



Centre for

**Global
Cooperation
Research**

Intra-Regional Migration and Economic Integration in West Africa: A Focus on Ghana and Nigeria

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Introduction

- **Regional Economic Cooperation & Integration:** Consistently been topical in regional & national political agendas (Bujra, 2004)
 - ✓ ECA: Regional Groupings (COMESA, ECCAS, ECOWAS, AMU) (Hartzenberg, 2011)

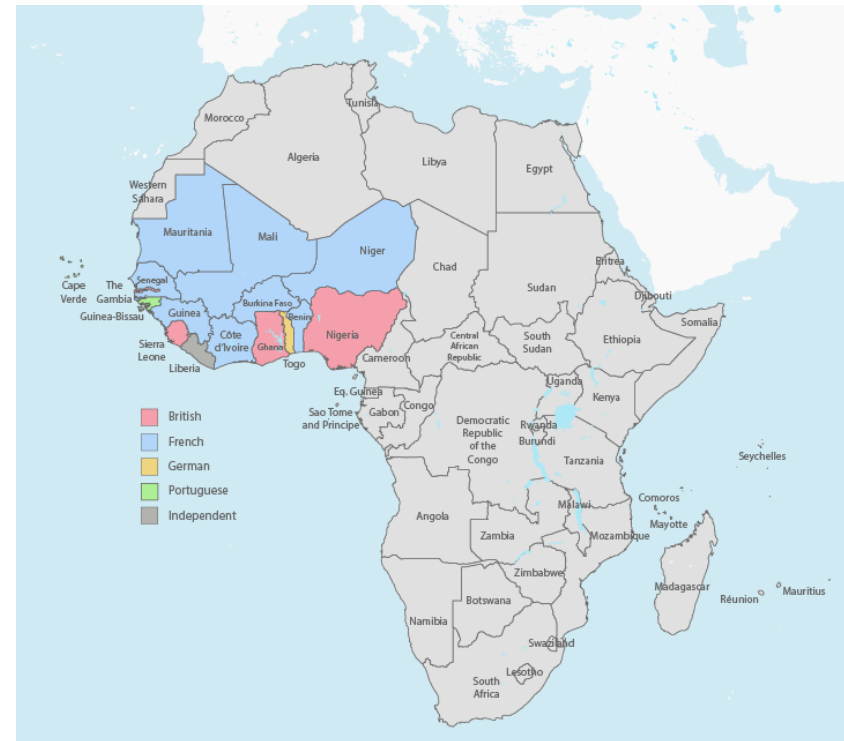
- **Regional Groupings & Arrangements:** Political & economic integration; seamless mov't of persons, goods & services within geopolitical spaces or common market areas

- **2015 Valletta Summit on Migration:** Effective cooperation between Africa countries to enhance inter- & intra-regional migration, & dev't.

- **AU (1991 Abuja Treaty):** African Economic Community
 - ✓ African countries to adopt employment policies that would foster free movement of persons & exchange of skilled labour (regional cooperation and integration on the continent)

ECOWAS and Intra-Regional Migration

- **West Africa:** a ‘walked across land’ (Rain, 1999)
- Inter-state population movements since pre-colonial times
- **Significant intra-regional mobility:** 84% migration movements directed at another country within the sub-region (7.5m migrants) (Gagnon & Khoudour-Castéras, 2012; Awumbila *et al.*, 2014; Devillard, Bacchi & Noack, 2015)
- **ECOWAS:** Regional economic & political union (May, 1975)
- **1993 Revised ECOWAS Treaty:** cooperation & integration with a view to establishing a vibrant and effective economic union within West Africa



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ECOWAS Treaty & Protocols

■ **Article 59 of the Revised Treaty:**

- ✓ Citizens of the Community shall have the right of entry, residence and establishment and Member States undertake to recognise these rights of community citizens in their territories in accordance with the provisions of the protocols relating thereto.
- ✓ Members states undertake to adopt all appropriate measures to ensure that community citizens enjoy fully the rights granted and enumerated in section 1 of the article above.
- ✓ Lastly, Member States undertake to adopt, at national level, all measures necessary for the effective implementation of the provisions as stipulated within this Article (Article 59) (ECOWAS, 1993, p.36).

■ **Protocols:** 'A/P1/5/79', 'A/SP2/7/85', 'A/SP1/7/86', 'A/SP1/6/89' & 'ASP2/5/90' (ECOWAS, 1999; Awumbila *et al.*, 2014, p.62-64).

