

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION PAPERS

72E

Migration management and development policies: maximising the benefits of international migration in West Africa

Savina Ammassari



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INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION PROGRAMME

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Ammassari S.

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Foreword

This report is presented as part of the ILO *International Migration Papers* that disseminate current research findings on global migration trends and seek to stimulate dialogue and policy development on issues of regulating labour migration.

The importance and immediacy of more effectively regulating labour migration in Africa motivated the ILO to establish a programmatic Africa Labour Migration Initiative in 2002. The evident starting point for this initiative was to expand the knowledge base as a proper foundation for effective technical cooperation and practical activity. As a result, a number of the English language edition of this report is included in a special series of regional and national studies from East, West and Maghreb Africa being published in 2006 as *International Migration Papers*. The original French language edition was published in 2005.

Migration has come to the top of the political and social agenda across all of Africa. In recent years, regional integration initiatives have made considerable progress in development of frameworks, legislation, and mechanisms for increased economic and social integration among concerned states.

West Africa in particular has always been characterised by strong migratory dynamics due to prevailing political, labour market and political conditions. In Africa, this region has the highest concentration of intra-regional migrants and the highest rate of emigration towards Europe.

Labour mobility and market integration have been explicitly addressed in the context of the regional integration process of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UMEOA). Over the last two decades, ECOWAS has elaborated Protocols on Free Movement of Persons and the Right of Residence and Establishment. However, these Protocols have not been fully implemented. Data necessary to make informed policy decisions is lacking. National legislation in ECOWAS member countries has not adequately incorporated the provisions of regional Protocols and international standards. Existing policy and practices often make little reference to relevant labour market and labour migration conditions. The involvement and capacity of labour ministries, worker organizations and employers in addressing labour migration needs to be strengthened.

As a contribution to meet these needs, this paper addresses the question of how the development benefits of international migration can be maximised, and offers a series of concrete recommendations on how to achieve this objective. The author made fact-finding visits to Senegal and Mali to collect information and conduct the necessary consultations to write this paper. A wide range of French and English language sources have been consulted for this research.

Analysis of the relationship between migration and development in this specific regional context confirms that the West African countries benefit considerably from international migration. This paper examines the policy initiatives and practices in the region and then goes on to show how governments can consolidate their past efforts, by placing migration policy in the broader policy framework of development intervention. The expanding regional consultation process on migration in West Africa indicates a growing awareness that

better cooperation and collaboration is needed at national, regional and international levels. This represents a step forward because unilateral interventions are neither effective nor sustainable. Migration needs to be regulated in the interest and with the participation of all those who are involved, not least to fight trafficking and smuggling of migrants and to protect migrants by promoting their rights.

This paper suggests that the benefits derived from international migration can be amplified if comprehensive and coherent national migration policies are elaborated. These need to be developed in accordance with regional treaties and international laws and regulations regarding the protection of migrants and their families.

Building on these more general concerns, the paper puts forward practical suggestions and specific recommendations on what can be done by governments and other stakeholders in the short, medium and long term to improve the effectiveness of policies and measures for maximising development benefits deriving from international migration in West Africa.

This study was carried out in the framework of the pilot phase of ILO work on labour migration and development in West Africa, supported by the government of the Netherlands. The original French language edition of this paper was published in late 2004. Translation to permit publication in English was provided for by the subsequent ILO project “Managing labour migration for integration and development in the EuroMed region, East Africa and West Africa,” supported by the European Union programme for migration cooperation with third countries administered by the Directorate General for Justice, Liberty and Security.

The pilot ILO West Africa project phase was coordinated by Piyasiri Wickramasekara, Senior Migration Specialist for the International Migration Programme; he provided technical assistance and oversight to the preparation of this report. ILO is most grateful to Savina Ammassari for her valuable contribution. Appreciation is also due to David Nii Addy, ILO Africa Project Officer, for editorial review of the English versions and to Céline Peyron for final production support.

Patrick A Taran
Senior Migration Specialist
Coordinator, ILO Africa Labour Migration initiative

Abbreviations

AFIDRA	Association for training, integration and rural development in Africa
ANPE	National employment agency
APR	State aid for reintegration
ILO	International Labour Office
CAF	Child benefit fund
WAEC	West African Economic Community
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
CRPO	French contract for reintegration into the country of origin
DNDS	Social development department
FAFRAD	Federation of Franco-African development associations
IMF	International Monetary Fund
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
FSP	Priority solidarity fund in Mali
HCME	High council of Malian expatriates
UNHCR	United Nations High Commission for Refugees
IDS	Committee for immigration and development in Sahel
IQF	<i>“Invités à Quitter la France”</i> French aid for reintegration of migrants
IRD	Institute for research and development
GRDR	Group for research and rural development in the third world
MIDA	Migration for Development in Africa
MIDSA	Migration Dialogue for Southern Africa
NTIC	New technologies in information and communication
OCAM	Africa and Mauritius common organisation
OCHA	United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
OFPRA	French office for the protection of refugees and expatriates
IOM	International Organisation for Migration
OIT	Organisation Internationale du Travail
OMI	French office for international migration
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OSIM	Organisation for solidarity in international migration
OAU	Organisation for African Unity
SAP	Structural adjustment programme
PDLM	Local migration development programme

GDP	Gross domestic product
IMP	International Migration Policy Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
REMUAO	Network for research on migration and urbanisation in West Africa
HR	Humanitarian repatriation
RQAN	Return of Qualified African Nationals
SANSA	South African Network of Skills Abroad
SIAMO	Côte d'Ivoire organisation for the supply of labour
TOKTEN	Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriated Nationals
UAM	Union of Africa and Mauritius
UEMOA	West Africa Economic and Monetary Union
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNOPS	United Nations Office for Project Services

1. Introduction and objectives of the study

The theme of migration is central to political debate both in the countries that receive migrants and in the sending countries. There is a growing consensus that if it is properly managed, migration can be to the advantage of all the countries concerned. The question that arises, and which is addressed in this paper, is how to maximise the benefits of international migration in West Africa in the context of sustainable development.

The interest aroused in the topics of migration and development and their political consequences is not new. The United Nations have regularly debated the subject since the mid-1970s, the time when the first migration policies were formulated (UN Population Division 2002). In 1994 the International Conference on Population and Development concluded that international migration should be better managed in order to maximise the benefits and reduce the problems. This objective was taken up by the United Nations General Assembly in 2001¹, at the same time emphasizing the necessity for a better understanding of the causes of international migration and the consequences on development. This is a priority of both the United Nations Secretary General² and the European Commission, who consider that this step is necessary in order to be able to define a clear and effective political line in matters of migration and development³. Furthermore, this subject is on the agenda for the 58th United Nations General Assembly.

Migration has often had a negative image, both in the emigration and immigration countries. Yet the sending and receiving countries, as well as the migrants themselves, can all benefit from the movement, even if these benefits are not always easily quantifiable. One of the advantages for the receiving country is that immigration helps to cope with the shortage of labour, whether qualified or unqualified. For the sending country one of the most often cited benefits is the repatriation of financial capital by the migrants. Undeniably these remittances represent considerable sums and an important source of income for many developing countries (World Bank, 2003).

Other benefits of international migration are linked to the transfer of human and social capital by the migrant workers. It is now recognised that it is not essential for a migrant to settle permanently in a country in order to contribute to its development by the transfer of skills, technology and methods of organization. But whereas there are numerous advantages in the circulation of skills, the permanent departure of qualified migrants – the brain drain – is clearly a much more problematic phenomenon.

In Africa the brain drain, and in a more general manner, international labour movement represents a very particular problem (IOM, 2003). This continent not only has the highest number of migrant workers (ILO, 1999), but also the highest number of poor and heavily indebted countries (World Bank, 2003⁴). Many of these countries are both emigration and immigration countries⁵. They therefore have a two-fold reason for planning and implementing migration management policies in order to maximise their benefits. These policies are even more important in a context of increasing poverty, intensification of

¹ Resolution 56/203 of the United Nations General Assembly, 21 December 2001.

² Report of the United Nations General Secretary, A/57/387.

³ European Commission (2002).

⁴ Cf. Table 1 in the Annex

⁵ The number of immigration countries has increased on a world scale (United Nations, 2003b)

irregular migration (Adepoju, 1999; 2002) and expansion of trafficking in migrants and smuggling of people, particularly women and children, in sub-Saharan Africa (ILO, 2003a)

The need to assure the rights and protection of migrants has been recognised and approved in several United Nations conventions and by their specialised agents. The 1990 Convention relative to the protection of the rights of all migrant workers and members of their family is an extension of the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This convention, which came into force in 2003, together with two other protocols against illegal trafficking in migrants and smuggling people adopted in 2000 with reference to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organised Crime, are important legal instruments for combatting the exploitation of migration and of migrants (Taran, 2000; Taran and Geronimi, 2003).

At the present time in West Africa most migratory movements take place outside the boundaries of any rules as few countries have any real policy on migration and even fewer strictly apply the existing laws and regulations relating to international migration (Zlotnik, 2003). But since the start of the new millenium there has been an increasing number of initiatives to coordinate efforts and to try and improve management and regulation of international migration. In 2000, at the West African Regional Ministerial Meeting on the Participation of Migrants in the Development of their Country of Origin, the governments of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) adopted the Dakar Declaration⁶. This underlines the need for harmonization of migration and development policies. It lists a series of undertakings by the main participating countries in order to maximise the benefits that derive from population movements.

The Dakar Declaration also contains a series of follow-up proposals. The first step in implementing this was the organization in Dakar in 2001 of the International Migration Policy Seminar for West Africa. At this meeting a series of recommendations was adopted concerning (i) collection and exchange of data on migration at national and regional level; (ii) smuggling and illegal trafficking in migrants; (iii) migration, human safety and regional stability; (iv) labour migration and (v) intergovernmental co-operation .

Following these initiatives and on the basis of their recommendations the International Labour Organization (ILO) in 2003 launched a technical co-operation programme on Labour Migration and Development in West Africa⁷. The objective is to promote sustainable development and productive employment in this region by forms of labour movement that are organised and mutually beneficial. Amongst other things, the project seeks to supply the pilot countries – Burkina Faso, Mali and Senegal⁸ – with concrete directive guidelines for managing labour migrations more effectively and for promoting regular migration on the basis of their socio-economic situation and their administrative capacity. This multilateral programme is being conducted within the framework of the Initiative for a Policy of Migration Management in Africa launched by the ILO in 2002 in order to assist governments in the development of a conceptual framework for the creation of migration policies and for the implementation of practical and efficient structures and mechanisms to facilitate their application (ILO, 2002).

⁶ Dakar Declaration, West African Regional Ministerial Meeting on the Participation of Migrants in the Development of their Country of Origin, Dakar, 13 October 2000.

⁷ Summary Project Outline, RAF/02/M59/NET, ILO: Geneva.

⁸ It was intended that Cote d'Ivoire form part of the pilot study group in this programme, but in the end this country was not included because of its crisis situation.

The development of viable migration policies in the West African countries not only requires a better understanding of the implications that the movement of international labour has for the socio-economic development of the countries concerned, but it also implies the development of means to manage and regulate this movement.

This present study on migration and development in the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA)⁹ and more generally in ECOWAS is a response to the need for better provision and information in these countries, to help them develop migration policies that take account of more global development strategies and that seek to maximise the advantages of labour migration in terms of sustainable development.

The objectives of this survey, which looks particularly at the cases of Mali and Senegal, are:

- To achieve a better understanding of the implications of international migration and development in West Africa and particularly in the UEMOA zone
- To establish concrete guidelines for helping the countries in the region to maximise the potential advantages of international migration.

Under these two aims various questions are examined in the West African context. They cover a wide area and each one of them could be the subject of a specific study. Parallel to this study at the regional level, other research at national level has been conducted in the three pilot countries¹⁰. This related to (1) information and statistics on migration; (2) transfer and use of capital¹¹; (3) legislation and migration policies; (4) social security for migrant workers and (5) migration of highly trained workers.

For this study a large number of sources were consulted and as far as possible the information is cross-referenced. The following in particular were done: (a) a review of studies and publications; (b) a review of official documents, programmes and projects; (c) interviews with representatives of government agencies, NGOs and international organisations; and (d) consultations with experts and specialists on issues relating to international migration.

This present document is divided into eleven chapters. Following this introduction, Chapter 2 is an overview of the discussion around current relationships between migration and development, concluding that this discussion is still of interest. Chapter 3 examines this question in the specific context of West Africa, taking a historical approach in order to review the main factors behind change in the patterns of international and intercontinental migration. The causes and consequences of these migratory movements, which are particularly complex and strongly interrelated, are discussed in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 is devoted to the analysis of migrant remittances and their impact on the development of the country of origin. The manner in which the return of migrants affects this development is discussed in Chapter 6, together with the decisive role that can be played by those who remain abroad. Chapter 7 contains a review of the political and legal circumstances of

⁹ The member countries of UEMOA are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo. The same countries are members of CEDEAO together with Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Liberia, Nigeria, Mauritania and Sierra Leone.

¹⁰ Cf. list in Annex 2

¹¹ Studies on this subject have only been done on Burkina Faso and Mali because a study on Senegal had already been prepared by Barro et al. (2003) for the ILO.

international migration in the West African countries. This chapter is followed by two others evaluating the efficacy of various initiatives that have been mounted to improve the management of migration and maximise the benefits. There is also an appreciation of some support programmes for migrants who return or who wish to make a development contribution from the outside to their country of origin. In conclusion, the main lessons to be learned from the initiatives for migration management and development policies are listed. Recommendations for the improvement of current initiatives are formulated for the short, medium and long term in order to maximise the benefits derived from international migration for sustainable development in West Africa.

2. Links between migration and development: an unresolved question.

With globalisation the volume of international migration has considerably increased and it is expected to rise still further in the coming years. The number of persons residing in a country other than that where they were born was estimated in 2000 to be around 175 million, well over double the figure recorded for 1965 (75 million) (UN Population

Division, 2002:11¹²). In the period 1990-2000 the number of these migrants increased by about 1.3 per cent per year, but in the last year of this decade, less than 3 per cent of the world population were living in a stable fashion outside their country of origin. (IOM, 2000). Still using United Nations estimates (UN Population Division, 2002), in 2000, out of 175 million migrants 16.3 million were of African origin. In the same year the African continent counted 3.6 million refugees and 9 million displaced persons.

According to ILO estimates, migrant workers and the members of their family represent approximately 120 million individuals (Taran and Geronimi, 2003). More than half the total of these migrants are in developing countries and about one fifth are in Africa (ILO, 2002). In fact, as pointed out by Martin (2003) up until the 1970s migrations of workers were predominantly north-north and south-north; now they have been exceeded by migration south-south. The movements of labour forces have widely diversified and the range of destinations of migrant workers has opened out, contributing to a growth in the number of immigration countries (Stalker, 2000).

From now on international migration concerns nearly every country in the world and the distinction between countries that are traditionally countries of immigration and those of emigration is no longer so clear. On top of the movements of migrant workers and their family members now come new forms of transnational mobility such as, for example, the circular migrations of members of the Senegalese Mouride brotherhood¹³. Even though it is not very clear to what extent globalisation had contributed to accelerating and diversifying the movement of persons, its contribution to the expansion of transport and communication and to the decrease in those costs is undeniable. Nevertheless the growth in transnational movement of persons remains weak compared to that of goods and capital (World Bank, 2004).

¹² Around 9 per cent of the total of international migrants are refugees.

¹³ Cf. for example Riccio (2003) or Ebin (2001).

Although interest in the existing links between international migration and development has considerably increased in the last few years, and although discussion of this topic is more relevant than ever, the scientific work done up until now has not produced analytic models capable of showing these links in a clear and operational manner, in order to develop effective and pertinent policies. One of the difficulties relates to the fact that the meaning of the word ‘development’ is not always defined, or at least not in a way that is sufficiently detailed and practical. Similarly, it is rare that a clear distinction is made between the different migratory flows involving different categories of migrants, as for example those who are highly qualified and those who have few qualifications or none at all.

2.1 Different theoretical approaches and conceptual frameworks.

Migration and development are both complex phenomena, intimately related to each other¹⁴. In fact, development has an impact on the mobility of persons. At the same time, migration has consequences for development. Even though this principle is already well-established, researchers and decision-makers continue to be intrigued by the nature of the links between migration and development (Ammassari and Black, 2001; Hammet et al, 1997; Nyberg-Sørensen et al, 2002a, 2002b; Skeldon, 1997). The growing complexity and dynamism of these phenomena makes it difficult to draw any clear conclusions, but it is clear that the pattern of relationships changes with time and also according to circumstances. It is therefore impossible to generalise. (Ammassari, 2003b).

The answer to the question whether migration produces positive or negative results depends to a large extent on the theoretical approach adopted (Ellerman, 2003). The two theoretical approaches most often used for studies of the phenomenon of migration in West Africa are the models based on neoclassical economics and on Marxism. They have both been applied in researches into the causes and consequences of internal migration as well as cross-border migration.

According to the neoclassical economics models, movements of the workforce from one place to another are useful because they help to right structural imbalance, thereby contributing to convergence of the production factors existing in different places¹⁵. Applied to the international scale, these models consider that migration helps to reduce the differences that pertain between the sending and the receiving country and at the same time assists development both in the former and the latter (Solimano, 2001). The countries of origin are generally less developed; labour is plentiful and capital relatively limited. In the receiving countries the opposite is the case: wages are generally higher, attractive to an outside workforce. International migration caused by this imbalance leads to a fall in the number of jobs available in the countries of origin and a rise in the demand for jobs in the receiving countries. As a result, wages ought to rise in the former and fall in the latter. When they reach a balance, migration ought to stop or at least significantly diminish, and possibly a return process should evolve.

¹⁴ On this subject cf. Ammassari and Black (2001), Hammer et al. (1997), Nyberg-Sørensen et al. (2002a/b), and Skeldon (1997). The United Nations held a Technical Symposium on International Migration and Development in 1998 in The Hague whose proceedings were published in *International Migration* 37(1). A seminar on Migration and Development was also organised by the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) in 1992 in Geneva and the resolutions were published in *International Migration* 30(3/4).

¹⁵ This theory derives from the development models of Lewis (1954), Fei and Ranis (1961) and Harris and Todaro (1970).

These models have been criticised by authors versed in Marxist structuralism, who refuse to see migration as the result of a decision by an individual or by members of his family. They maintain that migration is as much the cause as the consequence of imbalanced development due to macro-economic forces derived for the most part from colonisation and the domination by industrialised countries of the developing countries (Amin, 1974; Cordell et al., 1987).

According to these thinkers, the development of capitalism is at the root of the process creaming off the labour force from the periphery (the developing countries) in favour of the centre (the industrialised countries).

In these two conceptual frameworks the structural aspects characterising the migrant sending and receiving countries are brought out in order to explain the forces that push or draw them. The purpose of this paper is not to discuss in detail the strengths and weaknesses of these efforts to interpret the phenomenon of migration, but two points at least need to be made. Migration is not necessarily, as the neoclassicists would have it, the result of the rational decision by a single individual who leaves a place where there is low productivity and a superfluous workforce to settle in a place where there is more chance of finding a job and improving his income¹⁶, or at least so he thinks¹⁷. Economic factors may well assume particular importance amongst the forces affecting migration, but other factors of a social, political and cultural order should also be taken into account, particularly when analysing the dynamics of return (Ammassari, 2004b). It should also be noted that the decision to migrate is seldom taken by an isolated individual, but more often than not involves not only the migrant but members of his family and other members of his social network¹⁸. At the same time, the neoclassical interpretation of the phenomenon of migration supposes complete freedom of movement, something which these days is far from being the case due to restrictive migration policies introduced by most of the immigration countries.

