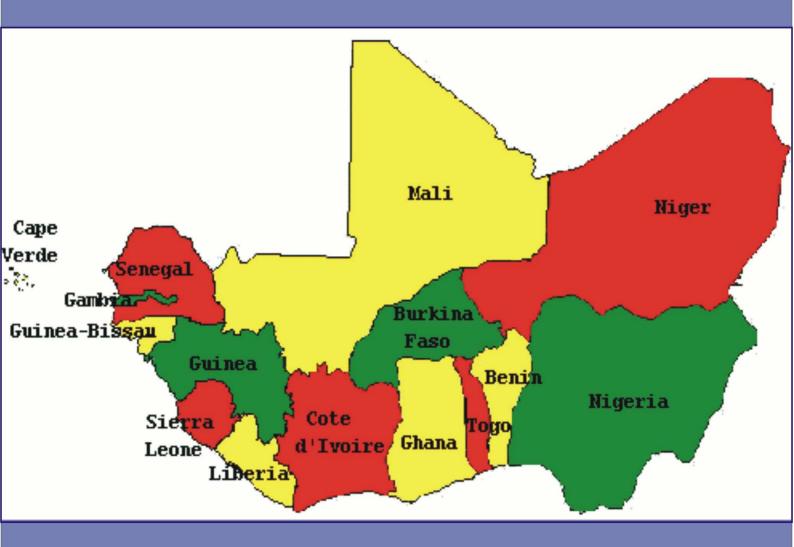
Mobility and Security in West Africa







First published in 2015 by:

CLEEN Foundation

Lagos Office: 21, Akinsanya Street

Taiwo Bus-Stop

Ojodu

Ikeja, 100281

Ikeja, Lagos, Nigeria

Tel: 234-1-7612479, 7395498

Abuja Office: 26, Bamenda Street, off Abidjan Street

Wuse Zone 3, Abuja, Nigeria Tel: 234-9-7817025, 8708379

Owerri Office: Plot 10, Area M Road 3

World Bank Housing Estate

Owerri, Imo State

Tel: 083-823104, 08128002962, 08130278469

E-mail: <u>cleen@cleen.org</u> Website: www.cleen.org

ISBN: 978-978-53387-1-3

© Whole or part of this publication may be republished, stored in a retrieval system or transmitted through electronic, photocopying, mechanical, recording or otherwise, with proper acknowledgement of the publishers.

Typesetting: Blessing Aniche

Cover concept: Gabriel Akinremi

Table of Content

i.	Foreword	5
ii.	Acknowledgement	7
111.	Executive Summary	8
	- Background	8
	- Analytical Framework(s)	10
	- Methodology	14
	- Key Findings	15
Chapte	r One: ECOWAS Protocol and Country Field Reports	45
	1.1 Essence of ECOWAS Protocol	45
	1.2 Nigeria-Benin –	47
	1.3 Togo-Benin –	54
	1.4 Ghana-Togo –	59
	1.5 Cote d'Ivoire- Burkina Faso –	85
	1.6 Cote d'Ivoire- Mali –	108
Chapte	r Two: Policy & Actions Recommendations –	119
	2.1 Training and Capacity Building Development of Law Enforcement Officials	119
	2.2 Joint Patrol & Co-ordination of Security Patrol	120
	2.3 Availability and Circulation of Travel Documents	121
	2.4 Education and Advocacy Campaigns	121
	2.5 Infrastructural Development and Process Improvement	122
	2.6 ECOWAS Protocols Monitoring Media Network	122
	2.7 Mobile Arbitration Panel	122
	2.8 Legislative and Law Reforms	123
	2.9 Conclusion:	123
APPEI	NDICES	
Appen	dices 1: ECOWAS Treaty	125
Appen	dices 2: Questionnaire 1	133
Appen	dices 2: Questionnaire 2	138
Appen	dices 3: Methodology Workshop Report	138
Appen	dices 4: CIV – Mali Un-edited Report	159

FOREWORD

The world as we know it today depends largely on migration to achieve the interspersing of cultures, goods, services and peoples. It serves as a veritable tool for adjusting skills, age and sectoral composition of national and regional labour markets, all of which when put together provide an enabling environment for the economic development of any society. Recognizing that the free movement of persons, goods and services is mandatory for economic development and regional integration, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) has devoted much of its 40 years existence to promoting free movement of persons, goods and services across national boundaries in West Africa.

While the efforts of ECOWAS to facilitate easy movement of persons and reduce the bureaucracies involved in migration from one member state to the other is well documented, in reality, actual freedom of movement remains difficult. Stories of constant harassment, unlawful interrogations, bribery and corruption, extortion, human rights abuses and traumatic delays in moving goods across the borders by security officials remain the same across the West Africa borders. In addition to this, is the increased crime and criminality along the borders. The prevalence of insecurity along the territorial borders stifles legitimate commercial activities and pose grave threat not only to the safety and security of migrants and local communities but also to the economic development of such border communities and governments in general.

I am very pleased that CLEEN Foundation with her interest in migration and security continues to probe through series of studies, the intersection between the two issues to provide reliable and crucial information to aid regional institutions such as ECOWAS, governments, policymakers and the general public to prioritize the security challenges associated with migration in West Africa. This I consider is timely given the unprecedented movement of persons from Sub-Saharan Africa towards the developed regions of the world in recent times.

This book presents the findings from a study which critically looked at the migration trend, peculiarities and activities of security officials across seven international land borders in the region – Nigeria, Benin, Togo and Ghana on the one hand and then explored the corridors between landlocked Mali and Burkina Faso with Cote d' Ivoire. It also discusses in detail policy and action recommendations for relevant regional bodies and stakeholders.

I find the content of the book to be informative, interesting and educative and do hope that it would re-channel the attention of all critical stakeholders' to the issues with a view to developing practices to address the challenges associated with migration, mobility and security along land borders crossings in West Africa.

Professor A. I. Asiwaju (MFR)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

CLEEN Foundation gratefully acknowledges the following for their contributions in making this publication a success. First is the Open Society Foundations (OSF) for its financial support for this publication and the project in general.

Secondly, we acknowledge the contributions of the technical team made up of Professor Okechukwu Ibeanu of the Department of Political Science, University of Nigeria, Nsukka and Dr. Tony Luka Elumelu of the Free Movement Directorate, Economic Community of West Africa States (ECOWAS). The depth of their contributions in the development of the questionnaire for the field work was invaluable. We also acknowledge Professor Mrs. Funke Adeboye and Mr. Yomi Akinyeye of the University of Lagos and Professor A. I. Asiwaju for their useful advice and guidance which shaped the study design and methodology.

