

Ivory Coast Put to the Test of Migration: A Migration Policy Under Construction?

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Abstract: *Economic and political history reminds us that Ivory Coast is a country of migration. Its geopolitical position in the sub-regional space gives it a triple status of receiving, departure and transit territory for migrants to countries in the ECOWAS region and other countries of the North. Indeed, as a host territory, the abundant availability of land resources in the past and the orientation of an economic policy towards agricultural development constituted an attractive source of migrants from neighboring countries. The role played by these actors has strongly impacted the economy of this country to this day. Then, its status as a territory of departure is justified by the significant statistical weight of migrants (irregular or illegal) of Ivorian origin or coming from Ivory Coast hosted in Western countries. The influx of Ivorian migrants to countries in the sub-region and to Western countries paradoxically contradicts the positive economic growth estimated at 7% on average over the past five years. Finally, the porosity of the Ivorian borders has allowed real migration networks to emerge, also serving as a gateway for various categories of migrants from here and elsewhere to other destinations. Therefore, the intensification of migratory flows during this decade and the development of informal migration networks has gradually made Ivory Coast the migration hub of the West African sub-regional space. Yet, until recently, Ivory Coast had virtually no migration policy. However, it was until the middle of the present decade that the country adopted a migration policy strategy that aims to identify and focus all migration issues taking as a frame of reference the regional migration policy of the ECOWAS area. Due to the geostrategic weight of the Ivory Coast in the West African sub-region, it becomes legitimate to take a critical look at the current Ivory Coast policy on migration. The aim was to highlight the specific characteristics and variations as well as the pitfalls inherent in the political vision of the Ivorian authorities in terms of migration in the West African migration policy context.*

Keywords: Migration, Policy, Ivory-Coast, Migrant

Introduction

It is not surprising to say that Ivory Coast is the first country of immigration in Africa (black). Recent data from Ivorian migration flows show that 10% of its population is made up of migrants, mainly from West Africa, let's say 2.6 million (IOM, 2020). In this migrant population, four ECOWAS members stand out for the proportion of their nationals. These are Burkina Faso (56%), Mali (19.8%), Guinea (5.8%), and Benin (2.7%) whose nationals are invested in the agricultural, fishing and industry sector. We can relate the preponderance of these three countries in the immigrants' population to the historical and secular links forged and maintained with Ivory Coast. Furthermore, the influx of Ivorian migrants to the countries of the sub-region and the Western countries paradoxically contradicts a positive economic growth estimated at 7% on average over the last five years. Ivorian emigration, the intensity of departures and the socioeconomic issues they raised are leading the public authorities to reconsider their view on this aspect of migration in relation to new development challenges. In any case, it is difficult to dispute that migration has become a strategic development area in the context of interplanetary exchange. It is in this perspective that he got it right when the Ivorian President qualified migration as: «one of the three major challenges which will have a major impact on the future of our planet and on relations between Europe and Africa» (Aboubacar Y, 2017). But, is meeting this challenge for the Ivory Coast possible in the absence of a real viable political anchoring? By adhering to the sub-regional political inclusion mechanism on migration, what are the limits imposed on the Ivorian strategy in the process of building a migration policy with

regard to its economic, political and cultural status, and sometimes facing international injunctions? In this communication, the eye is focused on some visible limits in the process of building an Ivorian migration policy. However, it seems important to us to first take inventory of the evolution in the political management of migration by assessing, at various temporal and strategic scales, the process of construction of the Ivorian migration policy framework.

1. Putting immigration into perspective in Côte d'Ivoire: the foundations of an immigration policy

The development of Ivory Coast at the start of the 20th century highly contributed to making Ivory Coast a zone of polarization for migrants from border countries. The management of these migratory flows was done in a three main stages process which constitutes the high point of **immigration policy** in Ivory Coast. But what exactly is an immigration policy? We agree that immigration policy is a set of normative devices attempting to control (promote or curb) external migratory movements in a given social space, in the present case, Ivory Coast. In other words, it is a set of texts and / or practices that participate in the reception, control and methods of integrating non-nationals into the country.

