

**A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE ROLE PLAYED BY FREE MOVEMENT OF
PEOPLE TO ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE ECOWAS REGION**

Master Thesis

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ÖZET

ECOWAS BÖLGESİNDE İNSANLARIN EKONOMİK KALKINMADA SERBEST DOLAŞIMININ OYNADIĞI ROLE İLİŞKİN ELEŞTİREL BİR ANALİZ

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Batı Afrika Devletleri Ekonomik Topluluğu (ECOWAS), topluluk vatandaşlarına serbest dolaşım, oturma ve yerleşme haklarının verilmesi amacıyla 1979'da insanların serbest dolaşımına ilişkin Protokolü kabul etti. Antlaşmanın kabul edilmesinden kırk yılı aşkın bir süre sonra, bu tez bölgedeki serbest dolaşımın yolculuğunu değerlendirmektedir. Antlaşma hükümlerinin uygulanmasına ilişkin üç aşamadan yalnızca ilki yerine getirilmiştir; uygulamanın tam olarak gerçekleştirilememesi, birden çok işleme konu olmuş bazı zorluklardan kaynaklanmaktadır.

İnsanların serbest dolaşımı, üye devletlerin sosyoekonomik düzeyini iyileştirmeyi amaçlayan bölgesel ekonomik entegrasyon alanına, giriyor; bu alanda AB en gelişmiş modeldir. Bu nedenle, ECOWAS' taki serbest dolaşım, AB durumu ışığında ele alınabilir. İki toplum arasında bir karşılaştırma analizi yapıldığında, Avrupa'nın başarısını garantileyen unsurların ECOWAS' ta eksik olduğu görülüyor. Ayrıca, bölgedeki gerçekler incelendiğinde, Batı Afrika ülkelerine özgü bir karmaşıklık görülmektedir. Bu nedenle, ECOWAS ülkelerinin ekonomik kalkınmasının iyileştirilmesine katkıda bulunabilecek serbest dolaşımın tam olarak uygulanmasına yönelik çabalardan önce, farklı düzeylerde birçok koşulun yerine getirilmesi gerektiği göze çarpmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: İnsanların serbest dolaşımı, Ekonomik kalkınma, Ekonomik Entegrasyon.

ABSTRACT

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The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) adopted in 1979 the Protocol on free movement of people with the objective of granting the rights of free movement, residence and establishment to the community's citizens. More than forty years after the adoption of the Treaty, this thesis assess the journey of free movement in the region. Only the first of the three stages of implementation of the Treaty's provisions has been fulfilled; the non-full realization of the implementation is due to some challenges that have been the subject of multiple treatments.

Free movement of people enters in the sphere of regional economic integration whose aim is to improve the socioeconomic level of member states; in this domain the EU is the most advanced model. Thus, free movement in the ECOWAS can be approached in the light of the EU case. By having a comparing analysis between the two communities, it appears that the elements that have assured European success are lacking in the ECOWAS. Furthermore, an examination of the reality in the region shows a complexity that is unique to West African countries. Therefore, it stands out that efforts to fully implement free movement, that it may contribute to the improvement of the economic development of ECOWAS countries, must be preceded by the satisfaction of many conditions at different levels.

Keywords: Free movement of People, Economic development, Economic Integration.

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**STATEMENT OF COMPLIANCE WITH ETHICAL PRINCIPLES AND
RULES**

I hereby truthfully declare that this thesis is an original work prepared by me; that I have behaved in accordance with the scientific ethical principles and rules throughout the stages of preparation, data collection, analysis and presentation of my work; that I have cited the sources of all the data and information that could be obtained within the scope of this study, and included these sources in the references section; and that this study has been scanned for plagiarism with “scientific plagiarism detection program” used by Anadolu University, and that “it does not have any plagiarism” whatsoever. I also declare that, if a case contrary to my declaration is detected in my work at any time, I hereby express my consent to all the ethical and legal consequences that are involved.

Mamadou SIMPARA

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ABBREVIATIONS INDEX

INTRODUCTION

1. THE PROBLEMATIC

The present time is shaped by the globalization which started intensely from the 1990s. Globalization, as told, has made the world a big village, meaning that countries are closer ever and the boundaries between countries are being lessened. It has mostly economic connotations; its implications are related to economic phenomena such as trade and services, finance, telecommunications and transport. The philosophy at its core is the liberalization of economic activities and the deregulation of the rules linked to those activities among countries. What has been seen in the recent times, with the intensification of globalization, is the financial deregulation (fluid flows of capital); meanwhile the liberalization of trade had started much earlier back to the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT)¹.

Over the years the movement of goods and services and the flows of capital have been gradually increasing and affecting the world economic trends; their impacts are considerable and can be more or less perceived with ease. This reality in trade and finance is not shared with labor which is the key economic factor. The movement of people has not enjoyed the same liberty as capital, and lacks a comprehensive and coherent institutional framework at the global level (Pécoud, Nita and Lombaerde, 2017). Every year the number of people trying to move to another place or country for work is increasing and thousands of those migrants are dying in the journey in many parts of the world. Not only the migrants are travelling to the traditional destinations of Western countries but also the South-south migration is much more considerable. The migration phenomenon is designing socioeconomic structures and political trends of both the sending and receiving countries of flows of migration. A total number of 258 million international migrants across the globe was constituted of 164 million of migrant workers, 135 million women, 40.9 million children, 26 million registered refugees, and 6 million international students (Global Migration Indicators, 2021).

¹ After the Second World Word, the leaders of the world gathered in a set of negotiations in the conference of Bretton Woods to regulate the global system to avoid another conflict between nations. One of the results of those negotiations was the adoption of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1947, which entered into force on January 1, 1948. The GATT tended to abolish quotas and reduce tariff duties among contracting parties. It was replaced by the World Trade Organization (WTO) in 1995.

To better face the challenges of the globalization, countries group into economic unions, thus forming Regional Economic Communities (RECs) across the world. The existence of economic unions can go back to the nineteenth century, to the time between the global wars and after the Second World War which saw many waves of regionalism (Langenhove and Costea, 2005). Through RECs economic integration is aimed, which is the process of strengthening economic ties between Member States of the communities. Regionalism is meant to achieve the goals that are difficult to be obtained worldwide, e.g. the abolition of obstacles impeding trade, the flows of capital and people inside a given economic community.

The ultimate goal of the efforts towards the intensification of movement of flows of capital and people in the economic union is the improvement of the socioeconomic conditions of people in that union. Because of its complexity, the impacts of movement of people on economic development of RECs are difficult to estimate and appreciate.

The Economic community of West African states (ECOWAS) is one the eight regional economic communities (RECs) recognized by the African Union in Africa. The first treaty establishing the ECOWAS was signed on 28 May 1975 in Lagos, after a renewed treaty was agreed upon in July 1993 in Cotonou. The community is now made of 15 West African countries which are regrouped in three linguistic groups (inherited from colonization); the French-speaking countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Côte d'Ivoire, Mali, Niger, Senegal and Togo; the English-speaking countries: Gambia, Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone; and the Portuguese-speaking countries: Cabo Verde and Guinea-Bissau. Also, the ex-French colonies of the organization plus Guinea-Bissau form the West African Economic and Monetary Union (WAEMU) and the rest the West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ). Its population counts for over 300 million people tucked in a total area of about 5.1 square kilometers.

Around the world RECs can be found, they are efforts made by countries to create blocks of liberalization. That process of liberalization starts with some economic arrangements among some countries by the establishment of a free trade area, after a customs union of the area follows; by adding the free movement of persons and capital to free circulation of goods and services the community tends towards the creation of a common market; after the harmonization of monetary and economic policies, an integrated economic community will be formed. Some RECs have recorded successful

progresses in economic integration; a best example of them is the European Union (EU) which is the current advanced model of REC.

The main motives behind the creation of regional economic arrangements (REAs) or RECs have been mainly free trade in goods and services and free movement of capital. Free movement of persons has constituted a minor factor though high level of mobility is ensured in some regions, as in the case of EU. Thus, there is a more and more deregulation concerning the flows of goods, services and capitals. Meanwhile, countries are increasingly taking measures to close borders to foreigners despite the fact that thousands of people are moving every day from their places, among whom a considerable number perishes.

One of the most migrating zones in Africa is West Africa; but, contrary to the impress given by the number of deaths of sub-Saharan migrants on the road to Europe constantly reported by medias, the flows of migrations from West Africa to Europe are much less important than the flows inside the West African region. The numbers of migrants within West Africa were estimated to be 7.5 million, accounting for 86 % of total emigration (Pécoud et al., 2017; OECD-SWAC, 2008).

In fact, Western Africans have a great tradition of migration which goes back to pre-colonization era. The colonial administrations have also shaped this tradition for the purpose of their exigencies. The newly independent African countries, then, started taking initiatives to break down the artificial borders created by colonial powers. They regrouped into political and economic blocks, most of the time, determined by their colonial pasts. One of those blocks, in West Africa, is the ECOWAS which aims at realizing economic integration among West African countries for the lifting of the conditions of life of their citizens.

The ECOWAS, in its efforts towards integration, adopted the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment on the 1st of May, 1979. To this preliminary Protocol supplementary protocols followed: the Protocol Relating to the Definition of Community Citizen; the Supplementary Protocol on the Code of Conduct for the Implementation of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and Establishment; the Supplementary Protocol on the Second Phase (Right of Residence) of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and Establishment; the Supplementary Protocol Amending and Complementing the Provisions of Article 7 of the Protocol on Free Movement, Right of Residence and

Establishment; the Supplementary Protocol on the Implementation of the Third Phase (Right of Establishment) of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment.

By looking at these Protocols, it can be seen that the ECOWAS Authorities have been all aware of the important role that the smooth movement of people can play in the process of integration. The aim of integration being the improvement of life conditions of the countries involved, free movement of people should ultimately contribute to the levering of the development level of the citizens.

It is undeniable that West African countries are economically among the poorest countries on earth² though years have passed since the creation of the ECOWAS. So, how could we explain this deteriorating state of West African countries despite the efforts made by the ECOWAS to enhance the level of economic integration through free movement of people? To answer this question, we may be brought to ask further questions: How have the implementations of the different protocols been? Have the different protocols on the free movement of people been fully implemented as expected? If not, what has impeded the implementation of the protocols? If yes, has there been any correlation between free movement of people and economic development inside the ECOWAS region?

2. THE AIM OF THE THESIS

The aim of this thesis is to have a discussion on the reality of free movement of people in the ECOWAS region. With an analytical treatment, the goal is examining the journey of the ECOWAS towards full establishment of movements of its citizens, and full economic integration among its member states. At the end of this thesis, the intention is to be of lightening source in understanding the complexity of the West African socioeconomic reality in general.

3. THE IMPORTANCE OF THE THESIS

² In the World Bank 2021 Classification of countries according to income level, from the ECOWAS countries Burkina Faso, The Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Sierra Leone and Togo are classified in the Low-Income Economies (\$1,045 or less); Benin, Cabo Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal are found in the Lower-Middle Income Economies (\$1,046 to \$4,095).

Most of the available resources on the relationship between free movement of people and economic development in West Africa are rare. Thus, this thesis will be a plus to the scarce corpus of literature on the topic. Furthermore, the existing literature is somehow outdated, not taking account the agitating recent evolutions; given the fact that the world has lived under important evolutions never seen since years (the COVID-19 and its socio-economic impacts), this work will be an updated resource of information for anyone wanting to approach the topic in the light of the recent trends.

4. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

4.1. Concepts and Terms

At this stage, it is necessary to clarify the meaning of some concepts used in this thesis.

Economic Development: In this text, “economic development” refers to the improvement of the conditions of lives that is rendered possible by the dynamic positive evolution of the socio-economic activities in a given country; thus, it covers what some call the “socioeconomic development”.

Economic Union: An economic union is the result of a set of economic arrangements between and a certain number of countries that deprive themselves of some parts of their political and economic sovereignty to adopt common policies or orientations. The goal of an economic union is to strengthen ties through economic integration between the States Members of the union. Different types of economic union exist according to the degree of integration.

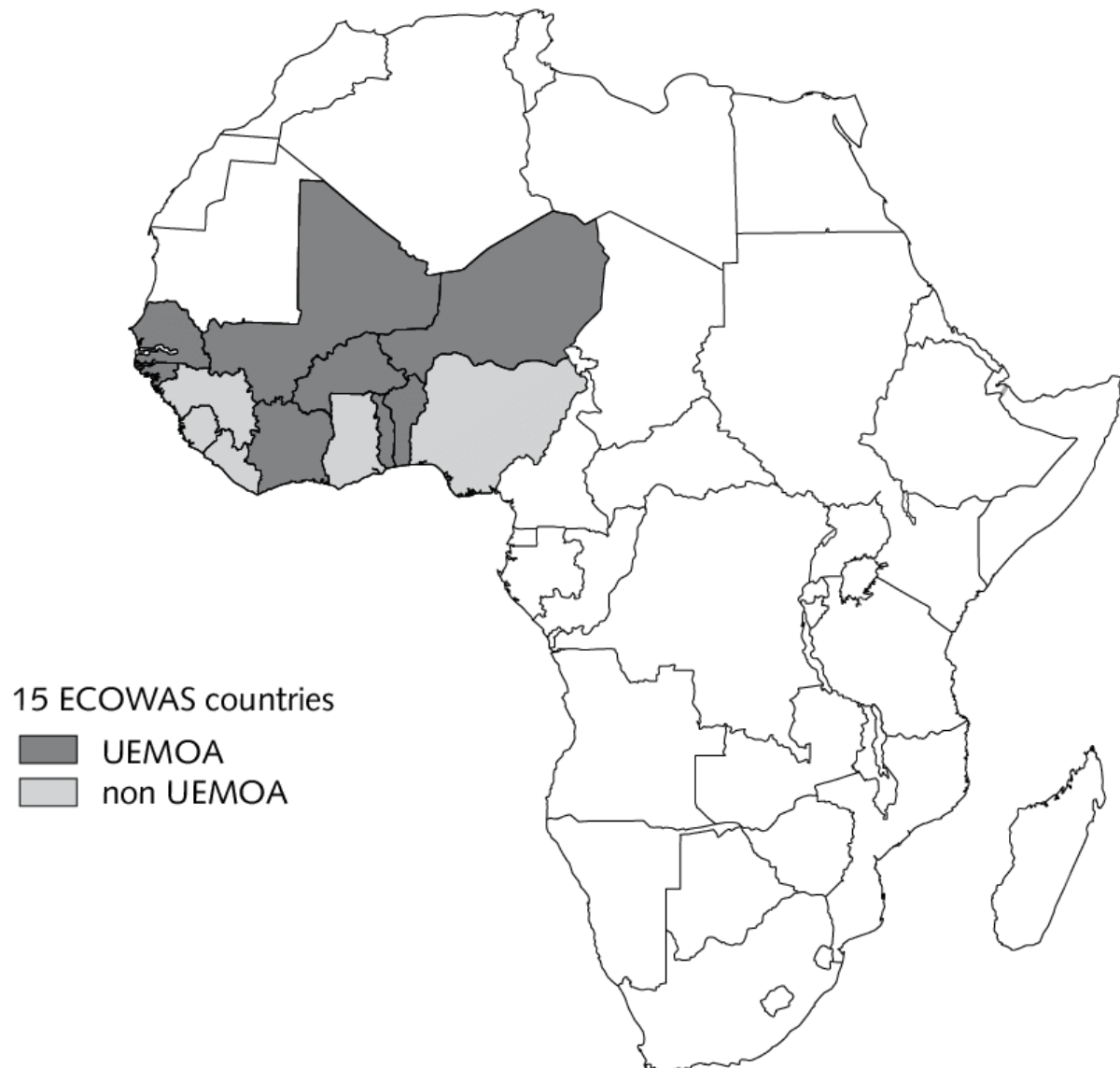
Free Movement of People: Free movement of people is the absence of obstacles to the mobility or the circulation of persons with their goods. It must be noted that mobility is different from international migration; if the former concerns the back and forth movement of people for work, commercial or business reasons, the latter is about permanent settlement of persons, called migrants, to another country other than their own. The expression “free movement of people” is interchangeable with the one of “free movement of persons”.

Migrant: The International Organization for Migration defines migrant as “a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons”.

Migration: Migration is defined on the European Commission as “movement of a person either across an international border (international migration), or within a state (internal migration) for more than one year irrespective of the causes, voluntary or involuntary, and the means, regular or irregular, used to migrate”. The scope of this thesis deals with international migration.

Protocol: In this thesis, Protocol refers to the ECOWAS’ Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment. The Supplementary Protocols to this Protocol are referred to as supplementary protocols. When referring to the Protocol plus the Supplementary Protocols “protocols” is used.

Region: In this thesis, region refers to West Africa (except Mauritania) which encompasses the countries of ECOWAS. The region is highlighted in the following Africa Map.



4.2. The Theoretical Discussion

To elaborate this thesis, the theoretical framework of mobility will serve as a guidance to the conduct of the analysis. Considerable scientific works on the mobility of labor (which is the main factor of production) and its place in the international trade and development are available in the field of Economics. The part of the literature that supports the positive impacts of the free movement of people on global trade and development serves as theoretical basis for this thesis. However, free movement of people cannot be discussed without reviewing the theory of migration. Hence, the theoretical discussion in this work goes with the treatment of the theories and trends of migration both globally and regionally.

4.3. Hypotheses

Q1: Have the different protocols on free movement of people been fully implemented as expected?

Ho: No, the different protocols on free movement of people have not been fully implemented in the ECOWAS region.

H1: Yes, the different protocols on free movement of people have been fully implemented in the ECOWAS region.

Q2: has there been any correlation between free movement of people and economic development in the ECOWAS region?

H0: There has been no correlation between free movement of people and economic development in the ECOWAS region.

H1: There has been some correlation between free movement of people and economic development inside ECOWAS region.

5. THE METHOD OF WORK

5.1. The Pattern of the Research

Given the nature of the topic, it has been preferred to conduct a qualitative work instead of a classical time-series analysis. The reason for this choice lies in the characteristics of the main variable which is the free movement of people. The proxy to

represent the free movement of people could be the flows of migration; considering that migration is principally economically motivated, free movement of people in an economic region could be assessed in terms of free mobility of labor. However, it is difficult to empirically measure labor mobility; besides, in the specific case of ECOWAS region the mobility of people is considerably informal, meaning its flow is not appropriately evaluated, which makes the collection of data concerning free movement of people complicated.

Nevertheless, still the relationships between free movement of people and economic development in the ECOWAS can be assessed. It is intended to conduct a critical analysis on the topic by, firstly reviewing the different protocols on free movement of people adopted by the ECOWAS, the existing literature on migration, the relationship between migration and development, and the link between free movement of people and economic integration; secondly, mentioning some of works assessing free movement of people in ECOWAS; and lastly, as result of that analysis, in taking into account the current socioeconomic evolutions – the COVID-19 context, providing some insights on the topic.

5.2. The Scope of the Research

The research of the thesis is covering one of the key indicators of economic integration which is free movement of people. It is investigated inside the ECOWAS region which is made of fifteen (15) West African countries. The phenomenon of economic integration and the reality of free movement of people in the ECOWAS region are examined.

5.3. Data Collection

This work being primarily qualitative, the data to be collected for the redaction of this thesis are through desk research which provides the obtention of books, reports, articles, etc. Through the Anadolu University Online Library Proxy many resources have been reached out. Because of geographical limitation and absence of means to travel for a field observation, no polling or interview is being made for the conduct of this thesis.

FIRST CHAPTER

1. THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This first chapter deals with the theoretical corpus that is constructed around the topic of this thesis. Related to the topic are the generalities and theories on free movement of people (or persons) and its relationships with the progress of countries which tend to regroup to form integrating communities. The discussions on free movement cannot be done without preliminarily treating the notion of migration. A discussion on migration alone is not sufficient; its relationship with economic development must be given place.

1.1. The Theory of Migration

1.1.1. The Theoretical construction of migration

The phenomenon of migration is intimately linked to the history of mankind. From immemorial times till now humans have always moved from one place to another; migrating has been a need for survival for human species. Like any other phenomenon of human action, migration has also been the subject of thinking from social scientists. The construction of a theoretical framework that forms a discipline of studies depends on the nature of its object. Thus, different perceptions of the nature of the phenomenon bring about different approaches in studying it.