Thirdly, we thank the field researchers without whom the study would not have been possible. They are Abena Yalley- Abioye, Alfred Deguenonvo, Coulibaly Tiohozon Ibrahima, Dariyi Mylene Kamara Epse Soro and Olusegun Ogunyemi Samson.

Fourthly, we commend the efforts of CLEEN Foundation staff that played key roles in ensuring the study was a success. Mr. Nengak Daniel Gondyi, Programme Manager, who was responsible for the project coordination and conduct of the study, Mr. Raphael Mbaegbu, our Programme Officer who carried out the data analysis and editing and lastly Ms. Kemi Okenyodo, Executive Director, for the overall leadership and guidance in the conduct of the study and implementation of the project.

Finally, we thank Mr. Chukwuma Ume for meticulously reviewing the research findings and writing the final report.

Executive Summary

Background:

The spatial mobility of human population occasioning change of location or residence between well-defined geography is an indispensable part of population redistribution. The process could be voluntary, or otherwise; and can happen either internally within a country or internationally between two or more countries in pursuit better standard of living, safe environment and freedom from fear or scarce resources.

Aderanti¹; and Annan² recently in reaction to migration crisis and deaths of migrants at the Mediterranean Sea, both noted that from the outset, migration among West Africans and the entire human race is a way of life; it is not new to the sub-region and dates back to the pre-colonial era. The people of West Africa have migrated over generations in response to demographic, political and economic factors. However, in recognition of post-colonial geographical boundaries and national sovereignty in West Africa, a treaty establishing the Economic Community of West Africa³ which stipulates the right to freedom of movement of persons and goods within the sub-region. Specifically, Article 59(1) of the Treaty provides:

- 1. Citizens of the Community (ECOWAS) shall have the right of entry, residence and establishment and member States undertake these rights of Community Citizens in their territories in accordance with the provisions of the Protocol relating thereto.
- 2. Member States undertake to adopt all appropriate measures that Community Citizens enjoy fully the rights referred in paragraph 1 of the Article.

-

¹ See Aderanti Adepoju (2000), "Issues and Recent Trends in International Migration in Sub-Saharan Africa", UNESCO, Blackwell Publishers.

² Kofi Annan

³ See ECOWAS Treaty 1975 attached as Appendices 1

3. Member States undertake to adopt, at national level, all measures necessary for the effective implementation of the provisions of this Article.

Oddly, the practice of the provisions of the Treaty and the Protocol on free movement of persons and goods leave little or nothing to be desired in the sub-region. At best, Community Citizens' experiences in the hands of visibly chaotic and disjointed states and non- states security actors at the sprawling sub-regional borders depicts and endorses harassment, extortion, brutality, threats to life or deportation, and undue delays⁴. Succinctly, an earlier study noted 25 security check points were observed within a 10 kilometers radius of a border, where only 5 is necessary for border security - namely the Customs, Immigration, Joint Anti-crime Patrol, Drug Law Enforcement Agency and that of Veterinary Quarantine Service. The hope of the Protocol success leading to economic integration agenda of the sub-region maybe dashed because the inconsistent movement of people, goods and services necessary for promotion of socio-economic growth and development of the sub-region owing to the dysfunctional border security management system across the West African borders. To this end, Dr. Mohammed Ibn Chambers⁵ strongly noted "the estimates are that intra-regional trade among West Africans countries is lower than 10 percent of our trade..., so the problems at the borders need to be dealt with seriously to facilitate free trade (and free movement of persons) in the sub-region".

Furthermore, the presence and activities of non-state security actors who most often are not equipped with the requisite capacity and skills needed in managing border safety and security complicates the situation. The non-state actors are not properly identified to either the travelling community or the state security actors, thereby creating ample opportunities for robbery, mugging, and confusion leaving fear among border users.

 $^{^{4}}$ See CLEEN Foundation Preliminary Study on the Nigeria-Benin Border. September 2004

⁵ Dr. Mohammed Ibn Chambers, Former Executive Secretary of ECOWAS, quoted in Beyond Declarations: Law Enforcement Officials and ECOWAS Protocols on Free Movement of Persons and Goods in West Africa. (eds) Okechukwu Ibeanu CLEEN Foundation, 2007

This report contains incisive findings and analysis of the actions or inactions of security actors that may have contributed to the distortion of the realisation of the provisions of the ECOWAS Protocol. The scope of the research is made up of 5 land border crossings straddling 7 countries in West Africa:

- ❖ Nigeria-Benin; Benin-Togo; Togo-Ghana which constitute the fast track ECOWAS and Co-Prosperity Alliance Zone (COPAZ)
- Cote d'Ivoire-Burkina Faso; and Cote d'Ivoire-Mali represent the migration corridor that links Cote d'Ivoire to its landlocked neighbors;

Thus, the research was executed to:

- Highlight the experiences of ECOWAS citizens travelling across the various national boundaries in the hands of law enforcement actors
- ❖ Document and examine the activities of border security actors that impede the realization of ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and Goods
- * Recommend practical policies that could be put in place by ECOWAS and its member countries to ensure better enforcement of the Protocol.

Analytical Framework

Ibeanu⁶ had aptly articulated two paradigms associated with the quests of regional or sub-regional bodies to achieving seamless integration and cooperations based on border contiguity.

First, using what he named Paradox of cohabitation, he noted regional integration has a tendency to present a paradox of cohabitation of integrative and separatist dispositions among states. This is often visible in the contradictions between legal provisions and the actual practices. There are numerous and elaborate articles in the ECOWAS Treaty supporting sub-regional integration and union, precisely, Article 59(1); but in actual practice, states along border lines are tacitum about

⁶ Ibid pg. 1

integration, and in some extreme cases are known through their actions to be counter – integrationist. In such contradictory relationships, the litany of statues serve the centripetal factors while the actual practices on trade, goods and movements of people serve the centrifugal factors. Instructively, this is also seen in the European Union over differences in immigrations resulting into what is known as Schengen visa irrespective of its strong integrative image. Similarly, in the North American Free Trade Area (NAFTA) the movement of goods and persons remain a major dividing issue, particularly from Mexico into the United States and Canada; described as a 'subordinate' relation, therefore dismissing the prospects of NAFTA as a tool of economic integration.

