



MIGRATION, EMPLOYMENT, AND YOUTH: PERSPECTIVE FROM WEST AFRICA*

Chapter 7

The importance of a focus on youth has been increasingly acknowledged in major global, regional and national policy documents over the past decade, including a 2011 African Union Commission report and Millennium Development Goal No. 8, target 16, which calls on governments to: “develop and implement strategies for decent and productive work for youth”. Nevertheless, research and policy design and implementation have lagged behind, especially in relation to migration, employment and job creation.

West Africa is one of the regions in the world experiencing greatest poverty, despite immense human and natural resources, with low subsistence earnings and subject to conflicts, instability and disease outbreaks. The region hosts some of the most disadvantaged, marginalised – and yet highly mobile – youth in the world. The declining standard of living is further constrained by a lack of available education, health care and other social services. In this context, developing productive human capital represents a major challenge.

A region as vast as West Africa cannot be considered economically or politically homogeneous, nor should West Africa’s youth population be seen as an undifferentiated mass. Thus steps to improve the integration of youth into labour markets cannot take a ‘one-size-fits-all’ approach; rather, employment programmes “should specify which types of youth are being targeted, and youth themselves must be genuinely engaged as partners in all efforts to address the problem”,¹

This contribution highlights how by addressing local realities, policies can empower youth to stay at home, make existing practices safer for those on the move and empower youth to maximize their potential when seeking employment in local, regional or global markets.

*Prepared by Dr. Eleni Bizas and Dr. Jerome Elie of the Programme for the Study of Global Migration (Graduate Institute of International and Development Studies – Geneva).

This chapter is part of the book "Migration and Youth: Challenges and Opportunities" Edited by Jeronimo Cortina, Patrick Taran and Alison Raphael on behalf of the Global Migration Group © 2014 UNICEF"

YOUTH EMPLOYMENT AND MIGRATION IN WEST AFRICA

Africa's share of adolescents and youth aged 15-to-24 is about 205 million, and is projected to more than double by 2100, making it the region with the highest youth population.² Already unemployment is higher among youth than other population groups; as this cohort ages and expands it will place greater pressure on the labour markets of struggling economies.³

In West Africa young people tend to enter the labour market very early, bringing short-term revenue increases to poor families but creating long-term difficulties for their human capital, personal development formation and labour market integration. In addition, youth often face more difficult working conditions: they are more likely than adults to be in the informal, low-pay, low-productivity sector.⁴ They usually work longer hours, under insecure contracts and for lower incomes. Agriculture has historically been the largest employer of African youth; young people accounted for 65 per cent of agricultural employment in sub-Saharan Africa in 2005.⁵ Moreover, about 70 per cent of young people in Africa still live in rural areas where under-employment is the norm. Small-scale agriculture and traditional unpaid farm work dominate the rural employment scene, offering very little useful work experience for young people.

REGULATING MIGRATION, COORDINATING EFFORTS

Migration is seen by many young people as a way out of poverty; West African youth are not the exception and are amongst the most mobile people in Africa and the world. However, most migration originating in West African countries is to other countries in ECOWAS, the 15 member state Economic Community of West African States. In the context of international migration, West African countries have become countries of origin, transit and destination for migrants, including large number of adolescents and youth. The creation of ECOWAS in 1975 – with its goal of facilitating the free movement of people, capital and goods in the region – served to fuel existing trends. But this has taken place in the absence of national implementation of comprehensive migration governance schemes elaborated at the regional level, and with little consideration to integrating migrants into host countries.

Numerous initiatives and policy frameworks have emerged to address youth employment and migration – through ECOWAS, the African Union, individual countries

and UN-led efforts. This multiplicity of efforts requires more effective coordination among different actors within governments, as well as among major regional and international actors. The realisation of existing, quite comprehensive legal and policy frameworks requires first and foremost political will to enact and implement at national level in member States. As well, further development of effective policies depends heavily on better data-gathering, monitoring and evaluation of initiatives at all levels.

