Strings Attached: Reform the E.U. Trust Fund for Africa

By “Coach Vance” Trefethen

***Resolved: The European Union should substantially reform its immigration policy.***

Case Summary: The European Union Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF) is a foreign aid program that is part of the EU’s immigration policy. EUTF’s goals are all centered on reducing migration from Africa to Europe. It’s supposed to address the “root causes” of why people leave Africa to move (legally or illegally, regularly or irregularly) to Europe in search of better lives. Maybe if their lives were better in Africa, they wouldn’t need to move. Great theory, but EUTF judges the success of its projects on the number of migrants, not the improvement of lives. That means a program that fails to improve lives, but somehow (tighter security? Enslaving workers, like in Eritrea?) keeps them from migrating would be considered a success. This is a bad way to run and evaluate foreign aid, and it’s guaranteed not to actually work at reducing migration. The EU should cut the link between foreign aid and migration numbers and install better oversight to make sure the funds are used for real economic development and humanitarian aid.

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Strings Attached: Reform the E.U. Trust Fund for Africa

The European Union Trust Fund for Africa (EUTF) is a foreign aid budget that was implemented as part of the EU’s immigration policy. EUTF’s goals are all about reducing migration from Africa to Europe. It’s supposed to address the “root causes” of why people leave Africa in the first place. But it’s failing, and desperately needs reform. That’s why my partner and I are happy to affirm that: The European Union should substantially reform its immigration policy.

OBSERVATION 1. DEFINITIONS

Substantial

Merriam Webster Online Dictionary copyright 2020. <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/substantially>

considerable in quantity **:**significantly great

Reform

Merriam Webster Online Dictionary copyright 2020 <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/reform>

to put or change into an improved form or condition

Immigration policy

Prof. Marc Helbling, Liv Bjerre, Friederike Römer and Malisa Zobel 2014 (Helbling - professor in political sociology at the Department of Political Science at the University of Bamberg. Bjerre – PhD student, WZD Berlin Social Science Center. Romer - doctoral researcher at the Berlin Social Science Center. Zobel - research assistant at Berlin Social Science Center) April 2014 Conceptualizing and Measuring Immigration Policies. A Comparative Perspective <https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=2423075>



EUTF - European Union Trust Fund for Africa. A foreign aid program used as a tool of migration policy

Matthieu Tardis 2018 (with IFRI Centre for Migration & Citizenship; graduated from Higher Institute of European Studies in Strasbourg, France and studied at the law faculties of the Universities of Bordeaux and Oslo; worked for a French refugee aid NGO) “European Union Partnerships with African Countries on Migration – A Common Issue with Conflicting Interests” March 2018 <https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/tardis_eu_partnerships_african_countries_migration_2018.pdf>



OBSERVATION 2. INHERENCY, the structure of the Status Quo.

FACT 1. Lack of oversight

EUTF operations are mysterious and secretive, despite the EU Parliament’s call for better oversight

Maite Vermeulen, Giacomo Zandonini and Ajibola Amzat 2019 (journalists) How the EU created a crisis in Africa – and started a migration cartel 10 Dec 2019 <https://thecorrespondent.com/166/how-the-eu-created-a-crisis-in-africa-and-started-a-migration-cartel/21953207342-46c48098> (brackets in original)

The EUTF is all over the place: projects aimed at curbing African migration to Europe are lumped together with projects that provide emergency aid during major humanitarian crises. It funds an incredible variety of initiatives: food aid, peace-building projects, border control, awareness campaigns, employment programmes and more. But the methods for choosing which projects will receive funding remain shrouded in mystery. In the words of the European Court of Auditors, the selection of projects is “not fully consistent and clear”. A study commissioned by the European parliament found “the whole process [is] quite opaque”. Generally speaking, project proposals do not compete openly. In addition, there are no provisions for parliamentary oversight of how the funding is spent. The European parliament has called for more democratic handling of EUTF’s project choices on multiple occasions, but these calls have “largely been ignored”, says Tineke Strik, member of the European parliament (Green party).

FACT 2. Lost opportunities

EUTF’s focus on “reducing migration” distracts it from doing projects that could more effectively aid the poor in Africa

Oxfam 2017 (international charitable organization) Nov 2017 “AN EMERGENCY FOR WHOM?“ <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620380/bp-emergency-for-whom-eutf-africa-migration-151117-en.pdf?sequence=13>

