Côte D'Ivoire

MIGRATION PROFILE

*Study on Migration Routes
in West and Central Africa*

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1. Introduction

The Republic of Côte d'Ivoire (or Ivory Coast) is a country located in West Africa with a total area of 322,463 sq km. Its capital is Yamoussoukro. The country shares a border with Liberia and Guinea in the west, Mali and Burkina Faso in the north, as well as Ghana in the east. Ivory Coast's southern border comprises of a coastal region along the Gulf of Guinea. The official language in Ivory Coast is French, though there are sixty different native dialects spoken. Of these dialects, Dioula is the most commonly spoken (CIA, 2017a). In 2015, Ivory Coast had an estimated population of 22.7 million (UNDP, 2016). The majority of the population lives in cities near the coast along the Gulf of Guinea as well as in southern forested regions. While the rest of the country is largely uninhabited, small

Source: CIA, 2017.

parts of the population can also be found along central transportation route in the north of Ivory Coast (CIA, 2017a).
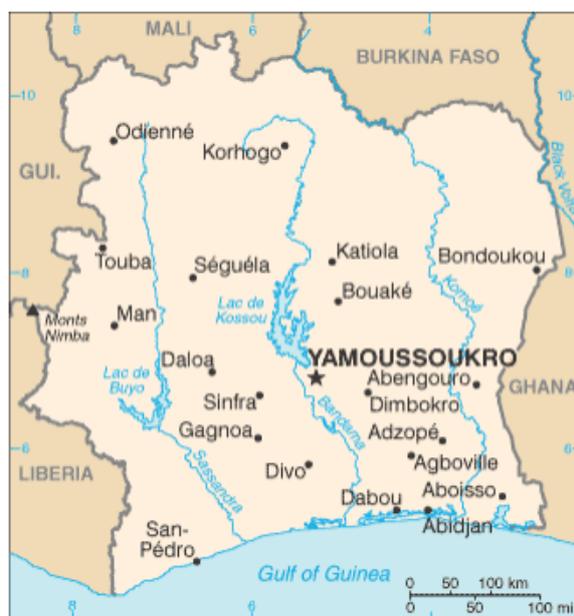
Côte d'Ivoire prospered as a result of cocoa production and foreign investment following its independence from France in 1960. The country is highly dependent on its agriculture and holds the position of being the largest producer and exporter of cocoa beans globally. In addition to this, Ivory Coast also sees coffee, palm oil, mangos, and cashew nuts as valuable agricultural products for export. Despite agriculture, other Ivorian industries include gold mining and electricity exports (CIA, 2017a). Ivory Coast has a relatively low Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.474, giving it a rank of 171 out of 188 countries. It is followed by neighbouring countries Mali (175), Liberia (177), Guinea (183), and Burkina Faso (185); Ghana, though, holds position 139 and has an HDI value of 0.579 (UNDP, 2016). Moreover, as of 2016, Côte d'Ivoire's per capita income was $1150.53 per year. During the same period, unemployment for the entire population was around 9.32 per cent, with youth unemployment being 13.9 per cent (World Bank, 2017).

Table 1: Ivory Coast Key Demographic and Development Indicators

Indicator	Ivory Coast
Total area, *in sq km*[a]	322,463
Population (2016), *in million*[b]	22.7
Urban Population (2016), *% of total*[d]	54.9
Population Growth Rate (2016), *annual %*[d]	2.51
Ethnic Groups[a]	Akan: 28.8% Voltaique/Gur:16.1% Northern Mande:14.5% Kru: 8.5%

Human Development Index (2015), *country rank out of 188*[b]	0.474 171
GDP Based on PPP per Capita, *current international dollars per capita*[c]	1526.2
Life Expectancy at Birth (2015), *years*[d]	53.1
Unemployment (2015), *% of labour force*[d]	9.32
Youth Unemployment (2015), *% ages 15-24*[d]	13.9
Multidimensional Poverty Headcount (2011/12), *%*[b]	59.3
Gini Coefficient (2010-2015)[b]	43.2
Foreign Direct Investment (net inflows, 2015), *current USD millions*[d]	430.16
Net Official Development Assistance Received (2015), *current USD millions*[d]	653.40
Personal Remittances Received (2016), *current USD millions*[d]	345.70

Sources: [a] CIA, 2017a; [b] UNDP, 2016; [c] IMF, 2017; [d] World Bank, 2017

In December 1999, a military coup was successful in overthrowing the Ivorian government. Despite this coup being the first in Côte d'Ivoire's history, it brought lasting and significant political upheaval to the country. The new leader, Robert Guéï, rigged the national elections in 2000, though Laurent Gbagbo eventually came to power through widespread demonstrations by the public. Dissidents again challenged the leadership of the incumbent government starting in the fall of 2002, staging a second military coup that developed into a rebellion and ensuing civil war (CIA, 2017a). Significant violations of human rights and humanitarian law, especially in the form of violence against Ivorian civilians and migrants, by all parties of the conflict were reported during the civil war (Jacobsen, 2008; EAAF, 2002).   Such violence included kidnappings, attacks on villages, and widespread persecutions (Jacobsen 2008). A 2003 cease-fire to stop the civil war partitioned the country, where the New Forces rebels (led by Guillaume Soro) were centred in the north and the government in the south. A buffer zone in the middle of the country between these two areas was maintained by UN peacekeeping forces for the next four years (CIA, 2017a).

In 2007, an agreement to reunite Ivory Coast was signed by Soro and Gbagbo; the agreement entailed that Soro would be made prime minister of the Gbagbo government and that national elections would once again be held. The next presidential elections, which were won by Alassane Dramane Ouattara, were not held until 2010. After a five-month period of violent fighting and civil war because Gbagbo refused to refused to abdicate his position, Ouattara supporters forced Gbagbo out of office with the backing of UN and French forces. The Ivorian economy started experiencing significant growth in 2011, as a result of a $4.4 billion in debt relief from the World Bank and IMF and due to the ending civil conflict. Since this time, Ivory Coast's growth rate has been ranked high worldwide. As of June 2017, peacekeeping forces are expected to end their missions, with the Ouattara government focused on rebuilding economic, infrastructural, and security efforts in the country (CIA, 2017a).