1.1. Colonial management of migratory flows in Ivory Coast: from a restrictive policy (1928-1946) to a "civilized" constraint (1946-1959).

This period was fueled by colonization. Basically, colonization will think, executing the migratory policies, the logical weft of which consisted of the transport of

human resources from the northern areas of the colony of Ivory Coast for the development of southern areas open to the ocean, in order to transport agricultural raw materials to the metropolis. This need for infrastructure construction in this area will come up against a shortage of local labor. Thus, the colonial administration will resort to labor from other colonies, mainly from the Haute Volta (now Burkina Faso). Unlike the colony of Ivory Coast, which enjoyed good ecological conditions¹, the colony of Haute Volta and that of French Sudan (now Mali) had only their human resources in the sense of «valid workforce». Meanwhile, during this period, «forced labor» was the order of the day. The deportation therefore found all its legitimacy from an institutional point of view but also in the eyes of those who embodied authority (settlers, local chiefdoms, etc.). As a result, the forced, brutal recruitment of populations in the colonies will drain a little more than 420, 000 voltaics to the colony of Ivory coast (Kipré P, 2005). In 1932, for administrative organization's needs, but also «to take advantage» subsequently of the voltaic territories (in particular his workforce), the colonizer will reattach part of Haute Volta to Ivory Coast, to French Sudan, and to Niger (Deniels, R, 1968). Thus, receiving more than 50% of the voltaic territory and at least 2/3 of its population, the lower Ivory Coast suddenly becomes the forced destination of the active populations of the upper Ivory Coast (the northern part of the country's now extending to *Bobodioulasso*).

Date	Workforce	Reasons For Migration In Cote D'Ivoire
1933	1375	Recruited for railroad
1935	1000	Administrative recruitment
1936	3932	Volunteers
1936	20000	Forced
1937	7186	Volunteers
1938	8768	Forced
1939	5563	Administrative recruitment
1940	6228	Administrative recruitment
1940	3021	Contractual
1940	10000	Soldiers recruited but mostly sent to Ivorian construction sites
1941	38566	Administrative recruitment
1942	36300	Administrative recruitment
1942	70660	Contractual
1943	118553	Administrative recruitment
1944	55000	Administrative recruitment
1945	24000	Administrative recruitment
1946	8500	Administrative recruitment

Source: Georges Sanogoh, in Yéo S, 2014

With regard to the table on voltaic migrants dispatching in Ivory Coast highlighting the numerical importance, 420, 000 people are concerned with Maxima between 1942 and 1945. It is necessary to note in this table the 10, 000 voltaics recruited in 1940 for to be a soldier on the front lines of the Second World War but which will ultimately end up on Ivorian construction sites. As for the mode of

¹Unlike its two neighbors, Haute Volta (now Burkina Faso) and French Sudan (now Mali), the Ivory Coast was full of many ecological potentials which made it a strategic colony within the framework of the colonial administration.

recruitment in addition to coercion, the colonial administration initiated as part of the policy of agricultural colonization, cultivation villages, including those of the Gouro region, are the best known (Kipré, 2005).

Indeed, to recruit the workforce more easily while preventing desertions, the colonial administration obtained by the decree of August 11, 1933 the authorization to create five villages of voltaics establishment of the Mossi ethnic group. These villages duplicated the names of localities existing in their country of origin: Koupéla, Garango, Tenkodogo, Koudougou 1 and Koudougou 2. Despite the advantages which were granted to them, in particular that of having plots of land to operate on their own account, they had to somehow supply, in a more or less constrained manner, the European farms with labor.

However, the struggle initiated in the 1940s by African leaders for the abolition of «forced» labor resulted in the Houphouët Boigny / Gaston Defferre law enacted in April 11, 1946.

As a result of the abolition of «forced labor», and the harshness of tax collections in local communities, the need to migrate to areas offering «remunerated work» opportunities is deviating from a new situation for local populations. Even if this migration appears to be voluntary, it remained in the end constraining for the populations who would have to adapt to the new monetary logics, forcing certain social actors to engage in a migratory logic to face family needs (payment of family tax for example). Volunteering replaced requisition between 1946 and 1959.