The focus of European governments on stopping irregular migration towards Europe is diverting attention towards people on the move along the Central Mediterranean route. In some places, this attention inadvertently benefits people in need, by providing much-needed urgent assistance. But in other places, the flexibility given to donors may result in emergency situations being overlooked. For example, Niger, an important country of transit, was positioned 187 out of 188 countries on the human development index (a composite index of life expectancy, education and per capita income) in 2015. It is facing a humanitarian crisis in its southeastern regions nearest Lake Chad, and migration is not included in its development priorities or National Indicative Programmes (NIPs). Yet, under the EUTF for Africa, eight out of nine projects justify their intervention based on the need to target migratory routes or migrants themselves, and only one project has been approved in connection to the Lake Chad Basin crisis. In June 2016, more than 120 NGOs called for EU leaders to reject its migration plan that serves the single objective of curbing migration. This concern has been echoed in other studies into the EUTF for Africa in relation to Niger. Oxfam’s research has found that the EUTF for Africa shows a preference for projects in specific regions or for addressing specific beneficiaries based on their perceived role in migratory movement. Of the 84 projects implementing activities related to development cooperation, 49 projects (63% of the budget allocated to development cooperation) justify their intervention on the basis of either (1) geographical proximity to areas from which migrants may originate or pass through, or (2) selection of beneficiaries based on migratory status (migrant, refugee, etc.).

OBSERVATION 3. We offer the following PLAN implemented by the European Commission, the European Parliament, and any other necessary agencies of the European Union

1. Linkage to migration reduction goals for EUTF projects is canceled and replaced with economic development and humanitarian relief goals.
2. EUTF funding for safer migration is doubled.

3. EUTF placed under Parliamentary oversight, with mandatory reporting, full disclosure, and open competitive procurement required.
4. Enforcement through normal means. EU Parliament will have the right to terminate any non-compliant or ineffective programs.
5. Timeline: Plan takes effect 30 days after an affirmative ballot.
6. Funding through existing EUTF budget and cutting EUTF funds for enforced migration restriction
7. All Affirmative speeches may clarify

OBSERVATION 4. ADVANTAGES

ADVANTAGE 1. Better lives for the poor in Africa

Removing the migration reduction agenda from EUTF would increase the effectiveness of aid and improve the lives of people in Africa

CNBC 2020 (journalist Elliot Smith) 6 Feb 2020 “Oxfam accuses EU of tying aid money to African migration curbs” <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/02/06/oxfam-accuses-eu-of-tying-aid-money-to-african-migration-curbs.html>

However, in a [report published last week](https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620936/bp-eu-trust-fund-africa-migration-politics-300120-en.pdf;jsessionid=F98EA5D430EE07597B6944BC70E73348?sequence=1) following extensive analysis of the allocation of funds, the charity confederation revealed that over 1 billion euros ($1.1 billion) of poverty reduction and development funding was going to EU member states’ domestic migration curbing policies. These included enhanced border controls and repatriation of migrants. The EU did not respond to CNBC’s request for comment. Oxfam EU Migration Policy Advisor Raphael Shilhav said European governments were focusing on bowing to anti-immigration sentiment at home for short-term political wins, at the expense of long-term development strategies. “The EU needs to stop undermining its own values. Development aid is meant to fight poverty, inequality, and the growing climate crisis and it should not be politicized,” Shilhav said in a statement. Oxfam cautioned that tying development policy to domestic objectives undermines economic development, resilience and human mobility which could help improve the lives of people in Africa.

ADVANTAGE 2. Reduced harm to migrants

EUTF policy on restricting irregular migration won’t work. It should instead focus on opening safe migration pathways to reduce harm to migrants

Oxfam 2017 ( international charitable organization) Nov 2017 “AN EMERGENCY FOR WHOM?“ <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620380/bp-emergency-for-whom-eutf-africa-migration-151117-en.pdf?sequence=13>

As noted above, only 3% of EUTF for Africa migration management budget concerns facilitated migration. This approach of investing primarily in stopping irregular migration, with insufficient investment in opening more safe and regular mobility pathways – both within Africa and towards Europe – will fail to achieve either development or migration-related policy goals. Restricting irregular migration will not lead to a reduction in migration, but rather will force migrants to resort to taking more dangerous routes. This is recognized by the European Commission, which has stated that ‘new routes are more difficult to use and riskier, leading to higher prices demanded by the smugglers for transport, and higher risks for the migrants’.

ADVANTAGE 3. Better respect for human rights

A. Better oversight and accountability solve the perverse incentives that undermine respect for human rights and democracy

Tuuli Raty and Raphael Shilhav 2020 (Raty - EU Policy & Advocacy Officer at Saferworld, international non-governmental organisation with conflict prevention and peacebuilding programmes in over 20 countries. Shilhav - EU Migration Policy advisor at Oxfam, an international charitable organization) Jan 2020 The EU Trust Fund for Africa <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620936/bp-eu-trust-fund-africa-migration-politics-300120-en.pdf>

The allocation of aid to partner countries should not be conditional on their cooperation with the EU’s demands regarding returns and readmission or border management. The EU should work with its partners to develop a political environment of democratic accountability, with the participation of communities in decision-making processes regarding the use of funds. Positive rewards for regimes that rely on military interventions to reduce human mobility may undermine respect for human rights, democracy and resilience.

