DETERMINANTS AND FLOW OF CROSS-BORDER MIGRATION OF ECOWAS CITIZENS INTO NIGERIA

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Abstract

This paper examines the determinants and flow of cross-border migration of ECOWAS citizens in order to ascertain the spatio-temporal volume of their flow into Nigeria. Both quantitative and qualitative methods were explored in the research. Data were obtained from open and close ended questionnaire surveys which were administered on 462 ECOWAS migrants based on chain referral approach and ethnographic interview was also conducted. Descriptive statistics was used to analyse the socioeconomic characteristics of migrants, Principal Component Analysis (PCA) was used to investigate the determinants the migration while the pattern of migration flow was mapped out. The results revealed that 66.02% of migrants were males while 33.98% were females. The PCA extracted a total of 7 components from 18 variables, and the 7 components accounted for 70.037% of the total variance. Socio-political issues with Eigen value of 14.358 are the most significant underlying determinant of migration in the study area. Other determinants of migration are inadequate infrastructure and public services, better fishing opportunity, economic issues, and bad agricultural condition. The pattern of migration flow showed that in general, the largest flow was from the nearby countries of Benin and Togo with volume-range 13.65% - 34.09% (between 1985 and 1994). Ethnographic interview revealed that family and social connections and ethno-cultural ties contributed immensely to the determinants of migration flow for this set of migrants. However, in 1984 and earlier, there was more flow from Ghana (with volume-range 21.22% - 45.45%) than any other country in the region. Economic issues contributed immensely to the determinants of migration flow for this set of migrants. Based on the findings, the study recommends selective migration policy for Nigeria, improving the economy and infrastructure of the origin countries and conflict prevention in the ECOWAS region.

Keywords: Cross-border, Determinants of migration, ECOWAS, Migration flow, Nigeria

Introduction

According to UN DESA (2017), globally, international migrants has risen from 2.8% in 2000 to 3.4% currently. There is an estimated 258 million people living in a country other than their country of birth, which is an increase of 49% since

2000. As a process involving flow of population, peoples' motives to migrate are numerous and could be grouped into several determinants including socio-political, economic, environmental and family and social networks (Sow, Adaawen & Scheffran, 2014; Blum, 2014; Popoola, 2016). The social, political, economic and environmental conditions in both the origin and destination countries at a particular period influence the volume of migration flow into destination countries. However, people do not only migrate within a country or overseas but also beyond international borders into countries in the same region as their origin country – cross-border migration.

The phenomenon of cross-border migration is not unusual in the ECOWAS region. Some countries in the region are emigration countries while some are immigration countries as well as those that combine both, and others are transit routes used by migrants to connect to other parts of the world (Adepoju, 2011). Due to job opportunities generated by impressive economy from oil boom in the 1970s, Nigeria became an immigration country. But with deteriorating economic condition in the mid-1980s, Nigeria repatriated about 2 million ECOWAS migrants. Currently, there are no comprehensive data of immigrants in Nigeria based on origin countries; but since 2000, Nigeria is attracting migrants from different countries in the region due to its economic growth. (IOM, 2016). According to the 2006 census, out of 999,273 immigrants in Nigeria, 513,308 (i.e. 51.4%) were citizens from other ECOWAS member countries (NPC, 2010). In fact, estimates derived from the ECOWAS Commission indicate that the percentage of ECOWAS migrants among the total immigrants in Nigeria was much higher in 2003 and 2005 (i.e. 93.7% and 97.5% respectively) (IOM, 2016). Consequently, there is need to analyse the determinants and migration flow of ECOWAS citizens into Nigeria based on origin countries and period of migration.

