routledge, 2020, pp. 54-62

<sup>4</sup> [https://frontex.europa.eu/assets/Publications/Risk\\_Analysis/AFIC/AFIC\\_2016.pdf](https://frontex.europa.eu/assets/Publications/Risk_Analysis/AFIC/AFIC_2016.pdf)

<sup>5</sup> IBID

<sup>6</sup> Tsion Tadesse Abebe: *Migration policy frameworks in Africa*: Institute for Security Studies: Addis Ababa, AFRICA REPORT 2 | DECEMBER 2017.

<sup>7</sup> Akopkari, J. K. (2000) *Globalization and Migration in Africa*. *African Sociological Review*, 4(2), 72-92.

However, migration plays a 'critical role in securing some people's lives and livelihoods. The governance measures that make it more dangerous to invest in such strategies may act against development<sup>8</sup>. Migration constitutes a central aspect of social, cultural, political and economic life on the African continent. Migration is, however, not the panacea to all the development challenges. Migration can disrupt development processes notably through the emigration of highly skilled men and women and the influx of migrants can put additional strains on receiving societies. Human mobility may induce vulnerabilities for the migrants and family members requiring mechanisms of protection guaranteeing access to justice. Migration shouldn't, therefore, be considered in terms of good and bad. Migration simply is despite all existing barriers, it continues to be a growing phenomenon in our globalized world and, as such, requests further attention to be embraced in our relevant policies and practices<sup>9</sup>.

The migration phenomenon is contested concept that is generating increasing levels of interest from academics, analysts, regional intelligence institutions, humanitarian programme managers, the media and policymakers globally. It reflects the rising tendency of people to migrate, both regularly and irregularly, despite the greater risk, in search of a better future in more affluent parts of the globalised world. It also indicates that people are on the move for a combination of reasons that are often, but not exclusively, related to safeguarding physical and economic security<sup>10</sup>.

#### **Efforts of EU-AU Policies in Addressing New Migration and Security risks in the horn of Africa**

The AU and EU's have adopted a number of frameworks for migration and human security related issues. Mainly the Cairo Action Plan; the Ouagadougou Action Plan to Combat Trafficking in Human Beings, especially women and children; the Rabat Process; Joint Africa–EU Declaration on Migration and Development; and the Tripoli Process indicates the efforts AU and EU. In addition, the Khartoum Process and the Action Plan of the Valletta Summit taken as good efforts<sup>11</sup>. Based on a perception that intra-African migration has been increasing considerably more than intercontinental migration from Africa, the AU has been developing instruments and systems to facilitate migration between its member states in order to improve labour circulation and trade relations. The EU is increasingly concerned with international issues related to migration, especially from Africa. It has become one of the top policy priorities since the 2015 European refugee crisis, which led to the establishment of the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa.<sup>12</sup>

Illegal and Irregular movements of migrants in and out of the Horn of Africa are diverse and countries in the region are, at least to some extent, origin, transit and destination of irregular, forced migrants. Migration within the region being traditionally dynamic and native as well as migrant children, women and men are subjected to trafficking within the respective country as well as internationally. An additional concern, especially in Somalia, Eritrea and N. Sudan, the child soldiers that are recruited by governmental as well as opposition forces. Evidence exists that in many countries in the Horn of Africa, government officials are actively engaged in smuggling and trafficking operations. The engagement ranges from occasionally accepting bribes at border crossings or inland checkpoints to officials subjecting victims of trafficking to domestic servitude or sexual exploitation themselves. Furthermore, governments do not seem aware of the crucial differences between human smuggling and trafficking in N. Sudan, Somalia and Eritrea<sup>13</sup>. AU Commission, including global, regional and national initiatives on more coordinated actions to combat migration and human trafficking in Africa.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Bakewell, O., 'Undocumented Migration and Development, in T. Bastia and R. Skeldon (eds.) Routledge Handbook of Migration and Development, London: Routledge, 2020, pp. 74-83.

<sup>9</sup> International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), Vienna – Austria, and the European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM): Migration and Development Policies and Practices: [https://www.die-gdi.de/uploads/media/resource\\_en\\_222895.pdf](https://www.die-gdi.de/uploads/media/resource_en_222895.pdf). 2013.p.1-140

<sup>10</sup>UNHCR: 2001-2022: Asylum and Migration: <https://www.unhcr.org/asylum-and-migration.html>

<sup>11</sup> Ibid

<sup>12</sup>Cristina UDELSMANN RODRIGUES: Intra-African Migration: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/226385/Study\\_Intra-Africa\\_Migration.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/226385/Study_Intra-Africa_Migration.pdf). Policy Department, Directorate-General for External Policies European Union, 2020. P.1-40

<sup>13</sup> Ibid

<sup>14</sup> International Centre for Migration Policy Development (ICMPD), Vienna – Austria and the European Centre for Development Policy Management (ECDPM): Migration and Development Policies and Practices: [https://www.die-gdi.de/uploads/media/resource\\_en\\_222895.pdf](https://www.die-gdi.de/uploads/media/resource_en_222895.pdf). 2013.p.1-140