B. Ending strong-arm tactics increases leverage for promoting human rights and democracy in Africa

CNBC 2020 (journalist Elliot Smith) 6 Feb 2020 “Oxfam accuses EU of tying aid money to African migration curbs” <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/02/06/oxfam-accuses-eu-of-tying-aid-money-to-african-migration-curbs.html>

As well as being redirected toward domestic political ends, EUTF development aid is also increasingly being used as leverage to strong-arm African authorities into cooperating with EU migration demands, according to the report. This pressure, Oxfam alleged, is also hindering the ability for EU diplomats to push African host countries on democracy and human rights issues. The international agency called on EU institutions and member states to review the implementation of the EUTF, and design new financial instruments to address migration and development, disentangling aid allocation from EU domestic migration policy demands.

2A Evidence: EUTF

DEFINITIONS

****1 Euro is worth about $1.18****

Kimberly Amadeo 2020 (20 years of senior-level corporate experience in economic analysis and business strategy; master's in management from the Sloan School of Business at MIT. U.S. Economy expert for The Balance) 10 Aug 2020 “Euro to Dollar Conversion and Its History” <https://www.thebalance.com/what-is-the-euro-to-dollar-conversion-its-history-3306091>

**2020**:On Jan. 1, the euro was valued at $1.12. By mid-March, it had fallen to $1.06. ﻿ That's when Europe was hit hard by the coronavirus pandemic. ﻿ By July, the United States had taken the lead while the eurozone's cases had declined. ﻿ As a result, the euro rose to $1.18 by July 31.

Purpose of EUTF is to address root cause of mass migration from Africa

CNBC 2020 (journalist Elliot Smith) 6 Feb 2020 “Oxfam accuses EU of tying aid money to African migration curbs” <https://www.cnbc.com/2020/02/06/oxfam-accuses-eu-of-tying-aid-money-to-african-migration-curbs.html>

The EU Trust Fund (EUTF) for Africa was established in 2015 to address the root causes of mass migration from some of Africa’s poorest and most unstable countries.

EUTF’s objective is to reduce migration from Africa

Oxfam 2017 ( international charitable organization) Nov 2017 “AN EMERGENCY FOR WHOM?“ <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620380/bp-emergency-for-whom-eutf-africa-migration-151117-en.pdf?sequence=13>

The EUTF for Africa’s comprehensive character is well-noted in its objective, to ‘support all aspects of stability and contribute to address the root causes of destabilisation, forced displacement and irregular migration, in particular by promoting resilience, economic and equal opportunities, security and development and better migration management’.

EUTF is a foreign aid program that has 5 objectives – all of them are about immigration

Tuuli Raty and Raphael Shilhav 2020 (Raty - EU Policy & Advocacy Officer at Saferworld, international non-governmental organisation with conflict prevention and peacebuilding programmes in over 20 countries. Shilhav - EU Migration Policy advisor at Oxfam, an international charitable organization) Jan 2020 The EU Trust Fund for Africa <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620936/bp-eu-trust-fund-africa-migration-politics-300120-en.pdf>

European leaders were struggling to develop a common approach to managing the EU’s own responsibility-sharing mechanisms, and instead they hoped to shift more of this responsibility to their African partners. They convened the Valletta Summit on Migration, and following negotiations agreed the Valletta Action Plan. The plan was designed to: 1. address the root causes of irregular migration and forced displacement; 2. enhance cooperation on legal migration and mobility; 3. reinforce the protection of migrants and asylum seekers; 4. prevent and fight irregular migration, migrant smuggling and human trafficking; and 5. work more closely to improve cooperation on return, readmission and reintegration. At the summit, the leaders also officially launched a new European financial instrument, the ‘EU Emergency Trust Fund for stability and addressing root causes of irregular migration and displaced persons in Africa’ (EUTF for Africa). The EUTF for Africa pooled financial resources from member states, the European Development Fund, and from across the EU budget to create a flexible funding mechanism focused around the Valletta Summit priorities.

A/T Topicality “Foreign aid policy” – EUTF projects are labeled as migration policies

Tuuli Raty and Raphael Shilhav 2020 (Raty - EU Policy & Advocacy Officer at Saferworld, international non-governmental organisation with conflict prevention and peacebuilding programmes in over 20 countries. Shilhav - EU Migration Policy advisor at Oxfam, an international charitable organization) Jan 2020 The EU Trust Fund for Africa <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620936/bp-eu-trust-fund-africa-migration-politics-300120-en.pdf>

Similarly, Guinea was awarded a €65m employment creation project in July 2017, which occurred shortly after reaching an agreement with the EU on best practices for the identification and return of irregular migrants. Despite promoting a development programme, the project openly states that its objective is a reduction in irregular migration and that it measures its results by the reduction of migrant departures. Other development projects with a migration control objective were announced in Côte d’Ivoire, where the EUTF for Africa launched a €30m project for budget support for civic registration in November 2018, to prevent irregular migration and reinforce cooperation on returns.