INTRA-REGIONAL MIGRATION IS THE MOST COMMON FORM OF MIGRATION AMONG YOUTH

The majority (88.4 per cent) of West Africans migrate within the region, mainly in search of educational or work opportunities. There is also significant trade and commercial migration across the region, often on a “circular” basis. The outcome is often disappointing. Lacking skills and networks, many young migrants remain unemployed; moreover, their presence in cities places pressure on already glutted labour markets, allowing employers to keep wages and benefits low.⁶ Female adolescents and young women have fared especially badly in this respect. “They are more likely to be underemployed or out of the labour force, to work more hours than males and to engage in non-market activities.... Young women have lower levels of school attainment and school enrolment... and [are] more likely to be stuck in low-productivity jobs.”⁷

This situation points to the need for a more integrated and coherent approach by all government, international and civil society actors that focuses on education and training for rural youth, especially girls and young women. The aim should be to enable those who migrate, within or outside West Africa to achieve positive outcomes, as well as to create viable options for those who remain in rural areas.

Box 7.1. Overview: Migration and regional integration in Africa

Since the early years of independence in the 1960s, regional integration has been a stated priority for African governments, championed as a means to enhance competitiveness in global trading, prevent conflicts and consolidate economic and political reforms. From the 1960s to the 1980s, several regional economic community initiatives were established to promote technical and economic cooperation. These regional agreements generally sought to expand the growth of trade within the region by removing tariffs and non-tariff barriers, promoting trade and economic sectors, developing regional infrastructures and establishing large-scale manufacturing projects for strengthening regional development; promoting monetary cooperation, and removing barriers to the free movement of people and factors of production.

Migration in Africa is generally intra-regional due to several factors: As much as 80 per cent of migration originating in some regions goes to other countries in those regions. Each of the five geographical sub-regions (Western Africa, Central Africa, Eastern Africa, Southern Africa and Northern Africa) is a distinct entity in terms of culture, language, ethnic and tribal composition, economy, and environment and, most important, geographical proximity of countries to each other as well as greater or lesser proximity to Europe and the Middle East. These common characteristics are also distinctly related to the structure and composition of the region's Economic Communities, such as ECOWAS in West Africa. These common characteristics define, to a large extent, the interregional patterns of migration. In West Africa for example, migration patterns are mostly from the Sahel countries towards the Atlantic coast. In southern Africa most of the migration flows are from neighboring countries (Democratic Republic of the Congo, Lesotho, Mozambique, Swaziland, Zimbabwe, etc.) towards the Republic of South Africa as well as to Angola, Botswana and Namibia.

Northern Africa contributes by far the highest percentage of emigrants from the continent, due primarily to its proximity to Europe, via four primary migration streams. The most dominant stream is towards Europe, beginning since the 1960s as labour migration from Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco to France, Spain and Belgium. Over time it has transitioned to family migration. The second stream is migration to countries of the Gulf Cooperation Council; the third from Sub-Saharan countries to Northern Africa. While formerly mostly in the form of transit to Europe, increasing proportions of Sub-Saharan migrants remain for longer periods of time, some relatively permanently, in Maghreb countries. Many of these migrants remain in undocumented situations. The fourth stream has been within the sub-region, mainly of Egyptians and Tunisians towards Libya, where recent crises have led to displacement of hundreds of thousands of people of various nationalities and large-scale return migration to Egypt and Tunisia as well as Sub-Saharan Africa and Asian and European countries.

Migration streams in Eastern and Central Africa are often depicted as a result of poor economic conditions, poverty, conflict and instability. They are also responses to skills and labour demand and supply factors among countries respectively in the East Africa Community and the Central African Economic and Monetary Communities, both of which have established legal regimes for free circulation of persons. International migration in these two sub-regions consists of mixed flows of labour and skilled migrants, undocumented migrants, refugees, internationally displaced persons, and victims of human trafficking. Migration externally from these two sub-regions is primarily to southern Africa, GCC countries, Europe and the U.S.

Continues on next page

Trade and commercial mobility – often *circular* by persons engaged in long term occupational activity – among different countries within sub-regions is also an important feature of migratory movement in Africa. In several sub-regions, West and Southern Africa in particular, significant numbers of people engage in permanent cross-border mobility buying, selling and trading goods and services among countries. Seasonal cross-border migration also occurs among some African countries.