Determinants and flow of migration is a global phenomenon. Sustainable migration policies in the EU has led to 12% increase in intra-EU migration over 2011, 10% decrease in labour migration and family reunion is nearly unchanged (OECD, 2014). Charley-Kai (2018) discovers that economic growth in Germany has increased the number of migrants from NMS (EU New Member States) to 12.5% since 2017. According to OECD/ILO (2018), due to open-human right based immigration policy since 2003 and economic developments, Argentina immigrant stock has become less European and more Latin American. Data from INDEC (2010) shows that the proportion of immigrants in Argentina from different countries before 1990, between 1991 and 2001, and between 2002 and

2010 is as follows, Italy: 95%, 2% and 3%; Spain: 87%, 3% and 10%; Paraguay: 42%, 20% and 38%; Bolivia: 39%, 25% and 36%; and Peru: 11%, 39% and 50%. In Australia, over the past 10 years, the population of person born in UK decreased from 5.5% to 5.0%, conversely, there is increase for the proportion born in New Zealand (from 2.1% to 2.5%), China (from 1.2% to 2.2%) and India (from 0.8% to 1.9%) (ABS, 2017). This is as a result of immigration policy which helps to strengthen migrants' chances for permanent residence status in Australia (Gregory, 2014).

In the ECOWAS region, Popoola (2016) cited economic reasons as the motive of migration of ECOWAS citizens to Nigeria. He stated the proportion of immigration from countries in the region as follows: Benin (55%), Togo (35%) and Ghana (7%). Though the work studied determinants and flow of migration, it focused on spatial and neglected the temporal aspect of the flow. This has thus, created a gap in the body of literature which this study attempts to bridge. The findings of this study will help the authority formulate good policies for orderly and well-managed migration in Nigeria. The objective of this study is to discuss the determinants of spatio-temporal migration flow of ECOWAS citizens into Nigeria.

Methodology
Data were obtained based on chain referral approach using questionnaire surveys which were administered on 462 ECOWAS migrants in 4 locations in Nigeria namely, Abuja, Badagry, Lagos and Saki. In analysing the data, Principal Common Factor Analysis (PCA) was used to investigate the determinants of migration flow. A total of 18 migration motivational variables were examined. Latent root criteria (Eigen value) was used where by factors with eigen value from 1 were considered and 7 determinants were extracted. Variables with loadings from 0.500 (ignoring the signs) were retained. Maps were used to depict the volume-range (in percent) of migration flow into Nigeria from countries in the ECOWAS region during the periods: 1984 and earlier, 1985 to 1994, 1995 to 2004 and 2005 to 2017.

Results and Discussions
Socioeconomic Characteristics of Migrants
There are more male (66.02%) than female (33.98%) migrants. Ethnographic interview revealed that societal pressure on males to be economically viable in these societies contribute to the disparity. There is high percentage of married

migrants (64.07%). The migrants are from traditional societies where marriage at young age is encouraged so that couples start bearing children early in life. Most migrants fell into the categories of those with none education (26.84%) and those with only primary school education (41.34%). Their mean years of schooling is 6.44 years.

Component	Determinant name	Eigen value	% Variance	Label	Migration motivational variable	Loading
I	Socio-political issues	2.617	14.538	X_{16}	Political turmoil in my country	0.889
				X_{17}	Ethnic tension in my country	0.921
				X_{18}	War in my country	0.918
II	Inadequate infrastructure and public services	2.210	12.246	X_{13}	To go to school in Nigeria	0.842
				X_{14}	Inadequate medical services in my country	0.737
				X_{15}	Decadence in public services in my country	0.921
III	Better fishing opportunities	1.718	9.570	X_7	Much fish in Nigeria waters	0.892
				X_8	Better fish in Nigeria waters	0.895
IV	Economic Issues	1.698	9.440	X_9	Unemployment in my country	0.500
				X_{10}	Better job opportunities in Nigeria	0.648
				X_{11}	To make money	0.611
				X_{12}	Low wages in my country	0.777
V	Bad agricultural condition	1.687	9.372	X_5	Drought and pests bring low agricultural yield in my country	0.884
				X_6	Infertile land causes low farm produce in my country	0.900
VI	Ethno-cultural ties	1.405	7.812	X_1	Because I understand the culture of Nigeria	0.715
				X_2	I understand Nigerian language	0.794
VII	Family and	1.271	7.060	X_3	Friends in Nigeria asked me	-0.829

	social connections				to come	
				X_4	My spouse/family members in Nigeria asked me to come	0.634
Total percentage of variance	70.037					

