



YAŞAR UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL

MASTER THESIS

**IMPACTS OF DEVELOPMENT AID ON MIGRATION
FLOWS:
CASE OF DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO**

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M.A. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

PRESENTATION DATE: 14.01.2022

BORNOVA/İZMİR

JANUARY 2022

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ABSTRACT

IMPACTS OF DEVELOPMENT AID ON MIGRATION FLOWS: CASE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

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January 2022

Development aid provided by the international donors has always been a significant policy tool to support and improve the development of recipient countries and also curb outward international migration. The European Union (EU) ranks as one of the largest donor organizations that has been utilizing the development aid to maintain peace, security, and economic development in the recipient countries. EU's development aid also aims to curb migration flows towards EU. The Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC), as a country of origin for many migrants fleeing to Europe, is amongst the top countries that receive EU's development aid. This thesis aims to understand how and to what extent the development aid provided by the EU to the DRC affects the migration flows from the DRC to the EU member states. Accordingly, it seeks to examine the EU's development aid policy in terms of understanding whether or not the delivery of aid has a significant impact on curbing migration from the DRC by eradicating poverty and improving the economy with sustainable growth. It elucidates that development aid yields both negative and positive impacts in the sense that it does improve the living conditions and economic development on one hand, but it plays relatively a minor role in reducing migration.

keywords: European Union, Democratic Republic of the Congo, migration, development aid, poverty.

ÖZ

KALKINMA YARDIMLARININ GÖÇ ÜZERİNE ETKİLERİ:

DEMOKRATİK KONGO CUMHURİYETİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Ocak 2022

Uluslararası bağışçılar tarafından sağlanan kalkınma yardımı, her zaman alıcı/faydalanıcı ülkelerin kalkınmasını desteklemek ve geliştirmek ve ayrıca uluslararası göçü engellemek için önemli bir politika aracı olmuştur. Avrupa Birliği (AB), yardım alan ülkelerde barış, güvenlik ve ekonomik kalkınmayı sürdürmek için kalkınma yardımını kullanan en büyük bağışçı kuruluşlardan biridir. AB'nin kalkınma yardımı aynı zamanda AB'ye yönelik göç akışlarını da engellemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Avrupa'ya yönelen birçok göçmenin menşe ülkesi olan Demokratik Kongo Cumhuriyeti (DKC), AB'nin kalkınma yardımı alan ülkelerin başında gelmektedir. Bu tez, Avrupa Birliği'nin DKC'ye sağladığı kalkınma yardımının DKC'den AB üye ülkelere olan göç akımlarını nasıl ve ne ölçüde etkilediğini anlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Buna göre, AB'nin kalkınma yardımının, yoksulluğu ortadan kaldırarak ve sürdürülebilir büyüme ile ekonomiyi geliştirerek DRC'deki göçü engellemede önemli bir etkisinin olup olmadığı incelenecektir. Tez, kalkınma yardımlarının yaşam koşullarını ve ekonomik kalkınmayı iyileştirmesi anlamında hem olumsuz hem de olumlu etkiler yarattığını, ancak göçün azaltılmasında göreceli olarak küçük bir rol oynadığını açıklamaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: Avrupa Birliği, Demokratik Kongo Cumhuriyeti, göç, kalkınma yardımı, yoksulluk.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the support of many people. Many thanks to my supervisor, Assoc.Prof. (PhD) Ayselin Yıldız, who has provided me numerous revisions on the content and helped to solve out the confusion I had in conducting my research. She provided with a perfect blend of encouragement and advice. I am proud of, and grateful for my time working with her. Also thanks to my jury committee members, Assist.Prof. (PhD). D. Arıkan Açar and Assoc.Prof. (PhD) Elif Uzgören, who offered guidance, insight and support.

I am indebted also to several Yasar University staff and my friends who helped me find my footing as I started this thesis. Lastly, my family and relatives deserve my endless gratitude: my late father who encouraged me to pursue my master' degree, my beloved mother for her love, patience and constant support, and my siblings for teaching me that a proclamation of dominance is not necessarily a bad thing. To my family, I give everything, including this.

Evelyne Gasper Rwebugisa

İzmir, 2022

TEXT OF OATH

I declare and honestly confirm that my study, titled “Impacts of Development Aid on Migration Flows: Case of The Democratic Republic of the Congo” and presented as a Master’s Thesis, has been written without applying to any assistance inconsistent with scientific ethics and traditions. I declare, to the best of my knowledge and belief, that all content and ideas drawn directly or indirectly from external sources are indicated in the text and listed in the list of references.

Evelyne Gasper Rwebugisa
January, 2022



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYM

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific (Groups of States)
AU	African Union
BODA	Belgium Official Development Assistance
CA	Cotonou Agreement
COFACE	Compagnie Française d'Assurance pour le Commerce Extérieur
COMESA	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CSDP	The Common Security and Defense Policy
DRC	Democratic Republic of the Congo
ECA	European Court of Auditors
ECCAS	The Economic Community of Central African States
EEC	European Economic Community
EU	European Union
EUFOR-RDC	European Union Military Operations in the DRC
EUTFA	Africa European Union Emergency Trust Fund for Africa
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNI	Gross National Income
IDMC	Internal Displacement Monitoring Center
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organization for Migration
LDCs	Least Developing Countries
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MIDA	Migration for Development in Africa
MLC	Movement for the Liberation of the Congo
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
NIP	National Indicative Programme
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development
PCD	Policy Coherence for Development
QuODA	Centre for Global Development Quality of Development Assistance

RCD-G	Rassemblement Congolais pour la Démocratie-Goma,
RCD-ML	Congolese Rally for Democracy Liberation Movement
SADC	Southern Africa Development Cooperation
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SSR	Sector Security Reform
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WBDI	World Bank Development Indicator



CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

They have marched and camped, some have fully integrated, but some have not. From Lubumbashi and Kinshasa to Brussels, Paris, and Berlin. These are citizens that have emigrated from the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC); all of them have something in common which is to improve their lives by migrating to developed countries. Some work as construction workers while others as cleaners. Some are more skilled and works in hospitals and universities. On some occasions, some opt for voluntary return to their country because of several reasons yet others decide to stay and only plan to return once they have set aside enough money. Although statistics suggest that the primary reasons for the DRC migration are unemployment and poverty, some also migrate for political reasons such as to escape war, political persecution, or the local setting regarded as oppressive (IOM, 2019).

The main reasons as to why an individual decides to migrate are as a result of the social, economic, political, and cultural context in which they find themselves (De Abreu, 2012). With the accelerated globalization and technological advances, migration also increases either trans-local or transnational (Levitt, 2004). People tend to emigrate to a country with better standards of living so as a result international migration from least developing countries to developed countries increases on an annual basis. Currently, there are 281 million migrants in the world (IOM, 2020).

The Democratic Republic of the Congo is one of the countries in sub-Saharan Africa that faces many challenges related to economic migration even though external aid aiming to support development has been constant in the country since the 1950s. With over 5.6 million displaced persons in early 2021 alone (UNHCR, 2021) the political instability that resulted in weak infrastructure has heavily caused poor provision of services. The country relies heavily on cross border exchanges and with no doubt experiences a high demand for out-migration aspirations either by force or voluntarily. This thesis aims to contribute to the debate on the development-migration nexus by analyzing the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo as a migrant-sending country. In this context, the thesis aims to understand how, and to

what extend the development aid provided by the European Union (EU) to the DRC affects the migration flows from DRC to the EU member states. Accordingly, EU being the world's largest development donor (European Union, 2020), the study seeks to examine the European Development Policy in terms of understanding whether or not the delivery of aid has a significant impact on curbing migration in the DRC by eradicating poverty and improving the economy with sustainable growth. Thus, the thesis limits its scope with migration flows stemming from economic reasons, specifically due to poverty and high unemployment in the DRC. Asylum flows are excluded.

1.1. Relevance, Aim of the Study and the Research Questions

The pertinence of addressing the relationship between development aid and migration is justified by its utter relevance. It is also colluded by the considerable increase in both political attention and academic response that the development-migration nexus has amassed. The migration-development nexus specifically in this thesis covers the significant role it plays in terms of shaping future migration trends. The study examines the DRC as a case study to understand to what extent does development aid provided by the EU affects outward international migration flows in countries that are categorized as socio-economically fragile. The findings from this study are a paramount contribution, as they will conceivably act as a guide to policymakers on how development aid can make an impact on migration. Briefly, the thesis aims to contribute to the development and migration literature constructively by providing insights from the case of the DRC. Accordingly, it makes an analysis on whether or not EU's development aid helps to curb migration in the DRC.

The main research question of this thesis is "How and to what extent EU development aid plays an efficient role in policies aimed at mitigating migration from the DRC?" Accordingly, it also seeks to answer the complementary following sub-research questions:

- To what extent are development and migration linked?
- Is development aid alone sufficient in addressing the root causes of migration?
- What must be done to improve the effects of development aid on out-migration in both short- and long-term perspectives?

- What are the short term and long-term impacts of EU's development aid to DRC?

1.2. Methodology and Case Selection

This descriptive study mainly relies on an extensive literature review based on the collection of data from secondary sources. It examines books, journal articles, newspaper articles, reports, government, and non-governmental publications as well as all existing data and statistics to make a pondering analysis on the migration and development nexus. The research also highly benefits from various reports of the European Union, The United Nations, and its agencies, particularly International Organizations for Migration (IOM). Additionally, data from sources such as World Bank and International Monetary Fund play a significant role in the analysis of DRC. The thesis also uses data from other sub-Saharan African countries from different periods to get a proper comparison between the DRC and other neighboring countries. Finally, yet importantly, the study has also benefited from wide archived research including the data from private research organizations together with EU development policy reports.

The research relies on a case study of analyzing development aid from the EU to the DRC and the impact on migration from the DRC. The main reason to choose DRC amongst other sub-Saharan African countries is because the researcher was motivated by the geographical closeness and cultural similarities of the DRC with Tanzania, that is, the researcher's country of origin. The researcher is able to follow the local debates and interpret local activities taking place in the DRC. Second, among the Sub-Saharan Africa countries, the DRC is one of the significant cases in terms of having high numbers of migration outflow to Europe and high amount of inflow of EU external development aid as well.

The Democratic Republic of the Congo is the most populous country in sub-Saharan Africa with a population of about 80 million as of 2019 (World Bank, 2019). Of which 2% of its population are migrants in different parts of the world and 8.9% of the total Congolese migrants reside in the EU (European Commission, 2017). Besides, Democratic Republic of the Congo is vital for the EU in line with the major objective to ensure international security and development based on peace and stability (Knutsen, 2009). DRC is the country where the EU conducted its first military intervention –CSDP (The Common Security and Defense Policy) outside of

Europe laying down an important example for the later engagements of the EU in Africa.

The DRC is a country that is considered tremendously resource-rich in terms of forest resources, agricultural potential, and hydroelectric capacity. The Democratic Republic of the Congo accounts for about 60-80% of the global coltan (the mineral used in the production of electric devices) located in the north and south of the Kivu area. Ten percent of the world's copper located in the Katanga area, 34% of the world's cobalt is located in the Kolwezi area, 17% of the global production of rough diamonds, and other minerals include tin, gold, and tantalum. However, "the abundance of natural resources in the DRC and the absence of regulation on this sector have created chaos and violations of human rights and international humanitarian law" (OHCHR, 2000). It is the chaos that includes executions, torture, and cruel inhuman treatments and extortion done by the national army (FARDC) and the national police (PNC) that have contributed to the increase in instability of the country. Hence, resulting to the increase in migration outflows of the country. Poverty is common wide issue and unemployment remains at 4.6 percent as of 2020 (World Bank, 2020).

This study covers a post war period of 15 years starting from 2005 to 2020 in analyzing the DRC. Some of the events that led to the endless chaos in the DRC include, The Great African War or Congo Second War that took place from 1998 to 2003 between the Congolese rebel groups (RCD-G, RCD-ML, MLC) and Congolese Para militia groups (Mai Mai militia, Hutu-aligned forces) under Laurent Kabila backed by Libya, Angola, Namibia, Sudan, and Chad and neighboring countries such as Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda backed the rebel groups. The war ended in 2003 with an interim government established under Laurent Kabila. Later in 2006 general elections were held, and Laurent Kabila won as the president. In this postwar period, there was the resumption of international aid and the country showed some positive change in its GDP growth. A change in real GDP growth occurred from 5.6 percent in 2006 to 10.0 percent in 2008. There was a rise in per capita from 2.5 percent in 2006 to 3.2 percent to 6.8 in 2008 (World Bank, 2015).

According to UN DESA, the number of Congolese migrants due to conflict has significantly increased from 559,800 in 1995 to 862,100 in 2000 and it was recorded 1.7 million in 2019. Following the migration history of DRC, the country is often characterized by forced displacements of people fleeing from conflicts, epidemics,

and natural causes. However, this is not the only reason migration keeps rising, with conflict comes a drop in employment opportunities, destruction of infrastructure, and poor social services hence making the citizens of the DRC emigrate in search of a better economic life. This study opts to put its main focus on the economic reason migration trends. Concerning the main limitations of the research, the most significant challenge is the availability of reliable statistics on the DRC due to poor public governance (Birungi 2006). Additionally, given the time of the research, one challenge faced by the researcher was the inability to travel to the DRC to conduct field research due to the COVID 19 outbreak as well as the Ebola epidemic in the DRC. However, although most of the international available information on the DRC is written in French, the researcher had the advantage of following up on some of the local news and documents published in Swahili, which is the researcher's native language.