Thus, the cooperation on migration issues and asylum policy between the EU and the AU over the years has been framed. The Rabat Process is structured as a political and technical dialogue. The priorities of the Rabat Process are to advance the respect for the rights of migrants and refugees and combat poverty and promote sustainable development. The Khartoum Process, which is also known as the EU-Horn of Africa Migration Route Initiative, brings the EU together with 41 AU Member States with the aim of achieving political cooperation between the parties. In particular, it focuses on issues related to human trafficking and people smuggling. It was designed to advance priority areas of cooperation that include: irregular migration; remittances; the diaspora; mobility and labour migration; and international protection<sup>15</sup>. The Joint Valletta Action Plan emerged from the November 2015 Summit on Migration and seeks to bolster the cooperation between Africa and Europe. Serving as a convergence point for the Rabat and Khartoum Processes, the Valletta action is based on five pillars: the development benefit of migration, root causes of irregular migration and forced displacement; legal migration and mobility; protection of migrants and asylum seekers; irregular migration, migrant smuggling and trafficking in human beings; and return readmission and reintegration. Valletta's action brought financial resources by way of the EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa. Furthermore, it brings to the forefront a monitoring aspect of cooperation which comprises a database of funded projects and the policies adopted<sup>16</sup>. The framework focuses on addressing regional-specific concerns such as migration and human security, and internal displacement owing to political instability.

From a policy dimension, it serves as a coherent strategy to guide IGAD priorities in migration management programmes, emphasising the need for harmonised and systematic approaches while providing a space for variations among national policies. The framework is composed to provide the background and rationale for and highlights various migration realities in the region, including types of migration and the major relevant continental policy frameworks such as the AU's Regional African Migration Policy Framework. It discusses pertinent migration issues, including peace in the region, cooperation with relevant IGAD institutions.

At the national level, there are some frameworks in place to address migration issues, however, in most cases, they address administration matters and the fight against human trafficking, but North Sudan and Republic of Somalia have weak policies but Ethiopia, Kenya South Sudan and Uganda have slightly more advanced cooperation policies in irregular migrations issues. But regarding the effectiveness of these policies and cooperations and backing of securities and intelligence institutions there is poor data systems. National governments in the region have been faces with limited capacities and resources to implement laws and policies, which is obstacle to proper implementation and enforcement<sup>17</sup>.

Another problem is that authorities conflate human trafficking and smuggling and do not understand migration sufficiently. Addressing migration issues at the regional level seems desirable as regional cooperation assumedly increases efficiency while decreasing costs, incoherence and duplication of policies. Besides the active role of the AU in promoting the free movement of people and the development potential of migration, other regional frameworks are relevant regarding migration in the Horn of Africa, mainly the IGAD. While these regional frameworks weakly recognise the importance of migration and are planning to introduce the right of free movement within the region. Regional cooperation remains a challenge due to a lack of capacities, resources and political will on part of some of the member states. There are furthermore inter-regional frameworks to address migration, especially between the AU-EU, which cover aspects of migration and development, the fight against human trafficking, and the protection of migrants, including refugees and victims of trafficking.<sup>18</sup>

Therefore, the AU has initiated several flagship projects at the continental level that are highly relevant for migration, such as the African Continental Free Trade Area, the African Passport and Free Movement of People, and the Single African Air Transport Market, as well as the "Silencing the Guns in Africa" theme for 2020. AU Agenda 2063 sets out seven aspirations to which achieving the free movement of people, goods, and services; transport and trade facilitation; and the development potential of migration is central. Numerous regional

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<sup>15</sup> ANDREW SONGA: CIVIL SOCIETY INPUT TO EU AFRICA COOPERATION ON MIGRATION: EU-AU RELATIONS. ECRE WORKING PAPER, 2020. P.1-6.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid

<sup>17</sup> August 2017 Katrin Marchand Julia Reinold and Raphael Dias e Silva: Study on Migration Routes in the East and Horn of Africa: file:///C:/Users/HP/Downloads/1517475164.pdf. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit

<sup>18</sup> Ibid

frameworks and protocols push this agenda. The 2018-2030 Migration Policy Framework for Africa and Plan of Action emphasizes the linkages between migration and development, including recognizing the importance of the diaspora to the continent's development. The AU Implementation Plan of Action for the Global Compact for migration further signals the continent's commitment to safe, orderly and regular migration. With regard to the mobility aspects of crisis and humanitarian response, the AU adopted the Kampala Convention in 2009, which emphasizes the role of States in supporting and protecting internally displaced persons and links internal displacement, harmful practices, conflict, and human rights violations and unintended consequences of development projects. The AU also developed a Humanitarian Policy Framework in 2015, connecting humanitarian assistance, peace and security issues.

The Horn of Africa also promote migration frameworks and protocols and developed a framework related to the free movement of labour, which includes the issuance of passports by its Member States to their nationals. The IGAD migration policy promotes the free movement of people and the establishment of residences for nationals within the region. This is further supported by its Protocol on Transhumance<sup>19</sup>.