Forced not either by requisition but by the payment of these taxes in cash, populations from neighboring colonies descend to Ivory Coast to be hired in remunerated jobs for periods of varying length. Thus, the poll tax helped to ensure the continuity of the migratory movement towards Ivory Coast. To facilitate the population movements, the colonies, which see their labor needs increasing day by day, will quickly adapt to the situation by resorting to individuals or recruitment structures instead of the colonial administration. This period of adaptation will last from 1947 to 1950, just enough time to imagine a unique labor supply organization like the metropolis when it was faced with a similar circumstance for the operation of its nascent industry. So, was born the famous interprofessional union and the routing of the workforce (SIAMO). This structure will serve as an organizational framework for the migration network to the colony of Ivory Coast. But, from 1960, after the independence of the colonial territories, SIAMO was to be denounced and replaced by state structures and bilateral agreements between Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso. This is the post-independence stage in the management of migratory flows in Ivory Coast.

1.2. National management of post-independence migration: a proactive policy.

This proactive policy really took off with the process of decolonization of the French colonies and in particular

their accessions to independence. Strictly speaking, this stage concerns the second part of the history of immigration policy in Ivory Coast where the management of current affairs (planning, administration, migration, etc.) was the responsibility of the local authorities (Yéo S, 2017). Thus, Ivory Coast and its neighbors are putting in place bilateral agreements to regulate the migratory flows to Ivory Coast for the benefit of the States concerned by these migratory flows but also of their respective populations. This initiative follows on from the Burkina authorities' complaint to their Ivorian counterparts about the role of Burkinabe's emigration in the development of the Ivory Coast but the pauperization of the social areas from which "young" Burkinabe nationals leave. (Kipré, 2005; Yéo S, 2017). We will witness the suppression of SIAMO from 1960, which was perceived in the collective imagination as an extension of colonialism. To face up to this difficult situation, Ivory Coast, under the authority of President Houphouët B, meets the Voltaic authorities to put in place on **March 9, 1961** the convention which will govern labor migration between these two countries (Brou and Charbit, 1994). Some salient elements of this convention. OMOCI (Ivory Coast's labor office) and its Voltaic equivalent should be the main instruments for the implementation this agreement. The role of the OMOCI is to receive the labor needs of Ivorian planters, to group them by region and to put them in the Voltaic office. The latter recruits' workers and sends them to transit centers set up in high volta. The worker is taken care of from the transit center to Ivory Coast by the OMOCI, which hands him over to his employer (Brou and Charbit, 1994).

This policy is said to be proactive because it leaves the freedom to social actors to engage in the migration field as a rational actor. Social actors are focused on the search for better socio-economic conditions. They assess the migration risks and the expected benefits. However, Ivory Coast at that time had a favorable social, political, economic and ecological environment.

In addition to these conventions, we should also note the openness of the Ivorian authorities to welcome large flows of foreign populations on its territory, especially in forest areas to boost its economy which was partly based on crops income including cocoa and coffee. As a result, the regime of the time encouraged the migrants to settle permanently through access to land on the basis of an ideology whose logical framework was structured around the fact that "the land belongs to whoever puts it in value". For several decades, this ideological device not only helped to maintain the first-time migrants already in the territory for a long time, but also to facilitate other family and / or community migrations to exploit the fertile Ivorian lands. This post-independence period will be the golden age of with high growth rates that some specialists will build as "the Ivorian miracle Ivory Coast". (Amin, S, 1967). Alongside this political will through migrants' access to land assets in Ivory Coast, we also note the support of legal and regulatory provisions in the choice of this immigration policy. Indeed, the Ivorian constitution of 1960, law number 60-356 of 3 November 1960 traced the furrows of **the legality of immigration policies in its articles 69 and 70**. It defines the object of agreements and free cooperation. To this end, certain protocols and agreements on immigration have been signed and ratified