2.2 Conflicting results of empirical research

Some empirical studies have been carried out to identify the causes of international migration and in order to be able to appreciate the consequences for development in both the migrant sending and receiving countries more fully. The results of these researches tend on the whole to be rather conflicting and make it difficult to draw conclusions of a general nature (Ammassari and Black, 2001). According to Massey et al. (1993) this may be attributed to a great extent to the lack of any theory that might underpin this type of research and to the fact that migration and development are both extremely complex phenomena with a large number of variables. The empirical studies conducted in the past have produced contradictory results on the three themes at the centre of the controversy on the impact of international migration on the development of the migrants' countries of origin: migrant remittances, the labour market and employment and reverse migration.

a) Impact of migrant remittances to their country of origin

¹⁶ Many authors have pointed out that it is very rare for the decision to migrate to be taken by an individual on his own. It is generally the result of a decision or complex negotiations made by a complete household in the context of their strategy for maximising their income (Knerr, 1998) or for minimising risks (Stark and Katz, 1986) and involves several members of a family.

¹⁷ Harris and Todaro (1970) and Todaro (1985).

¹⁸ Gurak and Caces (1992).

Migrant remittances to their country of origin have long been part of the debate on the costs and benefits of international migration. On the one hand, it is possible to argue that these make a direct contribution to raising the standard of living, that they improve the distribution of income, that they play an important part in levelling the balance of payments, that they facilitate the importation of materials that are useful for industrial development, that they encourage the creation of savings or investment funds and that they help to cushion the shocks felt by the global economy¹⁹. On the other hand one may say that these transfers are an uncertain source of income, that they cause little or no productive or profitable investment because they are spent unproductively, that they increase inflation and importation (upsetting the balance of payments) and that they substitute for other potential sources of income, increasing dependancy and reducing the 'work habit', not to mention the other evils that are caused by migrants remittances: envy, jealousy and the desire to consume on the part of non-migrants.

b) Implications of international migration for the labour market

In the same way, if we consider that emigration by one part of the population of working age reduces tension on the labour market, we may also say that by the same token the sending countries find themselves bereft of the most ambitious and dynamic elements in their population, or the most qualified. Emigration by highly qualified persons is indeed one of the major themes of this long debate. Whilst some researchers have underlined the negative aspects of the brain drain on the economic growth of developing countries, deprived of a human capital of which they are in urgent need, others affirm that the emigration possibilities for qualified persons may reinforce the demand for higher education in the countries of origin; or that, if these qualified persons remained in their country, their potential would be wasted because of the lack of job opportunities. On the other hand it has also been emphasised that the return of this category of migrants, bringing back new knowledge and ideas, can increase productivity and accelerate the development of their country of origin.

In the 1970s and 1980s there was a substantial literature evaluating the impact of the exodus of male workers from the countryside. Here again, some authors underlined the importance of the income from migrant workers in diversifying household resources and reducing pressure on local production of food, while others consider that the departure of a labour force that is difficult to replace contributes significantly to the reduction of agricultural productivity and to the increase in certain undesirable social situations. It has also been shown how, in certain cases, the departure of the men was transformed into an additional burden for the women (Stichter, 1985).

c) Consequences of return to the home country

Research into return migration and its consequences for the development of the migrants' country of origin remains limited and yet, here too, there is very little consensus as to the impact of this return (King, 2000). The accent has often been placed on the positive aspects of transferring the human capital acquired abroad back to the country of origin²⁰. At the same time it is suggested that returning migrants, having generally occupied under-qualified jobs where they learn virtually nothing, bring back very little human capital; or if they acquire new knowledge, this is very rarely useful to them in the context of their origins.

¹⁹ New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) underlines the positive impact of migrant remittances (Taylor, 1999).

²⁰ Cf. Ammassari (2004a/b).

This is the conclusion of a number of studies carried out in the 1970s and 80s in the Mediterranean countries, examining the return and reintegration of low or unqualified migrants who return home to the countryside after having worked in a north European urban industrial environment²¹. Nevertheless, empirical research carried out in other regions²² and also in West Africa²³ have shown that returning migrants can, in certain cases, have a positive impact on the development of their country of origin. This can be demonstrated for example in the establishment of new businesses and the creation of jobs as well as in reinforcement of the management of existing structures in the public and private sectors.

In short, international migration has both a positive and a negative impact on development. This may vary considerably, depending on the volume, the type and the dynamics of the migratory flow. Determining factors to be taken into consideration are the characteristics of the migrants, the degree of selectivity or the situation in the country concerned. The consequences of migration also vary as a function of the level of analysis selected. There may be extremely different implications for the migrants themselves, their family, their community or their country of origin. Likewise, the short term effects of international migration are certainly different from their effects in the medium or long term.

3. Migration and development in West Africa

Migration in West Africa is certainly not a new phenomenon. It has a long history in a region that faces numerous difficulties with regard to development. Mobility has always been an important feature of people's lives, whether as part of nomadic life, the transhumance, or itinerant trade or agriculture. One of the effects of colonisation was to displace the centres of gravity in the economic activity and to transform the migratory circuits. Monetisation of the economy, the development of transport and, above all, the development of export crops have contributed to change in the pattern of West African migrations. (Touré and Fadayomi, 1992).

In the pre-colonial period, changes in the place of residence generally took place over a relatively short distance (Adepoju, 1995b). Later, in colonial and post-colonial times, distances became greater and the pattern of migration changed considerably. Population movements which up until then had involved entire families became movements of the labour force affecting only men in search of a paid job (Amin, 1995), though later in the 1980s and 90s we again find more families involved in the migratory flows. Women are also more present in these flows and their movements becomes increasingly autonomous (Zlotnik, 2003).

3.1 Weakness of migration statistics

Description of the changes that have taken place in the pattern of West African migration since independence is handicapped by weak statistics. One of the main failures is the lack of any breakdown by migration type (inter-regional or extra-regional) and by category of

²¹ Cf. King (1986) or Böhning (1972, 1980) or Gmelch (1980) for a more general review of the literature, or Cerase (1974) and Gmelch (1979) for European migrants returning from the United States.

²² Gmelch (1987), Iredale et al. (2002), Murphy (1999, 2000), Sutton and Makiesky (1975), Taylor (1976) and Thomas-Hope (1999).

²³ Ammassari (2004) and Black et al. (2003c).

migrant (migrant or refugee). Another problem arises from the population censuses, one of the most important sources of migration statistics, and which in most cases only produce data every ten years²⁴. This means that the data used to assess migration are not always sufficiently up-to-date. It therefore remains difficult to define the true volume of international migration in West Africa, the more so as in the last few years the region has experienced a strong increase in irregular flows (Adepoju, 2002; Fall, 2003).

That said, according to the estimates of the United Nation Population Division, in the ECOWAS countries the number of international migrants has increased from 2.5 million in 1960 to 6.8 million in 2000 (Zlotnik, 2003) with 42 per cent of the total of international migrants residing in Africa living in West Africa. Here, as in East Africa, international migrants represent a higher proportion of the population than in North Africa or South Africa. In relative terms the figure is 2.7 per cent of the total population in 2000, which is roughly the same as the average figure for the period 1980-1990.

Table 1 shows that in eleven of the ECOWAS countries – Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal and Sierra Leone – the number of emigrants exceeds the number of immigrants. Interpretation of these figures is not easy because they include entrances and exits of both nationals and foreigners and they include refugees as well as migrants. This may explain why a country like Liberia, in spite of its precarious situation, records more entrances than exits. This can probably be explained by the return of Liberian refugees from neighbouring countries.

Table 1. Stock of migrants and net rate of migration in UEMOA and ECOWAS countries, 1995-2000*

Country	Total population (millions) (2000)	Stock of migrants % (2000) (1)	Net rate of migration ‰ (1995-2000) (2)
Benin	6.3	1.6	-3.2
Burkina Faso	11.5	9.7	-5.5
Cape Verde	0.4	2.4	-2.5
Cote d'Ivoire	16.0	14.6	0.8
Gambia	1.3	14.2	9.1
Ghana	19.3	3.2	-1.2
Guinea	8.2	9.1	-6.2
Guinea-Bissau	1.2	1.6	-2.9
Liberia	2.9	5.5	36.5
Mali	11.4	0.4	-4.7
Mauritania	2.7	2.3	3.4
Niger	10.8	1.1	-0.1
Nigeria	113.9	0.7	-0.2
Senegal	9.4	3.0	-1.1
Sierra Leone	4.4	1.1	-7.8
Togo	4.5	4.0	6.1

Source: UN Population Division (2002)

In this table, as in those on the following pages, countries belonging to UEMOA and ECOWAS are shown in grey.

(1) Mid-year estimate of the number of persons born outside the country, plus the refugees.

(2) Difference between the population growth rate and the natural population growth rate in one year for 1 000 inhabitants.

²⁴ Note that a population census does not always collect data on migration. This is not done in Nigeria, for example (Black et al, 2004).

We also have data on migrations from UEMOA and ECOWAS countries towards Europe and the United States. Table 2 shows that the major migratory flows are from Cape Verde, Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Mali, Sierra Leone and Senegal. The latter go mainly to Europe, whereas Ghanaians and Nigerians may opt for Europe or the United States.

Another source of data on migration are public opinion surveys, at national level or on a more local scale. The former, since they are for the most part demographic surveys or studies on the standard of living of the populations, have the disadvantage of only producing a limited amount of data on migration. The second type of survey is generally designed specifically for the study of migration but they have the disadvantage of being conducted on too small a scale. The most comprehensive initiative to collect data on migration took place in 1993, when for the first time national surveys were conducted simultaneously in eight West African countries: Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria and Senegal (Traoré and Bocquier, 1998). This operation, known as REMUAO, supplied a huge amount of data that is useful for the analysis of the migration phenomenon in West Africa.

Table 2. Migratory flow from UEMOA and ECOWAS countries to Europe and the United States (yearly average), 1995-2000

Country	To Europe	To USA	Total (Europe and USA)	Rate of annual emigration(%) (1995-2000)
Benin	306	46	353	0.01
Burkina Faso	528	21	549	0.01
Cape Verde	2 514	951	3 465	0.84
Cote d'Ivoire	2 046	377	2423	0.02
Gambia	1 008	196	1 204	0.10
Ghana	5 840	4 563	10 403	0.06
Guinea	965	98	1 063	0.01
Guinea-Bissau	884	89	973	0.08
Liberia	981	1 817	2 798	0.09
Mali	1 258	97	1 354	0.01
Mauritania	583	48	631	0.03
Niger	180	212	392	0.00
Nigeria	7 204	7 736	14 940	0.01
Senegal	4 894	480	5 374	0.06
Sierra Leone	910	1 374	2 284	0.05
Togo	1 155	225	1 380	0.03
TOTAL	31 256	18 330	49 586	-

Source: Black et al. (2004)

3.2 Colonial past and increase in regional disparity

The first international labour migrations in the region date from the beginning of the last century and are principally due to development of the plantation economy and the opening of mines (Amin, 1974). These migrations were preceded and reinforced by the forced migrations common in the French colonies of the interior – now Burkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Chad – in order to increase the available workforce in the coastal countries (Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal and Cameroon). When forced labour was abolished in 1946, the coastal

regions, where the main export crops (cocoa, coffee and groundnuts) are concentrated, continued to attract large numbers of people from the interior in search of paid jobs²⁵.

Regional disparities, including the gap between rural and urban areas, intensified, the more so as the cross-border movements were to the profit of the more advanced economies and contributed to widening the gap between the rich and the poor countries in the region. In this way international migration from the landlocked countries towards those on the coast intensified.

The indicators in Table 3 show the existing disparities between the UEMOA and ECOWAS countries. They show that the per capita income in certain countries of the interior like Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger is above that recorded for certain countries on the coast (Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire and Senegal, for example). But in order to understand the dynamics of these cross-border migrations it is necessary to make a comparison with the per capita income in the most advanced countries of the North. We only need to note that in 2001 the per capita income (in US dollars) in Burkina was 1120, in Mali 810 and in Senegal 1500, whereas in the United States it was 34,320, in the United Kingdom 24,160 and in France 23,990.

Table 3. Indicators of development and human and financial poverty in the UEMOA and ECOWAS countries (2001)

Country	GNP per inhabitant (US dollars) (1)	Indicator of human development (2)	Indicator of poverty (3)	Population at 1 US dollar per day (%) (4)	Growth in work force (average annual rate)
Benin	980	0.411	46.4	..	2.7
Burkina Faso	1 120	0.330	58.6	61.2	1.9
Cape Verde	5 570	0.727	20.1	..	..
Cote d'Ivoire	1 490	0.396	45.0	12.3	3.3
Gambia	2 050	0.463	45.8	59.3	3.4
Ghana	2 250	0.567	26.4	44.8	2.9
Guinea	1 960	0.425	..	..	2.1
Guinea-Bissau	970	0.373	47.8	..	1.9
Liberia	..	..	..	..	2.3
Mali	810	0.337	55.1	72.8	2.2
Mauritania	1 990	0.454	48.6	28.6	2.5
Niger	890	0.292	61.8	61.4	3.0
Nigeria	850	0.463	34.0	70.2	2.7
Senegal	1 500	0.430	44.5	26.3	2.6
Sierra Leone	470	0.275	..	57.0	2.0
Togo	1 650	0.501	38.5	..	2.7

Sources: UNDP (2003) for (1),(2),(3) and (4) and World Bank (2003) for (5)

Very strong inter-regional and international disparities are also reflected in the indicators of human development and poverty, the latter being much more elevated in the countries of the

²⁵ In Cote d'Ivoire, for example, following abolition of compulsory recruitment in 1944, the employers created SIAMO, an inter-trade union for the supply of workers, whose purpose is to recruit workers in the neighbouring countries.

interior than in those on the coast²⁶. In 2001, nearly two thirds of the population of Burkina Faso and Niger were living on one US dollar a day or less; in Mali this was true of three quarters of the population. By contrast this was the case of only one person in ten in Cote d'Ivoire. In Cote d'Ivoire the indicator of human development was 0.396 and of human poverty 45 per cent, whereas these two indicators were respectively 0.937 and 15.8 per cent for the United States, 0.930 and 14.8 per cent for the United Kingdom and 0.925 and 10.8 per cent for France.

These disparities between the West African countries and countries in the North continue to widen and this explains in large part the increase in international migration and intercontinental migration. This said, most cross-border movements remain within the West African region and a good proportion of these population movements remain short migrations across the border (Adepoju, 2002). We may also note that in the majority of countries in the region there are more internal than international migrations, with some exceptions, as for example Burkina Faso.

3.3 Reorientation of intra-regional migrant flows

The work of REMUAO quoted above shows us that, following independence, the axes of international migration remained very stable. The axes were mainly Burkina Faso-Cote d'Ivoire, Mali-Cote d'Ivoire, Guinea-Senegal and Mauritania-Senegal, of which the first has increased the most²⁷. In the eight countries of REMUAO, between 1988 and 1992, more than 6.4 million internal and international migrations were done by around 27 million persons aged over 15. International migrations represent about one third of this total, most of them being between the countries included in the surveys (nearly 57 per cent).

The Saharan countries, because of greater poverty and particularly unfavourable geographic and climatic conditions, have always been major exporters of labour. By contrast the main immigration countries have changed over the years. In the 1960s Ghana was one of the prime destinations for West African migratory workers (Addo, 1987), whereas later on in the 1970s Nigeria attracted more workers. Subsequently both these countries became strong emigration countries (Adepoju, 1995a; Makinwa-Adebusoye, 1995²⁸), being replaced by Cote d'Ivoire, which became the principal pole of attraction for migrant workers in the region.

In Cote d'Ivoire the last general population census conducted in 1998 showed that 26 per cent of the whole population, or 4 million persons, were foreigners²⁹. More than half these people came from Burkina Faso and one out of five came from Mali. But when the Cote d'Ivoire crisis began at the end of 1990s this had an effect on migratory flows in the region.

²⁶ The indicator of human poverty and the indicator of human development are both composite and take account of the indicators for the following dimensions : a long and healthy life, education and a decent standard of living.

²⁷ Cf. Calkins et al. (1996), Cordell et al. (1996) and Zachariah and Condé (1981).

²⁸ In Ghana the economic crisis also led to the departure of many highly qualified persons, making this country one of the most affected in sub-Saharan Africa by the brain drain (Carrington and Detragiache, 1999). A significant number of Ghanaians emigrated to Nigeria, which because of the discovery of oil was a favourite destination for migrant workers in the 1970s. But in 1983 and 1985 the Nigerian government, in response to the growing economic crisis, proceeded to expel foreign nationals (Van Hear, 1992)²⁸. By contrast, the improvement in the political and economic situation in Ghana over the last few years has led to a wave of returns by Ghanaians to their home country (Adepoju, 2002).

²⁹ INS (2000)

It is thought that departures multiplied not only because of political instability and the economic crisis, but also because of a mounting feeling of xenophobia (Dozon, 2000) and the rising number of confrontations between indigenous and foreign populations (Brossard, 2003).

Because of the Cote d'Ivoire crisis we are now witnessing a reorientation of the intra-regional migratory flows towards other countries that have greater stability, such as Senegal. This is the only country whose position in the West African migratory system has not really changed; it was and remains a country of both immigration and emigration (Diatta and Mbow, 1999). It has traditionally attracted migrants from its neighbouring countries: Guinea, Mauritania and Mali. This said, for a long time the Senegalese have themselves been taking the road of intercontinental emigration (Robin, 1996a, 1996b, 1996c, 1996d)³⁰.

For the Senegalese as for other West Africans the most advanced countries of the North remain priority destinations, particularly the European countries and North America. Nevertheless, as pointed out by Robin (1994) we cannot consider the south-north (intercontinental) migrations without the south-south (intra- or extra-regional) because direct migrations towards a country in the North are becoming more rare. Immigration control in the northern countries is forcing many migrants to transit via another African country before they can reach their final overseas destination.

3.4 Pattern of extra-regional and intercontinental migration

In addition to intra-regional migration there is an extra-regional flow towards countries situated in other regions of the African continent: Central Africa (Gabon, Cameroon and the Central African Republic), North Africa (Egypt, Morocco and Libya), East Africa (Sudan) or South Africa (Zambia and South Africa)³¹. This last country has become a major destination, a trend that reflects the increasing difficulties encountered by West Africans when they want to enter a northern country.

Intercontinental migration has considerably diversified since the mid-1980s. To quote Robin (1994:17) we can say that from being "historically and linguistically bi-polar" the West African migratory area has become "multi-polar and fluctuating". In the past, the flow towards Europe was mainly to France and the United Kingdom, two countries where we may observe stabilisation of the immigrant population. Another destination was Germany. By contrast, more recently West African immigration has risen considerably in Scandinavia and the Southern European countries (Robin, 1997a). The latter countries, particularly Spain, Italy and Portugal, are often used as a jumping-off point for the more traditional receiving countries in Northern Europe. At the same time the United States, and to a lesser extent Canada, have become increasingly popular destinations. (Robin, 1996).

The choice of destination is not solely governed by linguistic, cultural or commercial considerations influenced by historical factors, economic opportunity or study; but also more commonly by the migration policies of the receiving countries and legal aspects related to the

³⁰ Cf. Riccio (2001; 2002; 2003); Schmidt di Friedberg (1994).