Undocumented migration is an important feature of international migration in Africa. This reflects first and foremost data and administrative deficiencies, the predominant informality of work and labour markets, and, in many cases, the fact that ethnic lands, communities and families straddle colonially defined borders that divided ethnic territories. It has been observed that a considerable portion of migration and mobility between African countries within areas of free movement is *undocumented*, as a ‘natural’ consequence of freedom of movement. Regarding extra-regional movement, main routes for both regular and unauthorised migration are through Northern Africa to Europe and through the Red Sea to Yemen and the GCC countries. Apart from physical abuse, the land and sea trips are fraught with danger; many migrants have perished while crossing the Mediterranean Sea from Northern Africa and the Gulf of Eden from Eastern Africa. Also, it is often organised by smugglers who demand payment of between \$500 and \$1000 from each person. Usually, the unauthorised migrants are males between 15 and 40 years old. But increasingly women are participating, in desperate efforts to escape poverty and destitution. Within the continent undocumented migration is often linked to violation of human rights and xenophobia.

Source: Adapted from Economic Commission for Africa, submission to Thematic Report.

EDUCATIONAL, CULTURAL AND GENDER CONSIDERATIONS

While West Africa has a well-defined legal and policy formulation for free circulation and access to labour markets, no specific policies or measures address the important youth dimensions of mobility in the region. One-size-fits-all policies are unlikely to be effective due to the diversity of backgrounds, ethnicity, language, education levels, etc. of young migrants from different West African countries. Thus given the importance of education as a foundation for positive outcomes in the labour market, policies to increase employment must take into consideration differing attitudes or beliefs about education. In West Africa, children begin working early not only to bolster family income, but also because working as a child for one’s family is linked to West Africans’ understanding of responsibility, a way of ‘giving back’ to one’s parents,⁸ and is considered part of a child’s socialisation process.⁹ In poor families, children are

expected to contribute to payment of their school fees. However, “while boys tend to combine education with work, for girls work is often at the expense of schooling”.¹⁰ In this context, policies should aim to address poor families’ inability to pay school costs, especially for girls and, given continued gender gaps in education, devise more effective ways to close those gaps.

Box 7.2. Push factors and constraints for rural girls in Africa

Among the push factors motivating migration by female adolescents and young women are gender-related issues they confront, particularly in rural areas:

- Gender determines the type of work performed by girls
- Absence of formal or regulated employment options for girls and women
- 92 per cent of girl child labourers also perform household chores
- Girls’ work is often invisible and undervalued
- Girls are often not allowed to attend school, or face a dangerous commute
- Among girls’ chores are lengthy and dangerous walks to collect water and firewood.*

Source: *Toll, NGO Committee on Migration, citing: FAO, IFAD, and ILO, *Gender and Rural Employment Policy Brief #7*, 2010.

Policies should be developed to offer girls more opportunities to study, while recognising the reality that many of them may also engage in part-time employment, inside or outside their household. Flexibility for school entry or re-entry is critical. To encourage parents to send their children to school, educational curricula in rural schools need to be reviewed and revised to ensure the inclusion of practical skills that will help children and adolescents make the transition to employment. Curricula should reflect the shifting needs of the local labour market (agriculture, micro-enterprise) and include work-based training.

A best practice in the area of relevant training for transitioning into the workforce is Nigeria’s ‘National Open Apprenticeship Scheme’, targeted mainly to unemployed youth and those who left school, providing vocational training for a period of six-to-36 months. The scheme reports that 90 per cent of those trained found work.¹¹

Apprenticeships can be an excellent way for young people to transition into the labour market, but experience has shown that host governments need to establish monitoring systems to ensure that young people are getting maximum benefit and not being exploited. To safeguard youth rights, policies should define guidelines for the

establishment of apprenticeships, vocational training and internships that are applicable in different socio-cultural contexts.

MIGRATION AS OPPORTUNITY FOR ADOLESCENTS AND YOUTH

Research over the past decade has shown that if the right conditions are in place, the migratory process can bring positive outcomes for communities of origin and destination as well as for migrants themselves.¹² Migration is therefore not necessarily a negative trend to be prevented, since it can have a transformative effect on individuals and societies and significant impacts in terms of poverty reduction and economic development. Young migrants are an integral part of this process and have an important role to play in this regard.

Migration is not only a coping mechanism to escape unemployment and poverty, but can also represent an opportunity for young people to improve their status, learn new skills, increase their social and financial capital and thus better integrate and contribute to the economies of their communities of destination and origin. In addition, migration can bring a sense of pride and self-respect, helping adolescents make the transition to adulthood.¹³ Therefore, along with policies and programmes to ensure that young people are not *compelled* to migrate, steps are also needed to allow young migrants to truly benefit from their migration experience. This involves ensuring that they have access to education, training and decent work; that the full spectrum of migrants' rights (including access to health care) are respected; and that migration management frameworks are in place.

