# ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ECOWAS FREE MOVEMENT PROTOCOL IN GHANA AND SIERRA LEONE

MADE
Migration and Development
Civil Society Network

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES

This study is part of the project "West Africa - Migration and Development, Partnership for Rights-based Governance of Migration and Mobility" or MADE West Africa which is funded by the European Commission.

The "Migration and Development West Africa project, Partnership for a Governance of Migration and Rights-Based Mobility" or MADE West Africa which is funded by the European Commission was launched by AFFORD (African Foundation for Development), the Centre for Migration Studies (University of Ghana), the FORIM (Forum of International Organizations of Migration Issues) and ICMC Europe (International Catholic Migration Commission). MADE West Africa's general objective is to promote good governance of migration and mobility, as well as the protection of the rights of migrants in the ECOWAS region, in order to increase the benefits of migration and mobility on development. This objective is achieved through an in-depth three-year work (2017-2020) on six pilot countries, namely Burkina Faso, Ghana, Guinea, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo, in three pillars:

- The implementation of the ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol;
- Respect for the rights of migrant workers; and
- Maximizing the contribution of diaspora to the development of countries of origin.

The first component of the project (the implementation of the ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol) is being implemented by the Centre for Migration Studies (University of Ghana), and focuses on two case-study countries, Ghana and Sierra Leone.

The Centre for Migration Studies was established in November 2006 and formally launched in November 2007 at the University of Ghana to undertake research, teaching, training, capacity building, policy assessment, development and dissemination in the area of migration.

CMS is the first Centre in the West African sub-region and is seeking to be a regional leader in learning, teaching and research and is suitably located in the Faculty of Social Sciences. Its mission is to serve as a leading Centre for the study of contemporary and future migration dynamics within and outside Ghana through a strategic and integrated approach. CMS's vision is to have an informed nation conscious of the role of migration in wealth creation and development as well as its socio-economic and cultural determinants and consequences.

**Autors :** Mariama Awumbila, Joseph Teye and Ebenezer Nikoi

*The contents of this report are the sole responsibility of the authors and can in no way be taken to reflect the views of the European Union or the International Catholic Migration Commission (ICMC).*

# LIST OF FIGURES

# LIST OF TABLES

Co-funded by
the European Union

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

# EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This assessment examines the gaps and challenges to the implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement, with particular reference to Ghana and Sierra Leone. The study was conducted within the framework of the MADE West Africa Project which is financed by the European Union and aims to promote good governance of migration and mobility and protection of migrants' rights in the ECOWAS Region. The report was based on a desktop review, thematic analysis of relevant administrative records and in-depth interviews with selected ECOWAS migrants and officials of institutions/agencies responsible for managing migration in Ghana and Sierra Leone.

The assessment reveals that intra-regional migration is an integral part of livelihoods in the ECOWAS region. While all the countries in the sub-region receive migrants and at the same time send out migrants, countries in the Sahel zone (e.g. Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger) are the dominant migrant sending areas while the more prosperous countries in the coastal zone (e.g. Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria) are the migrant receiving areas. Proximity, colonial legacy, common official language and ethnic ties still determine the choice of destination for many ECOWAS migrants. Many Sierra Leonean migrants travel to neighbouring countries, such as Guinea, Liberia and Ghana, while Ghanaians also mainly migrate to Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire.

With regards to the implementation of the ECOWAS Free movement Protocol, both Ghana and Sierra Leone have made modest progress in the implementation of the Phase 1 (Right of Entry) of the protocol. Apart from abolishing visa and entry requirements for 90 days, both countries have adopted the standardized ECOWAS Travel Certificate, even though this is currently not an accepted as a travel document, especially in Ghana. Both Sierra Leone and Ghana have recorded some achievements and good practices that can be followed by other countries in the sub-region. These good practices include modest level of knowledge about intra-regional flows of migrants among some public officials, especially in Ghana and the recognition of the economic contributions of ECOWAS immigrants, especially in Sierra Leone. The acknowledgement of the contribution of immigrants to the economy of Sierra Leone is good for the implementation of the Free Movement Protocol since such practices can go a long way to enhance the willingness of the government and citizens of Sierra Leone to welcome migrants as development agents.

While a number of countries in West Africa do not have comprehensive migration policies, both Sierra Leone and Ghana have recently formulated national level policies to govern migration, in line with ECOWAS protocols. The two countries have also ratified a number of international protocols to protect the rights of migrants and their families. Sierra Leone however has not ratified some human rights instruments of relevance to the protection of migrant workers, such as the Migration for Employment Convention, 1949 (Revised) (No. 97), the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143) and Private Employment Agencies Convention, 1997 (No. 181). Ghanaian universities are also promoting free movement through the development and implementation of a comprehensive system for recognition of academic certificates and reduction of fees for ECOWAS students.

Despite these good practices, there are still serious challenges to the implementation of the Free Movement protocols, especially with regards to the Phase 2 and Phase 3 components, but also with some aspects of Phase 1. The key challenges identified include: contradictions between national laws on employment and ECOWAS Free movement protocol; harassment of migrants at the borders; lack of travel documents by many migrants, and low level of knowledge about ECOWAS protocols among migrants and immigration officials. While Ghana has more resources for border management than Sierra Leone, both countries clearly need support to fully implement the Free movement protocol. Other challenges which seriously affect the implementation of the ECOWAS protocol, in both Ghana and Sierra Leone, include fears of competition with successful immigrants, especially in Ghana; securitization of migration and migrants; lack of up to date data on migration flows, especially in Sierra Leone; weak labour market information system, especially in Sierra Leone; lack of opportunities for joint training and border management; and economic challenges and political instability in the ECOWAS region. Lack of effective mechanisms for dealing with Member States that violate migrants' rights is also a challenge to the implementation of the protocol.

In view of these findings, a number of recommendations are made for promoting free movement in the ECOWAS sub-region. Training needs are also identified in the two countries. We finally conclude that the future implementation outcomes of the ECOWAS protocol depend largely on the commitment of the Member States and financial support that they receive from ECOWAS and its development partners. While ECOWAS must continue to lobby states to implement agreements and protocols, mechanisms must also evolve to deal with states that continue to violate the rights of citizens and migrants.

# ACRONYMS

| | |
|---|---|
| ACP | Africa, Caribbean and Pacific |
| ACET | African Centre for Economic Transformation |
| BIC | Border Information Centers |
| CMS | Centre for Migration |
| ECOWAS | Economic Community of West African States |
| ESMP | ECOWAS-SPAIN Migration Project |
| EU | European Union |
| ICMPD | International Centre for Migration Policy and Development |
| IOM | International Organisation for Migration |
| LMIS | Labour Market Information System |
| LECIAD | Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy |
| MENOM | Media Network on Migration |
| MFWA | Media Foundation for West Africa |
| OECD | Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development |
| UN DESA | United Nations Department for Economic and Social Affairs |
| UNDP | United Nations Development Program |
| TMP | Talent Mobility Partnership |

# I. INTRODUCTION AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES

## INTRODUCTION

Although migration is an important livelihood strategy in many parts of the world (Murrugarra et al., 2011; Ajaero and Onokala, 2013), there are contesting perspectives on its actual developmental outcomes (Awumbila et al., 2016; Switek, 2016). Until recently, media and academic discussions on labour migration largely focused on its negative effects, notably pressure on social amenities in migrants' destinations and brain drain in migrant-sending areas. In recent years, however, the benefits of labour migration to both migrant-source and migrant- receiving regions have been widely acknowledged (Teye et al., 2015). There is adequate evidence to suggest that migration can increase income, reduce poverty, promote skills acquisition and improve the wellbeing of individual migrants and their families (Ravallion et al., 2007; Adebowale, 2014; Awumbila et al., 2016).

In response to increasing acknowledgement that migration can promote socio-economic development, a number of governments are making efforts to effectively mainstream labour migration into development planning and policy (Mangala, 2017; Teye et al., 2017). However, while the developmental outcomes of international migration is increasingly acknowledged apparently in view of the flow of international remittances (Mazzucato et al., 2005; Ratha et al., 2011), the contribution of internal and intra-regional migration has not been adequately discussed in both policy and academic circles (Adams et al., 2008; Castaldo et al., 2012). In the West African sub-region, for instance, policy discussions on migration and media portrayals tend to create the impression that there is a mass exodus from the sub-region to Europe and North America (Awumbila et al., 2014), despite the fact about 84 per cent of movements in the sub-region are intra-regional (Adepoju, 2010; Olsen, 2011).

Despite these perceived negative issues around intra-regional mobility, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) recognized the potential and actual benefits of intra-regional mobility, and adopted the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment in 1979 (Protocol A/P.1/5/79). This was followed by the formulation of a number of agreements and supplementary protocols aimed at facilitating the mobility of labour and goods within the ECOWAS region. While these protocols provide guidelines for promoting intra-regional mobility and regional integration, there is enough evidence to suggest that the full implementation of the Rights of Residence and Establishment as detailed in the 1979 ECOWAS Protocol relating to the Free Movement of Persons and its supplementary protocols have not been fully achieved (ICMPD and IOM 2015). Although it is acknowledged that evidence-based data is needed for addressing the gaps in the implementation of the ECOWAS protocol on Free Movement (Adepoju 2005; Yaro, 2008; Teye et al., 2015), there are only a few studies on the trends of migration and implementation of the ECOWAS protocol.

The report of this study will be used to provide background information during training workshops and the multi-stakeholder dialogues to initiate joint actions that tackle identified policy and practice gaps in the implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement.

The report is structured into 5 main sections. After this introductory section which covers the background, objectives and methodology, the socio-political context of labour migration in West Africa and an outline of the ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol are presented in Section 2. Section 3 records good practices in the implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement and Section 4 discusses the gaps in the implementation of the ECOWAS free movement protocols in Ghana and Sierra Leone. Section 5 presents conclusions of the study, establishes a diagnosis and highlights training needs of each country.

## OBJECTIVES

The general objective of this assessment is to identify obstacles to the full implementation of the ECOWAS free movement protocol, with particular reference to Ghana and Sierra Leone. The report also highlights actions undertaken within the framework of the MADE West Africa programme which aim at promoting intra-regional mobility within the ECOWAS region. -

The specific objectives of the assessment are to:

1. Describe trends of intra-regional migration within the ECOWAS region.

2. Assess the implementation record of the ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol and identify good practices of effective implementation of the Protocol in Ghana and Sierra Leone.

3. Identify existing gaps in the implementation of the ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol in Sierra Leone and Ghana.

4. Establish a diagnosis of the current situation for both countries.

## METHODOLOGY

This study was based on a desktop review, assessment of relevant data/administrative records and in-depth interviews with selected ECOWAS migrants and officials of institutions/agencies responsible for managing migration in Ghana and Sierra Leone. The assessment began with a desk review of relevant documents on the ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol and intra-regional mobility. This was followed by the development of two separate in-depth interview guides which were used to collect data from selected ECOWAS migrants and officials responsible for managing migration-related issues in Ghana and Sierra Leone. In all, 35 persons were interviewed in Ghana while 28 persons were interviewed in Sierra Leone. These respondents were purposively selected to represent all the department and social partners that work on migration related issues in the two countries.

The instruments used to interview public officials and social partners responsible for migration management were flexible and focused on the following themes: trends of immigration and emigration; perceptions on the developmental impacts of migration, respondents' knowledge of the ECOWAS protocol, challenges to the implementation of the ECOWAS protocols, and migrants' rights.

### Ethical Issues

Although discussing implementation of the ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol with public officials and migrants does not necessarily place them in a vulnerable position, the researchers were aware that discussions related to experiences of ECOWAS migrants and situations in which their rights were violated can inadvertently put some migrants in a vulnerable position. Also it was considered imperative to protect the identity of respondents. Consequently, established guidelines for dealing with various ethical issues, such as informed consent, and guarantees of anonymity and confidentiality (see Kitchin and Tate, 2000), were strictly observed to protect respondents. Before each interview, the purpose of the study was explained to each respondent and his/her consent was secured. Throughout this report, pseudonyms have been used to protect the identity of respondents. In many cases, the positions of some respondents have not been disclosed in the report for the same purpose of protecting their identities.

# II. THE CONTEXT FOR LABOUR MIGRATION IN WEST AFRICA

## INTRODUCTION

In order to provide a good background for the analysis of the data, this section provides information on the context of migration in the ECOWAS region, with particular reference to socio-political context of migration in Ghana and Sierra Leone. The section also outlines the details of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement.

## THE SOCIO-POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CONTEXT OF MIGRATION WITHIN WEST AFRICA

ECOWAS countries have different socio-economic features which provide the context for migration across their borders. The political and cultural complexity of West Africa is rooted in the multiplicity of religions, dialects and colonial arrangements and further accentuated by rifts along linguistic lines (see fig 1). The Anglophone and Francophone linguistic blocks, which characterize the sub-region, are illustrative of the region's division along colonial lines. Even though not as widely spoken as English and French, Lusophone is the third linguistic block in the sub-region and comprises the former Portuguese colonies of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde (Olukoshi, 2001).

West Africa is expected to follow current population trends in Africa, doubling its inhabitants every 25 years (World Bank, 2017). The estimated population of West Africa in 2016 was 362.8 million people (Nyamongo and Shilabukha, 2017) with a 2.5% growth rate, which has not changed much since 2010, and greatly influenced by the combined effects of high birth rate and declining infant deaths. Much of this population is young, with a little more than 20 percent between 15 to 24 years old and 70 percent under 30 years in 2010 (UN DESA and UNICEF, 2012).



Figure 1.1 : Map of the West African Region

UN projections indicate that these dynamics are unlikely to change (Sahel and West Africa Club/OECD, 2006) as West Africa charts its demographic transition path. While the overall growth rate is expected to decline to about 1.2 % in 2045-2050 (ECOWAS-SWAC/OECD, 2007), by 2020 the population of the sub-region is anticipated to reach 430 million and half a billion by 2040 (AfDB, 2011, Olsen, 2012). As shown in Table 2.1, the countries differ significantly in terms of demographic features. The population of the countries ranges from 0.5 million in Cape Verde to 182 million in Nigeria. The proportion of population living in urban areas also ranges from 18.7% in Niger to 65.5% in Cape Verde. Life expectancy at birth is also highest in Cape Verde (73.5 years) and lowest in Côte d'Ivoire (51.9 years).

Even though the economies of some countries in West Africa have improved since 2010, a large number remain within the low-income category, with gross national income (GNI) per capita as low as $683 in Liberia and $889 in Niger. Exceptions include Cape Verde with $6049, Nigeria with $5443 and Ghana with $3839 GNI per capita (UNDP, 2016). Data from the last decade shows promising signs of overall strong economic gains in the ECOWAS region but this has not been sustained more recently. The sub-region achieved a 6.2% real GDP between 2008 and 2012, which declined to 5.7% in 2013 and improved again to 6.1% in 2014. Although real GDP is projected to increase to 5.5% in 2018, West Africa has since 2015 performed poorly, achieving a real GDP growth of only 0.4% in 2016, partly due to the economic slump in Nigeria that resulted in the contraction of the country's economic growth from 2.8% in 2015 to -1.5% in 2016 (AfDB, 2017).

Thus, West Africa's economic performance worsened further in 2016. Clearly the vulnerability of a few large economies, such as Nigeria, Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire, is a bane for the overall economic performance in the sub-region. For instance, Nigeria, which has the largest GDP share of 29.3% in Africa in 2016, experienced persistent decline in oil prices which combined with policy rate incoherence to produce an adverse economic growth performance with overall negative implications for the ECOWAS region. It is however expected that as oil prices rebound later in 2017, and Nigeria in particular, succeeds in curbing militant activities in its delta region, West

Africa's economic performance will appreciate to 3.4%. The renewed appreciation of the prices of oil and other commodities could foster overall growth as the other major economies such as Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, and Senegal benefit from improved production of natural resources.

Economic growth disparities continue to exist within the sub-region with the more diversified economies outperforming those that are less diversified and more vulnerable to external shocks in commodity prices. Thus, heterogeneity in socioeconomic development in individual countries across West Africa is discernable (Table 1), although levels of development are low overall as the development indices illustrate. Indeed, only three out of the fifteen countries in the sub-region, including Cape Verde, Ghana and Nigeria had a Human Development Index (HDI) above 0.5 in 2015. The twelve remaining countries in the ECOWAS region had an HDI below 0.5 and listed among the fifty poorest countries in the world (UNDP, 2016; Sesay and Omotosho, 2011). Marked variations are however observable in the levels of national poverty across countries in the sub-region, with countries such as Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria being relatively better developed, yet dominated by populations dependent mostly on agriculture-based subsistence livelihoods.

Despite significant strides made in democratic governance and regional integration in West Africa in the last decade, a number of challenges remain unresolved in the sub-region. For instance, while increasing openness to the forces of globalization, a growing demand for change by an educated youthful population, rising use of social media and increasing availability of technology have combined to provide diverse opportunities, existing and emerging threats such as trafficking in narcotics, religious extremism, particularly in Mali and Nigeria, have posed numerous challenges to a number of countries in West Africa (Marc et al., 2015). Alongside these threats, the legacy of internal conflicts and political volatility in a number of countries have fuelled concerns that hard-won economic and democratic gains could be derailed, and the prospects of future development in the sub-region undermined. For instance, West Africa hosted one of the continent's largest refugee populations from the combined conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone and Cote d'Ivoire, with about

62,015 Liberian refugees and 31,043 Ivorian refugees in ECOWAS Member States as at 2010 (UN DESA and UNICEF, 2012). Although a significant number of the refugees have since returned to both of these countries (Boateng, 2012), the general legacy of instability has had negative economic and developmental consequences for these countries as demonstrated by the capacity challenges and ensuing loss of lives experienced by Liberia and Sierra Leone in particular. The Ebola outbreak in 2014 brought into sharp focus the devastation wrecked on the social, political and economic fabric of these countries, and resulted in the loss of over 11,000 lives lost, mostly in Guinea, Liberia, and Sierra Leone in 2015 (Marc et al., 2015).

Democratic governance has more recently dominated West Africa, as demonstrated by peaceful elections in a number of countries in the sub-region. Several countries including Ghana, Senegal, Liberia, Guinea, and Niger have successfully transitioned to peaceful democracies, normalizing a sense of stability and prospects of peace in the sub-region. These have fostered increasing inclusiveness and helped to abate tensions, at least over the medium term. Notwithstanding, upheavals in countries such as Nigeria, Niger and Mali due to the activities of extremist groups (Boko Haram and Tuareg Rebels), coup attempts in Guinea Bissau and Burkina Faso and recent violent clashes in Togo are constant reminders of the fragility in West Africa. Additional effort is required to remove or significantly reduce the drivers of fragility to achieve lasting security and renewed economic growth that creates livelihood opportunities for all citizens of the sub-region. This would entail a plan that produces shared growth and opportunities for a better quality of life devoid of the political, social and economic instabilities that provide the context for population mobility to seek such sustained livelihood options within and outside the region.

