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**The Diaspora and Nigeria-Ghana Relations:
1979-2010**

JUNE 2013



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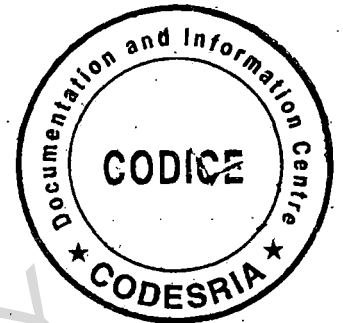
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**THE DIASPORA AND NIGERIA-GHANA RELATIONS
(1979-2010)**

BY



**FAYOMI OLUYEMI OYENIKE
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**A Ph.D THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL
SCIENCE AND INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN PARTIAL
FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY (Ph.D) IN INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS, SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES, COLLEGE OF
DEVELOPMENT STUDIES, COVENANT UNIVERSITY, OTA,
NIGERIA.**

JUNE, 2013

DECLARATION

It is hereby declared that this thesis titled, "The Diaspora and Nigeria-Ghana Relations (1979-2010)", submitted to the Department of Political Science and International Relations, Covenant University, Ota, Nigeria, was carried out by me, under the supervision of Professor Mathew Ola-Rotimi Ajayi of Landmark University, Omu-Aran, Kwara State and co-supervised by Professor Theophilus Oyeyemi Fadayomi, Covenant University, Ota, Nigeria.

It is further stated that this work has not been submitted for the award of degree in this or any other institution. All sources of knowledge used have been duly acknowledged.

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CERTIFICATION

It is to certify that this study titled “The Diaspora and Nigeria-Ghana Relations (1979-2010)” was carried out by **Fayomi, Oluyemi O.** (Matriculation Number: CU03GP00019), of the Department of Political Science and International Relations, College of Development Studies, Covenant University, Ota, Nigeria, under our supervision and that the thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree in this or any other university.

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Co-supervisor

Signature and Date

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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to three important multi-dimensional personalities that have impacted me tremendously - the Almighty God (Alpha, Omega, Ageless and Changeless), I thank you for the grace; Reverend John O. Oyelowo (my father of blessed memory). I wish you had stayed, may be this journey would not have been extended, and Clement Fayomi (my beloved husband, father and best friend).

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

*“Appreciation is a wonderful thing,
It makes what is excellent in others belong
to us as well”—Voltaire (French Author,
Humanist and Rationalist (1694-1778))*

It gives me great pleasure in expressing my gratitude to all those people who have supported me and had contributed immensely in making this thesis possible. Several people have given me the opportunity to take this path in the first place and have provided enthusiastic guidance along the way.

First of all, I would like to thank my creator, the giver of life more abundantly for the gift of life. Indeed God is not slack in His promise. Oh Lord, I thank you for the grace that makes the journey great. To Bishop David Oyedepo, Sir, thanks for the words of faith that illuminate and remove the scars. The Vice-Chancellor, Covenant University, Professor C.K. Ayo and the Deputy Vice-Chancellors, Dr. T.O. Abioye and Professor Atayero, Professor Charles Ogbologo, the Dean, School of Post graduate Studies, and the Dean, College of Development Studies, Professor Oluranti Olurinola.

I would like to appreciate the unwavering support of the HOD of Political Science and International Relations, Dr. Sheriff, F. Folarin. Thanks and God bless you and your family.

My sincere appreciation goes to Deputy Dean, School of Social Sciences, Dr. D. Gberevbie, Deputy Dean, School of Business, Professor K. Adeyemi, Deputy Dean, School of Human Resource Development, Prof. P. Edewor for your encouragement, HOD of Psychology, Professor Alao for your caring nature and father-figure, HOD, Languages, Dr. Innocent Chilua for your advice, HOD, Mass Communications, Prof. Idowu Sobowale, HOD, Sociology, Dr. H. Abimbola; Dr. A. Gesinde, former HOD, psychology for the advice; and Dr. & Mrs. Gbadebo Adejumo for the statistical analysis and the encouragements.

Two people deserve the recognition for showing me entrance into Ph.D, my Supervisor and Co-supervisor, Professors Mathew Ola-rotimi Ajayi and Theophilus Oyeyemi Fadayomi, I appreciate your interventions and in addition your commitment to our project from the onset to the end is amazing. I hero-worship you for your consistent support and inspiration. You encouraged and challenged me in a patient and helpful manner. All these have shaped my thinking about many issues.

Credit also goes to my all the Professors in Covenant University for their concerns and expression of goodwill to me. I will particularly mention Prof. J.A.T. Ojo, our kind distinguished Professor, for his prayers and father-figure role. I will like to acknowledge the following people for their gestures of goodwill towards me that are displayed in prayers, advice, mentoring and kindness : Baba Adinni of Ogbomosholand and the Grand Patron & Matron of All Nigerians Community in Ghana (Alhaji & Alhaja Gani Lawal), Prof. & Dr. (Mrs.) Kayode Soremekun, Prof. & Deaconess Adeyemi, Prof. and Mrs. Aderanti Adepoju, Prof. and Mrs. Oucho, Prof. Ade-Turton, Prof. Bello, Prof. Awonuga, Prof. and Prof. (Mrs.) Femi Ayadi, Dr. and Dr. (Mrs. U. Uwuigbe, Prof. & Mrs. Asiwaju, Pastor & Mrs. Ufia, Prof. & Pastor (Mrs.) Daramola, Pastor (Barr.) & Deaconess Baruwa, Mr. & Mrs. Kayode Alabaja (M.D. Kay Global), Deacon & Deaconess Murphy Erhirhie, Pastor & Dr. (Mrs.) David Ajayi, Bro Felix Chidozie, Miss Faith Olu-Owolabi, Engr. Tolu Olurinola, Pastor & Mrs. Taiwo, Elder (Pastor) Oluwalana, Mr. & Mrs. Ayodeji Oluwalana, Mr. & Mrs. Omolade Akinlaja, Deacon & Deaconess Nkwoh and Pastor & Deaconess Eke Williams. Pastor & Deacons Kalu Igbani, Pastor & Deaconess Kalu, Deacon & Mrs Igbani, Pastor & Mrs. Dunamis, Dr. & Lanre Ikuteyi, Dr. and Mr. N. Ekeayanwu, Chief (Mrs) Modupe Odegbami, Osaretin and Osagie Uwuigbe, Mrs. Tar, Yetunde Omojuwa, and Pastor & Mrs Isreal Okntete, Amarachukwu, Onyinyechukwu, and Samuel Ekeayanwu, Dr. & Mrs. Anake, Dr. & Mrs. Benson , Chief Adeniji (Dayo' dad).

While working on my thesis, I had opportunity to present my research in several Conferences and Workshops in Sweden, US, Canada, Botswana, South Korea, Germany, India, Senegal, Kenya, Ghana and South Africa. I would like to appreciate the funding institutions that supported me during my Ph.D Programme: Covenant University, for the Ph.D Research Grant, CODESRIA for the Small Grant for Thesis writing, Social Sciences Research Council, Canadian International Development Programme (CIDA), Centre for International Governance and Innovation (CIGI), Canada, American Political Science Association (APSA), International Political Science Association, United IHDP/UNU, Partnership for African Social and Governance Research (PASGR), Nairobi; African Borderland Networks, McMaster University, Hamilton, Canada, University of London, School of Oriental African Studies (SOAS), African Studies Association, VAD, Mainz, Germany, International Political Science Association (IPSA) and International Sociological Association.

Thank you all for supporting and inspiring me.

The faculty and staff of the Department of Political Science and International Relations deserve my appreciation. I appreciate the love shown to me by Dr. Moses Duruji, Dr. Ibietan, Mrs. E. Owolabi, Bro. Felix Chidozie, Mr Bankole Olorunyomi, Mr. Joshua, Mr. Oni, Mr. Agbude, Mr. ilemobola, Mrs. D. K. Udoh, Mrs. Lady Ajayi, Miss Faith Oviesogie, Mrs. Excellence, Mr. Shodipe, Miss Rosemary, Miss Babatunde, Pastor Philip J.A., Seun Ogbeidi and Mr. & Mrs. Bunmi Afolabi.

My sincere thanks also go to Prof. Bonny Ibhawoh, McMaster University and the faculty members of the Department of History, McMaster University, and Hamilton, Canada for making my Fellowship period an exciting experience academically, spiritually and socially. Trendy Wendy and Mrs. Ibhawoh, Ehiane, Osazua and Ivone, thanks for the care and expression of agape love.

I would like to thank my family: my mother, Madam Sarah .A. Oyelowo for the motherly role, care and prayers. My appreciation is also extended to my siblings for their prayers.

I wish to honour and appreciate posthumously the contributions of my father, Revd John O. Oyelowo, for his unparalleled love and large-heartedness to me from birth till he was called to glory. I am proud of your accomplishments and the values you stood for. "The memory of the just is blessed (Prov. 10:7). Sir, indeed your memory is blessed and I wish you had lived longer.

My unreserved gratitude goes to my beloved husband and children, Eniola and Oluwatomilola who have been wonderful and most inspiring. In particular, the patience and understanding shown by my husband during this period is greatly appreciated. You are the best!

Thank God for the wisdom and perseverance that He bestowed upon me during this research project, and indeed, throughout my life: "I can do everything through Him who gives me strength" (Philippians 4: 13).). "History will be kind to me for I intend to write it" Winston Churchill (British Politician (1874-1965). "An investment in Knowledge always pays the best interest" Benjamin Franklin (US author, diplomat, inventor, Physicist, Politician & Printer (1706-1790).

Fayomi, Oluyemi.O.

June, 2013

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ACP:	African, Asian and Pacific Countries
ADB:	African Development Bank
AD:	After the Death of Christ
AFRC:	Armed Forces Ruling Council
ANCG:	All Nigerian Communities in Ghana
APRM:	African Peer Review Mechanism
AU:	African Union
BC:	Before Christ
BECD:	Bilateral Economic Cooperation Department
CEMAC:	Central African Monetary and Economic Community
CFA:	African Financial Community
COMESA:	Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa
CEN-SAD:	Community of Sahel-Saharan States
EAC:	East African Community
ECCAS:	Economic Community of Central African States
ECGLS:	Economic Community of the Great Lakes States
DFID:	Department of International Development
ECA:	Economic Commission for Africa
ECOWAS:	Economic Community of West African States
EEC:	European Economic Community
EU:	European Union
FDI:	Foreign Direct Investment
FG:	Federal Government
FGDs:	Focus Group Discussions
FRN:	Federal Republic of Nigeria
FNPG:	Forum of Nigerian Professionals in Ghana
GDP:	Gross Domestic Product
GIS:	Ghana Immigration Service
GSS:	Ghana Statistical Service
IBB:	Ibrahim Badamasi Babangida
IFAFE:	Initiatives des Femmes Africaines de France et d'Europe
IGAD:	Inter-Governmental Authority on Development
IOC:	Indian Ocean Commission
IOM:	International Organisation of Migration
IPe:	International Political Economy
MB:	Migration Bureau
MIDR:	The Ministry of Tourism and Diaspora Relations
MFA:	Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MMYE:	Manpower, Youth and Employment
MRU:	Mano River Union
NEPAD:	New Partnership for African Development
NAGHACON:	National Association of Ghanaian Communities in Nigeria
NUGS:	National Union of Ghana Students
NPP:	New Patriotic Party
NFP:	Nigerian Foreign Policy
NIDO:	Nigerian in Diaspora Organisation
NNVS:	Nigerian National Volunteering Services
NIIA:	Nigerian Institute of International Affairs
NIS:	Nigeria Immigration Service
NDC:	National Democratic Congress
NPG:	Nigerian Professionals in Ghana
NPP:	National Patriotic Party.
OAU:	Organization of African Unity
PNDC:	Provisional National Defence Council
RECs:	Regional Economic Communities
ROPA:	Representation of People Amendment
SACU:	Southern African Customs Union
SADC:	Southern African Development Community
SMEs:	Small-to-Medium size Enterprises
TNCs:	Transnational Corporations
TOKTEN:	Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Network
UK:	United Kingdom
UEMOA:	West African Economic and Monetary Union
UMA:	Arab Maghreb Union
UEMOA:	West African Economic and Monetary Union
UDEAC:	Union of Central African States
UN/UNO:	United Nations Organization
UNSIAD:	United Nations Special Initiative on Africa's Development
US/USA:	United States of America
USAID:	United States Agency for International Development
WACB:	West African Central Bank
WAMI:	West African Monetary Institutions
WAMZ:	West African Monetary Zone

Abstract

The migration of Africans within West Africa is far from being a recent phenomenon. People moved within and across the ethnic lines before the colonial era, but in recent times the number of African emigrants has risen significantly, especially in the 21st Century. African diasporas within the African continent, especially in the sub-region of West Africa are often overlooked actors in the area of development and integration. Therefore, this study examined the roles of diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria in the areas of development and sub-regional integration in West Africa and how they are enhanced or diminished by the ECOWAS treaty, as a formal institution of development and integration in West Africa. Also, the contributions of African diasporas outside of West-African countries is an issue that has not been well articulated in the foreign policies of Nigeria and Ghana for the purpose of actualising the integration agenda of the ECOWAS. This study adopted a mixed research design, a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods. Up to 357 Nigerians living in Ghana and 211 Ghanaians living in Nigeria participated in the study. The ratio of males to females among Nigerian diasporas was 8 to 1 while the Ghanaian diasporas had a ratio of about 7 to 1. The mean ages of Nigerian diasporas was 24.6 years and Ghanaian diasporas was 45.6 years. Three research questions were raised and answered. The findings revealed that both Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas contributed to the social, economic, political and cultural development of Ghana and Nigeria respectively. The present state of diaspora linkages between Nigeria and Ghana was found to be supportive of the sub-regional integration agenda of ECOWAS. The findings of hypotheses revealed that Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas are contributing to the development of their countries of origin and destination. The formal institutional arrangements such as ECOWAS Protocol was found to be operational and aiding the developmental activities of Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas. The linkages between Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas and their countries of destination and origin were found to enhance Nigeria and Ghana bilateral relations. It was concluded that the ECOWAS community leaders aimed at a borderless West Africa when they signed the ECOWAS treaty, but the officials entrusted with implementing the policy seem to be self-centered and not community-oriented. This study recommends among others that in order to facilitate diaspora engagement in the development process of Nigeria and Ghana, the Nigerian and Ghanaian governments should strengthen their links with the existing diaspora networks and organisations, such as religious organisations and communities, associations, and venues of engagement created and maintained by the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Migration is considered as the movement of people from one geographical region to another, which may be temporary or permanent (Adewale, 2005). Migration of people across national borders and continents is a precursor to diaspora. The evolution of humanity is marked by migration resulting in the movement of individuals and groups of people. The history of migration in Africa is complex and contemporary migration trends in Africa are rooted in historical antecedents. The migration of Africans within West Africa is far from being a recent phenomenon. People moved within and across the ethnic lines before the colonial era. In recent times the number of African emigrants has risen significantly, especially in the 21st Century.

Therefore, with the increasing interconnectedness of the global economy, international migration has gained significance on the world agenda. Hollified (2003) states that it was in the mid- to late 1990s that the discipline of International Relations began to recognise that international population movements can have a dramatic effect on the security and foreign policy of States.

The causes of population movements have been diverse. They include war, economic crises, marginalisation and exclusion which are responsible for pushing large numbers of people to seek survival or better living away from their countries of origin. Other people left their homelands voluntarily, and are attracted by job opportunities and better wages in other countries. Poor living conditions, violence and armed conflicts, environmental problems, and the growing gap between rich and poor countries: all these factors greatly influence current migration trends. For example, many leave their homes due to inadequacy of fertile pastures and arable land, food, water, work or other fundamental requirements. The consequences of environmental catastrophes, such as drought and floods, can also force thousands to leave their native countries. The growing gap between the rich and the poor is the most significant driving force for global migration. Tourism, television and the Internet all enhance the attractiveness of migration. They make the poor aware of the wealth of the rich. The increasing growth of air travel facilitates journeys to far-away industrialised countries. So far,

only a fraction of those willing to consider migrating have actually been able to travel to their preferred destination on other continents.

Therefore, migration is important for peace, stability and development at the national, sub-regional and regional levels. There are dynamism and complexity in migration trends in Africa. These are reflected in the diversifications of migration destinations, transformations of labour flows into commercial migration, feminisation of migration because of the increasing number of women that are migrating from origin countries in Africa, the large movement of refugees because of the ethnic conflicts in the continent, and because of the activities of the regional economic organisations such as Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and South African Development Community (SADC).

The potential for diasporas to help transform their origin countries has received considerable attention from the national and local authorities; international institutions and the private sectors. There is an emerging consensus that countries can cooperate to create triple wins - for diasporas (the outcome of migration), for their countries of origin and for the destination countries that receive them.

According to the World Bank (2008) African diasporas accounted for about \$20 billion remittances sent to sub-Saharan Africa. Despite the current economic downturn, a recent analysis by World Bank experts estimate that remittance flows to Africa will drop only slightly to \$19 billion in 2009. By any measure, Africans in the Diaspora has clearly returned huge sums of money to Africa, showing that Africans are by far the biggest donors and financial contributors to African development.

However, a key challenge for African States who already face serious human resource shortages is skills migration or 'brain drain'. The African human resource pool is continuously depleted as the educated choose to emigrate and apply their skills abroad. In the case of the health sector, African countries are facing increasing demand for restructuring of the sector as a result of HIV/AIDS and other diseases and a net depletion of their health work force. Several findings have reported the contributions of diasporas from other continents to the development of African countries, but not much have been said of diasporas within West African countries especially diasporas in Nigeria and Ghana.

The increasing interdependence of the global economy has made migration to gain significance on the global agenda. While greater attention is paid to the African diasporas in North America, Europe and other parts of the developed world, the contemporary migration

patterns in West Africa indicate that only a small number of migrants actually move to Europe and the USA and that intra and inter-country movements within the Sub-region of West Africa are and continue to be a central feature of people's life.

Although, immediately after the independence of most of the African States, the consolidation of boundaries by national governments began to hinder cross-border migration, the South-South and South-North migrations developed simultaneously in the early 1960s. And since the 1970s, there have been movements of highly skilled migrants first to more prosperous parts of the region (for example, Ghana to Nigeria) and later to other African countries, Europe and North America. They are invariably attracted by relatively higher salaries and better prospects for improved living conditions. In the process of migration countries such as Senegal has become a transit country for migrants seeking to enter Europe via the Canary Islands. Also, countries which were once immigrant-receiving have become migrant-sending countries.

Consequently, since the late 1980s, traditional labour-importing countries (Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana) and attractive destinations for migrants (Ghana, Nigeria, and Senegal) have experienced political and economic crises, which have resulted in the out-migration of their nationals. In recent years, Ghana has, however, experienced a flow of return migrants facilitated by improved economic conditions and political stability (Adepoju, 2005).

Awumbila *et al.* (2009) states that an important dimension of contemporary West African migration is that many West Africa countries are now simultaneously immigration, emigration and transit countries. The main countries of immigration in the sub-region are Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Senegal and Nigeria. Conflicts and environmental degradation further aggravate the pressure for migration from poorer to relatively prosperous regions, within and outside the sub-region.

The present-day migration patterns indicate the overwhelmingly regional nature of West African international migration. In Benin, Burkina Faso, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Togo, over two-thirds of emigrants are living within West and Central Africa. For the region as a whole, over the last decade, 61.7 per cent of emigrants have moved to another part of the region; 8.2 per cent to Central Africa, 0.3 per cent to the Gulf, 14.8 per cent to various parts of Europe and 6.0 per cent to North America (de Haas, 2008).

In addition, Awumbila *et al.* (2009) are of the opinion that despite the recent diversification of West African migration, it is important to highlight that intra-regional migration remains far more important than migration from West Africa to the rest of the world.

However, the formation of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) in 1975 opened the opportunities to formally migrate from one country to other member countries of ECOWAS. The phase one of the ECOWAS Protocol was signed in Dakar on May 29, 1979 and was ratified by member States on April 8, 1980. This phase allows citizens from Member-States with valid travel documents and international health certificate to enter the territory of other Member-States without visa through official entry points for a period not exceeding ninety days. Should there be any reason to stay for more than ninety days, the individual would be required to request for permission for an extension of stay from the appropriate authority in that Member-State. In addition, the Protocol states that Member - States reserve the right to refuse permission of entry to any ECOWAS member State citizen who falls within the category of inadmissible immigrant in accordance with the concerned country's laws.

The Phase Two which is the Right of Residence was signed in Abuja on July 1, 1986 and was ratified on May 12, 1989. The second phase allows a citizen from a member State to reside in another Member State with the valid residence card or permit issued by the host Member-State in accordance with the latter's rules and regulations.

The Phase Three which is the Right of Establishment was signed in Banjul on 29th May, 1990 and was ratified on 19th May, 1992. The third phase allows citizens of the fifteen Member- States of ECOWAS to settle or establish in another Member-State. He/she has the opportunity to engage in economic activities, including the management of enterprises, under the same conditions as defined by the laws of the host Member State for its own nationals. Thus, the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, the Right of Residence and Establishment, has dramatically increased the scope of migration in the fifteen Member-States of West Africa. This Protocol enables migrants to travel back and forth in order to relate to their people within the West African region and also engage in business activities simultaneously. While emphasising on the unofficial and official migration dynamics of the West African nationals, Adepoju (2008) describes migration in West Africa as an emigration-diaspora-return continuum. African diaspora within West Africa in the communities of destination rarely sever ties with the home countries. They regard their residency in the

destination country as temporary because their ultimate goal is to return home before or on retirement.

Apart from the Protocol, ECOWAS has undertaken several measures which include the introduction of ECOWAS Travel Certificate and the ECOWAS Passport, the establishment of national committees to monitor ECOWAS programmes on free movement of persons and vehicles and the introduction of the Brown Card Motor Vehicle Insurance Scheme. In addition, during the recent meeting of the Heads of State and Government of the West African Monetary Zone in Abuja, on June 20, 2009, there was the postponement of the take-off of the planned single currency and monetary union in the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) from 2009 to 2015. The decision was taken as a result of the effect of the current global economic meltdown on the sub-region and the implications on the inauguration of the monetary union. Other decisions that were taken included the extension of the mandate of West African Monetary Institutions (WAMI) from 2010 to 2015, the adoption of a schedule of payments of contributions to the capital of the West African Central Bank (WACB) and the stabilization and cooperation fund by member States and finally the need for WAMI to design a comprehensive strategy for sensitisation on West African Monetary Zone (WAMZ) programme for consideration by the Convergence Council.

Diasporic associations are formed in both Nigeria and Ghana which make for identification and belonging in order to engage in developmental activities in home and destination countries. Association of the Nigerian diasporas in Ghana called the All Nigerian Community in Ghana (ANCG) was formed on June 9, 1961. In 2000, the Forum of Nigerian Professionals in Ghana (FNPG) was also formed. The Ghanaian counterpart of the diaspora association was formed in Nigeria and called the National Association of Ghanaian Communities in Nigeria (NAGHACON). The association was formed in 1988 but was officially inaugurated in 1995, with branches in all the states of Nigeria.

The activities of diasporas and their organisations in Ghana and Nigeria in the socio-economic development in both countries of origin and destination are essential for enhancing diplomatic relations between the two countries. Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas and their associations operate in transnational settings by taking advantage of the opportunities that are available to them as a result of the Protocol on Free movement of Persons, and Rights of Residence and Establishment. The process enables the diasporas and their associations to operate transnational networks crisscrossing Ghana and Nigeria. They are able to build social, economic, and political bridges with valuable benefits across borders. As succinctly

expressed by Weiner (1985), the bilaterisation of migration may also become linked to other bilateral issues which are trade, investment, aid, water resources, and environments - involving a variety of diplomatic and bureaucratic agencies hitherto not related to migration issues. He further stipulates that any investigation on international migration issues should involve a close study of the changing intra-bureaucratic relationships within both sending and receiving countries.

The South-South migration involving different categories of migrants both skilled and unskilled workers remains the magnitude of migration streams. The migration takes place in diverse political, economic and ecological settings but remains essentially intra-regional. The bulk of the migrations with the resultant diasporic statuses play fundamental roles in the livelihood strategies of many families and communities in West Africa. The study of intra-African migration streams within West African sub-region is necessary for planning and implementing holistic migration policies for the development of West Africa and Africa as a whole. The volume of internal migration in African countries was aptly highlighted by Findley (1997):

By any measure, millions of Africans are migrating from one place to another within their countries. Without regard for migration type, one in five Africans is no longer living in his or her birthplace ... migration to urban areas or particular cities ranges from 12 percent to 66 percent. In many cities and regions, the proportions are well above 33 percent (1997: 20).

As a result of this development, the issues of migration and diasporas' activities in both Nigeria and Ghana have become a subject of bilateral and regional discussions. At the bilateral level, it raises the issue of socio-economic integration. This is reiterated by the Chairman of ECOWAS as emphasised by Onuorah and Obayuwana (2009) that the focus of ECOWAS discussions will remain on the imperatives of the socio-political and economic stability and meaningful integration'

The abolition of the mandatory residency permit, introduction of Brown Card travel certificates, and the elimination of the ubiquitous border formalities are aimed at facilitating intra-regional movements of persons. Progress was constrained by multiple cooperation

groupings and memberships, conflicting objectives, inconsistent political support, growing national identity, depressed economies, and xenophobia against “foreigners”.

In this study, the conditions of the diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria, especially with respect to their enterprises and contributions to the development of their countries and destination countries were examined in relation to the ECOWAS Protocol for the purpose of moving freely on all territories of Member-States. The Protocol on Free movement of Persons enables the nationals of ECOWAS Member-States to move without restriction to all territories of Member-States (and thus to exempt them from holding visitors’ visa and residence permits). The protocol on the Rights of Residence allows them to reside in a Member-State other than their country of origin. The Protocol on the Right of Establishment allows them to establish in one country and exercise an employment there or undertake commercial and industrial activities.

Therefore, within the context of ECOWAS integrative programmes, it is imperative to state that effective bilateral relations between Nigeria and Ghana, as a result of diasporas developmental activities, can be emulated by other Member-States of ECOWAS within the region, culminating in the strengthening of socio-economic cum political integration of the sub-region.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

African diasporas within the African continent, especially in the sub-region of West Africa are often overlooked actors in the area of development and integration. This issue becomes manifest as very little attention is paid to diasporas in the policy making and expanding literature on African migration. Attention has always been paid to the African diasporas in the Western countries especially US and Europe. In addition, the intra-regional migration movements are very dynamic – their directions and patterns frequently change and some countries are at the same time both sending and receiving migrants. It should be noted that despite its scale and complexity, the intra-regional migration in West Africa still remains understudied, largely because of the incomplete and unreliable data.

Thus, harnessing the contributions of African diasporas outside of Western countries is an issue that has not been well articulated in the foreign policies of Nigeria and Ghana for the purpose of actualising the sub-regional integration agenda of the ECOWAS, as well as the African Union. In addition, the Protocols on Free Movement of Persons, Rights of Residence

and Establishment have not been examined in terms of their effectiveness. Therefore, the issues of concern, in this study include what are the roles of diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria in the areas of development and sub-regional integration in West Africa and to what extent are these roles enhanced or diminished by the ECOWAS treaty, as a formal institution of development and integration in West Africa?

1.3 Research Questions

In order to address the problem already stated, the following research questions are raised:

1. What are the contributions of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas to the social, economic, political and cultural development of Ghana and Nigeria respectively?
2. Are the formal institutional arrangements, e.g. ECOWAS Protocol enhancing or obstructing the developmental roles of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria respectively?
3. Is the present state of diaspora linkages as observed between Nigeria and Ghana supportive of the integration agenda of ECOWAS of which Nigeria-Ghana relations is a subset?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The study generally seeks to examine the extent of the contributions of the African diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria to the development of their countries of destination and origin within the purview of ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment. The Specific Objectives are to:

1. Analyse the contributions of Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas to social, economic, political and cultural developments of origin and destination countries;
2. Examine the importance of the diaspora linkages in improving or strengthening the Nigeria-Ghana bilateral relations;
3. Assess the functions of formal institutional arrangements such as the ECOWAS Protocol in supporting the activities of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria towards the actualisation of the integration agenda of ECOWAS; and
4. To make policy recommendations towards enhancing Nigeria and Ghana bilateral relations from the perspectives of diasporas' activities at home and abroad.

1.5 Research Hypotheses

Three null hypotheses were raised and tested in this study to achieve the objectives stated. These hypotheses are as follows:

Hypothesis 1

H₀: Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria respectively are not contributing to the development of their countries of origin and destination.

Hypothesis 2

H₀: The formal institutional arrangements such as ECOWAS Protocol aiding the developmental activities of Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas are not operational.

Hypothesis 3

H₀: The linkages between Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas and their countries of destination and origin are not enhancing Nigeria-Ghana bilateral relations.

1.6 Justification for the Study

African diasporas are key contemporary issues in African international relations. It is an issue that is strategically vital, and if managed, could facilitate the larger issue of regional integration in Africa. In the rapidly growing literature on the African diasporas in the discipline of International Relations, little attention has been paid to the African diasporas in the continent. Consequently, little is known about their contributions in the areas of African social, political, economic and cultural development. This study is designed to generate new knowledge, information and policy insights, which will inform the migration policies of the countries in Africa, for the purpose of creating a conducive environment for the diasporas to effectively play their developmental roles. The fostering of the development of formal structures and networks between the African diaspora associations in the two countries and the newly emerging institutions in Ghana and Nigeria dealing with diasporas and development related issues (Nigerian National Volunteer Services and the Ministry of Tourism and Diaspora Relations) are crucial to this study. The purpose of the study is to highlight the importance of diasporic activities in the integration agenda of ECOWAS and African Union. African diasporas within the African continent can be agents of development

and regional integration politically, socially, economically and culturally, if their contributions are harnessed through effective policy and formal institutional arrangements.

The needs and benefits of regional integration have spawned the proliferation of regional economies and protocols across Africa. Hence, the African Union at the Council of Ministers meeting in Lusaka, 2001 adopted Resolution CM/Dec 614 (LXXIV) that calls on Member States to ensure the integration of migration into the national and foreign policy agenda for security, stability, development and cooperation. Although, the African Union migration policy framework is a comprehensive and integrative document, it is not binding on the Member-States. Therefore, the study will provide the basis for the African Union and governments of African countries to incorporate the concerns of the African diasporas within the African continent into policies on migration and regional integration agenda in order to harness the contributions of the African diasporas in Africa.

The incorporation of the concerns of the diasporas within the West African countries into the policies that are formulated at the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and National House of Representatives in the Member-States of ECOWAS will lead to more coordinated regional policies on development and integration that will be well implemented. As a result, the diasporas will be more effective in the associational obligations and encouraged to participate in the development of the countries of origin and destination. The study is, therefore, relevant in supporting the integrative programmes of the ECOWAS and will bring to the fore the strategic position of the African diasporas as re-emerging transnationalists in the literature on international relations of Africa.

The outcome of this study serves the purpose of reviewing and improving the quality of policies on sub-regional integration of ECOWAS. This will encourage the collection and analysis of accurate statistics or data on the movement and the monitoring of systems of flow of remittance for the peoples' benefits and development of West African States and the African continent. On the whole, the study is relevant in supporting the need for a search for new forms of community that can overcome some of the development challenges of the contemporary international system.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The study focuses on the activities of the diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria. In this context, contributions of individuals and associations in Nigeria and Ghana shall be examined at home

and origin countries. The study periodisation is between 1979 and 2010 for the purpose of detailed discussion and evaluation of their activities. The study period started in 1979, the year ECOWAS adopted a Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and the Right of Residence and Establishment. The protocol, along with the supplementary texts later added, testifies to member States' determination to place the free intra-regional movement of persons at the heart of the regional integration process. This was the formal post-colonial arrangement that facilitated the movement of Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas from their home countries.

When the government of Nigeria under the administration of President Shehu Shagari in the early 1980s declared that all migrants living in Nigeria without work and residential permits should leave, the expulsion order specifically targeted low-skilled workers. It exempted professionals with proper work permits and their families. A substantial number of Ghanaian migrants were affected. In 1985, the Nigerian government repeated the expulsion process which affected some of the Ghanaian diasporas. The policy continued till the end of the General Ibrahim Babangida's administration in 1993. The activities of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in the two countries shall be examined from 1993; during General Abacha's regime (1993-1998), interim government of President Ernest Shonekan, and administrations of President Olusegun Obasanjo and President Musa Yar'dua between 1999 and 2009.

The Southwestern Nigeria and the Accra Region and Kumasi in Ghana were the focused regions in both countries because of the large concentration of diasporas in the areas. For example, the headquarters of the diasporas associations are located in Lagos and Accra respectively. The ECOWAS Protocols were assessed in line with the regional integration agenda of ECOWAS during the period of study. The study analysis focused on the contributions of Nigerians and Ghanaians to home and destination countries of Nigeria and Ghana within the context of the bilateral relations that exist between the two countries.

1.8 Operational Definitions

Migration: Migration is defined here as the movement of people across country (and State) boundaries between Ghana and Nigeria for the purpose of establishing a new place of residence. Since the beginning of the second millennium, the importance of international migrations and their implications at economic, social, cultural, political and demographic

levels have been a burning issue. Thus, in 2010, 214 million migrant people were recorded worldwide, which is 3.1% of the world population (World Bank 2011). Africa contributes to this phenomenon in which over 175 million of migrants were counted in the year 2000 globally that is 3.1% of the world population (World Bank, 2011). Africa has largely contributed to this phenomenon because in the year 2000, out of the 175 million of migrants, 16.2 million among them were from Africa. The same year, Africa experienced 3.6 million of refugees and 9 million of displaced people. Sub-Saharan Africa contributes to these large world movements in general but distinguishes itself by the predominance of the regional characteristics of its people's migrations.

In Africa, most international migrations take place regionally. Thus, according to Trémolières (2009), 86% of West African migrants (about 7.5 million people) settle in another country of West Africa, whereas approximately 0.77 million in Europe and 0.39 million in North America (CEDEAO-CSAO/OCDE, 2006:18). This statistics was corroborated by OECD that the 88.4 percent of West African migrants still go to other ECOWAS destinations (OECD/SWAC, 2006).

However, it should be emphasised that both the United Nations Population Division and the World Bank estimate that globally the South-South migration accounts for about 50% of all migration from the South. If irregular migration was included, these estimates would be higher. The population movements between developing countries and emerging economies usually take place within regions, often between countries with contiguous borders. The differences in income between sending and receiving countries are much smaller than those in case of South-North migration. In addition, the South-South movements are very dynamic – their directions and patterns frequently change and some countries are at the same time both sending and receiving migrants. However, despite its scale and complexity, the South-South migration still remains poorly understood and understudied, largely because of the little and unreliable data.

The importance of regional migrations resulted into some political measures and the adoption of legal provisions in order to make profit out of it and minimise the risks. For example, this is the case for the Common Migration approach adopted by ECOWAS Member-States in January, 2009. (Trémolières, 2009). The growing interest for the international migrations issues is also expressed through the increasing attention given to migrants' monetary transfers. Despite the fact that the importance of economic flows represents a potential source

of development funding especially in the countries of origin, there are still a lot of discussions about means and modalities of transfer, how these amounts of money are used and how to find solutions to improve their effective contribution to development. An analysis of the migrants' entry and living conditions in their host countries including the difficulties they encounter for their circulation and stay in Western and African countries, will contribute to a better understanding of these populations and their migration path. It will help understand how their migration capital (economic, technical, cultural and social) is constituted and how it evolves. This knowledge will help to improve the intercontinental dialogue on international migrations management.

Diaspora: Diaspora is the movement of indigenous peoples or a population of a common (ethnicity-wise) people to a place other than the homeland or home/settled. It implies settlement in another country, i.e. change of residence. Diaspora is a contested term because it refers to people who have left their place of origin for a destination place and yet maintain identification with the place of origin in some way. Literarily, diaspora means dispersion and it originally referred to the movement of the Jews from their homeland. Contemporarily, the term is used in relation to any number of cultural and/or ethnic groups that are dispersed around the world from their places of origin. Their movement may be forced or voluntary. There may emerge diasporas because of war and natural disaster on one hand which is referred to as forced migration or political, economic and opportunistic migration on the other hand.

Over the past 30 years, diasporas have increasingly become significant players in the international political environment. Examples of such politically active diaspora communities are the Jewish-, Greek-, Cuban- and Armenian-American associations that represent some of the strongest lobbies in United States politics. Diasporic Iraqi groups and individuals played crucial roles in encouraging American military intervention in Iraq in 2003. Many countries, such as Israel and Armenia, regard their diasporas as strategically vital political assets, while others, such as India, the Philippines, and other migrant-sending countries, have been recognising the massive contributions their diasporas make through remittances.

There are many reasons which have prompted the prominent roles diasporas are playing on the world stage for over the past three decades. These include new communication technologies which have improved their abilities to mobilise, and multiculturalism policies in receiving countries which have also revitalised ethnic pride and assertiveness. Also important are the growth of economic resources due to increasing migrant numbers, and the

profound changes in the world political system itself as more democratic nation-states emerged following the fall of communist regimes. In a range of policy areas in West Africa today — including foreign affairs, economic development, and international migration — the place of diasporas increasingly needs to be considered. The unique aspect of the term diaspora is the continuous identification with the place of origin which may be expressed in the formation of communities in their places of destination across national boundaries. In addition, the identification quality may specifically be expressed through maintenance of language, cultural practices, endogenous marriage, religious practices, modes of dress et cetera.

In this study, emphasis is placed on modern diaspora that is just more recent. In a widely influential study, Scheffer (1986) defines modern diasporas as ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin—their homelands. Hence Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria have settled permanently in these countries but still maintain ties with the homelands. Hence, the word "diaspora" has become a term of self-identification among many varied groups who migrated or whose forbearers migrated from one place to another or to several other places.

Development: Although development is very broad, it can be viewed as a process and not a level that influences growth and restructuring of economy, the social and political aspects and culture to enhance the economic well being of a community. Therefore, development means a progression from a simpler or lower to a more advanced, mature, or complex form or stage. In addition, it is seen as the gradual advancement or growth through a series of progressive changes. It is a path to achieve certain goals. Rodney (1976) notes that development in human society is a many-sided process which comprises of the physical development which includes man-made goods produced by the use of technology, cultural development which comprises of the values, norms and traditions of a society, and personal development which includes the psychological directions of individual. Following the Brundtland Commission Report (World Commission on Environment and Development, 1987), development means sustained social well-being, and that well-being means not just current well-being, but well-being across generation. A society or state would enjoy sustainable development if relative to its population, inclusive investment is not negative. It is also the sense in which accumulation of wealth corresponds to sustained development. Hence, an economy enjoys sustainable

development if and relative to its population, its inclusive wealth does not decline. An economy would enjoy sustainable development if relative to its population it is not negative

Thus, development is a continuing utility to mankind and the process of developing should be thought of as a continuing process and not as one that is static. This explains the reason why such countries like Japan, Canada, the European Union and the United States continue to engage in research to become more developed. In other words, they are still developing.

Finally, as far as development related issues are concerned, a broad and balanced view of development should comprise the cultural, economic, political, social, personal, and physical aspects of the society.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

This review examines the concept of diasporas, types of diasporas and their characteristics. It goes further to discuss both pre-modern and modern forms of African diasporas. It examines ECOWAS as a sub-regional integration institution in the process of the movement of persons across country boundaries between Ghana and Nigeria to form diasporas. Subsequently, the roles of diasporas and their contributions to development in Ghana and Nigeria are discussed as a prelude to Nigeria-Ghana relations within the purview of regional integration of ECOWAS.

2.2. Meaning of Diaspora

The term diaspora has become subject to different interpretations in recent times. This is partly due to its association first with anthropological and social studies and then with migration and broader development studies. The quest for a definition of diaspora seems an impossible task because of the plurality of the historical experiences, trajectories, and agendas. One of the first approaches tried to build a definition based on the idea of trauma, exile and sentimental recollection (Safran, 1991).

However, it became evident that producing a definition based on the memories of one diasporic community (the Jewish experience) and thus, turning it into a paradigm, could be less fruitful. New approaches then, explored through a more ethnographic approach different routes point not only to the variety of the histories, but also to the wider politico-economic conditions that instigate transnational movements and also, the epistemological framework that tries to comprehend the latter with the re-launching of the term "diasporas" (Clifford, 1997).

Vertovec (2005) states that the term "diaspora" for close to two decades has become a word of self-identification among many various groups who migrated or whose forbearers migrated from one place to another or to several other places. In addition, it is also observed that in a large number of websites visited, most self-described diasporas do not emphasise the melancholy aspects long associated with the classic Jewish, African, or Armenian diasporas. Rather, they celebrate a culturally creative, socially dynamic, and often exciting meaning.

Also, any longed-for return to the homeland now tends to be downplayed in favour of ideological identification or transnational practice that can link their communities with the homeland.

How did the term apply to the experience of the Africans?

Wilson (1997) traces the origin of the expression African diaspora to the period between the International Congress of Negro Writers and Artists sponsored by *Presence Africaine* in Paris in 1950 and the International congress of African Historians that convened in Dar es Salam in 1965. The expression appears throughout the lectures delivered by the two of the founders of African diaspora studies, George Shepperson and Joseph E. Harris.

George Shepperson was one of the first scholars to begin a dialogue on the diasporas and he viewed diaspora as migration of the people which was part of world history. Although, Shepperson's views of the African diasporas focused on migration outside of Africa, unlike some current scholars, he did recognise the important role of migration within the continent of Africa. Two examples of such migrations were the circumstances surrounding the creation of Sierra Leone and the movement of people of Malawi to parts of South, Central and East Africa in the 1980s (Shepperson, 1968).

Currently, self-defined diasporas tend to find esteem — and a kind of strength-in-numbers — through using the term. This shift in the adoption and meaning of "diaspora" has undoubtedly stimulated debate in a burgeoning body of literature, among academics across the Humanities and Social Sciences as regard its typical reference points, characteristic features, limits, and social dynamics. Critics of the term "diaspora" object to the ways it may suggest homogeneity and a historically fixed identity, as well as values and practices within a dispersed population. And who decides who belongs, and according to what criteria? Is it normally based on original nation-state, religion, regional, ethno-linguistic or other membership criteria? Is descent the only defining condition of membership — and for how many generations after migration does membership last? In order to have real meaning, claims and criteria surrounding diasporic boundaries and membership should be self-ascribed. It seems illegitimate for others to decide if a person is part of a diaspora if she does not regard herself as part of such a group.

Vertovec (2005) also asserts that belonging to a diaspora entails a consciousness of, or emotional attachment to, commonly claimed origins and cultural attributes associated with them. Such origins and attributes may emphasise ethno-linguistic, regional, religious,

national, or other features. Concerns for homeland developments and the plight of co-diaspora members in other parts of the world flow from this consciousness and emotional attachment. Such a definition cuts through questions around the number of generations passed, degree of linguistic competence, extent of co-ethnic social relations, number of festivals celebrated, ethnic meals cooked, or style of dress worn. That is, just "how ethnic" one is does not affect whether and to what extent someone might feel themselves part of a diaspora. With such an understanding, we can appreciate how diasporic identification may be lost entirely, may ebb and flow, be hot or cold, switched on or off, remain active or dormant. The degree of attachment — and mobilization around it — often depends upon events affecting the purported homeland.

In addition, Vertovec (2005), reiterates that natural disasters, conflicts, and changes of government tend to bring out attachments to homelands. For example, the Asian tsunami in December 2004 mobilized Sri Lankan, Indian, Thai, and Indonesian groups abroad. Actual exchanges of resources or information, or marriages or visits taking place across borders — between members of a diaspora themselves or with people in the homeland — are transnational activities. To be transnational means to belong to two or more societies at the same time. At that moment, the diaspora functions as a transnational community. When such exchanges do not take place (sometimes over many generations), but people maintain identification with the homeland and co-ethnics elsewhere, there is only a diaspora. In this way, not all diasporas are transnational communities, but transnational communities arise within diasporas.

In the 21st Century, which is the age of technology, the actual technology makes it far easier for diasporas to function as transnational communities for identity maintenance. In particular, cheap air travel and phone calls, the Internet, and satellite television have made staying in touch affordable. Indeed, the proliferation of diaspora-related websites testifies to the strength of common interests and identity.

Today, diaspora is the term often used to describe practically any population which is considered 'deterritorialised' or 'transnational' - that is, which has originated in a land other than which it currently resides, and whose social, economic and political networks across the borders of nation-states or, indeed, span the globe.

In this study, however, it was observed that despite the engagement of many different disciplines with diasporas, a definition of the term could still be a complex affair.

Furthermore, it shows that any attempt to fashion out a common definition should take into consideration historical perceptions of nationhood, ideologies of belonging, and disciplinary boundaries. On the other hand, the realisation of this difficulty might function as common ground among diverse experiences often described as diasporas. In this context, a straightforward definition might be a chimera or unrealistic, but studying the conditions that produce diasporas as socio-political and academic categories might be a more fruitful approach.

The Hebrew word is “Tefutzot” from the ancient Greek verb (*diaspeirein*) which means “to sow, to scatter about, and disperse”. Tetlow (2005) states that in ancient Greek, the term diaspora was used to refer to citizens of a dominant city-state who emigrated to a conquered land with the purpose of colonisation, to assimilate the territory into the empire. The first modern confirmation of ‘diaspora’ could be traceable to 1876 from the Greek diaspora and the term was assimilated into English Language by the mid 1950s (Gwyther, 2007). According to Kantor (1992), the term “diaspora” is used to refer to the dispersion of religious or ethnic groups from their homelands, either forced or voluntary.

Currently, much more than in the past, diasporas include complex mixes of people who have arrived at different times, through different channels, through different means and with very different legal statuses. With increasing globalisation and transnationalisation forces, diaspora has acquired a broader meaning – to refer to persons outside their country of origin and covering diverse groups such as political refugees, migrant workers, ethnic and racial minorities and overseas communities. Onuoha (2005) views diasporas as any people or ethnic population that resides in other lands and countries, different from that of their origin, but who still maintain strong economic, political and social ties with their homelands.

Orozco (2006) maintains that diasporas are not formed as a “consequence of dispersion, common national ancestry, or simply any kind of connection.” His argument is that there is a process by which groups are motivated or influenced to become diaspora. The elements of this process are: consciousness about the need or desire for a link with the homeland at the community level; the homeland’s perceptions of emigrants; the outreach policies of governments in the homeland; and the existence of relationships between source and destination countries. This however, seems to mix up definitional issues with the expected role of the diasporas as a development resource.

Sheffer's definition of the diaspora is closer to the broader definitions currently being used: "Modern Diasporas are ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin—their homelands" (Sheffer 1986). Some writers have adopted this definition in their discussions (Koser, 2003; Newland and Patrick, 2004). While Sheffer (1986) discussed the issue before the emergence of the more recent development discourse where diasporas are seen as potential agents of home country development, he stressed trans-state networks and the 'triadic relations' between host, origin states and the diasporas themselves.

One can also look at some operational definitions adopted by countries/regions or regional entities in regard to diaspora. The definition adopted by the African Union (AU) Executive Council according to Mahamoud (2007) implies a condition that is based on the willingness of the diaspora to contribute to African development: "The African Diaspora consists of peoples of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union." African diaspora, referred to as "Africa's Sixth region" by the African Union, is strategically placed in the global political economy to provide vital links between the developed world and Africa. African diaspora remains the greatest offshore asset of the African continent in view of its considerable human and financial resources potentials that need to be harnessed for the overall benefit of the continent. This is closer to the Orozco's definition of willingness to contribute to home countries.

The European Commission (2005) uses a broad definition in its communication on Migration and Development. The diaspora from a given country therefore includes not only the nationals from that country living abroad, but also migrants who, living abroad, have acquired the citizenship of their country of residence (often losing their original citizenship in the process) and migrants' children born abroad, whatever their citizenship, as long as they retain some form of commitment to and/or interest in their country of origin or that of their parents. In some extreme cases, such as the Chinese diaspora, people may still feel part of a country's diaspora even though their family has been living in another country for several generations. This also highlights the links between generations and the sense of identity.

What appears more suitable for the present discussion is the definition by Van-Hear and Frank- Pieke. Van Hear and Frank Pieke (2004) define diaspora as populations of migrant

origin who are scattered among two or more destinations, between which there develop multifarious links involving flows and exchanges of people and resources: between the homeland and destination countries and among destination countries. While the subtle distinctions between recent or new diasporas and transnational communities can be appreciated, in this study the researcher shall use them interchangeably, although the two concepts of diaspora and migration are often confused.

Although, the term "diaspora" involves the movement of a particular people to several places at once or over time, migration is usually of a more limited scope and duration, and essentially is the movement of individuals from one point to another within a polity or outside of it. The difference between "diaspora" and "migration" is one of motive: a migration is willing, a diaspora is forced. The force can be either physical or economic. An important part of any diaspora is the discrimination against the diasporic group by the dominant social groups both in their homelands and the places where they resettle. While this discrimination might moderate over time, it does not diminish the final, crucial aspect of a diaspora: the yearning to return and recreate the lost homeland. It is this yearning which lies at the center of the concept of "diaspora."

The boundaries between the two processes are very elastic because diasporas are the products of several migratory streams. Thus, the contemporary movement of Jamaicans to England is a migration, but it also constitutes a part of diasporic stream. Diasporic communities, generally speaking, possess a number of characteristics which include links with the homeland and cultural backgrounds. Regardless of their location, members of a diaspora share an emotional attachment to their ancestral land, are cognisant of their dispersal and, if conditions warrant, of their oppression and alienation in the countries in which they reside. Members of diasporic communities also tend to possess a sense of "racial," ethnic, or religious identity that transcends geographic boundaries, to share broad cultural similarities, and sometimes to articulate a desire to return to their original homeland. No diasporic community manifests all of these characteristics or shares with the same intensity and identity with its scattered ancestral kin.

Finally, while conceiving diasporas we should do away with the assumptions that views and experiences are shared within a dispersed population/diasporas despite their common identification. This is especially the case among diasporas of people who migrated at different historical junctures spanning into decades.

Recent scholarship has distinguished between different kinds of diaspora, based on its causes such as imperialism, trade or labour migrations, or by the kind of social coherence within the diaspora community and its ties to the ancestral lands. Some diaspora communities maintain strong political ties with their homeland. Other qualities that may be typical of many diasporas are thoughts of return, relationships with other communities in the diaspora, and lack of full assimilation to the host country (Cohen, 2008).