³¹ In 2001 the Ministry for Malians Abroad (2001) used the electoral register to count the number of Malians abroad. 89.1 % resided in a different country in West Africa. By far the greatest number – 523,231 – were counted in Cote d'Ivoire, but estimates by the same ministry put the number in this country at 1,700,000. A significant number of Malians were also living in Gabon (18 335), Saudi Arabia (23 625) and Sudan (100 000). The sources of these data are the Mali diplomatic missions and consulates abroad.

circulation of persons³². Migrant itineraries across national borders vary considerably. Many migrants proceed in steps. Thus, as Robin points out (1996b), it is not uncommon to find a Senegalese who has spent a few years in Abidjan, before leaving for Europe via Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau or Morocco³³. Mainly for economic reasons, Cote d'Ivoire has always been an important jumping-off point for West African migrants heading towards other regions of sub-Saharan Africa or towards other continents (Bredeloup, 1995a; Ba, 1995).

3.5 Feminisation of migrant flows

In the past, migrations, and particularly international movements of the labour force, were mainly migrations of men³⁴. Migration of women was seen mainly as an accompanying movement, because it occurred above all in the context of marriage, migration of a family or regrouping of a family, the latter being promoted by the European countries within the framework of their restrictive migration policies. Nevertheless, in the course of the last decades we have witnessed increasing feminisation of the migratory flows (Moreno Fontes-Chammartin, 2002; IOM, 2003), a phenomenon that has been more marked in Africa than in the rest of the world (Zlotnik, 2003).

In West Africa, labour migration has long remained the prerogative of the men, but now a growing number of women migrate autonomously over increasingly long distances, or even across borders, in search of work that satisfies their personal needs and those of their family (Adepoju, 2002). This trend, which started to grow in the mid 1990s, is due amongst other things to the sociocultural changes characterising modern African society and to the fact that the level of education for women is rising, even if they do not always have the advantage of access to education comparable to that of the men (ILO, 2003; UNICEF, 2002). The participation of women in the migratory flows remains lower at the international than the internal level, but it is interesting to note that in many West African countries women contribute more markedly to urbanisation (Traoré and Bocquier, 1998).

4. International migration, labour and poverty

The surveys conducted within the framework of REMUAO have shown that, whereas the dynamics of urbanisation are inseparable from the dynamics of international migration, migration from the countryside to the cities does not reduce international migration. A growing number of migrants go directly from their village to a foreign capital, a phenomenon that is more common in the landlocked countries of the Sahel, which are, for the most part, more affected by international migration (Traoré and Bocquier, 1998). In this regard it is interesting to note that in Mali more than 60 per cent of the flows leaving the rural areas head

³² Findley (1989) shows how the composition of the household influences the choice of destination. In the Senegal River valley, migrants leaving for France tend to come from households with high numbers of men, while households with fewer men tend to opt for African destinations. This is due to the fact that the latter have to take account of labour restrictions and therefore undertake shorter-term migrations. Departure for France is more likely if another family member has already gone to that destination.

³³ Barros *et al.* (2002) conducted a major survey of irregular sub-Saharan immigration to and from Morocco.

³⁴ Studies conducted within the framework of REMUAO (1997) have shown that within a country, such as Mali, Senegal or Niger, women migrate as much as men. In Burkina Faso the rural exodus to the cities is principally a female phenomenon. On the other hand in some rural contexts in West Africa it is not always regarded as acceptable for a woman to become involved in a productive activity. Migration, which separates them from their duties as wives and mothers, is an option that is seldom considered (Hampshire, 2002).

for another country. An example is the region of Kayes, which is a zone of international emigration *par excellence*: more than 70 per cent of their emigrants have a destination outside Mali, a large number of them in the countries of the North. This can be explained, amongst other reasons, by the long tradition in this region of emigration to France. (REMUAO, 1997)³⁵.

There is a multiplicity of reasons why an individual decides to leave his place of origin or to return there and the reasons are often strongly interrelated. There are a certain number of repulsing factors (constraints in the area of origin) and attracting factors (potential in the receiving area). A person's situation in these two contexts is one of the most significant factors in determining the movements of populations influenced simultaneously by economic, demographic, political, social, cultural and environmental factors.

4.1 Growth and economic crisis

In the two decades following independence, West Africa experienced a fast rate of economic growth, particularly in the coastal countries but also in the countries of the interior. But the factor which was the cause of growth became in the ensuing decades the cause of failure. The promotion of export crops and specialisation in them meant that when the world market in agricultural produce (coffee, cocoa, cotton, groundnuts) collapsed, income considerably decreased. The fall in the rate for raw materials, which started in the early 1970s, was followed by severe drought and by the oil crisis of 1973. Since then, as a result of the oil crisis, the volume of imports has increased.

In the 1980s and 90s the economic crisis in West Africa continued and even became worse. Both the industrial and agricultural sectors were affected by the recession and there was a general dearth of employment. This trend was increased by a fall in investment due to a drop in household consumption and also a fall in public investment. In response to this worsening situation, the governments, supported by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) introduced structural adjustment programmes (SAP). These programmes imposed a series of measures, with top priority given to reduction of public expenditure. This meant, amongst other things, that there was a rapid withdrawal by the state from the social services (education, health and housing, for example) and a reduction in the number of jobs in the public sector in order to reduce the wages budget. Unemployment and under-employment rose at the same time as a growing number of qualified youth entered the labour market each year in search of a job.

4.2 Demographic trends

Strong demographic growth contributed to the deterioration in the employment situation and to an increase in poverty. This trend, in association with an improved level of education, contributed to worsening the problem of unemployment and under-employment, especially amongst young people. (Adepoju, 2000; ILO, 2003). For this reason a growing number of young people, faced with the deterioration in their own educational systems, left to complete their studies abroad and did not return to their own country (Bland, 2001), or if they did decide to return, it was not until much later, after they had accumulated the wherewithal to start their own business (Ammassari, 2004a). Thus the brain drain, fed by the departure of

³⁵ Cf. Findley et al. (1995), Findley, (1997) and Findley and Sow (1998).

professionals in search of better pay and better working conditions, took on a greater dimension in the countries of West Africa, as elsewhere in sub-Saharan Africa (IOL, 2003).

Carrington and Detragiache estimate that in Africa more than a third of persons having reached a tertiary level of education left the continent. Ghana is affected by this problem: 26 per cent of highly qualified persons leave the country, a rate which is so high that it cannot but affect economic growth and development of the country. According to the IOM (2003: 216) West Africa is the region most affected by the brain drain of this continent. The professional categories most involved are engineers, scientific experts and doctors. For example, it is estimated that over 20 000 Nigerian doctors are practising their profession in Canada and the United States.

4.3 Food insecurity and rural exodus

Rural exodus is the main form of labour migration in West Africa. In the Sahelian countries, overpopulation of certain rural areas, degradation of the environment and unfavourable climatic conditions have contributed to the increase in food insecurity and the rural exodus. The agricultural sector remains by far the greatest employer in Africa but it is still not in a position to absorb the local labour force nor to guarantee self-sufficiency in food. The agricultural crisis and the need for money to satisfy basic needs, the purchase of food and payment for health needs and education have forced farmers to look for paid employment; the more so since colonisation with the introduction of taxes, abolition of slavery, recruitment of young men into the French army and a ban on cereals trading, all of which have made it more difficult for the rural Sahelian population to meet their economic needs through the traditional production system (Keita, 1996). On top of these problems came the severe droughts of 1973 and 1984.

The strategies for survival of the rural populations, faced with socio-economic difficulties and increasing poverty, include migration as a means of diversifying the risks. There have been a number of studies documenting this move in the Sahelian countries in particular³⁶. The migrations are often seasonal (Cekan, 1992; Hampshire, 2003) and circular (Cordell et al, 1995) with a regular pattern of return, in order, having generated some extra resources during the low season, to be able to go back to cultivating one's own land. This means that migrants can simultaneously keep their commitment to agriculture and participate in the migratory activity, a practice which enables them to maintain their property rights.

³⁶ De Haan and Rogaly (2002); Guilmoto (1997); Findley (1989); Findley and Sow (1998); Gubert (2002); Keita (1996); Lavigne Delville (1991), Pedersen (1995); Traoré (1995). The migrations of the Soninké people from the Senegal River valley, which extends into Mali, Mauritania and Senegal, are probably the most frequently surveyed in the sub-region. Initially, these migrants departed mainly to work in the groundnut fields or in the coastal towns of Senegal, but later they more often went to France. Soninké immigration in France, encouraged in the 1950s by a policy of industrial expansion, was temporary at first but gradually became permanent. This phenomenon was reinforced by the French government decision to stop immigration after the 1973 oil crisis. From that time immigration began to stabilise and families began to regroup. In the 1990s the Soninké and other immigrants in France found themselves confronted with increasingly restrictive migration policies in France as well as in the rest of the European Union. Alongside this there has been an increase in clandestine migration and the phenomenon of immigrants without proper identity or working papers (Fall, 2003).

4.4 Increase in unemployment and shortage of decent work

The pressure to migrate does not come solely from the rural areas. The cities are also concerned by the economic crisis, which has aggravated over the last two decades. The low level of economic growth and the fall in the supply of state development aid have led to a growth in unemployment in the formal and informal sectors, with a consequent drop in the standard of living of a household and a rise in poverty. The increase in unemployment and under-employment is a general trend in West Africa, as in the rest of sub-Saharan Africa³⁷.

Underpaid work is common in the region. In a number of countries less than 10 per cent of the active population work in the structured sector. In Ghana, for example, 89 per cent of workers work for themselves in the informal economy, which, apart from the agricultural sector, represents 58 per cent of GDP. In Cote d'Ivoire the figure is 95 per cent. The absence of rights and social protection affects workers in the informal sector even more than those in the formal sector, particularly women. There are also major disparities in sub-Saharan Africa between women's and men's pay for the work that they do (ILO, 2003). But although unemployment, the lack of decent work, and in a more general way, poverty are all important, they are far from being the only causes of migration³⁸.

4.5 Instability and political oppression

Instability and political oppression are of course other factors determining the movements of the population in West Africa (Akopari, 1998; Hatton and Williamson, 2003). Coups d'états, civil war and political upheavals have caused considerable flows of refugees and displaced persons³⁹. In 2000 the region had more than 700 000 refugees, of whom 427 200 in Guinea and 120 700 in Cote d'Ivoire, two countries bordering Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea Bissau (United Nations, 2003). But the problems of corruption and lack of good governance are also factors that drive workers, especially those that are highly qualified, to leave their country in search of better working and living conditions (Adepoju, 1995; 2002).

4.6 Sociocultural determinants of migration

The reasons for migration are not always only of an economic or political order; they may also be of an educational, religious, social or cultural nature. Empirical studies carried out in West Africa show that migration should not only be viewed as an economic process, but should also be considered as a social process⁴⁰. In effect, the migrations of different social groups defined according to sex and age, together with ethnic and religious features, follow different migratory patterns.

The process of modernisation in the region, encouraged by amongst other things the spread of the Christian religion and formal education, the introduction of a monetary economy, the development of export crops and paid work, has profoundly revolutionised the social,

³⁷ According to ILO (2003) the open rate of unemployment rose from 13.7 per cent in 2000 to 14.4 per cent in 2002 (ILO, 2003). In 1999 Burkina Faso had an unemployment rate of 26.2 per cent, Niger 20.9 per cent and Senegal 10.1 per cent.

³⁸ Using the example of the Fulani people in Burkina Faso, Hampshire (2002) shows that it is not the poorest who emigrate, but the rich coming from large families. Other studies conducted on the rural situation come to the same conclusions (Findley and Sow, 1998; Lipton, 1982).

³⁹ Between 1960 and 1995 the number of refugees rose from 79,000 to 6.4 million in Africa (Zlotnik, 2003).

⁴⁰ Cf. Petit (1994).

cultural, economic and political life of these populations. In this context migration may be seen as evidence of courage and a source of prestige (Ricca, 1990), as a strategy for emancipation and the acquisition of social and economic autonomy (Skinner, 1960) or as a rite of passage and a challenge by the young to the authority of their elders (Petit, 1994). One thing is clear: migration is more than ever the affair of the young and of males, but now increasingly of females, too.

5. Migrant remittances and their use

One of the positive effects of international migration by young, active populations on the development of their country is the fact that they send money back to their country of origin. This is not only an important source of revenue for the migrants' families back home; it also represents a significant source of revenue for a migrant's country of origin (World Bank, 2003b)⁴¹.

In West Africa these resources represent a growing portion of a country's GDP and sometimes more than other sources of income, such as state development aid or direct foreign investment. In view of a deficit in the balance of payments, low income from exports and needs for goods and importation services in the home country, remittances by nationals who have gone abroad amount to an important potential from a development point of view. Indeed, since development aid has diminished, migrant remittances have become even more important, the more so as direct foreign investment, which increased in the last decade, started to fall at the end of the 1990s.

5.1 Difficulties in evaluating real monetary transfer

It remains very difficult to evaluate the real volume of migrant remittances. A large proportion are not effected through the official channels and therefore escape the statistics⁴². In addition to financial remittances there are also transfers in kind, consisting mainly in consumer goods, which are not generally included in the calculation. Another difficulty when trying to estimate the importance of transfers operated by migrants to their country of origin is the different definitions that are adopted for migrant remittances, and the lack of harmonisation of balance of payments nomenclatures between the various countries. The difficulties encountered when one wants to make a precise distinction between migrant remittances and other sorts of financial transfer were noted a long time ago by Garson and Tapinos (1981) describing the case of France, the European country with the highest immigration from West Africa. These two authors, and others like them since, come to the conclusion that the volume of migrant remittances is on the whole greatly under-estimated (Blion 2001).

The problem of definition is amplified by the fact that migrant remittances usually include "compensation by the employer" as well as "transfer by the employee" and "migrant's

⁴¹ Statistics like those of the IMF Balance of Payments do not distinguish between the money transferred by migrants while they are resident abroad and the money they bring with them when they return to their own country.

⁴² A study carried out on Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire showed that those who transferred money more regularly did so more frequently through the official channels (Black *et al.*, 2003b).

remittance”⁴³. This can produce a distorted picture, as explained by Black and Tiemoko (2003) to the extent that a country of traditional immigration like Cote d’Ivoire benefits more from migrant remittances than traditionally emigrant countries, as salaries paid by multinational companies or international organisations show up in the accounts⁴⁴. Moreover, it is not always clear to what extent transfers by institutions or from state to state, such as pensions, family allowances, student allowances and grants are taken into account.

5.2 Methods of monetary transfer by migrants

Four types of transfer are used by migrants, sometimes all four at once, to repatriate their money. The official methods are by postal order and by bank transfer; informal methods are cash carried by the migrant himself or by a third party, also known as “suitcase transfer” or the “briefcase route”⁴⁵. Various surveys suggest that cash conveyance is the method most often used. The bank system is hardly used (sometimes because the migrant worker may be in a clandestine situation discouraging him from opening a bank account). Postal orders, which are rarely paid under good conditions and often late, have lost credibility (Robin, 1996).

On the other hand there is growing use of international financial transfer services such as Western Union or MoneyGram who have more reliable systems and more rapid procedures (Barro et al, 2003). Also a growing number of migrants are now choosing to deposit their money in local currency in a foreign bank account. For this reason some big African banks, like *Banque de l’Habitat du Senegal*, for example, have opened branches in the main areas where their nationals take up residence.

Other methods of informal transfer have recently made an appearance. “Telephone deposit” is one of the most frequently used. A person wishing to make a transfer goes to a shop, a business or a private individual and deposits the amount he wishes to transfer. He is given a number which he passes on to the beneficiary and in exchange for which the money is paid out by a local correspondent. This circuit enables participants on both sides to do business more quickly and more efficiently than by using the official channels, which are considered too slow and too expensive. The Kara International Exchange, established by a Senegalese migrant in New York, is one of the best known examples of this kind of “immaterial transfer” (Tall, 2002).

5.3 Size of migrant remittances

Official net migrant remittances have considerably increased in all the member countries of the ECOWAS zone. They went up from 589 million US dollars in 1994 to 1511 million US dollars in 1999 (Table 4).

⁴³ For most of the countries in CEDEAO the data for each of these indicators are not available in the IMF Balance of Payments Yearbook, making it difficult to calculate the total of migrant remittances. The annual migrant remittances for these countries shown in the tables below only reflect ‘migrant’s remittances’. Cf. Gammeltoft (2002) for a discussion of the problems related to data sources.

⁴⁴ The data for Cote d’Ivoire have not been reproduced for precisely this reason, because the IMF Balance of Payments Yearbook shows only the ‘employees’ compensations’ for this country. No figures are supplied for ‘migrant remittances’ or ‘transfers by workers’.

⁴⁵ Puri et Ritzema (1999), who for a reduced number of various countries in the world estimated the volume of transfers through informal channels, concluded that it varies between 8 and 85 per cent of the total of migrant remittances.

Table 4. Official net migrant remittances within ECOWAS (million US\$)

Year	Migrant remittances to ECOWAS	Migrant remittances outside ECOWAS	Net migrant remittances
1994	1 168	579	589
1995	1 463	640	823
1996	1 597	701	896
1997	2 500	661	1 839
1998	2 097	659	1 438
1999	1 759	248	1 511

Source: IMF Balance of Payments Statistics Yearbook.

But not all the countries in ECOWAS draw the same profit from migrant remittances. Burkina Faso has long been the country that most benefits from these financial transfers because of its long history of labour emigration (Table 5).

Table 5. Official net migrant remittances to certain countries in UEMOA and ECOWAS (million US\$), 1975-2000

Country	Migrant remittances					
	1975	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000
Benin	77.0	38.1	88.8	89.0	92.4	70.0
Burkina Faso	150.3	125.9	139.7	140.0	88.7	66.7
Cape Verde	40.1	20.8	56.0	56.0	104.0	73.0
Ghana	0.5	0.4	6.0	6.0	17.3	32.0
Mali	59.4	67.0	106.9	107.0	112.1	72.9
Niger	5.9	2.1	13.1	13.0	6.3	7.2
Nigeria	12.8	10.1	10.0	10.0	803.6	1301.1
Senegal	74.8	55.1	90.8	91.0	86.5	130.0
Togo	9.9	15.4	26.9	27.0	15.0	35.0
TOTAL	430.6	334.7	538.2	539.0	1325.9	1787.8

Source: for 1975-1995 IOM (2003), for 2000 World Bank (2003); United Nations (2003) and IOM (2003).

Nevertheless, in the 1990s migrant remittances to these countries were exceeded by those to Cape Verde, Mali and above all Nigeria. In Nigeria, for the same decade, the increase in migrant remittances is spectacular, reaching around 1301 million US dollars in 2000⁴⁶. However, because of its very large population, transfers per inhabitant remain very modest in this country, at 11 dollars, as against 169 dollars in Cape Verde.

A better appreciation of the size of remittances by emigrants within the economy of their country of origin may be obtained by comparison either with the flow of government development aid or with direct foreign private investment bringing in foreign currency (Table 6). For the year 2000, in all the countries except Nigeria, the volume of government aid was decidedly higher than any other monetary flows. But in a number of countries, such as Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal and Togo, migrant remittances were higher than direct foreign investment (DFI), an important source of foreign currency in the region.

⁴⁶ Black and Tiemoko (2003) estimate that this increase in migrant remittances to Nigeria could conceal a possible change in the methods of data collection for these financial flows.

Table 6. Official net migrant remittances and flows of aid and direct foreign investment in some countries of UEMOA and ECOWAS (million US\$), 2000

Country	Migrant remittances	Aid	DFI
Benin	70	239	30
Burkina Faso	66	336	10
Cote d'Ivoire	119	352	106
Ghana	32	609	110
Guinea	1	153	63
Mali	73	360	76
Niger	7	211	15
Nigeria	1301	185	1082
Senegal	130	423	107
Togo	35	70	30

Source: migrant remittances (United Nations, 2003; World Bank, 2002); state development aid and direct foreign investment (World Bank, 2002).