Côte d'Ivoire has had a history of migration since its independence in 1960. The country "represents the first immigration country of West Africa," and it is the region's primary destination for (labour) migrants and refugees alike (EAAF, 2002; Blion, 1996). Due to protracted violence and conflicts in the early 2000s and 2010s, immigration has decreased and emigration, often in forced forms, has increased. In particular, as of 2016, a total of 301,000 IDPs have been displaced to the south and southwest of Ivory Coast due to these conflicts (CIA, 2017a). While Côte d'Ivoire generally had a positive net migration rate (between 2 and 5 migrants/1,000 population) historically since the 1950s, the 2017 net rate is estimated to be 0 migrants/1,000 population (IOM Dakar, 2009; CIA, 2017b). According to UN DESA (2015a), Ivory Coast had 850,105 emigrants in 2015[1]. As is pictured in Figure 2, they were mostly residing in Burkina Faso (63.6%), France (10.6%), Liberia (4.82%), Ghana (3.57%), the United States (3.06%), Italy (3.01%), and Mali (2.36%) (UN DESA, 2015a).

On the other hand, an estimated 2,175,399 immigrants (excluding refugees), approximately 9 per cent of the total population, were living in the country in 2015 (UNDP, 2016; UN DESA, 2015a). As seen in Figure 2, the main countries of origin include Burkina Faso (59.5%), Mali (16.4%), Guinea (4.37%), and Liberia (3.79%) (UN DESA, 2015a). Though migration to Côte d'Ivoire has decreased over the years, the country remains an important destination country, especially for citizens of other ECOWAS member states who reside in Ivory Coast. Within Ivory Coast, the migrant population tends to reside in rural regions, including Sud-Comoé, Bas-Sassandra, Moyen-Cavally, Moyen-Comoé, and Haut-Sassandra (ICMPD & IOM, 2015).

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[1] Note that migration statistics from UN DESA (2015) illustrate mixed migration stocks and may include some, but not all, of refugees in/from a given country. For further information visit:
http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/migration/data/estimates2/estimates15.shtml

Figure 1: Origin of Migrants in Ivory Coast, 2015

Other 13.50%
Benin 2.49%
Liberia 3.79%
Guinea 4.37%
Mali 16.37%
Burkina Faso 59.50%
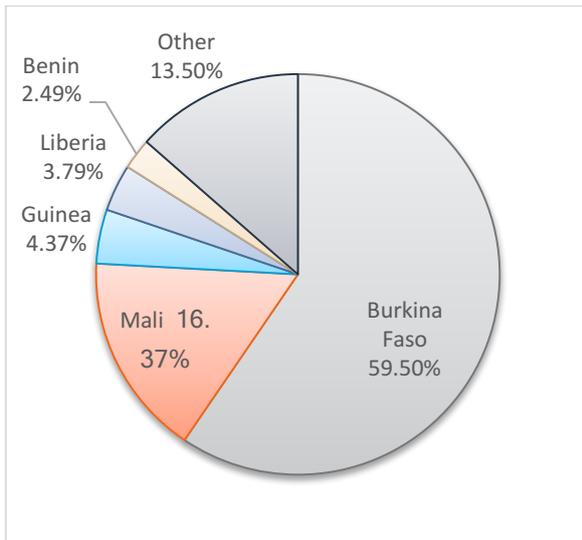
Source: UN DESA, 2015a

Figure 2: Destination of Migrants from Ivory Coast, 2015

Mali 2%
USA 3%
Italy 3%
Ghana 3%
Liberia 5%
France 11%
Other 9%
Burkina Faso 64%
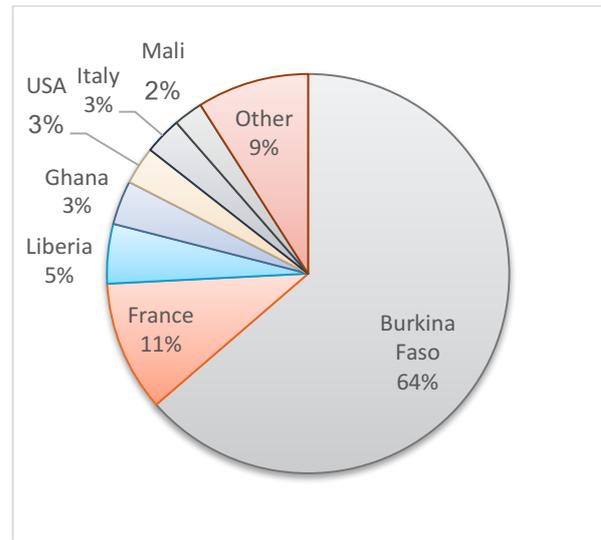
Source: UN DESA, 2015a

Figures 3 and 4, respectively, show the population pyramids for the total population and migrant stock of Côte d'Ivoire (UN DESA, 2015b). The migrant stock population pyramid is most concentrated in young age groups and, therefore, notably consists most frequently of people in working age who migrate to the country for occupational opportunities. The Ivorian population pyramid, on the other hand, is especially concentrated among the youngest age groups and less so among older age groups. Such a distribution is characteristic of populations with high fertility rates and low life expectations, as is the case in Ivory Coast. In fact, 60 per cent of Côte d'Ivoire population is under the age of 25, and the life expectancy is merely 58.7 years due to poor healthcare and limited access thereto. The country's estimated fertility rate for 2017 is 3.38 children born/woman, with contraceptive use being under 20 per cent (CIA, 2017a).

Figure 3:: Total Population in Ivory Coast by Age Group, 2015
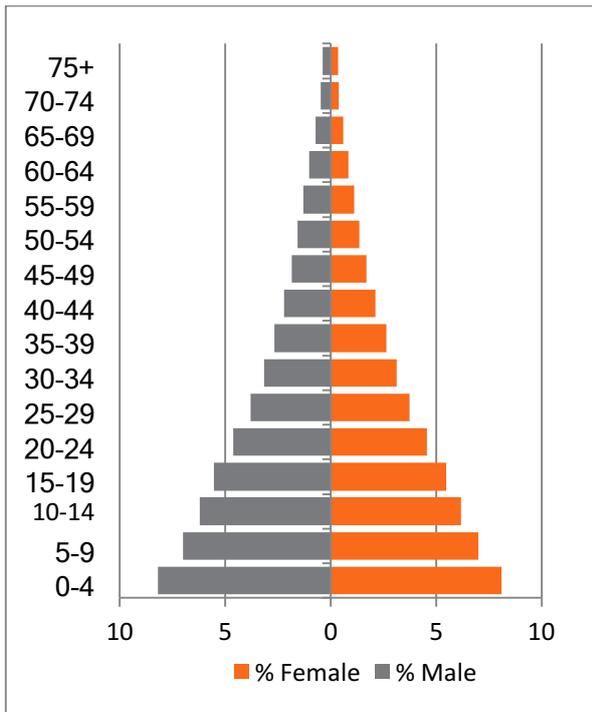
Source: UN DESA, 2015b