1.1.1.1. The Theoretical construction of migration

In his epistemological investigation of a general theory of migration, Mangalam and Morgan (1968) considered the misconceptions of the nature of migration as some of the causes impeding the establishment of the framework of a general theory, among other causes. According to him the early students of migration, in approaching the phenomenon, misunderstood its characteristics: Contrary to their perceptions, migration is not a random phenomenon; different from being an individual behavior, migration is rather an inter-individual or social behavior; migration is a complex whose study necessitates interdisciplinary approach; and separate migrations are not unique in kind.

Though non-economic factors are among the causes of migration, migration is generally viewed as an economic phenomenon. And Safa (1975) states that “migration is a manifestation of a world-wide shift from a rural agrarian base to an urban-industrial base in the economies of most Third World Countries.”

Some of the varieties of migration are return migration, circular migration, onward migration, intermittent migration, and transnational migration. One of the important features of migration is its being the third component of demographic change after birth and death.

1.1.1.2. Building a migration theory

Contrary to most of the fields of science, the birth of the studies of migration was not immediately followed by the construction of a general framework of theory. Till late, this framework took place. As mentioned above, Mangalam and Morgan (1968) in his *Human Migration* investigated the reasons for that absence of theory. Besides the nature of migration, according to him, reasons for the absence are related to the nature of data used, disciplinary orientations of the scholars, and a lack of concern by social organizational theorists for the phenomenon.

In migration literature there is a consensus that the works of Ravenstein in England laid the foundation of the migration studies. From the British Census of 1881 and data from many other countries, Ravenstein theorized the underlying principles that characterize the processes of migration in Britain in what he called the laws of Migration. Those laws were stated in three separate articles; the first one, which was exclusive to England, was published in the *Geographical Magazine*, and the later extending to cover Europe and North America were published in the *Statistical Journal* in 1885 and 1889 (Grigg, 1977). Below, those laws are stated out.

Another work that is considered to be an important study of migration from a theoretical point of view is Thomas and Znaniecki's *Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (1927) (Mangalam and Morgan, 1968). With their work there is a shift from a study of migration in national boundaries to an intra-national approach. The implications of globalization put emphasis on the phenomenon of migration across countries and even continents. The authors of the five-volume work, published at different times between 1918 and 1920, used original methods of studies. They used sources of information such as "correspondence exchanged between Polish migrants and their families, life histories and autobiographical accounts, letters written to local newspapers, documents of associations, church parishes and court records that migrants dealt with in various ways across Poland and America" (Sinatti, 2008). The use of personal documents for investigation gave a rough and authentic character to the data but, at the same time, posed

the question of scientific validity to the results obtained from such unconventional sources of information at the time.

A view of the flow of migrants responding to the economic laws of labor demand and supply across some distance was developed by Stouffer (1940). He named that trend by the concept of “intervening opportunities” which stated that “the number of migrants over a certain distance and time is proportional to the number of opportunities in the center and inversely proportional to the development of intervening opportunities which are produced by economic expansion in the hinterland of larger conurbations”. After the 1950s the migration had to be seen as a process involving decision making, so that a proper understanding of the phenomenon then had to take account the behavior of individuals as well as aggregates. Wolpert, in 1965, used field theory to explain differences of space experience of the migrants through the lifecycle, and to draw attention to the ambivalence of the decision making to migrate. The works that followed tried to further understand the behavioral process of the migrants in the acts of migration. Through observations of documentation provided by statistic officials, stress was put on the back-and-forth movements of migrants across distances, which made the observers see the migration from a mobility angle. They classified those movements as local migration, chain migration, circular migration, and career migration (Siddle, 2000).

According to the level of study the theories of migration can be classified under micro, meso and macro approaches; the micro-level theories study the choices and the behavior of migrants in their decision-making, the meso-level theories focus on migrants families and networks across sending and receiving regions, while the macro-level theories tend to assess the social structures, large systems and long processes that shape the motivations and options of migrants (Stiglitz, Cortina and Ochoa-Reza, 2013).

1.1.1.3. The Ravenstein’s Laws of migration

Ravenstein presented his two papers of the laws of migration respectively in 1885 and 1889 before the Royal Statistical Society. His laws were mentioned by most of the subsequent works on migration. Lee (1966), an early theorist of migration, discussed the laws before examining the factors motivating the phenomenon. Another work on laws is the Grigg’s Ravenstein and the “laws of migration”, published in 1977 by the Journal of Historical Geography. The laws listed by Grigg, in number of eleven, are as following:

(1) the majority of migrants go only a short distance; (2) migration proceeds step by step; (3) migrants going long distances generally go by preference to one of the great centers of commerce or industry; (4) each current of migration produces a compensating counter current; (5) the natives of towns are less migratory than those of rural areas; (6) females are more migratory than males within the kingdom of their birth, but males more frequently venture beyond; (7) most migrants are adults: families rarely migrate out of their county of birth; (8) large towns grow more by migration than by natural increase; (9) migration increases in volume as industries and commerce develop and transport improves; (10) the major direction of migration is from the agricultural areas to the centers of industry and commerce; (11) and the major causes of migration are economic.

1.1.2. Lee's Factors of Migration

One of the major tendencies in the elaboration of the migration theory has been the generalization of the different factors of the phenomenon. As stated above, migration being considered mostly an economic phenomenon, the factors at its core are therefore primarily of economic nature.

Upon an analysis of the laws of Ravenstein, Lee (1966) developed his theory of migration in which he stated the factors in the act of migration. Lee classified the factors in four categories associated with: the place of origin, the place of destination, the intervening obstacles, and the personal considerations. In both the places of origin and destination there are attractive and repulsive factors; those attractive are called Pull-Factors and those repulsive Push-Factors. The pull-factors are the positive elements that retain people to remain at some place or attract migrants from another place, meanwhile the push-factors are the negative conditions that cause people to leave a place. The move from the place of origin to the place of destination does not take place smoothly; they are factors that render the migration process challenging. The nature of those intervening obstacles influences the decisional attitude of migrants.

1.2. Migration and Development

In this section, general treatment is made of the migration-development relationship. Before getting into the theories, it is edifying to have an overview of the historical

evolution of global migration which is linked to the question of development, and to get an insight into the recent trends of migration around the world.

1.2.1. A Historical overview of global migration

Internal migration from rural places to urban hubs and transnational migration from countries to countries in quest of better means of life existed well in the ancient past but took on a new dimension with the emergence of the modern-day industrialized period. From the XV century European kingdoms started exploring the edges of the world that resulted in their settlements on the American, Asian and African continent. In the search for resources the Europeans started a vague colonization that ever shaped the repartition of the globe. The hunger for economic and political freedom drew millions of men and women from Europe to make a no-return journey to settle in different parts of the world. Those flows of movement gave birth to some of the powerful countries today, on top of them is the United States of America.

The United States of America is a country undeniably forged by immigrants from Europe who, with their collective background, built what is today the most powerful nation on earth. Alongside the voluntary immigrants from Europe where the involuntary immigrants from Africa who were brought as slaves to be employed on plantations, in the construction of railways, bridges, etc.; with the Indians their contribution to the American history is also undeniable. The flows of migration to the US did not stop after the country's independence, instead they continued till the WW2; the favorable environment pulled entrepreneurs, engineers, scientists, and workmen from many corners of the world, needless to name them.

While the US were attracting souls from everywhere, European capitalism could not confine itself within the limits of the continent; from the second half of XIX century European states launched what is to be known as the scramble for Africa. The scramble for Africa was a concerted enterprise of sharing the lands of Africa for its resources and markets. The conquest of Africa provided the Europeans with plenty of resources; this was not possible without a systematic political and economic setting that forever shaped the fate of African peoples. The colonization redrew the flux of movement of local populations by moving millions of them for the sake of the colonial enterprise. Thus, the intra-African migration got redirected. The inherited colonial boundaries divided peoples

of same cultures between countries. Thus, what is called intra-African migration is nothing but a product of those artificial boundaries.

Between the two world wars, that saw the 1929 global economic crisis and its effects, that ongoing flows of people got hindered. In the euphoria of the economic boom that followed WWII the international flows of persons resumed till the 1970s' crisis. The reconstruction process in West Europe drew workers from Eastern Europe, Asia and Africa. The well-established migration corridor from Mexico to the USA got rooted. By that time migrants from the countries that were mostly former colonies, and formed the South, had laid the foundations of the flows of migration to Western countries. Migration receiving countries emerged also is the Third World: the 1973 oil shock made Libya a recipient of workers from oil-poor Arab countries, Asian countries, as well as from countries in the Horn of Africa; the Asian miracle which manifested in rapid economic growth in East Asian countries, such as Japan, Taiwan, Singapore, Hong Kong, and South Korea, contributed to reshaping the migration pattern in Asia; and finally Sub-Saharan countries such as Ivory Coast and South Africa emerged as regional migration poles (De Haas and al., 2019).

Until then, the waves of migration were more politically planned from both the sending and receiving countries; there had even been bilateral arrangements among countries for the export and import labor forces. But, with the intensification of globalization the level of illegal or unwanted migration rose considerably: it is this migration that is the subject of much debate. Also, changes occurred in the characteristics of migrants; immigrants' skill levels have grown up because of the overall increase in education level worldwide, "as well as the growing demand for skilled labor in the highly specialized and segmented labor markets of middle - and high-income countries" (De Hass and al., 2019). The recent evolution of the phenomenon is treated in the next section.

Migration has been explicitly analyzed in the world systems of economies from earlier stages of globalization till now by Ronald Skeldon (Stiglitz, Cortina and Ochoa-Reza, 2013). The economies are considered to be built in clusters which are not nationally delimited. Those clusters are called "development tiers", and they constitute centers of inflows and outflows of migration. He synthesized his model of the relation between the development tiers and migration patterns in chronological order.

Table 1.1. *Development Tiers and Migration Patterns* (Stiglitz, Cortina and Ochoa-Reza, 2013)

Tiers	Locations	Economy	Population and Migration
Old core	Western Europe, North America, Australia	Knowledge-based industries	Urban decentralization; immigration
New core	Japan, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Singapore	Capital-intensive and service industries	Urban decentralization; immigration
Expanding core	China, Malaysia, Thailand, Brazil, Argentina, Venezuela, Mexico, India, Israel, South Africa, Central Asia	Labor-intensive industries	Urban centralization; immigration and emigration
Labor frontier	Latin America, Caribbean, Southern Africa	Agricultural and extractive industries	Urban centralization; emigration
Resource niche	Brazil, East and West Africa, Asia	Peasant agriculture and craft production	Decentralization and centralization; emigration/immigration and emigration

1.2.2. Recent trends of global migration

The COVID-19 that outbreak three years ago has dramatically impacted the flows of people around the world. Measures to halt the spread of the virus resulted in the closing of borders that stopped international movements and the confinement restricted national mobilities. Movements were conditioned to mandatory vaccinations to which many persons were not consenting at first. In the emergency to fight against the pandemic, governments saw an opportunity to further tighten their borders to international migrants. So that, McAuliffe and Triantafillou (2021), in introducing the first chapter of the World Migration Report 2022, were to remind the core humans values that countries have to consider vis-à-vis international migrants.

The COVID-19 has had a multidimension effect: it brought millions of people to line of survival because of the cessation of the jobs that employ them; millions of people died from the disease; the closure of schools, universities, work places and other public places resulted in the decline of activities and consequently to the recession of the economy; the state of things has forced the intensification of digitalization in many areas,

especially in the job world; to sum up, the pandemic revealed some covered realities in societies such as social disparity.

The following table gives the trends in the international migration in the context of COVID-19. The trends reported by the IOM are in number of 20; they concern aspects of international migration.

Table 1.2. 20 Key Trends on Migration (IOM)

1. Migrant Population (Stocks)	281 million INTERNATIONAL MIGRANTS were counted globally in 2020 - people residing in a country other than their country of birth. This represented 3.6% of the world's total population.	11. Unsafe Migration	40,000+ DEATHS DURING MIGRATION were recorded by IOM between 2014 and 2020, including more than 4,200 in 2020.
2. Migrant Flows	35 - 40 million people MIGRATE EVERY 5 YEARS, according to estimates based on changes to global UNDESA migrant stock data over time. Statistics on annual international migration flows worldwide are not available, as data are available for only a limited set of countries.	12. Human Trafficking	40.3 million VICTIMS OF MODERN SLAVERY were estimated in 2016. Of those, 5 million may have crossed an international border.
3. Migrant Vulnerabilities During the COVID-19 pandemic	3 million+ MIGRANTS WERE STRANDED by pandemic-related mobility restrictions in 2020 according to IOM estimates. Migrants are widely considered to be more vulnerable to the spread of COVID-19, though global data is not available.	13. Return Migrants	42,181 RETURNS were assisted by IOM in 2020, a 43% decrease compared to 2019 due to COVID-related restrictions.

Table 1.2. (Continue) 20 Key Trends on Migration (IOM)

<p>4. Migrant Contribution</p> <p>During the COVID-19 pandemic</p>	<p>33% of doctors WERE FOREIGN BORN in the United Kingdom in 2016. Migrants make up a large proportion of the workforce in sectors important for the pandemic response. Among the 20 OECD countries with the highest number of COVID-19 cases in early 2021, at least 7 countries depend heavily on foreign-born workers in the health-care sector.</p>	<p>14. Migrants Contributions</p>	<p>USD 6.7 trillion CONTRIBUTED BY MIGRANT to global GDP estimated in 2015 – 9.4% of the total global GDP in that year.</p>
<p>5. Labor Migrants</p>	<p>169 million MIGRANT WORKERS were counted globally in 2019, according to ILO figures.</p>	<p>15. Children</p>	<p>12% OF THE GLOBAL MIGRANT STOCK</p> <p>15. CHILDREN in 2020 were children, but people under 18 comprise 50% of the refugee population and 42% of IDPs as of 2019.</p>
<p>6. International Students</p>	<p>6 million INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS were counted in 2019, up from 2 million in 2000.</p>	<p>16. Women</p>	<p>135 million WOMEN</p> <p>16. WOMEN are migrants as of 2020, comprising just under half of the global international migrant stock.</p>

Table 1.2. (Continue) 20 Key Trends on Migration (IOM)

<p>7. Remittances</p>	<p>USD 540 billion IN REMITTANCES 7. REMITTANCES were sent to low- and middle-income countries in 2020. Though remittance flows decreased due to the outbreak of COVID-19, they remained higher than foreign direct investments and overseas development assistance combined.</p>	<p>17. Environmental Displacement</p>	<p>30.7 million PEOPLE WERE NEWLY DISPLACED in 135 nations were newly displaced by sudden-onset disasters within their own countries in 2020.</p>
<p>8. Displacement</p>	<p>82.4 million INDIVIDUALS 8. DISPLACEMENT were forcibly displaced worldwide due to persecution, conflict, generalized violence, human rights violations, or other reasons by the end of 2020. Most of these people, 48 million, were internally displaced.</p>	<p>18. Public Opinion</p>	<p>PUBLIC OPINION ON MIGRANTS DECLINED from 5.34 in 2016 to 5.21 in 2019 according to Gallup’s Migrant Acceptance Index, indicating the world is, on average, less accepting of migrants.</p>

Table 1.2. (Continue) 20 Key Trends on Migration (IOM)

9.	Refugees	26.4 million REGISTERED REFUGEES were counted in 2020.	19. Potential Migration	21– 44% POTENTIAL INCREASE IN IMMIGRATION FLOWS to the European Union by 2030, compared to the average annual flows recorded between 2008 and 2017. No global estimates of potential migration are available.
10.	Resettlement	34,400 REFUGEES WERE RESETTLED to third countries during 2020, a decrease of nearly two-thirds compared to 2019.	20. Migration Data Capacity	87% of countries ASKED ABOUT COUNTRY OF BIRTH 75% asked for citizenship and 50% for the year or period of arrival in their 2010 censuses.

The recent event that has been really disruptive to the world order is the Russia-Ukraine war that started with the invasion of Ukraine by Russia on 24 February 2022. The refugee issue that broke out of the war obtained much more concern from the world scene - a fact that raised the question of a certain selectivity or partiality in treating human suffering worldwide because it has been decades now that destructive crises have sparked over places around the world and have not benefited from such care and mediatization³.

1.2.3. Migration-development nexus

For the purpose of this thesis, the kind of migration that is referred to is labor migration. The reason for this is simply the predominantly economic-oriented nature of the phenomenon. Besides, it is the labor migration that has consequential related impacts to the economic problem. This migration is voluntary, different from other kinds of

³ Though the refugee problem is not subject in this thesis, place has been given to the consequences of the Russia-Ukraine war because of the large-scale nature of the conflict

movements which are caused by factors such as natural disasters, civil war or political crisis. Two of the categories of the typology of Tilly (1978), which are the chain and career types of migration, are part of this free labor migration and most integral to development; the other two typologies with less significant relation to the processes of development are the local and circular forms of migration (Stiglitz, Cortina and Ochoa-Reza, 2013). Internal migration, characterized by the rural-urban migration, is an important issue in many countries, however it is the international migration, movement of people across countries, that has a bold connection to the question of development. In economic literature the concept of development is approached diversely according to epistemological perspective. For this work, the concept of economic development refers to the improvement in the socioeconomic conditions of life.

The theory of the mobility of labor is embedded within economic liberalism that stands for the “laissez-Aller” or the efficient endowment of economic factors such as labor and capital, which is possible by their free circulation across areas. One of the ultimate implications of this philosophical view in economics, that is well defended by the classics and the neoclassic, is that countries have better to gain by opening their borders and letting the economy be regulated by the push and pull factors. Till the half of XX century the flux of migration was from the North to the South which was characterized by the movement of colonization and the extension of capitalism; from the second half of the century the direction of the flux reversed, former colonies and countries from the South started migrating to their former colonial metropolis. Thus, the route of migrants took on a historical deterministic character.

That new reality caused economic and political debates on the linkages between migration and development. It is possible to identify three different corpuses of thoughts on the matter: the neoclassical approach, the historical and structuralism view, and the alternative approaches. The first one considered migration to be a contributor to development. As said above, it stands for free action of the push-pull factors. The rationality postulate of the neoclassical school considers individuals to be well aware of the disparities of wages across and to have access to information on the other parameters of the labor market. Upon that awareness the migrant can then take the decision to migrate by calculating the costs and the benefits of such adventure. The flows of migration would reduce the disparities and the wages to an equilibrium level; there must be no obstacles to that regulating mechanism of the market. This doctrine created in the 1950s and 1960s

an overwhelming positive view on the linkages between migration and development (Castles, 2009).

The second paradigm is formed by the heterodox view, also known as historical-institutional theory, who have built their corpus on the dependency theory. The theory, which has its roots in the Marxian theory of dependency and was dominant in the 1970s and 1980s, stated that the South-North relation is at the expense of countries from the South because of colonial heritage. According to theorists of dependency, the emigration from the country of the periphery “South” is just another way of exploitation that deprives them of their human resource which is crucial for the dynamic construction of their economies.

In attempts to propose alternative approaches to the one-way dimensional point of view of the previous theories, theories such as the New Economics of Labor migration (NELM) which takes account household dynamics, risk-sharing and overcoming market inefficiency - is the current dominant perspective and states that migration has had a mixed but mostly a positive impact on economic development (Jeronimo Cortina & Enrique Ochoa-Reza, 2013), Dual or segmented labor market theory, migration networks theory, and transnational theory were developed. Those theories have more direct connection to the topic of this thesis because they set out to link mobility to processes of development and economic integration (Castles, 2009).

De Haas (2007) presented this classification of the theories of migration and development as following:

Table 1.3. *Main phases in migration and development research and policies (De Haas, 2007)*

Period	Research community	Policy field
Until 1973	Development and migration optimism	Development optimism; capital and knowledge transfers by migrants would help developing countries in development take-off
1973-1990	Development and migration pessimism (dependency, brain drain)	Growing skepticism; concerns on brain drain; after experiments with return migration policies focused on integration in receiving countries. Migration largely out of sight in development field.
1990-2001	Readjustment to more subtle views under influence of increasing empirical work (NELM, livelihood approaches, transnationalism)	Persistent skepticism; tightening of immigration policies.
Up to 2001	Boom in publications: mixed, but generally positive views.	Resurgence of migration and development optimism under influence of remittance boom, and a sudden turnaround of views: brain gain, diaspora involvement.

It is not worthless to end this section on the theoretical corpus of the linkage between migration and development by mentioning the strong advocacy of the international institutions (e.g. the WB, the IMF, the IOM, the UN) for a positive view on international migration. That is easily noticeable in their reports and publications; there, they dismiss the rhetoric of a negative view on migration which translates into political actions such as border closing, migration restrictions, etc. The approach of these institutions is justifiable by their neoclassical stance.

