

Issues of South-South Migration: A Case Study of Nigerian Diasporas in Ghana

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Abstract

In spite of the fact that intra and inter-regional migration predates the colonial period in Africa, South-South vis-à-vis South-North migration has received little attention in the international discourse on migration. Recent investigations are indicating that South-South migration is important in terms of its magnitude. For example, a World Bank study shows that about two-thirds of Sub-Saharan migrants remain within their sub-region with among the highest rates of intra-regional mobility.¹³

Beyond this general observation, information is scarce in respect of who these migrants are, their contributions to the development process of the sub-region, their opportunities and challenges within the context of regional economic communities and most importantly the need for appropriate policies and strategies to address the constraints facing this valuable resource.

It is evident from our study that Nigerians are engaged in trans-nationalism in the context of intra-regional migration in West Africa. The Nigerian Diasporas in Ghana maintain social, political and most importantly economic linkages with their home country in the process of forming transnational communities. At destination, they are organized along ethnic, religious and professional lines, which are the platforms for their interventions in the home country as remitters of ideas, funds and goods.^{xxix}

Their altruistic posture has often served as a major household survival strategy to cushion the negative effects of unemployment, sickness and bad harvests on household members left behind by providing for their basic consumption needs, and meeting the human capital needs of the next generation in terms of education, health care and shelter. For better-off households, remittances provide capital for small businesses and small-scale industries. The collective remittances through Home Town Development and ethnic associations are sources of funding basic infrastructural facilities which benefit all households especially in small communities that may not be benefiting from local government budgets.

The evidence from the activities of Nigerian Diasporas in Ghana shows that they, as part of the Nigerian trans-nationals world-wide, can complement and deepen Nigeria's efforts at reducing poverty and improving development at local and national levels. Therefore, the government needs to recognize this potential and factor it into its regional cooperation, especially at ECOWAS level in order to address some of the challenges and constraints facing trans-nationals in member states.

Keywords: diaspora, transnationalism, migration, development, ECOWAS

1. INTRODUCTION

Migration of Africans within West Africa predates colonial period. In the past, West Africans have moved both within and across ethnic lines in response to diverse reasons, including wars, community conflicts, environmental crises such as drought, leading to an avid search for fertile and grazing lands among farmers, herdsmen and their communities. The limited infrastructures for mobility in terms of transport and communication development often precluded long distance travels for the majority of the population except for some herdsmen and caravans to whom long distance was no barrier.

In the pre-colonial period, migrants have always considered the West African sub-region as an economic community where people moved along with the flow of trade in goods and services criss-crossing the North to the South and the West to the East. People had always moved freely between and within communities that were colonially reconstituted into distinct countries. For instance, in the pre-colonial era, Nigerian immigrants in Ghana established a pattern of economic network between the two countries and were engaged in certain activities such as, trading, providing unskilled and skilled labor in the gold mines etc¹⁴

With colonial rule, states such as Gambia, Sierra-Leone, Ghana and Nigeria came under British sphere of influence. Their economies were to a large extent integrated in terms of a common currency, exports, administrative policies, institutions and customs. The centers of economic activity shifted from the pre-colonial

¹³ The World Bank, 2011. Leveraging Migration for Africa-Remittances, Skills and Investments, Washington D.C

¹⁴ Addo, N.O 1974 Foreign African workers in Ghana, International Labour Review, Vol.109, No 1, cited in Adepoju. A. 1988 Labour Migration and Employment of ECOWAS nationals in Nigeria in, Fashoyin, T (ed) Labour and Development in Nigeria, Land mark Publications Ltd, Lagos.

patterns to areas of production of export crops, minerals, forest products and the administrative centers sustaining the colonial economy.¹⁵ Apart from the fact that these areas provided wage employment for labor migrants, they were also better equipped with transportation facilities and social services which further attracted the migrants.

While the colonial economy of Ghana in particular engendered rural-rural migration to the Cocoa plantations and the mines, it also attracted persons across the political borders, among which were Nigerians that shared the same colonial heritage and customs. Also, the burgeoning urban centers of colonial administration started to attract migrants both within and outside Ghana.