In depth details on how EUTF works. And no EU Parliament oversight of EUTF!

Oxfam 2017 ( international charitable organization) Nov 2017 “AN EMERGENCY FOR WHOM?“ <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620380/bp-emergency-for-whom-eutf-africa-migration-151117-en.pdf?sequence=13>

Trust Funds are a specific type of EU instrument. They are created to respond to emergency, post-emergency or thematic actions for a limited duration. They have specific governance arrangements and are placed outside the EU budget. The EUTF for Africa is structured around a Strategic Board, which sets the general strategy, and three Regional Operational Committees for the three geographic windows of Horn of Africa, Sahel and Lake Chad, and North Africa. Each Operational Committee approves programmes for their respective geographic window. The Strategic Board and the Regional Operational Committees are all chaired by the European Commission and include representatives from the European External Action Service, member states and other donors16 that have contributed more than €3m to the EUTF for Africa. Partner countries in Africa, regional organizations in Africa and donors contributing less than €3m are granted observer status without voting rights. The legal basis of the EUTF allows for fast decision making that falls outside the traditional procedures, due to its emergency nature. The EUTF for Africa projects are generally proposed under the leadership of the EU Delegations and then selected by members of the Regional Operational Committees. By contrast to conventional EU development instruments, the European Parliament does not have oversight of the EUTF for Africa.

INHERENCY

EUTF collected 4.6 billion euros over 3 years to “tackle the root causes of migration” in Africa

Maite Vermeulen, Giacomo Zandonini and Ajibola Amzat 2019 (journalists) How the EU created a crisis in Africa – and started a migration cartel 10 Dec 2019 <https://thecorrespondent.com/166/how-the-eu-created-a-crisis-in-africa-and-started-a-migration-cartel/21953207342-46c48098>

It was the summer of 2015, the height of what Europe would come to call the “refugee crisis”. Migrant boats were arriving daily on the Greek islands, one rubber dinghy after another had sunk off the coast of Italy, and thousands of people were trekking through eastern Europe on foot. Mediterranean governments were overwhelmed by the sheer numbers of people seeking asylum on their shores. And although most of these asylum seekers came from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan, the “crisis” also drew attention to migration from Africa, which had remained fairly constant for years. At a summit in Malta, African and European leaders decided that more money was needed to tackle the “root causes” of migration and displacement in Africa. Lots more money. And so the EUTF was born, managed directly by the European commission. The vast majority of the €4.6bn that has been pumped into the EUTF over the past three years comes from existing EU funds. The rest is made up of contributions from EU member states, Switzerland and Norway. Germany and Italy lead the pack, contributing €182m and €123m respectively.

EUTF funds migration-reduction programs in Africa. Examples: Libya, Morocco, Egypt and Tunisia

Tuuli Raty and Raphael Shilhav 2020 (Raty - EU Policy & Advocacy Officer at Saferworld, international non-governmental organisation with conflict prevention and peacebuilding programmes in over 20 countries. Shilhav - EU Migration Policy advisor at Oxfam, an international charitable organization) Jan 2020 The EU Trust Fund for Africa <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620936/bp-eu-trust-fund-africa-migration-politics-300120-en.pdf>

In recent years, migration control has featured prominently in the EU’s relations with its North African neighbours, with the issue mainstreamed into association agreements, mutually agreed partnership priorities and informal dialogue. In June 2018, the European Council agreed on the need to prioritise a regional approach to migration management on both sides of the Mediterranean, which would include ‘disembarkation platforms’ in non-European countries, for people rescued or intercepted in the Mediterranean, and increased investment in Africa, including through the EUTF. Although these plans were quickly terminated due to a lack of interest from third countries to host these platforms, high-level negotiations on migration control, search and rescue, and return have since taken place with Libya, Morocco, Egypt and Tunisia. In parallel, funding for both migration control and development has been released through the EUTF for Africa. For example, in July 2018, the EUTF launched a €55m regional migration management programme to strengthen border control and increase cooperation between Moroccan and Tunisian border authorities. In 2019, the European Commission encouraged EU member states to contribute to the North Africa window, in order to allow for an increase in this investment.

