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The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees as a relay of outsourcing at the Agadez Region level in Niger

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Abstract

This article examines the activities of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Niger through a qualitative analysis of refugee governance in reception centers, with particular attention to outsourcing practices in the Agadez region. Grounded in fieldwork, the study explores mechanisms of supervision, protection, and assistance for refugees, asylum seekers, and internally displaced persons (IDPs). The findings indicate that UNHCR plays a central role in humanitarian assistance, including the provision of shelter, food aid, water access, psychosocial support, and healthcare, as well as facilitating asylum procedures and third-country resettlement. Since its establishment in Niger in 1999, the organization has expanded its operations in response to regional insecurity, notably in the Liptako-Gourma region and the Lake Chad Basin, where armed violence has generated large-scale displacement. Recent data underscore the scale of this expansion: between 2016 and 2024, the number of refugees and asylum seekers in Niger more than doubled, rising from 138,321 to 306,194 individuals (DTM 2024). These dynamics highlight both the intensification of humanitarian needs and the growing institutionalization of migration management in the region.

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Introduction

This study focuses on two emblematic programs implemented by UNHCR in Niger, with particular emphasis on the Emergency Transit Mechanism (ETM), established in 2017 through an agreement between the Nigerien state, UNHCR, and the International Organization for Migration (IOM). The ETM aims to evacuate vulnerable migrants detained in Libya to Niger, where they are temporarily hosted pending resettlement in third countries, primarily in Europe. The program must be understood within the broader framework of European migration policy, which seeks to externalize

asylum processing beyond its territorial borders. Scholars such as Laura Lambert consider Niger as a “buffer state” within this system, while others emphasize its role as an operational relay for European border control. Funded by the European Union Emergency Trust Fund for Africa, the ETM initially aimed to evacuate approximately 3.800 individuals from Libyan detention centers. Building on this framework, the article examines UNHCR’s activities in Agadez, where “mixed migration flows”—comprising both economic migrants and individuals in need of international protection—have prompted the development of new institutional responses (Boyer and Chappart 2018).

Establishment in Agadez: Genesis and Interventions

UNHCR established its presence in Agadez in May 2017, a region characterized by its central role in trans-Saharan migration routes toward the Mediterranean. The area simultaneously hosts individuals fleeing Libya or expelled from Algeria, resulting in complex “mixed movements.” UNHCR’s primary objective in this context is to ensure access to international protection for eligible individuals while supporting the Nigerien asylum system. To this end, the organization constructed a humanitarian center approximately 15 kilometers outside Agadez, replacing earlier, inadequate accommodation arrangements in schools, sports facilities, and private residences. The center provides integrated infrastructure, including educational facilities, religious spaces, and water access systems, reflecting both humanitarian priorities and the sociocultural diversity of its residents.

Infrastructures of the Humanitarian Center

The humanitarian center is equipped with a range of infrastructures designed to address the basic social, educational, and religious needs of its residents. These include a primary school, religious facilities (such as places of worship and Arabic literacy centers), a church currently under construction, water supply installations (fountains and a water tower), and a health center, which has remained closed since the protest movement of 2019.

Particular attention should be given to the educational infrastructure established within the center. According to administrative data provided by the school principal, the primary school, created in 2023, has experienced a steady increase in enrollment despite fluctuations over the academic year.

“At its inception, the school recorded 354 students, including 186 girls, of whom 36 were identified as indigenous. At the beginning of the 2024–2025 academic year, enrollment rose to 461 students (227 boys and 234 girls), including 74 indigenous pupils. By the end of the academic year, total enrollment slightly declined to 439 students (219 boys and 280 girls), while the number of indigenous students remained constant. The school comprises six grade levels (from CI to CM1) in addition to a kindergarten section. It is equipped with six permanent classrooms furnished with standard desk-benches and teacher workspaces, as well as a storage facility. Educational materials and supplies are provided by regional educational authorities in collaboration with partner organizations.”

This painting symbolizes a school for learning the Arabic alphabet. Since most of the residents of the center are Sudanese, they established a school where people voluntarily come to learn Arabic.

The church under construction: although the majority of refugees and asylum seekers are of Muslim faith, a good portion of them comes from Central Africa and their main religion is Christianity. This is why, according to a CNE official, they decided to build their place of worship themselves.