1.2.4. Migrants

The studies of migration started with the following questions: Who are the migrants? Why do they migrate? What are the impacts of migration?

The migrants can be classified in two categorical groups of profile. The first one concerns the unskilled migrants, the ones who have attained a certain level of qualification and education, the second group the skilled ones, who are qualified and well educated. The low-skilled labor migrants come almost entirely from the countries of the South, considered the poor or least developed and the skilled and well-qualified ones are more likely to come from those countries in the South considered middle-income or emerging countries, many of them Asian countries, a handful of the skilled migrants come from Western countries. The two categories of migrants are also associated with poor and rich migrants respectively.

All economic migrants to some extent migrate to earn better means of living; this is totally true for the poor migrants who see migration as a way-out. Meanwhile financially well-off migrants may not necessarily move for the aim of gaining money but for the desire of tasting the style of life that some countries can offer to them.

The research of the impacts of migration firstly concerned only the receiving countries, and later on dealt with the sending countries. New approaches which have been advocated by some scholars assess beyond the sending- and receiving-dimension, instead they assess the dynamic changes induced by migration.

1.2.5. Remittances

Remittances are the direct outcomes of migration; they are the revenues migrants make their journey for. That is why it is not surprising if they have been the subject of many studies in migration literature. Remittances constitute the monies that migrants gain by working legally or illegally in their host countries and send back home. They are sent through different channels; depending on the status of the migrants those channels can be of formal or non-formal. The purposes of their sending are diverse. Their impacts on the economy of the origin countries of migrants are both positive and negative and have been discussed in both theoretical and empirical levels.

In their Migration and Development Brief 34 report of May 2021, entitled “Resilience COVID-19 Crisis Through a Migration Lens”, the World Bank Group’s supported Global Knowledge Partnership on Migration and Development (KNOMAD) provides an update on the trends of remittances. The report considered remittances to be resilient during the COVID-19 pandemic; their flows to low- and middle-income countries reached \$ 540 billion, which is a small decrease of 1.6 % of the \$ 548 billion in 2019. The below table represents the flows of remittances to low- and middle-income regions from 2009 to 2022 with expected numbers for 2020 and forecasted ones in 2021 and 2022.

Table 1.4. *Estimates and projections of remittances Flows to Low- and Middle-Income Regions (WB, 2021)*

Region	2009	2015	2016	2017 (\$ billion)	2018	2019	2020e	2021e	2022f
Low- and Middle-Income countries	302	446	441	478	524	548	540	533	565
East Asia and Pacific	80	128	128	134	143	148	136	139	142
Europe and Central Asia	33	42	43	52	59	62	56	56	50
Latin America and Caribbean	55	68	73	81	89	96	103	108	112
Middle East and North Africa	31	50	49	52	53	55	56	57	59
South Asia	75	118	111	117	132	140	147	152	158
Sub-Saharan Africa	28	41	37	41	49	48	42	43	44
World	433	602	597	640	694	719	702	713	726
(Growth rate, percent)									
Low- and Middle-Income countries	-4.8	0.5	-1.3	8.4	9.8	4.6	-1.6	2.6	2.2
East Asia and Pacific	-4.8	3.7	-0.5	5.1	6.8	3.0	-7.9	2.1	2.1

Table 1.4. (Continue) *Estimates and projections of remittances Flows to Low- and Middle-Income Regions*
(WB, 2021)

Europe and Central Asia	-11.3	-15.3	2.1	21.0	12.9	4.6	-9.7	-3.2	-6.9
Latin America and Caribbean	-12.3	6.5	7.4	11.1	9.9	8.3	6.5	4.9	4.0
Middle East and North Africa	-6.0	-6.4	-1.2	5.3	2.3	3.4	2.3	2.6	3.1
South Africa	4.5	1.6	-5.9	6.0	12.3	6.1	5.2	3.5	4.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	-2.1	6.6	-8.3	10.8	17.4	-0.4	-12.5	2.6	1.6
World	-5.	-1.3	-0.8	7.1	8.5	3.7	-2.4	1.5	1.8

For the sending countries of migration, remittances are of great importance because of many reasons. First of all, after being a primary source of revenue for the migrants, they serve as secondary sources of means (sometimes primary) for the many persons who receive them. A part of the money is the migrant's own projects which can be the building a house and the investment in some kind of activities; the other part used for the needs of members of family and communities. Another use of remittances may be the payment of loans or other debts that migrants contracted to finance their trip (Silva, 2011). The remittances are a major source of foreign currency, thus are alternatives to the traditional export products of raw materials in providing sustainable reserves of foreign currency. The lack of sufficient national saving can be remedied with the productive use of remittances in the essential sectors of the economy. However, the aptitude of remittances to impact on economic development depends on the different stages of household and community-level migration cycles (De Haas, 2007).

As said above, remittances have mixed impacts. They can create a form of dependency from the ones who receive them back home as making them rely on them and less incentive to actively participate in the economy (Dr Silva, 2011). Worst is the misuse of them, meaning instead of being relocated to productive sectors if they are used in conspicuous consumption. The influx of foreign exchange can cause the local currency to be overvalued (De Haas 2005; Stiglitz, Cortina and Ochoa-Reza, 2013). As a comment to the negative views on remittances, De Haas (2005) considered that some constitute myths, and of them is as the following:

“The fifth migration myth is that the money migrants remit to sending countries is mainly spent on conspicuous consumption and non-productive investments. Migration and remittances are therefore thought to lead to a passive and dangerous dependence on remittances. The dominant perception since the 1970s has been that remittances are spent mainly on houses, feasts, cars,

clothes and important consumption goods, while investment in productive enterprises is rare.” p.6... “The idea that remittances are predominantly spent on excessive consumption has proved to be rather inaccurate. Furthermore, there seems reason to criticize the inclination to denote expenditure on housing, sanitation, health care, food and schooling as unproductive and non-developmental. After all, such improvements in well-being and human capital also have the tendency to increase their productivity, freedom of choice and the capacity to participate in public debate. Consequently, they also constitute ‘development’, at least if we adopt a broad definition of this concept, which puts improvements in people’s actual capabilities and well-being first.” p.7.

Despite being important sources of revenue or investment to fuel the economy, remittances alone cannot in any way be the driver of economic development. This latter depends on the internal dynamism which is rendered possible by the structural socioeconomic and political configurations (De Haas, 2005; De Haas, 2007; Stiglitz, Cortina and Ochoa-Reza, 2013).

1.2.6. Brain drain/Brain gain

The visible immediate impact of the flows of emigration is the decrease in the population workforce. When the decrease concerns the unskilled migrants, it causes a penury of labor force and the emigration of skilled or qualified migrants causes the problem of what is conceptualized in the expression of brain drain. Brain drain is thus the draining of people who have gained education, training or qualification and go to practice in their emigrating countries. This phenomenon has been the subject of one of the criticisms of the structuralism and dependency theories of migration.

In the sending countries there have been concerns in mitigating the effects of brain drain. In consequence initiatives have been taken. The levy of tax on emigration has been proposed; this represents a sum that the host country must pay to the originating country of the migrant as a compensation to the cost of education and training. The brain drain can be compensated by what is called the brain gain which is its counter movement. The brain gain represents all the benefiting returns in terms of human capital, ideas, innovation, entrepreneurship skills that the migrants bring back to their home country. De Haas (2007) stated that migration does not automatically lead to a drain and further says that “the counter flow of remittances and remittances can partly or even more than compensate for this negative effect”.

1.2.7. Migration policies

The international migration has a highly political dimension because of its implications for both the sending and receiving countries. Therefore, the flows of migration have always been accompanied by policies that enable them in some cases and impede them in some other cases. The policies of migration are of two kinds: policies in the originating countries and policies in the host countries.

The nature of policies related to migration have evolved both in the sending and the receiving countries. In the sending countries, the early flows of migration were characterized by a need to provide the booming economies with a reservoir of labor force. That made the leaders of those countries apply an open-border policy and arrange bilateral agreements that enabled such flows. On the other side, some countries developed policies that made them exporters of migrants, some of them being specialized in specific kinds of migration (Stiglitz, Cortina and Ochoa-Reza, 2013)⁴.

With the change in the routes of flows and rise of undesired migration, migration-counteracting policies have been ever since growing in the Northern countries. Those policies are concerned with the limitation, the restriction and the elimination of migration in many ways. They lead to the closing of borders, imposition of quotas, and the tightening of visa delivering. Western countries go even further in combating migration; they delegate in exchange of money some countries, considered to be the transit areas of migrants, to block the migrants; they conditioned their aid to the Southern countries to the containing or deportation of migrants.

The sending countries, aware of the importance of remittances to their economies, have settled mechanisms to engage the migrants into the development process; thus, migrants have been directly represented in parliaments; policies to facilitate the returns of migrants or to encourage their investments have been adopted. Many other initiatives have been taken either directly from the governments or by third actors to make the migrants and the remittances they send to contribute efficiently in the economic dynamism.

1.2.8. The Macroeconomic impacts of migration

⁴ The 1961 Bilateral Migration Agreement between Türkiye and Federal Germany is one the example of those arrangements (Kemal Biçerli, 2019)

The major concerns of the economic science toward migration have the impacts that migration have on the labor market of the host country. The impacts are mainly at the macro-level, meaning the employment and unemployment rates, and the level of wages are affected.

The macroeconomic effects of migration on the labor markets of both the migrant sending and migrant receiving countries are given in Biçerli's textbook (2019). They are treated under five titles:

The effects on the revenues of migrant receiving and sending regions:

- The increase in production and national product in the receiving region and, generally, the opposite pattern in sending country
- In case if the migrants are unemployed in their country their emigration there will be no change in the total production of the sending country; follow a decrease in unemployment and an increase in the revenue

The effects on the revenues of receiving region's workers

- The fall of labor wage due to the surplus labor force induced by immigration
- However, if the migrants are complementary to the local workers the demand for these ones and the wages can rise

The effects on the revenues of the receiving region's businessmen

- Businessmen benefit because of their employment of cheap labor and the increase in the level of production: this is valid for the short term
- The consumption from the immigrants of their revenue in the host country can lead to an increase in demand of workers of the receiving countries who have not been replaced by migration, thus leading to the rise of wages of these ones
- The increase in the production and sales will increase the revenue of the businessmen; the marginal efficiency of capital will rise
- The rise of the marginal efficiency of capital will cause the investments and the stock of capital to augment
- The marginal efficiency of labor will ultimately rise; the negative effect induced by the migration on wages at first place will disappear partially or completely

The effects on public services and finances

- The migration increases the level of density in the reception areas, thus rendering obligatory the intensification of public services
- The failing to meet this social demand in the receiving countries will cause a degradation of urban conditions
- In the sending countries there can be improvement in the capacity to produce more social services
- Being dispensed from the tax regimes of their home country, the migrants will be paying taxes to their emigrating country.

The effects on the balance of payments

- The influx of reserves of foreign exchange in the sending countries
- As for the receiving country the impacts are mixed; the loss of foreign exchange that occurs with the remittances is remedied by the increase of exports.

1.3. Free Movement of People and Economic Integration

On the contrary of migration, which is a real phenomenon, free movement of persons is rather a wanted situation than a fact. In other terms, it is a political wish that translates into policies to smoothen the circulation of people between countries. It enters in the process of transnational migration. As said above, the movement of people has not enjoyed the same liberty as the movements of goods, services and capital in the context of globalization. What is difficult to achieve on a world-wide scale has been tried to be concretized in the more concrete basis of economic integration. Thus, free movement of people has constituted a core element in the establishment of the regional economic communities or economic unions.

The oldest and well-established of economic communities being the EU, whose creation was galvanized by the idea of lifting all restrictions to the movement of citizens (Pécoud and De Guchteneire, 2007), the concept of free movement can be analyzed within the context of the EU.

1.3.1. The evolution of integration in the EU with respect to free Movement of people

In the aftermath of WWII, the need for substantial cooperation among the previously belligerent countries, in order to improve the socio-economic conditions, has been stressed out by some European countries. That brought six European states together to establish three important intergovernmental bodies that laid the foundations of the economic integration in Europe; the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), or Treaty of Paris, was signed on the 18 April 1951, and the European Economic Community (EEC) and the European Energy Community (EAEC, also known as Euratom), or Treaties of Rome, were signed on 25 March 1957. The six countries to sign were France, Italy, Germany, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Luxembourg (Sokolska, 2022).

From the three bodies it is the EEC that came out to be the driving force to economic integration and involved to give birth to the current EU. The provisions of the establishing treaty of EEC concerning free movement covered only workers and the right of establishment. The Article 48 of the EEC Treaty (the French version) states the general dispositions concerning the movement of workers; the free circulation of workers is assured inside the community by the end of the transitional period; any discrimination, based on nationality, concerning employment, remuneration and conditions of works of workers of different Member States is abolished. The workers in public administration were not concerned by those provisions. Regarding the right of establishment, Article 52 mentions the removal of the restrictions to the undertaking of a resident of a Member State to establish, to create agencies and subsidiaries in another Member State (CEE, 1957). Thus, from 1978 to 1972 more than 8 million work permits were issued to foreigners by the original six EEC members; among those workers one third came within the EEC (Koikkalainen, 2021).

With the Treaty of Maastricht⁵, the more the whole process of integration accelerated the more the notion of free movement evolved to the concept of European Citizenship which is obtained automatically by all nationals of EU countries. With the implementation of the Schengen Agreements in 1995 the Schengen Area has come to existence. The Schengen Area, which is made of EU countries (except Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Ireland and Romania) and some non-EU countries (Iceland, Norway, Switzerland

⁵ It constitutes the Treaty on the EU that was signed in Maastricht in 1992 and entered into force in 1993.

and Liechtenstein), enables the citizens that come from within to travel, work and live internally without being subject to border checks.

The movement in the Euro zone is highly mobile. According to Costica Dumbrava (2020), in 2018 there were 17.8 million EU movers (12.9 million of working age) and 1.5 million EU cross-border workers. As of 2020, according to Eurostat there were 15.4 million citizens of the 31-country free movement zone living elsewhere in the area (Koikkalainen, 2021).

Table 1.5. *Number of European Free-Movement Area Citizens Residing Elsewhere in the Area, by Country of Destination, 2020 (Koikkalainen, 2021)*

Country of residence	Number of migrants	Share of total (%)
TOTAL	15 339 185	100.0 %
Germany	4 402 596	28.7 %
Spain	1 649 663	10.8 %
Italy	1 477 974	9.6 %
France	1 392 652	9.1 %
Switzerland	1 378 935	9.0 %
Belgium	924 747	6.0 %
Austria	764 603	5.0 %
Netherlands	538 963	3.5 %
Norway	364 277	2.4 %
Ireland	345 972	2.3 %
Sweden	344 760	2.2 %
Denmark	237 137	1.5 %
Czechia	236 849	1.5 %
Luxembourg	223 887	1.5 %
Greece	175 220	1.1 %
Portugal	149 151	1.0 %
Finland	97 437	0.6 %
Hungary	78 747	0.5 %
Romania	60 182	0.4 %
Slovakia	58 737	0.4 %
Iceland	40 758	0.3 %
Poland	32 473	0.2 %
Slovenia	20 908	0.1 %
Estonia	20 179	0.1 %
Croatia	18 244	0.1 %
Liechtenstein	10 666	0.1 %
Bulgaria	10 154	0.1 %
Lithuania	7 711	0.1 %
Latvia	6 398	0.0 %

1.3.2. The challenges to free movement of people in the EU

Alongside the achievements of the EU in freeing the mobility of its citizens, the free movement in the EU has come across some challenges that impedes its future. Among the difficulties that have hindered free movement in the EU are the weakening in the

single market, the effects of economic and financial crisis (between 2008 and 2009 the Union's GDP contracted by 700 million € and nearly 5 million lost their job), the concerns about the migratory flows and the terrorist threat, and the fear of social dumping (expressed via the observation of differences in labor costs).

From those factors an anti-EU sentiment (Euroskepticism) arose among some layers of the population in some EU countries. This anti-EU sentiment resulted with the divorce between The United Kingdom and the EU, famously known as Brexit. The United Kingdom left the EU on 31 January 2020. The country was one the considerable Member States of the Union and a major destination of European migrants; in 2019 about 4.4 million citizens of the Schengen Area were living in the UK (Koikkalainen, 2021).

Another major determinant that has severely impacted free movement in the EU is the COVID-19 pandemic that arrived in the early 2020 to Europe. Immediately restrictive measures to the cross-border mobility followed by the countries to halt the deadly virus from spreading. This resulted in the closing of European borders that hindered the movement of both persons and foods; the allowed movement was subjected to tight controls which are unusual in the EU.

1.3.3. Free movement of people and socio-economic development in the EU

The main purpose of political initiatives towards free movement is its contribution to economic integration. The free circulation, thus, by contributing to the integration of a community, is supposed to increase the general level of the socioeconomic conditions of the member countries. In order to discuss the link between free movement of people and economic progress in the EU works and researches have been done.

Kahanec and Pytliková (2016) assessed the impact of migration from the eastern countries of the EU to the Western countries. They approached the EU in its West-East dichotomy; the Western Europe constituting the most advanced and industrialized countries and the old EU member countries (they are in number of 15: EU15), the eastern Europe the less developed countries that were once part of the Soviet Union. These countries of Eastern Europe joined the EU in waves in 2004, 2007 and 2013; 2004 was the year of the biggest enlargement of the organization at once, with the joining of Cyprus, the Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Malta, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia (referred to as the EU10); in 2007 Bulgaria and Romania joined (EU2) and in 2013 Croatia was the last member joining the EU.

Their work studied the effects of immigration from the new EU member states (countries that joined in 2003, 2007 and 2013) and Eastern Partnership countries on the economies of the old EU member states (EU15) from 1995 (corresponding to the establishing year of the Schengen Area) to 2010. In this thesis, interest is put on the migration from the new EU member states only. To conduct their analyses, the authors used international migration data on bilateral flows and stocks of immigrants from 42 destination countries over the period 1980-2010. The EU15 were considered as destination countries and the EU12 as sending countries. The authors used an empirical modelling to process the data, with an aggregate production function framework; they investigated the “effects that immigration has on wages (as proxied by GDP per capita, PPP) and economic growth rate, as well as on total employment, physical capital, total factor productivity and the capital to labor ratio”.

The results of their regression analyses showed that the immigration from the new EU member states had positive and significant effects on GDP, GDP per capita, and employment and an effect on output per worker of the EU (EU15 and EU as a whole). These results confirm the claim that free movement of people (promoted by the European citizenship principle), that the East Europe countries have enjoyed after entering the EU, has contributed to the economic development of the EU by enabling an economic growth of not only the old EU members but also of the EU at large.

Organiściak-Krzykowska (2017) studied the determinants and the consequences of the increased mobility that occurred after the 2004 EU enlargement, from central and eastern European countries (CEE). It concerned the EU10 and EU2 countries. To illustrate that strong mobility, the number of immigrants for the CEE to the more industrialized West European countries have moved from 1.66 million in 2004 to 7.3 million in 2016. By analyzing the data regarding permanent international migrations in CEE in the years 2004-2015, the author distinguished two categories of countries: first category, which regroups The Czech Republic, Slovakia, Slovenia Hungary and Estonia had a positive net migration (the number of immigrants is higher that the number of emigrants). The second category, regrouping Poland, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Latvia and Romania, had a negative net migration (the number of emigrants is higher that the number of immigrants).

As for assessing the impacts of the East-West mobility, the flows remittances, that east European migrants sent to their countries in their residing in the west part of Europe, were analyzed by the author.

In the period of 2004-2005, the EU10 received a total inflow of 166.6 billion Euros from working abroad. The countries unevenly received remittances from their counterpart West European countries. The relative difference in the amount of remittances is not much revealing of the importance of these in the economic advancement of the countries. However, the share of remittances in the national GDP can give a glance of what is their contribution to the economy. This share is 3.72% for Hungary, 3.14 for Latvia, 2.96 for Bulgaria, 2.9 for Slovakia, 2.05 for Lithuania, 1.95 for Estonia, 1.8 for Slovenia, 1.7 for Romania, 1.68 for Poland and 1.54 for The Czech Republic in 2015. On the other hand, emigration from the CEE countries is said to have positively influenced the economy of the receiving countries (the EU-15).