The pace of migration into the enclaves of the colonial economy of Ghana accelerated after the Second World War, precisely with the onset of the Ten-Year colonial development plan of 1946-1956.¹⁶ Planning for economic and welfare development in the colonies became an accepted British policy during the Second World War. This led to the introduction of the post-war 10-year plans for Ghana, Nigeria and Sierra-Leone. In the case of Ghana, emphasis was placed on agriculture, especially exports, and a general improvement of the country's infrastructures. Lesser attention was given to the improvement of social services such as, education, health, social welfare, labor, water supply, housing, town and country planning etc.

These developments subsequently encouraged labor migration and rapid rates of urbanization, including intra-regional migration drawn largely from contiguous countries as well as from countries far away like Nigeria.

At political independence in 1957, Ghana's economy was far more developed than that of any of her counterparts under the British rule. The first few years of independence witnessed a good measure of economic growth and social service investments, resulting from high earnings from export crops and minerals. This created much attraction to migrants outside her borders. One of the countries whose nationals have been highly visible in Ghana is Nigeria. Besides those early years of independence, precisely since the late 1960s and early 1970, the socio-economic conditions began to deteriorate as a result of the unfavorable terms of trade in Ghana's exports. As the economic situation continues to deteriorate rapidly, the pressure to migrate intensified among the male skilled and unskilled, and much later among the females. Ghana which used to be an immigrant country soon became a country of emigration to the North and to other African countries, including Nigeria.

The mutual flow of migrants between countries in the West African region has set up the platform for the evolution of Diasporic communities since the colonial times. Given the protocols of the West African regional economic community i.e. Economic Community of West African states (ECOWAS), created by politically independent West African states, which are intended to facilitate free movements of persons and economic activities in the region, the extent to which the ECOWAS is facilitative to the migration of citizens of member states and the formation of Diasporic communities is worthy of study.

1.1. Literature Review

A major fall-out from emigration in general is the development of transnational migrant communities or the Diaspora in the countries of immigration. While the concept of "brain drain" associates emigration with the dead end of lost human capital, there is usually no emigration without a return flow and a substantial number of non-returning migrants who form the transnational migrant community, often with close links to their origin through remittances and business operations. These Diasporas are usually formed where relatively large numbers of a country's emigrant population take up residence in another country.¹⁷

Studies of migration show that migrants maintain social, political and most importantly economic linkages with their countries of origin in the process of forming transnational communities. Technological development in transportation and telecommunication allowed migrants to maintain ties between origin and destination more intensely than ever before.¹⁸ In Africa, emigrants usually move to countries of destination about which they have some information pertaining to settlement and adjustment, employment prospects and social networks formed by chain migration, involving close relatives and friends.

¹⁵ Fadayomi, T.O. Internal Migration and Regional Development in Nigeria RIPS Monograph Series, 1987.

¹⁶ Among the Anglophone West African countries under British rule, Ghana was the first to blaze the trail of development planning. Due to improvements in Cocoa exports during the 1910s, Guggisberg, the colonial governor of Ghana, decided to initiate a 10-year development programme for the colony between 1920 and 1930. This programme was basically an "infrastructure" plan which concentrated on transport provisions e.g. railways and roads. Other items of the programme allowed for the construction of hospitals, water supply, town planning etc. The programme clearly indicated that the development priority of the colonial economy of the 1920s was to make the colony a more efficient producer of raw materials rather than a recipient of improvements in social welfare (Fadayomi, T.O 1988.Social Development Strategies, Policies and Programmes in West Africa in the light of the Lagos Plan of Action.)

¹⁷ Patterson, Rubin. 2005. US Diasporas and their Impacts on Homeland Technological and Socio-economic Development: How does Sub-Saharan Africa Compare? Perspectives on Global Development and Technology, 4:83-123

¹⁸ Skeldon, Ronald. 2008. International Migration as a Tool in Development Policy: A Passing Phase, Population and Development Review, 34,1

Chain migration is stimulated by positive conditions that pull migrants to where earlier migrants took residence. All too often, migrants of the same ethnic group or from the same region nucleate in particular parts of receiving countries where they evolve social and economic links as well as networks to sustain their solidarity.¹⁹ These African Diasporas have recently become more organized and focused on the development of their communities of origin through their associations which are refocusing a substantial portion of remittances and associated investments towards community development such as the formation of community banks, support for communal projects etc. With the support of some African governments in recent times, Diasporas are evolving from community/ethnic to national organizations which are enthusiastic about national political, social and development agendas.