2.2.1 Characteristics of Diaspora

If all movements of people do not result in diasporas, what, then, distinguishes diasporas from other movements of people? Numerous scholars have created guidelines and limitations to the classification of diaspora, such as Safran (1991) whose defining characteristics of diaspora are:

- (i) They, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original "center" to two or more "peripheral", or foreign, regions;
- (ii) They retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland - its physical location, history, and achievements;
- (iii) The fact that they believe that they are not - and perhaps cannot be - fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it;
- (iv) They regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return - when conditions are appropriate;
- (v) They believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity;
- (vi) They continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship.

In an alternative scheme of categorisation, Cohen (1997) formulates different categories of diaspora: victim, labour, trade, imperial (which may be considered a form of trade diaspora), and cultural (not indigenous to the area from which they dispersed, i.e., Caribbean) diasporas. Cohen is more expansive, providing a set of nine common features of a diaspora, which he

summarises. He warns that the combination of features found will vary between diasporas and for the same diaspora over time (Cohen, 2008: 17). His features are summarised as:

- (i) The dispersal from an original homeland, which is often traumatic;
- (ii) The expansion from a homeland in search of work, in pursuit of trade or to further colonial ambitions;
- (iii) The collective memory and myth about the homeland;
- (iv) An idealization of the supposed ancestral home;
- (v) A return movement or at least a continuing connection;
- (vi) Strong ethnic group consciousness sustained over a long time;
- (vii) A troubled relationship with host societies;
- (viii) A sense of co-responsibility with co-ethnic members in other countries;
- (ix) The possibility of a distinctive creative, enriching life in tolerant host societies (Cohen, 2008: 161).

Cohen believes that variations in the diasporic experience exist, and that the categorisation of diaspora is meant to offer at least a partial explanation as to what makes each community in each location different from another. As Butler states,

People that are expelled will necessarily develop a different cultural ethos from those who flee, or who are taken as captives. A group that leaves en masse also differs from a group that gradually constitutes itself after a protracted period of individual emigrations (Cohen, 2008:161).

Three stages of the diasporic experience are noted which can be applied to cases of diasporic communities with some variation. These three stages are that of: home, away, and return in some form, whether in physical return migration or a persistent turning towards the homeland, to help it and be helped by it. This situation is complicated in recent decades by the fact that "home" has lost its centrality for some diasporas but remains very crucial in the new diasporic networks that have developed in the era of transnationalism and globalisation.

2.3 Pre-Modern African Diaspora

African Diaspora was one of the largest and most historic diaspora of pre-modern times that began at the beginning of the 16th century. During the Atlantic Slave Trade, about ten (or more) million people from West, West-Central and Southeast Africa were transported to the Western Hemisphere as slaves. This population would leave a major influence on the culture of English, French, Portuguese and Spanish New World colonies. The Arab slave trade similarly took large numbers out of the continent, although the effect of the diaspora to the east is more subtle.

This does not indicate that the concept of a diaspora is confined to the peoples of African descent. The history has revealed for example, the migration of Asians that resulted in the peopling of the Americas. Sometime between 10 and 20 thousand years ago, these Asian peoples crossed the Bering Strait and settled in North and South America and the Caribbean islands. The Jewish diaspora, perhaps the most widely studied, also has very ancient roots, beginning about two thousand years ago. Starting in the eighth century, Muslim peoples brought their religion and culture to various parts of Asia, Europe, and Africa, creating communities in the process. European peoples began their penetration of the African continent in the 15th Century; a process that in time resulted in their dispersal in many other parts of the world, including the Americas. Obviously, these diasporic streams, or movements of specific peoples, were not the same in their timing, impetus, direction, or nature. The study of the African diaspora which is related to scope of this study could be discussed under five major African diasporic streams that occurred at different times and for different reasons.

The first African diaspora was a consequence of the great movement within and outside of Africa that began about 100,000 years ago. This early movement, the contours of which are still quite controversial, constitutes a necessary starting point for any study of the dispersal and settlement of African peoples. To study early humankind is, in effect, to study this diaspora. Some scholars may argue, with considerable merit, that this early African exodus is so different in character from later movements and settlements that it should not be seen as constituting a phase of the diasporic process (Christopher and Robin, 1996).

The second major diasporic stream began about 3000 BC with the movement of the Bantu-speaking peoples from the region that is now the contemporary nations of Nigeria and Cameroon to other parts of the African continent and to the Indian Ocean.

The third major stream, which can be characterized loosely as a trading Diaspora, involved the movement of traders, merchants, slaves, soldiers, and others to parts of Europe, the Middle East, and Asia beginning around the fifth century BC. Its pace was markedly uneven, and its texture and energy varied. Thus the brisk slave trade conducted by the Muslims to the Mediterranean and Middle Eastern countries starting after the seventh century was not a new development but its scope and intensity were certainly unprecedented. This prolonged third diasporic stream resulted in the creation of communities of various sizes composed of peoples of African descent in India, Portugal, Spain, the Italian city-states, and elsewhere in Europe, the Middle East, and Asia long before Christopher Columbus undertook his voyages across the Atlantic. In his important study of blacks in classical antiquity, for example, Frank Snowden notes that while the "exact number of Ethiopians who entered the Greco-Roman world as a result of military, diplomatic, and commercial activity is difficult to determine . . . all the evidence suggests a sizable Ethiopian element, especially in the population of the Roman world" (Frank, 1970). In the parlance of the time, the term "Ethiopian" was a synonym for black Africans. The aforementioned three diasporic are regarded as the pre-modern African diaspora.

The fourth major African diasporic stream, and the one that is most widely studied today, is associated with the Atlantic trade in African slaves. This trade, which began in earnest in the 15th century, may have delivered as many as 200,000 Africans to various European societies and 11 to 12 million to the Americas over time.

The fifth major stream began during the 19th Century particularly after the abolition of slave trade in the Americas and continues till recently. It is characterised by the movement of Africans and peoples of African descent, and their resettlement in various societies such as Haiti, Brazil, etc. These latter two diasporic streams, along with several substreams and the communities that emerged, constitute the modern African diaspora.

2.3.1 Characteristics of Modern Diasporic Experience

New technologies and faster communications in the new century, contrasted to the long and precarious journeys of emigration and the slow and fragile communications among earlier migrants are, therefore, just one of the factors that have clearly shaped what we understand as diasporic experience in late modernity. The movement of people characteristic of late modern migration, is complemented by and involves the circulation of money, technology, goods, information, ideas, lifestyles, etc., what Appadurai (1993) describes with the rather shorthand terms mediascapes, ideoscapes, financescapes, technoscapes and ethnocapes. Situating

diasporas in this context, instead of seeing diasporas descriptively as groups or populations, we are able to develop a concept that refers to a complex social phenomenon that involves an array of relationships that these multiple transnational landscapes entails. In this new conceptual setting, diaspora can refer to constellations of economic, technological, cultural and ideological and communication flows and networks. This way of thinking about diasporas allows us to think of multifarious phenomena and processes in a much more holistic and inclusive way, bringing together diverse transnational flows and the processes of ‘deterritorialization’ and ‘reterritorialization’ of these. In this context, thinking in terms of diasporas includes the process of migration but is not exhausted in it. It carries with it connotations of transnational networks and of complex processes of exchanges, material, cultural and mental. It focuses on the dynamics of interaction between migrant groups and societies of settlement as well as erstwhile homelands. Therefore, modern diasporas can be seen as exemplary communities of the forms of migration that occurred in the mid- to early 21st century and the dynamics this sets in motion. Before we examine the modern African diaspora within the purview of formal Institutional arrangement of ECOWAS which dates back to 1979, let us look at the migration phenomena that predated and evolved before the diasporas in Africa.

2.4 Migration in Africa

There is evidence from historical research about movements of people across international borders in the Pre-colonial era in West Africa. Nigeria, like other West African countries, has a long history of population mobility, both regionally and internationally. Linked with factors as diverse as long-distance trade, the search for pasture, urbanisation and the growth of administrative centres, the demands of mining, industrial production and plantation agriculture, armed conflict, land degradation, drought and rural poverty; migration has played a major part in shaping settlement patterns in the region (DFID, 2004). Census based estimates by the United Nations Population Division suggest that West Africa has the largest absolute international immigrant stock (based on place of birth data) in Africa. It is also the only part of sub-Saharan Africa where migration stocks relative to the total population have been increasing over the past few decades (de Haas, 2007).

Amin (1974) asserts that the colonial period provoked large-scale labour migration required for plantations, mines and public administration beyond local supply. These resulted into a series of economic measures, including compulsory recruitment, contract and forced labour

legislation and agreements to secure cheap labour, sparked clandestine internal and cross-border migration of unskilled adult males required for infrastructural work, especially transport networks in the north and plantation agriculture in the coastal countries.

International migration in Nigeria pre-dates the colonisation of Nigeria, irrespective of the difficulties encountered in classifying the moves as either internal or international and of getting accurate data. The former problem arises from the fact that Nigeria could not have been identified as a nation before colonisation, as different ethnic groups and/or nationalities lived under different kingdoms and empires within the geographical space now referred to as Nigeria. The slave trade, both across the Sahara Desert and the Atlantic Ocean, had a profound influence on virtually all parts of Nigeria. The transatlantic trade in particular accounted for the forced migration of perhaps 3.5 million people between the 1650s and the 1860s, while a steady stream of slaves flowed north across the Sahara for a millennium, ending at the beginning of the twentieth century. Within Nigeria, slavery was widespread, with social implications that are still evident today. Transhumance activities and the dispersal of the Fulani across the Sahel involved considerable mobility. Religious education and the *hadj* to Mecca were associated with major mobility and sometimes settlement of West Africans all across West, North and East Africa (de Haas, 2007).

Although, there is a paucity of documentation on the human mobility and migration during this period, some studies, such as Alkali (1985) and Armstrong (1955) convey the idea that migration flows during the period were dynamic and diverse. According to Meillasoux (1969), the movements of the people within the West African region were linked to trade, including slave trade, conflicts, and natural disasters such as famine, rather than to manpower transfers or rural-urban migration.

Conde (1987) highlights three characteristics of migration which include change of residence, distance, and length of time. The idea of the place of residence may vary from the smallest administrative unit like a village to a large territorial area such as the province, region etc. Of significance is the distance because it is a factor that may influence the scale of migration. The third characteristic is the stay at the point of destination which could be lengthy or permanent, though it may also be temporary. From the perspective of African experience, the distinction between internal and international migration is obscured because of the factors such as the arbitrariness of national boundaries that artificially divide homogeneous socio-economic units between two or more countries; the poorly policed boundaries which lack

permanent physical features; the complimentary economies of neighbouring countries and cultural affinity in different countries (Adepoju, 1984).

Empirical studies that were carried out in a number African countries which include, Nigeria, Botswana, Ghana, Liberia and Tanzania showed that each country has its own special characteristics but there are certain similarities as regards reasons for migration. These reasons include demographic pressure as well as poor social and economic conditions. Other factors that have prompted people to migrate could be discussed under political and environmental factors and these are war, political persecution, revolution, famine as a result of drought, flood and epidemics, Conde (1987) is of the view that migrants are generally motivated by a combination of two or more factors because migration is rarely decided by any one of the reasons for migration.

While linking migration to development in Africa, Adepoju (1987) is of the opinion that internal migration in Africa takes place as a response to the existing imbalance between the regions of a country. Thus, migration portends, to a large extent, inequalities in development, employment opportunities, income and living conditions between regions. He emphasises on the distinct economic and social differentiation between rural and urban areas within Africa based on the variance in ecological and climatic conditions. A crucial factor in regional inequalities in Africa is the fact that only a few countries are relatively endowed with viable natural resources, for example, most of the countries in the Sahel region of Africa have experienced land degradation and are environmentally damaged.

The empirical studies of internal migration in Botswana show that the settlement patterns and populations distribution are dynamic, being continually responsive to the forces of migration and modernisation. Three main types of migration in Botswana are rural to rural, rural to urban, and urban to rural. Case (1982), observes that migrants in the rural areas of Botswana tend to migrate within their districts.

From the rural to rural migration trend perspective, Gwebu (1987) notes that the villages in Botswana have proved cost-effective in the provision of physical, community and commercial services. Thus, permanent relocation of the migrants to either the lands or cattleposts is a recent phenomenon. The main reason attributable for this trend is economic in the context of modernisation, which has served as a positive catalyst in the realisation of the decision to migrate. The villagers are expected to adopt modern methods of livestock management, which invariably required that livestock had to be protected from predators,

constantly watered and fed during the dry season. The distances of up to and beyond 100 kilometres, that separate the villages and cattleposts preclude the requisite care for the raising of healthy livestock. From rural to urban areas, Gwebu (1987:168) notes that data from the National Migration survey indicate that the bulk of the rural migrants moved to Gaborone was 45.4%, Selebi Phikwe was 25.2% and Francistown was 16.5 %. Gaborone is the most preferred because of its administrative, commercial and educational facilities; Selebi Phikwe is an expanding mining town while Francistown is an important administrative and commercial centre of the Northern part of Botswana. The phenomenal rate of urbanisation in Botswana has been attributed to the rural-urban migration. The government had to embark on the regional development strategies which were intended to make rural life attractive and satisfying. These strategies include provision of physical and social services, modernisation of livestock and arable farming, creation of employment through the Brigades Movement and Settlement Policy and Communal Area Development programmes.

The empirical evidence from internal migration in Ghana reveals that migration contributes to development of certain aspects of its economy. Nabila (1987) posits that most of the development projects that were successfully carried out in some parts of Ghana, since the period of colonialism, would not have been possible without the free movement of people. The influx of the migrants from the Northern savannas and neighbouring African countries to the south of Ghana, is due to high demand for labour that contributed to the rapid socio-economic transformation of the country. The labour supply component has been noted as relevant to any regional development planning strategy.

In addition Nabila (1987) states that inter-regional movements have been influenced by imbalances in the socio-economic development between the south forest and the northern savanna in Ghana. The northern sector and Volta region became the source region of migration to regions such as Ashanti, Greater Accra and Brong-ahafor the main destination region, while the Eastern, Central and Western Regions serve both as source and destination of migration. Therefore, migration played a significant role in the development of Accra, Kumasi, Sekondi-Takoradi, Koforidua, Cape Coast, Ho, Sunyani, Tamale, Wa and Bolgatanga. Despite the Ghana Population Policy programme to control internal migration, the location of government and private development projects continue to stimulate migration to new destinations and in some cases helped to stem the rate of out-migration. This analysis espouses the importance of labour supply component in the migration-development nexus in any national or regional development planning process.

The significant landmarks in the history of internal migration in Liberia were the resettlement of the liberated Africans from America during the 19th and 20th Centuries and the movement of labour to mining areas and rubber plantations in the second half of the 20th Century. According to Campbell (1987), the impact of internal migration on rapid population growth is evident in the degree of urbanisation and population density in Liberia. The empirical finding among the Liberian-born population show that the highest economic dependency ratio of 287.1 percent was experienced in 1974 in Sinoe County. Montserrado County experienced the second highest economic dependency of 281.7%. The high occurrences of indices of urbanisation and population density in Montserrado are reflective of its dominance of economic and social opportunities which are available for population concentration in a locality.

The findings of Campbell (1984) show that by 1976/77, 41.9, 52.3 and over 60.0 per cent of the hospitals, trained midwives and medical doctors, respectively, were in Montserrado County - mostly in Monrovia. In order to proffer solution to the problems associated with massive inflow of migrants to Montserrado County, several programmes were proposed, with the aim of extending essential social facilities to the rural areas. In reality, Campbell (1987) is of the opinion that due to the limited skills among labour migrants, the social needs of all migrants and the economic depression and instability in Liberia, the negative impact of migration to urban areas is evident.

In the analysis of the interaction between migration and development in Nigeria, Fadayomi (1987), traces the evolution of the patterns of internal migration in Nigeria to the colonial period. The centres of the colonial economy included areas of production of export crops, minerals, forest products and the major administrative centres. These areas provided wage employment for the labour migrants, with transportation facilities and social services which further attracted the migrants. From the perspective of interaction between migration and development of the origin centres, Fadayomi (1979) elucidates that rural communities invariably suffer from depressed agricultural output as well as an increase in the rural dependency burden i.e. a high ratio of dependants, who are very young and the aged, to the active agricultural labour force. As a result, migration is supposed to lead further to underdevelopment of the rural sector of the economy. On the contrary, Caldwell (1969), Johnson and Whitelaw (1974), and Adepoju (1974), found in their studies that there exists a considerable transfer of cash and gifts from the urban migrants to the rural communities of origin. This is referred to as the social and economic linkages with the origin based in the

rural areas. In the analysis of the nexus between migration and development in the destination centres, Fadayomi (1987) indicates that migrants into the urban areas in Nigeria have contributed to the enhancements of flow of capital to the cashcropping districts, in the form of savings and the introduction of technical innovations.

On the contrary, due to overcrowding and pressure on urban resources such as housing, supply of social services like water, public transport, educational and recreational facilities and the widespread urban unemployment and underemployment, urban in-migration is usually regarded as having more negative than positive impact on the economy of Nigeria. He, however, concludes that the phenomenon of migration has not reached a disequilibrium point where panic should be expressed at its flow.

Looking at the impacts of massive migration of labour from the perspective of international migration, Fadayomi (2009) states that the consequences of the African skilled migrants are the temporary and permanent loss of the critical skills for development in Africa, remittances and their potential as inputs into development, and the potential role of transnational communities of emigrants, the Diaspora, in their countries of origin. A critical challenge to Africa's development in the 21st Century is the inadequate stock of high level manpower required for modernising the economies due partly to the loss of critical skills. This development is considered to be serious given the substantial educational investments of the various African nations in terms of scholarships, financial aid and the establishments of expensive tertiary institutions. As a result, policy makers in Africa are apt to quickly point to the net negative consequences of emigration of skilled Africans even while they admit some of the benefits in form of migrant remittances.

While analysing the interaction between migration and development in Tanzania, Mlay (1987), posits that Tanzania is one of the few countries in tropical Africa where the State has intervened directly in order to influence the pattern of internal migration and population distribution in the country. The main areas of migrant destinations were plantations, estates and small-holdings of sisal, coffee, tea and cotton and to a lesser extent, centres of mining activities. The main stimulus of migration to these areas was the demand for labour and lack of comparable economic opportunity in the sending areas. The empirical findings indicate that the growing influence of towns as centres of labour absorption since independence in 1961 is also evident from the increased rates of urban growth. Mlay (1987), further puts up an argument that the regions which are well endowed with natural resources and also have attracted investments in social and economic infrastructure tended to be net-gainers while

poorly endowed and underdeveloped regions have tended to be sources of migrant labour. Examples in Tanzania are Kilimanjaro and Tanga regions at a point in history. During the 1950s and 1960s both regions attracted large in-migration due to the boom in coffee and sisal exports. Subsequent decline in production of these crops resulted in a slowdown in in-migration. In addition, the available data indicate that internal migration in Tanzania has been strongly influenced by socio-economic and political changes. These changes later created and sustained regional disparities of development, thereby perpetuating inter-regional migration.

Adepoju (1987) reiterates the fact that most of the regional development programmes that were outlined in the development plans in African countries are not fully implemented, thereby, achieving very limited success, in spite of their potentials for reshaping the existing direction of migration. He suggests regional development programmes that emphasise rural and agricultural development that will retain potential out-migrants. In order to assess the linkages between migration and socio-economic development, adequate data to monitor and evaluate the effects of regional development on migration is required.

Zoomers *et al* (2008) see migration for development as a multidimensional policy that cannot be dealt with in isolation. Also, international migration is a complex and dynamic process, which leads to political, cultural and socio-economic change, and resulting in the global rearrangement of strengths and weaknesses. While linking migration to development in terms of the positive and negative perspectives on the potential and real impacts on the host and origin countries, Massey *et al* (1993) discuss the contradictory result of many studies on the impact assessment of migration on development, and one cannot easily draw general conclusions with validity for every situation. A reason given for the difficulty is the weaknesses of the theoretical bases for the understanding of migration and development.

To corroborate this viewpoint, de Haas (2008) postulates that lack of theoretical rootedness and largely descriptive nature of much empirical work has haunted the improvement of theories. As a result of the general lack of a common theoretical thread, most empirical work – especially from outside migration economics – remains isolated, scattered, and theoretically underexplored. Real progress in the understanding of the factors determining the fundamental heterogeneity of migration and development interactions is only possible if more empirical work is designed to test theoretically derived hypotheses and, hence, to improve the generalized understanding of migration-development interactions.

In his discussion on the advantages of migration, Todaro cited in Barclay (2009), discusses the benefits of migration with emphasis on economic remittances which can provide to the countries of origin, resources that would enable them to reduce the trade gap, increase foreign currency reserves and finance poverty reduction programmes such as health, education, skills, training and micro-finance schemes, *inter alia*. Economic remittance can also contribute towards increasing employment and other legal income generating opportunities as well as easing unemployment and underemployment. In addition, Barclay (2009) discusses the contributions of diasporas to include ideas, and social capital which are referred to as the social remittance. They also transfer knowledge and skills, as well as political support, identities and practices that are referred to as technological and political remittances respectively. In the context of migration, it should be emphasised that migration could also hinder progress in the countries of origin due to brain drain that can affect human capital, social inequalities and too much dependence on remittance, etc.

While discussing migrants' association, Oucho (2008) describes the proliferation of migrants' associations in all countries of destination, partly to receive new migrants and partly to stimulate development in the migrants' countries of origin. He cited Home Improvement Union as examples of associations that have participated in the whole spectrum of national development in Nigeria, Senegal and Ghana, to name a few. The associations have also illustrated the contributions they could make if governments of the recipient countries are ready to work with them. African female migrants in France, and elsewhere in Europe, through their association, (Initiatives des femmes africaines de France et d'Europe) (IFAFE), which was founded in 1993 and reconstituted in 1996, have embarked on a variety of economic cooperation. In the further analysis of the contributions of the diasporas, Oucho (2008) states that the involvement of the diasporas in the development of origin countries differs from country to country. Although there have been some discussions on the need to engage diasporas in national development of their origin countries, the literature has neglected the contributions of the African based diasporas to national developments of origin and destination countries.

In the wider context, Nweke (2007) relates the inspiration for the formation of Nigerians in Diaspora Association (NIDO) in London (branches in Ghana and South Africa) to the inspiration from the Israeli diasporas with strong political and economic power, the Indian diasporas who are credited with the resurgence in investment flows and the Chinese diasporas who have contributed to the re-emergence of its homeland economy more than other

countries in the world. Ndiaye (2007) asserts that most migrants are willing to invest some of their savings and their skills and expertise in the development of their home countries. But all too often, their goodwill is squandered as they simply do not know how to put all this to best use. If their contributions can be harnessed better, they will not only be effective agents for development but also crucial to the achievement of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

2.5 The modern African diaspora

The modern African diaspora, at its core, consists of the millions of peoples of African descent living in various societies who are united by a past based significantly but not exclusively upon "racial" oppression and the struggles against it; and who, despite the cultural variations and political and other divisions among them, share an emotional bond with one another and with their ancestral continent; and who also, regardless of their location, face broadly similar problems in constructing and realising themselves.

This definition rejects any notion of a sustained desire to emigrate to Africa by those of its peoples who currently live outside of that continent's boundaries, although groups such as the Rastafarians sometimes articulate such a desire. The desire to return to Africa, to be sure, was articulated by many of the enslaved who were removed from that continent, and thousands of free African Americans left for Liberia during the 19th century. Men such as Henry Highland Garnet, Henry McNeal Turner, Marcus Garvey, and others actively embraced emigration to Africa at various times but the appeal of the continent as a place to re-establish roots seems to have waned over time.

Within the literature, three different types of diaspora within Africa can be identified: those that look to their homeland outside Africa; those that are considered as diasporic mainly as part of a much larger diaspora living in other continents; and finally, those 'indigenous' African diasporas who look to their origins in different parts of Africa and where the majority of the population remain within the continent. Africa is often portrayed in both contemporary and historical accounts as a continent of people on the move (de Bruijn *et al*, 2001).

2.6 Factors Responsible for Movement of people within West Africa

Within sub-Saharan Africa, West Africa is an area with a long tradition of human mobility, enhanced in particular during the colonial period. The patterns of mobility of people within

West African sub-region were distorted by the imposition of borders by the colonial powers, which laid the foundations for the modern nation states. It is important to note that while the borders did control some migration, they created new forms of migration by reshaping 'political and economic opportunity structures' (Tornimbeni, 2005). While the borders represented an attempt by colonial authorities to control the movement of people and extract their labour or taxes, at the same time they defined the extent of their authority. For those near the borders, rather than fleeing long distances to escape taxation, forced labour or other such impositions, it was merely necessary for them to cross a line. By judicious crossing of frontiers, it was (and to a certain extent still is) possible to get the best, or at least avoid the worst, of both worlds (Nugent and Asiwaju, 1996). After independence, this population mobility turned into labour migration for wage work, weaving a complex grid of relations and inter-dependences over the artificial borders inherited from colonialism.

Since the end of the 19th century, West African migrations developed gradually through the extension and the multiplication of the areas and sources of emigration. In the early 1960's, both South-South and South-North migrations developed simultaneously. The expansion of cash crop productions (cocoa in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, coffee in Côte d'Ivoire) attracted a workforce from Burkina Faso and Mali. The success of the French automobile industry in the valley of the Senegal River also called for immigrants' labour. Agricultural export-oriented countries in Africa and European industrial countries were, therefore, encouraging migrations in order to meet their labour requirements.

In the 1960s and the 1970s, the migratory system in West Africa developed around two main host countries (Côte d'Ivoire, Nigeria) and a few sending countries (Mali, Niger and Burkina Faso) within the sub-region. During recurring economic crises, when a host country designed restrictive migration policies and organised the expulsions of migrants, the latter simply changed their strategy and moved to neighbouring countries. For instance, the decline periods in Ghana coincided with economic growth in Nigeria. In spite of the occasional shocks, population movements within the region thus remained relatively stable and balanced.

Other factors that influence people's desire to migrate are both economic, such as employment opportunities, and noneconomic, such as security (Skeldon, 1997). The ability to migrate is affected by the distances to potential destinations (which affect cost),

communications and transportation connections, education levels (which affect access to information) and national policies (Massey and Taylor, 2004). Once a migration has occurred, people left behind may migrate to join those who went earlier (Massey, 2005). Some individuals, however, may be less inclined to migrate due to psychological emotional attachments to home, family, friends and community (Lee, 1966).

In many cases, “Push factors” are based on economic reasons, though they may also be environmental, socio-cultural, political or simply demographic, and may be influenced by the presence or absence of effective policies. They are often complex and inter-related. Major push factors in areas of origin that can result in migration include the following:

1. Scarcity of or inadequate access to land and resources
2. Lack of employment opportunities
3. Poverty
4. High population pressure
5. Environmental degradation, including loss of soil productivity
6. Natural disasters
7. Civil unrest and conflict
8. Rites of passage when young people leave home to make their way in the world

The “Push factors”, in other words, stimulate people to leave areas of origin while ‘Pull factors” define where migrants go, seeking to satisfy their needs. Pull factors that may directly or indirectly result in biodiversity impacts include the following:

1. Access to land and natural resources (renewable and nonrenewable)
2. Employment opportunities
3. Access to markets
4. Access to facilities and amenities, such as social services and transport
5. Safety and security
6. Family reunification and networks

The implication of these pull and push factors is that mobility within the ECOWAS area is an essential component of the regional construction, which is itself a condition for a proper insertion of the Western African economy in the globalised world. The ECOWAS Member-

States thus agreed to eliminate among them all the obstacles to the free movement of people and of goods. This thus helps or otherwise the movement of people between countries which are close like Nigeria and Ghana.

2.6.1 West African Interregional Mobility

Several authors find in intra-African migration flows the base and the engine for the regional integration process as it supports West African economic integration, via trade and investment flows (Coussy, 1994:269; Lachaud, 1999:1). Migration contributes to increasing the latter, through remittances, trade between host and sending countries via creation of business networks (known as "Diaspora externality") and through consumption growth. Migrations have generated strong interdependency between African countries, as shown by the sensitivity of the source economies and their migration flows to the cash crops export earnings of host countries.

The post-colonial period saw the emergence of free labour migration for wage work, weaving a complex grid of relations and inter-dependences over the artificial borders inherited from colonialism. In the early 1960s, both South-South and South-North migrations developed simultaneously. The opening up of resource-rich areas of West Africa and the suppression of the capabilities of poorer areas during the colonial period created the basic spatial logic for the labour migration which ensued. The expansion of cash crops to increase foreign exchange needed for the new developmental aspirations magnified labour flows to colonial destinations such as the cocoa belts in Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire, coffee in Côte d'Ivoire, groundnuts and cotton belts in Senegambia. These zones attracted labour from Burkina Faso, Niger, Chad, Mali, Guinea, Cape Verde and Togo.

Inter-regional mobility in West Africa has been generally dominated by a predominantly North-South movement from landlocked countries of Sahel West Africa (Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger and Chad) to the more prosperous plantations, mines and cities of coastal West Africa (predominantly Côte d'Ivoire, Liberia, Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal and The Gambia).

During the early period of political independence, the presidents of Ghana and Côte d'Ivoire in the spirit of pan-Africanism, and given the demand for labour migrants opened their borders to immigrants to work and stay (Anarfi & Kwankye, 2003). The relatively prosperous economies of the Ghana-Côte d'Ivoire migration pole attracted large numbers of internal labour migrants as well as international migrants from countries such as Togo and Nigeria

(mainly to Ghana), Guinea (mainly to Côte d'Ivoire) and Burkina Faso, Niger and Mali (to both).

Mining and cocoa production in Ghana continued to serve as magnet for migrants as far as northern Nigeria. Ghana's mining sector was probably the biggest under British colonial rule in West Africa and offered a range of opportunities for employment for which local people minimally took part. New resource frontiers were opened up to increase cocoa production in the middle belt and western regions which saw unhindered migration flows into the country and large circular migration within the country.

In the early 1970s, Nigeria also became a major migration receiving country resulting from the oil boom. Several sectors of the Nigerian economy were buoyed by oil revenues and overnight the need for both professionals and low-skilled workers peaked. Rising incomes of the urban middle class, mass public investments and rapid industrialisation attracted substantial number of West African labour migrants (van Hear, 1998). Professionals from English-speaking countries such as Ghana came en masse to Nigeria.

2.7 The Roles of ECOWAS in Fostering Nigeria–Ghana Relations

It is the phenomenon of interregional mobility in West Africa which prepares the platform for the discussion on diasporas; whose roles in the Nigeria-Ghana relations, specifically in terms of the political, social, economic and cultural development, have been researched and analysed in this study.

The movements people make in West Africa do not and cannot occur without social interactions between various actors: transportation workers, passengers, and security agents, in particular. These interactions help shape mobility, and are based on the immigration protocols, socio-economic arrangements, cultural practices, and political realities of the region. The formation of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) expanded both temporary and permanent migration opportunities for Ghanaians and Nigerians because one of the objectives of the regional organization was to facilitate freedom of movement, residence and employment within the West African region. Akinrinade (2005) expresses the opinion that International Organisations constitute the main framework by which African States seek to act in agreement or reach consensus on their foreign policy actions over the years. Thus, International Organisations such as ECOWAS are the most significant instruments for international cooperation in the global system.

The treaty signed in Lagos on 28th May, 1975 covered wide areas of economic activities. Article 27 of the Treaty affirms a long-term objective to establish a community citizenship that could be acquired automatically by all nationals of Member-States. This reinforced the preamble to the treaty that outlined the key objective of removing obstacles to the free movement of goods, capital and people in the sub-region of West Africa. It is in that context that the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and the Right of Residence and Establishment of May, 1979, capitalised on free mobility of labour. Phase 1 of the Treaty, the Protocol on the Free Movement of Persons - the first to be ratified and put into effect - was ratified by Member States in 1980 and put into effect forthwith. It guarantees free entry without visa for ninety days, ushering in an era of free movements of ECOWAS citizens within member countries. Two countries, Nigeria and Togo, served as catalysts at the formative stage of ECOWAS. Currently, two countries, Ghana and Nigeria, are also pushing ahead for faster and closer regional integration of ECOWAS. It is against this background that we discuss below the progress made and constraints encountered in creating a borderless West African migratory space, as envisioned by its leaders. The establishment of ECOWAS was a bold attempt to stimulate the kind of homogeneous society which once existed in the sub-region. The leaders realised that efforts to enhance living conditions of their people, achieve an egalitarian distribution of income, combat poverty, and so on, can be achieved faster within the framework of regional economic integration. The complementarities of neighbouring countries' economies, close socio-cultural ties, and historical record of free labour migration, made ECOWAS' integration imperative. With the ratification of the protocol of the Treaty on Free Movement of Persons, the smaller countries expressed fear of economic domination by Nigeria, the Community's demographic and economic giant. At the same time, Nigerians were concerned about the possible influx of ECOWAS citizens into their country and demanded that the effects of the protocol be closely watched, monitored and contained in the national interest (Onwuka, 1982).

The rights of entry, residence and establishment were to be progressively established within fifteen years from the definitive date of entry into force of the protocol. The implementation of the first phase over the first five years abolished requirements for visas and entry permit. Community citizens in possession of valid travel documents and international health certificate could enter Member-States without visa for up to ninety days. Member-States can nevertheless refuse admission into their territories of so-called inadmissible immigrants under

its laws. Where a citizen of the Community is to be expelled, member States undertake to guarantee the security of that citizen, his/her family and his/her property.

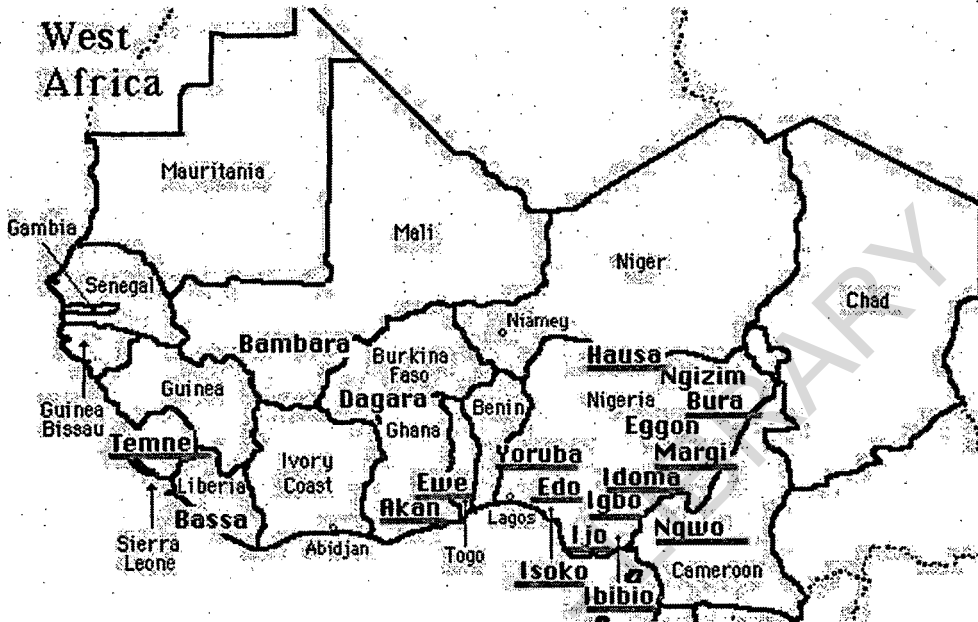
The delayed second phase (Right of Residence) of the Protocol came into force in July 1986, when all Member States had ratified it, but the Right of Establishment was ratified in 1992. Thus, in 1992, the revised Treaty of ECOWAS, among others, affirmed the right of citizens of the Community to entry, residence and settlement and enjoined Member States to recognise these rights in their respective territories. It also called on Member States to take all necessary steps at the national level to ensure that the provisions are duly implemented.

The free movement of persons ushered in by the implementation of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons in 1980 accelerated rather than triggered a labour migration momentum that would have occurred anyway. The coming into force of the Protocol coincided with a period of economic recession in most countries of the sub-region while Nigeria's economy was enhanced by the earnings from the oil sector. The downturn economic situation, deteriorating condition of work and poor wages in Ghana pushed many Ghanaians, skilled and unskilled persons, on the move to Nigeria, which had become the sub-region's economic haven.

The employment opportunities in Nigeria attracted many migrants of all skills from Ghana, Togo, Chad, Mali and Cameroon to work in the construction and services sectors. Thousands of ECOWAS nationals – men and women-mostly Ghanaians, came to Nigeria in regular and irregular situations. Professional and skilled immigrants were recruited as teachers in both primary and secondary schools in the country, but especially in Lagos State, to fill vacancies created by the introduction of the free education scheme in 1979.

Figure 1.1

Map of West Africa showing the locations of the member States of ECOWAS within the sub-region.



Source: www.mapsofworld.com/africa-country-groupings/west-africa-political-map.html

There emerged a rapid deterioration of the living and working conditions, devaluation of the Nigerian currency, and inflation due to mismanaged oil boom in Nigeria. In early 1983, the Nigerian Government revoked Articles 4 and 27 of the Protocol to expel irregular nationals from the sub-region of West Africa, and the majority of the nationals were Ghanaians. The ratification of the second phase of ECOWAS Protocol on Right of Residence that came into force in July 1986 coincided with the implementation of the structural adjustment programme of the President Babangida's regime in Nigeria. This development led to the shrinking of employment opportunities in Nigeria and further expulsion of illegal migrants into the country. This created a crisis of confidence that rocked the ECOWAS Community to its very foundation.

2. 8 Nigeria and Ghana Bilateral Relations

Having discussed the roles ECOWAS in fostering Nigeria and Ghana bilateral relations from the perspectives of Protocols , we shall now examine the immediate political and institutional contexts of diasporas' operations in these countries, towards facilitating Nigeria and Ghana relations.

When we discuss Nigeria and Ghana bilateral relations, a major context is the foreign policy. It is pertinent to note that foreign policy has attracted different meanings and definitions from both scholars and practitioners. Foreign policy is described as the sum total of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually a State) in international relations. (Kriegler, 1993:312). However, different categories of actors and their relations, not exclusively States but encompassing international actors such as agencies, companies and organizations, have entered the matrix of foreign relations. In this regard, Gebe (2008) opines that multinational corporations, religious organizations and movements, inter-governmental institutions and non-governmental organizations, development agencies and charities have become critical components in the foreign policy calculus.

Therefore, foreign policy constitutes a critical component of a country's conduct of public policy as it relates to other actors (both state and non-state) in the larger international system or the external environment. As a result of the importance of foreign policy in a country's agenda, Gebe (2008) states that consideration must be given to all the important actors on the international scene that affect the policy-making and implementation processes of the country concerned. The policy decisions include relations with other nations, international and non-governmental organizations, institutions and agencies, as well as individuals, in so far as they impact on the system of inputs and outputs. The dynamics of policy choice that entail the processes of formulation and implementation, sometimes conflicting, other times cordial, determine the character, content, direction and the possible impact of the country's foreign policy.

According to White (1994), foreign policy, just like domestic policy, is formulated within the state but unlike the latter (domestic policy); foreign policy is directed at and must be implemented in the environment external to the state. However, Ikenberry (2002) is of the opinion that the role of the domestic structure bears significance for foreign policy making in the sense that it shapes and constrains foreign policy choices. Consequently, the individual decision maker or leader is often constrained in taking independent policy decisions.

Domestic structures including, for instance, class and economic strata, political culture, preferences of political elites, societal pressures and, in the case of developing countries, ethnicity have profound consequences for foreign policy. This situation has led to the conclusion that there is no clear fissure between domestic politics and international politics since one invariably affects the other.

While looking at the role and impact of the structure and forces of the international system on foreign policy from the Realist school in International Relations, Waltz (1979) argues that the international system is anarchical or decentralized, with no central authority or arbiter to regulate the actions of states. As such, the anarchical international system, coupled with the prevailing distribution of power relations, constrains the policies and decisions of states and leaders, for that matter. As a corollary to this view, Ikenberry (2002) states that the implication is that the international system influences but does not necessarily determine foreign policy since the possibility exists for the system of states to offer both incentives and constraints. To buttress these points of view are the particular cases of Nigeria and Ghana, and most of the African and developing countries during the era of Cold war. The force of influence from the international system impinged on the choices of the political leaders of these countries in terms of the choices that had to be taken. Some opted for Communism, which is the socialist path of economic development; others went for Capitalism, while others declared a non-alignment stance.

From the perspective of national power in foreign policy and relations with other States, Morgenthau (1993) argues that the extent to which a country is able to achieve its set purpose influences the actions and activities of others in the international system depends to a large extent on the power resources available to that State. The geographical location and size of a State, the resources available to the State (both human and material), the extent to which these resources are harnessed or processed to serve the needs of the State, for instance, industrial production, its military arsenal, level of technological development or advancement are all critical to the kind of foreign policy the state pursues. In addition to this view, national interest in foreign policy making is also very crucial in the relations between the States in international system because the fundamental prerequisite should be their survival. The national interest and the guiding principles of the States are determined by their historical circumstances, domestic politics and leadership, the geographical environment and the structure of the contemporary international politics. With particular emphasis on Nigeria and Ghana during the time of independence, what was uppermost in their foreign policies were

political emancipation, cessation of colonial exploitation, African unity, racial equality and economic development issues which were informed by the historical realities and exigencies of the times.

According to Olusanya and Akindele (1986), the main objective of Nigeria's foreign policy is to promote and protect the country's national interest in its interaction with the outside world and relationships with specific countries in the international system. There has been a general consensus in Nigeria that the national interests consist of the following:

1. The defence of Nigeria's sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity;
2. The restoration of human dignity to black men and women all over the world, particularly the eradication of colonialism and white minority rule from Africa;
3. The creation of relevant political and economic conditions in Africa and the rest of the world which will foster national self-reliance;
4. The promotion and improvement of the economic well-being of the Nigerian citizens; and
5. The promotion of world peace with justice;

To corroborate the importance of national interest in Nigeria's foreign policy, Oshuntokun (2008) states that since the foreign policy cannot be completely divorced from domestic politics, Nigeria will only be respected abroad when it gets its acts together at home, especially through rapid economic development. Nigeria must confront her domestic problems; consolidate democracy by developing a democratic culture underpinned by rule of law.

Olusanya and Akindele (1986) further elucidate on Nigeria's external relations that are being guided by the well-established principles which include non-alignment, legal equality of States, non-interference in the domestic affairs of other states, multilateralism which explains Nigeria's decision for membership of key international organisations both globally and regionally and leadership in the establishment of some regional organisation and lastly the recognition of Africa as the cornerstone and nerve-centre of Nigeria's foreign policy. In reference to the last principle which has to do with the tasks of Nigeria in African affairs, Azikiwe (1960) calls it 'the historic mission and manifest destiny of Nigeria on the African continent', which forms the foundation of the Afrocentric focus of Nigeria's foreign policy by the subsequent civilian Presidents and military leaders of Nigeria.

Similar to the foreign policy objectives of Nigeria is the Ghana's foreign policy since independence. According to Owusu (1994), Ghana's foreign policy has been characterized by a commitment to the principles and ideals of nonalignment and Pan-Africanism as first enunciated by Kwame Nkrumah in the early 1960s. For Nkrumah, nonalignment meant complete independence from the policies and alliances of both East and West and support for a worldwide union of so-called nonaligned nations as a counter force to both East and West power blocs. Pan Africanism, by contrast, was specifically an African policy that envisioned the liberation of African peoples from Western colonialism and the eventual economic and political unity of the African continent. The broad objectives of Ghana's foreign policy thus include maintaining friendly relations and cooperation with all countries that desire such cooperation, irrespective of ideological considerations, on the basis of mutual respect and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. Africa and its liberation and unity are naturally the cornerstones of Ghana's foreign policy. This has resulted in various bilateral trade and economic agreements and permanent joint commissions involving Ghana and its immediate neighbours.

However, Gebe (2008) observes that contemporarily, Ghana's priorities and national interests have expanded to include other concerns, for instance, good neighbourliness, democratic development and good governance, economic diplomacy, regional integration to foster rapid economic development, the promotion of international peace and security, among others.

The conceptual setting that have been discussed provides a framework for examining Ghana-Nigeria bilateral relations as it relates to migration with a focus on diasporas activities, taking into consideration the historical, geo-political, strategic and the systemic dynamics that impacted on the policy processes. Thus, foreign policy is a dynamic process which is linked to transnational actors, who are non-state actors in international system. Foreign policy requires constant flow of information pertaining to the security-military, political, economic, social, cultural and institutional integrity of the State, which will be ascertained by linking the variables to the contributions of the diasporas in both origin and destination countries. The system of immigration and emigration relative to the larger international system can, therefore, ensure the stability or otherwise of the State.

In the 1980s, migration was considered peripheral to foreign policy analysis by some scholars. Miller and Papademetrius (1983) observe that the basic underpinning assumptions concerning the fundamental nature of foreign policy and international politics have left migration matters outside the traditional focus of foreign policy analysis in the same way the

foreign policy relevance of energy, finance, and political terrorism issues was underestimated. Migration issues were considered to belong to the domain of "low politics". Rudolf (2003) corroborates the assertion by referring to the International Political Economy (IPE) scholars who gradually found a voice and gave the bulk of academic attention to the security discourse, questions of the politics of capital and trade, while the issues of migration from the international perspective were addressed by a largely marginalised interdisciplinary group of scholars.

In recent years, Hollifield (2000) states that the discipline of International Relations began to recognise that international population movement can have dramatic effect on the security and foreign policy of States. In support of this view, Weiner (1993) asserts that international migration is no longer confined to the realms of the concerns for humanitarian, labour market and social integration concerns. In the recent years it has gained prominence on the agenda of heads of government and of various inter-governmental organizations, thereby becoming a salient issue of "high politics". Although international migration is emerging as one of the prominent aspects of the States foreign policy, in reality, some States in West Africa still pay little attention to the issues of migration.

However, the goals of a nation's foreign policy are bound to be influenced by migration. This notion is buttressed by Mitchell (1989) who states that both sending and receiving countries have found that migration may acquire a great importance in their bilateral relations. Therefore, discussions on migration relate to social, economic and political dimensions of migration that have implications for the relations between States in the International system.

The pertinent question that comes to the fore, in the light of African experience, is whether States cooperate in foreign policy matters with regard to migration. With particular reference to Nigeria and Ghana, Aluko (1976) describes the relations between Ghana and Nigeria as being rooted in their history as colonies of the same British colonial Power. The two countries shared many institutions and other interests in common as at the time of independence of Ghana in March, 1957. Both Ghana and Nigeria inherited from the British government a common official language of English, common legal, administrative and educational systems. At independence the two countries joined the Commonwealth of Nations. Also, the two countries constitute a large part of Africa in size and population.

According to the Economic commission for Africa (ECA) (1971), Nigeria and Ghana harboured about ninety-five per cent of the total population of the former British West Africa

and in terms of size, the two countries cover over ninety-seven percent of the total area . In addition, Bump (2006) states that historical and cultural ties have been the predominant factors dictating migration flows between Ghana and its West African neighbours. Thus, Cote d'Ivoire, Togo, and Burkina Faso, which share not only common boundaries but also common ethnic affiliations with many Ghanaians, have been the principal sending countries. Common colonial ties in terms of language and government account for historical flows from Nigeria. In West Africa during the 1990s, Ghanaians were mainly found in Cote d'Ivoire, Togo, and Nigeria, despite the expulsions. Therefore, this study intends to empirically find out other variables apart from the historical links that are responsible for the intra-African migration of Nigerians and Ghanaians between Ghana and Nigeria in the period of study that is, between 1979 and 2009.

Aluko (1981) argues that the relations between Ghana and Nigeria was not always cordial under Kwame Nkrumah's administration. The years 1966 to 1979 were marked with mutual antagonism, resentment, suspicion and abuse in the Ghanaian-Nigeria relations. The reasons were traceable to the imagined role of Ghana in the Nigerian Civil war and the sudden and enforced expulsion of about 140,000 Nigerians from Ghana between December 1969 and early 1970.

As a corollary to this viewpoint, Owusu (1994) states that the relations between Ghana and Nigeria began on a sour note in the early period of Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) rule. After the deposition of Limann, the President of Ghana from 24th September, 1979 to 31st December, 1981 by the PNDC, there was an intense tension which led to the refusal of Nigeria to continue the much-needed oil supplies to Ghana. At the time, Ghana owed Nigeria about US\$150 million for crude oil supplies and depended on Nigeria for about 90 percent of its petroleum needs. The aftermath was Nigeria's expulsion of more than One million Ghanaian immigrants in early 1983, when Ghana was facing severe drought and economic problems. The expulsion of additional 300,000 Ghanaian immigrants to Nigeria in early 1985, on short notice, further strained relations between the two countries. The establishment of a joint commission for cooperation between Nigeria and Ghana in April, 1988 led to the discussion of a wide range of issues which focused on peace and prosperity within the region of West Africa, bilateral trade and the transition to democracy in the two countries. The cordial relation between the leaders of the two countries at the time marked a watershed in Ghana-Nigeria relations.

Despite the political crisis that was the consequence of the annulment of June 12, 1993 election and the takeover of General Sani Abacha as the Nigerian head of State, Ghana and Nigeria continued to relate effectively on economic, political and security matters affecting the two countries .

2.9 Diaspora Contributions in Nigeria and Ghana

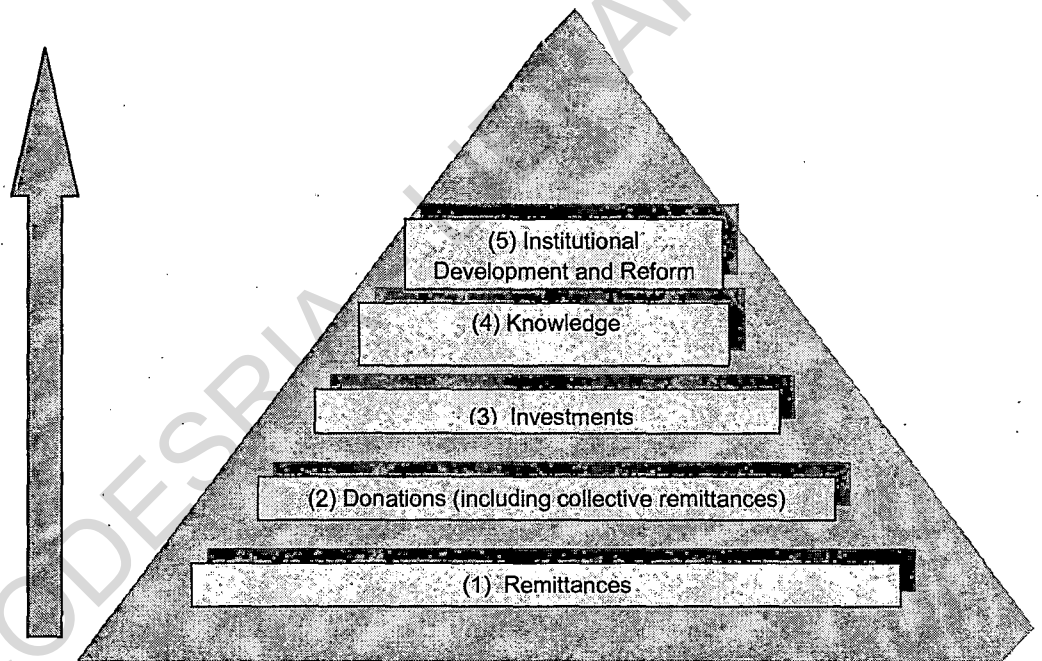
In spite of the official restrictions on migration across borders, the roles and contributions of African diaspora in the development of West African States have been significant. As de Haas (2006) has rightly pointed out, migrants are already mobilised for development on their own initiative. Newland and Patrick (2004) identify the Diasporas as a major source of foreign direct investment (FDI), market development (including outsourcing of production), technology transfer, philanthropy, tourism, political contributions and more intangible flows of knowledge, new attitudes and cultural influence. Diaspora communities contribute to both host and origin countries. From the viewpoint of the host country, they represent 'migrant communities' or the foreign born and their descendants rather than a 'diaspora'. While the migration development discourse has primarily focused on the contributions of the diaspora to home countries, their first and foremost contribution has always been to their host countries.