Education: Adolescents and youth need education to obtain jobs, whether they remain at home or migrate. Education is an important motivation for both internal and international migration, but in West Africa neither ECOWAS nor its member States have yet fully addressed this side of facilitating mobility.

Regional bodies such as ECOWAS could help to promote student mobility and regional student exchange programmes as well as subsequent employment of graduates by facilitating harmonization and mutual recognition of academic and vocational training qualifications, better cross-country validation of diplomas and encouraging young professional exchange agreements to strengthen young migrants' linguistic and professional knowledge and help them acquire salaried work experience in another

country. Such efforts will evidently require the commitment of member states educational and training institutions and accreditation bodies.

Decent Work: Governments, regional authorities and employers should explicitly promote decent work for older adolescents and youth. Doing so may entail strengthening national labour legislation in conformity with International Labour Standards, enhancing the function and reach of labour inspection, encouraging formalisation of employment and/or forms of regulation of informal work – always taking into account the context, conditions and constraints faced by countries concerned. At a minimum, national labour codes and social protection provisions need to explicitly cover non-nationals as well as citizens, and need to specify protection based on employment relationship rather than immigration status. In West Africa, the pursuit of recent initiatives towards harmonisation of labour codes and cooperation among social protection administrations would be highly desirable.

Safe mobility: West Africa's Protocol on Free Movement guarantees citizens of ECOWAS member countries visa-free entry into Member States for 90 days, facilitating labour mobility within the region. An initial step to achieve such mobility in safe and decent conditions is to provide young people with better information about available employment and other opportunities, before and after departure. Such information is often lacking or difficult to access in West Africa. Legal recruiting systems should be made accessible and cheap for young migrants so that they do not resort to illegal or unsafe recruitment scams. Young migrants should also be informed of their rights and prepared ahead of their migration experience, for example through orientation and support for potential migrants, in accordance with employment opportunities. Similar services could also help returning migrants to reintegrate.¹⁴ Mechanisms are also needed, especially to protect women and children during migration flows and to combat human trafficking. Young migrants also need enhanced rights to residence and establishment. Particularly important for adolescents and youth would be the establishment of mechanisms by which they can maintain ties to family and friends in their country of origin. This can help to avoid social isolation and the disintegration of family structures, as well as to facilitate return migration.

Labour-intensive investment: Creation of jobs for a growing youthful population is fundamental to providing options for youth to remain at home, as well as for

employment in destination countries. Currently, job creation in most West African countries is little more than replacement rate for jobs lost, while the working age population continues to increase with entry of more young people every year. Governments, international development agencies, public and private investors and individual corporations and employers need to give priority to ‘job-intensive’ investments, development assistance, infrastructure and other development projects, and business initiatives.

Entrepreneurship: Much could be done to support or stimulate youth entrepreneurship in the context of migration. Young migrants or returnees can play an important role in job creation, whether in communities of origin or destination. Young people who have gained education or critical skills during migration could benefit from government or civil society assistance and support for plans to return home and start a business, providing jobs for others. Closer linkages between and among stakeholders can harness the potential of young people as human capital and agents of technology and skills transfer. However, entrepreneurship is not a panacea, and willingness to become self-employed is often linked to disappointments with wage labour. Policies are also needed to improve labour market conditions and the economic environment.

Health services: The ability of young African migrants to contribute to economic development also critically depends on their access to health services. All people have a right to needed health care, as recognised in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the African Youth Charter. In Africa today, young people are vulnerable to malnutrition and debilitating illnesses and health problems including HIV and AIDS.¹⁵ Young migrants are amongst the most vulnerable. Poor health status can reduce labour supply and productivity and thus have a negative impact on economic growth. Moreover, individual earning capacity can be diminished, while medical expenses mount, pushing migrants further into poverty. Whatever their country of destination, young migrants should have access to health care and medical treatment.

