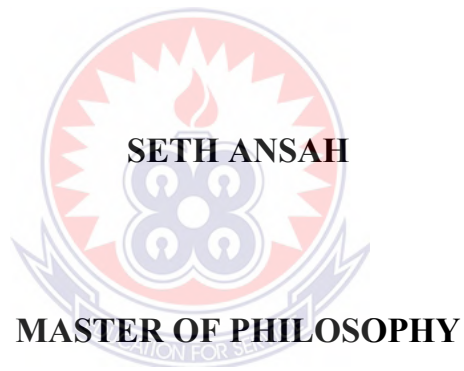


UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**EFFECTS OF TRADE DISAGREEMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS: A STUDY OF NIGERIAN AND GHANAIAN TRADERS IN
NEW JUABEN SOUTH MUNICIPALITY, GHANA**



2023

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

**EFFECTS OF TRADE DISAGREEMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL
RELATIONS: A STUDY OF NIGERIAN AND GHANAIAN TRADERS IN
NEW JUABEN SOUTH MUNICIPALITY, GHANA**



**A Thesis in the Department of Political Science Education,
Faculty of Social Sciences Education, submitted to the School of
Graduate Studies in Partial Fulfillment**

**of the Requirements for the Award of the Degree of
Master of Philosophy
(Political Science)
in the University of Education, Winneba**

MAY, 2023

DECLARATION

Student's Declaration

I, Seth Ansah, declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own original work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

Signature

Date



Supervisor's Declaration

I hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of this work was supervised in accordance with the guidelines for supervision of thesis as laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

Name of supervisor: Dr. Gabriel Botchwey

Signature

Date

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my mother, Madam Helena Serwaa, my wife Patricia Amankwa, my kids: Gerald, Jeffery and Jenelle, and all my siblings.



ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my profound appreciation to God Almighty for His mercies, favour and grace bestowed on me to be able to withstand the odds to accomplish such a feat. My sincere gratitude goes to my supervisor, Dr. Gabriel Botchwey. It was his encouragements and wise counsel that kept me on the path of success. Your doors were always opened for guidance and support. Thanks for your patience which helped me to come this far.

My deepest appreciation also goes to the wonderful lecturers of the Department of Political Science Education, University of Education, Winneba, Prof. Kwame Bofo-Arthur, Prof. Braimah Imurana, Dr. Thomas Prehi Botchway, Dr. E. T Amannor- Lartey, Dr. Ezekiel Clottey, Dr. Arah Mathew and the others for their mentorship and readiness to impart knowledge. Your diverse and candid contributions helped greatly towards the success of this work. Again, I am thankful to Dr. Mawuku Dza (School of Business, UEW) and Mr. Joseph Kolug (School of Business, UEW) for their time and guidance which were very useful for this work.

I am equally grateful to my wife Patricia Amankwa and my children. You were my comforter when I felt like giving up. I would like to thank my parents, Jonathan Yaw Abedi and Helena Serwaa, and my mother in-law Mary Amankwa for all their prayers and support. I earnestly express my ardent gratitude to Emmanuel Ofori Ntim, Ebenezer Baah, Felix Tei and all course mates. Finally, I want to thank the members of the Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA) Koforidua, Nigerian Traders Union in Ghana, the Ghana Immigration Service (GIS) and all who supported me; their willingness and enthusiasm encouraged me to proceed earnestly with the study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Content	Page
DECLARATION	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	v
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vi
LIST OF TABLES	x
LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS	xi
ABSTRACT	xii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.0 Background of the Study	1
1.1 Statement of the Problem	4
1.2 Purpose of the Study	7
1.3 Research Objectives	7
1.4 Research Questions	8
1.5 Significance of the Study	8
1.6 Scope of the Study	9
1.7 Limitations of the Study	9
1.8 Organisation of Chapters	10
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	11
2.0 Introduction	11
2.1 International Relations and States' Sovereignty	11
2.2 Theoretical Framework: The Migration Systems Theory (MST)	14

2.3 History of Ghana-Nigeria Trade Relations	19
2.4 Reasons for Integration Schemes in West Africa	27
2.5 Implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and Trade	30
2.2.5 Trade Disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian Traders: Nature and Resolutions	38
2.6 Summary of Literature Review	44
CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	45
3.0 Introduction	45
3.1 Philosophical Paradigm – Social Constructivist Paradigm	45
3.2 Research Approach	46
3.3 Research Design	47
3.4 Population of Study	48
3.5 Sample Size	50
3.6 Sampling Techniques	51
3.7 Sources of Data	51
3.8 Data Collection Procedures	52
3.9 Research Instrument	52
3.10 Data Analysis	52
3.10 Ethical Considerations	53
3.11 Conclusion	53
CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS	55
4.0 Introduction	55



4.1 Demographic Statistics of Participants	55
4.2 Reasons for the Increased Number of Nigerian Retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality in the Past Decade	57
4.2.1 Approved and unapproved routes to Ghana	58
4.2.2 The business climate in the municipality	60
4.2.3 Legal frameworks for protecting foreigners	63
4.2.4 Settlement plans	64
4.3 Effects of Nigerian Retailers' Activities on the Local Economy of the New Juaben South Municipality	67
4.3.1 Non-Compliance with the tax regime	67
4.3.2 Decline in the growth of Ghanaian retail business	69
4.3.3 Ghanaian traders' inability to access credit facilities	70
4.3.4 Business innovation and competitive market structure	71
4.4 Implications of the trade disagreements between Nigerian and Ghanaian retailers on international relations	73
4.4.1 Conflict between national laws and regional conventions	73
4.4.2 Investor confidence in the Ghanaian economy	75
4.4.3 Greater economic loss	77
4.4.4 Security concerns in West Africa	79
4.4.5 Trade sanctions	83
4.5 Conclusion	85
CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS	87
5.0 Introduction	87

5.1 Summary of Findings	87
5.2 Conclusion	89
5.3 Recommendations	90
5.4 Suggestions for Further Studies	91
REFERENCES	95
APPENDIX A	102
APPENDIX B	102



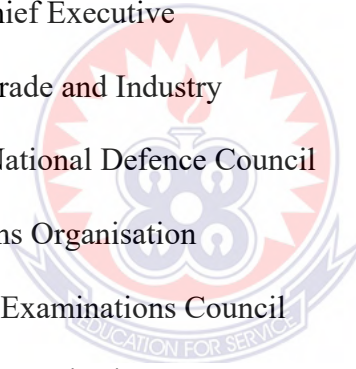
LIST OF TABLES

Table	Page
1: Population of the Study	49
2: Demographic Characteristics of Participants	56



LIST OF ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

AfCTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
AU	African Union
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EU	European Union
FTAs	Free Trade Agreements
GIPC	Ghana Investment Promotion Centre
GIS	Ghana Immigration Service
GUTA	Ghana Union of Traders Association
MCE	Municipal Chief Executive
MTI	Ministry of Trade and Industry
PNDC	Provisional National Defence Council
UNO	United Nations Organisation
WAEC	West African Examinations Council
WTO	World Trade Organisation



ABSTRACT

The bilateral relations between Ghana and Nigeria dates back to pre-colonial times. However, intermittent disagreements between Nigerian retailers and their Ghanaian counterparts in Ghana have serious repercussion on their bilateral relations. The purpose of the study was to analyse the effects of these trade disagreements on international relations using the case of Nigerian and Ghanaian traders in the New Juaben South Municipality, Ghana. The study used the qualitative research approach and a semi-structured interview guide to obtain primary data, which were subsequently analyzed using thematic analysis. The study found that the Nigerian retailers use both approved and unapproved routes to enter the New Juaben South Municipality. The study also revealed that the business climate in the municipality, the legal frameworks for protecting ECOWAS citizens and the settlement plans of the Nigerian retailers constitute the reasons for the increased Nigerian retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality. The study also revealed positive and negative effects of the activities of the Nigerian retailers where the local economy is boosted but lawlessness abounds, taxes are evaded, the growth of Ghanaian businesses decline and inaccessibility of credit facilities to support Ghanaian businesses is commonplace. The study further revealed that Ghana may not attract foreign investors due to the implication that it is a hostile country to foreigners. The study found that there is the possibility of being sanctioned by international organisations which frown on trade impasse and a probable weakening cordial relationship that exists between Ghana and Nigeria. As a consequence of the alternating trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian retailers, the study recommends strict enforcement of immigration laws, start-up capital for retailers to enhance their trading activities and laws that deter foreigners especially traders unnecessarily should be waived in Ghana.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Background of the Study

Migration entails the movement of people across the boundaries of states and their settlements in other countries due to several factors (Adewale, 2005). The import is that whenever residents of a defined territory cross a specific administrative or political boundary permanently, migration has taken place (Ojukwu et al., 2020). Ojukwu et al. (2020) further claim that migration worldwide has been an ongoing process for years since the influence of colonization struggles, civil wars, and geopolitical and ethnic divisions persist. Consequently, the global exodus of people and goods has reached an unimaginable magnitude because of ease and free movement between of people across regions and countries. For more than half a century, the migration regime has become so significant that freedom to move across borders and within national boundaries has been enshrined in Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and other continental and regional conventions.

The issue of migration has assumed growing significance in contemporary international relation as its prospects for economic growth and bilateral relations are constantly acknowledged in the literature. Awumbila, Badasu and Teye (2018), for instance, have observed that all humans now live in an age of migration. This typifies an era of complex journeys, diverse destinations and varied features of migrants. Corroborating this line of argument, the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) have targets and indicators which are relevant to migration. Target 10.7 of the SDGs, for example, makes a clarion call on countries to facilitate orderly, safe, regular and responsible mobility of people through execution of well-managed migration policies.

However, while the International Organization of Migration (IOM) supports the movement and settlement of people in other countries, it also recognizes that states have the sovereign rights to determine the class of migrants that should enter and remain in their jurisdictions.

Awumbila et al. (2009) argue that a significant dimension of the migration paradigm in West Africa is that many migrants or travelers use countries like Ghana, Nigeria, Senegal and Cote D'Ivoire as transit points to other countries. Many of these migrants often seek permanent residence in these countries. Concerning the level of migration in recent times, Sajjadpour (2005) contends that all human societies invariably face migration challenges. Seyed and Mohsen (2016) affirm this position by asserting that scholars of differing backgrounds, from demography, sociology, social psychology, political science, economics, and planning experts, concur that migration occurs when the social needs and wants of society actors such as employment, education, services, health, income and security are not met.

However, a lot of settlers from African countries, especially in West Africa, travel back and forth due to existing legal regimes like the ECOWAS Protocol on free trade and movement of persons within the sub-region (Adepoju, 2008). According to Adepoju, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria and other West African states became principal migrant-receiving countries in the 1970s. Nationals of Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali, Togo, Senegal, and other West African states migrated to countries like Ghana in the 2000s due to improved economic conditions, a departure from the days of military rule. In such instances, relations between countries of migrants and the receiving countries become an area of critical study owing to the nexus between

internal laws and international obligations that regulate the activities of migrants and the host country.

Relations between countries have always been interesting for critical studies in International Relations because of global dynamics, migration issues, and domestic pressures (Otoghile & Obakhedo, 2011). Extant literature has revealed that bilateral relations between the US and UK, for instance, is founded on historical ties and denote some socially constructed phenomena where the two countries comprehend each other. A foremost example is Wendt's (1992) example of the UK's 500 nuclear weapons, which are less threatening to the US than just five North Korean nuclear weapons. Even after the Treaty of Westphalia, the formation of the UN, and other continental and regional organisations, which built the international community, the idea of two states exhibiting cordial relations (bilateral relations) is steeped in close ideologies and other social and economic considerations.

Despite the cordial relations that accompany bilateral relations, occasionally, some issues of trade disagreement and security concerns erupt between countries. Scholars contend that trade disagreements among countries in the world is not a recent phenomenon. During the 1990s, a trade dispute between US and the EU, which was based on the import of Bananas by the EU resulted in a retaliation often referred to as the "Battle of Bananas" (Congressional Research Service, 2021). In his study, Smith (2003) observed that economic relations between Japan and Russia had always been hostile until President Vladimir Putin visited Japan in September 2000 to sign an agreement to deepen trade and economic cooperation.

Occasionally, trade disagreements occur between countries in the West African sub-region. The lack of proper enforcement by regulatory agencies and other factors have

led to some disagreements between Nigerian and Ghanaian traders in all parts of Ghana which demand deep-rooted study. Unfortunately, while trade misunderstandings in cities like Accra, Kumasi and Abuja have attracted great attention, the incidences of such nature at the local level of governance and their repercussions on international relations have received little attention.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

Bilateral relations between Ghana and Nigeria on trade can be traced to colonial times under the British. Even though scholars label the relations between Ghana and Nigeria as deep-rooted in their history, the two countries normally show cynicism about each other's trade policies and treatment of their citizens in the other country (Ademola, 2016). However, Ghana and Nigeria share similar interests from independence through the inheritance of a common official language, standard judicial, educational and administrative systems, and being members of the Commonwealth of Nations, among others.

While economic relations between Ghana and Nigeria have witnessed a steady increase from the onset, some occasional misunderstandings in trade relations impede the otherwise smooth bilateral relations. Arguably, the first trade dispute that marred the relationship between Ghana and Nigeria was recorded in the 1930s due to the cocoa hold-up crisis in 1932 which led to the call by the National Crusade for the protection of Ghanaian enterprises to expel foreign traders in order to protect Ghanaian enterprises (Akoeda, Bofo-Arthur, Amo-Agyemang & Agbodzakey, 2023). Later in 1969, Ghana, through the policy of the Aliens Compliance Order by the Busia Administration, expelled many Nigerian residents in the country (Botchway & Amoako-Gyampah, 2021). Among the expelled immigrants were persons who were

engaged in retail trade in different locations of the country. Consequently, the expulsion order affected close to 200,000 aliens from Nigeria, Togo, Mali and Burkina Faso (Aremu & Ajayi, 2014). Nigeria also suspended oil exports to Ghana in the 1970s and expelled about one million Ghanaian residents in Nigeria in 1983 and 300,000 others in 1985 (Daly, 2019). This reciprocity in Ghana-Nigeria relations had serious consequences on economies in West Africa and the security of the sub-region.

Relations between Ghana and Nigerian were, however, re-established for more than two decades. The trade relations between the two countries, nevertheless, deteriorated when President John Atta Mills assumed office. Nigerian businessmen in Ghana began to complain about the harsh realities of the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre Act (GIPC), 1994 which was under review to increase the amount of money for registering businesses owned by foreigners in Ghana. The Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) sought to restrict Nigerian traders from retail trade amounting to a certain threshold in market areas (Aiguosatile & Onebamhoi, 2011). This measure caused an impasse in 2012 when Ghana closed down businesses owned by Nigerians in Ghana based on provisions in the GIPC Act.

Nigeria on the other hand has contributed to the occasional trade disagreements between the two countries. Of particular importance to this discourse is Nigerian's trade policy which had vast implication on relations with Ghana. For example, in 2004, Nigeria banned the importation of more than ninety-six Ghanaian products, garments, textiles, starch, poultry products, rice, maize, among others (Kufuor, 2013). Ghanaian exporters persistently protested against this policy since it prevented them from benefiting from the ECOWAS trade liberalization arrangement (Kufuor, 2013). The closure of the Nigerian border to importers in 2019 without prior notice to other

sister countries especially Ghana, also added to the schema of trade hostilities between the two countries. The Nigerian leader, Buhari, was nonetheless so adamant to heed calls from African leaders to respect the ECOWAS Protocol on free trade and movement, bilateral agreements and the principles of the African Continental Free Trade Area Agreement (AFCFTA) that was signed in 2019 (Krippahl, 2020).

In the past decade, occasional disagreements between Nigerian retail traders and their Ghanaian counterparts in Ghana stemming from the former's unlawful activities have received lots of attention from civil society, political leadership and ordinary Ghanaians that it could trigger unfavourable relations between the two countries. For instance, such impasse has transcended the national capital to towns and villages in Ghana, causing friction in the bilateral relations between Ghana and Nigeria. Laws barring foreigners from engaging in retail trade in Ghana include the ECOWAS Protocol on free trade and the GIPC, Act, 2013 (Act 865) but the Nigerians also cite the ECOWAS Protocol on free trade to defend their retail activities (Ogundepo, 2023).

Some foreign nationals including Nigerians continue to engage in such activities in breach of the GIPC Act, 2013 (Act 865) and some portions of the ECOWAS Protocol on free trade. This situation erupts occasional trade misunderstandings between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders. Of course, some of these trade misunderstandings surfaced in 2018 and 2019 resulting in some Ghanaians allegedly burning items worth lots of money belonging to the Nigerians. For, example, Baiyewu (2019) reported that Nigerian retail traders were attacked at Opera Square, Accra in 2019. Further, the report indicated that in August 2018, Ghana's Inter-Government Task Force, in a bid to regulate the retail trade, arrested thirty-seven (37) Nigerian traders and locked up

more than ten (10) shops at Tip Toe Lane at the Kwame Nkrumah Circle, Accra. Nigeria's House of Representatives condemned the attack vehemently.

In fact, the literature is quite loud on the impacts of pockets of violence among Nigerian and Ghanaian traders. However, while studies on this area are limited, they are also concentrated on cases in Accra, the capital city of Ghana and other urban centres. For example, Hoppe and Aidoo (2012) explored the barriers to trade between Ghana and Nigeria and how they could be removed through commitment to ECOWAS. Yeboah et al. (2020) also concentrated on some factors such as common official language, nearness, ethnic ties and historical legacy that account for movement of persons across the West African sub-region and how different people experience the ECOWAS Protocol on free trade and movement in diverse ways. Ogundepo's (2023) study examined the nexus between internal laws and the ECOWAS Protocol on trade liberalization in protecting Nigerian traders in Ghana. Furthermore, Yendaw (2021) assessed the cross-border migration of itinerant immigrant retailers in Ghana using the case of the Accra Metropolitan Assembly and found that most of the retailers used unapproved routes to enter Ghana. The present study, therefore, aimed at assessing the effects of trade disagreements between Nigerian and Ghanaian traders in the New Juaben South Municipality of the Eastern Region of Ghana. That is the pivot of this study to fill the gap.

1.2 Purpose of the Study

The overall purpose of this study was to assess the effects of the trade disagreement between Nigerian retailers and their Ghanaian counterparts on international relations.

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of the research were to:

1. Explain the reasons for the increased number of Nigerian retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality in the past decade.
2. Assess how the activities of Nigerian retailers are affecting the local economy of the New Juaben South Municipality.
3. Explore the implications of the trade disagreements between Nigerian and Ghanaian traders on international relations.

1.4 Research Questions

1. What explains the increased number of Nigerian retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality in the past decade?
2. How are the activities of Nigerian retailers affecting the local economy of the New Juaben South Municipality?
3. What are the implications of the trade disagreements between Nigerian and Ghanaian traders on international relations?

1.5 Significance of the Study

The study is significant for several reasons. First, from the standpoint of a theoretical paradigm, it provides a unique irreconcilable difference in assessing the foreign or bilateral relations of states that have a long-standing friendship based on history, shared values and norms, and a common understanding of their ‘appropriate practices. On that score, though liberalism stresses more on trade and investment among states in the global system, states that have historical ties rather construct ties socially rather than liberally.

