

**THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL FARM LABOUR
MIGRATION IN IBADAN, NIGERIA**

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**THE SOCIAL CONTEXT OF INTERNATIONAL FARM LABOUR
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ABSTRACT

International farm labour migration is an international phenomenon. Since the 1990s, International Farm Labour Migrants (IFLM) have been coming to Nigeria's agricultural sector from neighbouring West Africa countries. Ibadan is one of the major recipients of IFLM. Literature has focused on the economic factors informing IFLM with little attention given to the social context. Thus, this study was designed to examine the push and pull factors of IFLM, migrants' forms of relationships and adaptation, and development opportunities migrants created in their countries.

Migration System Theory was used, while the exploratory design was adopted. Predominance of IFLM informed the purposive selection of the three host communities-Atan, Olosun and Ijaiye farm settlements in Ibadan. Nine key informant interviews were conducted with three community heads (one per host community) and six local farmland owners (two per community). Eighteen in-depth interviews were conducted with IFLM: nine migrant farm tenants (three per community), nine migrant farm labourers (three per community). One migrant farm tenant and one migrant farm labourer were used as case studies. One focus group discussion (FGD) session (of 6-12 participants) was held per community: two FGDs with male IFLM (in Atan and Ijaiye farm settlement) and one FGD with female migrants (in Olosun) in order to tease out the broad/unique migration context of migrants. Data were content-analysed.

The IFLMs' push-factors included limited access to agricultural land, unprofitable production, unprofitable market realities, and limited opportunities in non-farm sectors. The pull factors were availability of fertile land, bounteous and sustained farm production, income, profitable markets, and favourable remittance structures. Migration to Ibadan was facilitated by transnational networks of farm labour recruitment agents who were privileged migrant farmers, independent migrant farm labourers and return migrants. Relationships between migrants and indigenes were formed through the payment of rents in cash, labour or/and agreed farm produce remittances to local farmland owners in exchange for farmland access. Migrants were also recruited as labourers by both privileged IFLM and local farmers through labour contracts in exchange for rewards of either wages or assets. Local farmers depended on IFLM to sustain profitable production. Migrant labourers were socially compelled to respect community norms and values in order to avoid fine or/and expulsion. Immigration permits, local language proficiency and community participation of IFLM through labour and payment of local charges and taxes enhanced their adaptation. The IFLM invested profits and incomes in sponsoring relatives' education and investments, acquisition of personal assets and establishment of businesses in their countries. These benefited their families and communities, and served as their re-adaptation capital.

Conducive social conditions in Ibadan attracted international farm labour migrants from across West Africa countries. Since local farm production depends on migrant farmers for profitability, federal, state and local governments' should devise strategies to enhance mutual relationships that are beneficial to both migrants and local farmers in order to improve the State economy.

Keywords: International migration, Farm labour recruitment, Transnational networks, Ibadan, Nigeria

Word count: 471

CERTIFICATION

I certify that this study was carried out by David Tarnzuur Wanger (Matriculation number: 140102) of the Department of Sociology, University of Ibadan, Nigeria, under my supervision.

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DEDICATION

To

Professor A.O. Olutayo

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS/ACRONYMS

ACFTA	African Continental Free Trade Agreement
AU	Africa Union
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West Africa States
FARMS	Foreign Agriculture Resource Management Service
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
ES	Employment Service
KII	In-depth Interview
IFLM	International Farm Labour Migration/Migrant
KII	Key Informant Interview
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

Generally, through the historical development of global societies, the migratory push and pull factors as environmental conditions, conflicts, transnational social networks, and demographic and economic differences variously contributed to the increase of international migration of women and men to 232 million in 2013 (International Labour Organization, 2013) from 120 million in 2000 and 75 million in 1965 (ILO, 2003). Among these factors, economic factors resulting to labour migration for improved opportunities of life have been the most enduring motivation for high, semi, and low skilled migrants who are often between the ages of 20-64 (International Organization for Migration, 2013). Financial/social remittances from such labour migration in receiving countries have been instrumental to labour migrants to address social inequality, establish enterprise and facilitate development in sending countries (Ratha and Shaw, 2007; IOM, 2013).

While remittance contributes to induced migration, the contemporary mixed migration flows across borders which has consequences on the development of migrants' receiving countries has however deepened global concern for migration management. This has resulted to reviewing of and stiffening institutional constraints to reduce or have organized (labour) migration (Martin, 2006; Adepoju, 2008). Notwithstanding the migration constraints, the agricultural sector has remained the most accessible sector for labour migrants including irregular labour migrants who resort to agriculture as wage farm workers (Stalker, 2000). Even with the weak institutional regulation on labour practices in the agriculture sector, international labour migrants have continued to migrate and to be employed in the agriculture sector abroad (Hurst, Termine and Karl, 2007). As a result, global agricultural labour force in the year 2000 rose to 1.3 billion

(43%)(International Labour Organization, 2000; Martin. 2003; Reeves and Schafer, 2003). Ibadan, which is in Nigeria and is part of West Africa, receives farm labour migrants. As a result, this study seeks to examine the social context of international farm labour migration in Ibadan in South West Nigeria.

The incremental flows and spread of farm labour migrants which resulted to huge global dependence on varieties of farm labour migrants across borders has been the consequence of greater interaction of globalization, agriculture and international labour migration processes. Their interaction simultaneously transformed agricultural produce and labour into export-trade commodities. Their greater interaction also introduced farm technology and shaped exploitative agricultural production practices such as poor social security for farm labour migrants and casualization of labour that cheapen their farm labour (ILO, 2003; Hurst *et al.*, 2007; Martin and Jackson-Smith, 2013).

Other interactive globalization effects were global unstable agricultural production and volatile agricultural markets/prices that resulted to farm labour migrants earning lesser income than industrial workers (ILO, 2003; Hurst *et al.*, 2007). Rather than these susceptible experiences of changes and low rewards in the agricultural sector pushing farm labour migrants away, the sector persists in receiving the largest world workforce of wage labourers of women and men of over 450 million (40%) that contributes to global food security (ILO, 2007, 2013). West Africa had 80 percent of her farmers/farm labour force reduced to 50 percent – This was due to farm labour displacement resulting from interactive effects of globalization including policy shift from agricultural subsistence to expanding commercial agricultural productions (Sahel West Africa Club, 2006). This was in addition to unfavourable environmental and climate changes and ethnic/political conflicts over land-resources which contributed to push farmers/labourers to profitable non-farm activities or across the borders for new livelihood destinations in agriculture (Fafchamps, Teal, and Toye, 2001; Toulmin and Guèye, 2013).

Ibadan which receives farm labour migrants shares pre-colonial, colonial and post colonial economic history with present West African countries, especially in agriculture, which informed trade among those countries and contributed to making Ibadan a regional economy. However, in spite of the rapid urbanization in colonial and early post colonial

periods in Ibadan, with its modern established industries and expanding informal economic activities, labour migrants across West Africa seeking better opportunities were increasingly attracted to Ibadan, even as her vast agricultural land-resources continuously shrunk (Fourchard, 2003; Olaniyi, 2013). This was occurring along the changing agricultural structure in West Africa and the aggravating effects of globalization on agrarian relations. In view of these changes which tend to disrupt farm production and push farm labour to migrate, this study sought to investigate the specific social and production factors which continue to induce international farm labour migration to Ibadan.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The increased desperation of West African peoples to survive their social and economic difficulties in their respective countries often compels the search for decent work and prosperity. As a result, diversification of migration and occupation across borders became rationalized as a potential option particularly for many West African labour migrants. Many of these labour migrants were also farm labour migrants (Adepoju, 1998, 2004, 2006). Since agriculture is an accessible sector for labour migrants and crucial to livelihoods and trade, migrants perceived the sector as viable for their prosperous future. Since globalization tends to force as well as encourage global economic linkages through movement of goods and labour across borders for opportunities as those in agriculture activities, the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) as an element of globalization has since the 1980s, fostered West African sub-regional economic integration through its subtle approach of community citizenship - This deepened hope for a prosperous future in agriculture through gains across borders such as access to arable land for production, agricultural trade and adaptation to diverse cultures.

However, such cross border gains were often threatened by labour market competition between migrants and locals/citizens which led to instances of migrants expulsion from host communities/countries as Nigeria (Adepoju, 2005) and cross border organized security threats to countries as Nigeria led to initiation of measures that constraint inflow migration (Adetula, 2009; Adeola and Oluyemi, 2012). But Nigeria is economic affluence still attracts international migrants with interests in economic gains from across West Africa. For international farm labour migrants in Nigeria, particularly Ibadan, excluding

cattle herders, the specific circumstances for which they migrate across borders for farm production in Ibadan are not clear and so it requires exploring. Available studies on farm labour migration in Africa revealed that farm labour migration corridors were from less productive agro ecology to more productive agro ecology with farm settlement, in which farm labour demand was high and farm labour was exchanged for wages (Mabogunje, 1972;ILO, 1975; Knowles and Anker, 1977; Uchendu, 1977; Adepoju, 1979; Blench and Dendo, 2003). However, with the changing agro-ecological values, increasing commercialization of production, environmental changes and effects of globalization shaping agrarian production relations in Ibadan as the rest of West Africa, international farm labour migrants are still attracted to Ibadan. Thus, this study examined the specific nature of the social context of international farm labour migration in Ibadan. This is considering that Ibadan shares similar economic ecology with many West African countries. Hence, this study sought to explain why migration across border becomes an imperative of life, of farm labour migrants, to improve livelihoods. Based on these, the following research questions become necessary in providing research explanations;

1.3 Research Questions

1. Of what significance are the social dynamics of farm production for international farm labour migration to Ibadan?
2. What are the forms of relations between farm labour migrants and indigenous farmers?
3. What are the implications of the relations for farm production in host community?
4. What are the social enablers or constraints to farm labour migrants' adaptation?
5. How do they affect farm labour migrants adaptation to the host community?
6. What are the opportunities farm labour migrants create in their community of origin?
7. Why do farm labour migrants have to create such opportunities back home?

1.4 Research Objectives

The general objective of the study is to investigate the nature of social and production factors inducing international farm labour migration to Ibadan and the significance of migrants' social adaptation to host and origin communities.

Specific Objectives

The specific objectives of the study are to:

1. Investigate the factors that push farm labour migrants from their countries of origin to Ibadan.
2. Examine the conditions in farm production that pull farm labour migrants to the host community of Ibadan.
3. Analyze the nature of relations between farm labour migrants and indigenous farmers and how the relations affect farm production in host community.
4. Examine how farm labour migrants adapt to the host community.
5. Explore the opportunities farm labour migrants generate in the community of origin.

1.5 Justification for the Research

Farmers seek for alternative opportunities of livelihoods within borders in non-farm activities especially when conditions of production are unfavorable to sustain production as captured in studies (Adepoju, 1976, 1979, 2008; Zachariah and Conde, 1981; Shimada, 1986, 1993; Blacket *al*, 2006; Afolabi, 2007;). This study seeks to examine why farmers including farm labourers seek and extend alternative opportunities in farm production locations across border. This study on international agricultural labour thus transcends the issues of (cross border) child labour in agriculture which has been the focus of contemporary research in West Africa as conducted especially by International Institute of Tropical Agriculture in conjunction with other organizations (IITA, 2002; Gockowski and Oduwole, 2001) as well as individual scholars (Ould, Jordan, Reynolds, and Loftin, 2004; Boas and Huser, 2006; Anyidoho and Ainsworth, 2009; Edet and Etim, 2011). This depicts that there are divergent social and production dynamics in agriculture which farmers, communities, and peoples of West Africa are confronted with, and which in some cases cross border agriculture labour becomes an alternative action. Thus, this requires greater research investigation.

1.6 Clarification of Concepts

Social context comprised two human interactive components, the social and context. de Haas' (2007) interpretation of social as adopted in this study depicts social as 'encompassing economic, cultural, and political dimensions of change, all interacting at any historical juncture. Context is the dynamic setting in which the social shapes human actions, such as migration processes. In this study, the use of social context delineates the interactions of the context as the circumstances which migrants were confronted with and the social as the human actions borne out of interactions between persons and groups such as families, communities and other human agents, with which to explain how circumstances/situations cause, influence or induce human actions/behavior such as migration. The use of social context in this study is therefore significant in analyzing how social context shapes migration and how migration in turn affects the social context, thus perpetuating migration processes.

Migration is the movement of a person or group of persons, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and cause. It includes migration of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and persons moving for other purposes as family reunification (IOM, 2011). The general characterization of migration as movement from one location to another location also depicts international migration which similarly explains international farm labour migration, as analyzed next.

International migration is the movement of persons who leave their country of origin, or the country of habitual residence, to establish themselves either permanently or temporarily in another country (IOM, 2011). This movement across international border is also referred to as cross-border migration. Therefore, in this study, international migration and cross border migration are used as overlapping concepts and are also used interchangeably to mean the same concept. From this perspectives, **international farm labour migration** which is a key concept in this study, means the movement of persons, groups, or people from the country of origin across international border to country of destination for the purpose of farming and/or farm work. This also delineates cross border farm labour migration. In general terms, these persons, groups, and people involved in the international migration are referred to as migrants and in country of destination they are

also referred to as immigrants. Since there is no distinctive concept that refers to persons, groups, and people that moved across international border for purposes of farming and farm work, in this study, the persons, groups and people involved in international farm labour migration are referred to as farm labour migrants, migrant farmers and migrant farm labourers/workers. Farm labour migrants can also be categorized to comprise migrant farmers for those involved in farm production and migrant farm labourers for those in farming as farm workers.

Labour migration is the movement of persons from one State to another, or within their own country of residence, for the purpose of employment (IOM, 2011). International farm labour migration, on the other hand, and as discussed earlier, is the movement of persons from one country of origin to another country of destination for the purpose of employment in farm work for wages. In this category are migrant farm labourers/workers. The labour migration concept also denotes those employed as farm workers or migrant farm labourers/workers who over time become self-employed in and control their farm production and to earn income. These self-employed persons are farmers or migrant farmers which in this study are also referred to as migrant farm tenants.

Mixed migration flows is the “complex population movements including refugees, asylum-seekers, economic migrants and other migrants” (IOM, 2004), as opposed to migratory population movements that consist entirely of one category of migrants (IOM, 2011). These categories of migrants whose movements were for different reasons include movement for reasons of farm activities and life-security. Yet, for the purpose of this study, from these categories of migrants, this study refer to a scenario where some of these migrants eventually end up engaging in farm activities as farming or farm work in receiving country.

Receiving country and Sending country: A receiving country is the country of destination or a third country, or host country of migrants. In the case of return or repatriation, it is also the country of origin (IOM, 2011). In this study, the general sense of the concept of receiving country of migrants overlaps and is used interchangeably with country of destination or host country of migrants to mean the same thing. In the context of this study, it is the receiving country, or country of destination or host country of farm labour

migrants. At the other end, the country where migrants leave to move to the receiving country is referred to as sending country. Sending country is a country of origin that is source of migratory flows to a country of destination (IOM, 2011). That is, the home country of migrants or where migrants originate from, to move to a particular country of destination or host country. Here also, the use of the concept of sending country and country of origin overlaps and are also used interchangeably to denote the same meaning.

(Re)Integration: Integration is the process by which migrants/immigrants become accepted into society, both as individuals and as groups. The particular requirements for acceptance in a receiving society vary greatly from country to country, and the responsibility for integration rests not with one particular group, but rather with many actors: immigrants themselves, the host government, institutions, and communities.

Reintegration, to rephrase IOM, is re-inclusion, re-incorporation, re-adoption and re-insertion of person or returning migrant into a cultural and economic system and a social group or process of his/her community or country of origin (IOM, 2011). Thus, integration as used in this study denotes adaptation of farm labour migrants in country of destination. Re-integration as used in this study signifies (re)adaptation, re-orientation and re-adoption of farm labour migrants in their country of origin. That is, (re)adaptation or re-adoption of returning migrants to the values, norms, moral principles, laws, ideology, language, peer groups, and other material and immaterial culture and traditions as well as modern cultures like laws of their country of origin. As seasonal, temporarily or circular migrants who have been away from country of origin for certain period of time, at any moment of their return to their country of origin requires (re)adaptation. The duration of migration determines the degree of efforts or actions invest in (re)adapting to country of origin.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Global Perspectives for International Migration, Regulation and Control

The general reasons for migration from 20th century to the 21st century were differences in contexts which include differences in socio-ecology, demographic growth, income, and security and human rights. The broader reasons for migration can be categorized into economic and non-economic reasons, which underlie the different contexts that triggers migration. As a consequence of the inflows of huge population of migrants into other countries for divergent reasons, the countries receiving migrants put in place modern regulations which include border controls, passports and visa to determine who is admitted or allowed into the country to stay and/or work or who is not admitted and stays off. The migration regulation measures are approaches which countries of destination adopt to check and control migration from migrant (labour) sending countries. In some instances, such migration regulation measures are adopted by both countries of origin/ sending and destination/receiving of migrants through bilateral or multilateral relationship in order to manage migration, particularly, international migration.

The dynamic reasons for migration and the interplay of these reasons either simultaneously or at different times in different contexts which account for the increasing and huge global rate of movements of migrants from different migrants' sending countries to other migrants' receiving countries. This is also accounted for the different distribution and proportion of migrants in receiving countries. Consequently, global migration rose to 232 million in 2013 from 175 million in 2000 and 154 million in 1990 (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs/Population Division, 2013; Martin, 2003). Between 2000 and 2013 alone, international migration rose by 60 million, and between

2000 and 1990, it rose slowly by 21 million. The rapidly increasing rate of global migration made such regulative measures to control international/cross border migration inevitable. Of the 2013 international migrant population, nearly 59 per cent were hosted in the developed regions while 41 percent were hosted in the developing regions. Africa alone hosted 19 million international migrants (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs/Population Division, 2013). Martin (2003) observed that the migration triggers and attractions in the different contexts of sending countries and receiving countries which motivates and gives reasons for increase in international migration will likely continue to increase the population of international migration in the 21st century, but that the main reasons for such migration will be economical and non-economical reasons. This re-emphasises the exigency in cross border control through management of international migration.

As noted already, generally, the reasons for migration are driven by push (supply) factors such as unemployment or lack of opportunities that trigger migration to occur in the country of origin and the pull (demand) factors such as labour recruitment and access to opportunities that motivate migration to occur towards the country of destination. Another factor is the network factor, which is made up of information and communication infrastructure, and social contacts that persuade and facilitate potential migrants to migrate across national borders to access their pull factors of opportunities. Thus, migration for economic or non-economic reasons as Martins (2003) stressed, were the push factors, pull factors and network factors which influence the migration decision, yet each of these factors was not or rarely have 'equal one-third weight' in a particular decision to migrate, and that the weight of each of migration reasons or factors change over time in any migration flows. The influences of these factors in migration decisions can be understood in Massey *et al.*'s (1993) explanation, that 'each act of migration alters the social context within which subsequent migration decisions are made, typically in ways that make additional movement more likely' especially if economic conditions in the source/origin and destination areas remain relatively unchanged. Nevertheless, when the conditions at origin change and the circumstances of individuals or families also change (positively or negatively), the impacts of change in the conditions of individuals

and families shape migration decisions. Thus, as the push and pull factors motivate and encourage migration, the network factor persuades, facilitate and sustains migration.

On the basis of that context, this section of the literature review also examines management of international migration through migration policies and regulations of some developed countries or regions of Europe and United States of America, United Kingdom and Canada. These countries and regions have less or scarce labour in certain sectors, consequently, they source for labour especially farm labour/workers from other developing countries in Europe, Latin America and Africa that have surplus labour. The migrants from this developing regions also seeks wages/income to improve their livelihood in those developed regions. This is to help bring to context how the framework for the management of international farm labour migration can be developed and implemented in Africa, and Nigeria in particular.

This latter assertion does not lose sight of the peculiarities of the different context between developed regions and developing regions, and even the contextualities of social, economic and agricultural change and development of each of the countries in each of the regions. As evidence already, there is production challenge in developed regions, in terms of labour shortages in agricultural production. Even though the agricultural sector's production are largely automated, there are also aspects of production in the sector that are not yet automated thus the sector continue to require farm labourers/workers: for physical labour or to operate the automated machines in farm production. On the other hand, agricultural production in many countries in the developing region are far less automated, thus, production largely depends on physical labour. This is addition to the differences in economic ideologies that shapes and defines the systems of ownership and control of other factors of production such as land, capital and entrepreneurship in countries of these regions. Therefore, the adoption and development of a framework for the management of international farm labour migration in Africa must consider the peculiarities of the contexts in Africa and avoid wholesale adoption. In the general, idea of such framework should be to control in and out flow migration through organized programmes and processes of selection and admission of migrants. This is from the backdrop that, there is a culture of transnational network of migration of farm labour migrants among and across

Africa which support African people, particularly farmers and labourers to engaged in intra-continental migration in Africa for the purpose farm production and agricultural trade. Without adequate record of volume of farm labour migrants, the peculiarities of labour, capital and technological utilities and the significance of social networks in farm production and in the value-chain to farm production would need to be considered and appropriately coopted and applied into the African governments' framework for management of international migration as well as for the management of farm labour migration between countries in Africa.

The context of direction of international labour migration from developing countries to developed countries is such that, demographically, in Africa, like many parts of Europe, migrants migrated from highly densely populated areas which are equated to developing countries with low incomes to less densely populated areas of America and Oceania which are equated with developed countries with high income. This was more common in the 19th century. This created the migration patterns of south (developing countries) to north (developed countries); (international) migration from less productive ecology (less or not industrialized countries which were accompanied with low agricultural development) to productive ecology (industrialized countries with high agricultural development). Such patterns of movements were also controlled and permitted in order to increase not merely the population of the developed countries in Europe and USA that was shrinking but to increase the required labour force through admission of labour from the expanding population in some developing countries including Africa (World Bank, 2000; Agence Française de Développement, 2006).

The global issues in migration for governments and states in the 21st century continue to be how to manage migration. The demographic differences influencing migration is inevitably connected and corresponds to economic growth differences (in terms of high income and opportunities, and low income and lack of opportunities) that gives more discernible reasons for international migration to those countries that demographically have a lesser labour population but tend to be economically more productive and pay higher incomes/wages. The developed countries with high economic growth with corresponding high income earned or earnable, attracts and pulls migration from (a well

established migration corridors with) developing countries with a relatively middle or low incomes. The latter has a high demographic population with a low and sluggish growing economy which has low income and pays low income. As World Bank reported, global per capita income averages \$5000, but per capita incomes in 25 high-income countries averaged \$26,000 per person in 1999, and \$1,200 in the poorer 175 countries in the same period. Thus, the locations with slight income differences or large income differences across countries account for migration to countries with better income offers. Often, the decisions to migrate from poorer income countries to high income countries are taken in spite of the risks and stricter migration policy regulations to be encountered at the embassy for visa or at the border crossing.

As income becomes a big motivational factor in influencing migration decisions and eventual migration, people are increasingly migrating across national borders for employment to countries that require not just labour but cheap labour. That is, life improving income/wages. Therefore, with the increasing global labour migration, international labour force rose to 2.9 million in 1999, of which 1.3 million (45%) of global workers were employed in agriculture as farmers or farm workers (ILO, 2000). These figures exclude the labour of landlords who were farmers themselves. In 2000, global agricultural labour force alone including the labour of migrant farmers/labourers rose to 1.3 billion (ILO, 2000; Reeves and Schafer, 2003).

Interestingly, just as in the developing countries, wages/ incomes in agriculture in the developed countries have been lower than other sectors. Thus, the migrant farm workers employed in agriculture earn lesser wage/income than industrial workers (ILO, 2003; Hurst *et al.*, 2007). This results to more interests in rural-urban migration or cross border migration as international labour migration for economic opportunities regardless of tough or harsh labour conditions or regulations of labour migration and exploitative agricultural labour practices in labour migration receiving countries (ILO, 2003; Hurst *et al.*, 2007; Martin and Jackson-Smith, 2013). There has also been rural-rural international labour migration, involving particularly international farm labour migration as well as urban-rural international migration for labour opportunities such as farm labour opportunities in the agricultural sector, with distinctive or similar experiences of agricultural labour

practices aimed at boosting local agricultural production. This was to further contribute to boost the local economy. This suggests that, like in developing countries where agricultural estate, or farm settlements or plantations are most of the times located in rural areas, agricultural estates or plantation in developed countries that employed migrant farm workers in search of high wages/incomes are also located in rural areas.

In addition to demographic and economic differences which trigger international labour migration, there are also differences in context in the nature of security and human rights in different parts of the world that triggers migration. Security and human right issues which trigger migration, besides, been associated with economic competition, it has also resulted from political, ideological and cultural conflicts. As conflict actors create local violence which escalate and transform into international violence, the different dimensions of such conflicts which caused human insecurity and infringes on human right of individuals, groups and communities by means of harming and disrupting their social, psychological, cultural and economic lives make international migration to become an inevitable necessity. This contributes to account for the mixed migration of people seeking better employment or security from persecutions or violence. Martin (2000) has stressed that such migration flows engender a 'physical and cultural transition'. That is, the person or group embodies their culture, and as they migrate, they move and interact with their cultural spirit, attitudes, values and certain material artifacts. In a nutshell, as unique as the dimensions of the push factors are, they give more reasons for migration management.

Socio-ecological, demographic and economic differences as well as security and human rights differences encourage individuals to consider migration and to migrate, but, it takes networks of links between emigration and immigration areas to enable people to (officially or unofficially) migrate across national borders. Migration networks include communication factors that enable people to learn about opportunities abroad as well as the transportation infrastructure that enables migrants to cross national borders and remain abroad or stay abroad for a while. Therefore, irrespective of the causes, dimensions, and changing patterns of migration flows, and the attractions of migration, migration will

continue to increase in the 21st century, from which migration policy and regulations for management of migration flows have become exigent.

Since the common basis of migration, particularly, economic migration has been to earn income which impacts positively on migrants' lives and their families first, and second their community and third their country, through increasing their social and economic values and assets, the aspiration to migrate and eventual migration has often been to migrate to countries with economic growth that offer high income and give migrants the opportunity to earn high income. So, with the influx in migration transition towards the countries of high income (North America, Europe, Japan, and Oceania, etc), Martin (2003) stressed that migration policy decisions and force of implementation of the policy of such high income countries is 'likely to shape migration flows in the 21st century'. Therefore, this has informed divergent interests between the migration receiving countries that pushed for no-borders and those that pushed for no-immigrants. The 'no-borders' position is pushed by ethnic nationalities, or government or businesses and religious groups that stressed for border controls which allow the borders to be open to migrants particularly to migrants/workers seeking high incomes or security. The 'no-immigrants' position is pushed by locals and certain nationalistic oriented government actors or groups seeking to prevent the weakening of the country's private and public capital, avoidance of wage and other forms of adjustments such as culture and policy that are influenced and linked to migration process that comes with immigration. In doing that, they hope to preserve their countries' wealth, cultural heritage or distinct and pure racial stock. Thus, the concern of the nationalistic oriented actors is also that immigrants were receiving more from public benefits than their paid taxes, due to the unjust prevailing social and public state policies. And that the presence of the immigrants have further threatened to alter and in some instances, migrants are altering the social and cultural balance that foster harmonious society (Martin and Midgley, 1999). All of these concerns continue to create tensions for governments and the way governments approach immigration. Also, this concerns has informed the frequently changing directions of migration policies of many developed countries and sometimes, such immigration policies are targeted towards certain countries in the developing regions. These changes in migration policies, particularly immigration policies have advertently arisen the concerns of African

countries' governments to the issues of international labour migration. Meanwhile, such concerns in Africa are on how to control migration to the extent that security, trade and development are achieved. And that the interest of the locals are reasonably protected in all ramifications against the competition of labour migrants. Yet, the governments of many African countries are less protective of the interest of their citizens in other African countries and outside the Africa continent. The surges and waves of labour migration in Africa is rather seen by African state governments as well as its people to be circumstantially problematic and arising from unwanted and compelling social, economic, political or cultural factors. Without appropriate and adequate policy remedies to fix those unwanted and compelling factors of life, as African people take to migration as a family, group or self remedy, the (labour) migrants are left by many African governments to their fate to prosperity or otherwise. Their prosperity which was achieved out of migration interestingly benefits the state through remittances.

In spite of the different positions and approaches on no-borders and no-immigrants in migration management, the significance of immigrants/migrants in the enhancements and growth of different sectors of the migrants'/immigrants' receiving countries has continuously impelled the need to accept migrants/immigrants. Thus, the concerns that arise then are, how many migrants can be accepted and which of the migrants should be accepted or allowed entrance into a receiving country? Again, this raised the concerns for migration policy decision and migration management. Interestingly, the developed countries of USA, Canada, Australia, countries of European Union, Israel, and New Zealand have well planned migration policies and regulations through bilateral or multilateral relations on migration policies among themselves and with developing countries. Their policy regulations welcome the arrivals of certain migrants such as skilled migrants or prevents certain types of migrants of certain racial and religious groups from certain countries, especially those labeled as (potential) criminals or terrorists, entrance into their countries. As many of these countries including certain EU countries tend to accept migrants, the disputes over how many migrants can be accepted and the acceptable level of migrants at a time or over a given period of time remains contentious, even as new corridors and direction of migration emerged. The recent events of peaceful or violent campaigns of protests by nationalist groups' in USA and many parts of Europe

such as Germany, Ukraine, Italy and Austria have shown since 2016 the demands for strong borders and no-immigrants as well as the low tolerant level for immigrants from certain countries such as Iran, Syria, Latin American countries (such as Mexico and Honduras).

Another concern has been how to determine where and which sectors migrants/immigrants are needed, from which to determine how many migrants are needed. Since the intention behind the implementation of the distinctive migration policy decisions of those countries, to re-emphasize, were hinged on controlling migration, through immigration policy regulations, the temporary or guest work programme for selecting and accepting migrants is simply one migration policy aspect that is common with some of the developed countries. The guest worker programme facilitates and control show the developed countries accessed farm workers to support their farmers and to boost their farm production. The farmers (farm landlords or agricultural estate owners) in migration receiving countries have also key into employing (migrant) farm workers in their farms in which they pay wages to migrants for their labour; while at the same time paying levies to government for organizing for their accessibility of migrant workers/labourers. The temporary, seasonal or guest worker programmes of many developed countries enabled their farmers countries to access and recruit farm labourers who will support local farmers and contribute to boost the economy of the host countries.

From the volumes of available literature on agricultural practices in countries with guest worker programmes, which employs migrants/immigrants as (farm) labourers/workers, the migrants/ immigrants who were often employed to work as farm labourers but designated farm workers, may subsequently become farm tenant/farmers or labour recruitment agents but not landlord farmers that own and control farmlands and farm production in those countries. This is considering the labour and social conditions of migrant farm labourers/workers in many of the seasonal and guest worker programmes for agriculture in some developed countries (this has been discussed in the last theme of this section. This is even when some of the migrants/immigrants such as farm labourers/workers have gained residency permit or eventually become citizens. Except, if without social and racial discrimination, agricultural lands are on sales and the migrants

buy-off the farmlands. Then the migrant can become a landlord of farmland but can only own and control production if he/she engages in farm production. This further indicates the differences developed countries and developing countries, where the former as industrialized countries with strong nationalistic and capitalist form of land tenure system operates, while the latter, as partly less-industrialized and partly industrializing, operate socialists oriented capitalism (China, Japan, India) and indigeneous oriented capitalism (African countries') of land tenure systems. These differences supports and ensures the continuous and criteria based selective recruitment of some migrants as farm labourers through quest worker programmes (this has been discussed extensively in the last theme of this section on literature review) Again in Africa, the control of migration has not been about the acceptable level to take in migrants and leveraging on the increasing (potential) benefits of migration but to check illegal migration and to ensure that legal and illegal migration that may result from regional cooperation do not become a security threat and economic burden to African countries. This next theme turns to analyze economic and agricultural migration trends and management in pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial Africa.

2.2 Economies, Agriculture and Migration Trends in Africa

Migration from Africa to Europe and North America is persistently huge. But circular migration within Africa is relatively higher especially among West African countries (Oucho, 1990; Adepaju, 2005, 2006, 2008; Afolayan, 2009). More than any other motivation, circular migration is initiated on the basis of seeking improved economic opportunities. In order to understand this economically informed migration, the tendency in migration studies in Africa is to situate and discuss economic migration across range of production segments including agriculture (Adepaju, 2005, 2008; Black *et al.*, 2006). However, studies linking international migratory processes to what is happening in agriculture, especially in Africa, prior to 1990s are not so recent. This leaves a gap, in which it is imperative to examine if there are any distinctive differences from 1990s onwards. For this reason, this study focused on international agricultural labour migration. The nature of this study was to examine the social and production conditions that triggered international farm labour migration to Ibadan from the rest of West Africa. Before then, this review of literature provides a grasp of what has been happening in

migration trends in Africa, particularly in farm labour migration. These trends have been generally discussed within the context of pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods of Africa.

2.2.1 Migration in Pre-Colonial Era

In the pre-colonial societies of today's Africa, particularly in West Africa and Nigeria, the economy which was given relevance by agriculture also gave life to social processes such as migration and formation of political, economic and cultural groups, communities and empires with communal border. Across these communities and empires which were transformed to African states, the earliest recorded sources of migration were the trans-Saharan trade, mining and agricultural merchandise and trans-Saharan slave. These were later successively dominated by European migratory trade that extended into West Africa (Arthur, 1991; Lydon, 2000; Adepaju, 2000; Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), 2006; Bakewell and de Haas, 2007). Overtime, conquest or survival motives set in, as intergroup or inter-communal conflicts ensued between the empires and communal societies over the former's assertive power to colonize in order to expand economic prosperity and the latter's assertion for communal existence through search for productive means of livelihood (Makar, 1975; Kazah-Toure, 1999; Afolayan, Ikwuyatum, and Abejide, 2008; African Report, 2010; Blackwell, 2013). The slave trade emerged from these conflicts and assumed a labour market form with which human labour was traded and acquired for household and economic production such as agricultural production. In some instances, where empires and communities displaced other empires/communities by conflicts, such conflicts were accompanied by cross communal border slave trades used for labour (Kazah-Toure, 1999; Afolayan, *et al.*, 2008). This intensified coerced labour migration across communal borders in West Africa. Typical examples of these were the Hausa states colonization which accounts for the forced spread of Hausa people across communal borders and adoption of Hausa culture by the colonized communal societies and empires beyond northern Nigeria to parts of Francophone countries adjacent to and in distance to northern Nigeria such as Niger (Africa Report, 2010).

The successive displacements and cross communal border migration of Tiv communal group from Congo in Central Africa to Cameroun which was further followed with contestation between Tiv and other communal groups like the Chamba people and Kwararafa Empire ethnic groups such as Jukun ensued to further migration of the Tiv communal group to their current destination in Benue valley in present day Benue State in North Central Nigeria (Makar, 1994; Afolayan, et al., 2008; Ugbegili, 2016). Tseyayo (1975) observed that areas which Tiv communal group migrated to and established settlements were informed by the need for safety and productive agriculture exploitation. For the same reason, Tiv also displaced other communal groups they came in contact with, such as the Idoma currently settled in far south of Benue Valley. In some cases Tiv adopted aspects of the material and organizational culture of those that they displaced and forced to migrate or those that displaced and forced them to migrate (Tor, 2016; Ugbegili, 2016). In contemporary times, the security threats to communal groups either for conquest or for annihilation has been the conflicts over farmland and its resources and territorial control, which the Tiv like many communal groups in Nigeria have faced. This was in order to dispossess them of and control their communal lands and resources by migrant herdsmen who were mostly Fulani from parts of Central and West Africa. This has been beyond simply clash of livelihoods between farmers and herdsmen over farmland resources use as described by Oladibo, Ikpi, Obono, Msheliza, Ogallah, Pinndear, and Nwajiuba, (2011) but has been intended to control communal lands and its productive farmland resources.

Another compelling stream of migration flows was reinforced with the later 19th century Islamic Jihad conflicts and their colonization of social and economic production of the parts of Hausa states and Kwararafa Empire and some ethnic communal societies that are in contemporary North Central Nigeria. In spite of the Jihadist re-organization of Hausa states, some elements of Hausa culture such as political organization, language and mode of economic production which demanded intensive physical labour were retained. Hence labour migration was tolerated across the established Jihadist expansive caliphate to sustain the caliphate economic production as agriculture to feed its political authority (Blackwell, 2013).

Similarly, the Islamic Jihadist expansion conquest of parts of Yoruba communities in Oyo Empire dispersed and forced the Yoruba communities to migrate to parts of contemporary West Africa as Ashanti in Ghana, Dahomey in Benin and Togo (Akinjogbin, 1980). This implies that individuals and group labour were displaced from agricultural production which was critical to the economy of Oyo Empire as well as important for the new migratory established settlements of Yoruba in Ghana, Togo and Benin with trade linkages across West Africa (Asiwaju, 1992). In this context, it can be observed agriculture served as the predominant occupation of Yoruba societies and also central in boosting trade in and between the economy of Ibadan, Ife, Ijebu, Abeokuta, New Oyo, as areas which were once parts of old Oyo Empire that collapsed in 1836 (Falola, 1984; Akinjogbin, 1980; Fourchard, 2003). However, because other communities were already settled in these parts of West Africa which the displaced migrants of Yoruba group subsequently settled, they had to adapt into their new host communities through means which include inter- communal marriages and/or identity assimilation (Asiwaju, 1992; Adeniran and Olutayo, 2011). Agriculture production would have been vital for their livelihood and adaptation. As these conflicts forced people out of their accustomed economic production such as agricultural production, their labour was equally dislodged and transplanted outside their defined communal borders. While these social processes which informed migratory actions could be linked to the motive for life security and economic security to exercise and sustain power, identity, and/or be autonomous, scholars have also reported that for sustainability of livelihoods which agriculture offered mostly at the time, the people of West Africa were compelled to engage in agricultural territorial expansion or communal space drifting in search for more productive agro-ecology (Armstrong, 1955; Makar, 1975; Alkali, 1985; Arthur, 1991; Adejumo, 2005).

Interestingly, Manby (2015) observed that West African communities at the time had systems of 'welcoming and managing' migrants such as transit migrants and integration of settled migrants. He elaborated further that, in some instances, the first settled migrant community group on a particular land in which it controls, could allocate portions of such land to later migrants as part of integration. Whereas people of the first settled communal group that exerted control over such occupied territorial lands gain access to portions of communal lands through family ties. Migrants were instead integrated through 'grant of

usage rights over land for farming or grazing'. Also, adoption to such communal societies were also through initiation into age grade, admission by chief and/or payment of tribute to chiefs as an expression of willingness to uphold and respect institutions of such society and its people (Kazah-Toure, 1999; African Report, 2010; Manby, 2015). There were also instances of forms of integration through inter-marriage between communities and Empires, slave exchange, military alliances, and trade in exchange of commodities. As a consequence of attacks on communities, there were instances where some settled communities did not appreciate the presence of strangers who were migrants in their midst for suspicion of espionage.

In spite of the extent of adaptation to host communities by migrants, conflicts ensued in some instances between second or latter migrant community over claim of rights to land. This was usually in the efforts of the first migrant/settled community that has control over territorial land to reassert her authority over such land. This usually compelled dislodgment and subsequent migration to other locations. Such contestations were however reduced by creation of national borders in colonial era but migration increased. The colonial system introduced a different kind of trigger to migration through policies and legislation which compelled economic and political migration within and across borders (Okobiah, 1989; Adepaju, 2005; Manby, 2015).

2.2.2 Migration in Colonial Era

In the colonial period, with the expansion of capitalist economy in the later part of 19th century and its transformation into globalization across connects the world, migration flows were and continue to be pulled along each path of these changes and stages. As colonial African economy was transformed into money economy, in which agriculture continued to play a central role (Akokpari, 2000), African subsistence agriculture was drastically changed to commercial agricultural production, just as communal labour was increasingly commercialized into wage labour. While both agricultural produce and human labour further became export commodities, the necessity of human labour in the expanding commercial agricultural production to meet the French and British colonialists' home industrial economies led them to establish forced labour measures such as mutual agreements and legislations. These measures compelled labour migration flows within and

across colonial African states borders (Manby, 2015) as against earlier discouragement to confine migration with each colonial state border. Such measures led to the establishment of cash crop farm/plantation settlements and forest reserves across different West African countries such as Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria. This was essentially because these countries were with productive agro-ecology for cash crop production (Blench and Dendo, 2003).

The signed mutual agreements ensured the translocation of labour across colonial borders to the farm settlements and forest reserves as well as to other range of economic productions and infrastructural development areas. British and French colonial states such as Nigeria and Gabon, Nigeria and Equatorial Guinea and Cote d'Ivoire and Burkina Faso (then Upper Volta) mutually exchanged labour across borders in the 1940s and 1950s. The French colonial state of Cote d'Ivoire which Manby (2015) stressed was notorious in labour exchange as far back as 1932 had similar agreements with Burkina Faso to import and transplant labour from Burkina Faso to Cote d'Ivoire's plantations and infrastructural projects. In other instances across Africa as West Africa, some of the people migrated across national borders to avoid payment of imposed taxes or forced labour. These labour exchange agreements were renewed in post colonial states of the 1960s. The forced labour legislation between the 16th and 19th century either by contract or compulsory recruitment made available cheap wage labour services at cocoa, coffee, groundnut and cotton farms/plantations in Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Nigeria. This forced as well as encouraged the migration of seasonal, long-term or permanent labour migrants to receiving colonial farm/plantation settlements and forest reserves within or across borders for the purpose of trading labour for wages, while some of these cross border farm labour migrants became farm tenants or some other migrants remained wage labourers (Adepoju, 1987, 2005). Thus, commercialization of agriculture (into cash crop) and introduction of feasible monetization of labour that allows individuals to trade labour for wages enabled and encouraged migration of agricultural labourers of seasonal, long-term or permanent labour nature.

These signals in agrarian change corresponded with the colonial capitalist political reconfiguration of African communal lands, as African societies transited from being

relatively communal border societies to states with national borders. The new national border in some instances separated the same communal groups and at the same time coerced different communal groups into same national borders, which often account for sustain transnational cultural ties with similar communal groups identified as one communal group separated by colonial states' boundary creation. And this transnational cultural ties are found to sustained cross border migration. Migration at this time was limited and encouraged within each colonial state borders thus accounted for high internal migration (Adepoju, 1998). The deliberate policy, with exception to within the border migration or internal migration, was in the signed mutual agreement for the translocation of labour across colonial borders for range of economic production and infrastructural developments. This did not halt migration but encouraged migration across the borders to other colonial African states.

As labour migrants were compelled to move to labour destinations by deliberate actions or not, migration corridors and expansive networks such as social, cultural and economic/markets networks were entrenched between the countries of origin and destination across West African countries (Asiwaju, 1984). Forced and voluntary migration corridors have continued as network path for contemporary migration flows in Africa, particularly in West Africa, as in the case of Yoruba, Bambara-Soninke and Hausa-Fulani migration and other ethnic groups to Ghana and Cote d'Ivoire (Mabogunje, 1972; Manby, 2015). As a case in point, as a result of the beneficial impact of migrants from the farms/plantations driven economy of (post) colonial Cote d'Ivoire, economic migrants across West Africa were encouraged to Cote d'Ivoire with access to citizenship rights as land ownership (Toure, 1998; Manby, 2015). In many West African countries, migrants were tolerated but citizenship/ indigeneship was denied and access to land was by rent or grant (Toure, 1998; Manby, 2015).

The consequence of out-migration or emigration from the point of origin to destination of farm/plantation settlements was the deficit in labour created at origin, and this had social and production implications such that an aged labour population that was less productive to support production was left behind at the community/country of origin (Adepoju, 1987). On the other hand, as labour migration increased to farms/plantations, there was

demographic occupational labour pressure on the farms/plantation settlements in which alternative large farms of individual farmers absorbed. In African states' economies, the large farms/plantations in colonial African states as it were, continued to be more crucial in the sustainability and economic growth of the respective (post) colonial African states and for economic and social gains of migrants (Amin, 1974; Zachariah and Conde, 1981; Adepoju, 2005).

The forced labour legislation and coerced transportation or voluntary migration of labour were also to industrial, mining, and many infrastructure project sites in rural and urbanizing areas. This forced as well as encouraged migration flows from these areas to rural and urbanizing areas that were without similar economic and developmental activities, as some of the instances of the forced migration or induced migration were to non-farm production sectors. Meanwhile as urbanizing centres in colonial Africa states absorbed labour migrants into modern public services and projects to support the colonial African states' economies, the large farms/plantations in colonial African states as well became more crucial to the sustainability and economic growth of the respective colonial African states. Agriculture at the time was a highly significant production sector that triggered migration and at the same time it absorbed huge migrants from streams of internal migration and international labour migration for economic and social gains (Amin, 1974; Zachariah and Conde, 1981; Adepoju, 2005;). As dictated by colonial government, by sheer of ethno-cultural history, the communities colonized into states became nationalities of such emerged colonial states and post-colonial African states.

Manby, (2015) disclosed that ethnic communities that were defined as having no negro-African descent and history were excluded from being nationalities of the colonial and post colonial African states. Further, that in colonial and post colonial African states, state-based nationality continued to be emphasized by locals, thus, integration only became possible by the acceptance of locals. Yet, adoption measures into community or state were not so distinctive. The common practices for adoption were through the subsisting pre-colonial traditional systems of accepting migrants discussed above, which included admission by chief, to certify origin, and later introduced was locals' acceptance through naturalization. With this, migrants assumed a dual identity, in which migrants

retained citizenship rights of sending countries, but may merely enjoy certain privileges in receiving countries such as accessing land through grants or buying off land as agricultural lands (Manby, 2015).

In late the colonial period and in the post-colonial period, the already established capitalist economic production across Africa encouraged rural (farm) skilled, low and unskilled labour migrants whether regular or irregular to migrate to West Africa's fast urbanizing centres and their expanding informal economies in Nigeria (as Ibadan and Lagos), Ghana (Accra), Togo (Lome), and Benin (Cotonou) for non-agricultural economic opportunities and better alternatives of livelihood. The migration of labour to those urbanizing areas was not necessary because agriculture performance in the economy of those countries was declining at the time but because of the perception of better economic conditions, improved opportunities and income, and emergent new urban social life styles. Therefore, while the labour migration to infrastructural construction project sites were largely in urban areas in 1950s and 1960s, there was also farm labour migration to cocoa and rubber farms/plantations which were largely in rural areas (Adepoju, 1987). At the time, between 1960s and 1970s, there were also contract migrant workers and clandestine migrants from southeast Nigeria that worked in plantations of the then Fernando Po and Spanish Guinea (Zachariah and Condé, 1981). Cote d' Ivoire' attracted labour migrants from Burkina Faso, Mali, Ghana, Senegal, Liberia, (eastern and western) Nigeria, and others to colonial Guinea. Consequently, labour migration to Ghana from Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Mali and Togo in 1960s and 1980s was due to Ghana's robust and prosperous economic growth which depended on agriculture such as cocoa plantations. Besides gold mining, cocoa production was one of Ghana's most important economic production with international market with which Ghana earned revenues (Adepoju, 2005). Also, the cocoa plantation in Cote d' Ivoire which was established prior to Ghana cocoa plantation was and continuous to be the backbone of Cote d' Ivoire's economic growth and development (Ould *et al*, 2004). And this is most likely to continue to be so beyond 2015, considering the difficulties with which African countries have in diversifying their economic production.

2.2.3 Migration in Post-Colonial Era

In early post colonial African states, the decline and later failure of agriculture to lead and sustain economies in many African states, particularly in West African countries as Nigeria, Cote d' Ivoire and Ghana in the 1960s was economically and politically troubling for these post colonial countries in the 1970s and 1980s and a bleak future in 1990s (Adepoju, 2006). The crisis of sustaining their national economies extended from urban economies to affect negatively the rural area economies. Alongside the depreciating significance of agriculture to their economies, were collapsing industrial and mining sectors. The devalued nature of agriculture and other sectors which created economic crisis and labour market competition linked to unemployment, exploitative labour conditions and limited life chances were connected to falling world price and the rising alternatives in potent non-agricultural sectors.

As a result of the economic crises, many of the peoples of West African countries took to cross border labour migration, to either other urban centres or to rural areas. Many labour migrants moved to Nigeria's oil-led economy, which shifted largely from agriculture (Adepoju, 2008). There were, however, farm labour migration flows to subsisting large farms belts in Nigeria as farm settlements and forest reserves in South West, which were seen as having better productive agro-ecology (Agboola 1979; Idowu, 2006). In some cases, the economic crisis reversed the direction of cross border migration from urban economic areas to colonization of migration streams to rural areas of their received countries; or from other rural areas to rural areas in receiving countries, or migrate back to rural areas of their countries of origin (Adepoju, 1998).

The severe economic conditions in urban areas also limited the non-agriculture opportunities which in turn made difficult livelihood conditions in urban areas, this compelled migrants to return to their rural communities/countries of origin and to agriculture, as others turn to opportunities in the rural areas of their host countries for alternative livelihoods in agriculture. Adepoju (2005) further explained that the difficulties in economic conditions in Ghana and Gabon compelled Ghanaians and Gabonans to move to Cote d' Ivoire as seasonal international migrants to work on farms and plantations for low pay/wages by doing labor-intensive tasks which were initially

provided by indigenous families members, as the latter had stopped in order to migrate to urban areas for corporate or service work for higher income (Blench and Dendo, 2003).

It is noted that in Cote d'Ivoire, the country's first post-independent president, among other possible considerations which include the country's small labour force, ignored colonial-era borders by encouraging immigrants from Mali, Nigeria, Burkina Faso, Senegal, Liberia, and Ghana to migrate to Cote d'Ivoire to do menial jobs in the country's plantations. Thus, increasingly, a quarter of Cote d'Ivoire's wage labour force were foreigners. The immigration policy to encourage migrants from other countries included giving immigrants the right to work, vote, marry local Ivorians, and own property. For this reason, immigrants' population accounted for four million population in Cote d'Ivoire in 1995. This was out of the 14 million population of Cote d'Ivoire (Touré, 1998; Adepoju, 2005).

As the peoples of West Africa enjoyed the liberty of independent states, the post colonial African states became loose to enforcing immigration law, and in addition to the acknowledgement of these West African countries undergoing similar colonial and social experiences, and in some instances, having similarities cultural experiences, the people of the independent West African states were able to leave their countries of origin to cross national border and engaged in occupations in other West African countries as their destination. However, in as much as the migration of people of West Africa became institutionalized with migration corridors and social networks which further perpetuated cross border labour migration, the intensity of economic instability, labour market competition and tough social conditions of life resulted in criminalization of immigrants and their subsequent expulsion, especially the low skilled and irregular migrants in many parts of West African countries. The cross border movements were reinforced with criminalization and then expulsion of illegal, low skilled and irregular migrants in many West African countries such as Nigeria between the 1960s and 1990s (Peil, 1971, 1979; Adepoju, 2005; Development Research Centre on Migration, 2007; Adetula, 2009).

Ghana had expelled immigrants in 1965 and between 1969 and 1970 with the majority being Nigerians. Ghana also expelled migrants from Sierra Leone and Guinea in the latter dates (Peil, 1971; Adepoju, 2005; Adetula, 2009). With the declining share of agriculture

to Nigeria's economy since mid 1960s, followed by the Nigerian economic crisis in 1980s which could no longer be sustained with oil revenue, and with the additional labour market competition between labour immigrants and Nigeria citizens, the Nigerian government turned to expulsion of migrants as a solution to address her economic crisis. Thus, the Nigerian government expelled West African irregular labour immigrants of about 1.3 million in 1983 and another 0.2 million in 1985 from Nigeria, most of whom were from Ghana (Peil, 1979; Development Research Centre on Migration, 2007; Adepaju, 2009). Each period of expulsion triggered a stream of group of returning immigrants. The pressure of returning migrants had varying implications on the socio-economy of their receiving communities/countries of origin and extent of return migrants' re-integration. Literature often suggests or reports the positive sides of return migration especially as it relates to financial and social remittances and as similarly would be noted in this study. Such perspective is often presented without investigating the negative sides of return migration as it may relate to its social consequences to the countries of origin. Both sides of return migration perspectives are significant to understanding its implications for re-integration. Therefore, perspectives on both sides require investigating also re-integration of the return migrants in the country of origin.

In spite of Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) sub-regional policy on economic integration and common citizenship of equal social security of the 1970s, and the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights adopted in the 1981 which proscribed mass expulsion and demand equal treatment of immigrants in the respective ECOWAS countries (Robert, 2004), in the 1990s, Nigeria expelled half a million immigrants especially Chadians (Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, 1998). Refugees who became involved in the economy of their host communities/countries were also not exempted as Sierra Leonean refugees were expelled from Guinea in 2000 and 2001 (Institute for Human Rights and Development in Africa, 2002).

As examples, the effects of expulsion of labour migrants from production showed that labour migrants' expulsion from Ghana in 1969 created farm labour shortage which adversely affected Ghana's agricultural production especially cocoa production, which was Ghana's key resources of foreign exchange commodity and revenue (Adepaju, 2005;

Blacket *al.*,2006). While this can be considered as economic and political stabilizing measures of West African countries, Nigerian government's expulsion policy displayed the extent to which labour migration inflows was considered to have adversely impacted on her economy. The graveness of economic conditions to political concerns resulted in Nigerian government revoking her commitment to ECOWAS Protocol on community citizen, which aimed at the economic integration of West African peoples including cross labour migrant exchange (Adepoju, 2005, 2009). These expulsions further raised the challenge for and constrained the implementation of community citizenship and integration advanced by ECOWAS through freedom of movement of goods and people including labour to boost the economy of West Africa.

In addition to the contemporary increasing insecurity in West African countries linked to migration and seem no-border existence, as many other countries in Africa, there have been political cautions and sometimes political cynicism towards free migration of particularly people across the border to prevent insecurity (Adetula, 2009; Adeola, and Oluyemi, 2012). This has not prevented official and unofficial migration to Nigeria by varying migrants from West Africa who have varying aspirations of tapping into what may have been perceived or noted as the opportunities in Nigeria's affluence economy in West African, such as the opportunities in the commercialized agricultural production. The direction of migration of many West African migrants to Nigeria by particularly farm labour migrants was towards the South West Nigeria that has productive agro-ecology and long rainy climatic conditions which support agricultural productivity. This was linked to the South West markets in Ibadan and Lagos which serve as regional markets for varying trades in agricultural produce and foods and non-agricultural goods.