In his work, Klaus Müller (2019) analyzes the economic dimensions impacted by the free movement of workers; those dimensions are employment, unemployment, qualification and recognition rates, remittances, wages and labor productivity (minimum efficiency gains to date), and population structure and fiscal impact. According to the author the degree to which European citizens take advantage of the right to free movement of persons in the EU is influenced by the following factors:

- differing national wages and GDP
- physical distance
- unemployment rates and education levels
- the existence or absence of a common/similar language
- the presence of networks abroad from the home country
- the remaining obstacles in the destination countries.

The employment rate of mobile EU citizens is said to have increased over time: 77.1 % in 2018. From 2010 to 2018 the share of mobile EU-28 workers was 25 % in the total number of people employed in the EU-28 which increased by 12.5 million. The following table shows the evolution of employment between 2010 (Q3) and (Q3).

Table 1.6. *Change in employment between 2010 (Q3) and 2018 (Q3) (Müller, 2019)*

15-64 years	2010 Q3	2018 Q3	2010 Q3- 2018 Q3	Increase	Share of total increase	Share of total employment in 2010	Share of total employment in 2018
Mobile EU-28 citizens	6.08	9.13	3.05	50 %	25 %	3 %	4 %
Non-EU citizens	8.10	9.55	1.45	18 %	12 %	4 %	4 %
Total non- nationals	14.18	18.68	4.50	32 %	37 %	7 %	8 %
Reporting country	199.29	207.11	7.82	4 %	63 %	93 %	92 %
Total	213.49	225.92	12.33	6 %	100 %	100 %	100 %

From September 2010 to September 2018, the unemployment rate in the EU-28 was said to decrease from 9.6 % to 6.7 %, and the fall in unemployment to be above the European average of -30 % in both the main sending Member States and in the main destination Member States.

The decrease in the level of unemployment from 9.6 % to 6.7 % was said to be correlated with the increase in the number of EU citizens residing in another EU country and in their employment between 2010 and 2018. That means that the augmented flows of mobility that had been possible by the free movement might have played a role in the reduction of unemployment.

One of the considerable impacts of the free mobility of European citizens in the European single market is their share in the total flows of remittances to EU Member States; in 2017 the share was 60 % (€65 billion). In the same year of 2017, the EU countries mostly dependent on those remittances were Latvia (4.1 % of GDP) and Croatia (4.5 % of GDP); and the non-EU countries mostly benefiting from the EU remittances were Kosovo (15.3 % of GDP), Montenegro (10.7 % of GDP), Albania (10.0 % of GDP), and Serbia (8.6 % of GDP).

After a calculation that takes account only 50 % of all mobile citizens the author said “that the EU added value - in terms of boosting the collective GDP - achieved in 2017 through movement of economically active citizens to the main destination countries was in the order of some €106 billion”. The following table illustrates this contribution of free movement.

Table 1.7. *GDP gain achieved from free movement to date (2017) (Müller, 2019)*

Compensation per employee in main destination countries	€42 700
EU-28 movers' wage level, at 85 % of 'nationals'	€36 295
Compensation per employee in main sending countries	€12 700
Difference in compensation	€23 595
EU-28 movers (excluding cross-border and posted workers)	9 000 000
EU-13 movers to main destination countries (around 50 % of all EU-28 movers)	4 500 000
Difference in compensation multiplied by EU movers in main destination countries	€106 177 500 000

At the end of his work the author concludes that “the free movement of economically active citizens leads to a higher employment and lower unemployment rates, as well as to higher productivity and income (remittances), and has a positive impact on taxes and social contributions.” He then finally estimated that the potential GDP gain from free mobility for the next 5 years would be €53 billion per year.

European countries are part of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), a transatlantic organization that regroups the bulk of world’s most developed economies. Members of the OECD such as the United States, Canada, New Zealand, Australia have a long tradition of international migration; naturally the impacts of migration in these respective countries are matter of research because of their political implications. Some studies have been done in this regard. The OECD’s Migration Policy Debates issue of May 2014 tried to answer the question of whether migration is good for the economy. To do so, the paper studies the ways immigrants impact the economy in OECD countries for three areas: the labor market, the public purse and economic growth. The outcomes state that immigrants:

- play a significant role in the most dynamic sectors of the economy. In declining occupations like craft and related trade workers, machine operation and assembling, immigrants are filling “labor needs by taking up jobs regarded by domestic workers as unattractive or lacking career prospects”
- help address labor market imbalances in Europe
- contribute more in taxes and social contributions than they receive in individual benefits
- contribute to spur innovation and economic growth.

Ekrane Boubtane et al. (2016) studied the overall impact of immigration on economic growth in the OECD countries between 1986 and 2006. The authors used

structural model to examine long term migration flows by country of origin and skill level on economic growth. The results that they obtained were the following:

- there is a positive impact from migrants' human capital on GDP worker
- a 50 % increase in net migration of the foreign-born generates, on average, an increase of the three-tenths of a percentage-point in per worker GDP per year in OECD countries
- the long-run effect is, on average, about 2 %.

Morley (2006) conducted an econometric study causality between economic growth and immigration. The data serving in the study concerned Australia, Canada and the USA. Interestingly, he came up with a conclusion different from the results obtained in the previous studies; according to him, in the long-term economic growth, measured by per capita GDP, causes immigration. On the other hand, immigration does not induce economic growth.

Whatever the methods they used, the studies assessing the relationship between free movement of people and economic development show an overall positive picture; the EU has enjoyed and benefited from the smooth mobility of its citizens that has been possible by the determination of the organization.

SECOND CHAPTER

2. The ECOWAS AND FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE

This chapter discusses about the ECOWAS by making a description of its objectives, its structure and its different functions. After, the history and the trends of international migration in West Africa are treated. It ends with a critical review of the different protocols adopted by the organization on free movement of people.

2.1. ECOWAS

2.1.1. Establishment

The history of political unity in the West coast of Africa goes back to the colonial era, with the French West Africa (AOF: FWA) that grouped in 1895 the then French colonial territories of Côte d'Ivoire, Dahomey (now Benin), French Guinea (now Guinea), French Sudan (now Mali), Mauritania, Niger, Senegal, and Upper Volta (now Burkina Faso), under a central administrative colonial rule. The FWA was created to coordinate the French domination of the territories by setting of economic and political systems. Under the same spirit of colonial administration, the Franc of French Colonies of Africa (CFA) was established as common currency of the France's possessed colonies in Africa.⁶

The post-independence journey of political enterprise towards integration in West Africa started in 1965 when President Tubman of Liberia tried to group Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea and Sierra Leone into an economic union. Tubman's undertaking could not succeed. The political atmosphere at the time was marked by struggles for influence; on the one hand, the francophone block led by Côte d'Ivoire and Senegal initiated the formation of communities that would gather only francophone states; on the other hand, Nigeria, which estimated being the target of an anti-Nigeria policy from the francophone block, undertook a serious series of diplomatic and political efforts to firstly counter the francophone initiative of "Communaute Economique de l'Afrique de l'Ouest (CEAO:

⁶ Unfortunately, that colonial-motivated beginning has marked its stamp to the economic-political structures.

WAEC)” and to embark the West African countries into an all-West African community (Olatunde J. B. Ojo, 1980). Despite the signature of the CEAO Protocol Agreement in 1970, Nigeria of Yakubu Gowon and Togo of Gnassingbe Eyadema were able to announce in 1972 the formation a nucleus of an all-West African Economic Community. Together the two countries toured West African countries with the drafts their Joint Commission worked out; the aim was to convince them to join the WAEC. That culminated with the adoption of the first treaty of ECOWAS signed on 28 May 1975 in Lagos.

Major political events in the region, the need to take account the newly adopted African Charters on Human and Peoples’ Rights, Declaration of Political Principles of the ECOWAS, and the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community (AEC) of 1991 made the Heads of States sign a revised Treaty on 24 July 1993, Cotonou.

2.1.2. Objectives

The Article 2 of the Founding Treaty states the aim of the community as “to promote co-operation and development in all fields of economic activity particularly in the fields of industry, transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial questions and in social and cultural matters for the purpose of raising the standard of living of its peoples, of increasing and maintaining economic stability, of fostering closer relations among its members and of contributing to the progress and development of the African continent”. Meanwhile, the Article 3 of the Revised Treaty gives the aims as following: “to promote co-operation and integration, leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa in order to raise the living standards of its peoples, and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among Member States and contribute to the progress and development of the African Continent”.

An assessment of the progress of the ECOWAS shows an overall positive appreciation relatively to the others RECs on the continent. In fact, it is considered as a more advanced model of integration on both the world and continental scenes. However, this performance varies from one area of integration to another; the Economic

Commission for Africa's (ECA) assessment of ECOWAS at its 40th anniversary analyzes the achievements made in three classes of implementation levels:

- Notable progress has been made in the field of free movement of persons and right of residence; the ECOWAS forces, a particularity to ECOWAS, which have been instituted to maintain peace and security in the region, have intervened operationally in conflicts and electoral processes
- Because of divergent in interests, the establishment of the free movement of goods, services and capital, and the monetary union have met with bitter obstacles
- The lack of funding and political will has made impossible for the ECOWAS to implement programs it has adopted related to agriculture, industry, etc.

2.1.3. The Structure of the Organization

The structure of the organization evolves over times. The Founding Treaty established as institutions:

The Authority of Heads and Government; headed by a chairman for a period of one year, is the supreme organ that “shall be responsible for, and have the general direction and control of performance of the executive functions of the Community for the progressive development of the Community and the achievement of its aims;

The Council of Ministers; made of two representatives of each country, follows the implementation of the provisions of the Treaty, assists the Authority, and gives directions to all subordinate institutions of the Community;

The Executive Secretariat; headed by an Executive Secretary, was the “principal executive officer of the Community” and assisted by two “Deputy Executive Secretary”;

The Tribunal of the Community whose role was to “ensure the observance of law and justice in the interpretations of the Treaty;

The Technical and Specialized Commissions relating to trade, customs, immigration, money and payments; industry, agriculture and natural resources; transport, telecommunications and energy; and social and cultural affairs.

The Revised Treaty added four new institutions (ECA – ECOWAS at 40, 2015): The Community Parliament; the Economic and Social Council; the Community Court of Justice replaced the Tribunal of the Community; and the Fund for Co-operation,

Compensation and Development. In 2007, the Executive Secretariat was transformed into a Commission which “is headed by a President and by a Vice-President, also comprises seven Commissioners who head the seven Departments that correspond to the activity sectors of the Community. In 2013, the Commission was restructured and the number of Commissioners increased from nine to 15, with one Commissioner for each Member State.” (ECA – ECOWAS at 40, 2015). The organization is therefore structured around three arms of governance: The Executive, The Legislative and The Judiciary.

2.2. Migration in Ecowas

West Africa is one of the most migrating regions in Africa and the migration habits of its population date long, back to precolonial area. The history of migration in West Africa is linked to socio-economic, political, and historical-cultural factors (Adepoju, 2009), making it a multidimensional phenomenon. This chapter is interested with that dimension which concerns economic factors. The international migration from the region is highly regional, meaning most of the migrants from the region reside in another country of within in it. The UN DESA estimated the number of international migrants residing in the region to be 7.6 million as of mid-year 2020 (Migration Data Portal, 2021). This number is even considered underestimated. This fact illustrates the degree of importance of the migration phenomenon for the ECOWAS countries.

2.2.1. Old Patterns of migration in West Africa

The history of migration in Africa in general, and in West Africa in particular, can be divided into two periods, the colonial area being the point of demarcation. Before the colonization taking place in Africa, the political schematization of the continent was characterized by empires and kingdoms different in size and population. The current configuration of today’s countries did not exist; countries were parts of same territorial spheres of influence. The pre-colonial area in West Africa was characterized by seasonal mass displacements of population which were due to tribal wars, wars between kingdoms and empires, nomadic behaviors, slave trade, etc. In other words, migration was a way of life that conditioned the socioeconomic structures of population groupings: the agricultural system and the way land was used and perceived played a great role in that regard (Bilger and Kraler, 2005; Adepoju, 2003).

With colonialism all the other forms of migration mentioned above have diminished to the profit of labor migration; the colonial enterprise had then introduced to Africa a phenomenon that was growing in the XIX century Europe, which is migration caused by the mechanisms of capitalism. The colonial project being highly economically-motivated drew thousands of people from rural and enclaved areas to emerging towns, coastal zones, mining and industrial sites, and commercial farms; migration could also be seen as a revolt and an escape from forced labor (Bilger and Kraler, 2005).

After the wave of independences, labor migration intensified within the region and from the region. Countries that served as centers for the colonial economy continued to attract workers from relative deprivates areas. In the 1960's and the 1970's, the migratory system in West Africa developed around two host countries (Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria) and sending countries such as Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali, Niger and Togo; Senegal has been both a sending and receiving country (Adama Konseiga, 2005; Adepoju, 2015). The oil-boom in Nigeria added this country to the list of migrant-receiving countries. However, Ghana and Nigeria became labor-exporting countries in the late 1960's and early 1970's, respectively, with the deteriorating economic conditions (Adepoju, 2009; Adepoju 2015).

An early data covering on the configurations of migration in West Africa is done by the World Bank study of 1975 (Zachariah and Conde, 1980), which data are reported in the Frances Stier's (1982) review of migration research on West Africa. The World Bank study recorded about 2.2 million-born persons and about 2.8 million foreign nationals in 1975 (7% of the total population) in some selected West African countries.

The study listed Burkina Faso, Mali, Guinea, and Togo as the principal sending areas of migrants by declining order of importance; together they supplied 73% of the region's total foreign nationals. The most important receiving area, by far, was Côte d'Ivoire, which were followed by Ghana and Senegal. As of 1975, the numbers of foreign-born persons and foreign nationals were respectively 1 054 000 and 1 425 900 in Côte d'Ivoire.

The 1980's are recalled to be the wasted decade because of the socioeconomic crisis that hit countries worldwide, and severely West African countries in particular. The deteriorating conditions changed the before established patterns of migration in the region. The years following had been marked by civil wars in many countries, which posed security problems and political instability. Those conjugated factors provoked

flows of migrants and refugees and counter-flows of mass expulsions. So, the once migrant-receiving countries became exporters of laborers and new corridors emerged.

The data of the Network of Survey on Migration and Urbanization in West Africa (NESWUMA), obtained from a survey on West African countries of Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger, and Senegal in 1993, showed the intensity of flows of migration in the region (Adama Konseiga, 2005). The survey recorded in the countries, between 1988 and 1992, more than 6.4 million migratory movements; among whom 2.3 million were international with 1.30 million inside the network. The flows between countries were as following: 508 000 movements between Côte d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso (representing 40% of total migrations in the network); 283 000 between Côte d'Ivoire and Mali; and 114 000 between Côte d'Ivoire and Niger.

Entering the XXI century, with the rise of globalization, the long-established corridors of migration (designed by colonial ties) have been gradually replaced by new "Eldorado's": "The share of Western African migrants residing in North America rose from 3 per cent of all emigrants from Western Africa in 1990 to 10 per cent at mid-year 2020, and the share in Europe rose from 12 per cent to almost 19 per cent during the same period" (Migration Data Portal, 2021).

2.2.2. Migratory crises in West African countries

Through decades mass expulsions of migrations took place in countries in West Africa. It has been seen suitable to dedicate this section to illustrate some of those expulsions.

The first obstacles to migration in West Africa occurred with the keeping intact of the created artificial boundaries after independences. The new national governments, by maintaining the artificial boundaries of the colonial occupation, brought restrictions regarding residence and employment of non-nationals; visa and passport regulations, customs and controls, and the need for foreign workers to obtain work permits (Adepoju 2002).

The series of mass expulsions occurred mostly in countries that were the principal recipient of migrants, on top is Côte d'Ivoire. The country expelled some 20 000 Togolese and Beninois workers in 1958 and an additional 16 000 in 1964; violence also broke against immigrants in 1966, 1969 and 1981 (Stier, 1982). It expelled 10 000 Ghanaians in 1985.

In Ghana, the Alien Compliance Act of 1969 forced up to 600 000 foreign nationals to leave the country (France Stier, 1982). The act denied to foreigners the rights to reside and work in Ghana in the absence of a license granted by the minister responsible (John Agyei & Ezekiel Clottey, 2007). “March 1999, Ghana requested all aliens in the country to register and be issued identity cards.” (Adepoju, 2009)

After being added to the list of preferred destinations of migrants because of the striving oil industry, Nigeria was hardly hit by the oil shock; as result the country expelled 1.5 million immigrants in 1983 (Konseiga, 2005). Besides, the country expelled 0.9 and 1.3 in 1983 million non-national residents, most of whom were Ghanaians, and 0.9 million illegal aliens in 1985 respectively (Adepoju, 2009).

Another major impediment to the integration of labor force has been the implementation of the indigenization measures in some countries that restricted the participation of foreigners in major economic activities (Adepoju, 2009).

2.2.3. Recent trends of migration in West Africa

An important evolution in migration trends in the region is the growing of short-term kinds of migration such as commercial migration, which is taking a form of mobility rather than migration. The cross-borders merchants and business persons are the motors of this game-changer phenomenon; the integration process is encouraging those who do not have the strength of large import from outside the continent to seek opportunities in the Member countries of ECOWAS. The small size economies, among whom the enclaved countries, are seeking means of procurement from the relative bigger markets whose actors are reversely looking for market opportunities in the smaller countries.

As all the other fields of human activities, the trends of migration were also impacted by the COVID-19 pandemic. Though the virus erupted at the end of 2019 and quickly spread to parts of the world, it appeared relatively late in Africa; concerning West Africa, the first cases were diagnosed during the month of March 2020 and from then on governments started taking measures to tackle the spread. In order to stop the eradication of the virus West African states chose to respond at regional level. Because of restrictions on mobility and the closure of borders⁷, IOM estimated that 21 000 migrants were

⁷ 66% of the 352 points of entry were closed altogether (Abdoulaye Hamadou, 2020)

stranded in West and Central Africa (Migration Data Portal, 2021). The restrictive measures led to the suspension of the arrangements of ECOWAS on free movement; between March and April 2020, up to 12 countries in the region closed their borders (World Migration Report 2022).

On data regarding the recent trends of migration in the region, the last updated Regional Data Overview of migration data in West Africa from the IOM’s Migration Data Portal can be illustrative. The Data shown in the tables below are as of mid-2020.

Table 2.1. *Top 10 Destination Countries of Migrants in Western Africa and the Share of Migrants in their Population (IOM, 2021)*

Countries	Immigrant Population	Percentage in Total Population
Côte d’Ivoire	2 564 857	9.7
Nigeria	1 308 568	0.6
Burkina Faso	723 989	3.5
Mali	485 829	2.4
Ghana	476 412	1.5
Benin	394 276	3.3
Niger	348 056	1.4
Togo	279 936	3.4
Senegal	279 929	1.6
The Gambia	215 659	8.9

It can be noticed from the table that Côte d’Ivoire continues to hold the first recipient position of migrants in the region, this for both in absolute numbers and share in the population. At mid-2020 Côte d’Ivoire hosted 34% of the migrants and Nigeria 17% in the region. Interestingly, the reports states that “at mid-2020, nearly 90% of the 7.4 million migrants living in Western Africa were from other countries in the region”.

Table 2.2. *Top 10 Migration Corridors in Western Africa (IOM)*

Sending Countries	Migrants	Receiving Countries
Burkina Faso >	1 376 350	➤ Côte d'Ivoire
Côte d'Ivoire >	562 117	➤ Burkina Faso
Mali >	522 146	➤ Côte d'Ivoire
Benin >	377 169	➤ Nigeria
Ghana >	238 284	➤ Nigeria
Côte d'Ivoire >	195 271	➤ Mali
Mali >	172 481	➤ Nigeria
Guinea >	167 516	➤ Côte d'Ivoire
Togo >	158 262	➤ Nigeria
Senegal >	154 739	➤ Gambia

The nature of the persons migrating for economic purposes, meaning labor migrants, has evolved through decades. In response to the apparition of new types of migration, old actors have adapted and new actors have emerged. The law of Raveistein of the predominance of long-distance migration by men and short-distance migration by women applies well to the case of West Africa: that is testified by Frances Stier (1982) who noticed that long-distance migration selected for male young adults and for the educated, and that as the distances migrated get shorter, females become more and more numerous among migrants (Adepoju, 2002).

From the colonization period though independence, labor migrants had constituted the bulk of international migration in the region. Those migrants worked in cash crop farms (cocoa and coffee in Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana) and mining industry (gold mines in Ghana and oil production in Nigeria).

With the intensification of integration process, the patterns have changed. Adepoju (2002) remarks some of the new trends in West African migration: the increasingly involvement of women in migration (even in long-distance migration) which is being rendered possible by commercial migration or the good level of education. Overall the international migration in the region includes temporary cross-border workers, professionals, female traders, clandestine workers, and farm laborers (Adepoju, 2002; Adepoju, 2009).