The AU's overarching approach to migration is articulated in policy documents by focusing on documents as they provide the continental body's most detailed and expansive guidance on how African states should regulate migration. They also address policies governing how member states regulate migrant access and the treatment of immigrants within their lands. Neither policy document is binding on AU member states' although both underscore its member states' obligations to comply with legally binding migration-specific regional and international law. This includes treaties that govern involuntary migration-the Organization of AU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugee Problems and the Convention for the protection and Assistance of Internally Displaced Persons in Africa.

The AU adopted frameworks on migration which articulates its position on migration, which is that well-managed migration has the potential to yield significant benefits to origin and destination countries. Similarly, the African Common Position on Migration and Development was developed in preparation for AU-EU Ministerial Conference on Migration and Development in 2006. Many of the countries affected by internal displacement are in Africa, the AU developed a convention to offer protection and assistance to Internally Displaced Persons specifically. Also, the AU launched its Commission Initiative against Trafficking a continental campaign against human trafficking, in 2009. The campaign focuses on the prevention, and prosecution of traffickers and the protection of victims.

Africa-Europe migration and migration crisis have been of major concern in directing policy and development work towards reducing or reversing migration. Undocumented migration continues, and there is a broad consensus that this is problematic, not only for states that see it as a risk to sovereignty and security but also for civil society organisations that fear the possibility of human rights violations. However, this migration is both regular in the sense of routine and unexceptional and regulated by locally negotiated conventions rather than the state, thereby playing a critical role in securing lives and livelihoods. Hence, eliminating such migration may act against development by disrupting valuable economic exchanges, reducing people's opportunities

The Khartoum Process is one of the inter-regional forums on migration and mobility and mainly focuses on combatting human trafficking and smuggling. Within the overarching framework, the initiative was an outcome of the Ministerial Conference of the Khartoum Process held in 2014. As a regional dialogue and cooperation process in the Horn of Africa Africa, this initiative aims to establish a continuous dialogue for enhanced cooperation on migration and mobility; identify and implement concrete projects to address trafficking in human beings and the smuggling of migrants; and give a new impetus to the regional collaboration between countries of origin, transit and destination regarding the migration route between the Horn of Africa and Europe<sup>20</sup>.Khartoum Process aims to create a common understanding of human trafficking and smuggling of migrants and opportunities for balanced partnership; a spirit of shared responsibility and enhanced cooperation. This initiative includes building national capacity in migration management and prevention measures; supporting horizontal coordination strategies among national actors involved in tackling human trafficking and people smuggling. They also focused

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<sup>19</sup> Jolade Omede1\* and Arinze Ngwube. 25-40, 2017: The Role of African Union (AU) in Curtailing Migration Problems in Africa: <https://www.thaiscience.info/journals/Article/SUIJ/10986840.pdf> .University of Ilorin Ilorin.

<sup>20</sup> Tsion Tadesse Abebe: Migration policy frameworks in Africa: Institute for Security Studies: Addis Ababa, AFRICA REPORT 2 | DECEMBER 2017.

on providing assistance in improving the identification and prosecution of criminal networks and enhancing the implementation of relevant legislative frameworks. Addressing the root causes of irregular migration; establishing a regional framework for return, including voluntary, and reintegration; and assisting countries in establishing and managing establishing centres and providing access to asylum processes are also key areas.

In terms of managing regional migration, regional bodies and the AU are the most relevant bodies. They not only comprise most of the countries but also feature the continent's most heavily populated countries. While the potential of intra-African migration for the economies and development has become more clearly appropriated in the policy programmes of the member states, migration-related negative issues have increasingly dominated regional preoccupations. The latter refers to a broad set of issues such as border problems that threaten peace and security and the problems related to refugees and trafficking. Subsequently, the AU has led the definition of systems and frameworks<sup>21</sup>. Africa and Plan of Action and its polies of (2018-2030) aims to guide member states and RECs in the management of migration, taking into account AU priorities, policies, and goals along with international migration management policies and standards. The EU, by contrast, has set its focus on increased and more robust economic relations as well as partnerships with Africa, most importantly dealing with migration towards Europe in the creation of jobs as a key priority.

### **Critical Challenges, Trends and New Patterns of Migration in the Horn of Africa**

Horn of African countries facing challenges related to complex and illegal migration conditions. Irregular migration comprises undocumented migrants, irregular migrants, illegal asylum seekers who are driven to move by multiple, interrelated factors. These include political and ethnic persecution, poverty, resource scarcity, famine, labour market conditions, family and community ostracism, household livelihood strategies, and social expectations to migrate. Also caught up in these flows are victims of human trafficking<sup>22</sup>. Moreover, the horn of Africa has weak institutional cooperation trends among securities and intelligence institutions to tackle the migration issues. The human beings have been travelling often have either been forced from their homes by armed conflict or persecution or are on the move in search of a better life. People travelling as part of mixed movements have varying needs and may include stateless people, victims of trafficking, unaccompanied children, and migrants in irregular situations<sup>23</sup>.