Even at the regional level, the African Union (AU) has recognised the diaspora as an integral part of the continent. It has led on to its official designation of the African diaspora as the "Sixth Region" of the African Union, alongside North, South, East, West and Central Africa. While there is wide consensus about the potential contributions of the diaspora communities, there is no guarantee that these will be realised without some effort on the part of migrant communities or some intervention by destination and origin countries. In other words, the gap between 'promise and reality' needs special attention in diaspora discussions. As mentioned earlier, Orozco maintains that several conditions are necessary for groups to be motivated or influenced to become a diaspora which cover both diaspora willingness to have links with home countries and the outreach policies of the home governments (Orozco, 2006).

Meanwhile one should not overlook the possibility of diasporas facilitating conflict rather than contribute to peace building. They could, for example, contribute money or raise funds for fighting parties instead of developmental projects as is seen in several cases in Sri Lanka,

Afghanistan and Liberia (Byman, Chalk, Hoffman, Rosenau, & Brannan, 2001). This applies to both intellectual and other diaspora groups. Vertovec (2004, 2005) cites the role of some overseas communities in 'nation-wrecking' rather than 'nation-building' and sustaining insurgency and terrorism in the home countries. With respect to the positive potential and actual contributions of the diaspora communities, Kuznetsov and Sabe (2008) spell out a hierarchy of diaspora impacts starting from remittances at the bottom and going up to donations, investments, knowledge and innovation with institutional reform at the top. Invariably, the hierarchy of diaspora impacts spells out the various forms of remittances - cash and non-cash, which diasporas bequeath to their home countries.

Figure 1.2: Hierarchy of Diaspora Impact



Source: Saxenian (2006) and Saxenian, Sabel, Kuznetsov (2008)

2.9. 1 The Concept of Remittances and Roles of Diasporas

Remittances refer to transfers made from earnings or the accumulated stock of wealth by individual migrants to their country of origin. It can be viewed as a form of co-insurance payments which arises from an implicit contract between the individual migrant and his family. Resources are remitted for support of dependants, repayment of loans, investment or other purpose. Given that a typical sum is transferred with a set of instructions about its disposition between various uses, it is extremely difficult to apportion these amounts into

current and capital transfers. A useful taxonomy of remittances is provided in Wahba (1991) who divides remittances into four types:

1. Potential Remittances - savings available to the migrant once all expenses in the host country have been met. These represent the maximum the migrant can transfer at any time.
2. Fixed Remittances - the minimum the migrant needs to transfer in order to satisfy her family's basic needs and other contractual obligations.
3. Discretionary Remittances - transfers in excess of fixed remittances. These together with fixed remittances constitute the level of actual remittances.
4. Saved Remittances (or retained savings) - the difference between potential remittances and the amount remitted during the period. These flows are accumulated into a stock of resources which can be used to supplement actual remittances at a later date. This stock of wealth is a result of a portfolio decision by the emigrant and she may be encouraged to make these resources available for the development of her country of origin. This classification is extremely important for the analysis of remittances and the resulting policy actions since the different components are driven by completely different motivations.

2.10 The Perspectives on Regional Integration Agenda in Africa

The concept of "regionalism" represents a regional approach to problem solving such as regional integration. While distinguishing two different but related terms, Bourenane (1997) states that the terms "regional integration" and "regional cooperation" have in common the involvement of neighbouring countries in collaborative ventures. Regional cooperation implies that this is organised on an ad hoc and temporary basis through contractual arrangements of some sort, around projects of mutual interest, while regional integration involves something more permanent.

de Lombaerde and van Langenhove (2007) define regional integration as a worldwide phenomenon of territorial systems that increase the interactions between their components and create new forms of organisations co-existing with traditional forms of state-led organisation at the national level. In addition, van Ginkel (2003) describes regional

integration as the process by which the States within a particular region increase their level of interaction with regard to economic, security, political, and also social and cultural issues.

However, sub-regional integration in the context of ECOWAS can be defined as the association of the States based upon location in a given geographical area, which is West Africa for the purpose of promoting convergence and over-arching integration of the fifteen Member- States of the sub-region, whose terms are fixed by a treaty or other arrangements. The whole essence is to enhance the quality of life of the citizens of the Member-States.

Regionalism traces its origin from Western Europe to the beginning early 1950s. Pinder (2001) is of the view that the origin of European Union predates the Treaty of Rome, with the establishment of the European Coal and Steel Community in 1952. The removal of the barriers between Belgium, France, the Federal Republic of Germany, and Luxemburg and shared governance of the common markets among them were economically successful. This encouraged founders of the European project to view the European Coal and Steel Community as a first step in a process of political, as well as economic, unification. In addition, Economic Community of Africa (ECA, 2007) states that the European Economic Community was the outcome of this union which was founded to oversee the economic integration of Western Europe and strengthen the institutions in order to fulfill the ultimate goal of preventing future conflict. The Treaty of Rome, which was signed on March 25, 1957 in two parts. The first treaty established the European Economic Community and the other the European Atomic Energy Community. In 1967, the European Economic Community, the European Coal and Steel Community, and the European Atomic Energy Community merged to form the European Community.

Rhein (2000) argues that the basic concept of regionalism has been transposed into different parts of the world, Africa, the Middle East, East Asia, South Asia, North and South America. But none of them has ever attained the complexities and the relative perfection of the European original. In addition, Regionalism in Europe has altered the relationship between States and the rest of the world. It has had two major consequences, both of which are wanted by the 'Fathers' of European integration, i.e. to rule out the possibility of military conflict within Europe and, in parallel, to restore European influence in world affairs.

However, it should be emphasised that the change of name from European Economic Community to European Union led to the extension of the system from matters relating to trade and economic activities to much more central States activities such as inter-State

relationship, terrorism, climate change, et cetera. The success of European Union in rising up to the problem of States within the region has led to its impressive expansion, institution of Presidency of the Council of European Union, which is rotated between the member States every six months, and the recent election of President Van Rompuy as the first full time the European Union president. He assumed office on February 11, 2010 for one year term in office. The current president of the union is President Barroso for the 2011/12. This study will focus on the activities of ECOWAS, a sub-regional organisation in West Africa in aiding the developmental activities of diasporas within the region.

In the African continent, Regional integration has been a priority of African leader and a rallying call of many Africans since the early days of independence of most African States. The discourse took place both in political and economic terms. Several years after the independence, Africa is still largely fragmented into small economies with little cross-border trade. The African Union recognizes fourteen intergovernmental organisations that are working on its integration agenda. These are the Arab Maghreb Union (UMA), Community of Sahel-Saharan States (CEN-SAD), Common Market for Eastern and Southern Africa (COMESA), East African Community (EAC), Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), Economic Community of Central African States (ECCAS), Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD), and Southern African Development Community (SADC), Central African Monetary and Economic Community (CEMAC), Economic Community of the Great Lakes States (ECGLS), Indian Ocean Commission (IOC), Mano River Union (MRU), Southern African Customs Union (SACU) and West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA). The focus of the study is on the activities of diasporas within the West Africa sub region towards development of home and origin counties within the regional integration scheme of ECOWAS as one of the Regional Economic Communities of the African Union. The dynamics of back and forth movements of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria shall be assessed in this study, with a view to ascertaining how formal institutional arrangements has supported them in facilitating development of both origin and destination countries within the integrative agenda of ECOWAS.

According to Economic Commission for Africa (ECA, 2004), the key challenge in African regional integration has been the bringing together of the regional economic communities. The multiple memberships make it difficult for member States to meet financial obligations to the Regional Economic Communities (RECs); makes it difficult to focus on the numerous

agenda of each REC; leads to low ratification and implementation of agreed treaties and programmes; incompatibility of some programmes; duplication of effort. In addition, it means little support for, and understanding of RECs in member countries. The Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Rights of Residence and Establishment is still a policy issue in the Integration Schemes in Africa. Although the protocol was enshrined in the Abuja Treaty – whose ideals and goals were reaffirmed by the Constitutive Act of the African Union and the treaties of Regional Economic Communities (RECs), by COMESA, ECCAS, ECOWAS, SADC and UEMOA, only ECOWAS has ratified its protocol. Some SADC countries allow citizens of specific SADC countries visa-free entry for ninety days, while South Africa and some other countries are still reluctant to grant Southern African migrants free movement. The study intends to discuss extensively the diasporas issues in ECOWAS sub-region as far as the protocol is concerned, which the literature on regional integration in Africa has not discussed in the analysis. The effective implementation of the protocol by all the RECs members can facilitate regional integration in Africa.

Lavergne (1997) traces the growth of interest in regional integration and cooperation in Africa to the first half of the 1990s witnessed a remarkable growth of interest in regional integration and cooperation everywhere in Africa and substantial efforts have been made on several fronts. The adoption of a revised treaty for the Economic Community of West African States in 1993 and the creation of the Union économique et monétaire ouest-africaine in 1994 were major events in West Africa. Lavergne (1997) is of the opinion that efforts are required on all these fronts to remove any impediments to socio-economic integration of the region of Africa. In this context, Regional integration is not just an economic issue; the approach adopted in this study is a multidimensional one in which regional integration and diasporas contributions to the development of home and origin countries within the integration agenda of ECOWAS and African Union are viewed as crucial aspects of African international relations. Regional integration is not limited to the expansion

Fiddy and Kalvinder (2003) posit that many of the sub-Saharan African countries are economically very small, and it is possible that one factor handicapping African economic development is the absence of opportunities to exploit economies of scale in production and trade. For this reason, the promotion of macroeconomic integration in sub-Saharan Africa is, if anything, even more urgent than elsewhere in the world. From the economic perspective, they suggested a possible route to greater macroeconomic integration should be the formation of monetary unions. Also, reference was made to African Financial Community (CFA) – in

which a monetary union has existed for over half a century. At present, the CFA comprises 14 different countries formed into two monetary unions, the West African Economic and Monetary Union (UEMOA) and the Union of Central African States (UDEAC). In each of these two areas there is a single currency and a single central bank.

Bawumia (2002) states that the Lomé meeting of ECOWAS Heads of States in 1999 set out detailed plans for regional monetary integration among both francophone and Anglophone States in West Africa. The ultimate aim envisaged in these plans is a merging of the UEMOA with a yet to be created Anglophone monetary union, by as early as 2004. The Gambia, Ghana, Guinea-Conakry, Nigeria and Sierra Leone agreed to create a Second Monetary Zone by 2003. The institutional characteristics of this zone reflect some of the existing features of the UEMOA: an independent common Central Bank, no monetary financing for the public sector, pooled forex reserves and a stabilization fund to cushion temporary Balance of Payments shocks. During the June 22, 2009 Heads of States and Government of West African Monetary zone in Abuja, they agreed to postpone the take-off of the planned single currency and monetary union in ECOWAS from 2009 to 2015. Also, the mandate of West African Monetary Institutions (WAMI) was extended from 2010 to 2015.

Fiddy and Kalvinder (2003) reiterate the two benefits of widening of monetary union in West Africa. Firstly, the autonomy of a transnational central bank could make low inflation a time-consistent monetary policy goal. Secondly, the common currency could lead to a greater degree of macroeconomic integration, for reasons outlined below. Some aspects of integration, such as increased trade volumes or lower relative price variability, can reasonably be expected to increase welfare directly. Their study covers a number of dimensions of integration including the volume of bilateral trade, real exchange rate volatility and the magnitude of cross-country business cycle correlation or synchronicity but did not discuss the roles of the diasporas in facilitating integration.

In the light of these policy developments, this study will assess the extent to which the African diasporas within the West African region have been able to develop both the home and origin countries by taking into consideration the integrative scheme or agenda of the ECOWAS and the African Union.

However, it is pertinent to note that at both the national and regional levels presently, West African countries are weakly integrated. The countries in the West region of Africa suffer from weak transport and communications infrastructure and other impediments to socio-

economic integration at the national level. Regionally, West African countries are divided by a wide range of institutional, legal, and infrastructural barriers. It is against this backdrop that the African Union and the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa decided to study in detail the impediments to integration in order to recommend steps for accelerating the process. The result is the series of publications *Assessing Regional Integration in Africa*, or ARIA. The first in the series, ARIA I, remains the only comprehensive assessment policies, programmes and progress towards regional integration in Africa. It analyses in some detail, the benefits of the various integration efforts on the region as a whole, and looks at sectoral policies and results, including in transport and communications, trade, monetary and fiscal policies. The report finds that progress is not commensurate with the numerous activities that are undertaken, and makes strong recommendations towards accelerating integration in Africa. One of the main challenges was the rationalisation of regional economic communities, which led to the publication of *Assessing Regional Integration (ARIA II)*. The next in the series, is the *Assessing Regional Integration in Africa (ARIA III)*, which focuses on macroeconomic convergence in Africa. In the three publications, the issue of diasporas has not been addressed in relation to the integration scheme of the African Union. The study will, therefore, bring to the fore the role of diasporas in fostering development which will eventually stimulate regional integration.

2.11 Theoretical Framework

The change in relation in the States, International Organisations and non-governmental actors has put into question the usual theories used in International Relations. This change has been brought about in part by increased interaction between countries by people who do not represent the State (Keohane and Nye, 1972). The increase in interaction has been intensified by ease of communication, transportation, financial transactions and travel across borders, which is migration dynamics.

However, in analysing diaspora activities within West African States most especially in Nigeria and Ghana, there is a need for theories that will explain all issues related to movement of people and their contributions to both destination and countries of origin.

This study adopts Neo-functional theory of integration and Transnationalist theory as its theoretical frameworks. Neo-functionalism is simultaneously a theory and strategy of regional integration that is building on the work of David Mitrany. Thus, it is essential to discuss the functionalist theory as propounded by David Mitrany, a forerunner of Ernest Haas, the espouser of neo-functionalism. Functionalism is a theory of international relations that arose during the inter-War period principally from the strong concern about the obsolescence of the State as a form of social organisation. Rosamond (2000) discusses that functionalists focus on common interests and needs shared by states (but also by non-state actors) in a process of global integration triggered by the erosion of state sovereignty and the increasing weight of knowledge and hence of scientists and experts in the process of policy-making. Functionalism is a pioneer in globalisation theory and strategy. States had built authority structures upon a principle of territorialism. State-theories were built upon assumptions that identified the scope of authority with territory (Held 1996, Scholte: 1993, 2000, 2001), aided by methodological territorialism (Scholte 1993). Functionalism proposed to build a form of authority based in functions and needs, which linked authority with needs, scientific knowledge, expertise and technology, i.e. it provided a supraterritorial concept of authority.

According to functionalism, international integration - the collective governance and 'material interdependence' (Mitrany, 1933:101) between States - develops its own internal dynamic as States integrate in limited functional, technical, and/or economic areas. International agencies would meet human needs, aided by knowledge and expertise. The benefits rendered by the functional agencies would attract the loyalty of the populations and stimulate their participation and expand the area of integration. There are strong assumptions underpinning functionalism: 1) That the process of integration takes place within a framework of human freedom, 2) That knowledge and expertise are currently available to meet the needs for which the functional agencies are built. 3) That States will not sabotage the process.

However, Neo-functionalism reintroduced territorialism in the functional theory and downplayed its global dimension. Neo-functionalism is simultaneously a theory and a strategy of regional integration, building on the work of David Mitrany. Neo-functionalists focused their attention in the process of integration among States, i.e. regional integration. Initially, States integrate in limited functional or economic areas. Thereafter, partially integrated States experience increasing momentum for further rounds of integration in related areas (Caporaso, 1998). This "invisible hand" of integration phenomenon was termed "spill-

over." by the neo-functionalist school. Although integration can be resisted, it becomes harder to stop integration's reach as it progresses. (McCormick, 1999: 13)..

Neo-functionalist theory of regional integration places major emphasis on the role of non-state actors – especially, the “secretariat” of the regional organisation involved and the interest associations and social movements that are formed at the level of the region – in providing the dynamics for further integration. Integration is seen as a gradual and self-sustaining process, a functional spillover, political spillover and supranational institutions.

In addition, Neo-functionalist theory of regional integration also proposes a model to achieve establishing a political community at the end of the integration process. In this model neo-functionalism creates a linkage between economic and political integration. Neo-functionalists claim that after the creation of an economic integration within the framework of a supranational organisation, political integration would come into existence almost automatically. By pursuing this way of integration, the neo-functionalists anticipate to reach a federal or a confederate State at the end.

While building up its theoretical construction with the description of “political community”, the founding father of neo-functionalism, Haas (1961) describes the political community as a condition in which specific groups and individuals show more loyalty to their central political institutions than to any other political authority, in a specific period of time and in a definable geographic space. Neo-functionalists accept that the integration starting in an economic sector would spread over to other sectors by creating a strong interdependence and wealth. Neo-functionalists call this automatic process “functional spill-over” and attach very big importance to that concept. Lindberg and Scheingold (2005) define the spill-over as a “situation in which a given action, related to a specific goal, creates a situation in which the original goal can be assured only by taking further actions, which in turn create a further condition and a need for more action, and so forth”. The concept has been used by Haas to show that integrating one sector of the economy will inevitably lead to the integration of other economic activities.

As a result of this process, economic integration starting in a limited sector spreads primarily to other sectors of economy and eventually covers all spheres of national economies participating in the integration. As regards the European Union, it should be emphasised that the neo-functionalists that are typically associated with the liberal theory of international relations did not foresee integration extending to military matters, but rather believed that the

EU would remain a civilian actor. In the view of Haas, the spill-over effect would not create pressure for defence integration. For him, the spill-over of integration from one field to another was not only based on economic determinism but rather on changes in the attitudes of key decision-makers and interest groups (Haas 1997 [1958]; Schmitter 2005). In addition, Niemann (2006) notes that it is possible to discern different logics of spill-over.

Hence, Haas (1964) sees the political field in two distinct parts as high and low politics. High politics, including diplomacy, strategy, defence and national ideologies, is the hard field to start integration. In the neo-functional concept, nation-states are reluctant to lose their sovereign authority in the field of high politics. Therefore, Haas proposal is based on starting the integration process by low politics embodying economic and technical spheres. The integration in the field of high politics would be a natural consequence for regional integration process.

There is no doubt that the architects of ECOWAS were influenced by the overwhelming assumptions of traditional integration theories, of numerous economic benefits that could accrue to member States as a result of their participation in regional and sub-regional economic integration programmes.

In order to discuss the malleability of migratory trends in West Africa, it should be emphasised that migration in West Africa is strongly influenced by poverty, depressed economies, and socio-political crises. The influx of migrants into the cities and irregular migrations across national borders in search of decent living conditions reflect a crisis of development. To understand the dynamics of these diverse migrations, two reasons must examine the causes and changing configurations of emerging migratory flows.

The abolition of the mandatory residency permit, introduction of Brown Card travel certificates, and the elimination of the ubiquitous border formalities are aimed at facilitating intraregional movements of persons. Progress was constrained by multiple cooperation groupings and memberships, conflicting objectives, inconsistent political support, growing national identity, depressed economies, and xenophobia against "foreigners".

The recognition of the need for economic integration including free flow of persons, goods and services stimulated the enactment of Protocol on free movement of persons, and the right of residence and establishment in 1979. The first phase of the Protocol guaranteed free entry of citizens from Member states without visa for ninety days and it was ratified by all member

States in 1980. The second phase of the protocol, Right of Residence became effective in July 1986 and all member states ratified it. However, right of establishment came to force in 1992. With the coming into force of this protocol, the member States abolished visa and other entry requirements for citizens traveling to a sister country. This means that a citizen of ECOWAS member State who possess valid traveling documents and international health certificate can spend a period not exceeding 90 days in another state. Notwithstanding the protocol, a member State has the right to deny entry of any immigrant considered to be inadmissible by its laws (Article 4).

The hypothesis of Neo-functionalists which states that the integration starting in an economic sector and spreading over to other sectors by creating a strong interdependence and wealth is noticeable in Nigeria-Ghana relations. Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas tend to perform this function by sending money back to their country of origin in a variety of ways. Where available, they may use formal channels such as banks and money transfer services. In other instances they may use informal channels, carrying it home or sending cash and in-kind goods home with returning migrants. For a variety of reasons, remittances are extremely difficult to measure. On the one hand, official figures may underestimate the size of remittance flows because they fail to capture these informal transfers. It should be noted that over-estimation do occur as well. Other types of monetary transfers — including illicit ones — cannot always be distinguished from remittances. Furthermore, remittances may also be transferred via a third country, complicating estimates of remittance data by the source and destination countries. Remittance figures, thus, are general estimates at best, but new estimates do demonstrate the enormous impact that remittances from either Ghana or Nigeria have on socio-economic development of origin countries.

Transnationalism is a social movement grown out of the heightened interconnectivity between people and the loosening of boundaries between countries. The term transnationalism has become widely used among Social Science scholars over the last decade. The first use of this concept can be traced to cultural studies works such as of Appadurai, Buell, Clifford, Bhabha, Hanners, among others (Smith & Guarnizo, 1998). In opposition to linear and restraining understandings of time and space, employing the rhetoric of transnationalism these authors "celebrated new anti-essentialising concepts of subjectivity that emphasize plurality, mobility, hybridity, and the margins or spaces in-between" (Mitchell, 1997:107).

The term has emerged and evolved at a time characterized by high levels of labour migration from economically less developed nations to the most developed and from similarly high levels of political refugees fleeing conflicts and instability in former communist and Third World nations (Castles and Miller, 1993). Transnational theory takes as its starting point from the recognition that individual and social identities have traditionally been shaped by, and studied according to, the bounded categories of geopolitical location, nation, race, ethnicity and class. During the past decade, the concept of 'transnationalism' has entered the lexicon of migration scholars, embraced by those who are attracted to its attempt to capture the distinctive and characteristic features of the new immigrant communities that have developed in the advanced industrial nations at the core of the capitalist world system (Roberts, 1995; Glick Schiller, 1997; Portes, 1999; Vertovec, 1999; Faist, 2000; Urry, 2000).

In practice transnationalism refers to increasing transborder relations of individuals, groups, firms beyond state boundaries. Individuals, groups, institutions and states interact with each other in a new global space where cultural and political characteristic of national societies are combined with emerging multilevel and multinational activities. Transnationalism is a part of the process of globalisation. For some it is "globalization". Transnationalist theory focuses on the rise of transnational migration patterns and the social, economic, cultural and political impacts on the relations between States in international system. Basch, et al (1994) argues that "deterritorialised States" are emerging with important consequences for national identity and international politics. Portes describes transnational activities as:

Those that take place on a recurrent basis across national borders and that require a regular and significant commitment of time by participants. Such activities may be conducted by relatively powerful actors, such as representatives of national governments and Multinational Corporations, or may be initiated by individuals, such as immigrants and their home country kin and relations. These activities are not limited to economic enterprises, but include political, cultural and religious initiatives as well (Portes, 1999: 464).

In the context of transnational communities, Castles (2009) states that an older term for transnational communities is diasporas and goes to trace the Portes and his associates' emphasis on transnationalism that has been distinguished between transnationalism from above, which focuses on the activities of the "powerful institutional actors, such as

Multinational Corporations” and transnationalism from below which are the “activities that are the result of grass-roots initiatives by immigrants and their home country counterparts” (Portes *et al.*, 1999: 221).

However, in a world increasingly marked by migrations, diasporas and cultural as well as economic globalisation, questions of home, community, and allegiance are constantly being redefined. Transnationalism is the outcome of migration. It has been argued that migrants have specific reasons for leaving their places of origin for specified destinations for the general purpose of improving their standard of living, thereby forming diasporic organisations, which are transnational in theory and practice.

It is pertinent to note that there are two branches of transnational theory. The first is Institutional transnationalism (idealism) which focuses on institutionalising global cooperation by forming and strengthening international institutions. Advocates of the institutional transnationalism are of the opinion that global cooperation is based upon three factors which are: strengthening the functions and influence of international organizations, instituting collective security, and enforcing international law. The second branch of transnationalists’ theory is Economic transnationalism (interdependence model) which emphasises economic ties between nation-states as the premise for establishment and preservation of order within the international system. Transnationalism takes different forms which include border, social relations, and new expressions of belonging and political engagement as well as a ‘de-territorialised’ understanding of a nation.

Economic Transnationalism, which brings to the fore transnational linkages or ties between States, recognises the increasingly integrative nature of the global economy as a major force in promoting the linkages or ties, has been adapted for this study. The theory emphasises transformation of territory into space by transnational actors, production of new identification-de facto transnational and creation of civil society beyond the borders. Interdependence, which is a crucial part of economic transnationalism has been defined by Genest (2003), as the “mutual dependence” of nations within the international system and that transnationalists argue that interdependence is a defining characteristic of the contemporary world because States have become increasingly interconnected and interdependent. He describes Joseph Nye’s succinct description of the principal components of interdependence which anchor on the expansion of the global trade and investment that has blurred or bedimmed the distinction between the domestic economies of individual states and

of international economy. The focus is on the more the interaction between States in the international system, the more their developments will depend on the political and economic cooperation.

Transnationalist theory takes into consideration the context of economic uncertainty and globalisation which facilitate the construction of global networks, thereby viewing the diasporas as actors that maintain strong linkages with their countries of origin. Genest (2003) states that interdependence is based on the three general assumptions which are; firstly, the States are not the only key actors in international relations. Other actors which are Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs), International institutions, Transnational Cooperation (TNCs), large religious groups, Economic cartels, Greenpeace, etc. The second assumption is that the agenda of international relations consist of different issues that are complicated than in the past. The third assumption is that the issues of relevance and concern which include trade, technology, and environment can also be as important as the issue of national security. In a nutshell, economic interdependence between states along with the expanded political ties has increased the value of cooperation between states in the international system. It should then be emphasized that in the contemporary international system, there has been an increase in interdependence between the States and non-state actors that have become increasingly sensitive to decision and events.

Having discussed the theoretical assumptions of the two theories, it is imperative to establish the similarities, differences and relevance of the two theories to this study. From the above analysis, both the neo-functionalist theory and transnationalist theory are appropriate in analysing this study because they emphasise the central role that non-state actors have always played in shaping international relations. This has to do with Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas linkages between Ghana and Nigeria, which could be attributed to the outcome of the migration theory of "Pull" and "Push" factors but transnational theory encompasses numerous issues which can be categorised as transnational corporations, transnational social movements and advocacy networks, and transnational criminal networks which have acquired increasing visibility as independent actors in world politics.

The appropriateness of Neo-functionalist theory and Transnationalist theory to the study is reflected in the fact that the two theories involve individuals, their networks of social relations, their communities, and broader institutionalised structures such as local and national governments. The two theories categorise diasporas as non-state actors in the

international system which is relevant in analysing the role of Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas as agents of development of their countries of origin and destination, thereby facilitating bilateral relations and integration agenda of ECOWAS in the West African region. Nigeria and Ghana bilateral relations which is the focus of this study entails major challenges but also major opportunities for countries of origin and countries of destination, as well as diasporas themselves. Advances in information and communications technologies and affordable travel allow migrants to be part of the activities in both their home and host countries.

In West Africa, transnationalism is reflected in increased circular migration and diaspora engagement in the socio-economic, cultural and political development of their countries of origin and destination in the sub-region. As a consequence, a growing number of people tend to identify with two countries and cultures. Migrant transnationalism can benefit both source countries and destination countries because it encourages international trade, capital flows and the diffusion of knowledge as well as social and political norms, thus fostering socio-economic cum cultural development. Destination countries in addition gain from spurred innovation through diversity as well as from the mitigation of short-term labour shortages.

Some of the challenges include the fact that migrant transnationalism is often viewed as a threat to national identity and social cohesion in host countries. Instead of accepting that a person can be part of more than one culture and even harnessing the migrants' sustained ties with their countries of origin, complete cultural and social assimilation is expected. Neo-functional theory postulates that policies can help to maximize the benefits of transnational migration and, at the same time, mitigate potential problems with respect to integration, social cohesion and alienation.

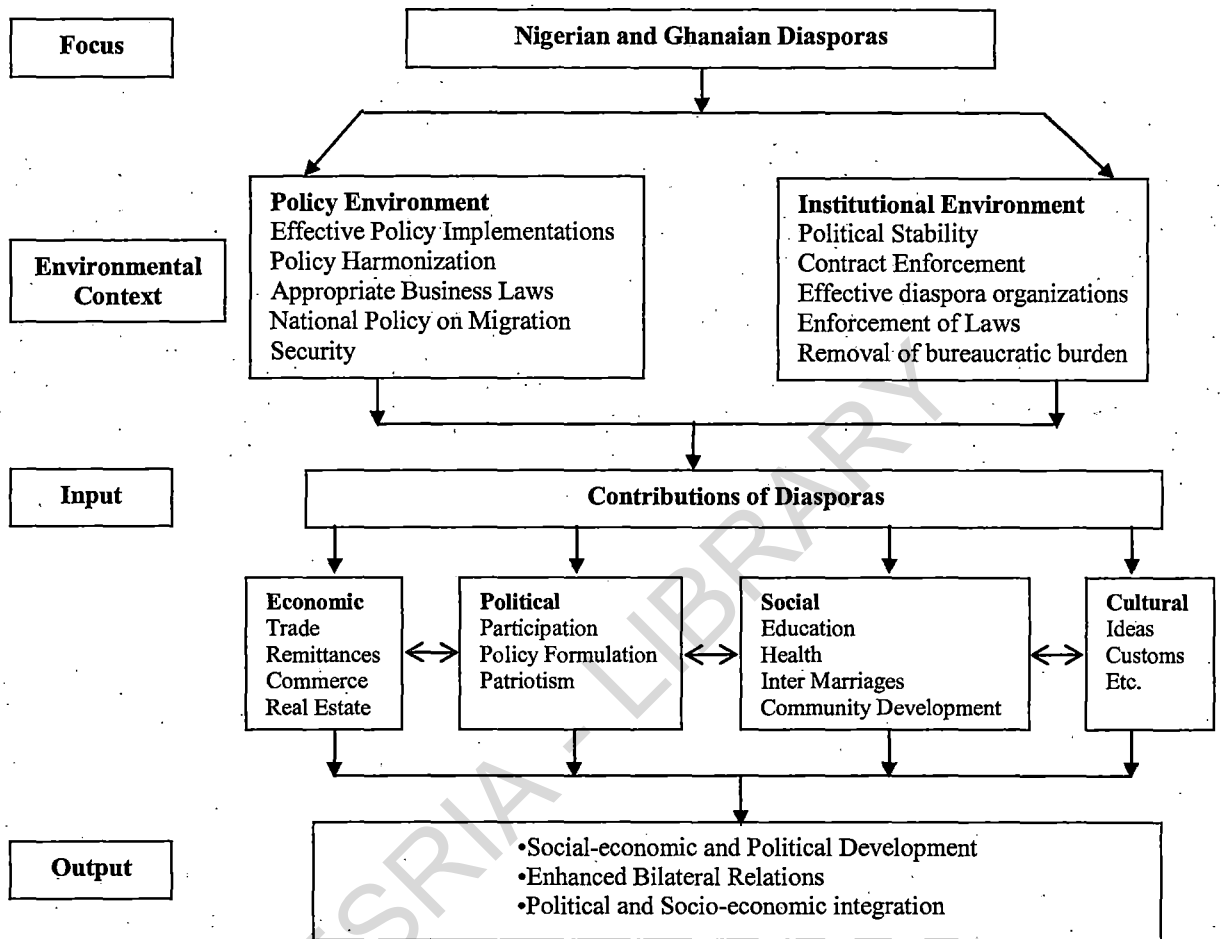
Strengthening ECOWAS protocol can enhance migrant mobility and such agreements be used to foster migrant transnationalism and help to realise its potential benefits. Such agreements can help to adjust education and training programmes in source countries in ways that facilitate the recognition of qualifications and mitigate migrants' integration problems—for example, by providing language skills and knowledge relevant to the host country. These bilateral agreements can help to adjust social security systems to accommodate temporary migration—for example, by improving the portability of social security contributions and benefits.

What are the consequences of migrant transnationalism for optimal integration policies? Could dual citizenship facilitate integration into the host country while preserving the connection with the country of origin? How can host countries foster the political and civic participation of migrants who do not hold full citizenship? Should temporary migration programmes offer a path to permanent residence and full citizenship?

How can Nigerian and Ghanaian associations help to improve effective bilateral relations between Nigerian and Ghana and, at the same time facilitate sub-regional integration in West Africa? Should governments provide financial and technical support and/or offer them active participation in the design and delivery of Sub-regional integration and development cooperation policies? What can Nigerian and Ghanaian businesses in both Ghana and Nigeria do to maximize the benefits of migration and diversity and how can these benefits be communicated to the public effectively? Can Nigerian and Ghanaian owned companies in Ghana and Nigeria facilitate regional integration within West Africa? Some of these are the questions begging for answers in application of neo-functionalism and transnationalism to Nigeria-Ghana relations and eventual spillover of functional relations to other countries within West Africa, thereby enhancing sub-regional integration in West Africa.

Conclusively, Neo-functionalist theory of regional integration and Transnationalist theory are based on the contemporary international system which manifests a complex interdependence of States and non-State actors because of the increasing number of actors, more issues, and greater interactions in international politics. Neo-functionalism and Transnationalism refer to multiple ties and interactions linking people or institutions across the borders of nation-states, which is a factor in analysing the regional integration agenda of both ECOWAS and African Union. The two theories are appropriate theories that can be used in emphasising functional governance, effective institutions, greater linkages and expanded cooperation in politics and economy among the States and non-State actors in international system.

Figure 2: Conceptual Framework



Source: Compiled by the Researcher, 2009

2.12 Conceptual Framework

The analytical framework constructed in Figure 2 depicts the structure of a concept that symbolises several interrelated ideas. In this study, the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas are the independent variables while enhanced bilateral relations between the two countries are the dependent variables. The eventual sub-regional integration of the Member-States of ECOWAS is dependent on the contributions of diasporas. It is conceptualised that African diasporas within the West African sub-region can be agents of development that will help to facilitate the integration of the fifteen Member-States of ECOWAS.

Therefore, Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria respectively, will contribute effectively, if the conditional mechanisms referred to as environmental context are operational. These are categorised into two variables; namely policy environment and

institutional environment. The environmental context of policy environment includes political stability, enforcement of contract-which is important to business law, effectiveness of the diasporas national associations and active participation of the members, the enforcement of the laws guiding the citizens and non-citizens and functional security measures.

The second mechanism relates to the institutional environment which includes the effective policy harmonisation of the various institutions and these are ECOWAS, governments of Ghana and Nigeria, the diasporas national associations, appropriate business laws, ratification of national policy on migration and active security measures.

The focus on environmental contexts involve both policy and institutional environments, which will aid the contributions of Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas to the development of home and destination countries of Nigeria and Ghana respectively.

Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas are poised to facilitating social, economic, political and cultural developments in both countries of destination and origin provided policy and institutional environments are favourable and effective. The outcomes of their contributions will be political and socio-economic development, thereby, enhancing bilateral relations between Nigeria and Ghana and accelerating the integration scheme of ECOWAS. And the ultimate goal shall be the actualisation of the integrative agenda of the ECOWAS and African Union towards political and socio-economic integration of West African member States of ECOWAS specifically and African continent in general.

2.13 Gaps in the literature

Generally, there is a dearth of up-to-date knowledge on the dynamics of international migration in Nigeria and Ghana. Though it is a general discourse that there is a "massive outflow" of Nigerians and Ghanaians, the dynamics of the volume, directions of the flows and other aspects of international migrations are still indefinite. Coupled with these are the methodological problems, of definitions of terms, data collection and analysis. Therefore, research gaps are in the areas of changes in the category, status, locations and livelihood of diasporas in Nigeria and Ghana. These are in terms of diversification of migration destinations, transformation of labour migrants to self-employed, commercial/business migrants, changes in the component of migration streams (feminization), transformation of legal status of migrants from regular to irregular migrants and consequences of international migration in Africa. In essence, more efforts should be geared towards studying consequences of international migration than concentrating on the causes.

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CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A substantial part of the study is devoted to an overview of the procedures and outcomes of the pilot study. This is followed by details about the procedures during the data collection phase as well as a discussion of both independent and dependent variables in the study. The chapter concludes with the discussion of the research design and the analytical techniques adopted in the study.

3.1 Research Design

A mixed research design was adopted in this study. Mixed research tries to combine the best of qualitative and quantitative research. Philosophically, mixed research takes an eclectic, pragmatic, and commonsense approach, suggesting that the researcher mix quantitative and qualitative in a way that works best for the given research question being studied in a particular context. Mixed research uses both deductive and inductive methods, obtains both quantitative and qualitative data, attempts to corroborate and complement findings, and takes a balanced approach to research. This integration was done in a way that the resulting mixture or combination had complementary strengths and non-overlapping weaknesses.

The quantitative research design adopted in this study was a survey design. The aim of this survey was to elicit information regarding the diasporas' activities and their migration experience. The survey equally focused on the behavioural characteristics of diaspora of Nigeria and Ghana at a given period of time (1979-2010). The complementary qualitative method was used to support the quantitative design described above. Qualitative design is a generic term for investigative methodologies described as ethnographic, naturalistic, anthropological, field, or participant observer research. It emphasizes the importance of looking at variables in the natural setting in which they are found. Interaction between variables is important. Detailed data is gathered through open ended questions that provide direct quotations. The interviewer as adopted in this study is an integral part of the investigation (Jacob, 1988). This differs from quantitative research which attempts to gather data by objective methods to provide information about relations, comparisons, and predictions and attempts to remove the investigator from the investigation (Smith, 1983).

3.2 Study Population

The target population for this study comprised all Nigerians living in Ghana. This was estimated at 3 million by Consular General of Nigerian High commission in Ghana. This comprised the male and female Nigerian diasporas living in Accra region and Kumasi in Ghana. The headquarters of the All Nigerian Communities in Ghana (ANCG) and the Forum Nigerian Professionals in Ghana (FNPG) located in Accra, with branches in Kumasi and Tema. In Nigeria, the target population included Ghanaian diasporas living in South Western Nigeria, specifically, Lagos and Ogun States estimated at 1 million. The headquarters of the National Association of Ghanaian Communities in Nigeria (NAGHACON) is located in Lagos.

3.3 Sample Size

There is a need to specify two things here. First, the sample size reflects the number of obtained responses, and not necessarily the number of surveys mailed or interviews planned (this number is often increased to compensate for non response). Second, the sample size presumes that the attributes being measured are distributed normally or nearly so. The sample size for this study was 384 for Nigerian diaspora in Ghana and 384 for Ghanaian diaspora in Nigeria. However, 357 survey instruments were returned by Nigerian diasporas in Ghana and 211 survey instruments were returned from Ghanaian diaspora in Nigeria due to the fact that a lot of the latter had been returning to Ghana piecemeal since the recovery of the Ghanaian economy towards the end of the 1990s.

3.4 Research Instrument

A questionnaire is developed as the research instrument. This questionnaire has four sections namely Background Information, Migration Experience, Linkages with Home and Destination Countries and Future Migration Plan. The questionnaire used both open and close-ended. Besides the questionnaire, personal interviews were conducted to seek clarification on some of the responses given by the respondents. The first section (i.e. Section A) of the questionnaire gathered the respondents' demographic characteristics such as age group, gender and highest qualification obtained previous working experience etc. The second section of the questionnaire (Section B) collected information related to the

respondents' migration experience which focused on the reasons for migration and contact at the country of destination. Section C of the questionnaire highlighted linkages with home and destination countries which include remittances, free association in areas of politics social, cultural et cetera. Section D of the questionnaire was designed to find out the future migration plan of the respondents.

3.5 Research Procedure

Survey design was adopted in this study. Data were obtained by administering surveys containing predominantly structured questions to a cross-section of diasporas both in Ghana and Nigeria. In addition, qualitative data were gathered through individual interviews with officials of embassies of Ghana in Nigeria and Nigeria in Ghana, to assist in the interpretation and clarification of selected variables in the study. The study was conducted in two phases. The first - pilot - phase took place over a period of seven weeks in the months of April and July, 2009. The second phase took place in July 2010, and covered a three-week period. This phase is referred to as the data collection phase.

3.6 The Pilot Phase

3.6.1 Location and Participants

The pilot phase of the study was conducted in Accra and Kumasi Ghana. Accra is the capital and largest city of Ghana, southeastern Ghana, on the Gulf of Guinea. Accra is an important commercial, manufacturing, and communications center. It is the site of an international airport and a focus of the country's railroad system, including a link to nearby Tema, which since 1962 has served as the city's deepwater port. Industries include vehicle and appliance assembly, petroleum refining, and the manufacture of foodstuffs, textiles, metal and wood products, plastics, and pharmaceuticals. A sprawling city, Accra presents a varied appearance, with buildings of modern, colonial, and traditional African architecture. This city has infrastructures that can attract migrants. Kumasi is the second largest city and commercial hub in Ghana.

In Nigeria, Lagos and Ogun States were selected. Lagos is a port and the most populous conurbation in Nigeria, encompassing industrial settlements in Ogun State. It is currently the second most populous city in Africa after Cairo and is estimated to be the fastest growing city

in Africa and the seventh fastest growing in the world (UN-HABITAT, 2008). Lagos is the economic and financial capital of Nigeria and was once the administrative capital of Nigeria.

Accra and Kumasi in Ghana were selected because they register large concentration of Nigerians. Kumasi for example has a lot of Yoruba people who had migrated to the place in the pre-colonial era. There are also Hausa settlements and few Ibo people in Kumasi. Lagos and Ogun States were selected because of the more noticeable presence of Ghanaians than in any other State in Nigeria. In addition, the selected areas for the study have facilities in terms of transport and communication and because in many respects the physical characteristics of these places are similar to those of the other towns and cities in Ghana and Nigeria. A total of 153 diasporas from Nigeria living in Ghana and 110 diasporas from Ghana living in Nigeria, 4 officials from Ghana embassy in Nigeria and 4 officials from Nigerian High commission in Ghana participated in the pilot phase. Participants were recruited from associations in both Ghana and Nigeria. Selection procedures were based on convenience, but care was taken to ensure that the participants were purposively selected to represent the various dimensions that are important to the study in terms of age, gender, professional experience, qualifications, and geographical location.

Various techniques were used in the pilot phase to gain a more in-depth understanding of diaspora activities and experience with migration. These included; conducting interviews with key informants, reviewing studies as well as key policy documents on migration and integration in West Africa, conducting focus groups with migrants, inquiring into diasporas' activities and experience with migration surveys, and conducting various open and close-response questionnaires with both diasporas and government officials (immigrations, customs and foreign affairs ministries). The rationale, the participants and procedures for each of these techniques are described below.

3.6.2 Interviews

Interviews were initially conducted with Government staffers in Ghana and Nigeria who have key responsibilities in the area of immigration and monitoring of borders, they can be regarded as policy actors. Interviews took place, among others, with the immigration officials, ECOWAS staff at the headquarters in Abuja, Ghana High Commissioner and Nigerian Head of Consular Affairs/Minister and heads of Nigerian diasporas in Ghana and Ghanaian diasporas in Nigeria. A detailed list of persons consulted can be found in Appendix 3 and 4. These interviews yielded essential background and contextual information on on-

going initiatives, major policy decisions, and on the perception that decision-makers have on the integration in West Africa through ECOWAS Protocols on the free Movement of People and Goods in West African sub-region in Appendix 3 and 4.

3.6.3 Focus Group Discussions

Seven focus groups, involving a total of 42 male and 28 female participants, were organised in both Ghana and Nigeria in a number of locations covered by the study, with Ghanaian diasporas in Nigeria and Nigerian diasporas in Ghana. Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) took between one and two hours and were held in Conference rooms in the two embassies or in an open space outside. The Focus Groups Discussions (FGDs) typically involved between 7-10 Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas in both Nigeria and Ghana. Participants for the focus group were selected with the assistance of associations and embassies on the basis of a prior specification of the desired demographic characteristics (age, gender and experience level). In this manner it was possible to obtain and verify responses from diasporas with different backgrounds and characteristics. The groups were deliberately kept small so as to facilitate open discussion. The purpose of the focus groups was to explore a variety of issues, among which were diasporas' migration experiences, linkages with home and destination countries and future migration plans. The information generated during the focus groups was essential in developing questionnaire items for key variables in the data collection phase of the study. In addition, the insights gained during the focus group discussions are, at various points in the discussion of the results of the study, contrasted with the results from the survey. Apparent differences and contradictions, as well as similarities, are highlighted.

Participants were told at the outset of the focus group discussion that the purpose of the focus groups was to gain an in-depth understanding of the experience of diasporas in both Ghana and Nigeria, that the information provided would be confidential and that they should feel free to discuss any personal experience that they had. In terms of procedures, the focus group discussion normally started out with the question: "How did you get to Nigeria/Ghana?" A topic guide was used for the subsequent line of questioning (see Appendix 1).

3.6.4 Reliability and Validity of Instrument

The Reliability and Validity of the main questionnaire employed were ensured. The test – retest reliability index yielded 0.72. The face construct and convergent validity were ensured. The convergent validity of 0.76 and Cronbach Alpha of 0.78 indicated that the internal consistency of the instrument is appropriate.

After all items related to Diasporas' Activities and Experience with Migration Survey were coded, an inter-coder reliability index was calculated. The inter-coder reliability was calculated as a Kappa coefficient which ranged from 0.68 for migration experience and 0.87 for linkages with home and destination countries and considered acceptable. The items (or arguments/themes) that appeared most frequently in each category were selected for the final questionnaire. At least three items were chosen for each category. In this manner, the questionnaire that was administered in the data collection phase contained a total of 30 items related to Diasporas' Activities and Experience with Migration.

3.7 The Data Collection Phase

The main purpose of the data collection phase was to administer the questionnaires that were developed during the pilot phase to a representative sample of diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria. In addition, in-depth interviews were conducted with a total of 268 diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria to supplement the information provided in the questionnaires. The next section outlines the sampling procedures, data collection instruments, independent and dependent variables, and the procedures for the data collection phase.

3.8 Sampling Procedures

Cluster sampling was used to select the participants in this study. The choice of cluster sampling was made because this technique is suited to situations where a complete list of subjects is not easily obtained and likely to be inaccurate as was the case for this study (Sapsford & Jupp, 1996). In this particular case, cluster sampling also offered the additional advantage of making it possible to cover a relatively large geographical area in a representative manner under the robust assumption that there are no inter-cluster variations in the variables under study.

3.8.1 Response Rate

Three hundred and eighty four questionnaires each were administered to Nigerian diasporas in Ghana and Ghanaian diasporas in Nigeria through the diasporic associational records in Nigeria and Ghana. They were identified by using cluster sampling method. Therefore, 768 surveys were considered to be legitimate for this research. However, three hundred and fifty four useable surveys were returned from Nigerian diasporas in Ghana and 211 useable

surveys were returned from Ghanaian diasporas in Nigeria. Six additional surveys were returned that were not considered useable. The unusable surveys were either blank with a note attached which explained why the respondents would not be able to complete the survey, or only partially completed with major portions of the survey returned blank. With 568 returned and useable completed questionnaires of 768, the response rate was 73.96%.

3.10 Analytical Techniques

The data analyses adopted in this study were largely qualitative. All the answers to the questions raised were analysed using descriptive statistics - frequency, mean and percentages and graphs. Attempt to identify patterns or associations and causal relationships in the themes were made. The three hypotheses raised were tested using chi-square. This is a statistical calculation that is used to test how well the distribution of a set of observed data matches with a theoretical probability distribution. The calculated value is always equal to the sum of the squares of the differences between the observed and expected divided by the expected value. The chi-square test is always testing what scientists call the null hypothesis, which states that there is no significant difference between the expected and observed result.

The formula for calculating chi-square $\chi^2 = \sum(O-E)^2 / E$

That is, chi-square is the sum of the squared difference between observed (*o*) and the expected (*e*) data (or the deviation, *d*), divided by the expected data in all possible categories.

CHAPTER FOUR

APPRAISAL OF DIASPORA INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS IN NIGERIA-GHANA RELATIONS

4.1 Introduction

Within context of ECOWAS, West African diasporas refers to all persons originating from the West African sub-region who reside, work, or pursue education careers in various destination countries. These are people of West African origin with sentimental and material attachments to their respective origin countries within the sub-region. They are not homogeneous entity, but are heterogeneous individuals and groups with diverse goals and interests. West African diasporas tend to operate through informal, ad-hoc and disparate structures of mainstream development agenda. Hence, the existence of transnational cooperation and collaboration are real and these should be encouraged, sustained and harnessed by the Member-States of ECOWAS and ECOWAS as a body, in order to actualise its integration agenda. Failure to harness the contributions of West African diasporas within the sub-region may lead to exclusion of some individual, groups and networks that are willing to contribute to national and regional development.

This section appraises the institutional arrangements at national level (Nigeria and Ghana) and sub-regional levels (ECOWAS) aimed at facilitating the development roles of Nigerian and Ghanaian Diasporas. The Chapter seeks to investigate and analyse the various diaspora institutions in Nigeria and Ghana within the purview of Nigeria –Ghana relations, and the ECOWAS institutions and programmes in West Africa. Therefore, it is a truism ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Rights of Resident and Establishment is a mirage when it comes to implementation in order to effectively aid the back and forth movement of the West African diasporas within the region, especially Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas, for actual realisation of integration agenda of ECOWAS.