Because of the fall in direct foreign investment and other sources of foreign currency, migrant remittances assume an ever increasing importance in the economic growth of the countries in this region. They help to stabilise the balance of payments and alongside government aid supply very important resources for development.

Table 7. Official net migrant remittances as a percentage of other monetary flows in some countries of UEMOA and ECOWAS, 2000

Country	Net official remittances					
	GDP	Aid	DFI	Exp	Imp	per inhabitant
Benin	3.1	29.3	233.3	11.0	9.4	11
Burkina Faso	2.9	19.9	667.4	20.6	9.6	-
Cape Verde	13.1	-	-	32.0	19.3	169
Cote d'Ivoire	1.1	33.8	112.3	2.6	2.7	-
Ghana	0.6	5.3	29.1	1.3	0.9	2
Guinea	0.0	0.7	1.6	0.1	0.1	1
Mali	3.0	20.2	95.8	12.2	9.5	91
Niger	0.4	3.4	48.3	2.1	1.4	7
Nigeria	3.1	703.2	120.2	8.5	8.7	13
Senegal	3.0	30.7	122.0	8.2	6.8	14
Togo	2.9	50.0	116.7	7.4	5.3	1

Source: GDP and migrant remittances per inhabitant (United Nations, 2003); state development aid and direct foreign investment (World Bank, 2002); imports and exports (IMF, 2001). Migrant remittances for 2000 copied from Table 3 according to the same sources.

Note that in Nigeria, which is altogether a special case, migrant remittances in 2000 were seven times higher than aid (Tables 6 and 7) and 20 per cent higher than DFI. Cape Verde is the country where migrant remittances constitute, in comparison with other countries, the largest proportion of the gross national product (GDP), i.e. around 13 per cent⁴⁷. In other countries which traditionally have a high rate of emigration, such as Burkina Faso, Mali and Senegal, migrant remittances represent around 3 per cent of GDP. This said, comparing these figures to the population we see that in Mali migrant remittances represent 91 dollars

⁴⁷ Carling (2003) describes the decisive role that migrant remittances have in Cape Verde.

per inhabitant. In seven ECOWAS countries migrant remittances amount to more than 20 per cent of what they receive in public development aid.

The countries where migrant remittances constitute a more limited proportion of GDP are Guinea, Ghana and Niger, a fact which may appear somewhat surprising as these countries have a relatively high rate of emigration. A survey carried out in 1991 in Ghana showed that 60 per cent of nationals residing in another country within the region did not send money back to their own country (Anarfi and Ohene-Konadu, 1995). Most of them saved the money in order to transfer it and invest it on their return. A large number of those included in the survey also used their savings to buy goods which they brought back and sold in their own country, a transfer of resources which is not included in the official statistics⁴⁸.

Table 7 shows that migrant remittances represent around 20 per cent of income compared to exports in Burkina Faso and more than 30 per cent of the latter in Cape Verde. They represent a major source of foreign currency, particularly if one realises that these figures do not include official transfers by migrants. Fifteen years ago Coulibaly (1987) noted that in Burkina Faso migrant remittances grew much faster than exports. Around the same time Condé et al. (1989) noted that since the beginning of the 1980s migrant remittances had helped to cancel the balance of payments deficit in Mali.

5.4 Pattern of migrant remittances

Migrants' behaviour with regard to their financial transfers differs according to a number of variables, but we can distinguish three main groups (Verrière, 2001). First there are the variables that influence the volume of a migrant's income in the country he goes to (wages, allowances, etc.) Then there are the variables that determine the spread of this income between spending and saving. These include the migrant's own ideas, such as returning to his country of origin or the desire to build up an investment capital. The presence or otherwise of the migrant's wife and children in the receiving country is also significant. Finally, various variables influencing the behaviour of migrants with regard to their remittances, as well as with regard to their possible return (Ammassari, 2002b), are related to the socio-economic and political situation in their country of origin.

According to the results of a recent survey published by Blion (2002), Malians and Senegalese living in France transfer on average 1448 and 1341 euros per annum respectively. These sums are fairly comparable to the sums transferred by migrants from Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire included in a survey carried out by the Sussex Centre for Migration Research (Black et al., 2003b; Tiemoko, 2003)⁴⁹. Nevertheless, the amount of the remittances varies generally according to the circumstances and the context. The main variations we may observe in the incidence of transfers are on the basis of age, sex and marital status, and are also a function of the socio-economic status of the migrant and the standard of living of his family.

⁴⁸ It is worth noting that transfers of money are not the only type of transfer operated by migrants. Material goods are also routinely sent out, such as vehicles, equipment, electrical household goods, clothing and medicines. This type of transfer is increasingly favoured by migrants who are often disappointed when their money is misappropriated or spent on purposes other than those originally agreed with the family.

⁴⁹ This study also shows that the most qualified migrants, belonging to the elite, are more often amongst those who do not make transfers or who only do so in a symbolic gesture (Ammassari, to be published).

Generally, the more pressing the needs in the country of origin, the greater the funds that are repatriated (Grubert, 2002), a fact which leads Ratha (2003) to conclude that migrant remittances are less volatile in a crisis situation than other types of financial flow. By contrast, the more the stay in the receiving country is prolonged, the more the level of remittances tends to drop (King, 2000). Similarly the size of remittances depends on the reasons for the migration and the migrants' personal plans. If the migrant only intends to remain temporarily in the receiving country he will transfer more money back to his country of origin than if he decides to settle there definitively. Blion (2002) points out that the restrictive policies in France and its encouragement to go back, policies that tend to stabilise immigration, have caused migrants from Mali and Senegal to change their minds about their emigration plans. Financial transfers were more frequent and more voluminous before immigration stabilised, when most of the migrants imagined they would be returning to their own country.

5.5 Use of resources derived from migration

The savings sent back by migrants are undeniably an important source of income for the family back in the country of origin. In Senegal, according to Tall (2001), this money represents up to 90 per cent of the family income in certain villages in the Louga region. Similarly, Daum (1994) estimated that in Mali, in the Senegal River valley, this money represented about 80 per cent of family income. According to numerous studies, the main reason why migrants send money back is to give material aid to their family⁵⁰.

The greater part of the income derived from migration is used for day-to-day expenses and to satisfy the basic needs of the family with regard to food, education, clothing, basic healthcare, travel and housing⁵¹. The money sent back by migrants therefore assumes a very particular importance in situations of crisis or distress (de Haan and Rogaly, 2002; Lachaud, 2002) because it constitutes an insurance not only against a bad harvest but also for the prevention of other risks (Grubert, 2002)⁵². This said, not all the money is used for daily consumption or for occasional ostentatious spending (Petit, 1994), since some of it is usually invested.

Housing is one of the sectors in which migrants like to invest their savings (Tiemoko, 1994; Smith and Mazzucato, 2003⁵³). Mansour Tall (1994) notes that at first, in Senegal, these investments were made in the home village, but that later they were more often made in a city or in the capital. Investments in the village were mainly of a social character, to show off success, but the purpose of investment in a city is to increase capital and constitute a

⁵⁰ Ammassari (2004a, 2004b), Blion (2002); Blion and Verrière (1998); Findley and Sow (1998); Black et al. (2003b); Tiemoko (2003); Lachaud (1999); Coulibaly (1987).

⁵¹ Caldwell (1969), Condé et al. (1986), Russell (1992), Russell et al. (1989).

⁵² The high importance of migrant remittances in the household economy back in their own country has led some authors to underline the risks that they take in terms of dependence on a financial source that is both uncertain and difficult to control. Economic recession, a rise in unemployment in the receiving country or simply a sudden crisis may cause a drop in migrant remittances, with serious repercussions for the migrant's family. For example, Lachaud (1999) observes that Burkina Faso has suffered from serious dependence on the outside and that this, on the whole, has had a negative influence on poverty. In fact, as nearly 90 per cent of private transfers come from Cote d'Ivoire, financial transfers to Burkina Faso fell dramatically when the price of coffee and cocoa dropped, leading to a rise in unemployment and a fall in wages on the coastal plantations. This trend is shown in Table 3.

⁵³ This would also appear to be the case in other regions of the world (Russell, 1992; Gmelch, 1980; King, 2000).

savings security. This does not mean that migrants are motivated exclusively by speculation initiatives. In all events, according to Tall, the impact of this type of investment is positive because the migrants become housing developers and satisfy a need that the government is unable to meet.

The money transferred by the migrants is also used for the creation of financially rewarding activities by family members who have remained in the country of origin and who are confronted with the problem of lack of jobs and professional opportunities. Equally, some migrants invest their money in the creation of small and medium-size businesses, thus contributing to job creation and the supply of services. (Ammassari, 2004b; Tiemoko, 2003; Yatéra et al., 2000).

The fact that most of the money transferred by migrants is spent on day-to-day consumption and that relatively little is invested or saved has led certain authors to conclude that, in the end, migrant remittances generate very little income, jobs or economic growth (Condé et al., 1989⁵⁴). For others it is a false debate, because it is difficult to determine what is a productive investment, for whom and with what effects in the short or long term (Russell, 1992). One may well argue, for example, that children's educational expenses are a 'productive' investment even if they do not create jobs or generate income in the short term, as one would expect of investment in new enterprises.

6. Return migration and the role of the diaspora

The return and reintegration of migrants in their country of origin, especially of highly qualified nationals, has often been seen as a means to favour development. The reason is that whilst abroad the migrants have generally been able to accumulate savings, (financial capital), new knowledge and skills, (human capital), and useful contacts (social capital), which can be used productively back in their own country (Ammassari and Black, 2001). In consequence, although the migrant remittances stop because the migrant has returned, the financial capital that has been repatriated continues for its part to multiply if it has been productively invested. It may continue to profit the migrant's country of origin in the same way as other forms of capital (especially new ideas, knowledge and skills) brought back by returning migrants.

6.1 Difficulties in estimating the volume of return

Determining the volume of return migrations is even more difficult than evaluating the flows of emigration and immigration. Very little data has been collected on this subject and comparatively few surveys focus on this subject, particularly in West Africa. The volume and dynamics of this phenomenon have been little studied, and the implications even less. Quiminal (2002: 36) says that in the region of Kayes in Mali there are large numbers of returned migrants and that they represent more than half the number of officers in the local councils. The numbers of returning migrants are high in the villages that experienced a high rate of departure in the 1960s, corresponding, according to this author, to between 30 and 40 per cent of departures in the last 40 years. Most of these are men who returned between 1975 and 1980 and worked in France for 8 to 15 years. But since the 1990s they are more often

⁵⁴ Diop (2003, quoted in Barro et al. 2003), for example, maintains that in Senegal 75 per cent of transfers are used for daily consumer purposes. Only 10 per cent is placed in savings accounts and the rest is invested.

pensioners, who having worked for several decades in France return to their own country to enjoy retirement at home.

In the absence of data to evaluate the volume of return migration, a recent study considered its dynamics and the impact it has on development (Black et al., 2003b). Taking the cases of Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire, this study shows that return takes places particularly during phases of political stability and economic growth and is linked to the opportunities for employment and business investment (Ammassari, 2004a, 2004b; Black et al. 2003c). It also confirmed what had already been observed in other regions of the world: returning migrants clearly prefer to remain self-employed and start a business⁵⁵.

6.2 Resources transferred by returning migrants

Migrants usually operate money transfers to their country of origin when they are abroad, but they also generally bring back resources when they return to their own country. With these funds they are able, amongst other things, to launch new economic activities, which in West Africa seem to benefit mainly the services and commerce sectors. Blion (1990; 1995) shows that nationals of Burkina Faso returning from Cote d'Ivoire to the rural regions, as well as buying cattle and cultivating market gardens, invest in commercial and small scale industry⁵⁶. Nevertheless, they do not necessarily repatriate all their savings to their village. Sometimes a proportion is used by the migrant himself before returning, to learn a trade such as tailor or mechanic, for example.

Study of the return of migrants to Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire has shown that those who embark on businesses do so mainly in the services and commerce sectors. In more cases than those who opt for a paid job, they agree that they developed their professional experience abroad and have kept their professional and personal contacts (Black et al. 2003c). Analysis of the data concerning highly qualified returning migrants shows that the length of absence and the fact of having worked in the foreign country are the factors that most determine the impact of migrants on their return to their country of origin (Ammassari, 2004b). The longer they are away, the more significant their professional experience while they are abroad, the greater will be their transfer of financial, human and social capital and the greater will be their impact in terms of development.

All the 304 returning migrants interviewed in Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire in the period 2000-2001 confirmed that they had obtained at least one certificate while abroad and most said they had also acquired at least short work experience. Nearly all of them said they had acquired new knowledge, ideas and skills. More specifically these concerned specialised technical expertise, organisation and management skills, communication skills, an increased awareness of professional responsibilities and other skills. The great majority of migrants considered that the skills they had acquired abroad were important or very important for their current occupations. They all said that they tried to introduce new procedures, methods or ideas into their place of work. Half of them said that their work was very different from that

⁵⁵ Cf. Ahmed (2000), Arif and Irfan (1997), Cornelius (1990), Ilahi (1999) and Murphy (1999, 2000).

⁵⁶ Traoré and Bocquier (1995) found that migrants returning from an urban environment in another country seldom went back to their original rural habitation. These flows often divert towards the cities, in particular the capital of their country of origin. Blion (1995) maintains that the return of Burkina Faso nationals from Cote d'Ivoire has led to geographic and occupational redeployment of the Burkina Faso population. The change in the sectorial spread of labour has come about because a significant number of returning migrants leave the primary sector and are located in the secondary or tertiary sectors.

of persons who had not emigrated. Amongst the concrete examples given there were in particular: introduction of new approaches, improvement of organisational structures and management practice, training and professional guidance.

6.3 Reasons for return and problems of reintegration

The reasons for migrants' return, as for their departure, are many and often interrelated. In the mid-1990s nationals of Burkina Faso returning from Cote d'Ivoire explained the move by mounting nationalism, unemployment or illness, death in the family or the education of their children in their own culture (Kambiré, 1994). As early as this time, insecurity of living conditions in the receiving society showed up as one of the most important reasons for return. Family reasons were also very often quoted by migrants from Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire who returned home, as well as the hope of finding better employment or business opportunities (Ammassari, 2004b). In addition, as we have already said above, many migrants return when they retire, to spend their old age in their village (Rude-Antoine, 2002). Nevertheless, return migrations to West Africa are not always voluntary. Large-scale expulsions and repatriations organised by various countries in the region have caused significant intra-regional return flows (Ricca, 1990; van Hear, 1992⁵⁷). For example, immediately after independence Cote d'Ivoire expelled 16 000 Dahomians; and in 1969 Ghana did the same under the Aliens Compliance Act, expelling 200 000 immigrants, mainly from Nigeria, Niger and Burkina Faso. There is also no lack of examples of migrants from West African countries "invited to leave the territory" of a European country, such as France (Quiminal, 2002)⁵⁸.

There are very many problems related to the reintegration of migrants when they return to their country of origin. Reintegration into working life is of prime importance and does not always happen smoothly. On the contrary, returning migrants very often have difficulty finding a suitable job and are faced with unemployment, or at least more frequently than immigrants or non-migrants (Traoré and Bocquier, 1998). This fact, particularly in the case of highly qualified workers, has sometimes lead to use of the term "brain waste" because in the precarious conditions characterising both the public and the private sector, even those who succeed in finding a job are often under-employed.

A shortage of decent work is one of the most important factors determining international migration and blocking the return of migrants in the West African countries. This takes the form of lack of employment opportunities and future perspectives, precarious working conditions, difficulties reconciling work and family life and problems related to sending children to school or obliging them at a premature age to take up an economic activity⁵⁹. Returning migrants generally have numerous difficulties readjusting to their original context, either at work or in daily life. This is true both for migrants who return to the rural areas and for those who seek reintegration in an urban environment (Kambiré, 1994).

⁵⁷ Van Hear (1992) maintains that in certain cases the expulsions had positive consequences in the long term. Thus Ghana was able to benefit from greater development aid than originally planned and the returning migrants occupied posts that had remained vacant for a long time in the areas of health and education. In agriculture, too, the massive increase in the workforce would seem to have had a positive impact, contributing to an increase in agricultural production.

⁵⁸ The repatriation of 101 Malians by charter flight in 1986 on the orders of Charles Pasqua, the then Minister for the Interior, remains probably the most highly publicised event.

⁵⁹ According to ILO (2001) the shortage of decent work is mainly seen in the lack of job opportunities, inadequate social protection, denial of workers' rights and the absence of social dialogue.

In the case of highly qualified migrants returning to their country it has been noticed that they have problems above all with the methods of work used locally, leading to lack of understanding between themselves and those who have never lived and worked abroad (Ammassari, 2004a). Other difficulties encountered by these returning migrants are the working conditions in their country of origin, lack of equipment and problems related to precarious infrastructures, slow and heavy bureaucracy and an administration system that is often condescending and sometimes corrupt. Malfunctioning services and precarious infrastructures and services also present problems in daily life for migrants and their families. Finally, we note that the return of bi-national couples leads to quite specific difficulties of adaptation and social integration. (Barbara, 2002).

6.4 Return and circulation of qualified workers

The return migration of highly qualified persons has long been encouraged as a means of counterbalancing the consequences of the brain drain (Ghosh, 2000a)⁶⁰. But now a certain consensus has formed around the realisation that migrants can assume an important role in the development of their country of origin while still remaining in the foreign country, or by circulating between the two. It became clear, in effect, that it was not realistic to continue to think that a significant number of migrants would opt for definitive return, particularly in the light of the growing economic and social crises in most of the countries of origin. At the same time, with globalisation and the development of communication and transport, the migratory currents have changed. Migration episodes have become repetitive and have changed into circulation routes of an increasingly transnational character (Glick-Schiller et al. 1992; 1995; Smith and Guarnizo, 1998). Nationals of West African countries are also concerned by these transformations. The Senegalese of the Mouride brotherhood are a good example, tending as they do to “live their lives simultaneously in different nation states, being at the same time both ‘here’ and ‘there’ and crossing over geographic and political borders.” (Riccio, 2001)⁶¹.

Particular emphasis is therefore starting to be laid, at the conceptual level as well as in migration policies, on the advantages of the circulation of highly qualified workers (Wickramasekara, 2003) and in a more general manner and on the potential for co-operation in development represented by the intellectual and business diaspora (Fibbi and Meyer, 2002). Measures have been put forward that encourage the circulation of skills that can benefit both the country of origin and the receiving country. In fact, as pointed out by Iredale (1999) and as reported in the press, concerning Indian IT experts recruited in the United States or in Germany, the interest of the industrialised countries in receiving highly qualified workers in certain productive sectors has increased and will continue to do so in the future. At the same time the developing countries continue to be concerned about the brain drain.

In any event, with the increasing gulf between the standard of living in the industrialised countries and in the developing countries, freedom of exchange and the development of transnational networks of an economic, media and cultural nature, we can only expect

⁶⁰ Over the last decades there have been numerous initiatives to encourage the return of highly qualified nationals from developing countries. Cf. Ardittis (1991) and Pires (1992) on the IOM Return of Qualified African Nationals (RQAN) programme, Logan (1990) and Ardittis (1985a/b) on the UNDP TOKTEN programme, Abraham (1968) and Strachnan (1980) on government-financed programmes and Koser (2000; 2001) on the return and reintegration of refugees and irregular migrants.

⁶¹ Translated from English by the author. Cf. Ebin (2001).

international migration to increase despite restrictive measures to control these flows (Wihtol de Wenden, 2001).