The sub-regional body of ECOWAS has not fared any better. In Article 2, paragraph 2, sub-paragraph (d) of ECOWAS Treaty calls on state parties to ensure by stages the abolition of obstacles to free movement persons, services and goods. Also Article 27, paragraph 1 confers the status of Community Citizenship on the citizens of member state and reiterated the abolishment of all obstacles to freedom of movement and residence within the Community. Paragraph 2 of Article 27 of the Treaty further provides for member states to exempt Community citizens from holding visitor's visa and residence permit and allow them to work and undertake commercial and industrial activities within their territories⁷. Significantly, these provisions were re-emphasized in the revised Treaty in Article 3 (2) (d) that captures the essence of the Community is the establishment of a common market through:

- 1. The liberalization of trade by the abolition, among Members States, of customs duties levied on imports and exports, and the abolition among Member States, of non-tariff barriers in order to establish a free trade area at the Community level;
- 2. The adoption of common external tariff and a common trade policy vis-à-vis third countries;
- 3. The removal, between Member States, of obstacles to the free movement of persons, goods, service and capital, and to the right of residence and establishment.

⁷ See ECOWAS Protocol A/P.1/5/79 Relating to Free Movement of Persons, Residence and Establishment.

However, practices of Member States at their border posts negates these laudable provisions as seen in duplicative security checks at crossed purposes, extortions, near absence of mutual trust and joint patrol operations, poor communications, maladministration, Community citizens profiling and discriminations. At all the borders studied, law enforcement officials demanded money despite statutory provision for free movement of persons and goods produced in West Africa irrespective whether or not one has the necessary documentations. Infact, the notoriety of the duplication of security agencies across the borders is evident in a statement accredited to a former Inspector General of Police, of Nigeria, Mr. Sunday Ehindero who noted, "Since the launching of a joint patrol..., our interaction has been epileptic. We have not met to reappraise strategies to meet the demands of our people., there is need for new modalities. The essence of this meeting is to work out modalities for joint patrol with vigor".

More paradoxical is Article 4, which says:

i. Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 3 above, Member states shall reserve the right to refuse admission into their territory to any Community citizen who comes within the category of inadmissible immigrant under its laws⁹.

So what constitute an inadmissible person? Would a challenge to acts of overt corrupt practices at the borders make one in-admissible? Or would Article 4 with all intents become a tool in the hands of unscrupulous security official's legitimate reason to contrive and deny community citizens the benefit of ECOWAS socio-economic integration pursuit?

At the regional level, a business mogul Alhaji Aliko Dangote¹⁰ and two African leaders¹¹ reacting to the demand of African Development Bank

9.6

⁸ See Guardian Newspaper online. www.guardiannewsngr.com/news August 11, 2006.

⁹ See ECOWAS Protocol A/P.1/5/79. Op.cit

¹⁰ See Leadership Newspaper online www.leadership.ng/news/369982 May 8 2014

¹¹ The statement named the two African leaders as President Paul Kagame of Rwanda, and Kenyan President Uhuru Kenyatta.

for the abolishment of visa requirement for travels within Africa and for Africans pressed for the initiative at the World Economic Summit in Abuja last year 2014. Put differently, the initiative was a call to action for regional integration to promote travels across the continent by easing visa constraints and removing other unnecessary barriers would contribute to boosting the continent's economies.

According to the versatile business mogul and the African leaders in their own rights, "true integration will take place only if people are able to move freely across the continent, and leaders need to take action to make this happen," noting that lack of political will and negative perception should not be allowed to undermine Africa's integration and economic growth.

Reiterating AfDB postulation, AfDB Chief Economist, Mthuli Ncube¹², speaking as a panellist on the topic: "Driving Competitiveness through Cooperation, Integration and Economic Growth" enjoins Nigeria, Kenya and South Africa to synergise and drive inclusive growth in the continent.

Second, Ibeanu¹³ further explained the difficulties in what he referred as 'the changing perception of Africa's boundaries'. Over the time, according to the scholar, there have been fundamental transformations in dominant perceptions of African boundaries, including West African boundaries in many circles. These transformations, he classified as; pan-Africanist, irredentist, nationalist, integrationist and protectionist may at any point depending on one's leaning become apt in explaining our problematic pursuit to regional or sub-regional integration. The challenges of Trans – border crimes support those calling for a protectionist approach to African borders. The pan-Africanist perspective condemns African colonial boundaries of divide and rule, which must be vanquished. On the same reason with the pan-Africanist but with a twist, the irredentist perspective believes that the colonial boundary of division of kith and kin must be re-drawn to encourage more natural ethnic alignment. Yet, in the aftermath of political independence, pan-

 $^{^{12}}$ AfDB Chief Economist, Mthuli Ncube as at the time of the World Economic Forum in Nigeria 2014.

¹³ Ibeanu Op.cit pg.4

Africanists who mid-wife the political independence transformed into nationalist, recognized the problems of our boundaries and argued that much more problems will emanate with any attempt to re-draw the boundaries because the boundaries have fallen into national sovereignty that must be respected and protected. Ibeanu¹⁴ further posited that by the 1970s, regional integration became a framework for continental development. The emergence of the integrationist sought mutually beneficial economic transactions and social exchange. Which in part is a combination of both the pan-Africanist - in their quest desired more centripetal factors on socio-cultural and economic fronts, and the nationalist who has come to accept the existing post - colonial geodelineation.

Methodology

The research methodology applied both primary and secondary data collection sources. The primary source involved desk reviews on literatures and publications including legal instruments on the subject. The secondary source was chiefly field based using well-constructed questionnaires and key interview questions¹⁵ designed by CLEEN Foundation and validated at a two day methodology workshop hosted by CLEEN Foundations. A Technical Committee, selected Field Researchers, representative of the ECOWAS union, officials from CLEEN Foundation, and leading scholars met in Lagos on the 28th and 29th of October 2013. After due consideration a Purposive Sampling technique was adopted to identify the sample frame for interrogations on the essence, effectiveness and challenges of the Protocol on free movement of persons, goods and capital against the practices of security agencies at the sub – regional borders.

A total of 275 questionnaires were administered at the 5 land border crossings straddling 7 countries in West Africa. Persons who qualified for the interview had actually crossed the borders, and constitute of mainly travellers, members of border communities and officials of the security

-

¹⁴ Ibid n5

¹⁵ See Research Questionnaire Appendices 2.

agencies. Each of the identified borders was administered 55 questionnaires broken down as follows: 5 for security agencies, and 25 on each side of the border posts targeting traders, tourists, transporters, workers and opinion leaders.