1.2. Objectives of this study

In spite of the fact that more Africans emigrate to other African countries (and form Diasporic communities there) than outside of it, South-South vis-à-vis South-North migration has received little attention in the international discourse on migration. Recent investigations are indicating that South-South migration is important in terms of its magnitude. For example, a World Bank study shows that about 2/3 of Sub-Saharan migrants remain within their sub-region, West Africa being the sub-region with among the highest rates of intra-regional mobility²⁰. Recent findings have also indicated that financial remittances from the African Diaspora, largely from the North, not only contribute immensely to homeland development but are overtaking the volume of foreign direct investments in some countries.

While this type of statistical estimates is being viewed as an important source of capital for development in African countries, this information is limited in terms of reliable data and analyses of, the socio-economic profile of these migrants, their contributions to the development process of the sub-region, especially to the development of the source and destination countries, their opportunities and constraints within the context of regional economic communities; and most importantly, the development of policies that ought to address migration as an issue of human capital development in Africa.

An attempt is made in this paper to identify the West African Diasporas and their roles within the context of South-South migration, by focusing on Nigerian Diaspora in Ghana. The role of the regional community in facilitating the operations of Diaspora is examined in order to raise pertinent issues of opportunities and challenges of South-south migration in West Africa, and the policy implications.

1.3. Data of Study

A field work was carried out between 2009-2010^{xxx} to elicit information from a sample of Nigerian Diaspora resident in Ghana and their Ghanaian counterparts in Nigeria, using current records of the Diasporic associations and attendance at association meetings in both countries. The data collected via the administration of questionnaires were supplemented by focus group discussions and an in-depth interview of some critical stakeholders.

1.4. Findings

1.4.1 Characteristics of the Nigerian Diaspora in Ghana

TABLE 1 PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NIGERIAN DIASPORA IN GHANA (SEE APPENDIX)

Close to 50 percent of the Nigerian Diaspora are below 40 years of age. Others are in their fifties while only a few are over 60 years of age. The overwhelming majority of them are males i.e. about 87 percent, and they are also married. The majority of the Diaspora, who identified their spouse's nationality, was married to Nigerians. A few of them are married to either Ghanaians or other nationals. Most of them have children; about a half of the children live with their parents in Ghana while the other half live back home in Nigeria. Similarly, about 80 percent of the Diaspora have living parents who are evenly spread across Ghana where they live, and Nigeria, their origin.

Almost equal proportions of the Diasporas visit Nigeria either occasionally or regularly. This form of circular migration is expected because of the spread of their close relations i.e. children and parents between the destination and origin.

TABLE 2 MIGRATION CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NIGERIAN DIASPORA IN GHANA (SEE APPENDIX)

¹⁹ Adepaju, Aderanti. 1996. The Links between Intra-continental and inter-continental Migration in and from Africa. In International Migration in and from Africa: Dimensions, Challenges and Prospects. Dakar: PHRDA; Stockholm: Centre for Research in International Migration and Ethnic Relations (CEIFO)

²⁰ The World Bank,(2011). Leveraging Migration for Africa-Remittances, Skills and Investments, Washington D.C

The majority of the Nigerian Diaspora contacted for this study, based on the records of the Nigerian association in Ghana and attendance at association meetings, came to post-independence Ghana between 1975 and 2004. This coincided with the period, 1975-1990 when Ghana was experiencing a substantial emigration as a result of the economic downturn, and the period 1990 onwards when a good number of migrants were returning in response to Ghana's economic recovery. At the same time, Nigeria was experiencing an economic boom which attracted emigrants from neighboring countries such as Ghana; and an economic slump, from the 1990s until the end of the last century, which encouraged substantial emigration of Nigerians. The implication of this phenomenon of migration stream from Ghana during this period is that it generated a counter-stream of Nigerian migrants to Ghana.

About a half of the Diaspora entered Ghana to seek work. A third came to Ghana for the purpose of transiting to other countries, while the few remaining Diaspora came to Ghana either on adventure, or for political reasons or for the purpose of trading.

4 out of every 5 Nigerian Diasporas had no contact in Ghana before migration. Besides, close to 90 percent arrived in Ghana by road. Relatively few of them travelled by air.