6.5 Roles of the West African diaspora

The role of the diaspora in co-operation relations has emerged strengthened by the debates of the last few years that try to throw light on international co-operation and find a strategic place for the migrants who remain abroad. Thus new concepts have appeared, such as that of co-development, which seeks the development of both the country of origin and the receiving country and involves persons and groups from both contexts⁶². The trend is now to take this approach in both countries involved in a migration. France, for example, has decided to support the solidarity organisations of international migrants (OSIM)⁶³. For their part several West African countries have set up several institutional structures specifically concerned with their nationals in other countries (Ministry for Senegal Nationals in Foreign Territories, Sub-Ministry for Malians in Foreign Territories, Higher Council for Burkina Faso Nationals in Foreign Territories, etc.).

There are numerous examples of how migrants living in another country play the role of development agent in their country and community of origin. We may identify three major contributions: investment of financial capital in the country of origin and the deployment of human and social capital. The first is more easily quantifiable than the two others, which are much harder to evaluate.

a) Investment of financial capital

There have been several studies showing that many migrants from West Africa contribute to the creation of economic, social and cultural infrastructures in their country of origin. These initiatives, taken up by associations⁶⁴, the family or by individuals, have been particularly well documented in the Senegal River valley. Here we see that migrants have invested in improvement and diversification of agricultural production (market gardens and irrigated areas), development of trade, small scale industry and transport, realisation of water wells, water tanks and dikes, health and maternity centres, schools and school canteens, pharmacies and cooperative stores, stocks of cereals, grain mills and post offices, as well as in the organisation of literacy classes and training in the maintenance of new equipment supplied to the village⁶⁵. It can also happen that the salaries of health personnel or teachers are directly paid by nationals residing abroad (Diarra, 2001).

Amongst other realisations by migrants we also see the establishment of mosques and *medersas*. In Senegal, for example, it is well known that migrants belonging to the Mouride brotherhood have invested much of their money in the construction of the great mosque at

⁶² Cf. Bathily (2003), Grillo and Riccio (2003), Massiah (1998), Naïr (1998; 1997), PANOS (2000), Prencipe (1998) and Weil (2002).

⁶³ An increasing number of immigrant associations have been set up in France over the last 20 years after a new law dated 9 October 1981 repealed the 1939 law that prevented foreigners from having the legal status of an association under the Law of 1901. Now foreigners residing in France may form an association under the same conditions as French nationals (Benyahia, 2000). For migrant associations from West African countries cf. Bredeloup (1995b), Daum (1998) and Quiminal (1996).

⁶⁴ According to Blion and Verrière (1998) more than one third of immigrants from Mali and Senegal in France say that they are paying members of a village association.

⁶⁵ Cf. Cissé (1993), Daum (1993; 1994; 1997), Dembele (1993), Diombéra (1993), Fadé, (1993), Kane (2001), Lavigne Delville (1991), Nédélec (1998), PANOS (1998) and Quiminal (1991; 1993).

Touba. But in that country other cultural initiatives are also promoted by migrants, such as the development of the Pikine Theatre (Grillo and Riccio, 2003).

Decentralised co-operation is another domain where migrants play an important role. In some cases, through a twinning initiative, they have been able to bring peoples closer together on the basis of friendship and cultural exchange. In Mali, for example, some hundred initiatives of this kind have linked villages, towns or Malian circles to local collectivities in France (Diarra, 2001). More than two thirds of them were launched by Malian migrants with the aim of promoting international solidarity and fighting against racism by improving awareness and mutual understanding. But the objective is above all to encourage exchanges of experience in order to find solutions to problems and realise projects that have a sustained impact. In the words of Cuffini et al. (1993) it is more a joining of skills than a joining of finances.

There have been several recent studies on distance investment by migrants, and in a more general manner on the creation of new enterprises. Yatéra et al. (2000), for example, did a survey of the types of projects undertaken by emigrants from Mali. They show that the latter invest principally in trade, informal banking and financial services, transport, telecommunications, agriculture and stock breeding and in small scale production⁶⁶. Tall (2003), uses the case of emigrants from Senegal to show how access to the circulation of information via the new information and communication technologies has increased with their aid. Migrants' use of these new technologies and their familiarity with them has contributed to significant social transformations and changes in the lifestyle of emigrants and their families back home, as well as to their social relations.

b) Availability of human and social capital

In the last few years networks of intellectual expatriots have sprung up, often spontaneously, with the aim of assisting in the development of the country of origin. This represents an alternative to temporary returns, bringing back their expertise, by professionals who have emigrated. These initiatives are greatly facilitated by the expansion of the new information and communication technologies.

The South African Network of Skills Abroad (SANSA) is a forerunner of these initiatives in sub-Saharan Africa, and probably the best known. This network has more than 2000 members, including professionals and students, associations and societies (Brown, (2002). The great majority of their members are highly qualified and exchange information and advice, particularly in the scientific and technological fields⁶⁷.

There are plenty of examples in West Africa of this type of network involving the diaspora. In Nigeria, for example, President Obassandjo not only met with highly qualified Nigerians living abroad in order to persuade them to return home; he also set up a department to deal

⁶⁶ Yatéra, et al. (2000), point out that immigrants to France from the Senegal River valley have a great capacity for savings, and the projects for which they constitute a capital are very varied. In first place is starting up a business. After that comes the desire to do something different, that is to change occupation, become independent, give financial aid to the family back home and try to discourage the departure of young people remaining in the home country by creating paid jobs.

⁶⁷ 90 per cent of SANSA members have a Master's degree and 30 per cent a doctorate (Brown, 2002). It is also interesting to note that, contrary to what one might think, the members of this network are not only of South African origin, but there are in fact members from 68 countries with one point in common: their interest in the development of South Africa.

with the affairs of the diaspora and arranged for the creation of a data bank concerning Nigerians abroad. A similar measure was taken by the Senegal government, which today has contacts with members of the intellectual diaspora, information on their skills and qualifications, the focus of their interests and their career plans.

7. Political and legal framework of migration in West Africa

The question of international migration has always been a delicate issue but these days countries are more ready to discuss the subject in international and regional forums (Sassen, 1996). Over the last decade there has been an increasing number of initiatives for inter-governmental dialogue and co-operation over migration matters in West Africa. As a result the need for migration policies and management of migration is better recognised in the countries of the region. On this subject they have engaged in a regional consultative process which started in 2001 with the Regional Conference of West African Countries on the participation by migrants in the development of their country of origin, of which the main outcome was the adoption of the Dakar Declaration⁶⁸.

What motivated the countries that signed the Dakar Declaration to take an active part in an intergovernmental system of negotiation of migration management policies is that they are aware that globalisation and demographic, socio-economic, political and cultural transformations have led to profound changes in the movements of populations and this has created new problems. They are not only concerned by the increase in migrant trafficking and smuggling of persons, which violate international standards in the most flagrant way; they are also worried about the development of irregular migration. This is particularly the case for countries that are both sending and receiving countries in the region.

In principle, the wish to formulate global concerted policies to maximise the benefits of legal, orderly migration has been strengthened over the last few years, the objective being to allow migration within a framework of partnership between the countries of origin, transit and destination without upsetting the principle of national sovereignty, or better still, by incorporating it (Channac, 2003). The importance of partnership and reinforced co-operation in the domain of migration has also been underlined in agreements concerning the development of countries in the region in a more general way, for example, the Cotonou Agreement of 2000, signed by the European Union and 77 countries of Africa, the Caribbean and the Pacific (ACP) and applicable from April 2003.

7.1 Views and policies of countries in the region

Unfortunately, within ECOWAS points of view and the interest in international migration do not always converge. Tables 2 and 3 in the Annexes, showing the view of countries that signed the Dakar Declaration and their migration policies, demonstrate that, even if most of them consider the present level of immigration in their territory satisfactory, this is not the case for Cote d'Ivoire or Gambia. Reducing immigration has been the objective of Cote d'Ivoire since the 1970s, as it was in Ghana before the mid-1980s. Since that date Gambia has also joined the group of countries wishing to limit immigration, while Guinea only did so in the 1990s. From this period the majority of countries in the region opted in a more or less

⁶⁸ All the CEDEAO countries signed except Nigeria.

explicit fashion for a policy of non intervention in matters of both immigration and emigration.

The view of the ECOWAS countries has changed relatively little in the last 30 years with regard to their level of emigration. Some, like Burkina Faso, consider it too high. Since the mid-1990s this has also been the case of Guinea Bissau and Liberia. Mauritania was already uneasy on this subject ten years earlier and Guinea even before that, but for the last ten years or so these two countries declare that they are satisfied with their level of emigration. Note that at one moment or another all these countries, with the exception of Mauritania, have tried to limit emigration. But in the mid-1990s only two countries, Burkina Faso and Guinea Bissau, persevered with this aim.

To sum up, we may say that generally speaking the position of the countries in this region with regard to international migration is quite liberal. Three quarters of the countries are satisfied with their level of emigration and do not intervene in the management of these flows. Only one country in ten tries to discourage emigration. A significant number – 11 countries out of 15 – consider their level of immigration satisfactory. In spite of this, one quarter applies restrictive measures to limit entry and settlement by foreigners.

7.2 Regional integration and free circulation of persons

Several agreements on the free circulation of labour in West Africa have been signed since the beginning of the 1960s under the aegis of the regional organisations. All these agreements recognise the rights of citizens in the signing countries to move around, to reside and to settle whatever the reasons for their move. They are the 1961 Convention of the Union of Africa and Madagascar (UAM), which became the Common Organisation of Africa and Mauritius (OCAM)⁶⁹, on the situation of persons and the conditions for settlement; the 1978 Agreement on the free circulation of persons between the member countries of the West African Economic Community⁷⁰ and the 1979 Protocol on the free circulation of persons, the right to reside and settle in the West African Economic Community (ECOWAS).

The first two agreements give fairly extensive rights to migrants. Citizens of the signing countries were guaranteed equal treatment for cultural, religious, economic, professional and social activities. There was a guarantee of equal rights in matters of employment, implying equal treatment under social and labour legislation and equal rights of investment, ownership, acquisition, transfer of goods and the exercise of professional and self-employed activities. The third agreement was more cautious (Ricca, 1990). However, these three agreements have hardly been put into practice for various reasons, not the least of which is discord with national legislation.

a) ECOWAS Treaty

An ECOWAS treaty adopted in Lagos in 1975 guaranteed citizens of the signing countries freedom of movement and residence within the country⁷¹, releasing their citizens from the

⁶⁹ This organisation included all the 15 countries that had been administered by France. It was dissolved in 1985. With the dissolution the agreement was annulled.

⁷⁰ Since implementation of the Protocol on the free circulation of persons, the right to reside and settle within CEDEAO, WAEC has abandoned all initiatives regarding the free circulation of labour.

⁷¹ The 16 signatories were Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone and Togo.

formalities of visas and residence permits and giving them the right to employment and to starting a commercial or industrial activity in any country of the Community. Articles 2(2d) and 27(1,2) of the Treaty recognise the need to allow, indeed to encourage, international migration within the region. This was seen as a beneficial flow encouraging maximum utilisation of the labour force at regional level (Ndongko, 1991).

The 1979 Protocol, setting out the steps towards total freedom of circulation, fixed a deadline of fifteen years to progressively implement rights of entry, residence and settlement for citizens of the Community⁷². In reality only the first step, which allowed visitors to travel without a visa in the member countries if the stay was for less than 90 days, was reached⁷³. The right of residence, together with the right to be self-employed or have paid work, which was the objective of the second step, has still not been made operational. Similarly, the right to settle, the objective of the third step, has not been applied.

b) UEMOA Treaty

None of the above agreements has ever been applied in reality, any more than the UEMOA Treaty adopted in 1994⁷⁴. Article 91 is intended to promote the principle of free circulation of persons, services and capital. It guarantees the right to move around and to stay in any of the territories of the Union members, and it also banishes any sort of discrimination based on nationality in the search for work and the practice of a job, with the exception of the civil service.

It is difficult to estimate to what extent these treaties have influenced the migratory flows within the region. According to Ndongko (1991), very little, as most of the migratory movements have taken place outside the regional agreements concerning circulation of labour. According to this author, the examples of flows from Burkina Faso, Mali and Ghana towards Cote d'Ivoire and from Ghana to Nigeria show that most migrants enter the destination country without the proper papers and are therefore, de facto and de jure, illegal immigrants. Many migrants do not enter the destination country at an official border post because of the long and costly formalities and the corruption of so many customs officers. Anyway, most of these migrants entered the destination country before the ECOWAS protocol was signed.

Adepoju (2002), on the other hand, quotes some progress achieved within the framework of the regional integration agreements and their potential to encourage the free circulation of persons. This progress concerns mainly the rehabilitation of the regional infrastructures, in particular roads and transport, dismantling of unnecessary police barriers, improvement of procedures at border posts, harmonisation of customs regulations, liberalisation of trade and prevention, management and control of conflicts.

c) Application of the principle of free circulation

⁷² This Protocol in conjunction with the CEDEAO treaty did not come into force until 1980 after ratification by seven countries: Gambia, Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire, Liberia, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal and Togo (Ndongko, 1991: 236).

⁷³ Article 4 allows member countries to refuse entry to any citizen of the community on the basis of their own laws and regulations. Similarly, Article 11 allows a member country the decision to expel a citizen of the community, with certain guarantees to persons expelled, such as the safety of their family and restitution of their goods.

⁷⁴ The eight countries in UEMOA are Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Togo and Guinea-Bissau, which joined in 1997.

Some countries have had difficulty accepting the notion of free circulation of persons within ECOWAS. In the 1970s and 80s, principally because of the economic crisis, public opinion became more critical with regard to immigration, and the view that this should be discouraged became more entrenched. One of the arguments being that immigrants contribute to the rise in unemployment and crime⁷⁵. As is often the case in periods of crisis, discrimination and xenophobia quickly took hold,⁷⁶ and mass expulsions of migrants took place in several countries. Between 1983 and 1985 Nigeria, which had just signed the Protocol on free circulation of the citizens of ECOWAS, expelled around a million persons.

In a period of economic crisis it is generally protectionist reactions and nationalist interests that prevail, in favour of strict control of the borders and a policy of preferential employment for nationals. Cote d'Ivoire, for example, having encouraged immigration to satisfy the needs of its plantation economy, introduced restrictive policies at the start of the 1980s which encouraged "ivoirisation" of paid jobs and restricted access by foreigners to the agricultural areas (Ouedraogo, 1994)⁷⁷. They also introduced a system of fee-paying residence permits in 1991 in an attempt to further control immigration. Burkina Faso, for its part, fearing mass expulsion of its nationals, tried to slow down emigration to Cote d'Ivoire by introducing big rural development projects. But these projects had no significant effect on reducing the migration flows towards Cote d'Ivoire and other countries in the region⁷⁸.

7.3 Bilateral agreements

The contents of bilateral agreements may differ but they often have features in common. Thus, a bilateral agreement, apart from fixing the limits of its validity and possibly the conditions for renegotiation, may be aimed at a specific category of work or exclude others which are specifically identified. Generally they deal with the question of workers' social security and they guarantee workers continuation of their rights and benefits once they return to their country of origin. Generally, bilateral agreements define aspects relating to migrants' rights such as the right of family members to join them, the right to reside regardless of a specified job and the right to ownership and longterm residence. They also define the rights of migrants who are dismissed from work, the possibility of joining a union, the court in case of a dispute between a migrant and his employer; and measures to avoid taxation of migrants in both countries. They often cover the material organisation of transfer and return of the workforce in terms of a contract, accident insurance and the provision of documents.

a) At regional level

At one time, the signing of agreements concerning the mobility of workers was common practice. Thus, in 1960 Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso) and Cote d'Ivoire signed an agreement to replace SIAMO⁷⁹ in Cote d'Ivoire. A similar agreement was signed between Upper Volta and Gabon in 1973. Some agreements concern only certain specific categories of worker, such as teachers. Thus, within the framework of bilateral agreements, teachers

⁷⁵ A department of law and legal statistics was set up in Senegal to compare crime amongst the foreign population and the national population (Ndiaye and Robin, 2002).

⁷⁶ Cf. Touré (2000) on the example of Cote d'Ivoire.

⁷⁷ Cf. Brou and Charbit (1994) on Cote d'Ivoire migration policies.

⁷⁸ A comparatively limited number of Burkina Faso nationals were expelled from Cote d'Ivoire in 1966, 1967 and 1969.

⁷⁹ SIAMO was set up in 1952 by a group of Cote d'Ivoire planters and constituted a system of recruitment intended to supply Cote d'Ivoire with labour from Upper Volta. In 1952, 39000 workers were recruited by SIAMO and between 1953 and 1959 they numbered on average 20 000 per year (Brou and Charbit, 1994).

were sent to Niger by Cameroon and trainers from Ghana were sent to Libya. Other examples of agreements between two countries are the Agreement on settlement and circulation of persons between Upper Volta and Mali in 1969 and the Agreement on the free circulation of persons and goods, employment and settlement between Mauritania and Togo.

But governments stopped having recourse to this type of instrument some time ago. The fact is that, with the exception of agreements limited to specific categories of worker, the problem of bilateral agreements, as with multilateral agreements, is that frequently they are never applied (Brou and Charbit, 1994; Ricca, 1990). The main reason is that their content is not reflected in national legislation and no way has been found of overcoming the obstacles related to their concrete application. Thus the agreement between Upper Volta and Cote d'Ivoire, announced in 1975, only organised on average 10 per cent of the migration flows, while at the same time vast non-organised migration flows supplied the receiving country with labour without recourse to restrictive and costly agreements.

Another problem is the diversity of labour exchange systems in the region. Thus, at one and the same time, Burkina Faso was the country of departure for strong migration currents towards both Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana, the first governed by an agreement and the second, not. This meant that, depending on their destination, migrant workers encountered enormous differences in status and treatment that the authorities could hardly justify. Lastly we should mention the fact that many migrant workers only stayed a relatively short time working in the plantations, preferring to seek better working and living conditions in the towns (Brou et Charbit, 1994). Many migrants regarded the rural environment as simply a first stop, before going into the towns to look for work, while the agreement assumed that the plantations would be the final stop.

The sending countries have sometimes tried to use bilateral agreements not only to channel migrant remittances but also to make them more profitable. Upper Volta insisted on including in its 1973 agreement with Gabon a clause concerning the savings of their nationals. They wanted employers to remit part of their workers' salaries directly into individual savings accounts in banks in Upper Volta. But huge polemics about this measure caused the agreement to fail and it ceased to be applied in 1977, only four years after it came into force. This measure had a bad reception amongst the migrant workers as it reminded them of colonial taxes and they considered it was an effort on the part of the government to grab part of their wages. In the end, so as not to be subject to this measure most of the migrants avoided the labour offices, preferring the clandestine networks.

Bilateral agreements have also been drawn up on assistance or technical co-operation between neighbouring countries. South-South co-operation is not uncommon in sub-Saharan Africa and seeks to encourage the circulation of skills to the benefit of all. Senegal has concluded Contracts for Technical Co-operation with other countries, for example Djibouti⁸⁰. In this instance the agreement provides for the employment in this country of forty qualified Senegalese teachers and trainers to reinforce local skills. It includes provision for individual contracts, generally for a period of four years, renewable once, and containing a series of clauses defining the conditions of work and the protection of the migrant worker. It also covers identification missions, the involvement of the embassy in the receiving country in follow-up, and evaluation missions.

⁸⁰ Senegal is one of the key countries that may act as a catalyst for technical cooperation between developing countries (TCDC). This initiative was launched at the Santiago conference in 1998.

b) At intercontinental level

Bilateral agreements generally deal with the question of social protection for workers and their families. These agreements lift residence restrictions, thereby allowing a family that remains in the home country to benefit from social security in the same way as a family residing in the receiving country. An agreement signed between France and Senegal, for example, allows the families of Senegalese nationals employed in France to receive the same benefits as if they were living in France. An agreement of this type is under discussion between Senegal and Italy, a destination that is becoming increasingly common for Senegalese nationals.