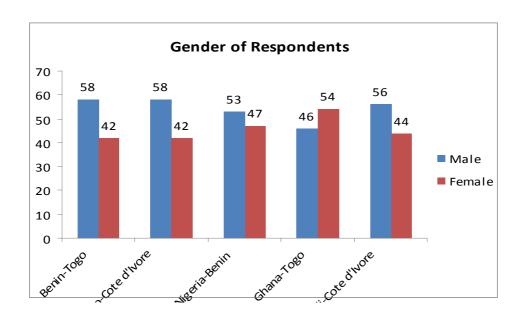
Key Findings

SECTION A:

SOCIO-ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF TRAVELERS AT WA BORDERS

Table 1: Gender

	Benin-Togo	Burkina faso- Cote d'Ivore	Nigeria-Benin	Ghana-Togo	Mali-Cote d'Ivore
Male	58	58	53	46	56
Female	42	42	47	54	44



In understanding the make-up of trans-border travellers' experiences with law enforcement, safety and security, it is critical to study the demography. On gender, 54% of our valid respondents were males and 46% females. This indicates the gap between the male and female respondents is not huge, but rather increasing because a previous study had indicated a 67.4% and 32.6% respectively. Aderanti's had earlier asserted that female migration as a family survival strategy has intensified in the sub-region.

Table 2: Age Distribution

Age of Respondents

	Togo-Benin	Burkina Faso & Cote d' ivoire	Nigeria-Benin	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire	Ghana –Togo
21-30yrs	4	3	8	10	18
31-40yrs	36	33	8	34	24
41-50yrs	36	33	45	14	41
51-60yrs	15	23	33	30	9
60 and above	9	10	8	12	9

The age brackets between 31 and 50 years constitute 60.1%. It is important to note that these age brackets constitute the most productive age group indicating migration across the borders are economically driven. And if properly conducted at the borders should increase our trade volumes, contribute to national GDPs and sustain the pursuit for sub-regional development. On a flip, this majority (31 to 50) is more

¹⁶ Ibeanu Op.cit pg. 12

 $^{^{17}}$ Adepoju Aderanti; 'Regional Organizations and Intra-regional migration in sub-Saharan Africa: challenges and prospects' International migration, 39 (6), pg. 45. 2001

likely to be less resisting and confrontational to the corrupt practices of security officials because they are less exuberant compared to 8.5% of younger persons.

Table 3: Level of Education

Education of respondents							
	Togo-Benin	Burkina Faso & Cote d' ivoire	Nigeria-Benin	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire	Ghana & Togo		
No formal School	7	38	10	49	11		
Primary education	22	20	25	18	23		
Secondary education	53	23	53	24	46		
Tertiary education	18	20	13	8	20		

22% of respondents do not have basic literacy education. A preponderant of the respondents is educated beyond basic, secondary and tertiary education at 76.9%. However, only 15.7% out of majority of 76.9% has post – secondary education. This leaves little to wonder about the level of awareness of the legal provisions among the respondents. The absence of organizations from the various home governments or civil society including ECOWAS with the aim of educating border users and officials of security agencies at the border post in vernacular languages in view of their educational background becomes critical.

Table 4: Occupation/Profession

Occupation / Profession of Respondents						
	Togo- Benin	Burkina Faso & Cote d' ivoire	Nigeria- Benin	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire	Ghana & Togo	
Clearing Agent	2	3	5		4	
Agent de transit	4	3	5	12	5	
Trader/market woman	52	45	38	47	44	
Artisan e.g. Vulcanize, mechanic	6	3	3		4	
Student	12	13	8	12	13	
Unemployed	4	8	13	18	13	
Others occupation	20	20	23	6	15	
Missionary		3	5	3	2	
Civil/Public servant		5	3	3	2	

Most of the respondents are traders with 44%; others are 8.4%, 2.6%, and 2.6% for Clearing Agents, Missionary and Public Servant respectively, while Artisans, Students, Un-employed, and 'others' are 3.2%, 11.6%, 11.2% and 16.8% respectively. Consequently, it is safe to say that migration in the sub-region is commercial driven. It involves movement of persons, goods, and services encouraged in the ECOWAS Protocol of Movement of persons, goods and service enshrined in Part II of Article 2. Comparatively, a similar study¹⁸, market women/traders had 38.7% compared to 44% in this study shows again an increase on commercial activities.

¹⁸ Ibeanu Op.cit pg. 14

Table 5: Mode of Travelling

Respondent's Means Traveling						
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria- Benin Border	Ghana & Togo Border	Togo-Benin Border	
Bicycle	4	3			2	
Private Vehicle	8	3	15		5	
Motor cycle	16	18	5	11	5	
Commercial Vehicle	71	75	73	79	80	
On foot			8	11	7	
Others		3				

Evidently, major transportation system is not yet fully developed in the sub-region. Rail and water transports are non-existent. Fledging air travels does not seem very popular, perhaps, because of cost implications. Road transport - private cars, commercial vehicles – buses, trucks and cars, motor cycles, and bicycles seems to be the mostly used means of transport with over 90%; out of which, commercial vehicles recorded 75.6%.

SECTION B:

PATTERN OF MIGRATION AND MOBILITY

Table 6: Origin of Journey & Final Destination B/W Borders: Mali & CIV and CIV & Burkina Faso

Mali-Cote d'Ivoi	re Border			
Where is the Origin of your journey % Where is your final destination %				
Cote d' Ivoire	45	Cote d' Ivoire	57	
Mali	53	Mali	35	
		Togo	8	

53% initiated their journey from Mali but only 35% ended their journey in Mali. 8% of those originating from Mali clearly indicated there final destination is in Togo. This suggests that the remaining 10% migrating from Mali had other final destinations than Mali. To buttress this, only 45% percent of those surveyed at this border started their journey from CIV, whereas 57% ended in CIV. Further, it points that the borders in the sub-region have become transit points for Community Citizens other than citizens of the border countries.

Burkina Faso-Cote d' ivoire Border					
Where is the Origin	of your journey %	Where is your final destination %			
Burkina-Faso	53	Burkina-Faso	55		
Cote d' Ivoire	48	Cote d' Ivoire	45		

The border post between CIV and Burkina Faso appeared balanced in terms of exit and entry an average 54% percent from Burkina Faso.

Table 7: Origin of Journey & Final Destination B/W Borders: Ghana & Togo and Togo & Benin

Ghana - Togo Border					
Where is the Origin of your journey % Where is your final destination %					
		Ghana	51		
Ghana	63	Nigeria	3		
Togo	37	Togo	46		

With an average of 57% to and from Ghana shows how strategic the commercial activities; or countries of Nigeria and Togo, particularly Togo, is to Ghana. An average of 41.5% shows those leaving and entering Togo.