Secondly, though this study area is new, it brings to the table certain areas that have been relegated to the background but yet so devastating to the stability of states. This study will bring to the fore how one country’s citizens could determine the pace of its development in the area of infrastructure, rentierism, crime rate, and the standard of

living to the extent of juxtaposing whether specific international protocols are for good or for ill.

Another critical area of this study will be the discovery of new data that could be used by other researchers in the area of trade liberalization and international relations. Of course, this data could be used by diplomatic missions in advising their nationals. At the same time, the missions could use this study as a guide on how to educate and inform their nationals in the host country on internal laws to ensure peace and their security.

1.6 Scope of the Study

Specifically, the researcher sited the study geographically within the New Juaben South Municipality of the Eastern Region of Ghana. The New Juaben South Municipality is one of the areas in the country that has emerged recently as an industrial site for retail activities. Selecting the New Juaben Municipality as an area of study was based on its commercial activities and closeness to other districts and municipalities which facilitate agro processing activities, among others. The study involved the Ghanaian and Nigerian retailers who deal in computers, phones and their accessories business as well as spare parts of tricycles, motors and cars in Koforidua, the capital city of the Eastern Region of Ghana and other cities and towns in the study area. Again, the study was limited to trade disagreements and its effects on international relations.

1.7 Limitations of the Study

Apart from the fact that the study was limited to the qualitative approach, the researcher was constrained by the following circumstances; lack of cooperation from participants, the extreme cost of accessing participants and lack of conclusiveness on

which approach to use to collect data. At one point, the researcher was confused about which research approach best fits the work. The researcher found a more robust approach to understanding the phenomenon using the qualitative research approach. Participants demanded confidentiality, hence, the researcher promised to provide the needed information under strict anonymity. The researcher's continuous visits to retailing sites when retailers were busy delayed the period intended for data collection. Rescheduling of dates for interviews due to some participants' quest to seek permission from their union members also detailed the collection of data from the field. However, the fifteen interviews conducted assisted the researcher to achieve the objectives of the study.

1.8 Organisation of Chapters

The entire study is presented in five separate chapters. The first chapter discusses the historical context of the study, the problem statement, the purpose of the investigation, the research question, the study's significance, the study's scope and limitations, and as well as the organizational structure of the study. The second chapter presents a literature review of the most recent research on the trade impasse in West Africa and an in-depth examination of the study's theoretical and conceptual reviews. The research methods applied to this study are discussed in Chapter Three. This chapter provides an explanation of the structure of the study as well as the sampling structure that was utilized by the target population to arrive at the representative sample size. In addition to this, Chapter Two examines the various sampling strategies and data collection techniques. An in-depth presentation and analysis of the data gathered, was done in Chapter Four. Chapter Five summarizes the key findings and makes conclusions and recommendations. Further studies on the topic are also suggested in the final chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

The literature review analyzes relevant and related secondary data of immense importance to the study. First, a body of knowledge on international and bilateral relations is reviewed to situate Ghana-Nigeria relations within the broader scope of the community of nations. The ECOWAS Protocol on free trade and, movement of persons and goods are also given close attention. At the same time, issues of trade disputes in both historical and recent times between the Ghana and Nigeria are equally examined in this chapter. Indeed, the motive of this segment is the investigation and analysis of the predominant body of knowledge on the occasional trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders in Ghana and the consequences on international relations.

2.1 International Relations and States' Sovereignty

The term international relations refers to the interactions and interpersonal relationships that exist between different states as well as beliefs between states, international organisations and some sub-national entities (Raustiala & Slaughter, 2002). Relations among states within the global system is as old as man. Scholars aver that interaction among states within the international community predates the Treaty of Westphalia of 1648, the slave trade, the world wars and the Cold War. Conflict, competition and cooperation are key features of international relations. However, as Gaspar, Hagan and Obstfeld (2018) note, states cooperate with one another when they perceive that such behaviour would benefit them economically and politically. These scholars also underscore the point that global cooperation intensified in the aftermath of the Second World War due to the enactment of standards, systems of rules, shared

principles and institutions. At various stages of human endeavours, different forms of treaties, alliances, trade agreements and pacts for peaceful coexistence have been contracted for mutual interests of states.

States have been looking for more ways to build partnerships that can generate more possibilities for their population while expanding cordial relations with their neighbours (Kurth, 2017). This trend has led to an increase in the search for new ways to establish cooperation and collaborations. Integration of regions and continents is one of these possible approaches. In its most general sense, integration refers to increasing the breadth and depth of relationships between players (Lombaerde et al., 2012) but this often affect the territorial integrity of states around the world. While global integration normally seeks world peace and security, regional integration has specific objective of usually improving the economic and social wellbeing of member states.

Consequently, the formation of the United Nations and the decolonization processes liberated most colonies from colonial bondage into statehood and the establishment of continental and regional integrations such as the Commonwealth of Nations, the African Union and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). As a result, international organisations have further ignited interrelationships among states (Ved, 2007). These organisations have not only lifted millions of people across boundaries out of abject poverty but have also improved co-existence among people, economies and the security of member states.

Nation or states within a territorial region voluntarily cede some or all of their sovereignty to intergovernmental or supranational institutions to improve their situation through cooperative endeavours (Rudolph, 2005). This is the general

definition of regional integration. Although it has typically taken the form of a political economy initiative, in which commercial interests have been the focus for the achievement of broader sociopolitical and security objectives as defined by national governments. The agreement's goals could range from economic and political to environmental considerations. However, most agreements have typically become a political economy initiative. In some cases, while governments have agreed to some regional conventions, the protection of the national interest prevents the full realization of the goals set.

Nations now understand that they cannot continue to operate independently. Thus, States are becoming increasingly interdependent. The ongoing worldwide trend of interdependence between and among states has encouraged opening of borders between them (Zolberg, 2019). Countries at diverse stages of development in socioeconomic, political, and cultural sectors are pushed together in some regional arrangements or another. Of course, globalization has created and enhanced the respect for and application of international laws, guidelines and policies among States. Hitherto, each State paid heed particularly to its national laws and acted accordingly. This usually created occasional tensions and violence between foreigners and citizens. Moreover, international relations now promotes successful trade policies between states, encourages travel related to business, tourism and immigration, which enhances livelihoods.

Despite the good intentions of global forces to ensure cooperation and collaboration of States in the international community, harm and some destructive aspects pervade international relations. For instance, some foreigners now battle with indigenes to control market centres, sell lands and engage in all manner of activities against the

internal laws of States where they have only immigrant status. This has, however, further contributed to the facilitation of the activities of transnational criminal organisations (Rothe & Friedrichs, 2014) especially in North and West Africa, and the Maghreb region.

With respect to the foregoing discussion, scholars including Bamigboye (2020) proposes that as more states and people change to suit the ever-changing international community, policy makers should also change their strict adherence to national laws to make integration schemes successful. Moreover, there should be a conscious effort by political leaders to ensure that their dual obligation of protecting the national interest as well as showing due regard for international laws is not neglected (Botchway & Hlovor, 2021).

2.2 Theoretical Framework: The Migration Systems Theory (MST)

Within the context of migration across the West African sub-region, the study adopted the migration systems theory, which explains the migration of citizens of Ghana and Nigeria to each other's territory and the effects of the occasional trade disagreements between citizens of these two countries on international relations. Most researchers draw heavily on the broad definition of a migration system offered by Mabogunje (1970), the father of migration systems theory. According to Mabogunje, a migration system is defined as a set of places connected by the flows and counter flows of people, goods, services, and information. These elements of the system tend to facilitate further exchanges between residents of these places. Later in the 1990s, Massey et al. (1993) also expanded the migration systems theory (MST). In a related development, Arango (2000) explained migration systems as the spaces defined by a relatively stable association or organisation for a period of time. The tenets of these

organisations cause both recipient countries and countries of origin of migrants to cooperate to obtain mutual benefits.

In the opinion of Bueno and Prieto-Rosas (2019), the theory is based on the principal assumption that most international migrations occur within systems – countries connected by geographical, colonial, economic or other historical relations. Connections or linkages of varied forms between countries underscore such associations. In other words, the systems that facilitate migration among the citizens of particular states could be understood within the context of structural homogeneity, geographical contiguity, economic, political or historical ties and membership of regional organisations (Bueno & Prieto-Rosas, 2019). For example, migration within the West African sub-region could be appreciated within the context of the ECOWAS Protocol on free trade, movement and settlement.

According to scholars including Yendaw (2021), the migration systems theory point out that any analysis and discussion of cross-border movement of people must take cognizance of three key issues. First, the macro-level factors (political, economic and legal frameworks) must be considered. Second, meso-level influences such as the migration network between the country of origin and the receiving country must also be looked at critically. Lastly, the micro-level factors that involve personal attributes of migrants such as gender, age, education and marital status must also be checked. Each of these levels of analysis have a bearing on the behavior of migrants

Analytically, while the macro-level factors relate to political stability, democracy and human rights and dignity records of the country of destination, the meso-level factors concern the economic structures, labour market regulations, welfare systems and the nature of the economy of the receiving country that may hinder or help crossing of

borders. According to Zohry (2011), the micro-level analysis should involve the usual household characteristics of migrants, which are education and employment status, age, gender and age. These factors have influence on the behavior of migrants including adopting unauthorized routes to enter a country or an area. The migration systems theory therefore combines the macro-level, meso-level and micro-level factors to elucidate the phenomenon of the increased number of Nigerian retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality since the ECOWAS Protocol on free trade, movement and settlement, the democratic credentials and business climate in the New Juaben South Municipality and other factors underpin their migration to Ghana.

Scholars have outlined the essence of feedback mechanisms as an integral part of migration systems. Accordingly, borrowing from general systems theory, through the feedback mechanism, information about migrants' reception, progress at the destination and other socioeconomic factors is transmitted to the sending countries. Therefore, while favourable information such as cordial internal laws and competitive business environment encourages further migration of people, goods and services, thus, organized migratory inflows, hostile conditions of immigrants normally erupt confrontations, trade disagreements, among others that jeopardize bilateral relations between countries (Bakewell, De Haas & Kubal, 2011). Conversely, for migration systems theorists, the reason or motivation for movement of Nigerian traders to stay permanently in local communities in Ghana, for example, is premised on a conducive business climate and social network between the Ghanaian and Nigerian traders.

One key assumption of migration systems theory is that there are three levels of linkages – relational, regulatory and tangible – between countries which enhance movement of people to and from countries. The theory is actually concerned with the interdependence between countries with all the implications of the migration process

(Allotey, Anarfi & Kandilige, 2023). In this sense, countries that depend on one another in the areas of cultural affinity, trade exchanges, educational, health and transportation systems usually promote migration of their citizens within one another's territory. For Ghana and Nigeria, the transportation systems and trade exchanges, especially enhance Nigerian traders' migration to local communities in Ghana. However, this comes with some adverse effects on the economy of remote areas of Ghana and bilateral relations between Ghana and Nigeria.

Unlike other theories of migration such as the network theory, the pull and push theory and the transnational theory of migration that look at the personal relations between migrants and indigenes of the recipient country, and how they affect the wellbeing of migrants, the migration systems theory goes beyond this by emphasizing that migration is not only affected by the social environment of migrants but also restructures the economic development of the host country (De Haas, 2008). This theory, thus, proposes a two-way – reciprocal and dynamic – link between migration and development, where immigrants contribute meaningfully to the economic growth of their destinations. Through trade systems, payment of taxes, marriages and other social phenomena, migrants contribute to societal progress. This exemplifies how the activities of Nigerian retailers including payment or non-payment of taxes and a competitive market environment in the New Juaben South Municipality could impact the local economy.

The above notwithstanding, the migration systems theory is challenged by a litany of criticisms. In the first place, scholars see the theory as a descriptive model that neglects the inputs of individuals at the decision making level (Stark & Wang, 2002). Again, the theory only identifies the migration systems from the perspective of the recipient countries (Arango, 2000). Also, it deals with the emergence of migratory

systems by excluding the crisis that are involved (De Haas, 2010). These are obvious drawbacks to the explanatory power of the migration systems theory.

In spite of the criticisms of the migration systems theory, it is significant to this study in a number of ways. The theory portrays how the ECOWAS integration schemes like free trade and movement, as a system facilitate migration within the ECOWAS sub-region. In that regard, the theory was instrumental in setting the objectives and boundaries of the research. Invariably, the reasons for the increased number of Nigerian retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality, the effects of the activities of Nigerian retailers on the economy of the New Juaben South Municipality and the implications of the trade disagreements between Nigerian and Ghanaian traders on international relations can best be explained under the theoretical lens of the migration systems theory.

This study further justifies the theory because it supports international laws like the ECOWAS Protocol of free movement and trade as a system that enhances migration of Nigerian traders to the New Juaben South Municipality. The theory assumes that free trade among member countries improves the well-being of people. On the contrary, domestic laws that support free trade in Ghana seemingly distort international laws, hence, leading to trade disagreements usually between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders. This depicts major assumptions of the migration systems theory that, though the set of well-structured systems and structures facilitate migration, they equally evoke some positive and negative consequences on local economies and international relations.

2.3 History of Ghana-Nigeria Trade Relations

Although relations between Ghana and Nigeria predates colonial rule, colonialism acted as the sole vehicle for the intense ties between the two countries. The British colonized both countries, and gave them a common national language, which increased the space of communication and trade between them. Until independence, the two countries used same currency, airline and apex court (Ohene, 2020). Relations between Ghana and Nigeria in the contemporary era manifest in the historical, cultural and economic ties that existed prior to colonialism and during colonialism.

Ghana attained independence as the first Black African country, South of the Sahara in 1957. Aremu (2013) notes that the relationship between Ghana and Nigeria could be traced to boom in trading activities in Ghana because gold and cocoa created a large market during the 19th century which made Ghanaian economy attractive to most Nigerian traders. The Pan-Africanist ideals of Dr. Nkrumah also served as an incentive for more migrants from Africa including Nigeria and beyond to migrants from neighbouring states to take permanent settlements in Ghana due to its accolade as the new Mecca of Africa (Botchway & Amoako-Gyampah, 2021; Tiekue & Odoom, 2013). This good gesture was reciprocated in the 1970s when Ghanaian migrants settled in Nigeria as economic migrants as a consequence of the boom in the oil industry in that country.

However, as economic recession came along due to mismanagement of national economies, governments' failures were rather blamed on illegal migrants for the mishaps and hardships in the system. According to Jimam (2009), when the Ghanaian economy faced a meltdown as a consequence of a drop in cocoa prices - the main income earner of the country, mobilization of internal revenue minimized while

unemployment was on the ascendancy. The Busia Administration then blamed the economic predicament on the immigrant population and took a rather inhumane, radical action by introducing the Aliens Compliance Order that gave all illegal immigrants two weeks to either legalize their status or leave the country. As Jimam notes, about 1.5 million illegal immigrants were expelled from the country. Most of those expelled were fellow West Africans of which a large number were Nigerians (Jimam, 2009). According to Ohene (2020), the Yorubas of Nigeria were the majority of the foreigners in Ghana then. The expulsion was seen to target Nigerians.

Oil was discovered in large quantities in Nigeria and made Nigerians rich from 1974 (Ohene, 2020). Some Ghanaians moved to Nigeria and Ghana's economy suffered a meltdown. When there was a drop in oil prices on the world market in the 1980s, Nigeria suffered an economic downturn similar to Ghana's in the 1960s and immigrants were accused of causing high inflation and increased unemployment. The citizens lost confidence in the Shegu Shagari Administration and in January 1983, it issued an expulsion order to illegal immigrants. However, this did not save the situation, so the administration was overthrown in a coup in December 1983 (Jimam, 2009). According to Makinwa-Adebusoye (1995), the military regime that took over also carried out similar expulsion in 1985; in both cases, Ghanaians constituted the worst affected. Therefore, the expulsion exercise was deemed to have targeted Ghanaians. Meanwhile the Provisional National Defence Council (PNDC) Administration under Rawlings was also under severe pressure as far as the economy was concerned.

As noted by Alagbe (2019), bad manners compelled both countries to expel migrants which were really harsh and had inimical effects on their people, and these were

inappropriate in the face of international conventions. According to Alagbe, there were laws governing the movement of nationals from one state to the other. Nigeria and Ghana belonged to ECOWAS, African Union (AU), Commonwealth of Nations, and United Nations Organization (UNO) as they have much to gain from bilateral relations to multilateralism.

Ohene (2020), however, points out some successes in the relations between Ghana and Nigeria in the past three decades. First, in the 1990s, General Sani Abacha donated a huge amount of money to J. J. Rawlings. Ghana's president, Kufuor was supported by the Nigerian Leader, Olusegun Obasabjo, to provide vehicles to the Ghana Police Service. Other succeeding governments of Ghana have also received assistance from Nigeria through bilateral relations. Ghana has also supports Nigeria by exporting primary products to Nigeria.

Otoghile and Obakhedo (2011), using a comparative analysis of the two countries, investigated Ghana-Nigeria relations by looking at the issues of unity and mutual understanding as well as the things that cause misunderstandings between the two countries. The scholars examined the colonial past, virile public, economic situations, military coups and other social factors that are similar to the two West African states. The divergence issues also include federalism in Nigeria as against Ghana's Unitarianism, and at independence, Ghana was more financially viable than Nigeria. Again, there were serious political rivalries between leaders of the two countries at a point in their history. Otoghile and Obakhedo's (2011) study decries issues of trade impasse and expulsion of each other's citizens for suspicious reasons which have been a major setback to the relations of the two countries.

Omo-Ogbebor and Sanusi (2017) explore the key role of Nigeria and Ghana in ECOWAS. According to the scholars, Nigeria and Ghana are classified as trailblazers in the activities of ECOWAS. While the former acts as regional stabilizer given its leadership ability to implement ECOWAS programmes and policies, the latter is deemed a shining light in ECOWAS with regard to its democratic credentials. Fundamentally, Nigeria and Ghana's dedication to the course of ECOWAS, is specifically to maintain peace and stability through peacekeeping missions. The scholars cite the vital role of Nigeria in ECOWAS as being earmarked by emphasis on its foreign policy on "Africa as a regional power and by attachment to several fundamental principles: African unity and independence" coupled with its ability at "peaceful settlement of disputes; non-alignment and non-interference."

On its part, Ghana plays the role of adhering to treaty obligations and settlement of global disputes by peaceful means. However, in the Omo-Ogbebor and Sanusi's (2017) view, certain policies of the two countries disrepute their role in ECOWAS. For instance, the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC), 2013 (Act 865) was enacted to protect Ghanaian local businesses and among other things, prevents foreign nationals from engaging in petty trading and retailing at some markets in Ghana. Several businesses and shops of foreigners have been closed due to the GIPC Act which triggered Nigerian Traders to drag Ghana to the ECOWAS Court in 2016 in respect of the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement of goods and services warrants their activities. The issue of national sovereignty and international treaty obligations are seriously brought to the fore for discussion.

In fact, foreigner in Ghana are not allowed to operate retail activities with less than \$1 million as investment. However, foreigners married to Ghanaians are exempted from this threshold. The GIPC Act, 2013 (Act 865) is intended to protect small local traders

like barbers, beauty salons, phone dealers, among others but the law is hardly enforced (Ohene, 2020). This Act and its occasional enforcement has been the major trigger of the disagreement between Nigerian and Ghanaian traders in parts of Ghana in the past decade.