Figure 4: Migrant Stock in Ivory Coast by Age Group, 2015
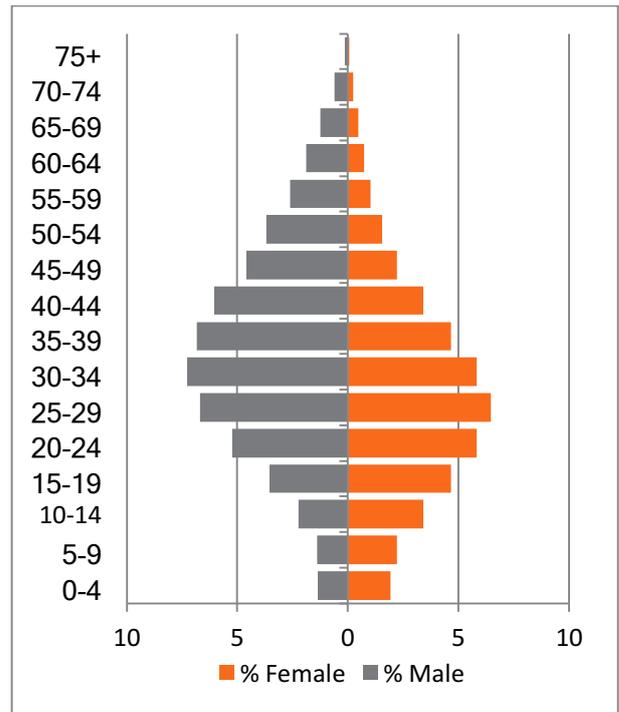
Source: UN DESA, 2015b

2. Forced Migration/ Displacement

2.1. Refugees in Côte d'Ivoire

The refugee population in Ivory Coast has experienced significant historical fluctuations, especially in regards to Liberian refugees. Starting after a long period of political instability culminating in the Liberian civil war in 1989, an estimated 400,000 Liberians fled their country and sought refuge in (mainly western parts of) Côte d'Ivoire by the mid-1990s. Many of these Liberians repatriated, over 70,000 by 1997, following peaceful developments in their home country. As a result of its own economic tensions and ethnic conflicts at the time, Côte d'Ivoire became less focused on refugee integration and funding for related service provisions was decreased; the year 1999 was characterized by public protests against refugees and migrants throughout the country. Though the violent conflicts in Liberia had mostly subsided by 2000, the war in Sierra Leone worsened and also spread to Guinea. And of 2002, there were an estimated 100,000-150,000 Liberian refugees — in addition to a few thousand from Sierra Leone and some central African countries — living in Ivory Coast with few prospects of repatriation or resettlement in another country (Kuhlman, 2002). Due to violence from Ivory Coast's civil war continuing into 2003 despite an official cease-fire, many of the refugees living in the country were subjected to additional violence and attacks; more than 80,000

immigrants and 70,000 refugees fled the country to Burkina Faso, Mali, Guinea, and even Liberia despite renewed violence there (Drumtra 2003).

As of August 2017, there were 1,470 refugees in Côte d'Ivoire (see Table 2), 59.2% of which were from Liberia, 20.7% from the Central African Republic, 7.5% from the Democratic Republic of Congo, 3.5% from Congo, and 3.0% from Rwanda (UNHCR, 2017b). Monitoring the political situations and often ongoing conflicts in neighbouring countries, especially Liberia, will be important in estimating future figures for refugees arriving in Côte d'Ivoire. Ivory Coast's refugees are located in three locations in the southern and southwestern parts of the country: 657 in Bas-Sassandra, 653 in District Autonome d'Abidjan, and 160 in Montagnes. These statistics exclude the country's current 399 asylum seekers and 692,800 stateless persons (UNHCR, 2017b). UNHCR's (2017c) current focuses in regards to refugees and asylum seekers are improving education, child protection, responses to SGBV and HIV/AIDS, and civil status documentation, as well as promoting durable solutions of integration and voluntary return.

In general, Ivory Coast allows for refugees to live among the local population within designated parts of the country (opposed to hosting of refugees in camps) and gives refugees certain freedoms in seeking employment and establishing their own businesses (US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009; Kuhlman, 2002). Specifically, refugees (and IDPs) in Côte d'Ivoire are allowed to settled in the *Zone d'Accueil des Réfugiés (ZAR),* which is located in the west of the country along the border with Liberia (and partially also Guinea) and consists of four départements: Danané, Toulepleu, Guiglo, and Tabou. A few other regions in Ivory Coast — Abidjan, for example — also host refugees (Kuhlman, 2002). Many refugees choose to move to camps in Abidjan due to insecurity in regions of the ZAR. Refugees that are eligible for refugee status through the National Eligibility Commission receive identity cards that serve as their residence permit; those with a valid residence permit are eligible to apply for a work permit from Côte d'Ivoire's Ministry of Labor, SAARA, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Once a work permit is obtained, refugees and asylum seekers are able to seek employment, although they are prohibited from working in the fields of medicine and law. Though the Ivorian Constitution limits right to education and healthcare to citizens, refugees are given access to four medical clinics throughout the country; services are charged at a reduced cost upon presentation of an ID card. Literacy and vocational training are provided by UNHCR (US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009).

Table 2: Refugees in Côte d'Ivoire, August 2017

Country of Origin	Refugees
Liberia	870
Central African Rep.	305
Dem. Rep. of Congo	110
Congo	90
Rwanda	51
Other	44
Total	*1,470*

Source: UNHCR, 2017b

2.2. Refugees from Côte d'Ivoire

As a result of political instability between 1999 and 2000 and Côte d'Ivoire's first civil war starting in 2002, more than 600,000 people were displaced from their homes or fled the country into

neighbouring countries. By the end of the war and a return of peace of Ivory Coast, Ivorian refugees gradually began returning, though many still faced a shortage of food and malnutrition (Drumtra, 2003). Côte d'Ivoire experienced its second civil war beginning in 2010 due to the conflicts between Ouattara and Gbagbo over the presidential election; this period was characterized by numerous human rights abuses, including arbitrary arrests and killings, torture, as well as sexual and gender based violence (SGBV) (UNHCR, 2016a). During the crises' most extreme moments, there are estimated to have been 1 million IDPs in and 250,000 refugees from Ivory Coast (UNHCR, 2017d). The majority of these refugees fled to Liberia; there, they were living in some of Liberia's poorest, resource-scarce regions, with basic provisions of food, water, and sanitation facilities provided through emergency humanitarian relief actions (UN OCHA, 2011).