The variations in demographic features and economic opportunities provide a context for the high level of migration within ECOWAS. With specific reference to the two countries studied, Sierra Leone is relatively less developed than Ghana. In fact, although Sierra Leone is endowed with many valuable natural resources (e.g. diamond, titanium, bauxite and gold) and therefore has bright prospects for economic development, it is among the poorest countries of the region because of the decade long civil conflict (1991-2002). This makes Sierra Leone a dominant migrant sending country. In contrast, Ghana is a largely migrant receiving country within the sub-region because it is a middle-income country with relatively more opportunities in the formal and informal sectors.

## MIGRATION IN WEST AFRICA

Migration has, historically, been an integral part of livelihoods in many West African countries, including Sierra Leone and Ghana. While media discussions on population mobility in West Africa tend to create the impression that there is a mass exodus from West Africa to the Global North, less than 16 per cent of West African migrants actually move to destinations outside the region. A recent assessment conducted for the ACP observatory on migration by Awumbila et al (2014) shows that all ECOWAS countries received migrants from other countries in the region (see Table 2.1).

Table 1.1: Key Demographic and Economic Indicators, 2016

| Country | Total Population (millions) | Urban Population (%) | Life Expectancy at birth (Years) | Total fertility rate (TFR) | Gross National Income ($) | Adult literacy rate (% ages 15 years and older) | Human development index | Position on Human Development Index rankings |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Benin | 10.9 | 44.0 | 59.8 | 4.9 | 1979 | 38.4 | 0.485 | 167 |
| Burkina Faso | 18.1 | 29.9 | 59.0 | 5.6 | 1537 | 36.0 | 0.402 | 185 |
| Cape Verde | 0.5 | 65.5 | 73.5 | 2.4 | 6049 | 87.6 | 0.648 | 122 |
| Côte d'Ivoire | 22.7 | 54.2 | 51.9 | 5.1 | 3163 | 43.1 | 0.474 | 171 |
| Gambia | 2.0 | 59.6 | 60.5 | 5.8 | 1541 | 55.5 | 0.452 | 173 |
| Ghana | 27.4 | 54.0 | 61.5 | 4.2 | 3839 | 76.6 | 0.579 | 139 |
| Guinea | 12.6 | 37.2 | 59.2 | 5.1 | 1058 | 30.4 | 0.414 | 183 |
| Guinea Bissau | 1.8 | 49.3 | 55.5 | 5.0 | 1369 | 59.9 | 0.424 | 178 |
| Liberia | 4.5 | 49.7 | 61.2 | 4.8 | 683 | 47.6 | 0.427 | 177 |
| Mali | 17.6 | 39.9 | 58.5 | 6.4 | 2218 | 38.7 | 0.442 | 175 |
| Niger | 19.9 | 18.7 | 61.9 | 7.6 | 889 | 19.1 | 0.353 | 187 |
| Nigeria | 182.2 | 47.8 | 53.1 | 5.7 | 5443 | 59.6 | 0.527 | 152 |
| Senegal | 15.1 | 43.7 | 59.3 | 5.2 | 2250 | 55.7 | 0.494 | 162 |
| Sierra Leone | 6.5 | 39.9 | 66.9 | 4.8 | 1529 | 48.1 | 0.420 | 179 |
| Togo | 7.3 | 40.0 | 60.2 | 4.7 | 1262 | 66.5 | 0.487 | 166 |

Source: UNDP 2016

Table 2.1: Stock of ECOWAS Immigrants and Emigrants

| Country | Population (2010) (000) | Total number of Immigrants from ECOWAS Countries | Immigrants as a percentage of Total Population | Total number of Emigrants in ECOWAS Countries | Emigrants as a percentage of Total Population | Net Migration (Absolute) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Benin | 8,850 | 132,567 | 1.50 | 404,464 | 4.57 | -271,897 |
| Burkina Faso | 16,469 | 53,086 | 0.32 | 1,414,685 | 8.59 | -1,361,599 |
| Cape Verde | 496 | 8,782 | 1.77 | 15,302 | 3.09 | -6,520 |
| Cote d' Ivoire | 19,738 | 2,350,024 | 11.91 | 47,164 | 0.24 | 2,302,860 |
| Gambia | 1,728 | 278,793 | 16.13 | 21,059 | 1.22 | 257,734 |
| Ghana | 24,392 | 409,910 | 1.68 | 347,487 | 1.42 | 62,423 |
| Guinea | 9,982 | 381,315 | 3.82 | 438,481 | 4.39 | -57,166 |
| Guinea Bissau | 1,515 | 15,985 | 1.06 | 44,544 | 2.94 | -28,559 |
| Liberia | 3,994 | 69,321 | 1.74 | 318,459 | 7.97 | -249,138 |
| Mali | 15,370 | 65,949 | 0.43 | 708,687 | 4.61 | -642,738 |
| Niger | 15,512 | 176,877 | 1.14 | 293,261 | 1.89 | -116,384 |
| Nigeria | 158,423 | 823,743 | 0.52 | 267,948 | 0.17 | 555, 795 |
| Senegal | 12,434 | 137,626 | 1.11 | 227,033 | 1.83 | -89,407 |
| Sierra Leone | 5,868 | 87,199 | 1.49 | 178,758 | 3.05 | - 91,559 |
| Togo | 6,028 | 215,409 | 3.57 | 261,166 | 4.33 | -45,757 |

Source: Awumbila et al (2014)

Côte d'Ivoire has the highest number of immigrants from other ECOWAS countries, followed by Nigeria, and Ghana. Countries with very few immigrants from other ECOWAS countries are Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, and Burkina Faso. Côte d'Ivoire and The Gambia have the highest percentages of their populations being made of ECOWAS citizens (Awumbila et al, 2014). The assessment by Awumbila et al (2014) further shows that there are popular migrants' source regions and destinations within the sub-region (see Table 2.2)

Table 2.2: Percentage contributions by country of origins

| Receiving Country | Number of Immigrants from ECOWAS | Percentage Contributions by Country of Origins (Top Four Countries) | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Benin | 132,567 | Niger (37.2) | Togo (23.6) | Nigeria (21.9) | Ghana (4.9) |
| Burkina Faso | 53,086 | Togo (16.4) | Benin (11) | Niger (10.7) | Nigeria (9.9) |
| Cape Verde | 8,782 | G. Bissau (63.2) | Senegal (18.6) | Nigeria (8.4) | Guinea (5.2) |
| Cote d' Ivoire | 2,350,024 | Burkina Faso (55.8) | Mali (18.8) | Guinea (5.7) | Ghana (4.7) |
| Gambia | 278,793 | Senegal (58.3) | Guinea (35.6) | G. Bissau (2.3) | Mali (1.3) |
| Ghana | 409,910 | Nigeria (30.4) | Togo (7.8) | B. Faso (7.5) | Liberia (3.3) |
| Guinea | 381,315 | Liberia (49.7) | S. Leone (41.2) | Mali (4) | Senegal (1.7) |
| Guinea Bissau | 15,985 | Senegal (61.4) | Guinea (30.2) | Gambia (5.7) | C. Verde (2.7) |
| Liberia | 69,321 | Guinea (48.7) | S. Leone (17.1) | Cote d' Ivoire (13.2) | Ghana (9.7) |
| Mali | 65,949 | Burkina Faso (33.6) | Cote d' Ivoire (28.3) | Guinea (24.9) | Senegal (7.7) |
| Niger | 176,877 | Mali (39.5) | Nigeria (17.0) | B. Faso (16.9) | Benin (15.7) |
| Nigeria | 823,743 | Benin (29.0) | Ghana (22.6) | Mali (16.2) | Togo (14.1) |
| Senegal | 137,626 | Guinea (58.7) | G. Bissau (17.6) | Mali (12.7) | C. Verde (6.8) |
| Sierra Leone | 87,199 | Guinea (67.3) | Liberia (24.2) | Gambia (2.7) | Nigeria (2.3) |
| Togo | 215,409 | Benin (31.4) | Niger (28.4) | Ghana (13.7) | Nigeria (13.6) |

Source: Awumbila et al (2014)

As shown in Table 2.2, each country tends to have common source countries for its immigrants. For instance, 67 per cent of ECOWAS immigrants in Sierra Leone are from Guinea, while 30 per cent of ECOWAS immigrants in Ghana are from Nigeria. In some cases, the popular destination for a country's emigrants is also the most popular source region for its immigrants. For instance, a higher proportion of ECOWAS immigrants in Ghana were Nigerians. At the same time, a significant proportion of ECOWAS immigrants in Nigeria were from Ghana. Similarly, while 67 per cent of ECOWAS immigrants in Sierra Leone are from Guinea, 41 per cent of ECOWAS immigrants in Guinea are from Sierra Leone.

Proximity, colonial legacy, common official language and ethnic ties determine the choice of destination for many migrants. For instance, most of the Ewes in Togo move freely to stay and work with their relatives in the Volta Region of Ghana. Before the advent of colonialism, these ethnic based movements were not seen as constituting international migration. Today, most ECOWAS migrants still perceive their mobility from one country to another as being within one sociocultural space rather than between two nations (Afolayan et al., 2009). As will be discussed later, with such strong ethnic ties and mobility across borders, many West Africans do not understand why they should be asked to acquire and carry passports with them when crossing the Ghana –Togo and Sierra Leone –Guinea borders.

## ECOWAS FREE MOVEMENT PROTOCOL AND SUPPLEMENTARY INSTRUMENTS

Efforts to promote cooperation and integration of the ECOWAS countries dates back to 1975, when the ECOWAS treaty was adopted by member states.

This treaty conferred the status of Community citizens on nationals of Member States. The Treaty also enjoined Member States to gradually work towards the abolition of the obstacles to free movement of persons, services and capital (Adepoju, 2005). In line with the ECOWAS treaty, the ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol was adopted in 1979. It emphasizes the Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment.

The Revised ECOWAS Treaty of 1993 further provides in Article 3 (1) for "the removal, between Member States, of obstacles to the free movement of persons, goods, services and capital, and to the right of residence and establishment". The major provisions on "Immigration" under Article 59 are as follows:

a. Community citizens are granted the rights of entry, residence and establishment and Member States undertake to recognize these rights of Community citizens in their territories in accordance with the provisions of the Free Movement Protocols.
b. Member States undertake to adopt all appropriate measures to ensure that Community citizens enjoy fully the rights granted them.
c. Member States undertake to adopt, at national level, all measures necessary for the effective implementation of the provisions of this Article.

These provisions are consistent with the 1979 Protocol Relating to the Free entry, Right of Residence and Establishment (Agyei and Clottey, 2009; Awumbila et al, 2014). By this protocol, citizens of member states do not need to apply for visa to enter another ECOWAS country for stays up to 90 days. However, ECOWAS citizens who plan to stay for more than 90 days are required to obtain permission for an extension of stay from the appropriate authority in the Member States. Other supplementary protocols have been passed following this major protocol. These include:

### 1985 Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/7/85 on the Code of Conduct for the Implementation of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and Establishment

This Supplementary Protocol requires ECOWAS countries to provide valid travel documents to their citizens (Article 2(1). It also provides guidelines to be followed to protect persons being expelled (Article 4), and illegal immigrants (Articles 5 and 7).

### 1986 Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/7/86 on the Second Phase (Right of Residence) of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and Establishment

The provisions provided by this instrument are intended to facilitate the implementation of the Second Phase of the Free Movement Protocol (i.e. Right of Residence). The Protocol makes it mandatory for Member States to grant ECOWAS citizens of other countries the right of residence[1] for the purpose of seeking and carrying out income earning employment (Article 2). However, ECOWAS migrants in other countries are required to apply for necessary work permits from relevant authorities (Article 5). Further, the Protocol stipulates that ECOWAS Migrant workers[2] should enjoy equal treatment with nationals of host Member States including security of employment, and of access to social, cultural and health facilities (Article 23) (See Awumbila et al, 2014).

### 1989 Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/6/89 amending and complementing the provisions of Article 7 of the Protocol on Free Movement, Right of Residence and Establishment

This Protocol amends the provisions of Article 7 of the 1979 Protocol A/P.1/5/79 to confirm the obligation of Member States to resolve amicably disputes regarding the interpretation and application of the Protocol (Article 2).

### 1990 Supplementary Protocol A/SP.2/5/90 on the implementation of the Third Phase (Right to Establishment) of the Protocol on Free Movement, Right of Residence and Establishment

This Protocol which grants the "Right of Establishment" marks the Third Phase of the Implementation of the Free Movement Protocol. The protocol grants ECOWAS community citizens the right to settle or establish in another Member State, "and to have access to economic activities, to carry out these activities as well as to set up and manage enterprises, and in particular companies, under the same conditions as defined by the legislation of the

host Member State for its own nationals".  However, citizens of member states are expected to obey the local laws in the host countries.

### Decision C/DEC.3/12/92 on the Introduction of a Harmonized Immigration and Emigration Form in ECOWAS Member States

This Protocol was formulated as a way of simplifying cross-border formalities through harmonization of immigration and emigration forms used by ECOWAS member states. Accordingly, the protocol requires ECOWAS Member States to establish a harmonized immigration and emigration form called the "Immigration and Emigration Form of ECOWAS Member States" (Article 1).

### The 2008 ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration

The ECOWAS Heads of State and Government, on 18 January 2008, adopted the ECOWAS Common Approach to deal with challenges affecting the implementation of the ECOWAS Free movement protocol.  While this agreement is non-binding in nature, scope and content, and therefore does not have to be ratified, it provides guidelines and action plans to be implemented by ECOWAS Member States to arrive at effective migration management in West Africa. The Common Approach is based on the six principles, namely:

a. Free movement of persons within the ECOWAS zone;
b. Promoting legal (regular) migration as an integral part of the development process;
c. Combating human trafficking;
d. Policy harmonization;
e. Protection of the rights of migrants, asylum seekers and refugees; and
f. Recognition of the gender dimension of the migration;

---

1  "Right of Residence" in the Protocol means "the right of a citizen who is a national of one Member State to reside in a Member State other than his State of origin and which issues him with a residence card or permit that may or may not allow him to hold employment."

2  "Migrant worker" or "migrant" is defined by the Protocol as "any citizen who is a national of one Member State, who has transited from his country of origin to the territory of another Member State of which he is not a national and who seeks to hold or proposes to hold or is holding or has had employment."

## III.  IMPLEMENTATION AND GOOD PRACTICES OF THE ECOWAS FREE MOVEMENT PROTOCOL IN GHANA AND SIERRA LEONE

### INTRODUCTION

This section discusses the record of implementation of the ECOWAS protocol, with specific reference to Ghana and Sierra Leone. In so doing, the section also identifies good practices and examples in the implementation of the Free Movement Protocol in the two countries, largely based on primary data and the desk study.

### RECORD OF IMPLEMENTATION OF THE FREE MOVEMENT PROTOCOLS IN GHANA AND  SIERRA LEONE

As highlighted in section 2, the ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol is expected to be implemented in stages. In relation to Phase 1 (Right of Entry) which relates to abolition of visa requirement for citizens of Member States, an assessment by Awumbila et al. (2014) showed that all the 15 ECOWAS countries, including Ghana and Sierra Leone, have abolished visa and entry requirements for 90 days.  The implication of this is that ECOWAS citizens with valid travel documents[3]  and international health certificate are allowed to enter and stay in any ECOWAS country without going through a prior visa application process.

Both Ghana and Sierra Leone have also ratified all the supplementary protocols as shown in Table 3.2. The two countries adopted the standardized ECOWAS Travel Certificate[4], which was introduced in 1985 to make cross-border movements easier and cheaper. The two countries have also adopted the harmonized

"Immigration and Emigration Form of ECOWAS Member States" which aims to facilitate and simplify cross-border formalities in Member States. Both Ghana and Sierra Leone now use the ECOWAS common passport which was adopted by the Authority of Heads of State and Government in May 2000. Our assessment, however, shows that although both Ghana and Sierra Leone have adopted ECOWAS travel certificate, its use is very limited. Some of the migrants and even some of the public officials interviewed in Ghana did not know of the existence of this certificate. In Sierra Leone, knowledge about the ECOWAS certificate is relatively moderate, but its use is still limited.  Some officials in Sierra Leone stated that people do not acquire and use these certificates because some border officials in the sub-region, including Ghana, do not accept such certificates:

*"Only a few people use this document [travel certificate] to travel because its use is very difficult. We have received reports that at some borders…. Eh like even the borders of Ghana and some French-speaking countries, people who tried to use this certificate have been harassed and made to make huge payments. So when people hear of these troubles, they don't want to use the travel certificate. … Here in Sierra Leone, we allow people carrying these certificates to come but this is not the case when our people want to enter other countries".*
*(C. M., Labour Migration Unit, MLSS, Sierra Leone)*

Similarly, immigration officials in Ghana stated that the ECOWAS travel certificate is not known by Ghanaians because the country really does not use it. They also stated that the fact that the certificate only works in some ECOWAS countries reduces its

Table 3.2: Status of Ratification of the ECOWAS Free Movement Protocols

| Countries | 1979 Protocol A/P.1/5/79[5] | 1985 Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/7/85[6] | 1986 Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/7/85[7] | 1989 Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/6/89[8] | 1990 Supplementary Protocol A/SP.2/5/90[9] |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ghana | 8 April 1980 | 12 May 1989 | 12 May 1989 | 14 Dec 1992 | 16 April 1991 |
| Sierra Leone | 15 Sept 1982 | 1 Nov 1988 | 8 Nov 1988 | 2 Nov 2000 | 2 Nov 2000 |

usefulness, given the fact that many people need travel documents that can be used to enter other countries outside the ECOWAS sub-region.

*"The certificate is not something that people use in Ghana…. I also think that people will not like to waste money to apply for this certificate as it cannot be used to travel outside West Africa. If you have a passport, it can be used for any country". (O. A., Ministry of Interior, Ghana)*

It was also found that while some countries in the sub-region use identity cards (card d'identité) as travel documents, this is not accepted by Ghana immigration officials at the borders as discussed further in section 4.5. The Ghanaian officials noted further that there are plans to introduce and use an improved, machine readable ID card which ECOWAS is planning to adopt in the entire sub-region.