by Ivory Coast. These are in particular the convention of March 19, 1960 on the conditions of use of Burkinabes' workers in Ivory Coast signed with the Haute Volta, the ECOWAS protocol on the free movement of people, the right of residence and establishment of May 29, 1979, that of July 6, 1985 signed in Lome and that of June 1, 1986 in Abuja. Endorsing these protocols and conventions, Ivory Coast affirms its regional leadership policy (Yéo, S, 2017). This policy was carried out against the backdrop of rivalry with the supporters of a federation of West African states defended by the president of Ghana and Guinea. Ivory Coast defended immigration governed by cooperation. It is this policy that underlies uncontrolled migration to Ivory Coast. As can be seen, foreign immigration to Ivory Coast, sustained by the rapid economic performance of the first decade after its independence, has experienced a remarkable increase. The foreign population estimated at 300, 000 people in 1965 rose rapidly to 1, 049, 984 in 1975, or 15% of the total population, and to 3, 035, 000 in 1988, or 28% of the Ivorian population. This large foreign population in Ivory Coast will be the object of criticism given the economic situation that the country has been going through since the 1980s (Moriba T, 2000). These criticisms and concerns about this uncontrolled migration will allow the authorities to reflect on the control of migratory flows from 1990.

1.3. The end of the "Ivorian miracle" and the establishment of a more rigorous migration management policy?

The end of the economic miracle, mainly due to the fall in the selling costs of the main cash crops (cocoa and coffee), and the implementation of structural adjustment programs in the 1980s, caused enormous political and social upheaval in Ivory Coast. Poverty, unemployment and above all "cuts" in state enterprises will create new social categories (Akindes F, 2003). The rural areas (villages) serve as reception areas for these "urbanized populations" who return from urban areas plagued by unemployment due in part to the restrictions imposed by the Bretons Wood institutions. Thus, the scarcity of cultivable land or at least land pressure in these welcoming social spaces, generates tensions of different kinds between indigenous and non-native communities (Ousmane D, 2003, Babo, A, 2010). These conflicts result at times in a great deal of material and human damage, including the "repatriation" of certain communities of indigenous territories from the social spaces of reception. In urban areas, the informal sector (small trades) is developing, mainly run by immigrant communities from neighboring countries including Mali, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Ghana and Togo (Abdou T, 1985).

Suddenly, this economic situation which Ivory Coast is now experiencing at the end of the 1970s, calls into question the economic model of immigration. The strong presence of immigrant communities in the informal sectors and on farms fuels debates among populations supported by a political class in search of legitimacy among populations affected by the perverse effects of structural adjustment programs. Moreover, as in most

states in crisis, immigration is singled out as one of the main causes of this state of affairs. So the notion of "tolerance threshold" begins to resonate in the speeches of political actors, especially the opposition (Moriba, T.2000; Ousmane, D.2003; Yéo, S.2017). Faced with this social discontent, and in order to control migratory flows, the Ivorian authorities will take regulatory measures from 1990 to set up mechanisms that will reflect its strategy for managing migratory flows to the country. Ivory Coast.

2. On the management of immigrants in Ivory Coast from 1990-2000: The driving forces behind a policy under reconstruction?

As we mentioned in the previous pages, the management of migrants (immigration policy), was for a long time a socio-economic strategy for the different administrations (during colonization and during post-independence period.) But the control of flow-in the sense of controlling the entry of foreign populations into Ivory Coast-experiencing a beginning of awareness a little late. And this following criticism from the political class but also the recommendations of international institutions concerning the management of these flows. It is really from the promulgation of law n° 90-437 of May 29, 1990 relating to the entry and stay of foreigners in Ivory Coast that we will know the beginning or at least the first attempts «posted» of this immigration policy.

2.1. The establishment of normative mechanisms in the management of migratory flows in Ivory Coast

Two texts of legislation will constitute the main instruments for managing immigration in Ivory Coast. These are, on the one hand, law number 90-437 of May 29, 1990 relating to the entry and stay of foreigners in Ivory Coast and its implementing decree number 90-443 of May 29, 1990; and on the other hand of the interministerial decree number 66 / AE-MS of 16/2/1993 fixing the conditions of entry of foreigners in Côte d'Ivoire for a stay of less than 90 days. These two fundamental texts run counter to the ECOWAS and UEMOA convention and protocol. Indeed, Ivory Coast by various laws has ratified several agreements and conventions on the free movement and the right of residence and establishment of foreigners on its territory. Thus, by law n° 80-1041 of September 01, 1980, authorization was given to the President of the Republic to ratify the agreement on the right of establishment and the free movement of persons between the member countries of the economic community. of West Africa (CEAO) created in 1970.