Many displaced individuals returned to their homes by May 2011, following the arrest of Gbagbo. Still, due to ongoing human rights violations at the time, displacement was renewed in some cases and rates of return decreased (UNHCR, 2016a). In 2012, the country became a pilot for the "UN Secretary-General's Policy Committee Decision on durable solutions for IDPs and returning refugees" (UNHCR, 2017a). There were 198,606 spontaneous refugee returns in post-crisis 2011, and there have been 67,949 facilitated voluntary Ivorian refugee repatriations since then (UNHCR, 2017b). Such a significant number of UNHCR-assisted repatriations were able to take place in spite of the 2013-2016 Ebola virus outbreak in nearby countries (Sierra Leone, Guinea, and Liberia), during which time UNHCR suspended its repatriations and Ivory Coast shut down its borders to Liberia to stop the spread of the disease (UNHCR, 2017a; UNHCR, 2015a). In fact, by 2013, most of the 1 million displaced individuals had been repatriated or returned home, though at least 70,000 people remained displaced (UNHCR, 2016a).

As of 2016, there were an estimated 46,741 Ivorian refugees and 18,575 Ivorian asylum seekers living outside of the country, mostly in Europe and neighbouring or nearby African countries (UNHCR, 2016b). Within Europe, France is a common destination country due to its colonial relationship with Ivory Coast. For the refugees, the most common countries of destination included Liberia, Ghana, Italy, Guinea, France, Togo, the United States, and Mali. For asylum seekers, the top destination countries were Angola, Italy, Germany, France, the United States, Ghana, Togo, and Senegal (see Table 3) (UNHCR, 2016b). Overall, due to peace in Côte d'Ivoire since mid-2011, the Ivorian refugee stock is decreasing (UNHCR, 2015a). In collaboration with UNHCR, the Ivorian government (namely the Ivorian Minister of Solidarity, Social Cohesion and Compensation as well as the Executive Director of the Liberia Refugee, Repatriation and Resettlement Commission) has called on Ivorian refugees, especially those living in Liberian camps, to return to their country (Michael, 2016). Yamossoukro, the capital of Côte d'Ivoire, hosts the majority of returning refugees and IDPs (IDMC, 2017a). By the end of 2017, a total of 15,000 Ivorian refugees, with 13,000 from Liberia, are expected to be repatriated by UNHCR (UNHCR, 2017d).

Table 3: Côte d'Ivoire's Refugees and Asylum Seekers in Country of Asylum, mid-2016

Destination Country	Refugees	Destination Country	Asylum Seekers
Liberia	18,552	Angola	5,938
Ghana	6,453	Italy	5,497
Italy	5,805	Germany	2,010
Guinea	4,504	France	1,459
France	2,886	United States	856
Togo	2,129	Ghana	504
United States	1,389	Togo	420

Mali	923	Senegal	306
Other	4,100	Other	2,585
Total	*46,741*		*18,575*

Source: UNHCR, 2016b.

2.3. Internal Displacement in Côte d'Ivoire

As has been detailed thus far in this report, internal displacement due to violence and conflicts has long characterized Ivory Coast, particularly in the early and late 2000s. Between 2002 and 2007, approximately 1.1 million people were displaced and fled their homes in northern and central Côte d'Ivoire (IDMC, 2017a). Most of Côte d'Ivoire's IDPs were hosted in the southern communities (especially Abidjan) of the country by friends or family. Many were displaced to urban centres such as Abidjan, Yamoussoukro, and Grand Bassam, where they were subjected to harassment by the government (IDMC, 2017a; Jacobsen 2008). Jacobsen (2008) found that IDPs living in Abidjan were not more vulnerable than non-IDPs (cited in Fiddian-Qasmiyeh et al., 2014). Due to the 2010-2011 violence that followed the elections, again more than 1 million people were displaced to host communities and a total of 35 camps in similar regions, namely Abidjan and Bas-Sassandra.

During this time, many IDPs in the western areas of the country were forced to hide in the forests for weeks (IDMC, 2017a; Lejeune-Kaba, 2011). In addition to this, IDPs in the west were living in deplorable conditions, without access to sleeping facilities, food, clean, water, sanitation facilities, or electricity; some had gunshot wounds, and others died of malaria. During this time, UNHCR reported being unable to access IDPs and that many medical workers had fled (Lejeune-Kaba, 2011). Moreover, inter-communal conflicts, robberies, abuses by security forces, and government-sanctioned evictions in the west of the country caused more displacement (IDMC, 2013). Still, due to relative security improvements in the southern and western regions of the country, the majority of the individuals displaced in Ivory Coast in the last decade and a half had returned to their homes by 2014; consequently, little research has been done on IDPs in the country since this time (IDMC, 2017b). It is, therefore, unclear, how many Ivorian IDPs have found durable solutions (IDMC, 2013). And as of 2016, 301,000 IDPs displaced by violence and conflict were living in Côte d'Ivoire and still had not yet returned to their homes (CIA, 2017a; IDMC, 2017b).

It should also be noted that, based on 2016 figures, there were 694,000 stateless persons living in Ivory Coast (CIA, 2017a). A significant number of Ivorians lack the documentation needed for them to prove their nationality and, therefore, also to be guaranteed certain rights, e.g. access to the Ivorian education and healthcare systems. Importantly, because being born in the Côte d'Ivoire does not guarantee citizenship of the country, a particularly disputed tension concerns the rights and citizenship of the descendants of migrants (CIA, 2017a). Of the almost 700,000 stateless persons in Ivory Coast, 300,000 are children that were born to parents who are unknown and 400,000 are settled migrants and their descendants (UNHCR, 2015b). In 2013, the country ratified international statelessness conventions and reformed its nationality laws (CIA, 2017a). Along with the other ECOWAS members, Côte d'Ivoire adopted the 2015 Abidjan Declaration, which aims to get rid of statelessness in the region. By its first anniversary, the Declaration allowed more than 22,000 individuals in West Africa to gain identity documents. More specifically, Côte d'Ivoire has passed an additional law allowing stateless people to more easily acquire nationality (UNHCR, 2016c). Despite

these concrete steps being taken to eradicate stateless, it is nonetheless still important to monitor the vulnerabilities expressed by and protections required for stateless individuals in Ivory Coast.