At the very beginning, to equip the reception center, it was proposed to build a water tower. However, this proposal did not come to fruition because the groundwater table was not sufficient, according to an official from the CNE. In view of the difficulties in water supply, the UNHCR financed SEEN at a cost of 300 million to provide the center with water and to install water fountains. This water supply also concerned the village of Mai-adoua and the residents of surrounding hamlets who come to drink.

Materials and Methods

The fieldwork took place between September and October 2025, mainly in Agadez. It aims to understand the impact of UNHCR programs and their effects on the protection and mobility of refugees and asylum seekers in Agadez. Among the actors identified for interviews are: representatives of the State, including the governorate, the town hall, technical services (regional directorate of civil status, migration, and refugees, the national eligibility commission for refugee status), international organizations such as IOM and UNHCR, non-governmental organizations like *Alarme Phone Sahara*, service-providing NGOs such as *COOPI*, *RET*, *CIAUD*, and civil society organizations that fight for the defense of human rights. The choice of the qualitative method established itself as a method capable of capturing the perceptions, representations of the actors, and the feelings of refugees and asylum seekers regarding their living conditions in the center. The sampling population, as mentioned above, was based on a purposive selection technique, complemented by the so-called 'snowball' method, which allowed the gradual identification of new relevant actors until reaching a saturation point of the information collected.

The interview guides were developed and administered to the various stakeholders. Members of the regional civil registry, migration and refugee management, and

those of the national eligibility commission were the target of several interviews. In Niamey, the permanent secretary of the CCM in charge of the refugee file before her appointment as a permanent secretary was also part of an interview. On the other hand, direct observation, both participatory and non-participatory, allowed for capturing the daily practices, social interactions, and living conditions of refugees and asylum seekers in different spaces, such as the areas around the DREC-MR and the humanitarian center. Finally, in-depth documentary research made it possible to contextualize the empirical data and strengthen the analysis, the data processing consisting of transcribing the interviews, coding them thematically, and analyzing them in connection with the defined research objectives.

Results and Discussion

The Main Activities of UNHCR

UNHCR has been present in Niger since 2012 to respond to multiple humanitarian crises in the region. The country is both a host country for refugees, a transit country for migrants, and a country of origin for certain internally displaced populations (IDPs). Its main activities in Niger include, among others, international protection, humanitarian response, and assistance through the distribution of essential goods: shelters, hygiene kits, blankets, access to water, sanitation and health, food aid, and cash transfers. It also handles the resettlement of the most vulnerable in third countries for their integration into host areas. It also promotes voluntary return for refugees wishing to return to their country of origin.

It is finally responsible for managing migratory flows, which is manifested by support for transit centers for migrants in Agadez and its cooperation with the IOM and national authorities on various issues. It is present in the regions of Diffa, Tillaberi, Tahoua, Maradi, Niamey, and Agadez. However, beyond this traditional mission, and in accordance with its mandate, UNHCR in Niger has since 2017 adopted an approach to spare refugees and asylum seekers, who are caught up in mixed migrations, from crossing the Sahara and the sea by setting up a project related to their resettlement in safe European countries.

Already in 2017, UNHCR, Niger, and the IOM signed a memorandum of understanding to evacuate migrants stuck in Libya to Niger with the promise of resettlement in third countries.

Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the Humanitarian Center and Around the DREC-MR

This section presents the events that led to the construction of the humanitarian center for asylum seekers and refugees, the presentation of the National Eligibility Commission and its role in the process, the determination of refugee status, the asylum application procedure, the withdrawal of an asylum application, interviews on living conditions in the center, and the deactivation of the voucher. Finally, a brief presentation is also made of the support NGOs operating in the center, some religious infrastructures such as Arabic alphabet classes, the church under construction, and the primary school.