Ogundepo's (2023) study explores the challenges of businesses of Nigerian residents in Ghana, how they cope with internal laws as against the ECOWAS Protocol on trade liberalization. In the view of the scholar, migration and emigration between Nigerians and Ghanaians predate Ghana's independence. According to the scholar, a specialized market and consumer data company reported that as at 2021, Nigerians living in Ghana were not fewer than 77,000.

Ogundepo's (2023) study observed that as a consequence of the implementation of the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) Act, 2013 (Act, 865), which restricts foreigners from trading activities unless they have a capital of \$1million in cash, goods or services, six-hundred shops belonging to Nigerians were closed for several months in December 2019. As Ogundepo observed from the president of the Nigerian Union of Traders in Ghana, the closure of shops was an experience they had long endured but resurfaces at given intervals. The scholar was not enthused that such acts could be meted out to Nigerian traders since Ghana and Nigeria are members of ECOWAS and covered by the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Trading Policy.

Ghana's Minister for Information in August 2020 defended the imposition of the levy citing on the instance that Nigeria has equally issued an order restraining foreigners from engaging in jobs Nigerians can do. Again, the minister indicated that the closure of the Seme Krade border in August 2019 by the Nigerian authorities had dare consequences on neighbouring countries. Specifically, on the closure of the shops,

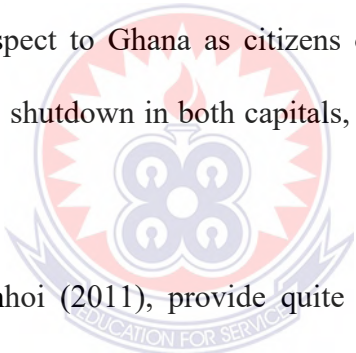
according to the author, the minister pointed out that there were gross violations of retail trade laws and regulations in Ghana. Among such violations were tax evasion, immigration offences, trading in substandard products, violation of the GIPC law, and improper registration of firms.

As part of measures to resolve the impasse, Nigeria's Speaker of the House of Representatives, Femi Gbajabiamila, came to Ghana in September 2020 on a legislative diplomacy to meet with Ghana's Speaker of Parliament, Prof. Mike Oquaye. The move was positive as Ghana's president called for more collaboration between the two countries on such matters. However, in November 2020, a *save our souls* letter from the Nigerian Union of Traders Association in Ghana, presented to the Chairman of Nigerians in the Diaspora Commission requested for repatriation to Nigeria. The study notes that about 753 members sought such support. The letter stated among others, the persistent harassment, intimidation, torture, threat to life and total lockdown of their shops.

Ogundepo's (2023) study pointed out that despite the ECOWAS protocol on free movement, some ECOWAS states still restrict citizens of other member states from engaging in certain economic or trading activities. Other expelled immigrants and created measures to prevent or limit entry of so-called illegal immigrants. According to the study, lapses in the implementation of the ECOWAS protocol called for the creation of the ECOWAS court in 1993 and inaugurated in 2001. However, states are quite adamant about the operations of the court. Contributing to the improper implementation and the little effect of the ECOWAS protocol, Ogundepo notes, it is as a result of a multiplicity of factors, prominent among them, lack of political will,

ceaseless political instability, inter-state border disputes, country's reluctance to surrender national sovereignty to the sub-regional body.

Mustapha's (2021) study observes that the characteristics of Nigeria-Ghana relations could be seen from their trade systems, trade disagreements between traders, and political rivalries to the attainment of relevance and superiority within West Africa, Africa and the world at large. Mustapha's study recounts some distasteful events such as the demolition of Nigeria's High Commission building in Accra, attack on Nigerian traders in Ghana and the closure of the Nigerian border to West African traders in the relations between the two countries. It also analyzes Nigeria's constructive dialogue skills/diplomacy over reasons of reciprocity on other matters of national interest with respect to Ghana as citizens of both states have been deeply affected while businesses shutdown in both capitals, Accra and Abuja at most critical stages.



Aiguosatile and Onebamhoi (2011), provide quite an instructive dimension to the relations between Ghana and Nigeria. The history of the two countries, the scholars argue, is a major claw back to their unity of purpose in the current dispensation. According to them, even though Ghana and Nigeria have the history, experience, the culture, the resolve, the people and resources to lead both the sub-region's integration and economic growth, the foreign policy of Nigeria towards Ghana in particular and the relations between the two countries in general over the years, have faced dramatic twists and turns. In a restless manner, the relations between the two countries have oscillated between co-operation and mutual suspicion. In effect, both countries are forced to reckon with economic and security cooperation not only in the sub-region but also in the African continent. They both need to complement each other's efforts

to make ECOWAS a powerful trading bloc as more investments and bilateral relations between the two countries would lead to the prosperity of the West African sub-region (Aiguosatile & Onebamhoi, 2011).

In the estimation of Akinterinwa (2020) also, there are three immediate and critical irritants in Nigeria's relationship with Ghana. These are applicability of reciprocity in the relationship; misunderstanding between the government of Nigeria and Ghana, on the one hand, and between the people of Nigeria and Ghana, on the other, and relevance or irrelevance of diplomacy as means of settlement of the disputes.

Fadayomi et al. (2014) assert that during the pre-colonial period, migrants perceived West Africa as a hub for economic activities. This enhanced the movement of people for trading in goods and services. However, as the study posits, later it became apparent that a relevant platform should be instituted to regulate the activities of migrants and therefore the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement of persons was set up. Reflecting on some variables that cause people to migrant in West Africa, the scholars highlight, among others, want of safety; danger; hazard; uncertainty; lack of adequate security and doubt, which unfortunately, are the main challenges migrants pose to Nigeria's internal security. In their bid to find lasting solutions to this situation, Fadayomi et al. (2014) propose that Nigeria's pursuit of national interest surpasses its role in West Africa as a giant economy.

These studies have explored the genesis of Ghana-Nigeria trade relations and the causes of the trade disagreements from the onset. The literature was, however, silent on the reasons Nigerian traders have increased in the New Juaben South Municipality and the consequences of their economic activities on the local economy which are quite obvious. The present study would fill in this existing literature gap.

2.4 Reasons for Integration Schemes in West Africa

In this age of globalisation, the nature of transnational crimes and the implications these crimes have for the peace and security of both regional and global communities have taken a new turn (Findlay, 2013). Therefore, one of the most important goals of this research is to determine the connection between the protocol of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) on the free movement of persons, goods, and services and the potential threats to the security of the West African sub-region that it may be posing (Adepoju, 2015).

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) is an organisation that was established to achieve economic integration. It was established by the heads of state and government of the countries that make up West Africa. In addition to this, ECOWAS has the goals of promoting cooperation and development in economic, social, and cultural activities, with the specific objectives of improving the standard of living of ECOWAS citizens, increasing and maintaining economic stability, improving relations among member countries, and contributing generally to the progress and development of Africa.

Since its establishment, ECOWAS has been making significant headway in community integrative programmes to further the integration of West African states. Current integration schemes include liberalising regional trade; liberalising the movement of persons, goods, and services; harmonising monetary and fiscal policies; harmonising business law; developing networks for transportation, communications, and energy; and involving private sectors in the process of regional integration (Poot & Strutt, 2010). The relevance of these integration initiatives is to ensure the national

economic interests of member states, and their contribution to the ultimate aims of the economic union.

Adepoju (2015) portrays West Africa as a region of rigorous migration over a wide area and scope and historically a place most migrants have most often considered as an economic centre where trade in goods and services naturally flow. In his argument, West African countries constitute major immigration hubs combined with their role as migrant's transit routes. Adepoju (2015) notes that operationalizing the ECOWAS protocol on free movement of persons, residences and establishments, and the development of the ECOWAS free movement protocol demand stringent effort of member states to reconcile internal laws and the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement and trade. The scholar explains that the first phase of the protocol eliminated the requirements for visas and entry permits within its ECOWAS countries for the first five years. The second phase provided for the right of residence and came into force in July 1986, while the last phase dealt with trade liberalization among ECOWAS members. In all these, commitment of member states to the ECOWAS Protocols is key to its successful implementation.

ECOWAS is likely the most developed regional structure on the African continents, but it is still light years behind the accomplishments of its counterpart, the European Union (EU). For this reason, the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement is regarded as being particularly pertinent to the overall purpose of the ECOWAS integration policies. There can be no genuine integration if the free movement of the community citizens, who are regarded as agents of integration, is hindered (Opanike, Aduloju & Adenipekun, 2015). As a result, the free movement protocol is an essential part of the organisation's overall goal. People moved freely from one place to another before the

implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement. There was little or no regard for the artificial borders created by the colonial powers; tribes were divided into two independent nations due to these artificial borders (Ikome, 2012) but ECOWAS seeks change in this situation.

ECOWAS has now implemented these protocols. Cross-border mobility among these artificially split tribes continued to be perceived as not being international but rather a part of their own internal movements. This is because members of the same families can be located in two distinct countries. However, as states began to mature, the movement of people and goods over state borders grew increasingly difficult and was hindered by the customs, regulations and requirements of the many states (Zoppi, 2013). However, the necessity to foster regional commerce and to further regional integration gave rise to the Protocol to liberalise cross-border mobility. The goal of this protocol on movement is to make international travel less restrictive. It is anticipated that economic integration will result in an increase in wealth and a general improvement in conditions for the residents of village, towns and city.

According to Zopi (2013), the primary reason that the heads of state of the member states decided to ratify the Protocol was their intention to expedite their respective regions' economic and political growth through greater economic integration. As a result, the Protocol aims to do rid of any and all obstacles that stand in the way of free trade and movement of its population across international borders.

In order for any regional arrangement to eventually reach the point where it may become a full economic union, that arrangement must have gone through stages of integration which include a Free Trade Area, a Customs Union, a Common Market, and so on. It is essential to have free mobility that enables the movement of people,

their goods, and their services in order to realise the goal of complete Economic Union (Heron, 2011). The unmistakable applicability of the ECOWAS integration programmes to the existing and emerging development priorities of the organization's member states is an encouraging omen for the trajectory the regional integration process will take in the years to come (Hellquist, 2014).

The literature has obviously outlined the reasons integration schemes have been promulgated in West Africa. While these schemes have been fruitful in uniting member states at the urban centres and at the national levels, the literature paid little attention to the implementation of these schemes in rural communities in the sub-region. However, migration of citizens of ECOWAS into these areas in the contemporary era is not uncommon. The current study would address how the implementation of the ECOWAS integration schemes like free movement and trade affect the local economy of the New Juaben South Municipality and international relations.

2.5 Implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons and Trade

On May 28, 1975, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) treaty was signed. The treaty recognized the desire of Members States of ECOWAS to respond to the emerging trend in trade and the demands to pull resources for the total development of the sub-region. Of particular importance to this study, Articles 3 and 27 of the ECOWAS Treaty stipulate that the principal objectives of the integration are to increase and maintain economic stability, improve relations among member states and create a unified citizenship for all ECOWAS members to not only enhance trade and security but to also improve the general standard of living of the people in West Africa.

Yeboah et al. (2020) argue that even though migrants are found in all countries in West Africa, wealthier economies like Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria, are homes to a myriad of migrants. On the contrary, those countries in the Sahel zone such as Niger, Mali and Burkina Faso, serve as migrant-originating regions. The study by Yeboah et al. (2020) observes that such factors as common official language, proximity, ethnic ties and colonial legacy account for movement across and into preferred destinations.

The ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of People and Goods ensures that community members move freely in the sub-region. Community members have been granted the right to enter and reside in any West African country with valid travel documents and appropriate international health certificate. However, member states have the right to disallow the entry of any person based on prescriptions of a country's domestic laws. In fact, the supplementary protocols which were adopted between 1985 and 1990 gave more power to each member state to determine the kind of persons who should enjoy the free movement under the ECOWAS Protocol.

The four supplementary protocols that were adopted obligated member states to do several things, including the following: provide valid travel documents to their citizens; grant Community citizens the right of residence to seek and carry out income-earning employment; ensure appropriate treatment for persons being expelled; refrain from expelling Community citizens en masse; limit the grounds for individual expulsion to reasons of national security, public order or morality, public health or non-fulfillment of an essential condition of residence, and ensure that persons being expelled are treated appropriately (Opanike et al., 2015).

The ECOWAS Protocol on free movement ensures that people of West Africa move from one location to another with little regard to the artificial borders. Cross-border movement among the different ethnic groups and tribes of West Africa is to be observed as a means of altering the nature of the artificial borders created by the colonialists. In essence, the protocol to liberalize trans-border mobility was borne out of the need to promote regional trade and create regional integration that will increase wealth and better the standard of living of the citizens of West Africa (Opanike & Aduloju, 2015). Melo and Tsikata (2014) identify political motives, geography, and uneven gains distribution as the fulcrum that Africa's Regional Economic Communities (RECs) revolve around. The scholars intimate that colonialism disintegrated Africa by creating artificial borders, which has since been a deep-seated device against bids to integrate as a continent. The scholars assert further that the thinly populated, fragmented, and often isolated economies across Africa make a fascinating case for these states to integrate regionally to reap their competitive advantages, exploit economies of scale, and reduce the thickness of borders.

Supporting the above argument, Okunade and Ogunnubi (2018) posit that even though borders are symbols or safeguards of states' sovereignty and that all states devise mechanisms to protect their territories from incursion or aggression, the colonial powers created artificial borders in Africa in the 19th century with little consideration for ethnic heritage. Therefore, the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of persons, goods and services established in 1979 has, thus, the motive of reducing the effects of arbitrary boundary formation. Put differently, the idea behind ECOWAS' promotion of trade, the quest for mobility of labour and others is geared towards repudiation of colonial boundaries that impede economic development and set the people apart.

Current integration schemes of ECOWAS are liberalization of regional trade, liberalization of movement of persons, goods and services, harmonization of monetary and fiscal policies, harmonization of business law, development of transport, among others (Opanike & Aduloju, 2015). However, certain factors not excluding national sovereignty, economic interests of some member states and political leadership ineptitude act as setbacks to these rather fascinating schemes. Arguably, though ECOWAS is the most advanced regional integration compared to others on the African continent, the inconsistencies in the ECOWAS Protocol on free trade, movement and settlement in relation to national laws usually create controversies, violence and disagreements in West Africa, which defeats the objectives of the ECOWAS Treaty.

The ECOWAS Protocol on free movement of persons and trade is an essential pact between the countries of the West Africa. The Protocol allows sovereign countries within the sub-region to interact on trade, security and good governance issues (Abdullahi, 2020). The ECOWAS Protocol on the Free Movement of People and Goods ensures that citizens of the community; inhabitants of member states, have unrestricted access to travel throughout the region. Citizens of the Community were granted the ability to enter and remain in the territory of any state that is a community member as long as they possessed a valid travel document and an international health certificate (Adeleke, 1995).

Unfortunately, criminals have taken advantage of the free movement protocol under the ECOWAS arrangement to carry out their illegal endeavours despite the initiative's primary objective of stimulating economic activities (Elliot, 2012). For instance, according to Jimam (2009), ECOWAS has made some gains in its attempts to manage

intra- state conflicts in the sub- region, however, as ECOWAS strives to deepen sub-regional integration and cross-border cooperation in West Africa, emerging trends suggest xenophobic tendencies and if not checked, could trigger internal conflicts and humanitarian crisis.

The foregoing poses threats to the safety of the sub-region as a whole. As a result of an increase in the number of people with access to small arms and light weapons, for example, there is little security for lives or property. Consequently, the country that takes in refugees and permits more influx of foreigners faces new challenges in the area of economic hardships, trade disagreements, among others (Elliot, 2012). Scholars therefore contend that the potential source of future violence in the West African sub-region is the application or abuse of the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement and trade which elicit competition between foreigners in local communities, refugee communities and urban areas.

The difficulties posed by the Protocol have not helped to improve the overall state of security in the sub-region. While ECOWAS takes great pleasure in being the first area in Africa to execute the free movement programme, the Protocol is badly implemented, creating a disaffection for citizens and other foreigners from West Africa which poses a greater threat to regional security than it does to enhance regional commerce and economic growth (Fayomi & Adeola, 2015).

While admitting that The ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons of 1979 and its Supplementary Protocols of July 1985 and May 1990 are essential policy frameworks for West African sub-regional international migration development and management, Jimam's (2009) study is mindful of cruel attacks on migrants. It cites examples of the killing of 44 Ghanaians and 9 others in the Gambia in 2005, attacks

on several Nigerian-owned businesses in Freetown-Sierra Leone in riots by rampaging youth in July 2002, the 2008 anti-Nigerian on Freetown in response to alleged ritual killings, among others as setbacks to the implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol.

Also, ECOWAS does not have an adequate mechanism established for checking the entry of illegal immigrants. Instead, people who engage in nefarious activities have taken advantage of the ECOWAS Protocol to engage in money laundering, human trafficking, drugs peddling, and illegal arms, among other illicit activities (Ogochukwu & Ikeanyibe, 2017). As a result, the privileges in the ECOWAS Protocol are being utilized improperly. On this note, some scholars question the extent the futuristic objective of ECOWAS transformation from a community of states to a community of people will be manifested in national country context (Jimam, 2009). Instead of serving the objective of integration, the ECOWAS Protocol is rather contributing to the insecurity that is present in the sub-region. Again, the unrestricted free movement of people within the sub-region can easily create conflict between citizens of the country receiving the migrants and the migrants themselves, particularly in locations where migrants dominate trade and labour. This could result in feelings of hostility toward migrants, which might deteriorate relations among countries in the sub-region.

After the Cold War, there was a shift in the character of conflicts (Arnold, 2009). However, in contemporary times, conflicts begin within a state and then spill over into neighbouring countries due to its spillover effects. This is people's experience in different parts of Africa currently, including the West African sub-region. Due to the absence of an established framework for the accurate monitoring of transnational

movement, the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement is rather negatively contributing to the spill-over consequences of crises in the sub-region. The free movement protocol cannot be considered to be exclusively responsible for the ease with which terrorists and their weapons are able to transit through the region; nonetheless, the corruption of security agents has also contributed to the sub-region's level of instability and disagreements on trade.

In light of the above, Jimam (2009) suggests that for the protocol on free movement and residents' right to be successful, states should make vivid protocol choices as well as well-crafted and coordinated policies that can help bring community citizens on board. Yeboah et al. (2020) also recommend that countries should take the necessary measures to simplify and decentralize ways of securing travel documents, adding that public education at the grassroots level will also inform people on their freedoms under the Protocol. Lastly, states must also make the process of residence permits to migrants in member states duly accessible to people of ECOWAS.

In the view of Okunade and Ogunnubi (2018), some remedies to the challenges posed by the implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol include how to achieve ECOWAS' ambitions on the protocol and a stern sanctioning regime on member states that violate the principle of the Protocol. Again, member states, according to the scholars, should also relegate the notion of national security and defense to the background and endeavour to implement the ECOWAS protocols to ensure that African borders become bridges and not barriers that are harmful to member states.