3. Regular/Labour Migration

3.1. Immigration

In addition to migration for reasons of family reunification, immigration to Ivory Coast is largely work-related (IOM Dakar, 2009). Since its colonization by France, the country has been highly dependent on a migrant workforce, particularly that of Burkina Faso, from countries with an excess of laborers. Immigration to Ivory Coast for labour purposes was promoted by the Ivorian government, especially in times of economic downturn from the 1960s to 1980s, and continues at relatively high rates to this day (ICMPD & IOM, 2015). Between 1998 and 2006, economic reasons were primarily why individuals migrated to Ivory Coast, with migration in search of better living conditions and family-related reasons following (IOM Dakar, 2009). The majority of foreign workers are employed in low-skilled jobs in the agriculture sector with responsibilities also extending into fishing, herding, trade, and industry. Interestingly, thousands of high-skilled workers were recruited for a short time in the 1980s to work in the private and public education sectors. Recruitment of such high-skilled labour, however, has since decreased and is no longer common (ICMPD & IOM, 2015).

An estimated 2,175,399 immigrants, approximately 9 per cent of the total population, were living in Côte d'Ivoire in 2015 (UNDP, 2016; UN DESA, 2015a). And according to the World Bank's Migration and Remittances Factbook (2016), Ivory Coast was one of the top ten immigration countries of middle-income countries in 2013. Moreover, these immigrants contributed to $736 million in outward remittance flows in 2013 (World Bank, 2016). As seen in Figure 2, the main countries of origin for migrants to Ivory Coast include Burkina Faso (59.5%), Mali (16.4%), Guinea (4.37%), and Liberia (3.79%) (UN DESA, 2015a). Within Ivory Coast, the migrant population tends to reside in rural regions, including Sud-Comoé, Bas-Sassandra, Moyen-Cavally, Moyen-Comoé, and Haut-Sassandra (ICMPD & IOM, 2015). While Côte d'Ivoire generally had a positive net migration rate (between 2 and 5 migrants/1,000 population) historically since the 1950s, the 2017 net rate is estimated to be 0 migrants/1,000 population (IOM Dakar, 2009; CIA, 2017b). Though migration to Côte D'Ivoire has decreased over the years, the country remains an important destination country for citizens of other ECOWAS member states who reside in Ivory Coast. Citizens of ECOWAS states are able to stay in Ivory Coast for three months, or for six months with a residence card; those with a valid residence permit are eligible to apply for a work permit from Côte d'Ivoire's Ministry of Labour, SAARA, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009). For these reasons, labour migration to Ivory Coast is mostly regular (ICMPD & IOM, 2015).

3.2. Emigration

Due to a lack of research, there is very little information about emigration trends from Côte d'Ivoire; this is likely because emigration from Ivory Coast is seen as a more limited phenomenon compared to immigration into the country (ICMPD & IOM, 2015). Based on figures from UN DESA (2015a), though,

Ivory Coast had 850,105 emigrants in 2015[2]. As is pictured in Figure 2, they were mostly residing in Burkina Faso (63.6%), France (10.6%), Liberia (4.82%), Ghana (3.57%), the United States (3.06%), Italy (3.01%), and Mali (2.36%) (UN DESA, 2015a); UN DESA (2015a) reported that the number of refugees were, in the case of Ivory Coast, not added these estimates of international migrants. According to ICMPD & IOM (2015), emigrant flows from Ivory Coast are mostly comprised of lower-educated (47.6%) and high-educated (30.7%) persons.

While nurses and medical doctors emigrate frequently, there is not enough data to conclude whether the country is experiencing brain drain (ICMPD & IOM, 2015). Other sectors that employ Ivorians abroad, particularly those residing in OECD countries, include manufacturing, distribution, and services activities, hotel industry, agriculture, etc. (IOM Dakar, 2009). Most of the emigration from Côte d'Ivoire is assumed to take place through regular channels, due to a lack of well-established smuggling networks (ICMPD & IOM, 2015); it is also possible that this is the case due to the freedom of movement allowed for by ECOWAS (Carling, 2016). Ivory Coast has no established policies in order to facilitate diaspora engagement; however, citizens of the country are able to participate in presidential elections from abroad. According to the World Bank (2016), Ivory Coast's emigrants from Ivory Coast contributed to $385 million in inward remittance flows in 2013; the biggest proportion of these remittances came from Burkina Faso and Benin (ICMPD & IOM, 2015).

4. Internal Migration

Especially during Côte d'Ivoire's economic prosperity during the 1960s, the Ivorian government encouraged internal migration to meet labour needs. Many left their rural homes seeking increased incomes and improved living conditions in urban centers (Brou & Charbit, 1994). Into the 1980s, urban-urban and rural-urban migration significantly contributed to the urbanization of Ivorian cities (Toure, 1987). According to OIM (2009), the 1998 Ivorian census indicates that there were 4,405,328 internal migrants, making up 67.1% of the total migrants and 28.7% of the total population. The majority of these migrants lived in urban settings (55.6%), while 44.4% lived in rural areas. While an estimated 50.5% (2,224,209) of these internal migrants were female, women are more likely than men to engage in internal migration, due to customs of exogamic marriage and being more likely to help parents in their household (OIM, 2009).

According to Beauchemin (2009), however, these trends have drastically reversed themselves in more recent years. Migration out of urban centres and into rural areas is increasing as a result of urban poverty, so much so that the level of urbanization has declined (Beauchemin, 2009). In general, though, Adepoju (2008) suggests that, for sub-Saharan African countries, opportunities for internal migration are decreasing: "International migration will become more important in the future as prospects for internal migration are increasingly limited – indeed are shrinking – as a result of generalised poverty, unemployment, inadequate land tenure, and socioeconomic insecurity" (pp. 41). More research is needed to determine the current status of internal migration in Ivory Coast.