Likewise, Law No.80-1043 authorized the ratification of the protocol on the free movement of persons and the right of residence and the establishment of ECOWAS nationals. Also laws n° 91-498 and n° 91-501 ratify the additional protocol bearing code of conduct for the application of the protocol on the free movement of persons, the right of residence and establishment of foreign populations of the sub-region. Finally, Decrees No.91-499 and No.91-502 are part of these ratifications on free movement and the right of residence and establishment of West African nationals. This means that Ivory Coast not only

participated in the drafting of sub-regional standards on free movement and the right of residence and establishment but also ratified them. Despite this commitment, the 1990 law and the 1993 interministerial decree cited above constitute measures **to more or less regulate the entry and stay of foreigners on its territory**, but basically this volte-face appears like a response to recurring criticisms against an immigration policy **deemed too liberal**, of which the high rate of foreigners is the major consequence. In other words, the State of Ivory Coast **shows, albeit timidly, a desire to control immigration**. In another register, law n° 95-5 and its decree 95-193 relating to the regulation of the employment of foreigners as well as decree number 1437 of 19/2/2004 relating to the ivoirisation of jobs affirms a little more this political will. Here too the weight of foreigners in the functioning of the economy had become worrying since 1990 to the point of placing the question at the center of political debates. The employment rate of foreigners of around 57.9% compared to that of Ivorians 47.7% is sufficient to justify the high unemployment rate of nationals. Likewise, their significant weight in the informal sector results in their indexation. Thus, began the malaise of immigration and the «scapegoat» of the foreigner (Yéo, S.2014).

2.2. The management of immigration to the test of the reality of the African «ground».

One of the difficulties in the management of migrants or at least in the stricto-sensu application of migrant management systems concerns the porosity of the borders between these African countries. Basically, the external borders of West African states exist by name. Many informal bridges help to rally these States by bypassing official mechanisms. In the North, the Ivorian-Burkinabe and Ivorian-Malian borders then those of the West Ivorian with in particular the Ivorian-Guinean and Ivorian-Liberian borders are not left out of these strategies of bypassing by the populations. In addition to this situation, the corruption of certain agents or at least the institutionalization of informal border crossing fees contribute to making certain control mechanisms inapplicable, like in Western States where most of the external borders are veritable impassable fortresses.

In addition, with the outbreak of the military-political crisis in September 2002, involving the rebels of North Ivory Coast and the FPI regime in the South, the multiplication of roadblocks, road checks and even in the host towns, will contribute to accentuate the extortion of funds by law enforcement agents but also to develop among immigrant populations circumvention strategies through fraudulent access to Ivorian nationality.

2.3. On the question of refugees and statelessness in Ivory Coast.

Long ignored, the issue of refugees and statelessness has gradually gained interest in the eyes of those in power. Ivory Coast, decades ago, was itself a receiving territory for refugees due to the relative stability it experienced, especially under the regime of President Houphouët-

Boigny. In the West African context, the instability of certain countries such as Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea has favored the reception of more than 850, 000 refugees over time (Konan, Kouakou and Nama, 2007). The process of managing and supporting these populations has come up against the lack of model. Ivory Coast therefore had the status of receiving refugees before being a country producing refugees thanks to the socio-political crises experienced. At the institutional level, the creation and then the transformation of SAARA (Service for Aid and Assistance to Refugees and Stateless Persons) into Management in 2012 (DAARA) and attached to the ministries of foreign affairs, "structures of sovereignty" (Yéo S, 2017) is part of the logic of opting for a common policy on both issues.