Social protection: Mechanisms are also needed to provide all migrants, including especially women and children, with access to essential social protection and social security coverage, as detailed in the chapter on Social Protection. While ECOWAS recently adopted a regional Convention on Social Security that includes measures to extend and expand social security coverage of ECOWAS member nationals across the

region, it has yet to be enacted by member States. It can also be said that ECOWAS has not yet taken the lead to make integration a priority.¹⁶ Emphasis on national security approaches to migration, internal and cross border conflicts, and international pressures to strengthen borders may contribute to member State reluctance on migrant integration. Research is required to fill the knowledge gap on integration and social protection of migrants in West Africa and across the continent. More data and information would assist in monitoring compliance with national and regional requirements vis-à-vis young and other migrants.¹⁷

Finally, it cannot be over-emphasised that the majority of *youth employment* initiatives, regardless of their source of support, fail to take young migrants into consideration. One important exception is the MDG Achievement Fund's 'Youth, Employment and Migration Programme' (YEM), with the goal of contributing to achievement of MDG Target 16 (See Box 7.3). Along with measures to minimise the negative impact of migration on adolescents and youth, YEM focuses on migrant origin countries with a key objective of promoting measures to enhance the positive impact of migration (for example, by increasing the potential impact of migrant remittances through greater reliance on formal channels, reducing transfer costs, and identifying investment opportunities that can benefit whole communities, while creating jobs for youth). YEM also seeks to promote policies that encourage the voluntary return of young migrants, to bring financial and social capital, skills and know-how back to their countries of origin.¹⁸ As yet, no YEM programmes have been launched in West Africa. However, an important ILO project has supported the extension of social security to migrant workers in West Africa, with specific concern for youth.

Box 7.3. MDG Fund “Youth, Employment and Migration” Thematic Window

Launched in 2007, the MDG Achievement Fund’s ‘Youth, Employment and Migration’ (YEM) thematic window was conceived to work with governments to improve the policy coherence of interventions targeting at-risk population groups. Working through 15 Joint Programmes (in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Southeast Europe), 13 UN agencies collaborate to increase the prominence of youth employment and related social issues in national policy-making, and to support interventions that promote sustainable, productive employment and decent work for young people at the national or local levels through improved governance and management of youth migration flows.

- **Data to support policy:** Research, qualitative surveys, stakeholder consultations and advocacy all play an important part, along with working with national and local actors to strengthen their capacities to conceive, analyse and monitor the most relevant youth, labour market, social protection and migration indicators. In Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, the Philippines and Turkey, the availability of reliable data on the location and situation of young people and their movements within labour markets, has contributed to a more sharply targeted and responsive evidence-based policy environment.
- **Youth Participation:** In South Sudan, a youth consultation in November 2011 convened out-of-school youth and youth leaders from universities, secondary and vocational schools across South Sudan to learn what they consider to be the main barriers to education, training and employment, and to solicit their suggestions for viable solutions. The findings were forwarded to the technical team drafting the South Sudan Education Sector Strategic Plan. Similar efforts took place in Costa Rica.
- **Improved governance:** Practical information and life skills to prepare young people before going overseas is being institutionalized through National Employment Services and their local branches, One-Stop Shops, through information portals and the creation/dissemination of leaflets and manuals.
- **Reducing Risks:** Joint Programmes have collaborated to facilitate work placements and internship opportunities overseas, to reduce the risks involved in irregular migration. Through National Employment Services, local service providers and authorities and overseas missions, young people with relevant skills profiles and/or qualifications are provided with opportunities for employment and internships or apprenticeship in selected countries. Some countries are also assisting with the reintegration of young returnees into labour markets – through referral services, job placements, internships, entrepreneurship training or assistance with setting up small businesses.
- **Protecting Rights:** In China and Paraguay Joint Programmes addressed the rights of young workers, especially female workers, through new Codes of Conduct for employers, outreach and training to inform females of their labour rights (particularly domestic workers), as well as legal and psychological support programmes.
- **Vocational Training:** The need for a better match between vocational and technical training and job opportunities was identified in several participating countries. Surveys were a useful tool for improving this match-up and fine-tuning vocational courses. In the Philippines the results of assessments of the entrepreneurship potential and technical vocational skills of disadvantaged youth in four pilot provinces contributed to the improved technical vocational and entrepreneurship training.

Source: ILO/UNICEF, “The MDG-F Youth, Employment and Migration Window: Review of Achievements and Successes,” Draft, 2012.