1.3. Outline of the Thesis

Following the introduction, the second chapter discusses the conceptualization of “development” and “development aid” in international relations literature, with a focus on theoretical debates and their relevance to migration flows. The chapter explains the theoretical link between development and migration. Furthermore, investigates whether development aid serves for eliminating the root causes of migration. The type of development aid that the thesis will focus on is multilateral aid in the form of international developmental aid.

The third chapter studies the EU's development policy as part of its external relations. It examines the history of EU development policy, its important agendas, successes and challenges of the EU's policy on development aid. The chapter also assesses the impact of the EU on development aid on addressing root causes of migration.

The fourth part of the thesis studies the case of DRC and investigates whether the EU's development aid has an impact on migration flows from DRC by improving economic growth and reducing poverty in the country. Accordingly, the chapter provides information on the socio-economic profile of the DRC, migration issues, and the development aid provided by the EU. The chapter analyzes the impact of the EU's development aid on the DRC's economy and welfare of the people, use of the aid through public and private institutions as well as civil society organizations, the

challenges observed in terms of determining the gaps between the targets of the EU's development policy and the realities in practice. Lastly, the chapter evaluates the mid-term and long-term implications of the development aid on migration flows. In the conclusion, the study presents some final remarks and puts suggestions for further research.



CHAPTER 2. CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL DEBATES ON “DEVELOPMENT” “DEVELOPMENT AID” AND IMPLICATIONS ON MIGRATION GOVERNANCE

Development refers to a multidimensional process involving the reorganization and reorientation of the entire economic and social system (Todaro, 1981). The study of development and its practices remain skeptical since its introduction after the end of World War II despite the existence of evidence that shows the perseverance of global inequality up-to-date. Hence the framework under which the idea of development is built on has raised some questions in both theory and practice. This chapter aims to understand the conceptualization of development and development aid in social sciences with a focus on how it affects migration dynamics.

Explicitly in international relations, the discipline has for a long time had extraordinarily little to say about the development of states in both political and economic perimeters of the international system and the inequality between them (Neuman 1988, Jones 2005). Furthermore, the international relations discipline has sometimes gone further to deny that poverty and related subjects are not part of international relations (Smith, 2007). However, development policies and practices have always been a part of international politics. The discipline has changed over the years to include issues that were once known as low politics and have now become among the primary concerns of international relations example development, migration, climate, and gender issues. The reason for this change is the rise in economies, rise in technology, globalization, and the shift of power relations to mention just a few (Potter ,2002).

This section is structured into three parts; the first part lays out the conceptual debates on development and the theories of development within the international relation perspectives. The second part argues the development aid as a tool for development and the last section examines the interaction between development aid and migration governance.

2.1. Defining and Conceptualizing “Development”

The idea of development is complex, ambiguous, and is therefore still being evolved (Thomas, 2004). In the 1950s to 1960s, the understanding of development was associated with economic growth where the idea was that growth of the economy meant the growth of the whole society either by state driven social policy or by market driven policy (Sant’Ana, 2008). However, scholars and international organizations point out that the economic growth concept of development does not explain the exact nature of development since it fails to examine an individual’s physical capabilities and conditions.

In the 1970s the idea of development shifted from economic growth to the basic needs of the individuals including, access to education, proper healthcare, employment opportunities, and free from poverty (Stewart, 1981). The main characteristic of development in this period was that the development of a country can be determined if factors such as inequality, poverty, and unemployment have reduced significantly even if the country doubled its per capita income (Seers, 1970). It is this idea, later on, that stimulated the establishment of the United Nations Human Development Index (UNHDI) as a way to measure development (Harris, 2000).

In the 1980s the meaning of development no longer meant basic needs but rather liberalization of trade, elimination of government deficits, and dismantling of parastatal organizations through Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs). This approach of defining development resulted in hardship and an increase in global inequality that led to the considerations of a new meaning of development. So as a result, in the 1990s, the UNDP offered a new interpretation of development and defines it as a process of expanding people’s choices. Accordingly, in its Human Development Report, UNDP defines development as:

“This report is about people and how development enlarges people’s choices. It is about more than GNP growth, more than income and wealth, and more than producing commodities and accumulating capital. A person’s access to income may be one of those choices, but it is not the total of human development.” – (UNDP, 1990, p.2)

During the 2000s, the meaning of development was viewed as multidimensional in both theories and practice (Thomas, 2000). There was the introduction of the Millennium Development Goals by the United Nations that included issues such as gender empowerment, reduction of child mortality, eradication of extreme poverty, improvement of maternal health and achievement of universal primary education. The Millennium Development Goals took a wider and different approach that reflected the global changes. The wider approach has 17 goals focused on 3 dimensions: social, economic, and ecological. The goals are referred to as the Sustainable Development Goals, adopted in 2015 with a focus primarily on ending poverty, protecting the planet, and ensuring prosperity for all.

Defining development has continued to evolve in the 2000s by not only incorporating the social dimensions but by also keeping the economic growth aspect alive. To begin with, Herath (2009), inspired by the ideas of Myrdal (1974) conceptualizes development by arguing that it should address and include local culture characteristics as well as it should be clarified to fit a wide variety of human needs. Accordingly, Sen (1999) identifies these “needs” as freedom. He argues that development is freedom. Although it includes GDP and economic growth, he consents that the two factors influence education, health, and civil rights aspects of development but they are just the means to an end, and the “end” being freedom. In support of this end, Chambers (2004), Blaike (2000), and Smith (2004) define development in relation to poverty reduction. They argue that development addresses poverty alleviation in two ways, i) fight against poverty and ii) long term economic development. The fight against poverty puts its focus on short-term development measures to end miseries such as hunger and famine while the long-term economic development compares the development amongst regions, countries, and the underlying factors causing the differences in equality. Parr (2003) does not come up with a new perspective of development, but rather categorizes the existing conceptualizations based on a global set of ideas. Parr addresses the first, ideas as the economic growth approach that focuses on how the political system (governments and institutions) is responsible for good governance. And second, the human development approach where the idea is government advocates for justice and thus, increases participation and empowerment of the minorities and the poor. World Bank (1991) also defines development as a multidimensional process involving major

changes in national institutions, popular attitudes, social structures, reduction of inequality, eradication of poverty, and the acceleration of economic growth.

Accordingly, this study benefits from the definition of Todaro (1994) that explains development as a physical reality and a state of mind in which the society has the combination of economic, social, and institutional processes. It also benefits from the definition of Pearson (1992) that identifies development as not only referring to one particular social, economic, or political aspect but is rather an amalgamation of all the three. Briefly, the study addresses development as a multidimensional process involving changes in social and political structures as well as poverty eradication and reduction of inequality.

2.2. Selected Theoretical Debates on Development

To understand migration induced by economic and social factors, it is important to explain the economic and social inequalities between countries and regions. In other words, migration mostly occurs from less developed to developed countries/regions. Thus, development is also addressed as a solution to prevent or eliminate the root causes of migration. Accordingly, this study will make a review of some key selected theories to explain and understand development theories with regards to their relevance to migration. These selected theories include modernization theory, dependency theory, and neo-liberal theory.

2.2.1. Modernization Theory

Modernization theory explains the term development based on economic growth disparities by analyzing the social variables in the societies. It attempts to explain why some countries are more developed than others and what should a country do for it to be developed as well. Inspired by the ideas of a German sociologist Max Weber (1964), modernization theorists have mostly defined development as a process that follows a progressive transition from traditional society to modern society. Lipset (1959), explains the development of societies according to their sociopolitical characteristics, focused on democracy as the direct result of economic growth. Furthermore, Kuznets (1955) characterized the dynamic of the socioeconomic development process into six characteristics: high rates of growth per capita and population, high rates in increase in total factor of productivity, high rates of structural transformation of the economy, high rates of social, political, and

ideological transformation, the propensity of trade and lastly limited spread of economic growth.

According to Rostow's theory of development, who is among the key modernization theorists, there are five stages of the development of society (Rostow 1956). The first stage is "traditional society" and it is characterized by an economy based on agriculture and intensive labor. In this stage, the levels of trading are quite low. Once the society has gone through with this stage, the second stage begins where the society now begins to develop manufacturing industries, this stage is known as "preconditions to take off." The third stage is a period of high but short intensive growth that drives the society to the fourth stage of "maturity." In that stage, many things occur since it is not a short period but rather a long one, the rise in use of technology, rise in the standard of living, the society's economy shows growth and diversity. The last stage, in which the society will be considered as a fully developed society, is the "age of high mass consumption." At this point, Rostow believes countries such as the United States fall under this stage where the society flourishes in a capitalist system that emphasizes mass production and consumption (Rostow, 1960). For that reason, the categorization of society from traditional to modern corresponds with the process of society to move from underdevelopment to development. Rostow's stages represent a guide for this to happen, from steady growth, social mobility, economic freedom, and education. Rostow links development to a consequence of certain social and political changes, he recommends that for development to occur then society has to develop not only its social and economic spheres but also political institutions (Smith, 2003). This line of thinking is also backed up by Apter (1965) who connects economic development to political development. He argues that the economic development of a society is directly associated with democracy and good governance. In his title "Politics of Modernization," Apter suggested that modernization is part of development since modernization involves the process of growth where there is a spread of knowledge, skill, and information. Additionally, McClelland (1967) supports this argument where he adds that for development to occur then the spread of knowledge is important, any given society has to value innovation, success, and free enterprise.

2.2.2 Dependency Theory

Andre Gunder Frank (1966) propounded dependency theory in response to Rostow's modernization idea that traditional society is equivalent to an underdeveloped society. His arguments on dependency theory are based on the notion that wealthy nations dominate poor nations whose main role in the system is to provide cheap labor and raw materials (Frank, 1966). Most dependency theorists define the theory in terms of the economic development of a state. For instance, Sunkel (1969) argues that the economic development of a state depends on, the external influences of the nations' development policies including, political, economic and cultural. Todaro (2014) defines underdevelopment as an economy in which there are high levels of unemployment, low per capita income, poor health services and high dependence on foreign countries. Lange (1973) shares the same opinion and defines underdevelopment as an economy where the available stock of capital goods is not enough to employ the available labor force based on modern techniques of production. Myrdal (1963) defines this insufficiency of capital as unpleasant conditions, he generally defines underdevelopment as an economy in which there is an array of numerous unpleasant conditions of work and life; where income and levels of living are low, there is an existence of unfavorable institutions and a high dependency on external actors. All these definitions of underdevelopment share similar assumptions of the causes of underdevelopment in an international system. In dependency theory, the international system consists of two sets of states; the dominant states and dependent states. The dominant states are the powerful states that exploit the dependent states for raw materials and cheap labor (Santos, 1971). Dependency theory assumes that external forces are important to the economic situation of the dependent states; forces include multinational corporations, international markets, and foreign assistance. In addition to that assumption, the relationship between the sets of states is dynamic because they tend to reinforce and intensify unequal interaction patterns (Ikechukwu, 2013).

Dependency theory explains underdevelopment by examining the patterns of interaction between dominant and dependent states and by arguing that inequality is an intrinsic part of these interactions. The two sets of states are similar to Wallenstein's (1974) concepts of core and periphery. According to Wallerstein, the flow of surplus production and raw materials is from the periphery to the core, and

the world economy is organized in a way to make this happen. Hence looking at the patterns and the vicious cycle where the system is designed to deem periphery countries to stay dependent is what Frank (1966) called the development of underdevelopment. In this system, the victims are the citizens of the periphery country because the capitalists gain more at expense of the peasants and workers of the periphery. This leads us to Samir Amin's (1974) idea of structured and unstructured economies. Core nations have a highly structured economy in the sense that the sectors are closely interrelated, development in one sector automatically leads to the development of another unlike in the periphery economies which are unstructured and development in the sector is unable to revitalize another, so in one way or another the periphery stays dependent to the core.

Theotonio Dos Santos' (1970) concept of dependency and underdevelopment provides a good basis to understand dependency with a linkage to colonial history and also insights for the case of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. He suggests various forms of dependency. First, colonial dependency, began in the 16th century with the colonization of land mines and labor by the European capitalist powers. It was mainly associated with exports and slavery. Secondly, financial-industrial dependency, it took place in the 19th century and this was the evolvement from slave trade to wage labor and the exploitation of the periphery was part and parcel of the monopoly phase of the capitalist development. There was heavy investment in the periphery just to produce raw materials. This is seen in DRC under Belgium rule that began in the late 19th century. The last form is new dependency, this is the post-World War II period characterized by the emergence of transnational corporations that invested in third world countries an example is the Union Miniere in the case of post-independent DRC.