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[2] Note that emigration statistics from UN DESA (2015) illustrate mixed migration stocks and may include some, but not all, refugees from Cote d'Ivoire in 2015.

5. Irregular Migration

Between 2000 and 2006, there were estimated to be significant numbers of irregular individuals living and working in Côte d'Ivoire, as only 4,833 stay permits were issued during that time. Based on Ordinance No. 2007-604 in regards to the Suppression of the Stay Permit, however, citizens of ECOWAS states have been able to reside regularly in Ivory Coast without a residence permit (ICMPD & IOM, 2015). Such citizens are able to stay in Ivory Coast for three months, or for six months with a residence card; those with a valid residence permit are eligible to apply for a work permit from Côte d'Ivoire's Ministry of Labour, SAARA, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009). For these reasons, ICMPD & IOM (2015) consider that labour migration to Ivory Coast is mostly regular. Otherwise, the country's policies in regards to irregular migration are relatively comprehensive. Based on the 1990 Law No. 90-437 and the 2004 Law No. 2004-303, foreigners entering the country irregularly are subject to deportation or can be fined and jailed for one to five years. This deportation, though, excludes spouses of Ivorian citizens and a particular group of children: those under 21, those living in the country since tens year of age, and those who have been living in the country for more than ten years (ICMPD & IOM, 2015).

Most of the emigration from Côte d'Ivoire is also assumed to take place through regular channels, due to a lack of well-established smuggling networks in the country (ICMPD & IOM, 2015). Despite this, an estimated 630,000 irregular migrants and refugees arrived in Italy by crossing the central Mediterranean between 2011 and 2016. In 2016, most of the arrivals of these irregular migrants were from Africa, with 7 per cent of them being from Ivory Coast. Many of these individuals were refugees seeking protection in Europe, however, the majority would not be classified as refugees based on the Geneva Convention. Still, these individuals left their countries (though many not suffering from violence or political instability) in search of improved livelihoods (European Commission, 2017). According to the European Commission (2017), Ivory Coast is a country of origin for irregular migrants moving from Africa to Europe, where general routes taken by irregular migrants go through Burkina Faso, Niger and Libya as well as through Mali, Algeria, and Libya (European Commission, 2017).

5.1. Human Smuggling

According to UNODC (2017a), migrant smuggling is defined as "a crime involving the procurement for financial or other material benefit of illegal entry of a person into a State of which the person is not a national or a resident." Smuggling differs from human trafficking in three main ways having to do with consent, exploitation, and transnationality. More specifically, this means that migrants engage with their smugglers in a consensual manner; smuggling also occurs transnationally and ends upon arrival at the destination. Victims of trafficking, however, are typically trafficked against their will or have been coerced into giving consent and must endure ongoing exploitation. Moreover, trafficking can occur both internally and internationally across borders (UNODC, 2017a). Côte d'Ivoire ratified the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime in 2000. As part of this, the country ratified its Protocol on Trafficking in Persons, yet it has not ratified the Protocol on the Smuggling of Migrants. Despite this, human smuggling does not seem to be prominent in the country, and there seems to be a lack of well-established smuggling networks (ICMPD & IOM, 2015).

5.2. Trafficking in Human Beings

According to the Palermo Convention (formally known as the Protocol against the Smuggling of Migrants by Land, Air, and Sea), human trafficking is defined as "the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation" (cited in UNODC, 2017a). Based on this definition, Côte d'Ivoire is a source, transit, and destination country of victims of human trafficking, specifically forced labour, sex trafficking, and some instances of drug trafficking. While victims of trafficking (VoTs) include women and children, children are in the majority. Ivorian children, particularly boys, in the west are forced into begging or labour within the agriculture, mining, carpentry, and construction industries (US Department of State, 2017). According to UNICEF (2007), there are difficulties in quantifying the extent to which child trafficking manifests in Ivory Coast. Figures from 2007, though, estimate that 200,000 children (mainly from central and northern Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso, and Togo) are forced into labour on cocoa farms (UNICEF, 2007).

For Ivory Coast, trafficking in human beings can be considered a largely internal phenomenon, though international trafficking does still occur (ICMPD & IOM, 2015). Ivorian boys in the northern regions of the country, in addition to boys from Burkina Faso, Mali, and Nigeria, for example, are also forced into begging by corrupt *marabouts* (Muslim religious teachers). Girls, on the other hand, are often forced to work in domestic settings or as street vendors. Girls from Ghana and Nigeria are forced into sex trafficking and work as waitresses within Ivory Coast. Again in terms of international trafficking, migrants from Togo, Nigeria, and Benin often bring children, who are then subjected to forced labour and sex trafficking in Ivory Coast, with them. Ivorian victims, especially women and girls, are also trafficked across international borders to Europe, northern parts of Africa, and the Gulf; the country is also a transit country for Nigerians exploited in sex trafficking in similar international regions (US Department of State, 2017). Though seemingly not an extensive focus of existing research data, it is also important to consider the risks of trafficking faced by stateless persons, refugees, and IDPs in Ivory Coast. UNHCR (2016c), for example, suggests that stateless individuals (especially children) in West Africa can be easily exploited through trafficking or forced labour.

As reported in the 2017 TIP Report, Côte d'Ivoire is ranked Tier 2 in the elimination of human trafficking. This is an upgrade from the country's 2016 status of Tier 2 Watch List, though the country had also been ranked Tier 2 from 2015 to 2016. The country's government relies heavily on NGOs for assistance for trafficking victims and lacks institutionalized mechanisms to recognize adult trafficking victims. It did, therefore, also not supply data regarding adult forced labour, and the instances of adult trafficking could be underreported. Moreover, the Ivorian government does not provide its law enforcement with enough resources to adequately look into crimes of or related to human trafficking, nor does it have the necessary organizational strategy to divide responsibilities of eliminating trafficking between its ministries.

While the country does not meet the minimum conditions standard to the elimination of human trafficking, it has implemented certain measures to do so (US Department of State, 2017). Côte d'Ivoire, for example, ratified the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime in 2000. As part of this, the country ratified its Protocol on Trafficking in Persons, yet it has not

ratified the Protocol on the Smuggling of Migrants. Key Ivorian stakeholders in the management and elimination of human trafficking include the Ministry of Employment, Social Affairs and Vocational Training and the Ministry of Solidarity, Family, Women, and Children; the Joint Ministerial Committee on the Fight against Trafficking, Exploitation, and Child Labour; and the National Monitoring Committee on Actions to Fight Trafficking, Exploitation, and Child Labour (ICMPD & IOM, 2015). Moreover, Ivory Coast's new constitution criminalizes human trafficking. In 2016, the country passed its first law (Law No. 2016-111) criminalizing the trafficking of both children and adults. The country also instituted a 2016-2020 national action plan against trafficking and adopted an extensive anti-trafficking law. In addition, the country's reports of prosecutions and convictions of traffickers increased when compared to previous years (US Department of State, 2017).