With regards to second phase (Right of Residence), which came into force in July 1986 following ratification by all Member States, ECOWAS citizens who want to stay and work in another member state for more than 90 days are required to apply and obtain residence permits or work permits just like immigrants from other parts of the world. However, refusal is possible on grounds of public order, public security or public health. In relation to the third phase (Right of Establishment), all citizens of an ECOWAS Member State have the right to access economic activities and to hold employment, including pursuit of the liberal professions. Discrimination may only be justified by exigencies of public order, security or public health. Our analysis shows that there are serious gaps in the implementation of both the right of residence and right of establishment components of the protocol.

With regards to the right of residence, a major challenge is created by the procedures for issuing work permits. A recent assessment conducted by Teye and Asima (2017) on work permit regimes in four West African countries including Ghana and Sierra Leone, showed that the procedures for issuing work permit in these countries do not support the right of residence enshrined in the ECOWAS protocol. In both Sierra Leone and Ghana, the requirements and procedures for issuing work permit are the same for both ECOWAS citizens and other nationals. Thus, there are no special exemptions (regarding the requirements) for ECOWAS citizens who want work permits. In principle, work permits are expected to be issued to all foreigners, including ECOWAS citizens, only in situations whereby there is a 'proof that the skills possessed by the migrant do not exist locally'. An official in Ghana stated this requirement in the following words:

*"The employer should be sure that the position being occupied by employee cannot be sourced from the local job market before applying for the work permit". (as cited by Teye and Asima, 2017)*

In practice, however, this requirement that work permit should be granted only when the qualification does not exist locally is not strictly adhered to by state officials in Sierra Leone. Some state officials in Ghana also sometimes set aside this requirement. The reason why this requirement is sometimes not strictly followed is the fact that it is not possible for state officials to determine whether the skills possessed by the migrant exist locally or not.

As will be discussed later, in both countries, certain sectors are reserved for only citizens and as such

work permits cannot be granted to ECOWAS citizens who want to work in such sectors. Public service jobs are only available to nationals, except under special arrangements (see also Teye, 2015). In Sierra Leone, however, no sector is practically reserved for citizens, as there is shortage of skilled labour in some sectors. According to a key informant "immigrants in Sierra Leone can participate in the labour market as and when they acquire adequate documentation". Foreigners in Ghana, including those from ECOWAS member States, cannot work in the security services. Again, Ghana's Investment Act, 2013 (Act 865) prohibits migrants from engaging in petty trading, operation of taxi, beauty salon or barber shop, printing of recharge cards for subscribers of telecommunication services, production of exercise books, supply of retail sachet water and retail of finished pharmaceutical products.

## GOOD PRACTICES AND EXAMPLES OF EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ECOWAS PROTOCOL IN SIERRA LEONE AND GHANA

Despite the existence of gaps in the implementation of the ECOWAS Free movement protocols, both Sierra Leone and Ghana have recorded a few achievements and good practices that can be adopted by other countries in the sub-region. These good examples and practices are discussed in this sub-section.

### Knowledge about intra-regional flows of migrants

Given what we know that citizens' knowledge about migration patterns can positively influence their acceptance of migrants, we examined respondents' level of knowledge on patterns of migration into and from Ghana and Sierra Leone. The data shows that some of the public officials and social partners interviewed in the two countries have quite good knowledge about patterns of migration in their countries. As shown in the following statements, some of the respondents, in both countries, were able to identify the major migrants' source countries and also the economic sectors where these migrants work:

*"Many migrants in this country [Sierra Leone] come from Nigeria to do Business. Some people also come from Gambia to engage in mining activities. Others come from Guinea and Liberia to trade in this country and then we have teachers coming from Ghana to teach in Sierra Leone…. The Syrians and Lebanese here are mainly traders. Recently, the Chinese and Indians are also coming for business". (J. B., Ministry of Social Welfare Gender and Children's Affairs, Sierra Leone)*

*"Nigerians are here in large numbers. We also have many people coming from Burkina Faso and Niger to do business in Ghana and I know that so many people from Cote d' Ivoire are also here in Ghana". (E. A., Labour Officer, Ghana)*

*"In the last ten years, Chinese used to be at the top of migrants coming into the country [Ghana]. But with recent attempts to stop them from engaging in mining and petty trading activities, that trend seems to have changed to other Asian countries. Indians and African nationals, particularly Nigerians are at the top. There are many Chinese here for business purposes. …Many Nigerians are also in Ghana and are into distribution". (D. T., Ghana Immigration Service)*

Some of the respondents were also able to identify the major destinations of emigrants. As shown in Box 3.1, some respondents in Sierra Leone were able to identify major destinations as Guinea, Nigeria and Ghana. Similarly, some Ghanaian respondents were able to identify the popular destinations of Ghanaian emigrants as Nigeria, Gambia, and Benin.

Box 3.1

**Sierra Leonean and Ghanaian respondents' views on popular destinations of emigrants**

*"They [Sierra Leoneans] go to Guinea, Nigeria and Ghana. Many go to Nigeria for educational purposes but majority migrate to Guinea for work and to join their families" (C. L., Department of Statistics, Sierra Leone)*

*"Well they migrate to nearby countries in West Africa like Nigeria, Ghana, and to Guinea" (M. D., Labour Officer, Sierra Leone)*

*"Most of our citizens have been migrating to Liberia because it is close to Sierra Leone and they leave through unmanned borders mostly for family affairs and trade. And some people also migrate to Guinea. Both countries are important, but Liberia is more important in this regard" (J. B., Ministry of Social Welfare Gender and Children's Affairs, Sierra Leone).*

*"Ghanaians …hmm... they go to every country in the world. Within West Africa, they mostly go to Togo, Benin, Nigeria, and Cote d'Ivoire." (A. M., Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection, Ghana).*

*"Ghanaian migrants mainly go to the other ECOWAS countries like Togo, Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire, Benin and Gambia" (A. J. G., IOM Officer, Accra).*

The ECOWAS countries of origin and destination identified by the respondents are largely consistent with the intra-regional migration patterns observed by Awumbila et al (2014) (see section 2).  In Ghana, respondents observation that, aside Africans the majority of immigrants are from Asia, is supported by official data. According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2013), there were 600,049 non-Ghanaians (representing 2 percent of the total population of Ghana) during the last Census in 2010.  About 86 per cent of these non-Ghanaians were African nationals. Asians constitute the second largest group (12.4 percent), with the Chinese and Indians constituting the largest proportions.

The respondents, in both countries, were also able to identify the driving forces of migration. For instance, some respondents in Sierra Leone noted that Guineans migrate to Sierra Leone because of cultural ties, while Gambians have been migrating to Sierra Leone to work in the mining sector. They also added that Nigerians come to Sierra Leone for trading purposes:

*"For the Guineans, we share cultural ties with them, so they come to stay with their own*

*families.  The Gambians and the Malians come to mine our diamonds. The Nigerians come for trade. They sell these cassettes along the streets".*
*(K. E., Human Rights Defenders Network, Sierra Leone)*

Similarly, respondents in Ghana were quick to note that many of the immigrants had moved to Ghana because of opportunities in the informal trading sector and the peaceful environment:

*"Within West Africa, Ghana is a popular destination for migrants because there are many opportunities here. Look at the scrap dealers, they are mainly from Niger and Mali and they are making a lot of money in Ghana…. The peace that Ghana is enjoying has also contributed to inflow of migrants….And with the increase in the number Nigerian banks in Ghana, more Nigerians are here to work in the banking sector in Ghana".*
*(O. J., Ghana Immigration Service, Kotoka International Airport)*

As shown in the quotations bellow, the ECOWAS immigrants who were interviewed in Ghana supported the claims that many people are in Ghana because of economic opportunities.

*"I came to Ghana to work for money….When I was in Niger, I had friends who were working in Ghana and they were doing well anytime they visited home in Niger. So I got to know about Ghana through them and I also decided to come here. Things are good in this country".*
*(C. O., low-skilled Nigerian migrant, Scrap metal dealer)*

Consistent with the literature which suggests that migration flows in Africa are sometimes driven by security considerations (Boateng, 2012; Teye and Yebleh, 2014), a number of the migrants from Nigeria in particular, indicated that growing insecurity in their country and the peaceful environment in Ghana contributed to their migration to Ghana. Some ECOWAS Nigerians who have migrated to Ghana to attain higher education also cited high quality of education and peaceful environment as the driving forces of their movement:

*"My reason for moving to Ghana was for tertiary education. There is the idea that Ghana has better schools in terms of tertiary*

*than Nigeria so that was the main reason. I also chose Ghana because it is peaceful".*
*(T. Q. G., Highly skilled Nigerian migrant)*

The statement above is consistent with the assertion that the causes of migration are often quite complex and multifaceted (Teye et al., 2015). The fact that some citizens of both Ghana and Sierra Leone know quite a lot about the patterns and driving forces of intra-regional migration is good for the implementation of the protocol, as people who understand these patterns are more likely to support the implementation of the protocol. This is highlighted in the statement below:

*"I know there are many Sierra Leoneans in other countries like Ghana and Nigeria so when I see people from other countries here, I treat them well because if we fail to treat them well they can also retaliate".*

## Recognition of the contributions of ECOWAS immigrants to socio-economic development of host countries

International migration has both positive and negative effects on the host countries. However, it is axiomatic that host countries' acceptance of immigrants is partly determined by their perception about the contribution of the immigrants.  In view of this, respondents were asked questions on perceived contributions of ECOWAS immigrants. The results indicate that although respondents in Sierra Leone were more likely to appreciate the contribution of ECOWAS immigrants than respondents in Ghana, a significant proportion of respondents in both countries recognize the contribution of ECOWAS migrants to their economies.

Areas of benefit from migration as perceived by both Ghanaians and Sierra Leoneans span the economy, skills and technological transfer, and cultural diversity. However, there are differences in the perception of benefits between Ghanaians and Sierra Leoneans, with Ghanaians highlighting the economic contributions while Sierra Leoneans perceived more benefits from the skills and technological transfers by migrants.

With regards to economic benefits, there was a general agreement in both countries that trade, investment, job creation and remittances were some of the areas of significant benefit from migration. For instance, an officer of the Ghana Immigration Service observed the following:

*"Benefits in terms of trade are enormous. Most of the goods that come into the country come from the ECOWAS sub-region. For instance, Togo has a low tariff system whiles Ghana has a higher tariff system. …Because of the ECOWAS protocol, we also have most of our trucks and cars carrying goods and people across borders. This is good for trading".*
*(K. M., Ghana Immigration Service, Akanu Border)*

This observation is supported by another official of the Ghana Statistical Service who pointed out that increased movement within ECOWAS has created employment opportunities for Ghanaians.

*"Concerning the benefits, now because our people are spread all over the West Africa region, transportation services have improved.  For example, now the Asky airlines operate within the West African sub-region and it has created jobs for a lot of people. Even now because people move freely within the sub-region, you see airlines from Ghana going to Nigeria and in the same way, Nigerian airlines are also coming to Ghana. These airlines have created employment opportunities".*
*(A. A. G., Ghana Statistical Service, Accra)*

The statement is consistent with Kalitanyi and Visser (2010) argument that entrepreneurship has the potential to broaden the economic base, contribute substantially towards economic growth and strengthen the process of wealth creation.

Additionally, some Ghanaian respondents talked about how free movement has enhanced enrolment of international students in both public and private tertiary institutions in Ghana.   This has contributed to increased revenue by these institutions, as highlighted in the statements below:

*"When we talk about the benefits [of free movement], I will say that when we look at the educational sector, the schools are benefiting*

*a lot, especially the private universities and even when we look at public universities like KNUST and University of Ghana. Most of them run their schools based on the patronage from ECOWAS nationals, especially from Nigeria".*
**(A. A. O., Work Permit Section, Ghana Immigration Service)**

*"Ghanaian universities have many students from ECOWAS countries and they are paying huge fees. ....As for Nigerians, according to them, their education system has almost collapsed. So all their students are moving to Ghana. About 65% of students in Central University [in Ghana] are said to be Nigerians. There are also many students from even French speaking countries like Cote d'Ivoire".*
**(G. A., Ghana Immigration Service, Airport)**

In both Ghana and Sierra Leone, there was also a broadly shared perception that skills and technology transfers were important contributions from migrants. For Ghana, the limited number of skilled workers at the beginning of commercial Oil and Gas production meant that the country had to rely on countries in the ECOWAS region and others parts of Africa that had skilled workers in this sector. The following statements highlights respondents' acknowledgement of the roles of skilled migrant in Ghana's Oil and Gas sector and other vital sectors of the economy:

*"Well recently when we started with our oil industry, we didn't have many Ghanaians with qualifications to work in this sector. It was our Nigerian brothers who came to start and they later shared their expertise with Ghanaians. So, I can say free movement promotes skills transfer".*
**(A. S. G., Ghana Immigration Service, African Section)**

*"Nigeria has been ahead of us. So in the petrochemical industry for instance, we tap a lot of experiences from Nigeria. The engineers are able to come to work in Ghana because of free movement protocol".*
**(G. A., Ghana Immigration Service, Airport)**

In the case of Sierra Leone, respondents acknowledged that many years of political instability means that skilled migrant workers from the ECOWAS region, notably from Ghana and Nigeria continue

to make significant contribution to socioeconomic development:

*"We have had a lot of challenges and we have benefited from more advanced ECOWAS countries like Ghana and Nigeria. Now as I am talking to you, we have expatriates from Ghana here working the electricity distribution in this country. ..There are professors in the educational sector who moved from other ECOWAS countries because of free movement policy".*
**(E. C., Immigration Department, Sierra Leone).**

*"Free movement increases trade…. Also there is transfer of technology especially in the electrical and electronics industry and even in the mining sector. Sierra Leone attracts so many professionals from Nigeria... Some are here in the medical sector. So, there is brain gain. There is also cultural transfers, inter-marriages and also of there will be a boom of economy, because the migrants are paying taxes".*
**(C. L., Department of Statistics, Sierra Leone)**

*"There are several benefits. One is human resources transfer that move from other ECOWAS countries to here. They come also to fill certain gaps in work that some of our citizens are not trained for. In the trade [sector] also they come with foreign goods that are not here so these are benefits to us".*
**(J. B., Ministry of Social Welfare Gender and Children's Affairs, Freetown)**

The views of respondents are consistent with the findings of Adebowale (2014: 102) that migrants bring "new skills and technical competences with them and assist with reduction of labour shortages in Ghana. The recognition by many respondents that ECOWAS immigrants are contributing to socio-economic development of their host countries is good for the implementation of the free movement protocol since such practices can go a long way to enhance the willingness of governments and citizens to welcome ECOWAS migrants as development agents. Indeed, most of the earlier mass expulsions from ECOWAS countries were fuelled by a wrong notion that ECOWAS immigrants were a drain on the host

countries (see Yaro, 2008). For instance, Ghana expelled Nigerians in 1969, blaming them as the cause of its economic challenges. Similarly, Nigeria implemented a restrictive immigration policy in 1983 when it blamed immigrants for economic downturn (Antwi-Bosiakoh, 2011).

## Development of national migration policies for migration governance

It is generally acknowledged that the outcomes of the ECOWAS Free movement protocol will largely depend on the formulation and implementation of national migration policies that are consistent with the principles of the free movement protocol and other supplementary protocols especially the ECOWAS common approach (Agyei and Clottey, 2007; Teye 2015). Yet a number of ECOWAS countries do not have comprehensive migration policies (ICMPD and IOM, 2015). Against this background, both Sierra Leone and Ghana can be commended for drafting national level policies to govern migration, in line with ECOWAS protocols.

The ECOWAS free movement protocol was a guiding principle for the development of the national migration policies in both Ghana and Sierra Leone. Indeed, Sierra Leone is drafting a national migration policy which is consistent with the Free Movement Protocol. The national Labour Migration Policy has also been drafted and has received cabinet approval in December 2017. This policy also explicitly makes proposals for enhancing free movement and for protecting the rights of ECOWAS migrants in Sierra Leone. Similarly, Ghana's national migration policy which was launched in 2016 is consistent with the ECOWAS Free movement protocol. Additionally, a draft Diaspora Engagement Policy for Ghana is consistent with the ECOWAS Free Movement protocol.

## Protection of the rights of migrants and their families

Despite a number of challenges associated with the protection of migrants, both Ghana and Sierra Leone have ratified a number of international protocols to safeguard the rights of migrants and their families within their governance spaces. Both countries have signed or ratified various international protocols,

such as Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women; UN Convention against Torture and other Cruel, Inhumane or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. Ghana has ratified the 1990 United Nations Convention on the Protection of Migrant Workers' Rights and Members of their Family. Sierra Leone has signed but not ratified this Convention. Again, Ghana has ratified the 2003 United Nations Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children (the Palermo Protocol). Sierra Leone has signed but not ratified this convention. While the two countries have ratified a number of ILO Conventions, including those that make up the ILO's Fundamental Principles and Rights at Work, Sierra Leone has not ratified some human rights instruments of relevance to the protection of migrant workers, such as the Migration for Employment Convention, 1949 (Revised) (No. 97), the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143) and Private Employment Agencies Convention, 1997 (No. 181). Ratification and implementation of these conventions will be very important in the protection of migrants.

Apart from the ratification of international conventions, both Sierra Leone and Ghana have national laws that seek to protect the rights of all persons, including migrants. Specific provisions exist in the national laws of both Sierra Leone and Ghana that guarantee the basic rights of all persons, and include the right to life, liberty and security, the right not to be held in slavery or servitude, the right not to be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment, the right not to be subjected to arbitrary arrest or detention, etc. These rights are provided without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin (Awumbila et al., 2014). The two countries also have laws to protect migrants and vulnerable groups, including refugees. In Sierra Leone, entry, stay and residence of migrant workers are regulated by the Non-Citizens (Registration, Immigration and Expulsion) Act of 1965 and the General Law (Business Start-up) Amendment Act of 2007. The Sierra Leonean Citizenship Act of 1973 as amended in 2006 is also relied upon to regulate citizenship and nationality issues. While the Refugees Protection Act (2007) provides a framework for the

protection of refugees, the Anti-Human Trafficking Act (2005) facilitates the prosecution of traffickers, protection of victims and prevention of trafficking. Ghana has similar legislative frameworks for protecting the rights of all persons including ECOWAS immigrants. The 1992 Constitution with its provisions on human rights guarantees the right of Ghanaians to emigrate and the right of all persons to move freely within Ghana. The Constitution further mandates all Ministries, Departments and Agencies (MDAs) to respect and uphold the fundamental human rights of all persons in Ghana including foreigners irrespective of their legal status. With respect to foreign nationals, the Ghana Labour Act abhors discrimination in employment against anyone on the grounds of race, colour, nationality and other forms of discrimination.