2.2.3 Neoliberal Theory

Neoliberalism studies development by focusing on policies such as privatization, economic deregulation, and lowering taxation. Even though the theory takes its roots from Adam Smith's idea of liberalism, the theory itself is merely economical and mostly the struggle to establish an agenda whose crux interest is political economy (Harvey, 2005). Friedrich Von Hayek (1930) advocates for this theory by emphasizing the promotion of private investment rather than government spending. Another key thinker is Friedman Milton (1976) followed the same path as Hayek and

his ideas sparked change in different countries such as the United Kingdom under Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher and the United States under President Ronald Reagan. Milton rejected government fiscal policy as a means of influencing monetarism. Under the influence of Friedman, Thatcher came up with six neoliberal policies which came to be known as Thatcherism, they include; deregulation, less protection for workers and the environment, privatization, and cutting taxes. Neoliberalism also makes an effort on removing the free-market barrier and the establishment of multilateral institutions, which act as global forces to help the reinforcement of the development agenda. These ideas dominated in the 1980s where neoliberals argued that the best strategy to achieve development is through free trade, and not structural transformation as argued by modernization theorists. In order for free trade to pave the way, there has to be a reduction in state intervention for the market to set its prices and eventually ensure the best allocation of resources that results in the increase in growth rates and social benefits for the community (Balassa, 1971).

Neoliberalism is defined as a theory of development with an emphasis on human development being advanced by liberating individual trade and market freedoms within an institutional framework. At this point, the role of the state is addressed to create and preserve an institutional framework that supports such practices (Harvey, 2005). According to neoliberals, governments prevent development by not allowing freedom of the individual. Furthermore, they argue that aid prevents development. They give a shred of evidence that most African corrupt dictators emerged at the same time when aid from western countries was being siphoned into the pockets of government officials (Bauer, 1973). The critical part is aid was not being used for developmental purposes at all hence limiting development in these countries. So, one would ask, how do neoliberals suggest the achievement of development? As the mother of free trade, all the assumptions are based on this strategy, once a society allows free trade it will automatically increase investments and this leads to an increase in exports that eventually lead to the society's economic growth. So basically neoliberals, suggest privatization, cutting down taxes, and modification of government policies and restrictions as a way through which a society can develop. The table below summarizes how different theories in international relations have tried to answer the question "what is development?"

Table 2.1. Selected theoretical approaches to development

Theory	Main Idea	Key Assumptions	Notable Theorists
Modernization theory (was dominant during the 1950s -1960s)	Traditional societies will develop as they practice more modern practices	-Development happens in stages. -Development and underdevelopment are due to internal conditions - Development can be achieved through structural transformation.	Rostow (1990) Lipset (1959), Kuznetsov (1955), Lerner (1958).
Dependency theory (was dominant during 1970s)	Development in the North is conducted in a way that maintains the dependency of the South	- There is unequal relationship between the north and the south. -Development is a relational process between two sets of countries.	Luxemburg (1913) Prebisch (1950), Frank (1977) Wallerstein (1988 Dos Santos (1996)
Neoliberal theory (was dominant during 1980s)	Society should be shaped by free market and trade	-Capitalism is the catalyst of development. -Underdevelopment is due to government policies - Governments should retreat from direct involvement in economic policies	Hayek (1930), Friedman (1970)

2.3. Debating Development Aid as a Tool for Inducing Development

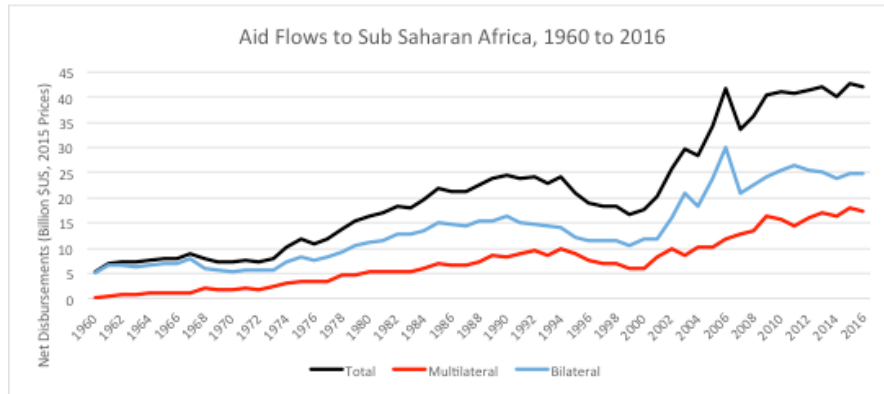
Development aid is one of the most influential policy tools that developed countries use to maintain global peace, security whilst also securing their own interests (Lancaster, 2008). Many governments, organizations, and the EU as well invest highly in development assistance not only to induce development in the under-developed regions but also to extend their foreign policy interests such as expanding free trade. Referring to migration, development aid is also used in addressing and tackling the root causes of migration (Carling et al., 2015)

Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) is a council involved in managing development assistance and poverty reduction in third world countries. It consists of 30 members majority of which are European Union member states. OECD adopted Official Development Assistance in 1969 as the gold standard of foreign aid whose main aim is to promote and specifically target the economic development of developing countries. Principles of development aid as established by Official Development Assistance (ODA) include i) promoting economic growth ii) the aid should come at a concessional financial term having a grant of at least 25% and technical cooperation iii) development aid excludes grants, loans, and credit for military purposes.

Development aid is given for different developmental purposes and not just economic, it could be political or social. It is then distributed from donor to recipient through the official institutions of the recipient country. The flow of aid from donor to the recipient can either be bilateral where it is given from one country to another or multilateral which is given from donor organizations such as United Nations, World Bank, or European Union and is later distributed to the recipient country. Furthermore, the development aid is then allocated in different sectors and used to fund projects that will boost development example, the building of infrastructure, support for elections, improvement of education and healthcare, etc. (Lancaster, 1999). This thesis focuses on specifically on multilateral aid, using the European Union's development aid as a case study.

As a result of the UN conference held in March 2002 which emphasized the attainment of the 2000 Millennium Development Goals by 2015 as well as the need to be good, OECD member countries are convinced that helping developing countries achieve development is in both their interest and in the interest of the

recipient country as this will help to reduce the inequality in the international system. Following this, ODA flows increased in Sub Saharan Countries with an average annual flow varied from 38.9 billion US Dollars in the 1990s to 3.1 trillion US Dollars in the 2000s.



Source: OECD (2020)

Figure 2.1. Aid flows to Sub-Saharan Africa from OECD countries

After a massive inflow of development aid to developing countries, some countries have been able to improve their performance and are no longer categorized as low-income countries. Unfortunately, most African countries remain in the developing country category (OECD, 2019). According to ODA (2018) in 2010-2017 alone, development aid to Africa was 45% of the total ODA where the EU provided 42% of that aid. Additionally, the top five aid recipients were; Ethiopia, Nigeria, Tanzania, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, and Nigeria (ODA, 2018). Hence prompting the study to address the question of to what extent has the European development aid affected the development of sub-Saharan Africa.

Theoretically, scholars such as Rostow (1990) argue that aid is a precondition for economic development in that, for a society to take off then foreign assistance is necessary. Similarly, Burnside and Dollar (1997) acknowledge the use of aid as a tool for development but only when it is applied in an effective policy environment for its impact includes a strong and positive economic development. In support of this Collier and Dollar (2001) assert that aid is conditionally effective meaning, the positive effects can only be seen assuming there are a good policy environment, good governance, and low rates of corruption and conflict. Some existing works of literature that focus on sub-Saharan Africa found that aid induces development and is

significant in good governance (Armah & Nelson, 2008), social cohesion (Baliame-lutz, 2012), as well as strengthening of the institutions (Tang and Bundhoo, 2017). Development aid has also shown an increased possibility for the “end of poverty by 2025” campaign of the UN (Sachs, 2005). To illustrate this possibility, according to a study done in 36 sub-Saharan African countries in 2013, 27 out of these countries have experienced positive results in GDP and investments as impacts of development aid (Galiani et al., 2017).

2.4. Development Aid and Migration Governance

According to the World Migration Report of 2020, it is estimated that the number of international migrants in 2019 alone was about 272 million which is 3.5% of the world's total population with reasons being work, study, family, to mention just a few (IOM, 2020). In response to the increasing migrant numbers most of which settle in the OECD countries, these states’ authorities have mobilized development assistance as a way to govern and manage migration hoping to decrease the numbers. In the EU specifically, the current immigration policy includes the development aid packages aimed towards the concert countries as a way to encourage cooperation and also towards the origin countries as a way to address the causes of migration in other words known as root causes of migration.

The causes of migration can be classified into two i) push factors and ii) pull factors (Lee 1966 & Parkins 2010). These factors can be economic, social, or political.

Table 2.2: Selected push and pull factors of migration

Push Factors	Pull Factors
-Persecution -Violence -War	-Safety, stability, and freedom
-Poor wages -Unemployment	-Food availability -Better environment
-Limited opportunities -Lack of services -Family separation	-Family reunification -Better quality of life -Availability of services.

The research on reliable empirical impacts of development aid on international migration is limited as opposed to theoretical. Some scholars examined and linked the impacts of aid on the determinants/drivers of migration such as infrastructure and concluded that aid in form of infrastructural improvement and employment opportunities can have a short-term effect of stimulating emigration, but if directed into policy reform on trade and investment sectors then aid can create a path towards reduction in migration aspirations in the long-term (Martin and Widgren 2002).

Belloc (2011) examined the link between aid and migration in sub-Saharan Africa and concluded that development aid has a positive effect on migration outflows since aid improves worker's ability to earn more and hence eliminating the cost of migration but on the other hand, aid in terms of projects such as education, business opportunities and technological advancement may stimulate mobility demand in potential migrants. Additionally, Faini and Venurini (1993) argue that even though international aid is meant to increase economic growth, it does not necessarily mean that it will also reduce migration. Furthermore, Berthelamy (2009) researched the link between aid and migration as to whether the two are substitutes or complements to one another. The results were that aid tends to increase outflows from recipient countries to donor countries below a certain income threshold hence making migration policies in the destination countries more restrictive (Berthelamy, 2009)

Lahiri (2000) developed a two-country model to research the link between the development aid and migration governance, specifically governing irregular migration. The results were that the amount of aid given does not matter unless other factors such as political instability of a country are kept into considerations as well. Aid should come with proper migration approaches and a special focus on poverty reduction and the causes of high levels of poverty (Van-heer & Engberg-Pedersen, 2002). Development aid is to be given to developing countries in sectors that stimulate economic growth. In the long run, it will lead to the reduction of emigration although this effect is mostly seen significantly on skilled migrants rather than unskilled migrants. (Ziesmer, 2012)

Another link that is worth discussing between migration and development aid is brain drain, which is in most cases accompanied by brain gain (Stark, 1997). In Layman's terms, brain drain means the emigration of skilled, well educated, or highly trained and qualified people from a certain country. The terms brain drain is a

phenomenal one and some scholars refer to it as High Skilled Migration –HSM (Hart, 2006). It is phenomenal because it is assumed that there is an unequal distribution of global migration in relation to human capital (Grubel & Scott 1977). The link between brain drain/gain and that of migration and development aid is through the departure of most skilled migrants, after receiving scholarships or better wages they tend to have an impact on both country of origin and destination country (De Haas, 2005). Brain drain is significantly accompanied by brain gain because there is a net loss of skilled people in the developing countries when they emigrate. This comes with a brain gain in the developed countries due to immigration of skilled labor into their country (Adams, 1968). For instance, the Australian government is one of the leading when it comes to selecting only the skilled labor, the Australian immigration policies give more opportunities to the skilled and well-educated young people (Hugo, 2012). With the recent increase in the global talent competition and skilled workers, most nations have been very selective (Abella, 2005). And as a result, this has accelerated the rate of brain drain in the sending countries, which in development terms can be referred to as the decline of workforce, skilled and able workforce in the origin country.

CHAPTER 3. DEVELOPMENT AID AND MIGRATION GOVERNANCE IN THE EU

EU's principle of peace and security is based on the assumption that development, peace, and security are inherently related to one another and good governance is a catalyst (Martinelli, 2007). The EU's development policy is derived from external policies and its crux aim is to eradicate poverty, foster sustainable growth, stabilize and promote democracy, promote equality, defending human rights as well as tackling environmental challenges and climate change. Recently the EU has reformed some of its external policies in the development arena to tackle the "migration crisis" that most of its members are facing and seems to have been the only chatter in the union.