And the expected years of schooling in Nigeria is 10 years (UNESCO, 2016) Table **1**: Na Therefore, most of the migrants are not well educated, consequently, they are employed in non-skilled and semi-skilled jobs. They mainly work in the informal sector of the economy such as business/trade, farming, fishing, welding, provision of services. The migrants are mostly youths, with a total of 89.83% of them arriving Nigeria at 30 years and less. This makes sense economically since at this stage of life, the migrants are energetic and are always ready to migrate to search for work in order to make enough earnings for the future.

Determinants of Migration

In the naming of determinants, a total of 7 components were extracted from 18 migration motivational variables. They all together account for 70.037% of the total variance. The percentage explained by components I to VII are: 14.538, 12.277, 9.543, 9.434, 9.373,

1.804 and 7.064 respectively (Table 1).

ming of determinants

Source: Authors computation (2018)

Component I: Socio-Political Issues

This component has an eigen value of 2.617 and emerged as the most significant in the analysis. It is loaded with 3 variables which are positively correlated with the component. They are: "Political turmoil in my country", "Ethnic tension in my country" and "War in my country". The common underlying determinant for this component is socio-political issues.

Component II: Inadequate Infrastructure and Public Services

This is the second most significant component. It has an eigen value of 2.210 with an underlying common determinant of inadequate infrastructure and public services. It loads three variables namely: "To go to school in Nigeria", "Inadequate medical services in my country", and "Decadence in public services in my country". The variables are positively correlated with the component.

Some ECOWAS migrants move to Nigeria in order to have access to health and education due to decadence in the public service sector of the country.

Component III: Better Fishing Opportunities

This is the third most significant component with eigen value of 1.718. Two variables which are positively correlated with the component are loaded. They are: "Better fish in Nigeria" and "Much fish in Nigeria". Better fishing opportunities is the underlying common determinant in this component. Incessant seasonal migration of commercial fish species in some of these countries (Fregen, 2014) has pushed fishermen to migrate to Nigeria.

Component IV: Economic Issues

The fourth significant component has eigen value of 1.698. It loads 4 variables which are positively correlated with the component. They are, Unemployment in their countries", "Better job opportunities in Nigeria", "To make money" and "Low wages in their countries". This component revealed economic issues as the underlying common determinant. As the largest economy in the region (IOM, 2009), ECOWAS migrants move to Nigeria to earn better wages

Component V: Bad Agricultural Condition

This component has an eigen value of 1.687. It is the fifth most significant component and loads two variables which are positively correlated with the component. They are: "Drought and pests bring low agricultural yield in my country" and "Infertile land causes low farm produce in my country". The underlying common determinant for this component is bad agricultural condition.

Component VI: Ethno-Cultural Ties

The sixth most significant component has an underlying common determinant of ethno-cultural ties. It has an eigen value of 1.405. It loads two variables which are positively correlation with the component. They are: "I understand Nigerian language" and "Because I understand the culture of Nigeria". Nearer things are more related than distant things (Sui, 2004). Countries which are nearer to each other have closer ethno-cultural ties such as common language, culture and history between their peoples than those that are farer apart. The migrants perceive movement across the border as movement across the same socio-cultural milieu.

Component VII: Family and Social Connections
This is the least significant component. It has an eigen value of 1.271 with family and social connection as the underlying common determinant. Two variables, "Friends in Nigeria told me to come" and "My family members in Nigeria asked me to come" are loaded in this component. Friends and family members provide migrants with basic needs such as food, accommodation, clothes, money and news about job opportunities. The correlation of "my spouse/family members asked me to come" is positive while that of "friends told me to come" is negative, indicating that, migrants prefer moving to meet spouse/family members rather than friends because it is easier to get disappointed by friends than by family members.