## Cooperation with other ECOWAS Countries

Although the level of cooperation among West African countries in the area of migration management is quite weak (see section 4), the two countries are taking part in regional-level programmes aimed at enhancing free movement. Both Ghana and Sierra Leone are among four ECOWAS countries which are taking part in the Intra-African Talent Mobility Programme (TMP) which seeks to establish "Schengen" and or related type mechanisms on talent mobility and skills development to accelerate economic integration, open borders, and common policies in Africa. The West African initiative is spearheaded by Côte d'Ivoire and the participating countries in West Africa include Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana and Sierra Leone. A recent Memorandum of Understanding signed by these countries aims at addressing regulatory barriers associated with the granting of work and residence permits; the development of a robust Labour Market Information System (LMIS); and the establishment of Mutual Recognition Agreement framework to provide a common standard for the evaluation of credentials for entry into a particular practice or profession (see Teye and Asima, 2017).

In addition to being part of the TMP, state officials of both countries also continue to take part in sub-regional level joint meetings which seek to find solutions to the challenges of free movement. A Ghanaian official noted the importance of joint meetings in the

following statement: *"My boss just came from Abuja from immigration heads meeting. ECOWAS is now actually forcing to have these meetings because they provide platform for discussing common problems".* Sierra Leonean officials also noted that reported cases of harassment are sometimes resolved amicably though such meetings:

*"We attend joint meetings which help to deal with some of the complaints on harassment. Sometimes too we intervene on behalf of our people that are arrested by immigration officials at the borders of other countries. …Some time ago, some of our nationals were captured in Guinea as the Guinean government called them 'Bandits'. These people were loitering about and they were caught. The Sierra Leonean embassy in Conakry intervened and had them released to the embassy….. Our boss took a team to Guinea to escort them from the Embassy trough the border when repatriating them back to Sierra Leone. During the period I have been here, he has gone to Guinea twice on such an escort mission".*
*(L. T., Immigration Department, Border Official, Sierra Leone)*

*"Sometimes when there are troubles, we contact our counterparts to solve them. Some months ago, a Sierra Leonean was arrested in Guinea and handed over to the Guinea government …. We requested that he should be sent back to Sierra Leone and they did that".*
*(A. D., Border Police, Sierra Leone)*

The collaboration and joint meetings as reported above can be seen as good examples of cooperation, which can go a long way to bring about peace and free movement.

## Efforts to harmonize travel documents

Another good practice in both countries relates to efforts to harmonize travel documents within the ECOWAS sub-region. As already discussed, both Sierra Leone and Ghana adopted and are using the harmonized "Immigration and Emigration Form of ECOWAS Member States". These forms aim at facilitating and simplifying cross-border formalities in Member States. Additionally, the use of the harmonized forms can enhance the sharing of data on migration flows

within the sub-region. Another good practice is the fact that both Ghana and Sierra Leone now use the ECOWAS common passport which was adopted by the Authority of Heads of State and Government in May 2000. An official of ECOWAS noted how the use of such a common passport is symbolic in the following words:

*"Though we still have a lot of challenges, we have gone a long way in the implementation of the Protocol… Within Africa, ECOWAS has done better than all the other regional economic blocs. Apart from the fact that all ECOWAS countries now allow free entry of citizens of Member States, the use of a common ECOWAS passport is one of our achievements…..you know it symbolizes unity and community citizenship".*
*(T.T.T, ECOWAS Secretariat)*

## Mutual recognition of academic certificates and reduction of fees for ECOWAS students

A major challenge to labour migration all over the world is non-recognition of certificates from other countries (Clark and Drinkwater, 2007). Within the ECOWAS sub-region, there have been programmes which aimed at enhancing mutual recognition of certificates obtained from Member States. In the labour market, the TMP programme has made proposals for mutual recognition of certificates among the participating countries, including Ghana and Sierra Leone (Teye and Asima, 2016). Our analysis shows that tertiary institutions in both Ghana and Sierra Leone have efficient systems in place for recognition of certificates from other countries. Such systems have enhanced the flow of students into Ghana in particular. The tertiary institutions in Ghana have also reduced the international students' fees for students from ECOWAS countries. This has contributed to an increase in the number of ECOWAS students in Ghanaian universities. This is a good practice which can be emulated by other ECOWAS countries. Due to resource constraints, Sierra Leone has not been able to put in place efficient mechanisms to attract ECOWAS citizens into its tertiary institutions.

3 According to the 1979 Protocol relating to the Free Movement of Persons, "a valid travel document" is defined to be "a passport or any other valid travel document establishing the identity of the holder with his photograph, issued by or on behalf of the Member State of which he is citizen and on which endorsement by immigration and emigration authorities may be made. A valid travel document shall also include a laissez-passer issued by the Community to its officials establishing the identity of the holder."
4 Decision A/DEC.2/7/85 of the Authority of Heads of State and Government of the ECOWAS Relating to the Establishment of ECOWAS Travel Certificate for Member States.
5 Relating to Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment.
6 Relates to the Code of Conduct for the Implementation of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and Establishment.
7 Relates to the Second Phase (Right of Residence).
8 Relates to amending and complementing the provisions of Article 7 of the Protocol on the Free Movement, Rights of Residence and Establishment.
9 Relates to the Implementation of the Third Phase (Right to Establishment).

# IV. CHALLENGES AND GAPS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ECOWAS PROTOCOL ON FREE MOVEMENT

## INTRODUCTION

While the ratification of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons is certainly a vital first step in facilitating intra-regional mobility, a number of gaps, obstacles and challenges at both the intra-regional and national levels have militated against the effective implementation of the Free Movement and subsequent protocols. In this section, we identify and discuss these gaps based on primary data and the desk study, with specific reference to Ghana and Sierra Leone.

## REFUSAL OF ADMISSION AND LEGAL DISCRIMINATION

As discussed elsewhere by Awumbila et al (2014), a major challenge to the implementation of the ECOWAS protocol on free movement is presented by the Protocol reserving to Member States the right to refuse admission into their territory, Community citizens deemed inadmissible under their domestic laws (Article 4). According to Adepoju et al. (2007), this provision undermines the purpose of the Protocol through the use of restrictive domestic inadmissibility laws. Some of the immigrants interviewed in both Sierra Leone and Ghana noted that border management officials who want to force them to make unofficial payments tend to misapply this article which grants them the powers to refuse entry. Such unscrupulous border officials may cite security concerns to refuse entry to migrants who refuse to make unofficial payments, as highlighted below:

*"When you reach some of the borders, the ECOWAS laws don't work because the border officials will tell you that you are in their territory so they rely on their own laws. If*

*they ask you for money and you don't give to them, they can ask you to wait for hours. You may protest but they can even say you are a security threat and just waste your time".*
**(A. I., Nigerian migrant in Sierra Leone)**

As noted elsewhere by Awumbila et al (2014), despite the existence of international agreements and national legal frameworks which prohibit discrimination, nationals of ECOWAS Member States are sometimes exposed to some forms of discrimination in both countries. Some privileges and rights are reserved for nationals and to which foreign nationals (including ECOWAS citizens) are not entitled to. In Ghana, for instance, foreigners including nationals from ECOWAS Member States cannot work in sensitive security services. In both Sierra Leone and Ghana, public service jobs are only available to nationals and foreigners can only be employed in the public services under special arrangements. Those foreign nationals employed by governments in the civil service often provide either technical assistance or have been long-term residents of destination countries, or are granted permission under special executive arrangements (for example, bilateral agreements between the governments of Ghana and Sierra Leone). Even in the informal sector, there are some restrictions. As noted already, in principle migrants (including ECOWAS citizens) in both Sierra Leone and Ghana are only expected to be issued work permits in situations where there is no national for the same jobs. Both countries also have a quota system of issuing work permits which implies that some ECOWAS citizens may not get work permit even if they apply. For instance, according to Section 35 of the Ghana Investment Act (Act 865), an enterprise with a paid-up capital of between US$50,000 and US$250,000 is entitled to an automatic expatriate quota of one person. An enterprise with a paid-up capital range of US$250,000-US$500,000 is entitled

to an automatic expatriate quota of 2 persons while US$500,000-US$700,000 is entitled to automatic expatriate quota of 3 persons. Automatic expatriate quota of 4 persons is given to an enterprise with paid up capital of more than US$700,000. In Ghana, quotas are granted by the Ghana Investment promotion Centre (GIPC). Similarly, the Sierra Leone local content policy makes provision for quotas for its citizens in all employment fields as follows: at least 10 per cent for top management, 25 per cent for middle management, and 50 per cent at the bottom cadre (Teye and Asima, 2017). Given that ECOWAS citizens are not exempted from application of the quota system, these requirements are not consistent with the right of residence and establishment. This is highlighted in the statement below by an officer in Ghana:

*"In terms of residency we have a quota system and you have to apply it. If we talk about right of establishment then we can say that the current work permit law is not consistent with the ECOWAS protocol because the quota system restricts the number of foreigners to be given work permit. They have a right of establishment so they don't even need to come to us, I mean practically if we want to implement the right of establishment".*
**(G. A., Ghana Immigration Service, Airport)**

Additionally, in both countries, all migrants are not allowed to engage in petty trade which is reserved for only nationals. These forms of legal discrimination have affected the implementation of the ECOWAS Right of Establishment Protocol. In Ghana, section 18 of the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre Act (Act 478 of 1994) reserves certain enterprises for only Ghanaian nationals. This provision discriminates against nationals from other member States and as such it violates the ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol, which stipulates that ECOWAS nationals who intend to pursue livelihood activities should be subjected to the same laws as nationals of the destination member State (Benneh, 2005; Agyei

and Clottey, 2007; Awumbila et al, 2014). A public official in Ghana expressed his concerns about these restrictions as follows:

*"One problem is that the Protocol states that when you go to any country you should abide by their national laws. I think that portion should be looked at again because countries can hide behind national order and security concerns to refuse granting of residence permits…. Practically, anything can fall under public security. I mean if I get up and say that you are against the security of the state so I'm deporting you that is it, I don't have to explain to you how you are against the security of this state. So that provision gives a leeway for nations to manipulate the system depending on whether they want you or they don't want you. Migrants are also limited to some areas of economic activity. For instance, if you are an ECOWAS migrant, you can't be a barber or taxi driver in Ghana".*
**(G. A., Ghana Immigration Service, Airport).**

In addition to discrimination in the legal codes, migrants tend to suffer discrimination in the informal sector where they work, as indigenes feel threatened by the prosperity of migrants (Yaro, 2008; Teye et al, 2015). In Ghana, there have been constant agitations and mass demonstrations by local traders against foreigners in the petty trading sector (Adjavon, 2013). These fears are often fuelled by the belief that the presence of migrants can cause the displacements of local people.

## HARASSMENT OF MIGRANTS AT BORDERS

Consistent with reports of many earlier studies (see Adepoju, 2005; Teye et al, 2015, Awumbila et al, 2014), our data indicates that many migrants from Member States are still harassed at the borders and asked to make unofficial payments before being

allowed to enter some countries. The experiences of the migrants, however, vary widely, depending on the particular borders used. Highly skilled migrants who usually travel by air and therefore use the normal airports are less harassed because of the presence of senior officials at those airports. For instance, A.V., who is a Nigerian lecturer living in Ghana explained that he has never been harassed whenever he uses the airport to enter Ghana. However, all the migrants who travel by road complained about various forms of extortions at the road borders. Some of the respondents believe that the level of harassment is lower for highly skilled migrants who tend to possess all the traveling documents and who can argue with the border officials on their rights. For instance, A.N. is a 48-year-old highly skilled Nigerian migrant with a B.Sc. in Microbiology degree and living in Ghana. As a drilling flicks engineering consultant, he crosses several borders more than six times in a year for business purposes. He argues that he does not face problems at the borders as he always shows the travel documents but the level of harassment is higher whenever he appears at the borders without some documents:

*"I have the yellow card for health certificate. When I am crossing the borders, the health authorities there always ask of these documents to confirm. … The border officers don't worry me much because I have all the documents…When they say bring your bag I bring, bring your passport I bring and all those things. And once I give it to them and they check it, I am free to go. I remember there are some occasions I forget my yellow card and they asked for some surcharge. For the Francophone countries they may surcharge you about 1000 CFA or less if you forget a card and then let you go. There are some few occasions I know I have forgotten to go with it and that was the situation".*
**(A. N., highly skilled Nigerian migrant in Ghana)**

However, the border crossing experiences of many other highly skilled migrants sharply contrast with the account of A. N. Some of them reported of harassment whether they have the documents or not. For instance, M. B. A. is a Beninois migrant who holds a PhD and works as a researcher in Ghana. He arrived in Ghana almost two years ago by crossing the Togo and Ghana borders and has since been

crossing these borders at least once every two months. He noted that there is extortion at almost every immigration check point even though he possesses valid travel documents.

*"I don't know if actually it's a kind of law because if we rely on what is in the ECOWAS [protocol], we are supposed to freely move to any country of ECOWAS as long as we have ID or passport. However, at every check point, especially at the immigration you have to pay. And I mean I have fought with them once but after I decided lets just pay and forget about the ECOWAS and this free movement protocol. I don't know what it stands for and whether it means that when you want to cross you just present your ID or passport and then you go or if it comes along with some fees. I don't know what the free movement really means… If its supposed to be that you freely move without paying anything then its not really working".*
**(M.B.A., highly skilled Beninois migrant in Ghana)**

M.B.A. further provided the following case in point to buttress the claim of serious extortion at the border, which echoes similar experiences by other ECOWAS migrants.

*"When you arrive at Aflao border and you want to get out, I mean you want to cross the border you have to pay CFA 1,000.00 at the immigration service….Togo yeah and you do that one to get the stamp! So you kind of pay for the stamp, so that's it and when you cross the border in Ghana without the resident permit ….you have to pay there is like Ghc 10, its standard…When you are moving from Ghana to Benin and you want to cross the border at Aflao and enter Togo then you will pay CFA100 for immigration and CFA 1000 for police and I ask myself what they really do. They have a kind of different spots, one police and another they call interpol, both collecting money differently. One day, I teased them that 'interpol and police guys, you are all police and I cannot pay one side and pay the other'. So I only paid once that day…..They know me, if am crossing the border sometimes, they say 'okay guy we know you just go'….But at the beginning it was not easy….. Otherwise they will waste your time, I challenged*

*them one day and that day I didn't pay and the lady was angry and I said my dear am not going to pay. And I was there waiting because I mean I had nothing to do, so I waited for 15 minutes , but when am busy I just pay and go because this is kind of alms so…".*
**(M. B. A., highly skilled Beninois migrant in Ghana)**

These observations are confirmed by a skilled Ghanaian migrant in Sierra Leone who has crossed the borders between Ghana and Togo, Togo and Benin, Benin and Nigeria since 1980. He noted the following when asked about the difficulties he encounter while travelling across West Africa.

*"Ehh it is not easy. But the charter said when you have an ID card you can travel to all sixteen countries minus one now (Mauritania). This is what I know since 1985. But when you travel by the borders now you have lots of hell. Sometimes they ask you for papers [travel documents] and then when you present your papers to immigration officer he says give me money. Sometimes when you have Passport they say 'no no no we don't need passport'".*
**(A. S., a highly skilled Ghanaian migrant)**

Compared with the experiences of the highly skilled migrants, the low skilled migrants unanimously complained about their experiences of extortion at the various borders they used in the ECOWAS zone. For instance, Chimezie Okafor is a 30-year-old low skilled Nigerien migrant who has lived in Ghana for 17 years with prior residence in Nigeria, Benin and Togo. He deals in scrap metals for livelihood. Having crossed from Niger to Burkina Faso and then to Ghana, Chimezie noted that he and other travellers had to pay 2000CFA or the equivalent of 20 Ghana cedis, even when they have travel documents, before being allowed to cross the Niger-Burkina Faso border and that is not the only payment demanded as there were several payment points with different amounts. The amount of time spent at the borders also depended on the willingness of migrants to pay the amount of money demanded by the border agents. In some cases, a migrant may spend hours at the border, as highlighted in the statements below:

*"…They will ask for your passport but even if you have the passport, they will still collect your money. We paid in CFA, so if you have the card, you will pay 2000CFA which is like 20 Ghana cedis and this is not a one-time payment. There are many payment points around the border and they all have an amount that you have to pay before crossing the border.... there are no other challenges, what the border officers want is the money and the moment you pay the money, they have no problem with you. It is when you don't have the money to pay that they will worry you. . They will not waste your time if you are willing to pay the money they ask for. But sometimes they waste a lot of time because, when you get to the border, they will ask all of you to get down from the bus, then they will keep you in a room and you have to move from one officer to the other for all your documents to be inspected. They also ask of the Yellow Card and if you don't have it, they will collect money and vaccinate you and prepare the yellow card for you at the border. Sometimes, they will just collect your money and allow you to cross".*
**(C. O., Low Skilled Nigerien Immigrant in Ghana)**

*"Ghana border is spoilt. Previously when you get to Ghana's border, it is like you getting to your own country. It's now all about money, you can be locked if you don't have money to give and you can't go out unless someone comes to pay for you. The car will even go and leave you behind because you will be locked for lack of money. They are more interested in money than your papers".*
**(D. D. G., Low Skilled Migrant Scrap Dealer)**

The accounts of A. J., a Nigerian tailor in Sierra Leone confirms these reports. A. J. who has travelled widely in the ECOWAS region reported that some of the borders are more difficult but he believes that the officials are only interested in the money and not documents.