On their part, Ogochukwu and Ikeanyibe (2017) argue that although ECOWAS has put down mechanisms to resolve barriers to the implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol which include the establishment of formidable checkpoints, the ECOWAS

commission for implementing the protocols, ECOMOG, a single examination body – the West African Examination Council (WAEC), among others, these are not enough. The scholars identify a couple of recommendations to minimize the activities of trans-border criminals through security operatives in West Africa. These are abolishing of administrative restrictions on the free movement, residence and establishment such as national laws, immigration, customs and other law enforcements that militate against the exchange of goods, services, persons and capital among member states. Also, there is the need for regular and constant review of certain provisions in the protocol to make it pertinent to contemporary integration schemes.

In a more elaborate manner, Hoppe and Aidoo (2012) explain the establishment of regional markets and removal of trade disagreements as relevant measures for smooth implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol on free trade and movement. According to the scholars, creating regional markets can augment the expansion of companies, create economies of scale and enhance competition. Again, access to regional markets further increases incentives for more investments and allows specialization and integration into regional bodies to cater for domestic and international markets. Additionally, it is more feasible politically to reduce trade barriers within a region rather than across global markets. Nonetheless, addressing issues of trade barriers also improve global markets in that barriers to regional trade are equally barriers to trade with the rest of the world.

It is instructive to note that the literature is mainly generic. Specific instances of the challenges in the implementation of the ECOWAS Protocol as portrayed in local communities of West Africa were not highlighted. Again, the litany of literature paid little attention to the inability of the ECOWAS Protocol to function effectively in

local communities of West Africa due to national and internal laws which usually supersede sub-regional laws in Africa. Despite this literary gap in the literature, it would significantly impact data analysis on the effects of Nigerian retailers' activities on the local economy of the New Juaben South Municipality and its implications on international relations.

2.2.5 Trade Disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian Traders: Nature and Resolutions

Akoeda et al. (2023) found a number of reasons behind the frequent trade disagreements between Ghana and Nigeria. First, the inconsistencies in the ECOWAS protocols with national trade policies of the two countries and the use of protectionist economic policies like Nigeria's prohibited goods against Ghana, and the implementation of Ghana's GIPC Act, 2013 (Act 865) were observed as the causes of the occasional misunderstandings between traders in the two countries. Also, the closure of the Nigerian border and lockdown of Nigerian retail shops in Ghana were driving forces of the trade disagreements. For instance, in 2005, President Obasanjo instituted a policy that put an embargo on some ninety-six (96) Ghanaian products imported to Nigeria even though those products had been registered under the ECOWAS Trade Liberalization Scheme (Akoeda et al., 2023). These products included agricultural products, textiles, plastics and garments. This policy, which was also continued by succeeding governments including the Goodluck Jonathan's administration, sought to protect Nigerian local businesses but culminated in a trade dispute between Ghana and Nigeria (Ademola, 2016).

As Otohile and Obakhedo (2011) have underscored, the disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders in Ghana escalated during the Mills Administration.

This came as a result of the implementation of the new GIPC Act, 2013 (Act 865). The Act, among others, increased the threshold for registering foreign businesses in Ghana to \$1 million, required employment of at least ten citizens of Ghana in foreign businesses, and called for prohibition of foreigners from certain ventures including retail trading. Corroborating this findings, Akoeda et al. (2023) opine that these protectionist trade measures are the accentuating causes of the trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders in the mid- 2000s. In a similar fashion, as a means to protect its agricultural sector and restructure its economy, from 2014 to 2018, Nigeria closed its borders and imposed a ban on the importation of food and other products from neighbouring countries, including Ghana (Liedong, 2019). This measure further erupted trade disagreements among Ghanaian and Nigerian traders.

Asala (2020) examines how the COVID-19 escalated the year-long trade disagreements between Nigerian traders and their Ghanaian counterparts. The scholar asserts that the Nigerian traders accused the local authorities in Ghana of discrimination as a result of closing down their shops in the heat of the pandemic. This situation sparked the trade dispute because of the long-standing misunderstanding over foreigners not being legible to undertake retail trade in Accra without certain quantum amount of money as investment.

The Nigerian traders complained that they have families in Ghana, they pay taxes and rents and wondered how they could undertake such responsibilities when their shops are closed. In their view, the only cause of the closure is that they were foreigners doing business in Ghana. Asala's (2020) study, however, attributes the closure of the shops to the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) laws which prohibits foreigners from the retail trade in Ghana. According to the Nigerian Union of Traders Association, however, this law prohibiting foreigners from the retail trade is a shame

to Africa since it erupts fights among the people in the face of protocols such as the ECOWAS Protocol on trade that can be followed.

In the opinion of Asala (2020), these acts of misunderstandings among traders are setbacks to the future of the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) agreement. Asala (2020) identified some of the root causes of the trade impasse between the Nigerian and Ghanaian traders. However, the scholar focused attention on Accra, the capital city of Ghana and concentrated efforts on explaining the lapses in the internal laws of Ghana without considering the grey areas of the ECOWAS Protocol on trade and movement which fuel such trade disagreements. The present study explores the nature of this phenomenon at the local level of administration by looking at the inconsistencies in the ECOWAS Protocol on trade and movement.

Njie (2009) offers a considerable mechanism for resolving humanitarian crisis issues in West Africa through the use of the ECOWAS Council of the Wise. Due to poverty, political instability and recurring disasters, millions of people live a life of deprivation in West Africa. The study found that conflicts that devastated the sub-region in the past decades could have been averted if proper mechanisms were instituted, hence ECOWAS' decision to set up the Council of the Wise. Njie's (2009) study explores the concept behind the Council of the Wise. The scholar observes that the Council of the Wise's mandates in mediation, reconciliation and management of conflicts in West Africa could settle trade disputes. In effect, Njie (2009) claims that the Council could play a vital role in mitigating humanitarian crises in the sub-region, especially on implementing ECOWAS protocols on trade, movement and settlement. The gap in Njie's (2009) proposition is that this Council has been in operation for more than a decade, yet these trade disagreements are common in the sub-region.

Eborbrah (2010) also notes that ECOWAS adopted a protocol in 2005 which gave it the power to set up a judicial organ (the ECOWAS Community Court of Justice) (ECCJ) to deal with cases of human rights violation in West Africa. ECOWAS contends that human rights mandate of the ECCJ is a legislative-driven mandate. The Court therefore has lots of jurisdictions on ECOWAS human rights issues, which Eborbrah (2010) points out to include material, personal, temporal and territorial issues.

However, Eborbrah (2010) found a lot of limitations on the ECCJ. First, non-compliance with an application's anonymity requirement would lead to a decision to render a case inadmissible. Secondly, the ECOWAS Court forbids prospective applicants from filing cases if the same case is pending before another international body. Another flaw in the work of the ECCJ is that, where a case had previously been heard and decided by a national court, the court would hesitate to hear the case or if it did hear it, it hesitates to make a finding, as it does not wish to overrule decisions of national courts. Eborbrah's (2010) study is relevant to the current research as it provides rational for the inability of ECOWAS to intervene in some acts of atrocities against migrants on the African soil. Indeed, the work will aid the analysis of the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement of Persons in relation to some barriers to its smooth implementation.

Adebusuyi's (2012) depiction of regional integration in West Africa explains the point that, the originating concept of the ECOWAS to ease free movement of persons and goods in the sub-region has, by and large, remained elusive for decades now. The study recounts how ECOWAS has transmuted from the ECOWAS of state to the ECOWAS of people through for instance, the commissioning of the ECOWAS protocol on free movement as critical part of the regional body for the mutual benefit

of the people. It stresses the extant problems of ECOWAS and persuasive impossibilities intrinsic in the process of attaining free movement of persons and goods in West Africa which are routine bullying by officials along the common borders of member states, a common external tariff region and a single monetary zone coupled with disparities in colonial persuasions and alignments among ECOWAS member states. Furthermore, the study also found that the plethora of national borders and the unfavourable migration practices, such as payment of bribes as a major hindrance to the ECOWAS Protocol on movement hinder the enjoyment of the ECOWAS Protocol on trade and movement. The scholar further indicates that not only do national interest supersedes regional interests among member states but also ECOWAS member states delight in other external organisations other than the regional body. Accordingly, to Adebuseyi (2012), the ECOWAS Protocol on trade and movement remain the most flagrantly abused protocols targeted at regional integration by member states.

Notwithstanding the foregoing findings, Adebuseyi (2012) explains the relevance of migration across borders of member states to include increasing means of household incomes, reduction of poverty, establishing perpetual trade network across the region, among others. Accordingly, Adebuseyi argue that emerging opportunities like previous migrant sources such as the cases of Liberia, Guinea and Benin are now migrant recipients, hence, common borders are being unified into single entity. On the other hand, countries that hitherto were migrant-receiving countries like Ghana, Nigeria and Cote D'Ivoire are now migrant-sending countries. The scholar avers that conditions that precipitate this trend is the relative peace within the sub-region and by extension the security situations in countries that receive migrants.

The relevance of this Adebusuyi's (2012) study to present study lies in the point that it clearly outlines the grey areas in the ECOWAS Protocol, which occasion the frequent confrontations between citizens and migrants in West Africa. It also establishes that migrants exist everywhere in the sub-region, countries send and receive migrants, hence the relative peace enjoyed in countries that host migrants must engender cordial relations between the citizens and migrants and this would assist in exploring issues to respond to the research questions.

Afadzin (2015) elaborate on the insightful role of civil society organizations in conflict management in the sub-region. The study argues that West Africans have a lot of common traits that policies, structures and institutions of regional integration can take advantage of. According to Afadzin, civil society encompasses both individuals and collective groups, and shared interest is the vehicle that drives CSOs for sustainable development of West Africa. CSOs comprise citizens, trade unions, voluntary associations, professional bodies, traditional leaders and groups, religious leaders as well non – governmental organizations, academia, student bodies and other civic bodies.

According to Afadzin's (2015) study, civil society was instrumental in the democratization process of Africa in the 1990s. In their contribution to democracy in West Africa, therefore, civil society has played significant role in the promotion of democracy in West Africa. CSOs deal with complementing, informing, influencing and challenging government on policies. CSOs therefore advocate public services, strengthen state efficiency, and lobby for the rights of excluded groups and campaign against corruption. Further, they engage in public-private relationship; contribute to major advances in legislation and practices that promote fundamental human rights.

These measure can assist settlement of trade misunderstandings in the ECOWAS sub-region. However, the red-tapesim in regional integration schemes have to be utilized in creating the connection of the regional to the national, to the local and to the individuals in the various sovereign states.

This litany of literature is relevant to the current study because it puts a spotlight on some of the instances that culminate in the trade impasse between Nigerian traders and their Ghanaian counterparts. For example, it stresses how internal laws could conflict with the ECOWAS protocol and ignite trade misunderstandings. However, the literature failed to extrapolate the implications such trade misunderstandings have on international relations. The current study would address this literary gap in the literature.

2.6 Summary of Literature Review

Related literature to the study were reviewed. The theory underpinning the study was explained and justified. The chapter also captured concepts that were considered relevant to the study. Concepts related to Ghana-Nigeria relations and trade disputes, ECOWAS Protocol on free trade and movement, trade disagreements and international relations were discussed. The chapter captured the literature on the stream of studies reviewed and showed how the present study could fill in the gap.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

At the heart of this study is the examination of the effects of trade disagreement between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders at the local level of governance on international relations. In this chapter, the researcher discusses the research methodology underpinning the study. The chapter discusses the philosophical paradigm, the research approach and design, population of the study, sampling technique and sample size, data sources, research instrument and the method of data analysis.

3.1 Philosophical Paradigm – Social Constructivist Paradigm

Social scientists usually ascribe research philosophy broadly as the general orientation and beliefs that are conceived to be shaped by the discipline of study (Scotland, 2012). Philosophical paradigms encompass assumptions which are important principles to this study because they helped to orient the researcher's thoughts on the research problem, research questions, significance of the study and how the researcher could approach it to contribute to its solution (Kivunja & Kuyini, 2017).

This study aligned itself to the social constructivist paradigm or worldview. According to Creswell (2008), the existing four philosophical paradigms (positivism/post-positivism, constructivism, advocacy and pragmatism) contributes to informing the researcher the major research approach to be used. The assumptions that support the social constructivist paradigm is that, individuals' understanding and meaning to experiences are subjective and not objective (Agius, 2013). These meanings are diverse and numerous, requiring the researcher to focus on the richness

of perspectives rather than reducing them to a few categories or concepts. The objective of this philosophical paradigm is to rely as heavily as possible on the participants' perspectives of the investigated circumstance. The questions become broad and generic so that the participants can construct the meaning of a given scenario, which is often the result of talks or interactions with other individuals. As a result, a more open-ended kind of questioning is utilised to listen attentively to what individuals say or do in their life contexts (Creswell, 2008).

Again, constructivist researchers frequently examine the dynamics of interpersonal interaction. They also focus on the individual situations in which people live and work, rather than making generalizations. Researchers realize that their own origins influence their interpretations, and they situate themselves within the research to identify how their interpretations are influenced by their personal, cultural and historical experiences (Agius, 2013).

Based on the assumptions above, the researcher adopted the social constructivist philosophical paradigm which aims to make subjective sense or interpret the significance participants attach to the situation of the trade disagreements that exist between Nigerian and Ghanaian retailers with much geographical emphasis on the New Juaben South Municipality of the Eastern Region of Ghana.

3.2 Research Approach

According to Creswell (2014), research approaches are blueprints that indicate processes and procedures employed in research that encompass every phase, from broad assumptions to detailed and specific methods for data collection, analysis and interpretation. Researchers generally subscribe to three research approaches – qualitative, quantitative and mixed-methods. The study used the qualitative research

approach for investigating the effects of the trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders in the New Juaben South Municipality. Investigating and comprehending the significance that various people or groups attach to a social or human issue can be accomplished through the use of qualitative research methods. The process of research entails the emergence of questions and procedures, the collection of data on experiences of people typically taking place in the environment of the participant, an analysis of the data that inductively builds from specific examples to overarching themes, and the researcher's interpretations of what the data mean. Individuals that participate in this mode of investigation advocate a perspective on research that values an inductive approach, a concentration on one's own personal meaning, and the significance of accurately depicting the complexities of a given circumstance (Creswell, 2011).

3.3 Research Design

“Research design is a framework or blueprint for conducting research projects. It specifies the details of the procedures necessary for obtaining the needed information to solve a research problem” (Maholtra, 2015, p.106). Among the three research designs suggested by Maholtra (2015), that is; exploratory, descriptive and causal; an exploratory research design under the qualitative approach was adopted for this research. Exploratory research is usually conducted when the researcher does not know much about the problem of the study and wants to gain more in-depth information about the phenomenon. The nature of the study demanded that participants were engaged in exploring the extent to which the trade disagreements affect the local economy of the New Juaben South Municipality. Again, an in-depth information is needed to assess the extent to which the trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian retailers contribute to the local economy of the area and

international relations.

3.4 Population of Study

The study area is the New Juaben South Municipality of the Eastern Region of Ghana. The congenial atmosphere in the area has propelled an increased number of Nigerian retail traders in the area compared to other places in the country. The New Juaben South Municipality is among the thirty-three (33) municipalities and districts in the Eastern Region of Ghana and covers a wide land area that exceeds 60 square kilometres. The municipality shares boundaries in the North with the New Juaben North Municipality, to the South-East with the Akuapem North Municipality and to the East with the Yilo Krobo Municipality. The strategic location of the New Juaben South Municipality; sharing boundaries with other municipalities that are noted for agricultural production, provides an opportunity to develop not only Agro processing factories to make use of raw materials from these areas but also a boost in the retail business. Again, the New Juaben South Municipality provides market for neighbouring districts and communities. The relevance of the New Juaben South Municipality to this study is that the area provides a great opportunity for commercial activities such as hospitality, arts and crafts as well as businesses. It needs little effort to show that foreigners, in particular, the Nigerian traders might find the area attractive to do business. The selection of the study area was based on how Nigerian migrants have dominated the retail trading sector in the area and the occasional trade disagreements that ensue between Ghanaians and Nigerian traders which normally call for interventions by the municipal assembly and other authorities that demand scholarly attention. Further, issues of trade disagreements occur occasionally in the area which receive media reportage and some actions by the municipal assembly and other authorities.

The population is the aggregate of all persons or units of observations that the researcher would want to write about (Creswell, 2009). Scholars suggest two types of the population for investigation; the target and accessible population. An accessible population is the one concerned by the studied phenomenon. An accessible population on the other hand, is what researchers can access. The accessible population may be limited by city or country. The target population involves all groups or individuals who meet the criteria for the study. The target population for the study was eighty-seven (87) people. In this study the accessible population included fifteen (15) participants; the special task officer of the Ghana Immigration Service, the officer in charge of operations at the Ministry of Trade and Industry, the executives of Ghana Union of Traders Association (GUTA), the spokesperson for the Municipal Chief Executive (MCE) of New Juaben Municipality and executives of Nigerian Traders Association in Koforidua. Table 1 gives details of the population accessed for this study.

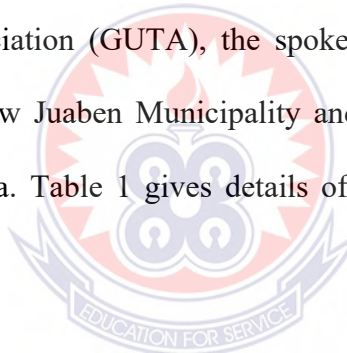


Table 1: Population of the Study

S/N	Population Group	Population size
1	Executives of GUTA	9
2	Officer in Charge of Operations (Ministry of Trade and Industry)	1
3	Special Task Officer (Ghana Immigration Service)	1
4	Spokesperson for MCE of New Juaben South Municipality	1
5	Executives of Nigerian Traders Association	3
Total Population		15

Source: Field Data (2022)

The justifications for the inclusion of nine (9) Executive Members of GUTA in the study area is that there are three main associations under the umbrella union – GUTA. These associations are the Small Business Association, the Retailers Association and the Association of Auto Parts Dealers. The researcher interviewed the Presidents,

Secretaries, and Organizers of each of these associations. However, each of these persons were also executive members of GUTA and preferred to be called as such.

3.5 Sample Size

The sample size connotes a reasonable number of the population that is carefully selected to represent the population (Taylor et al., 2015). In effect, results obtained from the sample size is transferred to or inferred from the population of the study. Oribhabor and Anyanwu (2019) explained sampling as a set of individuals or participants chosen from a large population for research purposes. Normally, the size depends on factors such as research design, timelines for the study and resources available to the researcher. Concerning a qualitative study, there are usually issues in relation to how many participants are adequate to be relied on. Several researchers have given their opinions on the best possible sample size. According to Becker et al. (2012) and Boddy (2016), the number of participants in a qualitative study that are considered appropriate might range anywhere from 12 to 30.

In spite of these assertions, several academics, such as Guest et al. (2006), believe that the sample size could be changed during the data collection process to consider the idea of saturation and the concept of adequateness in qualitative study. As a result, the sample size for the study was established in the field by interviewing executives of the Ghana Trade Union (9), officer-in-charge of operations (Ministry of Trade and Industry), special task officer (Ghana Immigration Service) and Spokesperson to the MCE of the New Juaben South Municipality and Executives of the Nigerian Traders Association (3). In all, the sample size was 15 participants.