Spatio-Temporal Flow of Migration
In 1984 and Earlier
The migration pattern in Figure 1 shows that of the total number of ECOWAS migrants in Nigeria in 1984 and earlier, the volume-range of migration flow from Niger, Mali and Burkina Faso was 3.03% - 9.10% each, and from Ghana was 21.22% - 45.45%. In the 1960s and 1984, Mali and Niger suffered serious Sahelian wide drought (Swinton, 1988); and there was gregarization of desert locust during this period which attacked crops and created hunger and famine in several parts of both countries. About 3 million people were affected by the famine of which 800, 000 were children (Bruguiere, 2012). Consequently, many migrated to other countries including Nigeria in order to increase household resilience emanating from bad agricultural condition. Many Ghanaians migrated to Nigeria due to economic hardship of late 1970s and early 1980s (Afolayan, 1988).
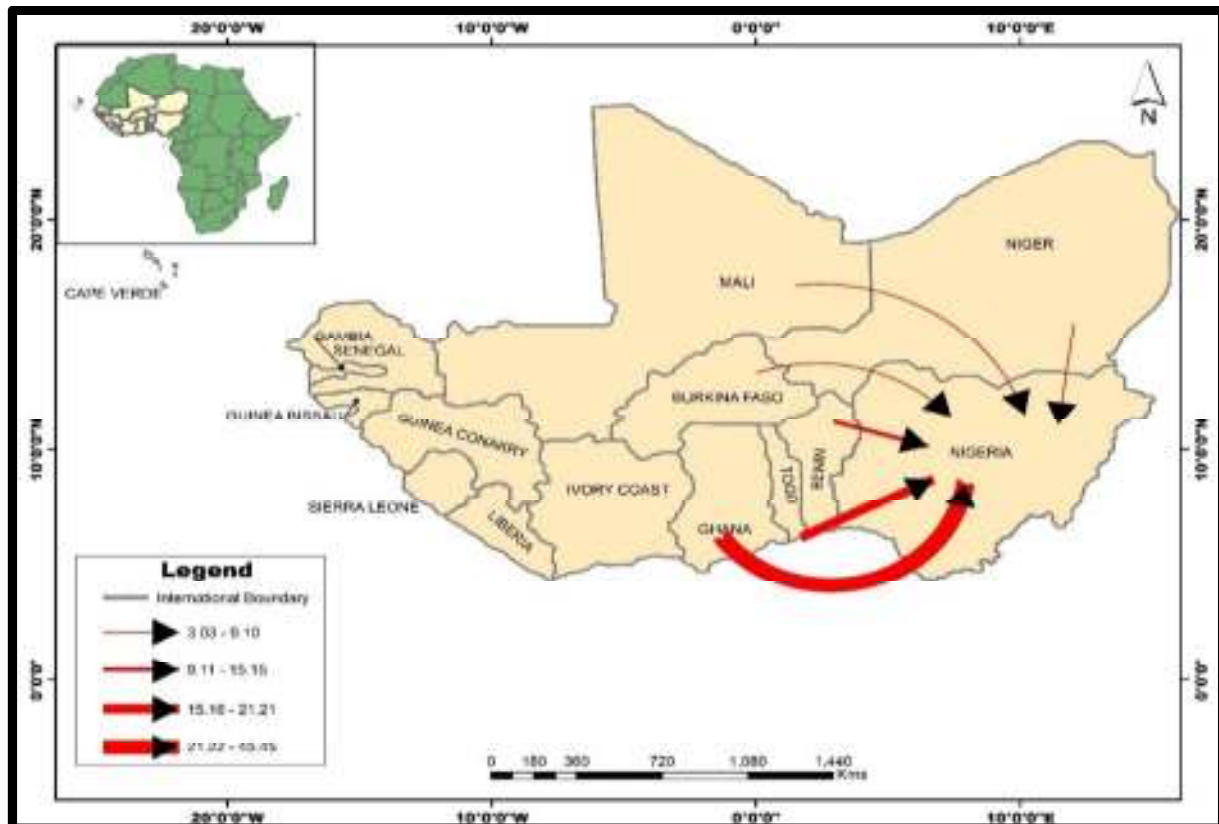
Figure 1: Migration Flow of ECOWAS Citizens into Nigeria in 1984 and earlier. Source: Author's compilation (2018).