*"Once you appear before them, they are only interested in the money and not the documents you carry along. If you have no passport and you are prepared to pay them, they are happy to let you go. If you carry all the documents and you don't want to pay they keep you. …One day I spent 2 hours at the Elubo*

*border when returning from Ghana because I refused to pay and they said I must wait. I challenged them but at the end of the day I paid because they just wouldn't allow me to go".*
**(A. J., Nigerian tailor in Sierra Loene)**

C. O., a Nigerian migrant in Ghana, noted similarly that in the particular case of Burkina Faso- Ghana border, the immigration officials have no interest in the documents presented but the money they can extort from migrants and they spared no effort, including assaulting migrants, to extract the money. This contrasts sharply with the situation on the Benin-Nigeria border where officials still expect unofficial payments from travellers but they do not force the travellers to cross. In some cases, they even help the travellers to cross in anticipation of unofficial payments:

*"I have crossed the Benin border into Nigeria and at the Benin side of the border, there are people who will help you with whatever problem you have. If you don't speak the language, there is someone to help you and if you have to change your money into the Nigerian currency. They will also help you to cross the border. If you have any luggage too, they will help you cross with them because the officers can collect whatever is with you including money. What happens there is that, there are people from different countries, so you will find someone who speaks your language, the moment you need help, they will refer you to someone who speaks your language and he will help you. They will even carry you on a motor bike and cross the border to a terminal where you can pick a car to your destination. You only have to pay them any amount that you wish to pay".*
*(C. O., Low Skilled Nigerien Immigrant in Ghana)*

Beside the main border points, there are numerous barriers within countries where payments are demanded from migrants by the Police, Customs officials and others and all these add to the challenges of crossing the borders. F. R. spoke about these other barriers when moving from Burkina Faso to Ghana:

*"There are also people in the two countries [Ghana and Bukina Faso]. If the bus moves a bit further after crossing a border, they will also stop the bus and demand payment…. I don't*

*know them but they are also dressed like police or custom officers, they are always sitting under trees. …It is very sad and we fear them because they will stop you after you have gone pass the border. Those days, when you have your identity card and yellow card, you are free to move to Ghana, but now it is all about money…. There are people all over the place collecting money. Apart from the police, immigration and custom officers, there are other people who behave like land guards and they also collect money from you before you are allowed to cross. They are not in uniform but they have a car such that even if the bus refuses to stop, they will chase you, cross the bus and stop you…The only border that I have ever crossed and they did not ask of money is the Benin-Togo border. That is the only border that when you are crossing and you have all the required documents, they will not ask you for money. They don't even ask for passport of visa, what they want is an ID card and the yellow card. But as for the Burkina-Bawku border, if you are crossing this border and you don't have money, you will be left on the road".*
*(F. R., Low-Skilled Migrant Interview)*

It also came out that travellers carrying goods for sale are even more likely to be harassed. If they fail to make unofficial payments, the goods can even be seized. T. Q. G., a 32-year-old dual national of Nigeria and Ghana and a cross border trader, narrated some of the problems that cross-border traders face:

*"I used to cross it at least twice, even three times, in a year but now I do it less often because the border is very tiresome. Sometimes you spend hours at the border because they have seized your goods. Sometimes they seize the car because someone is carrying what they call countraband goods. Maybe the countraband goods we are talking about is that maybe goods from Ghana to Nigeria. Maybe Ghanaian slippers or sandals or kente. So the problem I have with that kind of thing is that they argue that the goods are not really traditionally Ghanaian because the raw materials are not Ghanaian. How do you argue against that if the plastic is brought from China and Ghanaians have changed it to slippers and you're telling us that its not Ghana made because the raw material were imported… how do you*

*argue…. So you have to bribe them and all those things. I think the worst borders are  Nigeria Seme border, Benin border and the Aflao border. But I think now the Aflao border is better….. but when I was coming the problem I had was that especially coming from Nigeria. When you're a Nigerian coming out from Benin Republic, you don't have too much problem because you are leaving the country. So they are not very particular when you are leaving the country. The problem is with when you are coming back that you will start having problems. But sometimes because the documents am using are Ghanaian documents, then I have a problem. Because they will tell me  that I have over stayed but when I try to explain to them that am actually a dual citizen. I hold a Ghanaian and a Nigerian passport, there was one time they seized my Nigerian ID card. In fact the man told me that I should choose between my Ghana's voters card and my Nigerian voter's card. So I had to leave my Nigerian voter's card at the border. They accept dual citizenship but the thing is that you have to bribe them and that day I didn't have money to bribe anybody".*
*(T. Q. G., Cross Border trader and Dual Citizen of Nigeria and Ghana)*

Further interviews also revealed that ECOWAS citizens who are travelling on passports that have never been stamped are more likely to be harassed as they are required by border agents to pay "disvirgin" fees, which is a kind of bribe, before their passports are stamped for the first time. This situation is explained by a migrant in the following sentences:

*"Always your first time of travelling, they say you should "disvirgin" your passport through bribes. Disvirgin means that your passport has not been used before, and so they assume that you have not travelled before. So to "disvirgin" it you have to pay money. So you pay the disvirgining fee in combination with the money you are going to pay for the stamping of your passport….At least I know that it happens at the Elubo border in Ghana and the Nigeria Border….  Sometimes the vehicle you are travelling with takes the money and then when you get to the border they are going to "de-virgin" it for you, kind of for you".*
*(T. Q. G., Cross Border trader and Dual Citizen of Nigeria and Ghana)*

A Nigerian migrant in Sierra Leone also reported being asked to make this unofficial payment when he first used the Elubo border.

*"My first time of crossing the Elubo border things were more serious as they required me to pay more because I was new at that border. … They worried me and delayed me so I paid more than the other passengers. I knew that if I argue with them they will ask me to wait and the car will leave me so I just paid".*
*(A. J., Nigerian tailor in Sierra Leone)*

The top immigration officials who were interviewed reportedly knew of these forms of harassment at the borders. Some of them noted that extortions are caused by low levels of salaries and lack of incentive packages. Some officials also noted that apart from extortions, some border officials harass travellers by insisting that they must present only passports even though the protocol provides for the use of other travel documents:

*"The politicians will tell you that ECOWAS citizens have the right of entry into the various ECOWAS member states but in reality, there are problems. We have heard of extortion at the various barriers that one has to go through and at each stage we hear stories. Sometimes this is due to the low salaries…Then again the problem with valid entry documents which needs not necessarily be a passport but again one hears stories that sometimes there is a refusal of border control officials when one is not holding a passport…".*
*(A. S. G., Port health Officer)*

The claim that low salaries contribute to harassment is consistent with resource constraints perspective on organisations. This perspective suggests that resource constraints and low salaries may force employees to perform poorly (Pfeffer, 1997). Asked about the measures they are adopting to deal with harassment, some top immigration officials in both Ghana and Sierra Leone stated that they have put in place some measures, such as organising training for officials and punishment of those found to have seriously violated migrants' rights. An official in Ghana also stated that they have asked officials to wear name tags so that migrants can identify and report those who harass them. He noted further that if they receive such reports, the officials involved will be punished:

*"They [travellers] complain that the officers collect money from them at the borders…. We hear of harassment a lot. What we do as a Service is that… we have asked that all officers should wear name tags so if the travellers are able to identify the officer that harassed them, that officer will be punished…".*
**(G . A., Ghana Immigration Service, Airport)**

Another official, however, is less sanguine about the effectiveness of this approach. He noted that that asking migrants to report incidence of harassments at the borders will not solve the problem as the migrants will not get the time to go back to top immigration officials to make such reports. He noted that ECOWAS secretariat should have mechanisms for dealing with states that harass migrants:

*"The major weakness with ECOWAS is that it does not have enforcement powers. So people will feel harassed but they have nowhere to turn. So when the issue arose in one of the joint meetings, they said that various countries should establish complaint desk at their borders. I don't think this will work. I'm like someone who went to Nigeria and was harassed at Akrake, how will he go back to Nigeria to complain that their men have harassed him or her. The best way to deal with this problem should be sanctions by the ECOWAS secretariat".*

The statements above indicate that harassment at the borders take different forms and negatively affect free movement within the sub-region. Many government officials know about this problem but it has not been adequately addressed as a result of lack of political will.

## LACK OF TRAVEL DOCUMENTS AND RESIDENCE/ WORK PERMITS

Another challenge to the implementation of the free movement Protocol has been the difficulty of establishing the nationalities of travellers because they do not carry national ID Cards nor passports. Border management officials of the Immigration Departments in Sierra Leone and Ghana described this situation in the following statements:

*"The free movement protocol enjoins us to admit*

*people into our territory but we also have to establish their nationalities and be sure they are ECOWAS citizens. However, most of the Guineans we have seen at the Sierra Leone border do not think they need passports. They come in their numbers and just say they are ECOWAS citizens so they must be allowed to pass. When you tell them they need passports to be allowed to pass, they get angry…. They don't understand the Free Movement thing very well because some say 'why do I need a passport when I am ECOWAS citizen and need to travel anywhere freely'…. And when we tell them what they need they think we just want to make life difficult".*
**(M. J., Immigration Department, Sierra Leone)**

*"People have always blamed immigration officers for harassment of travellers at the borders but the reality is that some of the travellers also get there without any travel document. You ask them to give you their passports for inspection and they tell you stories. Some will say they have now applied for one. Some will also say they didn't know they need a passport to travel. In such situations, they are asked to wait…. Sometimes our men may also take that opportunity to take money from those without documents".*
**(O. O. M., Ghana Immigration Service, ECOWAS Section, Ghana)**

The statement by M. J suggests that many ECOWAS citizens have low level of knowledge about what is required of them to enjoy the full benefits of the Free movement protocol as discussed further in section 4.6. Although the above accounts indicate that some of the harassments at the borders are linked to lack of travel documents, some migrants also suggest that it is rather the harassment at the borders that make people reluctant to acquire travel documents. They asserted that border officials are more interested in the money they extort from people than travel documents and given that travellers who have all travel documents are also made to make unofficial payments, there is no incentive to acquire travel documents. This is clearly captured in the statements below:

*"Some travellers think it is not necessary to acquire any passport because whether you have documents or not you are forced to pay money*

*before being allowed to cross the borders….The border officials even prefer those without any document. If you have documents, you may challenge them when they ask for money and they don't like that… If you don't have any document, they appear excited dealing with you because then they tell you well you don't have any document so just pay so that I allow you to enter. So you see that the money they take makes people reluctant to acquire travel document"*
**(A. J., Nigerian migrant in Sierra Leone)**

*"When you get to that border, they are not even interested in any document, what they want is their money. That is the first thing they ask for. Even if you have all your documents, what they always say is that, they are not here for papers but money. I can swear that I was once beaten severely at the Burkina-Ghana border at Bawku. I told them that I don't have money and they beat me and locked me up in a room. I was in the room until everyone in our bus went through the process and got into the bus, then someone came from the bus and paid for me before I was allowed to join the bus. As for those at the Ghanaian border, when they ask for money and you don't pay, they will beat you, that is if you don't have money, but if you have money, you can move freely"*
**(C. O., Low Skilled Nigerien Immigrant in Ghana).**

A few migrants and immigration officials also spoke about the inefficient passport acquisition processes, especially in Ghana, as a reason why people travel without travel documents. In Ghana, it can take as long as 6 months or more to get a passport. While the passport can be officially obtained for just 50 cedis (10 Euro), many people who require passports within a reasonable short time (e.g 1-2 months) have been using the services of 'middle men' locally referred to as goro boys who can charge as high as 1000 Cedis (200 Euro) to get a passport. Passport acquisition processes in Sierra Leone are more efficient and faster than the processes in Ghana.

Apart from traveling without appropriate documents, many ECOWAS migrants do apply for residence/ work permits even though this is a requirement for right of residence and establishment. Thus, another challenge is presented by the fact that migrants intending to settle in member States do not always

apply for work or residence permits and often work without the necessary documents:

*"You see many Nigerians in Ghana are getting to a million but most of them do not have the requisite travel documents. And when you want to enforce the law, the ECOWAS secretariat says you are harassing them"*
**(O. O. M., Ghana Immigration Service, ECOWAS Section, Ghana).**

*"Whenever we try to monitor the movements and activities of migrants in this country, we realise that the migrants from the ECOWAS countries hardly apply for work permit…If you ask them why they don't apply for work permit they will tell you that they are ECOWAS citizens"*
**(C. M., MLSS, Sierra Leone).**

Available data support the claims of the officials that in both countries, the number of work permits issued to migrants from the ECOWAS countries is very low. In Ghana, only about 6 percent of total work permits issued in 2015 went to migrants from ECOWAS. In Sierra Leone, about 17 percent of Work permits issued in 2015 went to ECOWAS citizens (Teye and Asima 2017). While the statements by officials suggest that ECOWAS migrants generally do not apply for work permits because of ignorance of the laws, there is enough evidence to suggest that some people do not apply for work permits because of the complex work permit regimes of both countries. As noted by Teye and Asima (2017), the work permit application processes in both Sierra Leone and Ghana are quite cumbersome, as applicants are required to submit several documents. Ghana has what appears like a 'one stop shop' for the application but in Sierra Leone, several agencies are involved in the process. The systems for processing of the work permits are not fully computerized. Sierra Leone seems to process work permits within a relatively shorter time (7 -14 working days) than Ghana (14-28 days). Although both countries can be commended for charging lower work permit application fees for ECOWAS citizens, the fees are still quite high for many ECOWAS migrants. The work permit application fees paid by ECOWAS citizens are $500 in Ghana and then $200 - $1000 in Sierra Leone, depending on the economic sector. As noted already, another challenge is the quota systems which exist in both Ghana and Sierra

Leone also discourages people with small business capital from applying for work and or resident permit. According to Teye and Asima (2017), some ECOWAS migrants do not apply for work permits because they do not have the several documents being required. In both countries, the applicants are usually required to submit security and medical forms including police report; medical report; proof of work experience; criminal record; newspaper advert justifying no local skill(s) available; and translation of documents in local language. In addition to these, the employers are also required to submit some documents on their businesses. For instance, in Sierra Leone, business owners applying for work permit for their employees must submit a certificate of business registration, certificate of business incorporation, evidence of bank account in Sierra Leone, NaSSIT clearance, income tax clearance and licenses. The requirement for several documents delays the process and also makes it difficult for some ECOWAs migrants to apply for permit.

## CHALLENGES WITH HARMONI-SATION OF IMMIGRATION PROCEDURES AND DOCUMENTS

While both Sierra Leone and Ghana can be commended for the significant progress made in the area of harmonisation of travel documents, especially with regards to adoption and use of the ECOWAS passport as well as the harmonized "Immigration and Emigration Form of ECOWAS Member States", there are still gaps in the area of harmonization of procedures of admission and travel documents. One area of concern has to do with what constitute travel documents. Whilst the ECOWAS protocol provides for the use of other travel documents such as travel certificates, some of the border management officials in some countries, including Ghana, tend to emphasise the use of only passports. An official in Ghana made reference to the challenges of harmonisation in the following sentence:

*"You see the harmonization of policies is one of the biggest issues that must be addressed. The Francophones have what we call the ''carte d'identité'' which they use to travel among themselves but which the Anglophone countries*

*don't recognize as a travel document. So the ECOWAS Common Approach aims at harmonizing policies but we still have problems with implementation because of lack of political will. So the political heads should be committed to whatever protocols they have signed".*
*(I. A., GIS, Aflao Border)*

While the statement above suggests that Anglophone countries in general tend to insist on the use of passports for travel purposes, we found out that Sierra Leonean border officials are more liberal with the acceptance of other travel documents than Ghana. Indeed, while Sierra Leonean officials reported that they allow ECOWAS migrants to use ECOWAS travel certificates and other travel documents, it appears that Ghanaian immigration officials tend to accept only passports. Our interviews show that many immigration officials in Ghana think that only passports are required to cross the borders, as highlighted in the statement below:

*"They [Nigerians] will even tell you the "card d'identité" allows them to come to Ghana as well, so they don't need a passport to come here… If you tell them that they need passports they don't understand. When you start to explain things to them further they will fight with you".*
*(F. A. O., Immigration, Migration Information Bureau).*

Ghanaian border officials' rejection of other travel documents apart from the passport contravenes the 1979 Protocol relating to the Free Movement of Persons, which defines a valid travel document as *"a passport or any other valid travel document establishing the identity of the holder with his photograph, issued by or on behalf of the Member State of which he is citizen and on which endorsement by immigration and emigration authorities may be made. A valid travel document shall also include a laissez-passer issued by the Community to its officials establishing the identity of the holder."*

Again, while the existence of a harmonized work permit is good for intra-regional mobility and integration within any sub-region (Clarke and Salt, 2003), there are significant variations in the procedures for issuance of work permits in the ECOWAS countries as discussed above. While the stated policies of both Ghana and Sierra Leone prescribe Labour Market

assessment to identify skill gaps before granting work permits, this requirement is not followed in any of the countries because the Labour Market Information Systems are not functioning well –as explained below. In practice, it is more difficult for ECOWAS citizens to get work permit in Sierra Leone than in Ghana.