Lack of oversight: EUTF spent 4.6 billion euros while exempting itself from its own regulations

Maite Vermeulen, Giacomo Zandonini and Ajibola Amzat 2019 (journalists) How the EU created a crisis in Africa – and started a migration cartel 10 Dec 2019 <https://thecorrespondent.com/166/how-the-eu-created-a-crisis-in-africa-and-started-a-migration-cartel/21953207342-46c48098>

On 5 December 2017, Thomas Spijkerboer was glancing through European commission Decision C(2015) 7293 in his office in Lund, Sweden. The document concerned a fund created to address “the root causes” of migration and displacement in Africa. Not exactly light reading, but nothing out of the ordinary for a professor of migration law. But then Spijkerboer came to page nine. “The countries referred to in paragraph 4 of Article 1 … ” He flipped back to the previous section: Burkina Faso, Cameroon, Libya, Nigeria, Niger, Senegal, Kenya, Somalia, Algeria ... The list went on and on until it named half the African continent. “ ... are considered to be in a crisis situation in the sense of paragraph 2 of Article 90 of the Rules of Application … ” Wait, what? Half of Africa in crisis? It’s not often you encounter such terrible news in a dry legal text. Just how long was this tragic situation expected to last? “ … for the duration of the Trust Fund.” Spijkerboer was dumbfounded.“Makes my day,” he scribbled in his notebook, with more than a hint of irony. Because there’s a lot at stake here. The document Spijkerboer was reading provides the legal basis for one of the European Union’s (EU) largest and most significant migration funds: the European Trust Fund in Africa (EUTF). Within the space of three years, the EUTF has spent €4.6bn on migration projects in Africa. And with that one sentence, tucked away in an obscure legal text, the EU had exempted itself from its own regulations. In the event of a crisis, the EU is no longer required to follow public procurement procedures. Necessity knows no law.

Lack of oversight: EUTF process for adopting and implementing projects are not disclosed

Oxfam 2017 (international charitable organization) Nov 2017 “AN EMERGENCY FOR WHOM?“ <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620380/bp-emergency-for-whom-eutf-africa-migration-151117-en.pdf?sequence=13>

Based on the categories proposed in this report, Oxfam found that 22% of the EUTF for Africa budget is allocated to migration management, 13.5% to security, peacebuilding and P-CVE, 63% to development cooperation and 1.5% to research and monitoring. The details of most projects are accessible online, but the process by which they are adopted and implemented falls short in terms of transparency and inclusive consultation.

EUTF aid causes friction with African countries because it’s linked to EU migration policies and migrant reduction numbers

Tuuli Raty and Raphael Shilhav 2020 (Raty - EU Policy & Advocacy Officer at Saferworld, international non-governmental organisation with conflict prevention and peacebuilding programmes in over 20 countries. Shilhav - EU Migration Policy advisor at Oxfam, an international charitable organization) Jan 2020 The EU Trust Fund for Africa <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620936/bp-eu-trust-fund-africa-migration-politics-300120-en.pdf>

The EUTF for Africa support to the G5 Sahel countries is one part of a broader partnership that encompasses security, development and migration cooperation, and the level of independence between these three objectives is the subject of debate. As detailed below, many development projects in the Sahel and Lake Chad window are linked to donors’ expectations that development opportunities are used to promote more West African nationals returning to their home countries, or to reducing the number of people leaving the region to move towards Europe. In some cases, these expectations have caused friction between the EU and African countries.

Lack of transparency and “migration reduction” goal means EUTF aid doesn’t promote the interests of the recipients in need

Oxfam 2017 ( international charitable organization) Nov 2017 “AN EMERGENCY FOR WHOM?“ <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620380/bp-emergency-for-whom-eutf-africa-migration-151117-en.pdf?sequence=13>

Flexible, multi-year funding, which allows for adaptation and localization, is important for supporting effective responses to crises. But its effectiveness must be ascertained by measuring its contribution to economic opportunities and equal opportunities for all people, and to strengthening the resilience of vulnerable people, human security and development, rather than reductions in migrant numbers, whether at Europe’s borders or between African countries. The EUTF for Africa represents a new aid modality characterized by flexible, pooled funding – an increasingly common trend. Without adequate transparency of decision making processes and accountability measures, it risks becoming an opportunity for European governments to implement political agendas that do not necessarily promote the interests of people in need or aid objectives.

EUTF aid is linked to migration, so it may not even qualify as development assistance

Tuuli Raty and Raphael Shilhav 2020 (Raty - EU Policy & Advocacy Officer at Saferworld, international non-governmental organisation with conflict prevention and peacebuilding programmes in over 20 countries. Shilhav - EU Migration Policy advisor at Oxfam, an international charitable organization) Jan 2020 The EU Trust Fund for Africa <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620936/bp-eu-trust-fund-africa-migration-politics-300120-en.pdf> (brackets added)