Between 1985 and 1994

According to Figure 2, of the total number of ECOWAS migrants in Nigeria between 1985 and 1994, the volume-ranges of migration flow from countries in the region were as follows: Niger, Mali and Burkina Faso (2.29% - 4.54% each), Ghana (4.55% - 9.09%), Liberia (9.10% - 13.64%), and Togo (13.65% - 34.09%). This period culminated with the forcefully deportation of about 2 million migrants especially from Ghana by the Nigerian Government. The first Liberian war between 1989 and 1996 and the spill over of the war into neighbouring Sierra Leone in 1991 (Liebling-Kalifani et al., 2011) caused the outflow of migrants from both countries into Nigeria. From 1984 and earlier to between1985 and 1994, the volume of migration flow from Liberia rose from about 0% to volume-range 9.10% - 13.64%, and from Sierra Leone rose from about 0% to volume-range 2.29% - 4.54%. Ethnographic interview revealed that elderly migrants from Burkina Faso, Benin and Togo migrated to Nigeria about 3 decades ago to access better health care service. Infrastructure and public services in francophone ECOWAS countries are mainly in the capital cities – legacy of their French

colonial history which tend to develop only the capital cities (Cogneau, Dupraz & Mesple-Somps, 2018; Clignet & Foster, 1964). These cities are often times far from where majority of the people live.
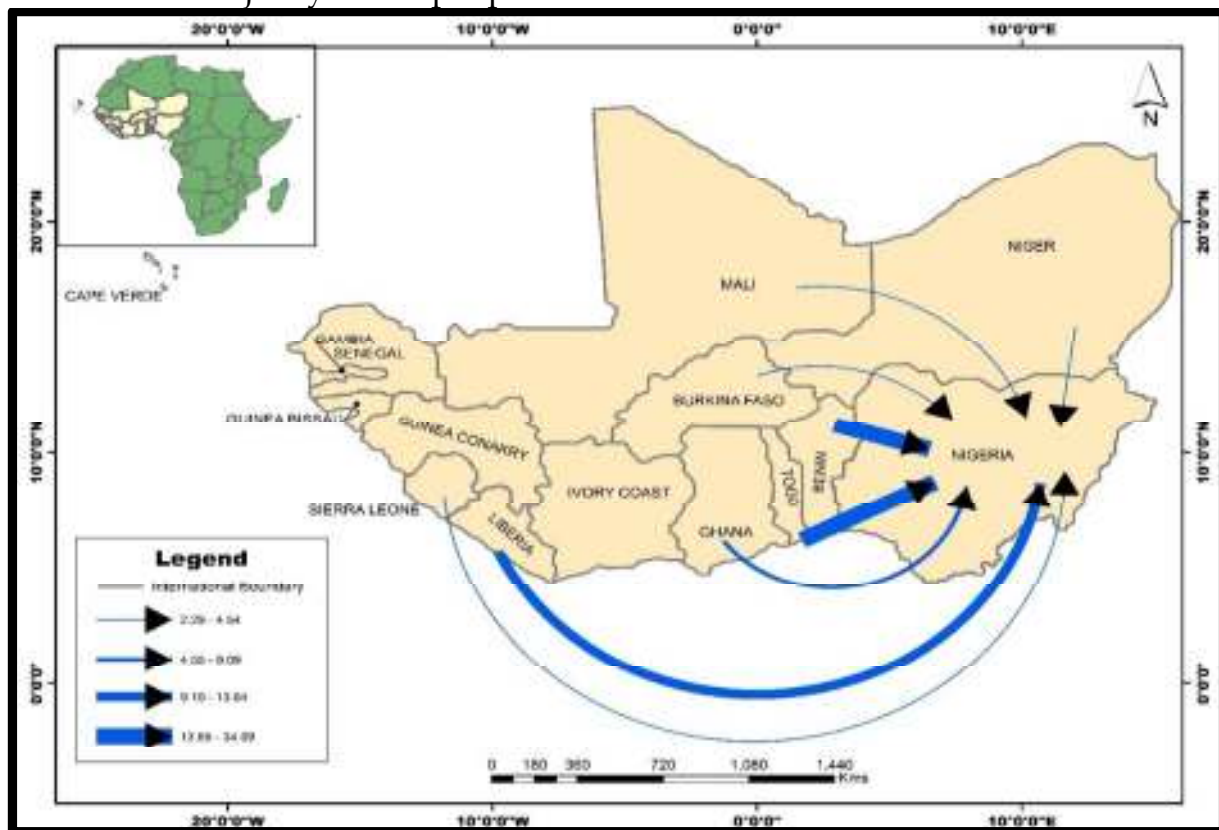