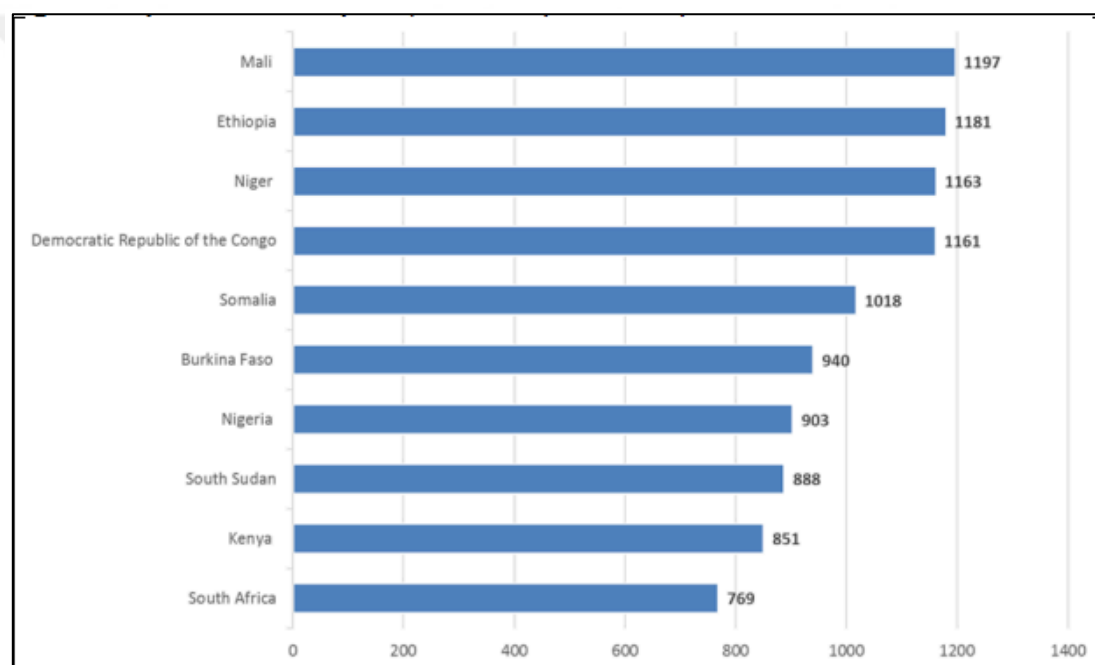
The EU is one of the world's biggest development aid donors and it has provided 19.4 billion dollars in Official Development Assistance in 2020 alone (OECD, 2020). Its long-run objective is to eradicate poverty, promote democracy and boost development cooperation in the non-member third countries. The EU works with more than 150 countries to ensure the objectives are fulfilled, countries including the ACP (African and Caribbean Pacific) countries, EU's eastern and southern neighbors, Latin America, Asian countries, and also the other aspiring countries that wish to join the union.

The long historical ties and geographical proximity play a crucial role in the deepening of Africa and EU's strong partnership (Lilyanova, 2021). The cooperation is mostly based on the traditional "donor-recipient" relationship. The EU, together with its member states, is sub-Saharan's top donor and has so far provided a total of 196.23 billion euros in ODA as of 2021 (European Commission, 2021). The development aid is delivered through key channels such as public sector, NGO's and civil society, multilateral organizations and other implementers. Through these channels EU has been able to fund different development projects and promote stability in the sub-Saharan African countries, thus strengthening development cooperation.

Table 3.1. Total Amount of EU Aid disbursed to Sub-Saharan Africa.

	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018
Total EU aid to SSA (billion Dollars)	3.81	4.14	3.96	4.22	4.28	4.4
Total bilateral EU aid to SSA LDs (billion Dollars)	2.78	3.19	2.87	3.31	3.27	3.42
EU aid to SSA LDs as % of total bilateral EU aid to SSA	72.8%	77%	72.5%	78.3%	76.6%	77.6%

Source: OECD, gross disbursements, 2019



Source: EU aid explorer.

Figure 3.1. Top Recipients of EU Aid in Sub Saharan African countries

3.1 History of EU’s Development Policy

3.1.1. From Yaoundé Convention to “Agenda for Change”

EU development policy goes all the way back to Schuman declaration of 1950 where the development of African countries was an essential part of the European Community (EC). Subsequently following this, the treaty of Rome formally introduced development assistance into the European Community framework. This eventually led to the creation of the European Development Fund that since then is

solemnly responsible for managing, allocating and coordinating financial development assistance (Smith, 2007).

The first legitimate act for development cooperation between EC and African countries was established by the Yaoundé Convention in 1963 in Cameroon and later the second Convention in 1969 after the expiration of the former (EC, 2020). The basis of these conventions was to strengthen the cooperation with African countries whilst respecting the national sovereignty of them thus, promoting equal partnership (Smith, 2007). Thereafter, with an increased effort to expand the EC development policy, the Lomé Convention of 1974, extended the cooperation beyond African countries to include Caribbean and Pacific countries. The Lomé Convention was defined by its three guiding principles, namely, 1) the abolishment of non-reciprocal trade from ACP countries to European Economic Community (EEC), 2) the recognition of equality between participants, sovereignty as well as mutual interests and interdependence 3) freedom of all participants to possess and make their own policies (EC, 2020).

In 2000, the European Union established the Cotonou Agreement (CA) that compensated for the shortcomings of previous agreements and widened the extent of the EU development policy. It included factors such as promotion of human rights, democracy and rule of law. The CA is being revised after every five years to make an assessment of countries breaching the principle of conditionality (EC, 2020). It means development aid can be suspended if the country is in breach of the CA's conditions in regards to maintaining rule of law, human rights and democracy. (Santiso, 2002). Conclusively, EU development policy is cross cutting, as economic assistance is linked to human right and good governance (Krumme et al., 2019, p.5). Therefore, EU development policy cooperation with ACP countries is based on the conditions above to achieve long-term sustainability within a particular developing country (EC, 2020).

The main objective of EU development policy is based on poverty eradication and development cooperation. In order to achieve these, in 2012 the EU adopted "Agenda for Change" which aims to maximize the impacts of EU development policy. Agenda for Change stems from the 2005 European Consensus on Development and its main focus is to eradicate poverty, promote aid efficiency and development effectiveness as well as Policy Coherence for Development (PCD)

(Council of European Union, 2012). The policy calls for the promotion of human rights, democracy, good governance, rule of law and inclusive and sustainable growth amongst EU, member states and partner countries. The relations between EU, member states and partner countries is based on two principles;

- The principle of differentiation that emphasizes on the need to target development assistance on highly in need and fragile states, including low income countries and least developed countries.
- The principle of concentration that stresses on focusing resources for maximum of three sectors. This will prevent aid fragmentation and ensure a strategic use of resources (Council of European Union, 2012).

In reference to sub-Saharan countries, none of the least developed countries are able to rise up from the ODA eligibility due to the principle of differentiation. Most countries are fragile and experiencing extreme poverty and instability (example, the DRC). Although the Agenda for Change is meant to increase impact of EU aid, most sub-Saharan countries are still considered as least developing countries despite endless provision of development aid. The policy contradicts itself in the principle of concentration since EU aid in sub-Saharan countries extends beyond just three sectors. European aid is spread in various and broad sectors that are not entirely connected (Herrero et al., 2015).

3.1.2 The New European Consensus on Development

As a result of the United Nations 2030 agenda for Sustainable Development Goals in September 2015, the EU decided to revise the 2005 European Consensus on Development since it was no longer in line with the global development policy framework. A new European Consensus on Development was adopted in June 2017 with an update and guide for the development policy of the EU and its member states until 2030. The consensus advocates for an integrated approach to achieve the UN Sustainable Development Goals by interlinking different sectors, increasing effectiveness of EU development assistance and combining different financial resources (Jones et al., 2020)

The new European Consensus on Development is relevant to this study as it focuses on eradication of poverty, policy coherence for development and development effectiveness principles. It lays a foundation for the partnership with all developing countries taking into account the framework provided by Lisbon Treaty.

Furthermore, the consensus highlights the links between development and other policies. The emphasis is kept on promoting coaction between humanitarian aid, peace, security, migration, the environment and climate (European Consensus on Development, 2017). However, the new consensus differs from that of 2005 when addressing the issue of Official Development Assistance towards Africa. It does not set a clear objective on ODA in relations to Africa, while the 2005 consensus states that at least half of the arranged increase in ODA should go to Africa (Council of the European Union, 2017)

To ensure aid efficiency and coherency, the EU firstly adopted the Policy Coherence for Development (PCD) as a tool that was first introduced by the Treaty of Maastricht (1992) and then later reinforced under the Treaty of Lisbon (2009). Its main aim was to increase the effectiveness of aid and minimize the challenges that prevent the achieving the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals. In 2017, it was reiterated in the new European Consensus for Development to implement the 2030 agenda and increase the effectiveness of development cooperation to benefit partner countries (EU report on PCD, 2019) the strategy is divided into different areas, including:

1. To protect the environment and tackle climate change,
2. Boosting trade, finance, and commerce,
3. Addressing global food security,
4. To address the links between security and development concerning global peace building
5. Tackle the challenges and address migration and mobility.

In relevance to this study, the EU's Policy Coherence for Development tool targets facilitating orderly, safe, regular, and responsible migration and not just in Europe but also in Africa and other continents. The EU's Agenda on Migration can be linked to the recent increase in migrant-sending countries. As quoted from the 2019 EU report, "The European Migration Agenda (COM (2015) 240 final) sets out a comprehensive approach to address all aspects of migration inside and beyond EU borders in a balanced way which includes addressing the root causes of irregular migration and forced readmissions of persons not entitled to stay in the EU" (European Commission, 2019 final, p.22)

As a result of the Policy Coherence for Development (2005) in relevance to migration and mobility, a new tool was adopted in November 2015 that is the Valletta Declaration. During the Valletta summit in Malta participated by European and African official leaders and its partners, the agenda on the table was to discuss the European migration crisis and what is to be done. One of the conclusions of the summit was to set up an Emergency Trust Fund for Africa, which is an off-budget financial tool to help development in the migrant-sending countries in Africa with hopes that boosting the development of these countries through development aid will curb outflow migration. An estimate of 1.8 billion Euros in aid was pledged and other humanitarian assistance. The EU president Donald Tusk, by then, was quoted saying " we need to regain control of the external border as a precondition for European migration policy" that is, migrants and asylum seekers would have no rights without registration. To summarize, in 2015, the joint Valletta action plan was structured along five pillars namely, addressing root causes of migration, legal migration, and mobility, protection and asylum, fighting against irregular migration, and return readmission and reintegration.

3.2. EU's Approach to Address Root Causes of Migration

“Root cause” is an approach used by policy makers to manage migration. The idea is identifying the main reasons as to why people migrate and using policies and different activities to shape the migration patterns of the country of origin (Thorburn, 1996). Managing migration by root causes approach became popular amongst the European community through the 1990s (Carling & Telleraas, 2016). Basically, root causes of migration are thought as factors that induce and motivate people to migrate. Accordingly, the way to manage these root causes is by the provision of aid and adjustment in the political, economic and social sectors in the country of origin (Aubarell et al., 2009). Politically, these adjustments can be made through the advocating of democracy, promotion of human rights as well as reforms in the justice system. Economically, it could be through improvement of social services, funding of developmental projects and creation of job opportunities (Yildiz, 2016).

The EU has engaged in several projects and programs to address the root causes of migration in all over Africa, specifically in the underdeveloped and developing countries. The EU aid primarily focuses on three key areas: employment creation, ensuring political stability and conflict prevention, basic local-level service

provision, and quality education. The EU aid considers the problems caused by the lack of the above factors are what refer to as root causes. Therefore, the idea is that by boosting these sectors in ways such as building infrastructure or vocational training, it will help to curb down the migration flows (European Commission, 2016.)

As part of the EU's agenda on managing root causes of migration, it established the EU Emergency Trust Fund in order to create greater economy and employment opportunities. Although this fund does not include all African countries, it does however have over 25 partner countries divided into three regions namely, the Sahel and Lake Chad, the horn of Africa, and North Africa. The challenges that are believed to be among the push factors of migration in these regions range from poverty, demographic pressure to weak social and economic infrastructure (European Union Trust Fund, 2019). To achieve its objectives, the fund managed to create 27,602 jobs in the Sahel and Lake Chad region alone (European Commission, 2021). In addition to that, a total number of 129,620 people were helped to develop income-generating activities and 51,208 people received professional training (European Commission, 2021).

The use of development aid also aims to prevent migration due to political reasons. Political stability often refers to the existence of good governance, democracy, and rule of law that are also referred as the founding values of the Union according to Article 2 of the Treaty of European Union (TEU). After Rome's convention of 1975, it has been the EU's mission to incorporate democracy building in Africa into its development policy. The values and principles and the need to be a force of good, are what motivated the provision of EU development aid for democratization, which will, in turn, bring about political stability. In countries such as Cameroon, the EU gave an estimate of 185 billion CFA in development aid in the 2014 to 2020 period (European Commission, 2021). The aid is to help in democratization and good governance in Cameroon. The EU has also created projects in other regions of Africa that have helped to put youths out of the street to minimize conflict and improve local governance. For instance, in Kenya, the EU has focused on high-risk areas such as Lamu, Mombasa, and Western Kenya, the creation of projects has made it possible for idle youth to participate and as a result, this has minimized conflict and contributed to peace building activities in these areas.

To combat the root causes of migration, it is crucial to address the economic reasons as to why people feel the need to migrate. Weak community resilience and inadequate social services are among some of the other push factors for migration. The EU highlighted this as a root cause of the Africa-EU migration and has so far committed into strengthening and improving the quality of the basic social services in different parts of Africa. In the Horn of Africa region, the EU spent a total amount of 324.4 million euros in 2019 alone, which resulted in 4,323,600 people having improved access to basic services (European Commission, 2021). An example can be drawn from Eastern Sudan where children lack proper health care and most are malnutrition. According to World Food Programme report (WFP, 2021), two million children across Sudan aged 24-59 months suffer from stunted growth EU together with WFP provided protein-rich supplementary as well as training on nutritional habits. Because of this program, over 772,000 people in Sudan received better health care (European Commission, 2021). In sum, in the year 2019, the EU spent about 204.9 million euros in creating and improving basic social services across many African countries (European Commission, 2021).