6. Migrant's Vulnerabilities and Protection Issues

Within West Africa and Côte d'Ivoire in particular, vulnerable groups of interest include refugees and IDPs, irregular migrants, stateless individuals, and victims of trafficking, particularly women and children; vulnerable groups also include those subject to forced repatriation. As of August 2017, there were 1,470 refugees, mostly from the Central African Republic, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Congo, and Rwanda, living in Côte d'Ivoire (UNHCR, 2017b). And, as of 2016, there were an estimated 46,741 Ivorian refugees and 18,575 Ivorian asylum seekers living outside of the country, mostly in Europe and neighbouring or nearby African countries (UNHCR, 2016b). Moreover, in 2016, there were some 301,000 IDPs and 694,000 stateless persons living in the country (CIA, 2017a; IDMC, 2017b). There are not enough reliable and current figures available to quantify the number of irregular migrants and VoTs for Ivory Coast. Instances of forced repatriation have also manifested in and to Ivory Coast, both historically as well as more recently. During the Ivorian crisis between 1999 and 2002, for examples, some immigrants were forcefully repatriated to Burkina Faso (Lassailly-Jacob & Peyraut, 2016). In 2014, there were also reports of Ivorian refugees allegedly experiencing forced repatriation to Côte d'Ivoire on behalf of the Liberian government (Butty, 2014).

Vulnerability for people on the move "results from the dynamic interplay between individual or collective circumstances (resources or lack thereof) and factors in the surrounding environment (exposure to specific risks)" (RMMS West Africa, IOM, & the Danish Refugee Council, 2017, pp. 10). According to RMMS West Africa, IOM, & the Danish Refugee Council (2017), vulnerabilities of refugees and IDPs include, but are not limited to, possibilities of legal vulnerability, threatened livelihoods due to violence and a lack of economic opportunities, and limited access (if any) to basic services and aid. Those of irregular migrants include possibilities of legal vulnerability, risk of expulsion or deportation, en-route trafficking or exploitation, and limited access (if any) to basic services and aid. Stateless individuals, on the other hand, have a complete lack of access to basic services and are extremely susceptible to trafficking. VoTs, including women and children, are experiencing instances of sexual exploitation, forced labour, etc. and generally have a lack of access to legal support, basic services, and governmental protection (RMMS West Africa, IOM, & the Danish Refugee Council, 2017).

Efforts to reduce such vulnerabilities by Côte d'Ivoire should, therefore, be centred on providing protections for migrants, especially for the country's significant numbers of stateless persons and IDPs (CIA, 2017a; IDMC, 2017b). In this regard, it is essential for the Ivorian government to put even

greater resources (in addition to the 2015 Abidjan Declaration and other efforts) towards the fight to reduce statelessness (UNHCR, 2016c). It is also important for the Ivorian government to put significantly greater efforts toward the elimination of human trafficking. More funding and resources should be allocated to NGOs in the services they provided for VoTs, to governmental anti-trafficking efforts, and to data collection actions. Moreover, it will be essential for the Ivorian government to more effectively establish coordination between stakeholders in the country's efforts against trafficking and to delegate responsibilities among the actors involved in this regard. In addition to this, Ivory Coast should establish more measures to better identify VoTs (particularly adults, since past and current efforts have largely focused on children) and to more extensively investigate and prosecute traffickers (US Department of State, 2017).

7. Relevant National Policies and Stakeholders

On an international level, Côte d'Ivoire is party to various UN legal instruments. The Ivorian government has ratified both the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees and the 1967 Protocol (UNICEF, 2013), indicating a good practice with respect to refugees and asylum seekers. Additionally, the country is party to the 1966 International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, the 1966 International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, the 1979 Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, the 1989 Convention on the Rights of the Child, the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime, and the 2000 Human Trafficking Protocol (UNODC, 2017b; ICMPD & IOM, 2015; UNICEF, 2013; Council of Europe, n.d.; UNICEF, n.d.). In addition to this, Côte d'Ivoire has ratified a total of forty ILO conventions, thirty-six of which are in force (ILO, 2017a). Ivory Coast, however, has not ratified the 1949 ILO Migration for Employment Convention, the 1975 ILO Migrant Workers Convention, the 1990 UN Migrant Workers Convention, nor the 2000 Migrant Smuggling Protocol (ILO, 2017b; ICMPD & IOM, 2015; UNICEF, 2013).

Key national stakeholders for future migration policy management in Ivory Coast include various distinct ministries: the Ministry of Interior of Security; the Ministry of Planning and Development; the Ministry of Employment, Social Affairs, and Vocational Training; the Ministry of Foreign Affairs; the Ministry of African Integration and Ivorians Abroad; the Ministry of Solidarity, Family, Women, and Children; the Ministry of Solidarity and War Victims; the Ministry of Justice; and the Ministry of African Integration (ICMPD & IOM, 2015; IOM Dakar, 2009). The Department of Aid and Assistance to Refugees and Stateless Persons (SAARA) is part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009). There is also the Joint Ministerial Committee on the Fight against Trafficking, Exploitation, and Child Labour. These ministries are responsible for managing immigrants to Côte D'Ivoire as well as those abroad (maintaining relations with the diaspora, organizing work permits for migrant workers, etc.), working towards the elimination of trafficking, and creating population policies (ICMPD & IOM, 2015).

Côte d'Ivoire is also a member state of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). As such, the country remains an important destination country for citizens of other ECOWAS member states who reside in Ivory Coast. Citizens of ECOWAS states are able to stay in Ivory Coast for without a residence permit for three months and must only maintain their identification documents from their origin country (ICMPD & IOM, 2015; US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009). Those staying for six months with a valid (renewable) residence permit are eligible to apply for a work permit from Côte d'Ivoire's Ministry of Labour, SAARA, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Like other foreigners, refugees with valid residence permits are able to apply for work permits. Côte d'Ivoire's

new 2000 Constitution does not guarantee the freedom of movement for refugees, but refugees are able to apply for international travel documents if needed (US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009). According to the US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants (2009), the "2000 Constitution extends the rights to property; to work, including in the public sector; and the right to organize and strike to all persons [including migrants and refugees], but reserves to citizens the right to run businesses." Refugees are also able to access basic services, such as health care and education, in the same way as citizens (US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009).