2.3 Variations in Context Factors and Farm labour Migration

The settlements of large farms or plantations across different parts of Africa such as Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana and Nigeria were not just established; their establishments were dictated largely by the distributive nature of and differences in agro-ecological and climatic conditions in different countries and sub-regions of Africa (Adepoju, 1987). As a result, while the areas with farm/plantation settlements attracted voluntary and forcefully transplanted labour migrants, the additional differences in distribution of land area, land

use practices and land productivity, economic and social resources and policies, and disparity in development in Africa increased the pressure to migrate beyond the farm settlements and productive farm communities to more developed, productive, and high labour demanding parts of Africa where services of wage labour migrants were needed and access to improved opportunities was possible. Similar migration pressures extended to other parts of Africa where better quality of life were also available (Adepoju, 1977).

The agro-ecology differences link to migration as further noted by Adepoju (1987) depicts that, the socio-economic and production features of African region as that of West Africa sub-region, which resulted to improved income and livelihood has consequences for migration. And that migration in turn has implications for socio-economic and production features of the regions. Adepoju further elaborated that the introduction of cash crops like coffee and cocoa in large farm/plantation settlements in Cote d'Ivoire, and much later in Burkina Faso, Mali and Nigeria and the rapid expansion of the plantation economy in Africa was consequential in high labour demand. The plantations continue to attractively receive labour migrants from areas within and across borders of African countries that have adverse ecological conditions. Meanwhile, adverse ecological conditions and areas which triggered and perpetuated cross border migration to plantation economy in certain African countries served as labour reserve or labour surplus areas (Adepoju, 1979). Labour migrants were drawn from Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger to south of Cote d'Ivoire where plantation settlements were established. Most of the migrants were attracted by the need for cash that became a necessity in the emerged money economy of Africa.

The implications of ecological differences in Africa especially in West Africa as explained by Adepoju (1987) is that the direction of traditional labour migratory corridors before 1970s were from the sending hinterland of countries such as Mali, Burkina Faso, and Niger to receiving coastal areas of countries as Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, Nigeria and Ghana with established farms/plantations (Adepoju, 2005, 2008). Historically, because of the economic prosperity of Ghana, Cote d'Ivoire and Senegal which were boosted by agriculture at the time, these countries were the major recipients of labour migrants, and much later Nigeria became a major labour recipient largely because of her economic prosperity that was boosted by non-farm economic activities (Adepoju, 2005, 2008). The

migration between countries with agro-ecological differences corresponded with the pattern of established migration corridors, starting from the largely savannah zones in Northern areas to the forest zones in southern areas of Africa which have relatively productive agro-ecology. This informed the pattern of cross border migration to South-Western Nigeria, southern Ghana, and southern Cote d'Ivoire from Northern parts within these countries and northern parts of West African countries (Mabogunje, 1972).

However, these were not mere linear processes of migration from less to better ecological areas or to relatively economic developed areas from less economic developed areas. There were and have been patterns of migration to less developed economic sub-regions and countries as manifest in the reversed prevailing patterns of urban-rural migration and rural-rural migration. The aim being to exploit opportunities and the resources not yet maximally tapped for a more economically secured life (Mabogunje, 1972; Adepoju, 1987). Also, improved rural development linked to improved production and income in some cases reduced rural-urban migration flows as well as encouraged migrants' return to their rural communities in their countries of origin in different West African countries (Adepoju, 2005). In the same way, the improvements in rural development in Ghana, Mali, Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire connected to provision of agricultural inputs support to farmers with which farmers gain improved income had in some cases reduced rural-urban migration flows as well as encouraged migrants to return from other West African countries to Ghana, Mali, Burkina Faso and Cote d'Ivoire (Adepoju, 2001, 2005).

As it were, prior to post colonial historical times and as it is in contemporary times, Adepoju (1979, 1987) observed that the differences in agro-ecological conditions which accompanied varieties in resources and opportunities, demography, land tenure arrangements and the extent of access to land as well as the recurring and habitual demand of labour in diverse parts of Africa region, the location of agricultural projects, and the extent of development have through colonial and contemporary Africa shaped migration behavioral patterns as manifest in rural-rural migration (Adepoju, 1998, 2008). In other words, Adepoju (1979, 1987) was explicitly observing that the established pattern of migration in Africa such as rural-rural migration was a reflection of the variety of ecological features with differences in local resources and opportunities, differences in

land tenure arrangements as well as differences in the recurring and habitual demand of labour in diverse parts of African region and differences in locations of agricultural development projects. The dynamic context of Africa and in particular West Africa, with its differences in ecology, demography, resources and opportunities, presents her disadvantageous people such as farm labour migrants with hard choices, which in some cases they decided to diversify migration and occupation across borders to non-agricultural economic activities such as agricultural trade (Adepoju, 2008).

For farmers and farm labourers/workers, the persisting consequences of lack of access to land or productive land which they depend on for income had and will continue to compel farmers to embark on cross border migration to other West African countries that have surplus land areas and better agro-ecological conditions that support production (Adepoju, 1987). For farmers and farm labourers, their productive resources remains mainly land and labour respectively, and once they lack access to land which often provides opportunities for and the engagement of labour, it then means profitable opportunities are also limited for both the farmers and labourers. With the absence of economic activity in the rural settings which revolves around the exploitation or utilization of land (Iruonagbe, 2009), farmers and farm labourers find alternative opportunities which include migration across the border to access land and to trade labour for wages. Since most of those whose land and labour were their productive resources were mostly rural people, the pattern of rural-rural migration within the border or across the borders showed that most of the migrants were migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers whose primary occupation was agricultural pursuit. Other factors noted in the 1970s to have compelled rural migration (Iyoha, 1971, Levi, 1973; Simwinda, 1978) and are still evident in contemporary trends of migration in West Africa, particularly, among the rural people. The other factors that triggered migration out of rural areas included extreme low income, unfavourable rural socio-economic structure, low technical skills in peasant farming, displacement of small farmers by large scale mechanized farming, landlessness, and concentration of available land in the hands of few landlords.

In addition to those circumstances that trigger migration, are climatic change and natural environmental disaster as drought that are linked to desertification in the Sahel region of

West and East Africa have also persisted to cause and perpetuate poor agro-ecological conditions that resulted in instances of skewed or low agricultural production (Adepoju, 2008). With half of Africa severely affected, 300 million production land users and 10 million environmentally displaced persons were recorded. In 1980s alone, about 135 million people were land vulnerable to desertification (Adepoju, 2008). Thus, there continued to be increase in the population of landless poor in need of agricultural land thus accumulating to further migration in search of new productive land (Adepoju, 1998; 2008; Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2001). Situations as these as also once noted by Levi (1973), aggravates when the available productive lands are controlled by few landlords. Therefore, the rural communities without their resources of land and labour at communities/countries of origin engage in migration to access land and labour resources in communities/countries of destination to sustain their livelihoods. The increasing commercialization of land and labour in many parts of West Africa suggests that migrants have the opportunities to negotiate with and rent land from landlords, and other migrants can as well trade their labour to farmers for wages at their migration destination. To enhance the contribution of migrants to growth of the economy of their communities/countries of origin through the maximal utilization of land, the need for modification of the prevailing land tenure arrangement was noted as vital to facilitating greater consolidation and more effective utilization of land. This prompted the (continues) discourse on land reforms and the Land Use legislation in many West African countries, as will be discussed later.

The diversity and impacts of the factors that trigger migration in West Africa prior to the 1970s shaped countries as Burkina Faso, Guinea, Mali and Togo to be major labour exporting countries. Cote d'Ivoire, Ghana, Senegal and Nigeria, on the other hand, were labour importing countries. But just as in the 1960s and the 1990s West Africa, the traditional corridors of migration changed over time to new corridors of labour migration as a consequence of the continuous environmental change and degradation, macro-economic adjustment measures that displaced labour and created labour market competition with job crisis, economic and political conflicts linked to increase population pressure and effects of economic globalization, and kin or peer motivation to migrate based on the prevailing conditions in a particular context.

Based on the changes, particularly, in economic production which affects agriculture production, Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO) observed that 80 percent of West African agricultural population which produced less market commodities for export since the 1960s has since decreased to 51 percent in 2001 (Sahel West Africa Club, 2006). And that non-agricultural population as at 2006 may have been larger than agricultural population. While the decline in agricultural labour population tend to depict migration flows out of agriculture, this has not, however, stalled the significance of agriculture in West African economy or the significance of labour in agriculture production. The agriculture added value of 1.7 increased slightly above the regional population of 1.6 between 1985 and 2001 (Sahel and West Africa Club, SWAC, 2006). Interestingly, however, the organization and production practices in agricultural systems in West African countries are in many ways similar but are slightly different according to different agro-ecological zones and different socio-cultural groups adaptation to suitable practices. The adaptation was according to every agro-ecological zone to boost agricultural production (Toulmin, and Gueye, 2003; Sahel and West Africa Club, 2006)

There are recent indications that in spite of the factors which affect West African agriculture negatively, farmers are increasingly able to increase production as well as export certain agricultural commodities (Toulmin, and Gueye, 2003; SWAC, 2006). To sustain improved farm production of farmers, ECOWAS economic integration policy which encourages free movements of West African goods and people including farmers across their borders has also encouraged farmers to develop domestic and regional markets for their agricultural products. The ECOWAS policy was to grow economic diversification across borders of West African states. Yet, Toulmin and Gueye (2003) have noted that globalization has (and to add) will continue to pose a challenge to farmers especially where few states are making minimum efforts to invest in agriculture. Thus Toulmin and Gueye (2003) observed that:

...there is no assurance regarding the sustainable capacity to adapt and respond to new opportunities and to the challenges of globalization. Farmers will not be able to continue investing humanly and financially in order to improve agricultural productivity and sustainability as long as a minimum return on investment is not guaranteed. Producers are threatened

by cheap imports, by the decline in world prices, or by the difficulties in gaining access to credit and inputs.

In situations as these, farmer and farm labourers tend to find and reinforce hope in cross border agricultural production even when West Africa as a whole are affected by similar production conditions. This may be so because other West African countries have relatively more productive lands, resources and market access than others. As a consequence of the distinct social context of West African countries, Nigerian agriculture, including mining resources which have continued to define Nigeria's affluence in West Africa, have also continued to attract labour migrants to Nigeria (Olusanya 1976; Olaniyi, 2014). Nigeria's affluent economic and political status in the region has also placed Nigeria at the centre of regional integration as well as integration into economic globalization through trade activities and related financial flows advanced by ECOWAS (SWAC, 2006). Thus, Ibadan in Nigeria is a sub-regional market centre of trade linked to migration networks that are important to West African regional economic as well as to global economic integration. It is also an important migration destination for West African labour migrants (Olaniyi, 2013; 2014).

There is no clear regional demographic data on West African labour migrants in Nigeria. But the Development Research Centre on Migration (2007) has reported that most of the labour migrants in Nigeria were from West African countries such as Benin (29%), Ghana (22%) and Mali (16%), Togo (14%) and Niger (11%). In 2007, DRC further reported that, West African migrants alone accounted for 74.1 percent of immigrants in Nigeria (DRC, 2007), whereas Adepoju (2002) reported that they had constituted 2.5 million in 1983 (Adepoju, 2002). With the in and out migratory movements to Nigeria through informal and formal border routes to South West, North West, North-East and South-East borders; South West as a centre of trade and productive agro-ecology continues to further attract diverse economic migrants from particularly West African countries (Afolayan, 2009; Olaniyi, 2013). In South West, while Lagos has been more of regional centre of trade which attracts cross border traders and service labour migrants, Ibadan in addition to being a centre of regional trade, its extensive productive agro-ecology with farm settlements attracts range of labour migrants including cross border traders and farm

labour migrants from other parts of West African countries (Fourchard, 2003; Olaniyi, 2013).

From available information, the disproportionate numbers of migrants from different West African countries to Nigeria have changed over the years. In 1963, most migrants in Nigeria were more from Cameroon, Niger, Togo, and less from Ghana, Sierra Leone, Chad, Liberia and lesser still from some other African and non-African countries. The migrant population in Nigeria also varies before the 1970s, as the migrants were largely from Niger, Mali and Burkina Faso. By 1991, most West African migrants in Nigeria were more from Benin, Ghana, Togo, than those from Niger, Chad, Cameroon, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and other African and non-African countries (National Population Commission, 1998). This last pattern of country migration shows that proximity to migration destination was key, and that migrants often migrate to proximate countries. Their reasons for that is not clear. It may have been that those countries of destination were locations the migrants' families were able to take them to, or were destination locations in which the migrants had access to migration networks of contacts and agents, with the facilitation of ECOWAS economic intergration policy.

Instead of the traditional and historical migratory connection from Mali, Burkina Faso, Niger, to Nigeria and to other countries such as Senegal, Cote d'Ivoire, and Ghana prior to 1970s, there have been new additional labour migrants sending countries as Liberia, Sierra Leone, Chad and Cameroun and a few from other Africa countries (Afolayan, 2009). With some exceptions, in the case of Nigerian migrants, Fadeyi argued that Nigerians in labour migration destination largely relied on their historical and cultural development roots, and that Nigeria is a source and destination country of migration in West Africa (Fadeyi, 2010). This can be grasped from the context of the flow of labour migrants which existed in historical times between Nigeria and other West African countries: from Burkina Faso, Togo, and Benin to Nigeria, and from Burkina Faso, Mali, to Cote d'Ivoire which was restated and reinforced in 1979 post colonial West Africa through ECOWAS protocol of free movement of people and goods for community citizenship (Adepoju, 1987, 2005).

The re-composition of foreign migrants in Nigeria may have resulted from the immigration expulsion policy in Nigeria, improved economic development elsewhere such as the migrants' countries of origin and new destination for which the migrants left Nigeria, or the increasing difficulty in the socio-economic conditions in some countries in West Africa which pushed foreign migrants to Nigeria from countries not known to have migration roots and have been migrants in Nigeria (Adepoju, 2001, 2005). From Afolayan's (2009) report on 'Migration in Nigeria: a country profile,' the conclusion that can be drawn is that: some migrants from certain countries who were leaving Nigeria and other migrants coming into Nigeria from different countries for economic and political reasons accounted for the recomposition of immigrants' population in Nigeria and in the different economic sectors in Nigeria. Since most of the migrants from West African countries often migrated to countries in proximity to their countries, the foreign migrants in migrating to Nigeria usually moved to states in Nigeria that are in proximity to their countries. This was, however, more common with low skilled or unskilled migrants. In that same report, the demographic population of foreign migrant farmers was not clearly accounted for, probably due to the challenge of controlling influx of undocumented migrants who were often low skilled and unskilled, migrant farmers and migrant farm labourers in Nigeria. In the same report, it is noted that migrants' involvement in the Nigeria economy was also disproportionate. By 2006, only 0.16 percent of the immigrants in Nigeria were officially reported to be involved in the agricultural system of Nigeria (National Manpower Board, 2006). The Afolayan (2009) report, like the National Manpower Board (2006) report did not account for the specific countries involved in the agricultural sector and it did not also account for many of the undocumented (farm) immigrants in the agricultural sector. Though, in 2010, Nigeria accounted for 1.1 million immigrants that were spread across different sectors of the Nigerian economy, having grown rapidly from 101, 450 in 1963 (UNDP, 2009).

Interestingly, however, with similar agricultural systems in West Africa, socio-cultural groups adopt productive practices that suit their particular agro-ecologies (Toulmin, and Gueye, 2003; Sahel and West Africa Club, 2006). And with all of the similarities in production and adaptive production capabilities, what are those specific social and

production indices that account for farm labour migration to Ibadan, Nigeria from other West Africa countries? An account has it that the affluent in Nigerian economy attract labour migrants across West Africa through her formal and informal border roots to proximate border states with communities such as Ibadan. The South West location of Ibadan as regional trade centre and with productive agro-ecology that has farm settlements attract labour migrants including farm labour migrants from parts of West African countries (Fourchard, 2003; Olaniyi, 2013). The sufficiency of this explanation is not clear. This provides justification for this study, to examining the social context of migration from other West Africa countries to Ibadan, in Nigeria.

However, regardless of the factors that triggered or attracted migration in a particular country, once migration occurs, as similarly stressed in Kaur's (2003) migration study in Punjab, the impact of such migration affects the economic, social, cultural and psychological life of people at not just the migrants' destination as stated by Kaur (2003) but also its origin. Kaur's (2003) insight in migration in Punjab can be extended to imply that as disparities in development and production conditions between West African countries affect migration, migration in turn persists to affect development and production conditions differently. In order to avoid socio-economic insecurity and be free from limited opportunities, labour migrants tend to depend on the subsisting migratory network linkages to migrate further across the borders for new or alternative opportunities (Adepoju, 2006).

2.4 Group Migration, Extension of Migration Space and Agricultural Production

Cross border migration, which is necessitated by the differences in prospects between areas of countries, is supported by subsisting cross border cultural affinity or social connections. This enables West Africa's seasonal and short-term labour migrants to move across borders which they regard as an extension of internal movement, of rural-rural or rural-urban migration nature. Such movements are usually to countries with similar socio-economic space, and sometimes to those countries with dissimilar socio-economic space. This has been typical of Yoruba Nigerians in Benin, Togo and Ghana, and the Mende people in Liberia and Sierra Leone, since they are also proximate countries (Okobiah, 1989; Adepoju, 1998, 2005). With such established cross border linkages dating back to

pre-colonial periods, migrants established an extension of their home or ethnic group communities in their host countries (Adepoju, 1974, 1998). This informed why expansion of cultural affinity on different sides of the national borders blurred international migration and present international migration as an extension of migrants' communities in their countries of destination.

Like the 1960s when there were wide economic and political instabilities, contemporary West Africa with environmental changes linked to production challenges as reinforced by production restructuring forces of globalization, home or ethnic group community extension have been drifting not only along the patterns of cross border rural-urban migration but also cross border rural-rural migration (Adepoju, 2005). While these similar group migratory trends were common features with internal migration of migrant tenant farmers (in Southern Nigeria) as those in international migration (Adepoju, 1974, 1998), Zachariah and Conde (1981) had observed that internal and international migration of African migrants provide and sustain a model of the socio-cultural structure of their home communities in host communities which they considered as temporary habitats. Hence, the ease to outward and inward labour migration to rural areas of a neighbouring country. Such ease of cross border migration were sustained by migrants' and their communities' pre-colonial ties or colonial ties to the other communities across the border. These historical ties which support cross border migration were also connected to established social network that facilitated cross border migration and enabled migrants to return to their rural communities/countries of origin.

There is the emergence of long distance migration of individuals and groups to destinations without the history of political or cultural ties or affinity to their sending countries as the case of the displaced white farmers from Zimbabwe who are in Kwara state of Nigeria. This suggests that distance has implications to the extent of in and out migration between locations. Olanyika (2016) in restating National Geographic Society (2005) emphasized that, increase in distance tends to decrease understanding between locations, thus, influencing the rate of migration between those locations. This suggests that distant locations decrease the rate of migration. This may be considered apt at least in certain migration corridors. But Adeniran and Olutayo (2011) on the other hand pointed out that distance has become inconsequential since migrants established migration paths

between locations of destination and origin in which they focus on maximizing opportunities along the established migratory corridors. This is particularly the case with Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire that are geographically distant from each other and without a history of political (bilateral relations and common British colonial history) or culture ties except through interactions at the ECOWAS and African Union fora (Cote d'Ivoire has French colonial history while Nigeria has a British colonial history). Yet, interestingly, the Ejjigbo Yoruba Nigerians who are non-farmers and non-agricultural migrants in Cote d'Ivoire as reported in Adeniran and Olutayo's studies, have through migration established the Ejjigbo Yoruba Nigerian community in Cote d'Ivoire since their migration in colonial era (Adeniran and Olutayo, 2011). Afolanya's (2009) report on 'Migration in Nigeria: a country profile' did not give any indication of Ivorian as being among the nine African countries of migrants in Nigeria, which suggests that from an official point, migration flow of Ivorians to Nigeria may be very few (that is if Ivorian migrants were categorized among the few non-West African migrants and not specifically accounted for). This further indicates that there has not been any clear history of Ivorians' migration social network and migration corridors to Nigeria except Nigerians migration social network and migration corridors to Cote d'Ivoire, as indicated in Adeniran and Olutayo (2011) study on Ejjigbo-Yoruba Nigerians in Cote d'Ivoire. This is to further say that, distance migration with or without historical, cultural or affinity ties is inconsequential, as long as there are opportunities to be maximized and existing transnational social network to facilitate such distant migration.

On the basis of that context, history shows that as a result of the expansive trade network in West Africa and the long-distance migration of West African people such as the Ejjigbo-Yoruba Nigerian migrants to Cote d'Ivoire, the Ejjigbo-Yoruba Nigerian migrants have continued to enjoy economic and social relationships with their Ivorian host country (Adeniran and Olutayo, 2011; Adeniran, 2010). And with their established transnational cultural network of community, they recruited community members or assisted relatives in Nigeria to migrate to Cote d'Ivoire to sustain and maximize opportunities (Adeniran and Olutayo, 2011). Though Nigeria (in West Africa), Zimbabwe (in Eastern Africa) and Cote d'Ivoire (in West Africa) are distant geographically, they have been historically

distinct agricultural labour receiving countries and most of the farm labourers were from different sub-regions of Africa.

In the past, there were also the extension of distant migration across borders by temporary or circular migrants from West African countries (Nigeria, Senegal, Mali, Benin and Togo) and Western Central African country (Sao Tome and Principe) to Central African countries (Gabon, Equatorial Guinea, Democratic Republic of Congo DRC then Zaire) as well as distant migration between Central Africa countries. The migrants shuttled between not just plantations and cash crop production areas but also mining areas in host countries in these African sub-regional countries and countries of origin (Blacket *al*, 2006). This distant migration and circular pattern of migration to crop production areas were often engaged by undocumented immigrants in West African countries such as Ghana to Nigeria (Adepuju, 1979, 1998, 2005; Blacket *al*, 2006). The plantation and mining sectors in Gabon and Equatorial Guinea and the palm plantations in Cameroon offered employment opportunities to immigrant labourers from the Central African Republic, Congo and Nigeria. They also provided commerce opportunities to traders as well as employment opportunities to domestic and service workers from Senegal, Mali, Benin and Togo (Blacket *al*, 2006). In Eastern Africa, the advantage of a common language, cultural affinity and shared colonial experience, and the resuscitation of East African Economic Community, which offered a unified political and economic space among Eastern Africa countries and blurred their national borders supported and facilitated distant migration between Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda (Oucho, 1998). Thus, the sisal, tea and coffee plantations in Tanzania, Kenya's sugar and the tea estates and the cotton plantations in Uganda employed locals and foreign labourers from the hinterlands of Rwanda and Burundi, which were densely populated and resource-poor countries (Blacket *al*, 2006).

Whether the West African migrant farmers/labourers and mine labourers in Central African countries sustained migration transnational network and migration corridors to these Central Africa countries is not clear to this study even if it is expected to be so. However, there has been evidence that the countries in African sub-regions, specifically Eastern African regional countries and Central African regional countries sustained social

networks and migration corridors between themselves (Blacket *al.* 2006). Interestingly, the transnational networks and migration corridors are often sustained even if the rate of migration may reduce. In some instances, change and development in the socio-economy of countries including agricultural development in countries of origin which were sources of labour supply to countries of destination, tend to halt or reduce migration direction of flow to some particular countries of destination that were demanding for labour. Sometimes, as a result of such change and development, migration is directed to other sectors in countries of destination, away from those sectors that migrants formerly had reasons to migrate to.

From this discourse on distant migration, it is possible to argue that in migration or migration diversification, long or short distant migration between two or more areas is important as long as opportunities are (present to be) maximized. While migrants can possibly reduce migration destination to nearby locations, Adepoju's (2005) position is that migration diversification to any destinations without prior history is to minimize risk and expand opportunities. So also, the concentration of migration between two or more locations with feedback systems is to minimize risk, intensify search for opportunities, and maximize gains.

In the context of new waves of migration phenomenon, it has been noted that, with or without historical migration corridors or cultural network corridors of migration to help reduce migration distance so as to maximize gains, whichever migration corridor that is used, the motivation for migration to any economic migration corridors as Adepoju (2005) observed, is the desire for decent work and to get over deficit conditions of life. This can be implied to contribute to the desperation to migrate. While the measure of what constituted decent work desirable to and relative to individuals, groups or communities, it is not all the time that migrants get decent work. This is particularly when the condition of work or the working environment is not decent, as earlier described of the labour and social conditions migrants experienced. Yet, as the and pressure to get over and escape difficult conditions of life increases, the decision to migrate to other locations become stronger. This often inform the desperation to migrate.

In spite of the distance question in migration, Afolayan's (2009) observation on intra-regional migration corridor in West Africa was that, many of the cross border movements were and are not engaged by farmers or farm labourers alone but include female traders and unskilled workers who give less attention to or ignore arbitrary borders. This has been further facilitated by ECOWAS economic integration policy. By means of ECOWAS protocol on economic integration, West African migrants through economic migration create economic interdependent among West African people. This has been the path in which inter-regional migration and trans-social adaptation have been encouraged. On the basis of that, Adepoju (2005) has observed that, overall, within the West African circuit, a lot of cross border movements which involve female traders, farm labourers and unskilled workers who paid little attention to the existing arbitrary borders have essentially been intra-regional.

The consequence of migration distance to some migrants persuaded labour migrants such as non-farm labour migrants that were faced with constraints to social and economic opportunities in urban areas to retreat across the border to rural areas, as others migrate from rural areas to other rural areas (Adepoju, 2008) to engage in agricultural activities such as farming (as farmers or labourer), hunting, lumbering business and other small business. These occupations served as alternative occupations and alternative sources of income since the aspirations for urban livelihood were lost. This reverse in migration patterns also explains why agriculture and return agricultural labourers have remained a great potential for at least rural households' livelihoods and for the rural economy and food security in urban economy. This suggests that improvements in agricultural development will continue to influence the direction and change in patterns of migration even as other migrants seek opportunities in non-farm economy. The observation of Fafchamps, *et al*, (2001) which noted that the economies and people of the West African region are increasing diversifying to non-farm economic activities, further stressed that farming will possibly remain highly significant to incomes and livelihoods now and in the near future to the people of West Africa. This suggests that with the continuous significance of agriculture to income and livelihood of West African people, particularly, the rural people, profitable production and labour demanding areas across the borders will continue to attract migrant farmers and farm labourers.

For Olanyika (2016), rural-rural migration of cross border nature especially to proximate border rural communities provides opportunities for farm labour migrants who are preferred by most rural border host community indigenes/ farmers to replace absentee family labour. This was usually done to sustain farm production and foster food security of the host communities/countries. With the integration challenges of migrants to host communities and its consequences for production, Olanyika (2016) had further explained that because of the significance of labour migrants in production, migrants need to settle and be integrated in host communities. Therefore, access to land which engaged the productive labour of migrants particularly migrant farmers and labourers facilitated adaptation. At country of origin, the persistent problem of lack of access to land or productive land which the poor mostly depend on for income and livelihood continue to push migrants cross border migration to access farmland and wage labour. At migration destination, some migrants become farm tenants as other migrants seek and engage in wage farm labour. This has been more so for the poor and marginalized rural farmers (Adepoju, 2005, 2008).

The persisting ethnic/political contestation over land ownership and use which sometimes translate to prolonged tension in relations of production are linked to environmental changes and agricultural development policy decisions. In order to adapt to the environment changes, the agricultural policy decision to control land use through expansion of access to land sometimes through commercialization of land, perpetuates cross border migration streams (Crisp, 2006). Similarly, control over land use through redistribution of land long possessed since colonial times has not only created relational conflicts over land and production with locals that lack lands, but also between the State governments of the locals and foreign landlords (Sachikonye, 2003). Such conflicts over land have also triggered cross border migration. The latter case is typical of Zimbabwe white farmers /indigene land ownership conflicts in Zimbabwe, as the former was displaced to, migrated to and accommodated in Kwara state, Nigeria (in West Africa) from Southern Africa. The accommodation of the Zimbabwe white farmers was through policy incentive of providing the white farmers with land by Nigerian government, with the expectation that they would contribute to boost agricultural production and development in Nigeria. Therefore, the Zimbabwe white farmers, by

circumstances were displaced farmers to Nigeria even though they were longtime residence and big time entrepreneur farmers that controlled vast (farm) lands in Zimbabwe since colonial era.

In Zimbabwe, the white farmers control over land and at the same time commercial farm production for many decades attracted farm labourers/workers who were migrants. And these migrants were recruited as they arrived Zimbabwe from or were imported from the neighbouring countries of Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia. As a result of the land tenure arrangements in Zimbabwe, white farmers enjoyed firm control over land whereas migrants simply provided labour services to the white farmers. Since many of the local Zimbabweans declined to provide similar labour services to white farmers due to their concerns on lower wages, poor working conditions and poor job social security, very limited chance to acquire land and no land inheritance rights, the white farmers had to depend on the labour of foreign migrants for farm production, just as the foreign migrant farm workers depended on the white farmer for their livelihood. This included dependence on income, shelter, food, access to school and clinic and recreation facilities, and meager retirement gratuities or pension. In this context, both local Zimbabweans and migrant farm workers were marginalized from (expanding) access to farm land. Unlike the first phase of Zimbabwe land reform of the 1980s, the second phase of Zimbabwe land reforms of 2000 which displaced many white farmers to migrate to other countries had redistributed lands to locals, yet labour wages, working and livelihood conditions, and job social security did not improve but were deteriorating. The Zimbabwean government and new local landlords, however, provided an opportunity for right to land inheritance, by acquisition of land from government and by being next of kin of the landlord.

The production of new landlord of farmers on the newly allocated land is yet to yield similar productivity that was obtainable before the redistribution of land. As the redistribution of land disrupted relations of production with the dislocation of landlords, tenant farmers and farm workers out of land in the farm settlements and plantations, which were established, owned, and controlled by white farmers; on the same land which local landlords were later replaced with to control, many local Zimbabweans and migrant farm workers continued to experience poor farm work conditions. Yet many still had to depend

on their labour services to the new local farm landlord for their livelihood (Sachikonye and Zishiri, 1999; Magaramombe, 2002; Sachikonye, 2003). As the Zimbabwe government struggle to get out of dependency on white farmers for land in order to control her land resources, which was their source of labour and production, for development, production is yet to improve. What this historical context of control of lands and conflicts over the lands including the lands on which farm settlements and plantations were established since colonial Zimbabwe have shown is that, different colonial African states experienced different land tenure systems that informed varying forms of relations of production. The relations over lands between the colonial state and the African people differed, and the relations over lands among African people in spite of colonialism were traditionally similar, in terms of its utilization for production and the arising need for commercial exchange for land. While the colonial state's relations with African people was in commercial allocation of land for use to African people and for the colonial state and her people residents in colonial state, this relations over lands were defined by the colonial state governments' land legislations. These colonial land legislations were in some cases adopted continued or lapsed in post colonial Africa. In some African states like Nigeria, the colonial and post colonial Nigeria land tenure system was controlled by communities/families until the land reform Act of 1978 that empowered land control to the state. Therefore, the context of land control and ownership in African states which shapes relations of production cannot be generalized as being the same. Thus, the social and production conditions of local farmers in Africa cannot be the same, likewise the conditions of migrants. What is the same across Africa, however, is the significance of land to livelihood of farming families, individual farmers and farm labourers.

As land and labour remains significant to production in Africa, the utilization of migrant farm labourers in agriculture in West Africa has also continued to rely on recruited family labour across the border. The consequences of foreign colonization and later economic globalization forces which necessitated the change in traditional land use and ownership and also weakened family bond and community solidarity (Toulmin and Gueye, 2003) without guarantee for land inheritance for young family members have influenced the many young family members that are source of labour to engage in migration far afield to obtain farm land for production and income (Pare, 2001; Chauveau, 1997). Also, because

of the significance of land for agricultural production and poverty reduction, the unequal distribution of and access to land results in rural poverty and further triggers rural migration. In this regard, Eicher and Baker (1982) and Desgupta (1980) had separately explained that land tenure systems and land ownership are not isolatable from incidence and rates of rural migration and agricultural change and to add to the extent of improved livelihood.

The rural-rural migrant farm tenants'/farmers' and farm labourers' utilize their productive resources which are essentially land and labour to improve agricultural production and boost the economy of their host communities/countries as well as improve their livelihood. Yet, with the continuous difficulties of access to land which continued to pose problems to migrants' settlement and integration, Adepoju (1979) suggested that to increase access to land with which to expand labour utilization and improve production, a deliberate agrarian change in the existing land tenure arrangements and introduction of new and appropriate technology is needed, otherwise there will continue to be landlessness, low production and low income for farmers and farm labourer, with end consequence for migration. Meanwhile, at the micro level, that is community level, Olusanya (1976) had noted that migrant farm tenant/farmers in South West Nigeria altered the existing land tenure systems by overcoming socio-cultural constraints to agricultural production and migrant farmers/indigene (farmlandlord/farmers) relationships. This implies that farm labour migrants were able to adapt to host communities as a means to continue agricultural production.

At the macro level, that is state level, as part of commercialization of agriculture and expansion of accessible agriculture lands, some West African governments introduced new land laws similar to the Land Use Act of Nigeria of 1978 that dispossessed or limited local communities of control over land to the control of the state. On the land reforms, Adepoju (1984) had observed that the commercialization of land which was supported by governments also resulted to the establishment of farm settlement schemes. However, the land reforms resulted to inequalities in distribution and extent of access to land or landlessness. Adepoju's observations further depicted that the Asutsuare sugar estate in Ghana, plantation sector in Tanzania, farm settlement schemes in Nigeria, rural

reconstruction programmes in Zambia and land settlement policy in Botswana, and to add, the recently land redistribution policy in Zimbabwe accounted for the inequalities in distribution of land and extent of access to land or landlessness in those countries.

As the new land laws undermined traditional/indigenous land tenure system in certain Africa countries, it created competition between agricultural entrepreneurs and small farm holders/ small farmers which manifested in inequalities in the extent of access to and distribution of land and new production technology adoption; with the small farm holders/farmers being at a disadvantage. That is, the same land law which was dispossessing small farmholder/farmers of farmlands was supporting rural agricultural entrepreneurs and enabling them to get access to land for commercial production and to new production technologies (Toulmin and Gueye, 2003). As a result, many West African people migrated to surplus land areas that provided them access to farmland. Even when land tenure systems were not so different, other farm labour migrants sold their labour for wages, and later leased land to become farm tenants in order to secure such farms from landlords (Adepoju, 1987).

As the new land laws reformed land tenure systems in certain African countries as Ghana and Nigeria in the 1970s/80s, it encouraged the continuation of farm settlements and forest reserves established by colonial agricultural policy. The farm settlements and forest reserve also served as alternative destination for internal farm labour migrants and international farm labour migrants from different parts of West Africa. These land reforms made land scarce and competitive yet valuable. Thus, labour migration flows persist to differentially generate at different rates rapid land use and change at both migrants' destination (more labourers) and origin (lessen labourers), and the impact of such change on production further affects farm labour migration. Ghai and Radwau (1983) have observed that increase in rural production as a result of increase in commercial agriculture activities changes considerably the pattern of use and ownership of land and labour in Africa. Food and Agriculture Organization (1984) similarly observed that land tenure systems and land use pattern can be influenced or changed by increase in population, (rural) population density, introduction of new crop production, and agricultural technology. When these changes favours local farmers, they stay, but when the changes do

not favour them and affect them negatively, among some alternative opportunities, farmers choose to migrate across the border to where the agricultural system would favour them, in terms of improved farm production, income and livelihood.

More often than not, migrant farm tenant and farm labourers contribute to the increase in the population of farm communities, change in land use pattern and production as well as benefits from new agricultural technologies and improved farm production. In influencing or altering land tenure relationship and asserting land ownership rights, in Nigeria, the land reform through the Land Use Act of Nigeria created conflicts between international migrants and locals of the host community/country (for example, in Ife farm settlement). The conflict arose when the migrants exploited the new land law to claim certain rights to lands leased to them. Such claims were because they saw themselves as Africans and assumed that as long resident farm tenants, the new land law also covered them. And that can only pay land rents to government and not the local landlords/indigenous land owners. The migrant farm tenants' actions had however undermined the authority of local landlords over such lands (Idowu, 2006). However, this was resolved, and the migrant farm tenants had to continue to pay rents on such lands to owners/landlords as well as meet other required tenancy conditions that were to the discretion of the local farm landlords. Interestingly, from the analysis here so far, agricultural development policies and legislation to expand access to farm land and improved livelihood of especially small farmers have been unsuccessful to cease farm labour migration. This means, the contextual conditions which make people to migrate are strong and pressurizing conditions that subject (potential) migrants to consider migration before the (potential) migrants decides to migrate.

The other circumstances that induced labour migration are labour market competition at destination and shortage of labour at destination. To put it differently as emphasized, agricultural development through agricultural change at origin is impeded by constraints such as seasonal labour demand from migration destination areas needing labour across the border, competition for farm labour from non-farm activities in a country or farm activities across the border, and shortage of family labour which result from migration to non-farm opportunities or better farm opportunities across the border. The effect of agriculture

development as consequent of agriculture change on rural labour force and labour demography as similarly stressed by Food and Agriculture Organization (1984) was that 'African agricultural change and development have been hampered by constraints such as seasonal labour demand, competition from non-farm activities for farm labour and shortage of family labour supply and its consequent on rural migration of youth. In sum, seasonal labour demand due to competitive demand for labour across the border creates shortage of family labour at the migrants' community/country of origin. This out-migration of labour constraint agricultural change in country of origin that loses labour to migration but contributes to facilitate agricultural change and development in country of destination that receives labour from migration. The implication of the problem of labour unavailability as stressed by Adepoju (1987) is that farm labour needed in periods of agriculture production once absent affects agricultural production. Besides labour which affects agricultural change and production, unfavourable environmental and climatic change such as drop in rainfall which accompanied drought as experienced in West Africa, especially Sahel West Africa often affects agricultural change which can facilitate and enhance agricultural production. This creates competition for high productivity land and also compelled migration toward such productive land areas in the South of West Africa (Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, 2001).

In some instances where agricultural change and development favoured agricultural entrepreneurs over small hold farmers, the agricultural entrepreneurs also enjoyed more access to markets including market infrastructure and profit more from market prices especially global market prices. This is because agricultural entrepreneurs are not only farmers but have also become trade agents and dominant trade such as cross border agricultural trade. With their access to market information on farm produce, they become also trade linkage agents for small farm holders/farmers in local and global markets. And in as much as larger population of small hold farmers' production has contributed to increase the level of productivity for five decades in many West Africa countries more than few population of agricultural entrepreneurs (who concentrate on commercial production) in spite of the risky and difficult environmental conditions of productions such as lack of access to production inputs and credit, the small farm holders'/ farmers' lack of access to markets for their farm produce creates additional difficulties for their future farm

production (Mortmore, 2003; SWAC, 2006). While it has been reported that West Africa's agriculture, far from facing crisis, has been remarkably successful and responsive to new markets and opportunities, the small farmers' continuous lack of access to markets for farm produce result in extension of their search for profitable production, labour and market access across the borders (Dembele, 2001; Losch, *et al*, 2003). The significance of the market for migration as observed by Asiwaju (1992) was that, the market centres normally attract business transactions from remarkably extensive areas and that with such market dynamism linkage to West African migrant networks, there were no much regard for international boundaries.

Also, the many economic factors that cause change in agricultural production gradually affects migration demography such that more women were increasingly involved in migration mainly as independent female migrants rather than the male dominated migration. This is because, since agriculture was women predominant occupation, the change in agriculture is pushing many women out of the sector, and/or to seek alternative opportunities of livelihood including farm jobs across the border. The migration of the independent female migrants indicates that the increasing migration of women was no longer exclusive to migrant women accompanying their spouse or exclusive to male migrants (Adepoju, 2006). This was an indication that changes in agricultural production that affected (farm) families further affected female and male household members, from which some female or male family members engaged in migration in search of means of livelihoods in agriculture non-agriculture production elsewhere. Thus, the migration diversification to new destination across the borders by female and male circular labour migrants, seasonal or short-term labour migrants has its positive side to country of origin and destination which have been discussed already. But, the point to add to the discussion is that, the negative sides of change in agricultural production in country of origin that results in labour migration were the disruption of communities and separation of migrants' families in West Africa countries as were the case in Ghana, Togo, and Nigeria (Adepoju, 2002).

At the farm labour migration destination, for labour migrants to contribute to agricultural change that improve agricultural production as noted earlier means their

successful integration to their host community/country. Their integration implies the labour migrants have overcome institutional barriers (as land tenure system, levies and socio-cultural norms) or adjusted to the socio-culture practices (socio-cultural norms) and agricultural practices of their host community/country. However, migrants who successfully adjust at migration destination through overcoming the institutional barriers and socio-cultural norms that impede access to farmland or expansion of farm production, reflects their effectively organized production, and they not only become models for subsequent migrants, but also for host community members. As a typical example, Adepoju (1987) restated Udo's (1975) observation that migrant farm tenants/ farmers had introduced rice production in swampy areas of South West Nigeria while indigenous farmers in migrants host community produced yam in dry zones. With examples of such production successes, farm labour migrants become acceptable and then overtime adapt in host communities, just as return migrants' similar production success facilitates their reintegration at origin. For potential and subsequent labour migrants, it is a signal that successful farm production and adaptation far outweigh cost of migration, especially when remittances replace effectively their absentee labour and resourcefulness at origin. For Palmer (1985), such change related to agricultural development becomes problematic when production is low or volatile (Adepoju, 1986). In other words, unsuccessful migrants (or return migrants) at either migrants' destination or origin pose a serious challenge to their (re)integration (Adepoju, 1987).

2.5 Migration, Remittance and Development

One of the benefits of such migration is remittance. Remittance is the funds, knowledge, technologies and other assets which those who migrated from their countries of origin and are in other countries of destination sent to their countries of origin for different social and economic purposes. The remittances are usually acquired at the country of destination having been engaged in economic and social enterprises. Income from economic engagements serves as funds that constitute (financial) remittance. The knowledge from social engagements and technology also acquired from similar economic engagements form the remittance. What this implies is that there is financial and social remittances. To elaborate on the significance of remittances to the migrants and their countries of origin requires a historical context which is discussed next.

International migration have gained greater global attention because of the rediscovery of the significance of migrants' remittance as a brain gain in development since 2001, instead of the brain drain phenomenon in 1970s, 1980s and 1990s (de Haas, 2007; Adepoju, 2008). Perhaps renewed attention in remittance was because migration for remittance characterized voluntary movement for economic purpose, and in rare instances, emanated from involuntary migration compelled by difficult economic and social circumstances. From a historical perspective, the renewed optimism in migration since the year 2000 was after much pessimism of the benefit of migration in development between 1970s and 2000 as a consequence of the relatively economic and political dependency of most developing countries on developed countries. To reiterate, the dependency was pronounced and famous with brain drain in developing countries as developed countries alone gained from brain drain of migration from developing countries. The pessimism in migration to advance development was, however, preceded by earlier optimism in migration in 1973. This was because of the positive impact of migration on social transformation in developed countries (Newland, 2007; de Haas, 2007). This was however a one sided assessment of the impact of migration on development since developing countries were rather lagging in development due to the migration of their highly skilled citizens, who were significantly contributing (scientific and technical) knowledge and skills to the development of the developed countries. These historical migration lessons culminated into 2007 Global Forum on Migration and Development which focused on harnessing the advantages in migration for sustainable development and poverty reduction (International Organization for Migration, 2013). From the context of the persisting challenges of development linked to the increasing insecurity in Africa, for the African Union, particularly, in striving for development, the migration lessons particularly positive lessons were crucial for regional integration and security in Africa (Africa Union Commission, 2004; Adepoju, 2006, 2008).

The issue of remittances at the macro level of society or a country is that remittances were and have been significant to economic development of the labour migration sending countries as the case with many developing countries through human and physical capital investments. Though different modes of remittance behaviour give rise to different

economic impacts. Though labour migrants who in the circumstances of long or permanent residence in host countries have become referred to as diasporas, many developing countries such as countries in West Africa, especially Nigeria, have begun to source for remittances from the diaspora to invest in social and economic development infrastructure in order to improve their levels of development. Through network platforms of the diaspora, some states in West Africa have been engaging in transnational relations with the diaspora to attract financial remittances as loans and capital through bonds for capital investment, and social remittances such as consultancy/expertise (that is, international capital flows) for investments to improve social and economic development (Faini, 2007).

In the case of financial remittances, the migrants/diasporas collective platforms create a financial instrument for investment or such financial instrument were used to purchase bonds that the government of the migrants/diaspora's countries of origin sold to support and invest in specific social and economic development projects. These high level financial and social remittances are not directed to migrants/diasporas' families or communities but are directed to national social and economic development projects or infrastructures or trade for the general benefits of the people/citizens at the countries of origin. This appears to be an unconscious policy direction to deploy remittances to redistribute the gains of migration. On the other hand, the government of countries of origin are increasingly becoming conscious of the advantages of remittances to contribute to development. Ratha (2007) has also observed that, remittances have become a major source of external development finance, overtaking overseas development assistance.

The diasporas, many who migrated as educated and skilled labour, had migrated to developed countries for better or advanced opportunities due to deteriorating social and economic conditions such as deteriorating infrastructures and low incentive to work in their emigrating countries of origin. The gains from the opportunities in migrants receiving and diaspora host countries of destination enabled their integration. And the integration provided those in diaspora with also opportunities and gains in income and new or additional skill and expertise which were and are transformed into remittances that are channelled to support and invest in social and economic development.

These high level forms of remittances emanate from skilled labour migrant/diaspora in countries of destination to the countries of origin rather than the unskilled or less skilled labour migrants/diasporas whose remittances are largely and specifically channeled to support their families. Faini (2007) has observed that because most of the skilled labour are from better off families who may have no need of such remittances than the unskilled/less skilled labour who are from relative poor families, they tend to remit less than the unskilled/less skilled labour who are largely from poor families. The Faini's (2007) did not however explain the emergent interests of skilled labour migrants/diasporas as well as low or unskilled migrants/diasporas to be involved in and invest in social and economic development in their countries of origin, even when the skilled labour migrants/diasporas may not often sent remittances to their well off families. Thus, the new interests in remittances create a convergence were the skilled labour and low skilled/unskilled labour push for social and economic development, using migrants/diasporas network platforms for capital investments. Though it would seem the skilled labour migrants/diasporas that earned higher wages, learned new or acquired additional technical/scientific skills and makes less family remittances are placed in a position to contribute more to diasporas financial instrument as well as technical/scientific expertise, which are needed in their countries of origin.

There are, however, mixed reports on the impact of remittances from migration for development. The narratives that argued that the diaspora remittances remain vital to social and economic development of migrants/diasporas countries of origin like the countries in Africa, are supported by statistical reports on growth of remittances to migrants/diasporas countries of origin. The focus of such remittances has been to improve human and physical capital (International Organization for Migration, 2013). On a general note, without a country specific data on remittances, reports from Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, OECD, showed that the constant flow of remittances from family and friends grew overtime to an estimate of \$232 billion in 2005 from \$102 billion in 1995. Meanwhile, the share of global remittances to developing countries increased to 72 percent in 2005 (\$167 billion) from 57 percent in 1995 (\$58 billion) (Dayton-Johnson and Xenogiani, 2007). Realistically, this indicate a problem of data on remittance: the challenge of reconciling family/friends remittances to total global

remittance. While this suggests a disparity between family/friends and global remittances, thus unaccounted/non-official family/friends remittances, data indicate family/friends remittances as been higher than officially accounted global remittances. Even with these statistics on remittances, there are yet to be line specific data on social and economic development projects which remittances in form of bonds or capital from migrants/diasporas have been invested in. This has, however, not reduced the benefiting countries of origin's acknowledgements of the significance of remittances to her social and economic expansion and development. Gubert (2007) argues that remittances that may not result in development can at least be beneficial to development through economic growth and poverty reduction.

What all of these means for Seer's perspective on development is that, it is not only enough to raise question but to address what is happening to poverty, unemployment and inequalities which are among the requirements for the attainment of development (Seer, 1996). The prevalences of those social conditions to the life of individuals, groups, families, society and a country, present a crisis of development which are themselves triggers of migration. Yet, the perspective and emphasis on economic growth as an approach to development itself is important for development but not an end to development. For economic growth has often not trickled down (its multiplier effects) to indices as human and social enhancement, empowerment or transformed to development and qualify for development. Since economic growth as a major indicator of of enhance property of countries has a history of creating inequalities, unemployment crisis and increasing poverty at least in developing countries as Africa, remittances stand beneficial to cushion the negative effects of economic growth, yet, boost economic growth; reduce poverty and unemployment crisis. Thus, remittances facilitates improvement in level of employment opportunities as well as reduce inequalities, in which equal and better life chances are enhanced and social mobility free from prejudices are unhindered. As recent indication to use of remittances have shown, remittances not only support social and economic transformation of country at the national or a general level alone but extends to transform local communities and improve the livelihood of families. This suggest that institutional change that embraces alternative and modern functional institutions, material

conditions, values and ideas which are propelled from and with processes of economic growth that improve living conditions, qualifies for development (Wilber 1969).

At the micro level of society or country, remittances are also significant to the migrants/diasporas themselves and to their families/communities of sending countries of origin. Yet, the development question of what is happening to poverty, unemployment and inequalities and the need to address them remains crucial at this level also. Most of the migrants/diasporas at this level are low skilled or unskilled migrants/diasporas whose net remittance in terms of financial transfers are higher than the skilled labour migrants/diasporas. Most of these low skilled/unskilled labour migrants/diasporas are from poor families and sometimes from poor communities. While their remittances are often through informal channels in order to evade charges on their remittances transfer from formal channels, the remittances from low skilled/unskilled are rarely accounted for in official data on volume of remittance. This leaves the account of the significance of and positive impact of remittances to the families and communities of the migrants/diasporas at countries of origin. In terms of social remittances, the low skilled/unskilled labour migrants/diaspora also transfers new skills and other forms of capital acquired from their host communities/countries to their communities/countries of origin. Thus, their remittances are also channelled into household needs and/or invested into economic and trade enterprise to generate capital for the migrants/diasporas, return migrants or their families or for the benefits of both the migrants' household and communities. In the latter case (utilization of remittance at the macro level of society), remittance impact is often highly localised in "migration corridors," sub-regions of a national economy, and may be difficult to detect at the national level (Dayton-Johnson and Xenogiani, 2007). For Gubert (2007), the importance of remittances depicts the motivation of individual migrants/diasporas in migration, which may be to transfer funds or simply stay in country of destination.

In staying away from the perspective that depicts economic growth broadly defines development, remittances at the micro level subsists to target reducing poverty, eliminating unemployment through creation of employment opportunities and closing the gap of or eliminating inequalities in communities especially inequalities related to poverty

which migrants/diasporas' and return migrants' families suffered in their communities/countries of origin. Those life conditions informed the basis for the decision to emigrate. In the midst of these, what material values qualifies for an escape from certain deprived life conditions for improvement in the life conditions is the priority definition of the families and communities. What is essential is that, improvement in the life conditions qualifies for development. However, development with the elements of improved life conditions is a subjective situation and ideas shaped by individuals, groups and society. That is, they shaped what the material or cultural values or items that defined what improved life conditions are.

To use Sen (1999) analytical concept of functional capacity in development, is to put that, improvement in the life conditions of individuals and families through engagement in productive opportunities, empower the individuals to attain functional capacity. Functional capacity means being empowered with the capabilities to acquire or possess the material conditions that enable an individual or group as family to survive and meet the standard material value that society defines as a good life. Such functional capacity enables the creation of capital, and the same capital provide opportunities to invest in recreating additional capital that increases the functional capacity of not just the migrants/diasporas and return migrants, but also, their families and communities. In this sense, the individual migrants, their families and communities are empowered to an improve life and elevated to social positions that makes them to function better in society or handle vital responsibilities in society. Furthermore, functional capacity or the capability of the individual or group or society, facilitates the attainment of the purpose of human life which is related to human development indicators such as quality health, education, life-long expectancy. This further involves, exploring opportunities to improve a person's opportunities and freedom, and whether income related or not, the improvement in peoples' lives linked to expansion of access to social services, reduced vulnerability to risks and increase in political participation are considered as meaning human development (Global Migration Group, 2010). With functional capacity serving to enable and improve individuals' or groups' social and material conditions of life, development can be considered as a 'process of improving all quality of life of a group of people and in particular expanding the range of opportunities open to them' (International Organization

for Migration, 2013; World Migration Report, 2015). Thus, providing individuals and groups with the opportunities to improve their functional capacity with which to enable them improve their social and economic conditions is what development seeks to achieve. But every country has to reconsider and harness the benefits of migration to achieve its contextualized development needs, so also do individuals, groups/families and communities have to consider and prioritize what benefits to achieve from migration.

While migration provides the opportunities for migrants/diasporas to improve their functional capacity in terms of income, new or additional knowledge and skills in host country, in country of origin, remittances from migration support respective families and communities to improve their functional capacity through creation of social and economic opportunities and capital that enable the family (members) and communities to escape poor material and social conditions of life such as poverty, joblessness, inequalities, and to improve their material and social conditions of life. Therefore, remittance as inflow capital to a country of origin and as 'individual to family transfers, often functions as part of traditional solidarity networks' (Sall, 2005) to improve debt indicators, reduce poverty, improve capital output, savings and investments, and have a positive impact on entrepreneurship as well as use for healthcare (medication and hospitalization) payment, for basic education of siblings and to add for educational sponsorship of relatives (Adepoju, 2008; Agence Française de Développement, 2007). Also, it is used for improvements in agriculture such as irrigation schemes (Orozco, 2007). Faini (2007) has stressed that the remittance of migrants/diasporas to their families in the country of origin to some extent compensated for the negative effects of (their) migration. Remittance also serves insurance roles through financial investments in housing, trade, small business and services.