Figure 2: Migration Flow of ECOWAS citizens into Nigeria Between 1985 and 1994. Source: Author's compilation (2018).

Between 1995 and 2004

Figure 3 shows that of the total number of ECOWAS migrants in Nigeria between 1995 and 2004, the volume-range of migration flow into Nigeria from Ghana, Liberia, Sierra Leone and Guinea Conakry was 1.14% - 3.41% each, and from Niger and Ivory Coast was 5.69% - 7.95% each. The second Liberian war was between 1999 and 2003 (Liebling-Kalifani et al., 2011). Many Liberians fled to seek refuge in Nigeria. Sierra Leoneans fled to Nigeria due to another war in 2002 (ibid). Migrants from Guinea Conakry cited fear of war in neighbouring Liberia and Sierra Leone as their motive of migration. Many Ivorians fled to Nigeria during the first Ivorian war between 2002 and 2004 (Dabalen, Kebede & Paul, 2012). The volume of migration flow from Ivory Coast rose from about 0% between 1985 and 1994 (that is in period of peace) to volume-range 5.09% - 7.95% between 1994 and 2005 (that is during violent period). The democratisation

process of the 1990s after the death of President Gnasemgbe Eyadema in Togo led to political crisis (Konhert, 2017), thus, many Togolese fled to Nigeria.