Labor migrants have also been divided into skilled and unskilled migrants; among the former are of nurses, teachers, lecturers, doctors, and engineers who migrated to countries like Nigeria (John Agyei & Ezekiel Clottey, 2007). “Since the 1970s, highly skilled migrants including doctors, paramedical personnel, nurses, teachers, lecturers, engineers, scientists and technicians moved from Ghana to Nigeria to eventually move on to other African countries, Europe and North America, attracted by relatively higher salaries and better prospects of living conditions” (Adepoju, 2009). The unskilled constitute a huge part of the migrating population in the region, among them those who have only their physical strength to bargain in seasonal jobs like such found in agricultural sector.

2.3. Free Movement of People in The Ecowas Region

After dedicating some lines to migration, it is time to start opening the question of free movement of persons in West Africa. As it has been clarified in the previous pages, the international migration is different from international mobility which is a displacement of back and forth of individuals between points of settlements and movements. It has also been said that the factors determining the fluidity of mobility are of political nature. As a matter of illustration, the European case has been picked to show how a certain level of mobility can be achieved through a serial and incremental implementation of collective political from an integrating group of countries. For the ECOWAS, the political willingness to free the movement of people in the region is expressed in the ECOWAS Free Movement Protocol.

2.3.1. A presentation of the ECOWAS Protocols on free movement of persons

The ECOWAS has adopted its Protocol on free movement of people in 1979, and has later added some supplementary protocols. Below are the provisions of these Protocols.

The Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment

Four years after the founding of ECOWAS, the Organization adopted its Protocol related to free movement of persons, signed in Dakar on 29/05/1979, and was ratified in 1980. The Protocol starts with a recall of Article 2 of the ECOWAS treaty (founding Treaty) that urges Member States to “ensure the abolition of the obstacles to free movement of persons, services and capital”. Also, a recall was made of paragraphs 1 and 2 of Article 27 that respectively “confers the status of Community citizenship on the citizens of Member States and enjoins Members States to abolish all obstacles to freedom of movement and residence within the Community”, and demands of Member States to “exempt Community citizens from holding visitor’s visa and residence permits and allow them to work and undertake commercial and industrial activities within their territories”.

The Protocol granted to the “Community citizens” the right to enter, reside and establish in the territory of Member States; the granting was about to be concretized progressively in a transitional period of fifteen years from entry into force of the Protocol. The three grants were to be implemented in three phases, each one in a phase.

The implementation of the first phase had to abolish all visas and entry permit for citizens from the Community in the travel not exceeding ninety (90) days. The implementation of the second phase could then begin after a five-year period of the entry into force of the Protocol.

The Phase 1 officially started to be implemented on 05/06/1980 and expired on 04/06/1985 (Supplementary Protocol on the Second Phase).

The Protocol Relating to the Definition of Community Citizen

This protocol defined the “Community citizen” (Article 1) was adopted on 29/05/1982. It defines what is a “community citizen” in the ECOWAS.

The Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/7/85 on the Code of Conduct

The first supplementary protocol to guide the implementation of the main protocol was related to the code of conduct that was signed on 06/07/1985. This one states the general rules governing the exercise of the rights granted by the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and Establishment. For this, it assigns role

and obligations to Member States of origin and host Member States of immigrants; for the migrants, their rights and the obligations upon them to fulfil in order to benefit from the provisions of the Protocol are stated out. In this supplementary protocol on code of conduct, mutual cooperation in the sharing of information and fair treatment reserved to migrants among and between Member States of the organization is emphasized.

The Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/7/86 on the Second Phase (Right of Residence)

The phases following the first phase of implementation were to be undertaken upon observation and recommendations of the concerned commission (the main Protocol – paragraph 3 of Article 2). This protocol enjoins Member States to “grant to citizens of the Community who are nationals of other Member States, the right of residence in its territory for the purpose of seeking and carrying out income earning employment” (Article 2). Could benefit from the right of residence those who would apply for jobs effectively offered, travel for this purpose, hold employment in Member States. The right did not cover employment in civil sector. The Community citizens, after entering another Member State’s territory without visa, should get an “ECOWAS residence card” or a residence permit in the host country. Border area workers, seasonal workers and itinerant workers could join all the rights of movement in all the Member States in the course of the activities without enjoying the right of residence. This supplementary protocol was signed on 01/07/1986.

The Supplementary Protocol A/SP.1/6/89 Amending and Complementing the Provisions of Article 7 of the main Protocol

This supplementary protocol was an amending one to the Article 7 of the main protocol. The said Article was as following:

Any dispute that may arise among Member States regarding the interpretation or application of this Protocol shall be amicably settled by direct agreement. In the event of failure to settle such disputes, the matter may be referred to the Tribunal of the Community by a party to such disputes and the decision of the Tribunal shall be final.

The amendment relegated the role of the settlement of the disputes to the Authority of Heads of states and governments, thus removing judicial involvement. It was signed on 30/06/1989.

The Supplementary Protocol A/SP.2/5/90 on the Implementation of the Third Phase (Right of Establishment)

After the rights of visa-free entry and residence, the provisions of the implementation of the third phase concerning the right of establishment were detailed in this supplementary protocol that was signed on 29/05/1990. The second phase it followed was meant to expire on 04/06/1990. The supplementary protocol defines the right of establishment as “the right granted to a citizen who is a national of the Member State to settle or establish in another Member State other than his state of origin, and to have access to economic activities, to carry out these activities as well as to set up and manage enterprises, and in particular under the same conditions as defined by the legislation of the host Member State for its own nationals” (Article 1). While the right of residence concerned mainly workers, the right of establishment concerns businessmen or promoters of businesses; its provisions thus are elaborated around the movement of capital and promotion of investments of citizens of the community with the Member States.

2.3.2. The operationalization and implementation of the ECOWAS Protocols on free movement of persons

After presenting the different protocols of ECOWAS on free movement of people in the previous section, in this section the implementation of their provisions is discussed. From the time of the ratification of the main protocol (1980) till now 41 years have passed; for this reason, there is much to say on the effectiveness of the protocols. Though the community of ECOWAS can praise itself for attaining some achievements in the field of integration, the expected results from the protocols are far from being attained. Thus, after making state of the evolution of the implementation, the factors or the causes that have impeded the effective implementation will be discussed.

2.3.2.1. The Evolution of the implementation of the Protocols

The provisions in the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment were to be operationalized in a period of fifteen (15) years after the enter into force. The path towards total free mobility in the region were divided into three phases concerning respectively the rights to enter, reside and establish; each phase was consigned a period of five (5) to be conducted: Phase 1 (1980-1985), Phase 2 (1985-1990), Phase 3 (1990-1995). The first phase has been fully implemented with the successful achievement of the aim of the abolition of visa to enter the member countries for a maximum day of ninety (90) days. With a delay, the second phase started in 1986

and has not enjoyed the same level of fulfilment as the first phase. Unfortunately, the implementation of the third phase has not started till date (Adepoju et al., 2007).

The most notable achievement in the implementation of the protocol has been the removal of visa requirements for community citizens to enter any member state upon a stay no longer than ninety (90) days (Adepoju, 2002). Following this acquis is the abolition of mandatory resident permits in the member states. Relating to travelling ECOWAS has been able to provide some instruments such as Brown Card Travel Certificates and ECOWAS travelers' cheques that can be used by the community citizens to travel with ease in the region. Concerning the residence, ECOWAS has issued ECOWAS permit that can be obtained from competent authorities of the member countries. Another major achievement is the instauration of the ECOWAS Passport that is the common Passport which is to replace national passports in all member countries.

Even though the ECOWAS's protocol is five (5) years earlier old than the European Schengen Initiative, EU surpasses by far ECOWAS as being the most integrated form of free movement area, not only of people but also of trade and capital. This ineffectiveness of the ECOWAS' protocol of not being able to create a free movement zone in the West Africa region is due to some factors that hinder the full implementation of the protocols.

2.3.2.2. Factors impeding the effective implementation of the Protocols

A large corpus of literature is available on the assessment of the implementation of the different ECOWAS's protocols on free movement of people. From that literature many causes are advanced to explain the slow progress of the community towards full elimination of barriers among member states. Here, the causes are regrouped into categories according to their nature.

2.3.2.2.1. Institutional factors

The most noticeable feature of regionalism in West Africa is the overlapping membership of the countries to different organizations, in other terms the multiplicity of regional regroupings of West African countries. This state of things is itself caused by the repartition of the countries into linguistic blocks which is sadly colonial inherited: mainly the three linguistic block of English, French and Portuguese languages. As result, different institutional systems of governance coexist in the most inclusive regrouping of

ECOWAS, which coexistence renders difficult the smooth compliance of the requirements implied by the decisions of the organization (Adepoju, 2002).

In the region, the countries that are called the francophone countries, that were colonized by France and whose official language is French, surpass the others in number. During colonial period, those countries under French domination were regrouped in the community AOF (French West Africa); the French doctrine of a “French Union” had been so well implemented and rooted that it affected all the political initiatives that were conceived by the countries after their independences. Thus, the francophone countries of West Africa reshaped the old organizations or created new ones but all characterized by their common experience of being French colonies. They have advocated (on their own detriments) French influence in the region; and through them France has vividly fought against the anglophone influence led by Nigeria. That conflict of interest by procuration has marked the journey of integration since its beginning. Even in the recent revolutions of socioeconomic and political atmospheres in the region, the foreign implication is reproved not only by officials of some member countries, but also by common citizens of the community⁸. Therefore, the foreign print in the institutional setting of regionalism in West Africa has not only impeded the successful exercise of cooperation but will continue to undermine the spirit of communion and mutual trust between the countries. This strange cacophony has hindered the realization of some major decisions that have long time been taken by the leaders⁹.

Moreover, institutional problem is experienced by the countries taken individually. The institutional frameworks that characterizes the socio-political and economic lives of West African countries are artificially set; inherited from colonization or copied from the systems of ancient colonizers, they do not correspond to the reality of the West African society, and therefore are not in a position to deal with the resolution of problems and planning of the future for West African citizens. That incapacity makes West African states in the eyes of their citizens illegitimate. By looking at all the institutional problems (no rule of justice, endemic corruption, coup attempts and coup

⁸ Recent evolutions in Mali, Guinea and Burkina Faso.

⁹ An example is the common currency ECO, this was scheduled for December 2009 but has not yet happened. The ultimate goal is to unite the WAEMU and the WAMZ to form a West African Monetary Zone. and airline for ECOWAS would take off by 2004 (Adepoju, 2015).

d'états, concentration of power by an elite, no inclusivity in the sharing of power, etc.) faced by the countries of the region, one can barely talk about the existence of a functioning state.

2.3.2.2.2. Contextual factors

In this sub-section of contextual factors, the socio-economic conditions that coincided or accompanied the adoption and the implementation of the protocols have been gathered. The time of ratification of the main protocol coincided with a period of global recession that hit most of the African countries, including countries of ECOWAS. The period of 1980s was characterized by economic crises that affected mainly mineral resource-based countries; Nigeria, which had just been turned to a receiving country of migrants in the region, due to the crisis and the difficulties resulting of it, expelled many migrants from its soil. From that decade through the 1990's to beginning of 21st century, the contagious civil wars in Liberia and Sierra Leone had posed serious problems to the implementation of the Phase 2 and Phase 3 of the protocol on free movement.

The underlying spirit in the integration of countries is to enhance the level of interactions, mainly economic, among and between the member states of the integrating community. By promoting free trade, free movement of people and capital, integration aims at boosting the collective potential of the members. Meanwhile, in order to participate adequately in the process of integration, member states must have some requirements for it, meaning their micro and macroeconomic conditions play a great role in their gaining from their integration with one another. When looking at the socio-economic health condition of the ECOWAS countries, the national economies of most of countries are not built enough to allow some consequential gains from any economic regrouping. As an illustrating example, the region lacks the minimum level of good infrastructures which are the concrete driving forces of integration.

So that the socio-economic conditions of the ECOWAS countries do not favor the process of integration in general and the implementation of the protocol on free movement of people in particular.

2.3.2.2.3. Technical factors

The general public, the primarily concerned by the protocols, is not aware of the provisions in the different protocols of free movement. Even the officials, those in charge

of the correct implementation of the provisions, most of the time do not have knowledge of the existence of such measures targeting the freeing of movement of persons with their goods. That ignorance of the protocols from both the general public and the officials causes the former to resort to illegals means to get what the provisions guarantee them for free; and the later to abuse of their positions to harass users of transnational borders. Adepoju (2002) relates some of other technical issues: “the non-convertibility of currencies hinders financial settlements and the harmonization...A high proportion of cross border movement in the subregion is unrecorded due to the ubiquitous roadblocks across frontiers, the lengthy and costly formalities at border posts, and the corruption of officials” (p.13).

It is more unlikeable that ECOWAS or the member countries dispose the required technology to implement a centralized and coordinated tack of exchanging and circulating information. Furthermore, mechanisms to collect accurate data on migration movements in the region are non-existent. Adepoju (2009) talks about an inadequacy of the migration data for the compilation of national migration policies, its inconsistency and not comparability across countries. Therefore, in the absence of reliable migration data any policy regarding migration would come unsuitable; and any further initiative would not be supported by a sound knowledge of the migration patterns and the influx of movements. The ACP Observatory on Migration’s 2014 study of labor migration in the ECOWAS region reveals that: “the absence of comprehensive, reliable and accurate data on migration and labor markets as a major obstacle to the facilitation of labor mobility”.

Adepoju et al. (2007) deplores the non-establishment of national committees for the monitoring of the implementation of the protocols by member states, and the ineffectiveness of their work in countries where they exist.

2.3.2.2.4. Stability factors

Logically, all initiatives of any kind are meant to be undertaken in a stable environment. The stability is of a diverse nature: social stability, political stability, economic stability and safety. Barely, one of these different facets of stability is fully assured. One can say that instability define life in the region of West Africa. The region’s experience with the first regimes of governance, after independences, has resulted into bitter memories of hardship, oppression and tortures from the tenants of power. Unfortunately, the so-called democratization process of the 1980s through the 1990s was

rather an imposition of ideal of democracy that was judged suited by “alien brains”. The inadequacy of this imported type of political regime, conjugated with an absence of concerted local political regimes favored the rejection of the political leaders and the systems they entertain by the peoples. That rejection has manifested in an infernal vicious circle of political unrests, rebellion movements and military coup d'états.

One can barely talk about the existence of national economies in most of the countries of West Africa, given the fact that the forces supposed to serve as motor for economic expansion are subject to everything but not dynamism. The implementation of the Breton Woods Institutions' counselled programs with the assaults of globalization upon West African countries and their economies have destroyed the little that was gained after independences that could give any hope of economic building. That is why economies in the region are not able to meet the needs of its population by providing employment to the millions of young eager to for their the better their lives. Unemployment rates in the region are among the highest; those who cannot find their place in the only employing informal sector are choosing the path of the deadly migration roads to Europe, America and Asia.

Regarding to the security concern the Sahel region, which encompasses, many countries of West Africa, is subject to endemic eruptions of violence, terrorism and trafficking. In the region interethnic conflicts, which cause bloodshed and eradication of villages, are recurrent and commonplace. It has been some decade that the terrorism movement led by Al Qaida, Boko Haram and others, has ravaging literally life in the Sahel region. Till now, despite many initiatives and mutual commitments, the countries are not being able to contain these terrorist groups. The groups terrorizing the populations sustain their operations from activities related to trafficking, the trafficking of resources and the levy of illegal taxes.

Thus, in that chaos in all spheres, one cannot not except initiatives such as a project of free movement of people to work as planned.

2.3.2.2.5. Striking factors

Under this title of striking factors, factors that are the most patent and hit the most the effectiveness of the regionalism in general and the working of the free movement protocol in particular are discussed. These factors have more or less to do with political sovereignty, and who talks about sovereignty talks about colonialism and neocolonialism.

The non-effectiveness and non-completeness of the rupture of West Africa with colonialism have made neocolonialism flourish in the region. In the institutional setting of national and regional political systems countries have resorted to the same elements they colonial master used to conduct their colonial rule. Up to date, the legislative and institutional regulations in the countries have being characterized by this long-lasting mimicry from political actors.

In addition to the mimicry of institutional framework, the presence of ancient colonial powers and other foreign powers (which were not involved in the colonization of the region) is overwhelming in the policy making of regional concern. For example, EU union is directly or indirectly involved in migration matters in West Africa for its own concerns. Thus, the European organization makes itself invited in the debates, discussions or initiatives organized in the region on behalf of migration and migrants; EU even takes on its own initiatives towards migration in the region and ally to its cause local countries to what it judges of being suitable for European migration policies (Mercator Dialogue on Asylum and Migration – Policy Brief, June 2020).

The reason for this foreign meddling in regional affairs is related to a problem that all African organizations suffer from: self-financing. From the African Union (AU) itself to regional communities, African regroupings are not able to find themselves the policies they adopt to implement. That incapacity is taken as a way-in by foreign actors to attain their goals on the continent. To be sure of that reality concerning the free movement of people project, one has to assess all the concrete measures taken to ensure the implementation; it will come without no surprise a considerable presence of foreign contribution.

2.3.2.2.6. Political factors

This category of factors has been chosen to be the last because the causes and the remedies for all the other factories mentioned above are all related to the political factors. By political factors it is intended to talk about all the features of political consciousness which is embedded in the free will of the leading elites to act upon in order to realize their ideals of society. When examining the leaders of West African countries, one notices a lack of a real political consciousness; therefore, they have no real defined visions and clear ideas on the paths to follow in order to achieve the intended level of socio-economic development for the region.

For the case of the implementation of the protocols of free movement of people, the political factor is of a crucial one. Though the other factors do undermine the effective implementation of the protocols, their role is not much compared to the paralyzing effects caused by the absence of a bold will from political leaders to reincarnate the vision of African integration that animated the fathers of independences.

THIRD CHAPTER

3. FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN THE ECOWAS REGION

This chapter constitutes the core of the thesis, the previous chapters constituted the discursive guideline for its elaboration. Here, an eventual link between free movement of people (or mobility) and economic striving in the respective countries of ECOWAS and in the ECOWAS as a whole is matter of discussion. The chapter starts with an epistemological discussion, together with a mention of anterior research on the topic; then follow the economic profiles of ECOWAS countries, the statistics of labor and migration in the region; it ends with an analysis of the presented elements.

3.1.Theoretical Issues

The topic of this master thesis being the relationship between free movement of people and economic development, it will cause no damage to question its theoretical foundation in the case of ECOWAS. Given that the theory gains its legitimacy from its practical relevancy, an analytical examination of the reality is necessary to see if, in practice, a link between the two phenomena of economic development and mobility exists or can take place.

In this section, the theoretical construction of a relationship between free movement of people and economic development in West Africa is subject to analysis. The analysis is about what the reality allows for the construction of such theory. A theory being built by the help of concepts and the interconnection of these concepts, an examination of the practical consistency of the concepts involved in this context is made.

The analysis can start with the concept of free movement of people; it has been seen in the second chapter that, though international migration has always been a way of life in the West African region, free movement of people is not an established reality. Also, the relative advanced level of integration obtained by the Community has not been accompanied by an achievement of the goals sought by the provisions in the protocols regarding free movement of people in the region. This is because the protocols have not been fully implemented, apart from the first protocol; a non-implementation caused by many factors which have been stated out. For this regard, two questions can be raised: Has the relatively good level of integration something to do with the only positive point

in the evolution of the implementation of the protocols, which is the establishment of the right to move freely in the region? Does the poor record in free movement of people make this one unfit to be used as an explanatory variable of another phenomenon?

As for the concept of economic development, the analysis is not about the concept itself, but about its connection with free movement of people. It is about to analyze the ways through which free movement of people can impact on economic development in the ECOWAS region. In the first chapter, where the general theoretical aspect of migration and migration-development relationship are discussed, the possible consequences of the process of international migration for both the sending and the receiving countries are exposed. An economic community can enhance the positive outcomes of those consequences by ensuring, by political undertaking, an integrated zone of free movement of people and their goods, as done by the EU. It has been seen in the studies concerning the EU, exposed in the first chapter, that the EU as large and European countries have economically benefited from the policy of the European Citizenship. Contrary to the ECOWAS, the EU has been able to sufficiently implement its provisions regarding free movement of people. Therefore, with this contrast, can it be expected from the economies of the ECOWAS countries to see a development induced by the movement of people as in the case of the European economies?