In buttressed the significance of remittance, Dayton-Johnson and Xenogiani (2007) observed that, remittance could have a more apparent effect on activities of the (local) economy. Also, that the increase in economic activities or economic expansion stimulated and promoted through remittance allows increase in consumption. Consequently, the economy generated multiplier effects, especially when remittances were used to finance house construction in a community - This increased income for local carpenters, builders,

suppliers of materials and necessary others or significant others. This helps to mitigate risks and promote the welfare of individuals and families as well as contribute to the development of the aggregate economy. This is why Adepaju (1987) once stressed that as generally the case, migrants maintain their economic base back home. This is often reinforced through periodic visits but most importantly through network of remittances.

Besides remittances been sent mainly to families in communities/countries of origin, there are rare observations of individual transfers for community development. Remittances for community projects could be a sole community project of individual or organized group of migrants/diasporas to fill a lack in infrastructural development in their communities in country of origin. Interestingly, instances of individuals' remittance transfers for collective investment into local or community infrastructural development tend to be highly efficient but considerably less common than individual to family remittance (Dayton-Johnson and Xenogiani (2007)). Evidences from such rare use of remittances in local community development have further shown that remittances have been used for improving basic infrastructural facilities through hometown associations (Orozco, 2007). This emphasizes the need for migrants to create a local network platform through which migrants from a particular community can have a collective capital investments for community projects and development.

Whereas the remittances that have been used to improve agriculture production by means such as irrigation farm schemes remain largely an individual migrants to family project, the remittances through collective financing investment platforms, or remittances for investments in community projects or remittances to hometown associations at the community level assist communities to improve their education, health and infrastructural facilities and recreation centres. The remittances of the migrants/diasporas channelled to local development, is open to the benefit of all households in such community in the country of origin and not only the households of migrants/diasporas. These have helped to change the long held views that remittances were used for conspicuous consumption which fuelled inflation and either deepened and increased inequalities (Adepaju, 2008). Local development means creating additional opportunities and capital to add value to or augment local economic value to qualify for

local development, for the benefits of families and communities. Thus, as a result of remittance, migration may not necessarily be a survival strategy but livelihood improvement strategy and has overtime transformed to opportunity enhancement strategy and social and economic development strategy. With all of these benefits of migration and remittance from migration to the migrants and their communities/countries of origin, Adepaju (2003) has also revealed the other sides of migration, in which he observed that, migrants suffered isolation and endured unsocial working hours, are alienated from their partners/spouses and children. He added that, this often results to marital and family disruption for especially independent female migrants and migrants with transnational families. Therefore, besides migrants having difficulties in finding housing, they endure job dissatisfaction from poor social and labour conditions as well as from under-use skills or loss of skills at country of destination; and they also faced and suffered the problem of reintegration on returning to their countries of origin. Interestingly, migrants have become aware of these labour and social conditions of life, occupation and living, of international migrants at the country of destination. But because of the severe labour and social conditions at the country of origin, the migrants have more or less brace up to in country of destination – and adapted, as long as their migration aspiration would be met.

While the volume of migration flows is a function of the average skill levels of migrants as determined by formal selection processes and criteria of migrants receiving countries, the rate of remittance flows is likely to be a function of the duration of a migrant's stay. Thus, Dayton-Johnson and Xenogiani (2007) in reference to those statements as a hypothesis, stated that shorter-term migrants maintain a stronger link to the home economy, consequently, they send more money home. This reinforces Adepaju's (1987) observation that migrants maintain their economic base back home through visits and through network of remittances. Thus, they have a grasp of the opportunities in home economy to know where to invest their capital for more opportunities and capital. Since the remittances for family members' empowerment or community projects are more from low skilled or unskilled labour migrants/diasporas and return migrants, migrant farmers and labourers who often migrate as low skilled or unskilled labour migrants utilize remittances for similar purposes, in the fashion of individual to family remittance network for improved livelihood.

For labour migrants that are successful at destination, the physical absence of their labour which once contributed to family labour at country of origin requires replacement. Shimada (1986) elaborated this in his migration studies of Nigeria in the 1980s, particularly in the South Western Nigeria. Shimada explained that in the social context prior to 1980s, employment opportunities in public sector were not pursued by farming families until late 1980s to 1990s upwards when the Nigerian economy started deteriorating at the same time as there were poor incentives in the agricultural sector. That in the 1970s, agricultural production belt as Cocoa Belts were migration destination where family members readily gained employment (Shimada (1986). But that as from 1980s, with the declined agricultural production, higher income in non-farm activities swayed farm families to non-farm economic production which was led by the oil economy rather than agriculture.

Consequently, farmers' family members' interests especially the young members, shifted to getting non-farm work. As a result, their destination of migration in search of non-farm work was also becoming expansive, which in contemporary literature of migration is referred to as diversification of migration, and such farm family gradually becomes a non-farm family. At the time, migration to either non-farm or selling of labour for wage to obtain living income was the consequence of minimum wage substantial increase from N60.00 to N125.00 due to development projects such as building and construction, particularly, in the new State and new Local Government headquarters created (Udo, 1982). With this, the conventional behaviour of the farmers to migrate to cocoa belt in the 1970s to acquire farmland and engage in cash production rather than the farm food production overtime elapsed.

On similar cases but in different contexts, Adepoju (2005) explained that the difficulties in economic conditions in Ghana and Gabon compelled migrants from these countries to move to Cote d' Ivoire as seasonal international migrants to work on farms and plantations for low pay/wages by doing labor-intensive tasks which were initially provided by indigenous family members, but the indigenes had stopped to provide labour in order to migrate to urban areas for corporate work or services work for higher income (Blench and Dendo, 2003). In both Shimada's (1986) and Adepoju's (2005) explained

examples, the absence of an indigene labour by migration which needs to be replaced at origin by similar labour, was readily filled by (international) labour migrants. Interestingly, some other attempts to replace farm labour were observed by Adepoju (1987) to have informed marriage and fertility behaviour and use of children as labour assistance (child labour) even across the border. To re-emphasize, this was particularly the case in the past in West Africa where seasonal migrant workers moved to surplusland areas which were experiencing labour scarce, such as in Cote d'Ivoire, Cameroun, Equatorial Guinea and South-West Nigeria (Udo, 1975; Gwan, 1976). And the trend continued to the present times in Cote d'Ivoire and Nigeria, as it relates to the use of also (migrant) children to replace local labourers (IITA, 2002; Gockowski and Oduwole, 2001)

In some cases, as noted earlier, the replacement of the missed or absence labour of any family member were with use of remittances. The replacement of lost family labour can be difficult, but the (farm) families of the migrants by receipt of remittance hire labour and acquire appropriate technology to replace the labour of migrants in order to sustain farm production. As a means of retaining his/her presence, economic base and resourcefulness at his/her origin, the transnational labour migrants that Mabogunje (1972) referred to as out-migrants (who embodies the status of an emigrant and immigrant), he argued, were also agents of change at origin. As noted earlier, besides the significant of the network of remittance to contribute to boosting local economy (through capital recreation of small businesses and investments such as clothing fashionists, local carpenters, and house construction materials, and commercial motor taxi), the labour migrants interval visits at origin were to enable and to sustain migrants' investments and integration in not just the economy of the community/country of origin but in the migrants' larger society. Therefore, Boserup (1984) asserted that the actions of such labour migrants open up the chance to introduce appropriate technological adaptation, and to add, further creation of opportunities for more and new capital investments.

The remittances of migrant farmers/labourer are invested in other social and economic activities that further create capital to sustain improvements in the livelihoods of the migrant farmers/labourers and their families. These social and economic benefits from

remittances are stressed by Faini (2007) as compensating to some extent for the negative effects of (their) migration. Return migrants to origin who may serve in varying capacity as champions/opinion leaders, innovators, agent of commerce, or change agents are agents of cultural and economic diffusion through introduction of new technology or transfer business skills and knowledge, and agent of positive rural-urban linkage (Adepoju, 1989). To reiterate, Palmer (1985) had stressed that such change becomes a problem when production is low or volatile (Adepoju, 1986). And that the unsuccessful migrants (or return migrants) pose a serious challenge to their (re)integration to not just at the country of destination but more to their country of origin (Adepoju, 1987).

As a result of similar significance of remittances from migration to development investments or capital investments, the decision to migrate and remittance behavior as noted in Western Kenya migration was not solely an individual decision but a family decision. Though, individuals in some instances migrate without the knowledge or consents of their families. The decision to migrate and remittance behaviour were connected to some form of intergenerational migration contract between a (potential) migrant and his/her parents or immediate family. Consequently, the migrants who were often males send remittances in expectation of a subsequent inheritance (Blacket *al*, 2006). On a general note, another recent dimension to this trend is that extended family/relatives or social friends have become part of those who influence the family's migration decision and remittance behaviour, and if a loan was collected from relatives or social friends for the purpose of migration, remittances were channelled to pay off such loans (Adepoju, 2008; Adeniran and Olutayo, 2011). Adepoju (2006) has similarly noted that the emigration of poor people especially was sometimes funded through cooperative assistance or outright loans, and remittances were used to repay such loans. Remittances also ensure an inter-generational link between migrants and home-place, that is, with migrants' family, community and national levels. The remittances have consequences for the establishment of transnational networks which perpetuate (families and communities) cross border migration. Such transnational networks of migrants/diasporas are also transformed or configured into transnational remittance networks and migration corridors, for future migrants (non-family members alike).

As a result of the strategic importance of remittances from migration, migration (whether permanent or semi-permanent) was seen by families as an alternative or last resort. And ‘temporary seasonal migrations were often actively encouraged as a right of passage for young men’ (Blacket *al*, 2006). As they also noted, the engagement of rural households in short- and long-term migration was to maintain and diversify household income and reduce risk in the face of relative agro-climatic constraints through remittances. For reasons underpinning remittance, household members’ migration behaviours have shown that families increase their livelihood security by splitting the location of the family. Beyond these, the diversification of household migration locations as an expansion of migration destinations is to increase its remittances receipt. Hence in migration, the decision of the family is key to who should migrate, where they should migrate and for how long they may migrate. All of these suggest that for remittances from migration to be more effective in enhancing social and economic development in migrants’ countries of origin, since migrants have already been effective in contributing to their host countries, the management of international migration is to help increase the benefits of migration to the countries of origin and countries of destination. How international migration can be managed in the context of international farm labour migration is discussed in the next theme.

Since the success of migrants and the volume of remittances they sent to country of origin is a function of their level of adaptation to a country of destination, achieving transnational adaptation (at origin and at the same time in destination) as an approach to integration, particularly at migrants’ destination as depicted in Olayinka’s (2016) study of migrants of African origin in Oyo and Ogun states of South West Nigeria, who were mostly West African people: most being farmers than traders, transport service entrepreneurs, hunters, fishers, and herders who engaged in cross border trade from Nigeria, hinges their adaptation to their extent of social and economic advancement and inter-cultural exchange of the migrants. Based on range of indices of social, economic and cultural advancement, Olayinka (2016) observed that most migrants owned houses and farmlands as the farmlands were acquired after working for farmland owners as farm labourers, while inter-marriage and sense of belonging in the host communities/country were very low. All the migrants were undocumented, consequently, they had limited future

aspirations. Since being in host country without legal documents limits the migrants' opportunities.

In the case of the Ejigbo-Yoruba Nigerian migrants in Cote d'Ivoire, transnational adaptation to their communities of origin, in Nigeria and destination in Cote d'Ivoire includes prowess in inter-cultural marriage for most, especially, males and assertion of identity duality by different and changeable situational presentation of self to suit that of migrants group and host community and when back at origin with the intents to maximize opportunities (Adeniran, 2010; Adeniran and Olutayo, 2011). While migrant's participation which includes participation in governance as an indication of extent of transnational adaptation invariably means well-being, of migrants, particularly, at migrants' country of destination (ILO, 2013). Jimenez (2011) argued that integration is a function of migrants and host communities' characteristics, migrants resources and available opportunities at host communities to be maximized. Consequently, migration processes and behaviour which are prompted by situations are, thus, to largely search for safety and maximize opportunities. But because situations that initiate migration varies across environment and over times for different groups, examining international farm labour migration in Ibadan stands to explain about the peculiarities of farm labour migration in context. The conclusion that can be drawn from migration phenomenon is that, migration is a social aspect of human life, and that through historical times to contemporary times, the basis for humans' engagement in migration has remained the same, which is, migration for better economic opportunities and security. This further suggests that safety, seeking opportunities and remittance emerged to be strong aspects of migration processes for which migration flows are sustained between points of origin and destination.

2.6 The Emergence and Distortions of Migrant Worker Programmes

The need for locals in migrants' host countries to engaged in profitable work, livelihoods and economic activities led to the demand for labour for local economic production. Such demand also led to the initiation and strategic design of immigration policies and programmes that will receive migrants. And such immigration policies were a form of controlling inflow migration. One of the many programmes under immigration policies of developed countries such as USA, UK, Canada, and some EU countries such as Germany,

France, Switzerland and Italy to control migration, especially illegal migration has been foreign seasonal or guest worker programmes. In many labour receiving countries, the nature of work designed under the guest worker or foreign worker programme were the kind of paid wages (for farming, construction, tourism, etc) which the locals/citizens considered unattractive and undignifying. In some ways, the programme tends to benefit the migrants and their employers as well as the sending countries and receiving countries of such migrants/foreign workers.

However, Martin (2006) observed that the concern of governments of migrants receiving countries is often how to design and administer seasonal and/or guest worker programmes to minimize failures arising from distortion and dependence. Distortion in the programme indicates that the employers of the quest workers take it for granted that migrants will always be available due to labour market adjustments; thus, it became the basis for employers and their banks to make certain decisions including investment decisions. Dependence on the programme indicates that the foreign workers and their families and communities will rely on foreign jobs and wages in the receiving countries. The distortion and dependence further indicates that employers and migrants' interests and incentives may not align with the guest worker programme rules and expectations. As a result of this, a contradiction and gap exists between the ideals of such programmes and the actual outcomes of the programmes (Martin, 2006). This means that, there are differences between the programme rules and the (expected) outcomes of the programme.

The differences between the seasonal or guest worker programmes' rules and the expected outcome have continued to expand in the 21st century. To ensure that such programme rules produced the expected outcomes, distortion is neutralized and dependence is defined to have limitations. Also, a shift to multiple programmes is introduced rather than the single programme. The objective was to make available and provide foreign workers for particular markets or sectors. The multiple programmes comprised different specifically focus programmes with distinctive rules that were activated at different times to employ migrants to specific sectors that demanded certain types of labour. And no one programme was used to employ and provide foreign workers to different sectors As Martin (2006) stated, the shift to specific programmes has many effects, such as: macroeconomic

policies have less effect on employers' demand for guest workers, like when there are farm labour "shortages" despite double-digit unemployment. That each programme tends to have its own rules, and can be very detailed for the industry or occupation in question, which reduces public debate and accounts for the benefits and costs of guest workers. This reduces the harder times which government agencies have in administering multiple programmes, with each having different rules, in a time of tight budgets and deregulated labour market. Thus, in the efforts to control inflows of foreign workers, the common trend in many developed countries is to shift more authority to employers of labour.

On the basis of that, in many countries with seasonal and/or guest worker programmes, the employers and not workers' unions participate in developing the programme rules. This is because a union of foreign workers or a local union of workers protecting the interest of foreign workers is opposed and discouraged by employers. The exclusion of workers' union encourages distortions in the programme. However, in some countries as Spain that started her formal guest worker programme in 1999, the union does participate in developing the programme rules, administration (recruitment process) and monitoring of the programme (International Organization for Migration, 2009). To ensure checks and address distortions in the programmes, best labour practices devoid of exploitative labour practices were encouraged by policy protections of migrant guest workers and sanctions to employers for violation of programme rules.

Since the employers are key stakeholders of the seasonal and/or guest worker programmes, in some instances, some countries allow the employers to open the border gate in which to employ foreign/guest workers with minimal government oversight. This is what is meant by shift of authority to employers, to control the inflows of foreign workers. Yet, in employers' efforts to maximize economic benefits and minimize costs, more migrants are employed outside the official programme than inside. This is an aspect of the distortions of the programme. This aspect of distortion in the programme, gives room for further distortion, in which the employers and migrant workers conspire to evade the programme rules. When this happens, employers do not account for the benefits that should go to the state, as that pay less taxes or escape tax remittances on the head of each employed immigrant, that is a foreign worker (Martin, 2006).

For the unauthorized or illegal migrants/immigrants that lack work permit status and labour protections, their presence can prompt the employers to cut wages in order to cut production costs and make more profits. This result from the sense that migration is ‘out of control’ and there is surplus labour, of migrants, thus fuelling xenophobia and discrimination including discrimination in labour practices. In another sense, the right to decent wages for foreign workers and dignity of labour and livelihood is undermined. The preceded contexts indicate the challenges in managing not just (policies of) labour migration but migration as whole.

Importantly, the objective of the foreign or guest worker programme which seeks to add workers to the labour force of countries in demand of foreign workers is to make up for the lack of local workers and to replace them but not to make immigrants or add them to permanent residents to the population of that country. To ensure this, the ‘rotational principle’ which is enshrined in the design and administration of foreign worker programmes, in practice, has given opportunities to different (potential) migrants to work for only a certain time, like two years or more, and afterward, return to country of origin. But as the demand for similar labour increases and persists, more migrants are provided, and they take the opportunity offered by the programmes to work for higher wages in receiving countries. In doing so, other migrants recruited replace the migrant/foreign workers who were employed and have already enjoyed the benefits of financial remittances. That is, enjoyed incomes and social remittances such as new skills and other aspirations accruing from such programmes.

Martin (2006) observed that the “rotational principle” implies rotation and return, but in practice, it is believed to be ‘myths’ because it did not encourage planning for settlement and integration of foreign/guest workers in receiving countries. Consequently, some foreign/guest workers attempt to stay back in their host countries while others succeed in staying back. This has become an apparent feature with migrants employed under these foreign/guest worker programmes. On the framework of the rotational principle of a programme, which is consented to by employers, unions (where allowed), and governments, migrants are required to stay abroad for at most two or three years and then return with their savings and newly acquired skills. In some situations, if unemployment

was still low, employers then sought to replace the migrants who returned to their countries of origin. The newly recruited migrants could arrive for their turn to earn high wages. But these programmes are initiated when it is rationalized that the combination of labour and capital can produce goods and services that will profit the employers and state, and that the need for the labour required can be augmented with migrants' labour. Once that is aptly determined, the investment decision then is to key into or prompt the establishment and activation of foreign worker programmes to recruit laborers/workers.

The Mexico-US guest worker programme also called Bracero programme which was operational for 22 years (1942-1964) had workers returned at the end of their seasonal jobs as required. The extent of adherence to the guest worker programme rules such as the rotational principle was critical to the success or failure of the programme. As the Mexico-US programme ended, an assessment showed that rather than apprehension about guest workers and the guest worker programme, the combination of stricter and strong enforcement of rules, and easier access to guest workers reduced the apprehension and increase in guest workers. Apart from 1942 when guest worker programme had started, apprehension about guest workers increased in the late 1950s. This was as a result of the rise in both legal and illegal migration, especially as illegal migrants adjust their immigration status, which allowed them to stay longer or become citizens. These were connected to the perception of foreigners taking over locals' work, and that the migrants' population and actions were unaccounted for. Thus, whereas, many of the jobs the migrants were recruited for, were jobs the locals declined to do or less of them sought employment into.

Interestingly, while compliance to the programme rules have been skewed resulting in apprehension, other countries in Europe such as Germany in 1960 and 1973 witnessed a considerable conformity or compliance to her guest worker programme rules, such that almost 18.5 million migrants that were employed and arrived left as expected. But about 25 percent settled and new migrant arrivals were more of family unification, asylum seeking, and unauthorized migration. Subsequently, German government was not ready to take in more because of what became an overtime in migrant workers' stay, and the established and reinforced culture of migration. The culture of migration was such that

when the guest worker programme ends, many migrant sought legal immigration status and unauthorized migration continue with the hope to access better opportunities (Martin, 2006).

The employers of labour in the receiving countries through the state, initiate foreign workers' migration programme for guest workers. They also triggered the phases of recruitment of foreigners as guest workers. The employers, the government of the receiving countries, the workers union (where allowed) and other stakeholders as social partners must also consent to the establishment of such programme for it to take off. The basis for such consent are as follows: that foreign workers are needed especially if the country's unemployment is considered low and job vacancies are more than available labour or labour applicants in certain sectors; that immigrants can reduce the challenges or restricted-access that could result to inflation; and that such programme on labour migration adds value to the development of the migrants' sending countries and receiving countries. Such a foreign worker programme is to an extent designed to have mutual benefits to the sending countries as well as the receiving countries. It is also suggested that it contributes to the development of the sending countries especially the improvement of the social and economic capital of the migrants and the migrants' family and local communities. The specific benefits are feasible in the improved livelihood of migrants (Agence Française de Développement, 2007).

Essentially, as the receiving countries through their foreign worker programmes draw migrants from sending countries, they contribute to minimize, moderate or mitigate labour or unemploying crises in the labour sending countries. At the same, the labour sending countries provides labour to and remedy the production crisis associated with labour shortages in labour receiving countries. In addition, through bilateral agreement, the labour sending countries benefit from the remittances of migrants/immigrants, as such remittances are used to contribute to the development of the receiving countries. Such benefits also contribute significantly to the sectors that are linked to the programmes and the economy of the receiving countries. Since the benefits from the migrant/foreign worker programme are mutual, an attempt by government to change the migrant worker immigration policy (in the migrant labour receiving countries) in a way that would reduce

the availability or the supply of migrants, is resisted by the employers through lobbying. This is because the absence of migrants' labour makes their investments unprofitable (Martin, 2006) and eliminating the importation of migrant labourers/workers completely would not remedy the existing (or possible) production crises in labour receiving countries.

Where migration policies such as foreign work programmes have overtime sustained the recruitment of foreigners/migrants for work, the dependence of the migrants, their families and communities on it implies that the stoppage or reduction of foreign/guest workers would not necessarily stop or reduce migrants, as it may have been planned. This is because many communities in the labour sending countries have overtime established the culture of transnational network of migration that is linked to not just the foreign/guest worker programmes but the receiving countries. And once government reduces or stops such programme, some migrants attempt to and some do migrate illegally through informal channels of transnational networks to the receiving countries. As a result of the many instances of the benefits of migration to migrants' families, communities and countries, the employers, labour sending countries and labour receiving countries in some situations tend to do little to discourage migration, particularly, illegal migration (Martin, 2006). This is because, the employers profit from the distortions through payment of low wages, the labour receiving countries benefit in the boost the migrant labourers/workers contribute to the local and national economy of the labour receiving countries, and the sending countries benefit from remittances.

Martin, further noted that, the foreign/guest worker programme of the 1950s and 1960s recruited and admitted millions of migrants to work in different sectors of the economy of the developed countries such as in construction, mining, manufacturing and agriculture. That period had a single foreign worker programme which was also referred to as a macro guest worker programme. The macro guest programmes as a one single programme with a single bureaucracy that managed the programme as well as distributed and channelled recruited migrants to different sectors of the economy ended in 1970s/80s. After then emerged new guest worker programmes in 1990s which were more or less micro guest worker programmes and were specific in pulling different types of migrants, using

different strands of bureaucracies to allocate and distribute migrants to the different sectors of the economy of the receiving countries.

In the macro guest worker programme, the migrants were dominated by males whose families stayed back home, and virtually all the migrants on the programme were employed workers. Their arrival, however, depended on economic variables such as interest and exchange rates and extent of changes in unemployment rate. These economic variables explain the change in inflows of migrants in a particular country (Martin, 2006). Therefore, before the end of the guest worker programme of European countries in 1973/74, the guest workers programme of 1972/73 in Germany had provided foreigners with employments, in which two-thirds were employed as wages and salary workers out of the population of foreign residents in Germany at the time. However, migrants' population in Germany and other European countries continue to grow, due to many factors as family unifications before and during the 1980s/90s and the arrival of asylum seekers and other migrants. This suggests that besides labour migrants, family unification and asylum seeking in Europe continued to be the reasons for migration over six decades. Thus, whereas in the 1980s, the population of wage and salary worker had declined to as low as 1.5 million, yet migration for other reasons persisted. As the gap between employed foreign workers and foreign residents widened, especially, with increasing self employments, the argument for or against the necessity of foreign workers arose in Germany and other countries in Europe- And as labour migration became questionable, it was also argued that 'more migrant workers do not necessarily mean more employment' (Martin, 2006).

The shift to a micro programme for foreign/guest workers in the 1990s indicates that each shift in guest worker programme also accompanied changes in the principles and bureaucracy of management of the programmes. The implications were that as the status of duration of stay and admission criteria of guest workers changes and varies across countries, the role of governments of migrant sending countries and receiving countries through bilateral agreement in the recruitment of labour migrants through guest worker programme which aimed at controlling immigration and emigration, especially inflow migration also changed and varied between countries. In spite of the changes in the

foreign/guest worker programmes, the rotational principle in foreign/guest worker programme which aimed at replacing guest workers with new guest workers, so as to open opportunities to many other foreign workers was retained. But again, the distortion of the employers, sometimes with the connivance of migrant workers, and the dependence of migrants and the migrants' families and communities on seasonal/guest worker programme, discouraged the 'rotation', as employers regularly encouraged migrants to stay longer, saving the employer the cost of recruiting and training replaced and new migrant workers/labourers.

On the part of migrants, ignoring and subverting the 'rotational principle' were the consequence of many migrants learning it was difficult to earn wages in one country and then live in accordance to the cost of another country (Martin, 2006). For this, migrants decided to subvert the rotational principle in order to stay or stay much longer. This can be inevitable for many migrants especially where the national border is divided by natural labour market with different market economic conditions. Hence, in some cases, commuter programmes as a variant of seasonal and guest worker programmes allow workers to cross national borders and to live in one country and work in another country. It then means that it cannot be assumed that migrants without families would not settle and they have no plans to settle, and no employer-generated funds with which to help cover their integration costs. The assumptions from the context are that the guest worker programmes deliver benefits that are immediate, concentrated and measurable, while their costs are deferred, dispersed, and sometimes difficult to quantify (Martin, 2006). Consequently, in some instances, as the case of Germany, the employers and migrants can request and may obtain exemptions from rules that ensure a worker's rotation (Bach, 1987).

The manoeuvring of the 'rotational principle' gives opportunity for the recruitment of many migrants who would be unauthorized, undocumented and illegal immigrant workers. This includes continuous engagements of immigrants whose labour recruitment contract duration has expired. Since the employers discerned that unauthorized workers served more profitable interests, they tend to employ more migrants outside the guest programme than inside. This weakens official protection for unauthorized guest workers as

well as for the authorized guest workers in terms of low paid wages and poor social security coverage. Since they are officially not known to be in the country for labour service. However, it gave opportunities to other migrant guest workers to earn wages and avert social costs for the employers. To avoid social costs/burden of the employers, Die Zeit (1989) revealed that the employers and labour ministry agreed to enforce tighter restrictions on family unification to avoid integration issues such as schooling, which were to be included in any renewed and future guest worker programme. Therefore the shifts in labour migration policies specially guest worker programmes helps to explain the contexts of and for the shifts or changes in relations in the past and current migration experiences of the recruited foreign/guest workers.

Ideally, as the many of the designed micro guest workers programmes were introduced to control and manage the pressures of labour migration or mixed migration, the underlying assumption of the programmes were that: the guest workers, authorized employers of the guest will conform to the programmes' rules. The experiences from implementing the seasonal and guest worker programmes showed that many of them failed or did otherwise. There were deliberate distortion to serve the dependence interests of the employers and migrants. This posed challenges to many guest worker programmes, as the government found it difficult to control and account for actual immigrants in a country's labour force and actual profits made by employers and government from the programmes. In addition, the government was increasingly unable to protect the immigrants from labour and social exploitation across different sectors of the economy. Consequently, the undocument migrant/quest workers were subjected more to labour and social exploitation. Yet, there were evidences from studies (Basok, T. 2003; Reid, 2004; Martin, 2006; Rye and Andrzejewska, 2010) that shows that in some cases, most migrants wanted to return to their sending countries, thus, sustaining the belief in the rotational principle of quest worker programme. On the surface, it appears to rather indicate that the instances of distortions were not common. Yet, the distortions which create dependence presented a challenge to the bureaucratic administration of the foreign/guest worker programme, and the protection of migrant workers/labourers from labour and social exploitative practices.

In USA and Western Europe countries, the rationalization of how to adjust to the unemployment crisis confronted in World War II in 1940s era as a consequence of collapsed economy and disrupted livelihood, and the later rationalization on how to combine labour and capital to produce goods and services to benefit employers, particularly, the economic recovery challenges of the 1950s/1960s, led to the start of the macro guest worker programmes at the demanding request of employers in those countries (Congressional Research Service, 1980; Mehrländer, 1994). This means that the USA and European countries' governments and employers took advantage of the economic crisis and unemployment situation to draw on labour and available capital to revive and boost their economies. The bilateral or multilateral agreement governing the relations between countries in the guest worker programmes tend to be of political and economical mutual benefits to them in different degrees. For example, the 'USA offer of jobs helped to win Mexican support in WWII.' On the other hand, the European Economic Community (now European Union) policy and protocol on free movement of goods, workers, services and capital was seen to encourage and allow migration and the supply of labour to labour shortage areas from labour surplus areas in order to reduce economic differences between EU countries.

Zachary (2000) noted that in the 1990s, the rationality for the shifts in foreign/guest worker programme included labour shortages, (economic) globalization, and foreign policy. The combination of these factors fronted under the globalization agenda as led by USA that had more advanced industries and robust economy, but with only five percent of the world's population. This indicated that employers in USA needed more high skill labour force to remain globally competitive. Other reasons for foreign/ guest workers as noted by Martin (2006) were that, workers should be freer to cross borders to increase trade in services; that multinational firms should be allowed to assemble diverse work forces in any country in which they operate to remain competitive; that allowing migrants to circulate between developing and developed countries give the migrants the best of both worlds which benefits both societies. Thus, the migrants act as economic bridge between the two societies. Economic linkages of two or more countries further and sustain migration between them. To that extent, the guest worker programmes can be justified as a way to promoting cultural exchange or development. This happens when young

people(educated or skill or semi-skill) are invited to cross national borders to work, during which they learn the locals' language and experience another culture as workers or working holiday makers. All of the underlying reasons for the request to recruit foreign/guest workers by the employersthrough the government of labour migrants' receiving countries as well as sending countries were hinged more on economic benefits and less of political and social benefits. Though the extent of the benefits were determined by the labour market and production situationsat the time of decKIIing on labour and immigration policies that will meet the employment demands of the respective receiving countries. And such labour and immigration policies include the foreign/guest worker programmes.

Like many labour migration polices (foreign/guest workers programmes) of developed countries, in Italy and Spain, the foreign/guest worker programmes as a measure to control and manage migration were designed to admit and encourage legal migration on the one hand and on the other hand reduce illegal migration. This encouraged the cooperation to accept the return of unauthorized foreigners and to elicit cooperation to reduce illegal migration from sending countries as Albania and Morocco. Most guest workers were ex-farmers between 18 and 35, although a significant share of them were semi-skilled construction workers, miners, and school teachers.

In Africa, the pressures of migration on the economy of African countries in the past (between 1960s and 1980s) resulted to instances of expulsion of labour immigrants categorized as undocumented migrants and who by their illegal status were criminalized. Such expulsions were policy actions of labour migrants receiving countries in Africa to control and manage migration especially illegal migration (Peil, 1971, 1979; Manby, 2015). In addition, the approach of African countries to management of migrationremains the traditional instrument using Visa and passports (such as ECOWAS Passport), without a special framework or worker programme to employ and account for the benefits of foreign migrants as done by USA, EU countries and Canada. The exception to that was the dependence relationship of supplying thelabour migrants receiving countries with the required labour. Thesemigrants from African countries werehowever a free and available labour that can be recruited by theguest worker programmes of the developed and

industrialized countries. This helps to reduce and manage African countries' labour unemployment crises which are filled with an increasing restive young population. The persisting unemployment crises in African countries continue to contribute to the emigration of the active population of African countries in search of better economic opportunities. The thinking of the respective governments of African countries and people is that, any special designed worker programme to take in foreign workers from and outside Africa countries would create additional burden to the population, economic and labour crises of African countries. These African countries through African Union, AU and other separate regional cooperations in Africa such as ECOWAS have continued to foster the free movement of people and goods. The facilitation of movements across border by ECOWAS to encourage trade has created security burden for certain ECOWAS member states like Nigeria. Therefore, in-spite of the economic and political advantages with such cross border movements, the security burden of such cross border movements triggers the push for a (need) to change or reform the protocol of free border movements, to limit excessive rights and liberty claims in cross border movements of migrants. For such rights are sometimes abused by foreigners/migrants and West African states' governments.

2.7 Managing Migration through Migrant Farm Worker Programme

Being a farmer is different from being a farm labourer or worker, to the extent that the farmer either owns and controls (certain) factor of production such as land for farm production or hires and controls certain factors of production such as lands and labour for (profitable) farm production. Whereas a farm labourer, who has no and does not control factors of production such as land and capital is not farmer but remains a mere farm labourer, or farm worker that is employed as one of the tools or factors of production, which the farmer or farm landlord hires and controls. The context of guest workers who were migrant farm workers or foreign farm workers or farm workers in many developed capitalist countries or at least in countries where some immigrants work as labourers indicate that the labourers have no title to land for farm production. A farm worker, thus, connotes a farm labourer, and where applicable to a foreigner in foreign land of the receiving country, the farm labourer is referred to as migrant farm worker or labourer. For his/her labour is employed across the border and controlled by his/her employer in

production in the migrant labourer's/worker's receiving country. The employer who is a farmer, own and control factors of production which include the labour of the migrant farm worker employed. The avoidance of use of labourer (migrant labourer) in preference for worker (guest worker) in contemporary times suggests the attempt to defuse any idea of labour exploitation yet its usage merely dignifies the work of the labourer. Guest worker represent any foreigner/migrant recruited by employers in foreign land or receiving countries for different kinds of labour in different sectors, including work in agricultural production sector. Thus, a migrant farm worker is a category of guest worker.

The context portrayed, illustrates a capitalistic oriented environment, land tenure practices, and the situation of the migrants employed as guest workers or farm workers on farms in USA, Canada and some other EU countries such as Germany. For instance, the long history of agriculture in USA which linked to contemporary recruitment of unskilled and semi-skilled temporary workers for agricultural production (Congressional Research Service, 1980; Martin, *et.al*, 1995) was such that, parts of Western USA that had large farms for extensive cattle and grain farming required labour. Also, that when transportation costs and interest rates linked the remote part of USA to other parts of USA, a shift to labour intensive fruit and vegetable occurred. These shifts and emergence in production needs and practices required labour to improve farm production which was rapidly expanding, in order to meet the expanded demand of production. Consequently, additional labour was required (Martin, 2006). The strategy adopted to access and make available the needed labour was to re-organize large farms into broken family size units, with the expectation that indigenes but more especially foreigners (as Chinese, Japanese, Filipinos, Punjabi, Sikhs and Mexicans with no jobs) family members would supply the seasonal labour when needed. Such seasonal labour for seasonal work was expected to be cheaper as it was often available and often paid lower wages. Martin (2006) also observed that the low wages later 'capitalized' into higher land prices, for which the landowners' incentive was to continue to keep migrants or recruit new foreigners/migrants. The landlords and employers' labour and social costs were lower and were controlled by the landlords and employers who was a citizen/indigene, while the labour and social costs of the migrant farm labourers/workers were higher and were controlled by the employers.

With higher land prices, the migrants would be unable to use his/her low labour wage to purchase commercialized farmland in order to own and control farmland and farm production. By this, the migrants were cut off from owning farmland since owning farmland means controlling farm production and relations of production, thus, determining production and labour markets. With this, the migrants continued to be controlled by the employers and landlords in receiving countries. The implication was that the demand to expand production for the markets which correspondingly demanded more land for increased farm production also increased the price value of land. The appreciation in land value meant migrants who earned meager wages cannot afford land for their independent farm production except to continue as farm labourer or farm tenant/farmer.

The historical context of the guest worker programmes portrays the forms and shifts of the guest worker programmes as well as the rationale that shaped the forms and shifts of the guest worker programmes. Between the 1920s and 1930s, there were difficult experiences that accompanied social and ecological changes such as extended 'drought' in Midwest USA that dislocated indigenous/Americans and the 'Grapes Wrath' experiences of farmers triggered internal migration. Also, the reduction in the availability of indigenous/Americans seasonal labour as a result of severe changes in their social and ecological circumstances, cumulated to a federal policy, with attention on farm labour reforms in US. Since there was the existing practice of large farms, which was dependent on family labour, the farm reform broke the existing large farms into small farm size and replaced the family labourers/workers with hired seasonal labourers/workers. The recruitment of migrants as replacement for indigenous/Americans' labour marked the beginning of admittance of migrants on quota basis and as guest workers. This was based on US immigration policy of the 1920s. The migrant farm workers who were documented were to be protected under the factory labour law but this was opposed by employers in order to have and pay low wages to migrant farmer workers (Martin, 2003, 2006).

In the 1940s, the devastating consequences of World War II which depleted world food production and caused hunger in especially Europe also created the need for improved food production. This led to the need and demand for labour especially by mass population of displaced persons/foreigners migrant farm workers to support food

production. Consequently, American farmers pressured and convinced the USA government whose country and economy was not directly affected by the war to sign a bilateral agreement with Mexico. This facilitated the recruitment and admission of Mexicans into the labour force of USA, as guest workers to support (food) production for the market and household.

Similarly, Switzerland which was not affected by the same war and whose economy was not directly disrupted by the war, recruited guest workers after the war in 1945 from Italy (another European country) whose economy was ravaged by the war. In boosting her economy, Switzerland government provided opportunities to Italian migrants to support their families and the Italian's economy. With this, Switzerland was the first country in Europe to practise a formalized and organized a guest worker programme. Since then, variations of the guest worker programmes were introduced in 2002.

Interestingly, the pattern of migration around certain corridors have led certain employers of migrant labourers/workers to make certain assumptions regarding the utility of labour in their economic production. Although, USA before then was already recruiting migrant labourers/workers into USA for production. Thus, USA bilateral agreement and relations with Mexico, which sustain farm labour inflows to USA, informed American farmers' assumption that the guest workers recruited from countries such as Mexico would continue to be available for farm production such as crop production in remote parts of USA. Interestingly, the migrant workers recruited and the community from which they were recruited, overtime assumed that there will always be need for labourer/workers in migrant labour receiving countries, such as USA, Canada and Western Europe countries like France. Since the employers/farmers determined when and the volume of migrant workers/labourers to be employed across the border, the migrant workers/labourers were subjected in most part to labour and social conditions that were largely determined by the employers. On the part of American farmers, they also rationalized that farm production would not be profitable if workers were not available at low wages when needed. For these reasons, American farmers pushed for continuation of the guest worker programme and the relaxation of the rules that demanded the employer to pay transportation costs,

provision of housing, and pay the higher of the prevailing wages or minimum wages (Martin, 2006).

As the USA-Mexico bilateral relations on farm labour recruitment from Mexico to USA was sustained, many rural Mexicans became dependent on the guest worker programme. Even when the programme ended in 1964, the introduction of alternative work programme in non-farm work (mining and construction) employed former migrant farm workers. As the dependence of migrant farm workers on the guest worker programme impacted on their communities in country of origin Mexico (in terms of availability of labour for production and contribution to improved income and other aspects of livelihood), they also impacted on the receiving country, USA (in terms of their contribution to the economy). Thus, the impact of labour migrants especially Mexican farmers in USA was such that the presence of farm workers in the work fields influenced and encouraged the urbanization, and urbanization of Mexican-Americans, as they increased the growth of cities such as Los Angeles and San Jose, and their presence in the work fields also held down farm wages. For example, the average farm worker earnings in California rose to 41 percent that was from \$0.85 an hour in 1950 to \$1.20 in 1960, while the average factory worker earnings rose to 63 percent, that was from \$1.60 in 1950 to \$2.60 in 1960 (Martin, 2006). This further delineates the wage differential between farm workers and industrial workers.

As the guest worker programme ended and the immigration quotas was introduced, by the 1960s, the Mexicans employed including seasonal farm employment, were only admitted into USA by written offer of employment, with which the employees obtained (green card) immigration visas. The shift in policy programme to immigration visa facilitated commutation between homes/communities in Mexico and USA farm works. It also facilitated the establishment of network of migration between them. However, some migrant farm workers inconsidering the costs of living in the two worlds with their low wages decided to either seek to adjust or not adjust their immigration status (to stay back or to return back home). During this period which extended to the 1970s, many of the migrant workers/farmers who became aged, sent sons and relatives to replace them through legal or illegal means, while some of the farm workers who were commuters

between Mexico and USA became farm labour contractors for recruiting new farm labourers/workers. Some of the migrant workers became smugglers (of illegal migrants) and employers of migrants to work under them. To deliver labour services to other farmers. Depending on the market situation, the legal and illegal migrant workers were accepted by the employers but not the state. As stated in the previous theme, this is because illegal migrant workers/labourers reduce the labour and social costs of employers.

The replacement of the former farm workers with their relatives whether legally or illegally violated the rotational principle even when the migrant farm workers had returned at the expiration of the contract. The practice of replacing former farm workers/labourers with their relatives suggest the recruitment of farm workers from certain families and communities. And these families and communities have more access to recruitment opportunities through immigration quotas programme and their informal transnational network of labour recruitment and replacement of their kin. The accruing benefits circulated more among the migrant farm workers and communities in countries of origin that sent their relative for farm work abroad. This commuter programme was design to also operates on the basis of 'rotational principle'. It required the recruited migrant migrant farm workers/labourers commuting between two worlds to live in their country of origin and work in a certain proximate distance, such as 50 km across the border of the country of destination. This means that, some farms were not too far from the borders. Sometimes, the commutation involved daily border crossing for farm work, and other times, it allowed a stay of up to two days in a week as the case of Germany commuter policy programme for migrant farm workers. This is unlike the guest worker programme that authorizes migrant farm labourers to stay for at least two or more years under an employer/farmer in host countries. Even then, under the immigration policy programme, the recruitment of migrant labourers at the time was only allowed after a certification that shows that local workers were not available (Martin, 2003, 2006).

Besides the differences between micro guest worker programmes and macro guest worker programme, the preceding analysis was depicted to re-emphasise the variations in the micro guest worker programmes. The common requirement among the different guest worker programmes was that, the employers who were farmers must satisfy or meet the

required criteria to have guest workers admitted as well as satisfy the issues of guaranteeing the rights of migrants in receiving country. One of the criteria was that, the employer must be certified by way of verification that there were no local workers available for the job or were not available at a government set wages. As another criterion, the issues of rights relate to the nature of the contract of the migrant workers and enforcing the rights spelt out in the contract were also verified. The former criterion centred on pre-admission certification and the latter centred on post-admission attestation. Pre-admission certification demands that the employer requesting for migrants must satisfy an economic need test which included advertising for local workers at a government set wage before employing migrants. The post-admission attestation operates on a system that permits employers to admit migrants without government checks. The issue of rights of migrants or worker rights included whether the contracts of migrants tied them to a particular employer or migrants were free agents in the labour market of the host country.

Martin (2006) observed that most of the guest worker programmes were tied to migrants and had migrants tie to particular employer and job contracts in different sectors. Thus, migrants were also restricted or prohibited from changing employers. In the UK, the highly skilled or professional guest worker programme permitted the migrant workers to be free agents in the labour market. Whereas similar professional guest worker in USA which recruited migrants with at least University education, with a stay permit of up to six years and another permit to adjust immigration status through certification, allowed migrant workers/labourers to change employer only when they found an employer that agrees to sponsor their immigration visa. If such an employer was not found, the migrant worker remained tied to his/her employer by contract. This suggests that the migrants' free agent status was limited and depended on other employers for jobs. Thus, the certification process for immigration visa was dependent on the employers' discretions. However, some guest worker professional programmes excluded and required no employers to satisfy the pre-admission tests such as no labour market test and no provision of housing; no restriction of the migrant farm workers to his/her employers, and no requirements to pay a specified wage. The latter is mixed with benefits and costs to the migrants. For the unskilled foreign worker programmes too, employers were to obtain

certification to obtain immigration visa. The same employers were not required to provide housing or pay transportation to migrants. Yet the numbers of such unskilled migrants that can be recruited was placed to a certain limit. These certification processes were similarly required in quest worker programme for farm workers.

Farm employers that met the set requirements, they received permission to be able to recruit migrants as farm workers/labourers. These requirements included offering the higher of the three wages stipulated and in some instances, requiring the provision of free housing to migrants. Whether it was professional or seasonal guest worker programme, a limit for recruiting foreign/migrant workers was placed on the recruitment of foreign workers in the programmes. As other guest worker programmes, the unskilled worker programmes, particularly, the one for migrant farm workers posed challenges to employers. These challenges were on how to get permission to recruit migrants, find transportation and then train the migrants on the required skills. Even when some employers can meet the set requirements, they preferred to manoeuvre the requirements by way of distortion in order to maximize profit from it.

As a consequence of migration threats to receiving country in form of the competitiveness of migrants against local workers, and in the midst of the local population, government of the country that designed the guest worker programme introduced it to control and manage such competitiveness. In doing so, the government of farm labour migrant receiving country is always seeking to balance the interests of local employers and local workers/labourers first as well as protect the interests of her local population and workers first against foreign/immigrant workers (Martin, 2006). Martin (2006) also noted that, while the government justifies its certification as a measure to protect local interests as well as account for the numbers of migrant workers, the employers seek ways to exploit the certification process by employing migrant workers outside the certification process in order to avoid social costs and pay low wages.

Meanwhile, the impact of the growing micro programmes were difficult to assess, partly due to a dearth of data for particular labour markets with the concentration of foreign workers in certain places (e.g. North Carolina, USA). Yet, the impact of foreign workers would have been larger than suggested by any annual admissions' data, because many

workers stay longer than one year and distortion undermined the the determination of the actual positive impact. Also, because the foreign workers followed (informal or formal) network paths, the activities of particularly successful recruited migrant labourers in some instances led subsequent foreign workers recruited and admitted to a particular guest worker programme, with its benefits not accounted for. The network path of recruitment were into farm types, where a majority of workers were harvesting tobacco, planting trees, or into other occupations, using formal network paths. The newer changes in technology and means of communications such as infrastructure, which sustain transnational migration network, makes it easier to match employers and migrants. Also, it means the migration infrastructure that helps government agency to match employers to migrants was developed.

The green card for German micro guest worker programmes which started in 1989 and subsisted beyond the 1990s, shared similarities with USA green card micro guest worker programme. But in order to meet the interests and purpose for which such programme was set up for, the German programme have some variations to that of the USA. It was in terms of migrants' and employers' experiences and adherence levels to the programme. Also, the USA and German guest worker programmes varied in terms of the degrees of benefits and challenges to employers, migrants and government. The German programme which was focused to recruit migrants, more aimed at migrants from Europe, especially, as Germany increasingly assumed significant political and economic roles in Europe and among European countries in European Union. The German government and employers achieved that through bilateral guest worker programme, as each of the country's programme was designed to recruit and provide workers for particular industries/occupations or sectors. This was meant to 'channel inevitable migration and the increasing mass population of migrants into legal channels'. This effort to ensure every migrant is a legal immigrant in the developed countries as Germany through guest worker programme was observed by Honekopp (1997) to occur otherwise. Honekopp, noted that there still existed 'perhaps as many illegal workers and legal workers'.

As the USA and United Kingdom (UK), Germany also have migrants employment contract tied to an employer or project, and often, a migrant employed was described as

project tied migrant. However, unlike in USA and UK, in Germany, the migrant was considered as an employee of his/her home country's firm rather than that of a German firm (Martin, 2006) and the payroll taxes on the migrant wages were lower. The seasonal worker programme admitted migrants for up to 90 days, if local workers were not available for vacant jobs in agriculture, forestry or seasonal hotels. The design, the duration of the guest and seasonal worker programme in Germany were also unlike the one in Canada where Canadian farmers were allowed to recruit and import foreigner workers for up to eight months in a year from the Caribbean since 1966 and Mexico since 1974. The Canadian guest and seasonal worker programmes were based on a commonwealth bilateral relations: This introduced the Commonwealth Caribbean and Mexican Agricultural Seasonal Worker Programme. Meanwhile, the 90 percent of migrants employed in fruit, vegetable and tobacco farms in Ontario in Canada were allowed an average stay for at least four to eight months. The interesting aspect of migrant workers being tie to a contract and employers was that the migrants' numbers and rights issue could be tracked and accounted for. This ensures the employers and migrant workers keep to their guidelines of the seasonal and guest worker programme, that is, adherent to the terms of their employment contract.

In 2002, Poles (also referred to as Polish) from Poland had comprised a majority (90 percent) of foreign/guest workers in agriculture in Germany. As the pre-admission certification process, employers in Germany who requested seasonal foreign workers were required to submit proposed contract terms that indicate the wages, working conditions, and prove of housing, meals, and travel arrangements to local labour offices which authorize the recruitment of foreigners after testing the local labour market and reviewing the contracts. This was unlike in USA where the employers were not required to provide details on wages, working conditions, and proof to provide housing and meals, and bearing of travel arrangements and costs. The USA programme tends to impose the migration costs on the foreign/migrant workers recruited but lightened the migration costs and burden on the employers. In addition, in Germany, the employers and migrants were required to make payroll tax contribution that was about 35 percent wages (Martin, 2006).

Like USA, German employers may request migrants by name, which was often a common practice. This was possible through transnational networks of agents who were ex-workers or return migrants (who were retired) that became free contract agents. As contract agents, the ex-farmers' and return migrants' relied on their previously established working relationship with employers and network of contact with (potential) migrant workers in their countries of origin to access and recruit new migrant farm workers. The employers through the local workers office or Employment Service (ES) office or joint office were able to reach the free agents and formal workers to provide names of potential foreign/migrant workers to recruit. Like other developed countries operating guest worker programmes, most seasonal and guest workers in Germany were admitted only after the Employment Service office certified that an employer's request for migrants was valid. For example, once certified, the employer/farmer or a joint German-Turkish or German-Yugoslav or German-Pole Employment Service office were established through bilateral relations for recruitment of guest (farm) workers. In some instances, for an employer to be able to request migrant workers by names at the ES office, some (potential) migrants travel to Germany's ES office present to themselves and to indicate interests to be recruited as guest worker. As Miller and Martin (1982) had observed, the labour recruitment by name identification in Germany was an incentive for Turks and Yugoslavs to travel to Germany as tourists in order to find an employer to request them, and in so doing, they avoid long queues of migrants waiting to be recruited abroad. This indicates that the potential migrant worker or guest worker borne the cost of traveling arrangements in spite of the risk of being rejected and not employed. On another hand, there was the opportunity to be employed and given a legal status. Interestingly, age limit was an exclusive and inclusive criterion for recruitment and the emphasis was on young skilled or unskilled workers of ages 18-40. This suggests the need to recruit young and active bodies of persons that will be more productive, rather than recruit aged bodies (41 and above) of persons who will be less productive and add them to the aged and less productive categories of German population, or to that of many industrialized/developed countries. Interestingly, in Africa, there continuous presence of migrants as labourers/workers, particularly, in agriculture, but their recruitment or inflow for labour was not like to any ES office for certification. Instead, free agents (some farmers

themselves) used the transnational networks to recruit and bring in labourers through formal channels for labour.

The segment of the economic sectors with higher wages attracted more migrants than the sectors with low wages. Thus, low skilled or unskilled migrants were pulled to the such as agriculture sector. It was the sector that farm workers often have to choose to work. For this reason, in Germany's seasonal programme, Honekopp (1997) observed that many Poles seem to prefer to earn higher wages harvesting apples than other seasonal programme with lower wages as the lower trainees' wages. He further noted that the benefits and costs of recruitment of guest workers as the Polish workers in Germany was aimed at keeping the German agriculture viable, whereas the unemployment crisis in Poland agriculture had remained high. The interests of Polish workers were to earn higher wages from among the lower wage sectors. Thus, German seasonal guest worker programme provided foreign migrants such as the Polish migrants migration opportunities across the border to earn higher wages and to escape the unemployment crisis in Poland. The possible reason was that, emigration to Germany provided income earning opportunities unlike back in home country. Such opportunities elsewhere similarly provided employments that reduces the unemployment crisis in certain countries with large unemployed labour force. Martin (2006) noted that the performance of the German guest worker programmes suggest that the programmes succeeded in turning some unauthorized migrants into legal guest workers, as many of the seasonal farm jobs were quickly converted into foreign jobs. The opportunities to work in Germany and other countries to earn higher wages which were transformed into or used as remittances often indicated the directions and corridors of emigration and immigration. The cross border work opportunities in Germany generated significant remittance, which in the case of Polish, the remittances to Poland in 1995 was about equal to Foreign Direct Investment FDI in the country.

The dual benefits of the seasonal guest worker programme for the foreign guest workers in Germany were that by 1998, the green card for German guest worker programme influenced the change in Germany naturalisation policy from a restrictive to liberal one. This naturalization policy changed and allowed foreigners to become naturalized Germans

as well as retain their original nationality. This allowed the immigrants of certain ages who could not hold dual citizenship in the past to now hold dual citizenship and enjoy the accruing citizenship benefits. This also allowed foreigners to have singular citizenship. The change, therefore, allowed for the maintenance of a dual culture identity with interactive linkage to country of destination and country of origin.

In most seasonal worker programmes, for the unskilled workers in countries such as USA, Canada and UK, the stakeholders include the unions and worker advocates of unskilled workers. Their inclusion was because of their posture to (dignity of labour and social and human rights) protect native and foreign workers who were often unable to protect themselves, because of the short duration of their immigration stay and spread in rural areas or in private homes. (Martin, 2006) observed that it is natives and foreign workers categorized as workers who were among the toughest workers to inform about their rights and to ensure effective protection for them and for themselves. Since their right to stay was connected to their employment contract, even when the migrant workers have genuine complaints related to his/her contract rights against their employer. They may probably lose their job and be removed from the country due to the complaints they made against their employers' exploitative labour practices in their host countries. This happens because national labour laws do not apply in foreign countries and to the foreigners in host countries, thus, such migrants with complaints were labelled and in some cases were blacklisted and unable to return once deported.