The key issues regarding the effective implementation of the protocol include absence of adequate mechanisms to control infiltration of criminals; lack of harmonisation of migration national laws and policies, as well as inadequate infrastructure to facilitate realisation of borderless West Africa.

It has been realised that ECOWAS has not instituted adequate mechanisms for controlling the entry of illegal immigrants into Member-States. This is due to the fact that many people in the sub-region do not possess any valid travelling documents including birth certificates. This has been exploited by persons who carry out nefarious activities such as internet fraud, money laundering, human trafficking et cetera. There are also concerns that the privileges enshrined in the protocol have been abused by some citizens of the sub-region. Some of the abuses include smuggling of goods and illicit trade in narcotics. These crimes and acts of economic sabotage have led to expression of resentment among officials and the general public in the destination countries. Ghana for instance, has established a Border Patrol Unit within the Ghana Immigration Service to monitor her borders.

As a sub-regional regulatory body, ECOWAS, could not ensure harmonisation of national laws pertaining to migration before the protocol was ratified the Member States. This has adversely affected the smooth implementation of the protocol on free movement of persons. In enacting the protocol, much consideration was not given to the diversities in social, political and economic background of the member states, hence the revocation of the protocol and expulsion of non-nationals in difficult economic times by some member States.

Another issue is that inadequate infrastructural facilities in the sub-region do not promote effective and truly free movement. At the time the protocol came into force, the road networks were restricted to national borders and little efforts were placed on expanding road and rail networks beyond national borders to facilitate effective flow of human traffic. Perhaps, adequate preparations were not made to facilitate smooth and effective implementation of the protocol for the benefit of the people.

It is also important to note that the Member-States are at different levels of economic development and this has impeded the realisation of free movement of persons within the sub-region. In view of this, the direction of movement is towards countries with better economic opportunities and thereby putting undue challenges on those economies. For instance, Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal and Ghana (recently) have been at the receiving ends of these population movements. Hence, this chapter appraises the Nigerian and Ghanaian governments' efforts towards their diasporas.

4.2 Nigeria's Policy Framework towards Nigerian Diaspora

The Federal Government's policy towards Nigerians in the Diaspora is motivated by the desire to build a constructive, mutually beneficial relationship between Nigeria and her Diaspora. The objective is to tap into their potentials for the economic growth and development of the country. This is in recognition of Nigerians in the Diaspora as important stakeholders in the Nigerian Project and potential agents of change. The Federal government's effort is based on the realisation that the migration of Nigerian professionals in the past decades and highly qualified students who have opted to remain abroad after their studies have led to the accumulation of huge human capital which can be harnessed to complement development efforts at home. Government's initiative is also borne out of the conviction that having lived abroad and embraced international best practices, Nigerians abroad possess requisite experiences and contacts that could be of immense benefit to the country's developmental process.

An attempt to discuss the extent of profile of Nigerians residing permanently outside Nigeria becomes a daunting task because of the paucity of data. Many Nigerian diasporas continue to distinguish themselves in their chosen careers, especially in the Sciences, Medicine and Social Sciences with a few directly involved in industry. Majority of these Nigerians migrated to other countries mostly for economic reasons including the opportunity for better living and employment prospects. Nevertheless, they have always shown great interest in developments at home and continuously desire to contribute to Nigeria's development. This is demonstrated through the many practical contributions they make both collectively as members of various associations established to assist community developments at home and individually through the financial resources sent home as remittances to help alleviate poverty and support families.

There are thus, already in existence potential economic and social linkages between Nigerians in the Diaspora and the Nigerian State. Whether through their remittances, collective contributions, business and investment networks, or the transfer of skills, knowledge and experience, or through philanthropic initiatives as in the case of the medical missions, Nigerians abroad are already making some contributions in one form or the other. Therefore, by establishing effective formal mechanism that enhances these relationships and facilitates the efforts of various groups of Nigerians in the Diaspora, a more positive impact could be created that may not be possible through individual or informal efforts. In

addition, by fostering and building upon existing linkages, a kind of backward flow of knowledge and technologies which can contribute to new initiatives in health, science and education can be achieved. In this way, the brain drain can be reversed and the expansion of knowledge and modern technologies that ensue will boost Nigeria's productivity and competitiveness.

The Nigerian government's initiative is also supported by new global thinking which sees the Brain Drain from the perspective of potential asset and tool for positive change and the need to pay attention to the growing impact of economic ties between the Diaspora and their original fatherland. It has also been argued that while the mobilisation of resources like remittances is an important Diaspora - development link, mobilisation of knowledge and skills of diaspora professionals on the other hand, could play an even more effective role in facilitating economic development in their countries of origin.

The key issues regarding the effective implementation of the protocol include the absence of adequate mechanisms to control infiltration of criminals; lack of harmonisation of migration national laws and policies, as well as inadequate infrastructure to facilitate realisation of borderless West Africa. In addition, it has been realised that ECOWAS has not instituted adequate mechanisms for controlling the entry of illegal immigrants into member States. This is due to the fact that many people in the sub-region do not possess any valid travelling documents including birth certificates. This has been exploited by persons who carry out nefarious activities such as internet fraud, money laundering, human trafficking, etc. There are also concerns that the privileges enshrined in the protocol have been abused by some citizens of the sub-region. Some of the abuses include smuggling of goods and illicit trade in narcotics. These crimes and acts of economic saboteur have led to expression of resentment among officials and the general public in the destination countries. Ghana for instance, has established a Border Patrol Unit within the Ghana Immigration Service to police her borders.

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networks were restricted to national borders and little efforts were placed on expanding road and rail networks beyond national borders to facilitate effective flow of human traffic. Perhaps, adequate preparations were not made to facilitate smooth and effective implementation of the protocol for the benefit of the people.

It is also important to note that the member States are at different levels of economic development and this has impeded realisation of free movement of persons within the Sub-region. In view of this, the direction of movement is towards economic development and thereby putting undue challenges on those economies. For instance, Nigeria, Cote d'Ivoire, Senegal and Ghana (recently) have been at the receiving ends of these population movements. Emphasis should have been placed on acceleration of economic growth and poverty reduction in the various countries in order to avoid citizens of some countries becoming socio-economic burden on a few member States.

4.3 The Human Rights Dimensions of the Nigerian and Ghanaian Diasporas in West Africa

The state of human rights in most West African States is without doubt, inadequate and the contrast between the paper declarations in Protocols, Constitutions and laws and the actual practice is quite staggering. The law of human rights is at one extreme, whilst the practice of West African countries is at the other. The vast majority of the citizens in virtually all West African countries face difficulty in the enjoyment of their rights and freedom from intolerable oppression and exploitation. African diasporas within the African continent, especially in the sub-region of West Africa are often overlooked actors in the areas of development and integration.

The sub-region of West Africa has a long history of population movement regionally. The magnitude of regional migration in recent years has increased tremendously because in recent period movement of the people across national borders within West Africa has been facilitated by the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement of persons, rights of residence and establishment.

Looking at the formation of ECOWAS in 1975, it should be emphasised that the original purpose of the founding fathers of ECOWAS was to integrate the sub -region just like European Union (EU) is borderless in practice. This has been facilitated by the free

movement of persons, rights of residence and establishment by the Member States citizens, thereby facilitating EU regional integration.

Unfortunately the vision of ECOWAS fathers has not been realised but is merely verbal. The greatest problem of ECOWAS protocol is the insincerity of political leaders in adhering to the terms of the protocol in order to make the Union work. It is observed that none of the Member States has been able to domesticate the Protocol. Until then, the protocol cannot assume a higher relevance than the individual country's municipal law. It is much easier for one to travel from Greece through Britain- Germany- Netherlands than move from Nigeria to Benin Republic.

Until the political leaders decide to domesticate/ratify this ECOWAS Protocol in their National Houses of Assembly, the Protocol would remain unimplemented.

The founding fathers of ECOWAS, in their determination to re-create the homogenous society which Africa was before colonial rule, realised that the need for economic co-operation and collective self reliance in Africa, and globally is paramount for development, and subsequently laid the reasons for the birth of ECOWAS.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was established by a Treaty in 1975. In 1993, the ECOWAS Treaty was revised and its provisions substantially amend the powers of ECOWAS Institutions. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is a sub-regional organisation of 15 West African nations formed in 1975. There were 16 nations in the group until recently when Mauritania withdrew membership from ECOWAS. The main objective of ECOWAS at its formation was to achieve economic integration and shared development so as to form a unified economic zone in West Africa. Later on, the scope was expanded to include socio-political interactions and mutual development in related spheres. The membership list includes the following countries. Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo.

The main aims and objectives of ECOWAS Member States are located in Article 2(1) of the 1975 treaty. The objectives are summarised as follows:

- .. to promote co-operation and development in all fields of economic activity particularly in the field of industry, transport, telecommunications, energy, agriculture, natural resources, commerce, monetary and financial

questions and in social and cultural matters for the purposes of raising the standard of living of its peoples, of increasing and maintaining economic stability among its members and of contributing to the progress and development of the African continent. (ECOWAS, 1975)

The 1993 Revised ECOWAS Treaty, in Article 3 reiterates and reinforces the aims which have been visualised by the founding fathers in the 1975 Treaty thus:-

... to promote co-operation and integration, leading to the establishment of an economic union in West Africa in order to raise the living standards of its peoples and to maintain and enhance economic stability, foster relations among Member States and contribute to the progress and development of the African continent. (ECOWAS, 1993)

The above mentioned provision shows that the ultimate goal of ECOWAS is the establishment of a common market through economic integration of member states. Several protocols" have been signed by Member-States to facilitate the implementation of the economic objectives of ECOWAS.

ECOWAS is a mission to promote economic integration and sufficiency in a collective way for the member states by means of economic and union, thereby creating a single large trade bloc. The creation of ECOWAS and implementation of the protocol on free movement of persons in practice came as a result of needs identified by the leaders of West African states who recognised in the early seventies that intra-regional integration could be an important step towards the sub-region collective integration into the global economy. Thus, the treaty signed in Lagos on 29 May, 1975 creating the ECOWAS covered almost all the fields of economic activity in order to strengthen regional economic integration through progressively freer movement of goods, capital, and people and to consolidate states' efforts to maintain peace, stability, and security.

In addition, the protocol on free movement of persons, residence and establishment, adopted in 1979, outlined a three-phase implementation: (1) the right of entry, abolition of visas, and stays of up to 90 days; (2) the right of residency after 90 days to seek and carry out income-earning employment; and (3) the right of establishment of enterprises. The protocol has raised new issues, and ultimately has consequences, implications and challenges for sub-regional integration agenda of ECOWAS in West Africa. Diaspora organisations and communities, ranging from professional associations to alumni groups, have established a wide variety of

projects and initiatives to support development within their countries of origin and, for years, numerous hometown associations have also channelled financial and other resources between their countries of destination in West African and countries of origin within the sub-region.

4.3.1 Protocol on Free Movement of Persons Rights of Residence and Establishment

This was based on the conviction that the promotion of harmonious economic development of the Member-States required effective economic co-operation and integration largely through a determined and concerted policy of self-reliance.

The recognition of the need for economic integration including free flow of persons, goods and services stimulated the enactment of Protocol on free movement of persons, and the right of residence and establishment in 1979. The first phase of the Protocol guaranteed free entry of citizens from Member-States without visa for ninety days and it was ratified by all member states in 1980. The second phase of the protocol, Right of Residence became effective in July 1986 and all Member States ratified it. However, right of establishment is yet to come into force.

With the coming into force of this protocol, the Member States removed visa and other entry requirements for citizens traveling to an ECOWAS Member State. This means that a citizen of ECOWAS Member-State who possesses a valid traveling documents and international health certificate can spend a period not exceeding 90 days in another state. Notwithstanding the protocol, a Member-State has the right to deny entry of any immigrant considered to be inadmissible by its laws (Article 4). In 1986, the second phase of the protocol (right of residence) was ratified by all Member-States. Right of Establishment as ratified in 1992.

4.3.2 Basis for the Protocol Re-creation

Prior to the introduction of the formal Protocol for Free Movement of Persons, Rights of Residence and Establishment, West African sub-region has been borderless and people have been migrating along ethnic lines and establishing businesses individually and collectively without any restrictions. The tenets of the Protocol include Article 27 of the ECOWAS treaty which affirms the need for economic integration, includes free flow of persons, goods and services by calling on the Member-States to ensure the gradual removal of all obstacles to free movement of persons, services and capital (Paragraph 1 of Article 27). ECOWAS Member-States were as a matter of fact required to stop demanding visa and residence permits, and therefore allow West Africans to work and undertake commercial and industrial activities within their territories. The re-creation of borderless West Africa was in consonance with the African Charter on Human and People's Rights and UN human rights. In addition,

they were of the opinion that the integration of the Member-States into a viable regional Community may demand the partial and gradual pooling of national sovereignties to the Community within the context of a collective political will. It was believed that the existing bilateral and multilateral forms of economic co-operation within the region will open up perspectives for more extensive cooperation.

It was also based on the view that the States in the sub-region needed to harness together the political, economic and socio-cultural challenges of sustainable improvement the welfare of their populations; and pooling together of their resources, particularly to ensure the most rapid and optimum expansion of the sub-region's productive capacity. These constitute the main reasons for re-creating free movement of persons in the West African sub-region.

4.3.3 The 1993 Revised ECOWAS Treaty

In 1991, in the same spirit of regional renewal, African leaders signed into being the African Economic Community in Abuja, thereby acknowledging that integration on the continent up to that point had been unable to deliver on its economic promises. Two years after, the revision of the ECOWAS treaty in 1993 marked an important change both in the structure and the character of West African cooperation. There was a shift to a more "people-centered organisation" as opposed to the "overly bureaucratic inter-governmental agency of the past" (Aryeetey 2001:16), reflecting a new model of integration that was then taking shape in the African political consciousness. It was no longer a narrow trade agreement aimed at expanding trade flows within the continent arising from the liberalisation of trade and exchange regimes. Fundamentally, it was conceived as a long-term development strategy based on collective self-reliance leading to an autonomous and self-sustained development.

The Abuja Concept of integration was a holistic approach which aimed to integrate economic and non-economic sectors, build new institutions consistent with a self reliant development process, uphold democratic principles and foster new social and cultural values (ADB 2000: 166)

A comparison between the two generations of ECOWAS treaties clearly demonstrates this change of direction. The 1993 version includes many areas of focus never before included in the early aims of the Community. Whereas the founding treaty leaves out issues of employment entirely, the updated instrument is much more attentive to recognising workers as participants in the integration process and as beneficiaries of economic integration. The aims of ECOWAS laid out at the beginning of both treaties include – in the revised

instrument and its predecessor alike – the goal of raising living standards for people in the region.

However, the list of objectives was expanded in the 1993 Treaty to include for the first time a provision for the strengthening of relations and better sharing of information among business men and women, workers and trade unions.

Also, there is a newly added section on the Community's fundamental principles which includes a commitment by Member-States to recognise, promote and protect the rights contained in the African Charter on Human and People's Rights (an instrument that includes a number of labour rights), as well as a commitment to social justice and popular participation in development.

Inclusive in the Treaty in Chapter X (Cooperation in Political, Judicial and Legal Affairs, Regional Security and Immigration) is Article 59 which stipulates that:

1. Citizens of the community shall have the right of entry, residence and establishment and Member States undertake to recognise these rights of Community citizens in their territories in accordance with the provisions of the Protocols relating thereto.
2. Member States undertake to adopt all appropriate measures to ensure that Community citizens enjoy fully the rights referred to in paragraph 1 of this Article.
3. Member States undertake to adopt, at national level, all measures necessary for the effective implementation of the provisions of this Article.

Beyond these broad principles, however, the Revised Treaty devotes an entirely new chapter to what can be considered as the social dimension of West African integration.

Chapter XI of the Treaty covers a broad spectrum of topics from human resources, to cultural and social affairs, women, population and even the press. But, despite containing some new commitments which were not found in the previous treaty, this chapter does not discuss in details regional labour and employment issues.

The provisions that actually do exist on employment are clearly not designed to respond to the potential negative impact on jobs and workers resulting from regional economic

integration. Rather, like other instances where ECOWAS deals with labour and employment, they are part of a broader development strategy between Member States to enhance the skills and opportunities of local populations to participate in the economic opportunities of the region. There is no enumeration, for instance, of basic labour rights, nor is there provision for trade adjustment assistance – a measure that would understandably be an unlikely response in West Africa given the huge number of people already unemployed in the region and limited government resources.

Also, apart from the establishment of a Technical Commission to deal with all matters falling under Chapter XI, no specific institutional mechanism is created for monitoring the employment effects of regional trade or to adjudicate complaints relating to labour standard enforcement between Member States. Instead, this chapter is primarily a plan to coordinate and harmonise human resource and other social policies. For example, the treaty outlines that Parties should strengthen co-operation in the fields of education, training and employment, encourage the exchange of skilled manpower, undertake to harmonise labour laws and social security legislation and enhance the economic conditions of women. These provisions correspond to the deeper integration efforts in West Africa to complement economic with social development following the logic that a better trained regional workforce and better coordinated national employment policies will help release the human potential and thereby enhance the economic promise of ECOWAS.

Ultimately, the Revised Treaty represents an enlarged vision of ECOWAS that goes well beyond economic integration to include social policy integration as well. What remains to be seen is the extent to which these new commitments will be realised. Trade liberalization itself has still not been fully implemented in West Africa and one wonders if similar obstacles will hinder the development of a stronger social dimension. As will be discussed in greater detail below, the situation seventeen years after Revised Treaty was ratified suggests that greater efforts need to be applied in the effective operationalising of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free movements of Persons, Rights of Residence and Establishment in order to actualise the Sub-regional integration agenda of ECOWAS. Hence, much work needs to be done on this particular area.

4.3.4 Analysis of the Provisions in the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Rights of Residence and Establishment

i) The Community citizens have the right to enter, reside and establish in the territory of Member-States.

ii) The right of entry, residence and establishment is to be progressively established in the course of a maximum transitional period of fifteen (15) years from the definitive entry into force of this Protocol by abolishing all other obstacles to free movement of persons and the right of residence and establishment.

iii) The right of entry, residence and establishment which shall be established in the course of a transitional period shall be accomplished in three phases.

In order to facilitate the movement of persons, restrictions on the entry of private or commercial vehicles in member states were to be removed subject to possession of valid driving license, Matriculation Certificate (Ownership Card) or Log Book, Insurance Policy and International customs documents recognized within the Community. Whereas a private vehicle can remain in another member state for up to 90 days, commercial vehicles are restricted to 15 days (within which it is not allowed to engage in business). Both types are subject to renewal upon request when its permit expires. In furtherance of increased movement of people, ECOWAS has issued 'brown card' insurance scheme for inter-state road transport to facilitate effective movement of persons, goods and services (Abdoulahi, 2005).

Implementation of the Protocol and the Challenges: Despite the efforts made in the ratification of the protocol which ushered in the free movement of persons in the West African Sub-region, there are bottlenecks along the borders created by the colonialists, which includes border checkpoints, that has resulted in severe harassment and extortion of money from migrants by security personnels at the numerous checkpoints. The Security personnels include: The Immigration, Customs, Policemen, Health officials, and unauthorised free movement is also hampered by different official languages at border posts. There are reports of torture and killings by security personnel in countries like Senegal and Gambia. The killing of 44 Ghanaians in The Gambia by security agencies in 2005 constitutes an example of harassments and difficulties faced by citizens of Member States in exercising their right to free movement within the Sub-region (Ghanaian Times, 2007). In addition, the researcher also witnessed the extortion of money from the passengers along the Nigeria-Togo-Ghana

borders, which presupposes that West Africa is not borderless but it is full of borders ('borderfull'). Implementation of the ECOWAS policy and protocol viewed from the perspective of regional integration is daunting as excise duties and other fees collected at the borders form a bulk of the revenue generated by ECOWAS countries. Statutory fee collectors at the borders are not discriminatory or a source of concern but some corrupt personnels at the borders inhibit free movement. In Ghana, 5 Ghana Cedis or 1000 Cefas is paid. In Nigeria, #1,000 is paid for "No Passport". New passports are charged separately. Passports holders are also levied. Manhandling at the Togo border is appalling.

Adepoju (2005) argues that implementation of the protocol coincided with a period of economic recession in many Member-States; and this resulted in large influx of nationals of West Africa to Nigeria. When the economic situation became unbearable for the government of Nigeria, it revoked article 4 and 27 of the protocol and expelled 0.9 and 1.3 million non-national residents most of them Ghanaians in 1983 and 1985 respectively. Besides Nigeria, other Member-State countries that have expelled immigrants of West African origin since the operationalisation of the protocol include the Cote d'Ivoire (1999); Senegal (1990); Liberia (1983) and Benin (1998) (Adepoju, 2005).

Abdoulahi (2005) opines that the delay in the implementation of trade liberalisation policies such as reduction in customs duties has contributed to slow down efforts at integration and realisation of free movement of persons (Abdoulahi, 2005). For instance, the reduction of tariff on industrial products did not begin in 1981 as planned and those which should have been achieved within the period 1990 to 2000. This is sometimes attributed to small size and similarity of the economies of the member States. Inability to ensure full implementation of the protocol is ascribed to multiple membership and overlapping interests of Member-State countries in other groups which can pose serious problems when coordinating or harmonising policies/programmes. Attempts to introduce common currency for Ghana, Nigeria, Sierra Leone and Gambia is still on the drawing board. Hence, the expulsion of nationals from member States and harrowing experiences of travellers across borders shows that all is not well with the implementation of the protocol on free movement of persons intended for effective integration of the sub-region.

In spite of these difficulties, the implementation of the protocol has achieved some measure of success. The flow of population from the sub-region constitutes a relatively large

proportion of all immigrants in most of the Member-States. Statistics from the Ghana Immigration Service shows that at least one-third of all arrivals in Ghana between 1999 and 2002 came from ECOWAS Member-States. It should be noted that due to the socio-political and economic stability of Ghana, the number of migrants from the Member-States of ECOWAS has increased considerably with Nigerians constituting highest number of migrants from the sub-region.

It should be emphasised that the Indian experience for example, has shown that the diaspora communities can serve as important sources of foreign direct investment, trade linkages, knowledge and technology transfer. More than ever, diasporas, the "scattered seeds" in which most governments formerly ignored and in some cases even keep at arm's length are increasingly seen as facilitators of development. While taking into cognisance or conscious of this potential, some developing countries have established institutions to systematically smoothen the progress of ties with their diasporas.

4.5 The Proposed Diaspora Commission in Nigeria

The zeal to join countries that tap into the resources of its diaspora citizens, Nigeria has moved a step closer to having a commission that would aggregate its human "foreign reserve" and utilise it in the areas of social, economic and political developments.

At the forefront of this course is the House of Representatives Committee on the Diaspora headed by Hon. Abike Dabiri-Erewa which incidentally is the first body created within the country to articulate issues related to citizens living abroad.

According to Dabiri-Erewa, the Bill to establish Diaspora Commission has gone through the first and second reading "It would be beneficial if they come on the day of the public hearing and make their contributions because their unique experience over-there matters'.

According to a Bill to establish this institution, the commission would provide for the engagement of compatriots in the Diaspora in the policies, projects and participation in the development of Nigeria and for the purpose of utilising the human, capital and material resources towards the overall socio-economic, cultural and political development of the country.

The commission would be under the foreign ministry but with a chairman and members of outstanding integrity in service, character and learning. The Diaspora Commission is unique because it would also proffer mechanisms for identifying and involving qualified Nigerians and expert in developing relevant policies and operations in all sectors of Nigeria and such mechanisms shall extend to implementations and success.

Another unique feature of this proposed commission is that it tends to give greater say to the stakeholders; the Nigerians in the Diaspora as in the sense that Nigerians in the Diaspora Organisation (NIDO) would be integrated in the project with its centres established in states and local governments for the effective implementation and co-ordination of Commission programmes. In addition, the Diaspora commission would also assist Nigeria government in policy formulation and implementation in the areas where foreign expertise is required.

4.5.1 Government Efforts towards Nigerians in the Diaspora

The Federal Government of Nigeria took measures to encourage a more constructive engagement with the Nigerians in the Diaspora in the year 2000. This was with the intention of creating opportunities that would enable them to leverage their invaluable human resources and forge a closer relationship with the Nigerian government. The president of Nigeria in the year 2000, President Olusegun Obasanjo held a Presidential Dialogue with Nigerians in the Diaspora in Atlanta and later in London and encouraged the establishment of the Nigerians in the Diaspora Organisation (NIDO). There are today NIDO chapters in America, Asia and in Europe but not in any country in Africa.

NIDO is to serve as a vehicle for the mobilisation of Nigerians in the diaspora in particular professionals. It is expected among others, to promote the spirit of patriotism among Nigerians, encourage their participation in the affairs of Nigeria, networking among Nigerians abroad, enhance the image of Nigeria with a view to promoting business, investment and tourism opportunities in Nigeria, create database of Nigerian professionals abroad and provide advisory services, partnership opportunities with respect to development policies and implementation of development programs in Nigeria.

The establishment of NIDO was followed with the setting up of the Nigerian National Volunteer Service (NNVS) to work with and facilitate the involvement of Nigerians abroad in the task of nation building. In spite of these, some skepticism remain, largely because of the uncertainties of Nigeria's political, social and economic environment and more out of

fears of the failed efforts of past regimes which attempted to use the diaspora to achieve their own political ends. There is also lack of clarity and proper articulation of the policy towards the Nigerian diaspora.

This makes it imperative to have a properly articulated policy with Nigerian government's commitment translated into real action to remove any lingering doubts and build the required confidence. This would address government's concern at the slow pace of response and the fact that the diaspora has not properly grasped its intention and even the paradigm shift at home in which the emphasis is now on formalising existing relationships and building of partnerships for development rather than a relationship of seekers and providers of favours to partners for their mutual benefit.

4.5.2 The Nigerian Government Diaspora Institutional Policy Dynamics

The Nigerian government diaspora policy is designed to address these concerns to create a greater awareness, a deeper engagement and enhance connectivity among all stakeholders. This policy seeks to lay out the opportunities for improved engagement and possible programmes from which both sides could benefit. The federal government of Nigeria would endeavour to match its commitment through some practical action, which include:-

- (i) Directing and continuous engaging the diasporas.
- (ii) Promoting the Ministries and agencies of the engagement by developing programmes in which the Nigerian diasporas can participate.
- (iii) Providing the enabling environment and improving national security in order to encourage Nigerians abroad to explore opportunities at home.
- (iv) Identifying accomplished experts to be factored into the decision-making process especially as advisers/consultants.
- (v) Introduction of some incentives to attract the diasporas which must be widely publicised.
- (vi) Supporting viable Diaspora initiatives abroad that would promote Nigeria's political socio-economic and cultural identity.
- (vii) Promoting the dissemination of national and regional information through the development and regular maintenance of robust and dynamic websites by all agencies of governments including the state and local governments.
- (viii) Providing the Nigerians in the Diaspora, through the electronic media, first-hand information on developments at home to place them in a better position to explore

emerging opportunities and contribute their quota to the socio-economic development of the country. This would also empower them to assist in helping the country to improve its image as well as help remove some of the frustrations some Nigerians feel due to lack of first-hand information on some government policies and actions.

4.6 Role of NIDO and the Diaspora

As a vehicle for the mobilisation of the Nigerians in the diaspora, the Nigerians in the Diaspora Organisation (NIDO) are the focal point in the government's overall strategy of involving the Diaspora in Nigeria's development. To be able to execute its mandate, NIDO should endeavour to reach out to Nigerian Communities abroad, including the African diasporas within the continent of Africa, through their various groups, organisations and associations, professional bodies and articulate its mandate properly and widely. It must provide the leadership to drive the initiative, work in concert with the NNVS and Nigerian missions abroad and various agencies at home to solidify the community into a common agenda and reach a consensus on their role in national building.

To be effective, NIDO would have to strengthen its structure and put in place a functional secretariat to manage its work and efforts. It must work in close relationship with all Nigerian groups and Nigeria's diplomatic missions. It must at all times seek to leverage the Diaspora contacts and relationships for the benefit of the country especially in such areas as education, health, science and technology and in improving Nigeria's image abroad.

4.6.1 Role of the Nigerian National Volunteer Services (NNVS)

The NNVS was established to, among others to facilitate the involvement of the Nigerians in the diaspora in the development of the Nigeria. The NNVS thus becomes the national focal point for the articulation, execution and coordination of government's initiative and policy towards the Nigerian Diaspora. The NNVS has the responsibility to create the public awareness both at home and abroad, and promote the initiative among the Diaspora, government agencies at the federal, state and local government levels. In addition, it should liaise with various government agencies and facilitate the development of programmes and projects that Nigerians in the Diaspora can participate in, especially, in education, science and technology and investment.

It should also liaise with international institutions involved with Diaspora and migration issues to secure assistance for Nigeria's Diaspora initiatives. It must also work in tandem with Nigerian Missions, NIDO and credible Nigerian organisations to identify Nigerian experts abroad who can be of tremendous assistance to government or add value to developments at home. It must also put in place incentives that would further encourage Nigerians abroad to become involved in developmental activities at home. Above all, it must work with NIDO, Nigerian Professional organisations to build a robust database of Nigerian professionals and experts abroad, including the African based diasporas.

4.7 Nigerian Migration Policy and Regional Integration

The primary law governing immigration into Nigeria is the Immigration Act of 1963, currently governed by the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria. Following the principles of international law, the act provides that a foreigner can only enter Nigeria with a valid passport or other travel document and a visa or recognised entry permit. Admission into Nigeria is under specified conditions, including duration of stay, place of residence, place of employment, and restricted movement within the country.

Migrants of African origin wishing to reside in Nigeria are required to regularise their papers after which they are issued a resident card. The card and registration allow them to bring family members, work, and own property and businesses in Nigeria. Migrants and members of their families are protected under the Nigerian constitution to seek redress in a court of law on any issue of conflict and entitled to earn the same wages as their Nigerian counterparts. Nigeria's policy on migration and migrant workers' rights is greatly influenced by the ECOWAS Treaty and its numerous protocols, conventions, and decisions.

Indeed, the protocol on the free movement of persons was widely perceived as causing or exacerbating Nigeria's severe economic, social, and political problems, culminating in the Aliens Expulsion Order of 1983, during which nearly 1.5 million illegal West African migrant workers were expelled. While the precise number of aliens affected may not be known, the massive volume of illegal migration in Nigeria was obvious as it was estimated that at least 700,000 Ghanaians, 180,000 Nigeriens, 150,000 Chadians, 120,000 Cameroonians, 5,000 Togolese, and 5,000 Beninois, among others, were forced to leave.

The Nigerian government later amended the order so that certain skilled foreigners, such as secretaries, nurses, teachers, masons, and carpenters, could stay four weeks longer or become

regularized. Also, employees of federal, state, and parastatal institutions, as well as citizens of ECOWAS States, Cameroon, and Chad who had come to Nigeria before 1963, were exempted.

Despite the closure of the border in 1983, the Nigerian government did not have the resources to prevent unauthorised movements. In 1984, Chadians, Cameroonians, and Nigerians fled drought at home to come to Northern Nigeria, with some Chadians also escaping from political instability. Also, a significant number of 'illegal aliens' did not heed the 1983 expulsion order, while others managed to filter back, prompting the military government that ousted the civilian government in December 1983 to issue a second order in May 1985: illegal migrants had to either regularise their residency permits or leave the country. Again, an estimated 700,000 persons were expelled, out of which 300,000 were Ghanaians and 100,000 were Nigeriens. Despite the emotions stirred by both expulsions, Nigeria was assessed to have acted within its rights under the ECOWAS agreement.

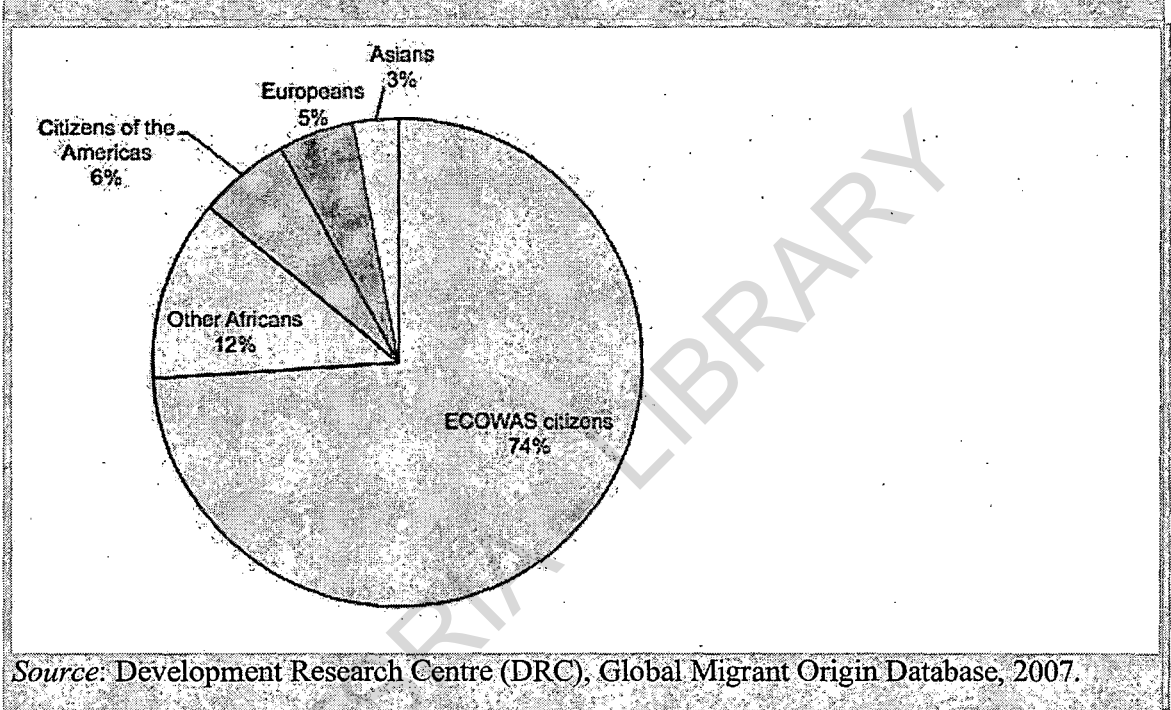
4.8 Migrants in Nigeria

While statistics on intraregional flows are generally unreliable, 2006 estimates from the ECOWAS Statistics Office suggest that West African migrants account for approximately 10 percent of the total population in most West African countries. Relative to her population size, Nigeria has a significantly smaller ECOWAS population than other Member States. Estimates based on 2000-2001 rounds of census data collected in the Global Migrant Origin Database of the University of Sussex's Development Research Center indicate that ECOWAS citizens made up about 0.4 percent out of Nigeria's 150 million people.

However, out of an estimated 750,000 foreign-born residents in Nigeria, 74 percent were ECOWAS citizens, with another 12 percent from other African countries. An estimated 91 percent of ECOWAS citizens emigrated from five countries — Benin, Ghana, Mali, Togo, and Niger — with over 50 percent originating from Benin and Ghana alone.

Among Europeans in Nigeria, an estimated 22 percent came from Russia and about 15 percent each were from the United Kingdom and Germany. Italy, Portugal, and France were other EU Member States with a noticeable presence, together with non-EU states like Ukraine, Belarus, Serbia, and Turkey.

Figure 3 Foreigners Resident in Nigeria by Region of Origin, 2000-2006

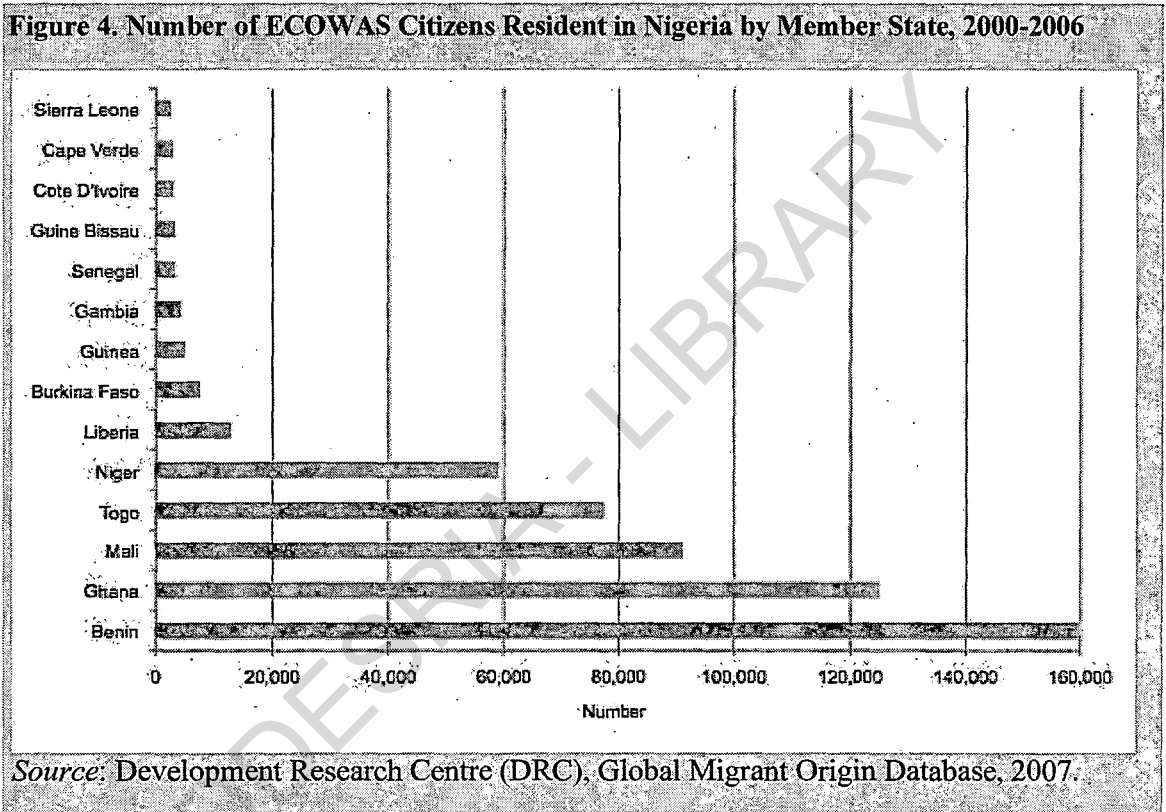


4.9 The Ghanaian Government Policy on Diaspora

The right of Ghanaians to live, vote, be recognised and treated as a Ghanaians is guaranteed by Article 6(2) of the 1992 Constitution which states that: “subject to the provisions of this Constitution, a person born in or outside of Ghana after the coming into force of this Constitution, shall become a citizen of Ghana at the date of his birth if either of his parents or grandparents is or was a citizen of Ghana”.

This constitutional provision applies equally to all Ghanaians irrespective of where one resides on this planet. The same 1992 Constitution, by Article 45 (a) made provisions for an Electoral Commissioner “to compile the register of voters and revise it at such periods as may be determined by law”. The State has created a machinery for Ghanaians at home to exercise this constitutional right to elect leaders of the country but Section 7 (1) (c) of the

Representation of the People Law 1992 (PNDC Law 284), which stipulated that a person had to be resident in the polling division where he sought to register, effectively barred Ghanaians who were resident abroad at the time of registration from registering to vote in the elections. The voters register in question, first compiled in 1987 and subsequently revised in 1991, excluded Ghanaians in the Diaspora, with the exception of those working in Ghanaian Embassies, International organizations, or serving in UN Peace Keeping operations from registering to vote in public elections in Ghana.



The current Representation of People Amendment Bill therefore seeks to restore the voting rights of Ghanaians in the Diaspora (a right guaranteed by Article 6(2) of the constitution) and to also correct inequities in PNDC Law 284. Overseas Ghanaians and Politics in Ghana When the New Patriotic Party (NPP) government introduced the Representation of People Amendment Bill in parliament under a certificate of emergency a few months before the 2004 elections; many people suspected it was a vote-grabbing venture. Consequently, several organisations including the National Union of Ghana Students (NUGS) called on government to suspend the Bill until broad consultations were held with stakeholders.

It should be noted that the Nigerian and Ghanaian governments are increasingly adopting policies to attract the resources of their diasporas and their associations to stimulate development. These policies, sometimes referred to as 'diaspora engagement policies', range from securing the rights and protection of their diasporas in their destination countries while they are abroad, to strengthening the migrants' sense of national identity and their linkages to the origin country and promoting remittances, financial investments and contributions to national development.

The strategies adopted demonstrate various levels of commitment to policies for migrants. At times, the Ghanaian governments accommodate the needs of migrants into existing policies; other times they design new policies to support the specific needs of migrant communities and some other times they decide not to introduce any national policy to engage the diasporas. In fact, recognising the value of migrants does not necessarily translate into concrete policies that welcome them to take part in national development.

These strategies include the following:

1. **Facilitation of remittance transfers and finance investments:** Several countries have introduced policies to encourage official remittances including increasing the competition among money transfer services leading to reduced transfer fees, expanding the banking and transfer service networks to reach remote areas, and introducing remittance receivers to banking services and savings schemes. In some cases these changes have occurred because of the financial reforms introduced by Ghanaian government to open the market to competition and liberalise the foreign exchange. Many obstacles still exist to channel remittances from informal to formal services, not the least the persistent lack of trust of some migrants towards their government and, more generally, the fact that transferring money formally often provides more advantages to the government and service agencies than to the migrants.
2. **Promotion of Diaspora' investment in small-to-medium size enterprises (SMEs) in Ghana:** SMEs represent an exciting potential both for the diasporas and their origin countries. Ghanaian government is willing to dedicate resources to either create institutions to support migrants' enterprises or to promote public events to encourage the diasporas to become part of a transnational network of entrepreneurs. However, the general investment climate in Ghana continues to be the principal concern of diaspora interested in SME development and overall most of the entrepreneurial activities

supported by diaspora in Ghana are still the result of autonomous activities of individual migrants rather than specific investment programmes.

3. Encouraging the transfer and circulation of skills. Ghana's main concern remains the health sector and it is acting to prevent the departure of its health professionals as well as on attracting Ghanaians abroad to provide temporary service in the national health system.
4. Implementation of collective development projects initiated by Diaspora organisations. Diaspora' potential for development has always been present and diasporas have participated in development activities independently or as part of Diaspora associations for decades. By and large, collective development projects continue to be designed and implemented by migrants and their associations without the intervention of international development agencies or governmental bodies. The case of Ghana offers an alternative view as migrant associations are reluctant to participate in large projects where they do not know personally local actors, particularly if government agencies are involved. As a result, the Ghanaian government's strategy so far has been to showcase the achievements of migrant organisations' projects rather than to intervene.

However, the historical relations between a government and its diaspora and their communities abroad greatly determine the policy approach taken by the government. Diaspora communities that have historically been suspicious of the government's intentions will require much more reassurance from the State that its activities are promoted in their own genuine interest. Establishing positive linkages will be less difficult for governments that have maintained contact with their Diaspora communities over time.

4.9.1 The Diaspora-Related Policy Institutions in Ghana

Migration policies are often integrated into policies of the State, having both internal and external components, as well as addressing political, social and economic issues. Although in the pre-colonial era, the systematic orientation of the economy towards raw material exports in agriculture, minerals and lumber created a huge demand for labour and was supplied in part by Ghana's neighbours. But Ghanaians, just like some other members of West African countries are by nature migratory.

However, a number of sources such as Ghana Immigration Service (GIS), the Ghana Statistical Service (GSS) through a periodic survey known as the Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS) provide some data on migration in Ghana. The biggest handicap of data from

the GIS, especially for our present study, is that the data does not provide information on Ghanaians living in the Diaspora.

The Ministry of Tourism and Diaspora Relations was set up in 1993 when tourism was becoming a major source of government revenue to vigorously pursue the involvement of the Ghanaian Diaspora in the economic and socio-cultural life in Ghana, for example, the home coming summit and Joseph project. Also, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Regional Integration and NEPAD deals with the interest of Ghanaian citizens out of Ghana, hence its interest in migration or Ghanaian Diaspora. It also registers in missions abroad Ghanaians in the Diaspora, thus improving the data base

The Ghanaian government's 'Joseph Project', which symbolises the hope from the story of Joseph in the Bible is rooted in the belief that God loved Joseph yet allowed him to be cast into slavery. The Joseph Project has attracted some interaction and linkages with proposed programmes to be initiated and continued. Its strategy was to reconcile and unite the African People so that their dreams and strengths are tailored and focused in a manner that will promote Africa's socio-economic development aspirations.

One of the major successes of the Joseph Project has been the number of holiday tours and pilgrimages made to Ghana by young people in the Diaspora. Another significant achievement of the Joseph Project is in the area of understanding the true history and experiencing the Ghanaian and African culture in its real form. A Home Coming Summit Under the theme "Harnessing the Global Ghanaian Resource Potential for Accelerated Development" was held in 2001. The summit brought together more than 1,000 expatriate Ghanaian professionals and their home compatriots to seek better ways to advance the country's national development aspirations. The general lack of recording coupled with data paucity makes it difficult to accurately examine the impact of the home coming summit.

The Representation of People Amendment ROPA Act 699 provides that "a citizen of Ghana resident outside the Republic is entitled to vote. Many Ghanaian Diaspora organisations and individuals gave endorsement to the move by the government to give them voting rights, indicating that such legislation was necessary to make the diaspora to connect more effectively with the homeland.

On how many Ghanaians are in specific places, as well as estimating the total elsewhere. Ministry of Manpower, Youth and Employment (MMYE) is interested in migration related issues because it has a core mandate of encouraging & promoting the creation of productive

employment opportunities in all sectors of the economy in order to reduce unemployment and poverty, youth development and integration in national development.

According to Alhassaan (2010), large numbers of Ghanaian youth who either return to, or deported from other countries (such as Libya, Germany, USA, Netherlands, and the UK) have to be integrated through jobs and other training activities. Ministry of Finance (Statistical Service and the Bank of Ghana) has dealings with migration through two departments; the Bank of Ghana and the Statistical Service. The Bank of Ghana also oversees remittances as an important ingredient in price stabilisation as well as providing data on the extent of remittances.

The Ghana Statistical Service among others also conducts research on key socio-economic variables such as migration with the view to establishing its linkages with overall development. Ministry of the Interior through the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) and the newly established Migration Bureau (MB) have some responsibilities in recording arrivals and departures of people leaving through legally accepted ports of arrival and departure. The recently established Migration Bureau is to design policies to mainstream migration into the development programmes of Ghana & also formulate policies that explore the use and management of migration for development. Ghanaian government has some institutional links with its Overseas Diaspora in North America and Europe no particular attention is given to its diaspora in the West African Sub-region.

During the interview I had with the Consulate General, Ghana High Commission, in Nigeria, Mr. Parker Allote submits that it's most unfortunate if the contribution of diasporas in the shores of Africa is ignored because

Their contributions are not only very vital but also tend to be more than the diasporas abroad as diasporas within can easily dash home from country to country conveying monies which may not necessarily pass through the banking system whereas those in Europe may have to use the banking systems or some other means of fund transfer. These fund transfers tend to be recorded unlike those of the diaspora within the African region. Diasporas in the continent are easily absorbed into their host countries so they may not be found in distinctive groups. This fosters their contributions being taken for granted. This absorption has brought about similar names features, food and dressing. They are not so visible

unlike those in Europe and elsewhere where they are sold out by their colour.(Allote, Oral Interview, 2010).

The Ministry of Tourism and Diaspora Relations (MTDR) built some links with Ghanaian and African Diaspora, especially in North America and Europe during the home coming summit in 2001, and from the emancipation day and Panafest celebrations over the years. It should be noted that Ghanaian diasporas within the West Africa region were not included.

MTDR has established links with the African-American Association, Caribbean-Ghana Association, and the Diaspora-African Forum, with offices at the Du Bois Centre and are invited to participate in some of the programmes on Diaspora relations. Currently, the MMYE is collaborating, through Ghana's Missions in Qatar, Libya, Saudi Arabia, and South Korea, on issues of deporting illegal Ghanaians. The MFA has for long had formal relations with the Ghanaian Diaspora in Israel and has been helping them with getting their remittances to their families through the banks. The National Migration Bureau collaborates with Germany and UK on the return of illegal migrants. & with IOM networks and Ghana's foreign missions abroad to encourage return migration.

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CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this empirical study is to analyse the contributions of Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas to social, economic, political and cultural developments of origin and destination countries. Due to the unexplored nature of the phenomenon, the investigator decided to adopt both quantitative and qualitative methods, it was assumed that these methods of analysis would give richer data than, for example, only quantitative or qualitative analysis. In other words, a qualitative method offers the possibility to reveal some attributes of the contributions of Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas to social, economic, political and cultural developments of origin and destination countries. The hypotheses formulated for this study guided the arrangement of the tables. The interpretation of findings follows each hypothesis and in addition and where necessary the biodata information gathered are used to substantiate the findings.

5.2 Personal (Biographic) Data

This section of questionnaire covered the respondents' age, gender, educational attainment, occupation, previous working experience and marital status. Though, not central to the study, the personal data help contextualise the findings and the formulation of appropriate recommendations.

5.2.1 Respondents' Ages

The respondents were asked how old they were at their last birthdays. Table 1 depicts the respondents age.

Table 1: Age of Respondent

Variations		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nigerian diasporas	30-39	227	63.6	63.6
	40-49	75	21.0	84.6
	50-59	45	12.6	97.2
	60 years and above	10	2.8	100.0
	Total	357	100.0	

Ghanaians diasporas	30-39	43	20.4	20.4
	40-49	73	34.6	55.0
	50-59	76	36.0	91.0
	60 & Above	19	9.0	100.0
	Total	211	100.0	
	Freq	Mean	SD	
Nigerian diasporas	357	24.6	2.8	
Ghanaian diasporas	211	45.8	2.6	

In this study, 357 participants of Nigerian diasporas living in Ghana and 211 participants of Ghanaian diasporas living in Nigeria completed the survey instruments. Their ages were grouped into four as they occurred in the distribution. The analysis revealed that most of Nigerian diasporas in Ghana (227) were between 30-39 years. This represents 63.6% of the sample, this was closely followed by 75 participants in the age bracket 40-49 years which accounted for 21%, the 45 participants within 50-59 years representing 12.6% and 10 participants who were 60 years and above representing 2.8%. However, the distribution of Ghanaian diasporas in Nigeria revealed a different picture, 76 participants from 50-59 years age bracket and 73 participants from 40-49 years representing 36% and 34.6% of the sampled population respectively dominated the distribution. The participants within 30-39 years accounted for 20.4% and 60 years and above accounted for 9%. The mean ages of both Nigerian diasporas and their Ghanaian counterparts revealed that Nigerian diasporas had 24.6 years and Ghanaian diasporas was 45.6 years. This implies that youths were the Nigerian diasporas in Ghana while middle age adults were the Ghanaian diasporas in Nigeria.