## LOW LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE ABOUT ECOWAS PROTOCOLS

Given the fact that adequate knowledge of stated policies is important for their successful implementation, public officials were asked about their participation in training programmes and their general knowledge on the ECOWAS protocols. A few public officials and social partners in both countries, especially from migration units, indicated that some training programmes have been organized on the ECOWAS protocol, but they were quick to add that the trainings workshops were not adequate:

*"Yes I have received training on this [ECOWAS protocol] but it is just recently. I have gone to workshops conducted by the Ministry of Labour and Social Security on this free movement…. What needs to be done is more training on free movement and migrants' rights".*
*(K. E., Human Rights Defenders Network/Open Eye, Sierra Leone)*

*"ECOWAS has been organising training for people on a few issues such conflict prevention, resolution and maintenance. Sometimes they talk about free movement at these trainings but it is limited. I think ECOWAS lacks the resources to organise more training programmes".*
*(M. W., Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation, Ghana)*

*"We go on workshops in Ivory Coast and Ghana. The knowledge we have so far gained from those training workshops has enhanced our capacity but there should be more training in this country for border officials, etc".*
*(E. C., Immigration Department, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Freetown)*

In view of the limited number of training programmes

organized, a significant number of public officials and the general public have low level of knowledge about the protocols. Although many public officials know of the existence of the protocol, some of them have little understanding of the three phases. Box 4.1 captures statements made by officials on their low level of knowledge on the protocols:

### Public officials Knowledge about ECOWAS Free Movement Protocols

*"For me, I would say no, I don't have adequate knowledge of the protocol. Even as an immigration officer, I don't know much about it…I do not see any sensitization done on it"*
*(E. C., Immigration Department; Ministry of Internal, sierra Leone)*

*"I have read some of it but I don't know much about it. So, I would say my knowledge is minimal and that has come through my personal reading… I think people don't know about it."*
*(E. M., World Hope Organization, Sierra Leone)*

*"Exactly! We have very limited knowledge about the protocol. We know it has been formulated long ago to promote free movement but we don't really know how it has to be implemented on the ground. We need more training on it because without our in-depth knowledge of the ECOWAS free movement protocol, our activities can infringe on their rights…. So we need more training on the protocol and migrants rights"*
*(A. S. G., Ghana Port Health Officer)*

*"No there is little understanding of the principles. We as officers don't know the details and there is no platform for educating the public because for Immigration Service, for instance, the sensitization that we have is geared towards anti-human smuggling, but there are no programmes to teach people about ECOWAS"*
*(A. A. O., Ghana Immigration Service, Work permit)*

The low level of knowledge about the protocol partly contributes to the harassment of migrants and abuse of the rights of travellers. As noted already,

some Ghanaian immigration officials think that only passports are to be accepted as travel documents, partly because of low knowledge of the protocols. Again, some border officials think that they are doing migrants a favour by allowing them to cross the borders:

*"I travel across several borders within West Africa and I don't think border officials are really trained on the ECOWAS protocol…When you get to almost all the borders, the officials there behave as if it is a favour they are doing you by allowing you to enter their country. So they ask you to pay for the favour"*
**(A. J., Nigerian immigrant in Sierra Leone)**

One area where officials generally lack knowledge of the protocol has to do with the transfer of goods and vehicles. Many of the officials interviewed in Sierra Leone, in particular, stated that they have very low level of understanding on the movement of goods and vehicles. One official in Sierra Leone explained:

*"We know of the protocol that people should be allowed to move across boundaries but I don't understand some of the provisions on the movement of vehicles from one country to another… I used to think that once a vehicle is registered within the region, it can go and work in another country but recently I learnt that there are several conditions to this, which many of us don't know"*

We also observed that the general public has much lower knowledge of the protocol and this also accounts for the agitations and demonstrations against inflow of ECOWAS immigrants. In Ghana, for instance, most of the people who complained about the presence of many Nigerians in the petty trading sector do not seem to be aware of the existence of ECOWAS protocol on free movement, as there is very little public education on this protocol:

*"One challenge that needs to be addressed is the low level of knowledge about the protocol. So if you look at the kind of complaints against Nigerians in Ghana, especially if something bad happens, you will realize that many Ghanaians are ignorant about the protocol… Public education in schools, churches and even the market will be important so that people stop*

*asking the government to drive Nigerians away"*
**(F. A., Migration Information Bureau, Ghana)**

There is a low level of knowledge among the ECOWAS immigrants themselves and this affects their ability to challenge officials who violate their rights. This is highlighted in the statement below by an official in Ghana:

*"I even hinted that earlier that the education of the public is a real issue. I believe that if we have had that kind of education for the public to know what the protocol on free movement is, certainly it will deal with the challenges. But because the public doesn't know their rights under the protocol, that is why first of all, they will keep abusing them along the way up and down with all sorts of impunity"*
**(O. O. M., Ghana Immigration Service, ECOWAS section, Ghana)**

One Nigerian migrant interviewed in Sierra Leone seems to support the statement by the official by explaining that there were occasions when he tried to challenge border officials who asked him to make unofficial payments but this is difficult given the fact that many travellers are ignorant about their rights and therefore pay without complaining. Consequently, any traveller who tries to challenge border officials is seen as a litigant:

*"There were certain times I tried to challenge the officers who asked me to pay. I told them that as an ECOWAS citizen I have the right to enter another ECOWAS country for 90 days without any visa. But the officers get angry when I challenge them, I know it is because many travellers do not know the law so they just pay. If we all stand by our right and don't pay, the harassment will stop"* **(A. J., Nigerian Migrant in Sierra Leone)**

A.J statement seems to be supported by statements made by some of the ECOWAS immigrants interviewed in the two countries. Indeed most of them stated that they do not know much about the rights that the protocols grant them, and that is why they do not challenge border officials who harass them (see Box 4.2).

---

Box 4.2

## ECOWAS Immigrants' Knowledge on Free Movement Protocol

*"I never asked them why I should pay but I always told them 'well guys ECOWAS mean free movement so basically I should cross without paying'. That one I always tell them …but why am I paying, I assume that it's for the stamp. I don't really know much about the ECOWAS law so I don't want to challenge them.... I got a passport but up to now I never paid attention to the fact that there was ECOWAS on it. I always see 'Republic de Benin' which is people of Benin passport and I open it and I go" M.*
*(B. A., Highly skilled- Beninese)*

*"I don't know much about the rights that ECOWAS migrants have. …I know the public and the border officials don't know too but I cant challenge the officials because I don't know the laws very well. If you go to the border and tell them that they are supposed to allow you to enter freely, they will just lock you somewhere and the car will leave you … So the biggest problem is education. Both the immigration officers and we the ECOWAS citizens are not very conversant with our rights. We don't kow our rights, we don't also know our obligations…Some people just travel they don't have any documents"*
*(T. Q. G., Highly skilled Nigerian migrant)*

*"What I heard is they want to do this kind of card that will allow us go anywhere we want to, that's all….I learned about ECOWAS in school but I don't know about the free movement"*
*(N. B., ECOWAS student in Ghana)*

---

The need for public education and sensitisation on the protocols was therefore highly recommended by Immigration Officials in both countries.
Box 4.3 highlights the concerns immigration officials of both countries:

---

Box 4.3

## Immigration officers views on the need for public education on ECOWAS protocol

*"Because of lack of public education, campaign, awareness and sensitization, many migrants don't understand that they must apply for work permit to work. Some even travel without passport. There is lack of campaigns and even the document itself is very difficult to come across. Though it is a public document, yet if you to go a book shop or anywhere to get it, it will not be available".*
*(M. S. M., Labour Officer, Work Permit Bureau, Sierra Leone)*

*"The migrants do not know that they need to aquire travel documents…… migrants also don't know that after 90 days they must apply for permit to stay".*
*(D. A., Migration Unit, Ministry of Interior)*

*"Movement across the various borders is a major problem because of activities of border control agents. Sometimes they are more interested in lining their pockets than anything else so that is a problem…. The other issue is the public must be education ….I think we should be doing TV/radio programs geared towards increasing public knowledge on free movement because I still believe people are ignorant …Before people travel to the borders they don't really know what happens there. As at now people are not aware of how to cross their vehicles to another member state so any time they have to call you and you have to start educating them".*
*(F. A. O., Immigration, Migration Information Bureau)*

---

These findings highlight the need for more public education on free movement and acquisition of genuine travel documents. Of the two countries, Ghana seems to have organised more public education programmes on migration than Sierra Leone. In Ghana, some information campaigns programmes have been organised by the Ghana Immigration Service in collaboration with IOM.. In Sierra Leone, the few training programmes on ECOWAS were organised recently by ICMPD and IOM under the FMM programme. The state institutions do not have

long-term programmes for educating the public on free movement.

## RESOURCE CONSTRAINTS AND BORDER MANAGEMENT CHALLENGES

Given the importance of resource availability for effective policy implementation, public officials were asked about adequacy of resources for implementing ECOWAS protocol. The data collected also shows that both Ghana and Sierra Leone do not have sufficient technical and human resources for the effective control and management of their porous borders. Consequently, many irregular migrants are able to enter these countries through the porous borders. Another dimension of the problem is that many migrants leave their home countries without proper travel documents and enter host countries irregularly. To address these challenges, both Ghana and Sierra Leone have established Border Patrol Units within their Immigration Services to police their borders. However, policing of borders is very difficult as there are several hundreds of unapproved border crossing points and which have security implications. Indeed, the immigration officials interviewed in both Sierra Leone and Ghana reported that as a result of resource constraints, they do not have equipment to patrol the unapproved borders.

*"It is very difficult monitoring the borders along unapproved routes, especially during the rainy season. Previously, equipment was provided. But with time, they were destroyed and replacement became a problem. There is no accommodation for officials manning some of those routes. So, when I was the Bawku sector commander, we identified certain unapproved routes and with the support of the regional commander, we constructed single room offices along those routes, and have been deploying officers on daily basis. The challenge we had was the means of transport to those crossing points. A few motor bikes were allocated but you can't chase a smuggler with a motor bike…. About three years ago, CCT cameras were installed along some unapproved routes. However, the wind, the rain storms and other things destroyed these vital equipment. When*

*they were working, I could be here and monitor a place, like, about three kilometres from the office (D. T., Ghana Immigration Service)*

*"There are several challenges with border control in this country… We are in the mainstream of the central government's budget. We are not autonomous. We operate with limited resources. We need more electronic gadgets but we don't have the funds to buy these things. As border management is a challenge, border officials may be so stressed that they will also frustrate people crossing the borders (E. C., Immigration Department, Ministry of Internal Affairs, Freetown)*

Apart from the lack of resources, officials also talked about the difficulty in managing border residents who can cross the border anywhere:

*"We face problems managing border residents… Those who fall within five kilometres radius from the borders normally access both points without using any travel documents. And you know we have to recognize them as such as border residents. And so, it becomes difficult to monitor their movements and get data on them" (K. D., Ghana Immigration Service).*

*"Border control is very difficult because some people live very close to the borders and they cross it at any place at all. So, the borders are porous and we don't have the resources to be monitoring the borders." (C. L., Statistics Department, Sierra Leone).*

The interviews highlight the fact that with serious challenges associated with border management, immigration officials who are frustrated by lack of resources may engage in various forms of harassment so as to get money. Indeed some officials also indicated that harassment at the borders may be partly explained by the poor conditions under which border officials do their work.

## MISUNDERSTANDING OF PATTERNS OF INTRA-REGIONAL MIGRATION AND FEARS OF COMPETITION

While an understanding of migration patterns and the economic contribution of migrants can go a long way to enhance citizens' acceptance of migrants, the study shows that in both countries some citizens and public officials have little understanding of intra-regional migration patterns. Thus, although we have demonstrated that a significant number of officials interviewed in both countries have a moderate level of knowledge about patterns and benefits of intra-regional migration, some other respondents have very low level of knowledge about migration patterns, especially regarding the key ECOWAS destinations of their migrants. For instance, some respondents in Sierra Leone complained about the influx of Guineans without acknowledging the fact that there is equally high number of Sierra Leoneans in Guinea. Similarly, while only 2.3% of ECOWAS immigrants in Sierra Leone were from Nigeria (see Awumbila et al, 2014), a number of respondents were likely to complain about the influx of Nigerians in Sierra Leone. Similarly, Ghanaians in Sierra Leone constitute less than 1% of the total number of ECOWAS immigrants in Sierra Leone, but Ghana was also often cited as a dominant migrant source region. Although respondents in Sierra Leone were more likely to misunderstand migration patterns than their counterparts in Ghana, some of the Ghanaian respondents also had little understanding of the patterns of migration. For instance, while the number of Ghanaians in Nigeria is almost as high as the number of Nigerians in Ghana, some Ghanaian officials did not acknowledge the fact that there are actually large number of Ghanaians also trading in Nigeria:

*"It is good people are allowed to move but the problem is Ghana is getting so many migrants who are competing with our nationals…. Look at the Nigerians, many of them have moved here and are competing with our traders… I know some Ghanaians are there, but they are very few" (O. J., Ghana immigration Service, Kotoka International Airport).*

Similarly, even though there are more Ghanaians in Cote d' Ivoire than the number of Ivorians in Ghana (see Awumbila et al, 2014), some of the Ghanaian respondents complained about high numbers of Ivoirians in Ghana. These misconceptions highlight the need for more training on patterns of emigration and immigration. Such training workshops will help participants appreciate the fact that it is in their own interest to treat migrants from other countries well, since other countries can reciprocate these good gestures. The training can also emphasize the fact that when immigrants are treated badly, their respective countries are likely to retaliate.

While it has been reported earlier that some of the respondents acknowledge the positive contributions of ECOWAS immigrants to socio-economic development of their countries, the extent of the contribution is, however, questioned by some other respondents, especially in Ghana. As shown in the statements below, some respondents were of the opinion that non-ECOWAS migrants contribute more to the economy and job creation than those from ECOWAS in terms of the size of investment and jobs created as a result:

*"I think the other nationals are contributing more economically than the ECOWAS nationals because the other nationals are bringing in bigger businesses than the ECOWAS nationals who are bringing in small monies…. The number of other nationals that have brought in multibillion investments will be more than ECOWAS nationals, even though some of them have brought in some huge investments, like Dangote and GT bank and Zenith bank" (F. A. O., Ghana Immigration Service, Migration Information Bureau, Ghana)*

*"Because they [ECOWAS nationals] don't have enough capital to establish big businesses, they are only able to establish small businesses that need one or two people to run. So, in terms of employment, they are not contributing much as those other nationals who have more capital to establish and employ more Ghanaians." (F. A., Media Response, Ghana).*

In both Ghana and Sierra Leone, migrants were also perceived as competing for limited jobs with nationals. Some respondents also have the belief

that migrants are contributing to commodity price increases, the tendency for local businesses to be priced out and potentially collapse, as well as property value increases, particularly in the housing sector. A respondent in Ghana explained this challenge in the following words:

*"…The main `disadvantage of the influx of many people into Ghana is that it's causing increase in the price of commodities because when they come in with money they also displace some of our local business people because they have come in with much more capital. Also because of these people coming in you see rent going high and other people are losing out on the market because they are prepared to pay more to rent a place than the ordinary Ghanaian and that is affecting our local businesses. So the disadvantage would be the competitions they have with the local businesses which often leads to the smaller companies dying off or losing out; that is why there's this fight in the market between local traders and Nigerian traders."*
**(F. A., Media Response, Ghana).**

However, in both Ghana and Sierra Leone some officials acknowledged that some ECOWAS migrants are beneficial to the economies of their countries of destination as some migrants create jobs while others are doing jobs that the locale people cannot do because of lack of technical capacity:

*"For me … it seems we're not putting up the benefits of the migrants to the public. I think it is fair we make it known to the public about both the benefits and disadvantages of what migrants can bring. Because that can help us to do away with this phobia in terms of thinking that migrants are taking over our jobs. ….and if somebody is bringing a job, it means the person is also coming to add to contribute to your economy. So, we need more public education on the benefits so that migrants will be accepted".*
**(A. M., MGCSP, Accra)**

These findings highlight the need for more public campaigns on the positive contributions of ECOWAS migrants to the economies of destination countries.

## SECURITY AND HEALTH CONCERNS

The data also indicates that increasing securitization of migration and migrants, especially in the wake of what is perceived as growing threats of terrorism, is also a challenge to the implementation of the ECOWAS protocol on Free Movement. In Sierra Leone, there is a belief that the civil war was fuelled by mercenaries who entered Sierra Leone and this belief has influenced border management in the country.  The influx of migrants has also been blamed for rising criminal activities such as kidnapping and armed robberies, money laundering and flow of fake goods in Ghana as highlighted in the statement below:

*"Excuse me to say that in Africa we already have a problem with security. If armed robbers cross to another country as a result of free movement, I don't think they will be able to get hold of them because they might easily find their way through and live among the people and nobody will make them out".*
**(P. A. G., ECOWAS return migrant, Ghana)**

*"I will say in recent times there is an increase in the number of robberies. When most of these guys are arrested, you will realize that most of them are foreigners. That is one of the negative impacts of Free Movement of people within the region".*
**(F. A. O., Immigration, Migration information Bureau, Ghana)**

*"Cross border crime is a negative outcome of the protocol. Other problems are money laundering, inflow of fake drugs into the country. It's not only fake drugs but fake anything. Most of these guys do one bad thing in Ghana, then they move into Togo, Nigeria or Benin, and then we have criminal's roaming in the whole region".*
**(K. M., Ghana Immigration Service, Akanu Border)**

Thus, as noted elsewhere (see Teye et al, 2015), there are concerns that the privileges enshrined in the protocol have been abused by some citizens of the sub-region, including armed robbery, fraud illicit

trade in narcotics. These crimes have led to expressions of resentment among officials and the general public, especially in Ghana where Nigerian immigrants, in particular, were likely to be perceived as being associated with crime. Also, recent conflicts between Fulani herdsmen and local farmers in the Agogo area of Ghana has also created local communities' resentment against ECOWAS migrants in Ghana.

Despite the widespread belief in Ghana that immigrants are involved in criminal activities, a few respondents acknowledged the fact that many migrants are law-abiding and therefore question the basis for associating migrants with crime:

*"You cannot link crime to migration. All these people on the radio announcing we have arrested Nigerians, when they mention the names of the criminals it is ''Kwesivi'' or ''Abdullai'' and the Abdulai you know is not a Nigerian but may be from Bawku"*
**(G. A., Ghana Immigration Service, Airport).**

*"For me I don't believe that migrants are the people behind the crimes in Ghana. Sometimes we hear that there has been armed robbery and Nigerians are always mentioned but these are just rumours. So that's why I'm saying that there are more advantages to free movement than disadvantages"*
**(F. A., Media Response, Ghana).**

In addition to the security threat, migrants are perceived by some as sources of disease transmission, carrying "foreign pathogens" that would exacerbate the burden of disease in these countries. The fear of diseases was more marked in Sierra Leone:

*"Ebola was transported from Guinea to Liberia and Sierra Leone to another. So that was one of the disadvantages [of free movement] …. There is the tendency for migrants to bring foreign pathogens into our country"*
**(A. J. S., Public Health Superintendent, Environmental Health Directorate, Ministry of Health and Sanitation).**

These findings underscore the need for more public education and campaigns that will change the negative perceptions that people have about ECOWAS migrants, especially in Ghana.