The behaviour or labour practices of employers which intimidate and exploit foreign labourers/workers underlie the distortions in guest worker programmes. This often occurs as farm employers who are the major employers of seasonal foreign workers' attempts to minimize costs. This happens because the seasonal workers were excluded from the stakeholder group where their interests should have been represented. The circumstances resulting from their exclusion have led to extensive litigation in US, and the increasing criticism of seasonal worker programmes in Canada and UK. This was, however, different for the local workers whose labour and social rights were protected. One of such places with differences in the exclusion and inclusion of migrant workers in labour and social rights was in (Southern Ontario green house industry and eight provinces in)

Canada. Their inclusion enabled and secured them to enjoy good labour and social conditions as migrant farm workers/labourers. Like many other countries expanding and practising guest worker or seasonal worker programmes, farmers who were employers had negative experiences with local workers sent by Employment Service offices and welfare offices. Martin (2006) and Basok (2002) in their separate observations noted that because the local workers contract were tie to an employer/farmer, some of them sometimes threatened to break equipment in order to get fired – This was usually an act to aid such local workers to exit what they might have perceived as the undesirable labour and social conditions associated with conflict over employment contract in agricultural production. In other instances, local workers simply broke their employment contract by walking away during busy times having been employed by a farmer/grower to make up work and for the employment needed at the time of slow seasons.

It has been observed that the seasonal worker employment is less attractive than guest worker programmes for industries for migrant workers who get year-round work. Yet, it is a category of quest worker programme. Thus, it is professional/skilled category of guest worker programme that is more attractive than the seasonal quest worker programme. The reason is that the guest worker programmes' employments offers higher wages, more fringe benefits, and more opportunities for upward mobility. The season worker programme is otherwise. As a result, workers with other job options tend to leave seasonal farm work for other jobs. However, because of the high wages in industrialized countries than the less industrialized or un-industrialized countries, the seasonal farm work force in most industrial countries continue to increase in the share of foreign workers than the less/un industrialist countries. This is another indication that the guest worker programmes also differ in their wage and benefit requirements as well as the roles played by governments of sending countries in the process of selecting migrant workers and ensuring labour laws were enforce where migrants are employed.

In spite of the litigations and criticisms of the seasonal worker programmes, the programmes have continued to expand with employers trust translating to voices and decisions in the organizations of the certification process regarding admission, transportation and employment decisions. In this regard, Martin (2006) noted that, Canada

has gone further on seasonal worker programme design and administration, due to her 'user-fees' funded Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Services (FARMS). The organization of Canada FARMS manages many of the tasks dealt with by government agencies in other countries such as the worker transportation. In Canada, the majority of seasonal migrant workers were employed on farms that were producing labour intensive fruit, vegetable and horticultural specialty commodities. For the farmers, most of whom were involved in recruiting labour for their labour intensive farm production, they did not receive direct government payments but benefited from subsidies. Such subsidies often controlled their market production outputs, that is, it reduced fruit, vegetable, and horticulture farm production. This boosted their prices enough for the farmers to make profit and reinvest in farm production. Interestingly, in spite of the arguments advanced in the world trade negotiation to eliminate farm subsidies, to promote healthy competition in agriculture and agricultural trade, another argument advanced in favour of farm subsidies was that it was needed to provide agricultural social amenities. The strong merits for it led to the adjustment to farm subsidy system with which it was possible to exercise control over farmers/employers. The aim was aimed was to monitor them to improve work conditions for hired workers. Improving the work conditions of farm workers thus became a requirement for employers/farmers to receive farm subsidies. The aim of farmers including farmers in fruit, vegetable and horticulture who remained outside the farm subsidy system was to make profit through increase price on farm produce, especially, export agricultural products, with the dictate of the government.

Under the distinct bilateral seasonal worker programmes between the governments of Mexico and Canada, and between Caribbean and Canada, the respective Mexican and Caribbean ministries of labour were responsible for negotiating and recruiting workers with Canadian agent named Human Resources Development Centre. To reiterate, once the employers need workers, they applied to local Human Resources Centres indicating that they need to employ foreign workers. The HRDC may then certify that they meet the requirements to recruit foreign/migrant workers. The standard procedure was that the employer applies for foreign workers for at least eight weeks before when they would be needed. The Canadian seasonal and guest worker programme like other guest worker programmes in other countries, especially, in industrial countries, the preference was for

Canadian workers as stipulated by Canadian First Policy, and only when they were absent that an employer/farmer can be authorized to employ foreign workers. In addition to offering a minimum of 240 hours of work in a period of six weeks, Canadian farmers were required to approve free housing and meals or cooking facilities, and the higher of the minimum wage (C\$6.85 an hour in Ontario in 2002) or the prevailing wage, or piece-rate wage paid as paid to Canadians doing the same job (Martin, 2006). The policy requirement further indicates one of the many efforts to neutralize or eliminate discrimination and exploitation in labour market.

The Human Resource Centres on such requests from employers transmit the approval to hire foreign workers to a grower/farmer organization that provides the user-fee that fund Foreign Agricultural Resource Management Services (FARMS). FARMS then sends the approvals to Mexico or the Caribbean- The migrants were then given entry papers in their countries of origin and an affiliate of FARMS arranges for transportation for the migrants to Canada and to the respective employers. To facilitate the recruited migrants arrival, farmers who were employers advanced the cost of transportation from Mexico to Canada or from Caribbean to Canada. The extent of this practice (as also practiced in USA with tax variation) was such that the employer/farmer deducted four percent of workers wages to cover transportation costs, of up to C\$575 as well as deducted payroll taxes and insurance costs from the workers' wages. The workers have 14 days' probation period after arrival, and as the farmers prepared a written evaluation of every worker, it is placed in a sealed envelope, and the returning migrants gives it to Mexican and Caribbean authorities of their respective countries of origin.

As is the common practice, the farmers having identified and selected workers by name through their recruitment agents or affiliate in labour sourcing/sending country, the farmers send letters to foreign workers indicating their employment and specifying the names of the workers they want. On arrival of the migrants in Canada, Mexican consular officials meet arriving migrants at Canadian airports, inform them of their rights, and under the agreement inspect housing and solicit workers' complaint as measure to protect the interests of their citizens who were Mexican migrants. As a consequence of the distortion in the programmes or adjustment of status that work against the rotational

principle, Basok (2002) observed that some average workers have had seven years' experience of work in Canada contrary to eight months in a year's duration of stay of the programme's requirement. The overstay on a particular job was possible only when aided by an employer, and the foreign/migrant worker who stayed outside the duration of his/her formal contract was under a contract not formally acknowledged and protected by the state agency that manages the guest worker programme. Hence, the poor wages paid to and the social security of a foreign/migrant worker, and if any they were not provided in accordance with government set standards. The lease of migrant farm workers was against the requirement and contract tie law. Therefore, as part of the distortion of employers/farmers, when employers/farmers send their guest workers to other farmers whether for a fee or not, such employers/ farmers faced fines of up to C\$5,000 and two years in prison. However, Martin (2006) observed that such fines were rare because often than not employers complied with the guest programme rules. Such observation should be held with caution since the said practice of leasing migrant farm workers can happen unnoticed by government authorities/agencies.

In spite of the weaknesses of the Canada guest worker programme, comparatively, Canadian and Mexican government officials considered the seasonal work programme as a best practice model. The reason is that in Canada, the farm employers were included in the programme design and administration, while the Mexican government were involved in both Mexico and Canada in recruiting and monitoring migrants in Canada, except in the provision of health insurance in Canada. For the Canadian authority, the model is successful, given that the seasonal/guest worker programme systematically allowed and encouraged migrant farmers to arrive and work. And in doing so, balances the flow of temporary workers with the needs of the Canadian farmers/employers. While the Mexican authority that supplied migrant farmers/workers in Canada also acknowledged the success of the seasonal/guest worker programme model, particularly, on how it facilitate migration for work in an orderly way. The said successes were also highlighted in relation to the pay checks including the last pay checks which many Mexican workers received before leaving Canada as well as in the tax refund checks sent to their addresses in Canada. In the case of the Caribbean migrants, 25 percent of their pay was deducted in a forced savings programme required by Caribbean government. The failures of the model

were however in its exclusion of migrants' participation in the design and administration of the seasonal and guest worker programme and denial of their rights when violated such as no sufficient access to healthcare.

Some of the notable challenges from the model were about pay checks not getting to some of the migrant workers at the designated home country office, as the case of the small checks of money owed to Mexican migrants who could not be reached after checks were sent to Mexico's Foreign Ministry. This suggests sleaze in the delivery of the pay check, in which a migrant worker was reported to be absent at a particular address, or the actual relocation of the said migrants from the address the migrant had indicated. Other challenges were that, the guest workers lose their job as well as loses the right to be in Canada, and that the migrants also incurred and borne a significant cost to get into the guest worker programme and when in the programme. As Martin (2006) noted, it means that most migrants start their foreign work in debt even before their selection for the programme. And to add, cost of caring for migrants before traveling as migrant farmers/workers. The debts included travel expenses, pay for medical examinations, and costs of living in the cities/hostels and the family. Some of these challenges which were related to rights of migrants remained unsolved and continued as part of the distortions underlying the exploitation of guest workers.

To sustain the distortion that gives room for labour exploitation to continue, the farm workers in Ontario were denied the right to strike, which would have served as measure to get farm workers' interests addressed. This would have been either through direct workers' involvement or workers' representation to protect themselves from labour exploitation and for the employer to meet standards required of them in the guest worker programme. Thus, the argument of the Ontario farm workers in Canada was that, migrant farm workers' right to form associations and make representations to their employers did not necessarily translate to an employer recognizing their associations as bargaining agents for workers. And to add, protecting and enforcing their rights. On the part of the regional government in Canada, the Ontario Agriculture Minister had argued that the restrictions on workers were necessary to protect family farmers. The denial of similar rights to guest workers included their exclusion from Occupational Health and Safety Act and the

charging of migrants C\$11 million a year in employment insurance premiums, and they were not allowed to obtain Unemployment Insurance (UI) benefits. However, under special exception, migrants were eligible for health insurance coverage upon arrival in Canada, and the usual three-month wait for coverage under provincial health care programmes was waived (Martin, 2006).

In many countries that have seasonal or guest worker programme, such as USA and Canada, the right of foreign/migrant farm workers to social security, equal wages and path to citizenship were of great concern to the employers and to government. This is connected to the no-border or no-immigration issues. Thus, to manage those concerns and control migration, governments often have to revert to the instrument over which they have the most control over, which is the individual rights. To determine these rights, the government sought to manage migration by adjusting the rights of foreign/migrant farm workers especially new guest foreign/migrant farm workers. Often, the adjustment of the status of the migrant workers' rights tend to deny or reduce benefits to social security, high wages and path to citizenship except when government grant individual rights and protecting those rights make it easier for foreign/migrant farm workers to stay in host countries. Martin (2006) stressed that, in many of the countries operating the guest workers programme, as migration for employment pressures rise, the major response of government to migrant receiving countries was to manage migration by adjusting rights. This strategy runs counter to International Labour Organization (ILO) conventions and recommendations which aimed for equality of treatment. That to enjoy equality in labour practices, the migrants has to become a citizen. This means there were different labour and social laws for migrants and locals. For ILO, since migration is motivated by contextual differences, migrants who are abroad are to be treated like other workers. However, how to reconcile the differences and equality logics in a manner that ensures that labour migration contributes to equality and prosperity in the globalizing world remains a major challenge (Martin, 2006).

While it is noted that the similarity in benefits and variations in challenges are many across countries practising seasonal and guest worker programmes, the UK government, like the governments of other countries operating guest worker programmes,

assumed that with the expansion in guest worker admissions, illegal migration can be reduced and employment can be increased. Part of the assumption was that, the expansion of the guest worker programme will eliminate the problem of unauthorized foreigners. On the other hand, foreign workers especially non-EU citizens who were illegal migrants in the UK and illegal nationals in the UK were increasingly filling labour shortages, thus, supplying labour to the UK. What has been apparent is that the government, employers and migrants in the UK benefited from illegal migration. Further, the programme aimed to eliminate the problem of unauthorized foreigners and British workers drawing from unemployment and welfare benefits while still working for cash in and employed on British farms and packing houses. This prompted the 2002 requirement in which migrant workers in the UK were not only required to obtain work permits from employers before arrival in UK, but must also have onward return ticket and show they can support themselves without public assistance. This included workers employed in agriculture.

The UK's specialized guest worker programme was established since 1945, which admitted most foreign migrants especially displaced persons and non-EU agricultural students from other EU countries of ages between 18 and 25 for a duration of three months, which later changed to six months. Since 2003, the introduction of the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme (SAWS) and Harvesting Opportunity Permit Scheme (HOPS), the schemes have continued to provide opportunities to migrant farm workers/labourers in EU and non-EU countries. Some of the SAWS workers were covered by Agricultural Wages Orders, which require after October 1, 2003 a minimum wage of £5.15 (\$8.24) an hour for an adult standard worker and £4.50 (\$7.20) for a manual harvest worker, and other farm works were also covered by the national minimum wage (Martin, 2006).

The guest seasonal worker programme operators, who were responsible for recruitment, once they recruited migrant workers, they deployed the workers employed under the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Scheme to their farms or other farms. The foreign worker could only work on the farm assigned to him/her. Meanwhile the operators charged farmers and workers for their services at varying fees. As other seasonal worker programmes in other countries, the UK farmers who were employers of migrants were

required to provide housing while the foreign worker must have visas before arrival, must come with their families and may stand the chance of not adjusting his/her immigration work status. Generally, the standard rules that specify the requirements for recruitment of migrants change from time to time, based on production and labour circumstances of a country. On issues of distortion and no adjustment of status, about four to 10 percent of seasonal workers were noted to have overstayed in UK (Martin, 2006) given that employers were keen more on having recruited migrant workers to work for them instead of locals and for scheme to continue -in which they manipulate to their benefits. And as migration flow in for relatively better opportunities in Europe, it became a problem: consequently, as an economic and political burden, migrants' immigration status continues to be adjusted. Therefore, no adjustment of immigration status means, the contract terms of a migrant cannot be changed to extend for a longer stay or permanent resident. As immigration policies continued to change or review from time to time in different countries, in the UK, the recently reviewed immigration policy stated that migrant workers can no longer travel with or be accompanied by family members not employed. As emphasis, immigration policies continue to change as circumstances determine. It is expected that as the UK exits EU, the UK government's posture and immigration policy direction would be modified to suit her self controlled economic and political systems' activities. This would likely rejuvenate the UK's multilateral relations with commonwealth nation-states, where she may recruit more migrant workers, having relegated it to focus on her relations with EU nation-states.

For return seasonal foreign workers (since their immigration status cannot be adjusted), they could be re-admitted after about three months of break in their countries of origin. The re-admission rules which operated on the basis of rotational principle vary from programme to programmes and countries. As the seasonal worker programme for farms increasingly continues to be a migration incentive, seasonal and casual workers were increasingly a strong labour force employed in the agriculture of migrant workers receiving countries. Thus, in the seasonal farm labour market, most workers were organized into crews or labour group by labour contractors or gangmasters who received payments from farmers on their behalf and received wages that reflect wages paid to workers including a 25 to 30 percent commission. These crews which may be mixed with

migrant farm workers from different countries included EU foreigners, non-EU foreigners, and British citizens, some of whom worked for cash/wages as they move from south to north harvesting and packing crops, and at the same time drawing on Unemployment Insurance (UI) benefits. The notable exploitative practices of the gangmaster(s) or labour contractors in their relationship with farm workers pushed for measures to regulate the labour contractors in order to prevent their illegal and exploitative employment. As similarly done in Canada, such regulatory measures were penalties for violators and requires them to register their agencies and withhold licenses of such violators of the law, and rewarding gangmasters who adhered to the laws with the seals of approval to continue to participate in the seasonal/guest worker programme.

As the Canada seasonal guest worker programme, the UK government also believes that its Seasonal Agricultural Worker Scheme programme was also a successful model for importing and managing (illegal) unskilled migrant labourers for not just the agricultural sector but other economic sectors. But as Clark (2003) observed that the Trade Union Congress reported, the UK guest worker programme was not without challenges, which included high charges on transportation, housing and other services upon arriving in the UK, after the workers, especially EU foreigners had signed their contracts. The implication was that, foreigners/migrant workers' earning were often far less than expected. For Switzerland's seasonal worker programme with its variation, the interests of the Swiss government in labour migration policy was aimed at "a balance between the interests of the employers on the one side and rising xenophobia on the other," which was increasing as a consequence of perceived threats from influx of mixed migration. Thus, a new immigration law of Switzerland was to make clear distinctions between temporary and permanent permits as well as make it harder to adjust from temporary to permanent status. Another concern was that the availability of seasonal workers slowed labour-saving changes in the industries in which the seasonal migrant workers were employed. This was disadvantageous to local workers for which campaign protests against foreign workers employment has been going on since 2000s.

In France, the seasonal worker programme for agriculture which spanned between 1960 and 2001 was similar to those practised in other European countries. However, for the

French government, the employers must provide housing for workers excluding their families and ensures that the seasonal workers leaves France after their contract job ends or else receive fines and disqualification from the programme in future, with no chance of ever being employed in France. In France too, employers and seasonal workers have payroll taxes deducted from their incomes. The employers who were similarly placed as stakeholder to the guest worker programme and to define the programme rules, did not eliminate distortions that created unofficial paths for illegal foreign seasonal workers to stay. This suggest that the employers help to create the dependence of migrant farm workers/labourers on the seasonal/guest worker programmes. For this reason, Miller (1991) stressed that the “seasonal foreign workers are addictive...[and]...through time, dependency develops.” He further noted that the efforts to reduce legal admissions can lead to illegal entries and employment and that the seasonal foreign worker status is the “least enviable of all legal foreign worker statuses in Western Europe.” (Martin, 2006).

In Africa, many of the migrants host communities in receiving countries have farm settlements or farm communities with productive ecology that include profitable market for farm produce. In the absence of an official comprehensive labour migration policy in Africa which should provide opportunities for the employment of seasonal labourers/workers as well as offer labour contract wage that attracts foreign workers in Africa, the Africa Union (AU) or ECOWAS protocol on free movement of people, goods and services tend to be the official migration policy that encourages migration across Africa or West Africa in the case of ECOWAS for different benefits such as commerce. Like the reasons that accounts for migration from developing countries to developed countries,labour migrants who were and are farmers and labourers migrate to other Africa countries to access profitablemarket that will generate income and sustain investments in farm production. This was to also provide labour market opportunities through labour contract to migrant farmers, farm labourers and other migrants. The wages earned from such labour contract were the incentives that attracted seasonal labourers or prolonged their farm labour employment and engagements in the host communities/countries in Africa.

The involvement of the respective African governments in agriculture rather lie at the policy level with little involvement in the real policy practices in agriculture. The almost absence of government involvement in agricultural practices means the government agricultural agency has not taken note of and has not been attentive to know what the migrant farmers or labourers do or faces. Or, that the government has not been implementing concrete farm policy practices that could help to harness and ascertain the advantages of migrant farmers and labourers to a country's economy. Bates (1981/2014) stressed in his book titled 'markets and states in tropical Africa' that there is the political basis of agricultural policies- and that government involvement in the agricultural sector was in order to capture and control the resources from the agricultural sector and to obtain and control the revenue from agriculture commodities. Consequently, government intervention in the agricultural sector were and are often politically calculated and rationalized for popular and superior political appeal and attraction from the large poor rural population and farmers for political acceptance and electoral value. For example, government rhetorics in policy attempts to reform land and make it accessible for optimal (commercial) farm production and government agricultural inputs subsidies and loans to cooperatives of rural farmers and population are often designed to generate such popular appeal and attraction. Meanwhile, the same government taxes the same farmers' and rural population's agricultural commodities as well as the goods and services they consume. Thus, rather than the government taxing farmers and the rural population directly, the government politically rationalized to and segment the market, in which in one, the government directly tax agricultural commodities and in another, indirectly tax goods and services consumed by the farmers and the rural population. In taxing the farmers and rural population in indirectly, the government disguised the burden of her action to farmers and rural population. Therefore. the government is able to retain and consolidate on her popular political appeal, and succeeds in appeasing particular interest that will benefits from government's subsidies and tax regimes. While the government excludes migrants farmers from benefiting agricultural subsidies and cooperative loans, the migrant farmers' agricultural commodities in the market, and the agricultural related goods and services and other non-agricultural goods and services which they consumed were taxed. Such taxes are use to finance the industrialization agenda of African

government, yet, the government continue to invest thin resources in agricultural sector and its value chain to boost agricultural development. This contributes make the agricultural sector in many African countries less developed and less productive. Government agricultural policies further makes the sector less inclusive, without proper mobilization and organization of (migrants) farmers and other stakeholders to appropriately and effectively exploit factors of production including the market to benefits (migrant) farmers and other actors involved in agricultural sector.

In the local and national economy, in the absence of active government, there are usually micro level agreements between migrant farmers and migrant labourers, and between migrant farmers/labourers and local farmers/farmlandlord or between migrant tenants/farmers and local farm labourers/workers. Often, the agreements were either labour contracts or land tenure use contracts. But the at macro level, there has been no bilateral agreements between African governments on labour migration policy for foreign farmers and labourers for specific measurable and accountable benefits to the migrant farmers, their families, communities, the countries of origin or destination. Instead, there is a broad migration policy agreement or treaty on cross border trade at the macro level (country or sub-regional level) that is promoted by African Union economic policy on African Continental Free Trade Agreement (ACFTA) and the economic integration policies of the sub-regional bodies as ECOWAS. These economic policies encourage and allow labour migrants to stay in another Africa country/ECOWAS country for a period of time, for at least 90 days (or three months), and if need be, with an extension of stay from appropriate government authorities.

The agreement at the macro levels hardly accounted for verifiable benefits from cross border migration to either the governments of sending and receiving countries or the foreign farm labour migrants. Perhaps such benefits are subsumed under the Gross Domestic Products GDP of each African country or diaspora direct investments or indirect investments through purchase of government bonds. But how such migration benefits trickle down to improve the livelihoods of families or community development tend to be difficult verify. This is not to deny that there are no migration benefits especially through remittances to migrants' families and communities. What this means is

that, similar foreign/guest workers programme or scheme can be initiated and it should not only formally recognize the potentials of migrants in agricultural activities but design and implement a programme/scheme that recruits migrants into the farm settlements in different parts of African countries to replace the local labour or farm workers that may have been lost to migration to non-farm economic activities. The migrant workers under the seasonal and guest worker programme helped to improved contribution to agricultural performance and boost the local economy, from which the migrant farmers/labourers earned wages/incomes, and in many instances, their wages served as remittance that benefits the migrants directly, their families and local communities. Therefore, to control migration, increase in good utilization of the farm settlements can account for migrants' benefits in every African country. This will required detail record keeping of all activities and movements of migrant farmers and labourers. This should be in relations to the activities of local farmers and labourers, in the context of their significance to the local and national economy. Though, this can made easy through a similar mode of seasonal guest worker programme that takes cognizance of the context peculiarities of African countries.

One migration feature and behaviour which is common in migration corridors across the world as noted between labour migration sending and receiving countries, is the established culture of transnational network of migration, that migrants have entrenched to sustain movement between their communities/country of origin and communities/country of destination. As an exception, in South Africa, there is no special legislation that establishes seasonal and guest worker programme for foreigners/migrants, but there is a legislation that provides for contract employment of locals as well as migrants. And because some of the sectors such as agriculture are seasonally, seasonal migration inflow to South Africa occurs. But similar to the seasonal and guest worker programme principles, the South African contract laws required migrant workers from Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland, Mozambique and Malawi to leave their families at home, work for two years and then return home until such a time when it is economically feasible to recruit the same foreign migrants to return to work (Milazi, 1998; Blacket *al.*, 2006; Kleinbooi, 2013).

As a consequence of the rising unemployment crises in many African countries, it seems difficult for these countries to give room to foreigners/migrants to compete with locals for opportunities. In that regard, how productive the ACFTA and ECOWAS trade and migration relations eventually benefit every AU and ECOWAS member states remain to be seen. From the crises in economic relations and political tension among EU countries, which further created economic instability that escalated to political crises for both rich and poor EU countries, the AU free trade agreement which will encourage migration for opportunities, may on another hand create political tension and economic crisis and on how to balance trade, migration and security. This would later evolve to disparities in national economic productivity and growth and the well-being in Africa and among African people. This is because similar competition by migrants for local opportunities in the past had resulted in cases of expulsion of millions of immigrants in different parts of Africa between the 1960s and 1990s (Peil, 1979; Adepoju, 2008; Adetula, 2009). What then should be the approach of individual African countries in managing migration particularly African intra-continental farm labour migration? What strategies are initiated to manage and benefit farm labour migration have to be adapted to suit local cultural orientations and economic outlook of concern countries. This can be achieved with lessons from the prospects and challenges in seasonal or migrant farm workers programmes (analyzed previously), which are practised in the 21st century in some developed countries such as Canada, UK, USA and Switzerland.

Interestingly, there are already bilateral agreements and relationships since the 2000s between Spain and some governments of African countries such as Morocco and Senegal on labour recruitment contracts, in which Moroccans and Senegalese are recruited for the agricultural harvest seasonal programme of Spain (International Organization for Migration, 2009). In 2007, the EU immigration commissioner unveiled a new 'guest worker' scheme for African countries, which was with Mali first and later expanded to other African countries. For the EU, the aims were to provide job to job seekers in Europe, enhance the earnings of (potential) migrants, boost local economies of migrants countries of origin in Africa, and to stop or reduce significantly irregular/illegal migration to Europe which has become problematic to EU countries. The scheme was, thus, designed to coordinate job offers into the EU with job seekers' countries as a form of controlling

migration especially illegal migration and the general management of migration to European countries (IOM, 2009). Whether the scheme was placed under EU-AU bilateral relations is not clear, however, what is apparent is that EU was having bilateral relations with individual African countries- Through this, labour migrants recruited from African countries were allocated and distributed to employers' needs in different EU countries. In this way, EU monitors and accounts for migrants from non-EU countries in EU countries.

Lessons taken from the kinds of bilateral agreements and relations with African countries can be used to initiate labour and immigration policy regulations that help to control both legal and illegal farm labour migration flows to the agricultural sectors of different African countries. Though the AU and ECOWAS economic policies are linked to migration, they tend not to categorize foreign migrants as legal migrants once they are merely identified to be from African region or ECOWAS sub-region. The aim of such foreign or migrant farm labour/work programme for governments of sending countries especially the governments of receiving countries should be to strengthen and coordinate international migratory inflows of migrants into the agricultural sector and other economic sectors. The central aim should be to stem the flow of illegal migrant but at the same time providing more work opportunities for legal migrants. As done in other developed countries that operate guest worker programmes, the procedure for foreign/migrant programmes, particularly, the labour recruitment contracts must always subjected to the employment situation and the different bilateral cooperation or recruitment agreements signed between the receiving countries and sending countries. For Africa, many significant situations such as unemployment or shortage of labour, requireskilled labour, agricultural technology, migrants acceptance and integration issues such as locals' disposition towards foreign migrants in a particular country need to be considered when designing and administering the procedure framework for recruiting foreign/migrant farm labourers/workers.

In forward looking, as a result of the inevitability of international migration to and in Africa, particularly, intra-migration for the purpose of farm labour migration in Africa, there are indications of involvement foreigners who are migrant farmers or labourers in farm production and labour market, in farm settlements, plantation and farm

communities, within which the relationships of recruitment labour contracts and land tenure contracts were established. Besides social relationships which influence or enable migrants' integration in host farm communities, there are also economic relationships between migrant farm tenants/farmers and local farmers or farmland owners defined by tenancy contract to support farm production, earn income and to improve livelihood. The social relationships enhance economic relationships, just as economic relationships help to build social relationships. Thus, the respective governments of African countries that continue to be labour sending countries/governments and labour receiving countries/governments cannot continue to remain aloof of the benefits of labour migration. This is because organized seasonal and guest farmers/labourers programme, as an outcome of bilateral agreements and relationship of recruitment labour contract is a component of immigration policy and labour policy that not only contributes to ensure orderly and controlled migration but also supports local/national economic and social development. Such farm labour programme with orderly and control mechanisms is vital not just for approaching security issues associated with migration in the labour receiving countries but are significant in benefiting and boosting the political stability and economics cooperation of both the farm labour sending countries and receiving countries.

A farm worker programmes will also benefit community development and, more significantly, it would serve to improve the livelihood and well-being of the migrant farmers'/labourers' families. Again, this means that a deliberate policy cooperation on farm labour migration between sending and receiving countries will take advantage of migration waves and harness the benefits of migration for their economic growth and development. The significance of such cooperation is highlighted by Ellerman (2003), in which he makes the argument that the cooperation of labour sending and labour receiving countries on guest workers could de-trap developing countries from underdevelopment trap by means of remittances, the skills acquired by return migrants, and the trade and business linkages fostered through migration to host countries. While Ellerman argument remains mere suggestion and do not bear on the factors that established entrapment and dependency of developing countries, such as the facts of political dependency and economic dependency, cooperation on labour migration has only given privilege to economic interaction and for improve livelihood. Therefore, a deliberate labour migration

policy that is inclusive of the designed plan to control migration as well as receive foreign workers (migrant farmers and labourers) without adding to the local and national unemployment crises would only align with Ellerman's (2003) view, which states that developing countries' governments must try to avoid having emigration be seen as a way to escape from local underdevelopment. This is because remittance from migration are not sufficient to foster development except to contribute to development. As an addition to Ellerman's view, the government of developing countries must engage in purposeful policies of development that empowers their citizens to be functional and productive in the development processes.

Martin (2006) noted that the guest worker programme and seasonal programme has come to stay and to add, will persist with variations to serve the different circumstances of labour needs of different countries. On the basis of the proliferation and variations of country based guest /seasonal worker programmes and the purpose for which they were distinctively designed, Martin (2006) further noted that there is no ideal system for adding temporary workers to a country's labour force. And that in order to be able to manage the flood of labour migration, the guest/seasonal worker programmes provides an alternative measure of controlling unauthorized migrants and the adjustment of immigration status to authorized workers, with permanent or temporary residence. What is then important for any labour receiving country that may want to adopt the guest worker programme or an alternative version of it, is for the government of an interested country to eliminate or reduce the issues of distortion and dependence effects. This will address the challenges that comes with the local workers' first policy right to employment, since some employers may deliberately ensure that the local workers are not found, at least as their reports may indicate. The seasonal and guest worker programmes enables the development of dependence on the infrastructure of recruiting farm workers/labourers outside the country or recruiting irregular and illegal foreign migrants already in the country. And through the infrastructure of recruitment, the migrants' benefit to a country can be accounted for. If otherwise, the illegal and irregular migrants could be charged for the cost of illegal immigration and residency status suffered by a country. To force the employers to seek alternatives to foreign workers would involve a system of controlled migration, fewer admission rules as well as high levies and taxes paid by employers/local farmers, while

undocumented migrants also paid high cost for being recruited in the host communities. This creates sanctions for both foreign/migrant farmers/labourers and local farmers. It further generate funds for the enforcement of organized programme that not only support local farmers and production but also benefits foreign/migrant farmers/labourers, facilitate their integration assistance, and other purposes that ensure mutual migration benefits.

To ensure that foreign/migrant workers only serve the purpose for which they were recruited, without staying back in their host country to be a migration and economic burden, they have to return to their countries of origin as expected and required by the design of theseasonal and guest worker programme. Besides the stringent migration measures, there is the need to encourage voluntary return with the introduction of measures as refund of migrants' social security taxes which were deducted from foreign migrant workers to serve as saved funds for the migrants' personal and local development. The essence of this was to increase maximum benefits to labour sending countries which in the first instance triggered and fostered temporary migration due to remittances as well as to reduce cost of remittance transfers and savings with which return migrants can be helped to create jobs and make other investments. Since no country operates both employer levies and migrant taxies refunds at the same time, both can be test adopted. The share of employers' taxeswhich should be channeled into migrant refund would contribute to the savings or saved funds of the migrants and encourage them to return to their countries of origin.

Meanwhile some levies could be used to fund labour saving research and integration assistance. In the alternative, unauthorized migration has to be reduced or eliminated for the guest/seasonal worker programme to achieve the desire results, and the hiring of unauthorized worker has to be also avoided and sanctioned for the employers to avoid fine payments for undermining the guest worker programme. This suggests that the governments of labour receiving countries must treat the employment of unauthorized workers as a serious offense through the issuance of penalty and inspection ofmigration related infrastructure in orderto enforce immigration and labour laws. To this extent, the beneficiaries of unauthorized migrants would help to police the activities of intermediaries. As an additional alternative to address the unauthorized guest workers

problem of recruiting foreign/migrant workers outside the guest programme, Martin (2006) noted that the most common policy prescription is for earned adjustment, a system in which unauthorized and quasi-authorized foreigners who satisfy residence, work, and/or integration tests are allowed to become legal and long-term residents and workers. But because of the dependence syndrome of migrant workers that is linked to limited numbers of guest workers to be accepted at a time, based on quotas over the years, the earned adjustment policies like previous immigration ‘amnesties’ of absorbing migrant workers in a country, run the risk of encouraging more unauthorized migration by signalling to potential migrants that the best way to obtain an immigrant status is to get into another country.

In order to find better systems to manage labour migration, the International Labour Organization (ILO) has since the 20th century created a system of convention to protect migrant workers across the world. This was after observing that the following social and labour conditions of migrant workers have persisted particularly in countries practising guest worker programmes: there were global occupational health hazards faced by agricultural workers to the extent that migrant worker in guest worker programmes suffered or endured psycho-social conditions such as social isolation, language and other cultural barriers, fear and vulnerable to job loss, being labelled for being vocal on issues that affect their farm labour conditions. Other farmers’/labourers’ farm labour conditions included living in poor housing conditions which exposes them to health risks, cultural differences as language of communication, and having poor access to healthcare services which resulted to seeking alternative healthcare in host communities either due to finance or legal status challenges (Sherman, Villarejo, and Garcia, 1997; Holden, 2003; Larson, 2005; Rye and Andrzejewska, 2010).

These were indications that migrant farm workers were not socially and culturally integrated in their host communities as in the case of Mexican migrant farm labourer in Canada, even when their labour production contributed to the local communities’ economies (Cabrera, 1991; Smart, 1997; Basok, 2002, 2003; Reeves and Schafer, 2003; Bauder, 2008). In some of these communities as Ontario in Canada and California in USA migrant farm labourers/workers were socially excluded by the host communities through

stereotype and ethno-cultural discrimination (Reid, 2004). Other migrant farm labourers in the USA have to deal with 'daily structural and symbolic violence, pushing them to diversify their income base to non-farm through trade in food, alcohol, cigarettes and drugs that other migrant farm labourers/workers use. These were useful to especially illegal migrant workers who are hosted on farm estates, given that they lacked access to formal open market except informal market. These social conditions, along with the labour conditions, have continued to exist even when there have been policy programmes to promote social inclusion, with which to eliminate exploitative labour practices (Bletzer, 2004; Garcia, 2004; Bletzer and Weatherby, 2009; Duke, and Carpinteiro, 2009). As a result, their lives and labour are controlled by farm owners including exposing the migrant farm labourers/workers to risky farm work (England, Mysyk and Gallegos, 2007; Ivancheva, 2007). The illegal status of migrant labourer has persisted to cause discriminatory and xenophobic attitudes towards the (illegal) migrants by their host communities. Basok (2000) observed that a cross examination of USA and Canada seasonal agricultural worker programmes revealed differences in administration of migrant labour programme, which reinforces the migrant-host community members differences, as many migrant farm workers remained illegal migrants and illegal farm labourers/workers.

In the case of Africa, even though African countries do not have organized programmes of recruiting foreign/migrants for agricultural work, the plantations or farm settlements in many African countries such as Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Cote d' Ivoire and South Africa have foreign/migrants that were recruited by local farmers or other migrant tenant farmers for farm labour purposes. The labour and other social conditions in the plantations and farm settlements which are often created or determined by farmers/farm employers (local farmers and migrants farm tenants/farmers) who themselves were farmland tenants of governments (were subjected to government land tenancy laws). The experience of foreigner/migrants in African farm settlements and plantation are similar to the labour and social conditions experience by migrant workers/labourers in many developed countries operating seasonal/guest worker programmes for the agricultural sector. For example, the issues about the conditions in the socio-economic context of farm workers/labourers whether as local or migrant labourers are related to labour contract conditions such as

housing and settlements, basic social services, levies, education/training, gender, social networks and relationships, income generating activities, savings and financial assets, and governance. Those conditions have also been influenced by the dynamics and structural positioning issues in different African countries. The labour and social conditions also reflect the wage inequality and discriminatory status that migrant farm workers/labourers and to lesser extent migrant tenant/farmers faced in host countries in Africa.

The level of dependency of migrant farm tenants/farmers and labourers on local farm land-owners, and local farmers for their livelihood was common and deeply entrenched (Sachikonye, 2003; Kleinbooi, 2013;). Migrant farm tenants/farmers depend on the local farm landlords and local farmers for farmland for production, and they also rely on migrant farm labourers and local farm labourers for labour in production. The migrant farm labourers depend on the migrant farm tenants/farmers and local farmers for wages, in which those of them with farming interest use to investment in farmland for production. On the whole, the recruited migrant farm labourers depended on their employers/local farmers and migrant farm tenants/ farmers for income, shelter, food, access to school and clinic and recreation facilities. Similarly, the migrant farm tenants/farmers also lacked access to quality and secured housing/shelter, healthcare centres, appropriate school (of same lingua of the migrants) and many social security benefits. These benefits were hardly available for migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers as they simply have to adapt to the poor labour and social conditions in order to be able to earn some wages that empowered them to improve their livelihoods and investments backhome. Interestingly, some of the migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers including independent migrant farm labourers, served as farm labour recruitment agents for other migrant farm tenants/farmers and local farmers. For migrant farm tenants/farmers, on their retirement, that is, having exited farming to return home, they had no pensions or gratuities except their wages/remittances, which they invested in capital in their country of origin to support them to re-integrate into their communities/countries of origin.

As a result of the distortions which leaves the guest workers vulnerable to poor labour and social conditions of employment which are created by structural effects or

administrative weakness, the ILO as a rights-based standard-setting organization, with a special interest in protecting vulnerable workers such as migrant workers, the ILO introduced a system of conventions, that is ILO conventions, often signed by countries willing to protect all workers including migrant workers/labourers. The conventions specifically addressed migrants: convention 97 (1949) and 143 (1975) specifically addressed migrants' rights issues. Convention 97 (1946), ratified by 42 countries aimed to regulate migration and protect migrants by spelling out procedures for private and public recruitment and ensuring non-discrimination in wages and benefits, and allowing migrants to engage in union activities. Convention 143 (1975), ratified by 18 countries, goes further to call for sanctions on employers who hire unauthorized migrants and traffickers who smuggle migrants. It also calls for "equality of treatment" in wages and other benefits for unauthorized migrants who are employed (Martin, 2006; Hurst, *et al*, 2007, 2005; ILO, 2007). Since ILO is not a law enforcement agency but advocacy agency, countries have continued to minimally adhere to the provision of the conventions. Thus, OIL has largely failed to ensure no discrimination and equality treatment of migrant workers, especially when they are illegal migrant workers.

The major employment related protections are human rights, in Part III, particularly, Articles 25-27, which prescribed equality in wages and working conditions for authorized and unauthorized migrant and national workers. It allow migrants to join unions, and calls for migrant workers to receive benefits under social security systems, to which they would contribute, and receive refunds of their contributions on departure. Under the same convention, authorized migrants are covered by additional rights in Part IV, which include the right to information about jobs abroad and "equal treatment" targets such as freedom of movement within the host country, freedom to form unions and participate in the political life of the host country, and equal access to employment services, public housing, and educational institutions (ILO, 2007). The attempts to implement some of these aspects of the ILO conventions were introduced into in seasonal and guest worker programmes and other industrial laws and practices. However, the compliance to these conventions on labour industrial laws have been weak, as the labour industrial laws were weakened by employers and some times workers, as the latter tolerate exploitative labour practices in order to earn wages for their livelihoods. Where the workers, especially, migrant

workers/labourers were not allowed to form or join existing farm workers union, they were covered by only limited access to healthcare treatment and subjected to unequal pay practices and other labour and social conditions. The way out continues to be the development of labour protection mechanisms and best labour practices to improve the labour and social conditions of migrant farm workers/labourers.

ILO convention promotes the equality of workers and that all migrants should be legal. If all migrants are legal they would be entitled to receive the same benefits as local workers. The challenges to that comes from especially employers that pursue their interests first. That is, if all migrants are legal then employers are likely to request fewer migrant workers. The challenging question as Martin (2006) raised was: do we want more migrants employed abroad, or better conditions for migrants? Since the logic motivating migration is differences in conditions, and the logic of protection seeks equality, the way out of the question tends to be difficult. The exclusion of migrant workers from the protections of labour laws indicates the unsuccessful efforts to extend rights to them and improve their conditions. For Fisher (1953), the way out is this: 'The brightest hope for the welfare of seasonal agricultural workers... lies with the elimination of the jobs upon which they now depend' on. But since labour migration is unstoppable, and production sectors such as agriculture which migrants work in, have continue to be key to economic growth and development, the way forward is to continue to control migration and minimize exploitation of migrant farm workers by employers and/or governments of the labour receiving countries.

2.8 Migration System Theory

Migration system theory, which was put forward by Mabogunje in 1970 to explain the social dynamics of rural-urban migration in developing countries, with specific reference to Africa, was later adopted and extended by Portes and Borocz (1987) and Kritiz, Lim, and Zlotnik, (1992) to explain the nature of international migration. Mabogunje explained that the decision to migrate is affected by factors shaped by the dynamics within a social context, at both migration destination and origin. This, Mabogunje stressed, accounts for the pattern of rural-urban migration or intra-country migration connections of different locations. Other migration system theorists such as Portes and Borocz (1987) and Kritiz,

Lim, and Zlotnik, (1992) separately emphasized that the emergent nature of migration system or migration depicts the expansion of inter-rural-urban or rural-rural migration processes from within a country to national cross border migration.

For Mabogunje, the events of the social dynamic in a country triggers migration and migration processes in turn change the social (cultural and economic) and institutional conditions of migrants' sending community/country and receiving community/country (de Haas, 2009). The consequential effects of such migration processes have a two-way impact, in form of reciprocal and dynamic linkage between locations of sending/origin and receiving/destination. Yet, migrants tend to migrate in the direction of particular interest to them or perceived as better off locations. de Haas (2008) puts it that migration affects and is affected by the direct social context's environment of migrants, in which the entire society and its developmental context is restructured.

The social connectivity of places across border through relative exchange flow and counter flows of people/migrants, goods, services, ideas and information as reflective of migration systems as explained by Mabogunje (1970) is facilitated by information flows and feedback mechanism. Once the information and feedback mechanism are favourable about migration to particular locations then migration increases and this is usually along migration corridors between locations. With this, migrants' movements tend not to be random from origin to any uncertain destination but more or less purposive and organized to a certain destination. Since the social conditions of a particular location informs the intention of an eventual migration, potential migrants with privilege feedback information compare their aspirations, potentialities and strength of intention in relation to opportunities for possible migration. This is in terms of past and future rewards at origin and expected rewards at potential destinations. This is considered along social factors that serve as modifying effects of constraints and facilitators.

The rate of exchange of the flows are, however, determined by controls and feedback mechanism (Fawcett, 1989; Gurak and Caces, 1992) that also function as moderating or modifying effects of constraints or facilitators such as the family or community norms in one location (rural area control outflows) and law, employment agencies or government policies, economic conditions, transport and communication infrastructure, and to add

social networks as agents in another location (urban areas) that controls in and out flows. These social conditions which affect migration at both origin and destination show international migration processes as an interdependent dynamic system, which incorporate feedback mechanisms that facilitate adjustment in the migration process (Kritz and Zlotnik, 1992).

The social connectivity of people, families and communities gives them not just transnational identity but make them transnational communities with network ties that further facilitate and perpetuate migration as well as enable migrants' adjustments. These transnational communities with network ties and agents result to selective and reinforced organized migration rather random migration (Vertovec, 1999). The range of constraints and facilitators (along corridors) of migration as further explained by Mabogunje (1970): '...are formal and informal subsystems which operate to perpetuate and reinforce systematic nature of international flows by encouraging migration along certain pathways, and discouraging it along others.' This is reflected in Sub-Saharan African migration system which links West African countries to Nigeria, Ghana, and Cote d' Ivoire. Such systems as national and transnational migration networks which facilitate flows in West Africa tend to denote international migration as internal migration. Often, internal migration is first initiated and then transited into international migration (Fawcett, 1989; Martin 1992). These trends as embodied in this migration system explains the triggers, starts, transition processes, and change in migration pattern between both ends of migration social contexts. Migration being an active human action in the processes of social change and development at both ends of migration; it tends to give insights into the circumstances of international farm labour migration to Ibadan.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Research Design

Exploratory research design which is also adopted in qualitative approach to research was employed to unravel and provide distinctive insight into present and possible future life experiences of international farm labour migrants as it connects to their past at both countries of origin and destination. The understanding from these contexts was that the different contexts of the farm labour migrants will lead to the discovery of knowledge, new ideas and life experiences, and learn new situations, beliefs and values which inform actions, with which research knowledge of international or cross border farm labour migrants would increase. These insights were expected to give direction to facilitate further research on international farm labour migration and also suggest alternative migration research methodology.

3.2 Research Area Context

Ibadan in Oyo State is ethnically a Yoruba city that is located in South West Nigeria. Ibadan in South West Nigeria is in proximity to Benin Republic with ethnic groups as Yoruba which shares a history with Yoruba ethnic group in Nigeria. This extends to Yoruba in Ghana, Togo and Cote d'Ivoire. Agriculture is the main occupation of Ibadan indigenes. Due to Ibadan productive agro-ecology, farm settlements/forest reserves were established and sustained in (pre)colonial and post colonial periods. The produce of and labour in these farm settlements were important to Ibadan economy and by extension Nigerian economy. Since the 1990s, agricultural related informal economic activities as craft and transportation services were additional labour occupations to farm labour that emerged in Ibadan economy to add value to her agriculture. The boosting informal economy as well as the regional economy affluence of Ibadan continues to welcome

people of diversity especially as she transformed into an inclusive globalizing city from an indigenous city in West Africa (Fourchard, 2003; Olaniyi, 2013). Further, as Ibadan opens up and provides opportunities (commercial opportunities and income associated to remittance), the persistent depletion and relocation of local farm labour such as family labour for urban life and work since the 1970s (Udo, 1975; Blench and Dendo, 2003) makes available labour opportunities which international farm labour migrants may have been attracted to and readily filled.

3.2.1 The Specific Area of Study

The identified location in Ibadan for this research with international farm labour migrants was Akinyele Local Government Area. This area includes 'Akinyele East Local Council Development Area' (LCDA) which was created out of Akinyele LGA in 2016. Before the division of Akinyele LGA into Akinyele East and Akinyele South LCDAs, Akinyele LGA was created out of Ibadan in 1976, with Moniya as its headquarters. It has large rural land on which farm communities and forest areas encircle. It is one among the eleven LGAs created out of Ibadan. Akinyele LGA and Akinyele East LCDA, which have a shared agrarian history with Ibadan, bear their similar features as farm communities/settlements and forest reserves. These similar features were there when Ibadan still had stretches of semi-urban and rural areas. As these areas of Ibadan increasingly became urbanized, covering a small part of Akinyele LGA and Akinyele East, the shrinking agro-ecology of Ibadan left larger parts of Akinyele LGA and Akinyele East LCDA as agricultural lands and forests.

The purposively identified and selected areas for this study were: Atan community and Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement (camp forest) in Akinyele LGA, and Olosun community in Akinyele East LCDA. Akinyele LGA was vital not because the studies on international labour migrant were lacking in Ibadan but since such studies focused on immigrants in the informal economy of Ibadan as a metropolis. This study focuses on farm labour immigrants in order to expand the knowledge about the context of cross border migration in another locality. These areas which once existed as a single social/territorial space and have been subjected to social reconstruction of Akinyele LGA

out of Ibadan and later Akinyele East LCDA out of Akinyele LGA, have historical significance for agriculture's linkage to (patterns in) migration processes.

3.3 Research Population

International farm labour migrants and indigenous farmers/farmland owners in the host communities were the population of the study. As an inclusion criterion, male and female population of international farm labour migrants whether they were documented or undocumented migrants were identified and selected for data collection. The rationale was that raising questions about international migrants to determine their legal status of residency or work permit tend to pose a threat to them as to the purpose of the inquiry. Such threat would have constituted a challenge to the researcher, as the international migrants may withdraw interest to participate in the study. This would have made it difficult for the researcher to access the international farm labour migrant population for the study as detected in the course of pilot study. Also, the inclusion of women and men in this study was for the reason that studies have observed that many women and men were increasingly migrating across national borders for opportunities without necessarily joining or accompanying families. Interestingly, however, their legal status as well as the gender type of international farm labour migrants would shape their migration experiences differently. Also, in host communities, the indigenes as farm owners, as farm labour employers, farmland owners, local farm labour migrants, and key community stakeholders as community heads/chiefs were identified and selected for data collection. Their selection was as a result of their nature of network of social relations linked to production, and traditional authority in the case of community head to safe-guide land tenure system. Given the fluidity and movements of labour migrants, the population of international farm labour migrants for this study comprised seasonal, transit, long-term and permanent farm labour migrants. As an exclusion criterion, international labour migrants that were not involved in agricultural production in farm communities selected for the study were not participants in the study. This is because the intent of the study was to also examine the social life experiences of the international farm labour migrants.

3.4 Data Collection Methods

Data collection is the systematic methods of gathering of data which subsequently through data analysis is transformed to information. In this study, the data collected was from qualitative primary methods. This primary data was collected through Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), Key Informant Interviews (KIIs), In-depth Interviews (IDIs), and Case studies. These data collection tools were semi-structured designed questions which served as question guides to elicit social context life experiences of international farm labour migrants. The tools were used because of their unique potency and complementary nature. To this extent, FGDs was to enable and unravel data through group participants' interactive discussions and non-verbal behaviour. It was also to bring participants from different contexts (wide geographical areas) to focus on discussing specific issues in order to give perspectives as they relate to the objectives of the study. KIIs were to elicit broad and specific privileged data and information about the context in focus. IDIs were used to elicit rich and detailed data for analysis from dialogues on broad and specific sensitive subjects. And case studies were used to probe intensively few situations, with focus on migrants' actions, experiences and relationships. The case studies were used to illustrate the nature of the interactive contexts and issues of international or cross border migrants who were farm tenants and farm labourers.

3.5 Sampling Methods and Data Collection Procedure

In order to access the relevant population of respondents for this study, the researcher adopted and combined purposive and snow-ball sampling techniques. The significance of the former was to quickly access the locations and respondents when it was certain that the specific data needed can be accessed at such locations. The latter was to assist the researcher especially when one was not certain of the locations of the respondents to access the kind of data needed, thus, the researcher relied on referrals from the initial contact with target respondents to access subsequent respondents targeted in the study for data collection.

As part of the organized pilot study for this research, the purposive sampling approach was adopted to reach Oyo State Government Ministry of Agriculture where access to government extension service agents (in the Farm Settlement Unit) enabled the identification and selection of Akinyele LGA from amongst other eleven LGAs that make up Ibadan as the specific location for this study. This was because Akinyele LGA was

identified as having farm communities, forest reserves and farm settlements with international farm labour migrants.

With snow balling approach, a referral was made from Oyo State Ministry of Agriculture to Akinyele LGA for specific identification of the locations with farm communities, forest reserve and farm settlement that have farm labour immigrants. The Department of Agriculture at Akinyele Local Government Council was however purposively identified by the researcher for official expert information on and subsequent identification of the farm locations with farm labour immigrants. By means of snow balling approach, the official experts who were government extension service agents were identified and an extension agent was purposively selected by the official experts to assist in identifying and locating the farm communities/farm settlement with international farm labour migrants as well as enable (subsequent) fieldwork access to the farm communities/farm settlement. Using the same approach, the extension service agent in Department of Agriculture, Akinyele LGA having identified Atan community as farm community with international farm labour migrants in Akinyele LGA, the researcher and extension agents were assisted by Atan senior chief (acting as the community head) in the subsequent purposive identification of Ijaiye farm settlement community in Akinyele LGA and Olosun community in Akinyele East LCDA as additional two (2) farm locations with international farm labour immigrants. In all, Atan community, Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement (camp forest), and Olosun community were identified for this study. These were achieved through pilot study visits (pilot study conducted before the main field study).

Having identified the three farm locations with farm labour immigrants, the extension service agents linked the researcher to the host communities' informants as the community heads of the three (3) farm communities/farm settlements with farm labour immigrants. One (1) community head was purposively selected from every of the three communities. Three (3) KIIs were organized for the three community heads with one (1) KII held with one community head of every one of the three farm communities hosting farm labour migrants. Through further snow balling approach, the community heads connected the researcher to the leaders of immigrant community/country based

association (Association of Benin and Togo)/the oldest farm labour migrant in the three farm communities/farm settlement was already identified.

The leaders of these association/oldest farm labour migrants assisted the researcher to purposively select between 6-12 members of their association for FGDs. Through the purposive selection approach, three (3) FGDs were organized across the communities, with one (1) FGD per community. The FGDs for male migrants were organized in (Goronjo) Ijaiye Farm Settlement and Atan and another FGD was organized exclusively for female migrants in Olosun. With the assistance of association leaders/members and oldest farm labour migrants, three (3) migrant farm tenants were purposively selected per farm community/farm settlement of the three farm communities for IDIs. Thus, nine (9) IDIs for nine (9) migrant farm tenants were organized across the three farm communities of the study. Through similar referral, one (1) immigrant farm tenant in Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement (camp forest) was identified and selected for case study.