Regarding statelessness, Ivory Coast remains the only country in West Africa that has estimated the number of its stateless population at 692, 000 according to UNHCR (2020). But according to experts, this figure is below the reality. Other experts give figures close to one million people. The issue affects populations of Ivorian origin, natives as well as nationals of countries in the sub-region which have forged historical links with Ivory Coast. Ivory Coast adhered to the Statelessness Conventions of 1954 and 1961 in 2013 and it's committed to addressing the problem (UNHCR, 2016). Regarding the nationals of the sub-region, it is the Burkina nationals who seem most concerned by the subject. We remember Decree No.95-809 of September 26, 1995 on the naturalization of people of Burkinabe's nationality from the villages of Garango, Koudougou, Koupéla, Tenkodogo in the department of Bouaflé and from the villages of Kaya, Koudougou, Ouagadougou in the department of Zuénoula, (Official Journal n ° 1 Complementary Edition, January 6, 1996). More than 8000 people were affected by this decision of massive naturalization, but a lack of popularization of this decree among the populations concerned resulted in a weak adhesion of the latter. The issue of statelessness remains of concern, due to a lack of better knowledge of the subject. The issues of refugees and statelessness are two closely linked subjects and must be truly taken into account in the development of a real migration policy for Ivory Coast after an awareness of the limits inherent in the current mode of management of migrations.

3.Limits of a migration policy under construction

Existing sources agree that Ivory Coast does not really have a migration policy (Guebbs and Zutterlings, 2021; Yeo, 2017; OECD and CIREs, 2017; Devillard et al., 2015) in the strict sense. the theme, well developed, constituting the compass of orientation and "coordinated execution" of decisions relating to migration. The successive powers since independence have failed to provide the country with a framework document of migration policy. However, elements of a policy are in place and reflect a real desire on the part of the Ivorian authorities to equip themselves with a coherent political framework serving as benchmarks and points of support for the governance of migration. The political governance of migration in Ivory Coast as it is deployed, presents some aspects which, in our opinion, constitute obstacles to

the construction of an effective and efficient migration policy for the benefit of the country. Some elements that act as limits to the migration policy under construction can be observed from the point of view of institutional organization, regional cooperation and finally, the production of data relating to migration in all its aspects.

3.1. An important institutional deployment for migration policy in search of benchmarks

One of the striking findings in the governance of migration in Ivory Coast is this significant institutional deployment reflected in the establishment of a plethora of government structures responsible for regulating the migration sector. In fact, with the establishment of a more restrictive device for the control of migratory flows from 1990, the public authorities have chosen to develop structures dedicated in part or in full to the management of migration. Overall, more than five structures share the management of the migration phenomenon, sometimes with responsibilities that are likely to change depending on political circumstances:

The Ministry of the Interior and Security appears to be one of the structures of sovereignty having under its supervision two administrative entities involved in the traditional way in the management of migration, namely: the Directorate of Territorial Surveillance (DST) and the National Office for Civil Status and Identification (ONECI) created in 2019 by decree No.2019-458 of 22 May 2019 to replace the National Office for Identification (ONI) dissolved in accordance with decree No.2019-459 of May 22, 2019 by Decree No.2012. The MIS is responsible-in the field of migration management through its key structures-to register exits and entries into Ivorian territory and issue residence permits to non-nationals residing in the country;

The Ministry of Plan and Development intervenes through the National Population Office (ONP), a structure under its supervision created in 2012 to replace BUNAP. The ONP now intends, in its objectives, to integrate the migration issue and all demographic variables into development. In fact, in the preparation of previous national development strategies for which this ministry is traditionally responsible, migration did not appear in any way among the thematic groups mentioned in the various national development programs headed by agriculture, population, gender, health, environment, mines, macroeconomics, country risk and decentralization. In addition, the National Institute of Statistics is positioned as one of the key structures in the overall scheme of migration management with a role devoted to the production of data. It logically complements the ONP playing a planning role;

The objective assigned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MAE in the field of migration governance is essentially summed up in the negotiation of conventions, protocols and agreements as well as the authorizations of entry into Ivorian territory and all questions relating to the field of relations. It is through the Directorate of Ivorians Abroad, which seems to work to maintain the link between the

homeland and expatriate Ivorians through the protection and defense of the latter's interests. This directorate, now attached to the Ministry of African Integration and Ivorians Abroad, continues to fulfill this function of monitoring and observing treaties, regional texts and international standards. Other ministries, in this case that of justice, the civil service and finally, the economy and finance are involved in the management of issues related to migration at various scales of migration regulation whether in terms of internal and external according to their specific areas of expertise, sometimes alongside the migration field. This is the example of the Department of Economic Affairs, External Sub-regional Integration (DAFEXIS). As its name shows, it appeared in the chain of structures responsible for the management of migration by being entrusted with the functions of national coordination of actions and sub-regional reforms at the economic and financial level, the monitoring and strengthening of sub-regional integration, harmonization of community texts.