TABLE 3 EDUCATION, SKILLS AND THE LABOUR FORCE STATUS OF THE NIGERIAN DIASPORA IN GHANA (SEE APPENDIX)

Almost a half of the Diaspora had secondary level of education. The remaining half is equally distributed between those who possess primary and tertiary school education. Before migration into Ghana, 70 percent were working. In most cases they were engaged as shop or clerical assistants in retail trade. A fewer proportion of them were teachers, artisans and other professionals.

Since they arrived in Ghana, about 57 percent of them tend to combine wage income with self-employment. When the proportion of them that reported either self-employment or wage employment is taken into account, it appears that more of the Nigerian Diaspora are in self-employment in Ghana.

When account is taken of the specific activities of the Diaspora, the supplementary data from our focus group discussions and in-depth interviews give the impression that more of the Nigerian Diasporas are more visible in trading activities than others such as, teaching, artisanal work etc.

TABLE 4 LINKAGES WITH ORIGIN AND DESTINATION (SEE APPENDIX)

The linkages of the Nigerian Diaspora in Ghana with origin and destination were identified by probing their economic, social and political activities, and their social networks, including Home town development, national and trade associations. An extra effort was made to probe the magnitude of their socio-economic links with both origin and destination, and also elicit additional information from the Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and in-depth interviews of the key stakeholders such as, the officials of the Nigerian associations and the Nigerian embassy officials in charge of the affairs of the Nigerian Diaspora.

Our respondents were more willing to divulge information on their linkages with Nigeria, i.e. their origin than with Ghana, where they are resident. This observation was not far-fetched given the on-going hostility being faced by Nigerians trading in merchandise from government officials as well as vocal Ghanaians in retail trade.²¹ Besides, in terms of the veracity of information gathered from the administered questionnaires and the FGDs and in-depth interviews, the latter tend to provide more reliable information on the Diaspora community than the individual-based inquiry of the questionnaire type.

From FGDs, both the Diasporas involved in merchandise trade and artisanal activities such as, electricians, plumbers, tailors, etc stated that their state of material existence in Ghana was better than it was in Nigeria. Hence, it is expected that the majority of them are likely to be remitters of funds and goods to their home country as indicated in table 4. Even though much reliance cannot be placed on their stated amount of financial remittances because of imprecise estimation as well as deliberate attempts to under-rate their remittances, most importantly because of the fear of taxation, the majority, i.e. over 90 percent of them claimed that they sent home more than 50,000 Naira, i.e. about 300 US Dollars a year. When this is juxtaposed with the Nigerian income per capita of about US\$1,500.0, this amount of financial remittance is quite substantial.

According to table 4, apart from a quarter of the responses that are unspecified, the major purpose of remitting money to Nigeria is the upkeep of family members, including parents. This accounts for about 71 percent of remitters. About 14 percent of remitters do so in order to pay school fees of children left behind while about 5 percent each do so for savings and for paying dues of political or social associations back home respectively.

Apart from money, goods are also sent home by about 60 percent of the Diaspora for the consumption of family

²¹ The bilateral relations between Ghana and Nigeria have been soured in recent times because the Government of Ghana was trying to limit foreigners, including Nigerians engaged in retail trade in competition with Ghanaians. The Ghana government has barred foreigners who could not invest USD 300,000 (three hundred thousand dollars) considered to be an exorbitant sum of money deterring foreigners from participating in retail trade. The bone of contention has been that the unilateral decision by the Ghanaian government to limit non-Ghanaian participation in such enterprise contravenes the protocol of the regional economic community i.e. ECOWAS, which guarantees free movement and location of economic activities among the citizens.

members. However, no value could be attached to the goods as most responses to the estimated value of the goods sent were unspecified.

From the FGD and in-depth interviews, a large number of Nigerian Diaspora, especially those who settled in Ghana much earlier, i.e. prior to independence, had built houses at home from remittances, both for residence when they eventually return and for hiring. In recent times, a lot of goods are sent home not only for consumption but for sale by trusted family members who save the returns for the Diaspora.

The need for social capital, in terms of social and professional networks, is very high among Diaspora both at origin and destination. The Diaspora tends to build linkages at both the level of their community and/or nation. They often belong to associations existing both at origin and destination. The associations at origin exist for the purpose of linking the Diaspora to developments-social, economic and political-at home mainly for the purpose of participation e.g. participation in community development projects, politics at community and national levels.