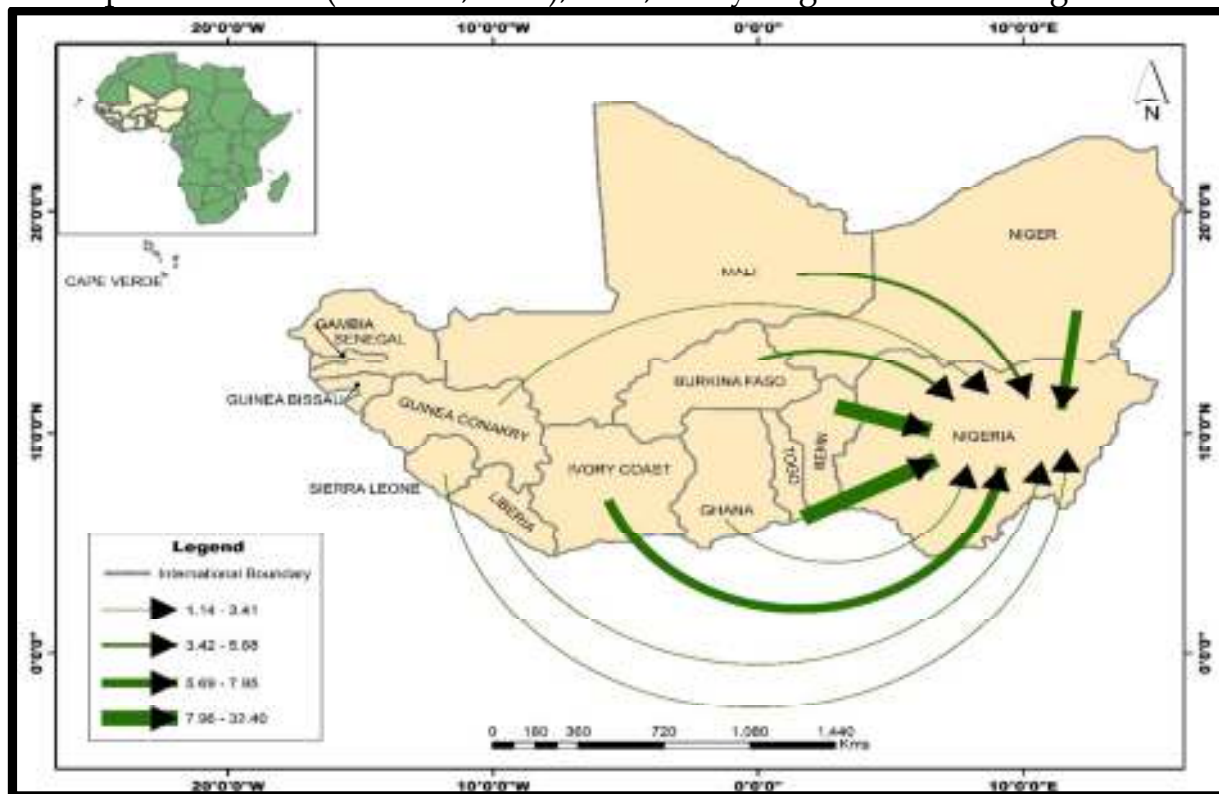

Figure 3: Migration Flow of ECOWAS citizens into Nigeria Between 1995 and 2004. Source: Author's compilation (2018).

Between 2005 and 2017

Figure 4 shows that between 2005 and 2017, of the total number of ECOWAS migrants in Nigeria, the volume-range of migration flow from countries in the region are as follows: Mali and Ghana (6.10% - 6.40% each), Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast (6.41% - 8.10% each), Niger (8.11% - 11.11%), and Benin and Togo (11.12% - 31.94% each). Ivorians had their second migration stream to Nigeria during Ivorian second war which resulted due to 2010 election disputes (Dabalen et al., 2012). Some Malians migrated to Nigeria between 2006 and 2009 during the period of Tuareg rebellion for more autonomy and in 2011 during the Tuareg rebellion for independence (Ba, 2014).

In recent times, there is no evidence of migration flow from Liberia and Sierra Leone. Many immigrants from both countries have returned home because of relative peace achieved in their countries (PANA, 2006). However, migrants from