The factors that lead people to make the decision to migrate through both regular and irregular channels are often called the drivers of migration. This includes both forced movements, as well as temporary and permanent movements. The countries in the region share many characteristics but differ in others. It can be said that countries in the region as a whole face challenge associated with low economic development. In addition, violent conflicts, political oppression and persecution are the main migration drivers in Somalia and Eritrea, N. Sudan, and Kenya<sup>24</sup>. Motivations for movement among refugees and migrants are varied and often multifaceted. The economic factors, a lack of human rights, domestic violence, terrorist networks movements and general insecurity are the top drivers of movement among young people on the move from Somalia, N. Sudan, Djibouti, Eritrea, and Somalia. A breakdown of drivers by nationality often reveals more nuance in reasons for leaving. For example, the data shows that among the four nationalities interviewed, Eritreans had the highest proportion of migrations due to a lack of human rights. In Somalia, terrorism, poor education and economic systems are considered critical factors for young people's migration.

The complex dynamics of irregular migrants' decision-making and the blurred lines between forced and voluntary movement continue to be debated among migration academicians. Mixed migration is closely linked to security and livelihood problems caused by interconnected issues, including fragile governance, persecution,

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<sup>21</sup> Cristina UDELSMANN RODRIGUES: Intra-African Migration: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/226385/Study\\_Intra-Africa\\_Migration.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/226385/Study_Intra-Africa_Migration.pdf). Policy Department, Directorate-General for External Policies European Union, 2020. P.1-40.

<sup>22</sup> Christopher Horwood: 2015: Irregular Migration Flows in the Horn of Africa: Challenges and implications for source, transit, and destination countries. <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/research-and-stats/files/horn-of-africa.pdf>. p.1-49

<sup>23</sup> UNHCR: 2001-2022: Asylum and Migration: <https://www.unhcr.org/asylum-and-migration.html>

<sup>24</sup> Olivia Akumu (Mehr zum Autor) Öffnen: 16.04.2020: Forced and Mixed Migration Dynamics in the East and Horn of Africa. <https://www.bpb.de/themen/migration-integration/laenderprofile/english-version-country-profiles/306382/forced-and-mixed-migration-dynamics-in-the-east-and-horn-of-africa/>

armed conflict, illegal militaries, poverty, natural disaster, resource scarcity, climate and environmental stress and population pressure in the horn of Africa. In addition, social issues such as forced marriage, as well as the more aspirational attractions for many rural youths. The emerging 'cultures of migration' in countries, create compelling push and pull factors affecting the decision to move.<sup>25</sup>

International migration and internal displacement cannot be ignored since internally displaced persons are often future refugees and irregular migrants. While there is a lack of existing data regarding internal displacement in the Horn of Africa. It is clear that it is a serious concern in most of the focus countries and especially N. Sudan. Moreover, internal displacement can sometimes be induced by development. These instances are often referred to as development-induced displacement and indicate when people are forced from their homes as a result of development projects such as the construction of dams, mines, airports, industrial plants, railways or similar.

Countries in the Horn of Africa are both origin and host for forced migrants, including conflict-induced, environment-induced, and development-induced displacement. In the region, forced displacement is a serious concern and presents a significant challenge to achieving peace, security, and sustainable development. A complex history of conflicts, weak governance, general insecurity, degradation, entrenched poverty challenges are the main causes of forced migration. The majority of the displaced individuals are women and children<sup>26</sup>. Displacement situations and new refugee movements are caused by ongoing conflicts as in the case of N. Sudan and environmental disasters such as the droughts affecting South Sudan, Somalia, Kenya and Ethiopia. Somalia and N. Sudan are the main countries of origin in the region, while Ethiopia, Kenya and Uganda are the main host countries with Uganda currently hosting the largest refugee population in the region<sup>27</sup>.

In the case of Eritrea, on the other hand, common drivers of migration have been identified. All Eritreans between the ages of 18 and 40 must perform for a total of 18 months, including 6 months of military training and 12 months of service in a government-run work unit, which includes the Eritrean Defence Forces. These 18 months' limit is, however, often not enforced and the service lasts much longer in practice. Individuals between the ages of 40 and 50 are considered to be on reserve status if they previously had performed active-duty service. Students in their last year of high school have to attend the Sawa military and educational camp in order to graduate. Conditions at the camp are reportedly bad and sexual abuse and rape of females, appear to occur<sup>28</sup>. As a consequence, the irregular migration of Eritreans is dominated by young individuals, especially men, who are affected by the service requirements.

The Republic of Somalia and N. Sudan have been facing challenges associated with domestic violence situations, terrorism fear, conflict and political oppression. In the case of Eritrea, poverty, lack of democracy and human rights, and obligatory national service requirements present another significant driver of migration. Migration from South Sudan, Djibouti, Uganda, Ethiopia and Kenya is mainly driven by economic factors. Often it is a mix of different factors that leads to the decision to migrate. It is important to keep in mind that even though the eight focus countries share some common drivers of migration the specific country context matters. Drivers for migration from Ethiopia are varied but can be seen as being socio-economic factors along with environmental disasters mainly in Eastern parts of Ethiopia provinces that impact people's livelihoods. Similar factors drive migration from Uganda through the flows are much smaller. Specifically, continuous population growth, high youth unemployment rates and the lack of attractive employment options, risks, have been identified as the main drivers in the Ugandan context.