At their points of destination, associations are built for group solidarity and security. The latter entails regular meetings to meet mainly social obligations such as support for members in dire financial straits, members engaged in burials and naming ceremonies of newborn babies, and reception for visitors from origin. Such associations are usually Home Town Development Associations (HTDA) although national associations are beginning to emerge as national governments take more interests in Diaspora affairs and try to engage them as a group. HTDAs also encourage professional groups within the associations to form savings societies that can provide business and other emergency funds to members in difficult situations.

Nigerian Diasporas in Ghana maintain socio-economic linkages with their origin as they claimed in the focus group discussions and in-depth interviews. At origin, the Nigerian Diasporas belong to social clubs, most of which are based on age grade, school ties and vocations. They also belong to religious groups which they often carry to their destinations. This has often accounted for the dispersion of religious groups in Nigeria, especially the Pentecostal Christian group, all over West Africa.

Generally, they are also involved in community development projects which engage their resources, especially the Diaspora from the eastern parts of Nigeria who have a long-standing tradition of sponsoring community social overhead services like schools, roads etc.

Their linkage with destination is a veritable extension of their associations at home plus the need for a much wider solidarity and security necessitated by living in a foreign territory where they lack any form of publicly provided social security. Hence, they need group efforts to support each other especially in difficult times.

What is probably missing in the Diaspora linkage with the destination is the minimal integration of members with the host community in terms of housing social life and participation in civic and political activities. Apart from the inter-marriage between some members of the Diasporic community and Ghanaians which entails some familial contacts across national lines, the Nigerian communities tend to be segregated and largely nucleated in specific locations in the country.

1.4.2. Opportunities and Challenges facing the Nigerian Diaspora in Ghana

The need for intra-regional integration in West Africa, which existed before the attainment of political independence, had been the focus of relations between West African leaders a few years after independence. This political aspiration eventually culminated in the 1975 treaty establishing the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). A major objective was to establish a community for the nationals of the member states with the explicit goal of free movement of goods, capital and people in the sub-region.

The phase one of the ECOWAS Protocol was signed in Dakar, Senegal in 1979 and was ratified by member states in 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 therefore be any reason to stay more than ninety days, then the individual would be required to request for permission for an extension from the appropriate authority.

The phase two which is the right of residence was signed in 1986 and ratified in 1989. The second phase allows a citizen from a member state to reside in another member state in accordance with the latter's rules and regulations. The phase three which is the right of establishment was signed in 1990 and ratified in 1992. The third phase allows citizens of fifteen member states of ECOWAS to settle and/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 defined by the laws of the host Member state for its own nationals.

Apart from the protocol, ECOWAS has introduced several measures to achieve full integration of the West African states, including the establishment of ECOWAS travel certificate and the ECOWAS passport, the establishment of national committees to monitor ECOWAS programs on free movement of persons and vehicles. In addition, the community intends to have a single currency and monetary union, the take-off of which was postponed from 2009 to 2015. Other decisions that were taken included the extension of West African Monetary Institution (WAMI), the adoption of a schedule of payments of contributions to the capital of the West African Central Bank and the stabilization and cooperation fund by member states.

Thus, the ECOWAS protocol on free movement of persons, the right of residence and establishment, and the other measures put in place, have dramatically increased the scope of migration in the fifteen member states. This protocol enables migrants to travel back and forth and also engage in business simultaneously. The Nigerian Diasporas and their associations operate in a transnational setting by taking advantage of the opportunities that are available to them as a result of the protocol. They are expected to build social, economic and political bridges with valuable benefits across borders.

Findings from the FGDs and in-depth interviews show that the ECOWAS protocol has contributed tremendously to the free movement of ECOWAS citizens between Nigeria and Ghana. It has reduced the amount of time usually wasted at the borders filling many immigration and customs papers required before entry. This opinion was more emphasized by members of the Diaspora community who had been living in Ghana before Ghana attained independence. The use of an ECOWAS travel certificate and the introduction of the Brown Card Motor Insurance Scheme are facilitating free movement of citizens of the community. However, members of the Nigerian Diaspora community who engage in trading between the two countries were complaining of the high-handedness and the rent-seeking attitude of immigration and customs officials, and would like ECOWAS to look into the matter.