Controversy over the construction of the humanitarian center

The construction of the humanitarian center is the result of several processes. At the very beginning, refugees and asylum seekers lived in neighborhoods and on the street. Due to their behaviors, which did not align with local traditional social values, the population and civil society actors alerted regional authorities to either regulate their presence in the city or expel them. In response to this demand from the population, an empty plot was found for them. Then, they were accommodated in eight villas: two at the airport, two near the stadium, and four in the Jeune Cadre neighborhood. Their care is provided by the Association for Welfare (APBE) and the NGO COOPI following the agreement of subcontracting that ties them with the UNHCR. The construction of the humanitarian center and its occupation in 2023 is the result of a long process. Its management is primarily ensured by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, who is the main funder, in partnership with the national eligibility commission that supervises activities in the center, carries out the identification of refugees and asylum seekers who must enter the center, all under the administrative responsibility of the national directorate of civil status, migration, and refugees, which coordinates. Then come the national and international NGOs that subcontract certain service provisions with the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The food assistance for the refugees and asylum seekers in the center has taken various forms. Indeed, in the beginning, it started with the preparation of what is called 'hot meals' by APBE and COOPI.

After protests against the quality of meals, a kind of voucher system was introduced, which is a paper

indicating the amount to be received per person. Thus, from 44000 FCFA initially, the amount was reduced to 25000, and moreover, new vulnerability criteria were introduced so that the amount could be further reduced to 18500 FCFA. This humanitarian center is located 15 km from Agadez on the road to Tahoua, and two categories of migrants are accommodated there: asylum seekers and refugees. Asylum seekers are foreigners from different countries, who seek asylum following the procedures at the eligibility commission, and refugees are migrants who have completed the process of being recognized as refugees and to whom the State has granted this refugee status. According to some sources, the issue of the construction of the center almost caused conflict among municipal, regional authorities, and even the governorate, as reported by Gisti during an interview with a manager at the governorate.

Land is a taboo subject. We were the first to ask the regional authorities about it because before, repatriates were welcomed in schools, in football fields. So I asked the governor and we followed up with the town hall to make land available. We didn't get a word from the regional council about this, even though it's in the PDR. And I pushed the authorities so that UNHCR would have five hectares because it had remained unresolved despite our requests. [...]. Well unfortunately, our project, with the multiple actors and projects... For the refugee site, we had proposed that it be called the 'regional reception center for the displaced,' that it be made available to the responsible authorities to have a reception center for the displaced. No matter the categories, but at least, we would have a place" (Governorship, April 22, 2019).

Asylum seekers and refugees in the center

As of September 5, 2025, there are 2392 asylum seekers and refugees, including specific cases requiring psychosocial follow-up, living in temporary shelters and being supported by the NGO COOPI in the city. At the center, there are 2036 individuals, representing 87% of the asylum seekers and refugee population. Among them, 114 are refugees and the rest are asylum seekers. The NGO COOPI provides medical follow-up for 36 asylum seekers and refugees who have a pathology, through a medical team composed of psychologists and health workers. They are supported by the Italian fund and that of UNHCR. In the Pakistani ghetto, there is only one person. Around the administration area, there are 205 people as of September 5, and only one woman among them. At the center, there are about 25 nationalities, with Sudanese being the most represented: Sudan, 2128

people or 91%, Nigeria, 33 people, Cameroon, 33 people, Central African Republic, 31 people, Mali, 22 people, Eritrea, 17 people, Somalia, 16 people, South Sudan, 14 people, Ethiopia, 14 people, Burundi, 8 people, Chad, 7 people, Congo, 6 people, Sierra Leone, 6 people, DRC, 5 people, Yemen, 3 people, Togo, 3 people, Guinea Conakry, 3 people, and Ivory Coast, 2 people.

The National Eligibility Commission

It is composed of two bodies, including the plenary general assembly which rules and deliberates on asylum applications submitted to it by the second body, which is its permanent secretariat that plays an administrative, informational, and supervisory role regarding the composition of files, notably the documents to be provided and their processing until their submission to the GA for deliberation. In the case of a first-instance rejection, candidates whose files have been rejected have the right to appeal before the gracious appeal committee. Contrary to some press reports, the resettlement interviews conducted by OFRA when traveling to Niger do not call into question the recognition of refugee status already granted. It is a control mechanism, and all countries have their interview mechanism before accepting that refugees be settled in their country.