Togo-Benin Bo	order		
Where is the Ori	gin of your journey %	Where is your final	destination %
Benin Republic	44	Togo	55
Togo	44	Benin Republic	44
Nigeria	7	Nigeria	2
Ghana	4		
Cote d'Ivore	2		

On the border between Togo and Benin Republic an average of 49.5% to and from Togo, while average of 44% to and from Benin. But what is also instructive is that the centrality of Benin Republic and Togo played out as other neighboring countries encountered at the border show they originated from countries other than Togo or Benin.

Table 8: Origin of Journey & Final Destination B/W Borders: Benin & Nigeria

Nigeria-Benin Border				
Where is the Origin of your journey % Where is your final destination %				
Benin	39	Cotonou	20	
Lagos	61	Lagos	70	
		Seme Border	10	

Clearly with average of 65.5% to and from Nigeria against 29.5% to and from Benin Republic throws up a couple of factors on the population strength of Nigeria and its strategic importance in commercial activities in the sub-region. At this point it is instructive to note that at other borders; migrants from Nigeria had become manifest specifically at the borders of Benin, Togo and Ghana.

It is also important to emphasize for the purpose of clarity in terms of size and volume of movement of persons and goods, countries like Republic of Benin, Togo and CIV under this study had two exit and entry points unlike Nigeria and Ghana, yet Nigeria indicated the highest average percentage 65.5% of to and from the country.

Table 9: Purpose of Journey

Purpose of journey					
	Mali- Cote d'Ivoire Border	Togo-Benin Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria- Benin Border	Ghana - Togo Border
Official trip	6	5			12
Educational visit	10	5	10	14	8

Tourism	10	9	18	29	20
Family and private visit	22	16	20		24
Business venture	52	58	35	43	36
Sports		4	5	14	
Others		2	13		

A substantial number of respondents travel for business activities with 44. 8%. Tourism and crossing the borders to visit family members recorded 17.2% and 16.4% respectively. Please note this is consistent with the study's finding on the pre-occupations of the border users which recorded 45.2% for traders and market women. Again, Benin/Togo border proved to be central and strategic with a 25.8% showing business purpose of travelling while Mali/CIV and Nigeria/Benin recorded 23.3% and 19.1% respectively.

Table 10: First Time Crossing

First Tim	First Time Crossing the border									
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Togo- Benin Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Ghana - Togo Border					
Yes	12	18	25	14	8					
No	88	82	75	86	92					

A substantial number of respondents across the sub-region are familiar with the routes and activities of security agencies officials. 84.6% of the respondents were not travelling the routes for the first time.

If "No" how	If "No" how many times have you crossed?								
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Togo- Benin Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Ghana - Togo Border				
1-3 times	9	16	21		15				

4-6 times	9	5	3	14	27
7-10 times	7	60	15		27
11 times and above	76	18	62	86	31

With 84.6% of the respondents indicating they are not travelling for the first time; we sought to find out the frequency of their travels. More than half of the respondents with 54.6% indicated that they have used the routes more than 11 times, and remarkably, Nigeria/Benin Border shows the most frequency with 31.5% showing volume of activities at the border post.

SECTION C:

CITIZENSHIP

Article 2, paragraph 2, sub paragraph (d) of the Treaty of ECOWAS stipulates that member States are to ensure by stages the abolition of obstacles to free movement of persons, services and capital. This means Community Citizens with valid travel documents; which includes passport or any other valid travel document establishing the identity of the holder with his/her photograph, issued by or on behalf of a Member state of which the traveler is a citizen and on which endorsement by immigration and emigration authorities may be made¹⁹, should move across the sub-region without let or hindrance. The first phase of the Protocol on free movement had clearly dealt with the abolition of visas and entry permit but indicated that valid travel documents including international health certificate, while Part IV of Article 5 further stipulated that for movement of persons, private and commercial vehicles registered in Member state may enter another state and allowed for 90 days and 15 days respectively provided the driver has:

- a) Valid driving license
- b) Matriculation certificate or log book

¹⁹ See Article 2, paragraph 2, sub paragraph (d) of ECOWAS Treaty

- c) Insurance policy recognized by Member States
- d) International customs documents recognized within the Community.

The possession of the required travelling documents are not been strictly adhered for many reasons across the borders. This indicates that Member states Law Enforcement officials at the borders are complicit in this failure to travel with the requisite travelling documents. It is their responsibility to ensure that border users of their Member state comply with the provision of Article 2 (2) of Chapter II of the Supplementary Protocol on the Code of Conduct for the Implementation of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and Establishment. However, it is instructive to note that at Togo/Benin border, Burkina Faso/CIV, Ghana/Togo, 78.6%, 77.7%, 78.1% do not have valid travel documents. At the border between Nigeria/Benin while 14% have valid travel documents, 53.9% have expired traveled documents. 85% at Mali/CIV had only National Identify Cards. Highlighting this, Ibeanu noted that many ECOWAS citizens are able to go through the cordon of law enforcement agencies at the border, inspite of not having valid travel documents because, the travellers; it seems might have paid a fee in lieu of documentation to enable them circumvent the grind and bureaucracy of getting travel papers.

Table 11: Travelling Documents Used for this trip.

	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Togo- Benin Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Nigeria- Benin Border
Official Passport	2				
Refugee Travel Documents	6				
Others	6	7		46	20
National Identity Card	85	59	73	10	8
Vaccination ID		33	10	3	
ECOWAS Ordinary passport	8		8	6	28
International Passport			6		18

Student ID		3	3	5
None			32	23

From the Table above, 10.8% of those surveyed across the borders had no means of identification, 46.2% had National Identity cards, only 0.3% which is less than 1% had official passport. Only 9% had Vaccination Card, 9.8% and 4.7% had ECOWAS passport and International passport respectively.

Table 12: Citizenship Awareness

Are	Are you aware that all national of ECOWAS countries are now ECOWAS citizens?								
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Togo-Benin Border	Burkina Faso-Cote d'ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Ghana - Togo Border				
Yes	61	84	55	74	40				
No	39	16	45	26	60				

Across the borders surveyed, there is a high knowledge of being ECOWAS Community Citizens with 62.8%. At the border between Togo and Benin the level of awareness was up to 84%, and ironically, at the other end of the border between Togo and Ghana level of awareness dropped to 40%.

Table 13: Feelings of Citizenship in a host Member State

When yo country?	When you are not in your home country, do you feel that you are treated the same as citizens of the host country?								
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Togo-Benin Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Ghana - Togo Border				
Yes	64	76	56	55	67				
No	36	24	44	45	33				

Following a high awareness level of Community Citizenship among respondents, we further sought to know if the level of awareness transcended into feeling of acceptance and equal treatment with host citizens in a host country. 63.6% indicated they feel being treated the same as citizens of host country.