In total, there are six structures under the supervision of four ministries, the ministries of justice and the civil service in charge of regulating the field of migration: the INS and ONP attached to the Ministry of Plan and Development (MPD), DST and ONECI attached to the Ministry of the Interior and Security (MIS), the Ivorians Abroad Directorate attached to the Ministry of African Integration and Ivorians Abroad (MIAIE). This plethora of structures in the governance of migration has not, however, led to the establishment of a coherent and effective migration policy for a long time. In reality, the trial and error, the hesitations associated with the conflicts of competences, the statutory modifications and the reorganizations of certain structures "seal" the political will to move towards the definition of a true in single and coherent common thread, a convergence of point of view in the construction of a migration policy. In addition, there is leadership between certain ministries and the conflicts of competence observed and **the lack of financial autonomy of certain structures** constituting an obstacle to taking initiative in the direction of building a migration policy worthy of 'a country of immigration like the Ivory Coast. In addition, the intervention of several entities in the institutional management of migration does not rely on **any official mechanism for inter-agency coordination** (IOM, 2019). These findings suggest, in the final analysis, a failure of the Ivorian institutions, which moreover, for the most part, adopt a passive posture with an eye always turned towards international initiatives. The choice of a mode of "fragmented" management of migration (Yéo S., 2017) is not a bad thing in itself. However, it must be based on a basic collective approach to migration within a single, concerted political framework with a view to

making migration not a problem for the country but a strategic area of development.

3.2. From insufficient data to unreliable data sources on migration flows

The Ivorian migration phenomenon, from colonial times to our time, has not escaped one of the common plagues of almost all of the major areas of development in the Ivory Coast: **statistical deficits**. Yet statistical data perform an information function, assisting in design, planning and informed decision-making in a given situation. Whatever the migratory field considered, the question of reliable and better structured data arises acutely.

In Ivory Coast, public structures such as ONP, ONECI, DST, through their activities collect information on migration. The INS, based on various periodic surveys conducted for some time (the Employment Surveys, the Living Standard Surveys (ENV), the DHS surveys, etc.) provide general data on migration. However, it should be noted that migration is not the main reason for these studies! It appears there as a categorical data of the study. According to the IOM (2019), the real national study focused on migration in relation to urbanization dates back more than 20 years, carried out by the INS in 1993, and the study «Migration and Society in Ivory Coast » produced in 2001 by the INS no longer reflects the reality of the current migratory dynamic.

There is therefore a real challenge to be taken up in terms of centralization and «interoperability of the data sources collected» (OIM, 2019) by public structures (ONECI, DST) which have a primary control and monitoring mission. recording of information on internal and external migratory flows. Overall, even if various public, parapublic, international and sub-regional public administration entities strive to have sources of information on Ivorian migration, these are insufficient in view of the intensity of migratory flows in Ivory Coast and the geostrategic position of Ivory Coast in the sub-region.

In addition to dealing with scattered, insufficient, and very little analyzed data on the migration reception and control policies developed by Ivory Coast, the construction of the migration policy is hampered by the reliability of the available data. The reliability of data is therefore a real obstacle to the development of a coherent migration policy. By way of illustration, let us take the data estimated in the same year by consular and diplomatic posts and mutuals for Ivorians living abroad presented below:

Datas	Year	Estimations
Consular and diplomatic posts	2009	240.900 Ivorians living abroad
Mutual fund for Ivorians living abroad	2009	500.000 Ivorian nationals abroad

Source: Devillard A, Bacchi A. et Noack M., Enquête sur les politiques migratoires en Afrique de l'Ouest, 2017).