One can theoretically answer the questions raised in the previous paragraph; if one does so, the possible answers should be elucidated by field work. One can tell about an absence of studies done to empirically assess the relationship between free movement of people and economic development in the ECOWAS region. The few works that somehow discussed the same topic hereafter, made use of study population to conduct their research; the population was limited to a handful number of individuals. The studies conducted upon the population were in grand part qualitative, which was dominated by the interview/questionnaire methodology. A typical study of this kind was done by Oshomah (2019), who, in his master thesis, “assessed the Implementation of ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and Trade”; as case study he took up Nigeria and Benin for the period 2014-2018. Based on the feedbacks from the questionnaires handed out to participants, the author drew a table of response frequency for different modalities.

The problem with this kind of study is that it does not serve as a tool to draw satisfactory results that reflect the reality. In the case of movement of people and economic development, the reality is of such complexity that a pool-like study is not

sufficient to answer the problematic in the subject. For such larger phenomenon as the movement of people, of a multi-dimension nature, a large repertory of reliable data must be delicately analyzed in order to generate principles on which theories and policies can be built.

3.2. The Methodology

For the ECOWAS in particular, and for Africa in general, works assessing the relationship between migration and development are plenty; however, it is in grand part the impacts of migration in Western countries on the development of the migrants' originating countries that they examined. Meanwhile, one can talk about the absence of works on the relationship between free movement of people and economic development in the ECOWAS.

This thesis, as indicated in the title, is an analytical work of treating and discussing about a socioeconomic topic. Thus, to conduct the analysis, documentation research and its examination have constituted the main tools of work. Therefore, the methodology used in this thesis is qualitative; the choice of this method is justified by the nature of the topic: the relationship between free movement of people and economic development in the ECOWAS region. It has been noted earlier in this paper, that in the field of international migration within the region the informality reigns. In the absence of satisfactory data, plus the difficulty to conduct a thorough field research in all the individual countries, the critical analysis methodology of this thesis can serve as a theoretical guide to many empirical works to come on the topic.

3.3. Economic Profiles of ECOWAS Countries

Countries in the ECOWAS share similar socio-economic patterns and they have gone through the same recent historical experience. They were all formed as result of independence from colonial occupation – except Liberia (footnote), some from France, some from England and other from Portugal. The West Africa region faces challenges of many kinds and the generality of these problems to all West African countries make it difficult to deal with them. Thus, in this section those problems are discussed under the sub-titles of common and specific characteristics of ECOWAS Member countries.

3.3.1. Common characteristics of ECOWAS member countries

The presence of ancient empires in West Africa that spread in the region resulted today in cultural affinities between many people, though living in different countries. A specificity of the region is its geographical connection with the North-Africa region, whose are made of the Arabo-Berber countries. This proximity strongly influenced in shaping the socio-cultural design of West African societies; the religion of Islam and its different practices present today in the region mainly came from Morocco and Algeria. Therefore, Islam is the main religion in the region, alongside Christianity and traditional religions. After cultural affinity, caused by history, and religion practices, the next prevalent shared points are the official languages inherited from colonization. This pattern is more effective in the Francophone constituting countries which make the lot of the ECOWAS. The colonial determinism has shaped politico-economical systems of West African countries in similar manners; countries colonized by France can be commonly identified by the similarity of their systems to the ones of France and those by England to the ones of Great Britain. The following is an attempt to draw some common features shared by ECOWAS countries.

3.3.1.1. Socio-cultural features

The social fabric is made of the coexistence and mutual interactions of multiple cultures and traditions, and a plurality of languages and dialects. Each West African country seems like an artwork of a folkloric diversity. Societies that rhythm with traditions are finding difficult to adjust to the way of life of “modernism” brought from outside; the systems and ways put in place by the colonial rule, institutional organizations or any other of the kind have brought nothing than more disorder to this already complex of social setting. The situation is such that the dualism caused by the collision of “foreign” and “local” mentalities has created chaos, disorientation and discontent (in socio-cultural terms).

West Africa is also a place where traditional and religious practices coexist; religion is very present in the life of West Africans, the major religion affiliations being Islam and Christianity. Islam is mostly present in the countries bordering North Africa and Mauritania all the way downward; the reason for that is the expansion of Islam from

North Africa to the near southern lands in the Middle Age. The countries in region can be divided according to religion: countries where Muslims constitute the majority, the ones where Christians are the majority, and the ones where Islam and Christianity are more or less equally practiced. For decades, as for the cultures, these two religions have been peacefully lived by their adepts, religious wars were unknown to the region. Nowadays, though religious do not occur as such, the region has been hit by severe crimes and atrocities committed in the some called “jihadists”. Those individuals doing the so-called “jihadism” are making life a nightmare for the populations all over West Africa. The jihadist problem sparked after the fall of Muhammad Gadhafi; from that moment on insecurity has become endemic, taking thousands of lives and causing political turmoil in some countries with a successive coup d’état’s and coup attempts.

3.3.1.2. Political features

The last sentence of the last paragraph is a good introduction to this paragraph dedicated to the political evolution in ECOWAS countries. Since their independence, ECOWAS countries have not evolved into political maturity that could enable them to sustain themselves. The reason can be found in the external-motivated nature of state formation; the countries in their current states are the results of division that occurred during the Scramble of Africa by European powers. Even after independence, the newly independent countries have continued working with the systems put in place by the colonial rulers; thus, the institutional and politico-economic systems of the countries are modelled after the ones of their respective ancient colonial masters. From the first months and years of the existence of the new countries, successive coup d’état’s or coup attempts took place, sometimes ended with assassinations of political figures. In the aftermaths of the independences, many almost all states adopted for “scientific socialism” which was constructed by the philosophy of the state being the principal motor to lead the “baby countries” to “salvation”. However, that path ended in failure; starting from the 1990, crises in global nature led to the overthrowing of the old regimes in place for decades and a “democratization” process emerged. Has the democratization been a success? The answer is far from being a “yes”; once again, the reason can lie in the imported nature of the “democracy” that is being professed as being the way to salvation. The 1990s symbolize also the Structural Adjustment Programs (SAP), the famous policies that were brought by the currently omnipresent WB and FMI. The SAP obliged the countries to

open the countries to the world economy in the name of curing their economies that were suffering from recession and massive debt crises. Nowadays, West African countries, and African countries in general, are having trouble in finding their way in the complex filature of world economy. The development that was said to be brought by the SAP have not yet been seen; new alternatives that could show path to the economies are not in sight.

3.3.1.3. Economic features

Humans need to be involved in activities for their survival or for their status in a society. However, for people to undertake any business in any sort of society, some conditions seem indispensable. Those pre-requirements are concerned with the overall functioning of the society in question. Some aspects of the functioning of a society, when missing, can impede individuals of that society to undertake their lucrative actions. For the case of West African countries, in the previous lines, many elements that do not allow individuals or the countries to undertake any fruitful endeavor. Thus, economies in West Africa are mal-functioning, meaning that do not show characteristics economies in good health; they show symptoms such as poor national outcomes, high level of unemployment, absence of manufacture and industrial production, and many others. The incapacity of the national economy to contain or to employ the young populations causes despair in these ones, who are willing to risk everything to get in migration what they cannot get in their countries. The West African population being principally made of youngsters, the high number of them without employment constitutes a huge loss for that part of the continent.

The economies of the countries share also a similar structure: an economy dominated by the primary sector, mainly agriculture, that employs much of the population, and which is paradoxically enable to satisfy national need in food; the primary and the tertiary sectors contributing more to the GDP, in detriment of the secondary sector which is mainly built upon extractive sectors; exports constituted of raw materials out of agricultural and extractive activities. West African economies are by far dominated by informality, all the sectors are characterized by it.

As for the regional economy, the intensity of economic interactions in the region is very low; the intra-ECOWAS trade rate is about 11%, something insignificant comparatively to the intra-EU trade rate (over 60 %) and the intra-MESEAN trade rate (over 40 %).

3.3.2. Particular features

In the following lines, the socio-economic features specific to the 15 ECOWAS countries are discussed. For each country, a brief physical presentation, an historical overview of the country's politico-economic regime, a review of the recent trends of the economy, and a presentation of the country's place in the intra-ECOWAS trade.

Benin

Benin, officially named the Republic of Benin, is a small and big T-shaped country from up down, from the Sahel region to the North Atlantic Ocean. With a total area of 112 622 km², Benin is bordered by Niger and Burkina Faso to the north, Nigeria to the east, to the west, and the Bight of Benin (touching the Atlantic Ocean). Its population was estimated to be 12 996 895 in 2021 (WB).

Benin adopted the scientific socialism as a strategy of development from 1972. Like the other countries from the region, the country embraced the liberal model of economy in 1990. In 2000, Benin adopted "Benin 2025 Alafia", a long-term development program that is composed of series of policies aiming at attaining growth and reducing poverty. After living a long period with the label of "least developed country", Benin has joined in 2020 the group of countries with lower-middle-income. From 1990 to 2020, the annual growth rate of the country's GDP is 4.4%; the annual growth rate of real GDP was respectively for the last three decades 1991/2000, 2001/2010 and 2011/2020: 3.5 %, 3.9 % and 5.0 %. In 2021, the economy rebounded in a recovery from the 2020-Covid-19 recession with a growth rate of 7.2 %. The Benin's economy is driven by the primary and the tertiary sectors; the cotton industry occupies an important place, in 2021 cotton was the most exported product with a value of 346.5 billion of FCFA (INStAD, June 2022).

In the region, for the year 2021, 77% of the Benin's intra-Africa exports were destined to the ECOWAS. In the same year, from the region, its main partners were Niger, Burkina Faso, Togo, Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria, Mali and Ghana at export; Togo, Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana and Senegal at import (Tralac – Benin Trade & Tariff Update, 2021).

Burkina Faso

Burkina Faso, the “country of honest men”, is a landlocked country in the Sahel; with a land surface of 274 000 km², it is bordered by Mali to the north and west, Niger to the northeast, Benin to the southeast, and by Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana and Togo to the south. The Burkinabe population was to be 22 100 683 inhabitants in 2021 (WB).

At independence in 1960, the then Haute Volta opted for the Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) strategy, which manifested in the creation of national industries. That policy made possible for the secondary sector to occupy 20 % of GDP in 1966 and 28 % of GDP in 1976 (AfDB – Burkina Faso – Note de Diagnostic Pays, September 2021). From 1991, the country turned to the liberal model with the SAP. The mean growth rate of the economy was 5.80 % in the period 2011-2015 and 6.27 % in the period 2015-2019. After the 2020 Covid-19 shock (-0.2 % growth rate of GDP), the economy recovered in 2021 with a growth rate 6.9 %. Burkina Faso is one of the Sahel countries hit by insecurity which may have caused political instability; in April 2022 more than 4 000 schools were closed as a result of insecurity, affecting 700 000 students (WB – Burkina Faso Overview).

Between 2016 and 2020, the GDP composition was as following: 51.87 % for the tertiary sector, 26.00 % for the primary sector and 22.13 % for the secondary sector. The Burkinabe economy is concentrated on agriculture which employs 80 % of the total workforce; alongside the mining sector plays also an important role, in 2020 it constituted 84 % of exports (Agence Pour la Promotion des Exportations au Burkina, September 2021).

In 2020, some ECOWAS countries were among the main destinations of Burkina’s African exports: Côte d’Ivoire (33 %), Niger (14 %) and Togo (9 %). As for the country’s total imports, 27 % originated from Africa, mainly from Côte d’Ivoire, Ghana, Togo and Niger (Tralac – Burkina Faso: Intra-Africa trade and tariff profile 2020).

Cabo Verde

Officially the Republic of Cabo Verde, the country is an archipelago formed of 10 volcanic islands, covering an area of 4 033 km². It is founded at West African Coast in the central Atlantic Ocean. In 2021 it had an estimated population of 587 925 inhabitants (WB).

Cabo Verde is one of the Portuguese speaking countries which gained their independence relatively late compared to the other countries in the Community; it

obtained independence on the 5th of July, 1975. So that, the country acquaintance with the openness to world economy occurred just some decade after independence. Since then, the trade openness ratio of the country is above 90 %; the economy depends on the service sector, led by tourism, which accounts for 70 % of economic activities and 65 % of labor force participation (WB – Republic of Cabo Verde – Systematic Country Diagnostic, 2018).

Cabo Verde does not hold strong ties with African countries; in 2019 only 1 % of its exports and 2 % of imports were from and to African countries. From the destination countries of Cabo Verdean exports in the ECOWAS are Guinea-Bissau, The Gambia and Ghana; Senegal constitutes a main source country for the country's imports (Tralac – Cape Verde – Intra-Africa Trade & Tariff Profile 2019).

Côte d'Ivoire

Côte d'Ivoire, officially the Republic of Côte d'Ivoire, is a tropical country in the West African region. The country in shape of a square has 322 463 km, bordered by Burkina Faso to the northeast, Mali to the northwest, Ghana to the east, Liberia to the southwest, Guinea to the northwest and the west, and The Atlantic Ocean to the south. Its population counted for 27 478 249 inhabitants in 2021 (WB).

Côte d'Ivoire is one of the countries whose economy has considerably grown since independence, in the region. The country was favored, at independence, by the many resources it possessed, mainly agrarian, which made it precious for French settlers. Given this intimate tie with the settlers, the country was inclined towards to a liberal economic system. Thus, strong economic success was recorded in the first twenty years of independence; between 1960 and 1979, on average there had been growth rate of 8 % (AfDB – Côte d'Ivoire – Note de Diagnostic Pays, 2022). However, the successful economy was as equally hit by the 1980's crises as the other economies. So that, in 1993 the GDP per capita had fallen to its 1960 level (Helene Ehrhat, 2017). Côte d'Ivoire suffered from a series of political instabilities that led to civil wars, killing thousands of people and creating a lot of refugees: rebellion crisis between 2002 and 2007; the violent post-election crisis of 2010-2011. The violence passed, and the stability regained, the country embarked on a period of expansion; the country benefited from favorable conditions like the rise in cocoa prices up to early 2016. The average annual growth rate was 8 % between 2012 and 2016 (Helene Ehrhat, 2017). Being the world's leading cocoa

and cashew producer, its average real GDP growth rate between 2012 and 2019 was estimated to be 8.2 % by WB. It resisted the COVID-19 crisis by having a positive growth rate of 2 % in 2020, the growth rate was 7 % in 2021 (WB – Côte d'Ivoire – Overview).

Côte d'Ivoire is a big player in the regional economy, the bulk of its intra-Africa exports is directed to ECOWAS countries; in 2017, Burkina Faso, Mali and Ghana accounted for 51 %. Nigeria, Senegal, Guinea and Togo were also top destinations. For imports, the main partner in the region were Togo and Senegal (Tralac – Ivory Coast: Intra-Africa trade and tariff profile 2018).

The Gambia

The Republic of Gambia is completely surrounded by Senegal in the inland, the remaining part being the coast to the Atlantic Ocean. The Gambia is the smallest country within West Africa's mainland with an area of 10 689 km²; it was populated by 2 639 916 inhabitants in 2021 (WB).

The Gambia constitutes a case because of its being an English-speaking country completely surrounded by a francophone country. It gained independence from Britain in 1965. The first political regime lasted till 1994, under the leadership of Dawda Jawara. The country had not completely cut its ties with colonial British, the separation took place gradually. The economy of the country was built on the export of groundnuts to the international market; the good record of high prices sustained the economy till the crises of the 1970's and 1980's, induced by oil shocks and the prolonged Sahelian drought (David Perfect, 2008). Thus, to deal with the challenges, the country adopted an Economic Recovery Programme (ERP), which was a typical SAP according to David Perfect (2008) who further claimed that the programme did reverse the decline of the economy, but at some costs. However, the ERP of 1985, plus the Programme for Sustained Development (PSD) of 1990, failed to achieve significant real growth rate, which had been 5.1 % between 1978 and 1984, and 2.9 % between 1985 and 1995 (AfDB – The Gambia – Country Diagnostic Note, September 2020). After the huge contraction of -26.2 % in 2002, the growth with the recovery of the economy due to favorable context: 2.4 % over 2002-2007. The Ebola crisis had an effect on the tourism, an important sector for the economy, causing growth rate to be at 1.8 % in the period of 2011-2016; however, between 2017 and 2019 the growth was at 5.5 %. After the COVID-19-caused recession,

the economy reached an unchanged growth rate of 4.3 % in 2021 and 2022 (WB – The Gambia – Overview).

At export, the main part of the Gambia is naturally Senegal, followed by Mali, Guinea-Bissau, Ghana and Guinea; between 2019-2020, the country exports to these countries represented respectively 59 %, 30 %, 11 %, 0.3 % and 0.2 % of its total intra-Africa exports. For the same period, the main economic partners at import were Côte d'Ivoire, Togo, and Senegal. (Tralac – Gambia: Intra-Africa trade and tariff profile 2020).

Ghana

The Republic of Ghana is located on the Gulf of Guinea, bordered by Burkina Faso to the north, Togo to the east, Côte d'Ivoire to the west, and the Atlantic Ocean to the south. The country is spread over an area of 238 535 km². With its 32 833 031 inhabitants in 2021 (WB), Ghana is the second most-populated country in West Africa, after Nigeria.

Ghana was the first African country to gain independence from colonial rule, and with its first president Nkrumah, the country set itself as the leader of African unity. The vision of unity was idealized in Pan-Africanism. Nkrumah was a advocate of African economic independence through a building of a meaningful industrial base; its ardent militancy had as result strong opposition on both national and international arenas. He was removed from power by a coup in 1966. The then low-performing economy was hit by the oil-shocks of 1970's, that marked the introduction of the country to the SAP of IMF and WB. The Economic Recovery Program and SAP resulted in a positive growth rate of 9 % in 1984 (Fosu and al., 2010). The annual growth rate of 7 % in 2017-2019 was hit by the COVID-19 pandemic; the growth was estimated at 5 % in 2021 by the AfDB. Ghana's main economic partners, at export, are Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Togo and Senegal; at import, Burkina Faso, Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire.

Guinea

The Republic of Guinea is a coastal West African country which is blessed by nature with its considerable natural resources. The country is divided in four geographic regions: the narrow coastal belt, the pastoral Fouta Djallon highland region, the hotter and the tropical rainforest in the southeast (Country Reports). The country has a total area of 245 836 km² and a population of 13 531 906 inhabitants (WB).

By voting “No” in the referendum to France’s plan and gaining independence in 1958, Guinea made it known about its will to come out of French influence that was about to exist even after independences, in the region. The country made the choice, with its charismatic leader Sekou Toure, of socialism but of Guinean way. Sekou regime was cause of much controversy: when seen by some a revolutionary fighting against neocolonialism, Sekou Toure is seen by others as a dictator.

Guinea is blessed with some of the most wanted mineral resources and possess a heavenly bio-environment. However, the country has not been to fruitfully exploit the immense resources; foreign capital disposes of most of the capital stock in resources. Political instability coupled with corruption are symptoms of a structural deficiency.

The country was able to perform growth in the COVID-19 period, a growth rate of 6.4 % in 2020; the rate was 4.3 % in 2021 and 4.7 % in 2022 (AfDB – Guinea Economic Outlook, WB – Guinea Overview).

Most of Guinea’s top economic partners in Africa are ECOWAS countries; in 2017, the destinations markets for Guinean export were Ghana (73.5 %), Mali (5.7 %), Côte d’Ivoire (2.4 %) and Senegal (1.7 %); the source countries for Guinean import were Côte d’Ivoire (75 %), Togo (2.9 %) and Liberia (2.3 %).

Guinea-Bissau

The Republic of Guinea-Bissau is a small country in West Africa, covering 36 125 km²; it borders Senegal to the north and Guinea to the south-east, and has a coastline to the Atlantic Ocean. The country had a population of just 2 060 721 inhabitants in 2021 (WB).

Guinea-Bissau gained independence from Portugal in 1973 under the leadership of Amilcar Cabral, who strived to set sound orientations for the new country. Unfortunately, the small country had known a series of instability and civil wars, starting from 1998. That damaged considerably the little that had been constructed; thus, it also joined the SAP to fix the economy. The economy shows a similar pattern of the Gambian economy: a structure mainly unchanged since the independence; an important place of nuts culture for both the export and the labor force (cashew nut being the main product for Guinea-Bissau); and a strong presence of foreign money to sustain public expenditures. Between 2015 and 2019 the annual growth rate was estimated at 5.4 % and

the growth rate for the year 2021 5 % (AfDB – Guinea-Bissau – Country Diagnostic Note, August 2021).