Togo, Benin, and Niger are moving to Nigeria citing friends and family reunion, ethno-cultural ties as well as economic reasons as their motive for migration.
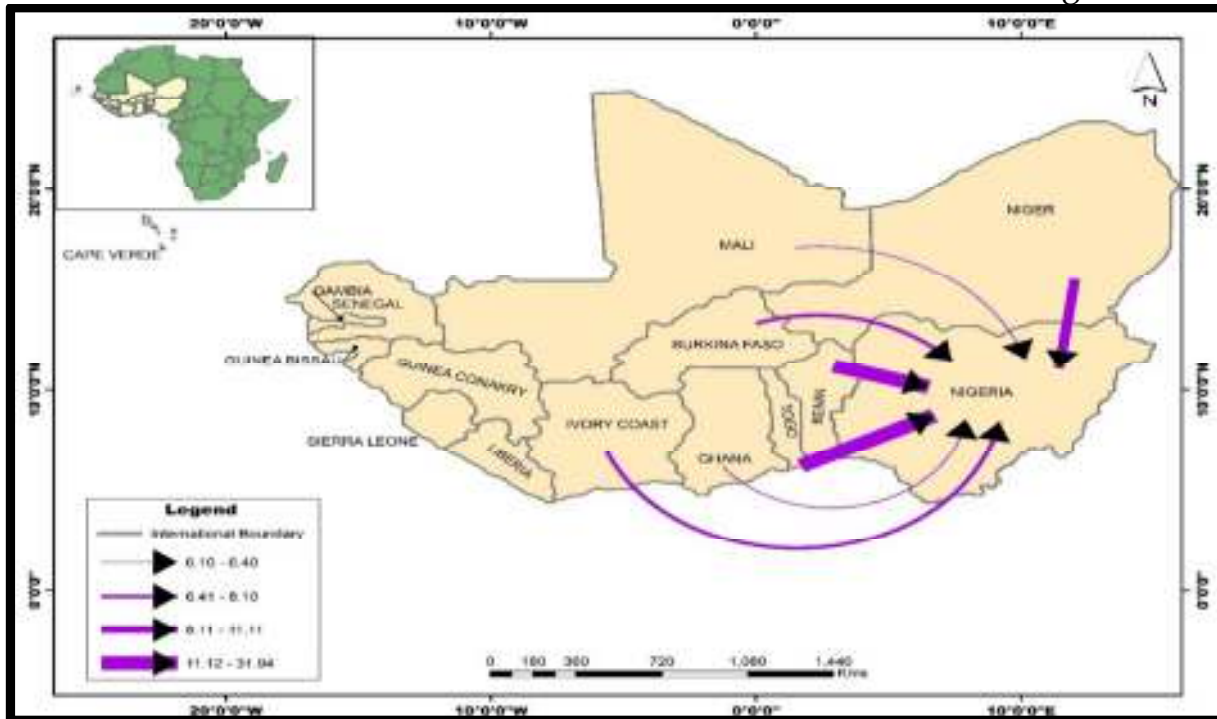

Figure 4: Migration Flow of ECOWAS citizens into Nigeria Between 2005 and 2017. Source: Author's compilation (2018).

This study found that there are various determinants of migration of ECOWAS citizens into Nigeria including economic issues, inadequate infrastructure and public services and bad agricultural conditions, however socio-political issues is the most significant determinant. The volume of migrants who move into Nigeria from war ravaged countries of Liberia, Sierra Leone and Ivory Coast rose from about 0% in 1984 and earlier (peace period) to as far as 11.3% between 1985 and 1994 (violent period). These findings correspond with that of Dionigi (2016) in Lebanon who found that the number of Syrians who registered with UNHCR in Lebanon rose from about 100, 000 in 2012 to nearly 1.2 million in 2015. Most of them fled Syria as a result of war which devastated infrastructure and public services, agricultural and economic activities and killed many civilians.

In conclusion, this study has shown that in general, the migration of ECOWAS citizens into Nigeria follows distance decay pattern, which reminisces attenuation of frequency of interaction as distance between places increases (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts, & Whatmore, 2000). Nearness portends low

transportation cost and less cultural shock for intending migrants. Consequently, the largest migration flow into Nigeria is from nearby countries of Benin, Togo and Niger while the lowest flow is from more distant countries of Guinea Conakry and Sierra Leone. However, in 1984 and earlier, migration flow from Ghana was the largest in the study area. It is recommended that ECOWAS creates migrants' database based on origin countries in order to foster research on migration in the region; Nigerian authorities provide migration policy which can act as a suitable pull factor attracting the right volume of migration for Nigeria's economic development; authorities in origin countries improve agriculture and economy so as to reduce the volume of their citizens migrating for economic reasons; and to reduce the volume of refugees and minimise irregular migration across borders in the region, ECOWAS should enhance conflict prevention mechanism which will nip tensions in the bud before they escalate into wars in the region among others.

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