More so than the aforementioned windows, The EUTF for Africa’s North Africa window is addressing migration management directly. 55% of the funding is allocated directly to migration governance projects, with the aim of preventing migrants from crossing the Mediterranean. Since the inception of the EUTF for Africa, €263m has been allocated to migration containment and control in North African countries, of which €201.7m has been allocated since the publication of Oxfam’s previous report in November 2017. Development cooperation projects in the North Africa window also show a strong link with migration governance, as several large projects aim to address and improve the living conditions of refugees and other migrants. The biggest recipients of such funds are Libya (€140.1m) and Morocco (€25.2m). Many of the development projects in North Africa (including in Morocco, Tunisia and regional projects) are aiming to help authorities put in place migration strategies and raise awareness among migrants and refugees of their rights. Such projects are mostly focused on ensuring benefits for aid recipients. However, they often also include components relating to European migration control, such as indicators measuring success according to reductions in irregular migration to Europe, or training and awareness-raising activities aimed at reducing incentives for onward travel. This raises the question to what extent such projects can be labelled as ODA [Official Development Assistance], which should be designed and implemented to promote development and welfare in developing countries.

SOLVENCY / ADVOCACY / ADVANTAGES

EUTF can be beneficial to the poor in Africa but: Need greater transparency and separating out the migration agenda to focus on development

Oxfam 2017 ( international charitable organization) Nov 2017 “AN EMERGENCY FOR WHOM?“ <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620380/bp-emergency-for-whom-eutf-africa-migration-151117-en.pdf?sequence=13>

Oxfam’s analysis finds that the EUTF for Africa provides much needed support to displaced people and creates opportunities for economic development. At the same time, however, some of its projects respond to a European political sense of urgency to stop irregular migration to Europe. The EUTF for Africa must adopt clearer procedures and more transparent and consultative processes to ensure that short-term interests do not jeopardize the long-term objectives of development, stability, poverty eradication and the protection of rights.

EUTF needs to: End migration conditionality for aid, get democratic accountability, set development as the goal (not migration reduction)

Tuuli Raty and Raphael Shilhav 2020 (Raty - EU Policy & Advocacy Officer at Saferworld, international non-governmental organisation with conflict prevention and peacebuilding programmes in over 20 countries. Shilhav - EU Migration Policy advisor at Oxfam, an international charitable organization) Jan 2020 The EU Trust Fund for Africa <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620936/bp-eu-trust-fund-africa-migration-politics-300120-en.pdf>

Lessons learned from the design and implementation of the EUTF Africa include the following: • The allocation of aid to partner countries should not be conditional on their cooperation with the EU’s demands regarding returns and readmission or border management. The EU should work with its partners to develop a political environment of democratic accountability, with the participation of communities in decision-making processes regarding the use of funds. Positive rewards for regimes that rely on military interventions to reduce human mobility may undermine respect for human rights, democracy and resilience. • The flexibility of the EU’s financial instruments should be balanced by a clear structure that ensures their use in line with development and humanitarian objectives and principles. ODA should support poverty eradication, the reduction of inequality and the meeting of humanitarian needs. It must not be diverted to promote donors’ domestic objectives, including foreign policy objectives. As far as possible, migration objectives should be clearly framed within the context of the Global Compact for Safe, Orderly and Regular Migration, national indicative programmes and bilateral agreements, the specific text of which should be made public. Migration-related spending should adhere to clear and mutually-agreed frameworks of cooperation, not to emergency instruments such as the ‘Emerging challenges and priorities cushion’ of the next European Neighbourhood, Development and International Cooperation Instrument (NDICI), which are potentially open to political manipulation. • Migration-related spending should aim to reduce vulnerabilities, address needs and promote resilient development. The amount of spending should be decided according to evidence-based projections, not on political positioning. Displacement situations resulting from conflicts or climate-related emergencies require the EU’s attention and the people affected need support. The EU should allocate enough funding in its next multiannual financial framework for early preparedness, humanitarian responses and development programmes, based on a projection of global needs. Allocating funds disproportionately to needs will result in EU financial resources being stretched or spent unnecessarily.

Aid shouldn’t be based on migratory status [in context the author here is writing specifically about EUTF]

Oxfam 2017 ( international charitable organization) Nov 2017 “AN EMERGENCY FOR WHOM?“ <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620380/bp-emergency-for-whom-eutf-africa-migration-151117-en.pdf?sequence=13>

As for forced displacement, its ‘root causes’ should be addressed by donors, but with the aim of supporting all those affected by crises, not only those who are able to flee. Emergency support in situations of displacement should be provided based on need, not on distinctions of migratory status (recognized refugees, internally displaced persons, asylum seekers, etc.), to ensure that displaced persons are protected and that their needs are addressed.