3.6 Sampling Techniques

Sampling techniques refer to how members are selected from the population to participate in a study. There are generally two forms of sampling – probability and non-probability sampling. The purposive sampling technique under the non-probability sampling technique was utilised to select participants for the research to reach persons who matter most as far as the study was concerned. Data collection is a critical area in this research, as the data is meant to generate new knowledge and gather in-depth information about the phenomenon under study (Etikan et al., 2016). Therefore, it is imperative that the method of gathering data is carefully thought out. The purposive sampling technique was employed to achieve the intended purpose. According to Etikan et al. (2016), purposive sampling, otherwise known as judgement sampling, is the deliberate choice of interviewees due to some peculiar qualities they possess, such as their specific knowledge on a matter or are well informed on a phenomenon. In respect of this, persons who are directly involved in the migration of Nigerian traders into the New Juaben South Municipality and those who have rich experience on the subject under study were considered and contacted.

3.7 Sources of Data

Data for the study were sourced from both primary and secondary sources. Primary data was obtained through semi-structured interviews with persons who have the expertise or in-depth knowledge about the migration of Nigerians traders into Ghana. Data were also gathered from people, who are connected to sources where information on the impact of the trade disagreements between Ghana and Nigeria traders could be collected. The researcher got secondary data from sources not excluding the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement and trade, official government

reports, statutes, published sources and other internet sources. Other important documents such as Ghana and Nigeria foreign policies and international laws were consulted.

3.8 Data Collection Procedures

Data was collected using interviews. The researcher obtained a letter of introduction from the Department of Political Science Education, University of Education, Winneba (See Appendix A) which was photocopied and sent to all participants two weeks before the interviews. Correspondence between participants and the researcher yielded specific days for the interview. The researcher identified himself with identity card, sought participants' consent and carried out the interview with the aid of the guide. With permission, the interview was recorded.

3.9 Research Instrument

The researcher collected data using an interview guide. An interview guide aided the researcher in conducting semi-structured interviews with participants. The social sciences are the fields that make the most frequent use of semi-structured interview. In a semi-structured interview, the interviewer will typically have a framework of topics that are intended to be investigated. The interview guide had elements of flexibility which permitted more probing questions into responses given by interviewees.

3.10 Data Analysis

Data analysis means organizing and challenging information in ways that allow researchers to see trends, recognize themes, discover associations, establish hypotheses, make interpretations, mount criticisms, or create theories. Synthesis, assessment, perception, categorization, hypothesizing, comparison and finding

patterns are also involved (Wang et al., 2016). Data from participants were first transcribed, coded and grouped based on the themes. Data that is rich, detailed, and complicated can be obtained through the use of thematic analysis, which is consistent with the vision presented by Braun and Clarke (2006). In addition, Blacker (2009) contends that if there was a detailed thematic description of all the data, it would be easier for the readers to understand the dominating themes that emerge from the data. The data were analysed using a procedure called thematic analysis after transcription and coding of the data were done.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Ethics of research was the bedrock of data collection on the field. First, an introductory letter from the Department of Political Science, University of Education, Winneba, was sent to interviewees. Different days for interviews were agreed upon. On ethical considerations, the researcher sought permission from the various state and non-state institutions where interviews were conducted. The objectives of the study were carefully explained to participants and their consent sought before participation, and making audio recording of the interviews. The researcher took no activity or action to ensure the anonymity of participants was compromised. Data were collected from the participants based on their personal experiences and in-depth knowledge about the subject studied. To improve the quality of data, more than one interviewees with similar experiences were sampled. Thus, the same set of questions were used for gathering data.

3.11 Conclusion

The chapter discussed widely the research approach, design and strategy - the philosophical worldview (social constructivist paradigm), methodology and other

strategies used in the conduct of the study to achieve the target objectives. It analyzed the qualitative research approach, the sampling technique and size, and presented the research instrument. Further, the data collection procedures, the approach to data analysis, ethical considerations, among others were captured in this chapter.



CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This study generally sought to assess the effects of trade disagreements between Nigerian and Ghanaian traders in the New Juaben South Municipality on international relations. The study adopted a qualitative approach to investigate this phenomenon. This chapter presents and analyses the various responses on the subject of trade disagreement between Ghanaian retailers and Nigerian retailers as well as its implication on the local economy of the New Juaben South Municipality and international relations. Thus, objectives of the study are addressed in this chapter. This chapter gives a vivid account of the findings that emerged after analyzing the responses of sampled participants.

4.1 Demographic Statistics of Participants

This section captured details of various demographic characteristics of participants. The researcher examined demographic characteristics such as gender, position and level of education of participants. Table 2 gives details of demographic characteristics of respondents.

Table 2: Demographic Characteristics of Participants

S/N	Gender	Level of Education	Association	Portfolio
SP1	Female	Tertiary	GUTA	Executive
SP2	Male	Tertiary	GUTA	Executive
SP3	Male	Secondary	GUTA	Executive
SP4	Male	Tertiary	GUTA	Executive
SP5	Male	Tertiary	GUTA	Executive
SP6	Female	Secondary	GUTA	Executive
SP7	Male	Tertiary	GUTA	Executive
SP8	Male	Secondary	GUTA	Executive
SP9	Male	Tertiary	GUTA	Executive
SP10	Male	Tertiary	MTI	Officer in charge of operations
SP11	Male	Tertiary	GIS	Special task officer
SP12	Male	Tertiary		Spokesperson for the MCE
SP13	Female	Secondary	NTA	Executive
SP14	Male	Tertiary	NTA	Executive
SP15	Male	Tertiary	NTA	Executive

Source: Field Data (2022)

SP1: Sample Participant

GUTA: Ghana Union of Traders Association

MTI: Ministry of Trade and Industry

GIS: Ghana Immigration Service

NTA: Nigerian Traders Association



The study gathered information of participants covering their age, gender, educational level, association and the position they hold. Participants included leaders or executive members of Ghana Union of Traders Association in the New Juaben South Municipality, Officer in charge of operations in charge of trade and industry, Special Task Officer at Ghana Immigration Service, a Spokesperson for the Municipal Chief Executive in the New Juaben South Municipality and Executive Members of the Nigerian Traders Association in the municipality. In all fifteen (15) participants took part in the interview, constituting nine (9) executive members of the Ghana Union of Traders Association, and one (1) representative each from the Ghana Immigration

Service, Ministry of Trade and Industry and the New Juaben South Municipal Assembly and three (3) representatives of the Nigerian Traders Association.

In assessing the gender of participants, the study findings show that there are more male participants than females. Twelve male (12) participants and three (3) female participants were considerably used to investigate the study's phenomenon. Though this study does not seek to assess the gender perceived differences on the issues of trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian retailers, the results implies that the responses may be inclined towards male perception than female perception. As a result, future studies may distinctly consider the male and female perception on the implication of trade misunderstanding between Ghanaian and Nigerian retailing activities on the Ghanaian economy.

Also, the education background of participants was considered in this study. This information was needed to assess the extent to which participants could understand the issue of discussion from a formal education setting. Some of the issues discussed among participants included trade and migration laws, and bilateral relations. As a result, participants with substantial educational background could be best candidates for this study. The results in Table 1 revealed that most of the participants had attained tertiary education, hence could understand the phenomenon better. Out of the fifteen (15) participants, nine (11) had acquired tertiary (formal) education certificates, whereas three (4) participants had acquired secondary (formal) education.

4.2 Reasons for the Increased Number of Nigerian Retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality in the Past Decade

Participants gave a wide-ranging account on the reasons for the increased number of Nigerian retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality in the past Decade. While

some participants pointed to some unauthorized routes to Ghana, the responses of other participants showed legal frameworks that back their migration and trading activities in the study area. These responses are discussed under the following themes.

4.2.1 *Approved and unapproved routes to Ghana*

The study found that there are several means of migrating to Ghana. Whereas approved routes such as the land borders, sea routes and the airspace are available for all Nigerian retailers to enter Ghana, there are other unapproved routes that migrants equally use. These modes of entry have been in existence for a number of years and ably accessed by Nigerian traders frequently. Specifically, the study observed that most Nigerian retailers come to Ghana by road. Being a member of the West African states, there are transport services within Ghana and Nigeria that facilitate movement from Ghana to Nigeria and vice versa. On account of this, since the New Juaben South Municipality is closer to the capital (Accra), some of these Nigerian migrants move to the area to engage in retail trading activities. On this issue, a participant recounted that:

We came to Ghana through the border, where the immigration and customs officers searched us thoroughly before we entered. I must be frank, other Nigerian retailers use other means to enter Ghana too. There are several means so that they escape unnecessary checks and payments at the borders and others (Sample Participant 14: Executive Member of NTA, January 14, 2023).

Supporting the opinion above, an Officer of the Ghana Immigration Service submitted that:

Sometimes, it is easier to detect the intention of these Nigerian foreigners by the route they adopt in entering Ghana. Some use approved routes, some too use unapproved routes. I personally don't understand why some Nigerians use unapproved routes because they are ECOWAS nationals and they do not need visa to come to Ghana. However, you are likely to see them at the borders of Ghana, bribing

immigration officers for entry into Ghana (Special Task Officer [GIS], January 9, 2023).

Another participant also claimed that:

A few Nigerians migrate into Ghana by air. With concerns of proximity, comfort and luxury, Nigerian business minded persons migrate into Ghana through airplanes. Though it's quite expensive, some do still afford it. But some do avoid because they consider the process very cumbersome. Later, moving to places like the Akuapem area and Koforidua is very easy because it is close to Accra (Sample Participant 2: Executive Member of GUTA, January 16, 2023).

Since the colonial times, Ghanaians and Nigerians have migrated to each other's country through all manner of routes. Even though internal laws normally prevent entry of illegal migrants, the porous borders of Ghana and the apparent corrupt practices of some immigration officers have intensified the mass exodus of Nigerian retailers to the New Juaben South Municipality. Further, the municipality is close to Accra and for that matter, most of these traders find it convenient to move in and stay for their business. There are also several points of entry to the New Juaben South Municipality without any issues with immigration officers.

In relation to the various routes that Nigerian migrants subscribe to, as the data notes, the Nigerian retailers use both approved and unapproved routes to enter Ghana and the New Juaben South Municipality in particular. Approved routes include acceptable travel experiences by air or road. Most of the participants attested to the fact that most of these Nigerian traders travel by air and on road. However, it was realized that there are some Nigerians who enter Ghana through unapproved means. They take advantage of weaknesses in surrounding borders and the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement. They also compromise the effectiveness of most of the immigration officers by bribing their way into Ghana. This situation is asserted to be a case not only in Ghana but other West African countries (Mbachii & Ikeanyibe, 2017).

The findings are in line with studies including Yendaw (2021) that revealed that most immigrants travelled to their various destinations in Ghana by land, using buses and through unapproved routes. Nigerian retailers without the necessary travel documents and others who view immigration officials as extortionists mostly travel through unapproved routes to Koforidua and its adjoining towns and villages. As scholars claim, unmarried men and the youth among the Nigerian traders normally use the unapproved routes and cite the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement that guarantee them a 90-day free settlement in any West African state to justify their actions. Through this vehicle of migration, the population of Nigerian retailers in the area could reach exponential limits in the next decade.

4.2.2 The business climate in the municipality

The conducive atmosphere for business activities in the New Juaben South Municipality emerged as one significant finding of the study. The democratic governance models and the liberalized market structure of the country provide an effective business climate for the flourishing of economic activities in all parts of the country. Based on its hospitality, foreigners are not treated badly and so the country attracts foreign nationals to open up businesses in all parts of the country. In comparative terms, the study revealed that the municipality's record on crime rate and the general standard of living encourages Nigerian retailers to settle in the municipality. Furthermore, the study found that a common language (English), the culture and norms of the residents of the New Juaben South Municipality welcome strangers. Moreover, the residents live in harmony with all people regardless of their ethnic background or place of origin. In his account, a participant argued that:

Every business minded person is considerate on the business environment. Ghana is recognized as one of the business- friendly environments in West Africa because of how hospitable citizens are as

well as the constant peace and stability in the country. As a result, most Nigerians prefer to run their businesses in Ghana (Sample Participant 8: Executive Member of GUTA, January 20, 2023).

For another participant:

Interactions with most Nigerian retailers have been on issues with economic hardship in Nigeria. Though there are economic crises in Ghana, they consider that of Nigeria as worse. Inflation, poverty and lack of capital to start businesses compel most of these retailers to move out of their own country and settle in the New Juaben South Municipality, which is relatively calm for business (Sample Participant 7: Executive Member of GUTA, January 20, 2023).

Corroborating the opinions of others, one participant argued that:

We come to this place for a couple of reasons. First, Koforidua is favourable for business. We also have no communication challenge as English is commonly used in Ghana. For some of our members, the political environment in Nigeria does not favour them (Sample Participant 13: Executive Member of NTA, January 19, 2023).

Another Nigerian trader also claimed that:

Nigerians usually come here to do business. The market is quite good around here. Our security is relatively better in doing business in this town. We easily make friends too and our close friends are so good to us (Sample Participant 14: Executive Member of NTA, January 16, 2023).

Scholars contend that traders normally gravitate towards locations that are conducive for their activities. In countries where governments control the means of production entirely, economic activities suffer. However, in business-friendly countries like Ghana, the environment promotes trading, to the extent that foreign nationals make lots of dividend from their ventures. Mostly, the internal laws of the New Juaben South Municipality including traditions and norms guarantee Nigerian retailers their rights such as freedom from threats and other degrading treatments. Given these business friendly climate, for the past two decades, Nigerian traders in Ghana usually invite their compatriots to join them in areas like Koforidua, Nyamekrom, and Ada in the New Juaben South Municipality to trade. However, since these migrants do not

have money to meet the GIPC threshold for doing business as foreigners, they illegally engage in retail trading. More business opportunities are thus offered Nigerians in the New Juaben South Municipality because there is the Juaben Serwaa Market and the Central Market. Other satellite market centres across the municipality include Adweso Market, Zongo Market and Agarta Market.

According to the data, Nigerian retailers take solace in the common language (English). Communicating with Ghanaians is not a problem. This finding corroborates the findings of Yeboah et al. (2020) that the official language of Ghana and Nigeria (English), their closeness, ethnic relations and other factors such as colonial history facilitate migration of people across and into preferred areas of the two countries. Again, a cost-benefit analysis of the business climate of the municipality and others in West Africa makes it a preferred destination for Nigerian traders. For example, Awumbila et al. (2017) found that migrants do not just move blindly to destinations in search of jobs but usually have arranged processes to secure jobs.

Some scholars opine that when Nigerian citizens are economically challenged, they find the next option to survive in such areas of Ghana with good business climate. The findings are in line with the migration systems theory which assumes that favourable internal laws and competitive business climate inspires further migration of people, goods and services in a region. Perhaps that is why most of the Nigerian traders are trooping into Ghana. The findings on friendly business environment by various scholars (Zolberg, 2019; Zoppi, 2013; Lombaerde et al., 2012) is a drive to capital venture, export and strategic alliance. Hence, this assertion has a positive link with the findings of this study.

4.2.3 Legal frameworks for protecting foreigners

It also emerged findings of the study that Nigerian retailers increased numbers in the New Juaben South Municipality can be attributed to the legal framework in the West African sub-region. Member countries of ECOWAS have trade and settlement policies that protect their nationals outside their jurisdictions. The study found that the ECOWAS Protocol on free trade and movement facilitate the business activities of Nigerian traders in the municipality while internal laws favour the Ghanaian traders. This is the reason more Nigerian retailers have sought permanent settlements in the area. According to a member of the Nigerian Traders Association in the municipality:

... most of our members are aware of the ECOWAS Protocol and other laws of Ghana on migration and trading. We know as foreigners, while some of the laws protect our activities, others protect the Ghanaian traders more. But we are very law abiding and trade by obeying the laws (Sample Participant 15: Executive Member of NTA, January 13, 2023).

In support of the data, an Officer of GIS said that:

The ECOWAS Protocol of Free Movement and The Immigration Act, 2000 (Act 573) are some of the legal frameworks that protect migrants. ECOWAS protocol makes room for member states to stay and move freely in accordance with laws governing host nations (Special task officer (GIS), January 13, 2023).

The data point out that the legal regime in West Africa is favourable for the settlement of foreigners in the study area. Indeed both internal and regional legal frameworks promote and protect traders of varied backgrounds from physical attacks and other exploitations in the sub-region. There are quite a number of legal regulations that protect and support the activities of foreigners in Ghana. For instance, the ECOWAS Protocol on Free Movement allows nationals of member states to enter and move freely according to the laws of the host member state and some prescriptions of the protocol. Furthermore, the Immigration Act, 2000 (Act 573) creates room for the admission, residence, employment and removal of foreign nationals in Ghana and

other related matters. All these legal statutes protect Nigerian traders in the New Juaben South Municipality for which they have taken advantage to increase their numbers in the past decade.

Again, the data aptly support the proposition that Nigerian traders in the municipality are aware of the legal frameworks that support the stay and protection of migrants in the country. These Nigerian traders are also familiar with the Immigration Act, 2000 and the ECOWAS Protocol that allows the entry and free movement of citizens of member countries. The findings corroborate Asala's (2020) observation that most of the Nigerian traders are aware of laws that govern their stay and trade in Ghana. The findings further confirm the conclusions of Ogundepo (2023) that most of the Nigerian traders are aware of the ECOWAS protocols that support their residency and business in Ghana. The findings are, however, contrary to Kraakman's (2017) assertion that most citizens in developing countries are not aware of the laws that govern migration. The findings confirm that assumption by the migration systems theory that a lot of international migrations are boosted by systems. One of such systems is the ECOWAS Protocol on free trade and movement which enhances the migration of Nigerian retailers to the New Juaben South Municipality.

4.2.4 Settlement plans

Also, the study revealed that some Nigerian traders have plans of settling permanently in the New Juaben South Municipality. Factors ranging from education and employment to marriage remain topmost priorities of some of the Nigerian traders. On this, the study observed that the area offers a litany of opportunities to these Nigerian traders. Specifically, it was evinced that despite the fact that initially some of these Nigerian traders had plans to attend school, seek employment, among others in the area, through interactions with some Ghanaians and other Nigerian residents, they

joined the retail trade in the New Juaben South Municipality. Others also did so upon a careful analysis of the thriving economic activities and the profit margins of their friends and family members. A participant gave a subtle expose on the matter as follows:

Many Nigerian retailers, who have succeeded in their businesses encourage other Nigerians to settle in Ghana with their families. They have no doubts of prosperous business, hence they don't mind travelling with their entire family to Ghana to run their businesses (Spokesperson of the MCE, January 13, 2023).

A Nigerian trader also corroborated the data by arguing that:

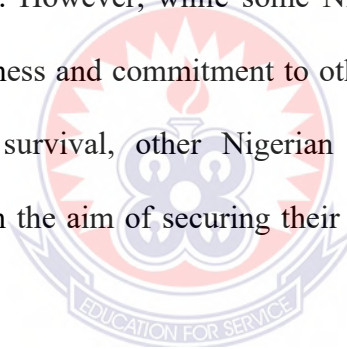
... Nigerian traders have no intention of settling in Ghana permanently. However, if business is good, should we go back to be unemployed? Also, if there is the possibility of finding love, some also marry, build and maintain their families here (Sample Participant 15: Executive Member of NTA, January 11, 2023).