The absence of an agreement on social security matters raises a number of problems. It discriminates against the families of emigrants, depending on whether or not the various receiving countries have a bilateral agreement covering social security for migrant workers. In Senegal these inequalities become particularly visible when the family allowances fund CAF (*Caisse des Allocations Familiales*) makes its regular circuit of the villages where the workers originate. The families of migrants working in France receive the benefits that are due to them, while nothing at all is given to the others. The question of social security becomes even more complicated when a migrant has worked and paid his contributions in another country. In this case it becomes particularly difficult to calculate the benefits to which he and his family have a right.

Bilateral agreements have also been established by governments to encourage the return of migrants to their country of origin. Agreements of this type link France with Mali, Senegal and Mauritania, for example, and seek to facilitate the socio-economic reintegration of migrants in their original environment. These agreements form part of much wider policies and programmes, accepting that return can only be successfully encouraged on the basis of concerted action between the receiving country and the migrants' country of origin. It can only be encouraged by integrating the migrants into viable activities that have positive effects for themselves and for the country of origin. Return and reintegration should take place in relation to the development objectives of the country of origin.

Finally, we should also mention that bilateral agreements have also been signed by West African countries with countries in the North in order to benefit from highly qualified labour. Cote d'Ivoire and France, for example, signed an Agreement for technical co-operation in 1961, concerning personnel. Under its terms France supplied volunteers paid jointly by both countries. From 1960 to 1980 the number of French volunteers in Cote d'Ivoire rose steadily, going from 1,260 to 3,976 (Brou and Charbit, 1994: 45). This agreement functioned reasonably well, although it had a weakness in that the contribution of each country was not fixed. Consequently, when France's contribution diminished and Cote d'Ivoire was faced with economic recession, the number of volunteers fell. Later the number fell again because the agreement faced mounting criticism as unemployment amongst qualified nationals rose.

7.4 Regional consultative process

The regional consultative process applied since 2001, when the Dakar Declaration aimed to establish inter-governmental co-operation in migration matters, has given rise to other initiatives of this kind on the African continent and in other regions of the world. One of them started in 1999 with a seminar organised for those responsible for questions of

migration in thirteen South African countries⁸¹. This is MIDSA – Migration Dialogue for Southern Africa – formally launched in January 2000 with the objective of encouraging multilateral co-operation and managing international migration (Klekowski von Koppenfels, 2001). Another initiative, the International Conference on Migration Policies in East Africa, Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes region took place in Nairobi in May 2002, and the follow-up conference was in June 2003 in Addis Ababa⁸².

The regional consultative process in West Africa is, like other procedures of this type, informal to the extent that, though the need is accepted for dialogue and co-ordination between countries of origin, of transit and of destination on migration policies, and if possible on their harmonisation, the definition of migration policies remains incontestably a prerogative of the sovereign states (Channac, 2003). Disparate institutions operating at three levels – international, regional and national – are involved in the consultative process. The international organisations whose brief is in part or specifically in the field of migration, namely the International Labour Office (ILO), the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR) and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM), define the framework of multilateral co-operation in migration matters. But the process involves other international agencies like the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) and the United Nations Joint Programme on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS)⁸³.

The various initiatives proposed within the framework of the regional consultative process in sub-Saharan Africa have been organised jointly by the International Migration Policy Programme (IMP)⁸⁴ and the International Organisation for Migration (IOM). These two organisations also take care of the follow-up. Their approach consists in the organisation of initial consultations to identify the priority topics that will be discussed during the meetings between the participating governments and the partner organisations. The themes agreed for the 2001 International Seminar on Migration Policies in West Africa at Dakar were: 1) the elements of global, regional and national migration dynamics – interests and common concerns; 2) a global approach to development and the collection and exchange of migration data at national and regional level; 3) smuggling and trafficking in migrants; 4) migration, human safety and regional stability; 5) various aspects of the migration of labour; and 6) strengthening inter-governmental co-operation (IMP and IOM, 2001).

a) Adherence to the legal instruments for the protection of migrants and refugees

One way of judging the level of commitment of the various West African countries which took part in the regional consultative process is to check whether they adhere to the fundamental international instruments with regard to the protection of migrants and refugees. Table 4 in the Annex shows that, with the exception of Cape Verde, all the countries signed the 1951 Agreement, that came into force in 1954, on the status of refugees. All the countries

⁸¹ These countries are Angola, Botswana, Comores, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Lesotho, Malawi, Mauritius, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

⁸² IMP (2003).

⁸³ The relationship between migration and health matters is important, particularly with regard to HIV/AIDS and other contagious diseases. Migrants are particularly exposed to these diseases because of their mobility and their lack of access to health services.

⁸⁴ IMP (A Global Programme for Government Capacity Building Co-operation on Migration and Refugee Policies) was launched in 1998 by the United Nations Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR), with the support of ILO, UNFPA and IOM.

also signed the 1967 Protocol likewise concerning the status of refugees. By contrast, only four countries – Cape Verde, Ghana, Guinea and Senegal – signed the 1990 Agreement on the protection of the rights of all migrants and of their families, which came into force in 2003. The same number of countries, including Burkina Faso, Mauritania, Nigeria and Togo, adhered to the 2000 Protocol for the prevention, suppression and punishment of trafficking in persons, in particular women and children. Burkina Faso, Mali and Nigeria signed the 2000 Protocol against the illegal transport of migrants by land, sea or air. Only Burkina Faso signed ILO Agreement number 97 on migrant workers, revised in 1942 and implemented in 1952. Four countries, on the other hand, signed the 1975 ILO Agreement number 143 on migrant workers, which came into force in 1978. These were Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea and Togo.

At the regional level, as we have seen, the legal and administrative tools concerned with the protection of migrants and refugees form an integral part of much wider agreements on economic integration. As well as the treaties of ECOWAS and UEMOA, the Agreement of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), adopted in 1969 in Addis Ababa was ratified by 44 African countries (in West Africa, only Liberia refrained). This instrument contains a definition of the term ‘refugee’ taken from the Geneva Convention of 1951.

Finally, at the national level, the emphasis in questions of migration policy and management is placed on the reinforcement of skills. Those directly concerned are the civil servants in the various ministries, bodies and government agencies dealing with questions of international migration⁸⁵. The aim is to improve co-operation and co-ordination in migration matters and to make the policies and programmes more coherent and efficient. But particular accent is also put on dialogue and inter-governmental co-operation in order to promote initiatives for the management of migration and to develop supranational legislative tools.

b) Promotion of exchanges to identify guiding principles

The regional consultative process set up in West Africa is one of the strategies implemented to promote discussion and exchange between countries, thereby identifying common interests and guiding principles in order to face the new problems that derive from the increasing complexity and diversity of migration movements, all the more important as the latter are to a large extent intra-regional. This process has an informal and consultative character in principle, an aspect criticised by some and valued by others. The former consider that in the last count these procedures are not constraining enough, the latter say that that is precisely what makes them more effective.

The countries that are particularly sceptical towards inter-governmental co-operation on migration, according to Klekowski von Koppenfels (2001), are more disposed under these conditions to participate in this kind of meeting. Face-to-face discussions and exchanges make it easier to share information and even to touch on highly sensitive issues. For Channac (2003) confidentiality and trust are essential ingredients in this type of meeting and an informal environment can contribute to strengthening them. The informal character of the regional consultative process means that they can only produce general guidelines. But these principles are not in any sense constraining for the countries; rather, they allow for suggestions that follow the principle of sovereign states.

⁸⁵ There are numerous ministries, bodies and government organisations responsible for specific aspects of migration. The most important are generally Foreign Affairs, the Interior, Civil Service, Justice, Labour and Social Development.

8. Initiatives for more effective management of migration

The particular attention that is being brought by present governments to questions of migration and development can be seen in the measures taken very recently, while this present report was being prepared. In Senegal, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs had just been split in two to create a Ministry for Expatriate Senegalese separate from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. So a new team is taking on the Action Plan 2003-2005 which had been prepared by the former ministry⁸⁶. What will happen to all the numerous scheduled activities it is still too early to say. The main questions are how to insert emigrants into various sectors of wealth creation, how to encourage emigrants to invest in their home country, how to involve them in local authority development policies, how to enable Senegalese executive staff to contribute to economic and social development and how to promote the economic and social integration of displaced persons and refugees.

In Mali, likewise during the preparation phase of this report, a grand forum on the Malian diaspora and its role in the development of the country was being prepared⁸⁷. This event was a priority for the Malian government in order to take stock, consider the concerns of their nationals abroad and encourage their effective involvement in the economic, social and cultural policies of the country. The new National Population Policy (Primature, 2003: 61-2) clearly defines its objective as the need to “contribute to the awareness of international migration in development strategies”. This is to be done by setting up a socio-economic data bank on Malians abroad and the socio-economic reintegration of returning migrants. The strategic axes include various steps such as reinforcement of the structures concerned with migration, a census of Malian nationals abroad, elaboration of aid programmes for returning migrants, awareness campaigns for emigrants in order to involve them in the development of the country, reinforcement of the mechanisms for transfer of funds and information to returning candidates on the realities and opportunities that exist within the home country.

At the present time very few countries of UEMOA or more generally of ECOWAS have a migration policy to speak of. Cote d'Ivoire is one of those that in the past had a well-developed policy, as did Burkina Faso at one time. Mali and Senegal have not yet worked out clear and coherent migration policies, though the initiatives to relate migration questions to development issues have multiplied since the start of the 1990s.

8.1 Establishment of a permanent observatory on international migration

The elaboration of suitable migration policies requires reliable current data for an in-depth analysis of the situation. However, the statistics on international migration in West Africa are limited and often obsolete. The data are collected in a scant and often unreliable manner. They cannot be used for comparisons between countries because in spite of the United Nations recommendations (1993), different definitions and classifications have been used in the various national contexts. It is also difficult to compare them because they have often been collected at different times. The fact that the data are often derived from sources whose prime objective was other than the study of migration also contributes to making them difficult to use (Traoré and Bocquier, 1998).

⁸⁶ Mali Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2003).

⁸⁷ Mali Ministry of Foreign Affairs and International Co-operation (2003).

The two principal sources of data on international migration are general population censuses and surveys. A census has the advantage of being conducted on a national scale, but it collects very little information on the movement of persons⁸⁸, and what information there is only sheds light on this phenomenon at very long intervals. It is therefore not possible to analyse the migration process.

Whether they are conducted at regional⁸⁹, national or local level, surveys based on samples are much more limited. They have the advantage, however, of examining the question of migration in more detail, as they use detailed questionnaires which can convey the complexity of this phenomenon that takes place both in space and time. Other sources of information on international migration are population registers, embarkation and debarkation cards and passport, residence permit and work permit files. Up until now these administrative sources have been relatively little used, as we see in the case of Burkina Faso and Senegal (Dabiré, 2003; Barry and Bâ, 2003).

In spite of these various initiatives, the information base on international migration available in most countries of the region remains inadequate. This has compelled Senegal to establish an Observatory on international migration in West Africa with the technical assistance of the mixed research unit IRD/IOM and financing from France and the United States. As the pilot country Senegal has carried out a survey to identify the ministries that could regularly provide data on migration flows. Three ministries have been identified: the Ministry of Foreign Affairs because it manages consular files; the Ministry of the Interior because it is in charge of border posts; and the Ministry of Justice because it is possible, for example, to trace the criminal activity of migrants through the penal system. By using these sources of information and networking between the various government structures it is possible to set up and check a data base and update it in a regular fashion.

One of the biggest problems in the collection of migration statistics relates to legislation and the functioning of the institutional system. Thus for example the citizens in ECOWAS, who can circulate without a passport or visa, just using a valid ID document, do not need to fill in embarkation and debarkation cards. They therefore do not show up in the statistics even though they represent the majority of migrants crossing the borders. Similarly, clandestine migrants, refugees and displaced persons generally cross the borders unobserved.

An exchange of information on international migration is crucial for an understanding of migration flows and to be able to forecast future trends. This is even more important for the transit countries, such as Senegal, who are increasingly accused by the final destination countries of not making enough effort to prevent the flows of clandestine migrants. It has therefore become imperative to know the volume and nature of the circulation of migrants and to persuade the countries to encourage their populations to declare themselves. Information share is essential, so currently there is a plan to regroup all the data at ECOWAS headquarters in Abuja, Nigeria.

⁸⁸ Usually a general population census provides information on migration if you compare information on the place of birth and the place of residence of an individual at the time of the census, or by comparing information on the place of residence at the time of the census and residence 5 years previously.

⁸⁹ One of the first studies done at regional level on international migration was in the early 1980s by Zachariah and Condé (1980) from information contained in the general population census. But by far the most important initiative at regional level is the vast research programme launched by REMUAO in eight countries of the region. By using the same approaches and methods of research, as well as the same questionnaires, these national surveys have for the first time provided migration data that are totally comparable.

8.2 Management of human resources and adjustment to the labour market

In some countries information is also collected to study the situation on the labour market and to identify more precisely the needs in terms of human resources. Thus, in Mali an Observatory for Labour and Training exists to collect, centralise, analyse and diffuse the data on the employment market and the relationship between the offer and job demands. In fact, although it is often affirmed that the brain drain compromises the development of this country, there is very little data available to prove these difficulties or demonstrate the sectors most affected. In order to tackle this problem, ANPE (the national employment agency) has conducted a survey of employers in order to find out their needs. At the same time job seekers are registered by ANPE when they arrive⁹⁰.

This information is completed by information obtained from the employment charts in the civil service and placement offices, as well as by information from studies on employment and occupational training. The aim is to encourage implementation of activities such as occupational training, further education, reconversion and integration, as well as possible initiatives for the return, either temporary or permanent, of emigrants who have the necessary qualifications, based on the needs of the labour market.

To be able to describe the labour market and changes in the various countries, and to be able to exchange information in this respect, a classification of jobs has finally been put forward to act as a tool of common reference in all the countries, also leading to the use of a single terminology. This should also make it easier for the countries to collaborate in matters of assistance and technical co-operation.

Finally, as we said earlier, some countries have proceeded to the identification of the qualifications and skills of their nationals living abroad. In Senegal the Technical Assistance Department has recently initiated a programme to make an inventory of human expertise and establishments of excellence in Senegal⁹¹. The objective is to be able to apply measures for the optimum use of the existing human resources and training infrastructures in the service of the development of Senegal and, more widely, of Africa. The need is recognised to establish a reliable and accessible data bank containing information on high level skills that are available and mobilisable, both within the country and abroad, in order to optimise the investment made in human skills.

8.3 Organisation of the diaspora

Beyond a simple census of their nationals living abroad, organising them has become a priority with some West African countries with strong emigration patterns. This gives these countries a better understanding of the problems encountered by their nationals in the receiving countries and encourages emigrants to involve themselves more in the development of their countries of origin.

Mali is a good example, because Malians living abroad are particularly well organised. Up until the time of the creation of the High Council of Expatriate Malians (HCME) in 1991,

⁹⁰ Mali Ministry of Labour and Civil Service (2002).

⁹¹ Ministry of Civil Service, Employment and Labour (2003).

Maliens organised themselves in their host country according to their own socio-cultural specificities, as well as according to the requirements of society in their host country⁹². Thus, in France, two thirds of the Organisations for international solidarity of immigrants (OSIM), which include nationals of the three countries in the Senegal River valley, are village associations (Daum, 2000). They seek to motivate migrants from the same village to undertake initiatives for their own profit. The beneficiaries of solidarity and development actions are therefore for the most part migrants from the same village.

These structures, based on an association or a community, have objectives that may be social (consolidating fraternal links, mutual assistance, etc.), economic (contributing to the development of the village, the circle or the region) or cultural (promoting dialogue and exchange between the host society and that of the country of origin, and reinforcing intercultural relations). The Malian associations, also called “*amicales*” or friendship groups, are organised around notable figures and heads of family from the same village, circle or region of Mali, and concern themselves with the social, cultural and administrative life of their members (HCME, 2003). Their structures and skills vary according to the different contexts⁹³.

Since 1991, with the introduction of political pluralism, the organisation of expatriate Malians has become even more formal with the creation of the High Council of Malian Expatriates (HCME)⁹⁴. The aims of this structure are: (a) to bring together all Malians living abroad; (b) to encourage these Malians to participate more actively in the life of their home country; (c) to encourage their active and effective participation in the development of Mali; (d) to mobilise their savings for the development of the home country; (e) to channel investments towards Mali; and (f) to participate in the elaboration of an adequate policy of return, integration and reintegration by the Malian diaspora (HCME, 2003: 14). Note that the representatives of the Malian diaspora in Malian institutions like the Economic, Social and Cultural Council and the High Council of Local Collectivities, are nominated by HCME. HCME therefore has some important attributions but it also encounters considerable difficulties, above all related to the lack of material and human means to ensure its own activities. There are other structures representing migrants, such as the High Council of Burkina Faso Expatriates (*Conseil Supérieur des Burkinabé de l'Etranger*) which encounter more or less the same difficulties (Ouedraogo, 2003).

8.4 Promotion of official transfers and productive investment

⁹² It has been pointed out how the African collective structures are recreated in France, using their own experience as well as the experience they have acquired of how associations work in France (Daum, 2000).

⁹³ In Cote d'Ivoire, for example, Mali expatriates have organised themselves into self-help groups (*amicales*) and set up management bodies at both regional and central government level. The members of these bodies are elected and their brief is to manage all the affairs of the community. The standard flow chart has three levels. At the base are the Malians organised into small scale *amicales*; at the middle level we find the association of representatives of local groups from the same city, village or quarter; and finally at the top there are all the representatives of groups in the entire national territory. The central bureau is empowered to organise meetings with the Mali authorities and officially represents Malians in the host country. It may also take on certain consular duties.

⁹⁴ Other structures and institutions have been created by the Mali diaspora such as SATIME (*Syndicat Autonome des Transports Inter-état des Maliens de L'Extérieur*); the League for the Defence of Expatriate Malians; the Collective of Associations and Movements for the Defence of the Interests of Expatriate Malians, the Collective of Pupils and Students for the Defence of Expatriate Malians, the Centre for Assistance in the Return and Integration of Expatriate Malians (CARIMEX), and the Association for the Development of Mines at Banamokoï (HCME, 2003: 14).

One of the issues that raises the most interest at government level is without any doubt the subject of migrant remittances. Given their contribution to public financing in the countries concerned, this is not surprising. The fact that the money transferred by emigrants is used to a large extent for daily household needs and that this could increase the dependance of the home country is one of the main sources of disquiet. The other troubling aspect is that, as we said earlier, a good proportion of the fund transfers take place outside the official circuits. For this reason governments have begun to look for ways of encouraging financial transfers through the official channels and the investment of these funds in productive activities that could stimulate local and national development.

At the present time there is a series of laws relating to money transfer services. The 1990 Bank Law, which applies to all the countries in UEMOA, controls all operations by banks and financial establishments. The transfert of funds, either into or out of these countries, can only be done by the approved institutions controlled by the central banks and the banking control commissions, and the transfers have ceilings⁹⁵. This arrangement does not allow for non-banking service suppliers for the transfer of money, which according to Barro et al. (2003), has contributed to the rise of informal networks.