Table 14: Awareness of Legal Frameworks

Legal Framework: Awareness of the ECOWAS protocol on free movement of persons

	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Togo-Benin Border	Burkina Faso-Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Ghana - Togo Border
Yes	47	30	48	80	49
No	53	70	52	20	51

Beyond the high notion of ECOWAS Citizenship among travelers, only 50% of our respondents are aware of the contents of ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of persons and goods, with 80% at the Nigeria/Benin border, perhaps, chiefly because of Nigeria's domineering population and the volume of trade emanating between Benin and Nigeria.

Awa	Awareness of the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme								
	Mali-Cote	Togo-Benin	Burkina Faso-Cote	Nigeria-Benin	Ghana - Togo				
	d'Ivoire Border	Border	d'ivoire Border	Border	Border				
Yes	51	13	40	78	18				
No	49	87	60	23	82				

With half of the travellers knowledgeable about ECOWAS Protocol on movement of persons and goods, the knowledge level reduced to 40% on their awareness of ECOWAS Trade Liberalization scheme, with 13% and 18% knowledge levels at Togo/Benin and Ghana/Togo borders. Again,

the Nigeria/Benin border shows good level of awareness about the Trade Liberalization scheme.

Table 15: Standard Procedure and Process at Immigrations & Customs Across

•	Would you say that immigration and custom procedure in this border are similar with those in other ECOWAS border points?								
	Mali-Cote	Togo-Benin	Burkina Faso-	Nigeria-	Ghana - Togo				
	d'Ivoire	Border	Cote d' ivoire	Benin	Border				
	Border		Border	Border					
Yes	10	14	6	3	8				
No	41	50	32	70	35				
Don't know	49	36	62	28	57				

46.4% said they don't know if immigrations and customs procedures are similar in other ECOWAS border points, while 45.6% said the procedure is not similar in other ECOWAS bothers. Only a small 8.2% said the procedure in other ECOWAS border points are similar. A fall back to the changing perception framework could explain why 45.6% indicated there are dissimilarity on immigration and customs procedure across the sub-region.

Table 16: Volume of Trade

Are yo	Are you crossing the border with goods today?									
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Togo-Benin Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Ghana - Togo Border					
Yes	50	46	45	38	48					
No	50	54	55	63	52					

An average total of 45.4% of travelers across the borders cross with goods, and at the Mali/CIV border point, there is slight increase to 50% of travelers who cross with goods.

Table 17: Transit Registration

•	Did you fill any official transit register/log book in any of the transit offices or borders?								
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Togo-Benin Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Ghana - Togo Border				
Yes	50	25	10	8	28				
No	50	75	90	55	59				

Only 24.2% of respondents registered their travels and movement of goods at borders, the remaining 75.8 % did not register at borders. This indicates the reason for a less than 50% volume of trade and commerce at the borders.

Table 18: Payment for Goods to Security Agents

Demand for payment for goods by security agencies								
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Togo-Benin Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border			
Custom	63	26	18	10	27			
Police	67	13	12	28	18			
Health	50			15				
Military	33	3	12		5			
Immigration		8	12		18			
Other agancies	50		17	17	3			

Customs has the highest percent of 28.8%, followed by the Police with 27.6% in demand from travellers to pay for their goods. Amongst the borders Mali/CIV has the highest percent of demand for payment with 43.8%, while Togo/Benin border has the lowest with 8.3% of demand for payment for goods by security agencies.

Table 19: Seizure of Goods

	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Togo-Benin Border
Custom	9	5	21	6	33
Police	9	0	9		9
Health	9	0	7		8
Military	10	0		6	14
Immigration	10	8	50		9

Immigrations topped the chart of agencies that seized goods with 15.4% and followed by Customs with 14.8%. The Military, Police and Health had 6%, 5.4%, and 4.8% respectively. The Nigeria/Benin border amongst the border had the least percent in seizure of goods with 2.4% while again, Mali/CIV had the highest rate of seizure with 17.4%.

Table 20: Time Delayed

On average, at what check point did you spend the least time									
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria- Benin Border	Togo-Benin Border				
Custom	29	57	33	5	40				
Police	59	4	10	3	28				
Health	5		26	10	9				
Others agencies	2			3					
Immigration	3	39		3	9				
Military	2		5	76	5				
Gendarme			26		9				

Travelers' were least delayed at the Gendarme check point with 7%, and Immigration and Police check points also recorded least time of delay at 10.8% and 20.8% respectively. At the borders, the Military had the least time of 2% in Mali/CIV. In Ghana/Togo the Police had the least time of 4%, while the military had 5% in Burkina Faso/CIV border. In Nigeria/Benin the Police and Immigrations had 3% each least time, and at Togo/Benin the Military also had a least time of 5%.

On avera	On average, at what check point did you spend the most time								
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Togo-Benin Border				
Custom	29	57	39	50	58				
Police	59	4	55	5	27				
Military	2	39							

	Immigration	2		45	4
Ī	Others agencies				11
	Health	5	5		

On flip side of time most delayed, Customs had the highest record of 46.6%, followed by the Police with 30%. Most delays at the borders are suffered between the Customs and Police Services. This primarily indicates passage of goods and services.

SECTION D:

SECURITY

Table 21: Demand for Travel Documents

Did s	Did security agents at this border ask to see your travel documents during this trip?									
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Togo-Benin Border					
Yes	80	67	85	87	87					
No	20	33	15	13	13					

81.2% indicated they were asked to present their travel documents, and this was seen above 60% across the borders in the sub-region.

Table 22: Harassment by Security Agents

Would you say security/law enforcement agents harassed you or your co-travellers during this trip?									
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria- Benin Border	Togo-Benin Border				
Yourself	5	22	18	27	18				
Your co-	68	26	38	18	18				

traveller					
None of you	27	52	44	55	70

Remarkably, 49.6% of respondents indicated that they were neither harassed nor their co-travellers. But at Mali/CIV border 40.4% said their co-travellers were harassed. Only 30% said they were directly harassed at Nigeria/Benin border point.

Table 23: Victims of Road Accident or Robbery

Were you victim of "Robbery" OR Road accident on this trip?									
Yes	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Togo-Benin Border				
Robbery	2	4	3	0	11				
Road Accident	8	4	3	0	4				

Notwithstanding the hectic and crowded nature of our borders in the sub-region, only 4% indicated they had been victims of robbery with 55% of the robbery victims recorded at the Togo/Benin border points. On Road Accidents, again we recorded a low 3.8% with 42.1% victims at the Mali/CIV border point.