Through snow balling approach of referral from association leaders and members or immigrant farm tenant, nine (9) migrant farm labourers (who were not family members of the migrant farm tenants for the purpose of deepening the grasp of production relations) were identified and selected across the three farm community. In each of those farm communities, three (3) migrant farm labourer was selected for IDIs, thus, nine (9) IDIs were organized with migrant farm labourers across the communities, and three (3) IDIs for migrant farm labourers per farm community. The selection of the migrant farm labourers in the study was to examine their labour relations experiences considering their different immigration status. Every one of the labourers was selected from separate farms, whether such farms belonged to immigrant farm tenants who became farm labour/worker employers or the farms were owned by citizens/indigenes that employed the labour of farm immigrants. As a result of the IDIs with with migrant farm tenants and migrant farm labourers, there were eighteen (18) IDIs across the three farm communities/farm settlement and forest reserve. Similarly, one (1) migrant farm labourer /worker in Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement (camp forest) was identified and selected for case study. Further, with referrals, from the farm labour migrants, six (6) indigenous farmers/local farmland owners as employers of farm labour migrants and landlords were identified and

selected per farm community for KII. From this, two (2) indigenous farmers/local farmland owners were selected per farm community for KII. Therefore, six (6) KIIs were held with six (6) indigenous farmers/local farmland owners across the three farm communities.

3.6 Method of Data Analysis

Based on the research questions, objectives and qualitative approach and data of the study, the research adopted content analysis with which to show and give a descriptive interpretation of the ethnographic social contexts' experiences of international farm labour migrants, using the analyzed content of the narrative data collected. The interpretational analysis and presentation were achieved by narrative analysis in which to explain the unique social contexts of international farm labour migrants across the three farm communities that were studied. Therefore, qualitative data in form of narrative data from the tape records that were collected from FGDs, KIIs, IDIs and Case Studies were (translated where necessary and) transcribed, and relevant data narratives were also categorized along themes and patterns related to the study objectives. The analysis from the narrative data was presented thematically. Narratives that were analyzed were presented verbatim as significant statements in the discussion of findings and highlights made on certain issues, as points of emphasis. From the data analyzed, the findings of the research were analyzed according to themes- The themes were generated based on the patterns of issues in international farm labour migration found in this research. Relevant aspects of secondary information from literature which were reviewed and analyzed and presented along primary data/information to illuminate the elaborated narratives from contemporary social contexts of international (farm) labour migrants and trends associated with migration.

3.7 Pilot Visit

Pilot study or reconnaissance visit was carried out to obtain preliminary information about study participants and environment as well as establish contacts and familiarity with potential study participants. This had facilitated in advance access to study population, reorganization of field work methods and reconstruction of sequence of FGD, KII, KII, and Case Study question guides in order to elicit relevant responses.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

This study factored in research ethics in order to create trust between the researcher and participants/respondents with which to encourage respondents' free participation. As necessary, written or oral permission to collect data was obtained at the Department of

Sociology, University of Ibadan, Farm Settlement Unit under the Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, Oyo state, Akinyele LG Council's Department of Agriculture and Rural Development, migrants' host community and leaders, informants, farm labour employers, migrants' association/group before the deployment of different tools/data collection methods. For confidentiality and anonymity, participants in the study were not directly linked or referred to in the research, data/information, and research report considering the sensitivity of the issues of labour migration. This ensured privacy, their dignity and respect their culture. This was achieved using informants or translators that were (non) participants. For the right of withdrawal, study participants were informed of their rights of involvement in and withdrawal at any stage of data collection if any so desired without prejudice or harm. The researcher replaced such participants if necessary especially in a FGD in which numbers of discussants/respondents are standardized.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Research Participants/Respondents

Socio-demographic characteristics of the research participants/respondents is presented below:

- **Countries/communities of origin of study participants/migrants:** Togo, Benin, and Ghana
- **Sex:** Male (mostly migrant farm labourers as compared to migrant farm tenants) and Female (mostly married migrant women)
- **Age:** Migrant farm labourers 13-25 = 6, 26-28 = 3
- Migrant farm tenants 29-47 = 6, 53-65 = 3
- Migrant women 21-28 = 9, 31-34 = 6
- **Occupations before Migration to Ibadan:** Farm occupations, Non-farm occupations, and Unemployed
- **Occupations of farm labour migrants in Ibadan:**
 - Migrant farm tenants (were mostly male with only a single female)
 - Migrant farm labourers (were mostly male with very few female)
- **Year of migrants' arrival in Ibadan:** 1973-1976 = 3, 1988-1997 = 7, 2002-2005 = 13, 2010-2017 = 3
- **Specific destinations of arrival in Ibadan:** Atan, Ijaiye forest reserve/Ijaiye farm settlement and Olosun communities
- **Religion of farm labour migrants:** Traditional religion, Christianity, and Islam

The socio-demographic characteristics of the research participants/respondents showed that the countries of origin of the migrant farmtenant/farmers and farm labourers in forest reserve/farm settlement and farm communities in Ibadan were from Togo, Benin, and Ghana. However, most of the migrants studied were from Togo and Benin. The migrant tenant farmers and farm labourers from Togo came to Ibadan from these communities in Togo: Sokode, Basari, Towon, Gando, Idacha, Langabo, Kaboli, Arikpara, Akebukamene, and Sabokoma communities. Those from Benin came from the following communities in Benin: Cotonou, Anadana, Jugu, Bante Baraku, and Kubenebene communities. Another migrant farm tenant who came from Ghana to Ibadan was from the Krobo, Eastern Region of Ghana.

Most of the migrant tenant farmers and farm labourers who were from Togo and Benin were in Ijaiye farm settlement (forestry reserve/camp), Olosun and Atan. But they were more in the Ijaiye farm settlements and Olosun than Atan. The reason is that Ijaiye forest reserve/Ijaiye farm settlement was remote, more of rural farm areas and designated by the state as well as the local communities as farm zones. Also, the Ijaiye farm settlement and Olosun have a more organized system of contract recruiting of migrant farm labourers than Atan. Ijaiye farm settlement, which is in proximity to Olosun is the first areas where migrants were recruited for labour and were later recruited to other communities such as Olosun which has a rubber and cocoa plantation that is an extension of Ijaiye farm settlement.



Plate4.1: Sign boards indicating location of Ijaiye farm settlement

There were few migrant tenant farmers (who were Togolese and a Ghanaian from Krobo) but a relatively higher population of migrant farm labourers (who were mostly from Benin) in Atan community. Unlike Ijaiye farm settlement and Olosun which were remote and rural farm areas with lack of access to modern social services, Atan community was a suburb with farm activities, businesses and social services. As a result, most of the migrant tenant farmers and farm labourers in Atan community found it as a place of destination not only to be involved in farm activities, but also involved in non-farm economic business alongside their farm activities.

The migrant farm tenants/farmers and farm labourers were mostly males and very few were females. Across the host communities of studies, there was only one female migrant tenant farmer and very few female migrant farm labourers. In the study (as also reportedly), among the male farm migrant population across the host communities studied, most of the migrants were migrant farm labourers as compared to few numbers of migrant tenant farmers. The reason is that the migrant tenant farmers were responsible for recruiting many migrants on contract bases. A migrant farm tenant/farmer or independent migrant farm labourer often has between five and 15 migrant farm labourers in his/her labour group. While most of the male migrant farm labourers were singles, most of the male migrant farm tenants/farmers and some independent migrant farm labourers were married. Among the female migrants, most of them were married, a few were single, and very few were divorced.

On the migrants age, the migrant farm labourers between age 13 and 25 were six and those between age 26 and 28 were three. Based on observation, however, the former category of migrants who were more or less migrant labourers, were more than the latter age category of who were migrant farm tenants. Many of the migrant farm labourers were recruited by the migrant farm tenant and formed into labour groups. Migrant tenants/farmers between age 29 and 47 were six and those between age 53 and 65 were three. For migrant women, those between age 21 and 28 were nine and those between age 31 and 34 were six. The occupations of these migrants before migration to Ibadan varied. Some of the migrants were farmers; some were non-farm entrepreneurs and others were unemployed. In specific terms, at communities/countries of origin, the migrants were

farmers, wage farm labourers, tailors, taxi drivers, auto-mechanics, cosmetic service business, petty traders, and unemployed. Their occupations since their arrival in Ibadan were: farming (as farmers, wage labour (as wage labourers), casual wage labour (as casual labourers) and petty business (as small entrepreneurs). While the male migrants dominated the tenant farming (as migrant farm tenants) and wage farm labour (as migrant farm labourers) occupations as there were only two female migrant tenant farmers who came across the border to farm communities in Ibadan, the female migrants dominated casual wage labour and petty business occupations. Some of these migrants were differentially practitioners of Traditional, Christianity, and Islam religion. These migrants had arrived Ibadan at different times. Between 1973 and 1976 three migrants arrived in Ibadan, between 1988 and 1997 seven migrants arrived Ibadan, between 2002 and 2005, thirteen migrants arrived Ibadan and between 2010 and 2017 three migrants arrived Ibadan. It should be noted that, the socio-demographic characteristics of the international farm labour migrants presented and analyzed here were largely from migrants that IDIs were held with. Due to oversight at the start of field work, the researcher did not capture some of the socio-demographic characteristics of male migrants who participated in FGDs and local land owners/farmers in KIIs. For the said migrants their age and year of arrival in Ibadan were not captured.

4.2 Triggers of International Farm Labour Migration to Ibadan

Under this theme, the migration push factors at migrants' communities/countries of origin and migration pull factors in communities of destination in Ibadan Nigeria are analyzed. In this regard, the study set off to examine international farm labour migration to Ibadan within the context of their migration life and experience. This line of research may tend to lead to the immediate assumption that every international migrant in farm communities in Ibadan had set off to migrate from their communities/countries of origin straight to Ibadan as their destination. And that all of these international migrants were farmers in their communities/countries of origin before migrating to farm communities in Ibadan to continue as farmers. But in the findings of the study from the international farm migrants in farm communities in Ibadan that have origin from Togo, Benin and Ghana such assumptions were not exclusively the case.

The study observed that the international migrant in the farm communities in Ibadan were Togolese, Beninois and Ghanaians who were engaged in different farm and non-farm occupations in Togo, Benin and Ghana before their migration across international borders to farm communities in Ibadan, Nigeria. Many of these Togolese, Beninois, and Ghanaian international migrants also had different aspirations in their communities/countries of origin before migrating to farm communities in Ibadan, Nigeria. The study also found that, regardless of the occupations and aspirations of the Togolese, Beninois and Ghanaian international migrants back home in countries of origin, once they migrated into farm communities in Ibadan, they moved into farming occupation. That is, the international migrants that were farmers in their communities/countries of origin migrating to farm communities in Ibadan; they continued as farmers, and other international migrants that were not farmers but were into non-farm occupations in their communities/countries of origin on migrating to farm communities in Ibadan, they eventually became farmers. Once these international migrants from Togo, Benin and Ghana were in farm communities in Ibadan as immigrant or foreign farmers, some of them worked as migrant farm labourers and others as migrant farm tenants.

From these categories of international migrants that were into farming and non-farming occupations in their communities/countries of origin, there was another category of international migrants that migrated into the farm communities of Ibadan not to work as farmers but for the purpose of reunion or visitation. This was especially for international migrant women that migrated to the farm communities in Ibadan on the purpose of reunion. For the Togolese, Beninois and Ghanaian migrants in non-farming and farming occupations in Togo, Benin and Ghana once they migrated to farm communities in Ibadan, Nigeria to become farmers or continue as farmers (migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants); they transformed to become international farm labour migrants. Whereas the Togolese, Beninois and Ghanaian women that migrated to farm communities in Ibadan, Nigeria not for the purpose of farming but for the purpose of reunion remained merely as international migrant women, as will be explicitly explained in the later analysis of this study.

To explain why and how Togolese, Beninois and Ghanaians that were engaged in non-farming and farming occupations in their communities/countries of origin in Togo, Benin

and Ghana became international farm labour migrants in Ibadan, Nigeria requires analyzing their unique circumstances in Togo, Benin and Ghana. This requirement includes analyzing the causes, aspirations and motivations for their cross border migration from Togo, Benin and Ghana to Ibadan, Nigeria. Therefore, the study found in its observations that, while the Togolese, Beninois and Ghanaian international farm labour migrants in farm communities in Ibadan were people of different occupations and aspirations in their communities/countries of origin, before migrating to Ibadan, Nigeria, they were pushed and motivated to migrate out from Togo, Benin and Ghana not by a common or single factor but different factors. Just as their occupations and aspirations differed, so also did the pushed and motivational factors for their cross border migration differ. Even for some Togolese, Beninois and Ghanaian migrants from the same communities/countries of origin, they were also pushed and motivated to embark on international migration by different factors.

Before, analyzing the specifics of each of the different out migration push factors, the push factors for out migration are depicted in these general terms: surplus farm produce related to absence of and limited access to market outlets of trade for farm produce; lack of access to farmland associated with family size and no guarantee to farmland inheritance; witchcraft attacks linked to prolonged sickness and family conflicts; poor reward from and unprofitable entrepreneurship in non-farm businesses; lack of and limited opportunities and the need for opportunity explorations; and accompanying or reunion with spouses, parents or relatives. In spite of these different factors that pushed and motivated Togolese, Beninois and a Ghanaian to engage in cross border migration to Ibadan, they had common aspirations for their cross border migration, which were to seek new opportunities, attain improved livelihood and security of life. That is, the categorization of the different aspirations of the migrants delineate their aspirations into these main and common aspirations, which are to seek new opportunities, attain improved livelihood and security of life. The presence of these different push and motivational factors in Togo, Benin and Ghana had created the necessary conditions that made it possible for the cross border migration of the Togolese, Beninois and Ghanaian international migrants that were involved in farm production in Ibadan. Therefore, the factors and aspirations which motivated Togolese, Beninois and Ghanaian(s) to embark

on international migration to Ibadan to become international migrant farmers/farm labourers are elaborated next.

The dominant factors which created the conditions in Togo and Benin that compelled many Togolese and Beninois to move out of their countries of origin to embark on international migration to Ibadan were surplus farm produce, the absence of access to market outlets to trade the surplus farm produce and in some instances limited access to market outlets to trade the surplus farm produce. Further, the conditions created by these dominant factors were: low prices for farm produce, meager income from the farm production and the challenge of reinvestment in farm production. As the factors generated those conditions in Togo and Benin, they had prompted Togolese and Beninois to consider migration, in which many Togolese and Beninois decided eventually to migrate to farm communities in Ibadan as primary destination. Others had migrated to other places in South West, Nigeria such as *Saki, Iseyin, Lagos, Sagamu, Oyo, Ibadan city, Ife, Abeokuta* as their primary destination and later migrated to Ibadan as secondary destination.

As observed, the circumstances that led many Togolese and Beninois to migrate to farm communities in Ibadan were such that the prevailing good farm production in Togo and Benin created surplus farm produce, but as a result of the absence of access to market outlets to trade the farm produce and in some instances very limited access to market outlets to trade the surplus farm produce, the farmers in Togo and Benin received low prices for their farm produce. The low prices indicated that farmers in Togo and Benin received unprofitable market prices for their farm produce as well as got small income from very limited access to markets to trade their farm produce. As a result, the farmers earned meager income from their surplus farm produce that resulted from good farm production. This made it difficult for the farmers in Togo and Benin to reinvest in subsequent farm production. In a Focus Group Discussion session with Togolese and Beninois international farm labour migrants in Ibadan that comprise members of the Association of Togo and Benin (ATB) across the studied areas of Ibadan, their explanation for migrating to Ibadan was that:

Back home there is surplus produce but no market [for the produce and for profit]. Because of this I/some of us left my/our country. As farmer(s) I/we did not leave to become farmer(s) but to look for opportunities and money.

Back home, there is no market and no opportunity for making money, and since there was surplus produce [because many farmers have farm produce] there was no body to buy from others. The public officers were also into farming and they were contributing to the population of farmers that produced surplus farm produce [into the limited market in which farmers could not quickly trade off their farm produce] unlike Ibadan where there is market.

(FGD/ Males/ Association of Togo and Benin/Goronjo/13-10-2017)

Based on the study findings, the Togolese and Beninois farmers' surplus farm produce which resulted from good farm production on its own was not a sufficient factor to compel many Togolese and Beninois to embark on international farm labour migration to Ibadan. Except when it was linked to and combined with the presence of the factors of absence of markets or limited access to market outlets of trade for surplus farm produce. Thus, the absence of access to markets to trade farm produce; in some instances, low trade in farm produce due to very limited access to market outlets which resulted in low prices and meager income earned from the surplus farm produce; and the failure of the Togolese and Beninois farmers to improve their livelihoods from their good farm production due to the meager income received from low prices for their (surplus) farm produce, were the necessary factors and conditions that compelled many Togolese and Beninois to consider migration. And for which many Togolese and Beninois decided to eventually migrate to farm communities in Ibadan.

These farm production and market conditions emerged because the communities/countries of origin of the international migrant farmers studied were farm communities in which most of the habitants were farmers. With the larger population of the farm communities in Togo and Benin being in farm production in which farm production was good, the farmers from the farm communities had surplus farm produce, and as a result, the communities also experienced surplus farm produce. Also, with the farmers having surplus farm produce on similar species of farm produce, there was hardly any trade exchange of farm produce between the farmers in the communities in Togo and Benin. With instances of absence of access to market outlets of trade in the farm communities in Togo and Benin, the farmers were unable to trade their surplus farm produce except for self/household consumption. In this case, the farmers earned no direct income from their

good farm production. However, in many instances, what the farmers experienced was very limited access to market outlets to trade their surplus farm produce.

The limited access to markets indicated the low volume of trade in the surplus farm produce of the farmers. Therefore, with low volume of trade, the persisting surplus farm produce could not be reduced in order for the market price for the farm produce to increase. This pushed down the market prices for the farm produce to become low and made farm production unprofitable for farmers to improve their livelihoods. If there was any high volume of trade in the farm produce as the farmers always hoped, it would have reduced the existing surplus farm produce in the communities, but since there was limited access to markets to trade in the communities, surplus farm produce persisted and the farmers were only able to earn meager incomes. With these market vulnerabilities, surplus farm produce persisted and reinvestment in farm production was difficult. This situation was described by some migrant farmers as '*poor farming*'.

These market conditions were discouraging farmers from farm production and many of the farmers became predisposed to new potential opportunities. This particular observation was noted mostly from migrant farm tenants and labourers from Gando, Idacha/Ichamba, Basari, Sokode, Towon, Kaboli, Sabo-koma and Akebunkamene, communities in Togo. While some farmers continued to farm in their communities/countries of origin in spite of the presence of these discouraging factors and conditions of farm production and markets. Some other Togolese and Beninois farmers were compelled by the same factors and conditions to migrate across the border to Ibadan, Nigeria, for new or alternative opportunities. The market related farm production conditions which triggered the out migration of many Togolese farmers were stressed in IDI session by Togolese migrant farm tenant/farmer that have been in Olosun, Ibadan for 15 years since 2002:

...I am here [Olosun, Ibadan] because of poor farming back home [in Basari, Togo]. There, farming was not good. This was in addition to the market that was not good, and even what little may be produce the market was not good to trade off the little farm produce. And since I was farming and doing farm labourer work with my boys, but without sufficient farm produce from my farm [low productivity] and without a good market for the produce, I was forced to look for better farming opportunity elsewhere and that was how I travelled to come to Ibadan.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/ Basari, Togo/17-10-2017)

These farm and market conditions which compelled many Togolese farmers to migrate to Ibadan in 1970s have subsisted in 2000 to date as also observed in KII session with another Togolese migrant farm tenant/farmer from Sokode, Togo, who have been in the Ijaiye forest reserve/Ijaiye farm settlement in Ibadan for 41 years, having migrated to Ibadan since 1976 to become at first a migrant farm labourer and later migrant farm tenant/farmer. In his words: ‘...[B]ack home there was no market for many years and even now there is no market. In the time of good farm, more was still not traded over the years’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forest Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sokode, Togo/19-10-2017)**. In comparable terms, while this Togolese migrant’s statement suggest he has been better off in farming in diaspora after many years in Ibadan than his Togolese peers who did not migrate, and that the unfavourable farm and market conditions remained relatively no different since the time he left in 1976, a Beninois migrant farm tenant/farmer who has been in Ibadan since 1988 as migrant farm labourer, in which over his 29 years of residence and labouring in Ibadan became a migrant farm tenant/farmer stressed that:

Back home in Benin particularly in Bante, where I was a farmer, the farming style is different and the market is also different. Back home, farm yield yet to be harvested are not sold while still in farm creases except when the produce is processed like cassava is processed to gari. It is only then that farmers will be able trade their farm produce. There is usually surplus farm produce from farms but the surplus farm produce back home hindered trade since there was so much farm produce and no farmer will buy from other farmers. This low trading and sometimes no trading of farm produce at the market was the reason for many of us to move here [Olosun, Ibadan]... Here [Ibadan] farmers can market what they farmed before even harvesting it’ **(IDI/Male/ Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/ Bante, Benin/18-10-2017)**.

This revealed that, as unprofitable farm production and limited access to profitable markets posed challenges to farmers in Benin and Togo; and on the other hand, productive farming, profitable market outlets of trade and prices for farm produce were the significant attraction for migration to Ibadan. Other migrant farm tenants/farmers from Togo and Benin observed that the patterns of farm production and commercialized farming in Ibadan also enticed and induced them to migrate to and be in Ibadan, Nigeria.

This statement of the Beninois migrant from *Bante* suggests there was also the challenge of accessing simple advance agro-processing machines/industries to transform crops into processed and alternative foods with which to increase a considerable volume of trade to absorb and reduce the surplus farm produce. Therefore, the interest in and enticement of this form of farm trade to market off farm yields even before harvest across the border was because of its enablement in reducing or avoiding surplus farm produce as well as prompting trade in farm produce. Also, it indicates the differences in farm produce market environment in Bante, Republic of Benin and Ibadan, Nigeria. As in Togo, these farm production and market conditions were similarly experienced by Beninois migrants back in Benin (in Cotonou, Bante, Kubenebene, Jugu, and Anadana communities). And like in the 1980s, these similar conditions subsist to similarly compel and in some instances induce international migration of farmers in Benin as observed and stressed 29 years later by a Beninois migrant farm tenant/farmer who migrated to Ibadan in 2012 and has been in Ijaiye farm settlement in Ibadan for five (5) years: ‘As a farmer back home in Kubenebene, there was no market for farm produce unlike in Ijaiye camp that there is market and the farmland is good for farming...’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement /Kubenebene, Benin/23-10-2017)**

The importance of market was not only as a push factor (absence or limited access to profitable markets) but also as pull factor (access to profitable markets). Access to profitable markets in Ibadan as a pull factor was noted by farm labour migrants. A Togolese migrant farm tenant/farmer in an In-depth interview put it this way: ‘... Ibadan has a good market for produce...and we were looking for better opportunity elsewhere...So we migrated to Ibadan...’ **(IDI/Male/ Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/ Basari, Togo/17-10-2017)**. Importantly, the income and wealth/investments which were generated and obtained from productive farming, particularly profitable market prices of farm produce, boosted the farm labour migrants’ capacity to reinvest in farm production in the farm communities in Ibadan. These were the underlying conditions that enticed and pulled (potential) migrant farm labourers and further held particularly migrants farm tenants/farmers and some migrant farm labourers in Ibadan. The statements of these migrant farmers re-emphasize the significance of farmers having not just access to markets

but access to profitable markets. Also, it shows the importance of access to profitable markets to agricultural change and development.

Based on the findings discussed so far, the factors/conditions which enticed and pulled international migrants to particularly farm communities in Ibadan are evident already. However, it is important to point out that the factors/conditions that pulled migrants were not diverse but were centred on profitable farm production and accessible market outlets of trade for farm produce and the reward system.

To elaborate, before these factors/conditions explained became significant to pull farm labour migrants across the border to Ibadan, there was a historical context which initially pulled farm labour migrants to farm communities in Ibadan. The historical context as narrated by a retired field officer of Oyo state government who was one of the field officers assigned to oversee Ijaiye forestry reserve and later farm settlement was that:

...The forestry reserve camp was established in 1973 before farm settlement was established...The foreigners were not here before the forestry camp was established...The government needed to bring in foreigners since the labour work was too much...There were a lot of farming activities and so we needed more labourers, which is why we encouraged foreigners to come and stay...We got them from different locations such as Oyo, [other parts] Ibadan, Shaki to work and support our work...Since we could not pay them we suggested that migrants be allowed to stay and farm...

(IDI/Male/Retired Oyo Government Field Officer/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/ 23-10-2017).

From the narrative, it appeared that the farm labour migrants had already discovered productive farmlands and farming activities as well as accessible and profitable markets for farm produce in other proximate locations to the (Atan, Ijaiye and Olosun) farm communities in Ibadan. Their future migration to the Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement and other farm communities in Ibadan studied was at the request of the field officers of Oyo state government. While the earlier farm labour migrants, particularly migrant farm labourers that moved to Ijaiye forestry reserve and farm settlement were not driven essentially by self-interest but on request, their expansive migration further to other farm communities in Ibadan studied were driven by their self-interests/aspirations, especially as the farm labour migrants discovered the productive and profitable farming and access to

profitable markets for farm produce. Having realized these, in order to maximize the benefits of farm production which accessible markets in Ibadan offered, with which to improve their livelihoods, these earlier farm labour migrants driven by profitable interests, pulled other farm labour migrants, especially migrant farm labourers from their communities/countries of origin across the border through a process of circular labour recruitment contracts to the farm settlement and communities in Ibadan, Nigeria.

The circular farm labour recruitment engaged in by, particularly migrant farm tenants/farmers, to bring in particularly (potential) migrant farm labourers to Ibadan, over historical time, became an established transnational network of information and for agents, and for continuous labour recruitments across the border to Ibadan. Also, it continued as an established culture of transnational farm labour recruitment which connected farm communities in Ibadan, Nigeria, and countries of origin of the (potential) farm labour migrants. This was observed from statements in a IDI session with the longest resident migrant farm tenant/farmer who has been in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement community since the 1970s:

...I arrived with my brother when Obasanjo was transferring power to Shagari. As at then there were only two Togolese including my brother and with me there were three Togolese labourers here...and ..Once they [new migrants] settled or are familiar with the host community with farm challenges they go back home and bring other farmers here,' and [it is] these farmers that are here already that brought people here, based on agreement...

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement /Sokode,Togo/19-10-2017)

Thus, this historical context of continuous recruitment of other migrants for (wage) labour by earlier farm labour migrants by particularly migrant farm tenants/farmers was a later dimensional factor or second factor that pulled farm labour migrants across the border to farm communities in Ibadan, Nigeria. This is evident from the explanation of another retired field officer of Oyo state government that was part of the officials who supervised Ijaiye farm/farm settlement, in which he stated:

...To sustain the forestry reserve which later included farming as part of the farm settlement, there was increasing high demand for labour to sustain the forestry programme to avoid deforestation which was already happening and caused by locals. The extensive work required became an over burden to the available labour. This led to the initiative to employ farm labourers

who were foreigners in places like Oyo and Shaki to support the forestry programme of trees planting ...While farming was not permitted in this place at the early times the forestry reserve was established, it was later allowed but it did not have this population of foreigners farming here. It was the early foreigners farming here [Ijaiye camp] that continuous brought in other foreign farm labourers, which has increased over time the numbers of foreigners we have at the Ijaiye camp today...

(IDI/Male/Retired Oyo Govt. Field Officer/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/25-10-2017).

In subsequent times, as observed by earlier and later farm labour migrants from Togo, Benin, and Ghana, most of the Togolese, Beninois and Ghanaian migrant tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers in (Atan, Ijaiye and Olosun) farm communities of Ibadan were enticed and pulled to the farm communities in Ibadan because of productive farming, diverse market outlets of trade for farm produce and profitable market prices for farm produce as well as the varying forms of trading farm produce. Thus, this context which revealed those factors/conditions, especially profitable market as the enticing and pulling factor of farm labour migrants, particularly farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers to (Atan, Ijaiye and Olosun) farm communities in Ibadan, was further stressed in an FGD session with mainly migrant farm tenants/farmers that controlled migrant farm labourers who rarely had the liberty of time from farm labour to participate in the FGD. The collective narrative of the context of the market as pull factor to Ibadan which these migrant farm tenants shared was depicted by a migrant farm tenant/farmers in these words: 'Ibadan has a good market and provides great market for (foreign farmers') farm produce unlike back home where...the large population are farmers...[with no access to market]' **(FGD/Males/Goronjo/ Association of Togo and Benin/13-10-2017).**

To reiterate, besides differences in agro-ecology such as land use arrangements that enable access to farm land with tenure and security, better soil fertility, and improved farm production which Adepoju (1998; 1987) observed as attracting migrants, access to profitable markets for farm produce has become an additional and very significant factor that attracted international farm labour migrants to (farm communities) Ibadan. This is because migrants had to be dependent on the farm produce markets and/or labour markets for incomes/wages to improve their livelihoods and to enable them to continue to reinvest in farm production in host communities/country as well as invest at their

communities/countries of origin through remittances. In comparable sense, the farm and market conditions contributed to limited opportunities in the communities/countries of origin of the farm labour migrants in Ibadan. Likewise Togolese and Beninois farm labour migrants, a particular Beninois migrant farm tenant/farmer that has been in Atan community in Ibadan since 1993 pointed out that the unfavourable market and farm production conditions increased financial challenges in which it was difficult to cope with the increasing family expectations, responsibilities and reinvestment in farm production back home in Benin.

For other farm labour migrants, it was not entirely about the good market conditions for farm produce that were the push factor and then attractive and pull factor to Ibadan. This was not to imply that the market was not important. Thus, there were other push factors at migrants' communities/countries of origin and pull factors at migrants' community/country of destination in Ibadan, Nigeria. The other factors (conditions) that triggered the consideration for and eventual migration included: lack of access to farmland which was the result of family size linked to family hierarchical right to inheritance. In this case, the family size of some of the farm labour migrants back home in Togo and Benin did not guarantee the migrants any chance of farmland control and farmland inheritance. With their lack of access to farmland, the migrants did not also have ownership over farm production. Their migration to Ibadan was an opportunity for them to have access to farmland which some of the migrants lacked in their communities/countries of origin. For the migrants, particularly migrant tenants, having access to (leased) farmland Ibadan means having ownership control over farmland and its proceeds away from communities/countries of origin, without family involvement and control. This was necessary for some migrant farm tenants/farmers, particularly migrant farm labourers. Thus, the attractive and pull factor in Ibadan for many migrants in similar situations in communities/countries of origin was summed up in a narrative by a migrant farm tenant/farmer to be: '...Because we are many in my family, I left home for Ibadan to farm where I was told I can get land to farm on ...' (**IDI/Male/ Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/Basari, Togo/17-10-2017**). His migration to Ibadan preceded the visit of his kin referred to as brother or fellow countryman who as a farm labour migrant visited back home with a lot of material terms including a motorbike. To him, it showed that the

brother was doing well across the border in Ibadan where the brother was involved in farm activities. To reiterate, from the narratives on the attractive and pull factors in Ibadan observed, they clearly indicated that there were variations in the circumstances that induced and attracted international farm labour migrants to Ibadan.

Therefore, Black *et al*, (2000) observed that, for migrants from Western Kenya to secure inheritances for themselves, they engaged in inter-generational migration contracts with parents, and to add, relatives -As they migrate, they send remittances in expectation of inheritance. Meaning that such remittances were invested in assets which included land that the migrants inherited as they return to their communities of origin in Kenya. But like the many migrants in this study, a Togolese migrant farm tenant/farmer that migrated to Olosun, Ibadan in Nigeria from Basari, Togo, since 2013 and has been in Olosun, Ibadan for four years and was once a migrant farm labourer in Ibadan, his decision to migrate to Ibadan was to gain access to farmland and ownership of the farm production and its proceeds. The decision to migrate was also to escape dependency on family which came with labour duty and to become independent of family farm labour. This suggests that even as the migrants return, they intend to continue to remain independent of any of their families' work.

Similarly, for a Beninois migrant farm labourer from Jugu, Benin, who had migrated to Ibadan since 2011 and has been in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement for six (6) years, his decision to migrate to Ibadan was not to necessarily access farmland and control farm production but to make money through new opportunities that gave the migrant independence from family farm production, in which the migrant farm labourer was in Ibadan providing farm labour services for wages (as a wage farm labourer). This Beninois migrant farm labourer observed that: '... since I had no farmland back home except to participate in work to support my father's farm, I moved out looking for money' **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Jugu, Benin/ 19-10-2017)**. Before this migrant farm labourer from Jugu, Benin settled into wage labour services in Ibadan, he had migrated to *Saki* community as primary destination with the hope of accessing farmland on lease for farm production. But as the farmland owners repossessed his farmland, over conflict of interest over the farmland, the

migrant (who at the time was a migrant farm tenant) upon losing the farmland, migrated further to Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement in Ibadan as a secondary destination with the hope of accessing farmland, where he could make money independently of the family. Migration as this was facilitated by transnational network of information.

The study observed that, farmland was a competitive commodity, in which accessing it came with tenancy rules and the violation of the rules created tenancy relationship conflict, for which a migrant can lose his/her access to rented farmland (this has been elaborated on in the next theme). For this Beninois migrant from Jugu, his ultimate aspiration was to make money from farming, and even if he was without farmland at *Shaki* community, he returned to being migrant labourer and migrated further to Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement in Ibadan for more profitable opportunities in organized farm labour; where he continued as an independent migrant farm labourer and controlled an organized labour group that provide labour services for wages. This suggests that, the migrant farm labourers like the many migrant farm tenants/farmers that experienced these conditions and had left their countries of origin and arrived Ibadan as migrant farm labourers, were not only looking across border for opportunities of making money but also opportunities that gave them independence from family farm production and income from farming so as to have relatively independent livelihoods.

In spite of the different circumstances of migrants in their communities/countries of origin and the different aspirations which they went with across the border to Ibadan to achieve from the opportunities in farm activities in Ibadan, the aim of their cross border aspirations was to obtain income and wealth which farm and market activities in Ibadan generated and to use the same income for investments to generate more wealth in countries of origin. So, in escaping limited opportunities in the migrants' countries of origin, some farmers, once they migrated to Ibadan, took to the alternative occupation of farm labour as a farm labourers with the aspiration to trade labour for wages to change their lives for the better. Specifically, an independent migrant farm labourer who was from Cotonou, Benin and had left *Sanda* (a proximate community to Ibadan) for Ibadan explained that: '...I heard about Nigeria and wanted to come to Nigeria to explore the opportunity of doing farming. 'When I arrived I heard about the opportunity here [Atan]

and I decided to participate in farming in which I have been labouring for people since my arrival in 1993...'(IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Atan/ Cotonou, Benin/20-10-2017).

This kind of context of aspirations for the opportunities in Ibadan was similarly expressed by a Togolese migrant farm labourer who before migrating to Ibadan was a farmer in his country of origin. In his words: '...It was my Oga that brought me here from our home. We saw him as doing well, so we discussed with him to come here [Olosun] to also enjoy the benefit of this place [Olosun]. As his big stomach and body size is showing' (IDI/Male/Migrant farm labour/Olosun/Gando, Togo/18-10-2017). And to another migrant farm labourer: 'He is my inlaw, and it was through my sister's encouragement that I got here. This was because of my sister's advise [which was that, I can make it here in Ibadan]...' (IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Olosun/ Idacha, Togo/18-10-2017).

The necessity and high demand of labour in Ibadan, Nigeria linked to the belief in labour contract, which was established and guaranteed the potential migrant farm labourers' expectations to achieve their aspirations of having an economic business, of being prosperous and supportive to family back home in country of origin was added to the factors/conditions that pulled migrant farm labourers to Ibadan. Consequently, the cheap farm labour of migrant farm labourer which resulted from their recruitment and labour contract with certain migrant farm tenants/farmers or independent migrant farm labourers who were without their full time involvement in (wage) farm labour in farm production was associated with the enticement and continued pull factors/conditions of farm labour migrant farm to Ibadan. This included the flexible farmland tenancy rules and the host community social rules of control of individual farm community, which farm labour migrants adapted to (as discussed in the next theme).

For many migrant farm labourers, the main reward of a motorbike *Bajaj* or wages (of N250, 000 as an amount equivalent to the price of the motorbike) or some other forms of rewards which the migrant farm labourers had negotiated for in their labour contract of at least one year of labour service in Ibadan were what enticed and pulled them to farm communities in Ibadan. Unlike in the migrant farm labourers' countries of origin where the migrants had no likelihood of obtaining such reward or other material gains, the

rewards were what enticed and pulled them to Ibadan. Consequently, the reward and material gains obtained by farm labour migrants underlied the result of good and profitable farm production and markets in Ibadan which attracted international farm labour migration, particularly (potential) migrant farm labourers to Ibadan. The reward which was transformed to assets and investments contributed to the attraction of labour of migrant farm labourers to Ibadan, in order to gain addition income to improve their quality of livelihood in communities/countries of origin.

For other Togolese and Beninois migrants who had no occupations except aspirations in their countries of origin, the absence or limited opportunities in Togo and Benin were factors/conditions that made them migrate to Ibadan. The situations were such that, there were (potential) migrants that had varying aspirations in which some wanted to explore new and alternative opportunities to improve the livelihood. With limited opportunities, once information about a more likely place to make it and better one's life was obtained by (potential) migrants through social contact, the farm labour migrants as potential migrants considered the (non-farm) opportunities across the border as worth migrating to explore instead of farming. Once a decision was reached, the (potential) migrant migrated. In similar situation, a migrant from Anadana, Benin who migrated to Nigeria since 1993 and has worked in Atan farm community for 24 years where he combines farming and timber business observed that:

Back home [in Benin] it is difficult to make it...life was hard and no much progress in life was achieved [back home in Benin]. Farming is also not good. Social interaction across states like Lagos gives one a better opportunity, but back home there is too much family problem which increase financial problem and hinders progress for a better life. Moving to this place [Atan, Ibadan] reduces family problems. When I return back home, I will be asked to pay tax and I do not have much to give them. I cannot, with limited opportunities back home. So the inspiration to move to Nigeria was through a Beninois man who visited home and brought a lot of things with him back home to Cotonou from Nigeria [which he got from farming] where the man since moved to live and work.... Because of that, I came here to also farm...I came here [Atan] first as a labourer through someone [the Beninois business man] since 1993...

(IDI/ Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/Anadana, Benin/ 20-10-2017)

For other migrants that became farm labour migrants in Ibadan, with the limited opportunities in non-farm sectors in their communities/countries of origin, they

were losing the chance to attain their aspirations, in which some of the migrants wanted to learn mechanic trade in their communities/countries of origin but did not have the capacity to enroll for mechanic apprenticeship and had to engage in cross border migration to Ibadan to make a living in farming. Even those migrants that were able to enroll for mechanic apprenticeship back home, could not after the training afford mechanic tools. Thus, they migrated to Ibadan for opportunities that would enable them to acquire mechanic tools. For a particular Beninois migrant that has been in Ijaiye farm settlement in Ibadan for 25 years since 1992, he was promised and recruited to Ibadan by his relatives/uncle to support him get the mechanic tools to establish mechanic workshop in community/country of origin, but when this failed, the Beninois migrant switched to farming in Ijaiye farm settlement in Ibadan. The farm labour migrant stated his experience as being:

...[B]ack home I had no job but I learnt mechanic, and since there was no help to get mechanic tools after receiving mechanic training in Jugu [Benin] I became idle. This was after my primary school. I became desperate and did not know what to do. But when my father's brother came from Nigeria where he was staying in Iseyin Oyo, he said he was going to help me get mechanic tools. When that did not happen after labouring for him, I heard about farming in Ijaiye camp, and I then moved to Ijaiye camp away from him to see what I can do for myself.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement /Jugu, Benin/14-10-2017)

Some migrants aspired to become taxi drivers but they could not gain such an opportunity even when licensed to drive. To a Togolese migrant from Sokode in Togo who was a licensed driver but who could not find vehicle driving job in Togo, he subsequently migrated to Lagos city, Nigeria, for a driving opportunity. But with what the migrant stressed was the difficulties of Lagos city life and driving job which he was involved in Lagos, the migrant migrated further to Ijaiye farm settlement in Ibadan to farm. This observation was shared by another Togolese migrant farm tenant/farmer from Langabo community in Togo, who said that:

...[B]ack home I aspired to be a driver since I received driving training and driving license. But since I could not get a driving job I decided to migrate to Nigeria where I was staying first in Bani, Kwara state before moving to Olosun for farming opportunity. I was coming with the hope of getting

money to buy a car to take home for taxi business so that I can earn income for myself.

(IDI/ Male/ Migrant farm tenant/ Olosun/Sokode, Togo/19-10- 2017)

For some other migrants, the lack of work or employment opportunities compelled them to migrate to Ibadan. And to another migrant, the lack of work/employment after primary schooleducation compelled the migrant to migrate to *Sabo*, Ibadan to reunite with his mother, and later moved to *Ojoo* in Ibadan with the hope of a better life and for work. In the case of the latter, when the migrant's non-farm labour job in the soap making business was not successful in *Ojoo*, the migrant subsequently migrated to *Atan*, a farm community in Ibadan for (wage) farm labour where the migrant later became a migrant farm tenant/farmer. To other migrants, the unprofitable small businesses in their communities/countries of origin, which increasingly became disincentive businesses made them to migrate to Ibadan. In a particular case, for a female Togolese migrant farm tenant/farmer that has been in *Olokonla* community in the *Ijaiye* farm settlement for two years and who was one of the two female migrant farm tenants/farmers across the three farm communities studied in Ibadan, the combined conditions of her unprofitable cosmetic business, farming and trading in farm produce in *Basari*, Togo, made her to migrate to first *Fala Oyo* and later to *Olokonla* community in *Ijaiye* farm settlement in Ibadan. In her words: 'I was into cosmetic business back home but this business was not good and farm produce traded were not profitable as much as it is in Nigeria. But in Nigeria, farming is commercialized and it is profitable whereas back home sales are few and just for home consumers like teachers.' **(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/ Olokonla-Ijaiye Farm Settlement/ Basari, Togo/ 24-10-2017)**. While her statement on the nature of commercial farming in Togo suggests limited access to markets and low trade exchange for farm produce to reduce the surplus farm produce, these disincentive conditions pushed her to eventually migrate to first *Fala Oyo* and later to Ibadan.

The observed circumstances and experiences of some migrants from Togo, Benin and Ghana highlight their situations, and showed that there were migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers that had set off to migrate into non-farm labour economic opportunities as well as farm labour activities elsewhere in Nigeria as their primary destination before migrating further to Ibadan as their secondary destination for better or

alternative opportunities in farm and market activities or life safety. Thus, the observations of the Togolese female migrant farm tenant can be likened to other observations cited in this study, where some migrants moved to primary or initial destination (such as Lagos, Sagamu, Iseyin, Saki, Fala Oyo, Sabo- Ojoo) where they had hoped for better opportunity but when their aspirations was not achieved in those primary destination, they migrated further to a secondary destination which was the farm communities in Ibadan, as will be elaborated later in objective two.

To a Ghanaian migrant farm tenant/farmer from Krobo, Eastern region of Ghana that has been farming and doing palm wine business in Atan farm community for 20 years since his migration to Atan in 1997, and having been in Lagos for 17 years since his migration to Lagos in 1980, he explained that his accomplishments such as a house built back home caused envy and family conflict from which he suffered misfortunes which included frequent and prolonged sickness that was caused by witchcraft attacks. Consequently, for life safety, a Ghanaian migrant farm tenant/farmer who has been resident in Atan, Ibadan since 1997 explained that he had to migrate from Krobo, Ghana to Sagamu in Ogun state to become a cement company driver and with the folding up of the company he later migrated to Ibadan to farm. Similarly, to a female Togolese migrant farm tenant/farmer from Sabo-koma, Togo, her misfortune of constantly losing her children was perceived to be caused by witchcraft attacks and for her life, she was compelled to migrate to Ife farm settlement in 2014 with the encouragement of her father; and by marriage to a Nigerian who is *Yoruban*, she then migrated further to Ijaiye farm settlement in Ibadan in 2016, where her spouse who is also a *Yoruba* and community chief of the Ijaiye farm settlement resided.

A Beninois migrant, in like manner, stated that the vicious and envious behaviour of people in his community, the Anadana community in Benin, to retard people's progress made migration necessary, for which reason he migrated to Ibadan since 2005 and has been in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement for 15 years. Another Beninois migrant farm labourer from Cotonou, Benin that has been in Atan for less than seven (7) years since his migration in 2010, had left his tailoring business in republic of Benin to migrate to a *Sanda, Oyo*, Nigeria (a short distance community to Atan) a primary destination to escape

death and seek his safety from witchcraft attacks from his wife who left him to reunite with a man that was deeply involved in witchcraft practices, a man she was previously had relationship with. As a result, the Beninois migrant farm labourer later migrated from Sanda further to Atan in Ibadan as secondary destination to reunite with his Nigerian wife that he had met at Sanda and to continue with farm labour to earn an income. In the words of a Beninois migrant farm tenant/farmer who has been in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement for four years since his migration from Cotonou, Benin to Ibadan, Nigeria in 2013:

...Because of the suffering and sickness that was affecting my family due to witchcraft attack from my brother I left the farm work back home to become a farmer here [Ijaiye camp]. I arrive Ijaiye camp from Cotonou [Benin] through my brother [fellow country man] who was involved in farming in Ijaiye camp.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Cotonou, Benin/14-10-2017)

For these migrants, particularly, migrants confronted with either lack of opportunities or witchcraft attacks linked to family crisis, their reasons for migration far away from communities/countries of origin were to escape the personal and family burdens arising from lack of opportunities and risk to life. The escape was to seek new/alternative opportunities and for safety which was uncertain and not guaranteed if they stayed back in their respective communities/countries of origin.

For many of the migrant women in the area of study, their migration to Ibadan was primarily for the purpose of reunion and the secondary purpose was to support their spouses in Ibadan to improve and sustain their families' livelihoods. These were particularly the case for the migrant women that were married. Most of the migrant women were married, while a few were single females that were simply visiting to return later to their countries of origin. Their spouses' livelihoods were connected to farm production and profitable markets for farm produce in Ibadan. For any migrant women staying for a long time for work, they were taken to proximate communities such as *Ogbomoso* or *Ibadan* city, both in Oyo state, Nigeria for non-farm economic labour opportunities such as housekeeping as housemaids. To emphasize, the significance of reunion as the basis of migration for many migrant women was stressed in brief

statements made by the migrant women that left their occupations including trade of selling bean cake, trade in maize or tailoring. The statements bared their rationale of migration as pointed out by one of the migrant women in an FGD: 'I arrived here in the Ijaiye camp with my husband but before then my husband was here and he set up this place here [Ijaiye] and brought me. My husband came with me and I joined him here. All the women here in [Ijaiye] camp are married.'**(FGD/Female/Togo and Benin/Olosun/22-10-2017).**

Other migrant women expressed similar lines of view as pointed out by one of the migrant women who explained that: 'I am here to explore new opportunities. Also, I am here [Olosun] because of my husband and when my husband is returning I will also return with him' **(FGD/Female/ Togo and Benin/Olosun/18-10-2017).** For some other young female migrants who had migrated to Ibadan, their primary reason was reunion visits to relatives or parents who were migrant farm tenants/farmers in Ibadan, Nigeria. Their secondary reason was to tap into the open opportunities in Nigeria, especially opportunities to provide supportive labour, from which to earn an income with which to return home to support themselves including the payment of their formal education school fees.

Interestingly, most of the migrant women pulled to Ibadan could hardly be categorized as international migrant farmers or migrant farm tenants/farmers or migrant farm labourers since most of the migrant women were married and depended on their spouses that were migrant farm tenants/farmers and in rare cases independent migrant farm labourers. As for some few unmarried migrant women, they were merely visiting or were in non-farm activities, and they were also living with relatives that were migrant farm tenants/farmers or independent migrant farm labourers.

Though Adepoju (2006a) and Makinwa-Adebusoye (1990) in their separate studies observed that, women especially high skilled women are increasing migrating as independent migrants, Blacket *al.*, (2006) in their study in southern Africa noted that in as much as women are migrants in their own right, they are also partners of migrant male spouses. However, in the case of this study, the married and unmarried migrants' reasons for migration to Ibadan was not independent and they were mostly low skilled or unskilled migrant women. Their reasons for migration were rather linked to their marital

relationship with their migrant male spouses or family relationship with migrant males as relatives or siblings (in the case of the unmarried migrant women) who were involved in farm production in Ibadan. Consequently, unlike Blacket *al*, (2006) observation which stressed that, migrant women traditional areas of employment across the border or internal migration have been agriculture, domestic work, service sector and trade, the finding of this study showed that, women migrated to provide for their male partners' household across border with social support and fulfill their reproductive role. This gave the migrant women the opportunities to engage in trade and casual labour services for wages/incomes.

Interestingly, of these prevailing factors and conditions which triggered cross border migration, favourable information about the opportunities in Ibadan and the transnational network of farm labour recruitments were the key factors that induced and facilitated cross border migration of Togolese, Beninois and Ghanaian farm labour migrants from their communities/countries of origin to Ibadan. While other factors, such as surplus farm produce, absence or limited access to markets outlet of trade for farm produce, lack of access to farmland, threats to security of life, and limited opportunities in non-farm economic occupations triggered and reinforced the consideration for cross border migration, it was (favourable) information and transnational network of (potential) farm labour migrants that further induced and facilitated many Togolese, Beninois, and Ghanaian farm labour migrants to leave Togo, Benin and Ghana to engage in cross border migration to Ibadan, Nigeria. Consequently, beyond the differences in agro-ecology including land use arrangements and practices, soil fertility, improved farm production, agricultural policies between communities and countries which Adepoju (1998; 1987) established as accounting for migration, this study adds that there is the key importance of access to profitable markets for farm produce elsewhere that accounts for farm labour migration and better opportunities in non-farm sectors, without which it would not make any difference engaging in migration. This is because to migrate means the migrants may possibly confront at the migration destination similar challenges and disincentive in farm and market conditions that were experienced back in communities/countries of origin. Therefore, information about productive agro-ecology and profitable markets for farm produce, and alternative and better opportunities attract and accounts for international farm labour migrants.

Findings of the study suggest that the other factors/conditions were, however, not sufficient forces and the exclusive forces that triggered and induced cross border migration. Instead it was the combination of each of the factors/conditions with favourable information on productive opportunities in farm production and profitable markets and the transnational network of agents of cross border farm labour recruitment from Ibadan to the communities/countries of origin of the (potential) farm labour migrants that were the sufficient forces and actual forces that triggered, induced and facilitated many Togolese and Beninois (farmers) to embark on cross border migration to Ibadan, Nigeria. Access to information gave the (potential) migrants an insight and a sense of the prosperous opportunities in Nigeria including the opportunities in farm production and markets in Ibadan, towards which migration direction was to Ibadan, Nigeria. With reference to this context, a Togolese migrant farm labourer described why and how he migrated to Ibadan. In his words:

...A man from my place came home with things that we saw and he also sent bikes, established a shop and often sent financial support to his children and parents back home. The people back home saw that he looked well and was doing well ...[we] were motivated to follow him to Nigeria to farm to obtain similar benefits...

(IDI/Male/ Migrant farm labourer/Olosun/Gando, Togo/18-10-2017)

In reference to an earlier case of a female Togolese migrant tenant/farmer that has been in Olokonla community in the Ijaiye farm settlement for two years, her experience of unprofitable cosmetic business and farming production in community/country of origin of Togo which were discouraging did not make her migrate. But she eventually migrated when she received some enticing information. Like other farm labour migrants, her eventual migration was based on information of wealth/investments generated and obtained from commercialized farming and profitable farm production in Ibadan, Nigeria which she and other people from her community/country of origin saw with their relatives who were migrants visiting communities/countries of origin. In her depiction of the information that enticed her to engage in cross border migration she excitedly stressed that:

...My mother went out from home (Basari, Togo) and came back home with motorbike. Then some people from our community followed her and also came back with motorbikes. And the whole community found it awesome and were enticed by their achievements and the available fortunes in *Fala Oyo* [Nigeria]...Some of us decided too to join her. Because of this, I had to follow my sister who returned home on visit to give birth. She did not have transport fare when she wanted to return to *Fala Oyo* so I arranged for transport fare for two of us after which we got a vehicle to *Fala Oyo*.... I was in *Fala Oyo* before I moved to Ibadan and I moved because farmland was becoming infertile in *Fala Oyo*.

(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Olokonla-Ijiaye Farm Settlement/Basari, Togo,24/10/2017)

In a similar situation, a migrant from Anadana, Benin who migrated to Nigeria since 1993 and who has worked in Atan farm community for 24 years where he combines farming and timber business observed that:

I came here first as a labourer through someone since 1993. I came with him because when the man visited home the man brought a lot of things home. I asked him where he was able to get those things, and he said Nigeria. And so I followed him to Nigeria to also buy those things. I also wanted to be here so that I do not just hear but also see for myself and to inform my children about it.

(IDI/ Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/ Anadana, Benin/ 20-10-2017)

As observed, such information received were related to better opportunities or hope of new opportunities in Ibadan. The information were related to the wealth/investments which other farm labour migrants generated from profitable farm production and markets for farm produce in Ibadan, which (potential) migrants in their countries of origin got or saw with return migrants and migrants visiting (who in some instances were) their kinsin their countries of origin. Information in form of feedback from a point of destination to a particular location (of country of origin) which Mabogunje (1972) articulated in migration system theory as (feedback) mechanism for facilitating migration was similarly observed in this study as very significant international farm labour migration. As also observed, information assisted the (potential) migrants decide whether to migrate or not. And those that eventually migrated and where they migrated to, was based on information that was related to opportunities with better rewards and chances to meet their aspirations. Since subsequent migrants got information from earlier migrants who were already established in Ibadan as well as from return migrants at country of origin, of which they

were convinced and then to be contractually recruited or to travel independently to Ibadan, Mabogunje (1972) has stressed that such means of information flows establishes a transnational network and that the transnational network becomes channels of information through which migration corridors from country of origin to country of destination is sustained. The transnational network of information migration makes such migration to a particular destination (as Ibadan) not to be migration to an uncertain destination or random to an uncertain destination but purposively organized along certain direction of migration corridor between countries of origin and destination. In the case of this study, farm labour migration was organized along established migration corridors between Ibadan, Nigeria and (communities in) countries of origin of Togo, Benin and Ghana.