Particularly, the Republic of Somalia has been a major country of origin for mixed migration. Factors pushing people to leave the country were and are conflict, chronic insecurity, extreme poverty, terrorism, famine,

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<sup>25</sup> Christopher Horwood: 2015: Irregular Migration Flows in the Horn of Africa: Challenges and implications for source, transit and destination countries. <https://www.homeaffairs.gov.au/research-and-stats/files/horn-of-africa.pdf>. p.1-49

<sup>26</sup> Ibid

<sup>27</sup> Stanley, J. (2004). Development-induced displacement and resettlement. Forced Migration Online. Retrieved June 2017 from <http://forcedmigration.org/research-resources/expertguides/development-induced-displacement-and-resettlement/fmo022.pdf>. p.1-114

<sup>28</sup> United States (US) Department of State (2016). 2016 Trafficking in Persons Report. Washington, DC: US Department of State. Retrieved June 2017 from <https://www.state.gov/documents/organization/243562.pdf>



and the lack of an effective central government<sup>29</sup>. Migration from Sudan is also driven by a lack of sustainable livelihoods, employment opportunities, a lack of basic infrastructure, a lack of social services and food insecurity<sup>30</sup>. Forced displacement and irregular migration are common in the Horn of Africa. Between 1990 and 2015, the migrant stock in Djibouti, Kenya and to a lesser extent Somalia increased, while it decreased in Uganda and Sudan. While the 2015 data presents South Sudan as a prominent destination country, the migrant stock is expected to decrease because of the internal conflict. In terms of emigration, Kenya shows significantly different characteristics compared to the other countries in the region.

Kenya, on the other hand, shows significantly different characteristics compared to the other countries in the Horn of Africa. Kenyans are rarely found among the flows of irregular migrants in or out of the region. Instead, Kenyan migrants are largely skilled workers travelling with documents and visas, which some then fail to renew or overstay and become irregular as a consequence. Migration from Djibouti is relatively insignificant in numbers and Djiboutian nationals are rarely documented as leaving their country irregularly. This is observed despite high poverty levels, and limited employment and livelihood opportunities.

The majority of Kenyan emigration is regular and largely characterized by the migration of skilled Kenyans mainly for educational or work purposes. The Gulf countries are prominent destination countries for labour migrants from the Horn of Africa and some countries such as Kenya, Ethiopia and Uganda have negotiated bilateral labour agreements with Gulf countries to protect their nationals abroad who are frequently exploited, abused and subjected to trafficking. Bilateral labour agreements between the focus countries were poorly identified, besides an agreement between Kenya and Ethiopia which provides for visa-free movements between the two countries.

Irregular migration within the Horn of Africa and out of the region is extensive. The level of internal movement within the region is dynamic and highly reactive to political and climatic pressures. Movement out of the region is extensive and appears to be on the rise. It is shaped less by short-term reactions to particular crises than rooted in longer-term factors. The migration of the Southern Route through Kenya connects the Horn of Africa to South Africa, with Kenya as one of the main transit countries. Other transit countries are on the route. include Tanzania, Malawi, and Mozambique. The southern route is popular especially among Ethiopians and Somalis, although the most current numbers demonstrate a decrease in the number of migrants following it<sup>31</sup>.

In the Horn of Africa, we find irregular migration is increasing. Traditional compassion and hospitality for the 'traveller' have turned into more callous rent-seeking behaviour and opportunism. In areas where many migrants pass, the community may now be involved in smuggling and extortion activities. In what may be seen as chameleon behaviour they change their identity by switching between invisibility and visibility and between claiming rights and laying low. In fact, this conforms to a level of survival logic where they use their status while on the move to maximize advantages and minimize risk.

Irregular migrants usually human smuggling and trafficking in persons contribute significantly to irregular movements in the region. Rising numbers of unaccompanied minors migrating irregularly are especially alarming. This exposes migrants to considerable risks, such as neglect, violent abuse and extortion as well as increases their risk of being subjected to human trafficking. Human trafficking is a criminal offence that is of concern in all countries of the region. This is by means of the threat, use of force, and other forms of coercion, abduction, fraud, deception, the abuse of power, a position of vulnerability and giving or receiving of payments to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation.

Within IGAD region migration issues mainly irregular migration becomes more complex, more mixed, and larger in volume. Migrants themselves are less protected, more subject to exploitation, and less tolerated in host and transit countries. Donors, governments, mandated agencies and other stakeholders are increasingly confused, have weak policies, and usually have little understanding of the scale, scope and conditions related to migration. There is also confusion over how to respond to the dramatic rise in mixed migration, especially in the

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<sup>29</sup> United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) (2017). South Sudan Situation: Regional Overview. Data.unhcr.org. Retrieved June 2017 from <http://data.unhcr.org/SouthSudan/regional.php>

<sup>30</sup> International Organization for Migration (IOM) (2016). Member States. Retrieved June 2017 from <https://www.iom.int/member-states>

<sup>31</sup> August 2017 Katrin Marchand Julia Reinold and Raphael Dias e Silva: Study on Migration Routes in the East and Horn of Africa: file:///C:/Users/HP/Downloads/1517475164.pdf. Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit

context of the dynamics of smuggler-managed economic migration within the region and beyond. The increase in numbers has overwhelmed some communities.