3.3 Overall Assessment of the European Union's Development Policy

The EU has economically succeeded to provide long-term consistent financing through the establishment of the European Development Fund that is an off-budget tool financed by the Member States. Through this tool, resources are allocated on a five-yearly basis where reviews allow for readjustments when needed. Furthermore, the flexibility in the system of allocation of these resources gives priority and incentives to the least developing countries. Through its activities in the social field and other development arenas, the fund has contributed greatly to support the fight against poverty to improve the conditions of the population in the least developing countries. The fund has undergone several major performance assessments under the UK Department for International Development's Multilateral aid (MAR) in 2011, the Center for Global Development's Quality of Official Development Assistance (QuODA)¹ in 2011, the EC's Impact Assessment of the EDF also in 2011 and the

¹ Is a powerful tool developed originally by CGD and the Brookings Institution to measure which donors provide "higher quality aid" and how they can improve. ... CGD launched the fifth edition of QuODA in 2021.

OECD review in 2012. All reviews came to a positive conclusion and found that the tool is strong and more effective than other EU instruments in terms of contributing to delivering the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). What makes the tool strong is its ability to manage financial resources, monitoring, transparency, and consistent funding.

Politically, EU has continuously stood on its strong grounds and values of promoting democracy. Externally, through EU development aid, the EU has supported over 56 election observation missions and provided aid to support the restoration of law and order for the instability in African countries. Socially, even though the primary aim is the eradication of poverty, the EU development policy goes beyond poverty eradication and political stability. It has continuously shown interest and efforts in aspects such as gender equality and climate change. In 2017 the EU signed a document called the European consensus that was based on the UN 2030 Agenda and the Millennium Sustainable Goals. This is considered a show of strength due to its ability to incorporate matters other than economic and political. In terms of climate change, according to OECD's data based on Rio's market methodology, the EU accounted for 59% of the climate finance provided by DAC donors to developing countries in the period of 2010-2016.

Despite the strengths, there has been some criticism about the EU's development policy. The inability of EDF to be flexible whilst ensuring long-term funding to strengthen development is amongst one of them. The EDF has been criticized for being inflexible once the funds are allocated. Its predictable five-yearly basis funding makes it a challenge for the organization to re-program and respond to emergency crises such as natural disasters. Secondly, the EU has presented the existence of cognitive shifts. By emphasizing a more global developmental approach through the nexus with migration, climate, and security, the development arena is being made comprehensive so far that it is impossible to come up with a clear and coherent view on what the development policy is or should be.

Lastly, EU development policy has been taken captive by migration politics, the focus of aid has lost its meaning in the sense that the aid is increasingly spent on closing borders, reforming migration policies, and pushing migrants to return to their

country of origin. This diverts the main aim of development aid from its true purpose that is helping those in need and eliminating the root causes of migration. This has not only worsened the situation but also hurts the EU's diplomatic standing and values (Oxfam, 2020).

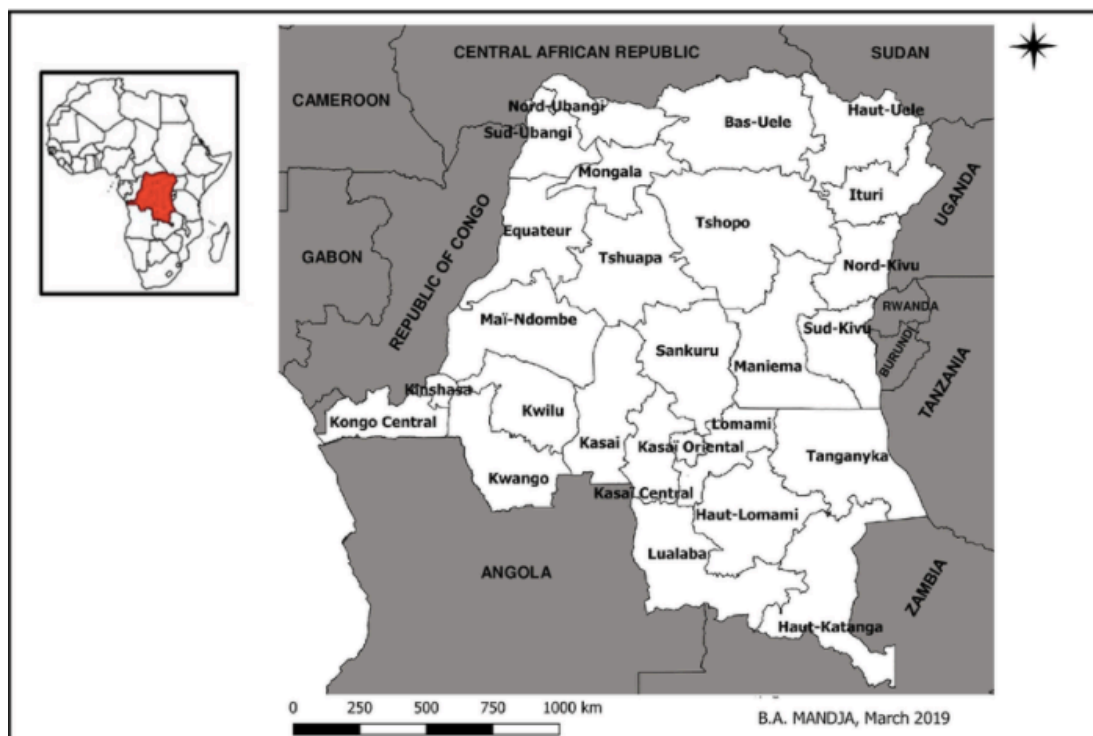


CHAPTER 4. CASE STUDY: DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF THE CONGO

4.1 Country Profile

Formerly known as Zaire, The Democratic Republic of the Congo is located at the heart of Africa. It covers about an area of 2,345,000 square meters making it the second-largest country in Africa after Algeria. Nine countries namely, Angola, Burundi, Central African Republic, the Republic of Congo, South Sudan, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia border the DRC. As of 2020, the country's population was 89,560,567 people with an annual growth of 3.1% (World Bank, 2021). The capital city Kinshasa is located at the Congo River about 515 km from its mouth and serves as the country's economic, administrative, and cultural center.

Map 4.1. Administrative Map of the DRC.



Source: The map was created with the provincial Shape file obtained from free, open collaborative platform Common geographical reference of the DRC.

The country gained its independence on 30, June 1960 from Belgium authorities. In 1965, Joseph Mobutu Seseseko seized power and ruled the country between 1971-1997. Under his reign, there was the cancellation of several development programs due to debt that resulted in the increased deterioration of the economy and instability

in the country. In 1993, the Burundian civil war and the Rwandan genocide resulted in a massive inflow of refugees into the DRC hence worsening the situation, as the country was already unstable due to the recurring wars. The recurring wars were a result of the withdrawal of the rich mining province of Katanga between the years 1960 and 1963. The war-affected the country in such a way that up to its end in 2003, the country went through 3 different republics. The first Republic existed from 1960 to 1965 that was characterized by the collapse of the state. The second republic (1965-1997) began as a result of a state coup and the military assumed power under the supreme reign of president Mobutu Seseseko. The third republic (1997-2002) due to the ongoing economic deterioration and the decreasing of people's living standards, war was inevitable hence to manage the war a coalition of states in the great lakes region was created to stage a massive military operation, the states included Rwanda, Uganda, and Burundi.

4.2. Political, Economic and Social situation of DRC

According to World Bank, the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country was 48.71 billion US Dollars in 2020; the GNI per capita was 550 US Dollars as of 2020 with 72% of people living under 1.9usd per day. The country managed to reach an economic growth of 5.8% in 2018 but it dropped to 4.4% in 2019 and 3.1% in 2020 due to insurgencies. The Democratic Republic of the Congo is considered a low-income country with a poverty rate of 77.2% (World Bank, 2021) not only due to the effects of war but the mismanagement of funds from the mining sector as well as corruption and abuse of power. The Democratic Republic of the Congo's economy is a mixed economic system that is, private freedom combined with centralized planning and government regulation. Despite having a clear economic system, the economy is still highly dependent on official development assistance. In 2020 alone, the country received 3,025.5 million US Dollars in net ODA (World Bank, 2021). The country associates itself with different regional organizations for economic prospects and is a member of regional economic organizations such as Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), The Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), and The Southern African Development Community (SADC).

Politically, the country has a republic governmental system. The constitution of the country was adopted in 2006 where it established clear roles and structure of the

executive, judicial and legislative powers. Despite going through an election in December 2018, the nature and quality of the elections are still questionable. The election also spiked violence in Kivu areas and Ituri province, which were already struggling with an insurgency. According to the Compagnie Francaise d'Assurance pour le Commerce Extérieur's (COFACE) report of 2020², the DRC received a rating of "D" which means high risk of the political situation with poor governance and bad electoral process despite achieving a peaceful transition in 60 years.

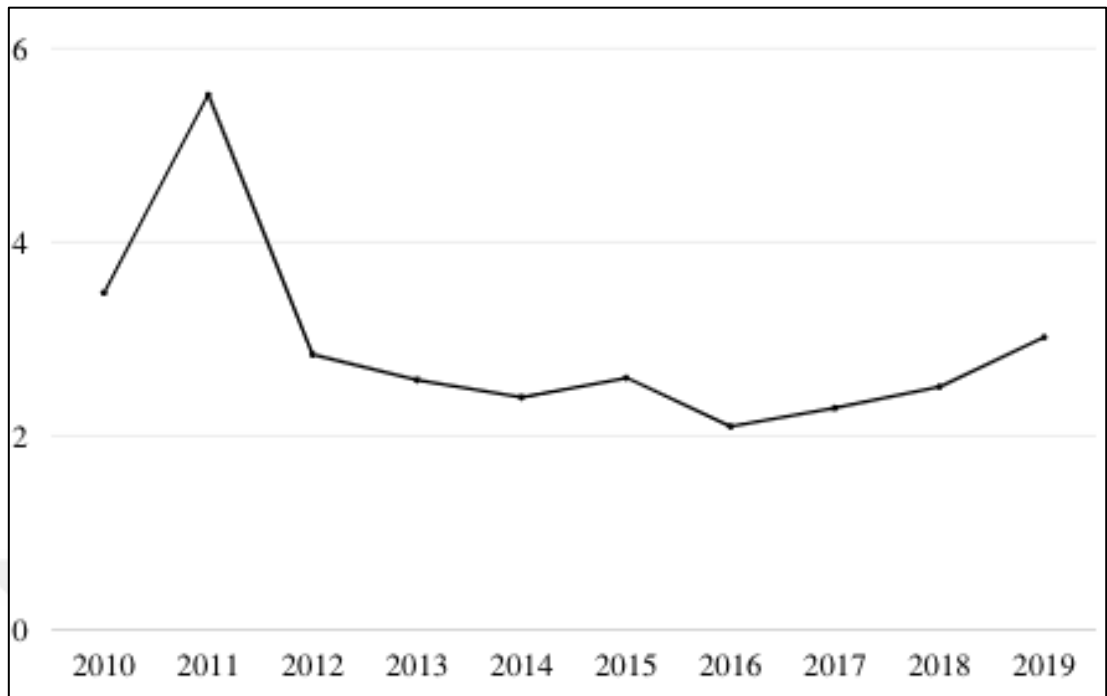
Socially, the DRC still suffers from inadequate access to social services such as education and proper health care. The unemployment rate increases annually. In 2019 the unemployment rate was at 4.1% and it increased to 4.6% in 2020 (ILO, 2021). The country's life expectancy is 61 years as of 2020 but its human capital is still poor with a score of 0.37% below the average sub-Saharan Africa score, making the country's ranking 137 out of 157 in terms of human capital. The weak infrastructure in the country makes it difficult for people to access immediate health care. 43% of the children in DRC are malnourished and more lives have been claimed due to the outburst of the Ebola epidemic and Coronavirus pandemic. Access to proper education is still a challenge. According to the UNESCO (2019), the DRC has a 77% literacy rate, only 46% of secondary school enrollment, and the average number of years spent in school is 9.2 years.

The economic activities in the DRC weakened as a result of COVID-19 which has led to the reduction of international reserves. Furthermore, the inflation has increased to 11.3% (World Bank, 2020) and the Congolese currency (Congolese Franc) depreciated by 13%. More specifically, on the private sector, consumption fell by 1.0% and 10.3% in government investments during 2020 (World Bank, 2020). The fiscal deficit also widened by 0.7% to 1.9% of the GDP due to government's response to the pandemic. The pandemic not only affected the economy of the country but the individuals as well. During the pandemic period, poverty in DRC as

² The COFACE country risk assessment aims at evaluating the average credit risk of companies in a given country. The evaluation is based on economic, financial, and political data. But it also takes into account COFACE'S experience in the country, under two dimensions: Colace's payment experience on the companies of the country and also its assessment of the business climate.