There are also laws in the various countries to control the micro-finance institutions. In the case of Senegal there is the PARMEC law. This law, which allows any network to set up a financial organ to centralise and manage the excess resources of its network members, provides an opening for those who wish to transfer money. Nevertheless the problem remains, because taking on the status of a financing body is not suitable for micro-finance institutions and it would be too difficult to make them financially viable. Overall, therefore, this legislation has been more of an obstacle to the expansion of money transfer services by the micro-finance institutions. Anyway the latter have never been particularly involved in this market⁹⁶.

Over the last few years in Senegal money transfer services have been gradually formalised. This transformation has taken place at the expense of the informal services which continue all the same to be preferred by many migrants because of their cost-effectiveness and speed. It is not surprising that international suppliers like Western Union and MoneyGram are taking an increasing interest in a market as lucrative as that of migrant remittances⁹⁷. In Senegal they have drawn up agreements with the big banks and they are supplying a service that reaches into the rural zones, sometimes even the most remote. The Post Office, even though it is often slower than other suppliers, remains the most accessible institution for families of migrants who often live in a rural area.

The other concern, of how to persuade migrants to operate productive investments, has also been the object of initiatives. Both in Mali and Senegal housing policies now take account of the fact that housing is one of the main domains in which migrant workers invest the money

⁹⁵The ceilings are as follows: internal transfers within the country: 4838 USD per transfer; transfers within UEMOA: 1613 USD per transfer; international transfers outside the UEMOA zone: 484 USD per transfer (Barro et al., 2003).

⁹⁶ Barro et al. (2003: 31) describe an interesting example where the transfer activity was taken on by an Italian NGO within the framework of a project financed by the European Union intended to set up a savings and credit company in the home region of Senegalese emigrants living in Italy. The authors underline a recurrent problem in this type of initiative: the lack of confidence on the part of emigrants in the capacity of such financial institutions to manage their money. It turns out they are more prepared to pay a higher rate to an internationally reputed supplier whom they trust more as regards security and the quality of services.

⁹⁷ Other major operators in Senegal are Telegiros and Money Express.

that they have earned abroad. Tall (1994) values these changes because, according to this author, the migrants have taken over in a context where the government can no longer subsidise the building societies and where the housing programmes are running into increasing financial difficulty. Thus migrants contribute to the expansion and development of the urban areas and the creation of infrastructures.

In Mali, in the past, the state gave expatriates 500 parcels of habitable land to help them to resolve any possible future housing problem⁹⁸. This operation failed because, having built the housing, some migrants sold their new wealth, for various reasons. Nevertheless, in 2002, the Malian government again ceded 1008 land parcels to Malians living in Cote d'Ivoire. Other initiatives have also been launched in the last few years, such as in 1996 the establishment of housing finance structures⁹⁹ and a risk management tool for housing financing¹⁰⁰. Numerous building societies have sprung up with major housing programmes. All of this has contributed to creating a favourable context for the investment of migrant remittances in the building sector, especially if we consider that numerous advantages have been granted to the building promoters, including tax exemption and exemption from levies and customs duties on construction and development materials¹⁰¹.

8.5 Aid for the return of nationals and their families

Most governments declare that they are in favour of the return of their expatriates, particularly the highly qualified, and yet the question of return migration generally meets with a certain reserve, particularly in those countries characterised by heavy emigration. Ricca (1990) shows in fact how government reticence increases in direct proportion to the number of returns and in inverse proportion to the qualifications of the migrants. This said, though it may not exactly have intended to encourage the return of its expatriates, Burkina Faso instigated a programme in 1984 to support reintegration of its returning migrants. The government offered them the chance of purchasing a 400 m² piece of land to cultivate for the sum of 80 000 F CFA (around 300 US dollars at the time – before devaluation) or of buying a town dwelling on a hire purchase plan. The aim of this programme was to mobilise migrants' savings by channelling them towards agricultural production or the property market, in other words towards activities that generate jobs and income.

The receiving countries commit themselves much more to the promotion and implementation of policies that assist the return and reintegration of migrants. France is outstanding in this present case as its programmes directly concern the countries in West Africa which are the subject of this study¹⁰². France has put forward a whole series of such plans since 1974 when it ceased to make use of foreign labour. Between 1977 and 1981 a single indemnity was paid to migrants prepared to return to their own country alone or with their family. Between 1984

⁹⁸ Communication of the Forum on the Diaspora (Bamako, 13-17 October 2003) on the housing problems of expatriate Malians.

⁹⁹ *Banque de l'Habitat du Mali* (BHM-SA) and the Malian Housing Office (*Office Malien de l'Habitat* - OMH).

¹⁰⁰ *Fonds de Garantie Hypothécaire du Mali* (FGHM S.A.).

¹⁰¹ Grants specific advantages to any building contractor, private or public, whose programme includes the construction of at least (a) fifty low-cost or very low cost housing units and/or one hundred social and economic parcels in Bamako; and (b) twenty-five low-cost or very low cost housing units in other localities.

¹⁰² Other European countries such as the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium and Netherlands have also announced policies of grant-aided return to encourage the departure of immigrant workers. The various forms of incitement to return include (a) a grant on departure; (b) creation of exterior conditions favorable to return; (c) reintegration of immigrants in productive activities; and (d) financing reintegration projects in the context of a development effort in the migrants' country of origin (Ricca 1990: 169-74).

and 1986 there was state aided reintegration, from the end of 1987 aid for the reintegration of foreigners in a regular situation, then aid for the reintegration of foreigners invited to leave the territory (IQF)¹⁰³ and the Contract for Reintegration in the Country of Origin (CRPO). These various initiatives put the emphasis on the problem of acceptance and reintegration of returning migrants and the need to facilitate reintegration of adults and children in their own country (Pekin, 1986; Diarra, 2001)¹⁰⁴.

8.6 Facilitating integration and reintegration

The policies and reintegration programmes for migrants returning to their country of origin have produced contrasting results. An evaluation of the state-aided reintegration programme started by France in 1984 shows that this programme affected 17 500 migrant workers and globally brought 210 million dollars into their countries of origin, of which 7 million dollars went to countries in sub-Saharan Africa (Ricca, 1990: 177). The success rate of projects mounted by the migrants was very variable. Over 60 per cent of the projects got off the ground well and were nearly or totally completed, 20 per cent had to be modified or abandoned because of unforeseen circumstances and 13 per cent were not realised because they met with administrative or financial obstacles.

In Mali, Senegal and Mauritania, the three countries in sub-Saharan Africa which most benefited from this programme, the success rate of reintegration projects in agriculture was in the order of 80 per cent. The success rate of commercial projects, particularly in the food industry, was much lower. Note that the majority of returning migrants had worked in the industrial sector when they were abroad (automobile and construction) but when they returned they were reintegrated into a non-industrial sector (agriculture or commerce). This certainly influenced the success or otherwise of the projects and led some observers to conclude that, in these cases, the migrants' countries of origin did not really benefit from the vocational experience that they acquired when they were abroad.

At the present time the question of integration into the receiving country is being considered alongside the question of reintegration into the country of origin because concerted action is deemed necessary between the two countries in order to facilitate the two processes (Kaba and Bathily, 2003c). Thus the process of integration/reintegration of migrants at the family, social, cultural and economic level is accompanied by public measures which are the subject of a bilateral agreement. An example is the agreement between France and Mali, signed in the mid-1980s, which included this type of measure for assistance in integration and reintegration. Those concerned are migrants who wish to return to their country of origin, migrants hoping for integration or progressive integration in the host country and children of the second or third generation who may encounter identity problems.

In the case of Mali, the national policies have therefore been backed by specific arrangements implemented with the assistance of OMI (*Office des Migrations Internationales*), which is a French structure, and the International Organisation for Migration (OIM). In Mali social reintegration takes place under the guidance of the national department of social development DNDS (*Direction Nationale du Développement Social*) which is responsible for the national policy on solidarity. Some forms of aid granted by this body concern returning migrants in the same way as non-migrants because the two parts of the plan provide for assistance to the most impoverished, on the one hand, and support for

¹⁰³ Circulars of 14 August 1991, and 24 June 1997 complemented by the Circular of 19 January 1998.

¹⁰⁴ Circular of 4 November 1998.

persons in the process of integration, on the other. The economic reintegration of migrants should take place under the auspices of the national employment agency ANPE (*Agence National pour l'Emploi*), but this institution has no specific measures to support this category of person. All they can obtain is the same technical assistance that is offered to other citizens, consisting in support in their search for work or in the creation of an economic activity.

9. Ideas and programmes for codevelopment

Codevelopment is not a new idea. The notion appeared in the 1970s when immigrant associations in France (the prime destination of migrants from French-speaking West Africa) began to develop plans benefitting their country of origin. Most of the migrants concerned came from the area around the Senegal River valley; they designed and implemented projects in their villages to facilitate access to water, improve health services and schools and supply basic infrastructures. These initiatives received the support of certain international NGOs such as the research and rural development group GRDR (*Groupe de Recherche et de Réalisation pour le Développement Rural dans le tiers monde*). As a result, in the 1980s, the work of migrant associations developed and formalised. The process was speeded up by the adoption in 1981 of a law allowing foreigners resident in France to form an association on the same terms as French nationals.

From the start the French government has supported these initiatives with the dual purpose of providing aid for return, to reduce the number of foreigners present in France, and of assisting development in their countries of origin, to limit the numbers of potential new migrants. The mid-1990s, when there was a change of government, saw the creation of an interministerial Delegation for codevelopment and the management of migration flows¹⁰⁵. The idea was to control immigration in the Northern countries while at the same time contributing to development in the countries of origin. But the Delegation continued to place the emphasis on return to the home country, with the introduction of a contract for reintegration into the country of origin (*Contrat de reintegration dans le pays d'origine*-CRPO). This approach was widely criticised, and few immigrant associations collaborated in the implementation of projects designed in the name of codevelopment (Daum, 2000b; Massiah, 1998).

In reply to these criticisms the interministerial representative for codevelopment and international migration published a report which says that codevelopment “is not designed to encourage the return of immigrants to their own country if they do not wish to go”¹⁰⁶. It also emphasises the importance of mobilising local authorities, associations and professional organisations on the side of the immigrants. This report favoured the creation of codevelopment agreements and the extension of the initiatives existing in Mali and Senegal to other countries. It also spoke out in favour of greater mobility of migrants, by allowing them residence permits, and by training youngsters in their country of origin, so that they could put their skills into service in the development of their own country. But the interministerial representative for codevelopment continued to maintain that there should be support for migrants' projects through assisting the actions of local authorities and the association movement.

¹⁰⁵ Other European countries like Belgium, Italy and Netherlands copied the codevelopment approach. For Italy cf. Tarozzi (1999) and Campami et al. (1999).

¹⁰⁶ Naïr (1997).

In 1998 the French government interministerial mission for codevelopment and international migration chose Mali, Mauritania and Senegal as pilot countries for the implementation of a codevelopment policy. In 2000 a Codevelopment Agreement was signed between France and Mali with the aim of supporting, in a concerted manner, initiatives by the Malian diaspora, development of the regions of origin of the Malian emigrants and integration of youngsters in France who are descendents of Malian immigrants. The operational phase began in Mali at the start of 2002 with the establishment of a priority solidarity fund (*Fonds de Solidarité Prioritaire* - FSP) (Bathily, 2003).

The FSP is one of the instruments used in the framework of codevelopment in Mali. Its three components aim (a) to support the initiatives of expatriate Malians for local and regional development and for the construction of social and economic infrastructures in the emigration zones; (b) to channel migrant remittances towards productive initiatives and the development of enterprises; and (c) to strengthen the link between young people born of immigrants and the country of origin through social and cultural exchanges (Bathily, 2003; Kaba and Bathily, 2003).

The component that offers support to businesses is a response to the need for economic reintegration on the part of migrants who return voluntarily to their original country to settle back there. For this purpose grants are available from the French government migration office OMI, which assists the start-up of an activity and provides the support of a technical operator and grants for innovative projects. Further, emigrants of Malian nationality or origin who have savings in France are encouraged to make distance investments if they wish to support a Malian promoter. This is done by giving the Malian promoter access to a bank loan guaranteed by the savings of the migrant in France and by supplying the services of a technical intermediary. In addition, training scholarships are offered to migrants who have returned or are in the process of returning so that they can have specific training or conduct a feasibility study. Exchange missions for this purpose are also financed.

What is different about this new policy of codevelopment is that the aid supplied to migrants and to their environment of origin does not depend on their status. Whether they return or remain in the host country, their projects can receive institutional support if their purpose is the development of their country of origin. It is therefore – and this seems fundamental – above all the nature of the project which is decisive. Similarly, if the migrant decides to return to his own country to settle back there he is no longer required to give up his residence permit. In the past this constraint was a serious hindrance to the return of immigrants and to the grants encouraging that return. Most of them decided that it was not worth giving up their residence or work permit abroad in exchange for a small amount of financial aid. So the famous “Giscard million”, never had the hoped-for success.

10. Institutions and support programmes for migrants

There have been some very varied initiatives, and at different levels, since the 1970s to handle questions both of migration and development. Several programmes have seen the light of day, with different objectives. In France, the OSIM organisations and NGOs did preliminary work that has greatly influenced more recent initiatives. One of the specific measures taken by the French government to facilitate reintegration of migrants in their country of origin and support local development is the Programme for the Development of Local Migration (PDLM). This programme has become an integral part of the policy of

codevelopment. Other programmes are also in the experimental phase in some West African countries, notably the MIDA programme (Migration for Development in Africa) under IOM and the TOKTEN programme (Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Nationals) launched by UNDP.

10.1 NGOs, OSIM and other organisations working with migrants

The number of associations and bodies concerned with international migration and development has rapidly increased since 1981, with the abolition of the 1939 rule preventing foreigners from forming a legal association (Benyahia, 2000). In France, more than 560 OSIMs were set up whose members were immigrants from black Africa, of whom three quarters came from the Senegal River valley (Daum, 2000). These are the most numerous and the best known, but there is also a strong representation of nationals from other French-speaking countries in Africa. These associations of immigrants are active in a number of different domains, but generally they promote solidarity between their members and they also help communities in their country of origin¹⁰⁷.

There are also numerous non-governmental organisations supporting West African migrants in France. Some have been in existence for a long time, others are of more recent creation. One of the oldest NGOs is GRDR, the group for research and realisation for rural development in the third world. Created in 1969, this body supports development initiatives undertaken by migrant Malians in their native villages in the Senegal River valley. It has acquired long experience in the domain of the socio-economic reintegration of migrants returning to their original environment. Three methodological choices characterise its approach: (i) strengthening rural power; (ii) consolidating the associative movement; and (iii) raising the consciousness of populations to create synergies between migrants and villagers (Vallée, 1998).

AFIDRA, an association for training, integration and rural development in Africa founded in 1992, has also acquired sound experience of reintegration projects for returning migrants (Nédélec and Kaba, 2001). This association assists migrants in the design, elaboration and implementation of collective or individual projects in collaboration with various institutions and local structures. Feasibility studies are one of their specialities, as well as follow-up and the technical support which is generally given to migrants' projects. In France AFIDRA supports immigrant integration with legal and social aid.

IDS, a committee for immigration and development in the Sahel, was also set up in 1992. Its work revolves around five strategic axes: (a) recognising that immigrants are agents of development; (b) promoting suitable training for migrants; (c) planning suitable economic codevelopment to ensure genuine reintegration; (d) militating for the creation of an agency to coordinate actions in matters of migration and development; and (e) experimenting with flexible immigration policies that allow for rotation (Kamara, 1998).

FAFRAD, a federation of Franco-African development associations, was also founded in 1992 and brings together various associations for an exchange of thought and experiences on themes concerning migration. It has a major network of contacts in West Africa which it uses

¹⁰⁷ For the experiences of immigrant associations in France cf. Camara (1998), Kamara (1998), Vallée (1998) and Blion (2000) for a more general view of the role of these organisations.

to assist migrants wishing to return and reintegrate into their country of origin (Nédélec and Kaba, 2001).

10.2 PDLM – a local migration development programme

PDLM, a local migration development programme, is a system of aid for reintegration launched in the early 1990s in Mali, Mauritania and Senegal with the support of France. The aim is to give aid for the reintegration of migrants returning to their country of origin by (a) supporting micro-projects that create an economic activity and following them up for a period of one year; and (b) making a contribution to the local development of those regions that experience strong emigration.

Originally this programme was intended for all Malians, Mauritians and Senegalese wishing to return to their own country, but since 1998 it is aimed only at those who have been back less than six months, after a stay of at least two years in France. Migrants qualified under the headings of APR (*Aide Publique de Reintegration*), IQF (*Invités de Quitter la France*) or RH (*Rapatriement Humanitaire*) are also eligible for this programme. The aid covers: (i) support in mounting an economic project and training for the promoter; (ii) financial aid of a maximum of 24 000 FF (3 659 euro) for the project start-up; and (iii) follow-up for one year.

The PDLM programme seeks to help its beneficiaries reintegrate while at the same time bringing to the fore their specific skills as creators of an activity. Simultaneously it is intended as an incentive to return, in the sense that it was launched in 1991 in the context of OFPRA reform¹⁰⁸ and with the introduction of IQF measures (invitation to quit French territory) that followed. It has always kept the image of “compensatory aid intended to soften the consequences of authoritarian decisions taken by the French government” (Neu, 2000: 5).

An evaluation of the PDLM programme and the way it functioned from 1991 to 1998 showed that the projects put forward in the framework of this programme had a low or very low rate of success. According to the author of this evaluation the few successes were often due to an entrepreneur putting a “real profession” to work in an original project, exploiting a particular opening for which he was able to use significant savings. PDLM aid is therefore simply a complement to this self-financing (Neu, 2000). According to the author, the failure of this plan may be attributed to a certain number of weaknesses in its method of functioning and also to the fact that “the economy of rural people or urban youth in a precarious situation does not exactly function like a small business.” Neu explains that a project has more chance of working if it is integrated into the social environment and forms part of the family economy.

10.3 MIDA - Migration for Development in Africa

The MIDA programme (Migration for Development in Africa), founded at the request of 20 countries who met in Libreville in April 2001, belongs to the International Organisation for Migration (IOM) and draws on lessons learned from the RQAN programme (Return and Reintegration of Qualified African Nationals). This programme was initially launched in 1983 with the aim of giving aid to highly qualified professionals who wanted to return to

¹⁰⁸ OFPRA is a French government body whose purpose is to recognise the status of refugee or expatriate and give legal and administrative protection to persons benefiting from one or the other status.

their country of origin and reintegrate¹⁰⁹. To this end recruitment offices were opened in Lisbon, London and Washington to identify migrants who wished to return to their country of origin and to assist them in doing so. The programme gave them financial assistance which varied according to their case, ranging from covering the costs of the journey for the migrant and the members of his family to shipment of his personal belongings, the purchase of equipment, and financial aid for reintegration or even an additional salary for a limited period of time.

Between 1983 and 2000 the RQAN programme assisted more than 2000 highly qualified Africans to return to their country. Some of these professionals were of a very high level and occupied key posts in the public or private sectors. They are able to contribute in a significant manner to the development of their country. This programme has therefore had positive results. Nevertheless, in its final evaluation, just as in earlier evaluations, we see a certain number of failures¹¹⁰. The most important is that the programme did not sufficiently meet the needs of the countries in human resources, often because these needs were not always clearly identified in the various sectors. The criteria for selecting candidates for return were not always right. Insufficient priority was given to persons who had acquired particularly sound professional experience. Aid was often too generous and did not sufficiently take into account the level of the candidates on their return nor the fact that some of them were prepared to return without any assistance. Collaboration between the RQAN programme and other similar programmes, such as the TOKTEN project, was too limited to allow synergies. Finally, the activities conducted within the framework of the RQAN programme could not be perpetuated because they depended exclusively on financing from sponsors.