Determination of Refugee Status

Due to its geographical position, Agadez is at the heart of mixed migrations. In this flow, migrants expelled from Algeria and Libya, or those who come on their own, are received by the IOM. It is within this group that the IOM tries to identify potential asylum seekers and those who are recognized as refugees in another country, in order to refer them to the CNE to initiate the procedure for recognition as a refugee or asylum seeker. The goal is to spare them from the real dangers faced by migrants during the crossing of the desert and the Mediterranean, and that is why UNHCR, with the support of its partners, has created a detention center to host them and ensure their care while awaiting the completion of their resettlement process to third countries.

These migrants referenced by the IOM or other partners follow the procedure for determining their refugee status with the eligibility commission. Once they appear before the commission, the procedure for determining their refugee status is initiated. The commission provides each refugee with an interview form that includes the following information to be completed, in accordance

with international texts to which States have subscribed: concept on the criteria for determining refugee status. A refugee is a person who has fled or is outside their country or nationality out of fear for their race, religion, nationality, membership in a social group, political opinions, or due to: an aggression, an external occupation, an external domination, an event disturbing public order in part or all of their country of origin or nationality. If they are recognized, they stay in Niger and are accommodated at the humanitarian center or in the city. Others are returned to their country through voluntary return organized by the IOM.

The asylum application procedure

Asylum seekers and refugees who are referred to the eligibility commission follow the following procedure: upon their arrival at the commission, its members provide them with the necessary information and the procedure to follow. For example, after receiving this information, the applicants are immediately taken to the DST under the care of a commission member to undergo a sort of interrogation to determine whether they have not been registered elsewhere or if they do not present any sign of criminality. Afterwards, they are entered into the DST database and registered in ProGrès, a biometric database installed within the CNE and co-managed by a member of the UNHCR and those of the commission to list and register all asylum seekers, and it is from there that the commission gives them a registration form to fill out, review it, and find them housing or shelter at the center.

Waiving the asylum application

Asylum seekers can waive the asylum application procedure according to their own convenience. For example, someone who expresses the desire to return to their country of origin informs the CNE of their intention to waive their application. The CNE contacts the IOM to assess whether the return is possible. If it is possible, the asylum seeker submits a request to cancel their procedure and is referred to the IOM for voluntary return to their country of origin. There have been at least around thirty cases.

Interviews on living conditions in the center

To better analyze the living conditions of refugees and asylum seekers in the humanitarian center, interviews were conducted with some of them, randomly selected, in order to capture their feelings regarding their care, the

paths they have followed, the waiting time in the center, the difficulties they have previously experienced, those they encounter in the center, and the disillusionment of their yesterday's dream compared to their current situation. However, it should be noted that they come from diverse backgrounds, and it is through the intersection of fate that they are together in the center and share the same living conditions. Each of them carries behind them their own journey, which is different from that of their neighbor. The few interviews below shed light on the journeys, edify, and clarify the objectives pursued by each of them individually.

The first interview was conducted with a Central African who left his country because of war and it was through social networks that he discovered Niger as a host country and he decided to come. His clearly stated dream is to go to Europe and he is waiting for resettlement.

"I come from the Central African Republic; I left my country in 2021. I went through Cameroon and Nigeria before coming here. I left because of war to seek protection. Before coming, I did research on the internet and saw that Niger is a good host country, so I decided to come. I want to continue to Europe. I am waiting for resettlement but there is no option for me. In this center, there is no center manager, and when there are problems, we discuss among ourselves and then submit it to the DREC and UNHCR to find a solution. A strike happened a year ago, and it was related to the resettlement files because, each time, the files get lost and have to be recopied. Now it is resolved. We are still in contact with the DREC. Regarding our support, they give 25000 F per month to the vulnerable, and they have reduced the amount. Before, it was 42000, then 25000, and 20000 F. In the center, there are small problems but there are no fights. The problem is food, and when the vulnerable receive their voucher, we help each other. And some go into town to look for food or even work. The DREC and the UNHCR are good and they support us, but what is bothersome is the waiting time and the lack of any good information. This is my third year in this center; I am likely to grow old here. "

However, the second speaker left his country for fear of being persecuted following a popular uprising of which he is presumed to be the instigator. According to him, as soon as the situation normalizes, he will return to his country:

"I am from Congo-Brazzaville. I left in January 2023 to come here because I had a problem, and here I am with

my wife and my four children. It is because of the increase in electricity prices following the privatization of the electricity company. It is the son of President Denis Sassou Nguesso who bought the company. Following this sale, electricity prices increased, and there was a popular uprising. The law enforcement forces intervened to club the protesters. After this protest, people, and more particularly the deputies of the ruling party, conspired to say that I am the instigator of the movement and that I must be arrested. My brother, who is the prosecutor, called me to tell me to stay away from the country because my name is frequently mentioned.