Therefore, the horn of Africa region migration movement is triggered by a myriad of factors, which are often varied and interrelated. A combination of ongoing and renewed conflict, persecution, endemic poverty, and drought, as well as personal aspirations and a desire to secure personal freedoms, contribute to complex population movements. Migrants often use smugglers to navigate across borders, and checkpoints and to avoid detection by authorities. Migrants face significant dangers while on their journeys and are often exposed to a wide range of abuses including physical and sexual abuse, kidnapping, extortion, detention and even death.<sup>32</sup>

In general, with limited options for the regular migration from region as well as the administrative issues associated with it, many of the migrants often choose irregular channels, many being well aware of the risks and vulnerabilities associated with this. Somalia, South Sudan and Uganda can be described as being countries of irregular migration flow in and out of the Horn of Africa region. Eritrea and N. Sudan are mainly a country of origin for irregular migrants. Kenya is mainly a transit and destination country for irregular migrants and Djibouti is mainly a transit country for people migrating irregularly to Yemen and the Gulf countries. In general, the region population is approximately 200 million, of which approximately 2.5 million people are registered refugees, approximately 5.6 million are Internally Displaced Persons and 100,000 are asylum seekers. Excluding the undocumented number of economic migrants in the IGAD region, which is difficult to quantify, the total uprooted and displaced population represents approximately eight million (four per cent) of the total IGAD population.

#### **Institutional Cooperation Policies Effectiveness Towards New Migration issues in the horn of Africa**

Since 2000, the EU has played a vital function in the improvement of migration policies on the African continent. Thus, the Cairo Action Plan, adopted in 2000, focuses on addressing the root causes of migration and asylum-seeking, as well as combatting racism and xenophobia. It consists of precedence movements such as helping African countries in ensuring free intra-African mobility of labour and migration in the spirit of the Abuja Treaty and taking part in addressing the root reasons for migration and asylum-seeking in source, transit and recipient countries. AU and EU have adopted various frameworks on migration issues<sup>33</sup>.

EU-AU cooperation's tendencies in positioning and addressing migration and asylum lie in the manner in which the EU has increased migration as a key issue. Spurred on with the aid the impetus of an increased range of people arriving from Libya and the Sahel region, EU worries have viewed migration grow to be a difficulty of "unprecedented importance" in Euro-African relations. Indeed, the 2014 4th EU-Africa Summit yielded a Declaration on Migration and Mobility while the 5th Summit also noticed the Joint Declaration prioritise Migration and Mobility but with a robust political commitment to tackle the root motives of irregular migration and pressured displacement<sup>34</sup>.

Thus, the EU and AU adopted the Euro–African Dialogue on Migration and Development and it has core thematic pillars, in most cases organising mobility and felony migration; enhancing border administration and combatting irregular migration; strengthening the synergies between migration and development; and promoting worldwide protection. Joint Africa–EU Declaration on Migration, which emphasises the significance of partnerships between international locations of origin, transit and destination. This is one of the earliest frameworks to discuss the nexus between migration, peace and safety between the EU and AU.

In addition, the EU established an Emergency Trust Fund in 2015, as a result of which it has been proposed that in the next Multiannual Financial Framework (2021-2027) 10% of the Neighbourhood and International Development Cooperation Instrument be dedicated to migration-related activities. One of the center of attention areas is identifying and addressing the root causes of instability, forced displacement and irregular migration to Europe together with the dynamics of displacement in Africa. EU's center of attention on African

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<sup>32</sup> Olivia Akumu (Mehr zum Autor) Öffnen: 16.04.2020: Forced and Mixed Migration Dynamics in the East and Horn of Africa. <https://www.bpb.de/themen/migration-integration/laenderprofile/english-version-country-profiles/306382/forced-and-mixed-migration-dynamics-in-the-east-and-horn-of-africa/>

<sup>33</sup> Tsion Tadesse Abebe: Migration policy frameworks in Africa: Institute for Security Studies: Addis Ababa, AFRICA REPORT 2 | DECEMBER 2017.

<sup>34</sup> Matthieu Tardis, 'European Union Partnerships with African Countries on Migration: A Common Issue with Conflicting Interests' in Notes de l'Ifri (French Institute of International Relations March 2018), <https://bit.ly/2OT2i4n> accessed, 2020.

countries' internal and regional elements is expected to assist in pursuing these objectives: 'countries of starting place and transit are stakeholders in the implementation of the European migration coverage'<sup>35</sup>. Embedded within these projects and initiatives has been a focus on cooperation that is geared towards increased returns and readmissions of irregular migrants to countries of origin and transit while also requiring such countries to enhance efforts on border security and management.