Respondents' Gender

The respondents were asked to indicate their sex. Table 2 depicts the respondents' sex.

Table 2: Gender of Respondents

Variations		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nigerian diasporas	Male	318	89.1	89.1
	Female	39	10.9	100.0
	Total	357	100.0	
Ghanaian diasporas	Male	184	87.2	87.2
	Female	27	12.8	100.0
	Total	211	100.0	

The gender distribution was presented in table 2. The table revealed that most of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas members are males. The ratio of males to females among Nigerian diasporas is 8 to 1 while the Ghanaian diasporas has a ratio of about 7 to 1.

Respondents' marital status

The respondents were asked to indicate their marital status. Table 3 depicts the respondents' marital status

Table 3: Marital Status

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nigerian diasporas	Single	16	4.5	4.5
	Married	320	89.7	92.4
	Widowed/Separated	21	5.9	100
	Total	357	100	
Ghanaian diasporas	Single	9	4.3	4.3
	Married	192	91.0	95.3
	Widowed/Separated	10	4.7	100
	Total	211	100	

The marital status of respondents was grouped into three categories. The majority of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas are married.. Approximately 90% and 91% of them respectively were married. Very few of them are either single, widowed or separated.

Respondents' educational attainment

The respondents were asked to indicate their educational qualification. Table 4 depicts the respondents' educational attainment

The educational distribution of the diasporas reveals that a higher percentage of the Nigerian diasporas possess secondary school education, while a higher proportion of their Ghanaian counterparts possess the primary school education.

Table 4: Educational Attainment

Variations		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nigerian diasporas	Primary Sch	96	26.9	26.9
	Sec. Sch	175	49.0	75.9
	Technical Sch.	33	9.2	96.4

	Tertiary Sch	40	11.2	87.1
	University	13	3.6	100.0
	Total	357	100.0	
Ghanaian diasporas	Primary Sch	92	43.6	43.6
	Sec. Sch	52	24.6	68.2
	Technical Sch	19	9.0	91.0
	Tertiary Sch	29	13.7	82.0
	University	19	9.0	100.0
	Total	211	100.0	

Possessors of tertiary level of education are 11% and 13.7% of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas respectively. Generally, the diasporas reveal low level of educational attainment.

5.3 Respondents' previous working experience

The respondents were asked to indicate their previous working experience. Table 5 depicts the respondents' previous working experience

Table 5: Previous Working Experience

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nigerian Diasporas	Experienced	318	89.1	89.1
	Never Work	25	7.0	96.1
	Student/ Housewife	14	3.9	100.0
	Total	357	100.0	
Ghanaian Diasporas	Experienced	159	75.4	75.4
	Never Work	49	23.2	98.6
	Student/ Housewife	3	1.4	100.0
	Total	211	100.0	

Relative to the numbers of the work force that are inactive such as students and housewives, the majority of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diaspora are persons who had had previous working experience. 89% and 75% of Nigerian and Ghanaian diaspora respectively migrated with some education and skills.

5.3.1 Respondents' Occupation

The respondents were asked to indicate their occupation. Table 6 depicts the respondents' occupations

Table 6: Respondent's Occupation

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nigerian diasporas	Teaching	37	10.4	10.4
	Secretary/clerical/Shop assistant	54	15.1	25.5
	Artisan	196	54.9	80.4
	Employer	14	3.9	84.3
	Other Civil Servant	7	2.0	86.3
	Army Officer	1	.3	86.6
	Schooling/housewives	9	2.5	89.1
	Unemployed	39	10.9	100.0
	Total	357	100.0	
Ghanaian diasporas	Teaching	41	19.4	19.4
	Other Non-skilled workers	5	2.4	21.8
	Secretary/clerical/Shop assistant	49	23.2	45.0
	Artisan	10	4.7	49.8
	Admin Mgr/CEO, etc	15	7.1	56.9
	Bankers/Other Professionals	15	7.1	64.0
	Other Civil Servant	3	1.4	65.4
	Army Officer	7	3.3	68.7
	Trading	12	5.7	74.4
	Farming	2	.9	75.4
	Schooling/housewives	52	24.6	100.0
	Total	211	100.0	

While about half of the Nigerian diasporas are artisans, other significant numbers of diasporas are registered as teachers (10.4%) and persons in the middle level professional occupations such as, secretaries, clerks, shop assistants (15.1%). Among the Ghanaian diasporas, about 19.4% of them are in teaching profession and 23.2% of them are in the middle level professional occupations. About a quarter of the respondents are either schooling or housewives.

5.4 Migration Related Personal (Biographic) Data

This section of the questionnaire covered the respondents' major reason for migration, year of arrival, contact before migrating, mode of transportation and further plan to migrate to another country.

5.4.1 Respondents' Reasons for migration

The respondents were asked to indicate their year of arrival to the country of destination.

Table 7 depicts the respondents' year of arrival.

Table 7: Major Reason for Migration

Variations		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nigerian diasporas	Greener pasture/Job/Looking for work	308	86.3	86.3
	Education/School	26	7.3	93.6
	Political matter/Community Crises	1	.3	93.8
	Adventures	8	2.2	96.1
	Business/Trading	8	2.2	98.3
	Other reasons	6	1.7	100.0
	Total	357	100.0	
Ghanaian diasporas	Greener pasture/Job/Looking for work	180	85.3	85.3
	Education/School	13	6.2	91.5
	Political matter/Community Crises	1	.5	91.9
	Economic reason like poverty	2	.9	92.9
	Skill acquisition	1	.5	93.4
	Adventures	4	1.9	95.3
	Business/Trading	1	.5	95.7
	Transiting to other Nations	9	4.3	100.0
	Total	211	100.0	

The major reason for migration of Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas was in search of greener pasture or in search of job opportunity. The distribution revealed that the majority that is, 86.3% of Nigerians against 85.3% of Ghanaians were in search of job in Ghana and Nigeria

respectively.7.3% of Nigerians against 6.2% of Ghanaians left their countries for educational pursuits. Other important reasons for migration for Nigerian in diaspora are trading and business while for their Ghanaian counterparts political or community crises, business. They are using Nigeria as transit to other countries.

5.4.2 Respondents' year of Arrival

The respondents were asked to indicate their year of arrival to the country of destination.

Table 8 depicts the respondents' year of arrival.

Table 8: Respondents' Year of Arrival

		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nigerian diasporas	Before 1980s	46	12.9	12.8
	1980-1990	170	47.6	60.4
	1991 and above	141	39.5	100.0
	Total	357	100.0	
Ghanaian diasporas	Before 1980s	29	13.7	13.7
	1980-1990	88	41.8	55.5
	1991 and above	94	44.5	100.0
	Total	211	100.0	

The year of arrival distributions of Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas were presented in table 8. Among Nigerian diasporas before 1980, 21% of participants moved from Nigeria to Ghana and from 1980-1990, 47.6% of participants moved from Nigeria to Ghana and from 1991 to date, 39.5% moved from Nigeria to Ghana. However, among Ghanaian diasporas before 1980, 13.7% of participants moved from Ghana to Nigeria and from 1980-1990, 41.8% of participants moved from Ghana to Nigeria and from 1991 to date, 44.5% moved from Ghana to Nigeria.

5.4.3 Respondents' Contact before migration

The respondents were asked to answer yes/no if they had contact in the country of destination before migration to the country of destination. Table 9 depicts the respondents' contact before migration.

Table 9: Respondents' Contact before Migration

Variations		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nigerian Diaspora	Yes	256	71.7	71.7
	No	101	28.3	100.0
	Total	357	100.0	
Ghanaian diaspora	Yes	84	39.8	39.8
	No	127	60.2	100.0
	Total	211	100.0	

The contacts of Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas before migrating to their respective destination were presented in table 9. Among Nigerian diasporas 71.1% of participants indicated that they had contact before migrating while 28.3% indicated that did not have any contact before migrating. Among Ghanaian diasporas 39.8% of participants indicated that they had contact before migrating while 60.2% indicated that they did not have any contact before migrating.

5.4.4 Respondents' mode of transportation

The respondents were asked to answer whether the respondent either traveled by air or road to country of destination. Table 10 depicts the respondents' mode of transportation.

Table 10: Respondents' Mode of Transportation

Variations		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nigerian diasporas	Road	313	87.7	87.7
	Air	44	12.3	100.0
	Total	357	100.0	
Ghanaian diasporas	Road	188	89.1	89.1
	Air	23	10.9	100.0
	Total	211	100.0	

Among Nigerian diasporas 87.7% of participants indicated that they traveled by road while 12.3% indicated that traveled by air. Among Ghanaian diasporas 89.1% of participants indicated that they traveled by road while 10.9% indicated that they traveled by air.

5.4.5 Respondents' plan to migrate to another country

Table 11: Respondents' Plan to Migrate to another Country

Variations		Frequency	Percent	Cumulative Percent
Nigerian diasporas	Yes	40	11.2	11.2
	No	317	88.8	100.0
	Total	357	100.0	
Ghanaian diasporas	Yes	24	11.4	11.4
	No	187	88.6	100.0
	Total	211	100.0	

In table 11 the distribution revealed the future migration plan of Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas to another country. The majority of Nigerian diasporas and Ghanaian counterparts did not intend to move to another country. However, this does not preclude the fact that most of them might eventually return to their countries of origin at a particular time in their migration career.

5.5 Analysis of Research Questions

Research Question 1:

What are the contributions of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas to the social, economic, political and cultural development of Ghana and Nigeria respectively?

Four themes were identified in both the quantitative and qualitative data collected to answer the first research question raised.

Economic Contributions to Places of Origins and Destinations

The respondents were asked to indicate whether they remit money to their country of origin.

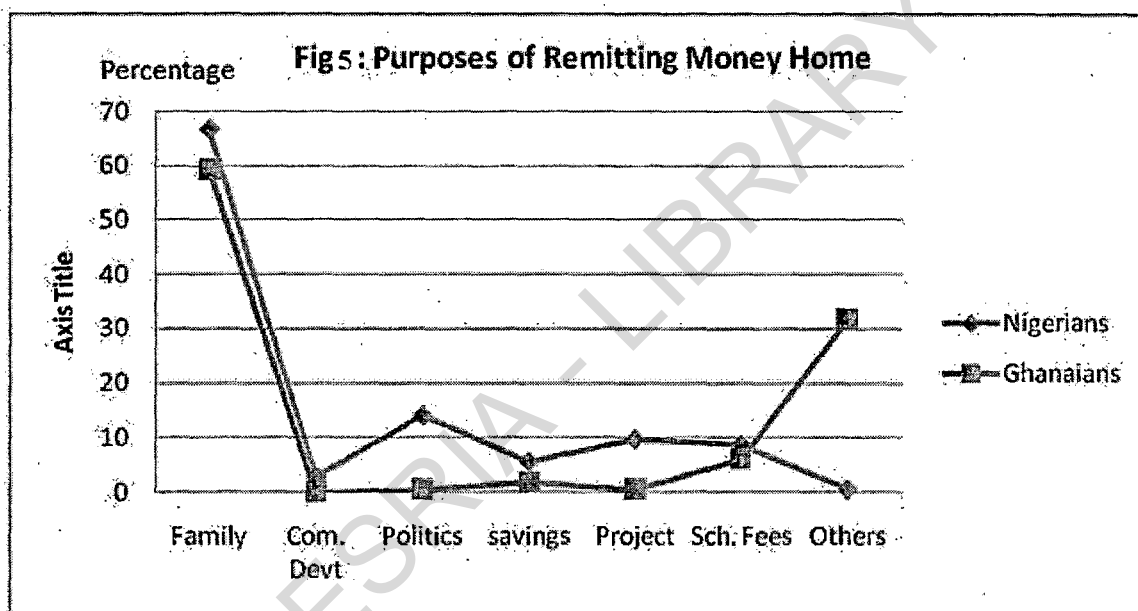
Table 12 depicts the respondents' responses.

Table 12 Economic Contributions to Place of Origin

Variations		Nigerian Diasporas		Ghanaian Diaspora		
		N	%	N	%	
Nigerian diasporas	Do you Remit Money to your country of origin	Yes	256	71.7	152	72.0
		No	101	28.3	59	28.0
		Total	357	100.0	211	100.0

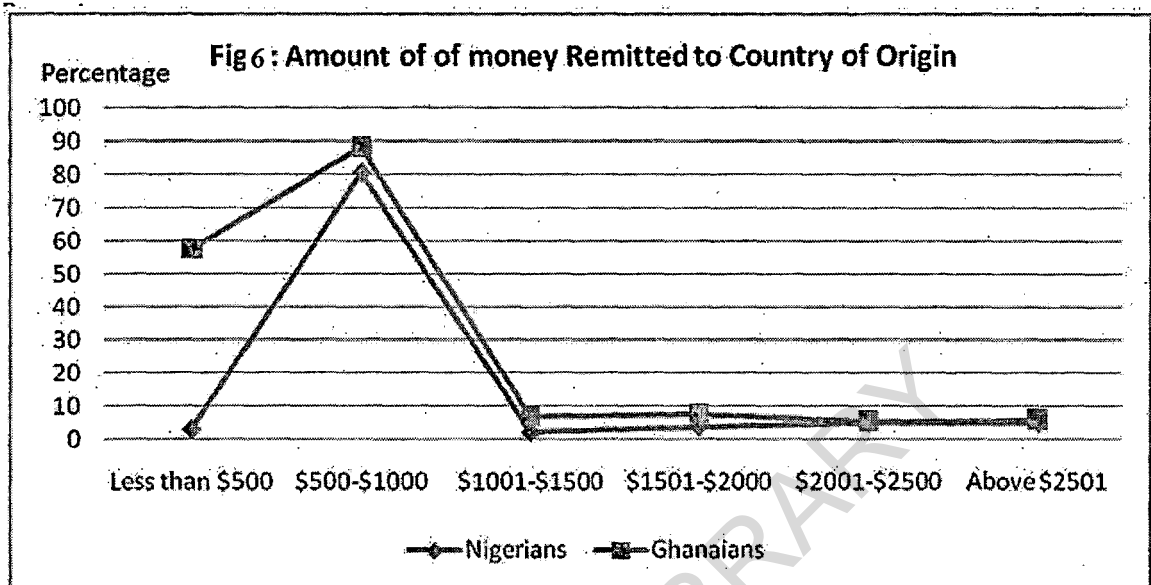
Ghanaian diasporas	Do you Remit Goods to your country of origin	Yes	212	59.4	137	64.9
		No	145	40.6	74	35.1
		Total	357	100	211	100

Table 12 shows that 71.7% Nigerian diasporas in Ghana, remitted money to their country of origin while 28.3% did not. However, 59.4 % Ghanaian diasporas in Nigeria indicated that they remit money to their country of origin while 40.6 % did not remit money to their country of origin.



Source: Field Research, 2010

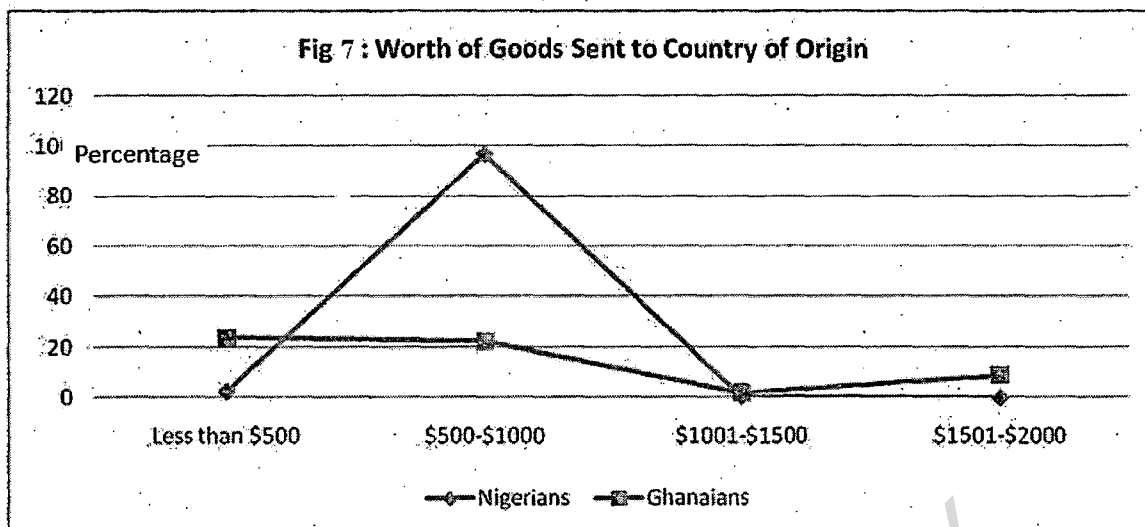
The reasons diasporas send money to the country of origin were analysed and result presented in fig. 5 above. Among the Nigerian diaspora 66.6% sent money home for family upkeep. Similarly, 59.3% Ghanaian diasporas did the same. Other purposes for sending money included, community development, political reasons, personal savings, house projects, school fees for children and relatives, and others. However, in fig. 6 the average amount of money sent home regularly, that is, 2-5 times yearly was analysed.



Source: Field Research, 2010

The breakdown of remittances seems to suggest that the flows of remittances have been largely for consumption rather than for investment. This may be a bit misleading. While in principle it is possible to separate out the major types of remittances, in practice it is extremely difficult. A typical sum of money may be remitted with the following instructions drawn from the expression of one interviewee, “From this \$500, one hundred for my insurance, \$50 to pay my Friendly Society book for the next six months, \$200 for the mortgage, \$100 for my account at Oceanic bank, \$20 for grand father's birthday and the rest just in case Junior needs anything urgently”. The multiplicity of purposes (gift, saving, investment and precautionary) means that categorization of any observed figure is almost impossible.

The remittance of money by both Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas implies that diasporas contributed to the economic development of their places of origin. Looking at fig.5.2, majority of Nigerians (80.7%) sent between \$500-\$1000 to their place of origin which are 2-5times yearly. The majority of Ghanaians that is, 54.5% sent less than \$500 home within the same stipulated time frame. The contributions of diasporas through remittance of money and goods as presented in fig.5.3 can be regarded as major contributions to private consumption and sustenance of family members left behind at the homeland.



Source: Field Research, 2010

In this fig. 7, participants were asked to indicate the worth of goods sent to their countries of origin. It was revealed that 96.9% of Nigerian diasporas in Ghana indicated that they sent goods worth below \$500 to their country of origin and 22.3% sent goods worth \$500-\$1000 to their country of origin. A logical consequence of the diaspora migration is a reverse flow of remittances to support dependent relatives, repayment of loans, investment and other purposes. While it is usually asserted that migrant remittances have contributed in no small measure to the economic and social development of the West African countries, much of the discussion is largely anecdotal. The accuracy of the estimates of diaspora remittances before this study is rather doubtful and very little empirical work has been done on the evaluation of the contribution of remittances to economic development. Public data on remittances are collected largely to estimate balance of payments flows and no attempt has been made to relate such flows to income generation in the local economy. However, the responses of the unstructured interview to the various questions on economic contributions were presented in extracts 1-5.

Extract 1

Q: How would you describe Ghanaian activities in Nigeria in terms of contributions to the Nigerian economy positively and negatively?

A: Some Ghanaians established institutions in Nigeria. Examples of Ghanaians that established Schools in Nigeria include; Rev Dr. Obodia Raymond (Oshodi), Sister Eva Bonney (Ojodu) and Pst Isaac Nyame in Sango Tedo (Lekki). There is also the establishment of companies.

Remittance of money back home is always done, sometimes 2 – 5 times a year through various financial institutions and by the aid of drivers. Also, impartation of knowledge into the children in Ghana via Nigerian literature is carried out. We also invest profits made in Nigeria into viable projects, construction of homes etc. All migrants promote the interest of their host countries in many ways as they perform menial and other jobs which the citizens of the host country may not want to get involved in, for example, artisans in the construction industry. They also pay taxes in some sectors which increase the financial base of the country.

A few migrants may obviously be misguided elements which engage in activities which aren't welcome in their host countries. These isolated cases though. People have been disturbed about the issue of repatriation of funds Ghanaians make to their home country as it depletes foreign reserves of the host country. It must be known that after people have paid their taxes, they have every right to send monies back to their families in Ghana/save for personal projects. This is the same with Nigerians everywhere in the world as it is their legitimately earned money.

Extract 2

Q: What are the contributions of Ghanaians diasporas in the social aspects at home and origin countries of Ghana and Nigeria?

A: Socially, relationships and links have been forged in the area of residences, church and schools and working environment. These links build up bridges across the two countries fostering warm relationship between the countries even at higher levels. Since close links and integration with a country cannot be done alone at the highest level, the grassroots' unity is essential. These interactions at the grassroots give meaning and content to the Nigeria-Ghana bilateral relations.

Extract 3

Q: How do you describe the contributions of Nigerian diasporas to Ghana and also Nigeria, their country of Origin?

A: In the angle of investment, Ghana Investment Council shows a strong input of Nigeria being the 2nd largest investor in Ghana after the U.S. Nigeria has nothing less than \$1Billion investments in Ghana which is still growing – banking, insurance, manufacturing, informal trade and small scale productions. Though, everything is not smooth as some people taking advantage of the robust bilateral relationship between the two countries to the detriment of the many law abiding citizen of the country.

Q: What are the economic contributions of Nigerian diasporas living in Ghana to Ghana and also Nigeria?

A: Nigerian diasporas reside here and pay their taxes to the Ghanaian governments. There is also National Health Insurance in which they participate. In area of Education, in Kumasi (Ashanti Region) some years back Otunfuo Education Fund was initiated by the Otunfuo who was the paramount ruler of the Ashanti region. Nigerians residing in the Ashanti region contributed immensely to the Fund both in cash and in kind. In kind, they participated in the construction of bore holes in rural Ashanti. Culturally, Nigerian diasporas in Ghana participate in the traditional activities called Akwesi Day both in cash, and kind.

- Ownership of factories – manufacturing companies pay VAT, Internal Revenue Service (IRS). These taxes are meant for the development of Ghana community
- Recreational centers, schools are established for the benefit of the host community. Religion organization e.g. the Antioch Baptist Church has a school directed in bettering the welfare of the host city/community. Antioch Baptist Church belong to the Nigeria community and have established a school Heritage Baptist Academy for both indigenes and non-indigene
- An ANC patron owns a manufacturing factory providing employment for both Ghanaian and Nigeria.
- Commercial shops – Large shops owned by Nigeria provide jobs for both Ghanaian and Nigeria.
- A member of the ANC, who is a graduate of O.A.U. is a teacher in Ghana now transferring knowledge.
- Nigerian trained professionals like Barristers in Northern Ghana also provide services to the Ghanaian Community

Extract 4

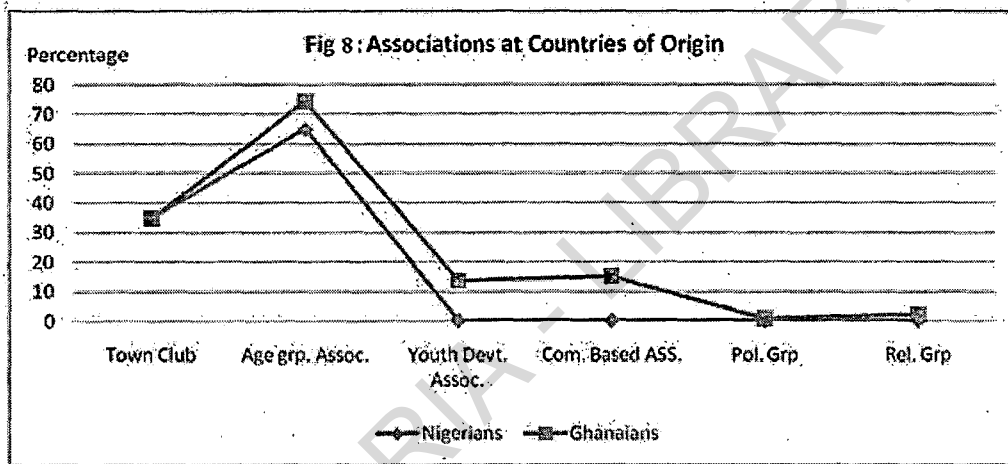
Contributions of Diaspora to Social Development of Their Country of Origins and Destinations

The social development of West African countries is one of the cardinal points of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment. The table below presents the analysis of Nigerian diasporas in Ghana and Ghanaian diasporas in Nigeria.

Table: 13 Social Contributions to Place of Origins and Destinations

Variations		Nigerian diasporas		Ghanaian diasporas	
		N	%	N	%
Do you belong to any cultural association in your country of origin?	Yes	125	35	88	41.7
	No	232	65	123	58.3

In this table, participants were asked if they belong to any cultural group in their countries of origin. This findings show that 35% of Nigerian diasporas in Ghana indicated that they belong to a cultural association in Nigeria while 65% did not belong to any cultural association in Nigeria. However, 41.7 % Ghanaian diasporas in Nigeria indicated that they belong to one cultural association or the other in Ghana while 58.3% did not belong to any association in Ghana. In fig.5.4 cultural associations that diasporas belong were presented.



Source: Field Research, 2010

In this fig.8, participants were asked to indicate the associations they belong in their countries of origin. It was revealed that 65% of Nigerian diasporas in Ghana indicated that they belong to age group associations and 35% town clubs. However, among Ghanaian diasporas 9.5% belong to age group associations, 13.7% youth development association, 15.2% belong to community based association and 0.9% political associations while 2.4% belong to religious groups in their country of origin.

The most direct way in which remittances contribute to economic and social development is the improvement in the living standards of the recipient. As discussed in table 7, the decision to migrate may be a conscious choice to improve the income prospects of the household and to reduce risk associated with income instability. To the extent that this decision is successful, remittances would improve the living standard of the household enabling a higher level of consumption and increased educational opportunities for the rest of the household.

Consumption by itself is not a productive activity. However, to the extent that increased consumption by poor households improves their productivity by improving health or improves the capacity of young children in these households to learn and hence acquire a better education it may contribute to development. On the contrary, conspicuous consumption results in a depletion of the foreign exchange which came into the country when the funds are initially remitted. Remittances in kind which are in the nature of conspicuous consumption goods can also have a negative effect to the extent that it creates an imitative demand by other members of the society for these goods and a complementary demand by the receiving households for imported goods which are used jointly with the initial gift.

Contributions of Diaspora to Political and Cultural Developments of Origin Countries

Extract 5

Q: How would you describe Ghanaians contributions to social and political developments in Nigeria?

A: Ghanaians are not involved in Nigerian politics since they are foreigner in the land. Notwithstanding, there are Nigerian representations of the two Ghanaian political parties: NDC- National Democratic Congress and the NPP- the National Patriotic Party.

The data revealed that Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas attract the attention of the political class to promote the exchange of goods for loyalty through associations that afford diaspora a sort of cohesive power and a common front, the basis of their relevance in the political-diaspora chain. This political- diaspora chain also serves as the channel through which development projects are conceived and implemented. In Nigeria, the societies which diasporas are members were formed primarily to enhance solidarity, friendship and members' access to opportunities through social networking. For example, in 2003 one of the groups raised -N- 300,000 (\$2,400) to provide furniture to ill-equipped public primary schools and fuses for the National Electric Power Authority (NEPA), and started the construction of a bus-stop. It achieved this feat with the active financial support of its members. Before now, Nigerians in Diaspora have taken the back seat in the political development of their homeland and are not fully utilized by the Nigerian government in the affairs of the nation. It is unfortunate to note that in the 21st century, Nigerians in the Diaspora cannot vote during elections.

Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas are often cynical when it comes to national politics and government, preferring connection with local organisations. But it becomes clear that most of them have a strong connection to homeland through family and friends.

Patronage and clientelism have most often been discussed in the context of national political processes; Joseph (1991) made a key contribution when he identified the duo of prebendalism and clientelism as vital parts of Nigeria's political process, especially during the Second Republic. Joseph noted that attaining political/administrative offices is intrinsically associated with ethnicity or local belonging in Nigeria. First and foremost, appointment to political positions is dependent on the ethnic group, city, town or village a candidate is from--and not necessarily on merit. This is termed 'federal character' in the nation's constitution and supposedly is meant to ensure fair representation in public political/administrative positions. At each politico-administrative level (federal, state or local government), it is expected that representatives of constituent ethnic/cultural groups will be appointed to represent and protect the interests of their communities.

In Ghana the District Assembly is the basic decentralised political administrative structure. The findings revealed how diaspora associations are leveraging support to their home communities working through the District Assembly. The three District Assemblies that surfaced in this study were Tano, Nkoranza and Berekum. Yamfo and Duayaw Nkwanta communities in the Tano District Assembly have vibrant diaspora associations actively implementing development projects in the communities. The Yamfoman Association is implementing a place of convenience at Yamfo and two three-classroom blocks with reading room and place of convenience for the Yamfo Roman Catholic primary A & D School. The Berekum District Assembly advertised on the radio for interested individuals to deposit money for the construction of market stalls and WC latrines. Family members informed their relatives in Nigeria who organized and sent money for the construction of the facilities.

The involvement in political activities takes various forms, such as fundraising for parties and candidates; advice; lobbying for or against host country's support to Nigeria and Ghana; influencing legislations at home; opinions in the media, and online forums, which are closely followed at the homeland.

Research Question 2

What are the functions of formal institutional arrangements in supporting the developmental activities of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria towards the actualisation of the integration agenda of ECOWAS?

In Ghana it was only as recently as July 2001 that an attempt was made to treat, in a formal manner, the subject of the diasporas' contribution to development. The then new Government of the New Patriotic Party convened the 'Home Coming Summit', as part of a political effort to woo Ghanaians living abroad to come home and invest in the growth of the local economy. It was estimated that 1,600 Ghanaians, mainly professionals living abroad, participated in the Home Coming Summit. This effort led to the setting up of the Non-Resident Ghanaian.

However, in Nigeria, the effort to encourage Nigerian diaspora to contribute their quota to the development of the nation started in 2000. In September 2000, President Olusegun Obasanjo convened a meeting in Atlanta of Nigerians in the Americas, and later a meeting in London for those in Europe, to engage them in creating a mechanism through which they could effectively be mobilized and involved in Nigeria's development process. About 3,700 Nigerians attended the Atlanta meeting, while the London meeting attracted 500.

The two events led to a presidential consultative meeting in Abuja and then the formation of the Nigerians in the Diaspora Organization (NIDO) in 2001, modeled on similar organizations in China and India. Also established at that time was the Nigerian National Volunteer Service (NNVS), a quasi-government organization to coordinate the government's engagement with its diaspora.

In 2005, Obasanjo declared July 25th as the Nigerian Diaspora Day to recognise and celebrate the individual and collective success of Nigerians abroad as well as their contributions to nation building.

According to Ambassador Joe Keshi, who was appointed as the national coordinator of NNVS in 2004, the organisation has created national awareness on the need to mobilize, engage, and involve the diaspora in Nigeria's development process. NNVS initiated the Science Conference in 2005, bringing together Nigerian scientists abroad and their counterparts at home. The conference allowed for dialogue, interaction, collaboration, and cooperation.

Despite challenges and setbacks, Obi Akwani of Canada reported that the government's effort yielded some tangible results in terms of solid personal and institutional linkages. Many

overseas-based scientists now have access to local research funds through the Science and Technology Trust Fund, and projects identified during past conferences are being carried out. Expatriate Nigerians are also actively involved in nation-building through initiatives in health insurance, mortgages, and registered pension and credit purchase schemes. All were ideas that the diaspora suggested, and all had been realized by 2007.

Another outcome of government-diaspora interaction has been the 2002 decision allowing Nigerians to retain their citizenship if they become citizens of other countries. The federal government has since established the Department of Diaspora, with new plans to upgrade the department to a Diaspora Commission in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

President Goodluck Jonathan announced in April 2010 that the new commission will comprehensively harmonize the contributions of Nigerians abroad with a view to ensuring proper documentation of their input. As a commission, the organization will have more resources and powers, as well as a board of directors to run its affairs.

The government has also established an 80 billion naira (about US\$500 million) investment fund so that the diasporas can invest in the Nigerian economy. According to the proposal, any Nigerian citizen interested in furthering the country's industrialization but who lacks the means can draw from the fund, , part of the larger National Resource Fund is meant for local capacity building, technology transfer, and product standardization to boost the country's export of manufactured goods.

These initiatives are at very early stages, and their full impact remains to be seen. According to Keshi, the establishment of a Diaspora Commission is misguided, particularly as its functions will replicate those of NNVS.

The Government of Nigeria and Ghana are presently considering policies which would "address the needs of the Nigerian and Ghanaian Diaspora in both countries of residence as well as effectively facilitating their involvement in the social, political, and economic affairs of the countries." Among others, this policies includes; the issues of dual citizenship, the right to vote, the right to be represented and the provision of investment incentives such as those that have benefitted India, Israel and China.

Research Question 3

What is the importance of the diasporas linkages in improving or strengthening the Nigeria-Ghana bilateral relations?

The responses of interviewees to the various questions on the importance of the diasporas linkages in improving or strengthening the Nigeria-Ghana bilateral relations were presented in extracts 7-8

The Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas community in the study sample, drew attention to the importance of linkages between the country of origin and destination as they have become a part of what is referred to as the transnational community.

Diaspora networks play an important role in linking migrants to their homeland and stimulating new migration streams. The link between diasporas and their home country is a means for exchanging mutual benefit.

Frequent visits to the homeland create an important physical connection between diasporas and their home countries. The surveyed Nigerians and Ghanaians were asked about their frequency of visits to Nigeria-Ghana as one of the proxies for their linkages to their destination countries.

Extract 6

Q: What are the problems faced by Ghanaians while travelling by road to Nigeria?

A: Along the west coast Ghana – Seme corridor, having your correct papers does not guarantee you easy passage without being extorted though atimes your correct documents infuriates the officials as they might be handicapped in extorting you. They never expect you to have the correct documents as most times extortion is almost unavoidable. This now prevails in Ghana, Togo, Benin borders.

A: Hilakoji in Benin offers you no comfort because with your passport, you pay 300Cefas while you part with 500Cefas if passport is unavailable. Multiple unavoidable harassments discourage non submission of passports for stamping as by stamping your passports, you part with 200Cefas and then another 300Cefas at the border. Thus, many prefer passage without tendering their passports for stamping as it is less difficult in terms of extortion and harassment. The government of Nigeria needs to look into this urgently.

Extract 7

Q: Do you think the movement of Ghanaians back and forth as well as Nigerians can facilitate regional integration of the ECOWAS?

A: This movement has fostered transference of knowledge as no country is an embodiment of knowledge/ trade isolation. It fosters improvement in integration.

The respondents emphasised on the roles that they expected the two governments to play in fostering smooth movement from Ghana and Nigeria. The role of government in fostering an enabling environment can be categorized as consisting of the following actions: mandating, facilitating, resourcing, partnering, and endorsing according to Brinkerhoff (2007).

Mandating refers to the legal and regulatory framework that affects diasporas, all the way from citizenship rights (e.g., dual citizenship, voting), if granted, to basic rights that allow for diasporas to initiate activities in the homeland independent of state control and laws governing the creation and operation of NGOs (diaspora philanthropic organizations) and businesses. Examples of mandating range from waiving visa requirements (as in the case of India), to dual citizenship, voting rights, and formal political representation (as in the case of Mexico). These are lacking in both countries especially in Nigeria. In 2004, government announced that it would start hiring Nigerian experts abroad to work at solving national problems at home. The Nigerian National Volunteer Scheme, NNVS was created and a coordinator in the Office of the Secretary to the Government of the Federation, SGF, to oversee the scheme's implementation.

Nigerian government under the leadership of late President Umaru Musa Yar'adua/Dr Jonathan Goodluck administration recognised and welcome the potentials of Nigerian citizens abroad through the private –public economic partnership but Nigerians in Ghana argue that incentives for migrant Nigerians to participate in the political –economic development of the country needs to be addressed. States and the federal according to them should create the enabling environment politically and economically to allow Nigerians in Ghana to participate.

There is a school of thought among Nigerians in Ghana that participation in the political-socio-economic reconstruction of Nigeria depends on the extent to which Nigerians abroad

feel they have been encouraged and allowed to have stake in their home nation state as well as in the countries that host them. According to the Nigerian Investment Promotion Commission, each year some 2,000 Nigerians trained outside the country return home to seek employment or business opportunities. Such 'Diaspora-tapping' also provides the rationale for the TOKTEN { Transfer of Knowledge through Expatriate Networks} programme of the United Nations Development Programme. Also, there are diasporas' political –socio-economic groups that campaign and are still campaigning for democratic reforms as part of development in Nigeria. Nigerians in Diaspora have been contributing to the nation's political and economic development and the constitution should be amended to allow the diasporas to vote as all Nigerians abroad cannot be full time politicians but would still love to perform their civic duties in their respective places of destination in order to choose their leaders.

In its **facilitating** role, government provides incentives for diasporas; for example, recognizing diasporas as important constituents and protecting or seeking to improve their quality of life abroad, providing a networking function among diaspora groups, organizing diaspora summits and diplomatic visits, and creating specialized government agencies and initiatives to interface with the diaspora. Presently, President Goodluck Ebele Jonathan's initiated effort to integrate Nigerians abroad in national development by upgrading the Diaspora department in the foreign affairs ministry to the level of a Commission. This proposed action will be of immense benefit to Nigerians both in the Diaspora and in the country..

The Diaspora commission should not just be on paper but should be used as a coordinating agency overseeing the possible placements of these professionals. This can be effectively achieve by taking a lead role in encouraging qualified citizens abroad to go back home and advising the government to create incentives – increase salaries to attract highly skilled diasporas back to Nigeria. Civil service pay reform can also provide some incentive to the return of diasporas. Student Loan forgiveness programmes can also be introduced to induce the Nigerian diasporas" return to Nigeria. There are reported cases of Nigerian inventors who have been discouraged by government bottlenecks – the Commission should have a department overseeing these inventions and the need to match them with the relevant agencies in Nigeria.

Resourcing can involve direct public funding, as in the case of matching grants for diaspora philanthropy or investment in diaspora business development. Government resourcing also includes the establishment of financial incentives that encourage diaspora contributions, such

as tax and tariff policies that provide exemption to diaspora initiatives. The best known example of diaspora resourcing is Mexico's 3 for 1 matching programme, which in some areas now includes an additional match from the private sector (Western Union). This programme is also an example of partnering in that each contributing actor agrees to selected projects to be implemented and provides additional facilitation as needed.

Partnering is a role that brings government into relationships with DOs based more on mutual interest and shared benefits, which capitalize on the comparative advantages of the partners. Government can establish mechanisms and procedures that allow public entities to enter into partnership arrangements with DOs. For example, through a partnership between the Ghanaian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ghanaian medical diaspora in the Netherlands, and the International Organization for Migration, The Hague (Welcker and Gulam, 2007) diasporas serve between two weeks to three months in country, or provide technical assistance virtually. Hospitals nominate staff for training in the Netherlands, the MOH and IOM vet these nominations and match a diaspora health professional to that hospital to cover capacity and knowledge transfer needs.

Endorsing refers to actions that publicise, praise, and encourage individual diasporas and DOs. Government's role here relates to reinforcing cultural values and influencing attitudes. Government endorsement confirms the value of diasporas to the homeland society, enhancing their legitimacy as homeland constituents and development actors, and contributing to their social status. For example, in 2006, Ghana's investment promotion agency honored 20 diasporas with "Planters of the Seed" awards for setting up business units in Ghana (Riddle et al., 2008). Wescott and Brinkerhoff (2006) provide additional examples from China and the Philippines.

These are all actions that homeland governments can take, and they also provide guidance for targeting donor assistance. The international donor community could make significant contributions to enhancing the capacity of governments to respond to these opportunities, both through technical assistance for legal frameworks and policy and programming, and through direct capacity building and resourcing of government agencies and personnel, diaspora organizations, and potential intermediaries from the NGO and private sectors.

Ghana-Nigeria relations began on a sour note in the early period of PNDC rule. Tension rose immediately after the PNDC deposed Limann in 1981. In protest, Nigeria refused to continue much-needed oil supplies to Ghana. At the time, Ghana owed Nigeria about US\$150 million

for crude oil supplies and depended on Nigeria for about 90 percent of its petroleum needs. Nigeria's expulsion of more than 1 million Ghanaian immigrants in early 1983, when Ghana was facing severe drought and economic problems and of another 300,000 in early 1985 on short notice, further strained relations between the two countries.

In April 1988, a joint commission for cooperation was established between Ghana and Nigeria. A bloodless coup in August 1985 had brought Major General Ibrahim Babangida (IBB) to power in Nigeria, and Rawlings took advantage of the change of administration to pay an official visit. The two leaders discussed a wide range of issues focusing on peace and prosperity within West Africa, bilateral trade, and the transition to democracy in both countries. In early January 1989, Babangida reciprocated with an official visit to Ghana, which the PNDC hailed as a watershed in Ghana-Nigeria relations.

Subsequent setbacks that Babangida initiated in the democratic transition process in Nigeria clearly disappointed Accra. Nonetheless, the political crisis that followed Babangida's annulment of the results of the June 1993 Nigerian presidential election and Babangida's resignation from the army and presidency two months later did not significantly alter the existing close relations between Ghana and Nigeria, two of the most important members of ECOWAS and the Commonwealth of Nations. After the takeover in November 1993 by General Sani Abacha as the new Nigerian head of state, Ghana and Nigeria continued to consult on economic, political, and security issues affecting the two countries and West Africa as a whole. Between early August 1994 when Rawlings became ECOWAS chairman and the end of the following October, the Ghanaian president visited Nigeria three times to discuss the peace process in Liberia and measures to restore democracy in that country.

5.6 Hypotheses Testing

Hypothesis 1

Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in Nigeria and Ghana are not contributing to the development of their countries of origin and destination.

Table 14 : Contributions of Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas to the development of their countries of origin

The summary of chi-square table below revealed a significant difference between male and female Nigerian diasporas at $X^2=6.755$, $df=1$ and 0.05 significant level and significant between male and female Ghanaian diasporas at $X^2=4.474$, $df=1$ and 0.05 significant level.

Variations	Gender	Responses		Df	X ²	Sig
		YES	NO			
Nigerian diasporas		298	20	1	6.755	0.022
	Male	32	7			
	Female	330	27			
	Total					
Ghanaian diasporas	Male	141	11	1	4.474	0.018
	Female	49	10			
	Total	190	21			

However the yes is greater than no for both male and female Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas. This implies that there is the contribution of Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas to the development of their countries of origin.

Table 15: Contributions of Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas to the development of their countries of destination

The summary of chi-square table below revealed a significant difference between male and female Nigerian diasporas at $X^2=21.042$, $df=1$ and 0.05 significant level and significant between male and female Ghanaian diasporas at $X^2=4.548$, $df=1$ and 0.05 significant level.

Variations	Gender	Responses		Df	X ²	Sig
		YES	NO			
Nigerian diasporas		302	16	1	21.042	0.00
	Male	33	6			
	Female	335	22			
	Total					
Ghanaian diasporas	Male	179	5	1	4.548	0.015
	Female	24	3			
	Total	203	8			

However the yes is greater than no for both male and female Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas. This implies that there is the contribution of Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas to the development of their countries of destinations.

Hypothesis 2

The formal institutional arrangements aiding the developmental activities of Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas are not operational.

Table 16: Formal institutional arrangements aiding the developmental activities of Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas

Variations	Gender	Responses		Df	X ²	Sig
Nigerian diasporas		YES	NO	1	11.139	0.012
	Male	266	52			
	Female	24	15			
	Total	290	67			
Ghanaian diasporas	Male	118	66	1	0.066	0.064
	Female	18	9			
	Total	136	75			

The table revealed the extent to which the formal institutional arrangement in Ghana and Nigeria are operational. The summary chi-square table above revealed a significant difference between male and female diasporas in Nigerian at $X^2=11.139$, $df=1$ and 0.05 significant level and Ghanaian at $X^2=0.066$, $df=1$ and 0.05 non-significant difference. However the yes is greater than no for Nigerians and Ghanaians. This implies that formal institutional arrangement in Ghana and Nigeria are operational.

Hypothesis 3

The Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas linkages to their countries of destination and origin are not enhancing Nigeria and Ghana bilateral relations.

Table 17: Contributions of Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas linkages to countries of origin in promoting Nigeria and Ghana relations.

Variations	Gender	Responses		Df	X ²	Sig
		YES	NO			
Nigerian diasporas		288	30	1	6.645	0.024
	Male	288	30			
	Female	30	9			
	Total	318	39			
Ghanaian diasporas	Male	150	34	1	4.914	0.025
	Female	17	10			
	Total	167	44			

The table revealed the extent to which Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas linkages to their countries of origin enhance Nigeria and Ghana bilateral relations. The summary chi-square table above revealed a significant difference between male and female diasporas in Nigerian at $X^2=6.645$, $df=1$ and 0.05 significant level and Ghanaian at $X^2=4.914$, $df=1$ and 0.05 significant level. However the yes is greater than no for Nigerians and Ghanaians. This implies that Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas linkages to their countries of origin enhance Nigeria and Ghana bilateral relations.

Table 18: Contributions of Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas linkages to countries of destination in promoting Nigeria and Ghana bilateral relations.

Variations	Gender	Responses		Df	X ²	Sig
		YES	NO			
Nigerian diasporas		215	103	1	3.399	0.065
	Male	215	103			
	Female	32	7			
	Total	247	110			
Ghanaian diasporas	Male	179	139	1	0.39	0.072
	Female	24	15			
	Total	203	154			

The table revealed the extent to which Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas linkages to their countries of destination enhance Nigeria and Ghana bilateral relations. The summary chi-square table above revealed a significant difference between male and female diasporas in

Nigerian at $X^2=3.399$, $df=1$ and 0.05 significant level and Ghanaian at $X^2=0.39$, $df=1$ and 0.05 significant level. However the yes is greater than no for Nigerians and Ghanaians. This implies that Ghanaian and Nigerian diasporas linkages to their countries of destination enhance Nigeria and Ghana bilateral relations.

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CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSIONS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

The study focuses on the extent of the contributions of Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria to social, economic, political and cultural developments of their origin and destination countries and the functions of formal institutional arrangements in supporting the developmental activities of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria towards the actualisation of the integration agenda of ECOWAS. This chapter presents a discussion of the results, conclusions and recommendations. The chapter is organised according to the three research questions for the study. The discussion section of this study takes a broad view of the research and puts it in a wider context. The discussion section moves from the narrow specific focus of the research to a more general view. It shows clearly how the results found lead to the conclusions being drawn and therefore how these conclusions should be understood. This includes limitations that might cause problems with any claims being made as well as any possible explanation for these results.

6.2 Discussions

Research Question 1

The answer to the first research question revealed that Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas contribute immensely to the economic, social, political and cultural developments of origin and destination countries. The importance of diasporas or transnational communities as a development resource has been recognized in the recent discourse on migration and development (Devan and Tewari, 2001; GCIM, 2005; Kuznetsov, 2006; UNESCO, 2006; GFMD, 2007).

The findings revealed the importance of remittance in form of cash and goods to Ghana and Nigeria. The contribution of remittances however, to economic and social development depends on the uses to which the remittances are put. If the resources are used for conspicuous consumption there is very little contribution to economic development and given the high import content in the consumption pattern of the West African countries, like Ghana and Nigeria, the impact on the balance of payments can be negative. On the other hand, if the

resources are used for investment and essential consumption to improve the health and productivity of the society, the development of the society may be enhanced. There are several ways in which remittances may contribute to the development of Ghana and Nigeria economies both directly and indirectly.

The inflow of remittances can be viewed as an injection into a Keynesian type circular flow of income. Injection into the circular flow increases economic activity by increasing the level of aggregate expenditure, while withdrawals from the circular flow reduce economic activity. Outflow of remittances are withdrawals from the circular flow and hence reduces economic activity. Thus it is the net remittances which affect on the level of real economic activity. Other things equal, positive net remittances increase real economic activity while negative net remittances have the opposite effect.

However, economic development goes beyond increases in real economic activity related to injections into the economy. Economic development requires that the economy be transformed to permanently increase its capacity to produce real output. In addition this should be translated into more equitable distribution of income and greater diversification of the economy. This would result in an improvement of the quality of life of the members of the society. Improvement in the quality of life results from:

- (i) Increased consumption of goods (both public and private);
- (ii) Improvement in employment opportunities; and
- (iii) Improvements in the physical and social environment.

The most direct way in which remittances contribute to economic and social development is the improvement in the living standards of the recipients. As presented under analysis, the decision to migrate may be a conscious choice to improve the income prospects of the household and to reduce risk associated with income instability. Therefore, remittances would improve the living standard of the household enabling a higher level of consumption and increased educational opportunities for the rest of the household.

Consumption by itself is not a productive activity, therefore, increased consumption by poor households improves their productivity by improving health or improves the capacity of young children in these households to learn and hence acquire a better education it may contribute to development.

On the contrary, conspicuous consumption results in a depletion of the foreign exchange which came into the country when the funds are initially remitted. Remittances in kind which are in the nature of conspicuous consumption goods can also have a negative effect to the extent that it creates an imitative demand by other members of the society for these goods and a complementary demand by the receiving households for imported goods which are used jointly with the initial gift.

The improvement in educational opportunities for the rest of the household is beneficial both to the household and the country since this would create better job opportunities for the individual, and the country gets a more productive worker. One drawback is that with an existing kinship link in the developing country the likelihood that the more educated members of the household would also migrate is even greater. However, this may create a second generation flow of remittances in later years.

A logical consequence of the flow of remittances to poor households is the improvement in the distribution of income in the society, if as the theory predicts remittances would be higher for poorer households. Moreover, such resources can be invested in education and business to improve the income prospects of the household even further. While the debate on the effect of migration and remittances on the distribution is far from settled in the literature, a number of studies internationally point to the favourable effects of remittances on the distribution of income (Stark et al, 1988). Improvements in the distribution of income not only increase the welfare of the individual but have externalities which increase the social development of the society.

The investment of remittances in new businesses or into the expansion of existing family businesses is one of the ways that these flows contribute to economic development. These remittances need not be in the form of cash but may be in the form of capital goods, inventory or raw material. For many low income households access to credit is effectively closed, since formal credit markets do not recognise human wealth as collateral. Thus, the flow of remittances may be the only source of finance for investment in small businesses.

While the contributions in form of remittances to investment in new businesses are pretty straightforward in terms of the concept, the contribution to investment in existing family businesses has three aspects.