I immediately left to cross the river between Cameroon and Congo to take refuge in Cameroon. I learned that the deputies had gone to the gendarmerie and the police to seek my arrest while I had already fled. My wife was taken and put in custody. During this questioning of my wife, my children confronted the police and gendarmes, and in the end, she spent the whole day at the police station. After this confrontation, my children also fled. It was a fisherman who used to come to my place in Congo who informed me of the whole scene."

I have been here since February 2023; it was from Cameroon that I sent the fisherman to bring me my wife and children. After Cameroon, we came to N'Djamena. I went to the embassy and learned that the ambassador had gone to Congo, and immediately I left to come to Niger.

When I arrived in Agadez, I went to the police station to register myself and explain the reasons that brought me here. The commissioner took us to the DREC, and the DREC, after interviews, put us in contact with the UNHCR. So, this is how we are here. Regarding the organization and operation of the center, previously we had set up a central committee that discussed with the government and the UNHCR and reported back to the others. But for some time now, the government has dissolved the committee. Honestly, the living conditions and especially hygiene are not good. There is a lack of hygiene, and the houses are not clean, and inside some are not cemented.

However, as you visited, you saw that the public latrines are made in blocks and outside. Regarding health, the CSI is closed following a demonstration that took place last year. To put an end to this demonstration, the UNHCR representative from Niamey came here to attempt mediation. Faced with the categorical refusal of

the demonstrators, he gave the order to close the CSI, and eventually people go to town for treatment, which is far and expensive. Fights are rare among us, and in any case, there are law enforcement officers on the site. Concerning catering at the beginning, it was the NGO APBE that provided the hot meal, and the people refused to demand that they be given the money to prepare it themselves.

During the discussions, UNHCR stated that the authorities were not in favor of giving cash but of giving a sort of paper called vouchers (it is a paper on which the amount of money you are entitled to per month is written). They targeted shops where the voucher holder can get anything they want for food up to the amount indicated. Only, people found a way to give the merchant the voucher, which is worth 18500F, for 16000F cash, and the person goes to the market to buy what they want. Initially, the voucher was 44000F for everyone, then it was revised to 25000F, and now it is 18500F. Those who do not receive the vouchers are helped by others because there is a kind of mutual aid among us. I have no intention to go to Europe, I am here to have protection until the situation is regularized in my country, and I will return if the situation normalizes.

As for the third interview, it recounts the story of a young girl and her older sister who left northern Mali because of the brutality of terrorist attacks to go to Libya. These two women saw their dream shattered due to a lack of resources and, being referred to UNHCR, now they are giving up on the adventure and are waiting for the UNHCR to take action because she states: "we asked to be referred to the UNHCR that helps people and so far, we have received nothing." As the interview specifies, they have a house and receive a voucher. And finally, she asserts that not only are they giving up on the journey, even if the situation is regularized, but above all, they will not return to the country.

"My only concern here, almost immobilized, as a 23-year-old young woman, is first my parents, and I ask myself whether we can still meet in this life?"

"I have been here for 8 months and my older sister and I came together. We left northern Mali because of the actions of terrorist groups who slit people's throats, take animals, rape women, and collect mandatory taxes from the population. Our intention was to go to Libya, but now that our money has run out, we asked to be referred to the UNHCR, which helps people, and so far, we have received nothing. We gave up going to Libya because

there are also groups there that mistreat people, so in the end, we decided to stay here. Even if the situation normalizes, we will not return to Mali. We have a house in the center and we are given vouchers worth 16000 F per month.”

It's true that with 16000F, one cannot eat for a whole month. But I do other activities like braiding hair in town and in the center to get some extra income. Very often, there are fights in the center. We also have literacy classes, awareness sessions on gender-based violence, and psychosocial follow-up. My only concern here, being almost immobilized, as a 23-year-old girl, is mainly my parents, and I wonder if we can meet again in this life? My future and my studies.