Preferring another account on the matter, another interviewee claimed that:

There are times internal laws in Ghana do not favour these Nigerian migrants. As a result, Nigerians go to the extent of marrying Ghanaians with the intention of having permanent stay in Ghana that can help them operate their businesses so that they will not offend the laws of Ghana (Officer-in-charge of operations [MTI], January 11, 2023).

Settlement plans of Nigerian retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality were found intriguing. It is not surprising to observe a large number of Nigerian traders in the area because of the social and historical ties between Ghanaians and Nigerians. To reiterate, the New Juaben South Municipality is now a business hub bounded by New Juaben North Municipality, the Akuapem North Municipality and the Yilo Krobo Municipality. The land is also rich in agricultural production and other agro processing methods which boost economic activities. These climatic conditions and business friendly atmosphere have been the main driver of Nigerian migrants into the area in the past decade.

Of course, as scholars claim, some Ghanaian residents in Nigeria have on many occasions recounted the genial atmosphere and the social cohesion between Nigerian and Ghanaian traders in the New Juaben South Municipality to their friends. This has attracted most of these Nigerian traders to the area to settle permanently and engage in various economic activities including the retail trade. This is what migration systems theorists refer to as the feedback mechanism that promotes more migrations into an area. Thus, migrants normally transmit information on their socioeconomic activities and general treatment to their home countries, which encourage others to also migrate to these areas. The quality of life to be derived from the New Juaben South Municipality accounts greatly for the increased population of Nigerian retailers in the area for the past decade. However, while some Nigerian traders rely on legitimate registration of their business and commitment to other legal frameworks in Ghana to cushion their business survival, other Nigerian retailers commit themselves to marrying Ghanaians with the aim of securing their business and later naturalizing as citizens of Ghana.



Despite the business focus of Nigerian traders in Ghana, there are few challenges they also pose to the country. The increased number of Nigerians in the New Juaben South Municipality has a lot of adverse effects on the local economy. Issues of security are alarming considering the seemingly involvement of most foreigners in social vices such as prostitution and robbery. Nonetheless, there is relative peace and security for the flourishing of economic activities in the area. Indeed, this situation is contrary to other developing states where there are systems that subject the activities of foreigners to critical scrutiny (Mbachii & Ikeanyibe, 2017).

4.3 Effects of Nigerian Retailers' Activities on the Local Economy of the New Juaben South Municipality

An attempt to investigate the effects of Nigerian retailers' activities on the local economy of the New Juaben South Municipality led the researcher to seek the opinions of participants. The responses were uniform and consistent, however, few divergent views emerged. The study found that most Nigerian migrants engage in petty trading activities such as selling phones and accessories, dealerships in auto parts and footwear, which have a plethora of both good and bad effects on the local economy of the municipality.

4.3.1 Non-Compliance with the tax regime

It emerged from the study that some of the Nigerian retailers fail to honour their tax obligations to the New Juaben South Municipal Assembly. Consistently, the tax force sent to the market centres to collect revenue from retailers complain of Nigerian retailers' inability or deliberate attempt to evade tax. Other Nigerian retailers undervalue their economic activities to attract the required tax. However, the Ghanaian retailers comply, which normally bring disagreements between the Ghanaian and Nigerian retailers. As a result, the New Juaben South Municipality is unable to secure the required local revenue from the sales of retailers to embark on infrastructural development. In the view of one participant:

It looks like our laws are not strict on these Nigerian retailers. Practically, the Nigerian retailers are regulated by the Nigerian Union of Traders. As a result, most of these Nigerian retailers evade taxes (Sample Participant 8: Executive Member of GUTA, January 20, 2023).

A member of the New Juaben South Municipal Assembly also pointed out that:

It is not really clear how much economic benefits we derive from these Nigerian retailers. They usually understate their profits to dodge taxes. I wish the tax laws that apply to Ghanaian retailers will be applied more strictly to Nigerian retailers (Spokesperson for the MCE, January 13, 2023).

The data is rich in exposing the reasons behind the underdevelopment status of the municipality. Indeed, members of local revenue collection in municipal assembly have complained on a number of occasions that they are unable to collect enough revenue from small scale businesses in the phones shops, automobile shops, among others due to some bad practices of these traders. Some of these acts include Nigerian retailers' under declaring their wares or entirely evading taxes. These acts have resulted in reduction in revenue targets. As a consequence, dilapidated school and health infrastructures and poor road network abound in the municipality.

In assessing the negative effects of Nigerian retailers on the local economy of the New Juaben Municipality, it was also evidenced that among the vices that affected the local economy tax non-compliance among Nigerian retailers was more pronounced. This has been underscored by Fayomi and Adeola (2015) who asserted that since the ECOWAS Protocol is badly implemented, it poses a greater threat to regional security, regional trade and economic growth. The findings further indicate that most Nigerian retailing businesses find ways to evade taxes which would have contributed to revenue mobilization in the municipality for development projects. This result is not far from the assertion of Heron (2011), who made claims on the high rate of tax non-compliance of Small and Medium Enterprises in developing countries. The results are also not far from the findings of Ogundepo's (2023) study which revealed

that the recurring impasse between Ghanaian traders and their Nigerian counterparts stems from tax evasion, among others on the part of the Nigerian traders.

4.3.2 Decline in the growth of Ghanaian retail business

Drawing from the data, the study found that most of the Nigerian retailing activities include auto part dealership, sales of phones and accessories and footwear which are rather pushing the Ghanaian retailers in the municipality out of jobs. The study also observed that the costs of items sold by the Nigerians are cheaper and so most people patronize their goods. Commenting on the effects of Nigerian retailers' activities on the local economy of the New Juaben South Municipality, an Executive Member of GUTA said that:

The presence of retailing activities championed by Nigerians is really affecting our local businesses. Nigerian retail items attract gross discounts enabling a favorable market offers from their customers. This has left most Ghanaian retailers to fall back in their businesses (Sample Participant 5: Executive Member of GUTA, January 20, 2023).

Another Ghanaian trader claimed that:

... it looks like Ghanaian local businesses are suffering because of the presence of Nigerian retailers. Nigerian retailers have the advantage of connecting with businesses back in their home countries to access resources and capital to boost their businesses (Sample Participant 2: Executive Member of GUTA, January 16, 2023).

It is clear from the data that, while Nigerian retailers are engaged in small scale businesses which Ghanaian laws such as the GIPC Act, 2013 (Act 865) bar them, these Nigerians sell their items at relatively cheaper prices than the Ghanaian retailers who are also involved in similar business ventures. A number of Ghanaians also buy from Nigerian retailers rather than Ghanaian traders in the municipality. In essence, this phenomenon makes it quite difficult for the Ghanaian retailers to compete and make returns on sales. Put differently, as could be evinced from the data, local

Ghanaian retail businesses are not succeeding as expected. This is as a result of the intense competition Nigerian retailers pose on the retail market and how these foreigners easily convince customers to buy from them. Consequently, violence erupts in the markets which sometimes not only cause threats to life and property in the municipality but also adversely affect the bilateral relations between Ghana and Nigeria.

4.3.3 Ghanaian traders' inability to access credit facilities

One of the key findings of the study shows that Ghanaian traders in the retail business are hardly able to secure loans from financial institutions due to the activities of Nigerian retailers. The participants argued that some financial institutions are aware that the Nigerian retailers make more profits than their Ghanaian counterparts in the municipality. In respect of this, these financial institutions have developed a lot of trust in the Nigerian traders and while they offer loans to the Nigerians, the financial institutions are usually reluctant to provide the Ghanaian traders loan facilities to expand and improve their trading activities. A participant submitted that:

The local Ghanaian retailer is challenged greatly with financial matters. Nigerian retailers have developed trust with local financial institutions. They have collaterals readily available, hence, they access financial credits faster. Nigerians have easy access to credit facilities than Ghanaian retailers (Sample Participant 7: Executive Member of GUTA, January 20, 2023).

Most small and medium enterprises in the New Juaben South Municipality depend on loans secured from local banks, credit unions and microfinance institutions in the municipality. In the early 2000s, most of these local residents and indigenous people sourced funds from local financial institutions for their businesses. However, in the past decade, the increased number of Nigerian retailers in the municipality has caused a change in the narrative. Some Ghanaian retailers are denied loans on grounds that

they are unable to make profit and repay their loans like their Nigerian counterparts. Obviously, this remains one of the reasons for the disagreements between the Nigerian and Ghanaian traders in the area. This is because without these financial assistance, the Ghanaian traders are usually challenged with expanding their trading activities, employing more people and paying their taxes to the municipal assembly.

The findings are in sync with the literature on migration studies that opines that migrants impact negatively on the economy of their destinations when they carry along their household characteristics from their country of origin. The general consequence of this finding is that apart from the loss of revenue from the indigenes which impedes development programmes and projects in the area, these Nigerian traders do repatriate their returns on their businesses to their home country and save their money with the Nigerian banks in Ghana mostly. These acts have rippling effects on not only the local economy of the New Juaben South Municipality but the Ghanaian economy as a whole. For scholars including Asala (2020), these acts completely further hinder the AfCFTA agreement.

4.3.4 Business innovation and competitive market structure

Despite the negative impact Nigerian retailers have had on the Ghanaian local economy, the study revealed that the Nigerians retail activities have contributed to business innovation and competitive market structure within the retailing space. The intense competitions generated in the market has triggered most of the retail businesses to become innovative and sensitive to modern dynamism in business operations. The study also found that the traders in the municipality have now learnt to communicate better with customers, improved packaging of goods and developed other creative means of advertising their businesses. On this subject, one participant claimed that:

With all said and done, I guess the presence of Nigerian retailers have also helped the local economy. The reason is that simple, different products in the various markets have triggered the effort of most businesses to be innovative and attractive. Value creation, service quality and customer centric orientation have been raised (Officer-in-charge of operations [MTI], January 11, 2023).

Augmenting the foregoing opinion, a Nigerian trader pointed out that:

Nigerians pay taxes, we rent rooms and buy other things here. All the money we get are sent to banks in Ghana. We are contributing to the economy here. We contribute to the development of this market; market tolls, development levy, among others. We also make the market competitive (Sample Participant 13: Executive Member of NTA, January 18, 2023).

Of particular significance to the data was a statement made by an Executive Member of the Ghana Union of Traders Association. According to the participant:

There is competition as a result of Nigerian business operators. As a result, most of the Ghanaian retailers have developed competitive strategies and innovative ways of sustaining their businesses (Sample Participant 2: Executive Member of GUTA, January 16, 2023).

One participant also offered an opinion on their role in the local economy as follows:

Nigerians pay taxes, we rent rooms and buy other things here. All the money we get are sent to banks in Ghana. We are contributing to the economy here. We contribute to the development of this market; market tolls, development levy, among others. We also make the market competitive (Sample Participant 15: Executive Member of NTA, January 11, 2023).

Contrary to the assertion that Nigerian traders in Ghana impact negatively on the economy of Ghana, the data depict that the activities of Nigerian retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality yield some dividends. The Nigerian traders provide competitions and business innovations that the Ghanaians emulate. To infer from the data, it could be realized that the Nigerian retailers use complex and technological systems in their business operations. As both categories of traders relate in business partnerships and cooperative unions,

they learn from one another to be able to design business plans, take stock of goods and services, among others. All these impact positively on the business climate in the area. What this system does is that it equally facilitates more influx of Nigeria migrants into the area to engage in retail business. Invariably, this give credence to the proposition of the migration systems theory that well established systems facilitate migration.

4.4 Implications of the trade disagreements between Nigerian and Ghanaian retailers on international relations

4.4.1 *Conflict between national laws and regional conventions*

It emerged from the findings of the study that the trade disagreements between the Nigerian and Ghanaian retailers in show some inconsistencies in the ECOWAS Protocol in free trade and Ghanaian laws. Mostly, while the Nigerians sought protection under the sub-regional legal regime including the ECOWAS conventions, the Ghanaians also depend on their national and local laws to outlaw retail trading activities of the Nigerians. This, the study notes, has occasioned frequent misunderstandings and violence in the market centres. Indeed, as participants argue, there is always a lacuna in the application of the law where an international or regional law and national law conflicts. Specifically, one participant from GUTA reported that:

Citizens of Ghana understand that the provision in the ECOWAS treaty is an external law that cannot be applied in Ghana. On the other hand, Nigerians too consider provisions in the treaty as useful to establishing their businesses in Ghana (Sample Participant 4: Executive Member of GUTA, January 16, 2023).

Supporting the views above, another participant submitted that:

I am aware of the restrictions of foreigners including Nigerians (ECOWAS members) not to own or operate retail trading activities in Ghana. This is a clear indication that there are parts of the provisions

that do not match with domestic laws of Ghana (Spokesperson of the MCE, January 13, 2023).

Assessment of how the provisions in the ECOWAS Protocol on free trade and movement conflict or agree with domestic laws was considered in the study from another perspective. Substantially, the understanding of Ghanaian and Nigerian nationals, especially traders, on the provisions of the ECOWAS treaty for free trade and movement was limited. According to the participants, this is the reason most of the Nigerian retailers cite the ECOWAS Protocol on free trade and movement to back their economic activities in the municipality while the Ghanaian traders also constantly refer the Nigerians to internal laws like the GIPC Act, 2013 (Act 865) to prevent them from the retail trade.

Misunderstandings in the application of regional laws and internal laws have had serious impacts on bilateral relations between Ghana and Nigeria. In most instance, these disagreements have been reciprocated in each country. For instance, after some reported attacks on Nigerian retailers in Accra, apparently Nigerian borders were closed to importers in West Africa in 2019. This situation actually affected economic activities in West Africa and Ghana in particular. As a consequence, not only did Ghana-Nigeria relations suffer a setback but also food inflation increased while economic growth decreased in West Africa. Human security was therefore adversely affected due to the incompatibility between regional conventions and internal laws in West Africa.

Apparently, Article Two (2) of the 1999 ECOWAS enactments on the free movement, right of residence, and the establishment in a member country which foreigner cite in support of their residence and trading in other member countries like Ghana contradicts some internal laws of Ghana (Akoeda et al., 2023). The GIPC Act, 2013

(Act 865) contradicts this regional convention. In fact most Ghanaian traders make reference to Article 3 of the 1999 ECOWAS Convention which only gave a 90-day requirement for foreigners to seek the necessary documents in order to stay in Ghana and engage in legal business activities. The GIPC further demands that foreigners can only engage in trading activities with a minimum capital of \$1 million aside other requirements. These two views on the ECOWAS Protocols and the GIPC have always created trade disagreements in the New Juaben South Municipality. The implications of the foregoing on international relations is obvious. Conflicts of huge repercussions could occur in such instances because the two categories of traders would rather support the side of the law that favours their activities. Consequently, whether national laws should supersede regional conventions in international relations or the vice versa is a niggling but important question to be addressed by leaders of ECOWAS.

4.4.2 Investor confidence in the Ghanaian economy

The study observed that the occasional pockets of trade disagreements between Nigerian and Ghanaian retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality have a myriad ramifications on trade agreements and foreign direct investment. Investors normally consider countries with congenial atmosphere as viable locations to invest their resources.

The study revealed that in the early 1990s, West Africa was noted for the incessant number of conflicts and political instability. Most developed nations wondered whether it was worth investing in any economic venture in West Africa. However, through their transition to democratic governance later, countries like Ghana garnered enough investor confidence. Some foreign firms are now engaged in the extractive industry, education, health and transportation sectors. Yet, the confidence in the

Ghanaian economy is eroding because of the occasional trade disagreements between Nigerian and Ghanaian traders in areas such as the New Juaben South Municipality. A disgruntled Nigerian trader asserted that:

The rampant misunderstandings on the market in New Juaben could affect investor confidence in Ghana. The relations between Ghana and Nigeria is always negatively affected by the sort of activities our people portray here. We must work together to save the situation (Sample Participant 13: Executive Member of NTA, January 21, 2023).

In the view of another participant:

Ghana may fail to attract foreign investors. Investors are interested in investing in productive ventures like business, recruitment and corporate responsibilities. Investors may withdraw their investments when they feel threatened by actions of trade disagreement (Spokesperson of the MCE, January 13, 2023).

Foreign investors contribute immensely to the development of every economy. It is economically friendly for every country to adopt ways of attracting foreign investors. Trade disagreements create the impression that Ghana is not a welcoming country for investors to start their businesses. This results holds the same ideology of Ikome (2012), who claims investors are concerned about their returns on equity. Hence, investors would not invest in something with a high risk of survival. Threats of losing businesses as a results of unfavorable trade laws may pose a high risk on investors and their equity.

The Ghanaian economy is already challenged with fiscal deficits, high employment rates, increased inflation figures and high external debts. The private sector supported by foreign investors employs a number of graduates from the country's universities, colleges and other institutions. The likely implications of the trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders are that the Ghanaian economy would become unattractive to foreign investors and face development challenges. This is in

sharp contradiction of an assumption of the migration systems theory that migrants could aid the restructuring of the economic growth and development of the host country. Unvaryingly, the trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders could have enormous ramifications for the economic growth and development of Ghana. Since external support mostly drive huge economic activities in the country, loss of investor confidence in the Ghanaian economy has awful ramifications on Ghana's economy.

Development processes and economic growth in Ghana have suffered major setbacks due to the devastations of the COVID-19 pandemic. The country now finds it quite difficult to secure foreign support to embark on infrastructure in all parts of the country. Coupled with this, unemployment figures keep rising, inflation is high while educational and health facilities are becoming unfit for their purposes. On this score, as Yeboah et al. (2020) have acknowledged, there is the need for public education on the adverse effects of the trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders in order to avoid trade embargoes that could aggravate government's inability to meet most of the demands of the populace.

4.4.3 Greater economic loss

Findings show that the persistent trade disagreements lead to huge economic loss not only to Ghana and Nigeria but Africa and the world at large. Trade liberalization is an important global phenomenon and so all states cooperate through trade schemes. Hence, any trade dispute or contestation practically affect trading among Ghana and other states. The study observed that once the disagreements or frictions ensue between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders in the New Juaben South Municipality, the cumulative effect is that trading partners and other multilateral institutions become cautious of their dealings with the country since there is always concerns about the

insecurity of their staff, among others. Expressing a view on the consequences of the trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders in the municipality, a Nigerian trader claimed that:

What happens on this market has serious ramification on Ghana's reputation globally. Investors are watching, international bodies are also watching. This could have adverse effect on Ghana's economy within the global community. The country could loss trading partners while others can cancel bilateral agreements due to the insecurity of their representatives in the municipality (Sample Participant 14: Executive Member of NTA, January 9, 2023).

A Ghanaian trader also supported the data by arguing that:

Generally, Ghana may lose that cordial relationship that has existed between Ghana and Nigeria. Most of the economic benefits Ghana gains from Nigeria through exports and imports may be short-lived. For instance, Ghana imports oil from Nigeria and this may suffer some consequences (Sample Participant 1: Executive Member of GUTA, January 16, 2023).