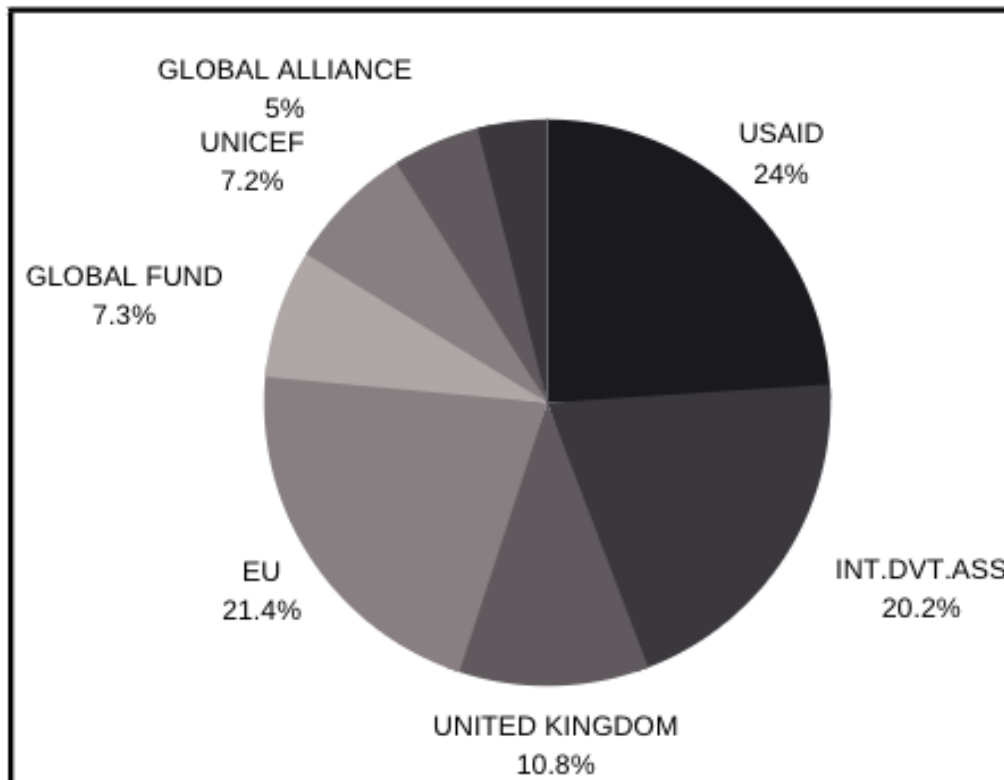
of last year it was estimated to be 77% an increase of 0.7% from 2019. Together with the deterioration of living conditions unemployment has also increased. As reported by COVID-19 high frequency Phone surveys in Kinshasa, over 10% of households have experienced their relatives lose jobs while 20% have had to reduce their food consumption (World Bank, 2020).





Source: OECD, 2020

Figure 4.1. Net Official Development Assistance received (Current US Dollars) - Congo, Dem. Rep.



Source: author's own contribution sourced from OECD and World Bank reports.

Figure 1.2.Top Aid Donors in the DRC

4.3. Migration Profile of the DRC

International migration in the DRC is a complex phenomenon as it is characterized by diversification of destination countries together with variety of types of migration such as asylum seekers, students, workers, irregular migration (Ness, 2013). Congolese migration within Africa is mostly dominated by push factors due to the never-ending political instability, economic crisis and poverty in the DRC as well as the outburst of the Ebola epidemic. As a result, numerous of the neighboring countries host huge numbers of refugees from the DRC; over 918,000 Congolese refugees and asylum seekers are in the neighboring countries including Rwanda, Burundi, The Central African Republic, and South Sudan (UNHCR, 2020.) The Congolese migration towards other African countries is characterized by having a 50% population of women and children who flee from sexual abuse and has left about 5.5 million people displaced inside the DRC. Those that flee the country for

economic reasons end up in Uganda, Burundi, Tanzania, Zambia, and Angola working in different informal sectors. With the facilitation of the governments' immigration policies of these countries, Congolese people crossed the border and settled in these neighboring countries.

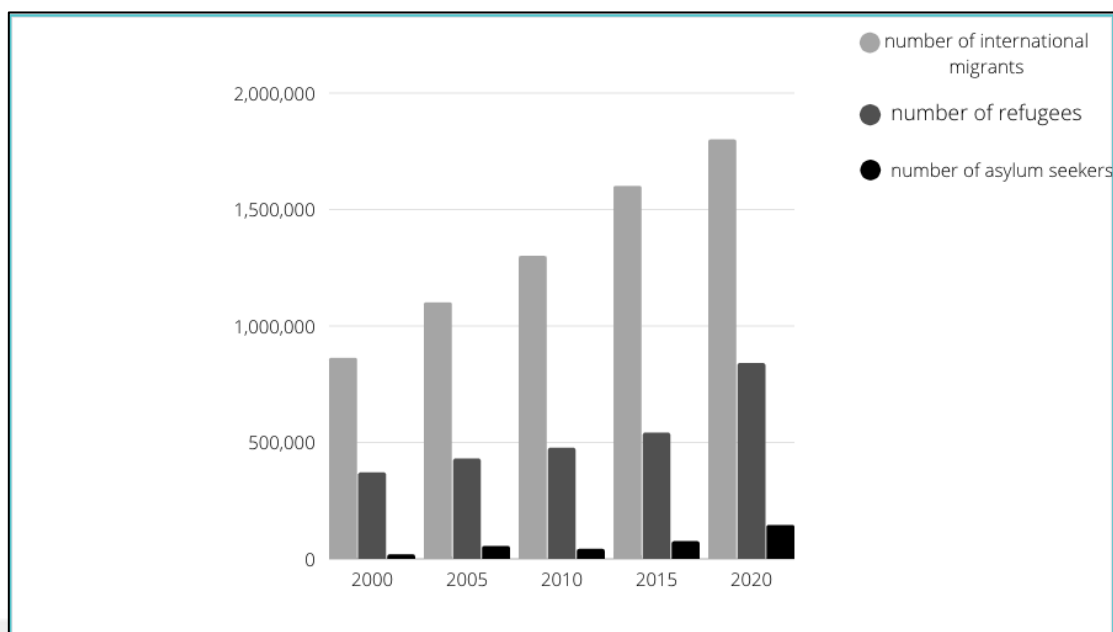
Migration from African to Europe became popular in the 1950's, accordingly, migration from the DRC to European countries became popular around the same time 1960s and 1970s. This came as a result of the DRC independence and the main destination was Belgium due to the colonial ties (Schoonvaere, 2010). The profile of Congolese migrants consists of irregular migration, asylum seekers and displaced persons (IOM, 2019). These categories of migrants suggest the economic and political instability of the country (Mangalu, 2010). When discussing and analyzing the characteristics of Congolese migrants to Europe, it goes beyond just the contextual factors to include the role played by family and individual factors (MAFE, 2013). In a Congolese household, it is not uncommon for elders to obtain huge loans to pay for taking their children out of the country and sent to Europe since migration is seen as an opportunity to amass more income (Ngoie Tshibambe, 2008). Furthermore, the role of family is also witnessed indirectly since Congolese migrate to countries where they have families and networks existing (Schoonvaere, 2010). According to EU statistics of 2019, family reunification accounts for about 35.5% of the reason why Congolese migrants migrate to Europe (Eurostat, 2019).

Statistically, the main reasons for the DRC to EU migration can be categorized into two, contextual factors and individual factors. Contextual factors include political, economic, social and environmental whereas individual factors include family reunification, remunerated activities and other uncategorized reasons (European Union, 2019). As mentioned earlier, the reasons for the DRC to migrate in certain European countries and not others are motivated by language factor as well as colonial ties. In a period of 5 years (2014-2019), it was recorded that a high number of Congolese migrants concentrated in France, Belgium and Sweden with 55.4%, 14.3% and 10.8% of total number of migrants in EU respectively. However, majority of asylum seekers tend to settle in the point of first entry in this case Greece, which recorded 16.1% of asylum seekers (European Union, 2019).

Although this thesis does not focus on asylum flows from the DRC, it is important to note that due to political instability and civil war, the number of refugees and asylum seekers from the DRC keep increasing over time. According to recent statistics by

UNDESA (2020), more than 900,000 Congolese refugees and asylum seekers are hosted in other countries in 2020 alone. According to UNHCR (2020), there were over five million displaced persons due to conflict and violence as of December 2020 in DRC. Some of the drivers and events that led to the increase of these numbers include the political instability fueled by the Rwandan genocide in 1994 that escalated to a full war in 1996. Although there was an establishment of a transitional government in 2003, some areas in the DRC remained unstable, especially the eastern provinces. Another reason for this high number of forced migrants is natural disaster and a non-stop humanitarian crisis. In 2020 alone, some of the 26 provinces were affected by heavy rains and floods, doubled with the Ebola epidemic and COVID19 pandemic this has left the country weak and leading to an increase of about 20% migration and displaced persons (UNICEF, 2020).

The DRC is one of the most populated countries in the sub-Saharan Africa, with a high rate of annual population increase. Additionally, migration is affected because the change in demographics determines how people move. One of the characteristics of push factors for migration is that the population that tends to migrate is the working class and this is because population does cause an increase in demand for services and scarcity of employment opportunities. If these factors are not favorable the group that is likely to migrate in search for favorable conditions is the working class. According to UNDP (2020), the percentage of the working class in the DRC is 44.2% of the total population that shows high number of youths searching for better economic conditions. With the country's fragile economic situation, this drives more youths to migrate.



Source: UNDESA, 2020

Figure 4.3. Graph on the total number of international migrants, refugees and asylum seekers from DRC

Table 4.1. Timeline of Key Events in the DRC that Induced Further Migration

Years	Events	Effects
1995-2000	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The first Congo war • The Ebola epidemic outbreak • The second Congo war 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Political instability • Increase in number of death due to both natural disaster and political unrest
2001-2005	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The second Congo war cont. • Assassination of Laurent Kabila • Volcanic eruption (Goma town) • Massacre of over 3000 civilians (ituri district) • Massacre in the Congolese Tutsi refugee camp 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • A drop in GDP from 19 billion in 2000 to 7.4 billion Dollars in 2001. • Death count of 5.8usd million from second Congo war
2006-2010	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • First elections held in Congo • Increase in rape and murder by armed groups • Earthquake (Bukavu and Goma) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Poverty headcount drop from 69 in 1004 to 63 in 2010. • Political tension increases
2011-2015	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Kasai conflict • Clashes between anti Kabila protesters and security forces 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Increase in unemployment and political instability.
2016-PRESENT	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ebola epidemic outbreak • Election tensions • Volcanic eruption (Nyiragongo) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Drop in annual GDP growth from 5.8% in 2018 to 4.4% in 2019 to 0.8% in 2020

4.4. Development Cooperation between the EU and the DRC

EU ranks amongst the top three donors of the DRC in terms of development aid and humanitarian aid. The cooperation between the DRC and the EU can be traced back to Cotonou Partnership Agreement signed in June 2000 in Benin. The engagements of the EU in the DRC stipulate the EU's expanding need on mobilizing its aid on policies to support its objectives in Africa most especially the Democratic Republic

of the Congo (Olsen, 2012). Some of the objectives of the EU in DRC include promoting peace and security that comes along with the democratization of the country. For instance, over 430 million Dollars has been given to DRC in support for the 2016 general election and the Member States funded the budget (European Commission, 2021). Another objective of the EU is to stabilize and reconstruct the country through an immediate response to emergencies that is the provision of humanitarian assistance as well as through development aid.

The EU and the DRC development cooperation is based on the Cotonou Partnership Agreement and is funded by the European Development Fund instrument. The Cotonou agreement focuses on the eradication of poverty consistent with the sustainable development goals. The treaty is based on the principles of equality, participation and mutual obligation, and accountability between partners. The Cotonou partnership between the DRC and EU surrounds the EDF instrument that focuses on three areas i) macro-economic support of the DRC, ii) poverty eradication, and iii) democratization of the country (EU, 2015).

The development partnership between the DRC and EU continued in January 2002 with the signing of the National Indicative Program (NIP) under the 8th EDF with an amount of 120million euros as part of the Cotonou agreement. The aid provided between the years 2006-2020 covers the 9th, 10th, and 11th EDF aid from EU to the DRC. The funding under the EU-DRC development cooperation under the Cotonou agreement which started in 2003 with the 9th EDF strategy and National Indicative Program begun with 171 million Euros which was surrounded three main focuses i) support aimed at opening channels to debt relief; ii) support for the healthcare of the country; iii) democratization and state-building support (ECA, 2013). In November of 2003, more funding of about 105 million Euros was added in support of democratization (ECA, 2013). In June of 2005, after a mid-term review, an amount of 270 million Euros was provided for infrastructure improvement and lastly, at the end of 2011, the total amount allocated came to 625 million Euros.