Cutting the “migration” link to aid increases EUTF’s ability to fight poverty and meet humanitarian needs

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The EUTF for Africa was designed as an emergency instrument, to ‘respond to the different dimensions of crisis situations by providing support jointly, flexibly and quickly’, complementing political dialogue, development cooperation programmes, humanitarian assistance and crisis response assistance. However, given that it was launched in the context of a perceived ‘migration crisis’, Oxfam and other NGOs have raised concerns that the EUTF for Africa does not include sufficient safeguards to ensure that development aid is not diverted to further the political migration agendas of European countries. As a humanitarian and development organization guided by a rights-based approach, Oxfam works to ensure that aid is exclusively used to fight poverty, reduce inequality, including gender inequality, and meet humanitarian needs. Development aid, humanitarian assistance and supporting strands of international cooperation have an impact on the lives of hundreds of millions in poverty. They must therefore target those most in need and not fulfil donors’ other policy objectives. When aid is given for other purposes, such as donors’ short-term, self-interested political agendas, its impact on reducing poverty and its contribution to sustainable development is rarely lasting.

Breaking the link between the politics of migration and development aid, increased accountability, and changing the measurements of success away from migration numbers would improve results

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A politically driven sense of urgency in Europe was the reason d’être of the EUTF for Africa and is determining too many aspects of its implementation. But this does not mean that the instrument’s daily operations are doomed to fail. What is needed is a clear and firm separation between the political interests that led to the establishment of the EUTF for Africa and the operational dimensions of the EUTF windows. The EUTF for Africa’s objective creates a causal link between investment in economic and equal opportunities for all people, security and development on the one hand, and stability, displacement and migration on the other. But this link is not always immediate and the measurements of success might not be obvious; for example, higher levels of development are often linked with increased migration. Further, according to the EU’s own standards, ‘development interventions in fragile and conflict-affected situations should bear in mind the “do no harm approach” and need to adopt a more context-specific and flexible planning approach, recognising the high risk of failure and the need to quickly adapt to changing situations’. Migration is a complex phenomenon that can be managed for the benefit of migrants and displaced people as well as countries of origin, transit and destination. To ensure this, flexible funding must be balanced with adequate accountability mechanisms, in line with humanitarian and development aid principles. While urgent crisis-response contributions can be measured at a project level quite soon after the intervention in order to assess their impact, they should not be selected for or expected to immediately impact the overall security, displacement and migration situations in all the countries of operation. Rather, the effectiveness of the EUTF for Africa should be measured by its overall contribution to the gradual transition from humanitarian to development interventions, and improvement of the security and economic situation in the countries in which it operates.

Defining “success” as “staying put” is the wrong indicator, since people may be at risk where they are

Tuuli Raty and Raphael Shilhav 2020 (Raty - EU Policy & Advocacy Officer at Saferworld, international non-governmental organisation with conflict prevention and peacebuilding programmes in over 20 countries. Shilhav - EU Migration Policy advisor at Oxfam, an international charitable organization) Jan 2020 The EU Trust Fund for Africa <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620936/bp-eu-trust-fund-africa-migration-politics-300120-en.pdf>

In a regional workshop Oxfam held in Burkina Faso in November 2019, representatives of NGOs and international organizations discussed the role that human mobility (displacement and voluntary migration) plays in development projects. One of the concerns raised was that indicators for success that relate to people remaining in their place of origin fail to consider the risks that people face if they do not escape ongoing situations of insecurity, and the possibility of providing people with skills that could support them even after displacement. The changing context in Burkina Faso will undoubtedly require new thinking about EUTF for Africa projects and the definitions of their success.

Better oversight would improve human rights. Example: EUTF funds slavery in Eritrea because there’s no oversight

NEW YORK TIMES 2020. (journalist [Matina Stevis-Gridneff](https://www.nytimes.com/by/matina-stevis-gridneff) ) 8 Jan 2020 How Forced Labor in Eritrea Is Linked to E.U.-Funded Projects <https://www.nytimes.com/2020/01/08/world/europe/conscription-eritrea-eu.html>

The European Union spent 20 million euros last year in Eritrea, hoping to help stem an exodus from the repressive African country, which is consistently one of its biggest sources of asylum seekers. The money, about $22 million, bought equipment and materials to build a road, a seemingly uncontroversial task. The catch? Many workers on the construction site are forced conscripts, and the European Union has no real means of monitoring the project. The decision caused outrage in human-rights circles. But that did not stop the bloc in December from deciding to give Eritrea tens of millions more, funding a system of forced conscription that the [United Nations](https://documents-dds-ny.un.org/doc/UNDOC/GEN/G17/220/61/PDF/G1722061.pdf?OpenElement) has described as “tantamount to enslavement.” The additional aid, of €95 million, has not been previously reported, and is a jarring example of the quandary facing the European Union as it scrambles to drastically curb migration. When it comes to Eritrea, a closed nation of about five million people in the Horn of Africa, the bloc has little real oversight of the projects it is funding, and it has decided not to make its aid conditional on guarantees of democratic reforms. The money is part of a €4.6 billion [European Union Trust Fund for Africa](https://ec.europa.eu/trustfundforafrica/index_en), a special fund created at the height of the refugee crisis in 2015 to “address the root causes of migration.”