Most Ghanaians are employed in the informal sector. Farmers, small and medium enterprises in Ghana, and individuals and groups in the private sector of the economy, depend heavily on retail businesses to earn a living. Trade disputes usually upset many economic activities. Persons who are so concerned about their security could be pushed out of business and these have huge economic impacts on Ghana's economy. Where people refuse to patronize the markets, revenue targets are affected. Trade disagreements normally erupt violence and dealers in food stuffs, automobile parts and others would likely stay home than to suffer violent attacks and other inhuman treatments. Food insecurity, violence, inflation and other human rights abuses could be recorded and eventually generate greater economic loss to the country.

Consequently, Ghana could lose its cordial bilateral relations with Nigeria and importation of products like oil and other finished products would stall. Again, instead of increasing local revenues to be able to develop all facets of the economy, the Ghanaian state would have to contract loans from external forces with huge interests

due to insecurity on the local markets which deters mobilization of required local revenues for the development of infrastructure in the social sector of the economy.

4.4.4 Security concerns in West Africa

The study found that the trade disagreements between Nigerian and Ghanaian traders in the municipality has a litany of security issues for the two countries. In an era where terrorist groups have pinched camps in the North Africa and parts of the Sahel, some of these glitches in trading activities could attract terrorist invasions. The participants argued that some of these trade misunderstandings between indigenes and foreigners elsewhere in West Africa, the Horn of Africa and the Middle East, have engendered insurgencies. Ghana cannot therefore be immuned to such surreptitious behaviours in international relations. The study further revealed that these disagreements pose security threats to Ghanaians in the diaspora. As foreigners in Nigeria, Europe, US, China, among others, Ghanaians in the diaspora could face inhumane treatments that are apparently meted out to foreign nationals in Ghana. Specifically, a participant said that:

When you examine the ECOWAS treaty and protocol very well, you will realize that some portions agree with domestic laws and some too conflict with domestic laws. This situation is the vehicle for the trade disagreements. The security situation in the West African sub-region is always charged when a trade dispute erupts; no matter where they occur in these two countries (Sample Participant 1: Executive Member of GUTA, January 16, 2023).

On his part, a member of the New Juaben South Municipality Assembly asserted that:

These trade disagreements in New Juaben has consequences for human security in the sub-region. Ghana's record in international relations is seriously affected due to insecurity. Since trading partners cannot guarantee the safety of their representatives in the area, they usually direct them to leave the place. Although the dispute may be between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders in the area, all humans

including foreigners fear for their lives (Special task officer [GIS], January 9, 2023).

Another perspective on the matter was given by a staff of the GIS when he said that:

It may pose a security threat to Ghanaians who are in the diaspora. When the issues of trade impasse are not critically controlled, it may lead to a cold war between the countries involved, affecting individual citizens living in the diaspora. Citizens may not receive the necessary social acceptance in foreign countries (Special task officer [GIS], January 9, 2023).

The data show there are controversies on the ECOWAS Protocol on trade and movement. Mostly, the ECOWAS Protocol is applied not in sync with domestic laws. That is, not all the provisions of the ECOWAS Protocol on trade and movement are applicable and understood by the ordinary traders in the New Juaben South Municipality currently. This normally occasion violence and trade disputes in the market centres which trigger to residential areas and other places. While the GIPC Act, 2013 (Act 865) provides waiver for Nigerians who are married to Ghanaians to operate retail trading activities in the area, the indigenes are oblivious of such laws and do not give entire room for such practices. These trade disagreements as a result of the lack of education on the GIPC Act normally pose danger to the peace and stability in the area. This result is in line with the assertion of Adebusuyi (2012), who believes laws from member unions like ECOWAS should be done in conjunction with domestic laws so as to reconcile grey areas.

The foregoing data and analysis are among the basis for which scholars like Jimam (2009) noted that rather than the ECOWAS Protocol on free movement and trade serving the purpose of integrating West African states, it is contributing to the insecurity that is currently being witnessed in the sub-region. Some of these insecurity

situations are food shortages, economic hardships, violent attacks and armed robbery. It is common to read from media outlets the engagement of some of these foreigners in illicit activities in Ghana that undermine the very existence of the ECOWAS Protocol of free movement and trade. Moreover, the unhindered free movement of people and goods within the sub-region can easily generate conflict between citizens of the country receiving the migrants and the migrants.

The implication of the trade disagreement between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders in the New Juaben South Municipality is far-reaching. In fact, the fragile security situation in West Africa is further heightened through such misunderstandings. Already, terrorist activities pose serious threats to the security situation in the sub-region. Scholars opine that belligerents normally capitalize on trade disagreements, misgovernment and abuse of human rights to carry out their operations in a particular place. Given, the violent nature of some of these trade disputes, such miscreants can get involved and implant their machinations to exacerbate the situation which could affect the whole of the West Africa African sub-region. For instance, Boko Haram started on such low note and degenerated into such a colossal force so difficult to battle. Furthermore, security threats to Ghanaians in the diaspora and possible relationship barrier between Ghana and Nigeria are some perceived consequences of the trade disagreements. Therefore, contrary to the proposition that by migration systems theorists that migrants can contribute enormously to the economic development of the host country, the unlawful activities of Nigerian traders in the New Juaben South Municipality could have serious impact on the security of the West African sub-region. As noted by Asala (2020), the trade misunderstandings have a serious repercussion on Africa as a whole as protocols to address these challenges are being flouted. Again, it has dire consequences on the AfCFTA initiative.

Moreover, as Odobo et al. (2017) have opined, in situations where there is trade disagreements, the countries involved usually become hostile towards each other and citizens in each other's country may suffer the consequences. On this note, the trade disagreements in the municipality could negatively affect Ghanaians residing in other countries especially in Nigeria as cases of reciprocity between Ghana and Nigeria is not new. According to advocates of the migration systems theory, such negative feedbacks from migrants have lots of consequences for other nationals who resident in the home country of the aggrieved migrants. Hence, the case of reciprocity in the trade disagreements and other relations between Ghana and Nigeria cannot be addressed totally.

Ghana and Nigeria have mutual relationship that exists for decades. Both countries share common concerns on issues such as security, cultural orientation, education and health. Again, Ghana exports products to Nigeria and sometimes through Nigeria to other countries and the vice versa. It is more profitable to benefit from this long-standing relationship than to trigger a misunderstanding as a result of retail trading activities in local communities of Ghana. However, trade dispute between the two countries usually affect this long-held relationship. A litany of studies including Akoeda et al. (2023), Asala (2020), Ademola (2016) and Otohile and Obakhedo (2011) have underscored how trade disputes have at some points in the bilateral relations between Ghana and Nigeria negatively affected human security, leading to heightened security issues in the West African sub-region. In this sense, the trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders in the New Juaben South Municipality could hamper the bilateral relations of the two countries.

4.4.5 Trade sanctions

The study revealed that as a result of the trade disagreements and related matters in the New Juaben South Municipality, Ghana could face trade sanctions by international bodies. Most of the international bodies Ghana is a member of on abuse of human rights, use of violence as a means to settle cases and trade disagreements that evoke out of regional or international conventions. The study notes that in Africa, for example, the AU and the ECOWAS have well established methods of resolving trade disputes. Therefore, if there is persistent occurrence of such misunderstandings between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders without recourse to appropriate forum for redress, the country could face fierce sanctions. These sanctions may include trade restriction such as ban on importation and exportation of items, diplomatic restrictions and freezing of assets. In the submission of one participant, it was argued that:

... the trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders in this municipality could lead to serious international sanctions for Ghana. International bodies have put trade embargoes and other restrictions on countries that do not tolerate foreigners in their economic activities. The ECOWAS Protocol on trade permits some of the Nigerians to trade freely here. The GIPC Act also allows some categories of Nigerians to engage in retail trade so we have to be careful not to attract international sanctions. (Spokesperson of the MCE, January 13, 2023).

Yet, another participant observed that:

The trade disagreements in the local areas of Ghana can affect Ghana's international trade and bilateral relations. No country would allow its citizens to be treated inhumanly and not report to international bodies charged with responsibility to address issues. The likely implication is embargo on Ghana's export and import trade (Sample Participant 4: Executive Member of GUTA, January 16, 2023).

Trade disagreements between two countries usually occasion suspension of diplomatic relations with the country that perpetuate such acts and other sanctions by

international organisations. Member countries may attract sanctions when there is realization of extreme non-conformity with laws of the ECOWAS. Ghana may also be construed as a country which does not comply with ECOWAS protocols. This could lead to sanctions in a form of fines and other international requirements. Consequently, trade sanctions serve as punitive measures designed for countries to rethink and reshape their policies towards migrants, certain phenomena or foreigners engaged in trading activities in their jurisdictions.

In the case of Ghana, where there is an escalation in trade disputes in local areas such as the New Juaben South Municipality, trade restrictions which can be wide-reaching such as blocking of all imports or exports between Ghana and Nigeria could affect the economy of Ghana in the post COVID era of economic meltdown. According to Hellquist (2014), laws are subjective, hence, violation of laws that have been subscribed to, can trigger severe punishment and sanctions that could deeply affect an economy. Already, the economic hardships in the country do not support many fruitful ventures towards economic recovery, hence, economic sanctions would worsen the situation.

Further, the embargoes on economic activities by ECOWAS could also prove as a potential instrument in halting many of the country's international trade and result in dire economic consequences for Ghana. These measures can be used to put pressure on the government to change protectionist policies perceived as discriminating against foreigners in Ghana. In any case, as Akoeda et al. (2023) have underscored, protectionist trade policies were the main reasons for the trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders in the 2000s. Indeed, as evinced by proponents of the migration systems theory, while favourable climate enhances migration and organized migratory inflows, aggressive circumstances of immigrants usually burst forth

confrontations, trade disagreements, among others that easily endanger bilateral relations between countries (Bakewell, De Haas & Kubal, 2011). On that note, trade restrictions could be imposed on Ghana as a remedy to the situation.

As a consequence of the myriad implications of the trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders on international relations, scholars have suggested measures to remedy the situation. Akoeda et al. (2023) and Mustapha (2021), for example, claim that to prevent these occasional disagreements between the two parties, Ghana and Nigeria's trade policies must undergo procedural as well as legal review to comply with the ECOWAS Protocols and conventions. On his part, Eborbrah (2010) proposes the use of ECOWAS structures like the Council of the Wise and the ECCJ to intervene in such matters. Other available resolution channels encompass use of civil society organisations, dialogue with Executive Members of the Ghanaian and Nigerian traders and the application of diplomacy. This remedy is buttressed by Poot and Strutt (2010) who advocate the involvement of the private sector in addressing trade disputes in West Africa. The Diplomatic Mission of Nigeria can also intervene in such matters.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented the results and discussion of the results. The three objectives set for the study were analyzed using thematic analysis. The chapter reported the demographic characteristics of participants. The chapter also concentrated on exploring the reasons for the increased population of influx Nigerian retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality, assessing the effect of Nigerian retailers' activities on the local economy of the municipality and the implications of the trade disagreements between Nigerian and Ghanaian retailers on international relations.

Extant literature was used to either confirm or refute the claims of the participants in the analysis and discussions.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This study examined the impact of the trade impasse between Nigerian and Ghanaian retailers on international relations. In order to resolve the issues related to the subject of trade disagreements and international relations, the study set some objectives. These were to explain the reasons for the increased number of Nigerian retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality in the past decade, assess how the activities of Nigerian retailers in Ghana are affecting the local economy of the New Juaben South Municipality and to explore the implications of the trade disagreements between Nigerian and Ghanaian traders on international relations.

To achieve the objectives set for the study, the researcher adopted the qualitative research approach using interviews to sample trade union executives, immigration officers, officers from the Ministry of Trade and Industry and officials from the New Juaben South Municipal Assembly. Thematic analysis was used to explain, analyse and discuss the findings while extant literature was utilized to confirm or rebut claims from participants.

5.1 Summary of Findings

The first objective sought to explain the reasons for the increased number of Nigerian retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality. The study found that the Nigerian retailers use both approved and unapproved routes to enter Ghana and the New Juaben South Municipality in particular. The study also revealed that the business climate in the municipality, the legal frameworks for protecting foreigners in the West African sub-region and the settlement plans of the Nigerian retailers constitute the

reasons for the increased number of Nigerian retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality.

The second objective aimed at assessing the effects of Nigerian retailers' activities on the local economy of the New Juaben South Municipality. The findings show that most Nigerians retailers fail to honour their tax obligations in Ghana. Again, it was evidenced that the activities of Nigerian retailers cause decline in the growth of Ghanaian retail business in the municipality. The study further revealed that the presence of Nigerian retailers contributes to the inability of the Ghanaian traders to access credit facilities to support their businesses. Positively, however, the study also observed that the activities of Nigerian retailers have boosted the local economy of the New Juaben South Municipality to become very competitive, leading to business innovation and dynamism within the retailing sector.

The final objective sought to explore the implication of the trade disagreements between Nigerian retailers and their Ghanaian counterparts on international relations. The implication of the trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders on international relations include inconsistencies in national laws and regional conventions which undermines cordial international relations and triggers trade disputes among states. On this, the findings also show that investors could lose confidence in Ghana's economy. The trade disagreements depict that there is the possibility that Ghana may be unattractive to foreign investors, and the implication of being seen as a hostile country to foreign countries is clear. Furthermore, the study revealed the possibility of economic loss to Ghana. Ghana could also be sanctioned by international organisations which frown on trade disputes and the chance of weakening the cordial relationship that exists between Ghana and Nigeria, and other

countries. It also emerged from the findings of the study that the trade disagreements could negatively affect the security in the West African sub-region.

5.2 Conclusion

Over the past decade, there have been increased number of Nigerian retailers saturated in the New Juaben South Municipality of the Eastern Region. Drivers to this influx of Nigerian retailers in Ghana include both internal factors (business friendliness and weaker border laws) and external factors (ECOWAS Protocol on free trade and movement). The existence and economic activities of Nigerian retailers have both positively and negatively contributed to the local economy of New Juaben South Municipality. Positively, Nigerian retailers have boosted the local economy with innovative and affordable products which have triggered a competitive business environment within the retailing sector. On the contrary, these activities have negatively affected the local economy through decline in local businesses, inaccessibility of credit facilities and tax evasion.

The study concludes that even though Nigerian retailers' activities contribute to boosting the local economy, its negative impact outweighs the benefits. Largely, however, the study concluded that there is a negative implication of the trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian retailers on international relations. The possibility of being sanctioned by trade unions, and the threat of losing foreign investors, threats of survival of Ghanaians in the diaspora and the chance of losing the cordial relationship that exist between Ghana and Nigeria are obvious.

5.3 Recommendations

Based on the findings and conclusion made, the following suggestions are recommended to control the negative effect of trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian retailers on international relations, among others. First, immigration laws should be strict enough to control the rate at which foreigners enter the local communities of Ghana to transact or undertake business activities. The immigration borders considered weak entry points to the country should be improved. Competent officers and systems that can detect unlawful entries and deal with such persons should manage the Ghanaian borders. In an era where coup makers and terrorist activities abound in Africa, the country should not sacrifice its national security in a haste to follow directives of ECOWAS Protocol and the nation's hospitality mantra by welcoming illegal migrants into its territory.

Furthermore, the intense involvement of the government in retail activities can motivate many retail activities. Laws and policies that support Ghanaian retailers should be streamlined to avoid ambiguity in their application. Awareness should be created towards the drive to support retailers in Ghana. Laws that support retail business operations should be well defined to have foreign investors' participation. Grants in the form of start-up capital for retailers can also boost the retail economy. Most banks lack confidence in Ghanaian retailers compared to Nigerian traders. Hence, there is little financial support for local Ghanaian retailers and that is the more reason the government should intervene.

To still maintain an attractive image from foreigners, it would be essential to waive laws that deter foreigners from operating in Ghana. On this score, internal laws must be made in line with regional conventions and laws to avert trade misunderstandings that normally affect the security situation in Africa. However, protectionist laws

should be strengthened to ensure local businesses in Ghana do not collapse from stiff competitions from foreigners.

Continental and regional treaties and conventions should be enacted with due regard for the internal laws of member countries of organisations. Where there is a lacuna in the application of international law or a conflict between regional and national laws, citizens are most likely to adhere to the internal laws which they are so conversant with. Nevertheless, the situation where international obligations are relegated to the background because of the citizenry's lack of appreciation or misapplication of the law could have a litany of adverse effects on international relations. Therefore, foreign policy decision makers should always strike a balance between these two levels of obligations to avoid trade disputes.

One bane of Africa's integration is the haste with which players enact and implement policies and protocols. Often, the required inputs from all Member States to ensure that national laws, and continental and regional treaties and protocols reconcile are neglected. Against this backdrop, the implementation phases of most treaties, conventions and protocols in Africa suffer undue challenges and sometimes cause avoidable conflicts and disagreements in Africa. It is high time Africa's leadership took measures to address such situations to enhance Africa's integration aimed at economic and political freedom from the external world. Some of the numerous summits of Heads of State and Government of ECOWAS must be devoted to review of existing protocols to reflect the exigencies of contemporary international relations and migration.

5.4 Suggestions for Further Studies

The research has endeavoured to examine the impact of the disagreement between Nigerian retailers and their Ghanaian counterparts on international relations using the

case of the New Juaben South Municipality. Based on its findings, analysis and recommendations, some further studies on the study are hereby proposed.

The study was limited to the New Juaben South Municipality of the Eastern Region of Ghana. In fact, due to resource constraints, the research sampled targeted retailers within the New Juaben South Municipality for the study. The study involved only one case. As a result, the findings have limited transferability. Thus, they might not represent all the Ghanaian and Nigerian retailers in other parts of the country with respect to culture, rules and regulations, and other differences of the society and unions involved in the study. Future researchers can consider more than one case or geographical area within the country.

The study was limited to trade disagreements between Ghanaian and Nigerian traders. There are other foreigners in the country as well whose activities have lots of repercussions on the Ghanaian economy and policy initiatives. Future studies may consider foreigners, not a particular group of foreigners. Such a study could examine the impact of foreigners such as the Chinese, Japanese and Indians on trade, the political environment, the extractive industry, among others in Ghana.

Regards the nature of this qualitative study, relatively small sample size was utilized. However, the study area could be extended to include more urban areas and larger sample sizes may be considered. Further, the data was analysed manually. On this, analytically, future researchers can also adopt more robust statistical software such as SMART PLS, QDA Miner and Lisrel for the analysis. This would enhance the generalization of findings.

Variables investigated in this study can be modified to be domestically oriented than foreign-oriented. The study observed the effects of trade disagreements on

international relations. Future studies could look at the influence of domestic trade disagreements on economic growth and development. Indeed, the occasional reports at market places of tribal and ethnic considerations in business activities could also attract scholarly attention in all parts of the country. Thus, trade misunderstandings premised on political linings, ethnicity and creed in some areas of Ghana could be considered in such a study.

As findings of the study show, lack of proper understanding and application of international protocols on trade impact negatively on relations between indigenes and foreigners. The study therefore proposes a full-scale research on the role the diplomatic missions play in contemporary economic diplomacy. Such a study can explore how these diplomatic missions enlighten their nationals on international and regional protocols such as the ECOWAS protocol on free trade, movement and settlement so as to avoid unnecessary tensions and conflicts in the application of international conventions and state laws.