The first can be related to inheritance motive, desire to return home for a comfortable retirement, altruism or profit motive. To satisfy these motives, resources in cash or kind is remitted to be invested in the family business. The second aspect is related to the co-insurance that the 'contract' with the migrant provides to his family. It allows the household to undertake risky investments, for example in the improvement in agricultural practices, which would not have been undertaken if the household depended solely on the farm income. These investments would be undertaken with the knowledge that if the venture went sour or the pay-back period was longer than expected there would be income support from the migrant.

The third aspect of remittances being invested in the family business relate to assistance in disaster recovery. Although this is related to the co-insurance contract discussed in the preceding paragraph, the distinction here is that resources actually flow to assist in the rehabilitation of the business whereas resources need not flow in the second aspect. The security provided by the contract results in behaviour modification which leads to economic expansion.

Not all households are entrepreneurial by nature, but if a proportion of remittances is saved, it provides a pool of investible resources which the less risk averse members of the society can use to develop the economy. Remittances in kind can contribute indirectly to the pool of savings if their consumption permits a higher level of saving by the receiving households.

To contribute to development in this way, remittances must supplement domestic savings. It is quite possible that remittances can replace domestic savings by permitting a higher level of consumption. Because the flow remittances relax the households' liquidity constraint, there is usually a strong temptation to undertake higher levels of consumption than is necessary.

At the level of the economy the flow of remittances eases the balance of payments constraints by either providing foreign exchange directly in the case of cash or by reducing the demand for imported goods where remittances are in kind. The caveat here is the demonstration effect on the consumption of the rest of the society associated with the receipt of such goods.

Cultural development is the change or evolution of the culture like traditions, beliefs, norms, behavioural patterns, arts and everything that relates to human thought and work. While speaking with diasporas about their desire to represent Ghanaian and Nigerian culture to their host societies, the interviewees define the ways it can be portrayed based on their own

choices and contexts. The works of Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporic artists provide avenues for challenging dominant modes of representation, both in their homeland and host societies.

As Kobena (1994) argues, artists who exist outside of mainstream cultural spaces in their host societies "are burdened with the impossible task of speaking as 'representatives'" of their communities and cultures. While most of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporic artists the investigator encountered are not necessarily on the margins of cultural institutions in their host society, they rely on their ability to "authentically" represent their culture as a source of their privileged position in their new setting relative to those who are still in Nigerian and Ghanaian.

Some respondents saw themselves as representatives of what they took to be the quintessential aspects of Nigerian and Ghanaian culture and see themselves as ambassadors of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diaspora. Since cultural products are dependent on the existence of an audience to interpret and consume them, the types of narratives that the artists choose to express are implicated in the type of audience (Chin, Feng, and Lee, 2000). As the narratives of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporic artists indicate, this form of ethnic identification and portrayal of the homeland are "at best metaphorical rather than a rigid translation" (Papastergiadis 1997:183). These strategies may be utilized to provide a sense of continuity and meaning to combat fragmentation and discontinuity.

With respect to the political participation of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diaspora, the study noted that Nigerian and Ghanaian abroad complain about their inability to vote in elections taking place in Nigeria and Ghana. The National Assembly and the Government of Nigeria and Ghana may consider changing the election law to allow Egyptians living abroad to vote in the Nigeria and Ghana elections while they are away. Many countries in the world including Arab countries, such as Algeria, allow their citizens to vote in national elections while being abroad.

Research Question 2

The findings revealed the functions of formal institutional arrangements in supporting the developmental activities of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria towards the actualisation of the integration agenda of ECOWAS.

The finding examines the main elements and limitations of the Economic Community of West African States Free Movement Protocols. It evaluates the degree to which the Protocols

have been implemented in ECOWAS Member-States especially Nigeria and Ghana, identifies their utility to diaspora from ECOWAS countries residing in other ECOWAS countries especially Nigeria and Ghana. It queries whether the Protocols constitute a sound legal basis for Member-States to extend residence and work rights to diasporas with ECOWAS citizenship residing in their territories who are willing to seek and carry out employment. It also describes current efforts to assist especially Nigeria and Ghana diasporas to achieve the legal aspects of local integration through the utilisation of ECOWAS residence entitlements in West Africa.

The treaty creating the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was signed in Lagos on 28 May 1975 between the following countries Benin, Burkina Faso, Cape Verde, Côte d'Ivoire, Gambia, Ghana, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Liberia, Mali, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, and Togo. Article 27 of the Treaty affirms a long-term objective to establish a community citizenship that could be acquired automatically by all Member States' nationals. A key objective of the preamble to the treaty is to remove obstacles to the free movement of goods, capital and people in the sub-region. The Phase one of the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and the Right of Residence and Establishment of May 1979 guaranteeing free entry of Community citizens without visa for ninety days was ratified by Member-States in 1980 and put into effect forthwith. This once again ushered in an era of free movements of ECOWAS citizens within member countries.

The rights of entry, residence and establishment were to be progressively established within fifteen years after the protocol was in force. During the first five years of the implementation of the first phase requirements for visas and entry permit would be abolished. Community citizens in possession of valid travel documents and international health certificate could enter Member-States without visa for up to ninety days. Member-States can nevertheless refuse admission into their territory so-called inadmissible immigrants under its laws. In the case of expulsion, normally at the expense of the immigrants, States undertook to guarantee the security of the citizen concerned, his/her family and his/her property. The delayed second phase (Right of Residence) of the Protocol came into force in July 1986, when all Member States ratified it, but the Right of Establishment has not been implemented till now. In 1992, the revised Treaty of ECOWAS, among others, affirmed the right of citizens of the Community to entry, residence and settlement and enjoined Member-States to recognize these rights in their respective territories. It also called on Member-States to take all necessary steps at the national level to ensure that the provisions are duly implemented.

The findings revealed that there are challenges in implementing this protocol. The causes of some of these challenges are identified and presented below:

Member States of ECOWAS belong to multiple unions with different aims and objectives, different levels and patterns of development and political systems and ideologies. Countries with small population are juxtaposed within those with large population and land area; some are resource poor while others are endowed with human and natural resources. The smaller and economically less prosperous countries are often suspicious of the demographic and economic giants - Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire – in the Community.

The wavering political support, political instability and inter-state border disputes and wars have retarded progress in ratification and implementation of protocols. The persistent economic downturn has crippled the ability of States to pursue consistent macro-economic policies and resulted in part in poor funding of economic unions. The non-convertibility of currencies hinders financial settlements and the harmonization of macro-economic policies and procedures. The ubiquitous roadblocks across frontiers, the lengthy and costly formalities at border posts, and the corruption of officials, have hindered free flow of persons and trade.

The coming to force of the protocol on free movement of persons coincided with a period of economic recession in most West Africa, especially those bordering Nigeria, whose economy was fuelled by huge oil sector earnings. The oil-led employment opportunities attracted migrants of all skills, but especially unskilled workers, in their droves from Ghana, Togo, Chad, Mali and Cameroon to work in the construction and services sectors.

The short-lived oil boom resulted in a rapid deterioration in living and working conditions and devaluation of the national currency, wage freeze and inflation. In early 1983 and in mid-1985, the Nigerian Government revoked Articles 4 and 27 of the Protocol to expel over 1 million illegal aliens mostly Ghanaians. The ratification of the second phase of ECOWAS Protocol on Right of Residence that came into force in July 1986 coincided with the implementation of the structural adjustment programme in Nigeria. In June 1985, about 0.2 million illegal aliens were again expelled as the economic crisis deepened, a development that created a crisis of confidence in the Community. Aliens became scapegoats when governments were confronted with teething economic and political problems; migrants were targets of hostility from the native population and blamed for whatever economic, social and political problems arose in the country.

Most countries of the West African sub-region have enacted, or retained a series of laws, which in effect restrict 'foreigners', including nationals of ECOWAS, from participating in certain kinds of economic activities; the expulsion of aliens also negated the *raison d'être* for establishing the Community. So long as the economies of recipient countries accommodated clandestine labour migrants there was little sign of stress. As economic conditions worsened and unemployment among nationals deepened, immigrants become targets for reprisals through expulsion. (Ojo, 1999). Illegal immigrants were expelled from virtually all West African countries before and even after the formation of ECOWAS. In the year 2000, Mauritania decided to pull out of ECOWAS.

Some political leaders are using ethnicity and religion to reclassify long-standing residents as non-nationals as in Cote d'Ivoire and are weary of the presence of large number of immigrants on their shores during tightly contested elections, fearing that they may swing the vote in favour of the opposition along ethnic or religious alliances.

The situation in Cote d'Ivoire illustrates this: a major country of immigration in the sub-region with a vast natural resource endowment but a small domestic labour force, foreigners constituted about a quarter of its waged labour force. The country's first Post-independent president, ignoring the arbitrary borders drawn by colonial powers, encouraged immigration from its poor neighbours. Immigrants from Burkina Faso, Nigeria, Liberia, Senegal and Ghana flooded the plantations clandestinely and did menial jobs that the local population despised. They brought their families and were allowed to marry cross-culturally, settle and vote. The recent shift in the country's liberal immigration policy and growing anti-immigrant sentiment took a violent turn. The introduction of the concept of *ivorite*, and the stripping of immigrants of some of the rights they hitherto enjoyed sparked discontent and mistrust among immigrants. The chaos and war between elements of the predominantly Muslim North and the Christian South threaten the survival of the once stable country. Thousands of nationals of Mali, Burkina Faso, Guinea and Nigerian have returned home as xenophobia or anti-foreigner sentiments peaked.

Dislodged Liberian refugees sought solace in Mali and Guinea. The policy to register and issue special identity cards to foreigners is widely viewed as aimed at deporting (now classified) illegal immigrants (Adepoju, 2003).

The long-delayed National Identity Card scheme launched in Nigeria mid-February 2003 is designed in part to “effectively control” illegal immigrants and their nefarious activities. About the same time, Liberia introduced compulsory exit visa for all residents in the country – a move criticised as violating the fundamental right of its citizens to free movement in and out of the country. In March 1999, Ghana requested all aliens in the country to register and be issued with identity cards. Immigrants are suspicious of this move, recalling the antecedents of the 1969 Alien Compliance Order that culminated in the expulsion of non-Ghanaians.

The refugee regime, for long localised in the Horn of Africa and the Great Lakes region has spread swiftly to the sub-region as Liberia’s contagious civil war soon spread to Sierra Leone, engulfing Guinea Conakry and Guinea Bissau and now Cote d’Ivoire in its trail and uprooting thousands of people internally and across national borders, as displaced persons and refugees. As soon as one refugee-generating crisis is resolved, new or renewed crisis emerges sequentially. Sporadic border disputes between Senegal and Mauritania, Ghana and Togo, Liberia and Guinea have also led to refugee flows and expulsion of Community citizens from these territories.

ECOWAS community citizens have been expelled by most member States, in spite of the protocol on free movement of persons. Sentiments against non-nationals have risen in recent years as a result of the economic downturn, increasing unemployment among young nationals, and political instability. The Protocol on Establishment and Residence has not been implemented, despite the close link to the right of free movement, integration of trade, tariff regimes and promotion of labour migration in the Sub-region.

In spite of the constraints enumerated above, progress has been recorded on many fronts. The free movement of persons without visa within the sub-region is a major achievement of ECOWAS (though some certain amount of money will have to be dropped with the security personnels along the borders). Associated with this development is the progress made in the area of monetary policy, communication, trade and related matters. These include the introduction of ECOWAS travellers’ cheques – the West African Unit of Account – to harmonise the sub-region’s monetary policy; the proposed adoption of a common currency by 2004 (now postponed till 2012) to facilitate cross-border trade transactions and the introduction of the Brown Card travel certificates to be used as ECOWAS passports.

The abolition of the mandatory residency permit and the granting of the maximum 90- day period of stay to ECOWAS citizens by immigration officials at entry points took effect from April, 2000(although in reality, some persons may get 30days, 60 days or 90 days depending on the discretion of the immigration personnel on duty). Border posts and checkpoints on international highways which hitherto threatened free movement of persons and goods were scrapped and Nigerian government dismantled all checkpoints between Nigeria and Benin. Border patrols were set up by Niger, Nigeria, Benin, Togo, Ghana, Burkina Faso and Mali to monitor and police national frontiers, in addition to closer collaboration and information sharing between the police and internal security agents. Elimination of rigid border formalities and modernisation of border procedures through the use of passport scanning machines were designed to facilitate free and easier movement of persons across borders, the ultimate goal being the creation of a borderless West Africa (Adepoju, 2002). But presently, the researcher observed rigid border formalities associated with delay and money collections along the Nigeria-Benin-Togo-Ghana borders and vice-versa.

The creation of a borderless sub-region was the major agenda of the meeting of Heads of State and Government held in Abuja early 2000. During the Summit, the ECOWAS passport was adopted as a symbol of unity to progressively replace national passports in circulation over a transitional period of ten years. The sub-regional private airline (ECOAIR) was launched in Abuja to coincide with the 25th anniversary of the organisation to facilitate intra-regional travel.

Transport and telecommunication links between Member States were boosted by transcoastal, trans-Sahelian and trans-coastal/Sahelian road network. Regional infrastructure has been rehabilitated and expanded to foster economic integration with the proposed establishment of two rail links: a coastal route from Lagos to Cotonou, Lomé and Accra and a Sahelian route linking Lagos to Niamey and Ouagadougou. Border posts and all checkpoints on international airways are to be policed only by customs and immigration officials. Effective 1 January 2000, a zone for the circulation of goods, free of custom duties, was set up and the free movement of goods and persons across the borders of ECOWAS Member-States was scheduled to begin by the end of April 2000. In addition, in December 1999, the Lome Protocol on the mechanism for the prevention, management, and control of conflicts, and maintenance of peace and security was signed.

Research Question 3

The answer to the third research question revealed that diasporas linkages are quite important in improving or strengthening the Nigeria-Ghana bilateral relations.

The Nigerian or the Ghanaian diaspora is by no means a homogeneous social formation. Instead, it is divided not only by pre-migratory cleavages along lines of caste, class, gender, village or town of origin, education, and religion, but also by differences arising from the process of migration.

Members of the diaspora can thus be differentiated according to when they migrated, the means by which they gained residence in host countries, and how successfully they have integrated into host societies. Despite these internal differences, the Nigerian or the Ghanaian diaspora is a very close-knit community. Four developments resulting largely from recent flows of conflict-related migrants have created spatial, social, and political conditions conducive to fostering close community ties.

One critical measure of the diaspora's condition as a self-conscious identity lies in remembering, imagining, and engaging the original homeland, whose own identity is in part constituted by and in turn helps constitute the diaspora. This dialectic in the inscriptions and representations of the home-land in the diaspora and of the diaspora in the homeland is the thread that weaves the histories of the diaspora and the homeland together.

The fluidity of these engagements is best captured by the notion of flow: that flows of several kinds and levels of intensity characterize the linkages between the homeland and the diaspora. The diaspora-homeland flows are often simultaneously covert and overt, abstract and concrete, symbolic and real, and their effects may be sometimes disjunctive or conjunctive. The diaspora or the homeland can also serve as a signifier for the other, subject to strategic manipulation. The flows include people, cultural practices, productive resources, organizations and movements, ideologies and ideas, and images and representations. In short, six major flows can be isolated: demographic flows, cultural flows, economic flows, political flows, ideological flows, and iconographic flows.

6.3 Conclusion

The ECOWAS community leaders aim at a borderless West Africa when they signed the ECOWAS treaty. Everyone seems to be ready for the integration but the officials entrusted with implementing the policy seem to be self-centered and not community-oriented.

Everyone in West Africa which includes the West African diasporas, irregular migrants, traders, professionals, artisans, skilled and unskilled West Africans, etc. wants the sub-regional integration but translating the dictates of the treaty into reality is the mirage.

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), in recent times, has shown some commitment to the need to facilitate better trade relations among West African States. This led to the adoption of the ECOWAS Strategic Vision, by ECOWAS Heads of States in June 2009, which seeks to convert West Africa into a borderless sub-region, where citizens can avail themselves of opportunities emanating from unrestricted movement of goods, services and persons.

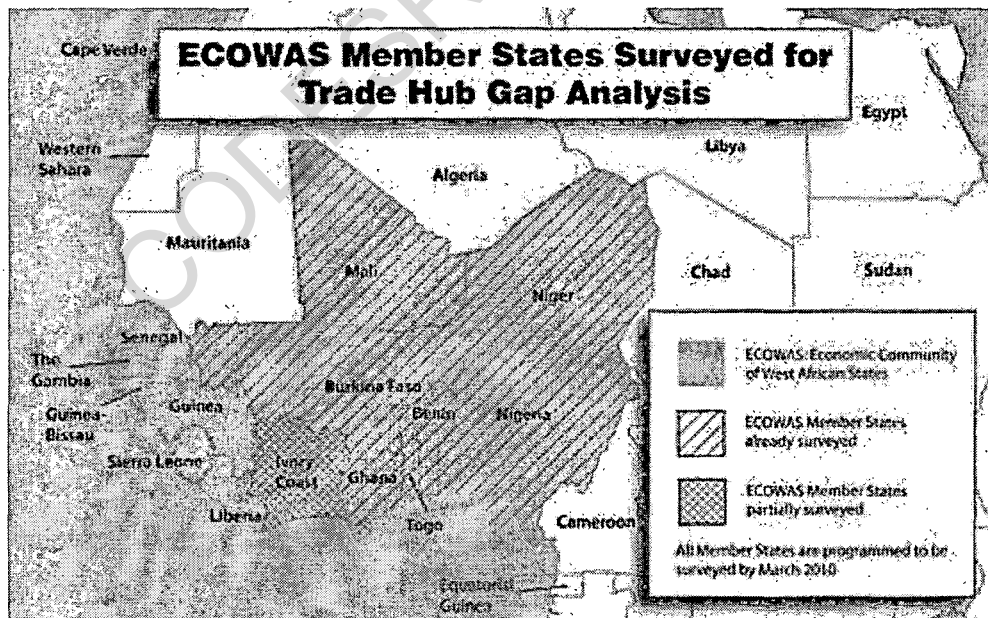
The integration schemes in West Africa are clearly suffering from the ambiguity and the difficulties of regional coordination, but the regional economic communities have ideas for strengthening it, but the implementation of the idea remains a farce. The absorption of the diasporas into their host countries make them homogeneous as they are not recognised as foreigners thus their contributions in a local community may be accounted for a general one which cannot be differentiated and quantified. This again is because we are all black, eat the same kind of food etc.

We cannot have a free community for a people without free movement of persons, goods and services, and the right to establish businesses and ventures within West Africa Sub-region. Free movement is what binds humans together as people pass through countries with their goods and services, mixing with fellow ECOWAS citizens while meeting the demand and the needs of the people of the region. This integrates people and their economies. The effective operationalising of Protocol on free movement is one of the most important factors in binding/facilitating regional integration. We should not only look at only what the diaspora can do but also the contributions of the media/ press. Reporting false information/news or the right news communicates either safety/fear/ insecurity in the minds of those at home. Such reports are important in the decision making process of both home and origin countries of the West African diasporas living in the Sub-region. False reports hinder bilateral relations. This brings about reciprocation of either good or bad behaviours towards each other in the West Africa. The media should importantly send out news that promote integration and not ripple out negative effects of isolated cases on miscreants amongst migrants. We need to see each other in the West African Sub- region as strategic partners in progress and not as monsters.

The personal experience of this researcher in 2009 along Nigeria-Seme-Togo-Ghana borders revealed that driving freely from Lagos to Ghana was impossible without harassment, extortion of money and unnecessary delays at the border checkpoints by the overzealous official and unofficial security operatives which made the sub-region full of restrictions and bottlenecks, in-fact some drivers revealed that they sometimes spend hours at borders where customs and immigration officials delay them. The journey that should have ordinarily taken them three hours may end up becoming ten hours. These have negative consequences on their turnover per day. At the borders and checkpoints where unofficial fees were demanded, they do not receive receipts to prove payment later to their clients. The use of “Kelebe” who are unofficial agents of the security operatives along the border is rampant. The Kelebes are civilians who work for the security operatives in order to extend their coverage effectively at the borders. Like many other transport companies in the West African sub-region, they bear costs and lose income due to unpredictable expenses on West African roads and borders

In addition, below is the analysis of the survey conducted by the Trade Hub on public and private sector representatives in eight countries in order to identify the gaps in the implementation of ECOWAS protocols on the free movement of people, goods and transport.

Fig. 9: ECOWAS Member States Surveyed for Trade Hub Gap Analysis in 2010.



Source: USAID West Africa Trade Hub, 2010

The results indicate that in a group interview in September, 2010, 18 disgruntled truck drivers in Cotonou, Benin, vented their frustrations to two Trade Hub consultants: driving freely from Cotonou to Ouagadougou was impossible without harassment, they said. They sometimes spend three days at borders where customs officials hold up paper work when they refuse to pay bribes; meanwhile, their clients in importing countries wait impatiently to receive the goods.

At the borders and checkpoints where unofficial fees were demanded, they do not receive receipts to prove payment later to their clients. Like many other transport companies in the region, they bear costs and lose income due to unpredictable expenses on West African roads and borders. Even when you have all the paperwork, it is not always taken into account," one said. "There is not a lot of documentation required really, but there are too many unnecessary delays.

"Laws are different from country to country and the fees are exceptionally high. There is really no free movement across West Africa."

The truckers' experiences were echoed in interviews in eight countries conducted by the Trade Hub to determine how well West Africa is economically integrated. The unfortunate answer is: not very well. The interviews are part of a study of the gaps between what regional policies say on paper and how they are actually implemented in ECOWAS Member States.

Two Trade Hub teams conducted the interviews from May to September, 2010. One interviewed public sector officials and agents who enforce policies on the movement of persons, goods and transport, which should be consistent with ECOWAS protocols. The other team interviewed company managers, transporters and others who see daily how those policies are actually enforced.

The team conducted hundreds of hours of interviews in Benin, Burkina Faso, Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Mali, Niger, Nigeria and Togo, involving over 200 people. It learned that the gaps between what ECOWAS Member States have agreed to do and what actually happens in each of the member State is significant. None of the countries is fully implementing the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme – the set of protocols meant to achieve integration.

However, making sub-regional regional integration a reality requires harmonisation of Protocol on Free movement of persons, Rights of Residence and Establishment, and other

provisions in the revised 1993 ECOWAS Treaty which include trade policies and practices to eliminate uncertainty for traders and security personnel at borders and the political will of the Member States of ECOWAS. "There is a price to pay when a region fails to come together following agreements, regardless of language or currency barriers." (Lori Brock, Trade Hub Business Environment Advisor).

The bugging questions include: Is West Africa actually borderless? And could a borderless West Africa be sustained? The first phase of free movement has been achieved. The second and third phases, relating to establishment and residence, respectively, are still not implemented. The piecemeal implementation of the protocols highlights the need for member States' governments to harmonise national laws which conflict with regional and Sub-regional treaties and address the issue of the right of residence and establishment of migrants and obligations of the host countries by amending national laws and investment codes that restrict "foreigners", including nationals of Community States, from participating in certain kinds of economic activities. They should also identify areas of agreement which they can progressively implement, notably free movement of persons, travel cards, travellers' cheques, tariff regime, customs and immigration formalities to enhance intra-regional labour mobility and cross-border trade, and then implement other agreements using the variable speed approach, whereby sets of common objectives are agreed upon but component countries move at different speeds towards implementation, some rapidly and others slowly. It is only when ECOWAS member citizens can move freely within, work and reside in any of the member States that the concept of a borderless West Africa will become effectively operational.

Nationals, especially potential migrants, should be provided with adequate information on the full provisions of the protocol on free movement of persons and the rules and regulations guiding entry, residence and employment in Member-States, especially the need for valid travel documents. Efforts should be made to enhance accessibility of the people to national passports, and in due course, ECOWAS passports, by decentralising the issuing authorities to district and local levels.

Xenophobia against immigrants is at its height especially in Ghana, stimulated by the media and politicians. Concerted efforts should be made towards advocacy and public education in order to halt unwholesome hostility against migrants and foreigners amongst traditionally hospitable peoples, so as to maintain a peaceful West African sub-region with the citizens of the 15-member States of ECOWAS ready to share their resources with one another within the

sub-region. In that context, the positive aspects of the diasporas as agents of development in origin and destination countries would be conspicuous and unhindered.

6.4 Recommendations

This study recommends that in order to facilitate diasporas' engagements in the development process of Nigeria and Ghana, the Nigerian and Ghanaian governments should strengthen their links with the existing diaspora networks and organisations, such as religious organisations and communities, associations, and venues of engagement created and maintained by the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas. There should be establishment of elaborate networks with Diaspora organisations, which should include the African diasporas within the continent of Africa, especially within the Sub-region of West Africa, in order to facilitate collaborations among the various West African State governments.

The diplomatic missions of Nigeria and Ghana should develop patience and understanding in dealing with most Nigerians and Ghanaians abroad. Many harbour some frustrations and pent up anger over their exile which they easily blame on the Nigerian and Ghanaian governments. The Embassies, High Commissions and Consulates can reduce most, if not all, the complaints against them through openness, understanding, and accommodation and in investing in modern technologies and computerising their services. In addition, they should;

- (i) deliberately forge closer relationships with the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria.
- (ii) accord them more respect, friendly receptions and improvements in the services rendered, would assuage some of the negative feelings towards the Nigerian and Ghanaian missions and by extension the governments of Nigeria and Ghana .
- (iii) render courteous service, openness and prompt response to inquiries about government policies and programmes at home which are essential and of key importance.
- (iv) adopt a renewed and more accommodating attitude in order to build the confidence that is required to convince the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria of the commitment of their origin governments to engage them in development policies.
- (v) proper, timely, frequent communication and dissemination of information especially of developments and opportunities at home is the key to building an effective and

positive relationship between Nigerian and Ghanaian governments and their diasporas in West Africa specifically as a sub-region and the African continent as a region.

Ghanaian and Nigerian governments should facilitate the ratification of their National Policy on Migration. Other Member States of ECOWAS should follow suit. This will help widen development, cooperation and collaboration among the West African diasporas within the region.

The ratification of Migration policy tends to attract more diaspora investments if policies are favourable, coherent and similar to some extent among the various West African States.

Attract More Diaspora Investment.

National governmentst of the Member-States of ECOWAS and ECOWAS as a body should create appropriate and effective institutional arrangements for collaboration of all Diaspora-related institutions. Entrenchment of follow-up activities on the diasporas within the sub-region is also essential. National governments in the sub –region of West Africa should stabilise the political terrain with free and fair elections, amelioration of corruption in order to expand the economic opportunities at countries.

With the prevalence of the culture of mistrust between the Nigerian and Ghanaian diaspora communities and the governments, any strong attempts to impose policies or regulations on current institutions including suggesting a formal structure or governmental- run organisation to engage diasporas may be regarded as an attempt by the two governments to control Nigerians and Ghanaians living abroad. Instead, the government can provide support to help bridge the gaps between existing organisations and the government bodies in Nigerian and Ghana to foster unified effort and cooperation. Furthermore, the Government of Nigeria and Ghana could promote the use of internet and virtual diaspora communities and disseminate information through these venues to link Nigerians and Ghanaians abroad among themselves as well as with their countries of origin.

In line with the recommendations put forward by ECA (2012), expanding the number of one-stop border posts should help to reinforce RECs' efforts to open borders and reduce delays and the red tape at customs. Member-States also need to expedite their supply of identity documents, as well as travel and health certificates to community citizens' resident on their territories. The border information centres between Ghana and Togo, and the planned centre between Mali and Senegal, are a welcome development in this regard. REC Member-States

should also facilitate work and business permits for REC citizens to foster closer integration. This is also important for promoting intra-community trade and investment, which will boost employment. RECs should, as a matter of urgency, activate national protocol-monitoring committees and help to coordinate their activities with the secretariat of the REC. This should contribute to harmonising regulations, implementation procedures and guidelines to boost free movement of people.

6.5 Directions for Further Research

The increasing attention on promoting migration and development linkages has focused on the role of the diaspora as a major area of intervention. Thus, we need better information on diaspora profiles and their transnational engagements within West African States.

There is very limited information on the profile and role of women in diaspora communities or their engagement with home countries. One also needs to document patterns of transnational practices that embrace both source and destination countries and/or the wider diaspora (Nyberg-Sørensen, 2007).

It is important to know the extent of integration of the diasporas, and status of respect for their rights in host societies, and the impact of such integration and protection of rights on their contributions. Another priority need is to continue in-depth analysis of the operation of migrant organisations, both formal and informal, and how they contribute to home countries.

A critical analysis of current policies followed by particularly countries of origin for engaging their diaspora communities will be most useful in assessing the gap between promise and delivery. Last but not least, all these point to the need for generation and dissemination of data and information on diaspora profiles, networks and their operations using a gender perspective.

6.6 Contributions to Knowledge

The study contributes to the policy dialogue and academic debate from the perspective of diasporas linkages to home and origin countries within the continent of Africa, which are not sufficiently documented.. This current study helps to fill a gap in the existing research literature on Migration and Development within the purview of International Relations

The documentation of empirically-based studies of Nigeria and Ghana diasporas is relevant in the ongoing policy discussions on African diasporas as agents of development and

facilitators of the initiative agenda of the ECOWAS and African Union. In addition, the research is of immense benefit to the overall policy strategies and practical operations regarding the search for appropriate ways of involving the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in the development of their respective countries of origin and destination in a large scale and sustainable manner.

The study has been able to address policy-level issues and questions that make a pioneering contribution to an emerging research agenda on the subject matter of African diasporas in West Africa and their developmental roles in facilitating sub-regional integration..

This study of African diasporas within the continent of Africa has brought a new dimension to the diaspora debate, thereby adding to the conceptual debate on micro study of diaspora which reinforces the notion that African diasporas can be studied at the micro level. This study has layers of contributions that speak to the larger debate about sub-regional integration of ECOWAS, which will have a spillover effect on the regional integration agenda of the African Union

The outcome of the research provides informative reference materials to the academics and also the policy actors on National Policy on Migration, for the purpose of incorporating intra-African migration and regional integration issues with particular focus on the roles of African diasporas in their home and origin countries in Africa. The study is of huge benefit to policy making machineries of ECOWAS and other regional groupings in Africa, and African Union in general.

The interdisciplinary nature of the research has been able to fill the gap in Transnational Studies in International Relations of Africa. The study is also considered to be relevant in contributing to development of a paradigm for understanding the foreign policy cooperation of West African States in the areas of migration and regional integration which focus on diasporas overall activities in their home and origin countries.

It covers two main destinations which are Nigeria and Ghana. Hence, this study utilises both qualitative and quantitative methods to draw a more detailed picture of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas activities in Ghana and Nigeria respectively.

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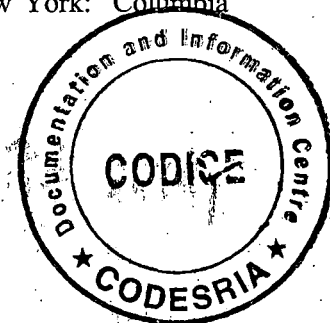
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Appendix 1

SAMPLE OF QUESTIONNAIRE

THE DIASPORA AND NIGERIA-GHANA RELATIONS (1979-2010).

QUESTIONNAIRE (TDNGBRQ)

Dear Respondent,

We are privileged to administer this questionnaire to you as a Nigerian Diasporas resident in Ghana. The purpose of our inquiry is to find out your social, economic and political, and cultural activities both in Ghana and in Nigeria, if any and some of your individual attributes in order to address the larger issues of development impact of diasporas on the affairs of their home countries, as well as countries where they are resident.

We shall be grateful for your cooperation in responding to the following questions raised in the questionnaire

We thank you in advance

Fayomi , Oluyemi

Dept. of Political Science and International Relations

College of Development Studies

Covenant University, Ota, Ogun State.

SECTION A: BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. NAME:(Surname first)

(Optional).....

2. Age(Last birthday)

Below 30-39

40-49

50-59

60-

3. Gender Male Female

4. Highest level of education attainment (before coming to Ghana)

Primary 1 Secondary 2 Tertiary 3 Trade School 4

Technical School 5 University 6 Others (Specify).. 7.....

5. Previous Working Experience (before coming to Ghana)

Working Not Working but Looking for Work Not Working, Not
Looking for work

6. If working, what was your Occupation?.....

When (i.e. What year) did you arrive in Ghana?.....

7. What was the mode of transportation to Ghana? Road Air Sea

8. Since Arrival in Ghana, Have you acquired more formal education, training, and skills
e.t.c

More formal education, State the additional qualification:

More training, State the type of training.....

More skill, state the type:

Others Specify

9. What kind of job do you do in Ghana?

A, Self Employed

State type of trade

B, Employed

Specify Occupation.....

C, Unemployed

D, Others Specify

10. Present state of citizenship

Nigerian Naturalized Ghanaian

Dual Citizenship Specify

11, Residency Status

A, I am fully resident in Ghana, I don't visit Nigeria

B, I am resident in Ghana, but visit Nigeria Occasionally

C, I am resident in Ghana but visit Nigeria regularly

D, I am partly resident in Ghana and partly resident in Nigeria

E, others

Specify.....

12. Family characteristic

A, Marital Status Single Married Widowed/Separated

B, If Married, Is your spouse a Nigerian? Yes No

If No, Is He/ She a Ghanaian? Yes No

Specify Spouse's Nationality

Do you have Children? Yes No

If yes where do they live?

Nigeria Ghana Elsewhere Specify

Do you Have Living Parents? Yes No

If Yes, Where do they live?

With you in Ghana in Nigeria

Elsewhere Specify

SECTION B: MIGRATION EXPERIENCE

1. What are your major reasons for coming to Ghana? Specify

- a,.....
- b,
- c,
- d
.....
- e,

Did you live in other countries before coming to Ghana? Yes No

If yes what is the Duration of Stay in each country, Specify

.....
.....

Did you have any contact in Ghana before migrating? Yes No

If yes, who was /were your contacts?

Specify.....

SECTION C: LINKAGES WITH HOME AND DESTINATION COUNTRIES

1. Remittance

A. Do you Normally Send Money to Nigeria? Yes No

If yes, specify the Purpose(s) in order priority

- 1.....
- 2.....

3.....

4.....

Between 0- 49 .9 dollars	<input type="checkbox"/>	300.00-399.99 dollars	<input type="checkbox"/>
50.00 – 99.99 dollars	<input type="checkbox"/>	400.00-499.99 dollars	<input type="checkbox"/>
100.00- 199.99 dollars	<input type="checkbox"/>	500.00 dollars and above	<input type="checkbox"/>
200.00- 299.99 dollars	<input type="checkbox"/>		

B. Do you send goods/ materials to Nigeria? Yes No

If yes, specify the Purpose(s)

1.....

2.....

3.....

4.....

5.....

Between 0- 49 .9 dollars	<input type="checkbox"/>	300.00-399.99 dollars	<input type="checkbox"/>
50.00 – 99.99 dollars	<input type="checkbox"/>	400.00-499.99 dollars	<input type="checkbox"/>
100.00- 199.99 dollars	<input type="checkbox"/>	500.00 dollars and above	<input type="checkbox"/>
200.00- 299.99 dollars	<input type="checkbox"/>		

2. Do you belong to any association(s) in Ghana?

Yes Specify the name(s).....

No

If yes, what does your association engage in? Specify-

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....
- 4.....
- 5.....

A. Do you belong to any association (s) in Nigeria?

- Yes Specify the names(s)
- No

B. if yes, what does you association (s) engage in? Specify

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....
- 4.....
- 5.....

3. Are you involved in any or all of the following activities in Ghana and / or in Nigeria?

	Nigeria	Ghana
A. Support for Parents	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	yes <input type="checkbox"/>
	No <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

If yes, specify (Nigeria).....

If yes, specify (Ghana).....

B. Support for Dependents	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>	Yes <input type="checkbox"/>
	No <input type="checkbox"/>	No <input type="checkbox"/>

H. Investments

Yes
No

Yes
No

If yes, specify (Nigeria).....

If yes, specify (Ghana).....

SECTION D: FUTURE MIGRATION PLAN

A. Do you propose to return to home country?

Yes When..... No Don't know/ Undecided

B. If Yes, What do you intend to do at home?

Specify.....

C. Do you propose to migrate to another country?

Yes No don't know/undecided

If yes, which country?.....

We thank you for taking your valuable time to respond to our inquiry

Appendix 2

ISSUES OF DISCUSSION FOR THE INTERVIEW AND FGDS

TITLE: THE DIASPORA AND NIGERIA-GHANA RELATIONS

(1979-2010).

By FAYOMI, OLUYEMI (MRS.)

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INTRODUCTION

African diasporas within the African continent, are often overlooked actors in the area of development and integration. This issues become manifest as very little attention is paid to diasporas in the policy making and expanding literature on African Migration.

Regional or sub-regional integration in Africa dates back to the immediate post colonial period. It is seen as an extension of the liberalisation movement and an effort to construct geographical entities that are economically viable and politically united.

The socio-political cum economic development in Africa is a clear attestation that regional integration in the continent has limited success. Based on this fact, African diasporas within the West African region is seen as agents of integration, provided their developmental contributions are properly harnessed.

The objectives of the study include the following:

1. Assess the functions or role of formal institutional arrangements in supporting the activities of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria toward the actualisation of the integration agenda in West Africa;
2. Analyse the contributions of Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas to social, economic, political and cultural developments of origin and destination countries;
3. Examine the importance of the diasporas linkages in improving or strengthening the Nigeria-Ghana bilateral relations; and
4. To make policy recommendations towards enhancing Nigeria-Ghana bilateral relations from the perspectives of diasporas' activities at home and abroad.

The focus shall be on Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas in Ghana and Nigeria respectively. Nigeria and Ghana are two most important members of ECOWAS. Nigeria-Ghana relations began on a sour note in the early period of the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC). The relations was further strained when Nigeria expelled about one million Ghanaian immigrants in the early 1983 and another 300,00 in the early 1985 on short notice, But by April 1988, a joint commission for cooperation was established between Nigeria and Ghana.

Nigeria has always subsumed diplomatic relations with its neighbours within the context of West Africa and African unity. Nigeria and Ghana are the closest English speaking African neighbours, which share a common historical, socio-political, and cultural and language affinity with rich human resources, minerals and oil wealth.

Although, Nigeria and Ghanaian have been trading in various goods and services for more than fifty years in the past, there had not been any formal trade agreement between the two countries. Nigeria does not have an economic investment agreement with Ghana despite the level of investments and trade between the two countries. With effect from June, 2010, Nigeria and Ghana Joint commission will come into operation. The two countries concluded plans to sign bilateral agreement to promote trade and investments. In addition, the Ghana's Foreign Minister, Alhaji Muhammed Mumuni has announced that Ghana is to renew talks with Nigeria in August, 2010, in order to find a lasting solution to the stand-off in trade and commerce between them.

According to Salihu (2010), there are no fewer than two million registered Nigerians in Ghana. Currently, Over ten Nigerian banks are operating in Ghana excluding a good number of insurance companies as well as several airlines. There is an ongoing registration of Ghanaians at the Ghana High Commission in Nigeria. There are many illegal Nigerian and Ghanaian immigrants in Ghana and Nigeria respectively because of the historical affinity, colonial linkage and the abuse of ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Rights of Residence and Establishment.

It is observed that there is presently a harsh operating condition being imposed on Nigerians doing business in Ghana. Two examples are cited below:

GHANA- On November 28, 2007, Nigerian traders in Ghana found themselves at crossroads over a business policy targeted only at Nigerian businesses in Ghana. On that date, the Ghana Investment Promotion Council (GIPC] came up with a policy that every Nigerian business outfit in Ghana must pay a record \$300,000 before being allowed to do business. At the prevailing exchange rate, the sum adds up to about N48 million. To the traders, the policy looked ridiculous and sounded like a joke but the government meant it. Before the traders could fathom the policy, the GIPC went into action, sealing up thousands of Nigerian businesses in Accra, the country's capital and other Ghanaian cities.

For the past 30 months , Nigerian businesses had remained sealed. Many of the traders have resigned themselves to fate after doing all they could to persuade the Ghanaian authorities to rescind the policy and re-open their shops. Some of them have returned to Nigeria. Others have moved on to other countries while some are currently stranded in Ghana.

NIGERIA- Recently, the Nigerian government banned certain products from Ghana to Nigeria. The Ghanaian Vice President expressed displeasure over the unilateral decisions taken by the Nigerian authorities that barred the products from their market and called for dialogue to resolve the snag.

Given all these developments, certain research questions need answers and clarification.

- What is your Department/ Committee / Organisation or governments doing about this precarious situation?

- With this development,, can we say that the ECOWAS Protocol on free trade and movement among member States is being respected by the Ghanaian and Nigerian governments?
- Do you think that the current economic realities demand that both countries should work together in order to facilitate the integration agenda of ECOWAS?
- What is your Department/Committee or organisation's position about the African Diasporas within the West African region, with special focus on Nigeria and Ghana?
- How is your Organisation, Department/ Committee or the governments of Nigeria and Ghana handling the border challenges of the West African nationals, who are within the Protocol on Free Movement of Persons, Rights of Residence and Establishment?.
- How would your department or organisation incorporate the concerns of the Nigerian and Ghanaian diasporas into their policies in order to improve the diplomatic ties and cooperation for the benefits of the rest of West African region?
- What is the way forward in furtherance of integration which will facilitate the realisation of economies of scale and strengthening of bargaining position of West Africa and the African continent in a globalised world?

Appendix 3

TRANSCRIBED AND UNEDITED INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS (FGDS) WITH GHANAIAN DIASPORAS AND POLICY ACTORS IN NIGERIA.

INTERVIEW WITH REVD JAMES LARTEY.(President of Ghanaian Christian Association, Nigeria)

1. CAN YOU BRIEFLY INTRODUCE YOURSELF?

I migrated by road to Nigeria in search of greener pastures after tertiary education.

I am a Computer scientist work with data masters for four and half years, ventured into teaching and started honesty tutors for fifteen years which later metamorphosed into honesty private school Surulere. I am currently running a diploma Course in Unilag (Educational Administration) to finish in 2011.

I am an ordained deacon of Four Square church.

2 . ARE YOU A REVEREND?

No. Ordained deacon. I belong to the Nigeria-/Ghana Christian community in Nigeria. Organized crusade and meet Ghanaian welfare/ needs .Inauguration was done in December 1981 by Reverend Dr. Bisi Orebayo and Reverend Mr Vanderpuem.

3. WHAT PROBLEMS DID GHANIANS FACE IN NIGERIA?

Problem is two dimensional

a. Problems generated by Ghanaians themselves i.e no travelling document/proper documentation. Also, socializing late into the night (get drunk, misbehave and get into trouble).

b. Environmental origin. The Nigerian society has its own peculiar jurisdictions for Ghanaians. Therefore, intrusions into each other's space foster grievances. Competition in terms of knowledge with fellow Nigerians often results into fight e.g football matches.

The aforementioned problems are aside those faced while travelling via road from Ghana to Nigeria and vice versa.

4. WHAT ARE THE PROBLEMS FACED BY GHANIANS WHILE TRAVELLING BY ROAD TO NIGERIA?

Along the West Coast Ghana – Seme corridor, holding your correct papers doesn't guarantee you easy passage without being extorted though a times your correct documents infuriates the officials as they might be handicapped in extorting you. They never expect you to have the correct documents as most times extortion is almost unavoidable. This now prevails in Ghana, Togo, Benin borders.

Hilakoji in Benin offers you no comfort. With your passport, you pay 300Cefas while you part with 500Cefas if passport is unavailable. Multiple unavoidable harassments discourage non submission of passports for stamping as by stamping your passports, you part with 200Cefas and then another 300Cefas at the border. Thus, many prefer passage without tendering their passports for stamping as it is less difficult in terms of extortion and harassment. The government of Nigeria needs to look into this urgently.

5. WHAT IS THE SOLUTION TO THIS?

1. The full enforcement of the ECOWAS treaty of free movement within the sub region.
2. Proper documentation of persons, goods and services.
3. Officers at the borders should stop extortion and harassment of migrants.

6. HOW DO YOU DESCRIBE GHANIAN ACTIVITIES IN NOGERIA IN TERMS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE NIGERIAN ECONOMY POSITIVELY AND NEGATIVELY?

Contributions to Ghana.

*Repatriation of monies back home is always done. Sometimes twice – 5 times a year through various financial institutions, and by the aid of drivers.

Impartation of knowledge into the children in Ghana via Nigerian Literature. Investing their profits into viable projects- construction of homes etc.

Contributions to Nigeria.

Establishment of schools in Nigeria by Ghanaians E.g Rev Dr. Obodia Raymond (Oshodi), Sister Eva Bonney (Ojodu) and Pst Isaac Nyame in Sango Tedo (Lekki). This also includes the establishment of companies.

7. HOW HAVE GHANIANS CONTRIBUTED SOCIALLY AND POLITICALLY TO NIGERIA?

Ghanaians aren't involved in Nigerian politics since they are foreigners in the land. Notwithstanding, there are Nigerian representations of the two Ghanaian political parties: NDC- National Democratic Congress and the NPP- the National Patriotic Party.

8. DO YOU THINK THE MOVEMENT OF GHANIANS BACK AND FORTH AS WELL AS NIGERIANS CAN FACILITATE REGIONAL INTEGRATION OF THE ECOWAS PROTOCOL?

This movement has fostered transference of knowledge as no country is an embodiment of knowledge/ trade isolated. It fosters improvement in integration.

9. HOW HAVE GHANIANS FARED IN CONTRIBUTIVE DEVELOPMENT TOWARDS THEIR HOME COUNTRY AND ALSO THEIR HOST COUNTRY NIGERIA? WHAT REASON IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THESE CONTRIBUTIONS?

Ghanaians contribute towards the development of their host country Nigeria but the policies should be relaxed to favour Ghanaians. E.g., in the educational sector. Taxes should be reduced vis-a vis with Ghana.

10. WHAT ADVICE DO YOU HAVE TO THE NIGERIAN/GHANIAN GOVERNMENTS IN A BID TO FOSTER BILATERAL RELATIONS?

Ghana missions abroad should be able to foster mutual relations between their mission and Ghanaians through interactions and integration into the Nigerian society vis a vis the Nigerians in Ghana. Establishment of legitimate businesses and also Government should from time to time come out with reminder policies to nationals on both sides. This has to an

extent been accomplished by the Ghanaian Christian Community in Nigeria, GCCIN founded in 1982 encompassing all Ghanaians irrespective of dominations.

INTERVIEW 2.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION WITH ECOWAS COMMUNITY IN LAGOS ISLAND.

The Ecowas community leaders comprise representatives from Mali, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Liberia, Togo and Ghana.

1. IS THE ECOWAS PROTOCOL ON FREE MOVEMENT AND RESIDENCY FOR 90 DAYS A REALITY?

(Mr Ayuba- Liberian- Graduate of Uthman Dan fodio University)

Difficult to implement due to corruption. Francophone countries can respect it to a certain degree but Nigeria only respects it on official levels and not in the individual sense. It isn't respected by immigrations at the borders.

The 90 days have been reduced to about a week by the Nigerian immigration officials while officially, it remains 90days. This affects business trans-border transactions. The present use of the ECOWAS passport only help to secure a maximum of 30days in order to ensure continuous extortions knowing fully well those businessmen would exceed such timings.

Senegal Representative

There isn't really any free movement of goods and services. All borders demand payments in order to allow passage with or without passport. Without passports, money suffices for access through the borders. Atimes, in Nigeria, a new/fresh passport is termed "Virgin Passport" and its use attracts a fine of N1000.00. The Beninese officials collect an equivalent of N1000.00 in Cefas to grant passage through their borders. The inability of free movement has impeded free residency. Registration of company and purchase of land is easy but for access into the country is cumbersome. An maximum equivalent of \$5,000.00 must be declared or else, such be confiscated if found. Travellers are exposed to armed robbers as monies you declare are most times stolen from you during the trip. In Benin, an equivalent of 150,000.00Cefas must be declared else customs and police confiscate such when found. The Nigerian case is in its

inability to implement policies. The ECOWAS is older than the European Union but we have nothing to show for it. Neglect of governmental policies have greatly impeded regional integration

Togolese Representative

Implementation of the ECOWAS policy and protocol viewed from the perspective of poverty and underdevelopment is daunting as excise duties and other fees collected at the borders form a bulk of the revenue generated by ECOWAS countries. Statutory fee collectors at the borders are not discriminatory or a source of concern but the personnels themselves at the borders inhibit free movement. In Ghana, 5 Ghana Cedis or 1000 Cefas is paid. Manhandling at the Togo border is humiliating.

Getting to the Nigerian border, the issue of "Find me something" disturbs free movement along the West Coast region. Inside Nigeria, Ghanaians atimes face intimidation harassment due to jealousy.

At Seme border, traders are intimidated as their monies sometimes are taken, their trucks of goods seized and delayed for many days before they are released.

2. Is regional integration within the 15 member states of ECOWAS possible and as Effective as the E.U?

Yes, integration is possible but must first start from the grass root.

3. Are you as a group well represented in Abuja?

No. The forum is only about a year old and we are still building up force and believe that the integration agenda is possible.

4. Advice how regional integration can be effected.

It is happening already as ownership of properties across the West African coast has been fostered.

Liberian Representative (Mr Ayuba).

Comparative economic advantage is necessary to advocate the integration agenda. Coming together of the African Nations is the only way to foster economic advancement and integration continentally. In availability of free movement has caused a distortion of direct transportation from Nigeria through to Senegal/Ghana in frequency.

5. What is your advice to ECOWAS?

- a. Officers at the borders should be disciplined to conform to the protocol
- b. The government should inform the public if the extortions at the borders are their initiative in order to foster compliance.

Interview 3.

Interview with Ghana Consular General.

1. Please can you kindly introduce yourself?

I am Parker Alotey, Consular General of the Ghana High Commission in Nigeria.

2. How many registered Ghanaian diasporas do we have in Nigeria?

Over 800,000 registered Ghanaians but actually they may be between 1.2-1.5million in Nigeria presently.

3. What problems do you think Ghanaians in Nigeria are facing based on information?

Ghanaians feel comfortable here in Nigeria as it is a home away from home due to the availability of the same type of food, similar dress patterns and cultures. Many have married Nigerians and vis-à-vis, many also were born in Nigeria and vis versa

A lot of exchange programs have taken place between the two countries: Sept 17th 2010- Business students from Unilag visited their counterparts in the University of Ghana business school in a sporting exchange.

Football, boxing and cricket especially in the 60s and 70s. Kings college play with their Ghanaian counterparts at Achimota in Ghana. Ikoyi club sends swimmers and lawn tennis players to play with their counterparts in the Accra Lawn Tennis Club and also the Tesalo Swimming Club in Ghana,. These are some of the exchanges. Also, cross border trades which are informal and unrecorded. Its only of recent Govt is trying to account for the contributions of this towards GDP. Conflicts occur due to irritants and are solved along bilateral lines of relationship. The Ghana/Nigeria permanent Joint Commission for

corporations was revived a week ago(Aug,2010) in Abuja. The next meeting is scheduled to take place in Ghana. It is to be the legal framework for which all relations between Nigeria and Ghana will be subsumed and to address all problems.