To reiterate, the enticing contents of the information made information as an additional factor with sufficient force to induce and facilitate the cross border migration to Ibadan. This signified that the presence of livelihood challenge and stress factors such as unfavourable market and farm conditions or insecurity of life did not make Togolese, Ghanaian and Beninois to migrate across the border to Ibadan even if they considered it. But with favourable information reaching them across the border in their countries of origin and on the basis of the information many Togolese and Beninois (potential migrants) that were considering cross border migration decided to eventually migrate to Ibadan.

The (feedback) information sent or taken across the border to farm labour migrants communities/countries of origin was not exclusive to return migrants and migrants visiting their countries of origin. The locals in Nigeria as well as Nigerian migrants abroad (in Togo and Benin) also provided or sent information that induced and facilitated (potential) migrants of Togo and Benin origin to migrate to Ibadan. In a particular case, a Nigerian migrant in Togo persuaded a Togolese who was in non-farm occupation to follow him to Nigeria to gain more from the open and prosperous opportunities in Nigeria than the limited opportunities in the Togo, as recounted by the Togolese migrant farm tenant/farmer:

[H]e told me I may not make it in driving and he went further to inform me that if I come with him to Nigeria he will help me. In Nigeria he introduced

me to farming at *Bani*, Kwara state where I first settled. While at *Bani* with my *Oga* who brought me to Bani I got to know about the farm activities in Olosun. I had contact with someone that worked here [Olosun] and he informed me he has farmland in Olosun and that I can come and work with him as a farm manager [and I moved to work for him where] I am still a farm manager [now].

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/Langabo,Togo/19-10-2017)

Information was linked to transnational network and the agents that passed the information on were also linked to the transnational network. The transnational network also served as transnational network of information and agent of labour recruitments, and it contributed to facilitate cross border migration of farm labour migrants. This context was also explained by a female migrant tenant/farmer in these words:

... [U]sually I inform people to ask other people that I need labourers. This is usually my brother or other relatives that spread out the message...It is usually my brother [a return migrant]who arranges for labourers ...on my behalf...some of the labourers ...while returning back to Nigeria ... recruit friends who may be interested to join them. Sometimes, they recruit boys and ask them to follow me...

(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye farm settlement/Sabokoma,Togo/25-10-2017)

This indicates that regardless of the reasons for migration and the aspirations of (potential) migrants for opportunities in farm and non-farm occupational activities or for security of life or for reunion or just for life changing opportunities, everyone of the migrant whether migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers depended on the transnational network of information and agents to migrate from Togo, Benin and Ghana to farm communities in Ibadan.

It is important to note that in spite of each of the farm production and social conditions experienced by migrants, the aspiration to migrate across the border was not initially considered or at least not apparent. But even when migration was eventually considered and migration eventually occurred, in some cases, the migration aspirations were not to become migrant farmers. The initiative for migration and motivation for actual action of migration resulted from favourable information about range of life changing opportunities including achievement aspirations. The information that came across the border from Nigeria from return migrants, migrant farm tenants/farmers visiting their kin in communities of their countries of origin, to reiterate, was an imperative factor that

persuaded, compelled, or encouraged and triggered cross border migration. And the decision for migration was the result of the context which potential migrants of different occupations were confronted with and the aspirations that they had (as explained in the next theme). Where the migrants hope to meet their aspiration, their migration attractive and pull factors/conditions were linked to the out-migration push factors/conditions.

The productive farm and profitable market outlets and prices of farm produce which enticed and pulled Togolese and Beninois farm labour migrants and for which they actively engaged in farm production in Ibadan was the first or prime aspirations for some of the farm labour migrants when they were in their countries of origin particularly in Togo and Benin, while for some Togolese, Beninois and Ghanaian farm labour migrants in Ibadan, migration into farm linked market activities in Ibadan was an alternative aspiration and alternative sought opportunity.

Ibadan was the primary destination of and for many farm labour migrants (migrant farm tenants and migrant farm labourers) who had set out from their communities/countries origin to Ibadan for profitable farm- market activities. Thus, their prime aspirations at origin-Togo and Benin in which the migrants hoped to achieve in Ibadan as their primary destination were aspirations that some migrants had already achieved, while other migrants were still hoping to achieve their prime aspirations in Ibadan as a primary destination. This latter circumstance was the case with some farm labour migrants. Such situation was elaborated by a migrant farm tenant/farmer in Ibadan, who before migrating to farm in Ibadan, Nigeria, had migrated to work as labourer in Bani, Kwara state, Nigeria, after migrating from Togo. In the migrant's words: 'I worked as a labourer at *Bani* before becoming a farm manager and later farm owner in Olosun' as his secondary destination, to get wages and achieve his aspiration of particularly buying a car. But then he got money and married a wife instead of buying a car. The migrant further stressed that: '...After my first settlement [from labour contract payment] from labour, I got money and I married with it instead of car.... Even so I can still work to get a car. This is because my Oga made it here in Nigeria, where he got a car that I saw' (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/ Langabo, Togo/19-10-2017**). This statement indicated that the migrant benefited from the profitable farm-market activities and his aspiration to

earn sufficient income to buy a car would have been achieved except that his aspiration and interest changed to other human social values of companionship.

These prime aspirations which farm labour migrants went with to primary destination were the primary pull factors to Ibadan. For some farm labour migrants from communities in Togo, Benin and Ghana, their prime aspirations for opportunities were in alternative occupations in non-farm or farm activities and labour such as to buy mechanic tools and work as mechanic, buy a car and then return to country of origin, engage in taxi/commercial driving, and for life safety, with which the migrants had individually hoped for in their countries of origin. The prime aspirations for other migrants was, however, for the migrants to enhance their life chances at the (other) primary destination such as Lagos, Sagamu, Saki, Oyo, Iware, Ibadan town, Fala Oyo, Sabo, Ojoo, Ife in Osun state and Bani in Kwara state. However, without achieving their aspirations of income and wealth which was expected to be generated from nonfarm or farm activities and labour at these primary destination, the migrants had to migrate further from these primary destination to Ibadan as a secondary destination for alternative opportunities and occupations in profitable farm - marketsactivities and trading of farm labourfor farm activities. The change of aspirations of occupations from primary destination to alternative occupation in farming at the secondary destinations was the secondary pull factor to Ibadan, for those category of migrants who moved to secondary destination from primary destination.

From the study observations, many of the migrants had relatively achieved their aspirations to earn incomes/wages and wealth generated from farm-market and labour businesses in Ibadan, while others were still hoping to achieve their aspiration of a considerable income and wealth that can be appreciated back home in their countries of origin. All of these indicate that there were primary pull factors and secondary pull factors in migration. Information with the substance of farm-market activities that generated annual income in Ibadan and wealth/investments for farm labour migrants in communities/countries of origin was associated with the element of migration's pull factor to Ibadan. But while the farm-market activities are the actual pull factors of migration,

information contents of the factors only facilitated and increased the motivation to and the actual migration to Ibadan.

The understanding of the local people as to why the farm labour migrants were in their farm communities was well depicted by community chiefs and elders in Atan, Ijaiye and Olosun. Therefore, besides the already discussed historical context that showed how migrant farm labourers migrated to the Ijaiye farm settlement in Ibadan, the locals including the community chiefs also have descriptive views of the context of the international migration to Atan and Olosun farm communities. In the words which reflect the views of these community chiefs and elders, a Senior chief who is the acting community chief baale of Atan pointed out that:

The foreigners are here because Atan provides them with the opportunities for survival. The foreigners are here because farming activities and trade in farm produce provides them with the opportunity to earn income and to improve their lives... if things were okay with them [the foreigners in their countries] they would not have been here... They come as labourers and then quickly acquire land to farm for themselves, and then others return to bring others.

(KII/Male/ Senior chief-acting community chief of Atan/Atan/ 20-10-2017)

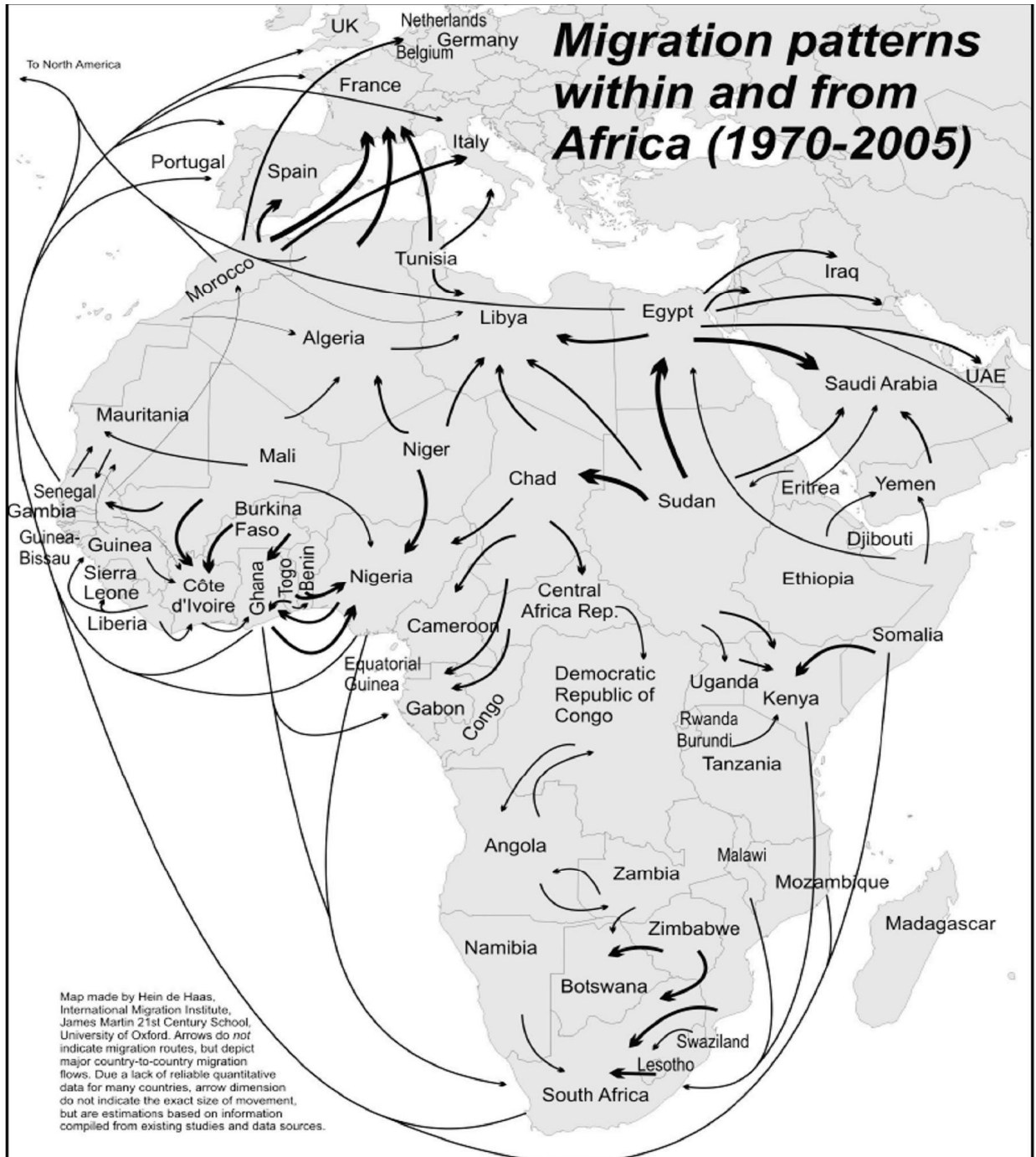
To the community head of Olosun:

The farming in Olosun community lands was with the encouragement of government through the establishment of farm settlement for farming of varieties of products such as cocoa, rubber and palm kernel. This provided opportunities to foreigners for the purpose of farming. This is what attracted them into this community. The foreigners are here for labour work, in which after one year of doing labour they get land for farm and then establish themselves here [Olosun].

(KII/Male/Community head of Olosun/Olosun/17-10-2017)

Like many locals, this strong view was shared by a woman who was a local farmland owner/ farmer in Atan. As a local farmer, who also employed migrant farm labourers, the female farmer explained that: ‘...The foreigners are attracted here [Atan] because of the need to rent land to farm. Others have labour agreement after which they are free... I know everyone is looking for means of livelihood opportunities’ (IDI/Female/Local farm land owner-farmer/Atan/23-10-2017). It is important to stress that most migrant farm tenants/farmers once migrated to Ibadan to work as migrant farm labourers while other migrant farm labourers that migrated to Ibadan to work as migrant farm labourers have

continued to work as migrant farm labourers. Like the migrant farm tenants/farmers, the local farmers also employed and benefited from the cheap labour which the migrant labourers provide for farm production. The next section which is on research objective three discusses the broad nature of the relationships which farm labour migrants established in farm communities in Ibadan particularly the nature of the relationships with local farmland owners and farmers.



Map 4.1: Map of Migration patterns within and from Africa 1970-2005. Map made by De Haan. Culled from J.A. Yaro, Centre for Migration Studies, University of Ghana, Legon.

Note:The map depicts country to country international migration. But not actual migration routes. Arrow dimension only indicate estimated size of movement from country to country. Because of historical or contemporary social dynamics peculiar to each country, resulting to diversification of migration, some patterns and corridors of migration may not be same as indicated on the map but may have been altered as discussed in the review of literature in this thesis.

4.3 Migrant Farm Tenants, Local Farmland Owners and Tenancy Relationship

Here, the findings of the research were analyzed under the following themes: migrant farm tenants, local farmland owners and tenancy relationship, expansion of farm production and productivity of migrant farm labourers, and migrant farm labourers, labour relationship and reward system. The analysis showed how the categories of these relationships have implications for farm production of migrant tenants/farmers and local farmers and for labour productivity of migrant farm labourers.

The observations from the study showed that the relationship between Togolese, Beninois and Ghanaian migrant farm tenants/farmers and local farm owners in the farm communities of Atan, Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement and Olosun was a tenancy relationship. In other words, the relationship was based on tenancy relationship. The migrant farm tenants' first access to farmlands was from the local farm land owners. Such access to farmland was obtained from the chiefs, elders and other local/indigenous members who owned or controlled the farmlands in Ijaiye farm settlement and adjoining host farm communities. Historically, from the 1970s, the migrant farm tenants got their first access to farmlands in Ijaiye forestry reserve and later in the established Ijaiye farm settlement. Subsequently, the migrant farm tenants got access to farmlands in Atan and Olosun.

...Ijaiye forestry reserve or camp was originally established for the preservation of trees for the future generation. This was informed by the observed indiscriminate cutting of trees...The forestry reserve camp was established in 1973 before farm settlement was established...To sustain the trees planting programme we [field officers] suggested to the government to allow farming and labourers...The foreigners were not here before the forestry camp was established...The government needed to bring in foreigners since the labour work was too much and most of us were ageing...There were a lot of farming activities and so we needed more labourers, which is why we encouraged foreigners to come and stay...We got them from different locations such as *Oyo*, *Ibadan* and *Saki* to work and support our work...Since we could not pay them we suggested that the foreigners be allowed to stay and farm...[This is how the foreigners got lands to farm on].

(IDI/Male/Retired Oyo Government Field Officer/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/ 23-10-2017)

ATAN BLOCK (1, 728Ha)



OGUN BLOCK (1, 468 Ha)

SANGO IBON BLOCK (2, 540 Ha)

Map4.2:A sketched map of Ijaiye farm settlement area

Source: Ijaiye farm settlement field officer, 2017

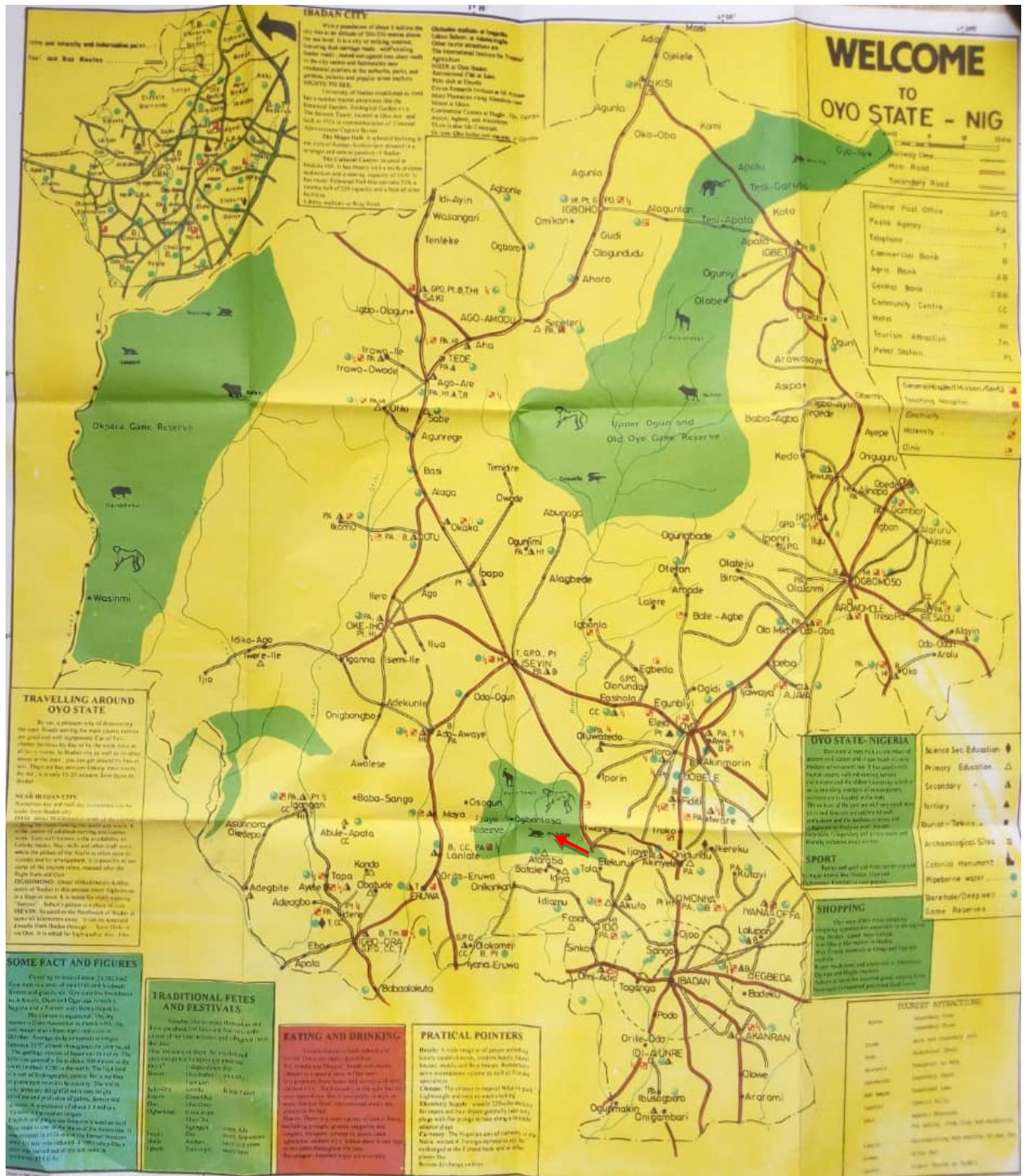
Note:Each of the numbers in the block on the farm settlement constitute a holding. The holding can be stated in hectares or acres. A holding has 10 hectares and in every 10 hectares comprised 25 acres of farmland. Based on this field worksketch map of jaiye farm settlement, which was used by the farm settlement field officers, the Ijaiye farm settlement, considering the 209 holdings and excluding 25 holding reserved for village sites (five (5) holding for each village site scattered in the farm settlement), the Ijaiye farm settlement was established out on 5,728 hectares of forest reserve area. The Atan block comprised 1,728 hectares, the Ogun block constituted 1,460 hectares and Sango Ibon block which was the largest block covered 2,540 hectares. Each double line on the map represent actually roads within and around the Ijaiye farm settlement.

Historically, access to farmlands which the earlier migrant farm labourers got from field officers of Oyo state government as payment or reward for supporting the field officers with labour in the forestry reserve and later farm settlement was initially not official, since the Ijaiye forestry reserve and farm settlements by the state law belonged to Oyo state government. The migrant farm tenants then as migrant farm labourers got access to farmlands through providing labour services in exchange for farmlands. This transformed many of the migrant labourers from the status of farm labourers to tenant farmers or migrant farm tenants/farmers. This initial access to farmland took the form of an established informal tenancy relationship between migrant tenants/farmers and government field officers (locals/indigene). With farm settlement establishment area cutting across Atan, Ijaiye and Olosun communities and with the already expanding farm activities in the farm communities in proximity to the farm settlement, there was a corresponding and increasing demand for farm labour. As a result, with the expansive farm areas and farm production in demand of farm labour, migrant farm labourers seeking and working for wages increased, and the migrant farm tenants/farmers and other migrant farm labourers seeking access to farmlands for farm production also increased.

The expanding interests of the migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers in farming which required more access to farmlands for farm production took these farm labour migrants beyond the farm settlement communities to other parts of Atan, Ijaiye and Olosun that were farm communities. Since the labour of the migrant farm labourers was cheap, the locals outside the farm settlement found the migrants' labour to be a cost effective labour force to replace the local's family labour and to boost farm production. This movement of labour meant further migration of migrant farm labourers in which many became migrant farm tenants/farmers and other continued as migrant farm labourers in other parts of Atan, Ijaiye and Olosun farm communities in Ibadan.

While in the farm settlement, particularly, Ijaiye forestry reserve, the migrant farm tenants/farmers (then as migrant farm labourers) got initial access to farmland through the government field officers, in other parts of Atan, Olosun, Ijaiye farm communities, the migrant farm tenants/farmers got access to farmland through the community chiefs *Baale* and local/indigenous farmland owners, often relying on trusted relationship. In this regard,

a migrant farm tenant in Atan who started with two acres farmland and over time expanded to 25 acres pointed out that: 'Access to farmland and all the expanded farmland I rented was through my son inlaw [a local farmland owner] in which I paid N12, 000 annually. With this land I am no longer a labourer but in the past I laboured to get two (2) acres of farmland' (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/ Kaboli, Togo/ 20-10-2017**). A historical depiction of migrants access to farmlands particularly in the Ijaiye forestry reserve and Ijaiye farm settlement shows that, Ijaiye forestry reserve which was established by colonial government and has been in existence since colonial Nigeria, and was later administered by Western regional government between 1950s and 1970s, and then the Oyo state government since 1970s to date (the year 2020). It has its variant method of allocating farmland from the method used by administrators (farm settlement unit, Ministry of Agriculture Resources and Rural Development) of Ijaiye farm settlement, which was formally established in 1970s. Regardless of these different methods, the retired field officers and many other locals who rented and controlled the farmlands became local farmland owners.



Map 4.3: Map of Forest Reserve Areas in Oyo State

Source: Cartography Laboratory, Geography Department, University of Ibadan, Nigeria

Note:On the Oyo state area map, the green areas are the forest reserve zones. The Ijaiye forest reserve is sited on the South East area of the map, which is represented by the red arrow. It is within this Ijaiye forest reserve that the Ijaiye farm settlement was established.

In the Ijaiye farm reserve, the *Taungya system* (also called *Taungya farm system*) as a general practice whereby farm communities and agricultural field workers or forest plantation workers are given the right and authorize to cultivate agricultural crops during the early stages of the establishment of forest plantation, was adopted and introduced by the Western regional government between the 1950s and 1960s as a western regional government forest reserve policy to lease farmlands to interested local farm communities' members, other local persons as well as forest officers such as agricultural field officers (professional officers, technical officers and uniform officers-semi skill permanent officers and boundary guards) for farming. At the time the *Taungya system* was introduced, the capital of the western regional government was Ibadan. And with the creation Oyo state, with Ibadan as her capital, the *Taungya system* as an integral part of the forest reserve policy practice was sustained by the Oyo state government since the 1970s. This was also at about the time the Ijaiye farm settlement was established from the forest reserve.

The state government at the time did not merely introduced *Taungya system*. Farmland as a competitive commodity to own or access and employ to improve livelihoods and boost local economy was scarce among farm communities around the forest reserve area. Thus, the urgent need and high demand for farmland, which extended beyond the farm communities, compelled the state government to introduced the *Taungya system*. The competition and scramble for farmlands for farm production was also because of the compelling need couple with the stringent social and economic conditions of life the accompanied the urbanization of Ibadan. Thus, the adjustments to those conditions came with the highly competitive demand for farmland in order to use it for farm production to complement the formal sectors' work that were unable to support the livelihoods of families sufficiently.

Under *Taungya system*, the state government gave some farmlands in the forest reserve to farm communities and other interested persons including local farmers to farm. The farmlands were given in exchange for the persons/farmers allocated farmland to plant forestry trees and not to deplete the trees in the forest reserve. This was to encourage afforestation and mitigate the prevailing deforestation, as the farmers engaged in farm

production, thus, sustaining the forest reserve and protecting it from unauthorized intrusive activities. The practice of allocation of farmland under the *Taungya system* was such that the Oyo state government through the farm settlement unit, Ministry of Agriculture Resources and Rural Development, gave farmers farmlands. A farmer was only entitled to one hectare of farmland (10,000sqm) on lease for farm production, and along the farmers' farming activities, he/she was assigned places in proximity to his/her farm in the forest reserve to plant crop trees and other forestry trees. Beside individual farmers planting trees, there were also designated tree planting campaign days which were supervised by the forest field officers. After three years of a farmer using the farmland, as a policy practice to encourage, grow and spread afforestation and forestry, the farmer was dispossessed of the farmland assigned to him/her and then reallocated another one hectare of farmland on lease to use for another three, after which another one hectare of farmland would be allocated to him/her on lease. In the farmers contributing to drive afforestation through trees planting and farmland rotational practice of continuing to expand the planting of trees, they were complementing agents to the function of the forest officers, especially the semi-skill permanent officers who were responsible for growing and sowing seeds and planting of trees.

Some of the neighbouring farm communities to the forest reserve that were increasingly demanding for farmlands were: Atan, Olosun, Sango bon, Olomitutu, Haruna, Teledalase, Itosi, Iporin, and Ladunmi, Ago-Ilorin; Iduya, Batake and Tola (the last three farm communities were in Olowa site and were in proximity to Ido farm settlement. The Olowa site were allocations of scattered farm settlement). Beside these farm communities, forest officers and other local persons/farmers, the competitive demand for farmland and need to encourage farming led to the delineation and establishment of the Ijaiye farm settlement out of the Ijaiye forest reserve. Thus, forest reserve as it was at the time of the study, was segmented into Crop and Farm Settlement section, Tree and Crop Development (Cocoa Development) section and the Forest Reserve section. Each of these segment was administered as a unit headed by departments/agencies, in accordance with each unit's functions.

In the Ijaiye farm settlement, however, *Taungya system* was not operational but the method of allocation of farmlands was by rent. Thus, farmlands was also given to farm communities, other persons/farmers and field officers by the Oyo state government in exchange for rent paid in cash. On the other hand, in Ijaiye forest reserve, beside the Oyo state government given farmlands to local farmers in exchange for a promise (tenancy rules) to plant trees and to avoid felling of trees, the farmlands allocated were paid for in cash as rent to the state government. To access and rent farmland, a farmer through the community leader (the leader of the collectivity and group of farmers) who was the representative of farmers, applied for farmland to the Forestry Reserve Office. The community leader represented the interests of farmers and villagers/farm communities. Thus, the community leader liased between the forest reserve office and the community of farmers. Upon certainment of farmland for lease, the farmer was required to pay an official annual *Taungya* tenancy agreement fee of N1,000 per hectare. This was similar to the official tenancy agreement fee of N1, 000 per hectare paid by farmers to farm settlement unit office.

Further, unlike in the forest reserve, in the farm settlement, farmers can continue to retain their tenanship with the state government to a particular farmland as long as they do not violate their tenancy agreement. Beside the farmers residng in any of the designated five village sites in the farm settlements and other farm houses scattered in Ijaiye farm settlement, many of the migrant farm tenants, migrant farm labourers and local farmers were resident in the Ijaiye forest reserve camp (commonly referred to as Ijaiye camp). The forestry reserve camp was designated originally as an administrative station for forest field workers. Overtime, the forest camp accommodated migrants and local farmers. By this, the forest camp served also as labour camp for (migrant) labourers and farmers. In the Ijaiye forest reserve, the farmers were not permitted to resident in the forest reserve, except the forest camp. Many other farmers with farmlands in the forest reserve came from neighbouring communities and distant places such as towns to the forest reserve to engage in farm production.

The *Taungya system* was however, suspended in 2018 by the Oyo state government with an alternative plan to re-organize the Ijaiye forest reserve in order to create a distinct

section for agricultural activities. Consequently, the tenant farmers in the forest reserve were ejected from it. This implied that the tenancy agreement fee was also suspended. This created crisis between the state government and local tenant farmers. And since there was no immediate policy in action to replace the *Taungya system*, there were uncertainties among the farmers as to what would be the next action of government. Due to the government's revocations of the farmers' farmlands and ejection of farmers from the farmlands, some of the tenant farmers exited the forest reserve while others continue to use the farmland pending government next course of policy action.

Table 4.1. Official and unofficial tenancy rent rate per hectare

Rent Areas	Official/Unofficial statement on rent status	Rent rate and periods
Forest reserve and farm settlement	Official tenancy fees at different periods as stated by government official of farm settlement unit.	₦50 (1970s)
		₦200 (1990s)
		₦500 (part of 1990s to 2015)
		₦1,000 (2016 to date 2017)
Forest reserve and farm settlement	Tenancy fees which local farmers claimed to pay to state government officials at different periods.	₦300 (2002)
		₦1, 000 (2008)
		₦5, 000 (2013)
		₦10,000 (2015 to date 2017)

Source: Field work, December, 2017

However, before the suspension of the *Taungya system* by the Oyo state government, the context of the practices of tenancy relationship in the Ijaiye forest reserve and farm settlement were as observed and depicted in this study. The local farmland owners, entrepreneurial farmers and bureaucratic farmers who were also farmers, interestingly, were the farmland tenants of Oyo state government. Interestingly, the official tenancy fees which the farmers claimed to pay to the state government differed from the official stated tenancy fees reported by Oyo state government officials. From the points stated by the local farmers in Ijaiye forest reserve and farm settlement, the tenancy fee which they paid to Oyo state government changed over time. With the available information from a local farmland owner/farmer, the tenancy fees increasingly changed from '₦300 in 2002 to ₦1000 in 2008, ₦5000 in 2013 and to ₦10,000 in 2015-2017' (the last tenancy fee was the current fee noted as at the time of the study). From the official stand point, the tenancy fee increasingly changed from: ₦50 in 1970s to ₦200 in 1990s, ₦500 in 2015 and to ₦1000 since 2016 to date 2018.

What these differences in claim to paid tenancy rent of local farmers and government officials implies is that, the scarcity of farmlands and the high competitive demands for farmland due to the increasing preferences for state government farmland over private or farm community farmlands (due to the inherent tendency or challenge associated with farmlands of private farmland owners, such tenancy conflict and local farmland owners' tendency to repossess their farmland) led to the emergence of farmland entrepreneurial farmers and bureaucratic farmers (included government officials). These farmland entrepreneurial farmers and bureaucratic farmers monopolized and limited the official process of leasing farmland from state government. Thus, by limiting access to farmland on lease and controlling the farmland, they made the farmland scarce and inaccessible to new entrance farmers. With their control over vast farmland holdings, which some of them could not utilize all the farmland holdings for farming, they leased some acres, hectares or holding of farmland to (new) other farmers.

Accessibility to farmland in Ijaiye forest and farm settlement was through these state government official who transformed to being public officers well as entrepreneurial farmers and bureaucratic farmers. Their official and unofficial positions in the processes

of leasing farmland explains the high tenancy rent paid by (new) farmers and migrant farm tenants, since farmlands were said to be hardly available or non-available as well as officially reported to be hardly available or non-available. In other words, the tenancy fee per acre or hectare paid was at exploitative rate. So, for enterpreneurial farmers and bureaucratic farmers, leasing farmlands from the state government and controlling the farmlands was also a speculative business for profit.

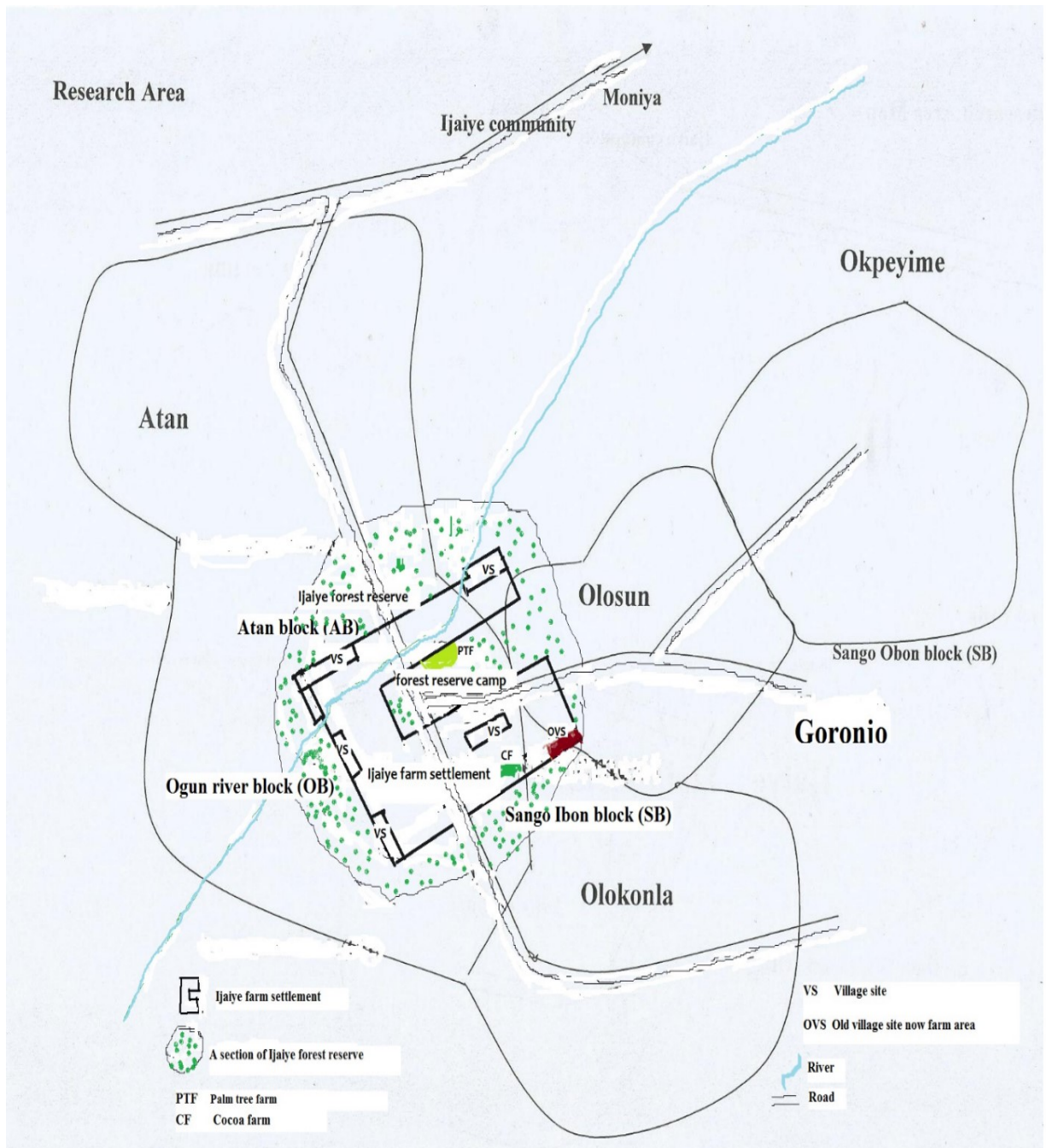
With the local farmers' access to and control of farmlands in the Ijaiye forestry reserve and farm settlement, many of the local farmers as farmland tenants further leased the farmlands they rented from the state government to migrant farm tenants/farmers and some migrant farm labourers for farming. This continued, thus, sustaining the established informal tenancy relationship between migrant farm tenants and local farmland owners/farmers. In other farm communities in proximity to the forestry reserve and farm settlement, similar formal tenancy relationship was established as the migrant farm tenants/farmers and some migrant farm labourers got access to and rented farmlands from the locals as families, individual members of families and the chiefs of the farm communities. In this latter case, formal tenancy relationships were established, because farmland were leased from local community farmland owners who were indigeneous farm landlords. This position was stressed by the community head of Olosun:

... chief *baale* got access to farm land from government. Others farmlands were given to people here [Olosun] who wanted to farm. And the government leased out land for the purpose of farming. Government leased the land for one or two years. The government policy is that land can be accessed from the village head or government...

(IDI/Male/Community head of Olosun/Olosun/17-10-2017)

Access to and rented farmlands that established tenancy relationship was given to migrant farm labourers who over the time of providing labour services in their host communities gained the trust of the local farmers and were accepted in the host farm communities. The significance of trust in farm labour migrants and locals relationship was stated by a local farmland owner/farmer in these words: 'The foreigners are given farmland if the land owner and the community have confidence in the character of the foreigner. This forms part of the consideration for renting farmland to any foreigners' **(KII/Male/ Local farmland owner/ farmer/Olosun/19-10-2017)**. Yet a surety

was required before the farmland was leased to any migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants. The migrant labourers and farm tenants and their surety or sureties were acceptable because of the trustworthiness which the locals particularly local farmland owners had in certain migrant labourers and migrant farm tenants. For this same reasons, the migrant farm tenants and local farmland owners were able to sustain a good tenancy and social relationships. In this regard, the longest resident migrant farm tenants/farmers and the community chief served as sureties of migrants when entering into tenancy relationship with local farmland owners. Even when community chiefs entered into a tenancy relationship with any farm labour migrants at least a surety who was a migrant farm tenant/farmer with reputation and long-stayed residence in the host community was required, in order to get farmland. The community leaders who were the farmers' representative in Ijaiye forest reserve and farm settlement also served as sureties to (new) local farmers who wanted or already owned farmlands in the forest reserve and farm settlement.



Map4.4:A transient map of thestudy area

Source: Field work, December, 2017

Note: The transient map is also a representation of social mapping, indicating basic features in the Ijaiye forest reserve, Ijaiye farm settlement and farm communities. Some of the features can be noted on Ijaiye farm settlement sketch map and the Oyo state map. The map is made only a sketched map based on field work mapping to depict some of the specifically noted features in study area. The map does not indicate the actual map of the areas, but indicates actual destination and host communities of international farm labour migrants in Ibadan.

Once the earlier migrant farm labourers in the farm settlement and communities were trusted and accepted by local farmland owners/farmers and chiefs of the communities, with a good social relationship was established in the course of labouring for them, and the local farmland owners/ farmers were confident to lease out farmlands to the migrant farm labourers, with which they became migrant farm tenants/farmers (tenant farmers). Similar context prevailed in getting subsequent access to additional farmlands which the migrant farm tenants/farmers rented. The earlier migrant farm tenants/farmers and in some cases migrant farm labourers did not served as the only channels through which subsequent migrants such as migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants arrived the farm settlements and communities in Ibadan. They also served as referees and surety of the later migrant farm labourers in the process of establishing tenancy relationship with the chiefs and local farmland owners/farmers in the communities, with which they got farmlands on lease and for which later migrant farm labourers formally entered into tenancy relationship.

Some of the referees or sureties to migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers were return migrants who were once migrant farm tenants/farmers with long trusted social relationship with locals and chiefs in the farm communities in Ibadan but had returned finally to their countries in Togo and Benin. Some of the referees or sureties who were migrant farm tenants/farmers were still involved in farm production in the Ijaiye forestry reserve and farm settlement and communities in Ibadan. Most of the referees and sureties of these migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers were their relatives. Through good social relationships which the return migrants/returnees had long established and the present migrant farm tenants/farmers also have with locals, particularly with local farmland owners/farmers, the migrant farm labourers introduced to the chiefs and other local farmland owners/farmer were able to lease farmlands with which they entered into tenancy relationship.

The tenancy relationships were established with formalized tenancy agreements with tenancy rules, in which the terms of the tenancy agreements were in the most part set and given to migrant farm tenants as conditions for which farmland could be and were leased to the migrant farm tenants. In general, most part of the terms of the tenancy agreements

which included tenancy rules were common across the forest reserve, farm settlement and farm communities studied in Ibadan. However, the form of rent payment to the farmlands leased varied among local farmland owners/farmers and was subject to negotiation, which implied migrants were getting the same acre(s) of farmland for different rents or forms of payments.

The forms of rent payments defined by the tenancy agreement rules were: some local farmland owners/farmers required migrant farm tenants and migrant farm labourers to provide labour services for them for a certain agreed period on certain portions or acre (s) of farmland before they will be and were leased farmlands. Once they provided such labour services to local farmland owners/farmers, the migrant farm tenants and some migrant farm labourers were leased farmland based on the acre(s) or portion agreed on. For the local farmland owners/farmers whose interests were in labour services in exchange for farmland, they required the continuous provision of labour services to allow retention of the farmland for continuous farm production for a certain agreed period. Other local farmland owners/farmers required migrant farm tenants to continue to provide labour services to them using the migrant farm tenants' labour group in order to lease additional farmlands to them and/or to retain farmlands leased to them already.

Other local farmland owners/farmers required a monetary rent payment for leased farmlands for a certain agreed period. For the local farmland owners/farmers whose interest was cash, they required migrant farm tenants and some migrant farm labourers who wanted to rent farmlands to pay an agreed rent and must be paid annually and continued to be paid as renewal farmland rent to retain use of the farmland. Other local farmland owners/farmers required migrant farm tenants to remit half of or certain farm produce harvested from farm production on the farmlands they leased to them. In the latter case, a female local farmer in Atanwho was also local farmland owners stressed that farmland was and can be leased to migrants to remit parts of the farm produce harvested from farm production from such farmland leased to the migrants and not money payment or provision of labour services - As a case in point, she observed that, a migrant farm tenant was to remit certain amount of cassava to the local farmland owner, whereby from one (1) acre of farmland, the farm produce from 400 heaps from the farmland were

remitted and this may be renewed annually with continuous remittance of farm produce to allow continue access and use of the farm land. Since most of the farm labour migrants, particularly, migrant farm labourers, lacked financial capital, many provided labour services to access and rent farmlands, that is labour services were negotiated and provided in exchange for farmland.

This context of accessing farmland as depicted by a migrant farm tenant/farmer who went through a period of labour service under his Beninois brother inlaw who was also serving a local farmland owner/farmers, make this point which was a common practice and perspective:

I had served my sister's husband for one (1) year [as a labourer in his group] after which I was given independence to labour on my own. Our agreement was for him to give me farmland and not money. It was when I arrived here [Ijaiye camp] that I was given conditions in which I will be given farmland.
(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Kubenebene, Benin/23-10-2017)

Also, other migrant farm labourers without sufficient financial capital and social capital to rent farmlands simply continued to labour as migrant farm labourers for wages as wage labourers independently or under a labour group to sustain their livelihoods. This latter nature of exchange relationship, was stressed by a migrant farm labourer from Cotonou, Benin: '...Since we do not have money to rent land my brother and I work mostly for local farmers...' **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Atan/Cotonou, Benin/21-10-2017).**

Other migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmer through labour services for wage raised the finance capital in which they used to pay rents for farmlands. However, the negotiation for labour services in exchange for farmland was also based on the conditions that, when a migrant farm labourer or tenant wants farmland for rent in exchange for labour services, the proposed tenancy agreement can only be accepted if there was farmland available at the time or in future for such an exchange relationship to occur, and if not, the migrant farm labourers were paid wages to rent farmland elsewhere. This was because local farmers have experiences of also paying migrants wages, as a local farmland owner/farmer in Olosun remarked: 'I do not give foreigners land after labour services since there is no much farmland. Some left in search of farmland elsewhere after

their labour services was completed...'(KII/Male/Local farmland owner/farmer/Olosun/19-10-2017).

One common pattern of rent payment was that the first acres of farmland most migrants rented were from their labour services and in some cases the subsequent acres of farmlands rented were with monetary rent payment earned from wage labour. There was no evidence of any case where the community chiefs served as also surety to any migrants to rent farmland directly from government. If otherwise, the capacity of farm labour migrants to access and rent farmland from government official would have indicated that such migrants were not only involved and accepted in their host communities but also had quality social capital based on the character of their relationships with locals including local farmland owners/farmers and community chiefs.

Two different reasons can be alluded to the absence of evidence of surety to migrants: in the Ijaiye forest reserve, the leasing of farmlands to migrants by the local farmland owners, farmland enterpreneurial farmers and bureaucratic farmers was not officially recognized by the Oyo state government. In the case of the Ijaiye farm settlement, a state government official (Chief Personnel Assistant in the Farm Settlement Unit, Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development) reported that, access to and leasing of farmland was open to both locals and migrants, as long as the applicants intending to lease farmland in the farm settlement demonstrate seriousness in the process to lease the farmland. Seriousness was emphasized as a consequence of the scarcity of farmlands and non-availability of official farmlands for lease. As also reported: (new) farmers could only accessed and leased farmland when land tenantry of a farmer was revoked. This intensifies the competition for farmland. Such revocation was either due to non-utilization of farmland, abandonment of farmland by a farmer due to continuous difficulties to access the farmlands caused by poor infrastructure such as poor in-roads to the farmland for agricultural production or herdsmen/farmers' crisis, or sanction for subletting the farmland to a third party who may have been also farmer.

In the forest reserve, sanctions for felling a tree (s), subletting farmland, hunting, planting illegal trees and planting cash crop(s) and for extending and expanding the farmland beyond the official assigned one hectare varied. The policy directive of no

planting of cash crop in the forest reserve was because cash crops were arable crops and were not among the tree crops specified and required in the forest reserve. This implies that, in discouraging cash crop production, the production of food crops was inadvertently encouraged. Thus, punitive sanction to a farmer was based on what was assessed as the weight of violation of the *Taungya system*'s tenancy agreement rules. But the sanctions fell with the category of a fine and expulsion from the forest reserve. As a case in point, for cutting a tree, a particular farmer was charged for trespassing/illegal entry, and illegal cutting of trees. And depending on the category of felling tree (category 1 or 2), the fine was compounded, as the farmer paid N10, 000 each for trespassing and illegal felling of tree (s): the current fine for category one at the time of the study was N700 per tree/stem multiple by N10, 000 (as fine for felling a tree). The fine for category two was N600 per tree/stem multiple by N10,000. In further explaining the context of this exchange relationship which migrant farm tenants/farmers and certain migrant farm labourers were involved in, the community head of Olosun emphasized that:

Government cannot give land to any foreigner except with the surety of the baale. However, rent payment for land depends on the land size. Money may be required for payment or given freely [meaning through labour or as gifts]'. Again, this depends on the relationship.

(KII/Male/Community head of Olosun/Olosun/17-10-2017).

It was interestingly to note that local farmers, entrepreneurial farmers and bureaucratic farmers unofficially re-leased farmlands in Ijaiye forestry reserve and farm settlement Ibadan to migrants for an negotiated and flexible period, which could be for between one and five (5) years. The general point of observation was that, by the local farmland owners, entrepreneurial farmers and bureaucratic farmers leasing out farmlands to migrants and other (new) farmers unofficially, they had created and were sustaining an informal tenancy relationship. To emphasize, the rent was renewed annually for that period, after which the farmer decided to continue with his/her tenancy relationship with a farmer or repossessed the farmland. But outright sale or transfer of ownership or tenancy status to someone else whether a local or migrant was not allowed, for in doing so undermined as well as infringed on the policy. To put this context into the policy perspective of *Taungya system*, in an indepth interview session with a senior official who was an Assistant Director at the Farm settlement Unit, Ministry of Agriculture, at Oyo

state secretary, the official stressed that: ‘...Once a local was given land within the government forestry to farm or the farm settlements the local person was not authorised to sell or [re-]leased the land to anyone’ **(IDI/Female/Assistant Director/Farm Settlement Unit, Ministry of Agriculture, Oyo State Secretary/26-10-2017)**.

However, as observed, this law was violated, as local farmland owners/farmers who were farmland tenants of Oyo state government not only leased out the farmland to migrant farm tenants/farmers but also sold the farmland by transferring the control of the farmland to other locals, with or without changing the initial farmland title. But from the response manner of the official, while it seems the official as other officials were aware of these practices that violated the policy of *Taungya system* and farm settlement policy practice and that it benefited some officials, the official interviewed reluctantly and cautiously explained that: ‘...This act is not allowed by government. Even if the land title was changed, it is done through unofficial means’ to give official title to the farmland as if the renamed title was the original farmland title **(IDI/Female/Assistant Director/Farm Settlement Unit, Ministry of Agriculture, Oyo State Secretary/26-10-2017)**.

Table 4.2: Migrant farm tenants' size of farmland area and mode of payment

S/N	Migrant's origin	Duration of farming	Migrant's destination	Area of land per acre	Mode of payment
1	Cotonou, Benin	4 years (2013-2017)	Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement	21 ½ acres	Cash: ₦1000/1 acre
2	Jugu, Benin	25 years (1992-2017)	Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement	150 acres	First 10 acres/labour services Cash: subsequent 14 acres ₦2000/1 acre
3	Sokode, Togo	9 years (2008-2017)	Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement	3 acres	Cash: ₦2000/1 acre
4	Basari, Togo	4 years (2014-2017)	Olosun	25 acres	Cash: ₦2000/1 acre
5	Sokode, Togo	37 years (1980-2017)	Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement	15 acres	First 3 acres/labour services Cash: subsequent 12 acres ₦2000/1 acre
6	Bante, Benin	29 years (1988-2017)	Olosun	15 acres	First 3 acres/labour services Cash: subsequent 12 acres ₦12000/1 acre
7	Langabo, Togo	8 years (2009-2017)	Olosun	20 acres	Cash: ₦2000/1 per acre
8	Kaboli, Togo	41 years (1976-2017)	Atan	25 acres	First 2 acres/labour services Cash: subsequent 23 acres ₦12,000/1 acre
9	Krobo, Ghana	20 years (1997-2017)	Atan	3 acres	Cash: ₦2000/1 acre
10	Anadana	15 years (2002-2017)	Atan	25 acres	Cash: First 12 ½ acres ₦2000/1 acre Cash: subsequent 12 ½ acres ₦2000/1 acre
11	Akebumka mene, Togo	11 years (2006-2017)	Atan	3 acres	Labour services
12	Kubenebene, Togo	5 years (2013-2017)	Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement	10 acres	First labour services and Cash: subsequently ₦10,000/1 acre
13	Basari, Togo	5 years (2013-2017)	Olokonla: Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement	74½ acres	Cash: ₦5000/1 acre
14	Sabokoma	3 year (2015-2017)	Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement	12 acres	Inheritance

Source: Field work, December, 2017

Based on the forms of rent payments for farmlands leased by migrant farm tenants/farmers and certain migrant farm labourers, some migrant farm tenants/farmers who farmed in the Ijaiye forestry reserve and farm settlement and the other farm communities at different periods have different amount/sizes of farmlands. The number of acres of farmlands accessed and rented by particularly the migrant farm tenants/farmers is depicted as follows: a Beninois migrant farm tenant from Cotonou who has been in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement for four (4) years (2013-2017) had 21½ acres of farmlands of farm production with an annual rent of ₦5000 per acre; another Beninois migrant farm tenant from Jugu who has been in Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement for 25 years (1992-2017) had 150 acres of farmlands out of which the first 10 acres were accessed through labour services and the remaining 140 acres were rented over time through monetary rent payments of ₦2000 per acre (meaning rented at less than ₦2000 in 1990s and before the year 2000s); a Togolese from Sokode who has been farming in Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement for nine (9) years (2008-2017) rented three (3) acres of farmlands with his one year labour contract wage reward of ₦160,000 from the community chief *baale* of Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement; another Togolese migrant farm tenant from Basari who has been farming in Olosun for four (4) years rented 25 acres of farmlands at the rent rate of ₦50,000 annually (each was at the rate of ₦2000); and another Togolese migrant farm tenant from Sokode who has been farming in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement for 37 years (1980-2017) rented three (3) acres of farmlands at first and over time has 15 acres of leased farmlands.

Furthermore, a Beninois migrant farm tenant from Bante who has been farming in Olosun for 29 years (1988-2017) through a referral/surety to Olosun community head had provided labour service to the community head for three (3) years in which he received farmland as reward for labour service, as rent was paid in labour service. And overtime (1988-2017), large parts of the 15 acres of farmland the Beninois migrant farm tenant rented were mostly through annual monetary rent payment of ₦5000 per acre in 2001, which increased to ₦12,000 per acre since 2010 up to 2017; a Togolese migrant farm tenant from Langabo who has been farming in Olosun for eight (8) years (2009-2017) rented 20 acres of farmlands out of which three (3) acres were first rented at the start, and the rents for the 20 acres of farmlands were paid from his labour wages of

working as a farm manager for a local farmer and from labour service; and another Togolese migrant farm tenant from Kaboli who has been farming in Atan for forty one (41) years (1976-2017) rented 25 acres of farmland at the annual rent rate of ₦12, 000 per acre, out of which two (2) acres were rented at the start, with some of the subsequent farmlands accessed and rented through a local farmland owner/farmer who was also the migrant farm tenant's son in law.