The most common type of transportation available to the Nigerian Diaspora between Ghana and Nigeria, including other ECOWAS states is by road. The Nigerian Diasporas are usually mobile between home origin and destination as their relations are spread between the two countries. Besides, most of the goods traded are from their origin, either locally produced or imported from other countries. Given the poor state of the roads, most of them complain of high transport charges which increase substantially their transaction costs and reduce profit. The opinion of the most vocal groups among the Diasporas is that ECOWAS will be facilitating trade among its member states if roads linking major centers of commerce and population agglomeration are taken up and maintained by the economic community. Besides, such investments would also encourage ECOWAS private sector to promote tourism.

Until recently, the Nigerian Diasporas, especially those engaged in trading, felt much happier with their operations in Ghana given an atmosphere where they were less harassed by municipal authorities than at home, in Nigeria. For the past three years, their feelings have changed. They now feel more uncomfortable with their hosts due to trade competition and the decision of the government to restrict the entry of foreigners into certain trades reserved for Ghanaians (mainly retail trade where foreigners are most visible). The law requesting foreigners to invest the sum of three hundred thousand US dollars before they could engage in trading, which is retail in most cases, is considered by the Nigerian Diasporas in trading very discriminatory and against the spirit of ECOWAS. As a result, most of the retail traders have closed shop in Accra, the capital of Ghana awaiting the intervention of the Nigerian government on the platform of both bilateral and multilateral relations (i.e. ECOWAS).

Most African countries have been drawn lately to the issue of the Diaspora because they see them as major source of investment that far exceeds overseas development assistance and in some cases, foreign direct investment on which a lot of them have relied since their political independence. Much less emphasis is placed on their social capital, ideas, mind-sets, world views, values and attitudes which they import to their families and communities at origin.

Indeed, the Nigerian Diasporas send remittances in form of cash and goods to Nigeria individually to meet their obligations to relations, and collectively through their ethnic and religious associations for community development projects. Virtually all of them engage in social remittances that are difficult to quantify. While the majority who are self-employed conceal the magnitude of the remittances because of the fear of taxation and of being more exposed in a hostile environment, they merely acknowledge that their activities are lucrative and have enabled some individuals to prepare for the “rainy day” i.e. their future needs (mainly in form of houses) when they eventually return to Nigeria. However, money transfer costs are often very high because they rely on relatives and close family friends who may be undependable. According to the FGD, a major reason for the preference for remitting goods is to reduce theft and cases of cash losses by the carriers. Very few of them are aware of the recent developments in many West African banks which offer money transfer facilities among ECOWAS countries.

The Nigerian Diaspora community also includes a lot of semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers in construction, dock and harbor activities. Their activities often preclude them from job security, and being members of trade unions. In most cases, they entered Ghana as irregular immigrants since they lack travelling documents. Hence, it is not surprising that most of them complain of being paid wages often below the statutory minimum.

Only a few of the Nigerian Diasporas who are white-collar employees were captured by the FGD. Most of them considered Ghana more livable than Nigeria on the account of ample energy supply, better social services, and security. However, they feel that ECOWAS should do more for the protection of the business interests of citizens

of member states in order to arrest any molestation from the host community.

1.5. CONCLUSIONS

It is evident from this study that Nigerians abroad are engaged in trans-nationalism in the context of intra-regional migration in West Africa. At destination, they are organized along ethnic, religious and professional lines, which are the platforms for their intervention in the home country as individual and collective remitters of ideas, funds and goods. Their altruistic posture has often served as a major household survival strategy of cushioning the negative effect of unemployment and bad harvests on household members left behind by providing for their basic consumption needs, and meeting the human capital needs of the next generation in terms of education, health care and shelter. For better-off households, remittances provide capital for small businesses and small-scale industries.

The collective remittances through Home Town development and ethnic associations are sources of funding basic infrastructural facilities like roads, small bridges, drainages, wells, drinking water and other public goods such as, churches, mosques, schools and new educational equipments etc which benefit all households especially in small communities that may not be benefiting from local government budgets.

Even though the Nigerian Diaspora in Ghana is a small segment of Nigeria's productive human capital, the evidence before us shows that it can complement and deepen Nigeria's efforts at reducing poverty and improving development at local and national levels. Therefore, the government needs to recognize this potential and factor it into its international cooperation, especially at ECOWAS level, in order to address some of the challenges and constraints facing trans-nationals in member states such as, reducing discriminatory practices which limit the establishment of ECOWAS citizens in member states, reducing transaction costs of doing business due to bad roads, high-handedness of host country officials, dependence on unofficial channels of monetary transactions, and lack of good information on the ECOWAS protocol and institutions-its benefits and responsibilities.