4. What are the main problems hindering the implementation of the ECOWAS protocol?

- Overzealous officers at the borders encountered by travellers and traders resulting in hiccups/impediments
- Sometimes, customs/immigration issues have been raised- Virgin /fresh passports have differentiated the ease encountered by those who cross the borders. Various check points some which are unauthorised at various points along the Accra-Lagos trading corridors. These are being solved using bilateral mechanisms.
- Since violations are not systematically sponsored by government, the irritants have not being allowed to degenerate to conflicts as they have been treated low key.

5. What are the contributive activities of Ghanaians in Nigeria to their home front and also Nigeria?

All migrants promote the interest of their host countries in many ways as they:

- Perform menial and other jobs the citizens of the host country may not want to get involved in. E.g artisans in the construction industry.
- They pay taxes in some sectors which increase the financial base of the country.

A few migrants may obviously be misguided elements which engage in activities which aren't welcome in their host countries. These isolated cases though. People have been disturbed about the issue of repatriation of funds Ghanaians make to their home country as it depletes foreign reserves of the host country. It must be known that after people have paid their taxes, they have every right to send monies back to their families in Ghana/save?for personal projects. This is the same with Nigerians everywhere in the world as it is heir legitimately earned money.

6. What are the contributions of Ghanaians in diaspora in the economic and social aspects?

Socially, relationships and links have been forged in the area of residences, church and schools and working environment. These links build up bridges across the two countries fostering warm relationship between the countries even at higher levels. Since close links and integration with a country cannot be done alone at the highest level, the grassroots unity is essential. These interactions at the grassroots give meaning and content to the Nigeria/Ghana bilateral relations.

7. What is your advice to the Nigerian and Ghanaian Government in order to harmonise the development of diasporas in both countries - the neglect of the African diasporas within the West African Sub region while attention is paid on those outside the shores of the continent.

It's most unfortunate if the contributions of diasporas in the shores of Africa is ignored. Why?

*Their contributions tend to be very vital

*Their contributions tend to be more than the diasporas abroad as diasporas within can easily dash home from country to country conveying monies which may not necessarily pass through the banking system whereas those in Europe may have to use the banking systems or some other means of fund transfer. These fund transfers tend to be recorded unlike those of the diaspora within the African region. Diasporas in the continent are easily absorbed into their host countries so they may not be found in distinctive groups. This fosters their contributions being taken for granted. This absorption has brought about similar names, features, food and dressing. They aren't so visible unlike those in Europe and elsewhere where they are sold out by their colour.

- 8. From your perspective, you opine that the diasporas within Africa contribute more but the National Volunteering Service in Abuja sees diasporas abroad as contributing more in the donation of equipment and facilities to the local people free of charge. Why is your opinion different?**

The absorption of the diasporas into their host countries make them homogeneous as they are not recognised as foreigners thus their contributions in a local community may be accounted for a general one which cannot be differentiated and quantified. This again is because we are all black, eat the same kind of food e.t.c. This is ideal as no African should be treated as a foreigner anywhere in Africa.

- 9. Do you think the back and forth movement of Ghanaians in and out of Nigeria can foster the regional integration agenda of ECOWAS?**

We cannot have a free community for a people without free movement of persons, goods and services within and through the zones. Free movement is what binds us together as people pass through countries with their goods and services, mixing with fellow ECOWAS citizens while meeting the demand and the needs of the people of the region. This integrates economies. The protocols on free movement are one of the most important factors in binding/facilitating regional integration.

- 10. Is it not possible to replicate the borderlessness of the European Union here in West Africa?**

The community leaders aim at a borderless West Africa when they signed the ECOWAS treaty. Everyone seems to be ready for the integration save the officials entrusted with implementing the policy. Everyone- traders, churches, everyone wants the integration but translating the dictates of the treaty into reality is the problem.

- 11. How do you think the Ghanaians diasporas in Nigeria could be agents of this regional integration?**

We should not only look at only what the diaspora can do but also the contributions of the media/ press. Reporting wrong testimonies/news or right news communicates either

safety/fear/ insecurity in the minds of those at home. Such reports are important in the decision making process of those at home. Bad reports hinder bilateral relations. This brings about reciprocation of either good or bad behaviours towards each other in the different sub-regional countries. The media should importantly send out news that promote integration and not ripple out negative effects of isolated cases on miscreants amongst migrants. We need to see each other in the economic region as strategic partners in progress and not monsters.

INTERVIEW IN GHANA WITH THE PRESIDENT OF NIGERIAN UNION OF TRADERS ASSOCIATION OF GHANA (NUTAG) (4)

1. Please can you introduce yourself?

I am Mr. Jasper – Secretary of Nigeria Union of Trader Association of Ghana “NUTAG” is a trade union association the private sector comprising all Nigeria Investment and business establishments seeing to the welfare of the Nigeria Business community.

2. What other role do you play in ECOWAS?

The Union at one time or the other is privileged to be part of seminars, discussion that could see to the development of other member continues with the sub-region. By the use of presentations, ideas are put across to the real authorities mostly in the aspect of trade and integration.

3. Can you expantiate on the aspect of trade and integration?

Trade and integration is part of the protocol of the ECOWAS Community/Commission to ensure that differences and challenges members encounter that dissuade integration within member countries can be dissolved via free movement aiding trade and persons’ rights of passage/establishments, right to do business in member countries. In a wide view, as people move from country to country on business basis, both legitimate and illegitimate business are carried out by some – Drug trafficking, human trafficking. ECOWAS is trying to ensure that difficulties are removed to aid movement of goods, people and services.

4. Can you please expatiate on Economic Community of People?

ECOWAS has improved in its policy making. E.g. the NUTAG had the problem of having rules, policies upon them which really never favoured it. Such policies faced difficulties in implementation by community pressure groups. Now, ECOWAS had brought in “Non Stake Actors” – Civil Society groups and organizations that ensure that their inputs are incorporated. This has evolved via the “ECOWAS Community Project”. Under this, there is the need for the review of ECOWAS vision 2020 of translating from ECOWAS of State --- ECOWAS of people. There is need to incorporate the concerns of the civil society organisations and non-state actors’ input/suggestions. Also the implementation of the protocol on free trade and movement is being pursued by the non stake actors.

5. How long have you been in Ghana?

10yrs. Many of us have stayed up to 50yrs. Many were born here.

6. Is your family here?

Answer..... (Comprehensible body gesture) utterance seems positive!!!

7. How do you assess the contributions of the Nigerian diasporas in Ghana to the development of Ghana?

The Angle of Investment Perspective:

Results in the Ghana Investment Promotion Council shows strong inputs of Nigeria being the 2nd largest investor in Ghana. With the first being the U.S. Nigeria has nothing less than \$1Billion investments in Ghana which is still growing – banking, insurance, manufacturing, informal trade and small scale productions. Though not everything is smooth as challenges of people taking advantage of the robust bilateral relationship between both countries to the detriment of the many law abiding citizens of the country.

8. What do you do in Ghana?

Business – importation and other things.

9. What are the challenges of Nigeria living in Ghana as they go about their business and activities?

Overtime, challenges arise on the individual angle, social angle, and collective angle – country wise. The good thing is the ability to address the challenges squarely.

- Hostile attitude of the host country as in regards to laws and policies which transpired years back. There are being addressed by both governments.
- Under the human angle, the wrong perception of Nigerians by the Ghanaians pose a problem E.g. every Nigerian excelling in business is thought to be fraudulent which is saddening.
- Over 2 million Nigerians reside in Ghana so using the misbehavior of 2 or 3 Nigeria is not a proper yardstick in being judgemental on the entire Nigeria population.
- The Nigerians in Ghana are very industrious and enterprising industrial of skill.
- Discouragement of criminal tendencies in Nigerians has also been fostered.

10. How often do you travel to Nigeria by road and how is the movement of people travelling by road inclusive of the security agent activities on the road?

As facilitations of free movement of goods and service as a trade union, it has been absurd that policies of the ECOWAS (protocol) are either haphazardly implemented or are yet to be imbibed by most members countries. This is common amongst all member nations. Each nation has it peculiar fault in implementation. These make it difficult for the (protocol) matter to be facilitated.

Extortions at the borders still exist. I experienced same at the border of Togo of recent. It's on the rise extortions, harassments especially along the Nigeria Benin - Seme border is prevalent and the route is a death trap for travelers. This is not in the best interest of member countries in line with international best practices.

When an individual of a member country is accused of being a hindrance to the protocol, the same accusation is pointed back to your country by these individuals meaning all member nations hinder the implementation of the protocol effectively.

Response from Mr. Victor Nnemechi.

11. Please introduce yourself and how long have you being in Ghana?

Deputy Secretary of NUTAG. I have been in Ghana for the past 10yrs. I schooled here and presently do my business here. My family resides here too.

12. How do you access the contributions of Nigeria during in Ghana in term of social, Culturally, Political and Economically.

- Economically, Nigerians have contributed a lot to Ghana's economy.
- Socially, Nigerians have lived peacefully in their host country cordially and collaborated closely in all area of development.
- Culturally, similarity, exist between both countries. The difference is slight in term of organization etc.

13. Considering the integration agenda of ECOWAS, do you think the diasporas' back and forth movements would facilitate sub-regional integration?

Yes. If the bottlenecks as aforementioned are removed, the "protocols" would bring about integration of the member States. The ECOWAS should look into the people aspect in order to promote satisfaction of the people in the sub-region. Problems in the borders if taken away would help integrate the region

14. So, if a Togolese/Ghanian sees himself as an ECOWAS member, and he won't go to the extent of extorting his fellow Nigeria counterpart who is also an ECOWAS member?

Enlightenment of the people on not focusing on the personal monetary gain but the total welfare of individuals would help promote integration. I believe its personal gains/selfish interest that promote disintegration. People should be enlightened that the value of human life is the same not minding boundaries.

15. As the Deputy see General of NUTAG, please expatiate on the \$300, 000.00 pre-investment fee that the Ghana authorizes demand.

Starting with the aspect of ECOWAS, it was stated that every ECOWAS member state citizen willing to settle in another ECOWAS country should come in, reside and do legitimate business in the way and members of the host nations do their business. As a result of globalization, personally, I felt it made the Ghanaian government /bodies that regulate trade became uncomfortable allowing member states to come in and settle due to the upper investment arm they have and the fear of displacing indigenous/local investors in the ECOWAS country/Ghanaian market. Therefore the Ghanaian government state that foreigners must have US\$300,000.00 or its equivalent. This is uncomfortable to us as we do not see ourselves as foreigners as we belong to the same ECOWAS sub-region. G.I.P.C. stipulates the US\$300,000.00 benchmark for foreigners. We have battled with this and the governing bodies of the two nations are tackling the issue and we learnt that the Nigerian President has approved this but is yet to sign it into being.

16. Is the US \$300,000.00 deposited in Government Account?

Mr. Jasper answers.

When a foreigner enters the country, he goes to the G. I. P. C. to show evidence of his US\$300,000.00 by which he can commence business.

17. 1. What is your association doing about the sub-regional integration agenda of ECOWAS? What are their contributions

2. What are the bottlenecks in actualizing this sub-regional integration

The NUTAG is doing a lot to promote integration in ECOWAS in various aspects. Depending on the angle you look at. This is the reason for the deep collaboration it has with the Nigerian High Commission in Ghana. As an association, we are also concerned with not only Nigerian but other ECOWAS members who invest in Nigeria and have similar challenges like us and to protect their interest in Nigeria. However, the ECOWAS Commission and NUTAG have a lot of indirect impacts in assisting the ECOWAS agenda. In the issue of trade as integration, ECOWAS welcomes its members and advice them as the

commission is ready to take their inputs either through legislative means or listen to challenges of its members. Progress has therefore being made in the integration aspect.

The challenges surrounding the whole protocol differs from country to country. You realize that the issue of integration cannot be done without considering the customs, immigrations officers. These are from issues. The customs have what is known Common External Tarriff (CET). Under the protocol of CET, goods produced by member countries are not suppose to be double taxed inclusive of duties. There ought to be a complete elimination of some of these barriers as one cannot afford taking goods from Nigeria to Togo paying duties in both countries. Under the CEF, double payment of duties is eliminated but with ignorance, it occurs. Goods come in and tax are only paid showing it has entered through the customs. There are differences when it comes to exchange. The many currencies of the region cannot be traded with under CEF due to exchange rate. The common currency (ECO) is not implemented in many member countries as they have not been able to meet the minimum requirement for it. There have challenged the introduction and implementation of the ECO. This has hindered the CET.

The aspect of ECOWAS Trade Liberation Scheme is an ETLS arrangement in which ECOWAS members companies registered and known to transact goods to different countries aren't meant to pass through the same protocol. This is because as you have a registered company amongst one of the member countries. Under this arrangement you only need to register the company with the ETLS and don't require a company in the destination country to clear the goods. This is why our role as an organization advocate and tries to assist not only member countries but ECOWAS countries towards attaining the protocol as it is liberal in aiding integration but its implementation would be gradual.

Nigeria and Ghana have been trying in some standard but other countries in the sub-region have not met the requirement of implementation and harmonization.

Language also is a barrier.

About 3 languages are accepted by ECOWAS because of Cape Verde as it is Portuguese colony. Transaction in Togo where French is not understood by a trader makes it difficult even in movement. Under the ETLS, we can make a some progress if we decide to.

Programme (Television interview)

Television host – Nan Ofori-Atta

- 1. Host: From Research, the ECOWAS protocol was signed at parliament at Abuja in 1994 and enforced in March 2002, So, when was the parliament itself started?**

Answer: 2002

- 2. Host: Trying to go by all these things, how effective has the parliament being?**

Answer: The parliament has two ordinary session sittings in a year and an extraordinary sitting. The 2 sittings come up in May and September for about four weeks or three months depending on the agenda and we talk on political, security issues in the region and ratification of the protocol and conventions.

- 3. Host: What the effect of parliament on Ghanaian or West Africa?**

We must give credit to integration as policy for the people. The E.U. has enjoyed currency and infrastructural development where you can move from Paris to Germany without encumbrance. This is the same vision for the ECOWAS. In the OAU charter back in the 60s, the African challenge could be treated thoroughly through regional block then unit all blocks into a developed single platform. The ECOWAS interventions have being as a result of integration which has helped prevent degeneration of crisis into other forms of chaos.

INTERVIEWS WITH ALL NIGERIA COMMUNITY IN GHANA (ANC)

Assessment of Nigeria -Ghana bilateral relations: The Diasporic Perspective

Alhaji Ganiyu lawal – Patron, ANC

Abdul Azeez Oke – Member, ANC (All Nigeria Community or Nigeria Community

Alhaji Hamza – Member, ANC

Mallam Garba hamed – Financial Secretary, Nigerian community

Adamu abdulai Abdulla- Member, ANC

Ifeanji chukwu Odi – Member, Igbo community

Dauda Alani – Member, ANC

1. What are the contributions of Nigerians living in Ghana to Ghana and also Nigeria?

- Tax: Nigeria reside here and pay their taxes to the VAT national Health Insurance) indirect tax
- Education wise, in the Komasi (Ashanti Region) some years back Otunfuo Education Fund was initiated by the Otunfuo who was the paramount ruler of the Ashanti region. Nigerians residing in the Ashanti region contributed immensely to the fund both in cash and in kind.
- In kind, construction of bore holes in rural Ashanti is on plan.
- Culturally, we participate in their traditional activities. Akwesi Day in cash and kind.
- Ownership of factories – manufacturing factory pay VAT, Internal Revenue Service (IRS). These taxes are meant for the development of Ghana community
- Recreational centers, schools are established for the benefit of the host community. Religion organization e.g. the Antioch Baptist Church has a school directed in bettering the welfare of the host city/community. Antioch Baptist Church belong to the Nigeria community and have established a school Heritage Baptist Academy for both indigenes and non-indigene
- An ANC patron owns a manufacturing factory providing employment for both Ghanaian and Nigeria.
- Commercial shops – Larsge shops owned by Nigeria provide jobs for both Ghanaian and Nigeria.
- A member of the ANC, who is a graduate of O.A.U. is a teacher in Ghana now transferring knowledge.
- Nigerian trained professionals like Barristers in Northern Ghana also provide services to the Ghanaian community

2009-2010- LARGE SCALE CONTRIBUTIONS.

- Nigerian Banks in terms financial contributions to Ghana Zenith, GTB, Intercontinental Bank. The contributions of these banks are immense and noticeable by the Ghanaian government
- Economically, Nigerian are largely traders – Kola, (Hausas), Ibos and Yorubas (sport stores, buying and selling). Once taxes are paid, traders aren't disturbed. Ovation Magazine and Dangote's industrial presence is heavily felt here.
- Politically hindrances
 - ✓ If you don't have a passport, you maynt be able to come into Ghana. If you dont have one, you pay a certain fee and even you have, you still pay yet another fee.
 - ✓ You can't stay beyond one month (30 days) in Ghana. If you do, you are charged and you pay to avoid harassment or being locked up.
 - ✓ Despite the hardships, Nigeria have been thriving.
 - ✓ Nigerian shops were locked up of recent and told to pay US\$300,000.00 to operate in Ghana. This concerned all foreigners and is issue is yet resolved.
 - ✓ On the Nigerian route, the army, customs, immigrations and police barriers exhaust travellers as they get humiliated and harassed. One gets slapped at time sometimes.

The Nigeria Ghana business within the sub-region ought to be a lucrative one but it isn't so. The protocol isn't functioning. Ilakonji border was peaceful until recent. Your passport is stamped, you are searched and you get harassed. The Togolese treat you with disdain "saying" they won't come to your country tomorrow but continually remain in their country

- ❖ Ghana- Ivory Coast border "Alubo" is another barrier. The Nigerian passport is taken and dumped so long an you are a Nigerian. You have to pay or you don't get your passport back. You have to hide your Nigerian passport to pass through the border.
- ❖ Ghanaians sometimes want to humiliate you assuming you are lazy. In May and August, shops were locked twice. Unlike the good treatment Ghanians residing in Nigeria get, Nigerian in Ghana do not get same from Ghanaians. To the Ghanaian, Nigerians aren't brothers but fraudsters.
- ❖ In 1969, Ussia Dangua came in and drove Nigerians away. Nigerians introduced second hand clothing materials. It was taken over by the Ghanaian later on.

2. What is the reason for which Nigerians are treated as criminal unlike before?

Undue humiliation of innocent Nigerians is worrisome. An Imo Community member – Kenneth Tazuku was beaten and accused of stealing. Fortunately, Kenneth was in the country when the supposed theft occurred as his passport was stamped. We had to come and plead for him to be released.

Nigerians were distributors but now own shops as Ghanaians who were usually supplied failed to pay but used such monies in building homes. This forced Nigerian to own their shops. Except were they are dragged to the police or court, they usually may not pay. Syrians, Lebanese have helped in promoting Ghanaian economy, secondary Nigerians. We had to information/ enlighten Nigerian on doing the right things. Nigerian originated the border problems which spurred other nationals to treat Nigerian harshly on road. Even when criminal aren't Nigerian, some claim to be Nigerian when caught. This has tarnished Nigeria's image. Nigerians are the architect of their own problems and same has being transferred upon them in diaspora countries.

3. Is your family here in Ghana?

Yes, but presently my wife and children are in Nigeria and may not return until the situation here in Ghana stabilizes. I am married to an Nbaise lady and I am an Nbaise man.

4. How many years have you being in Ghana?

12 years

5. Concerning political contributions, are there any contribution?

No. Nigerians who openly declares themselves cannot be integrated into political circles in Ghana. Assistance in terms of campaign could happen. Nigeria born and bred in Nigeria who may have nationalized may possibly be involved. Outside this, Nigerians do not do/play Ghanaian politics.

6. How do you in Diaspora involve in Nigerian politics? What representation do you have?

- 1979, during the period of Azikwe, I was a pro-agent of N.P.P. Nigeria People Party.
- 1983, voted in Nigeria and Shagari won but after that, I haven't had the courage to vote again in my rights are being abused and am discouraged. The masses decisions are

thrown into the bin and people are imposed on the masses. Majority of the Nigerian in diaspora aren't involved in Nigerian politics.

Even the Nigeria governments don't make provision for those in Diaspora to vote. Unlike Niger, Ivory Coast, Mali all francophone countries who get their diasporas mobilized to vote via their embassies. We don't get bothered about Nigeria politics in it is pre-determined already. Except for elections of 1993 where the results were annulled and the winner killed in order to stop him from ruling the country, Nigeria politics has been one of shame. The Anambra elections had a predetermined winner as the masses didn't vote. Therefore, there is a need to forget about Nigerian politics unlike Ghana where elections were conducted "thrice" to prove the actual winner.

Nigerians in diaspora can't even get registered as government has made no provision for it since inception even the national I. D., Nigerians in diaspora do not have it as they aren't issued at all. If the National I.D card were available to the diaspora, it could serve as a medium/tool of voting and if the government intention is for us to participate. There has never been election in Nigerian since 1993 but "selection". For this reason, we in diaspora are not interested in Nigerian politics.

8. You can't say you aren't interested!

- Our interests have not been championed but the interest of the ruling party and those in power.
- There was a time Ghanaian in Liberia had problems, the Ghanaian government sent "Blackstar Line – ships to evacuate their people about 3trice in history. The governments of Nigeria do not care for its citizens abroad even during elections.
- Effort must be made in champion the interest of the masses. About 1 million Nigerian reside in the U.K. Do you know how much impact that figure would impact on any Nigerian election? But the Nigeria government doesn't care.
- If the Nigeria governments provide buses to move Nigerians in diaspora to the city capital where the embassies exist in order to vote, it could ginger diasporas to vote.
- The Nigeria embassy in Ghana is redundant to its fellow Nigerians. The tentacles of the Nigerian High Commission must be spread to positively affect the Nigerian diasporas. Confirmation of criminals claiming to be Nigerian needs to be done by the embassy as any "tom-dick-and harry" who can speak a Nigeria language claims to be a Nigeria after committing a crime. Enough of the denting of the Nigeria image.

- In order to register for the National I.D. in 2003, in Lagos I was told to pay at Orile. Even after 2 weeks, I was still told to pay. Bribes are demanded to have my nations' I.D. card. Late last year, the Nigerian High Commissioner, Senator Obanikoro came to Kumasi to introduce the consular card. We still had to pay for consular card. (Ghc7 – 6 Cedis for the card and then without passport it amounts to 7 cedes. The exercise is still on around the country.....)

10. What about remittances to Nigeria?

We have parents in Nigeria who we remit monies to inclusive of other family members. In carrying goods to Nigeria, you pay if your bag is more than one.

Free movement is non-existent in the sub-region. Virgin passports in Nigeria are charged =N=2,000.00 or N1, 500 when using same the second time. In Nigeria you could have about 5-6 checking points (immigrations).

The high cost of production and Port charges in Nigeria are too high therefore most importers in Cotonou and Ghana are Nigerian. Products once exported to Ghana are now taken from Ghana –Nigeria (biscuit, provision, sweet shoes, cloth etc.) as they are cheaper in Ghana. It seems to us that the Nigerian leaders recycle themselves while phasing out the Nigerians active in business out of circulation

- Nigeria has 36 universities while Ghana has only four premier Universities still, Nigerian send their children here to study. Ogbiafor – PDP chieftain, Odili-Cross River Akwa Ibom and Deputy Governor have their children in Ghanaian Universities.
- I graduated from O. A. U. after schooling in Ghana. Now the reverse in the case, Nigerian now migrate to Ghana for academics. This isn't supposed to be considering the number of Universities Nigeria has. Some of these Ghanaian Universities pay as much in U.S. \$10,000 p.a while others some other courses - \$30,000 plus accommodation of U.S.\$5,000 done of those Universities are meant for foreigners alone.

11. Nigeria is populated and having small pockets of Nigerian students in different countries constituting less than 10,000 in total compared to the large population of Nigeria students

Nigerian are not suppose to school in Ghana because the 36 universities in Nigeria should be more than enough but for their inadequacies.

12 Despite the over 36 Universities in Nigeria, there is deficiency in Nigerian system to cater for the admission for her students.

That is the fault of those in the country and not those in Diaspora!

Interjection outcry!!

The need for this work to be passed across to the authorities is appealed for as many interviewers have come in the name of researchers but no result to show for it.

As it pertains to hindrances at the border, there are a group of people known as "Kelebe." They are neither officers but are used by officers (immigration, S.S.S, police) to front in order to extort money from travellers.

Interjection outcry from Audience!!

Even ovation magazine which was established in Ghana has not though it fit to report these issues in writing. Others like TIDE magazine based Abuja, V.O.A., V.O.N do same but are yet to produce results from the past interviews.

On the voice of America (VON) today, there was an interview conducted with one Dr. Sami Baku (a heart surgeon) from the teaching hospital in Zaria. He was asked about the number of Heart Care Centers presently obtainable in Nigeria and sadly he replied 10. Even the 10 available centers are ill equipped and have to refer patient abroad or to Ghana when severe cases cannot be handled. This is very shameful. Nigeria is not the giant of Africa but an ant.

13. I want to disagree that Nigeria is not still the giant in Africa and also that only 2 heart centers exist in Nigeria.

Chorused Answer: She is only a giant on paper. If you get to the University Teaching Hospital, Shika in Zaria, Dr, Sani Kwakwe would give you the same answers we are giving you.

14. Nigeria is still a giant as we have Nigeria everywhere even in S.A. working as doctors, professors surgeons etc and other strategic positions in establishments.

In terms of human resources, Nigeria is blessed. Why did the people migrate from the country? Isn't it because the home is not good enough?

15. Nigeria has both leadership problem and followership problem too!

It is a leadership problem. In the days of Buhari/Idiagbon regime, the followers followed them

16. The "Kelebes" are followership and not leaders and others are engaged in extorting money. Aren't they followers?

Yes they are, but it was made so by the system prevailing in the country. Most of the "Kelebes" are drop outs. The woes of our people are mostly fostered by the economic hardship. Forces which prove surmountable to others overcome some others. Education should be the right of a child. Eligible students cannot access tertiary institution as they don't have monies to bribe their way through the system. Therefore education in Nigeria is now turning out to be for the rich.

17. That is a debatable issue. Education in Nigeria is not for the rich.

18. In what ways have you been contributing to Ghana and Nigeria socially?

Ghana; Socially, the Ibos, Yorubas and Hausas have all been copied by the Ghanaians in style of cultural dressing.

Batakari ----- Babariga (agbada)

Akuta style --- Iro and Buba

Head gear/ Gele/Aso-Oke

Nigerians also are into the hospitality industry hotel business. One of such is Mr. Luther king in Accra.

The appearance of a Nigeria sells him out. The social aspects of our lives stand out and are copied by Ghanaian. Ghana indigenes now have new Yam Festivals. Tuface, Princess Ifeoma + Florence Obinna collaboration have been very entertaining. Nigeria – Ghana firms collaborations. Firms originally produced in Nigeria always have their Ghana edition.

Initially, there were rarely wedding here only engagement but due to our own kind of ceremonies, the Ghanaian now have wedding occasions. This also goes for naming ceremonies. Really, it seems we are now the colonial matters of Ghana. From history, Nigerians started business in Ghana Yoruba/Ibos. Nigeria thought them the price of resale and also how to make profit.

19. What ways have you been contributing to Nigeria?

We have being attending funerals and wedding back home. Especially the Ibos, anyone who dies is taken back home. Associations that are based in Nigeria with affiliations in Ghana and hold their end of year parties in Nigeria. Religious wise, we have our Reverend father, here, Imams, Yoruba Mosque, and Catholic Community. We also aid in construction of mosque and religion centres – schools etc.

20. How can Nigeria diasporas contribute towards the ECOWAS integration agenda – Political, Social, economic integration just in the E.U?

Our politicians are to do that

21. Our politicians are not to do this I and you are the ones to do this!!

Chief: His Excellency (Musiliu Obanikoro) inaugurated Nigeria- Ghana chamber of commerce. This is part of the integration program agenda in unifying the region. Most of the Ghanaians initially had no money for business but were supplied goods on credit by Nigerians. Now they seem to understand the methodologies and now try to block out Nigeria from the trade.

Godwin: On both sides of the divide, custom rules/immigration measures hinder business to an extent. This is done regardless of the ECOWAS protocol. Every one country is still trying to protect integration but individuality and their shop were locked.

Five spare part businessmen were arrested 2 month ago for retailing in shops. They were charged for retailing instead of supplying only. A bail out of about GHC30 million was placed on them all. Even with correct papers, you cannot have a shop beside any Ghanaian on the same street. There isn't unity amongst the ECOWAS countries. Presently, the "ECO" is only obtainable within the Anglophone countries while the francophone countries haven't embraced it apart from Guinea.

A principal requirement for the implementation of the ECO within the English speaking country is the thriving of such countries toward a single digit inflation rate. Presently, Nigeria and Gambia have qualified. Sometime ago, Ghana qualified but its inflation rate has gone up. In my own perception, before integration can work, there must be inter-marriage/inter-tribal or international marriages

V.P: Intermarriages are personal issue. You cannot force your son to marry an individual who he isn't in love with. The dissolution of customary bridges must be put away to foster integration.

If the authorities want the integration agenda to work, members' states must see themselves as the same. This differentiation is show at the borders, Francophone country members do not pay at the borders of francophone nations. Only Anglophones are extorted.

Commendation

Mrs. Fayomi: Thanks so much for everything. I appreciate. We, the diasporas in Ghana must not keep quite but voice out in order to promote/ engender the integration agenda of ECOWAS. We should not hide our encounters at the borders but tell it out for it to be ameliorated.

Choroused Question from the interviewed party: Voice it put to who?

We have said all this to the Ghanaian. Ambassador. We sacrificed our time to be here became we love Nigeria.

22. The E.U. started off worse than what obtains in ECOWAS now but today, its all working well. Even their currency being stronger than the dollar.

Please let your thesis get to the ECOWAS parliament and also we need a Nigeria media to help us relay our opinions and views to.

V.P. The High Commissioners, Ministers need to be educated on their assignments as many of them don't know what they ought to do. They should know that it is a service to the nation's people and not to self, family/individual. The leaders and administrators need to be awake on their duties. Sometimes at you own embassy, a Ghanaian security could tell you to wait or go back. The embassy should be our country on this soil but it isn't so.

Patron's Closure remarks

Let's put our country first and love each other. Let us once again forge ahead the ANC because in unity there is strength.

Interview with Alhaji Ganiyu Lawal Chief patron of ANC, Kumasi, Ghana

Introduction

I am Alhaji Ganiyu Lawal – M.D. Garko Limited and Patron of ANC - Ashanti Region

2. What are the contributions of Nigeria in Ghana in both Ghana and Nigeria socially economically etc?

- Many Nigerians have industries, they pay taxes, excise duties and employment opportunities this creating value economically and socially.
- Also they have distribution who amply people in forming a claim in relating and sales

Socially

Association with Ghanaian Association etc. rotary clubs Association of Ghanaian industry the catering for the needy and other socially responsibilities. There has been regular attendance of funeral and spiritual activities in a bid to mix and interact with their Ghanaian counterparts.

Culturally

Ghana and Nigeria have similar culture in the way of respecting elders, chiefs' royalties, ceremonies, marriage.

Politically

By Law, Nigeria aren't allow to participate in voting and also to partake in my political contributes in the country. The law doesn't allow Nigerians collaborate/ associate with any political party in the country.

Educationally

Otumfor Educational fund launched a couple of years ago by Otumfor Oseitutu II of the Ashanti region was meant to develop education in Ashanti land. Nigerian contributed immensely to the fund.

Businesswise

In line with free movement of good services, some of us export into neighbouring countries- A brand of one of our products- Obaatan Nikun meaning: Caring Mother Cream is popular within the West Coast region with patronage from Barkina Faso, Mali, Niger and Chad.

Since your big tentacles are spread out, it then means you believe in the ECOWAS integration agenda.

Yes.

INTERVIEW WITH HONOURABLE ADEDAPO OYEKANNI, Minister, Nigeria High Commission in Ghana.

(1) Introduction:

Adedapo Oyekanmi is my name: A Nigerian working at the High Commission of Nigeria to the Republic of Ghana. A minister by rank at the High Commission and also the officer in charge of the desk of the High Commission.

(2) As the head of Desk of the Nigeria Consular in Ghana, can you assess the contribution of Nigerians to Ghana first and then Nigeria- socially, culturally, economically politically?

Firstly, the popular of the Nigeria diagram is to be known and then their contribution to Ghana first before Nigeria.

Statistically, it hasn't been easy to determine the number of Nigerian living in Ghana. Culturally and Socially, Nigerians have integrated into the Ghanaian society long before the colonial times. Migrants from Western Nigeria- Ogbomoso, Ilorin, Ejigbo, and Oshogbo

who settled in Ghana and didn't go back home but can speak Yoruba fluently. In Northern Ghana, Hausa migrants from Nigeria can be found in Ashanti, Upper West and Northern Region. By estimation, approximately 3 million Nigerians reside in Ghana. An attempt to number the diaspora Nigerian diasporas in Ghana failed as in the different regions, handful of people come out for registration.

Greater Accra- 11,000

Central Region- less than 1,000 Nigerians

Ashanti - Less than 2,000

What developments have the Nigerian diasporas in Ghana?

Nigeria diasporas in Ghana and elsewhere always leave their trademarks behind. Properties are owned by Nigeria. A place in Accra called New town formerly referred to as "Lagos town" harbours a lot of Nigerian property investment. All the houses there are owned by Nigeria. It is a replica of Isale Eko. The economic contributions in terms of business, estates, industries - Luther King, Alh. Gani Lawal, late Holaban who died four years ago. From Greater Accra to Kumasi, Nigerians have large estates investments dotting the cities.

Politically:

Many Nigerians are born here as their father/great grandfathers migrated here. Alh. Sikira Baba from Saki born in Ghana some 62 years ago owns choice properties in choice places all over Ghana. Despite the integration, the Nigeria diasporas are still unique. These have caused the Ghanaians to copy the cultural, ceremonial aspect of Nigerians. The Ghanaians classify Nigerians into two: (1) Pre-independence Nigerians in Ghana (Nigerians present in Ghana before 1960) and ECOWAS Nigerians (those who migrated after ECOWAS was formed).

The Ghanaians don't have problems with the first set but the latter set of Nigerian diasporas as they see Ghana as a place to make money at all cost and go. Mostly the Igbos, they are aggressive in business and take over/dominate businesses easily. Some of them don't obey rules laid down for businesses.

A lot of repatriation of funds from Ghana to Nigeria exists as properties are developed at home and also their children are sent to schools in Nigeria. Subsidiaries of Nigerian companies based in Nigeria.- Banking Sector (Zenith Bank Ghana Ltd., UBA, Ghana Ltd., Intercontinental Bank Ghana Ltd.) and GTB have remarkably transformed the face of Nigerian investments in Ghana.

In the Year 2009 Ghana Bank International award, GTB won 9 of the 13 awards given out 2 months ago.

Nigerian Insurance Companies- IGI, NEM, Equity Assurance, WAPIC, and NEM, operating in Nigeria have also developed admirable real estates in Ghana.

Many Nigerian come to Ghana buy properties now. Nigeria recorded the highest investment in Ghana (199.83 million) within 3 months. This is because of the stability, stable power supply and conducive environment to conduct business. Bank- International, GTB have electronic - cash mode of transferring/repatriating cash home.

4. In the contributions of Nigerian Diasporas to Nigeria via the ECOWAS protocol free movement/trade avenue, bottlenecks along the Ghana-Nigeria corridor have posed difficult to Nigeria businessmen. Why?

The original intent of the ECOWAS where it was formed in 1975 was integrate the sub region just like E. U is today free more free version for the action of the member states.

Unfortunately the vision of ECOWAS fathers hasn't been realised but is merely verbal. The greatest problem of ECOWAS protocol is the insincerity of political leaders in foregoing some of their freedom of liberty in order to make the Union work. Alone of the member states has been able to domesticate the protocol. Until then, the protocol cannot assume a higher relevance than the individual country's municipal law. It's much easier for one to travel from Greece through Britain- Germany- London than for Nigerians to move from Nigeria to Benin.

Until the political leaders decide to domesticate/ratify this ECOWAS Protocol in their houses of assembly, the protocol would remain unimplemented. Nigerian traders are undergoing problems in Ghana as Ghanaians continually insist that anyone coming to trade in Ghana

must abide by the National laws "ECOWAS or no ECOWAS". This is unlike the Nigerians who believe ECOWAS permits free movement of goods and series.

5. The ECOWAS Protocol stipulates foremost, trade etc Why the hindrances:

The Protocol doesn't say free movement of people, services for the first 90 days and not for relocation of persons/ random/total movement of Nigerians, to Ghana (absconding.)

6. Sometimes the passports are stamped with 60 days instead of 90 days. Why?

This shouldn't be but Ghana does it. If you insist, it is changed. The worse set of officials along the West coast is the Nigeria immigration especially when Ghanaians, Liberians, Ghanaian are entering Nigeria they are given 7 days. Therefore when it comes to implementation of the protocol, Nigeria is the worst culprit. People suffer most at our own end in Seme border entering Nigeria. Going towards Agbara, there are about 24 different check points but entering Ghana through AFLAO there are approx 8 check points. These points only check for contraband not extorting like Nigeria officials. If the protocol is to be in place, Nigeria as a big brother must make sacrifices on her part in implementing the protocol. The ill-treatment of ECOWAS citizens at our Nigerian border has boomeranged on Nigerians in diaspora in the various sub-region countries. The controls outside Nigeria along the West Coast aren't as stringent as what other ECOWAS members face in Nigeria.

That the ECOWAS Protocol is intended doesn't mean the laws of other country should be neglected. E.g. the ECOWAS Trade Liberalisation Scheme (ETLS).

For goods to move freely, a permit must be applied for. These things/products cannot be transported outside Ghana like that. Even Ghanaians companies follow these measures and thus can export their goods outside Ghana. These rules are meant to protect the Sovereignty of individual nations and also the interest of their people.

Most of our people have no residency permit, passport and they want to do business the next day without registration. Just the way Nigerian are loose back home is the same way most of our people want to imposed themselves here. It maybe Nigeria only where people do business and do not pay taxes in the world. Ghana is an orderly society and cannot tolerate the excesses which Nigerian do in their country.

The US\$300,000 benchmark isn't targeted at Nigerians. It was enacted 16 yrs ago in 1994 to protect their people and their investment. It doesn't hinder foreign business but is a requirement for all kinds of retail business and petty trading in specified local markets. This is to prevent a hijack of specific business.

This is why the Ghanaians differentiate Nigeria: Pre-independence Nigeria and Post independence Nigerian diasporas (ECOWAS) who attempt to flatten the rules of their country desperately to do business and leave the place. The Law is targeted at all investors- Chinese, Indian Beninese, and other foreigner.

7. (a) How do the Nigerian diasporas in Ghana foster the integration agenda of ECOWAS?

(b) Is the Ghana - Nigeria relations cordial?

(b) Relations have been cordial and characterized by 3 Cs. Co-operation, Consultation and Competition. Traditionally we share similar colonial experiences and should have been brothers since the colonial times. They've both helped in ECOMOG activities in Liberia, Cote d'voire, Sierra Leone. Contribution in all international fora- A.U, ECOWAS, U.N, Non-Allied Consultation.

Nothing goes around the region without the leadership in the 2 countries being unaware. Ghana prides herself as a beacon of democracy, rule of law, orderliness and due process. She's more stable politically than Nigeria. She boasts of Peaceful transition from opposition government to civilian Government and also from the NPP of John Kufor to the ADC of President Attah Mills without electoral rigging. Ghana thus sees herself superior to Nigeria in this perspective. Until we change, Ghana would continually see us with disdain. Our relationship is more of cordial than conflictual.

ECOWAS would not move forwards until the leaders of the sub-regional countries are ready for it to move. Until the ECOWAS protocol is domesticated my nations, continued hindrance in movement of goods and services, delay in goods would continue. Leadership must be more sensitive and open to achieve its target of economic integration.

How would the Nigeria diasporas in Ghana foster the intersection agenda?

There are economic opportunities here but the Diaspora must do everything according to the law, according to the dictates of their host country. Nigerian companies do well with expatriate quotas, residency minimally are doing well. If the rules are stuck to, the heaven is the limit because Ghana is conscious of its laws.

FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSION WITH ALL NIGERIA COMMUNITY IN GHANA (ANC)

Introduction

Dr. Prince Uche, President ANC, Ghana

1. Rev. Paul S. Izima from Akwa Ibon State from the association “Akwa Programme Union Cross” – two states “Akwa-Ibon/Cross River” An a patron here and a member of the A.N.C. Also, I’m a Niger-Delta but not a member of MEND.
2. Rev.Dr Bigman Pex, Opara President of Niger Delta from here in Ghana and a Minister of the Gospel here in Ghanan- Exco “member of the ANC.
3. Chief Emmanuel Chibuzor Ndubisi- Welfare Officer of ANC and Chairman Igbo Community.
4. Onyekachi Emeronye member of ANC Nigerian Country and Vice Chairman of Nigeria Youths Association in Ghana.
5. Emeka Nduku, Assistant Gen. Sec., ANC Ghana
6. Chief Onyen Ukuchukwu Nkaraka former Chairman, Igbo Community; Executive member ANC also secretary Imo State Union
7. President A.N.C in – Prince Uche

Chief Emmanuel Chibuzor

Business in Ghana is hectic as we business people cannot afford the US\$300,000 stipulated fee. The alternative is to marry a Ghanaian and register the business in her name. This is a contract by law that can be terminated at anytime. It offers an alternative for those of us who cannot have shops to retail in just like me. Nigeria are being forced to marry Ghanaian and this is a social-cultural contribution to the society by us. I don’t have a shop because I am not inline with the law.

Prince Uche

The law doesn't require you to register the business in the woman's name I have a registered company (but not registered in the name of my wife) and am married to a Ghanaian.

Chief Ukechukwu Nkaraka

The laws of Ghana haven't been friendly with Nigerians. Ghana also has laws which it decides not to implement due to the unfriendly nature of such dictates e.t.c.

When a Nigerian resident in Ghana or on transit draws out his green passport, his woes begin as the officials squeeze you to get all money from you.

In Contrast, Nigeria hosts a lot of Ghanaians and they operate freely. Maybe there is the belief that Nigeria is big brother and they need to get as much from her as possible. I was at Achimota in a sports club with Nigerians drinking and speaking in their dialect. They were arrested in my presence due to accusation posses by a Ghanaian and I had to bail them on the grounds of alerting the high commission of Nigeria if it further deteriorated.

Another incidence, a Nigeria came into Ghana and his brothers entertained him in a local drinking point. They were all arrested and charged for bank robbery. Their faces were placed on television, they were taken to court, displayed on newspapers. Luckily, the court discharged them as the real criminal were caught and were incidentally Ghanaians. During the week of the court sitting the same media who accused the Nigerians reported that the real robbers had been caught.

What are the Political Contributions of Nigerians to Ghana?

Prince Uche

The laws do not allow foreigners interfere with the politics of another country except those who have naturalized. They were either born or bred here and speak the local language. They vote as Ghanaian but can't be voted for yet.

Onyekachi Emeronyen

Their law says if you are born here, you can be accepted as a Ghanaian citizen. These are those who can participate and be accepted within the circles of Ghanaians' politics but for those of us who came in with green passport, we can't participate.

Prince Uche

To vote, you need to get an I.D –Ghanaian I.D. Maybe some Nigerians get it by some crooked means, am not sure. In terms of the Nigeria political party in Nigeria, individuals have a right to belong to any party. We have different chapters here, the PDP chapter, and other parties are coming in. Since the High Commissioner is a strong PDP member, he has helped foster the growth of the Ghanaian PDP Chapter.

Can you vote here in Ghana for Nigerian Elections?

Emeka Nduku

No, we have to go to Nigeria. Nigerians at home do not vote how much more Nigerian in Diaspora.

Prince Uche

Exercising our voting right is not done outside Nigeria. The High Commission says it is a constitutional issue which the Parliament has to pass into law/implementation.

Chief Onyen Ukechukwu Nkaraka

I belong to a coalition of Nigeria Societies working towards the fact that Nigerian Diaspora can vote. In Yar'adua's days, we made a proposition to the Nationally Assembly but when he died, all had to be put on hold. We have a copy of the same document sent to the House of Assembly.

Religions Perspective

As Missionaries, we act as mediators in every area we find ourselves. An Akwa Ibom adage says "You don't spit out all the blood that comes from your mouth but swallow some and spit some out. Therefore, we have to settle some issues diplomatically. Foremost, we are Nigerians and are ministers of God, we are not to takes sides but try to mediate and also for the purpose of evangelism not business or otherwise.

Do you have Cross Cultural evangelism missioner exchange and you have an Association of Missionaries?

Prince Uche:

There is an associate Network of pastors (Teshia) of Pastors and have two branches of my Ministry. We plan building a bus-stop in the Community and help clean up the environment. Ministers interchange- Ghanaians go to Nigeria for Ministry etc.

Rev. Paul

We send Pastors to Bible School in Nigeria and they come back and do very well in Ministry. The Ordained Christian Association Nigeria, Ghana, Overseas- helps in ordination of pastors – School – International Christian University Ajose Ilesamaja, Lagos.

Rev. Dr. Bigman Rex:

A friendly match was played between Nigeria and Ghana. Ghanaian here got crazy as the Black Stars defeated Super Eagles in London. From information, Nigerians in Agege started beating up Ghanaian citizens which resulted in tension in Ghana. God so good, the parliamentarian here appealed to Ghanaians on Television saying “Ghana had a high commissioner in Nigeria and such no case of assault on Ghanaians been reported from Nigeria. This helped relieve the nerves of violent desperate Ghanaian. Here in Ghana, I have registered a church, an N.G.O and a limited liability company without hindrances. We need to carefully clarify issues before accusing the Ghanaian Government. Truly, some Nigerians are very bad. These bad eggs have left the good ones are stigmatised here.

The US\$300,000 benchmark is just on paper. When i went to register my company, I was told I didn't need to bring the money.

Prince Uche

The 300,000 benchmark is for a big businesses based on retail. You pay tax. The law says retail business is exclusive to Ghanaians. You register with 10% of it, then you employ 10 Ghanaians but for a non-retaining Company like N.G.Os as the rule doesn't apply. For non-retailing businesses, you register with about US\$2,000. Nigerians still partake in retail illegally. They were once suppliers but due to the failure of Ghanaian to pay back debts, their suppliers were forced into retailing.

Ghanaians aren't generally bad just like everywhere in the world. Some are not enlightened and not travelled and are crude in their thoughts. Some ethnic groups hate themselves just like in Nigeria where ethnic clashes occur. The law of the land is what determines the country's stand on diasporas and not their individual characteristics.

Nigerians have the characteristics of "taking over business environments" wherever they do business. Unlike the Ghanaian who are too cool and naturally not aggressive.

Migration out of Nigeria is not only for the political instability but due to individual opinion on where his chances of success are domiciled. Crime rate is a factor of popular size. The mindset determines who stays and who relocates from a country.

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Appendix 4

TRANSCRIBED AND UNEDITED INTERVIEWS AND FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS (FGDS) WITH GHANAIAN DIASPORAS AND POLICY ACTORS IN NIGERIA.

INTERVIEW 1: Mr. Igbinosa, Ministry of Labour and Productivity (Migration Dept.), Abuja

Until recently, migration was not a big issue in Nigeria especially, like I read in the synopsis you sent until the fuel crises of the early 80's ; there was really no reason for Nigerians to leave they always wanted to stay home and do what they could. After the period of SAP with Babangida, it also increased the economic pressures that formed the push factors that caused Nigerians to want to leave. So nobody took it seriously but then because of the irregular means in which??? (Then his phone rang)

I was saying that the migration issue was not a problem before now until the early 80's and the implementation of SAP by Babangida that created a lot of economic pressures which caused some peoples (Nigerians) to want to leave the shores and seek for greener pastures in other places. Now, they did not consider the issues of regular or irregular; the whole idea was get out of the country no matter which way and so they found themselves in a lot of countries within the West African region and indeed outside the West African region in Africa and Europe..(Knock on the door).

Different regions of the world Africa and Europe doing a lot of jobs that were not even jobs that they could do here in Nigeria and apart from that they were exposed to a lot of injustices in terms of human rights , in terms of employment conditions, they were exposed to a lot of those kind of injustices. More often than not, the work that we do here focuses basically (fundamentally) on the employment and labour issues related with migration (Ministry of Labour and Productivity) so we tend to focus(drive into) on employment and labour issues ; of course these most times cannot be de-associated from the issues surrounding human rights

, but we want a lot of times to push aside the security aspects of migration because it is the fundamental right of every human being to move . Yes and when they find themselves in irregular situations as we like to say we would more be in a position to say fine what are the opportunities? , what are the administrative procedures for correcting this if there be any administrative procedures and not just to criminalize the act of being in irregular situations. ECOWAS has an advantage in that respect because of the protocol that allows people to stay for 90 days (free movement of persons). Yes of course but with other regions even with other regions even within ECOWAS you would expect that the typical African or Nigerian or person living within the ECOWAS region who has economic challenges from his country and has moved to another country and he realises that by the lapses of gaps in the system in identifying where he/she is residing may just choose not to go and do the proper documentation even on their expiration of the 90 days they just continue to stay until the day that somehow the law catches up with him or her (or gets into trouble) then in becomes an issue. A lot of time our countries because of the issue of sovereignty and the way we handle the matter of people residing in our country “illegally”. I put it in quote because I don’t like that term.

Question: Why don’t you like term “illegally”?

Internationally it has been discussed at various fora that you cannot have an illegal person because his existence is not illegal. So if you say someone is an illegal migrant, you are saying that this person is illegal. That term does not mean he has broken the law in getting into your country, you are saying the person is illegal and I think that they should find another phrase; but in the search for another phrase, they have come up with other phrases like irregular migrants, like undocumented migrants, they have kept on coming up with different phrases in a bid to reduce the illegal aspect which actually gives more of a criminal connotation and even in legal practice, you have administrative laws which are flouted now and then. Of course laws are meant to guide the activities of human beings in society. So if an administrative law is flouted for instance, is that person a criminal even in the legal system? Is that person to be taken as somebody who has murdered somebody or someone who has stolen? So we have civil law and lots of other aspects of law. When you criminalize someone, it’s not proper (without any offense) because again you look at the major causes and this is why I said from the beginning that we tend to look at migration from the labour and employment perspectives, because we are looking at it as this person is in your country for economic reasons and he is pushed into your country for economic reasons and if your

country does not have the needs for him , he would not be able to work in your country, he would not be able to contribute economically to the development of your country ;so, he has been contributing to the development of your country , he has been working in your country, so, finally you find out that well, he doesn't have documents to be in your country and automatically he becomes a criminal.