- ✓ ECOWAS Travel Certificate, Common Currency, Passport and Brown Card Motor Vehicle Insurance Scheme

ECOWAS Treaty & Regional Migration

■ ECOWAS (Article 59) & Protocols:

- ✓ Promoting regional migration and economic integration by fostering the free movement of persons and goods, the right of residence and establishment within member states
- ✓
- ✓ Despite consistent high-level efforts at facilitating free movement & economic integration, the ECOWAS protocols are still fraught with the daunting challenges of implementation across member states (Adepoju, 2002; Adeniran, 2012; Ademola, 2016).
- ✓
- ✓ This has had implications for efforts at promoting the seamless movement of persons, regional integration, poverty reduction and effective migration management within West Africa as a major migrant sending area

■ Secondary data & Text (Discourse) Analysis:

- ✓ published papers, reports and policy documents to wade into ongoing scientific discussions on the critical questions of effective intra-regional migration and integration with a focus on Ghana and Nigeria

- ✓ Critical Political Science Theory: *Integration*

Theory of Integration

- **Integration:** Political process where nation-states “forgo the desire and ability to conduct foreign and key domestic policies independently of each other, seeking instead to make joint decisions or to delegate the decision-making process to new central organs.”
 - ✓ Integration could thus be economic, political and social
 - ✓ Integration may occur in one aspect without being functional in the other fields or aspects of regional integration.

- A particular union or regional body will there be seen as fully integrated when all the processes of economic, social and political integration are effective and fully functional.

- **Shortcoming:** Emergence of nationalism, populism & “anti-functionalism of high-politics” (Haas, 1967, cited in Laursen, 2008, p.5)

Implementing the ECOWAS Protocols: What are the Challenges?

- **Issues of Valid & Proper Documentation:** ECOWAS Passport & Travel Certificate

- **ECOWAS Travel Certificate:** Not fully adopted by member countries
 - ✓ Harmonisation of Immigration & Emigration forms

- **Countless National Customs/Police Checkpoints & Barriers:** Tema-Paga-Ougadougou (Ghana-Burkina Faso-Niger) & the Lagos-Seme highway (Nigeria)
 - ✓ Problem of language differences (French & English)
 - ✓ 120 security & border checkpoints between Badagry (the exit point from Nigeria to Benin) & Noe (the entry point from Ghana to the Ivory Coast) (Ayamga, 2014)
 - ✓ Long haul of vehicular traffic, harassment & extortion

Implementing the ECOWAS Protocols: What are the Challenges?

- **Incompatibilities of national migration policies & discrimination in national legal and labour codes in member states**
 - ✓ Prohibition in working at certain sectors within member states
 - ✓ Article 27(1) of the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre Act 865/2013
 - ✓ Ban of 96 Ghanaian goods by Nigeria (Ademola, 2016)

- **Discrimination & expulsion of Community Citizens by member states is still very rife within the Community**
 - ✓ Article 14 (1) of the supplementary protocol on the second phase of the right to residence (A/SP1/86)
 - ✓ Expulsions: Ghana, Nigeria & Ivory Coast

- **Common currency & Trade Liberalisation Scheme (TLS)**
 - ✓ Different national tax regimes with implications for the adoption of a Common External Tariff (CET)

Towards Effective Regional Mobility & Integration in West Africa

- **Regional Migration:** all the member states have ratified the ECOWAS protocol on the free movement of persons (Awumbila *et al.*, 2014).

- **ECOWAS Common Approach on Migration:**
 - ✓ Six (6) principles: ensuring the free movement of persons within the ECOWAS zone; the promotion of legal or regular migration as an important part of the development process; combating human trafficking; the protection of the rights of migrants, asylum seekers & refugees; the harmonisation of national policies & lastly, the recognition of the gender dimension of migration (ECOWAS, 2008).
 - ✓ Adoption of the ECOWAS Passport

- **Countless Checkpoint & Barriers:** Proposition of 2 checkpoints per country still limbo
 - ✓ Governments & appropriate institutions: provide nationals or people with adequate information on the need for valid documents.
 - ✓ Educate citizens on their rights as enshrined in the ECOWAS protocol for free movement and the regulations guiding entry and establishment in member states.
 - ✓ Joint police force & communication to combat issues trans-border crime.

Towards Effective Regional Mobility & Integration in West Africa

- The critical issues of violations & non-compliance by member countries should also be tackled pragmatically without favour at the various meetings & fora within the Community
- There is need for a much more concerted political commitment on the part of member states in working to implement & tackle the numerous challenges to regional integration & economic development
- There is the need to harmonise & ensure synergies in the various national policies of member states
- It is envisaged that cooperation between member states in ensuring a borderless and stress-free movement of persons, goods and trade relations would contribute to tackling the root causes of irregular migration, employment and economic development within the West African sub-region

Thanks for Your Attention