A number of regional and sub-regional conventions and agreements regulate the multinational and bilateral relations between African states. For instance, the ECOWAS Protocol, the AU Charter and the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCTA) have enormous roles in the activities of foreigners and indigenes on the African continent. It is obvious that the conflicts in the application of state laws and international laws such as the AU Charter usually cause impasse between foreigners and citizens of countries in Africa. The study proposes a critical study on the nexus between national laws and international conventions in the protection of the rights of migrants in Africa.

Another study could also look at Ghana's economic diplomacy with Nigeria under the Akufo-Addo Administration. In such a study, the issue of the occasional closure of borders of both countries and trade disputes could be examined to find how they strengthen bilateral relations or otherwise within the West African sub-region. Reciprocity in the relations of the two countries could be explored as well.



REFERENCES

- Adeleke, A. (1995). The politics and diplomacy of peacekeeping in West Africa: The ECOWAS operation in Liberia. *The Journal of Modern African Studies*, 33(4), pp. 569 – 593.
- Adebusuyi, A. (2012). Regional integration in the ECOWAS region: Challenges and opportunities.
- Ademola, A. (2016). Nigeria trade relations: Politics, problems and possibilities. *Developing Country Studies*, 6(1), pp. 94 – 102.
- Adepoju, A. (2015). Operationalizing the ECOWAS protocol on free movement of persons: Prospects for sub-regional trade and development. In *The Palgrave handbook of international labour migration* (pp. 441-462). Palgrave Macmillan.
- Adewale, A. (2005). Socio-economic factors associated with urban-rural migration in Nigeria: A case of Oyo State, Nigeria. *Journal of Agriculture, Economics and Extension*, 17(1), pp. 13 – 16.
- Aiguosatile, O., & Onebamhoi, O. N. (2011). Nigeria-Ghana relations from 1960 to 2010: Roots of convergence and points of departure. *African Research Review*, 5(6), pp. 131 – 145.
- Akoeda, J., Boafo-Arthur, K., Amo-Agyemang, C. & Agbodzakey, J. (2023). The politics of trade disputes in the fourth republic: The case of Ghana and Nigeria. *Journal of Economics and Sustainable Development*, 14(10), pp. 70 – 77.
- Allotey, A. A., Anarfi, J. K. & Kandilige, L. (2023). Birth tourism to the United States of America and its perceived implications for Ghana. *Ghana Journal of Geography*, 15(1), pp. 1 – 34.
- Amirrudin, M., Nasution, K., & Supahar, S. (2021). Effects of variability on Cronbach alpha reliability in research practice. *Journal Matematika, Statistika dan Komputasi*, 17(2), pp. 223 – 230.
- Arango, J. (2010). Explaining migration: A critical view. *International Social Science Journal* 53(165), pp. 283 – 296.
- Aremu, J. O. (2013). Responses to the 1983 expulsion of aliens from Nigerian: A critique. *African Research Review*, 7(3), pp. 340 – 352.
- Aremu, J. O. & Ajayi, A. T. (2014). Expulsion of Nigerian immigrants community from Ghana in 1969: Causes and impacts. *Developing Country Studies*, 4(10), pp. 176 – 186.

- Arnold, G. (2009). *The A to Z of civil wars in Africa* (No. 98). Scarecrow Press.
- Asala, K. (2020, September 7), *Ghana versus Nigeria: Pandemic intensifies year-long trade war*. Retrieved on 15th February 2023 from africanews.com.
- Awumbila, M. M., Quartey, P., Tagoe, C. A. & Boasiako, T. A. (2009). Ghana migration country paper: Trends, issues and emerging research gap, Legon, Ghana, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana.
- Awumbila, M. M., Teye, J. K. & Yaro, J. A. (2017). Social network, migration trajectories and livelihood strategies of migrant domestic and construction workers in Accra, Ghana. *Journal of Asian and African Studies*, 52(7), pp. 982 – 996.
- Baiyewu, L. (2019). Attacks on Nigerian traders in Ghana, xenophobic – reps. Retrieved on 20th February 2023 from punchng.com.
- Bakewell, O., De Haas, H. & Kubal, A. (2011). Migration systems, pioneers and the role of agency. Norface Migration Discussion Paper NO. 2011 – 23.
- Bamigboye, M.O. (2020, July 27). Examining the effects of globalisation on international relations. Retrieved on 6th March 2023 from papers.ssrn.com.
- Becker, S., Bryman, A., & Ferguson, H. (Eds.). (2012). *Understanding research for social policy and social work: themes, methods and approaches*. Policy Press.
- Blacker, R. L. (2009). *A thematic analysis of psychodynamically-oriented supervision of observations in an acute inpatient ward* (Doctoral dissertation, University of Leicester).
- Boddy, C. R. (2016). Sample size for qualitative research. *Qualitative Market Research: An International Journal*.
- Botchway, T. P. & Amoako-Gyampah, A. K. (2021). The Non-Aligned Movement, Ghana and the early days of African diplomacy: Reflections on a developing country's foreign policy. In The 60th Anniversary of the Non-Aligned Movement, pp. 289 – 303. *Institute of International Politics and Economics (IIPE)*.
- Braun, V., & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative research in psychology*, 3(2), pp. 77 – 101.
- Brenton, P. and G. Isisk (eds) (2012). *De-Fragmenting Africa: Deepening Regional Trade Integration in Goods and Services*. World Bank.

- Bueno, X. & Prieto Rosas, V. (2019). Migration theories. In G. U, Danan & Dupre Mathew (Eds.) *Encyclopedia of Gerontology and Population Aging*, Spring, Cham.
- Congressional Research Service. (2021). *US trade debates: Select disputes and actions*. in Focus.
- Cooper, H.M. (1988). *The Integrative Research Review: A Systematic Approach*. Applied Social Research Methods Series, Vol. 2. Sage
- Creswell, J. W. (2008). The selection of a research design. *Research Design- Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Method Approaches*, pp. 3 – 22.
- Creswell, J. W. (2009). Mapping the field of mixed methods research. *International Journal of Contemporary Research*, 23(14), pp. 23-45.
- Creswell, J. W. (2011). Controversies in mixed methods research. *The Sage handbook of qualitative research*, 4(1), pp. 269 – 284.
- De Haas, H. (2008). Migration and development: A theoretical perspective. International Migration Institute. James Martin 21st Century School, Paper 9.
- De Haas, H. (2010). The internal dynamics of migration processes: A theoretical inquiry. *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 36(10), pp. 1587 – 1617.
- Elliott, L. (2012). Fighting transnational environmental crime. *Journal of International Affairs*, pp. 87-104.
- Etikan, I., Musa, S. A., & Alkassim, R. S. (2016). Comparison of convenience sampling and purposive sampling. *American journal of theoretical and applied statistics*, 5(1), pp. 1 – 4.
- Fayomi, O., & Adeola, G. L. (2015). ECOWAS and sub-regional integration in West Africa: An appraisal. *Covenant University Journal of Politics and International Affairs*.
- Findlay, M. (2013). *Governing through globalised crime: Futures for international criminal justice*. Willan.
- Francis, D. J. (2017). *Uniting Africa: Building regional peace and security systems*. Routledge.
- Gaspar, V., Hagan, S. & Obstfeld, M. (2018, September 6). Steering the world toward more cooperation, not less. International cooperation. Retrieved on 4th March 2023 from www.imf.org.

- Guest, G., Bunce, A., & Johnson, L. (2006). How many interviews are enough? An Experiment with data saturation and variability. *Field methods*, 18(1), pp. 59 – 82.
- Hellquist, E. (2014). Regional organizations and sanctions against members: explaining the different trajectories of the African Union, the league of Arab States, and the association of Southeast Asian Nations.
- Heron, T. (2011). Asymmetric bargaining and development trade-offs in the CARIFORUM-European Union Economic Partnership Agreement. *Review of international political economy*, 18(3), pp. 328 – 357.
- Ikome, F. N. (2012). Africa's international borders as potential sources of conflict and future threats to peace and security. *Institute for Security Studies Papers*, 2012(233), 16.
- Jiman, T. (2008). Free movement, migration and xenophobia in ECOWAS: A call for more attention. *Perspectives on West Africa's Future*, 23.
- Kaushik, V., & Walsh, C. A. (2019). Pragmatism as a research paradigm and its implications for social work research. *Social sciences*, 8(9), pp. 255.
- Kufour, K. O. (2013). When two Leviathans clash: Free movement of person in ECOWAS and the Ghana investment Act of 1994. *African Journal of Legal Studies*, 6(11), 1-16.
- Kraakman, R. H. (2017). *The anatomy of corporate law: A comparative and functional approach*. Oxford University Press.
- Krippahl, C. (2020). *Ghana and Nigeria's historic spat flares*. Retrieved March 1, 2020, from <https://www.dw.com/en/ghana-and-nigerias-historic-spat-flares/a-54784094>.
- Kurth, S. B. (2017). Friendships and friendly relations. In *Friendship as a social institution* (pp. 136-170). Routledge.
- Liedong, .T. A. (2019, October 28). Nigeria's border closure bad omen for Africa's economic integration. Retrieved on 23rd March 2023 from theafricanreport: <http://www.theafricanreport.com>
- Lombaerde, P., Baert, F., & Felício, T. (Eds.). (2012). *The United Nations and the regions: Third world report on regional integration* (Vol. 3). Springer Science & Business Media.
- Mabogunje, A. L. (1970). Systems approach to a theory of rural-urban migration. *Geographical Analysis*, 2(1), pp. 1 – 18.

- Makinwa-Adebusoye, P., K. (1995). Emigration dynamics in West Africa. *International Migration*, 33 (3/4), pp. 435 – 467.
- Massey, D. S., Arango, J., Hugo, G., Kouaouci, A., Pellegrino, A. & Taylor, J. E. (1993). Theories of international migration: A review and appraisal. *Population and Development Review*, 18(3), pp. 431 – 466.
- Mbachi, C. O., & Ikeanyibe, O. M. (2017). An Assessment of Ecowas Protocol on Free Movement, Residence and Establishment of West African Citizens.
- Melo, J. & Tsikata, Y. (2014). Regional integration in Africa: Challenges and prospects. WIDER Working Paper 2014/037
- Miller, D. (2008). National responsibility and global justice. *Critical Review of International Social and Political Philosophy*, 11(4), pp. 383 – 399.
- Mishra, P. (2017). Green human resource management: A framework for sustainable organisational development in an emerging economy. *International Journal of Organizational Analysis*.
- Mustapha, A. H. (2021). Interrogating the contending issues in Nigeria-Ghana relations: Reciprocity of consequences or constructive engagement. *International Relations*, 9(01), pp. 36 – 49.
- Odobo, S. O., Andekin, A. M., & Udegbunam, K. (2017). Analysis of ECOWAS institutional framework for conflict management. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 8(6), pp. 143.
- Ogundepo, J. (2023, March 5). *Weak ECOWAS agreement frustrating Nigerian traders in Ghana*. Punch. punching.com.
- Ohene, E. (2020, September 13). Letter from Africa: Behind Ghana and Nigeria's love-hate affair. Retrieved on 9th April 2023 from www.bbc.com.
- Ojukwu, E. C., Chukwuma, N. A., & Nwagbo, S. N. (2020). ECOWAS Treaty on migration, and challenges of internal security in Nigeria. *Journal of Conflict Transformation and Nation Building*, 2(1), pp. 32 – 50.
- Okunade, S. K., & Ogunnubi, O. (2021). A “Schengen” agreement in Africa? African agency and the ECOWAS protocol on free movement. *Journal of Borderlands Studies*, 36(1), pp. 119-137.
- Opanike, A., Aduloju, A. A., & Adenipekun, L. O. (2015). ECOWAS protocol on free movement and trans-border security in West Africa. *Covenant University Journal of Politics and International Affairs*.

- Oribhabor, C. B. & Anyanwu, C. A. (2019). Research sampling and sample size determination: A practical application. *Journal of Educational Research (Fudjer)*, 2(1), pp. 47 – 57.
- Otoghile, A. & Obakhedo, N. O. (2011). Nigeria-Ghana relations from 1960 to 2010: Roots of convergence and points of departure. *African Research Review*, pp. 131 – 145.
- Poot, J., & Strutt, A. (2010). International trade agreements and international migration. *The World Economy*, 33(12), 1923-1954.
- Raustiala, K., & Slaughter, A. M. (2002). International law, international relations and compliance. *International Relations and Compliance*. Princeton Law & Public Affairs Paper, (02-2).
- Rothe, D. L., & Friedrichs, D. O. (2014). Controlling crimes of globalisation: A challenge for international criminal justice 1. In *Criminal Justice in International Society* (pp. 246 – 266). Routledge.
- Rudolph, C. (2005). Sovereignty and territorial borders in a global age. *International Studies Review*, 7(1), pp. 1 – 20.
- Sajjadpour, M. (2005). The conceptual framework and operational management of international migration, Iran, *Geographical Research*, No. 78.
- Seyed, A. A., & Mohsen, Z. (2016). Analysis of geopolitical factors affecting the migration of Sistan and Baluchestan (with emphasis on security parameters). *International Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies*, ISSN 2356-5926.
- Shusterman, R. (2016). *Practicing philosophy: Pragmatism and the philosophical life*. Routledge.
- Smith, M. (2003). Russo-Japanese Relations. *Conflict Studies Research Centre*. F84.
- Stark, O. & Wang, Y. (2002). Inducing human capital formation: Migration as a substitute for subsidies. *Journal of Public Economics*, 86(1), pp. 29 – 46.
- Taherdoost, H. (2017). Determining sample size; how to calculate survey sample size. *International Journal of Economics and Management Systems*, 2.
- Taylor, S. J., Bogdan, R., & DeVault, M. (2015). *Introduction to qualitative research methods: A guidebook and resource*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Terwase, I. T., Abdul-Talib, A. N., & Zengeni, K. T. (2015). The role of ECOWAS on economic governance, peace and security perspectives in West Africa. *Mediterranean Journal of Social Sciences*, 6(3).

- Terwase, I. T., Adesina, O. S., Puldu, G. S., & Abdul-Talib, A. N. (2018). The Role of ECOWAS on Peace and Conflict Resolution in Nigeria and Gambia. *IRA-International Journal of Management and Social Sciences*, 12(3), pp. 55 – 61.
- Tieku, T. K. & Odoom, I. (2013). Re-orienting Ghana's foreign policy crowd. In J. R. Ayee & F. L. Ohemeng, *The public policy making process in Ghana: How politicians and civil servants deal with public problems*, pp. 323 – 345. Edwin Mellen Press.
- Ved, P. N. (2007). The protection of human rights under international law: Will the U.N. human rights council and the emerging new norm responsibility to protect make a difference. *Denver Journal of International Law & Policy*, 35(3), pp. 353 – 378.
- Wang, J. L., Chiou, J. M., & Müller, H. G. (2016). Functional data analysis. *Annual Review of Statistics and its application*, 3, pp. 257 – 295.
- Wendt, A. (1992). Anarchy is what states make of it: The social construction of power politics. *International Organization*, 46(2), pp. 391 – 425.
<https://www.jstor.org/stable/2706858>
- Yeboah, T., Kandilige, L., Bisong, A., Garba, F. & Kofi Teye, J. (2021). The ECOWAS free movement protocol and diversity of experiences of different categories of Migrants: A qualitative study. *International of Migration*, 59(3), pp. 228 – 244.
- Yendaw, E. (2021). Cross-border migration of itinerant immigrant retailers in Ghana. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 23, pp. 205 – 225.
- Zohry, A. (2011). *A proposed framework for the study of illegal migration*. Egyptian Society for Migration Studies. Working Papers Series No. 2011 – 01.
- Zolberg, A. R. (2019). Bounded states in a global market: The uses of international labor migrations. In *Social theory for a changing society* (pp. 301-335). Routledge.
- Zoppi, M. (2013). The OAU and the question of borders. *Journal of African Union Studies*, 2(1 – 2), pp. 43 – 62.

APPENDIX A

INTRODUCTORY LETTER



July 13, 2022

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

Dear Sir/Madam,

LETTER OF INTRODUCTION: MR. SETH ANSAH

This is to introduce to you **Mr. Seth Ansa** from the Department of Political Science Education, University of Education, Winneba. He is undertaking a study on the topic: **Impact of Trade Impasse between Nigerian Retailors and Their Ghanaian Counterparts on International Relations**. This researcher needs your help by way of volunteering information on this subject to enable him to complete his research. Please, the research is purely for academic purposes and all information is treated as confidential.

Kindly give him the necessary assistance he may need.

Yours faithfully,


Ms. Magdalene Nyarko

For: Ag. HOD, Political Science Education

DEPT. OF POLITICAL SCIENCE EDU.
UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION
WINNEBA
P. O. BOX 25, WINNEBA

APPENDIX B



**UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE EDUCATION
IMPACT OF TRADE IMPASSE BETWEEN NIGERIAN RETAILERS AND
THEIR GHANAIAN COUNTERPARTS ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

The purpose of this study is to gather data on the topic above in partial fulfilment of the requirement for the award of Master of Philosophy degree in Political Science Education by the University of Education, Winneba. I would humbly call on you to answer a list of itemized questions at your convenience. All information provided remains strictly confidential and will be used for research purposes only. Your participation is entirely voluntary. Thank you in advance for your cooperation and time.

Demographic Characteristics of participants

Please indicate by the ticking the characteristics that best describes you.

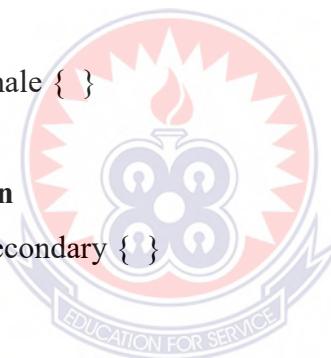
1. Gender

Male { } Female { }

2. Level of Education

Primary { } Secondary { } Tertiary { } others { }

3. Portfolio



**REASONS FOR THE INCREASED NIGERIAN RETAILERS IN THE NEW JUABEN
SOUTH MUNICIPALITY OF GHANA**

1. Generally, how would you describe the nature of migrants in Ghana?
2. Do you know of any legal framework that protects such migrants? Explain some of their conventions.
3. What are the migration routes Nigerians retailers use to enter Ghana and the New Juaben South Municipality?
4. Are you aware of any settlement plans by the Nigerian migrants? Can you explain?
5. In your own view, what accounts for the increased number of Nigerian retailers in the New Juaben South Municipality?

THE EFFECTS OF NIGERIAN RETAILERS' ACTIVITIES ON THE LOCAL ECONOMY OF THE NEW JUABEN SOUTH MUNICIPALITY

1. Are you aware of the trading activities of Nigerian retailers in the New Juaben Municipality?
2. How do the activities of Nigerian retailers contribute **adversely/negatively** to local economy of the New Juaben South Municipality?
3. How do the activities of Nigerian traders contribute **positively** to the local economy of the New Juaben South Municipality?
4. How can the negative impacts on the local economy be resolved?

IMPLICATIONS OF TRADE DISAGREEMENTS BETWEEN NIGERIAN AND GHANAIAN TRADERS ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

1. Are you aware of any provision in the ECOWAS treaty and protocol that relates to free movement and trade?
2. How do nationals of Nigeria and Ghana understand the provisions and act on their activities in Ghana?
3. What are the consequences of the trade disagreements between Ghana and Nigeria traders on international relations?