## DATA AND LABOUR MARKET INFORMATION CHALLENGES

While reliable data on migration flows is important to support ongoing policy initiatives (Adepoju, 2005; Quartey, 2009), this study has shown that there is a general lack of accurate and up-to-date data on the flow of immigrants and emigrants in both countries and this poses problems to migration management. In both Sierra Leone and Ghana, officials explained that lack of date is caused by lack of resources to conduct research on migrants and or to analyse the data which is collected at the exit and entry points. Another problem has to do with the technical capacity of the agencies responsible for data collection. It came out that in both Ghana and Sierra Leone, there is a general lack of both equipment and the technical capacity of immigration officials to manage and disseminate the data collected on daily basis.  However, Ghana has more advanced systems of data collection and analysis than Sierra Leone. It also appears that data on migrants is relatively more reliable in Ghana where a number of surveys have been conducted by the Centre for Migration Studies and other institutions. The porous nature of borders also affects data collection.  Officials' views on the challenges of migration data collection are presented in Box 4.4:

Box 4.4

**Data collection Challenges**

*"Reliable data on migration flows and characteristics of migrants is needed for planning… But we face serious problems with migrant data collection. Well sometimes it is very difficult to get the actual information as many people pass through unapproved routes"*
(M. A. S., Immigration Department; Migration, Sierra Leone)

*"We do not have the resources needed to collect and analyse data on migrants. The census questionnaire has a few questions on migrants but this is not done regularly… The data collected at the entry points are not really analysed because we lack the capacity. We also don't have equipment like servers and computers even to store and share this data"*

*(C. L., Department of Statistics, Sierra Leone)*

*"Collecting data on immigrants is very difficult. Let's say those who go through unapproved route into Ghana, how you capture them. Apart from our formal borders like the Kotoka international Airport, the Aflao, Elubo, the Tema port, which have the system to capture, many people who use some other routes are not captured… We need more resource to manage these borders, because our borders are porous…. We should have a system, which should easily capture the data of migrants, let's say, a mobile device system that easily captures the same information that we are storing here at any of the unapproved routes".*
*(O. J., Ghana Immigration Service, Kotoka International Airport, Ghana)*

*"We don't have equipments, like computers and a server to store and analyse data. We also lack capacity but I think the IOM, in recent times have organised a training programme where data management was taught. So that capacity is being built now, so that the ministry or the unit will serve as the custodian of all information or data relating to migration. ….Issues of capacity building, staffing, office accomodation is really a challenge".*
*(O. A., Migration Unit, Ministry of Interior)*

Related to the challenges associated with data collection is the inability of governments of both countries to develop comprehensive datasets on labour markets to provide information on employment opportunities to people entering the labour market. The Labour market information systems (LMIS) are quite weak in both countries. A recent ICMPD/ECOWAS commissioned assessment conducted by Teye (2016) shows that there is currently no comprehensive Labour Market Information System in Sierra Leone. Individual government institutions and the private sector keep records of their employees in different forms and manner. Data on the labour market are mainly records of job vacancies and applications on public employment services. The Central Employment Exchange of the Ministry of Labour and Social Security which is responsible for managing a labour market information system is

poorly resourced but operates a very simple system of data collection. The current system is designed to collect information from foreigners and Sierra Leoneans looking for jobs. The persons looking for jobs are expected to walk into the national and regional offices of the Employment Exchanges for the purpose of manual registration. The information on job seekers is captured into a simple excel file. Job vacancies are also published on notice boards at the ministry. There is no virtual platform for sharing data with employers and the public. Therefore, data is just stored and employers have complained that they want to use internet. However, the unit does not have a website for its work. The system is even not linked with any of the units of the Ministry. Also, labour officers at the regions are expected to collect information and register people there but they do not have resources. They are also not linked with those in the head office. Those at the regions do not have computers. Apart from resource constraints, officials explained that they have little technical capacity for the job they are performing. Although ICMPD recently provided the Ministry of Labour and Social Security with some equipment for data management, the LMIS is still not very functional.

Although Ghana's LMIS system is more advanced than that of Sierra Leone, it is also quite weak. As in Sierra Leone, individual government institutions and the private sector keep records of their employees in different forms and manner. Data on the labour market are mainly records of job vacancies and applications on public employment services. The Labour Department is poorly resourced and operates a very simple system of data collection. The persons looking for jobs are expected to walk into the organisations where they intend to work. It is also important to state that although both Ghana and Sierra Leone have carried out labour market surveys in recent years, both countries lack comprehensive labour force data and possess limited statistics on labour migration.

In short, although Ghana has made some efforts towards the establishment of an advanced Labour Market Information System (LMIS), both countries still do not have a functional labour market information system. In the absence of LMIS, labour market information is collected independently and not shared amongst relevant stakeholders.

Consequently, most potential migrants have no idea on areas with job opportunities.

## WEAK COOPERATION IN AREAS OF JOINT TRAINING AND DATA SHARING WITH OTHER ECOWAS COUNTRIES

Although both Sierra Leone and Ghana participate actively in regional level migration management programmes, the officials interviewed complained that there are very few avenues for collaboration, especially with regards to joint training and data sharing among the ECOWAS countries. Many of the officials in both Ghana and Sierra Leone noted that there are no effective mechanisms for joint trainings and data sharing (see Box 4.5).

Box 4.5

**Views on joint meetings and data sharing with ECOWAS countries**

*"Within West Africa, well there should have been sharing of data among ourselves but that has not been done adequately… …We know as a community joint training programmes are good but we don't have joint training with other countries".*
*(S. D., Immigration Officer, Immigration Department, Ghana)*

*"We are not talking to each other so far as immigration is concerned. We only meet in international fora etc. For instance, some European organisations have helped us to bring our intelligence units together but they sponsor us so if they don't have money to sponsor workshop this year then we will not meet this year".*
*(A. T.,Ghana immigration Service)*

*"We don't really have a platform that merges all our data on migrants. I think in ECOWAS, individual countries are keeping their data. But we don't have a harmonized data system. That you can say that okay, this is the number of Ghanaians that has … but as usual when you go to the UN website you will find all this information captured there".*
*(D. T., Ghana Immigration Service)*

*"We don't have mechanisms for data sharing. For our organization, no! We do not share data…. I have never heard of any joint training with other ECOWAS countries".*
*(B. T., Environmental Health Directorate, Ministry of Health and Sanitation, Sierra Leone)*

As noted above, data sharing is not being done consistently. There are also limited opportunities for joint training as well as lack of financial and technical resources which makes data sharing difficult.
Some officials noted that there are guidelines in place for ad hoc information sharing on particular issues. For instance, customs officials in Ghana sometimes share data with their counterparts in Burkina Faso, as noted below:

*"We share information with the Burkina customs because their goods are going to their country of destination because transit goods are not for consumption in Ghana. Transit goods are for landlocked countries that don't have the ports so when their goods dock at the port they bring it on road and when it gets to the border we just close in our system that the goods have crossed. So, the documents also is been sent there for them also to check whether they also received the same quantity of goods or vehicles"*
*(D.T., African Section, Ghana Immigration Service).*

Also, adhoc data sharing takes place among ECOWAS countries during annual reviews of anti-traficking programmes:

*"Yes, like I said, there's this annual ECOWAS review meeting that we attend on issues on trafficking … I remember one director from CMS, Dr. Teye, attended to train us on trafficking issues. In all, each country has an annual report that it presents to the ECOWAS and we meet at one place – most of the time it's at Abuja."*
*(A. M., MGCSP, Accra).*

*"The Ministry of social Welfare, we do share data on human trafficking issues with the ECOWAS trafficking person's unit and that one is done yearly. They develop a questionnaire which the member states and the focal persons*

*for trafficking answer the questions and send back to them"* **(J. B., Ministry of Social Welfare Gender and Children's Affairs, New England Ville, Freetown).**

Ad-hoc data sharing also occurs when there is evidence that a criminal cross the border into another country. However, there is no database on criminals within the region. A Ghanaian policeman expressed his views in the following words:

*"We only share information when there is evidence that a hardened criminal has crossed to one country but we don't have a comprehensive system for regular information flows. There is also no database on the criminals. The Nigerian Kidnapper who was arrested in Ghana was staying here for several years and he even has two houses in Ghana but we didn't have any data on him till the Nigerian IGP came to Ghana to give us the information that we should track him down and it was through the tracking down that we realized he has two houses in Accra and the family were even here. So, if we do the information sharing and we have the database then all the Nigerian criminals will be known to Ghana. In the same way Malian criminals will be known to Ghana, Burkinabe's criminals will be known to Ghana. The BNI can then monitor the activities of criminals better but first of all we need advanced technology to do this. We don't have even computers and other equipment for sharing information"*

Thus, while data sharing and joint trainings are key for managing intra-regional mobility lack of logistics make this difficult for ECOWAS countries. The statement above highlights the fact that resource constraints and lack of political will also affects the implementation of the ECOWAS protocol.

## ECONOMIC CHALLENGES AND POLITICAL INSTABILITY

The poor economic situation in both Sierra Leone and Ghana and pressure from indigenes of these countries also frustrates the migration process by making the benefits for most low-skilled jobs not worth the efforts of migrants. Economic challenges facing citizens create anti-migrant sentiments that

render States reluctant to implement the ECOWAS free movement Protocols (Konan and Kouakou, 2012). The blame for economic problems is usually put on immigrants rather than the root causes of corruption and mismanagement (Yaro, 2008). Officials in both Ghana and Sierra Leone noted that poor people are likely to blame immigrants for their troubles. In the past, this has contributed to mass expulsion of ECOWAS citizens from some countries. For instance, Ghana expelled Nigerians in 1969. In early 1979, Ghana again expelled Togolese farmers. Nigeria also expelled undocumented aliens in n 1983 and 1985 (Adepoju 2005). These mass expulsions of ECOWAS migrant workers undermine the broader regional aims and principles set out in the ECOWAS Treaty on Free Movement (Adepoju et al., 2007). In both countries studied, economic challenges continue to create anti-migrant sentiments. These sentiments are more pervasive in Ghana's informal trading sector where Ghanaian traders are attributing low sales to the presence of Nigerian traders. As noted already, there has been series of demonstrations in Ghana against Nigerians and Chinese in the trading sector (Adjavon, 2013).

Additionally, political instability also poses a serious challenge to using intraregional mobility to promote development. As noted by Teye et al (2015), since the early 1990s, West Africa has experienced a number of intra-State conflicts. Interviewees in Sierra Leone noted that as a result of the belief that the civil war was partly caused by mercenaries from other countries, border officials are concerned about the security implications of the inflows of migrants. Again, as the conflicts created many refugees, both the individual countries and ECOWAS have to devote much attention and commit their scarce human and financial resources to the resolution of these conflicts, thereby constraining ECOWAS from achieving its set objectives. According to Yaro (2008), a major challenge to ECOWAS is establishing an emergency response system capable of handling emergency migrants in an integrative manner rather than the current refugee camp system which tends to breed all sorts of social vices rather than promoting development.

## THE ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL AND OTHER ORGANIZATIONS IN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ECOWAS FREE MOVEMENT PROTOCOL

The participation of Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) and Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in the implementation of the ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol has until recently been quite minimal. However, in the last decade recognising the developmental potential of the protocol for the West Africa region, several NGOS and CSOs have taken interest and have focused activities on the protocol. The activities of these CSOs and NGOs have in some cases been facilitated by funding from the ECOWAS Commission which has encouraged some collaboration between NGOs/CSOs and the ECOWAS Commission.

NGOs /CSOs working to promote the ECOWAS free movement protocol in Ghana and Sierra Leone although very few, include the following:

### The Borderless Alliance

Established in 2011 and located in Ghana, its key mandate is to promote regional integration and eliminate barriers to trade and transport in West Africa using evidence-based advocacy. Through evidence-based advocacy activities, the Alliance helps to monitor corridors in eight countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo. Since 2011, in conjunction with the USAID West Africa Trade Hub, the Alliance began establishing Border Information Centers (BICs) at border posts along highly-trafficked trade corridors in the region. According to its website, six BICs are currently operating, including the first one built on the Ghana-Togo border and one on the Ghana-Cote d'Ivoire border.

### African Centre for Economic Transformation (ACET)

ACET is implementing the Intra-African Talent Mobility Partnership (TMP) Programme to facilitate talent mobility within the ECOWAS region.

The Intra-African Talent Mobility Programme (TMP), funded by the World Bank seeks to establish "Schengen" and or related type mechanisms on talent mobility and skills development to accelerate economic integration, open borders, and common policies in Africa. The participating countries in this West African initiative is spearheaded by Côte d'Ivoire and includes Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana and Sierra Leone. A recent Memorandum of Understanding aims at addressing regulatory barriers associated with the granting of work and residence permits; the development of a robust Labour Market Information System (LMIS); and the establishment of Mutual Recognition Agreement framework to provide a common standard for the evaluation of credentials for entry into a particular practice or profession. As a way of enhancing talent mobility within the region, there have been proposals for the waiver of work permit fees for skilled professionals within the sub-region. However, the potential benefits and challenges associated with such a programme are not clearly understood and currently under research.

### Media Organisations

Given the challenges identified at West African borders, a number of media organisations have become interested in the implementation of the free movement protocol. Two of the major ones are:

#### Media Response

Media Response is one of the largest networks of media personnel in Ghana with over one hundred and fifty members constituting the Media Alliance for Migration. In 2017, Media Response received a grant from the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) to train over 100 media personnel in four regions of Ghana on reporting on migration in general and ECOWAS Free movement protocol. The outcome of the training is an increased reportage on migration and related issues in the Ghanaian media now.

#### Media Foundation for West Africa (MFWA)

Established in 1997 as an independent NGO, MFWA focuses on the defence and promotion of the rights and freedom of the media. It has been working with the ECOWAS Commission on developing a regulatory framework on freedom of expression and access to

information in West Africa. It has also been working with West Africa Media persons to establishment a network of media persons working on the free movement protocol and to sensitise the population on the protocol.

## Educational Institutions

A number of educational institutions have been at the forefront of providing data and training on the free movement protocol. These have included:

### The Centre For Migration Studies, University of Ghana (CMS)

The Centre for Migration Studies (CMS) was established by the University of Ghana in 2006 to undertake research, teaching and training, capacity building and policy development in the area of migration. The Centre has conducted a number of studies on the implementation of the ECOWAS free movement protocols, including a study funded by the ACP observatory on migration and IOM, on facilitating labour mobility in the ECOWAS region (See Awumbila et al, 2014). One of its graduate programmes on the legal and policy dimensions of migration introduces students to the ECOWAS protocols and several student theses have studied aspects of the implementation of the protocol. CMS under its Migrating Out of Poverty Project has organized training programmes for media persons and facilitated the setting up of a Media Network on Migration (MENOM).

### Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD)

The Legon Centre for International Affairs and Diplomacy (LECIAD) at the University of Ghana runs the ECOWAS-SPAIN Migration Project (ESMP). The ESMP Project, which is organised with funding from the ECOWAS-SPAIN Migration Fund aims at enhancing knowledge on the Community's legal frameworks for free movement as well as create awareness on labour opportunities in the region. As part of its programme it has organized various training workshops for migration management officers, and for media persons.

## International Organisations

International Organisations such as IOM, ILO, ICMPD have over the years organized programmes to facilitate intra-regional mobility in both Ghana and Sierra Leone. These are funded by ECOWAS and EU. The "Support to Free Movement of Persons and Migration in West Africa" project (FMM West Africa) aims at maximising the development potential of free movement of persons and migration in the West African region. This programme has funded several training and capacity building programmes aimed at contributing to the effective implementation of the ECOWAS) Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Residence, and Establishment, and the Common Approach on Migration.

---

# V. SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND TRAINING NEEDS

## INTRODUCTION

The aim of this assessment was to examine the challenges to the full implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement, with particular reference to Ghana and Sierra Leone. The study was conducted within the framework of the MADE West Africa Project which is financed by the European Union and aims to promote good governance of migration and mobility and protection of migrants' rights in the ECOWAS Region. The study was based on a desktop review, assessment of relevant data/administrative records and in-depth interviews with selected ECOWAS migrants and officials of institutions/agencies responsible for managing migration in Ghana and Sierra Leone. In all, 35 persons were interviewed in Ghana while 28 persons were interviewed in Sierra Leone. In this section, we present the key findings and conclusions drawn from the study. We also establish, based on the analysis performed on the data generated, a diagnosis of the current situation relating to the implementation of the ECOWAS protocol for Sierra Leone and Ghana.

## SUMMARY

The study indicates that intra-regional migration is still a dominant livelihood strategy in the ECOWAS region. As in the colonial era, migrants generally flow from the countries in the Sahel zone (e.g. Burkina Faso, Mali, and Niger) to the relatively more prosperous countries in the coastal zone (e.g. Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria). Consistent with earlier findings (see Adepoju 2005; Awumbila et al., 2014; Teye et al., 2015), proximity, colonial legacy, common official language and ethnic ties still determine the choice of destination for many ECOWAS migrants. Many Sierra Leonean migrants travel to neighbouring countries, such as Guinea, Liberia and Ghana, while Ghanaians also mainly migrate to Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire.

Both Ghana and Sierra Leone have made modest progress in the implementation of the ECOWAS Free movement protocol, especially in relation to Phase 1 (Right of Entry). In relation to Phase 1, all the 15 ECOWAS countries, including Ghana and Sierra Leone, have abolished visa and entry requirements for 90 days. Both Ghana and Sierra Leone have also adopted the standardized ECOWAS Travel Certificate, even though this is currently not an accepted as a travel document, especially in Ghana. Both Sierra Leone and Ghana have recorded a few achievements and good practices that can be followed by other countries in the sub-region. These good practices include modest level of knowledge about intra-regional flows of migrants among some public officials, especially in Ghana and the recognition of the economic contributions of ECOWAS immigrants, especially in Sierra Leone. The acknowledgement of the contribution of immigrants to the economy of Sierra Leone is good for the implementation of the free movement protocol since such practices can go a long way to enhance the willingness of the government and citizens of Sierra Leone to welcome migrants as development agents.

While a number of countries in West Africa do not have comprehensive migration policies (ICMPD and IOM, 2015), both Sierra Leone and Ghana have recently formulated national level policies to govern migration, in line with ECOWAS protocols. The two countries have also ratified a number of international protocols to safeguard the rights of migrants and their families. However, Sierra Leone has not ratified some human rights instruments of relevance to the protection of migrant workers, such as the Migration for Employment Convention, 1949 (Revised) (No. 97), the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143) and Private Employment Agencies Convention, 1997 (No. 181). The two countries also have national laws to protect migrants and vulnerable groups, including refugees.

Although the level of cooperation among West African countries in the area of migration management is generally quite weak, both Ghana and Sierra Leone are taking part in regional-level programmes aimed at enhancing free movement. The two countries are among four ECOWAS countries which are taking part in the Intra-African Talent Mobility Programme (TMP) which seeks to establish "Schengen" type mechanisms on talent mobility and skills development to accelerate economic integration, open borders, and common policies in Africa (see Teye and Asima, 2017). Ghanaian universities have also been found to develop good systems for recognition of academic certificates and reduction of fees for ECOWAS students. This has contributed to increased inflow of ECOWAS students into Ghana.

Despite the few good practices, there are still serious challenges to the implementation of the Free Movement protocols, especially with regards to the Phase 2 and Phase 3 components, but also with some aspects of Phase 1. One challenge has to do with the harmonisation of the rules on travel documents. While some countries in the sub-region use ECOWAS Travel certificate and identity cards ("carte d'identité") as travel documents, these are not accepted by Ghanaian immigration officials. The procedures for issuing work and residence permits in both Sierra Leone and Ghana also do not support the right of residence enshrined in the ECOWAS protocol. In principle, work permits are expected to be issued to all foreigners, including ECOWAS citizens, only in situations whereby there is a 'proof that the skills possessed by the migrant do not exist locally'. Also, quota system is applied in issuing work permits in both countries and this is not consistent with the right of residence and establishment (Teye and Asima, 2017). Additionally, in both countries,

certain sectors are reserved for citizens only. This form of discrimination in the legal codes that regulate employment was found to be more serious in Ghana.

In line with reports of some earlier studies (see Adepoju, 2005; Teye et al, 2015), many migrants from Member States are still harassed at the borders and asked to make unofficial payments. Another challenge to the implementation of the free movement Protocol is the difficulty that immigration officials face in establishing the nationalities of the many migrants that arrive at the borders without travel documents.