Guinea-Bissau is the only francophone country in the WAEMU, it joined the organization and adopted the union's currency in 1997. Naturally, the major economic partner of the country on the continent are ECOWAS countries; in 2018 99 % of the total exports to Africa went to Ghana and 87 % of imports from Senegal.

Liberia

The Republic of Liberia is the oldest country in the region, being established in 1822; it covers a land area of 111 369 km² and borders Guinea to the north, Côte d'Ivoire to the east, Sierra Leone to the northwest, and the Atlantic Ocean to the south and the southwest. Its population was estimated at 5 003 000 inhabitants in 2022 (ECOWAS).

Liberia is considered the oldest African country because of being built in 1847 by freed American slaves. The country is also remembered with civil wars that are classified as the worst in Africa, between 1989 and 2003. As the other coastal countries in the region, Liberia too was hit by the Ebola crisis between 2014 and 2016. An economy that was already broken by the wars had been even hit by the Ebola epidemic; the GDP growth fell from 8.7 % in 2013 to -1.6 % in 2016, but recovered in 2017 with a rate of 2.5 % (AfDB – Republic of Liberia – Bank Group Country Strategy Paper 2019-2023). The growth contracted by 3 % in 2020 with the COVID-19, before recovering by 5 % in 2021 (WB – Liberia Country Overview).

Some of the country's economic partners in the region are Côte d'Ivoire, Sierra Leone and Leone.

Mali

The Republic of Mali is situated in the middle of West Africa, serving also as gate to the North Africa with its large sand mass of Sahara Desert. Mali is considered the eighth-largest African country and the second-largest in West Africa after Niger, with its land area of 1 240 192 km². The country is found in the middle of seven countries: Algeria to the northeast, Mauritania to the northwest, Niger to the east, Senegal to the west, Burkina Faso to southeast, Guinea to the southwest, and Côte d'Ivoire to the south. The Malian population was estimated at 21 904 983 inhabitants in 2021 (WB).

The Malian fathers of independence, leading them Modibo Keita, were strongly favorable for and applicant of a socialist type of regime. The socialism vision was coupled with the Pan-Africanist vision; Mali embarked on implying its policies with countries like Guinea and Ghana. The country took part in several federating initiatives with some of the neighbor countries but none has succeeded. Thus, the 8 years-regime of Modibo was marked by the implementation of policy aiming at laying the future of the country on socialism. However, the failure of the project led to a coup d'état in 1968; then a period of two decades of dictatorial Moussa regime followed. The General Moussa Traore was also removed from by a coup d'état in 1991. Till now, Mali has finding difficult to get political stability; worse, it is facing one of the damaging security crises in the region since a decade.

After independence, Mali left the Franc zone to create its “Franc Malien” in 1962, but made a come-back to the zone in 1984. The SAPs started to be implemented in Mali from 1988. A negative growth rate was recorded in 1991 (WTO - WT/TPR/S/43 – Mali) From 1994 to 2003, the annual growth rate was 6 % (AfDB/OECD – Economic Perspectives in Africa – Mali, 2003). The effect of COVID-19 prorogued a contraction of 1.2 % of real GDP, which rose by 3.1 % in 2021 (WB – Mali 2022 – Note on Economic Situation).

Mali, being a landlocked country, depends on neighboring countries of ECOWAS for its import-export operations; Senegal plays a big in that regard, so that it constitutes the main economic of Mali in the region. The other partners are Côte d'Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Niger, and Benin. In 2019, 60 % of Malian total intra-Africa trade were with fellow ECOWAS countries (Tralac – Mali: intra-Africa trade & tariff profile 2019).

Niger

The Republic of Niger is a landlocked and the biggest country in West Africa with a total area of 1 267 000 km². The country is at the heart of the Sahel, thus constituting the transitional zone between the tropical West coast and the Sahara Desert (Country Reports). It is bordered by Libya to the northeast, Algeria to the northwest, Chad to the east, Mali to the west, Benin and Burkina Faso the southwest, and Nigeria to the south. Its 2021 population was estimated at 25 252 722 inhabitants (WB).

Niger is another landlocked country and one of the poorest countries in the region. Like the other States under French influence, Niger gained independence in 1960 and had similar post-independence in terms of governance and economic evolution.

During the last half of the 1990 decades, economic growth had been annually 3.5 %; GDP growth was 3 % in 2002, 5.3 % in 2003, and 0.9 % in 2004 (AfDB/OECD – Economic Perspectives in Africa – Benin, 2005). After the 2020 recession because of the pandemic, the GDP growth was estimated at 1.4 % in 2021 and 11.5 % in 2022.

In 2020, Nigeria's main economic partners in the region were, at export, Mali (35 % of the total intra-Africa exports), Burkina Faso (25 %) and Nigeria (13%); at import, Nigeria, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana (Tralac – Niger: intra-Africa trade and tariff profile 2020).

Nigeria

Nigeria is a Federal Republic comprising 36 states and a federal capital territory, Abuja. It covers an area of 923 768 km²; and is bordered by Niger to the north, Chad to the northeast, Cameroon to the east, Benin to the west, and the Atlantic Ocean to the south. Nigeria is the most populated country in Africa, in 2021 its population numbered 213 401 323 inhabitants (WB).

In plus of being the most populated, Nigeria possesses the largest economy on the continent; it can be considered as a giant in West Africa. Nigeria political configuration is quite complex, the country is governed in a federal system, which is explained by the ethno-cultural repartition of the population to different parts of the country. Nigeria was a colony of Great Britain, from which it gained independence in 1960. At independence, the industrial base was the broadest in the region; the economy was firstly based on agriculture before the discovery and exploitation of oil and a commercial level in 1956. Later on, oil was triggering force to a civil war between 1967 and 1970; since the country had not known stable political governance till 1999. For a long time, Nigeria relied on oil as a means of gaining to finance public expenditures. However, on the other hand, the over-dependence on oil meant a fragile economy that could not, with a non-adequate organization and institutional structures, assure self-adjustment in case of crises. That was the case with the 1980's economic crisis; the country could resist, thus resolved to join the WB and the FMI in their SAP. The implementation of the SAP had caused several socio-economic damages, that necessitated a review of the program. Afterwards,

policymakers adopted a series of plans to revitalize the country's economy. From 2005 to 2014, an average growth rate of 6.7 % on a year-to-year basis was recorded; growth was 0.9 % in 2017 and 1.9 % in 2018 (AfDB – The Country Diagnostic Note – Nigeria, 2019). Nigeria's economy grew by 3.6% in 2021 from a 1.8% contraction in 2020 (AfDB – Nigeria Economic Outlook).

In the region, Nigeria is a big player and has the largest economic and financial hub, and the strongest manufacture basis. Thus, its role in the regional economic integration is anything but undeniable. In 2021, the main economic partners in the region, at export, Côte d'Ivoire, Senegal, Togo, Ghana, Niger, and Benin; at import, Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana. The bulk of Nigeria's intra-Africa exports are destined to the ECOWAS: over 60 % (Tralac – Nigeria Trade & Tariffs Update 2021).

Senegal

The Republic of Senegal is bordered by Mauritania to the north, Mali to the east, Guinea to the southeast, and Guinea-Bissau to the southwest; it has a coastline to the Atlantic Ocean. Its land area is made of 196 712 km², and its population was estimated at 16 876 720 inhabitants in 2021(WB).

Senegal is among the most prosperous country in the region and has enjoyed a political stability since independence; it is the only West African country to have not lived coup d'état though it knows rebellious turmoil in the Casamance. At independence, Leopold Sedar Senghor, a great figure of France-Africa relationship, with Houphouët Boigny of Côte d'Ivoire, made the choice of a liberal economy; a choice that can be explained by the good term with France-metropole, which meant an openness towards the capitalist world. However, that did not exempt the country from adopting the Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) strategy; from 1961 the state started implementing quinary programs which resulted in a strong public sector. After being hit contextual crises, Senegal entered the dance of the SAP in 1986. Many reforms followed, whose implementations permitted some growth, though at the price of increase debt (Afdb – Senegal – Country Diagnostic Note, July 2020). The annual growth rate of 6 % registered between 2014 and 2019 has made the country being reclassified in the Low-Income Middle category. The COVID-19 reduced the growth rate to 2 % in 2020.

As mentioned above, Senegal is considered an economic heavyweight inside ECOWAS; in 2021, the country main partners in the community, in order of importance,

were as following: at export: Mali, Côte d'Ivoire, The Gambia, Guinea, Burkina Faso and Bissau-Guinea; at import: Nigeria Côte d'Ivoire and Ghana.

Sierra Leone

The West African coastal Republic of Sierra Leone occupies an area of 71 740 km², surrounded by Guinea to the north and Liberia to the southwest. Its population was estimated at 8 420 641 inhabitants in 2021 (WB).

Sierra Leone is one the English-speaking country on the West African coast, it was a British colony. After gained independence in 1961, the country started implementing the ISI strategy which later failed due to some factors, among which are the lack of adequate finance for large and long-term investments, poor infrastructure, a narrow market with limited purchasing power, paucity of skilled labor, and the large of imported inputs (AfDB – Sierra Leone - Country Diagnostic Note, February 2020). The country adopted a series of developmental programs: the 1974-79 National Development Plan was the inclusive elaborated program regarding the improvement of the overall condition of the economy; the Green Revolution of 1986 was an unsuccessful attempt to assure rice self-sufficiency; Revitalizing the Economy was a program to rebuild the country after the devastating decade of civil that broke in 1991. Indeed, Sierra Leone lived a ravaging civil war that destroyed most of the country's infrastructure. It was among the countries that were hit by the Ebola crisis in 2015. The recent growth rates registered by the economy were 5 % in 2019, 2 % in 2020, and 3.2 % in 2021. Growth was projected to accelerate to 4% in 2022 - driven by mining and the recovery of agriculture, manufacturing, construction, and tourism - and then to marginally improve to 4.2% in 2023 (AfDB – Sierra Leone Economic Outlook).

In 2018, Sierra Leone's main economic partners in the Community were, at export Ghana (23 % of total intra-Africa exports), Guinea (13 %) and Senegal (8 %); at import Guinea (25 % of total intra-Africa imports) and Ghana (5 %).

Togo

The Togolese Republic is bordered by Burkina Faso to the north, Benin to the east, and Ghana to the west. The country covers an area of 56 785 km² and had a population of 8 644 829 inhabitants in 2021 (WB).

Togo's colonial experience is different of its neighbor countries in West Africa, in the sense that it was occupied by not one but many colonial powers. With the scramble for Africa started, Germany claimed ownership over Togo to call it Togoland. After WWI, Togoland was invaded and took over by French-British coalition, and thus became a colony of France. Togo gained its independence from France in 1960. Many decades after independence, the Togolese political atmosphere had been instable; economically speaking too, it has not recorded much progress (AfDB- Togo – The Country Diagnostic Note, September 2020). In 2019, the composition of the country's GDP was as following: 50.3 % for tertiary sector, 21.1 % for secondary sector, and 20.9 % for primary sector (INSEED – National Accounts 2019).

In 2019, Togo's main economic partners were, at export, Benin, Burkina Faso, Niger and Ghana; at import, Ghana, Nigeria and Côte d'Ivoire.

The above sub-headings draw a picture of the economic configurations, shaped common historical experience colonization, of the ECOWAS countries. The overall image reflected by that picture is a community of countries that suffer from severe socio-economic conditions. The hardship of those conditions is well acquainted with worldwide. Indeed, West African countries are considered to be the poorest countries on earth; the recent classification of countries of the UN (2021) regroups in the category of the "Least Developed Countries" the following ECOWAS countries: Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Togo, and The Gambia. In this list of countries with "low-income level confronting several structural impediments to sustainable development", only four countries of the Community do not figure: Côte d'Ivoire, Cabo Verde, Ghana and Nigeria. In the table below are data for some socio-economic indicators in the region.

Table 3.1. *Indicators of growth, employment and Inequality for 2022 (OECD)*

	Population (thousand)	Nominal GDP in purchasing power parity dollars (millions)	GDP in US dollars (millions)	GDP in purchasing power parity dollars per capita	Real GDP growth (%)
Benin	12 784.7	53 107.5	18 387.4	4 136.9	5.9
Burkina Faso	22 102.8	58 584.9	19 620.6	2 663.4	4.7
Cabo Verde	567.7	4 413	1 997.3	7 739.9	5.2
Côte d’Ivoire	27 742.3	180 059.2	73 046.9	6 345.1	6
Gambia	2 558.5	6 791.6	2 166.1	2 645	5.6
Ghana	32 395.5	216 676.2	73 894	6 753.8	5.2
Guinea	13 865.7	44 455.3	20 952.1	3 029.4	4.8
Guinea-Bissau	2 063.4	5 279.5	1 655.5	2 784	3.8
Liberia	5 305.1	8 775.5	3 828.8	1 779.4	4.5
Mali	21 473.8	55 334.7	19 263.9	2 575.4	2
Niger	26 083.7	37 422.7	15 620.2	1 434.7	6.9
Nigeria	216 746.9	1 268 535.5	510 588.2	5 852.6	3.4
Senegal	17 653.7	72 340.6	28 434.8	4 092.5	5
Sierra Leone	8 306.4	16 277.1	4 268.4	1 957.6	3.4
Togo	8 680.8	22 612.4	8 699.1	2 599.1	5.6
ECOWAS	418 331	2 051 065.7	802 423.3	4 893.9	4.1

The geographical configuration of West Africa represents a multitude of countries that are uneven in size, a huge difference exists between the biggest and the smallest; something that is representative of the randomly nature of the division of the territories which occurred at the time of the Scramble for Africa. This disparity in the geography is also present in the population and the economy, a fact that can be observed in the above table. Alongside the largely populous countries and big economies, they are less populous and small economies; almost the largely populous ones are the big economies and vice versa. At the top is Nigeria, the largest in terms of population and economy; following her are Ghana and Côte d’Ivoire both in population and economy. The countries that are both relatively economically big and populous are Senegal, Guinea, Mali, Niger, Burkina Faso and Benin. The last of group that constitutes the countries with both small sizes in economy and population are Cabo Verde, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Togo. It is worthwhile to note that no country that is economically big with a small population exist, and that there seems to be a correlation between the size of population and the size of economy.

The previous categorization of countries into three different groups constitutes an important point of observation in the course of analysis. The years 1980s and 1990s were depicted as lost decades for most West African countries; but the 2000s and 2010s are said to be a period of economic growth for most countries in the region. However,

paradoxically, the economic growth realized, sometimes a rate of two digits, has not correlated with a reduction in poverty rate; this non-correlation exposes the nature of growth that is being realized, which leads to an investigation into the composition of the different economies. Thus, the following section will show the composition of the different economies in the ECOWAS region. Beforehand, the following table presents the recent growth rates of real GDP for ECOWAS countries.

Table 3.2. GDP Growth (EC ECOWAS Bank of Investment and Development, 2021)

	2018	2019	2020	2021	2022
Benin	6.7	6.9	2	5.2	5.9
Burkina Faso	6.8	5.7	0.8	4.3	5.5
Cabo Verde	4.5	5.7	-14	4.5	6.2
Côte d’Ivoire	6.9	6.2	2.3	5.7	6.5
Gambia	7.2	6.1	-	5.5	6.7
Ghana	6.3	6.5	0.9	4.7	5.9
Guinea	6.2	5.6	5.2	5.5	5.4
Guinea-Bissau	3.4	4.5	-2.4	3	4.1
Liberia	1.2	-2.5	-3	3.3	4.8
Mali	4.7	4.8	-2	4	6
Niger	7.2	5.9	1.2	7	10.7
Nigeria	1.9	2.2	-1.8	2.7	2.4
Senegal	6.2	4.4	0.8	5.1	6.1
Sierra Leone	3.5	5.5	-2.2	3	3.6
Togo	5	5.5	0.7	3.2	4.7
ECOWAS	3.5	3.5	-0.7	3.9	4.5

The column 2020 year shows the recession that took place in the aftermaths of the COVID-19 pandemic’s eruption in all the countries. If some had been able to maintain a positive rate of regression (Benin, Côte d’Ivoire, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Guinea, Niger, Senegal, and Togo), others had a negative growth rate. ECOWAS in overall had a negative rate of 0.7 %. On the other hand, the recovery has taken place in most countries from 2021 to 2022, the 2020 rate has even been overpassed by some countries.

3.4. Economic Activities and Labor Market in Ecowas

3.4.1. Common characteristics of ECOWAS member countries

In recent indicators of different ECOWAS economies show a level of progress which does not translate into some improvement in the way of life of the citizens. This fact can be explained by the nature of the structures of the economies, from which the growth emerged. A general pattern in the economies is the dominance of the primary and the tertiary sectors in the GDP. West African economies have always been driven by the

primary sector, especially the agrarian sector which employs much of the population. Two kinds of agriculture are practiced: the agriculture of subsistence is traditional agriculture that individuals and families practice to sustain their subsistence; for a large part of the population (the rural population), it represents the main source of subsistence or revenue; the industrial agriculture was introduced by colonial enterprise that specialized each country into the production of specific cultures according to their geographical characteristics. The latter form of agriculture is one the main sources of revenue for ECOWAS economies, at the same time the main means of procuring foreign exchanges, meaning it constitutes the large part of export. The other source of revenue both internally and externally is the bunch of extractive products (oil, gold, iron, bauxite, uranium, etc.).

The commodity-oriented nature of the economies makes them vulnerable to conjectural fluctuation, thus the need for diversification is being on every tongue. The diversification should go by the putting in place of a substantial industrial base, that is why the ECOWAS has been adopting many policies to facilitate the industrialization of the region.

On the structure of ECOWAS economies Nwokoye, Geraldine and Uzodigwe (2018) provide insightful statistics:

- The agriculture sector represents approximately 36 % of the region's GDP and 60 % of the active labor force. Agricultural exports generate around USD 6 billion annually, or 16.3 % of all products and services exported from the region.
- The share of agriculture in GDP, since 1980s, has declined in countries with high GDP per capita and high growth rate such as Cape Verde, Ghana and Nigeria; and increased during the 1980s in countries like Burkina Faso, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Togo.
- The Manufacturing sector has underperformed in the region, its share in GDP only increased in 7 of the 15 countries between the 1980s and the 2000s and remains at 23 % on average, for the whole region it declined from 13 % in 1972 to 5 % in 2008.
- Nigeria being the biggest economic player in the region, any evolution of the country's will inevitably impact on the region's trends; thus, with an increase of the share of manufacture from 2.4 % in 2018 to 9 % in 2015 in Nigerian GDP, an increased contribution of non-extractive industries in the region has been

observed. Besides, the country's share in the region's manufacturing industry had evolved from 5.9 % in 2005 to nearly 9 % in 2015. However, without Nigeria, the region's overall industrial place in the economy decreased from 11.2 % to 8.5 % over the same period.

- In the period 2005-2015, the shares of service and agricultural sectors in GDP respectively increased from 29.3 % to 51.6 % and to 22.6 %.

The point that comes out of the observation is the existence of a non-structured economy in the region. The positive increase in both the primary and the tertiary sectors has not been followed by a positive evolution of the industrial, thus showing the low level of industrialization of the region and therefore its dependency on external markets for manufacture products.

3.4.2. Labor market

An examination of labor migration in the region has to be preceded by an analysis of the state of employment/unemployment, especially of youngsters, in the individual States; for the reason that migration results from the Push-factor of lack of opportunities and jobs in the migrant sending countries, and from the Pull-factor of presence of opportunities and jobs in the migrant receiving countries. In this domain too, unfortunately West African countries do not possess efficient Labor Market Information Systems (LMISs) that can bear witness of the real conditions of labor markets in ECOWAS (Mariama Awumbila et al., *Across Artificial Borders: An assessment of labor migration in the ECOWAS region*, 2014).

The main characteristic of labor in West Africa is its strong informality. In all ECOWAS countries, State employs a minor part of the population, the rest being self-employed and workers for private entities. So that, apart from the few individuals who work for government or are managers in private corporations, the bulk of labor force is labelled with irregularity; irregular workers include self-employed workers, family workers, seasonal or task workers, and temporary workers (Mbaye and Gueye, 2018). The irregularity comes from the non-compliance of their work to rules of labor, either be national or international. Therefore, though official statistics may consider these irregular workers as employed, thus resulting in the reduction of unemployment rate, job precarity

is illustrated by the vulnerability of the many jobs that employ most West African population. The AfDB's Working Paper Series (no 297, June 2018) draws a table of the share of those vulnerable jobs in total labor force.