In June 2013, the 10th EDF (revised Cotonou agreement) allocated a total of 709 million euro with three focal areas i) governance which included public finance management reform and security sector reform; ii) infrastructure and transport; iii) healthcare as well as support for other nonfocal sectors such as management of natural resources and regional integration measures (ECA, 2013). The 11th EDF is the most recent and ongoing EU program with a total allocation of 620 million euros

and a focus on four sectors: i) health sector, ii) environment and sustainable agriculture, iii) governance and the rule of law, iv) rehabilitation of infrastructure (European Commission 2013).

The table below provides an overview of the allocations of aid made under the 9th, 10th, and 11th European Development Funds NIPs³.



³ Extracted from https://www.eca.europa.eu/Lists/ECADocuments/annualreports-2019/annualreports-2019_EN.pdf

Table 4.2. Allocations of Aid under the 9th, 10th, and 11th EDFs in the DRC (In million Euros)

Sectors	9 th EDF (2000-2007)	10 th EDF (2008-2013)	11 th EDF (2014-2020)
Health	80	91	150
Infrastructure	50	276	150
Institutional support	105	130	160
Macroeconomic support	106		
Non-Focal Sectors			
Natural resources	104	72	130
Elections and others	105		
Non programmable	75	140	30
TOTAL	625	709	650

Source: European Commission Court of Auditors, 2019

The EU- DRC relations have also been facilitated by the role of some EU member states. There are several reasons why EU member states have increasingly participated in the effort in developing the DRC, some due to the increase in the migration inflow in their country and some due to reparations from colonial ties. Member states that have shown to have strong relations with the DRC than others include Belgium, France, Portugal, and the Netherlands. Belgium and France are the two member states that play a big role in the integration of the DRC into the EU policies in general. According to MONUSCO⁴ 2020 France has been in the frontline in the involvement with the DRC. France has pushed for the emphasis of democratization of the DRC, supporting the political and observation of the election process in 2016 and improving the welfare of the population by boosting and improving MONUSCO's capacities and performances in the country's security and humanitarian situation. In the light of the political situation, France was the lead

⁴ The United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo

nation in the operation of ARTEMIS⁵ and operation EUFOR-RDC⁶ that was conducted by the European Union in the DRC. Socially, France also has played a big role in the fight against diseases in the DRC, in the fight against the Ebola epidemic that broke in August 2008 and the COVID-19 pandemic. France contributed a total amount of 71 million euros that with it three actions were meant to be taken i) development of the Congolese healthcare facilities, ii) strengthening the partnership between the two countries and iii) humanitarian support in the fight against Ebola and COVID-19 (Embassy of France in DRC, 2019)

The coverage of Belgium's presence in the DRC even today after 60 years of independence does not seem to come as a surprise as the two countries have not yet part ways. Belgium and the DRC have a relationship that is based on its colonial ties. In 2020, the king of Belgium, King Philippe wrote a "regret" letter to the president of the DRC concerning the brutality that was done by the King Leopold during colonial times. The recent involvement of Belgium's support to the DRC can also be considered as reparations of the colonial period. The Belgium Official Development Assistance is one of the most important and largest cooperation in central Africa. In 2009, a cooperative program was established signed by the Congolese Minister for international cooperation by then Raymond Tshibanda and the EU minister for development cooperation Charles Michel, with a budget of 75million euros per year to help in sectors such as agriculture, rural development, the provision of technical and vocational education as well as good governance of the people of DRC (BODA, 2009). The program mainly aimed to boost the agriculture sector of the country by providing high-quality seeds and boosting trade and small-scale rural industries. Later in 2018, more assistance was spent about 109 million Euros in DRC to support political, economic, and social areas of the country (ODA, 2019). The need for Belgium to incorporate DRC into the EU agendas also stems from the need to manage the massive inflow of migrants into the country.

⁵ Was conducted in accordance with the United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1484 (30 May 2003) and the Council's Joint Action adopted on 5 June 2003. It was aimed, inter alia, at contributing to the stabilization of the security conditions and the improvement of the humanitarian situation in Bunia. (EU, 2004)

⁶ https://eeas.europa.eu/archives/csdp/missions-and-operations/eufor-rd-congo/index_en.htm

4.4.1. Impacts and Assessment of EU Development Aid on DRC's Developmental Path

From the year 2007 to 2020, the DRC stands to be the top EU aid recipient in sub-Saharan Africa. It has received a total amount of 11.7 billion euros that was allocated in different sectors (Eurostat, 2020). As discussed earlier the aid's main goal is poverty reduction but it also included the promotion of other development sectors all in alignment with the UN's sustainable development goals.

Concerning the health care and education sector in the DRC, main services due to civil war in some areas have either been stopped or slowed down. The country has been experiencing extremely high rates of malnutrition and decreased child and maternal mortality rates. To begin with the healthcare services, common characteristics are weak and poorly managed services along with inadequate health workers. The EU under the Cotonou agreement made the health sector a priority in the 11th EDF initiative where 24% of the total aid was allocated to this sector. The objective of the 11th EDF is to increase institutional capacities, increase the quality of the healthcare services as well as help to fight against diseases. So far, most of the projects from the 11th EDF are ongoing but the development aids allocated from the 8th, 9th, and 10th EDFs have shown positive results on the improvement of this sector. Over 40,150 births have been successful and more than 94000 people were provided to access clean water with 20litre per day (ECA, 2013). Additionally, the EU has collaborated with humanitarian organizations and funded projects such as a PIN (People In Need), which helped to increase the capacity of healthcare centers in the Eastern part of Congo. In 2019 alone, approximately 35,000 patients received consultations on health awareness as part of this EU-funded project (European Commission 2021).

Concerning the education sector, the country suffers from an exceedingly high number of internally displaced persons and unfortunately, children are among the many. This makes it difficult for these children to have access to proper education or any education at all. More than 32% of the population in northern Kivu children experience extreme education poverty and only about 2% in Kinshasa (UNDP, 2019). As part of a development agenda, some measures have been taken to promote access to education. With the effort of the government and the aid from the EU, there has been an implementation of projects that will allow children to be enrolled.

According to statistics of the UNDP over the years, the enrollment, retention, and completion rates of primary and secondary school have increased (UNDP, 2019).

Concerning the key employment impacts, the majority of the Congolese populations are unemployed, underemployed, or working in conditions that have very high-income insecurity. The minimum wage set by the government as of 2019 is 7075cdf and is equivalent to about 3.59 USD, it does not come as a surprise that poverty rates in the country are high as 77.2% (World Bank, 2020)

The EU in mid-2013 and mid-2014 conducted research to determine the country's economic progress and the effectiveness of the development aid. It was found that although the economy is indeed growing it was slow and it was almost impossible to determine a real impact of the aid. In 2013 the GNI per capita was 273USD with a low human development index of 0.338 and the average Gross Domestic Product was 5.3%, which shows growth compared to the previous years (World Bank, 2020). The EU development aid played helped in the growth of the economy not just by the creation of jobs but also by the development of infrastructure that is a transportation system in agricultural areas to facilitate transportation of crops to the trading areas. This has created a self-generating income for citizens as well as boosted the agricultural sector, which is the backbone of the country's economy.

Concerning the political impacts of the development aid, the EU allocated funds aimed at improving governance, protection of human rights, and democratization of the country. The most recent funds were allocated on elections in 2019 and on the security sector reform (SSR). Political development aid is among the most important and relevant to the needs of the country due to the non-ending internal conflicts. Programs supporting the SSR funded by the EU have had an impact in not only maintaining political stability but also the drafting of a framework act on the Congolese National Police and the establishment of the police academy (ACAPOL). This support has facilitated the development of the country since it helped with conflict prevention and delivery of justice in the country. In addition to that, another way through which the EU aid has been effective in the country politically is through the conduction and observation of the electoral processes in the country since 2001. With the help of organizations such as Electoral Institute for Sustainable Democracy in Africa, the EU was able to review different election proposals that are aimed to support the DRC electoral cycle. For instance, in the 2006 election that is marked as a milestone for the DRC democracy, the EU was the main donor and provided a total

amount of 400 million Euros that was directed to during the elections and post-election period for the reconstruction of the country and securing the newly attained democracy (European Commission, 2021).

The table below compares economic and social trends from the year 2000 to 2018. Although the thesis covers only from 2006 after the Cotonou agreement, the relative impact of aid is best glimpsed by comparing the situation with the years before EU-DRC development cooperation.



Table 4.3. Development Indicators of Democratic Republic of the Congo (2000-2018)

Year	Years of schooling	Life expectancy	GNI per capita (ppp US Dollars)	Human Development Index value
2000	7.0	50.0	566	0.333
2005	7.5	53.7	572	0.364
2010	8.8	56.9	635	0.416
2015	9.6	59.2	750	0.445
2016	9.6	59.6	792	0.453
2017	9.8	60.0	796	0.456
2018	9.8	60.4	800	0.459

Source: UNDP, 2019 data

Despite making progress in terms of the human development index over the years, the situation in the country is still fragile. But from the table above it is evident that aid has somewhat been effective in the stabilization of the country over time. Although still insufficient major changes in the political situation and additional efforts can deem aid more effective if located in the strengthening of entrepreneurship, technological awareness supports, innovation skills as well as strengthening of the public-private dialogue.

Despite the achievement of a positive trend of the EU development policies in the DRC, it can be argued that the relevance of the aid and the amounts given for the progress made does not match the results; it is rather limited progress that needs to be revisited. According to the long version (ECA, 2013), the effectiveness of EU assistance in the DRC especially on support for governance and democratization is extremely limited, slow, and uneven and this is due to several obstacles both within the EU and the DRC. For instance, i) the absence of political will ii) the donor-driven dynamics of the projects, iii) inadequate assessment of the country's risks, and the EU's program objectives are usually too ambitious.

To further assess whether or not the EU development policy has an impact on the DRC, the main goals of EU in the DRC can be analyzed with reference to relevance, effectiveness and impacts. The goals to be analyzed include prevention of conflict and ensuring of stability and social development.

4.4.1.1. Prevention of Conflict and Ensuring Stability

The EU's presence in the DRC is considered relevant since the country is a fragile country and there is a need for intervention in terms of mitigating the regional conflicts as well as provision of aid. The EU's presence is relevant since the organization is able to use appropriate instruments (EDF and NIP) to address the security issue in the DRC and partner with African Union on how best to regain stability in the country. However, to some extent the EU has failed to stay relevant due to the limited understanding of the reality of the conflict in the region. Furthermore, a lack of a specific channeling of aid to limited sectors in order to attain maximum results.

The EU development policy in the DRC has provided mixed results in the context of prevention of conflict and stability in the country. Although it was able to promote democracy and supervise the election process of 2016, the tools and policies used were not effective enough to stop the instability after the election. Furthermore, it is likely to say that the quality of work and the use of different tools are indeed effective in providing short-term stability of the country despite the lack of political commitment of the DRC government.

It is rather difficult to come up with short-term impacts in the sector of conflict management since the results are likely seen in the long term rather than short term. Also, the presence of multiple actors and other underlying factors that cause instability in DRC make it difficult to properly assess the impacts of the EU development policy in general. However, to some extent the EU has led to positive impacts in the country example, the improvement in the justice system and reformation of the police force led to a decrease in inequality against women. Positive impacts were also observed in the 2016 elections, which are considered as the first fair election process in the country. Additionally, with the help of EU's intervention, DRC received support in form of training of the troops and army in order to face the challenges caused by neighboring countries.

4.4.1.2. Social Development

The EU development policy in terms of social development was found to be highly relevant since it addresses the core issues of human development needs that is access to social services such as proper health care and education. It is evident that

promoting education and improving access to better health care generally leads to the eradication of poverty. The relevance comes to an advantage since it also addresses the issue at hand that is, migration. Social development aspects play a great role in inducing migration therefore; it is safe to say that the EU development policy does indeed have a relevant presence in DRC.

The EDF and NIP tools have largely been effective in contributing to the access of social services for minority groups such as women and children. Hospitals were built and through this employment opportunities were created. The 11th EDF National Initiative Programme designated 160 million euros towards funding of basic social services such as improvement of infrastructure, rural and agricultural development that has all proved to be effective to the people of DRC (European Commission, 2021). The EU has also supported the significantly in the development of the DRC national health policy and the provision of care to malnourished children. Additionally, the provision of medicine and hygienic environment has proved effective after the outbursts of the Ebola epidemic. The EU provided 50 million euros to fight the epidemic (European Union, 2019).

As a result of the EU development policy support and budget contribution, social services were improved in the country example in the transport sector about 150km completion of the national road, development of access from farmers to the market which in turn created job opportunities for the both the young and the old. Additionally, the EU development policy has contributed to the increase in human development index factors. However, the policies also highlighted some of the weaknesses of the EU example, the country has been receiving development support for several years but still exhibits economic crisis, conflicts are still on the rise as well as increase in unemployment and poverty rates.