Many immigration officials and migrants in both countries have very low level of knowledge about the ECOWAS Protocols. One area where officials generally lack knowledge of the protocol has to do with the transfer of goods and vehicles. Of the two countries, Ghana seems to have more resources for border management than Sierra Leone, but both countries clearly need support to fully implement the Free Movement Protocol. Other challenges which seriously affect the implementation of the ECOWAS protocol, in both Ghana and Sierra Leone, include fears of competition with successful immigrants, especially in Ghana; securitization of migration and migrants; lack of up to date data on migration flows, especially in Sierra Leone; weak Labour Market information system, especially in Sierra Leone; lack of opportunities for joint training and border management; and economic challenges and political instability in the ECOWAS region. Lack of effective mechanisms for punishing countries that violate migrants rights is also a challenge to the implementation of the protocol.

## DIAGNOSIS OF IMPLEMENTATION RECORD OF ECOWAS FREE MOVEMENT PROTOCOL IN GHANA AND SIERRA LEONE

**In view of the findings presented in the preceding sections, Tables 5.1a and 5.1b present a diagnosis of the current situation for Sierra Leone and Ghana.**

**Table 5.1a:** A diagnosis of implementation record of ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol in Sierra Leone

| Indicator/item | Key characteristics, best practices and challenges |
|---|---|
| **Economic Features** | • A very low-income country and one of the poorest in the region.<br>• Poverty is due among other reasons to the decade long civil conflict (1991-2002). |
| **Migration Profile** | • Largely a migrant sending country within the ECOWAS region.<br>• Main destinations of emigrants within the region include Guinea, Liberia, Ghana and Nigeria.<br>• Immigrants are mainly from Guinea and Liberia. |
| **Progress with implementation of ECOWAS Free Movement protocol** | • Ratified Free Movement Protocol of 1979 and all supplementary protocols<br>• Abolished visa and entry requirements for 90 days<br>• Adopted the standardized ECOWAS Travel Certificate<br>• Adopted the harmonized "Immigration and Emigration Form of ECOWAS Member States<br>• Uses the ECOWAS common passport<br>• Allows people with ECOWAS travel certificate and ID cards entry |
| **Key Achievements** | • Allow the use of other travel documents apart from passport<br>• Although has some restrictive policies, citizens do not openly demonstrate against the presence of ECOWAS citizens in sectors reserved for only Sierra Leoneans<br>• High level of recognition of contribution of immigrants to economy<br>• Has developed National Migration Policy and National Labour Migration Policy in line with ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol<br>• Cooperation with other ECOWAS countries |
| **Key Gaps** | • Discriminatory legal codes and contradictions between work permit regimes and ECOWAS protocol (e.g. use of quota system and insisting that work permit must only be issued to ECOWAS citizens in situations where there is no Sierra Leonean to do the job.<br>• Inadequate understanding of patterns of intra-regional migration<br>• Failure to ratify some human rights instruments of relevance to the protection of migrant workers (e.g. the Migration for Employment Convention, 1949 (Revised) (No. 97), the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143) and Private Employment Agencies Convention, 1997 (No. 181).<br>• Very weak Labour Market information System<br>• Lack of reliable data on migration flows<br>• Harassment of migrants at borders<br>• Lack of travel documents and residence/ work permits<br>• Low Level of Knowledge about ECOWAS Protocols.<br>• Fears of competition with immigrants and securitization of migration<br>• Extreme lack of resources for border management and implementation of migration policies |

| General Recommendations | • Revise legal codes and work permit regimes in line with ECOWAS Free Movement protocol.<br>• Ratify some international human rights instruments of relevance to the protection of migrant workers (e.g. the Migration for Employment Convention, 1949 (Revised) (No. 97), the Migrant Workers (Supplementary Provisions) Convention, 1975 (No. 143) and Private Employment Agencies Convention, 1997 (No. 181).<br>• Provide technical and financial resources to the organizations responsible for managing migration and protecting the rights of migrants.<br>• Develop frameworks to enhance Labour Market information Systems<br>• Strengthen Statistics Sierra Leone and work with research institutions to provide reliable data on migration flows<br>• Work with neighbouring countries to develop mechanisms to deal with harassment of migrants at borders<br>• Organise training programmes on ECOWAS protocol for public officials and the general public. |
|---|---|
| Specific Training Needs | • Importance of regional integration for socio-economic development<br>• Migration patterns in the ECOWAS region<br>• Phases of ECOWAS Free Movement Protocols<br>• Challenges in the implementation of ECOWAS Free Movement protocols<br>• Addressing the challenges in the implementation of the ECOWAS Free movement protocol<br>• Migration data<br>• Labour Market and Migration information systems |

**Table 5.1b:** **A diagnosis of implementation record of ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol in Ghana**

| Indicator/item | Key characteristics, best practices and challenges |
|---|---|
| Economic Features | • A middle-income country with relatively more opportunities in the formal and informal sectors.<br>• Relatively strong economy due to presence of many valuable minerals and political stability |
| Migration Profile | • Largely a migrant receiving country within ECOWAS region.<br>• Dominant sources of immigrants include Nigeria, Togo and Burkina Faso.<br>• Major destinations of emigrants within the ECOWAS region include Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire |
| Progress with implementation of ECOWAS Free Movement protocol | • Ratified Free Movement Protocol of 1979 and all supplementary protocols<br>• Abolished visa and entry requirements for 90 days<br>• Adopted the standardized ECOWAS Travel Certificate<br>• Adopted the harmonized "Immigration and Emigration Form of ECOWAS Member States<br>• Uses the ECOWAS common passport |
| Best Practices with the implementation of ECOWAS protocol | • Allow the use of some travel documents apart from passport<br>• Although has some restrictive policies, citizens do not openly demonstrate against the presence of ECOWAS citizens in sectors reserved for only Sierra Leoneans<br>• High level of recognition of contribution of immigrants to economy |

| | • Has developed National Migration Policy and Diaspora Engagement Policy in line with ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol<br>• Plays a leading role in regional level joint programmes<br>• Mutual recognition of academic certificates and reduction of fees for ECOWAS students<br>• Relatively more improved Labour Market information System<br>• Relatively more reliable data on migration flows |
|---|---|
| Key Gaps | • Does not allow people with ECOWAS travel certificate and ID cards entry.<br>• Discriminatory legal codes and contradictions between work permit regimes and ECOWAS protocol (e.g. use of quota system and insisting that work permit must only be issued to ECOWAS citizens in situations where there is no Sierra Leonean to do the job.<br>• Inadequate understanding of contribution of ECOWAS immigrants to economy<br>• Harassment of migrants at borders<br>• Lack of travel documents and residence/ work permits<br>• Low Level of Knowledge about ECOWAS Protocols.<br>• Fears of competition with immigrants and securitization of migration |
| General Recommendations | • Revise national investment policies and migrants' admission rules that contradict ECOWAS Free movement protocols<br>• Streamline work permit application procedures in line with ECOWAS Free Movement Protocols<br>• Organise more public education on the relationship between migration and development<br>• Educate ECOWAS migrants and nationals on the need to coexist peacefully with host communities<br>• Provide technical and financial resources to the organizations responsible for managing migration and protecting the rights of migrants.<br>• Work with neighbouring countries to develop mechanisms to deal with harassment of migrants at borders<br>• Organise training programmes on ECOWAS protocol for public officials and the general public. |
| Specific Training Needs | • Migration and development nexus<br>• Migrants contribution to economic development in Ghana<br>• Migration patterns in the ECOWAS region<br>• Phases of ECOWAS Free Movement Protocols<br>• Challenges in the implementation of ECOWAS Free Movement protocols<br>• Addressing the challenges in the implementation of the ECOWAS Free movement protocol<br>• Strategies for the protection of migrants' rights in Ghana |

# CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, this assessment has shown that intra-regional migration is an integral part of livelihoods in the ECOWAS sub-region. While both Sierra Leone and Ghana have made some progress in the implementation of the ECOWAS Free movement protocols, there are several challenges which require attention from ECOWAS and the Member States. We also conclude that the future mobility patterns and outcomes of the ECOWAS protocol depends largely on the commitment of the Member States and financial support of ECOWAS and its development partners.

# REFERENCES

Adams, R. H., Cuecuecha, R, & Page, J. (2008). World Bank Policy Research Working Paper 4515. Washington DC: World Bank, https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/6430/wps4515.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Adebowale, A. (2014). Industrialization, Entrepreneurship and the Cyclical Migration Flows Between Ghana and Nigeria. *Journal of Sustainable Development in Africa*, 16(4): 102- 114, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/216370710_Micro-Credit_An_Amelioration_of_Poverty_for_Small-Scale_Entrepreneurs_in_Nigeria

Adepoju, A. (2005). Patterns of migration in West Africa. In T. Manuh (ed.) At Home in the World? *International Migration and Development in Contemporary Ghana and West Africa* Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers.

Adepoju, A. (2010). Introduction: Rethinking the Dynamics of Migration within, from and to Africa. In A. Adepoju (ed.) *International Migration Within, to and From Africa in a Globalised World.* Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers, pp. 9- 45

Adepoju, A., Boulton, A. & Levin, M. (2007). *Promoting integration through mobility: free movement and the ECOWAS Protocol.* New Issues in Refugee Research: Research Paper No 150. Geneva: UNHCR, http://www.refworld.org/pdfid/4c2325600.pdf

Adjavon, J. (2013). Trading Activities of Chinese Migrants in the Central Business District of Accra. Unpublished MA (Migration Studies) Dissertation. Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, http://ugspace.ug.edu.gh/bitstream/handle/123456789/7277/Jessica%20Ajavon%20_Trading%20Activities%20of%20Chinese%20Migrants%20in%20the%20Central%20Business%20District%20%28CBD%29%20of%20Accra_2014.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

African Development Bank Report (AFDB) (2011). African Development Report: Private Sector Development as an Engine of Africa's Economic Development. Available from https://www.afdb.org/fileadmin/uploads/afdb/Documents/Publications/African%20Development%20Report%202011.pdf

Afolayan A., Ikwuyatum, G & Abejide, O. (2009). *Dynamics of International Migration in Nigeria: A Review of Literature.* Ibadan: University of Ibadan, https://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/files/completed-projects/nigeria-country-paper.pdf

Agyei, J. and E. Clottey (2007). *Operationalising ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of People among the Member States: Issues of Convergence, Divergence andProspects for Sub-Saharan Integration.* Available from https://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/files/events/clottey.pdf

Ajaero, C.K., & Onokala, P.C., (2013). The effects of Rural-Urban Migration on Rural Communities of Southeastern Nigeria. Department of Geography, University of Nigeria. Nsukka 410001, Nigeria, https://www.hindawi.com/journals/ijpr/2013/610193/

Antwi-Bosiakoh T. (2011). Nigerian Migration to Ghana: History, Motivations and Associational Forms. LAP LAMBERT Academic Publishing.

Awumbila, M., Y, Benneh, J.K. Teye, & G. Atiim (2014). *Across Artificial Borders: An Assessment of Labour Migration in the ECOWAS Region.* Brussels: ACP Observatory on Migration, http://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/ecowas_region.pdf

Awumbila, M, Boakye-Yiadom, L, Egger, E.M., Litchfield, J., Teye, J.K &Yeboah, C. (2016). Gains and Losses from Internal Migration: Evidence from Migrant-Sending Households in Ghana. Migrating out of Poverty. Working paper 44. University of Sussex, https://assets.publishing.service.gov.uk/media/59930a4140f0b6794e6233aa/WP44_Awumbila_et_al_2016_Gains_and_Losses_from_Internal_Migration.pdf

Benneh, E Y. (2005). The International Legal Regime and Migration Policies of Ghana, the ECOWAS, the Sub Region and Recipient Countries. In T. Manuh (eds) *At home in the world? International Migration and Development in Contemporary Ghana and West Africa* Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers.

Boateng, A. (2012). Survival voices: social capital and the well-being of Liberian refugee women in Ghana. *Journal of Immigrant & Refugee Studies,* 8(4): 386–408.

Castaldo, A., Deshingkar, P., & McKay, A. (2012). Internal Migration, Remittances and Poverty: Evidence from Ghana and India. Migrating Out of Poverty Working Paper 7. Brighton:University of Sussex, http://migratingoutofpoverty.dfid.gov.uk/files/file.php?name=wp7-internal-migration-remittances-and-poverty.pdf&site=354

Clark, K., & Drinkwater, S. (2007). Ethnic minorities in the labor market: dynamics and diversity. York: Joseph Rowntree Foundation https://www.jrf.org.uk/sites/default/files/jrf/migrated/files/1986-ethnic-minorities-employment.pdf

Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) (2013). 2010 Population and Housing Census: National Report. Accra: GSS, http://www.statsghana.gov.gh/docfiles/2010phc/National_Analytical_Report.pdf

ICMPD and IOM (2015). A Survey on Migration Policies in West Africa, http://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/survey_west_africa_en.pdf

Kalitanyi, V., & Visser, K. (2010). African immigrants in South Africa: job takers or job creators? *South African Journal of Economic and Management Sciences*, 13(4): 376- 390, https://sajems.org/index.php/sajems/article/view/91/10

Kitchen, R and Tate, N. (2000). Conducting Research in Human Geography: Theory, Methodology and Practice. London: Prentice Hall.

Mangala, J. (Ed) (2017). *Africa and its Global Diaspora: The Policy and Politics of Emigration*. New York: Palgrave MacMillan.

Marc, D., Wake, C., Sturridge, S., Bennett, C. (2015). The Ebola response in West Africa: Exposing the politics and culture of international aid. Humanitarian Policy Group (HPG) working paper. London: Overseas Development Institute, https://www.odi.org/sites/odi.org.uk/files/odi-assets/publications-opinion-files/9903.pdf

Mazzucato, V., Van den Boom, B. and Nsowah-Nuamah, N.N.N. (2005). Origin and Destination Of remittances in Ghana. In T. Manuh (ed.) At Home in the World?: International Migration and Development in Contemporary Ghana and West Africa. Accra: Sub-Saharan Publishers (pp139-152), https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/bitstream/handle/10986/2535/582840PUB0ID231ration09780821384367.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

Murrugarra, E., Larrison, J & Sasin, J. (eds.) (2011) Migration and Poverty: Towards Better Opportunities for the Poor. World Bank.

Nyamongo, I.K & Shilabukha, D. (2017). State of Africa's Population 2017: Keeping Rights of Girls, Adolescents and Young Women at the Centre of Africa's Demographic Dividend. Report presented at the Second Session of the Specialized Technical Committee on Health, Population and Drug Control, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, https://au.int/sites/default/files/newsevents/workingdocuments/32187-wd-state_of_africas_population_-_sa19093_-e.pdf

Olukoshi, A. (2001). West Africa's Political Economy in the Next Millennium: Retrospect and Prospect. *CODESRIA Monograph Series 2/2001,* http://www.untag-smd.ac.id/files/Perpustakaan_Digital_2/POLITICAL%20ECONOMY%20West_africas_political_economy_in_the_next_millennium_retrospect_and_prospect.pdf

Olsen, A.S.W.  (2011). *Reconsidering West African Migration: Changing Focus from European Immigration to Intraregional Flows.* DIIS Working Paper, 2011:21.  Danish Institute for International Studies, Copenhagen, https://www.diis.dk/files/media/publications/import/extra/reconsidering_west_african_migration_-_web_4.pdf

Pfeffer, J. (1997). *New Directions for Organisation Theory: Problems and Prospects* (New York: Oxford University Press), http://www.untag-smd.ac.id/files/Perpustakaan_Digital_2/ORGANIZATION%20THEORY%20New%20Directions%20for%20Organization%20Theory.pdf

Quartey, P. (2009).  *Migration in Ghana: A Country Profile 2009.* Geneva: International Organization for Migration (IOM), https://publications.iom.int/system/files/pdf/ghana_profile_2009_0.pdf

Ravallion, M, Chen, S. & Sangraula, P. (2007). The urbanization of global poverty, World Bank Research Digest, 1(1): 8.

Ratha, D., S, Mohapatra & Scheja, E. (2011) *Impact of Migration on Economic and Social. Development: A Review of Evidence and Emerging Issues.* World Bank Policy Research Working Paper. Washington DC: World Bank, https://elibrary.worldbank.org/doi/pdf/10.1596/1813-9450-5558

Sahel and West Africa Club/OECD (2006). Atlas on Regional Integration in West Africa Population Series: Demographic trends. Available from http://www.oecd.org/swac/publications/39802965.pdf

Sesay, A. & Omotosho, M. (2011). The Politics of Regional Integration in West Africa. *WACSERIES*, 2(2): 1-36.

Switek, M. (2016). Internal Migration and Life Satisfaction: Well-Being Paths of Young Adult Migrants. *Social Indicators Research*,125(1):191-241, https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007%2Fs11205-014-0829-x

Teye, J. K., Awumbila, M., & Benneh, Y. (2015). Intra-regional migration in the ECOWAS region: Trends and emerging challenges. In A., B. Akoutou, R. Sohn, M. Vogl & D. Yeboah (Eds), *Migration and Civil Society as Development Drivers - A Regional Perspective* (pp. 97-124). Bonn: Zei Centre for European Integration Studies.

Teye, J. K., Alhassan, O., & Setrana, M (2017). Evolution and nature of diaspora engagement policies in Ghana. In J. Mangala (Ed), *Africa and its Global Diaspora: The Policy and Politics of Emigration.* New York: Palgrave MacMillan (pp. 143-174 )

Teye, J.K & Asima, P ( 2017). Assessment of the potential benefits and challenges of waiving/reducing work permit fees for skilled professionals within the countries participating in the Tntra-African Talent Mobility partnership  programme in West Africa. Accra: ACET

Teye, J. K., & Yebleh, M. (2015). Living without economic assets: Livelihoods of Liberian refugees in the Buduburam Camp, Ghana. *Journal of International Migration and Integration,* 16(3), 557–574, https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s12134-014-0352-6

United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division (2013). World Population Prospects: The 2012 Revision, Highlights and Advance Tables. Working Paper No. ESA/P/WP.228, https://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/publications/Files/WPP2012_HIGHLIGHTS.pdf

UNDP (2016). Human Development Report: Human Development for Everyone. Available from http://hdr.undp.org/sites/default/files/2016_human_development_report.pdf

Yaro, J.A (2008). Migration in West Africa: Patterns, Issues and Challenges. Unpublished paper.

*Links accessed on 20/07/2018*

MADE
Migration and Development
Civil Society Network

UNIVERSITY OF GHANA
CENTRE FOR MIGRATION STUDIES