The difference between these two estimated sources of the Ivorian population abroad (provided by two entities, one of which, public and the other, a community interest

group), is significant. This figure is however considered close to reality by the public authorities although the source is questionable. This highlights the efforts to be

made by the public authorities to have reliable and plausible global data on migration on which to base themselves in defining a single guideline for migration policy.

3.3. Cooperation limits in the political management of migratory flows

Enjoying the main status of country of immigration in West Africa, Ivory Coast is involved in the development of several international texts both in the sub-regional community space and with international organizations and partners. Development. In the West African context, intra and extra-community agreements exist between the country and certain member countries, between the country and ECOWAS as part of a common and integrated approach to migration policy. These cover various aspects of internal and external migration relating to the movement of people, security, social protection, economy, diplomacy, etc.). Ivory Coast has taken its place both in the development of these and in their implementation through the creation of a watch structure (as we have seen) and for the application of these.

In terms of mobility and sub-regional integration, Ivory Coast has long emphasized immigration until the establishment of regulatory mechanisms in the 1990s. Despite the advent of the law on migration following popular criticism, Ivory Coast has remained in a political dynamic focused on immigration to the detriment of emigration, which has nevertheless become important over the years. Adherence to laws (n° 80-1043, n° 91-498 etc.) on the free movement of people the right of residence and establishment of foreign populations in the ECOWAS region is the realization of this political vision. openness to immigration and free movement of people. However, it cannot be denied that effective enforcement faces obstacles. Equality in access to basic social services (health, school, social security) between nationals and non-nationals are achievements resulting from a demonstrated political will to fully play the games of sub-regional integration. It is at the level of professional integration that the expectations of the sub-regional and international community are most visible. Indeed, of all the major areas of development, the Ivory Coast displays a reserve policy on issues related to migrant labor. Several international conventions on the subject (ILO Convention No.97 on migrant workers; ILO Conventions No.143 (additional provisions), 1975; International Convention on the Protection and Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and members of their family (ICRMW), 1990 have not been ratified by Ivory Coast, yet one of the reasons for the attractiveness of the country remains the opportunities for professional integration. The contribution of migrants to the country's development is widely recognized.

At the security level, the country has adopted a law on the smuggling of migrants, in this case Law No.2018-571 of June 13, 2018 but also Law 2016-111 of December 8, 2016 on the fight against trafficking in human beings. One of the great challenges remains the control of entry and exit from the country. The porosity of the Ivorian borders,

the laxity and corruption at the borders of certain security agents put a strain on the security system relating to the movement of people.

Conclusion

Managing migration is an ongoing challenge for countries with high rates of immigration. Unlike Western States, most of which have adopted local management instruments (national policy) because of their experiences in this area, West African African countries find it difficult to put in place a local policy, in the sense of controlling and / or mastering these migratory flows to their territories. The porosity of borders and the inexistence of structural resources make these controls almost difficult. Beyond these difficulties, we must add the absence of a political will which obviously accommodates the absence of overall management or at least the establishment of a real sub-regional policy of management of migration within ECOWAS. Ultimately, we can say that Côte d'Ivoire is certainly a country of immigration, but without a real migration policy as such that matches the size of the phenomenon observed (Yéo, 2014).

Faced with this phenomenon of immigration, since 1990, governments have followed one another without any real political will. And this is materialized by the non-existence of a framework officially affirmed and displayed in the form of a solemn declaration or a clear and clear position taken to give rise to laws, decrees, ministerial or interministerial orders to regulate the issues. concrete modalities. Conversely, Ivory Coast applies a policy on an ad hoc basis, which generally leads to mixed solutions whenever the authorities are grappling with its foreigners or their home country who do not fail to denounce breaches of treaties signed within the framework of regional integration. Apart from the establishment of the right of residence and the application of certain additional ECOWAS protocols, the only courageous initiative remains that of the Ministry of the Interior, which from 1995 to 2000 attempted to draw up an immigration code with all the ministerial departments involved in the management of this area. But it could not see the light of day, on the pretext of the too great sensitivity of the issue at the national level rather than at the sub-regional level.

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