Did you he this trip?	Did you hear of any "Robbery OR Road accidents" or an incidence of robbery on this trip?										
Yes	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Togo-Benin Border						
Robbery	8	0	5	10	39						
Road Accident	42	4	5	5	56						

On a further interrogation, we sought to test the knowledge of respondents on the incidences of robbery or road accidents. 12.4% which is 3 times bigger than victims of robbery among our respondents said they have heard about robbery along the border points, and again, 62.9% said they heard about it at the Togo/Benin border point. Also, on Road Accidents, 22.4% which is 5 times bigger than victims of road accidents said they heard about road accidents along the routes with 50% saying they heard about the road accidents at the Togo/Benin border.

Table 24: Victim of other Crimes

Have	Have you been a victim of any type of crime on this border?									
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Togo-Benin Border					
Yes	27	26	18	30	12					
No	73	74	82	70	88					

However, when we expanded the classification of crimes, only 22.6% indicated they have experienced one type of crime or the other. This indicates that crime rate at the borders are low and this is without prejudice dark or grey crime statistics because responses were not sought from security officials at the borders or perception of fear of crime pervasive along the border points.

If "Yes" which crime was it?									
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria- Benin Border	Togo-Benin Border				
Unlawful arrest and detention by security agencies	38		9	19					

Assault	23	7	18	13	
Drug trafficking	15			13	
Armed Robbery	15	29		19	20
Kidnapping	8				
Theft		14	9	6	60
Attempted Murder		50	55	25	
other crimes			9		
Rape/Attempted Rape				6	20

For those 22.6% who indicated they have been victims to any other crime, we sought a further breakdown of the crimes. Attempted Murder recorded 26%, followed by Theft with 17.8%, Armed Robbery 16.6%. Unlawful arrest and detention and Assault recorded 13.2% and 12.2% respectively. Trafficking in Drugs, and Rape or attempted Rape recorded 5.6% and 5.2% respectively. Kidnaping and 'Other' crimes recorded 1.65 and 1.8% respectively.

Table 25: Major Crime

Apart from the crime you were victim of, what do you think is the main crime problem at this border									
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria- Benin Border	Togo-Benin Border				
Armed Robbery	45	16		31	30				
Theft	12	64	6	49	35				
Drug trafficking	9	4	6	3	18				

Assault	9	8		5	
Rape/Attempted Rape	9				
Other crimes	9		44		
Attempted Murder	3	8		5	13
Kidnapping	3		3		
Unlawful arrest and detention by security agencies			41	7	5

The least crimes at the border points are kidnapping with 1.2% and rape with 1.8%. Theft is the main crime at the border points with 33.2%. Armed robbery, and unlawful arrest and detention recorded 24.4% and 10.6% respectively. And theft is more likely to happen at the border point of Ghana/Togo with 38.5%, Nigeria/Benin point with 29.5% and 21% at the Togo/Benin point. However, respondents' money or goods are not likely to be stolen at the CIV/Burkina Faso border point with 3.6%.

Table 26: Feeling of Safety

Generally	Generally, how safe do you feel crossing this border?									
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Togo-Benin Border					
Very safe	19		16	15	22					
Safe	35	46	50	15	41					
Not safe	46	54	26	68	37					
Don't know			8	3						

46.2% indicated they don't feel safe at the border points. An addition of those who indicated they feel safe and very safe shows that a total 51.8% of the respondents feel safe at the borders at a breakdown of 37.4% and14.4% respectively. But not many people feel safe at the Nigeria/Benin border point with 67.3% indicating not safe and 14.8% each says they feel safe and very safe.

Table 27: Payment of Money to Cross

Did any of the agencies demand money to allow you cross the border?									
Yes	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Togo-Benin Border				
Customs	34	55	10	35					
Police	47	52	28	59	35				
Health	18	47	15	28	31				
Military	50	45		14	28				
Immigration		55	94	59	21				
Other agencies		42		16	30				

Respondents indicated demanded payment from Immigration with 24.3%, followed by the Police with 23.5%, while the Military and Customs had 14.5% and 14.2% respectively. The Health agents also had 13.9% and 'other' agencies had 9.3%.

If you gave the money, was it because"?"									
Yes	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Togo-Benin Border	Nigeria-Benin Border				
Other travellers were paying	90	83	47	33	3				

You were afraid of being sent back	86	33	41	53	3
You don't know what the rules are	75	43	17	20	3
You were afraid of being beaten	67	35	11	18	
You did't have the right travel documents	33	30	11	53	
Other reasons	94	27	11	22	18

24.1% respondents made payments at the various borders because others (co-travellers) paid. 20.3% were afraid of being sent back to their originating destination, 14.9% were ignorant of the rules and 12.3% were afraid of being beaten by security agents at the border points. 11.9% indicated they paid in lieu of the right documentations, and 'other' reasons for payment were 16.2%.

If you gave the	If you gave the money, Were you?									
Yes	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso- Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Togo-Benin Border					
Stopped by the person at the entrance and asked to pay	75	50	10	40	66					
Isolated from the order passengers and threatened so you paid	80	25	5	13	3					
Simply asked to pay and pass		54	35		33					
Beaten and forced to pay		25	5		14					

Searched and the money taken by force	33	8	17
Delayed and threatened to pay or be sent back	29	8	21

37.1% were stopped at the entrance and asked to pay money before crossing the border point, 19.4% were isolated from among the respondents and asked to pay. 18.7% were simply asked to pay and pass. Therefore, those who complied easily amounted to 75.2% of the travelers. Only 6.7% were beaten and forced before they paid. However, 8.9% each was either delayed; threatened being sent back or searched and money taken forcefully from them at the borders. It is revealing however, that only about 25% showed some forms of resistance or challenge to the system.

Table 28: Treatment of Women and Children at border points

Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border										
In your opinion, what is the treatment of "Women" at this border by Security agencies?										
	Custom	Police	Health	Military	Others					
Hostile	6	8	6	0	4					
Difficult	36	35	37	43	37					
Pleasant	33	30	37	43	33					
Pleasant but firm	14	19	9	14	11					
Very Helpful	11	8	11	0	15					
In your opinion, w	hat is the trea	atment of "C	hildren" at this	s border by Security	agencies?					
	Custom	Police	Health	Military	Others					
Hostile	3	5	3	8	5					
Difficult	24	30	34	38	24					

Pleasant	38	35	38	15	43
Pleasant but firm	17	19	13	8	14
Very Helpful	17	11	13	31	14

Respondents' indicated about 4.8% of security agencies show hostility towards women at the border point between Mali/CIV. 37.6% think the security agencies are rather difficult dealing with women. 35.2% say the security agencies are pleasant in dealing with women and 13.4% thinks the security agencies are pleasant but firm in dealing with women. 9% indicated that the security agencies are helpful to the women at the border. Put together, a total of 57.6% believe that security agencies are sensitive and treat women pleasantly, very pleasantly and very helpful in dealing with women at the Mali/CIV border point. Further, at the same border point, 33.8% of the respondents think the security agencies treat children at the border point pleasantly. 14.2% and 17.2% believe that children are treated pleasantly but firmly and very helpfully by security agencies at the border. Only 30% thinks that security agencies are difficult in treating children, while 4.8% believe security agencies are hostile to children at the border point. However, a resounding 65.2% think security agencies are pleasant, very pleasant and very helpful to children at the border point.