In addition, a Ghanaian migrant farm tenant from Krobo, Eastern region of Ghana who has been residing, trading in palm wine, and farming in Atan for 20 years had three (3) acres of farmlands which he first rented with the social support of his church and has not added any acre of farmland to the three (3) acres of farmlands for about two decades (1997-2017); a Beninois migrant farm tenant from Anadana that has been farming in Atan for 15 years (2002-2017) rented 25 acres of farmlands from the senior chief and acting community chief of Atan out of which 12 ½ acres were rented at the start; a Togolese migrant farm tenant from Akebumkamene that has been farming in Atan for 11 years (2006-2017), rented and remained with the three (3) acres of farmlands in those years; a Beninois migrant farm tenant from Kubenebene who has been farming in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement for five (5) years (2011-2016) rented 10 acres of farmlands at an annual rent rate of ₦10,000 per acre - Of these 10 acres of farmlands, the first five (5) acres were accessed and rented in the first five (5) years through labour services- and the subsequent additional five (5) acres were rented in the later five (5) years through money payments as rent fees.

Interestingly, a female Togolese migrant farm tenant from Basari that has been farming for five (5) years (2011-2016) in Olokonla community as part of Ijaiye farm settlement rented 7 ½ acres of farmlands for annual rent rate of ₦5000 per acre, but she had started with 10 acres of farmlands; and another female Togolese migrant farm tenant (wife of the late chief *baale* of Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement) from Sabokoma that has been farming with the husband (the late chief *baale*) for three (3) years got access to farmlands by marriage, and later inherited the 12 acres of farmlands of the deceased spouse.

On a general level of observation, the implication of the farmland rent rates was that, ₦2000 was the rent per acre of farmland. However, to reiterate, the rent could vary based on

negotiation. As evident, over time, farmland rented per acre varied and increased from ₦5000 per acre, ₦10,000 per acre and later to ₦12,000 per acre for the same or different periods, and this was particular to migrant farm tenants and labourers that rented farmlands from the years 2013-2018. And to some extent, those in farm communities outside the Ijaiye forestry reserve and farm settlement. On another hand, the earlier and long-stayed residence migrant farm tenants enjoyed lower farmland rent fee of less than ₦300 to ₦2000 between the years 1980, 2002 and 2012. While the rent to a acre was negotiable, the variations in the farmland rents, however, were not significantly different across the different farm communities studied. From the study observations, the rent per acre tend to remain in a certain range of ₦2000 in the years before 2010, ₦5000 in 2010, and increased to ₦10,000 and ₦12,000 between 2011 and 2017 in these farm communities. In other situations, depending on the location of the farmland negotiating for and/or the local farmland owner/farmer a migrant was negotiating with, the rent per acre could even be more. Interestingly, being an earlier migrants or later migrants did not guarantee the number of acres a particularly migrant farm tenants accessed and rented and controlled. As evident above, some later migrant farm tenants were able to rent more farmlands than other earlier migrants, and this depended on the level of financial and social capital of particular migrant farm tenants and labourers. The rent rate of ₦2,000 per acre paid by migrants and other local farmers to farmland owners (particularly those who were farmland tenants of Oyo state government) far out weighed the official rent rate of ₦1,000 per hectare. Thus, as earlier observed, the rent rates paid to local farmland owners including farm entrepreneurs and bureaucratic farmers were extortive.

However, except for the two cases of female migrant farm tenants referred to earlier, many other migrant women as the local migrant women (women from other parts of Nigeria) did not rent farmland. As a result of that, most of the migrant women could not be categorized as labour migrant or migrant farm tenants, since their purpose for migration was reunion. This did not suggest they were deliberately denied access to farmland in host community. But it was because the migrant women depended on their spouses who were migrant tenants that had access to and rented farmlands. For these migrant women, they could not claim any serious authority over the farmland instead the wives of the migrant farm tenants assumed ownership of their spouses' farmlands and their proceeds which

they benefited from. These views were common among migrant women and similar across the different farm communities studied, as expressed in a Focus Group Discussion by one of the migrant women in Olosun: ‘...*what ever my husband own is mine too...*’but ‘...*I/we have no knowledge of my/our husbandfarm land size, our interest is work*’ (FGD/Female/Migrant Women/Olosun/Togo and Benin/22-10-2017).

Other tenancy rules included:that migrant farm tenants must not extend farm production beyond the portion of farmland which a local farmland owner rented to a migrant farm tenant/labourer and ‘*begged for*’ by migrant tenants. A tenancy rule that was common among and required by local farmland owners/farmers across Ijaiye forest reserve and farm settlement and communities in Atan, Ijaiye and Olosun was that trees must not be planted on such rented farmland except the planting of crops such as cassava, maize and tomatoes. The reason for which local farmland owners/farmers emphasized that no planting of trees was to prevent any farm tenant from making claims to the farmland because of any planted trees, which may create conflict especially when the farm tenants claim certain right to ownership of the trees on the farmland of the local farmland owner, in seeking access to and use of such trees.

The violation of any of the tenancy rules such as default in farmland rent payment or failure to provide such labour services or encroachment on farmland or planting prohibited trees on farmlands undermined the tenancy agreement/rules, thus the migrant farm tenant/farmer then loses the legitimacy to continue to use the land for farm production. This terminates the tenancy relationship. The local farmland owner then repossessed their farmlands. An infringement on the tenancy rules also disrupted the social relationship between a migrant farm tenant/farmer and local farm land owners/farmers. Thus the tenancy rules served as part of the integrative mechanisms of the migrant farm tenants to host communities to the extent that their adherence and conformity to the tenancy rules meant the willingness of any migrant farm tenant to adapt to their host farm settlement and communities. For local farmland owners whose interests was cash for rent payment, Togolese migrant farm tenant/farmer stressed that:

...I rented farm land from my landlord [who is a local] and the [tenancy] relationship has been good since I have not defaulted payment of rent. Failure to pay for the farmland, the farm land lord will collect his farm back. There is

no begging here [Olosun]. Money is the main thing they [local farmland owners] want.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Olosun/Basari, Togo/17-10-2017)

The tenancy relationship was guided by not just the tenancy rule of rent payment but also other tenancy rules which sustained any tenancy relationship. The tenancy rules in the case of local farmland owners who were tenants of the state government, the state government required the local farmland tenants to pay an annual farmland rent or tenancy rent for certain negotiated period (which has been stated above) and they were further prohibited from planting of illegal trees/plants such as narcotics/weeds. In Ijaiye forestry reserve particularly, the government required local farm land tenants to plant at least a tree in a year and the existing and planted trees must not be cut-down. In exception to the violation of the tenancy rules in Ijaiye forest reserve, was the official excision of a certain portion of land where local farmers and farm communities planted cocoa, which was an unauthorized tree crop (cocoa) in a forest reserve with alluvial soil. This section of excised land with alluvial soil was fertile for cocoa production. Instead of exerting punitive sanction, the state government used control measure in order to resolve her tenancy relationship conflict with the neighbouring farm communities to the forest reserve. Thus, the excised land was rent free and allocated to neighbouring communities to the forest reserve. Yet, the excised land was still under the control of the state government, and the farmers were warned not to plant additional cocoa and not to expand cocoa planting beyond the excised land area.

The inclusivity of the tenancy rules and conformity to the tenancy rules as required was stressed by migrant farm tenants/farmers in these words: ‘...In every part of the farmland the government does not discriminate whether one is a local or foreigner, as long as the person keeps the rules’ **(IDI/Male/ Migrant farm tenants/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/ Sokode, Togo/19-10-2017)**. These government tenancy rules were incorporated into the tenancy rules which the local farmland owners/tenants outlined and transferred to migrant farm tenants. These tenancy rules for migrant farm tenants relatively varied among local farmland owners/farmers in the same or different Ijaiye forestry reserve and farm settlements and farm communities but included the stipulated government tenancy rules.

The adherence to the tenancy rules enabled and indicated the acceptance of migrant farm tenants/farmers by the local farmland owners and the host farm communities. For this reason, in addition to the tenancy rules, there were also social rules of the host farm settlement and communities which (required that) the migrant farm tenants including migrant farm labourers and local farmers conformed to. The social rules included no stealing in the community, no stealing at the farm, the farm house, and no intrusion into another person's farm; no committing of adultery, and no other criminal behaviours or gang activities such as rape or kidnapping, trading in or smoking narcotics. Once any of the social rules were violated without any infringement on the tenancy rules it literally affected the tenancy rules. These social rules prohibited those deviant behavior in the host communities including the Ijaiye forestry reserve and farm settlement. Once any of the social rules were violated without any infringement on the tenancy rules it literally affected the tenancy rules. Thus, the tenancy relationships were terminated by expulsion of any migrant farm tenants and local farmers from Ijaiye forestry reserve and farm settlements and the farmcommunities. If the infringement was a by local farmer, there were sanctions of weighty fines. In general, the significance of tenancy relationship for farm production was such that: conformity to agreement of tenancy relationship sustained farmland use and farm production. The next section discussed mechanisms for resolving tenancy relationship conflicts and re-establishing of tenancy relationships when violations of the tenancy agreement/rules occurred.

4.4.1 Conflict in Tenancy Relationship and Conflict Resolution Mechansims

The infringements on these tenancy rules as well as social rules were rare, since the keen interests of the migrant farm tenants and migrant farm labourers as well as local farmers was to benefit from the productiveness of farm production and the profitable farm agricultural produce markets in Ibadan. The social rules of host communities will be elaborated in later theme on farm labour migrant's adaption in the host communities in Ibadan. While there were cases of tenancy relationship conflicts such as farmland encroachment, there was hardly any evidence of default in rent payments on leased farmlands. This was in order for migrant farm tenants/farmers to avert losing the farmlands they leased.

However, serious conflicts emerged when defaults in rent payment occurred or the extension of production beyond rented farmland acres, that is encroachment into other farmland not leased. There were cases of farmland encroachment beyond the farmland borders leased, which often created conflicts between the migrants and local farmland owners/local farmers. When this happened, mostly, the migrant that served as surety or a local farmer who was socially associated to the local farmland owners/farmers was approached to help resolve the tenancy relationship conflict. A migrant's social relationship to locals was helpful in that regard. The most effective conflict resolution mechanism and approach which benefits any migrant farm tenants in terms of retention of farmland was the payment of farmland rent. The nature of tenancy relationship conflicts were experienced differently by migrant farm tenants, which in a particular case a migrant tenant stressed that: 'In some cases, after clearing a forest the local farmland owners takes over the farmland from the migrant'(FGD/Males/ **Association of Togo and Benin/Goronjo/13-10-2017**).

Beyond farmland rent payment default, other situations of infringements on tenancy rules were such that a local farmland owner/farmer needing his/her farmland in order to repossess it for other purposes other than for the reason of rent default reflects the series of tensions between migrant farm tenants and local farmland owners/farmers as explained by a migrant farm labourer who intended to establish tenancy relationship. The migrant farm labourer once rented farmland in an effort to also operate as a migrant farm tenant but the farmland was later taken back by the farmland owner who was a local farmland owner. On repossession of the farmland, the said local farmland owner rented the repossessed farmland out to someone else. Consequently, in cases as these, the migrant farm tenants and labourer were discontented with the action of the local farmland owner, as similarly expressed in facial gestures and words by a migrant farm labourer: '...[The] farmland which I rented to farm was later collected back by the owner of the farm land [to farm on it]...' (IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Jugu, Benin/19-10-2017).

To further emphasize the context of tenancy relationship conflicts, a local farmer observed that tenancy relationship conflicts ensued with the breach of the tenancy rules by the

migrant farm tenants and local farmland owners or farmers, and the referred context of the nature of such conflicts was depicted in this regard: ‘Some are cheaters, they think they are smart, that they extend the farmland outside the portion they begged for’ and some of the foreigners have ‘... cheated many farmers [local farmland owners] by extension of land outside the portion they begged for’ to be rented to them’ **(IDI/Male/Local farmland owner/Olosun/19-10-2017)**. Similarly, another migrant farm labourer attempting to become a migrant farm tenant elaborated on another dimension of the tenancy relationship conflicts, in which the migrant farm labourer stated that:

I rented farm land in which a local shared farmland boundary with me. I had asked for permission to use the parcel of land for farm. I got permission but the local farmer who was a neighbour to the farm did not allow me to use the land up till now. Instead he took over the land. Even the amount of money of ₦3,500 [23,000] which I used to clear the land has not been paid back to me. But my neighbour has planted on it without my money being returned. I reported to the [indigeneous] woman that owns the land, who then asked my farm neighbour to pay me all the money for the land and for clearing the land. But up till now he has not, saying he does not have the money now. Though I have a small land where I planted maize’... Without that my land, I cannot work because it is hard to get a labour job with which I can get wages that I can use to pay other labourers to do the job for me. I am alone and I cannot labour alone.

(IDI/Migrant farm migrant labourer/Atan/ Cotonou, Benin/ 20-10-2017)

Like a few migrant farm labourers, the migrant farm labourer just cited also had access to farmlands, yet he was less of a migrant farm tenant and more of a migrant farm labourer (wage labourer), in that he depended more on labour wage (or wage labour) for his livelihood. Thus, in the midst of the social harmony in the host communities between migrants and locals, there were tenancy relationship conflicts. To ensure that the social harmony of the host communities is sustained migrant farm tenants and locals including local farmland owners/farmers were required to conform to the tenancy rules and the social rules. It was in this context that a local farmland owner/farmer in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement stressed that: ‘The baale do not tolerate violation of the rules set in the camp whether indigene or foreigner’ **(KII/Male/Local farmland owner/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/24-10-2017)**. With an appropriate tenancy relationship free of conflicts, the next section discussed how labour was responsible and

effective for the increasing renting and expansion for farmlands and farm production of both migrant farm tenants and local farmers.

4.4.2 Expansion of Farm Production, Migrants' Labour Productivity and Farm-market Effects

The farm production of migrant farm tenants/farmers was based on the farmlands they rented. And the migrant farm tenants/farmers' farm production was based largely on expansion of farmlands. Therefore, the increase in the number of acres of farmlands which some migrant farm tenants possessed as earlier shown represent their extension of farm production. This was achieved with the migrant farm tenants/farmers renting more farmlands for farm production. Interestingly, the expansion of farm production was seemingly equated with productivity in terms of certain marketable quantities of farm produce a migrant farm tenant/farmer was able to obtain from farm production. This included the quality of the farm produce and quantity of production per acre and range of acres of farmlands. This (expansive) farm production translated to the amount of farm produce that fills a big trunk in order to earn a certain amount of income.

Also, to the migrant farm tenants/farmers, expansive and good farm production tends to imply and translate to profitable farm production. As Wanger (2016) explained in his dissertation titled 'Fadama project and poverty reduction in North Central Nigeria', accounting appropriately for productivity per acre or any portion of farmland can be problematic to many traditional and smallhold farmers in Africa except to the extent that productivity and production are mesh as meaning the same, so that their idea of production also signified expansion of farmland of production. The quantity and quality of farm production which was based on expansion of farmlands was depicted by a migrant farm tenant/farmer in these words: 'Farming is progressing very well [here] more than my country. I started with two (2) acres four (4) years back [between 2013 and 2017] and now I have 10 acres after five (5) years of staying in Ijaiye camp' (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Ijaiye Farm settlement/Kubenebene, Benin/23-10-2017**).

Table 4.3: Migrant farm tenants' expanded farm production and labour productivity

S/N	Migrant's Origin	Duration of farming	Migrant's destination	Area of land per acre
1	Cotonou, Benin	4 years (2013-2017)	Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement	21 ½ acres
2	Jugu, Benin	25 years (1992-2017)	Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement	150 acres
3	Sokode, Togo	9 years (2008-2017)	Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement	3 acres
4	Basari, Togo	4 years (2014-2017)	Olosun	25 acres
5	Sokode, Togo	37 years (1980-2017)	Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement	15 acres
6	Bante, Benin	29 years (1988-2017)	Olosun	15 acres
7	Langabo, Togo	8 years (2009-2017)	Olosun	20 acres
8	Kaboli, Togo	41 years (1976-2017)	Atan	25 acres
9	Krobo, Ghana	20 years (1997-2017)	Atan	3 acres
10	Anadana	15 years (2002-2017)	Atan	25 acres
11	Akebumkamene, Togo	11 years (2006-2017)	Atan	3 acres
12	Kubenebene, Togo	5 years (2013-2017)	Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement	10 acres

13	Basari, Togo	5 years (2013-2017)	Olokonla: Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement	74½ acres
14	Sabokoma	3 year (2015-2017)	Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement	12 acres

Source: Field work, December, 2017

The farm production based expanded on farmlands as observed and earlier referred to in details are illustrated in these selected cases as emphasis to the contribution and significance of labour productivity of migrant farm labourers in farm production: a female Togolese migrant farm tenant from Basari who has been in Olokonla community in Ijaiye farm settlement for two (2) years started with 10 acres of farmlands of production and it subsequently increased to 74 ½ acres, whereas a Beninois migrant farm tenant from Jugu that has been in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement for 25 years started with 10 acres of farmland of production and it subsequently increased to 150 acres; another Beninois migrant tenant from Anadana that has spent 15 years of farming in Atan started with 12 ½ acres of farmland of production and it subsequently increased to 25 acres, whereas a Ghanaian migrant farm tenant from Krobo, Eastern region of Ghana that has been in Atan for 20 years had only three (3) acres of farmland of production since 1997 to 2017; a Togolese migrant farm tenant from Langabo who has been farming in Olosun for eight (8) years started with three (3) acres of farm land of production and it subsequently increased to 20 acres, whereas a Beninois migrant farm tenant from Bante that has been farming in Olosun for 29 years started with three (3) acres of farm land of production and it subsequently increased to 15 acres; and a Togolese migrant farm tenant from Basari who has been farming in Olosun for four (4) years had 25 acres of farmland of production.

The farm produce from expanded farm production was increasingly absorbed by the markets through trade in farm produce in Ibadan unlike the communities/countries of origin of the migrant farm tenants/farmers as depicted in these words: *'farming is good and the market was good in Ibadan'*. A good market meant high volume of trade and profitable market prices for farm produce from farm production, and good farm production also meant profitable farm production resulting from profitable market prices for farm produce from farm production and for reinvestment in farm production. As

already analyzed and elaborated in theme on triggers of international farm labour migration, an accessible and profitable markets which made farm production profitable was the primary motivation for the cross border migration of many migrants to farm communities in Ibadan, as a migrant farm tenant/farmer stated: ‘... *[P]roduction is good and the market is good in Ibadan than back home. This is because produce are sold here [Ibadan] faster than back home*’ (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Farm Settlement/Cotonou, Benin/ 15-10-2017**).

The contexts’ conditions of farmers in Benin were similar to the conditions of farmers in Togo. But these conditions, particularly market conditions in Togo and Benin were not similar to the farm production and market conditions in Ibadan, Nigeria. And to re-emphasize, based on the disparities in context conditions of the markets and production between farm communities in Togo and Ibadan, Nigeria, a migrant farm tenant from Sokode, Togo pointed out that ‘...[B]ack home there was no market for many years and even now there is no market. At the time of good farm production more [farm produce] is still not traded over the years’ (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sokode, Togo/ 19-10-2017**).

Therefore, the additional advantage which profitable market provided for farm production in Ibadan was its enablement to migrant farm tenants/farmers to continue (to reinvest in) farm production. The considerable volume of trading in Ibadan which were an incentive that support (reinvestment and/or expansion of) farm production for which migrant farm tenants enjoyed in Ibadan their stay in Ibadan than in their countries of origin held many migrant farm tenants/farmers in Ibadan and continued to attract more (new) migrant farm labourers in Ibadan, with some of the migrant farm labourers hoping to become migrant farm tenants/farmers, when they eventually complete their labour contract and further access and rent farmlands. Another Togolese migrant farm tenants buttressed the different context conditions in Togo in comparison to Ibadan, Nigeria, in these words: ‘...[B]ack home ...business was not good and farm produce traded were not profitable as much as it is in Nigeria...In Nigeria, farming is commercialized and it is profitable...’ (**IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/ Olokonla-Ijaiye Farm Settlement/Basari, Togo/ 24-10-2017**).

Based on similar context in communities of origin, yet from the economic context of limited opportunities in Cotonou, Benin, as poor conditions of the market or trade also affected conditions of farm production, the livelihood of the migrant farmers in their countries of origin was similarly affected by these market and farm production conditions. In other words, the challenges of livelihood were related to the challenges of reinvestments in farm production. It was in this sense that a migrant farm tenant from Benin stressed that: ‘...Back home [in Cotonou, Benin] it is difficult to make it because farming is also not good. [But] states like Lagos [due to its high economic activities and ventures] gives one a better opportunity...’ **(IDI/ Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/Cotonou, Benin/ 20-10-2017).**

The social contact between migrants and locals gave the locals insights into the circumstances of migration history of migrants to their communities. The locals’ views as to what (continue to) entice the migrant farm tenants/farmers and more so the continuous migration of farm labourers through recruitment to Ibadan was because of the importance of farm production to the migrants’ livelihoods. The insight of a Senior Chief in Atan who was the acting community chief *baale* is reiterated here: ‘The foreigners are here because Atan provides them with the opportunities for survival...’ **(KII/Male/ Senior chief-acting community chief of Atan/Atan/ 20-10-2017).** To community head of Olosun: ‘...The surplus produce which foreigners get from farming is for their personal benefits...’ **(KII/Male/Community head of Olosun/Olosun/17-10-2017).** This shows that productivity and continuous expansion of farm production was related to available market and market prices, in which market outlets of trade and the trade off of farm produce enabled reinvestment in production, and also importantly to obtain income that supported livelihood of migrants. Thus, good production which encapsulates increased production, improved market prices and improved income, empowered migrant farm tenants to engage labour and the recruitment of labourers back home to sustain good production for social investments back home. As the community head of Olosun also observed: ‘They [foreigners] usually have surplus produce in which they take a lot of the produce to market and this helps the foreign farmers to build houses and establish businesses [in their countries]’ **(KII/Male/ Community head of Olosun/Olosun/17-10-2017).** To buttress this context, the insight of the Senior chief in Atan who was the acting community chief is

reiterated here: ‘The foreigners are here [Atan, Ibadan] because farming activities and trade in farm produce provides them with the opportunity to earn income and to improve their lives...’ **(KII/Male/Senior chief- acting community chief of Atan/Atan/ 20-10-2017)**.Therefore, the corresponding linkage between reinvestment in farm production, the market and improved livelihoods were apparently the attractive factors to the migrant farmers in Ibadan.

However, prior to this study, the trade in farm produce decreased with corresponding deep decrease in prices of farm produce since February 2017, but at the time of this study in October, 2017 the farm produce prices were slowly increasing steadily. As migrant farm tenants had pointed out: even though the ‘market was good in the past, the market this time is poor’ with resultant low income from farm production. Another migrant similarly observed that: in ‘Ijaiye camp...there is market and the farmland is good for farming even though we do not sell at a good price now’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Kubenebene, Benin/23-10-2017)**.The consequences of changing market conditions which became unfavourable and unprofitable resulted in low price effect, in which farm produce slowed and in some cases reduced not just farm production but hindered reinvestments in farm production. It further reduced the level of labour utility in farm production, thus, lessening productivity of the labour of migrant farm labourers. To emphasize this general poor market situations that affected farm production and productivity of labour which farmers migrant farm tenants/farmers and labourers as well as local farmers were confronted with in Ibadan, a migrant farm tenant/farmer explained it this way: Because of ‘...the opportunity here [Atan]...I decided to participate in farming... [and] labouring for people since my arrival in 1993... [But] now, in this place, farming is good but the market is poor...’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/ Cotonou, Benin,/20-10-2017)**.

As a consequence of shrinking trade which was associated with poor market prices for farm produce, yam as one of the many farm produce (as cassava, maize, tomatoes, etc) declined in its market price. A truck of yam tubers decreased from ₦370, 000 between February and June, 2017 to ₦170, 000 between June and September 2017 and it went as low as ₦80, 000 between September and October 2017. The price of a truck of cassava

produce declined overtime from ₦250, 000 to ₦40,000 and to ₦45, 000 between February and October 2017. As a result of the decline in market prices of farm produce and its consequences for farm production and productivity of labour, a migrant farm tenant/farmer who started with 12 ½ acres and now has 25 acres pointed out that: ‘...Farm production has been good but the market was better off in the past than now [October, 2017]. And because of this a lot of cassava of about six (6) acres is now in the farm [creases]’ (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/Anadana, Benin/23-10-2017**). This shows that trade was low as at the time of this study in October 2017 and that the prices of farm produce started declining as at February 2017 and declined further through May to October of 2017. The changing market conditions which affected production were considered by some migrant farm tenants/farmers as normal occurrences that tend to happen from time to time. Yet these were market changing situations linked to farm production which many migrant farm tenants as well as local farmers were not aware of, but wish off, in the hope of better market prices and good farm production lasting constantly positive every year.

a



b



Plate 4.2a: Ijaiye farm gate traded truck of yams and

b. Cassava truck for future trade

Source: Field work, December, 2017

The combination of decreased trade and continued declining income made the needed financial resources problematic for reinvestment to sustain farm production such that many migrant farm tenants/farmers were lacking farm production inputs needed for farm production. As a result of initial farm production, there were surplus farm produce. But subsequently, the relative low trade in farm produce that was prevailing at the time further contributed to slow farm production, and the low prices for farm produce from which meager income was earned. The decline in prices of trade of farm produce at the time were not as result of any obvious trade competition among farmers, just as it were in the migrants' communities/countries of origin that experienced surplus farm produce created by farmers in particular communities. As observed in this research, the only competition which prevailed was that which migrant farm tenants/farmers compared their farm production performance- in terms of size of farm production with fellow migrant farm tenants. This was because expanded farm production generated increasing income and also sustained farm production through market outlets of trade with constant profitable prices for farm produce.

Any considerable increase in income was available for reinvestment in farm production and used for social remittance at the migrants' communities/countries of origins in Togo, Benin and Ghana. It was in this context that the achievements of migrant farm tenants in both host community, kin and communities/countries of origin was determined and appreciated, especially when the generated proceeds from migration used for investment exceeded the expectations of the migrant farm tenants' communities/countries of origin. This was more so with those migrants who migrated and arrived at about the same time or before them or later and were doing better off in farm production. This was in terms of their money savings and disposable income which they reinvested in production and their achieved wealth which included social remittances for social investments in communities/countries of origin.

Interestingly, however, the changing market conditions with its decline in market prices of farm produce was associated with the sudden change in macro-economic policies introduced by the change in Nigerian government with new executive leadership in the year 2015. This change adversely affected also agricultural and food related industrial

consumption and the financial capacity (purchasing power) of households. The prices were even lower when trade in farm produce were at the farm gates of the farm settlement and farm communities in Ibadan. The informal manipulation and depreciation of Naira in trade exchange to the dollar in international market soared in the face of the rising prices of farm produce and other goods and food items. In the face of the depreciation of the Naira and rising prices of goods and farm produce, the un-improving or non-increasing or stagnate households incomes and the declining industrial income and production slowed/decreased the demand for farm produce and subsequently decreased prices of farm produce. As industries and households were adjusting to the new macro-economic policy in the midst of market instability, on the basis of the naira appreciating very slowly to the dollar, and the prioritization of needs and other resources, the industrial and households demand for farm produce was slowly increasing. As observed in the study, this tends to account for the slow rising market prices of farm produce such as Yam and Cassava in Ibadan analyzed earlier.

In addition to the market which was critical to farm production, production technology (such as tractors and treated seeds) and particularly the labour of migrant farm labourers was vital to the improved farm production of both migrant farm tenants and local farmers. Also, while traditional production technology such as hoes and cutlass used for labour services (weeding) by migrant farm labourers contributed to increased the labour productivity of migrant farm labourers, modern production technology such as agro-chemical used by local farm labourers for labour services (weeding) to migrant farm tenants and local farmers similarly increased the labour productivity of local labourers. Thus, both migrant farm labourers' and local farm labourers' production technologies differentially improve farm production. The common significance of labour, whether it was the labour of migrant farm labourers or local labourers, indicated the imperativeness of labour to the sustainability of farm production of migrant farm tenants/farmers. In other words, what this mean is that, surviving or sustaining farm production in their host communities of Ibadan was inevitable without available labourers, particularly migrant farm labourers.

The importance, opportunity and benefits of labour or labour services which is linked to productivity of labour was not only beneficial to migrant farm tenants/farmers but to also migrant farm labourers as stressed by a migrant farm tenant/farmer: ‘... The labourers weed and farm. This helps my work and the labourers’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/ Kaboli, Togo/ 20-10-2017)**.The benefits of the labour of migrant farm labourers was stated by a migrant farm labourer: ‘...Our part is just to work, and ... Also, it helps our Oga’s farm[production]’**(IDI/Male/ Migrant farm labourer/Olosun/Gando, Togo/18-10-2017)**. Another migrant farm tenant/farmer pointed out that:‘...The local [labourers] help my farm very well’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sokode, Togo/16-10-2017)**. This was to the extent that, high labour productivity in terms of effective labour performance deployed to accomplish labour task or wage labour contract quickly opened up further opportunities for more labour tasks and wage labour contracts. This resulted in increasing returns for the migrant farm tenants/farmers that recruited the migrant farm labourers as well as increasing labour wages for independent migrant farm labourers.Likemany labourers particularly independent migrant farm labourers, the interest to engaged in wage labour to earn labour wage was depicted by migrant farm labourer in these words: ‘I am here for money... [since] farming depends on labour of people, I am here to provide labour service on hire to farmers’**(IDI/Male/ Migrant farm labourer/Ijaiye Farm settlement /Jugu, Benin/19-10-2017)**.

For migrant women, since the purpose of their migration was for reunion rather than labour migration, their labour was distinct from the familiar labour deployed to farming in Ibadan. Their labour, as observed, had some sort of little significance to the farm production of their spouses who were migrant farm tenants/farmers or to that of the local farmers, as suggestive of a migrant women’s remarked: ‘...I/We have no knowledge of my/our husband farm land size, our interest is work’ **(FGD/Female/Olosun/ Togo and Benin/Olosun/18-10-2017)**.The nature and significance of the labour of the migrant women will be elaborated in the next section on labour relationship.

While labour benefits the migrant farm labourers, without farm production or when farm production activities were low, the demand for labour also decreased without

corresponding increase in labour wage per certain acres of farmland of production. The over-all significance of labour to farm production was well stated by a migrant farm tenant in these words: ‘... The benefits of the labourer are that they improve farm production...’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/ Sokode, Togo/ 19-10-2017)**. A local farmer who has benefited over the years from the labour services of migrant labourers and labour group of migrants in farm production also remarked that: ‘...From this large [labour]group I hired their labour services and paid for their labour...Their labour work has been good for farming’For them, once the [labour] agreement is over they are free from the group.’**(IDI/Female/Local farmland owner/farmer/Atan/ 23-10-2017)**. While labour was an imperative farm production inputs in the Ijaiye forest reserve and farm settlement and farm communities in Ibadan, it was also a significant asset for migrant farm labourers and local labourers to earn and improve their labour wages and to sustain farm production of migrant farm tenants/farmers and local farmers. Without labour, reinvestment in farm production was constrained. The broader context is that, farm production, market/trade and farm labour have interwoven relationships in which the consequences resulting from any change in the circumstances of any one of them affects the others.

At the time of the study, there was high cost of farm production, and in order to reduce the high cost of farm production, some migrant tenants benefited from engaging the labour of family members visiting and in rare cases used their children’s labour who were with them in host community. Since most of the migrant farm tenants/farmers had no supplementary financial sources to invest in farm production, the family labour of migrant farm tenants as an alternative labour which was rarely utilized, and the labour of the migrant farm labour recruited across border which was more often utilized, were the main labour sources which migrant farm tenants/farmers as well as the local farmers employed to sustain farm production. In another context a migrant pointed out that: ‘ I labour with my family and sometimes hire labourers to work on my farm. Since I do not focus on farm but saw milling, I do not need to bring in [recruited] labourers. My children work for me, except when the work for us was too much then I hire labourers’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/Anadana, Benin/23-10-2017)**. The expansion of farm production achieved required labour and so the heavy utility of labour of particularly migrant farm

labourers was inevitable in the expansion of farm production as stressed by a female migrant farm tenant who migrated from Basari, Togo to work first in *Fala Oyo*: ‘...[A]t *Fala Oyo* where I got into farming [I] started employing labourers, [and] here too [Olakonla-Ijaiye farm settlement] I have been employing labourers to help with the expanding labour farm work on my farms’ **(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Olokonla-Ijaiye Farm Settlement /Basari, Togo/24-10-2017)**. These depict that labour was critical in farm production and that the relationships which migrant farm labourers and local labourers had with migrant farm tenants/farmers and local farmers was not only significant for sustaining farm production but was also a considerable factor that encouraged migrants’ investment in cross border migration of labourers and continuously held them for a long time in their host communities in Ibadan, Nigeria. It was on the basis of these contexts which depicted the significance of the labour of migrant farm labourers to farm production of migrant farmers and local farmers that labour productivity was on a general level measured and considered consequential for the expansion of farm production. Considering the imperativeness of the labour of migrant farm labourers in farm production, the next theme analyzed the nature of the migrant farm labourers’ labour relationship with migrant tenants/farmers and local farmers and the extent to which the reward system for their labour has implications on the labour relationship and for farm production.

4.5 Migrant Farm Labourers, Labour Relationship and Reward Systems

As observed from this study and discussed already, labour was imperative for expansion of farm production and improved production. This was particularly more so with the employment of the labour of migrant farm labourers and local labourers. At the centre of farm production in Ibadan were the migrant farm labourers that provided labour services for migrant farm tenants/farmers and to particularly the local farmers for rewards such as wages. The significance of the labour of migrant farm labourers to migrant farm tenants and local farmers reflected in these statements of migrants: ‘[p]roduction is good and when production is good it is with the right labour, in which labourers enable the expansion of farm too’ **(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sabokoma, Togo/25-10-2017)**. And to another migrant farm tenant: ‘... employing labourers helps with the expanding labour farm work...’ **(IDI/Female/Migrant**

farm tenant/Olokonla- Ijaiye Farm Settlement/Basari, Togo/24-10-2017).In the migrant farm labourers as well as local labourers providing labour services for the migrant farm tenants/farmers and to the local farmers, a form of labour relationship from farm production was established. And the labour relationship was based on contract. The labour relationship emerged and was established from the necessity of labour in and to sustain farm production.

Since certain migrant farm tenants/farmers in most part controlled the migrant farm labourers and the labour groups which the migrant farm labourers were part of, right after their arrival from cross border farm labour recruitment from their communities/countries origin, the wages which the migrant farm tenants/farmers received from the labour services of the migrant farm labourers to local farmers, a share of the wages were used to pay each migrant farm labourer in accordance with the terms of their labour contract with the migrant farm tenants/farmers or independent farm labourers that recruited them. The payment to every migrant farm labourer was on the basis of that labour contract between the migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers or independent farm labourers that recruited the migrant farm labourer across the border. The cross border recruitment of labour and labour contract re-emphasize the significance of labour in farm production and for the farm tenants and labourers, as stated by a migrant tenant/farmer in these words: ‘... The benefit of the labourer is that they improve farming production. The labour group with me is also hired by other farmer [and in turn the farmers paid wages]’ **(IDI/Male/ Migrant farm tenants/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/ Sokode, Togo/ 19-10-2017).**

The labour relationship between migrant farm labourers and local farmers was necessarily connected to the migrant farm tenants/farmers’ social relationships to local farmers and tenancy relationship with local farmland owners. Thus, in analyzing the labour relationship between migrant farm labourers and local farmers, the context of the labour relationship between migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers which was established by labour contract between them must first be explained. This includes the labour relationship between migrant farm tenants/farmers and local labourers.

The nature of the labour relationship was such that as the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers recruited and controlled the migrant farm labourers on the basis of their labour contract, especially through a labour group. And on the basis of the same labour contract, they used the labour group to provide labour services to local farmers and other migrant farm tenants/farmers for wages, the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers that controlled the migrant farm labourers and the migrant farm labourers' labour also received and controlled the wages from such labour. A share of the received and controlled wages of the migrant farm labourers was used by the migrant farm tenants/farmers to reinvest in farm production as well as reward the migrant farm labourers on the basis of their labour contract. The migrant farm labourers in a labour group were individually and respectively paid in accordance with the terms of their labour contract with the migrant farm tenants/farmers that recruited them. The payment to every migrant farm labourer was on the basis of that labour contract between a migrant farm tenant/farmer that recruited the migrant farm labour across the border. In this regard, a female migrant farm tenant/farmer stressed that:

...It is usually my brother [a retiree] who arranges for labourers and set the terms of the agreement [with the potential migrant labourers] on my behalf. After agreement settlement, some of the labourers returned to their country [and some] while returning back to Nigeria they discuss and recruit friends who may be interested to join them. Sometimes, even if they do not return, they recruit boys and ask them to follow me, saying that I treated them fine and then I/we negotiate the terms of the agreement.

(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement /Sabokoma,Togo/25-10-2017)

The earlier labour relationship in the 1970s which began at the time of the establishment of Ijaiye forestry reserve and later farm settlement was between migrant farm labourers and field officers of Oyo state government, who at the time were overseeing the farm settlement. The rewards for the labour services of migrant farm labourers to the field officers were mainly allocation of farmlands and not wages, to enable the migrant farm labourers to farm and to earn income since the field officers lacked the financial resources to pay in wages. Also, since the relationship was not officially authorized but informal, the field officers had no financial authority to pay the migrant farm labourers. Subsequently, by the *Taungya system*, as the Oyo state government leased the farm lands in the forest reserve and farm settlements to locals, the local land owners in turn leased some parts of

the farmlands to migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers. The local farmland owners in Atan, Ijaiye and Olosun farm communities in Ibadan who were outside the farm settlement similarly leased farmlands to migrant farm tenants/farmers and some migrant farm labourers, and this did not require the state's approvals.

As a result of the transformation of the labour relationship into tenancy relationship, in which some migrant farm labourers became migrant farm tenants/farmers, the newly recruited migrant farm labourers across the border through labour contracts were added to the population of existing migrant farm labourers to continue to provide labour services to local farmers and migrant farm tenants/farmers in the forest reserve, farm settlement and farm communities of Atan, Ijaiye, and Olosun in Ibadan. In this regard, a migrant farm tenant/farmer buttressed that: '...I bring my labourers from home and I do not hire foreign and local labourers already here [Ijaiye Forest reserve/farm settlement, Ibadan]' **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Kubenebene, Benin/23-10-2017).**

As already observed in themes of triggers of international farm labour migration, the motivation for many (potential) migrant labourers recruited and the motivation for their cross border migration far away from home was for better opportunities which were lacking in the migrants' countries of origin. This increased available labourers recruited across the border for farm production. A female migrant tenant/farmer explicitly stated the enticement for the recruited migrant labourers and her interest for recruiting (potential) migrant farm labourers from her communities/countries of origin. For her, in farm work she said:

I use labourers recruited from my place [Basari, Togo]. The people[labourers] are willing to come here because of the good appearance of migrants who visited home and the fortunes which the people back home saw with them. Because of this, they [migrant farm tenants] brought their people that they got [from back home] with an agreement made...

(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Olokonla-IjaiyeFarmSettlement/Basari,Togo/24-10-2017)

The labour contract which in the study was commonly referred to as the '*agreement*' by the migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers included defined roles,

obligations, expectations from and sanctions for the migrant farm tenants/farmers, independent migrant labourers recruiting other labourers and the (potential) migrant farm labourers recruited. The labour contract defined the relationship in farm production between the recruiting migrant farm tenants/farmers and the recruited migrant farm labourers, and also that between independent migrant labourers and the recruited migrant farm labourers.

The migrant farm labourers were mostly recruited by certain migrant farm tenants/farmers from their communities/countries of origin which both of them were often from. With the definition of the labour relationship by their labour contract, the key aspects of the labour contract was that the (potential) migrant farm labourers will provide labour services for an agreed period of time, the least was one year and in turn the migrant farm tenants/farmers and the independent migrant farm labourers will reward (and rewarded) the migrant farm labourers with agreed wages or motorbike which were commonly negotiated rewards, or any other form of reward negotiated and agreed on.

The general contexts of cross border recruitment contracts of migrants from Togo and Benin to Ibadan, Nigeria for the purpose of labour, do not simply reflect an inter-generational migration contracts with parents for which to send remittances back home to ensure inheritance as similarly observed by Black et al (2006) of the migration behavior of migrants from western Kenya. Instead, it was cross border migration recruitment contracts or migration contracts that not only connects the migrants to their kin but to their communities. Through the cross border migration recruitment contracts, inter-generational social relationships were established. The inter-generational social relationships were uncontractual migration social relationships between migrants and their kin and communities of origin, in which migration becomes a cultural orientation and social behaviours of communities to sustain inter-generational migration of migrants from certain communities/countries of origin to particular communities/countries of destination for employment opportunities.

There were also instances of bi-annual or three or five years of labour contracts that were negotiated and settled. In some of these cases, in the first year, the migrant labourer was given a motorbike and in the second year the migrant farm labourer received money or

farmland, and in the remaining three or the whole five years of a labour contract, the migrant farm labourer was leased (certain additional) acres of farmlands. The migrant farm tenant and independent migrant farm labourer who served as sureties assisted the migrant farm labourers to get farmland on rent, using the migrant farm labourers' wages. In some cases, however, the labour contract negotiated was for monetary reward in the first year and any other reward subsequently negotiated at the end of every labour contract. If the labour contract was to serve a local farmland owners/farmer, the reward most times was either farmland or wage. This was similarly recounted by migrant farm tenant/farmer about his position when he was about to exit from his migrant farm labourer status: 'I worked for a Yoruba [local] for three years after which I asked for farmland. The work I did was for the baale for three years after which I got the land as payment' (IDI/Male/ Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/ Bante, Benin/ 18-10-2017). The duration of labour contract for labour service was determined by the reward negotiated for. Thus, the attraction in migration for most migrant labourers recruited was the opportunities in farm productions and more importantly the reward, with its secured reward system, as clearly indicated in a labour contract. The content details of the labour contract has been analyzed in a later theme.

Among the forms of rewards, motorbike was often negotiated for by particularly new migrant farm labourers that hoped to return to communities/countries of origin at the end of their labour contract. The common rationale for the demand of a bike as reward as observed in FGD session was stressed by a migrant farm tenant/farmer to be:

The agreement is for a year [of labour] for bike settlement. This is because given them money would not help them and in a situation where the CFA [currency] drops they will not be able to do anything with it. The labourer will not be able to buy a bike when he returns home [of origin].

(FGD/ Males/Association Togo and Benin/Goronjo/13-10-2017)

Motorbike instead of money which was the reward often negotiated for by migrant farm labourers was to ward off risks of currency fluctuation and any low exchange currency rate of Nigerian Naira to the Beninois and Togolese CFA that was of concern to (potential) migrant farm labourers. The concern was that once paid when currency depreciation occurs the wages received from the labour *agreement* did not have much social and

economic valuable use to the migrant farm labourers. And since there was an existing contractual agreement before the prevailing depreciation of currency rate and farm production, as the labour contract ended, the labour contract was not renegotiated and no additional wage was added at the end of the agreed one year of the labour contract. To ward off these risks for both the migrant farm tenant/farmer and migrant farm labourer but particularly for the migrant farm labourer, a labour contract was negotiated for the reward of a bike. Also, in the labour contract negotiation, a bike commonly referred to as *Bajaj* by the farm labour migrants was negotiated for as a reward also because of its economic benefits, prestige and privileges. What this meant was that, international exchange rate effects the rewards systems and influenced what kind of reward a migrant farm labourer agreed on in his/her labour contract.

For many of the migrant labourers, the motorbike served household/personal and commercial functions in their communities/countries of origin, where the bike was used for commercial service (taxi) to generate income for a migrant and his/her family. However, in the labour contract, the migrant farm labourers rarely negotiated for the reward of wages. But when the negotiated reward was wages, the amount ranged between 150,000 francs and 200,000 francs. The reward could be less than those stated amounts. For others, wage as the form of reward negotiated in a labour contract before any migrant farm labourers arrived in the destination in Ibadan was also to meet other needs in country of origin as remarked by a migrant farm tenant/farmer:

...While some want to be given bike after one year of labour services, other want money to meet needs as roofing a house back home. The payment could sometimes be in home currency which is CFA [francs] of 40,000, 45, 000, 30,000 and 90,000. This depends on the agreement terms... I was at some time paid for labour [services] and the money I used it to roof my house back home. I later got a bike [after another year of labour services] and I took it to my brother back home.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Olosun/Basari, Togo/17-10-2017)

The reward system as a form or means of payment has not changed but the reward system as a form of material payment changed over time, such that in the 1980s the specific negotiated rewards in exchange for labour service included a radio or bicycle as pointed out by a migrant farm tenant/farmer: '...My brother returns home with a radio which was

then not common at home. [This was after labouring in Olosun in Ibadan]' **(FGD/Males/Goronjo/Association of Togo and Benin/13-10-2017)**. While in the late 1980s to the 1990s the common form of material reward included a bicycle, prior to and since the year 2000 onward to the time of this study in 2017, the common form of material reward was motorbike *Bajaj* which was equivalent of ₦250,000 that was sometimes received as a labour contract reward. Even with these common forms of rewards negotiated and received at different period of times, it did not foreclose wage negotiations in a labour contract.

In making reference to a particular case based on the different interests in different forms of rewards, a migrant farm labourer before becoming migrant farm tenant/farmer worked as labourer for a local chief of his host community for one year and got paid the wage of ₦160, 000, with which he rented three (3) acres of lands for farm production. In this case, the wage paid as reward from the labour contract settlement was done in Nigerian Naira currency, and the possible reason was that the particular migrant farm tenant/farmer then as migrant farm labourer from Togo did not intend to return to Togo to invest but to invest in farmland and farm production in Ibadan Nigeria. This particular migrant was one of the earlier farm labour migrants in the 1970s in which at the time he was migrant farm labourer and now migrant farm tenant/farmer, and he has been living and farming in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement for over 40 years. The migrant was without investment in physical assets in his community/country of origin except financial remittances from the labour wages of his labourers and his production income that he generated in Ibadan and used to support relatives in community/country of origin. Unlike the earlier case of labour exchange for (leased) farmland as reward which was (to be) used for a certain period of time, in some particular cases, labour was exchanged for wages as reward with which farmland was rented. Interestingly, as some earlier migrant farm labourers status changed to migrant tenants/farmers, they continued to provide labour services through labour group to improve their income with which to reinvest in farmland renting and for expansion of farm production.

Beside the forms of rewards for labour being defined by the labour contract, there were also labour rules and social rules (the latter was discussed earlier) which were part of the

contract that defined the labour relationship, which the migrant farm labourers were required to adhere to. Often, the labour contract was established before migration from Togo and Benin and/or on arrival from other places as *Saki* or Oyo in Nigeria to Ibadan, Nigeria. On arrival, the labour rules were to guide the recruited migrant farm labourers at the destination in Ibadan. The labour rules for the migrant farm labourers included productiveness of the labourers without laziness and must be committed to daily labour services as directed. As discussed earlier, there were also the social rules set by the host communities, which were not necessarily part of the labour contract but must be conformed to. These rules were general rules applicable to migrant labourers recruited as much as the migrant farm tenants/farmers, to local farmers and other locals in the host communities. The terms of the labour contract with its labour rules and social rules which were to guide and indeed guided the recruited migrant farm labourers' expectations and their stay in host communities in Ibadan in order to avoid any infringement of the labour contract. Any infringement to the labour contract, changes the labour contract terms or terminate it or lead to the deportation of the migrant farm labourers. Any violation of social rules led to expulsion of any migrant farm labourer that violated the social rules from the host community or a placement of sanction of fine.

Through the migrant farm tenants/farmers' tenancy relationship with local farmland owners/farmers, they were able to sustain their earlier labour relationship and other forms of social relationships with local farmland owners and local farmers. The newly recruited migrant farm labourers replaced the migrant farm tenants/farmers in providing labour services to local farmers. And it was through the migrant farm tenants/farmers that the migrant farm labourers were hired for labour services. The practice of recruitment of farm labourers across the border was institutionalized as a transnational labour recruitment practice to sustain the recruitment of migrant farm labourers and to meet the increasingly annual demand of hired wage labour in farm production in the host communities in Ibadan. Therefore, the migrant farm labourers had no direct labour relationship with local farmers, except through the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers. This was unlike the direct relationship of migrant tenants/farmers and independent migrant labourers with local farmland owners and local farmers. A migrant farm labourer who was a member of a labour group explained their Oga's (migrant farm

tenant/farmer) authority and responsibilities over the labour group this way: ‘...Also, our Oga will not agree, we do not work without the connection of our Oga. What so ever labour we do, it is through our Oga. He is the one that gets it’ **(IDI/ Male/ Migrant farm labourer/ Olosun/Gando, Togo/18-10-2017)**.

Since the migrant labour recruiters/bosses *Ogas* of the labour group were mostly migrant farm tenants/farmers who were already well adapted to the host community and had frequent social and economic contacts with locals including local farmers, their job as part of their labour contract role was to search for wage labour, approach farmers that need farm labourers and negotiate the wages and other terms of hiring farm labour with and to local farmland owners/farmers and other migrant farm tenants/farmers.

Generally, many of the local farmers who were also local farmland owners had an indirect transactional labour relationship with migrant farm labourers as facilitated by the migrant farm labourers’ boss *Oga*, the migrant farm tenants and independent migrant farm labourers. The character of the indirect transactional labour relationship was part of the interactive process to tenancy relationship of the migrant farm labourers. This interactive process to tenancy relationship was such that: as migrant farm labourers were about to exit their labourer status to transit to migrant farm tenant status, through their boss *Oga*, the migrant farm tenant’s relations with local farmland owners and local farmers, their boss *Oga* became a surety for a migrant farm labourer to enter into tenancy relationship with a local farmland owner.

The different factors were considered in the wage negotiations to hire labour service on the side of the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers and on the side local farmers and local labourers. The wages negotiated for labour service factored in specific farmland acres or portion of farmland sizes, with the type of plants on the farmland and the nature of labour required. In this regard, a migrant farm tenant/farmer delineated that: even for ‘weeding, per acre varied according to nature of work. It could be making heap which may cost N12, 000’. And in some cases, the wage for ‘one acre was N5000 for ploughing, and N3000 per one acre for weeding’ **(IDI/Male/ Migrant farm tenant/Atan/Kaboli, Togo/ 20-10-2017)**. In addition, the nature of the soil/farmland contributed to determine the labour wages negotiated and paid. The local

farmers and migrant farm tenants/farmers hiring labour on the other hand considered similar nature of labour and farm ecological factors but went further to present the factors in negotiation in a less measured way and persuasively negotiated for less labour wage payment but at the same time required excellent labour that enhanced farm production.

Interestingly, as observed, even when it were wages received from the local farmers and the other migrant farm tenants/farmers for the labour services of migrant farm labourers that the migrant farm labourers were rewarded with at an agreed period, they seem to decline interests and showed no interest in the amount of wages they generated for the migrant farm tenants that recruited them for the period of (their distinctive labour contract of) providing labour service. A more evident reason for this was tied to their labour contract, in which they agreed to labour for the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers that recruited them. The labour group members' dispositions which tend to show neither no concern with nor not been knowledgeable of the amount of wages received for their labour services did not however preclude their awareness about the significant of their labour productivity to the farm production of their recruiter the migrant farm tenant/farmer. Their interest was that they should be rewarded or settled based on the terms of their labour contract. As a migrant farm labourer clearly stated: '...We must work in line with the agreement'. How much he [Oga, the migrant farm tenant] collects is not our business. Our part is just to work, and this labour helps Oga in settling us. [This is because] our labour helps our Oga's farm...' (IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Olosun/Idacha, Togo/18-10-2017).

a



b



Plate 4.3a: A Beninois migrant farm tenant/employer (looking onward) with his labourers in Olosun. Labourers were cooking after returning from farm work. The house at the background is the migrant farm tenant's house with his two wives.

Plate 4.3b. Migrant farm labourers having a rest after returning from farm work. Seated at the left is the *Oga loko* with his co-labourers in Olosun. The small zinc roof house was where the labourers lived

c



d



Plate 4.3c. As plate b, same labourers resting after farm work. The house behind is the labourers' living house in Olosun. The other two persons in front of the picture were the researcher's field assistants.

Plate 4.3d. A migrant farm tenant in a social conversation with other migrant famers. Far behind are his thatched houses

e



Plate 4.3e. A migrant farm tenant in his compound standing near his Motorbike *Bajaj*. Beside him are his living thatched houses where he lives with his labourers and a wife. Beside him and behind him is one of his labourers.

The migrant farm labourers were organized in a labour group and were controlled by certain migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers. Even though every migrant farm labourer has his/her own distinctive labour contract, their labour services and wages as a labour group were controlled by the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers that recruited them. The composition of the labour group included different migrant farm labourers from the same country but mixed with different ethnic communities. This was the consequence of the form of familiar social relationship, in which labour recruitments done were often from immediate families/relatives, kinsmen, marital spouse's relatives/inlaws, or paternal/maternal relatives. It was in rare case that a labour group had mixed migrant farm labourers from different communities in Togo and Benin. In the former case, labourers were recruited from different ethnic communities other than that of the labour recruitment agents but in the same country. In the latter case, the recruited labourers were from other countries other than that of the labour recruitment agents.

More often than not, labour contracts for labour services were restricted to recruitment of migrant farm labourers who were from the same communities/countries of origin with their *Oga* who recruited them. This makes Mabogunje (1970) outline his migration systems as the 'inter-dependency' of areas of origin and destination; where the areas of origin with surplus labour supplies the areas of destination with certain required shortage of labour with the required labour. And in turn, from employment opportunities the areas of destination provided, the areas of origin changes as a result of benefits of remittances sent from the areas of destination.

Under a labour group, the migrant farm labourers were coordinated and supervised by a group leader referred to as chief labourer or farm master *Oga loko* who was empowered by their boss or migrant recruiter who was a migrant farm tenant/farmer or independent migrant farm labourer that recruited them and who exercised authority over the labour group members' lives, labour transactions and labour performance in farm production. It is significant to stress that most migrant tenants/farmers once worked as migrant labourers during which some later became chief labourer *Oga loko* and graduated to become migrant farm tenants/farmers. It a status transition pattern which proceeds from 1) at

arrival and first one year, migrants worked as labourers, 2) next, one of the migrant labourers becomes chief farm labourer/ farm master, 3) and then becomes a migrant farm tenant/farmer or independent migrantfarm labourer, that is, aboss *Oga* of labourers oflabour group.