EU in its pursuit of an externalisation policy has utilised financial diplomacy to influence migration approaches within the African States as well as the AU as a continental body. One impact of this approach is that it has contributed to the trend of securitising European development assistance. There had been greater flexibility to accord resources towards development agendas, such as enhancing the provision of basic services, but such flexibility has decreased in favour of supporting border security and management. Both AU and EU signed Joint Africa–EU Tripoli Process, which focuses on creating more and better jobs in Africa. Prompted by the sharp increase in the flow of refugees, asylum seekers and irregular migrants into Europe, they signed the EU–Horn of Africa Process and the Valletta Summit on Migration. The Khartoum, Tripoli and Rabat processes form part of the institutional approach to migration and mobility<sup>36</sup>.

European Commission's work programme focuses on a new comprehensive strategy with Africa together with the High Representative of the Union for Foreign Affairs and Security Policy. The aim is to boost economic relations, and create jobs on both continents, in particular, sets the partnership on migration as one of the strategy's five key focus areas. EU focus on ways to ensure a balanced, coherent and comprehensive approach to migration as a partnership framework on migration for bilateral relations with partner countries. The main goal of the EU is to the prevention of irregular migration and a binding legal obligation to readmit irregular migrants.

Rabat frameworks cover wide-ranging issues that have evolved over the years, ranging from advocating better management of migration to promoting free movement of persons and capital; from emphasising the need for a humanitarian approach to address refugees' issues to prioritising migration to transform Africa's development. It also addresses human trafficking and human smuggling to stress the nexus between migration and peace and security. These and other pertinent policy priorities have also been reflected in the frameworks adopted in a broader context through the partnership between the AU and EU. The AU's draft protocol on freedom of persons, adopted in 2018, provides an excellent opportunity to do just this. To emphasise the importance of the free movement of people, the AU also launched its continental passport. The application of this should extend to as many Africans as possible. The frameworks and initiatives illustrate the aspirations of African policymakers to manage migration better<sup>37</sup>. African migration has become a key policy priority for the EU and its individual member states. While EU projects should not set any requirement to have a direct effect on migratory flows<sup>38</sup>, a concern with migration management is in practical terms prevalent within the policy and orientation of both the EU and the AU. At the policy level, 'interstate cooperation, whether at the bilateral, multilateral, and regional levels, is essential for effective and mutually beneficial management of international migration'<sup>39</sup>.

However, more effort is made to identify and address the negative aspects of migration – trafficking of people, illegal migration and irregular migration than to understand how these are interrelated and dependent on a series of other, sometimes positive dynamics. The EU Emergency fund for Africa specifically targets migration routes and the countries they pass through in its application of different programmes. Most of the projects are designed to restrict and discourage irregular migration through migration containment and control. As mentioned

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<sup>35</sup> Cristina UDELSMANN RODRIGUES: Intra-African Migration: [https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/226385/Study\\_Intra-Africa\\_Migration.pdf](https://www.europarl.europa.eu/cmsdata/226385/Study_Intra-Africa_Migration.pdf). Policy Department, Directorate-General for External Policies European Union, 2020. P.1-40.

<sup>36</sup> Khartoum Process, 'JVAP Database Insights 2018: Infographic Features Projects and Policies Contributing to JVAP Implementation' (8 November 2018), <https://bit.ly/3bAEY50> accessed 6 February 2020

<sup>37</sup> Ibid

<sup>38</sup> Kervyn, E. and Shilhav, R., An emergency for whom? The EU Emergency Trust Fund for Africa – migratory routes and development aid in Africa, OXFAM Briefing Note, OXFAM International, 2017.

<sup>39</sup> Adepoju, A., 'Migration in the Context of Regional Economic Communities and Regional Integration in Africa', in Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Human Mobility of Ecuador (ed.), Challenges of human mobility, LÍNEASUR 14: Foreign Policy Journal, 2018, pp. 95-110.

in the previous sections, undocumented migration plays a critical role in securing some people's lives and livelihoods; hence, elimination is likely to have negative effects on.<sup>40</sup>

African States have decried the fact that the partnership's projects in this arena have been dominated and driven by public opinion within the EU that views migration flows as a threat to European security and identity. As a result, there has been a misalignment between the short-term imperatives of the EU and the long-term goals of the AU. African States are disappointed by the little progress made on the second pillar of opening pathways for legal migration when compared to the aspects that emphasise border security and the return of migrants to countries of origin. But EU's financial support under the Joint Africa-EU Strategy has contributed to positive developments in normative advancements for migration at the AU level. AU also achieved the milestone of developing the Migration Policy Framework for Africa and the Plan of Action. AU's key pillars of migration are migration governance and labour migration. Border governance; irregular migration; forced displacement; internal migration and migration are critical issues<sup>41</sup>.

The AU has also leveraged the resources under the partnership to enhance its institutional capacity and to play a role in the convening and facilitating of key inter-State as well as inter/intra-regional platforms for migration and asylum dialogue. One such example is the Pan-African Forum on Migration. The AU established regional institutions and partners to disseminate contemporary information on migration trends, patterns and dynamics with a view to honing in on durable solutions to migration challenges. AU declared 2019 "The Year of Refugees and Returnees: Towards Durable Solutions to Forced Displacement in Africa", in relation to which the 8th High-Level Dialogue of the African Governance Architecture was held in December 2019 under the same theme<sup>42</sup>. AU engaged in the development of various migration policy frameworks and they cover wide-ranging issues, ranging from advocating better management of migration. The pertinent policy priorities have also been reflected in the frameworks adopted in a broader context through the partnership between the AU and EU.