Finally, West Africa should not look up only to the North for the contribution of their Diasporas, especially the remittances to national development. The potential of the South-South migrants needs further exploration within the context of an appropriate policy and strategy for harnessing their contributions.

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APPENDIX-TABLES

TABLE 1 PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NIGERIAN DIASPORA IN GHANA

CHARACTERISTICS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
AGE		
Below 40	155	47.5
40-49	102	31.3
50-59	38	11.7
60 and over	29	8.9
No response	2	0.6
Total	326	100.0
GENDER		
Male	285	87.4
Female	39	12.0
No response	2	0.6
Total	326	100.0
MARITAL STATUS		
Single	14	4.3
Married	288	88.3
Widowed/Separated	19	5.8
Unclassified	5	1.6
Total	326	100.0
CHILDREN'S RESIDENCE		
Nigeria	138	42.3
Ghana	149	45.7
Both	6	1.8
Unclassified	33	10.2
Total	326	100.0
PARENTS' RESIDENCE		
Nigeria	120	36.8
Ghana	122	37.4
Both	84	25.8
Total	326	100.0
RESIDENCY STATUS		
Resident with occasional visits to origin	168	51.5
Resident but visits origin regularly	153	46.9
Unclassified	5	1.6
Total	326	100.0

SOURCE: FIELD WORK ON NIGERIAN DIASPORA

TABLE 2 MIGRATION CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NIGERIAN DIASPORA IN GHANA

CHARACTERISTICS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
YEAR ARRIVED IN GHANA		
1975-82	115	35.3
1983-90	101	31.0
1991-2004	110	33.7
Total	326	100.0
MODE OF TRANSPORTATION		
Road	285	87.4
Air	40	12.3
Unclassified	1	0.3
Total	326	100.0
MAJOR REASONS FOR COMING TO GHANA		
Looking for work/Seeking greener pasture	159	48.8
Transiting to other nations	107	32.8
Adventure	26	8.0
Political reasons	13	4.0
Business/Trading	6	1.8
Unclassified	15	4.6
Total	326	100.0
HAD CONTACT IN GHANA BEFORE MIGRATION		
Yes	56	17.2
No	270	82.8
Total	326	100.0

SOURCE: FIELD WORK ON NIGERIAN DIASPORA

TABLE 3 EDUCATION, SKILLS AND THE LABOR FORCE STATUS OF THE NIGERIAN DIASPORA IN GHANA

CHARACTERISTICS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT		
Primary Level	87	26.7
Secondary Level	159	48.8
Tertiary	80	24.5
Total	326	100.0
PREVIOUS WORKING EXPERIENCE		
Working	225	69.0
Not working	101	31.0
Total	326	100.0
PREVIOUS OCCUPATION		
Teaching	83	25.5
Clerical/Shop Assistant	127	39.0
Artisan	14	4.3
Other professionals	57	17.5
Unclassified	45	13.7
Total	326	100.0
CURRENT EMPLOYMENT STATUS		
Self-employed	69	21.2
Employed	52	16.0
Both	187	57.4
Unclassified	18	5.4
Total	326	100.0

SOURCE: FIELD WORK ON NIGERIAN DIASPORA

TABLE 4 LINKAGES WITH ORIGIN AND DESTINATION

CHARACTERISTICS	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
DO YOU REMIT MONEY TO HOME COUNTRY?		
Yes	230	70.6
No	96	29.4
Total	326	100.0
AMOUNT REMITTED		
Less than Naira 50,000	20	8.7
Naira 50,000 and more	210	91.3
Total	230	100.0
PURPOSE OF REMITTANCE		
Family upkeep	164	71.4
School fees	32	13.9
Savings/Contingencies	10	4.3
Dues etc. to associations	12	5.2
Unclassified	12	5.2
Total	230	100.0
DO YOU SEND GOODS TO HOME COUNTRY?		
Yes	206	63.2
No	120	36.8
Total	326	100.0

SOURCE: FIELD WORK ON NIGERIAN DIASPORA