Finally, it should be noted that given the fact that these refugees and asylum seekers may escape into the wild without informing anyone and return after a period of mishap, a provision has been made to deactivate the voucher and reactivate it for people in this situation.

Deactivation of the voucher

Regarding the voucher, it can be deactivated after an absence of three months, and when the person returns, the CNE reports their return to the UNHCR to activate it. The UNHCR encourages the integration of these communities, and many, notably the Sudanese, are in the city conducting their trade and other activities.

Discussion of the results

UNHCR is no longer limited to humanitarian work; it plays a structuring role in regional migration governance. The implementation of the ETM enabled the evacuation of migrants from Libya to Niger, prior to possible resettlement in the West. This program was funded by the European Union and fits within a logic of outsourcing asylum processing outside of Europe. And that is why Laura Lambert describes Niger as a buffer state, while others, like Julien Brachet, see it as an operational relay for the outsourcing of European borders or simply as a testing ground. This research clearly highlights a tension on the one hand between assistance, protection, human rights, and on the other hand between control, sorting, and immobilization of migrants. As a result, the Agadez center serves to protect but also to detain and channel mobility.

Initially planned as a temporary center, it has become a long-term waiting area. Refugees sometimes stay there

for several years (example: 3 years according to testimonies). Less than 1% are resettled each year, and this has resulted in the Agadèz and Hamdalaye centers producing a forced immobilization of migrants. Interviews reveal a deterioration in living conditions and a humanitarian dependency summarized as follows:

Insufficient care: for example, regarding food, how can one understand taking care of a person with vouchers of 44000 reduced to 18500 FCFA? Likewise, problems with hygiene and health have been highlighted, especially with the closure of the health center. All of this has led refugees to adopt survival strategies (informal work, mutual aid, reselling vouchers).

On the psychosocial level, there is an impact linked to prolonged waiting, frustration, and disillusionment which, according to their testimony, plunges refugees and asylum seekers into constant uncertainty, stress, anxiety, despair, and a loss of orientation and future planning. These difficult living conditions have led refugees to express their "fed-up" feelings through protests and writings on the walls and plaques installed in and around the center in reaction to the waiting and unfulfilled promises.

Others have helplessly chosen to share their feelings with us, as this young lady states: "My only concern [...] is first of all my parents [...] if we can still meet in this life? My future and my studies." interview on 18/9/2025. And for this young Central African who chose to come to Niger as a safe country for his resettlement, he says: "This is my third year in this center, I risk growing old here." interview on 18/9/2025. However, for the Congolese, as soon as the situation stabilizes, he will return home.

It is therefore necessary to note that refugees and asylum seekers, whether those in Hamdalaye where about a hundred are still in the center, according to the permanent secretary of the consultation framework, or those in the humanitarian camp of Agadez, live in a situation of uncertainty and broken dreams following the coup d'état which has cooled relations between the European Union, the main funder for support, UNHCR, the implementing actor but dependent on external funding, and the State of Niger, which is working to restore its sovereignty by repealing the law that allowed UNHCR to recalibrate this project since 2017. Already, the interviews highlight that the vouchers have been reduced to 18500 CFA francs and they concern only the most vulnerable.

Interview on 18/9/2025

Figure.1 A classroom in the humanitarian center, August 18 2025. Photograph by Yacouba Magagi.



Figure.2 Quranic teaching, August 18 2025. Photograph by Yacouba Magagi.