It is from that perspective that the use of illegal sounds very wrong, so West Africa has an advantage and that is because of the protocol. The protocol enables exchange and if not for the different levels of economic development in the countries within the West African region.

Question: What do you mean by different levels of development? (Is it either Anglophone or Francophone?)

Not even really Anglophone, Francophone, am talking about the economy's (micro and macro) of these countries and the policies they all pursue because of the different poverty levels, because of their diversities in policies that have not yet been harmonized which need to be for us to become a Zone like the Euro Zone for instance. Because if you were to look at the Euro zone and you take the challenge that they are having now, which is that of the global economic crises but it is heating the Euro zone gradually There are different members that are experiencing financial problems at different levels like Greece; they held a long meeting to assist Greece now not knowing , well i believe they all knew really just that they were trying to cover up but immediately after Greece, Italy started austerity measures now Spain is doing austerity measures, you know all of them want to benefit so it has this ripple effects when it happens to one person it happens to the other but there has to be a collective agreement on the standards that would be operated within the zone and I think ECOWAS has come up with a lot of policies that would assist member states to arrive at those standards. One of such policies with relation to migration is recently I heard that the ECOWAS heads of states has adopted an ECOWAS labour policy that of course I believe by the time I get the document (I have not seen it yet) but when I see the document I believe it should contain policy of the ECOWAS region which is aimed at harmonizing employment policies within the region and when that is effected you tend to have similar employment conditions within ECOWAS regions which even makes exchange of labour and expediencies across the border.

With regards to Ghana and Nigeria, Ghana and Nigeria have had a chequered history of relationship and somehow the two leading countries in ECOWAS, (i may say) they, have not always got along, they have to some extent in times past when these two countries were

at different ends with relation to particular issues and I remember at one point in time Ghanaians living in Nigeria (Shagari's time in the early 80's) were actually pushed back to Ghana and I don't think that the Ghanaian government took it lightly because then Ghana was experiencing economic crises and Nigeria was just getting into our oil crises but we still had a stronger economy than Ghana.

Interjection: But they pushed us back in 1969 that is the Alien compliance Act!

Infarct that is one other issue: a word (alien) that I don't really like to use at all.

Because what makes them alien because they had historical linkage before colonialism as Ghanaians and Nigerians were relating and migrating together in the West African region and there was no demarcation because we still have Hausa people in Ghana and Nigeria and Yoruba like Ewe so there had been cordial relations between them ?

I remember in 2006 I was in Ghana and they were launching their Youth employment programme and I attended the launch .The youth employment programme was launched in a place called "Kawo Kudi". Now "Kawo Kudi "is a Hausa term meaning bring money and I went i got there it had the same meaning so I was like there has always been that integration .So i don't know this alien thing came from but I think it is because of our colonial masters .Most of these words like "alien" and all that are in our immigration laws and those are words that were used to define foreign people within our community .Well, I don't know but the appropriateness of that is questionable.

Interjection: But the song that "am a legal alien"-what a combination.

With regard to Ghana-Nigeria , I was saying that they have had problems along the years and somehow when they meet on certain issues we agree especially on sports and on some social issues like the weaving of hair and their fabrics trying to design Ghanaian style which is one thing i will say that SAP did for us in terms of fashion and the integration of the West African zone, integration of cultures, SAP brought the need for Nigerians to look inward to develop their skills and so we stopped calling tailors "tailors" we have started calling them fashion designers and then we started looking at what our fashion designer could do and they were doing things we thought they could never do and the industry started to grow like that and we can give credit to SAP for it because it enabled people to set up small and medium scale enterprises and that has actually contributed a lot to our economies and even when you have

migrants from the West African zone or from other African countries come into Nigeria it is one of the things they can engage themselves in if there is no room for formal appointment for instance, they find out whatever skill they bring from their country, they are of importance to a nation like Nigeria and they just set up one business or the other and they start to do it better here. Now of course on its own leads to a transfer of knowledge or technology from areas that we may have been lacking and that takes place a lot across the West African region not just between Nigeria and Ghana but between all the countries in West Africa. The difficult ones are the countries which do not usually have the same language like the French / Francophone speaking countries, interacting with the Anglophone speaking countries there might be a problem in terms of language which of course even in the studies of liberal migration or researches that show interaction between countries where there is similar language and people are more willing to migrate to places where they can communicate easier.

Question: The situation in Ghana presently like the closure of the shops and also the payment of 300000 dollars for registration purposes .So what is your organization (Ministry of Labour Productivity) doing about this curious situation ?

Honesty, I would not say that there is, with particular reference to this issue much that the ministry of Labour and Productivity can do because there is a limit in at the sphere to which every government organization operates .We do have ministries of trade and industry and it is the governments ministry that enter into bilateral agreements or multilateral agreements or even memoranda of understanding with other countries. So trade agreements do not fall within the mandates of the Ministry Of Labour and Productivity. However, the conditions within which the workers reside, the conditions within which the traders ply their business and the conditions of probably repatriation of remittances and all that could fall within the mandate of the Ministry of Labour and Productivity. That is why i said initially, we tend to remove other issues that may distract us and focus specifically on employment and labour matters. So for the 300 000 dollars that Nigerians are expected to pay, I think every country(this is a personal opinion) has its sovereignty and it has the right to determine what it would charge for someone who is not a member of the country to come and live in the community I don't think it is new to the world .I heard about a case of Monaco .

Follow up question: Where is Monaco?

It is a place in France. It is either the border of Italy to France. I heard that there you can get a permit to reside there legally to reside there as a citizen if you have about 500 000 US dollars in an account and you are willing to . I am just trying to say that every country has its own policies on what makes somebody acceptable into their society. They may not want to make it very easy for you to come into the society because their primary responsibility is to protect their citizens, to protect the economies of their country as well .So it is not going to do any good for instance in a place like Ghana if you have Nigerians taking over the business sector without any form of regulation; so with this 300 000 dollars thing high as it may be is actually a form of regulation to reduce /restrict the number of Nigerian businesses in Ghana leaving room for the Ghanaian business men to grow and to thrive .This could again be linked to where I started from initially when i spoke of the fact that there are different stages of economic developments within the region so that the man in Nigeria may be more financially empowered than the small business person in Ghana and when the two of them find themselves on a level playing ground, the man in Nigeria may be at an advantage over the Ghanaian and so the government is trying to regulate that but it is the responsibility of the Nigerian government probably through the Ministry of Commerce, Trades and Industry to interact with the Ghanaian government to reach a bilateral agreement on memorandum of understanding or something on a workable process for Nigerian trade men or women in Ghana and also for Ghanaians to work in Nigeria.

I think Nigeria and Ghana are two close Anglophone neighbours that need.....

If the Nigeria –Ghana commission is not running, it should be running. It is something that of essence should be in place because there has to be that kind of relationship, an organ or an institution that has the responsibility of maintaining that relationship between the two countries .So am not in support of it being 300 000 because it is quite high but I can imagine the reason why they are doing this.

Question: With this kind of attitude can we say that the ECOWAS protocol on free movement of person's right of residence is being respected, upheld by the Nigerian and Ghanaian governments?

Answer:

Yes it is still being upheld because I do not see the ECOWAS protocol of free movement meaning that the countries within the ECOWAS region lose their sovereignty. It does not mean that and does not intend that at all. The free movement of persons has its own regulations. I think I mentioned earlier that one of the regulations is staying in a country for 90 days without documentation but after those 90 days you are expected to be a responsible person and go and get your documentation if you intend to extend that stay even if you intend to extend it beyond that 90 days. When the protocol was entered into the premise was that countries within the ECOWAS region would start to build their various monitoring mechanisms and at a point you would get to the level where these monitoring mechanisms would be able to exchange security data and information from one country to the other that would lead to knowing better about the movement of people within the region but I don't think we have reached there yet we are still working towards that. There are a lot of challenges especially with security aspects of migration; the ECOWAS region happens to be a region where we have co-existed together for several years and so we don't have, like in the Euro region where they have borders of walls and fences, we don't have that. So, it is as bad as having communities, that are separated in two by a border line and monitoring the crossing of the border is quite a challenge to immigration services. So, I think we have not gotten quite there yet but as for whether Nigeria and Ghana are still respecting the ECOWAS protocol on free trade and movement, yes they are it does not change the situation. ECOWAS still retains her sovereignty and can come up with laws within the country. Those laws within the country can be bilaterally agreed or multilaterally agreed on within ECOWAS .

Question: Do you think that the current economic realities demand that both countries should work together in order to facilitate the integration scheme of ECOWAS?

Answer: The end of my last statement was that both countries would have to reach a bilateral agreement or memoranda of understanding on how trade between the two countries should be structured and how it could benefit both countries. If it benefits both countries then the ECOWAS protocol has created a sphere where all the countries exchange information, data , experiences, exchange a lot of social and cultural issues that cannot be enumerated .If someone is moving within any of the ECOWAS countries within 90 days you may not know what the person from Nigeria who is probably on holiday would get to the other end of the spectrum because he is carrying everything cultural that he has and is going to different places, he is getting what they have and on his way back brings back a lot of things within 90 days which is actually a long period.

Question: What is your organization's position about the African Diaspora within West African Region? Is there any area you are looking at these African Diaspora's residing within West Africa because attention has always been given to the African Diaspora's outside the continent of Africa. Policy makers have actually mediated the African Diaspora within West Africa and focus more on African Diaspora outside West Africa. In fact a liaison officer appointed by the house committee appointed by the Diaspora who reside in the U.S and they have not been able to incorporate the issues of African Diaspora within West Africa into the policies. So what is your own position on these African Diaspora with a special focus on West Africa?

Answer: Diaspora first of all has different definitions to different people and that has been a problem but I think the most famous definitions refers to those living in countries other than their own and recently like you mentioned the House Committee on Diaspora has been promoting through NNVS(Nigeria National Volunteer Services) . NNVS is a federal government organization that tends to create a point of convergence on diaspora that wish to carry out economic activities in Nigeria. They have been promoting for the diasporas to come and form a hometown association especially diasporas outside the African region but within Africa and with regards to my organizations activities we don't African diasporas outside the African region. This is born from the understanding of various research findings that have revealed that most migrations that take place from Nigeria or in countries within the ECOWAS region remain within ECOWAS. There was a particular research that revealed that about 70% of the international migration within the ECOWAS region about 30/25% actually go out of the region, so the region itself really tends to balance out a lot of economic pressures between member States issue, the tendency is not for us to focus on Nigerians outside the country. Although I must admit there was a time we did focus on Nigerians in Europe, America and other parts of the world because of the activities of those Nigerians and the negative images it was having on the country as a whole. That is what a lot of them especially in the House of Committee and other Ministries of Foreign Affairs and other stake holders in the migration issue tend to focus on because these people get themselves into a lot of trouble especially those caught regularly and some of them get involved in criminal activities like drug pushing sometimes murder, assassinations and other things, there is no limit to what they can get into; there is also the aspect of trafficking and our girls and women being trafficked but from the Labour Productivity perspective you can look at the employment dimension. We try to find out the Nigerian skills among residence and we are in the process coincidentally of elaborating a National Labour Migration Policy. There is a draft

national migration policy which is the general migration policy in existence which has not still been signed by the federal Executive Council. That National Labour Migration Policy would focus strictly on the employment and labour of those migrants in Nigeria or even outside Nigeria would face and those employment issues are: issues that have to do with social security, remittance, cultural integration in their communities and those particular issues that concern people that want to work in other communities and of course, it is going to expect that out of this policy bilateral agreements/ relations would be entered into between Nigeria and other countries. We would expect reciprocity that Nigerians working in other countries should be treated the same way foreigners are treated here. This is how relationships are fostered between countries. So we are looking at those kinds of Labour Agreements being signed specifically on migration. We have never truly thought that more focus should be on Nigerians living outside Africa ; on the other hand we have always been handicapped in discovering information on such things because of the absence of data especially recently with hype discussions taking place on migration. More information and data are becoming available so it would be a situation where we would be available to identify if its in Ghana, how many Nigerians are there in Ghana?, what kind of work are they doing in Ghana?, would the number of Nigerians in Ghana require the posting of an attaché for instance to Ghana through Nigeria's High Commission? So those are going to be some of the products of the Labour Migration Policy because for Labour issues to be handled as they should not as security issues there needs to be technical professional posted to these States .We have made mention of the attaché who might be someone that has links with government at the political level and probably tries to address issues of social, political and cultural integration with Nigerians living in those countries and back home here but we would have labour attaches in countries where Nigerians work, in countries where Nigerians do business and these labour attaches are going to have responsibilities of looking after interest of Nigerians who may be there legally or not. We are going to promote legal stay but where for instance someone is found to be staying in a country illegally, then you have an attaché that would have the responsibility of presenting the administrative procedures .So these are some of the issues we would address when we are able to get a policy in place.

The ministry of Labour and Productivity has what is called National Electronic Labour Exchange which is also here. What this tries to achieve is to support job matching where employers of labour can meet with job seekers and this also has an added function for the International Labour Migration desk because the desk promotes international labour migration activities which would encourage circular migration or any other migration process

that would ensure that migrants are protected where they go to work and after their working experience, they return back to their country and have opportunity to go back again. So we have created this website which allows employers within and outside Nigeria to interact and to exchange their CV's and job opportunities. We are in the process of working out procedures for extension of this service to our West African neighbours especially the Anglophone countries because of the language similarities. We don't have a language barrier so it would be easier for us to first of all implement this in the Anglophone countries but that is going to be in the next phase of its implementation. For now we have just developed the website. It is up and running and job seekers and employers are using it to exchange information about availability of jobs. The site is also built in such a way that its data base recognizes what the ILO standards are for classification of jobs. We have done that with the belief that this data base would interact with other online services by other countries thereby helping to merge more employment opportunities in neighbouring countries or in countries where we have bilateral agreements with citizens living there or even employers living there. It is also going to be for the interaction of employers and employees within different countries of West Africa and we want to focus on west Africa before we extend it to outside Africa because it would be economically more viable and easier for us to budget for Setting up labour attaches for instance in West African countries than it would be to sustain them in other countries

Question: What is the way forward in the furtherance of integration that would facilitate the realization of economic of scale and strengthening of bargaining position on West Africa and the African continent in a globalized world?

Answer: You know why am at a loss of words, It is a complicated issue .the complication is that in ECOWAS for example we have different backgrounds and different colonial masters that's why we talk today of Anglophone and francophone countries. These different colonial masters had different economic plans; different administrative styles and they came from different cultures. It is too bad that in Nigeria we are not promoting the use of French in our daily affairs. We may have it as a policy statement that French is a second language but we are not using it for what we are supposed to do. I think we have not gotten to the point where complete integration of our economies is possible but I know we would get there. The differences we have are those of culture, those of our values and even economic but they are differences that can be overcome if in Africa we are able to see ourselves as partners in progress and our brother's keepers. This of course would lead to a situation where

documents generated from commissions like ECOWAS would be respected equally by all the countries in the region and seen to be implemented equally within the region because those policies are aimed at standardization and creating convergence in policies between the various countries so as not to have parallel policies in the countries within the region; and of course where you have that kind of situation it means that after a period of time the policies can be harmonized and within the span of the ECOWAS region these policies are operational. You can be sure that if you take the National Employment Policies in Ghana and Nigeria, the differences are not going to be much because they would have been transformed to fit into the ECOWAS policy. But first of all, the countries within the region continue to strive to implement the agreements that are reached by the Heads of States at the ECOWAS level. Unfortunately, we are still battling with political and economic problems, mostly political because the internal politics of each country plays an important role on what is the governments focus for that country and until a time when we in ECOWAS follow the step of Nigeria because I see Nigeria doing a very good thing but some people may ask what is our foreign policy doing in playing the big brother role within the region because Nigeria has a lot of issues that need to be addressed that aren't addressed but I think our foreign policy is geared towards protecting the Nigerian space stemming from an understanding that whatever happens to one neighbour also affects us and if there is a coup in Niger and Nigeria does not make moves to resolve the issues, that situation could lead to social strife which would cause a refugee problem in Nigeria which is going to tell much on our resources; so there are implications for not doing anything and for not looking after one another's affairs so the way forward really is that ECOWAS countries have to politically agree not on paper. I am trying to make a distinction from the paper agreement because there is a paper agreement because I do not feel inside me that the political class within ECOWAS agree that this is a common goal which we should all achieve. Its just like you have laws in place and the people are not ready to respect the law. Is not that the law is not there, the law would punish those that are apprehended but the people are not willing to respect that law and for a region like ECOWAS, it is more or less economic issues that lead to our disagreement in terms of the application of economic policies because if your country is more economically developed, with less poverty and I don't enough, how do we start talking about a common currency? And on what grounds do we start to discuss the issue of integration. so there are some knotty issues we need to address and a lot of them are political and when our leaders sit to agree on certain issues but I can see lots of agreements on poverty issues, employment, citizens to interact among countries but when you go near economic issues like common currency I see not so

much agreement for now because most of our economic experts know that whatever happens to one country happens to the other and so the issue of trust of the political leadership within each one of our countries arises that has to be taken care of.

Question: Is National Interest a factor?

It is paramount and that is where the political class lies. Because the political class says my interest is the interest of my country and where you cannot harmonize this interest you can't move forward. But ECOWAS is doing a good job in harmonizing those interests. Instead of making them National interests now, ECOWAS is converging those interests to make them regional or sub regional interests so that your interest will then be captured within documents that form policies for the whole sub region rather. It may seem not to be working now but i believe it will work like i used an example that we have our own national laws and those laws are there but a lot of us will say those laws are not working. It's not that they are not working it's because we have chosen not to respect them. They are there, they are working, they will perform the role they are expected to perform.

Interjection: Do international laws bind like domestic laws?

International laws are not binding like domestic laws of course that's because of the sovereignty of the states. ECOWAS laws are international law, that's why I'm talking about policies that harmonize our views. Let's use the ILO for example. The ILO functions with conventions and so there are ILO conventions for different issues, either labour, employment, governance etc. Now member states are expected to ratify those conventions. Now ratification means that you agree to domesticate those conventions to your national laws, which means that you are then empowering the ILO to ask questions where you are fouling the conventions that you have and so the ILO tends to regulate so to speak, because they will then start to write, request for statistics, data and ensure that you abide by those laws. Within the ILO, there are core conventions and the reasons why they are called core conventions is simple. There are about 8 of them now those core conventions have formed the fundamental rules for the ILO with regards to employment and labour issues and it is based on those core conventions that the ILO has come up with the declaration of social justice and fair globalization and another recent document which has been adopted by the UN (the Global Jobs Pact) the ILO has for several years created that link between economic and financial issues and employment issues and they have for a long time been saying that global financial crisis is actually going to have the impact of creating a global jobs crisis and not too long

after that, it was actually evident in a lot of countries the most important impact of the Global Financial crisis or economic crisis is the global jobs crisis because it has led to loss of jobs and livelihoods of people who depended on those jobs have been taken away.

Interjection: What of the labour crisis?

It's still a spiral effect, infact in Spain, I saw even on BBC World, that the labour unions in Spain are on strike, yesterday because of the austerity measures that have been put in place , is all a spiral effect of the global economy crisis. The actual impact is in job crisis and when the whole world collectively realizes that this is what we should be fighting, and we cannot do it individually, because what happens to one country affects another. Then we start to forge common approaches and this is the direction in which ECOWAS is going and EU in forming a common approach. And these days we have documents like ECOWAS common approach on issue. So when you have countries of divergent views coming to form an approach, then you can start to move forward because everyone that contributed to the development if that common approach has agreed in principle that this is what will take all of us out, but all the countries need to abide by what is agreed but it doesn't mean that if two or more countries refuse to agree, the common approach has failed, no. It all depends on the force of the other remaining countries to continue. So forming a common approach is actually a way forward. Like I started saying, it is complex because everything that has to do with human beings, social laws, and national policies is always very complex because you are not dealing with just an individual, maybe if we had, (off the record) a situation where countries were ruled authoritatively by authoritative leaders who could make decisions at the spur of the moment. But where you have democratic societies, i don't think it is usually easy. But we can use an example for instance, Nigeria-Cameroun. A particular government came in place, agreed on a particular issue, the issue of Bakassi, and the next government came and wanted to revert it.

Interjection: Now with the Nigeria and Ghanaian Diaspora's how can the governments of two countries harness their contributions, how can they be agents of integration in West Africa and because they move back and forth, they disseminate information, ideas are being exchanged and also economic activities are taking place even as they move back and forth and i think this is what this regional integration is all about, being able to disseminate information all around. How can Nigerian-Ghana diaspora within this region be able to facilitate this integration agenda within West Africa?

Answer: i think even with the presence of globalization, that integration has already been made easy in terms of the fact that it advances in telephone, transportation and all forms of communication technology. We tend to achieve that integration globally not even within West Africa. That movement from Nigeria to Ghana within 40 minutes is achieved because of transportation. So if we have a level playing ground where both countries have understanding based on the ECOWAS protocol and other agreements, i don't think there is a problem in terms of integration, the only problem that we may experience may be with our local institutional systems. Now why i say so is because someone who is a Ghanaian working in Nigeria for a Nigerian firm, now is such a person entitled to contribute to the National Health Insurance Scheme in Nigeria? Or is such a person entitled to contribute in National Housing Funds in Nigeria? Or is such a person allowed to contribute to the National Pension Funds in Nigeria? Is there a security system in Nigeria so that this person is probably given a security number so that he will know if he and his family can benefit from the social security fund? Do we have such institutions in Nigeria and Ghana? The National Health Insurance Scheme is trying to capture those in the diaspora where the diaspora can contribute a particular amount annually for the health insurance of families left behind in the country, that is a step forward, but i don't know if it's working yet so those are issues that will lead to greater integration but those structures are not yet in place because of our different levels of development. Gradually in Nigeria, we are having documents coming up. There is a draft National Social Security before the Federal Executive Council, i know a committee was set up for the documentation and i was reading it, but i never got to finish it. So i don't know if there is any provision for the diaspora. SO those are the issues that need to be addressed that these institutions that set up the laws of integration have to be in all the ECOWAS states so that we will have systems that will enable our citizens who are working in other countries (whether you like it or not, over 80% of migration takes place due to economic reasons) the migration that might be due to natural causes, refugee is of little percentage more or less and the rest of them. Most people who migrate deliberately migrate for economic and social reasons and it's for long term while short term might be for holiday's etc. So where these structures are in place to accommodate our citizens equally within these regions, then we can start to think about integration because we can have for instance where our Social Security policy, we say for instance, if you are a Ghanaian, and you have resided in Nigeria, and you have worked for 10 years and you have moved from Nigeria to Senegal, what you have accumulated in terms of your pensions should be able to transferred to Senegal which is your new location. That might not be the end of your career, and from Senegal, you might decide

to move to Cote D'Ivoire, your pensions, your contributions should not be lost somewhere around, and when you decide to finally return to Ghana, then you should have the cumulative of all your pensions and your funds for your working years in all these countries. You should be able to enjoy your benefits and retirements. And that is just pensions as an aspect of social security for migrant workers. So we need to have those institutions in place. Of course we mentioned earlier on the issue of National Interest and every country has their focus and agenda annually and of course they have long term plans to which they intend to achieve globally. Long term plan may be millennium development goals. Nationally for us in Nigeria while looking at the Millennium Development goals, and other issues, we will also have our own smaller short-term plans which are being driven by the National Planning Commission towards achieving those global agenda's. So in ECOWAS if we have an African Agenda for instance, and the countries are working towards that, and of course that agenda must key into the regional agenda of Africa and the global agenda but the institutions to drive the achievement of those agenda's must be in place. If in Ghana, we have a situation where they are being paid unemployment benefits for not working, it is going to be restricted to their own citizens, because it cannot expect government to be paying unemployment benefits to people coming from other countries except if some arrangement is reached where if you've worked for a particular number of years, then you are considered also as a citizen, and if that is going to be done, it has to be done in Ghana and other West African countries

Question: While i was discussing with your labour Officer, He mentioned something about EU and ECOWAS and their discussion on EU and the migrants that are working in these EU countries. He said that this is your specialty

Answer: That is under a project being implemented by the International Organization for Migration. In Nigeria and it is actually called the AENEAS 2006 project. The project documentation started in 2006 but the implementation started in 2008. So under that, it covers four countries, Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal and Libya. The reason for Libya being included as a non-West African country is because it's a transit country, it is a peculiar country, moving from West African region, they have their own peculiar issues with migrants moving from West African region to UK, Europe and others. The project was sponsored by the European Commission and the Italian government. So that project is actually focused on preventing irregular migration and promoting regular migration and it has different components which have been executed. One of the components was the development of an internet based software for exchange of labour between these countries and Italy. So several conferences

have been held under this project but we even got some Nigerians to work in Italy without making it public because coincidentally, the global economic crisis also impacted on it. And so Italy used to give Nigeria employment quota and the last quota was in 2007 that about 1500 people should work in Italy but unfortunately for us, all this period, we were unable to make use of it, and the reason for this is lack of understanding of the systems operating in different countries because when we receive the information here in Nigeria that quota's have been declared, two weeks after that, we were making arrangements for the inter-ministerial committee to look into those quota's, before we finished putting the committee together, we received information from the Italian Embassy that the quota's had been utilized to legalize the stay of Nigerian's in Italy. The problem was that Nigerians working in Italy always applied for visa's through their employers if they intend to continue working so their employers had names of Nigerians who are already working in Italy ready to be regularized. So when the quota is declared, opportunities for the employers who are already there submit those names. And the Italian government regularizes the stay of these people since there is nothing coming from our own end, and it wasn't even possible for anything to come from our own end. But the way they will go about it in the future with this software, Nigeria has its own page, its own password to enter the system, their own password of Nigerian job seekers who wish to work in Italy. So that database already has Nigerians who are willing to work in Italy. SO whenever such an opportunity comes, it is from that database that employers in Italy can now select Nigerians to work for them and no longer the Nigerians there using their opportunity, and if they want to they have to come back home to use their opportunity, so that is what that project is trying to achieve and it is still in progress and we are about to enter the next phase, fortunately the last phase was in December, but by now it should have ended, it so-posed to have ended in June, because we have not been able to carry out the communication components of the projects which is meant to sensitize Nigerians on the ills of irregular migrations and encourage them to stay within their countries and the project doesn't have enough funds to carry out their communication strategies that need to be applied to cover the whole of the country, so what we have done so far is to carry out a pre-assessment research which a consultant was paid to do, and we zeroed in on tow states, Anambra and Edo states. Anambra for the workers that migrate out of Anambra, within West Africa and out of the country, for their trade and Edo, because of the focus of traffickers and all that. So those two states have been picked for the communication component and that will kick-start the end of June/beginning of July. We would have loved to do the whole nation but because of the constraint of finance, we won't be able to do that but the results from these

two states will serve as a background for the full awareness campaign which i believe will kick off next year.

INTERVIEW 2 WITH MR ONWUKA, Head of Protocol, ECOWAS, Abuja

Question : When the migrants stay more than 90 days in Ghana, don't they become illegal?

Answer: The question of staying more than 90 days is another issue that is coming up now because there is a document that was signed in Abuja in 2000 by the Commission of Heads of State of ECOWAS stating the fact that the resident permit is needed because of the 90 days, but if its abolished completely, there will be no need of the 90 days again. Since this was signed in 2000, it means that implementation is the problem. Implementation of the protocol of free movement of persons and goods is the problem. If the residency permit is abolished, the 90 days clause is not applicable anymore and the permit is renewable after 90 days if you wish to continue staying and if you don't wish to stay again, the residency permit is abolished.

Interjection: So we cannot call them illegal migrants?

Yes, somehow that is at the implementation level, but they have signed the protocol, what it means is that if they catch someone and takes him to court, the person brings his document and he will go free.

On November 28th 2007, Nigerian traders in Ghana found themselves at cross roads over business policies targeted only at Nigerian businesses in Ghana (culled from the research work)

Continued response: I totally disagree with this because it is too strong a statement for an academic mind. From my own understanding, the academia throws something out without really taking sides and then allows it to flow, but this statement if you have followed the news recently, Ghana minister for commerce has come out and denied it, and there was also a statement that it was a policy not targeted at any particular foreigner or visitor, but may be. But the only area i would like you to emphasize is that if this is targeted at all the foreigners, it did not take cognisance of the protocol of free movement and goods signed by ECOWAS to which Nigeria and Ghana are member states. If the government of Ghana has come up

with this kind of policy, does it mean that those who were fashioning out these policies did not take cognisance of the protocol of free movement of goods to which both Ghana and Nigeria by membership of ECOWAS community are signatories? So you should be objective in your outlook, not taking sides.

One of the geographical borders by the colonial masters, and since then, as a result of this, we have been having situations and challenges that are alien to our indigenous entrepreneurial skills. I feel very much offended whenever any good thing is said to have come by way of our contact with the colonial masters and it is not true in most cases

Interjection: my argument here has to do with the formal integration scheme that started immediately after the colonial era just like in 1979 when the protocol on free movement of persons was ratified. That was a kind of formal agreement within the member states of ECOWAS to reside in each other's countries for a maximum of 90 days, they have been moving and residing informally.

Answer: I agree with you, but the formalizations wouldn't have been needed if the white man did not come at all, and there was that free movement. Free movement is now being defined as if it was gold but it was there and people were going anywhere and staying for the number of months and years they wanted. I would like you to mention that all these borders were artificial creations and figments of the minds of the colonial masters because they don't exist on ground. So at the time it was borderless, both in the mind and on ground, but now that it is borderless only in the mind and when you go to the map, you see it. These are my observations

Question: How can the African diasporas within West African contributions be harnessed so that at the end of the day they can be agents of integration because they move back and forth and they are being neglected?

Answer: I heard a discussion in Abidjan, Cote D'Ivoire in our last meeting we had police chief summit, and one of the generals that attended sat down with me and he invited me to lunch and we looked at the problems that we are having in West African sub region and we placed those problems against the quality of human resources that we have. The Koffi Annan's, the Emeka Anyaoku's, the Ibn Chamba's, the Victor Gbeho's, Chinua Achebe, Soyinka's and so many others, and we were deliberating on the possibility of having a club of this type and level of elements outside West Africa, by bringing them out of West Africa into a Human Resource bank of people like Koffi Annan in Ghana and Soyinka in Nigeria will

form a club which will represent the whole West African region and will then metamorphose into political parties. If you are running for any election and you are not from this party, we make sure we frustrate it. Interpol will help you, the international community will listen to you and then all we have to do is whoever comes to challenge, like the type of people we have now who are rotten with funny seeds under them we demand the information, Interpol will prosecute and he won't even be allowed to run for the election, so in the next 10, 20 years, we would have changed the face of leadership in West Africa. But if you bring back Bart Nnaji, Emagwale to come into a system that is rotten, you can't harness anything; you will only muzzle up all the milk and cream from this cow and leave it dry. But we need a structure that the skeleton is going to be this species of internationally and globally tested West African's who will now come home and say that these are the people we can work with because nobody will have the type of power to challenge them. So it is the same people that will be the Heads of States and summits of ECOWAS. So ECOWAS won't have any coup plotter coming to sit in the summit because he is no longer one of us. So this is the only way these people can now change the leadership, and I can tell you, a country like Nigeria for instance, the day the prophesy of good leadership is realized in the country, the strongest country in this world will have a strong challenge because we have enormous resources and are wonderfully blessed. Anywhere Nigeria has not had a very strong government regulation; Nigeria has come out the best. Nollywood, pop music, look at literature, government is not regulating who will write and who will not write, so Nigeria will come out the best, so what does it tell you? It tells you that there is a problem with leadership the situations are not working, so that is the problem. Look at Bart Nnaji, he came back and has been talking about energy programme and has never been given an opportunity to do it and the best is to get him into government where he cannot work, and subsumed into a committee that he is flocked around with so many people that he is the only knowledgeable person in that area, and he cannot move without moving along with those people, and those people must make contributions no matter how funny those contributions are. He cannot be arrogant to tell them so how do you harness? So if it a different thing if he is told to select the people he will work with, so that's what I think about diasporas making contribution in Nigeria or in any of the West African countries. So long as they don't have enough money to make contributions from their own pocket, so long as they are going to work with the government as an instrument of performance, then the attitude of the leaders must change. And it has to cut across the whole sub region before anything can be done. And for matter of information, ECOWAS is one of the strongest sub regional movements in the whole world and in Africa.

ECOWAS is doing better than AU and not in comparison with the EU. ECOWAS implements faster, because of the size it moves faster, it takes decisions faster and it's just that we have different languages there otherwise I'm sure we would have been moving faster than we are now.

Question: Do you think that with this Anglophone and Francophone configuration of this West African region this integration agenda will be a reality?

Answer: it is very easy for it to be a reality. ECOWAS documents are calling it language barrier as well as the political scientists, but I call it language politics. I am from the Eastern part of Nigeria, I did my Youth Service in Ilorin and Ilorin speaks Yoruba and Hausa. I bought and sold goods in Ilorin and it is the nature of my people to buy and sell. The language did not become a barrier. My wife goes to Dubai, she does not understand their language but she buys and she sells. Nigerians go to China, they do business there, Nigerians live in Germany, people go to France and do business there. The barrier comes as a pre-meditated action so if you now have the intention to decide when the barrier will come, it is no longer a natural barrier, it is now a political barrier and then it is no more language barrier it is now language politics, so if when it comes to voting, we now vote according to our language divides. If it comes to agreement and we use language to agree or disagree it becomes politics. But if I want to enter your car, and it is difficult for me to enter because I want to communicate, then it is the natural barrier. So if they decide to remove politics, they can get whatever they want, it is very simple. Imagine me going to a place now, you can still check into a hotel, so there is no barrier that means it only exists by our intention through some political colouration in our interaction and it is quite unfortunate.

INTERVIEW THREE: WITH MR H.A WARKANI (CHIEF LIBRARIAN), ECOWAS, ABUJA

Question: What is the core thing about this Africa in diasporas because emphasis has always been African diasporas outside Africa. Even in the expanding literature, Africa in diasporas has been neglected within West Africa.

It's rather a complex subject. Complex in the sense that when we use the term diasporas for West Africans living in the confines of West Africa, that will perhaps, generate a new dimension into this concept. Because with the signing of the protocol on free movement, right

of residence, right of establishment being one of the first protocols of this community, you will see automatically that citizens that may be living outside their native countries may not necessarily be seen as diasporas in quote, in the context of diasporas as defined by citizens in Europe, America and elsewhere. Because, literally, we are looking at a community defined by space of West Africa. There is an ultimate aim of the supra nationality of this community which means we are looking at a country that may be called ECOWAS one day. In that context therefore, the diasporas concept ceases to really have sufficient meaning as understood elsewhere today. However, the concept of diasporas can be applied to what is happening today. It is true that we are beginning to see the existence of communities of non-citizens of particular countries, living and working and carrying on all sorts of businesses in other countries other than their first country. For us in this commission I think it is a plus, because it has kind of mobilized labour, redistributed opportunities, it has created a little more of what this community went out in the first place to do as far back as 1975 that is to integrate the peoples economies of this sub region because today, I think unfortunately the statistics seem to be very inaccurate, there is hardly sufficient data as to the movement of citizens across the sub region. But we could visibly see some micro communities emerging literally everywhere. You come to Nigeria here for instance which has a larger economic pool, you will see a group of nationals from almost all the member countries settled and carrying out all their business freely. And it is the same. You go to Benin Republic, Togo, Senegal, Mali, Sierra Leone, and you see people trading, there are those that are relatively leaving and some who go and come. So moving across the sub region has become so easy and business activities therefore has become such that citizens are carrying on their business. What we are not giving citizens today is the right to vote and be voted for but minus that, you can see that citizens are contributing to their new communities wherever they find themselves and i think in West Africa, it will be seen as a positive development because people get to know the sub region better when they move and stay in such places. In the case of the diasporas, when we look at our citizens living in Europe or America, the chances are, 1) physically, they are far away, and therefore coming home is like once in a while, you need to pay through their nose to be able to really come back for holiday's. The case of the sub region is not the same. Somebody could just take the next bus and he is anywhere within the sub region. Now movement of capital which is one of the things the diasporas is beginning to be important is also rather common today across the sub region. You see people trading, there have been some repatriation of funds left and right, and we can see the banks are already flourishing in the sub region; they are becoming sub regional banks rather than becoming just

national banks and they are facilitating this trade one way or another. If we look at the statistics carefully, we will also find that the intra trade has been growing, though not sufficiently as we would have expected. But I think none the less, there has been sufficient growth in the intra trade, such that if this momentum is sustained, we should be able to see a much more robust community or sub region. Nigeria for instance which has relatively speaking a larger manufacturing capacity is beginning to find markets in West Africa which hitherto did not exist. This is because since movement of services and goods have become much easier, Nigerian companies are finding new markets and therefore boosting their production capacities here if not for our energy problems. And this is posing a problem for some of our colonial masters who hitherto had monopolized the markets here, so this could not possibly be easy without that protocol on free movement of residents and establishments coupled with the trade mobilization scheme which will also enable businesses to flourish within West Africa. So the concept of the diasporas in this case will need to be redefined and refocused.

Question: from the perspectives of the fact that the ECOWAS policies have not been implemented that is the way we are looking at it now because if these policies had been implemented, we will be talking about supra-national community, but now we can't be talking about supra-national community so that's where diasporas as a concept comes in context.

Answer:

We have already talked about supra-nationality which ultimately is the vote, a single government and it cannot be in place just like that, it's a process. That's why ECOWAS had refocused the policy to say that now it is an ECOWAS of peoples, rather than ECOWAS of states. It is a conceptual shift to say now it is an ECOWAS of peoples rather than ECOWAS of states. This gives impetus to the issues now that the individuals matter most. We need to integrate the individuals and that means we have to give more force to this freedom of movement, settlement, establishment. However, ECOWAS as an institution has also taken steps before now which was leading towards this supra nationality namely: the establishment of the parliament. If you have an ECOWAS parliament which is so-posed to be an ECOWAS parliament of the peoples of West Africa, then you can see that this is a positive and realistic step towards supra nationality. You also have the ECOWAS Court of Justice: this is also an institution that is so-posed to provide judiciary services for such a supra national construct and these two institutions are already working. The initial concept of this institution as an

executive secretariat is to ensure that it carries this integration to the level that it is so-posed to be. So the move towards supra nationality had started a long time before now. The protocols establishing these two institutions came into effect in 1994 but the actual establishment of these institutions came in 2000. This was due to the process of ratification and signing. There is a move to float a common currency. There is already a mediation and Security Council for the sub region. There is already a meeting of ministers and operatives in charge of security which includes customs, immigration, drugs, financial crimes, that are already in place towards supra-nationality because when you have these services becoming commonalised, what it means is that you are already creating a supr-national government without actually pronouncing it, because all that will be required one day is to say that, for instance, now we are beginning to have elections into this parliament from member states. It started this way, first, the members of the parliament were pulled out from the elected parliaments of the various member countries so from the existing parliaments, some members are nominated to come and form the ECOWAS parliament. By the protocol, they were so-posed to be in existence for 5 years and then after 5 years, there will be a universal adult suffrage in West Africa where adult executives will be elected directly. That will also mean that there will be a demarcation of constituencies that will produce candidates that will come as ECOWAS parliamentarians. As of that time, there will be one law that this parliament will be able to pass which will be applicable across the entire sub-region. Today we still have the sub parliament's one in each country making laws in the governance of those entities, but when this parliament emerges finally, it will also have another layer of parliamentary services which will now pass laws that will be applicable across the entire sub-region of member states. We are gradually loosing our nationalities to this single body. Already, the ECOWAS passport is in circulation. Citizens are having a passport which reads ECOWAS and Federal Republic of XYZ which means the countries have on their own accepted to seed such elements of their nationality for supra nationality. And if the day comes when we begin to issue just a single passport, for now we have just a single passport but each carrying ECOWAS, we will reach the second stage which will be a single passport for everybody. When we reach that stage, supra nationality will have been obvious you have a single currency, you have a single passport, you have a single parliament you have a single court. And the processes are already on the ground, ECOWAS is really pursuing this. We are already beginning to have what we call common borders, common borders in the sense that the frontiers will share a single building, so the Seme borders between Nigeria and Benin Republic have a similar building on both sides. The essence is to have a common facility

where all the security agencies will be operating more or less like one single family, so you diminish the essence of borders. This is done with the hope that the borders will gradually diminish and we will possibly reach a point where we may not even need them any longer. There is also this deliberate effort to look at all the other communities around. We develop these communities in such a way that they will cease to look at the boundary line as if it is actually dividing them. Let the boundary lines now be a facility for bringing people together. Another important step ECOWAS is taking towards supra-nationality, is the bringing together of facilities and services namely: energy, we are interconnecting the national grids in all the fifteen member countries into a single community grid. So areas that cannot produce sufficient electricity can benefit from countries where there may be excess capacity. We are already looking at a common railway infrastructure where someday, someone should be able to take the train from here and get to any other part of West Africa. The roads are already interconnected. First with the creation of the coastal trans-national highway that starts with Lagos and ending in Dakar and then the Trans-Sahelian which starts from Maiduguri and also gets to Dakar and in those days Mauritania before it pulled out. They are parallel to each other across the regions, all you need is north-south links in each member country that may need one and it will link this to Trans-highways that way you have road networks across Africa, that is the concept and it is already working, there are just a few segments that are yet to work. Now if you have common infrastructure, to enable the citizens move around freely, you will see that we are looking at supra-nationality with bold steps. You also have the development bank, ECOWAS bank for development which is headquartered in Lome, Togo which is looking at the sub region as a common space and looking for businesses to develop. It's been supporting a lot of establishments and running of businesses in various member countries, so they go out, look for funds in the international market, development partners and bring them here for onward learning to member states and promoting businesses. So all these are efforts geared towards supra-nationality.

Question: So how can we look at ECOWAS as far as Africa diaspora with US Africa, because ever since emphasis has always been on Africa Diaspora outside the continent of Africa, and even in the expanding literature Africa Diaspora in US Africa has been neglected.

Answer: correct! It is rather a complex subject, complex in the sense that when we use the term diaspora for west Africans living within the confines of west Africa, we perhaps generate a new dimension into this concept because with the signing of the protocol on free

movements, right of residence and right of establishment being one of the first and foremost protocols of this community, you will see automatically that citizens that may be living outside their native countries may not necessarily be seen as "diaspora" as defined today with the citizens in Europe, America and elsewhere. This is because literally we are looking at a community defined by a common space of West Africa; there is an ultimate aim of supranationality for this community which means that we are looking at a country that may be called ECOWAS one day. In that context therefore, the diaspora concept ceases to have sufficient meaning as it is understood today as well. However, if we take the concept of diaspora and apply it to what is happening today, it is true we are beginning to see the existence of community of non-citizens of particular countries living, working and carrying out all sorts of businesses in other countries other than their first country.

For us in this commission, I think it is a plus because it has kind of mobilized labor, redistributed opportunities, it has created a little more what this community went out in the first place to do in 1975, that is to integrate the people, economies of this sub- region. Because today I think the statistics doesn't seem to be very accurate so there is hardly sufficient data as towards the movements of citizens across the sub-region. But we could visibly see some micro communities emerging literally everywhere. You come to Nigeria here, for instance, which has a larger economic pool and u will see a group of nationals from almost all the member countries settled and carrying out their business freely(relatively freely) and it is same in Benue Rep, Togo, go to Ghana, sierra leone, mali, Senegal and u see people trading, they are those that are relatively living there or some who go and come. So moving across the sub- region has become so easy, and business activities has become such that the citizens are carrying on their business. But what we are unable to give community citizens today is the right to vote or be voted for, but minus that, we see that citizens are contributing to their new communities in where ever they find themselves, and I think in west Africa it will be seen like a positive development because people get to know the sub region better as they move and stay in some places. In the case of the diaspora when we look at our citizens living in Europe or America, the chances are one, physically they are far away, and therefore coming home, say...once in a while, you have to save through your nose to be able to come back for holidays. The case of the sub region is not the same because someone could just take the next bus and he is somewhere in the sub-region. Now, movement of capital which is usually one of the things the diaspora is beginning to be important, it is also rather common today across the sub-region. Besides trading, there have been some repatriation of funds left and right, the banks are already flourishing in the sub-region, they are becoming

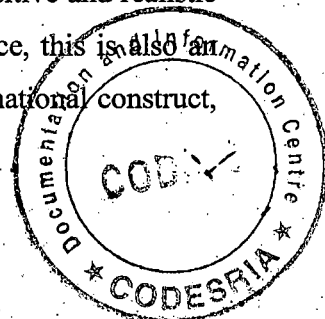
sub-regional banks rather than just national banks and they are facilitating this trade one way or the other. If we look at the statistics carefully, we will also find that the intra trade has been growing but not sufficiently as one would have expected, but nonetheless, there has been sufficient growth in the intra trade such that if this momentum is sustained we should be able to see a much more robust community or sub-region. Nigeria for instance which has relatively speaking, a larger manufacturing capacity, is beginning to find markets in west Africa which hitherto do not exist. This is because since movements of goods and services have become more easier, Nigerian companies are finding new markets and therefore boosting their production capacities here, if not of our power and energy problems, so to say. This is causing a problem to some of our colonial masters who hitherto had monopolized the regional markets here, so this would not possibly have been easy without that protocol of free movement coupled with the trade liberalization scheme for businesses to flourish. So the concept of the diaspora in this place is redefined and refocused.

Interjection: at least from the perspective that ECOWAS policies have not been implemented, because as of right now we have a problem of the supranational community so that's where diaspora as a concept comes in.

Answer: No, we are already talking about supranationality, because supranationality is ultimately the vote exceeding government which is not yet in place yet, because it is a process, but I can assure u.

Question: the efforts of the African diaspora within West Africa are also known for facilitating this supranational community, because they move back and forth, they disseminate information and so on. Again through intermarriages, these are ways in which the actualization of this regionalism can come into focus.

Answer: yes that is why ECOWAS has refocused the policy to say...now it is an ECOWAS of peoples rather than an ECOWAS of states, it is a conceptual shift. This gives impetus to show that the individuals now matter most, we need to integrate the individuals and that means we need to give more force to this freedom of movement, freedom of settlement and establishment. However, ECOWAS as an institution has also taken steps before now which was leading to this supranationality, namely; the establishment of the parliament, the parliament of the people of west Africa, then we could see that this is a positive and realistic step towards supranationality. You also have the ECOWAS court of justice, this is also an institution that is suppose to provide the judicial services for such a supranational construct,



and this two institutions are already working. The initial concept of this institution as an executive secretariat is to ensure that it carries this integration to the level it is expected to be. So the move towards supranationality had started long time before now. The protocol that effected these two institutions came in 1994 but the actual establishment of these institutions that is the parliament and court of justice functionally came in 2000. But because of the processes of ratification and coming into being, they could not take off. There is move to flaunt a common currency; there is already a medium and security council for the sub-region. There is already a meeting of ministers and operatives in charge of security which includes customs, police, immigration, drugs, financial crimes, that are already in place towards to sort of supranationality, therefore you are already creating a supranationalised government without pronouncing it. Because all that will be required to have one day is that we are beginning to have a parliament from member states. It started this way, first, the members of the parliament were pulled out of the various elected parliaments of the member states to come and form the ECOWAS parliament. By the protocol, they were supposed to be in existence for five years and after this, there will be a universal adult suffrage across west Africa, where representatives will be elected directly; that will also mean there will be a demarcation of constituency that will produce candidates that will come as ECOWAS parliamentarians. As of that time, there will be one law that this parliament will be able to pass that will be applicable across the entire sub-region. Today, we still have the fifteen parliaments that is one in each country, making it one governor in those entities, but when this parliament emerges finally it will also have a kind of another layer of parliamentary services which will now pass laws that will be applicable across the entire sub-region, which means that we are gradually losing our nationalities to this single body. Already we are having the ECOWAS passport which is in circulation, citizens are having passports which reads ECOWAS and Federal Republic of XYZ, which means the countries have on their own accepted to cede some elements of their nationality for supranationality, and if the day comes when we begin to issue just a single passport (for now, we have fifteen passports) each carrying ECOWAS, then we will reach the second stage which will be a single passport for everybody. When we reach that stage, supranationality will be obvious, you have a single passport, currency, parliament, court; that is government, executive, legislature. Supranationality is definitely coming and the processes are already on, ECOWAS is pursuing this vigorously in all respect, so we are beginning to have that. We are also beginning to have what we call common borders, common borders in the sense that we share a single building, so between some border that is between Nigeria and Benin Republic and if you have crossed

that border, you will see a building that looks same on both sides of these countries. The essence is to have a common facility were all the security agencies will be operating like one single family, so you diminish the essence of border and will possibly reach a point where we may not even need them. There is also this deliberate effort to also look at all the border communities right round, develop these border communities such that they will resist to look at this borders as actually dividing them. Let the boundary line be now a facility to bringing people together, so all the border communities are being developed right round the sub-region. Now, another important step ECOWAS is taking towards supranationality is the bringing togetherof facilities and services, namely: energy, we are interconnecting the electricity grids in all the fifteen member countries into a single community grid, that is areas that cannot produce sufficient electricity can benefit from countries where there may be excess capacity. We are already looking at a common railway structure, where some day someone should be able to take the railway here and get to any other part in the region. The roads are already interconnected, first with the creation of the coastal Trans highway that's starts from Lagos and ends in Dakar and then the Trans Sahelian highway which starts from Maiduguri and ends in Dakar, it use to reach Mauritania, but since Mauritania pulled out. That is one along the costal line and another across the Sahel, now if you have two highways running parallel to each other across the sub-region. All you will need is north south links in each member countries it will then link to these two trans highways and will enhance road networks across Africa, that's the concept and it is already working, there are only a few segments of this roads that are still being constructed but a lot of it are already being used in some parts of the sub-region. If you have common infrastructures to enable citizens move around freely, you will see that we are looking at supranationalism with bold steps. You also have the development Bank that is the ECOWAS bank for development which is head quartered in Lome, Togo. It is looking at the sub region as a common space, and looking at opportunity for business and developing various businesses, It has been supporting a lot of establishment and running of some businesses in various member countries so they go out look for funds in the international market and development partners and bring them here for onward lending to member states and promoting businesses and the rest of them. So, all these as you can see are geared towards supranationalism.

Thank You Very much Sir., Mr. H.A Warkani,

June 22-28, 2010.