4.4.2. Challenges faced by European Development Cooperation in the DRC

The existence of policy disputes amongst member states is one of the significant challenges in terms of the EU's development cooperation with the DRC. There has been an absence of a proper political strategy within EU member states towards DRC (Piccolino, 2010). As a result of this, the difference in policies and opinion has created a fragmented approach of EU. The of lack of an agreement about which policy is to apply on DRC, as some members are in the frontline than others example

France and Belgium strongly supports general military missions such as The Common Security and Defense Policy (CSDP) but the countries receive an opposite interest from Germany hence leading to lessening in the prioritizing certain missions which eventually became a failure or produce limited results. For this case, in regards to the DRC the EUFOR Congo mission is a perfect example, the partial disinterest of some members resulted in a floundered mission in the 2008 North Kivu conflict. Furthermore, the overlapping of the EU Commission's and Council's responsibility creates an unstable environment for aid effectiveness (Lurweg, 2011). These disagreements act as a catalyst for discoordination and lack of policy coherency in regards to the situation in Eastern DRC.

The inadequate assessment of the country's risks and conflict complications comes off as an obstacle since the EU development policy is mainly focused on the conflicts in the DRC at the national level. But realistically the conflict has to be addressed regionally, and then actions have to be done not just in DRC but in the region as well. With no doubt, the EU does recognize that the conflict is a regional one but the actions and support provided are mainly directed as though the conflict were internal alone.

Another risk that could not have been pre-determined and acts as a major constraint in developing the country is the additional battles against epidemics such as Ebola, Measles, Cholera, and COVID-19 (UNDP, 2020). The DRC's economy and the people of Eastern DRC are already in a fragile state, so the outbreak of diseases has played a noticeably big role in producing limited progress.

Another challenge that the EU faces in the DRC is the lack of political will in the DRC. Domestic political unwillingness also plays a significant role in creating a gap between the policy targets and the real results. The tendency of Congolese authorities to bypass and neglect the involvement of external organizations in domestic security has led to the lack of progress in the country (ECA, 2013). In addition to that the inability of the Congolese authorities to manage their relations with regional actors – Rwanda and Uganda have continuously resulted in more tensions on the border, hence accelerating the conflict. The long-strained relations between the countries have paved a way for the reoccurrence of conflict which some experts argue created a growing disillusion and donor fatigue due to lack of progress (Vlassenroot, 2016).

4.4.3. Impacts of EU Development Aid on Migration Flows from the DRC

In recent years, the EU has revisited its external policies to manage the growing migration inflows towards the EU member states. One of the strategies is the mobilization of aid to address the root causes of migration and development aid is also utilized as a tool to curb migration. It is no surprise that the rise in unemployment, poverty, conflict and insecurity in the DRC cause a sharp increase in migration outflows and displacement. Globally, as of mid-2021 more than 84 million people were forcibly displaced and more than 5.2 million in DRC due to conflict and civil wars (IDMC 2021). Conflict causes both economic stress and human security threats hence forcing an individual to leave their country.

The EU development aid towards the DRC has in large focused on improving the economic conditions, stabilizing the political situation and promoting democracy in the country. Although the partial achievement of democracy has been progressed in the country, the EU still struggles to end the civil wars in the Eastern DRC despite a large sum of aid provided. In the short term, EU aid in DRC has shown limited evidence concerning migration deterrent. In the case of conflict, the number of displaced women and children in the country continues to grow. As explained earlier (see challenges of EU in DRC), the narrow understanding of the conflict only at national level has only led to more conflict, which has stimulated further migration flows in the country. In the long term, with proper allocation of the EU aid towards promising areas such as good governance, assistance for forcibly displaced, and cooperation with the regional actors then EU aid can help to end the conflict that eventually results in country stabilization and improvements in human security.

Concerning the economic aspect, in the short term, the rise of income levels due to the provision of job opportunities does not curb migration. The idea departs from the notion that migration is expensive so the rise in an individual's income only leads to migration since in poor countries migration serves as an investment for economic benefits (De Haas, 2010). This is the case of DRC, with the existence of ongoing conflict and aspirations to migrate, the creation of job opportunities together with technological awareness only fuels migration rather than curbing it. Furthermore, the network theory of migration also applies in the DRC. It suggests that migrants tend to opt for destinations where they have familial ties; in this case increasing the income only takes away the financial constraint and adds the knowledge of the

destination and ways on how to get there. Congolese migrants continue to move to the EU countries that have closer ties to the DRC. 55.4% of Congolese migrants reside in France and Belgium (EU, 2018). The development aid indeed helps to reduce the financial constraints that induce migration. However, network theory still prevails such as 35.5% of Congolese migrants recorded between 2014 and 2017 have migrated due to family reunification.

Another determinant to look upon is the social determinants such as education, health, and population. These can have a great role in the individual's decision to migrate. The population on its own in the short term shows an inconclusive relationship with migration. In the long term, the increase in population results in higher demand for resources and social services wherein poor countries the scarcity of resources, and limitations of public services are what motivates individuals to migrate to countries with better services. The DRC exhibits the characteristics of a fast-growing population in sub-Saharan Africa. According to UNDP (2020), the country will reach 120 million in 2030 with a dependency ratio of 5.9 per 100 people in old age and 90.2 per 100 in young age. In the short term, the provision of aid tends to partially satisfy the current population needs. But in the long term, assuming EU aid is constant; it will take an unrealistic increase in development aid to stabilize the fragile country and promote development that will cutter the needs of the fast-growing population. So, in that sense in the long term, aid in the DRC projects a negative relationship unless there is an increase in EU aid enough to circumvent the gap between the population and the provision of social services (Smith, 2018).

Overall, the mechanisms by which EU aid can and could deter migration are still unclear since there is not enough evidence of a sector specific analysis in which the aid is allocated and whether it could help to deter migration. Although according to recent statistics from organizations such as Eurostat, UNHCR, and UNDESA, migration from the DRC is taking place mostly within the neighbouring regions. Besides, the interpretation of EU aid to DRC seems to be inconclusive since there is no clear pattern on whether aid affects the migration flows specifically to the EU. The most recent available data cover the post Congo war; in 2013 total aid disbursed was 272.2 million euros where it decreased to 190.6 million euros in 2014 and the recorded number of Congolese migrants to EU was approximately 9.400 people (excluding asylum seekers). In 2015 aid increased to 200.1 million euros and migrants increased by 4.2% than the previous year. In 2016 aid disbursed increased

to 203.6 million euros, and an increase of 3.0% in migrants to the EU is reported. (OECD, 2020). 2017 recorded an increase in irregular migrants, but a decrease in regular migrants (-0.3% than 2016) with a decrease in aid disbursement (173.12million euros). The data does not show a conclusive trend, but it points out the political stability sector and economic sector that if aid is well allocated towards ending the civil unrest and poverty, not as an immediate impact but in the long run, it might help in the reduction of migration trends.

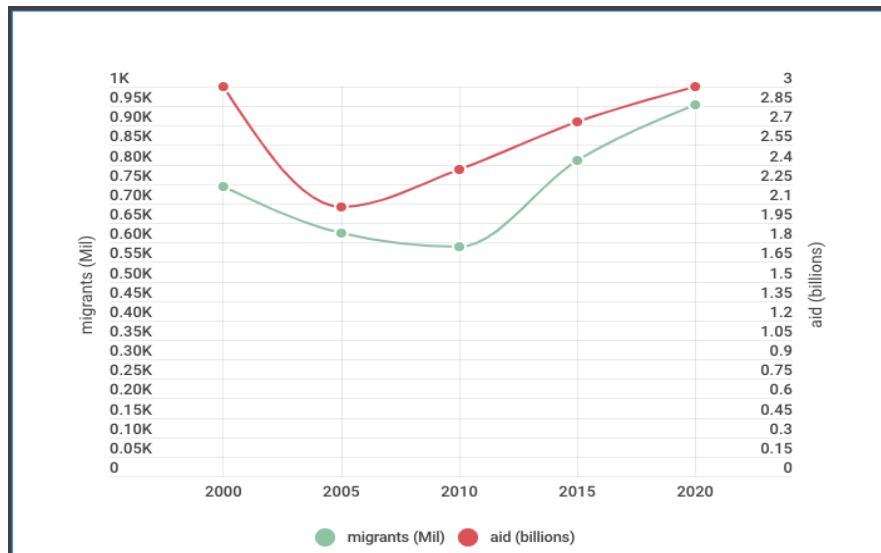


CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Development aid and its potential impact on shaping migration flows from the aid recipient countries is a controversial topic that is being debated in the literature of development and migration studies. At individual level, lack of enough income to sustain individuals' basic needs might stimulate their thoughts of migration. At national level, the extent in which a country is developed may shape and determine whether or not its citizens are bound to migrate. Referring to the conceptualization of development discussed in the first chapter, it is not only related with the economic aspects but also the quality of the social services and the search for better living conditions.

Accordingly, one of the main motivations behind the provision of development aid is to promote development, which later reduces poverty (Paldam, 2008) and eventually leads to a potential reduction in migration flows. By focusing on the DRC as a sub-Saharan Africa migrant sending country and EU as the donor organization, this study aimed to find out whether or not development aid alone is sufficient in addressing the root causes of migration. It revealed that development aid on its own is not sufficient on addressing thoroughly the root causes of migration in the short and medium term. The graph below shows data from DRC from the year 1990 to 2020 on total aid received versus migration trend.



Source: author's own contribution based from UN DESA (2020) and World Bank Data

Figure 5.1. Migration Trends in DRC and Development Assistance Received in DRC (2000-2020)

The study shows that the amount of development aid might have a positive impact on development when allocated to specific sectors but a significantly low impact on migration flows or none at all depending on short term or medium term. As seen from the Figure 5.1. Even though the country has constantly received aid, the migration trends have also continued to increase. The final results did not come as a surprise since most literature agree that development aid does not necessarily yield positive results towards migration flows. It is also seen that despite DRC receiving higher amounts of development aid from the EU, the international migration did not reduce as it is expected. This means there are other factors to be addressed that development aid alone cannot curb migration.

One of the factors refer to the critique that has been raised against the EU with regards to the use of development aid as a mean to manage migration. In other words, the resources and development aid are not appropriately allocated in line with the needs of DRC population. This is accompanied by the lack of coordination between the donor organizations and lack of good governance in the DRC. Divergent motivations and strategies have been utilized by the EU member states in terms of how to allocate and use the aid with regards to managing migration. For instance France opts to finance migrants to return while Spain has signed different agreements

with governments of the sending countries where they agreed to deal with the migrant issue in return of an increase in development aid. The EU member states have different interests and follow different strategies in terms of managing migration from aid recipient countries. It is suggested that in order to improve the effects of development aid on curbing out migration, the aid should be provided to develop a coherent policy that takes into account the migration and development dynamics for both the sending countries and receiving countries. Rather than financing returns to unstable and insecure regions, development aid should ensure a dignified and safe life for people where they would not prefer to leave their home. Moreover, the policies should focus on maximizing the benefits of migration by eliminating the reasons that pushes people to migrate irregularly. However, most of these strategies have failed and only lead to increased migration towards EU countries through illegal means.

As another factor, the case of DRC shows that the EU should develop a better understanding on how to utilize development aid and handle the main reasons of conflict and root causes of migration. Development aid allocated through a narrow understanding that approaches the DRC as a country having conflict at national level ignores the complexity of the conflict that is highly embedded in the wider region.

Development aid should not be perceived as the only mean for development and should not create indispensable dependency for the recipient countries. For example, as an alternative mean other than provision of development aid, foreign direct investment should also be supported. It provides a source of technological transfer as well as a means to achieve aggregate levels of socioeconomic development including bettering of trade relations between the developing nations and developed. Such relations would help integrate the developing nations such as DRC into the global economy as a player especially since the country is rich in resources. As a result, this can benefit the country by decreasing its dependency on development aid and also by preventing the inefficient use of development aid without good governance, which does not help to eliminate the root causes of migration. Despite years of receiving development aid, the overall national budget of the DRC is highly depended on the aid. It is somewhat difficult for a country to develop if its major source of revenue depends on aid. Flow of aid to support the national budget as well as to provide basic needs for the citizens creates a vicious cycle of aid dependency.

Migration is not an issue that can only be reduced to economic reasons and development. Colonial relations and long-existing networks stimulate migration from DRC to especially specific EU countries in the form of family reunification, regular or irregular migration. In a nutshell, in a country such as DRC, development aid can only do so much since development is only one among many factors that influence migration. Provision of development aid alone in DRC does not curb migration problem since most Congolese migrants migrate for reasons other than economic such as to seek safety and flee from natural disasters including diseases and climate change. An established network in the EU member states many years ago has a significant impact in shaping the migration decision of the new Congolese migrants. Thus, the study concludes that the amount of development aid has no paramount impact on international migration but might have a positive impact on development in the long run on the condition to be supported by good governance as well.

Lastly, as the most remarkable the conclusion of this thesis is that aid encourages migration unless it is supported with good governance and yields sustainable development outcomes. When development aid is directed to create employment and boost trade, it increases an individual's income hence elimination the aspect of affordability of migration. The trend in the DRC supports the fact that, if the people do not foresee a stable and welfare future, development aid is seen a way to save some money and afford.

As a suggestion for future, more sector-specific and evidence-based research is needed to understand the impact of development aid on migration trends. Donor countries and organizations should, instead of putting in place restrictive policies to prevent or limit migration, should focus on utilizing development aid on eliminating root causes of migration and ensuring a safe and dignified life for everyone.

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