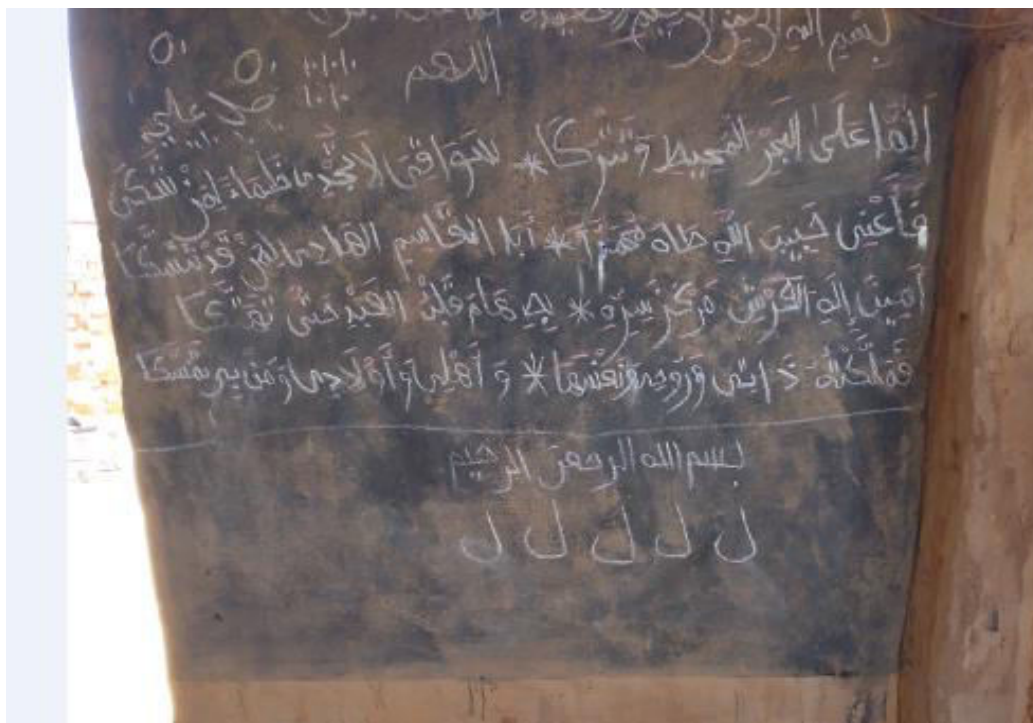


Figure.3 A church under construction, August 18 2025. Photograph by Yacouba Magagi.



Figure.4 A drinking fountain, August 18 2025. Photograph by Yacouba Magagi.



Figure.5 A water tower, August 18 2025. Photograph by Yacouba Magagi.



So, regarding this restriction, the only question to ask is: what will be the future of the camp and the center, and how will these refugees and asylum seekers manage? Will they integrate into the Nigerien community and what does the legislation say about work, or will they leave the country with all the disappointment and the risks of falling into the hands of traffickers?

In conclusion, the outsourcing of European policies in Africa regarding the fight against irregular migration has dealt a heavy blow to Niger, particularly in the Agadez region and especially the urban commune. The mapping of the Nigerien territory by a cohort of security actors has had a considerable impact on the living conditions of those involved in the economy of the chain in the region. Among the key and influential actors in the implementation of law 2025-036 are: EUCAP-Sahel, ECI, GAR-SI, IOM, UNHCR, and European subcontracting companies such as CIVIPOL FIAP COGINTA. Funded by the EU's FFU and countries such as the United States, Japan, and certain organizations like the IOM, which has received multiple funds including from the UN, these organizations and bodies have put in place a security system that has relieved the State of its sovereign functions, especially in terms of ensuring the security of its citizens.

This research reveals that all the strategies and measures taken to counter migrants in the region have particularly focused on the municipality of Agadez. Following the implementation of the law, the security measures put in place have had an effect nowhere except in the municipality. The defense and security forces, using

force, carried out arrests, confiscation of means of transport, and the hunting of migrants, which resulted in the halt of economic activities, the forcing of migrants into illegal status, and the reconfiguration of routes to other, more dangerous locations.

Even today, the aftereffects and the stigmas loom over the resumption of activities. The incessant deportations and the convergence of asylum seekers and refugees have made the city of Agadez a kind of dumping ground, consuming the scarce resources and reducing the chance for locals to access basic social services. In addition to these foreigners who are in the humanitarian camp or on the streets awaiting the completion of their procedures, and those who are in the IOM center or its surroundings, the expelled Nigeriens, who once landed in Niger in large vehicles like animals, are left to fend for themselves and live in a dead end.

The women of Kantché, scattered in the streets and in huts, deserve the full attention of policymakers. According to our observations and interviews, the resumption of activities, that is to say, the return to the former system of convoys at the bus station, is purely and simply a dream, despite the repeal of the law.

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