Drawing on the lessons learned from the RQAN programme, the MIDA programme was started up with the aim of matching the vocational needs in African countries with the skills of qualified migrants prepared to participate. In the beneficiary countries the government designated a national correspondent charged with approaching the structures concerned (ministries, universities, businesses, associations, etc.) and in the developed countries a coordinator was charged with relations between the administrative bodies or the institutions and the associations of the diaspora. Parallel to this, information campaigns were carried out. The forms of participation varied from a brief stay to finalise a project in collaboration with the local human resources to consultation or distance learning using electronic media and video, or even the collection of funds for micro-projects, local development projects or in the private sector. The new information and communication technologies help to make considerable savings.

In these ways skills and migrant remittances can be mobilised for the development of their country of origin. Several countries have converted the MIDA programme into a national programme (in ECOWAS this is the case of Benin, Ghana and Burkina Faso). Moreover the national approach of this programme attracts interest from organisations for bilateral co-operation (especially in the USA, Netherlands, Belgium and France) and from the development banks (African Development Bank, World Bank, etc.).

¹⁰⁹ The RQAN programme, financed by the European Commission and the United States, was tested in its first phase in three African Countries (Kenya, Somalia and Zimbabwe). Then, in a second phase and during an extension (1992-93), it also concerned Ghana, Uganda and Zambia. Angola, Cape Verde, Ethiopia, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sierra Leone joined the beneficiary countries in the concluding phase of the RQAN programme.

¹¹⁰ Transtec (2000) and ITAD (1997).

To perpetuate MIDA it would be necessary to achieve much greater recognition of the potential represented by the contributions of migrants to the development of their country of origin and to obtain laws and regulations that allow genuine mobility of persons (more attractive investment and more favourable laws on the entry and residence of migrants). This would lead to better integration of migrants in their receiving country and a real contribution on their part to the development of their country of origin.

10.4 TOKTEN – Transfer of knowledge through expatriate nationals

The TOKTEN project (Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals) is not a new initiative. Over the last 20 years this project has concerned more than 30 developing countries by supplying them with the support of their own qualified expatriate professionals. These return to their country of origin for short term missions, of one week to three months, to share the experience and knowledge they have acquired abroad. Thus, TOKTEN consultants undertake missions that would otherwise be entrusted to international experts. The TOKTEN missions cover very diverse technical specialisations, such as medicine and public health, agriculture, information technology and telecommunications, economic or environmental sciences, business management or industrial health and safety.

One of the problems encountered by the TOKTEN project in the past was that its consultants were too highly paid by comparison with their opposite numbers in the country of origin. This caused envy of the emigrant professionals by their compatriots back home. This problem had to be dealt with in a number of cases. Nowadays there is more emphasis on pointing out that the missions by TOKTEN consultants are more based on the principle of goodwill, motivated by their wish to take an active part in the development of their country of origin. The TOKTEN missions therefore operate on reduced costs (sometimes with a 50% -70% saving in relation to international standards) and, as the promoters explain, in the shortest possible time because the consultants, called as they are to work in the context where they come from, do not need a period of linguistic or cultural adaptation. These missions also seek to set up long term contacts between the various parties, thus enabling follow-up of the various activities included in the project framework.

In Senegal, the TOKTEN project seeks to channel the skills of expatriates into making a contribution to the economic and social development of the country. Any of the following may qualify for technical support: the civil service, the private sector, local authorities, NGOs and associations. They are expected to provide TOKTEN consultants with the logistical means required for the accomplishment of their mission. The consultants' transport, subsistence allowances and insurance are paid by UNOPS (United Nations Office for Project Services).

In Mali, the TOKTEN project, financed by UNDP and UNESCO, concerns certain institutes and faculties at the University of Mali, founded in 1996, with the aim of meeting the pressing need for specialists and professors and enable the university to function according to the generally accepted standards. After identification of the needs in university structure, awareness missions were conducted in Africa, North America and Europe and local antennae were set up. From there, high level consultants go to Mali University to give courses and lecture series or to assist in structuring and organisation. In total, between 1st October 1998 and 30 September 2001 there have been 127 teaching missions or consultancies by highly qualified expatriate Malians.

An evaluation of this project conducted in 2000 reveals that in the early stages it met with a series of difficulties (Diawara and Bagayoko, 2000). Mainly there were problems of coordination between the various university structures, and also between the project and the consultants supplying scientific and technical support. Student strikes were also a major source of difficulty. But in spite of this, the project achieved its set aims and met the need for consultants on university structure, ensuring the standard of teaching and supporting research. The only objective for which, according to the evaluators, much remained to be done was the establishment of a useful framework of scientific exchange between Mali University and the institutions to which the consultants belonged.

11. Conclusions and recommendations

Having examined the two themes – migration and development – in a general manner and more specifically in the context of West Africa, this present paper has reviewed the main legal and political measures implemented in the UEMOA countries, particularly in Mali and Senegal. The aim was to assess the efficacy of these measures in order to draw conclusions and formulate recommendations for the future. This has not always been easy since few of these policies and programmes have been subject to evaluation and many of these initiatives are also still too recent to be able to draw any lessons from them. This said, a certain number of statements may be made, drawing on the information presented in this report.

We note that, since the phenomenon of international and intercontinental migration is not new in the region, the governments of the countries of origin as of the host countries have been discussing the political implications for quite some time. The first initiatives to manage migration and give protection or support to migrants were in the 1960s. During that decade and the next there were numerous bilateral and multilateral agreements passed, but most of them remained unapplied in reality. The failure of these initiatives is due to several factors, the most important being that short term national interests always prevailed over more global medium and long term interests.

Most of the traditional emigration countries adopted *laissez-faire* policies in matters of migration, while the traditional immigration countries changed their strategies according to the fluctuations of economic forecasting. The latter countries made arrangements in response to the needs of their labour market. During the phases of economic expansion movement and free circulation of labour were encouraged and in the recession phases they were discouraged or actually controlled in order to restrict immigration. This policy is not new; it is the same as that adopted by European countries receiving West African migrants. France, like other European countries, closed its borders in the mid-1970s as a result of the oil crisis and rising unemployment, to prevent further immigration. It also began to advance aid for the return of immigrants to their country of origin, a measure which was intended to reduce the pressure of migration by developing the regions that might be the source of future migrations.

In general, the migration policies that have been tested up till now are based on two main paradigms, that of control and that of development. Control of movements has been done by measures such as limitation and selectivity applied to new entries, expulsions, regularisations and amnesties. These measures tried to deal with the symptoms of the migration phenomenon, while the aim of development in the emigration regions is to deal in the medium and long term with the causes. The reduction of poverty and unequal distribution of

wealth between geographic zones and social groups are tackled, for example, by increasing government development aid or by encouraging direct investment and freedom of exchange.

Although on this basis there have been numerous initiatives and actions to influence international and intercontinental migration, the concerns related to this mobility were for a long time not integrated into coherent and effective policies of a more global nature. It is only recently that the efforts to achieve better management of the migration flows have been stepped up on a regional and international level, via for example regional consultative processes. One of the lessons drawn from the past is that unilateral initiatives are hardly effective and have little chance of achieving lasting results. Concerted action based on exchange and sound co-operation – in other words, a kind of codevelopment – is indispensable if the aim is to minimise the problems of international migration and maximise the advantages for sustainable development in West Africa. This should involve both the country of origin and the receiving country, as well as the migrant workers themselves, their families and employers and the associations and other bodies responsible for questions of migration and development. The support of the international organisations is also essential.

Above all we need to accept that international migration is not uniquely a source of problems, but that it can also produce positive effects in the host country as well as in the country of origin. Furthermore, in dealing with questions of migration and development it is necessary to adopt a much more realistic approach than has sometimes been the case in the past. In the present situation, characterised by globalisation and increasingly imbalanced development, where less than 20 per cent of the world population controls 80 per cent of the world's riches and where the gap between rich regions and poor regions is growing all the time, we can only expect international migration to increase, despite all efforts to control the borders.

The current migration trends suggest that the more the rate of regular immigration is reduced, the more we shall see a rise in irregular and clandestine migration. We will also witness an increase in the frightening phenomenon of migrant trafficking and smuggling of persons. It is therefore essential to offer the chance of mobility to workers, particularly within the framework of the regional integration process, and at the same time to strengthen the rules and mechanisms which can guarantee the rights and protection of migrant workers.

What is required is better management of migration flows, not only to fight against irregular migration and protect migrants and their families, but also to maximise the benefits for the countries of origin of the migrants in these movements. The importance of transferring migrants' financial, human and social capital back to their country of origin is now recognised and the efforts to bring to the fore their role as development agents have increased. Migrant remittances carry significant weight, increasingly so in the context of diminishing government development aid and foreign investment. Migrant remittances represent a particularly important source of revenue for families as well as for states, and particularly in times of crisis because they fall less readily than other types of financial flow. Also very important in the development of migrants' country of origin is the transfer of knowledge and skills when migrants make a permanent or temporary return, or by using the new information and communication technologies.

In order to draw the maximum benefit from the advantages of international migration and reduce the risks as much as possible, the West African countries should consider developing national policies that are carefully thought out and integrate the principles expressed in the

regional treaties on the free circulation of persons and in the international agreements on the protection of migrants and refugees. Such policies should be based on the short, medium and long term view, and take into account risks and dilemmas of a more general order:

- 1) Development should represent an aim in itself and co-operation should not be unduly linked to the question of migration, otherwise there is a risk that state development aid, which has significantly decreased in recent years, might be tied to migration or even used by the Northern countries to reduce migration pressures.
- 2) The diaspora can play a very important role in the development of sending countries, but there is a risk that unfair advantage might be taken of this diaspora. Governments in the South need to be careful not to offload their responsibility onto the diaspora or returning migrants. This risk is even greater considering that countries in the South are becoming poorer and more indebted and that resources allocated to development are decreasing.
- 3) It is nowadays recognised that migrants can and should assume the role of development agents to help their country progress. This is a step forward because they are at last involved, through their associations and organisations, in the implementation of initiatives and the elaboration of policies. In the course of time their financial weight has increased, as has their political power since they were given the vote. Coordinating their contributions and ensuring that these are in line with national development targets and policies is a major challenge.
- 4) Most measures adopted within the framework of initiatives to manage migration are likely to produce in the first instance, contrary to their final objective, an increase in migration flows. It is only in the medium or long term that we may expect development of the migrants' home regions and a reduction in the gap between standards of living to lead to a real decrease in labour movement.

Taking into account these general observations, a series of more specific recommendations may be formulated to maximise in the short, medium and long term the benefits of international migration in West Africa.

In the short term the countries of the region should consider the following:

- In their role as development agents, when designing and implementing initiatives to support migrants, countries should take more account of the important differences that exist between the various types of migrant (depending on their level of education, professional experience, sex, age, etc.). Projects and programmes as well as their components should be more directed. Providing training and specific follow-up, for example, would help to increase efficiency and improve results.
- Countries should consolidate the notion of codevelopment, based on co-operation between countries of origin and host countries and on an active partnership between migrants and other stakeholders. Codevelopment should be extended to the various national contexts and take account of the need for coordination and of possible synergies between different development initiatives.
- Countries should pursue programmes and support projects such as MIDA and TOKTEN for highly qualified migrants, in order to facilitate the transfer of knowledge and skills in the country of origin. At the same time they should improve the selection criteria for candidates in order to balance their contributions with public and private sector needs.

- Countries should encourage initiatives to identify skills and potential in the diaspora. They should facilitate the organisation of migrants and strengthen their mobility in order to enlarge their contributions and coordinate them better for the development of their country of origin.
- Countries should continue the work started in the area of better statistical analysis of migration and information on the labour market, in order to match the needs for labour and human capital with the efforts to encourage the return of migrants and mobilisation of the diaspora.
- Countries should increase the resources allocated to follow-up and evaluation components in the programmes and support projects; and they should adopt a more participatory approach, involving the various stakeholders and institutions more in evaluation activities.
- Countries should identify effective strategies to perpetuate programmes and support policies for migrants, taking into account the sociocultural and political factors that characterise the phenomenon of migration and return.

In the medium term countries should:

- Increase the efficacy of bilateral or multilateral agreements encouraging the circulation of labour and, more generally, the skills acquired by migrants in various fields. With this in mind they should lobby the Northern countries to define clearer and more flexible migration policies.
- Encourage better co-ordination and follow-up of the initiatives for migration management and development undertaken by the various stakeholders and institutions, both nationally and internationally, possibly through setting up new structures.
- Review legislation and banking and financial regulations in collaboration with the regional financial institutions, in order to facilitate official migrant remittances. Countries should also give migrants easier access to small loans; and they should supply technical support and follow-up to local or cross-border initiatives.
- Encourage migrants to return to their country of origin and invest in productive economic activities, such as small and medium-size businesses, by giving them access to low-cost loans. They should also adopt other measures such as tax reductions and possibly government grants.
- Continue to participate in and support the regional consultative process for the harmonisation of policies in order to strengthen the process and make it more formally binding. Countries should also use the international meetings as ideal venues for exchanging the lessons learnt in the various national contexts and for sharing good practice at a regional level.
- Ratify the fundamental international instruments for the protection of migrants and refugees (in the case of countries that have not yet done so) and in the case of the others, ensure real application of the actions and measures to combat exploitation, trafficking and smuggling of migrants.
- Boost the process to implement the regional instruments of migration management such as the Protocol on the free circulation of persons and the right to reside and settle, and ensure that these principles are incorporated into national law.

In the long term countries should:

- Reinforce measures aimed at eliminating the lack of decent work, both in the cities and in the countryside, in the countries of West Africa, especially with regard to young people.
- Ensure that infrastructures and basic social services are available and functioning properly in the home countries, in order to improve living and work conditions that might prevent migrants leaving or facilitate their return.
- Support actions for human rights and reinforce the practice of good governance in the migrants' countries of origin.
- Join the efforts to promote economic growth in the West African countries by ensuring that the poorest social groups are less exposed to shocks from the outside.
- Promote sustainable development in West Africa to reduce poverty and the gap between the region and the more advanced countries with regard to the distribution of wealth, amongst other things through fairer policies in matters of international trade.
- Reinforce strategic partnerships to release more funds; and encourage policies of aid for development, trade and investment that are more favourable to the countries in the South and which could reduce the gap between them and the countries of the North.

Obviously these recommendations to maximise the benefits of international migration in the interests of sustainable development in West Africa are very ambitious and demand a high degree of political goodwill. They also require a major financial effort, which in view of the typical lack of national resources has to be realised at the international level with the support of the international agencies. The latter need to coordinate their efforts to continue to supply the West African countries with financial and technical assistance and coordination and help them reduce the negative consequences of international migration while maximising the positive effects for all those involved.

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Annex

Table 8. Classification of ECOWAS countries in term of development

Heavily Indebted Countries Low incomes	Moderately Indebted Countries Middle incomes	Least Indebted Countries High incomes
Benin Ivory Coast Guinea Guinea-Bissau Liberia Mali Niger Nigeria Sierra Leone	Burkina Faso Ghana Senegal Togo	Cape Verde

Source: World Bank (2003). The countries are classified according to their income calculated on the basis of GDP of 1997 per capita and per annum by using the Atlas method of the World Bank. The low income is 755 US dollar or less and the average income is 756 to 2 995 US dollars.

Table 9. Perspectives and policies of ECOWAS countries regarding immigration flows

	IMMIGRATION							
Countries*	Perspective on the immigration flows				Policies on the immigration flows			
	1976	1986	1996	2001	1976	1986	1996	2001
Benin	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention
Burkina Faso	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention
Cape Verde	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention
Ivory Coast	Too high	Too high	Too high	Too high	Dcreasing	Dcreasing	Dcreasing	Dcreasing
Gambia	satisfactory	Too high	Too high	Too high	Stable	Dcreasing	Dcreasing	Dcreasing
Ghana	Too high	Trop élevé	Satisfaisant	Satisfaisant	Dcreasing	Dcreasing	No Intervention	No Intervention
Guinea	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	Dcreasing	No Intervention
Guinea Bissau	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention
Liberia	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	Stable	Stable
Mali	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	Stable	Stable
Mauritanie	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention
Niger	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention
Senegal	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention
Sierra Leone	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	Dcreasing	Dcreasing
Togo	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention

Source: United Nations (2001)

* Includes only ECOWAS countries supprting the Dakar Déclaration de Dakar of 2001.

Table 10. Perspectives and policies of ECOWAS countries regarding emigration flows

	EMIGRATION							
Countries*	Perspective on the immigration flows				Policies on the immigration flows			
	1976	1986	1996	2001	1976	1986	1996	2001
Benin	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention
Burkina Faso	Too high	satisfactory	Too high	Too high	Dicreasing	Stable	Dicreasing	Dicreasing
Cape Verde	satisfactory	satisfactory	Trop bas	Trop bas	Stable	Stable	Stable	Stable
Ivory Coast	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	Stable	No Intervention
Gambia	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention
Ghana	satisfactory	satisfactory	Trop élevé	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	Dicreasing	No Intervention
Guinea	Trop élevé	Trop élevé	satisfactory	satisfactory	Dicreasing	Dicreasing	No Intervention	No Intervention
Guinea Bissau	satisfactory	satisfactory	Too high	Too high	Stable	Stable	Dicreasing	Dicreasing
Liberia	satisfactory	satisfactory	Too high	Too high	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention
Mali	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	Stable	Stable
Mauritanie	satisfactory	Trop élevé	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention
Niger	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention
Senegal	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention
Sierra Leone	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention
Togo	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	satisfactory	Stable	Stable	No Intervention	No Intervention

Source: United Nations (2001)

* Does not include ECOWAS countries supporting the Dakar Declaration 2001.

Tableau 11. Ratifications of international conventions by ECOWAS countries

	UNHCR		United Nations		African Union	ILO			
	Convention relating to the Status of Refugees (1951) Entry into force: 22/04/1954	Protocol relating to the Status of Refugees (1964) Entry into force: 04/10/1967	International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrants and Members of their Family (1990). Entry into force: 01/07/2003	Protocols supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime (2000) *	AU Convention Governing the Specific Aspects of Refugees Problems in Africa	ILO Convention concerning Migration for Employment (Revised 1949) (coming into force: 22:01:1952.) – C.97	ILO Convention concerning Conditions of Employment of Plantation Workers (coming into force: 22:01:1960.) – C.110	ILO Convention concerning Equality of Treatment of Nationals and Non-Nationals in Social Security (coming into force: 25:04:1964) – C.118	ILO Convention concerning Migrations in Abusive Conditions and the Promotion of Equality of Opportunity and Treatment of Migrant Workers (coming into force: 09:12:1978) – C.143
Bénin	1962	1970							1980
Burkina Faso	1980	1980		2002		1961			1993
Cap Vert		1987	1997					1987(b)	
Côte d'Ivoire	1961	1970					1961		
Gambie	1966	1967							
Ghana	1963	1968	2000						
Guinée	1965	1968	2000					196(c)	1978
Guinée Bissau	1976	1976							
Liberia	1964	1980					1959(a)		
Mali	1973	1973		2002					
Mauritanie	1987	1987						1968(d)	
Niger	1961	1970							
Nigeria	1967	1968		2001					
Sénégal	1963	1967	1999						
Sierra Leone	1981	1981							
Togo	1962	1969		2002					1983

Source: United Nations (2003) and Channac (2003).

* Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Sea and Air, in particular children and women, supplementing the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime. All States ratifying one have ratified the other:

- (a) Denounced in 1971
- (b) branches a) to g) and l)
- (c) branches a) to c), e) to g) and i)
- (d) branches d) to g) and i)

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