Table 3.3. *Share of vulnerable jobs in the labor force (AfDB, 2018)*

	2000	2003	2006	2009	2012	2016
Benin	88.6	88.4	90.5	90.1	90	89.3
Burkina Faso	88.3	85.1	83.9	81.7	79.1	75.1
Cabo Verde	53.8	52.7	50.2	47.6	46.3	45.4
Côte d'Ivoire	80.7	80.4	81.9	82	81.3	78.6
Gambia	79.4	79.5	79.5	78.9	79.2	79.1
Ghana	79.1	77.2	75.9	78	72.1	70.9
Guinea	67.3	66.4	66.2	65.8	66.2	66.3
Guinea-Bissau	63.3	63.9	63.2	62.6	61.9	61.3
Mali	89.4	87.5	88.2	86.9	85.8	85.3
Niger	93.4	93.1	92.9	93	92.8	94
Nigeria	51.4	50.3	46.1	44.6	43.4	42
Senegal	78.7	74.8	74.5	73.4	73.4	71.5
Togo	89.2	89.3	89.2	89.1	87.6	85.9

From the table it can be seen that a great deal of labor force is concerned by unemployment and vulnerable jobs, only three countries under the rate of 50 % in the year 2016: Cabo Verde, Mauritania (not ECOWAS-member) and Nigeria. Thus, it can be concluded the existence of a strong job problem in the ECOWAS region, which constitutes a serious threat in a region where the youth occupy a large proportion in the population. So that, no accessibility to higher education and no opportunity of decent jobs are sources of frustration among the young that can result in social and political instability.

3.5. Labor Migration Statistics

After having a brief look into the employment condition of the ECOWAS member states, this sub-section shows some statistics relating to labor migration in the region. Those statistics are taken from reports prepared as results of studies by joint works of different organizations. The data to be exposed are taken from the ACP Observation on Migration's 2014 research report, entitled: "Across Artificial Borders: An assessment of labor migration in the ECOWAS region"; the AU's published report on "Labor Migration Statistics in Africa (2018 and 2019)"; and the International Centre for Migration Policy Development's report on "Migration Outlook 2022, for West Africa".

The data problematic relating to migration in all forms is also stressed out in the different reports just enumerated. The data gathered therein are from population censuses, household surveys or economic surveys, etc.

Relating to labor migration in the ECOWAS region, the statistics from the Africa Labor Migration Statistics Report are as following:

- A number of 5.3 million migrants in the region in 2008, 6.9 million migrants in 2017, which represents an increase of 30.4 %
- A number of 2.9 million male and 2.5 million female migrants in 2008, 3.7 million male and 3.3 million female migrants in 2017, which makes an increase of 27.8 % for male and 33.5 % for female migrants
- In 2017, the region recorded a 26 % increase of working age migrants from 2008, that is from 4.1 million working age migrants in 2008 to 5.1 million in 2017.

3.6. A Comprehensive Analysis

Some analysis can be held in order to comment on the facts that are given in the above sections concerning the ECOWAS; by commenting an attempt is made to explain what may be some possible causes of the current conditions. In order to better appreciate the ECOWAS reality, which is unsatisfactory, the EU is taken as reference for comparison for the EU has the best record of regional integration in the areas of free movement of goods and services, free movement of persons and free movement of capital. Thus, this section tries to provide as comprehensive as possible a treatment of causes about the state of free movement of people and regional integration in the ECOWAS region by having a comparison with the EU.

After exposing the profiles of ECOWAS countries, the state of their labor markets and labor migration in the region, it is time to have these elements in a comprehensive analysis. The matter of free movement enters in the sphere of regional integration, it is therefore linked to the overall condition of the evolution of this latter. To explain the causes of the reality surrounding the free movement of people displayed in the above lines, the journey of regional integration in West Africa can be analyzed by having a comparison between the ECOWAS and the EU. The comparison takes place at many points that concern different contexts.

3.6.1. *The foundation context*

Let the context of foundation be the first element of analysis between ECOWAS and EU. Relating to the foundation, the number of founding members is a first point. All ECOWAS countries Member states are founding countries of the community; on the opposite, not all the current EU Members were involved in its creation. The early stage of EU was the ECSC, founded in 1952 by six European countries namely France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, The Netherlands, and Luxemburg. The small number of ECSC founding countries may have played a great role in the success of its treaty: the small is the number of actors involved the less is the degree of disagreement. That was not the case with ECOWAS; the birth of the organization came after a long marathon, as it has been in the chapter 2, the difficulty was related to multiplicity of political ideologies and historical affinities. Meanwhile, a simple declaration of a foreign minister (Schuman) sufficed to triggered the establishment of what would become the most successful form of integration.

The purpose is a second point in the context of foundation. The very name of ECSC tells that it was founded with in mint to achieve a specific goal; hence the main objectives of the Schuman Plan were realistic enough to be reached on time.

So that, the targeted objectives being achieved, the Community had been able to increment on the *acquis* more ambitious goals, thus has enlarged the treaty to embrace to all fields of the economy and increased number of Member states. The visionary goal of economic integration behind the foundation of ECOWAS, because of its largeness, may be considered unrealistic for countries that had much trouble in getting together.

Early achievements, though small, are symbolic and serve as catalyzers to further realizations which are considerable. This seems to have lacked in ECOWAS, since its establishment the community has a record of a series of postponed implementations, which does not work in favor of galvanizing the members to strive for the progress of the community.

Another point in this first element is the relationship intention-reality. The intention refers to all the provisions of the founding treaty and the reality to the existing condition of countries. Coming back to the EU, the provisions of the establishing treaty of the ECSC were actually there to work on an industrial machine that was already

working; so that, they found terrain for implementation in this latter. For ECOWAS, the primordial goal behind any regional regrouping enterprise, which is facilitating the exchange of goods between its members, was not and is still not backed up by the presence of a working industry in the ECOWAS region.

3.6.2. *The historical context*

A second element of differentiation between the two Communities is the historical reality defining them. The two regions of Western Europe (the emerging region of the EU) and West Africa have a long-dated relationship. The contact took place centuries ago when the then European kingdoms entered West African territories for the sake of fierce competition among them in exploring land in Americas and elsewhere. It was the time of global expansion through the means of commerce and settlements. In their enterprises, European powers heavily pulled from West Africa millions of men and women to be used as slaves in plantations in Americas. With time passing, they entered the inlands of West African territories with the spirit of colonizing for their resources; this culminated in the separation of territories among them, which separation was officialized by the Berlin Conference. Thus, the once scattered multiple peoples found themselves subjugated to foreign rule. The long-lasting domination has left scars on West African societies with their life being impacted in all its structures. Thence, countries born after independence carried in them configurations and systems that were introduced by the European occupiers. For countries still carrying the scarce of centuries of exploitation and submission to undertake and succeed in fruitful enterprise, either individually or collectively, is not evident. This is best illustrated by the ineffectiveness of West African States in running their countries, and consequently their inability to build effective regional communities. In conclusion, given the historical reality, the legitimacy of the States is questioned: Are West African States, in their current setting, able to deal the challenges facing their countries?

European countries, however, are built on principles that are their own, e.g. the mass of systems governing their countries are products from the inner forces of their societies. The authenticity lacking to West African societies is present in Europe, which enables it to decide effectively about its fate.

3.6.3. *The cultural context*

Alongside the notable historical element, cultural dimension is another non-negligible point of comparison. The EU community is characterized by a strong cultural homogeneity, which is due to its shared common past. A considerable part of European territories was of the Greek and Roman Empires. The religion of Christianity, starting from the time of Roman Empire, is the main religion in European countries. This means that a strong common ground of principles exists between European countries that renders easy any attempt of cooperation among them.

As mentioned in chapter 2, West African region is home to multiple cultures; moreover, unlike in Europe, no dominant religion exists: there are countries mostly populated by Christians, countries mostly populated by Muslims, and countries equally populated by Christians and Muslims. Traditional practices of rituals are also existent in all the countries. Given that religion is a serious matter in the life of West Africans, the existence of many cultures and multiple religions may have hindered togetherness in the region. However, a strong caution has to be put here: West Africa being known for religious tolerance, it is difficult to confirm that the multiplicity of religions is an obstacle to integration.

3.6.4. *The macroeconomic context*

Previous sections in this chapter showed the macro profiles of ECOWAS countries in their economies, populations, and labor markets. There is a connectivity difference between ECOWAS and the EU. ECOWAS countries, despite being geographically bound to one another, are scattered by their profiles. That is why their classification in three groups according to their size is not related to geographical proximity. This is not the case for the EU where economic affinity is linked to geographical ties. Accordingly, the EU is divided in two groups: on one hand the Western countries, which are the traditional developed countries; on the other hand, the central and eastern countries that lately joined the Community. The distance being an important component of integration, the remoteness of ECOWAS from one another, according to their profiles, may have worked against the acceleration of integration in the region.

A net difference between the two organizations that is critical in bringing about integration is the structure of the economy. A characteristic of ECOWAS economies is

their dependency on commodities, another characteristic is the non-connection between sectors of activities. In ECOWAS countries a strong industrial base is absent; on the contrary, Europe was the birth place of industrial revolution and possesses today an important deal of world industrial plant. EU members have moved from the state of specialized countries in producing specific products to collaborating actors along same value chains: the strength of the Community can be said to lie in this state of complementarity which serves as both the motor and the reason for integration.

Unfortunately, not only industry is lacking in the ECOWAS, but also, they have homogenous economic profiles based on the production of commodities. Thus, ECOWAS countries hold more economic ties with non-ECOWAS countries than themselves.

The next point to naturally follow is the state of labor market. It has been seen that informality reigns in ECOWAS countries' labor markets and that the bulk of jobs employing the working force is made of vulnerable jobs. These factors conjugated together does not favor the movement of people inside the region in seeking better opportunities.

The rope of the analysis followed herein attests of the global nature of matter of free movement of people, this one is shaped within the sphere of regional regrouping, which itself dependent on many factors. At the end, free movement of people comes as a result of a process of integration that starts from the need to strengthen exchanges and flows between countries, given some favoring conditions of different kinds. As long as the conditions are not favorable in the ECOWAS region, free movement of people is yet to see daylight.

CONCLUSION

This Master thesis treated the subject of free movement of people inside the ECOWAS region. Free movement of people is a political expression of countries united in community to remove physical barriers between themselves. The ultimate goal behind the implementation of free movement is to enhance the socioeconomic conditions by expanding the horizon of opportunities for the people enjoying free movement. West Africa has a long history of migration both internally and externally. The ECOWAS decided to carry on this tradition with the adoption of a series of protocols on free movement; the aim was to break the artificial borders that resulted from colonization.

In the process of regional integration, free movement of people comes in the third stage: that is the constitution of a common market; the common market means the establishment of a common market for labor and goods and services, which is rendered possible by the free movement of members' citizens without obstacles in search of labor and the free circulations of goods and services without encountering barriers. Free movement of people is crucial for the community's progress as an integrated body of countries for multiple reasons. Firstly, people are providers of labor, be skilled or unskilled, and their free movement balances the labor market in the region – by linking the excess of labor and the deficit of labor in member countries. In plus to its stabilizing role, free movement of people, as seen in the European case, is a great contributor to economic growth in countries that receive them and great source of both foreign exchanges and a relief of public burdens respectively by the means of remittances and the reduction of unemployment in the originating countries. Another contributing role of free movement of people is its spreading function of ideas, knowledge, know-how and technology across the community; this function is considerable because it facilitates the transfer of technology which is difficult to get otherwise. And finally, beyond economic factors, free movement of people is a great motor of strengthening social and cultural bounds between countries, thus lessening tensions between them. The conjugating functions of free movement of people as a socioeconomic and cultural galvanizing factor makes it the to benefit members of the community individually and collectively.

After reviewing the contents of the different protocols adopted by ECOWAS countries to smoothen the movement of their citizens inside the Community, it has been seen that their implementations have not taken place as planned, they faced many

challenges. The three main protocols are Protocol on free movement of persons, Protocol on Residence and Protocol on Establishment; only the first one has been fully implemented, it gives right to ECOWAS citizens to travel visa-free up to a period of 90 days to ECOWAS countries.

The existing literature lists a bunch of obstacles impeding the implementation of the will to free the movement of ECOWAS citizens. The challenges are multiple; the institutional factors deal with the obsolescence of the institutional frameworks in the region, which is characterized by an overlapping membership to different organizations. West African countries are members of cross different communities that makes hard to distinguish the nature of the communities. Another institutional difficulty is caused by the separation of the countries according to the three main official languages originating from colonization; the three language groups are the French-speaking countries, the English-speaking countries and the Portuguese-speaking countries. This separation is a legacy of colonization and manifests with the existence different systems of governance, which further complicates the harmonization of rules and principles in the region. And finally, different language blocks mean different spheres of influence, most of the time coming from the ancient colonial masters. The very birth of the ECOWAS was challenged by the conflict of influences, which is still at the root of the turtle-march nature of the organization.

The second category of the impeding factors concern the macro conditions of the ECOWAS countries. The socioeconomic conditions of West African, since the time of the creation of ECOWAS, have been unstable; years before the creation of ECOWAS, civil war took place in Nigeria (Nigerian Biafra War of 1967-1970) and the birth of the community was followed by years of a series of civil wars in many countries (Liberia, Sierra Leone, Côte d'Ivoire), also chronic sociopolitical instabilities have always characterized all the countries. Social crisis is accompanied with poor economic conditions in the ECOWAS countries, they are classified among the poorest countries on earth. Can be added lack of education, infrastructures and perspectives for the young. These ones are obliged to risk their lives in deadly enterprises in the route for searching a better life.

The ECOWAS has not been tooled with means to support the implementations of the protocols. The first deficiency concerns the gathering and sharing data on cross-border migration, the second one the incapacity of spreading the contents of the protocols to the

concerned actors in order for them to get a clear knowledge of the initiatives regarding free movement. The absence of knowledge of the provisions of the protocols favors many vicious practices; border officials use their positions as authority representatives to abuse users of borders, whom in turn cede upon fear by the means of corruption. These practices deeply undermine the concretization of free movement.

Lastly, the political factors are the most effective in blocking the realization of Kwame's dream of African unity. Political will is a solution for the relieving of the other impeding factors; unfortunately, political leaders of West Africa seem not to be able to express the necessary will for the cause. Their nonchalance may find explanation in the question of independence; the leaders are like tied because of the dependence of their governments to foreign assistance, which renders incapable of freely taken initiatives. The different factors that have been impeding the realization of free movement of people in ECOWAS mentioned within are just a picture of a complex reality that is a common of the region; nevertheless, they are sufficient in giving an idea of how difficult it is for the journey towards unity to yet be concretized.

To better appreciate the reality of free movement of people in the ECOWAS region, the EU, which is the most advanced form of an integrated regional community, has been taken as reference. Today, the EU, with its Schengen Area, provides its citizens an extensive freedom of mobility in the region. Starting with six countries, it enlarged to embark 28 countries that enjoy being in a harmonious running regional organization. A comparison can be drawn between the two community in different contexts. The first context deals with their foundations; the EU at its first stage was created by six countries, a facilitating number compared to the exhaustive number of 16 countries that created the ECOWAS. The relatively small number of founding countries of the ECSC may have helped in the clear expressing of common interests. Also, the targeted goals of the founding treaty of the ECSC were realistically reachable within the time because they concerned the specific given activities of steel and coal. The second of differentiation is related to cultural and identity atmosphere; members of the EU share a common background of a Greco-Roman past. They share common cultural features, due mainly to Christianity which is the main religion in the European region. A common history and a cultural affinity provided a priori basic principles for the building of a European community. Europe was the birth place of industrialization; this being so, the region has a well-functioning industry which the condition for exchanges between

countries. From specialized countries in the production of specific products, European countries mutually cooperate in the same value chains. Thus, the vision of integration is sustained by and found body in integrated economic sectors nationally and regionally.

On the other hand, the point is different on the side of the ECOWAS. At its foundation, the multiple number of countries, which are uneven in size, with conflicting interests did not permit the statement of sincere common goals to be achieved, which goals were rather elusive and unrealistic. The absence of an industrial base in the region do not support the project of economic integration, for economic integration is fueled with the functioning of economic activities. In the social dimension, the region of West Africa is characterized by the existence of a multitude of different cultures and the coexistence of different major religions – though it is difficult to assert that this fact impedes integration, the multiplicity is always a great challenge to overcome.

The two regions of Western Europe and West Africa have a long common history that has left a strong print to their fates. West Africa was exploited and dominated by the European powers in their expansion to new territories through slavery, and later on colonized for natural resources. As a result, socioeconomic, cultural and political structures of West African societies have been profoundly impacted and reshaped; to the point that they are ruled by systems that are stranger and unfit. Europe, on the contrary, is not suffering from such structural anomalies.

By considering all the factors mentioned, which are as multiple as complex in nature, it cannot be expected from the ECOWAS to be as successful as the EU in implementing free movement or regional integration because of the particular historical experience of the ECOWAS countries. Indeed, the recent past of West African region has left structurally damaged societies that are having difficulty finding their way. However, progress can be made if political will is there; it is worth reminding that free movement is firstly and foremost a political matter.

In conclusion, it can be said that the ECOWAS did strive to establish a free movement of its citizens but faced many obstacles that are sometimes out of its reach. The predominant informality and the lack of data in all spheres of activities in the ECOWAS do not allow for an accurate appreciation of the implication of movement of persons. It can, nevertheless, be stated that an acceleration of the mobility of ECOWAS citizens will be play a big role in the improvement of the socioeconomic conditions of the ECOWAS region. The efforts to be made from now on must concern the fulfilment of

preliminary conditions that are more or less the establishment of an industrial base, the building of infrastructures, and the valorization of education; for the reason that free movement of people is the outcome of a process and not a premise.

Concerning the topic of free movement and regional integration, a lot of recommendations have been made. Those recommendations have not been successfully followed; or maybe, even if implemented, they could not remediate the problems they were intended to solve because they were superficial. Matters such as free movement of people, that are deeply dependent on human will for their realization, need substantial points of reflection that take account past, present and future. There is no intention to repeat the existing recommendations herein.

First of all, West African must internalize their historical context, for it gives explanation to the conditions they are living in. It means for them to realize and understand the causes of the conditions they are found in. Here it is question of the general conditions of West African societies. As said earlier, they are interconnected; for this reason, the solution goes beyond simple adjustments, it must take the form of a “revolution”, revolution in the whole system upon which the other systems are built. The need for revolution seems to be ignored; there is sense of an evolvment of Africa from the damages of the past – either be deliberately or unconsciously, the failure to realize that African countries in general are functioning in a delusive reality by the majority of African, especially the leaders, is a serious matter of concern. It is only when full understanding of the reality is reached, can West African societies be better determined to engage in enterprises to change things.

The holistic nature of West African problem is not helping, solving it appears to be an impossible task. Nevertheless, realizing it in its depth is big step for the start. But before this revolution takes there is need for some changes. After discussion the reality around free movement of people and region integration in West Africa some practical recommendations can be made.

The phenomenon of economy is a powerful force that can bring together the miniscule West African countries and their peoples. For this reason, each West African country must build a well-functioning economic system that optimally uses the resources of the country by effectively using the workforce of the population in order to meet the needs. Thus, viable economic policies are indispensable, they are lacking, or, if exist, are inadequate because provided by foreign entities. ECOWAS countries must turn to

national actors in finding suitable practices in dealing with regional matters because it is only the concerned people who better positioned to come with ideas to solve their problems. The need to rely on self-ingenuity requires self-confidence and leads to the next recommendation of necessity for self-sustainment.

Since their creation, West African countries have relied on foreign technical and financial assistance. Consequently, their dependency is jeopardized; they are not in position to independently take actions, and most of time, are obliged to implement external policies that serve foreign interests. Therefore, dependency is an imperative in the ECOWAS region, it goes by ECOWAS countries taking charge of the costs of charges of the Community: better is functioning with own resources even small in liberty than working in dependency with flows of money from outside.

If the recommendations stated above could be followed, the rest would come by itself, for they concern key matters that are fundamental.

For those who want to work on the topic of free movement of people, this thesis can serve as a theoretical insight to undertake empirical researches. By taking account the data problematic, they must find ways to effectively collect information; this can be done by a patient and an arduous field work. However, before any field research a clear understanding of the reality, described in this paper, of the ECOWAS countries is indispensable. Therefore, the aim of this Master thesis is to provide further researchers on the topic with insights for them to not get lost in the complex configurations of West African societies.

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