DISAD RESPONSES

A/T “Illegal immigration” - Status Quo EUTF will fail to meet the goal of reducing migration

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The European migration agenda is prevalent throughout the EUTF for Africa, and a considerable portion of its funding is invested in security measures and border management. Such measures will not meet governments’ expectations of stemming irregular migration and should not be expected to achieve this goal. To ensure that interventions funded from the EUTF for Africa do no harm and are conflict-sensitive, the flexible funding must be balanced with adequate accountability mechanisms, in line with humanitarian and development aid principles. Security measures should always be conflict-sensitive and be designed to promote the security of individuals, with a focus on the needs of women. This is particularly important when supporting the security forces of third states. The effectiveness of the EUTF for Africa as a whole should be measured by its overall contribution to the gradual transition from humanitarian to development interventions relating to displacement, and to the promotion of ‘resilience, economic and equal opportunities, security and development and better migration management,’ as per the instrument’s objective.

A/T “Need EUTF to reduce irregular migration” – Wrong goal and only makes things worse. It should be promoting ways to migrate safely

Oxfam 2017 (international charitable organization) Nov 2017 “AN EMERGENCY FOR WHOM?“ <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620380/bp-emergency-for-whom-eutf-africa-migration-151117-en.pdf?sequence=13>

The EUTF for Africa is designed to address the root causes of ‘forced displacement and irregular migration’, but this objective is rooted in a misunderstanding about the different motivations that prompt people to move between regions and countries. The International Organization for Migration (IOM) defines irregular migration as the ‘movement that takes place outside the regulatory norms of the sending, transit and receiving countries’. Yet the reasons for which people move across borders have little to do with their regulatory status. The phenomenon of migration is part of human nature. Individuals’ ability to travel across borders to engage in trade and labour is important for their own economic resilience, as well as that of their families and communities back home who benefit from remittances. Forced displacement is entirely different. It is caused by situations from which people flee, such as conflicts, persecution, violations of rights or disasters. At the root of forced displacement, then, lie instability, inequality, poor governance, corruption, climate change and inadequate disaster responses. Development cooperation should aim to facilitate safe, orderly and regular migration, as an alternative to irregular migration. Measures designed to restrict irregular migration or weaken incentives for it will only make migration more costly and unsafe, if the overall result is to reduce mobility options. Indeed, the priority of African regional bodies in respect to migration governance is to maintain free movement, not restrict it or classify it as irregular. This is the case for the African Union, the Economic Community of West African States, the East African Community, the Southern African Development Community and the Intergovernmental Authority on Development.

A/T “Need reduced migration” – EUTF can’t reduce migration, all they can do is make it more dangerous

Oxfam 2017 ( international charitable organization) Nov 2017 “AN EMERGENCY FOR WHOM?“ <https://oxfamilibrary.openrepository.com/bitstream/handle/10546/620380/bp-emergency-for-whom-eutf-africa-migration-151117-en.pdf?sequence=13> (brackets in original)

These results show that the approach of European donors to migration management is far more geared to containment and control. This falls short of their commitment under the Valletta Action Plan’s second pillar, to ‘promot[e] regular channels for migration and mobility from and between European and African countries’ or Strategic Development Goal target 10.7, to ‘facilitate orderly, safe and responsible migration and mobility of people’. Without sufficient investment in opening more safe and regular mobility pathways – both within Africa and towards Europe – the EUTF will not only fail to achieve its goals for development, but also its migration-related policy goals. Rather than leading to a reduction in migration, restricting irregular migration will simply force migrants to take more dangerous routes.

EUTF can’t reduce migration. Example: Mali. Government promises to use aid for migration, but doesn’t really intend to do so, and EU staffers play along with it

Signe Marie Cold-Rvankilde and Christine Nissen 2020 (Rvankilde – Senior Researcher for Danish Institute for International Studies. Nissen - Researcher for Danish Institute for International Studies) July 2020 INTERNAIONAL AFFAIRS “Schizophrenic agendas in the EU's external actions in Mali” <https://academic.oup.com/ia/article/96/4/935/5866447>

Delivering on migration in the current security context is particularly difficult. An EU staff member explained: ‘In Mali the government plays a double game internally. They tell us what we want to hear to get access to the EU Trust Fund for cutting down on illegal migration.’ Meanwhile, the Malian government does not want to further upset civil society actors who are increasingly expressing their distrust of the government and their distaste for what they claim is a neo-patrimonial relationship between Mali's government on the one hand and international donors and security actors on the other. At the same time, the EU staff allow the Malians to play this internal game; staff in GARSI and the EU Trust Fund-financed ‘programme of support for enhanced security in the Mopti and Gao regions and for the management of border areas’ (PARSEC Mopti–Gao) do not actually think they are doing anything related to migration; they just have to indicate on paper that it is related to this issue in order to fit within the EUTF framework.

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