KEY MESSAGES

- The right policy environment can support alternative options to migration for youth, potentially allowing a choice of whether to migrate or not and making existing practices safer and more beneficial for those on the move.
- Specific legal, policy and practical measures need to focus specifically on the conditions and needs of youth and adolescents to improve their integration into labour markets. Tailored approaches rather than ‘one-size-fits-all’ are required because local realities and regional socio-cultural, geographic and economic factors are essential drivers of youth migration.
- Migration can also represent an opportunity for young people to improve their status, learn new skills, increase their social and financial capital and thus better integrate and contribute to the economies of their communities of destination and origin. In addition, migration can bring a sense of pride, self-respect, and help young people transition into adulthood.

POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

- Enhance the political will to implement existing international and ECOWAS legal frameworks and protection rules in West African countries
- Improve data-gathering, monitoring and evaluation, and increase coordination among initiatives to address youth employment and migration at the global, regional national and local levels.
- Focus policies on education and training for rural youth, especially girls and young women, and aim to create viable options for those who remain.
- Ensure that young people have better information about available employment and other opportunities, at home as well as before and after departure. Young people should have access to legal recruiting systems, health services and social protection, and their human and workers’ rights should be respected.

- Incorporate migration into national economic and social development policies and strategies, in particular those related to or targeting youth employment.
- Mainstream migration into international initiatives and programmes; programmes such as YEM should be rolled out in West Africa and other areas of intense youth migration, taking into account specific regional socio-cultural, geographic and economic factors.

NOTES

- ¹ UN Office for West Africa (2005), "Youth Unemployment and Regional Insecurity in West Africa", p. 11.
- ² United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division, "World Population Prospects, the 2010 Revision," New York: United Nations, 2011.
- ³ P..Antoine, M. Razafindrakoto and F. Roubaud (2001) "Contraints de rester jeunes? Evolution de l'insertion dans trois capitales africaines: Dakar, Yaounde, Antananarivo." *Autrepart* 18: pp. 17-36.
- ⁴ World Bank (2008), "Youth and Employment in Africa – The Potential, the Problem, the Promise," Africa Development Indicators 2008/09, Washington, D.C., pp. 5-6.
- ⁵ International Labour Office (2007), "African Employment Trends," Geneva.
- ⁶ African Union Commission (2011), "State of the African Youth Report 2011".
- ⁷ World Bank, *op. cit.*
- ⁸ S. Chant and G. A. Jones (2005), "Youth, Gender and Livelihoods in West Africa: Perspectives from Ghana and the Gambia", *Children's Geographies* 3 (2):185-199.
- ⁹ A.O. Ajayi, and D.O. Torimiro (2004), "Perspectives on Child Abuse and Labour: Global Ethical Ideals versus African Cultural Realities," *Early Childhood Development and Care* 174 (4): 183-191.
- ¹⁰ E. Edudzie (2002), "Ghana Country Report on Youth Employment, Accra," Youth Employment Network- Ghana, in Chant and Jones, *op. cit.*
- ¹¹ See: <http://www.youth-employment-inventory.org/inventory/view/453>
- ¹² S. Castles and R. Delgado Wise (2008), "Migration and Development: Perspectives from the South," Geneva: International Organization for Migration; UK Department for International Development), "Moving out of poverty: Making migration work better for poor people", London, 2007; United Nations Development Program (2009), *Human Development Report 2009: Overcoming Barriers; Human Mobility and Development*, New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- ¹³ C. Min-Harris (2009), "Youth Migration and Poverty in Sub-Saharan Africa: Empowering the Rural Youth", *Topical Review Digest: Human Rights in Sub-Saharan Africa*.
- ¹⁴ ECOWAS (2007), "2007-2010 Strategic Plan of the ECOWAS Commission – Summit, June 2007".
- African Development Forum (2006), "Youth and Economic Development in Africa: An Issues Paper", Fifth African Development Forum – Youth and Leadership in the 21st Century, Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, 26 October 2006.
- ¹⁶ A.S. Westh Olsen (2011), "Reconsidering West African Migration Changing Focus from European Immigration to Intra-Regional Flows", *DIIS Working Paper* 21, p. 16.
- ¹⁷ A. Adepoju (2009), "Migration Management in West Africa within the context of ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and the Common Approach on Migration Challenges and Prospects", in: OECD/Sahel and West Africa Club, *Regional Challenges of West African Migration: African and European Perspectives*, Paris, OECD Publishing, pp. 17-47.
- ¹⁸ <http://www.mdgfund.org/content/youthemploymentandmigration>