Ghana - Togo Border								
In your opinion, wh	nat is the trea	tment of "Wome	en" at this b	order by Secu	rity agencies?			
	Custom	Immigration	Police	Health	Military	Others		
Hostile	23	26	26	26	26	20		
Difficult	14	14	14	14	14	6		
Pleasant	23	20	20	20	17	31		
Pleasant but firm	3	3	3	3	3	3		
Very Helpful	37	37	37	37	40	40		

your opinion,	nion, what is the treatment of "Children" at this border by Security agencies?								
	Custom	Immigration	Police	Health	Military	Others			
Hostile	12	11	6	6	3	3			
Difficult	6	6	9	6	3	3			
Pleasant	38	37	31	34	32	34			
Pleasant but firm	6	9	14	17	24	23			
Very Helpful	38	37	40	37	38	37			

At the border point between Ghana/Togo, 38% of the respondents believe that security agencies are very helpful to women at the border point. Additional 21.8% thinks security agencies are pleasant when dealing with women. Total of both responses leave us with 59.8% of those who believe that women are treated pleasantly and very helpfully. 24.5% and another 12. 6% making a total of 37.1% rather believe that security agencies are hostile and difficult to women respectively. Children at the Ghana/Togo border point, is roundly believed to be treated pleasantly, pleasantly but firmly and very helpfully with 87.6%. Only 12.3% believed they are treated with hostile or difficult approach by security agencies.

Burkina Faso-Cote d' ivoire Border								
In your opinion, wh	nat is the trea	tment of "Wome	en" at this b	order by Secu	rity agencies?			
	Custom	Immigration	Police	Health	Military	Others		
Hostile	5	17	5	3	11	13		
Difficult	15	31	15	15	37	37		
Pleasant	33	33	33	41	34	34		
Pleasant but firm	31	17	28	26	18	16		
Very Helpful	15	3	15	15	0	0		

In your opinion, what is the treatment of "Children" at this border by Security agencies?								
	Custom	Immigration	Police	Health	Military	Others		
Difficult	13	8	13	11	8	11		
Pleasant	21	21	18	18	19	18		
Pleasant but firm	45	51	49	50	49	47		
Very Helpful	21	21	21	21	24	24		

At the border point between BF/and CIV, women are also pleasantly, pleasantly but firm, and very well helped and treated by security agencies as 65.6,% indicated. Only 9% said they considered security agencies hostile, while 25.1% indicated that they security agencies are difficult. On the treatment of children, there was no consideration of hostility in the way security agencies treat children, however, 10.6% considered security agencies as difficult dealing with children. An overwhelming 89.3% indicated that the security agencies treated children pleasantly, pleasantly but firmly and were very helpful.

Nigeria-Beni	n Border				
In your opinion,	what is the treat	ment of "Women"	at this border	by Security a	gencies?
	Custom	Immigrations	Police	Military	Others
Hostile	23	25	8	30	45
Difficult	60	63	78	28	42
Pleasant	15	10	13	30	3
Very Helpful	3	3	3	13	9
In your opinion,	what is the treat	ment of "Children"	at this borde	er by Security	agencies?
	Custom	Immigration	Police	Health	Military
Hostile	5	8	0	0	0

Difficult	35	40	28	16	28
Pleasant	50	40	45	47	33
Pleasant but firm	3	5	15	18	31
Very Helpful	8	8	13	18	8

A twist when compared to other border points shows that with 53.7% - more than half of the respondents; security agencies at the Nigeria/Benin border are considered difficult dealing with women. 25.9% also indicated that the security agencies are hostile to women. Only 14% considered the security agencies pleasant, and a further 6.1% considered them very helpful to women at the border point. But on the treatment of children, 42.9% considered the security agencies pleasant, while 29.1% considered them difficult dealing with children at the border point. 2.5% considered the security agencies treatment to children hostile and 14.35 considered them pleasant but firm. Only 10.9% indicated they are very helpful in dealing with children.

Togo-Benin Border								
In your opinion, wha	at is the treatm	ent of "Women"	at this border	by Security ager	ncies?			
	Custom	Police	Health	Military	Others			
Hostile	2	4	5	2	7			
Difficult	9	15	5	5	5			
Pleasant	29	27	27	29	29			
Pleasant but firm	2	2	4	5	2			
Very Helpful	58	53	58	58	56			
In your opinion, wha	at is the treatm	ent of "Children"	at this borde	r by Security age	ncies?			
	Custom	Immigration	Police	Health	Military	Others		
Hostile	4	5	4	4	4	4		
Difficult	5	5	11	11	7	7		
Pleasant	31	24	25	25	25	25		
Pleasant but firm	4	5	4	5	5	5		
Very Helpful	56	60	56	55	58	58		

At Togo/Benin border point, there were resounding acknowledgement and perhaps appreciation too how security agencies treat women. 56.8% considered security agencies very helpful the way they treat women. Additional 28.3% considered pleasant. Only 3% considered the security agencies pleasant but firm, while only 4% considered them hostile in dealing with women. 7.8% only also considered them difficult. Similarly too, 57.4% considered security agencies very helpful in their treatment of children, 25.9% and 4.6% indicated they are pleasant and pleasant but firm respectively when dealing with children. Only 4.1% thought they were hostile when dealing with children, 7.7% thought they were difficult when dealing with children.

Table 29: Overall Feeling

Overall, ho	Overall, how safe would you say feel on this journey?								
	Mali-Cote d'Ivoire Border	Ghana - Togo Border	Burkina Faso-Cote d' ivoire Border	Nigeria-Benin Border	Togo-Benin Border				
Very safe	10	8	36	23	30				
Safe	38	56	21	17	31				
Not sure	15	8	18	14	17				
Unsafe	37	28	21	43	7				
Very unsafe			5	3	15				

32.5% indicated they generally feel safe, and 27.1% says they feel un-safe. But interestingly, 21.3% also indicated they feel very safe with only 4.5% saying they feel very un-safe. However, 14.3% indicating they are not sure about the general safety.