### **III. Conclusion**

This study's main focus is on the ways in which migration trends and its critical challenges are reflected. The analysis supports a frequently claimed gap between European and African perspectives. From the European side, there are major preoccupations with irregular migration towards Europe, while for Africa issues of continental free-trade and free circulation are central. However, tackling the adverse effects of illegal migration, and human trafficking needs EU-AU efforts. Thus, the EU-AU has been engaged in the development of various migration policy frameworks and cooperation strategies. EU and AU have been cooperating in many areas including migrations and development for decades. But the EU-AU institutional cooperation towards migration and securities-related risks has been facing lots of challenges due to a lack of integrated and proactive securities and intelligence institutional cooperation. Thus, the new migration trends and security-related issues are worse than ever in the Horn of Africa.

The finding indicates, that labour markets and economic opportunities, climate, terrorism and domestic conflicts are the critical driving force for migration. Established settlement patterns and proactive policies and cooperation frameworks are fundamental structures for continued migration and movement. Interconnections between the existing structures and infrastructures that shape and maintain them are part of intra-African migration issues. It is crucial that opportunities for safe and regular migration within the African continent are widened by easing visa regimes and removing unnecessary barriers to mobility. Only 8% of migrants in Europe are African, and there is no evidence that they constitute a major security threat. Most of these migrants are moving to Europe in search of better opportunities rather than to engage in violent activities.

One of the driving forces for migration is the area's rapid population growth and the meagre economic opportunities that correspond. The working-age population of Africa is projected to reach 1.3 billion in 2050, but there aren't enough opportunities for adequate livelihoods to support this growth. Greater accessibility to economic opportunities in immigration destinations, social networks, education, and the media all help to increase migration

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<sup>40</sup> Bakewell, O., 'Undocumented Migration and Development', in T. Bastia and R. Skeldon (eds.) *Routledge Handbook of Migration and Development*, London: Routledge, 2020, pp. 74-83.

<sup>41</sup> L. Miyandazi et al., 'AU-EU Relations: Challenges in Forging and Implementing a Joint Agenda' (2018) 25:4 *South African Journal of International Affairs* 25 461, 472.

<sup>42</sup> ANDREW SONGA: CIVIL SOCIETY INPUT TO EU AFRICA COOPERATION ON MIGRATION: EU-AU RELATIONS. ECRE WORKING PAPER, 2020. P.1-6.

and mobility. There is significant and expanding irregular migration both within and outside of the Horn of Africa. The Horn of Africa sees a variety and complexity of migration. Flows are heavily influenced by a variety of factors and include both forced and economic migrants. There are many risks and vulnerabilities for migrants traveling to and from the Horn of Africa. Movements in the region are largely irregular which puts migrants at risk of abuse and exploitation by traffickers and smugglers.

Dealing with migration-related problems, such as unauthorized migration, smuggling, and human trafficking, is the main challenge in all of the region's countries. The lack of assets and potential at the institutional stage is also critical. It is therefore quintessential to give a boost to these capacities and step-up assets to deal with the recognized troubles successfully. It is advocated that countries in the Horn of Africa and their respective securities and intelligence institutions as well as other regional and international institutions cooperate together. Greater get admission to monetary opportunities in destination countries, decreasing conflicts, struggling terrorism networks and merchandising social networks, and schooling is indispensable means.

EU members' countries worries about Illegal migration from Africa. The main reason is due to the security related threats. However, the EU members' countries concerns needs balanced understanding that all migrants are not threats for securities. Because some migrants move for economic and human rights issues from their countries of origin and such kind of migrants needs special attention from EU members' countries as they are one of Human right promoting countries. Thus, Irregular migration cannot be managed on a unilateral basis by individual destination states but requires meaningful cooperation between countries of origin, transit and destination. Thus the AU and EU promote strengthening cooperation to reduce the issues related to migration, terrorism, war and safety challenges in the Horn of Africa region. The new migration trends and security-related problems can be high risk for horn of Africa migrants and EU members' countries. All issues can be solved by proactive cooperation from EU and from AU members countries.

Policy on irregular migration is driven by the perception (whether accurate or not) that countries risk being 'overwhelmed' by large numbers of irregular migrants who embody threats to states and society. Control measures introduced by states are therefore unlikely to be dismantled wholesale. Nevertheless, states are increasingly willing to acknowledge that current policy approaches have had only limited success, and many are willing at least to consider new alternatives.

In the horn of Africa, the National authorities and institutions manage safe, orderly and regular migration by applying a human rights-based approach and addressing human trafficking. Moreover, helping institutions combat human trafficking and people smuggling is so essential. The project supports integrated border management and refers migrants to a range of social services, as well as arranging training for civil servants and civil society stakeholders in the investigation and prosecution of human traffickers is vital means. Protecting the victims of trafficking and vulnerable migrants is the role of security and intelligence institutions.