Côte d'Ivoire has also established a number of policies regarding migration (see Table 4), and the country's plans for national development include the creation of a national migration policy and of a National Migration Office (ICMPD & IOM, 2015). Despite the existing legislation, the country has no comprehensive national framework for refugee and asylum laws (US Committee for Refugees and Immigrants, 2009). Côte D'Ivoire's current national migration policy framework, as illustrated in Table 4, covers different aspects of the entry and stay of foreigners and migrant workers, protection of VoTs, as well as irregular stays within the country. In terms of statelessness, Ivory Coast has also taken policy-oriented action. In 2013, the country ratified international statelessness conventions and reformed its nationality laws (CIA, 2017a). Along with the other ECOWAS members, Côte d'Ivoire adopted the 2015 Abidjan Declaration, which aims to get rid of statelessness in the region. By its first anniversary, the Declaration allowed more than 22,000 individuals in West Africa to gain identity documents. More specifically, Côte d'Ivoire has passed an additional law allowing stateless people to more easily acquire nationality (UNHCR, 2016c). Moreover, there are few bilateral agreements on migration of which Ivory Coast is part. The country's main bilateral agreement is the one with France: the 1992 Convention on Circulation and Stay of Persons between Côte d'Ivoire and France; there is also an agreement on social security between the two countries. Another is the convention signed with Burkina Faso (at the time still Upper Volta) in 1960 that described recruitment and employment conditions for migrant workers arriving to Ivory Coast; this agreement, though, was ended in 1974 (ICMPD & IOM, 2015).

Table 4: Côte D'Ivoire's Key Migration Policy Response

Policy	Content
Law No. 90-437 of 13 May 1990 Regarding Entry and Stay of Foreigners in Côte d'Ivoire	Distinguishes between foreigners (including those from ECOWAS member states) who need valid passport vs. visa to enter the country. Creates unique one-year stay permit for ECOWAS nationals. Foreigners without the needed documentation are subject to deportation.
1992 Convention on Circulation and Stay of Persons between Côte d'Ivoire and France	Provides family members with permits for family reunification. Creates opportunity to apply for ten-year residence permit after a three-year stay.
Regulations and Circulars of 1993 and 1995 Regarding Conditions of Entry of Foreigners for a Stay of Less than 90 Days in Côte d'Ivoire	Distinguishes between which consular posts receive visas by the competent consular post and which must contact the Ministry of Interior.
Law No. 2002-03 Regarding Identification of Persons and Stay of Foreigners in Côte d'Ivoire	Extends stay permit for foreigners to up to five years, and requires that a stay permit is required to engage in work.

Law No. 2004-303 of 3 May 2004 Modifying the Law No. 2002-03 of 3 January 2002 Regarding Identification of Persons and Stay of Foreigners in Côte d'Ivoire	Distinguishes between foreigners (including those from ECOWAS member states) who need valid passport vs. visa to enter the country. For ECOWAS members, a permit of free circulation may also be used. Foreigners without the needed documentation are subject to imprisonment and, if a threat to public order, also deportation. Facilitation of irregular stay is also a criminal offence.
Ordinance No. 2007-604 of 8 November 2007 Regarding the Suppression of the Stay Permit	ECOWAS nationals no longer need to obtain a residence permit (must only maintain valid identification from the country of origin).
Regulation No. 64-21 of 15 June 2004 modifying Regulation No. 1437 of 19 February 2004 Relating to the Regulation of Recruitment and Visa Fees for Work Contracts of Non-Nationals	Employers must advertise the offer of employment publicly for one month to Ivorian nationals before recruiting foreign labour. The employment contract must be approved by the public employment service (AGEPE). Within three months of being hired, a foreign worker must request a work card.
Labour Code	Foreign workers must be treated equal to nationals under labour legislations. Foreigners are able to join trade unions, but must be living in Ivory Coast for three years before assuming administration or leadership positions. The employer must pay for the worker's cost of travel to and from Côte d'Ivoire.
Penal Code	Forced labour (of children and adults) is a criminal offence that comes with a punishment of one to five years in prison. Exploitation (of children and adults) in prostitution using force, violence, or abuse is punishable by a one- to ten-year prison sentence.
Law No. 2010-272 pertaining to the Prohibition of Child Trafficking and the Worst Forms of Child Labour	Remains the main law used to prosecute the trafficking of children and does not address adult trafficking. Convicted traffickers face a penalty of up to twenty years in prison and a fine between $800 and $79,982. Local and state communities are responsible for the protection of VoTs.
Law No. 2016-111 on the Fight Against Trafficking in Persons	Aims to eliminate both adult and child trafficking in Côte d'Ivoire. Punishment for trafficking and force labour comes with a prison sentence of five to ten years and a fine between $7,998 and $15,996.

Sources: US Department of State, 2017; ICMPD & IOM, 2015

Gaps

Despite Ivory Coast's existing legislation related to migration on an international and national level, there are still gaps that are remain unaddressed. Specifically, despite there being the Ministry of African Integration and Ivorians Abroad, there are very few policies that deal with the emigration of Ivorians abroad (ICMPD & IOM, 2015). Law No. 2016-111 is the country's first law that addresses both the trafficking of adult and children (US Department of State, 2017). Still, the trafficking of

adults also remains under-addressed to a large extent, and the focus is still largely on child VoTs. There are also limited Ivorian laws that deal with the rights and protections of IDPs and refugees. In addition to changes in Ivorian nationality laws and the 2015 Abidjan Declaration, more steps need to be taken to reduce statelessness within Côte d'Ivoire and the rest of West Africa (UNHCR, 2016c). There are also significant data gaps when considering migration in and out of Ivory Coast. There is little data, for example, on emigration out of Ivory Coast (ICMPD & IOM, 2015). Moreover, more research is needed to determine estimates of the number of stateless persons, refugees, and IDPs in Ivory Coast that face risks of trafficking. Leaving these data gaps unaddressed could negatively impact the prospects of evidence-based policymaking for the country.

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