Besides the factor of easy access to willing labourers of relations/kin from the same community/ country, another reason noted from migrant farm tenants/farmers and other migrant labour recruitment agents for limiting labour recruitment to their community or country people was in order to exercise absolute control over the the recruited migrant farm labourers and the labour group so as to avoid unnecessary threats to the labour group solidarity and the authority of the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers who owned and control their respective labour groups.

Since not every migrant farm tenant/farmer was in the transnational business of recruiting migrant farm labourers, some migrant farm tenants/farmers in Ijaiye forest reserve, Ijaiye farm settlement,Olosun and Atan communities depended on the available pool of migrant farm labourers and the labour group in those places for their farm production. This was especially for new migrant farm tenants who after renting farmland to start first farm production needed labourers. Since they lacked social capital and sufficient finance to recruit labourers across the border at the early stage of starting farm production, the new migrant farm tenant used the migrant farm labourers recruited by and labouring for other migrant farm tenants in the host communities. In that regard, a migrant farm tenant/farmer remarked that:‘I got labourers here to do work on it [farmland]. I rented land and got labourers to do my work since I cannot do it alone. The labourers [which I hired here in Ibadan] are from Togo, and once I have farm work, I get the leader of the labourers *Oga loko* who brings them to work for me’(**IDI/Male/ Migrant farm tenant/ Atan/ Kaboli, Togo/ 20-10-2017**).

In the context where migrant farm tenants/farmers used migrant labourers/labour group on his local *Oga*’s farm, on their farms as well as hires the migrant labourers out to other migrant tenants/famers and local farmers, a migrant farm tenant/farmer who also depended on migrant farm labourers already in the host communities depicted his way of hiring migrant farm labourers through their bosses/recruiters, the migrant farm tenant, for

his farm production, noted in these brief words that: ‘... The boys work for Oga [the migrant farm tenant that recruited them] but for my farm I pay for labour...’ through our labour agreement per work **(IDI/Male/ Migrant farm tenant/ Olosun/ Langabo, Togo/ 20-10-2017)**. This context of accessing migrant farm labourers in host communities rather than recruit them across the border was enabled on the basis of an existing labour contract, in which usually a migrant farm labourer agrees that a migrant farm tenant that recruited him/her to utilize his/her labour for his/her farm production and for commercial labour services to local farmers and other migrant farm tenants/farmers. In a similar case, the labourers or labour group worked for the local farmers on the basis of labour services hired but they depended on the authority and control of their boss *Oga* that controls them, who then placed the labour group under the supervision of chief labourer *Oga loko* in form of manager/workers relationship. The direct or indirect transactional labour relationships with local farmers were also guided by same labour rules and social rules.

For most of the migrant women, they worked as transactional or casual wage labourers for locals or migrants but not in any similar form of the labour contract of migrant farm labourers and labour group. Their labour was also to support their spouses as family labour. Some of the migrant women’s labour support to their respective husband’s farm was in planting, with the assistance of the husbands’ (the migrant tenants/farmers) labour group. But the migrant women’s labour which they hired as labour services did not involve their husbands and/or their husbands’ labour groups. And they do not also join their husbands’ labourers or labour group when the labour group was hired for labour service, which the group does on behalf of every wife’s husband who was a migrant farm tenant/farmer. In that respect, a migrant woman revealed that: ‘... [A]s women, we hire out our labour... Since we do all work alone [without men’s involvement] we work together while our husbands farm alone’ **(FGD/Females/Migrant Women/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Togo and Benin/22-10-2017)**.

As observed, the migrant women were not part of the labourers contracted separately across the border and organized into a labour group. Their labour and labour service was employed in host communities (Olosun, Atan and Ijaiye) to work for a portion of farmland for certain agreed wages. The wages for the labour of the migrant women for

their one off casual labour service was for the migrant women and not their husbands, as a migrant woman stressed in a Focus Group Discussion session, in which her remark induced laughs: ‘The wages are personal to the [migrant] women which they use to support the home need of the husband’(FGD/Female/Olosun/Togo and Benin/ 18-10-2017).

The casual labour of these migrant women was not organized as the highly organized labour of the labour group, particularly the labour group’s organized method of fast weeding for which both local and migrant farmers preferred to use the labour group. But the migrant women’s labour which tapped into the opened opportunities in the host communities included harvesting, collecting, gathering and packing farm/food produce already harvested and loading it up into trucks. It was from such casual labour that the migrant women also earned income. Others cooked and arranged food for the labour group, which their spouses (migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers owned and controlled) delivered to the labour group on farm. However, some migrant women as the local/indigenous women operated petty businesses such as local fast food eateries opened at the market square adjacent to the road junction in Ijaiye forestry reserve/camp linking to other communities in Ijaiye farm settlement and the adjoining communities of Atan and Olosun. Other migrant women in petty businesses such as the commercial operation of grinding machines, provision shops and drinks/beer points, and frying of *Akarabean* cake had their business activities by or in front of their houses, which the host community including migrants patronized. With their local leverage, the local women’s petty businesses were dominant in the market square while more of the migrant women petty businesses were in front or by their houses or mini-industrial locations.

a.



b



Plate 4.4a: A migrant woman busy with her *Akara/pap* business by her house, with her customers drinking and eating the *pap/akara* they were served with the morning breakfast.

Plate 4.4b. Migrant women frying gari with rented frying-pans under fire.

c



Plate 4.4c. A migrant woman grinding with her grinding machine by her house in Ijaiye forest reserve camp

Another interesting aspect of labour relationship was that the migrant farm tenants/farmers had limited labour relationship with local labourers. The migrant farm tenants/farmers' hiring of or/and dependence on local labourers meant paying relatively higher wages for most of the labour of local labourers, which did not minimize cost of farm production for the migrant farm tenants/farmers. For this reason, the labour of migrant farm labourers recruited across the border was preferred as a cost-efficient additional production input to make farm production more profitable. This being the underlying reason for not hiring local labourers and for the same reason which the local farmers also preferred the migrant farm labourers and labour group for farm production, and for which the recruitment of transnational migrant farm labourers was sustained, a migrant farm tenant/farmer like many other migrant farm tenants and local farmers stressed another reason that informed the preference in the labour of migrant farm labourers and the disinterest in local labourers: the disinterest was that the local labourers' farm labour performance cannot cope with the intensity of labour required in farm production. His remark was that: '...The local labourers do not work like the foreigners... and because of this we do not hire the local labourers for farm work like weeding. The local labourers will not agree to subject themselves to the harshness and stress which our boys here go through in farming' (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Farm settlement/ Cotonou, Benin/15-10-2017**).

Similarly, another migrant farm tenant/farmer explained that: 'I do not hire local labourers. This is because local labourers do not labour well unlike my brothers [the labourers from my country Togo]' (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/Basari, Togo/17-10-2017**). Since many of the migrant farm tenants/farmers had their inclusive labour group with mainly labour members from same community/country of origin and with specialized areas of labour to the exclusion of local labourers, the context of the labour relationship which gave the rationale for the exclusion of local labourers from the labour services of migrants' labour group was also explained by another migrant farm labourer. He observed that: '...We do not work with locals because there is no work connection...Also, our Oga will not agree...What so ever work we do, it is through our Oga' (**IDI/Male/ Migrant farm labourer/Olosun/Gando, Togo/18-10-2017**). A similar view expressed included the need to avoid unnecessary threats to the labour group's

solidarity and to exercise control over the labour group as part of reasons to exclude the local labourers. To further emphasize the exclusionary labour activities of migrants' labour group another migrant farm tenant/farmer stressed that: '...We have no relationship with the local labourers because they are not good at work. For this reason, I use only my boys who are from my country [Benin]' **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Jugu, Benin/19-10-2017).**

A migrant farm tenant who was once a migrant labourer explained from his labour experience to illustrate the many tough circumstances of migrant farm labourers. He stressed that: 'I had suffered and endure here [in Olosun] alot since I had no one as an elder here for support' **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant Olosun/Basari, Togo/17-10-2017).** Among other reasons earlier stated, to avoid such tough labour circumstances, migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers were guardians and acted as elders to the migrant farm labourers they recruited. Meanwhile, the migrant farm labourers recruited were more specialized in the kinds of labour services needed by migrant farm tenants/farmers and local farmers, and the migrant farm tenants/farmers on the other hand hired less of the local labourers for similar labour service. For that reason, a migrant farm tenant/farmer noted: 'I bring my labourers from home and I do not hire foreign and local labourers already here but labourers I recruited to this place on agreement. My labour group's works were ploughing pepper, yam, cassava, and weeding [farm] at the same time for me' **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Kubenebene, Benin/23-10-2017).**

The locals, on the other hand, considered the farm labour services of the migrant farm labour as degrading labour of livelihood and so the locals, particularly the indigenous Yoruba were disinterested in labouring for migrants, except in Atan where independent migrant farm labourers had weak labour service cooperation with local labourers. The migrant farm labourers were seen by local farmers as advantageous in replacing family members' labour, and to increase the farm labour needed for the expansion of farm production. Locals labouring for migrant farm tenants/farmers were frowned at, just as locals working with migrant farm labourers were seen as out of place due to the perceived degrading labour status of migrant farm labourers. This was stressed by the

acting community chief *baale* of Atan: 'Indigenes do not work for foreigners. Any indigenes that works for foreigners are not wise. Instead an indigene whose father has farm should employ the foreign labourers to work for him...' (**KII/Male/ Senior Chief-acting community chief of Atan/Atan/20-10-2017**). Similarly, the community head of Olosun stressed that: '...The locals cannot work for the foreigners. This is because locals sent their children to school in [Ibadan] town. The surplus produce which foreigners get from farming is for their personal benefits...The foreigners work is mainly weeding labour' (**KII/Male/Community head of Olosun/Olosun/17-10-2017**).

Like the migrants, local farmers also believed that local labourers do not work like migrant farm labourers in certain kinds of labour required. As a result, like the local farmers, the migrant tenants/farmers did not employ local labourers except in specialized labour services as spray work and harvest. This context was depicted with emphasis by a local farmland owner/farmer in these words: '... As a local farmer, I can get local labourers who can spray and plant for me better than the foreigners' (**IDI/Male/ Local farmland owner-farmer/ Olosun/19-10-2017**). The disinterest of indigenous Yoruba to labour for migrant farm tenants broaden the wage labour opportunities in farm activities for some locals of ethnic nationalities from other parts of Nigeria such as Tiv, Igede and Hausa other than local Yoruba. As internal migrant labourers, the labourers from these ethnic nationalities who were citizen-migrants or local migrants provided competently specialized labour services to migrant farm tenants/farmers and local farmers in farm production. They deployed their specialized labour skill with the use of agro-technology such as spraying of agro-chemicals to remove weeds than the manual weeding labour skill with hoes which the locals showed great disinterest in, but which the migrant farm labourers were highly willing and involved in utilizing as their major tool/technology of farm labour.

More than other kinds of farm labour (wage labour) utilized in farm production in the host communities, the migrant farm labourers specialized in the labour of weeding farms, using hoes as the major tool/technology. The specialized areas of labour services of local labourers were mainly in spraying of herbicide, pesticide and rarely planting which was done by particularly male local labourers, as the labour of harvesting and planting was

more or less carried out by the casual female local labourers. The local women who were citizen- migrants laboured in similar sphere of work as migrant women. This included harvesting, gathering and packing of harvest farm produce and loading the farm produce into vehicles. And as the migrant women, the labour wages which these local women received were per labour task or daily labour work and were channeled to support their respective households.

As the local farmers and local labourers deployed advanced farming technology in farm production as opposite to the regular traditional farming technology which the migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers used in their farm production, a few of the local farmers who were citizen-migrants owned and deployed advanced farming technology such as tractor for their farm production as well as for commercial services. Though a Togolese migrant farm tenant in Ijaiye forestry reserve/camp owned a tractor which he was using on his farm and for commercial services, but at the time of this study, the tractor had long broken down. With the competing demands for a few available tractors for commercial services, some of the migrant farm tenants/farmers as the local farmers hired tractors for mainly ploughing their farmlands for farm production. This was pointed out by a Togolese migrant farm tenant/ farmer:

... The boys work for Oga, but for my farm, I pay for labour which includes hiring tractor, spraying and planting which was done by Nigerian labourers. This is because Nigerian labourers are good at those aspects than foreigners. But the foreigners are better in weeding than Nigerian labourers. In labour, foreigners are better off than Nigerians.

(IDI/Male/ Migrant farm tenant/ Olosun/ Langabo, Togo/ 19-10-2017)

It is in that context that another migrant farm tenant/farmer pointed out that: ‘...The local [labourers] help my farm very well’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sokode, Togo/16-10-2017).**

Beside migrants lacking the required financial capital to invest in advanced agro-technology for farm production, part of the explanation for their lack of similar capital or capacity even cheap technology was mainly because many of the migrants/farmers were disinterested in investing in any physical assets involving a lot of cash in host community except their communities/countries of origin. For the migrant farm labourers, their traditional farm labour method and technology in farm production was cheap and in high

demand and did not require their investment in any advanced agro-technology that enhanced productivity of labour. The migrant farm labourers also lacked the financial capital to also consider investments in farm labour easing technology. As a result, the migrant tenants/farmers hired the labour services of local labourers in which they considered as providing critical supportive labour services that enabled timely farm production and improved farm production. That is, supportive labour services which the migrant farm labourers were incompetent to provide to improve farm production. Since prompt payment for local labourers' services was made and often required, even when the payment rules and method of negotiated required some first and second installments of labour wage, the lack of financial capacity of the migrant tenants/farmers to make prompt payment for labour services of local labourers contributed to encourage the migrant farm tenants/farmers to engage in cross border labour recruitment from their communities/countries of origin.

For a migrant farm tenant/farmer who managed his farm production without recruiting labourers from his or their country of origin but hired available migrant farm labourers and local labourers in the host community for a short duration of and one off labour service, his remark on the method of payment of wages was that:

I work alone. In some cases I usually hire local labourers for work and for one acre I may pay N6000 [as wage] and another N1000 for food and this total to N7000 [for labour service for one acre] ... The local help my farm very well. It is usually for a short period which may be one day work.
(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sokode, Togo/16-10-2017).

As a factor considered in labour wage negotiation, the context of seasonal change in farm production and the susceptible market conditions affected labour wage rates, which in turn affected also the financial capacity of migrant farm tenants/farmers as pointed by a migrant farm tenant/farmer: '...The labour rate per one (1) acre is N5000. [But] this is now when things are harder'. Even though the wages for labour were subject to negotiation, the statement of the migrant farm tenant just cited suggests labour rates was relatively higher in rainy season when there was high and competitive demands for labour for various farm activities than from the transiting season of lessening rain season to dry season with less farm activities. The level of demand for various wage labour activities

thus changed according to the level of farm production activities. A migrant farm tenant/farmer who often worked as a labourer and at various times joined local labourers to provide short time hired labour on the farms of local farmers also explained the link in seasonal factor to wage negotiation for labour: ‘...with one acre, the wage for the one acre was N5000, and if there is business [that is high demand for labour] the same one acre would cost N10, 000’ **(IDI/Migrant farm migrant/Atan/Cotonou, Benin/ 20-10-2017)**. Another migrant farm tenant/farmer pointed out that:

... I worked for - three years after which I asked for farm land...The money payment is not general to all foreigners. Even the daily labour is subject to negotiation. The money paid for labour could be N2000 for one acre or N5000 and now it is N12,000. The reason for the increase is because there are increases in market prices, just as prices of bikes have risen.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/Bante, Benin/18-10-2017)

A significant behaviour observed in the negotiation processes of labour services for wages on the part of migrant farm tenants/farmers with local farmers was that, in some situations, when the migrant farm tenants/farmers were searching and negotiating for labour service for the labour group which they controlled, they represented themselves as labourers, even when it was commonly known that many of them were limitedly or not directly involved in labour activities of their labour group. In general, the significance of labour relationship was such that: farm labour services of migrants were central to any extent of farm production of migrant farm tenants and local farmland owners/farmers. On the other hand, it was also significant for the migrant farm labourers to earn labour wages and for their investment capital.

4.5.1 Labour Contract and Conflict in Labour Relationship

The labour relationship established by labour contract was not without conflicts. From the previous cases of conflicts emerging from labour contracts, in which some were experienced by the migrant tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers studied, some of the migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers particularly those in Atan became disinterested in the business of cross border recruitment of (potential) migrants labourers from their communities/countries of origin for labour service in Ibadan. The labour relationship conflicts shaped the loose-organization and the dislike for the business of labour contract involving cross border recruitment of labourers to the host

community of Atan. This was unlike in Olosun and Ijaiye forestry reserve and farm settlement communities where the business of cross border recruitment of labourers was highly organized and integrated with rare or minimal conflicts.

The labour relationship conflicts were the result of violations of the labour contract *agreement* which included violation of labour rules and social rules. The consequences for any violators discouraged migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers in Atan and some in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement from wanting to be involved in the labour contract of cross border recruitment of labourers and the organization of the labourers into labour groups. Such concerns were stressed by a migrant farm tenant/farmer in Atan:

...When the [migrant] labourer defaults the agreement it becomes a problem, and when one returns home, the problem is already waiting for him, and it becomes a problem which involves the community. If there was any problem here [Ibadan, Nigeria] and the family back home was not informed earlier, that means the person will have to pay.

(IDI/Migrant farm migrant/Atan/ Cotonou, Benin/ 20-10-2017)

The violation of the labour contract by any migrant farm labourer was through his/her inability to cope, conform with and adapt to labour rules and social rules. The violation of the labour rules were in cases of the migrant farm labourers not measuring up to the demand of daily intensive labour required in farm production and labour services. This reduced or changed the reward of the labour contract which a migrant farm labourer in question received. If a migrant farm labourer could not measure up in providing the needed labour services, in some instances such migrant farm labourer was sent back to his/her communities/countries of origin. This was usually done prior to informing the parents or other relatives (or a relative) or chief in the community of origin of a particular migrant farm labourer. The relatives were informed of a migrant farm labourer's poor labour performance or any other offence committed since their relatives or/and communities were witnesses to the labour contract.

The prior information to relatives before sending a migrant farm labourer back to his/her country of origin was in order for migrant farm tenant/farmer that recruited the migrant farm labourer to avoid arrest back home in community/country of origin on claims of deception and refusing to pay the migrant farm labourer or any allegation of human

trafficking. This implied that when a migrant farm tenant/farmer breached his/her part of labour contract with migrant farm labourer, then their conflict transited from the host community/country to community/country of origin. At community/country of origin, the conflict continues to await the migrant farm tenant/farmer, in which the relatives of the (sent home) migrant farm labourer confronts the migrant farm tenant in question and/or report to the community chief. The said migrant farm tenant is then summoned before the chief for arbitration for the resolution of the labour contract conflict and for an acceptable settlement.

On another aspect of similar conflict, some migrant farm labourers who were expected to renew their labour contract after receiving the reward for their initial labour contract failed to do so. This was because of their interest for a relatively higher wage. As a result, such migrant farm labourers left the migrant farm tenants/farmer that had recruited them across the border to labour for higher wages with another migrant farm tenant/farmer's labour group, which those particular migrant farm labourers had come in contact with in their host community. This context was pointed out by a migrant farm tenant/farmer in these words: '...after our agreement was completed, they left to join other people who paid higher money...' (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Cotonou, Benin/15-10-2017**). This created disaffections between the migrant farm tenants whose labourer left and the migrant farm tenants (or independent migrant farm labourers) who accepted the labourer that left to join his labour group. In Atan, a migrant farm labourer had resolved to labour independently to other to avoid labour relationship conflict that was related to labour contract. And by the circumstances of the past conflict experience, a particular migrant farm labourer was pushed to migrate away from his primary destination Iware, in Oyo to farm opportunities in Atan, Ibadan as a secondary destination. Thus, the migrant farm labourer stressed that:

I worked as a labourer for five years with Oga loko, and one year for myself in which I worked in cutting palm fruits for oil. Before now, when I arrived in Iware in Oyo town I laboured for three years and I had asked for money and collected money for the three years as agreed. In subsequent labour agreement I asked for a bike... For the bike, my Oga said the bike price has increased and because of that he will not honour the agreement. But the [host] community pressured him and he gave me the bike- This

made me to decide to [be independent to] work alone and to stay away from the man. This made me to come here [Atan].

(IDI/Male/ Migrant farm Labourer/Atan/Akebumkamene, Togo/23-10-2017)

In some cases, where migrant farm labourers in and the labour groups considered their social conditions of life and of labour too poor, severe and too tasking, then conflict ensued. Some of the social conditions were poor access to and quality of shelter, food and water, as well as closely controlled and limited social contact to locals and other migrants, stringent labour rules and daily lengthen hours of labour (**Case study/Migrant farm labourer/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Togo/18-26/10/2017**). Where it appeared, any migrant farm labourer expressing such concerns openly in the labour group was deemed as a threat to the labour group solidarity, to farm work, and hired labour service, thus, undermining the investment of migrant farm tenants/farmers who controlled the migrant farm labourers and labour group. Consequently, when the labour and other social conditions cannot be endured by some migrant farm labourers, in some cases, some migrant farm labourers absconded to their countries of origin, without waiting to be deported based on their interpretation of the labour contract, that they could not cope with required labour performance and productivity. A migrant farm tenant/farmer stressed that, in other cases, when the whereabouts of a migrant farm labourer becomes unknown, the:

... family of the migrant farm labourer confronts the person that recruited and brought the [migrant farm] labourer here. Sometimes relatives alleged that the [migrant farm] labourer was used to make money'. Situations as these made a migrant farm tenant/farmer to stressed that: there are '...too much problems associated with it [labour recruitment and labour agreement]...

(IDI/Male//Migrant farm tenant/Atan/ Kaboli, Togo/ 20-10-2017).

The labour relationship conflicts contributed to influence some migrant farm tenants/farmers preferences to employ farm labourers in the host community. Even with the opportunities which the labour *agreement* offered for (potential) migrant farm labourers, the negative consequences arising from labour contract conflicts discouraged other migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers from being involved in the cross border recruitment of labour and labour contract. Like many other migrant farm labourers, a Beninois migrant farm labourer who preferred to labour independently for wages to avoid labour contract conflict stressed that:

When working with a labour group it is not hectic but it is difficult when working alone, which I have been doing for long. But I have to do it because of money. I am not interested in the labour group and in recruiting labourers back home to this place like those from my home community [inCotonou, Benin].

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Atan/ Cotonou, Benin/ 20-10-2017)

To avoid similar labour contract conflicts, a migrant farm tenant/farmer who was also into timber business in Atan and disinterested in the cross border recruitment of labour said: ‘...I do not need to bring in labourers [here, in Atan]. My children work for me, except when the work is too much then I hire labourers’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/Anadana, Benin/23-10-2017)**. Also, in Atan, a Ghanaian migrant farm tenant/farmer who expressed strong disinterest in the business and practice of cross border recruitment of labourers for organizing labour group remarked that:

I do not employ labourers but work for myself on the farm. The farm produce I mainly trade it while some is for food for the house. ‘Why I do not bring labourers here [Atan] is because my family is not involved in such labour practice. So, whatever I can do on my farm is okay for me. The labour practice is not applicable in my country, in which labouring people are as slaves. I do not like the practice.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/Krobo, Eastern region, Ghana/23-10-2017)

Consequently, the Ghanaian migrant farm tenant/farmer utilization of family labour without employing migrant farm labourers or local labourers made it difficult for him to expand and improve his farm production beyond three acres which he started with even when he has been in Atan for 20 years.

Other forms of the labour relationship or labour contract conflicts with its consequence was observed from the perspective of locals including local farmland owners and local farmers in the host community, who have social relationships in and out of farm production with migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers. The locals were aware of the nature of the cross border labour recruitments, labour contract and some other events in the world of foreign farm labour in host communities. From the context of the labour relationship conflicts, the views of the locals as depicted by a senior chief who was the acting community chief *baale* of Atan were that:

There are some times competitions that result to conflicts between foreigners especially when one foreigner deceptively collected another

foreigner's labourers which the other foreigner brought from home for labour work without the other foreigner's knowledge. [And as sanction to this behaviour, once] the conflict is brought before the baale, the nature of conflict is discussed and if the allegations are true, the [foreign] labourer and the other foreigner that deceptively took the labourer away are expelled [from the community]... Some were criminal before becoming here [Atan].

(KII/Male/ Senior Chief-acting Community chief of Atan/Atan/20-10-2017)

As evident already, these conflicts between the migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers also extended to involve local farmers and labourers. The local farmers' concerns with migrant farm labourers were that:

They delay farmers' works. These foreigners have also delayed baale's works. The reason been that they collect a lot of labour job which they are unable to cope with and carry out as agreed with the employer of their labour. This tends to create tension between local farmers and foreign labourers. Among them, there are good and bad ones.

(KII/Male/ Senior Chief-acting Community chief of Atan/Atan/20-10-2017)

To further buttress this context of labour relationship conflict, a Beninois migrant farm labourer who was once a farmer in his community/country of origin, migrated to Ibadan to become labourer in Ijaiye but did not involve himself with any labour group in order to avoid labour relationship conflicts. Instead, the migrant farm labourer engaged in a two man joint farm labour cooperation with his Beninois brother/fellow countryman from Cotonou as an independent migrant farm labourer rather than labour with any other local or foreigner labourers. His expectations from the two-man joint farm labour cooperation was underpinned with the assumption that the joint men farm labour cooperation with a fellow countryman and brother will ease his pressure of labouring alone and dealing with other challenges confronting him in the host community. Yet, because this particular Beninois migrant farm labourer in Atan must labour as other migrant farm labourers for wages to sustain his living in Ibadan, he explained his anxiety in labouring for local farmers and migrant farm tenants/farmers in these words:

Since we do not have money to rent land, my brother and I work mostly for local farmers- and we do not have problem working for them- It is just that, sometimes, after labour we were paid little by little in the process of work, and after the job we are given the balance of the negotiated farm work.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Atan/Cotonou, Benin/ 21-10-2017)

The migrant farm labourer further stressed that: ‘But the problem sometimes is that when we are given hard labour and then we negotiate the amount to be paid based on the portion of land, the farmland owner will later claim it was not cleared in all the portion of the land. [As a result] some refused to pay the balance’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Atan/Cotonou, Benin/ 21-10-2017)**. In such cases, when it was expected that the community chief baale will address the labour relationship conflicts between migrants and locals, the migrant farm labourers rather reserved to report their concerns to the community chief because of the potential consequence of reporting locals to the baale. In this regard, the Beninois migrant farm labourer stressed that: ‘I am afraid to report to baale since we are foreigners. This is a way of avoiding attacks...But some appreciate my work and to such farmers they have said the labour helped their farm [production]’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Atan/Cotonou, Benin/ 21-10-2017)**. The migrant farm labourer thus saved himself from intimidation, harassment and possible expulsion from the host community by locals. The next section discussed the gender aspects of labour relationship conflict.

4.5.2 Gender Dimension of Labour Relationship Conflict

In gender dimension to cross border recruitment of labour and labour contract, there were rare cases of women recruitment across the border into Ibadan as migrant farm labourers. The few women recruited for labour did not migrate to Ibadan for reunion like most migrant women. Once in the host communities on the basis of labour contract, a gender dimension to the labour relationship conflicts which emerged was this: that most migrant farm tenants/farmers had deep misgivings/disinterest in the recruitment of females across the border as migrant farm labourers and to enter into a labour contract *agreement* with (potential) female migrant labourers. Their disinterests in females were because even with a labour contract many young migrant women eloped with local men and some get married. With such cases, females were perceived as having the tendency of eloping, thus breaching their labour contracts, which were the basis for recruiting the female migrant farm labourers across the border to Ibadan. This biased the labour recruitment pattern of most migrant recruiters/migrant farm tenants/farmers and other labour recruitment agents against the female, which, instead, favoured the males. And in order to avoid allegations of

human trafficking of women/girls from their parents back home, the females were rarely recruited as migrant farm labourers.

The interests in recruiting male migrant farm labourers as opposed to the strong disinterest in recruiting females as migrant farm labourers was stressed by a male migrant farm tenant/farmer in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement: ‘In case of women, it is challenging, and when you bring her, she may elope with a man. This creates conflicts with the parents of the woman or girl since one may not know her where about. To avoid this problem we bring in boys’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Kubenebene, Benin/23-10-2017)**. The female exclusion in cross border labour recruitment processes was similarly stressed by a female migrant farm tenant/farmer in Ijaiye forestry reserve who was married to the late community chief baale of Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement: ‘...I do not employ girls for farm work because of the troubles that comes with it. On the whole, I do not have farm work for women...’ **(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forest Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sabokoma, Togo/25-10-2017)**.

The females were also perceived as potential risk to lost of investment in cross border labour recruitment. This contributed to bias the labour recruitment of most migrant recruiters especially male migrant farm tenants against the female. The disinterest did not suggests that the (potential) female migrant farm labourers have inadequate capacity to labour effectively or provided poor quality labour service, but that their being singles, separated or divorced from marriage predisposed them and made them vulnerable to breach their labour contract through elopement, marriage, or town employment in non-farm work. In the whole of the study area, the unmarried female migrant farm labourers were only resident and hosted in Olokonla farm community, which was an isolated farm area under the Ijaiye farm settlement. It was remote to busy centres of concentrated settlements with trade in farm produce and services including exchanging labour for wages or farmlands in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement, Atan and Olosun.

The challenge associated with the recruitment of females as migrant farm labour added to shape and represent farm labour as more of masculine dominant labour activity, for which the same female migrant farm tenant/farmer from Togo further explained that:

I do not bring girls to farm, instead, I take girls to town to learn and trade. This is because the girls cannot do the kind of jobs the male labourers do on farm. This is why I do not take them to farm. It is usually at an agreed terms with the girls. At the expiration of the agreement of the domestic help contract, the girls return [to country of origin], and if any of the girls wants to return [to continue with the domestic work in town in Nigeria] she goes back through me. But if not, I look for other girls.

(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forest Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sabokoma, Togo/25-10-2017)

Another female migrant farm tenant/farmer in Olokonla community in Ijaiye farm settlement also acknowledged the labour relationship conflicts which informed the prejudice in recruiting female as migrant farm labourers. Having gone through similar experiences herself, which informed the reason for the male migrant farm tenants/farmers not to recruit young women/girls, instead, she continued to find reason that motivates her to continue to recruit young women as migrant farm labourers. She explained that in recruiting young women across the border for farm labour:

It is to give women opportunity and to empower them. Though this can sometimes be a problem in which on several occasions some girls I brought here eloped. [In one of the cases] when this happened, I patiently inquired of her where about and tracked the place and persuasively got her and returned her to her home [country of origin] for her to find her way back if she wants to marry...since it was not marriage that brought her here [Ibadan, Nigeria] but farming.

(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Olokonla-Ijaiye Farm settlement/Basari, Togo/24-10-2017)

She further stressed that: 'Her behaviour broke the agreement. But I still bring them [young women] because it is like a market that can be sometimes good and sometimes bad. Some girls do well and make me excited to want to bring in women while some girls are not very encouraging' **(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Olokonla-Ijaiye farm settlement/Basari, Togo/24-10-2017)**. To her, for the reasons that there were instances where some female migrant farm labourers recruited were highly impressive in their labour performance and character than others did sustained her motivation to empower female migrant farm labourers through cross border labour recruitment. Most of the cross border female migrant farm labourers recruited were divorced or separated from their husbands just as the female migrant farm tenant/farmer that recruited them was separated from her husband she got married to in Nigeria.



a

b



Plate 4.5a/b: A female migrant farm tenant with the researcher at her farm house in Olokonla, Ijaiye farm settlement

c



d



Plate 4.5c. A cross section of female migrants in Olosun

Plate 4.5d.Market square in Ijaiye forest reserve camp, where migrants particularly female migrants engage in trade.

In general, the labour relationship and labour contract conflicts and the disinterest in cross border recruitment of labour did not stop, prevent, or reduce the level of cross border recruitment of labour since there were increasing demands for wage labour with more inflow of migrant farm labourers recruited. This was because the utility of labourers improved farm production and the wealth/investments gained by the migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers. The force in the utility of cross border migrant farm labourers to improve income and investments was in the opportunities which many (potential) migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers aspired for, in which some achieved their aspirations and others were still aspiring, and others were encouraged to migrate but not necessarily as migrant farm tenants to Ibadan.

Migrant farm labourers continued to be significant for farm production. And in spite of these conflicts in production or labour relationships, there were no widespread indications that the conflicts affected production negatively to prevent further recruitment of cross border migrant farm labourers. Since there was an available mass of labourers, even when conflict damaged relationships, the migrant farm tenants/farmers and local farmers were always able to access and recruit or hire labourers from the available mass population of labourers of other migrant farm labourers and local labourers in the host communities. The labourers too were always seeking and finding other farm labour employers. The available and alternative farm labourers to recruit across border or hire locally enabled farm production to continue. For many of the migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers, the opportunities which Ibadan provided in farming were more beneficial to their livelihood than the limited opportunities in their communities/countries of origin, where their ambitions once remained mere aspirations. On the basis of the opportunities in farm production, migrants constantly sought to maximize gains. The next section elaborates on the contents and consequences of labour contract and how labour was organized to derive such gains.

4.5.3 Labour Group and Labour Services

The cross border recruitment of labourers from their communities/countries of origin to Ibadan, Nigeria, with a binding labour contract *agreement* was one of the starting aspects

of the many other transnational activities in international farm labour migration processes from the migrants communities/countries of origin to the organization of labour group in Ibadan, Nigeria. As observed earlier, every migrant farm labourer in Ijaiye forestry reserve, farm settlement and Atan and Olosun farm communities was recruited across the border on the basis of a labour contract *agreement*. Prior to becoming migrant farm tenants/farmers in these farm locations in Ibadan, the migrant farm tenants/farmers were also once recruited across the border for labour services on the basis of similar labour contract.

As the labour contract became an institutionalized practice, the labour contract arrangements which was part of the labour recruitment process across the border became attractive because of its social security to improve the life chances and social investments of migrant farm labourers in their communities/countries of origin. Since the labour contract was a common labour practice with both its labour rules and community security/expectations in country of origin, it helped to guide as well as guarantee many of migrant farm labourers to attain their cross border aspirations (earn income for social investments) from international farm labour migration. Even with the few cases of labour contract conflicts, the many cases of successful completion of the labour contract in which both the recruited migrant farm labourers and the recruiter, the migrant farm tenants/farmer and independent migrant farm labourers fulfilled their labour contract obligations, made labour contract as an integral aspect of recruitment process of (potential) migrant farm labourers from communities/countries of origin to Ibadan. With every migrant farm labourer with his/her distinctive labour contract, the continuous recruitment and organization of the migrant farm labourers into labour group for the purpose of labour services in farm production for wages indicated that the labour group was key and instrumental to farm production and improved farm production in Ijaiye forestry reserve and farm settlement and farm communities in Ibadan.

The labour group as collectivity of recruited migrant farm labourers was a well organized means and practice of providing commercialized labourer services for wages. To the migrant farm labourers, being part of a labour group was an opportunity to attain their respective aspirations especially with the encouragement of the labour group solidarity.

For the recruiters of labourers who were the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers that owned and controlled different individual labour groups, having attained their initial aspirations including earning wages at the time they worked as recruited labourers in labour group under a labour contract, the labour contract which the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers had with different migrant farm labourers they recruited was their continue source of earning wages. The income gained through the means of labour contract was channeled into reinvestment to improve or expand farm production in Ibadan, and increase income, with which to sustain the recruitment of labour by means of labour contract. The incomes were also channelled to social remittances and investments in their communities/countries of origin. Therefore, the labour group was the starting point in which one among the migrant farm labourers in a labour group was selected for case study.

The case study on migrant farm labourer was to reflect the general international farm labour migration experience of migrant farm labourers in relation to their motivations and aspirations for migration. For similar rationale, a migrant farm tenant/farmer that controlled a labour group was also selected for a case study to reflect the international farm labour migration experience of migrant farm tenants/farmers in relation to their motivations and aspirations for migration. This is in addition to the general finding from the study data which revealed the relationships in farm production between the migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers and local farmland owners/farmers and local labourers in Ibadan. Aspects of these have been discussed already. In this respect, the content of the nature and implications of the labour contract is analyzed next. The labour contract '*agreement*' which was usually written involves the following recruitment processes, features and rules, would be discussed next.

4.5.4 Labour Recruitment Processes and Features of Labour Contract

The labour contract or labour *agreement* is an agreement written between a recruiter/employer, the migrant farm tenant/farmer or independent migrant farm labourer and the recruited a (potential) migrant farm labourer, in which the latter agrees to provide labour services to the migrant farm tenant/farmer and independent migrant farm labourer

for an agreed period of time, the least being one year for a certain negotiated wage. The contents of labour contract was as follows:

That the (potential) migrant farm labourer agrees to provide labour services to migrant farm tenants/farmers or independent migrant farm labourers for wages negotiated for;

That the (potential) migrant farm labourer agrees to also labour under him/her to provide commercialized labour services to other migrant farm tenants/farmers and local farmers for wages as authorized by him/her. And that the wages from the labour (labour wages) of the migrant farm labourer will be received and controlled by migrant farm tenant/farmer or independent migrant farm labourer.

In return, the migrant farm tenant/farmer and independent migrant farm labourer that recruits (potential) migrant farm labourers agrees to pay a migrant farm labourer a negotiated reward after an agreed period of time. Often, at least on completion of one year.

The parents/family of the (potential) migrant farm labourer consents to the labour contract *agreement*. The consent of parents/family of the (potential) migrant farm labourer was required. They served as the main witness to and provided legitimacy to the labour contract *agreement*, since most times it was the parents/family that released the (potential) migrant farm labourers to the labour recruiting migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers or labour recruitment agents who maybe siblings, relatives, friends, and the same community members. In other instances, other labour recruiting agents such as return migrants were also part of the labour contract, particularly, if they were referring a (potential) migrant farm labourer to a migrant farm tenant or independent migrant farm labourer or to local farmer at a migration destination for labour services. In other instances, the recruiting agents had distinct labour contract with migrant farm labourers. Some of the recruiters/employers of labour or labour recruitment agents were return migrants, migrant farm tenants/farmers and (independent) migrant farm labourers who visited their communities/countries of origin from time to time. And through processes of social contacts with families and community members, they recruited labourers interested in cross border farm labour migration. Sometimes, the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers simply sent

messages to relatives or labour recruiting agents to help recruit labourers and negotiate the labour *agreement* terms.

In some cases, the local police in communities/countries of origin of the (potential) migrant farm labourers were involved in and witness to the labour *agreement*. As witness, the police provided security over the labour contract. As an appreciation of the police security to the labour contract, a small amount of money like CFA 4, 000francs was given to the local police. In such a case, the local police was the adjudicator and not necessary prosecutor when a labour contract was breached and conflict ensued.

There were sanctions in case of any default to the labour contract. In a case of infringement of the labour contract by either of the contract parties (which the parties to the labour contract were aware of) reconciliatory sanction of compensation or punitive measures were met back in the communities/countries of origin. If there was any labour contract default by the migrant farm tenant/farmer, he/she was reported to the community/country police and then arrested and compelled to pay, if found liable. Any recruiters/employer of the labourers that defaulted was taken to be in breach of the labour *agreement* and was arrested and/or compelled by the police and family of the labourer to fulfil his/her part of the labour contract *agreement*. In some instances, some defaulters of the labour contract declined and stayed off from return to their community/country of origin because of fear of arrest for defaulting the labour contract *agreement*. The involvement of the local police, community chief, and family at community/country of origin was to legitimize the labour contract and to discourage any violation of the labour contract in terms of defaulting in payment to the migrant farm labourer for his/her labour services. And at the same time, to encourage the labour recruitment processes and guarantee the labour contract agreement. With community security covering the labour contract, the culture of transnational labour recruitment practice was sustained to continue to send and receive migrant farm labourers across different sides of the border.

A sanction for violation of the labour contract agreement by a migrant farm labourer was to get less reward from the initial reward negotiated for or sent back home. When any migrant farm labourer violated the labour contract *agreement* terms, such a migrant farm labourer was sent back home to country of origin. But before then the parents/family, and

if necessary, the community chief of such a migrant farm labourer in question must be informed so as to ward-off allegations of deception and deliberately breaching the labour contract. This was to also avoid arrest, since (potential) migrant's families, the police and/or community chief who were involved the labour contract were adjudicator or witness in the labour *agreement*. There was no escaping compensation if any recruiter/employer or labourer was at fault in breaching the *agreement*. The expulsion sanction from the host community/country was to discourage similar violation of the labour contract by some other migrant farm labourers and labour recruiting agents.

As part of the terms of the labour contract, in the host community, the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers agreed to be responsible for the care of recruited migrant farm labourers including feeding and healthcare but excluding severe or prolonged healthcare treatment, while the migrant farm labourers agrees to keep to his/her labour contract *agreement*, set labour rules and the host community rules, norms and values. The case of prolong ill-health of migrant farm labourer was considered a case of inefficiency and loss of gains from labour services. Thus, such as migrant farm labourer was sent back home to community/country of origin. The responsibility to care for the migrant farm labourers excluded accommodating the migrant labourers' wives, girl friends or visiting relatives. As observed, almost all the migrant farm labourers rarely had wives, and many had no female companionship at least not seen except in a case of few independent migrant farm labourers that had their respective wives in Ijaiye forestry reserve/camp, Atan and Olosun communities.

At the end of the agreed year(s) of the labour contract, a migrant farm labourer was rewarded and the labour contract *agreement* terminated. And on the basis of the distinct labour contract of each migrant farm labourer, every migrant farm labourer was settled or rewarded differently in terms of the time the labour contract *agreement* began and terminated. That is, when a migrant farm labourer commenced the provision of labour services to his/her recruiter the migrant farm tenant/farmer or independent migrant farm labourers and in rare cases local farmland owner/local farmer.

It is important to also note that, the migrant farm labourers recruited locally from the host community had no family or community security cover of community/country of origin

over the labour contract which they entered into with any migrant farm tenant/farmer, independent migrant farm labourer or local farmland owner/local farmer. Instead, they relied on migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers who were already established in the host communities, with tenancy, social and labour relationships with local farmland owners/local farmers to guarantee their labour *agreement* or the benevolent act of intervention by the community chief. Thus, they mediated when the labour contract the locally recruited migrant farm labour entered into was breached by his/her employer. This was common with migrants who migrated from other primary destination in other parts of Nigeria to Ibadan as a secondary destination. In such instance, the terms of the labour agreement such as labour rules and social rules were similar to that of migrant farm labourers recruited across the border, except that the form of reward was based on the interest of a labourer and the amount or the exact form of reward was subject to negotiation. The next section discusses the significance of the labour contract and the organization of labour.

4.5.5 The Significance of the Labour Contract and Organization of Labour

The labour contract or labour *agreement* as stated by migrant farm tenants/farmers, independent migrant farm labourers and migrant farm labourers was necessary to receive or make claims of the reward negotiated as contained in the labour *agreement*. It was a proof to the claims of a certain form of reward agreed on when the recruiters/employers, the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers declined to pay. It was equally a proof for the recruiters/employers to state their case and claims to the nature and terms of the labour contract. The contract was to ensure a migrant farm labourer keeps to and is committed to the labour contract. Thus, labour *agreement* avoided denial of or prevented an infringement of the labour contract. This tends to eliminate any form of conflicts between the parties of the labour contract, even though there were few cases of labour contract *agreement* conflicts as discussed earlier.

In the process of executing the labour contract by the parties in terms of fulfilling their obligations, the labour contract gave room for the re-negotiation of the labour contract if any crisis arose in the process. Such re-negotiations were only possible in the course of and before the completion of the one year of the labour contract or any agreed time

periods of the labour contract. In the case of poor labour performance or less quality labour services exhibited and/or high expenses incurred by the migrant farm labourer (through their misbehaviour, communal court-fine or severe health care treatment), the reward (to be) given/paid to a migrant farm labourer as contained in the labour *agreement* negotiated previously was re-negotiated for a lesser amount of annual income/wage or less of any form of the reward that was subsequently agreed on, especially, if the fault was with a migrant farm labourer. This was elaborated by female migrant farm tenant/farmer in these words:

The labour 'agreement is written so that the agreement will be binding and to avoid denial of any of the terms in the agreement. The agreement is done in the presence of the community chief...I brought in 27-30 labourers that I recruited and I used them only for my farm work. But in order to avoid the difficulty of non-payment of labourers, I hired the labourers out to other farmers [especially local farmers]. This has happened several times especially in using them to improve farming, or when the market is poor [especially with low prices for farm produce, labour wages are also affected, which makes payments for labour services to become difficult. The option was to bring in cheaper labour]. Even when the conditions of production and market were not considered in the agreement made, it does not concern the labour group members to be settled.

(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Olokonla-Ijaiye Farm Settlement/Basari, Togo/24-10-2017)

Since the labour contract was considered binding, regardless of any unfortunate circumstance, it has to be fulfilled and not breached. The features of the labour *agreement* was stressed by another female migrant farm tenant/farmer:

...Both males and females make the same written agreement and give the same copy of the agreement to their parents and my copy is with my brother [who helped me to recruit labourers back home]. On the day of completion of the agreement, the first day of the year, they are on their way to return back home.

(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forest Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sabokoma, Togo/25-10-2017)

To prevent ahead any potential conflict that may arise from the labour contract with a potential migrant labourer to be recruited and the family of a labourer to be recruited, a female migrant farm tenant/farmer that was involved in cross border recruitment of labour stressed that:

If the parents of any of the [potential migrant] labourers to be recruited refuse and the [potential migrant] labourers accept I will not employ the person, so long as the parent do not give their consent. And if any [potential migrant] labourers refuse and the parents accept I will also not employ the person.

(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forest Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sabokoma, Togo/25-10-2017)

While the activities in the recruitment processes leading to a labour contract *agreement* constitute the social forms of labour migration, organization of the migration and its necessities, there were other rules of production and social interaction which the migrant farm labourers as well as migrant farm tenants/farmers were educated or informed on to guide their social expectations and behaviours in the host communities. The social rules included: respect for the culture of the indigenes of the host communities. The labour rules of production included: the recruited migrant labourer must provide labour services as directed. In addition to these labour rules and social rules, the migrant farm labourers' labour routines in a week was from Monday to Saturday, with constant labour working hours between 06:00 am and 06:00 pm at least. This means that about 10-11 hours were spent daily for labour and on farm through the duration of the labour contract. This daily labour or week days labour service excluded Sunday. Also, the migrant farm labourers had to trek for about 30 -1:30 minutes distance to the farm location for labour service. The trekking distance to any farm production location for labour was the normal and frequent means of transportation to farm production locations for particularly the migrant farm labourers. On the other hand, many of the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers owned and used their motorbikes to go to farm location to attend to farm production or supervised the labour services of migrant farm labourers to other migrant and local farmers.

a



b



Plate 4.6a: Migrant labour group led by chief labourer *Oga loko* leaving Ijaiye farm settlement for Okpeyime for farm labour they were hired for.

Plate 4.6b. On arrival, one of the migrant labourers describe to the other labourers of the group the extent of farm work to be done.

c



d



Plate 4.6c.Organizing and getting psychologically ready to start farm work of the day.

Plate 4.6d.Labourers busy with farm work

e



f



Plate 4.6e. Labourers having their first meal after 12. 00 pm while on break from farm work.

Plate 4.6f. Labourers resumed farm work after meal/breaktime.

The migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers who owned and controlled the labour groups had more flexible farm production time and labour supervision routines. On the other hand, some migrant farm tenants/farmers that labour for themselves left for farm work between 06:00 and 07:00 am. The time for farm work, however, depended on the distance of the farm location and labour task ahead (Case study/Migrant farm labourer/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Togo/18-26-1-2017). Some independent migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers who owned and controlled labour groups returned from farm work at about 12:00 noon to their residence and later returned to farm work and labour supervision between 03:00 pm and 04:00 pm and closed between 05:00 pm and 07:00 pm. While owners/bosses *Ogas* of the labour groups enjoyed the privilege to move in and out of the farm at any time including not going to farm except when necessary, the labour groups were required daily to attend to and be at the owners'/boss's *Ogas*' farms and other farm locations where the labour groups' labour services were hired (Case study/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forest Reserve- Farm Settlement/Togo/14-17-10-2017),

Any migrant farm labourer whose labour performance was slow and unable to keep pace with other labourers and was also unable to finish the portions of work assigned to him/her in the work for the labour group on particular farm, the labourer was required to return to continue with work the next day in order to finish the remaining labour portion assigned to him/her. If continuously any migrant farm labourer was unable to measure up, to work efficiently, it affected his/her labour contract reward payment as discussed earlier. In some cases, such a migrant farm labourer was sent back home or his/her labour contract reward terms were re-negotiated. The renegotiation was often with the knowledge of or involvement of the migrant farm labourers' family/witnesses, informing them of the labourer being a liability and his/her inability to cope with the nature of labour services required. As an emphasis to the preceding context, a female migrant farm tenant/farmer remarked that: '...For the male, when they do not work well there will be fight between us [disagreement]. Any labourer who works less and does not measure up, the agreement is re-negotiated, with the agreement settlement reduced. But if the labourer cannot cope then the labourer is returned back home' (IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Olokonla-Ijaiye Farm Settlement/Basari, Togo/24-10-2017).

The labour rules and social rules in various respects were rules that aided the integration of migrant farm labourer to the community cycle of labour activities of his/her recruiters-migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers, and that of social world of the host farm communities in Ibadan. However, the social rules were generally applicable to migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers as well as local farmers, local labourers and other indigenes of the host communities. The migrant farm labourers often consented to the social rules before migration journey started and were expected to conform to the social rules throughout the period of the labour contract. In some cases, migrant labourers got to know about these expected behavioural rules on arrival in Ibadan. The labour rules were, however, not clearly stated and informed to the (potential) migrant farm labourers before the start of migration journey to Ibadan. This was not surprising since the traditional context of hiring labour in Nigeria and perhaps many African countries do not specify certain details of responsibilities in a labour contract especially if it is an oral contract. With this, recruiters/employers tend to extend aspects of responsibilities to a labour contract not earlier agreed to and then the hired labourers also assumed that the additional aspects of responsibilities to the labour contract were not part of the original labour contract negotiated. This gives room for labour relationship abuses and often created latent or manifest conflicts between the labour contract parties.

The sanction for breach of the social rules also had a gender dimension, given that the cross border recruitment process of (potential) migrant farm labourers gave males more opportunities than females. As the farm labour business environment was dominated by male migrant farm labourers that were as young as age 10 and as old as 25, and migrant tenants as old as age 45 years above, there were rules and sanctions for male migrant labourers in a labour group referred to as *myboys* by the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent farm labourers who were the owners *Ogas* of the labour groups. This gender dimension to the rules was explained by a migrant farm tenant/farmer:

...[F]or the boys, the rules are stated clearly to them, that if you commit adultery and steal money you will not be paid and the agreement is no longer valid. Some [migrant] boys have violated these rules and their agreement was broken. And they were sent back home with only transport fare given to the person to travel home. If it is stealing and if the items

stolen were less expensive than a fine he will pay as punishment and for deterrence. It is their *Oga* that pays the fine [out of the labourer's contract wage/reward]. If it is the *Oga* [that violate the rules] he runs away especially if the offence is serious and the sanction is heavy. If he does not, the *Oga* will be beating and his property like farm would be seized from him by elders of the Ijiaye camp [who are locals and elders of authority in the Ijaiyi forestry reserve/farm settlement].

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Ijaiye Forest Reserve-Farm Settlement/Kubenebene, Benin/23-10-2017)

In all of these, the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers that controlled the migrant farm labourers in the farm settlement and farm communities were also responsible for the actions and inactions of migrant farm labourers in their respective labour group. To effectively manage the migrant farm labourers who were into labour groups, the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers that owned and controlled the labour group were assisted with the labour group management by a chief labourer or farm master called *Oga loko*. Status and responsibilities of the chief labourer, of male or female are discussed in the next section.

4.5.6 Chief Labourer *Oga Loko*

The chief labourer or farm master referred to as *Oga loko* in Yoruba language was also a member of a labour group and the head of the labour group. He was also qualified as the foreman (or forewoman) or headman (or head woman). Excluding any outside circle of social interaction of the migrant farm labourers, in a labour group activities, the *Oga loko*'s spheres of authority in managing particularly the labour services of the labour group to the owner of the labour group and to local farmers and other migrant farm tenants/farmers included the following:

Based on the authority of the migrant farm tenant, independent migrant farm labourer and in rare cases a local farmer as *Ogas* who owned and controlled the labour group, the *Oga loko* was the small boss or small *Oga* that leads and directs the labour group to the farm location in which they were to work and eventually worked on. The *Oga loko* was also given the authority to ask, motivate and direct the migrant farm labourers of the labour group which he heads and led to work efficiently. By this authority, the *Oga loko* controlled and supervised the labour group's labour performances. The *Oga loko* was usually not part of the labour wage negotiation process to determine the wages to receive

or be paid for the labour group's labour services to local farmers and other migrant farm tenants/farmers. Instead, the *Oga loko* was briefed on the nature of hired labour service to be carried out once negotiations were completed. However, the *Oga loko* had access to oral or documented information on all labour services to be carried out including labour services completed and yet to be completed and the full or part payments of any labour services. In some cases, however, the *Oga loko* lacked access to the information on financial dealings of the owners *Oga* of the labour group. The oral information but particularly documented information was to prevent any wage loss and to enforce claims to wages for labour service transactions, especially, in cases of eventuality of death or when the owner *Oga* of the labour group was absent or travelled **(Case study/Male/Migrant farm tenants/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Togo/ 12-17-10-2017)**. In the eyes of the local farmers, as stated by a local farmland owner/farmer: 'Oga loko does his work. The Oga loko is a small oga and he is next to the big Oga in the chain of authority and management of the Oga's farm and labour [services] to others [farmers]' **(KII/Male/ Local farmland owner and farmers/ Olosun/19-10-2017)**.

The operations and organizations of the different labour groups were highly similar but the authority of the *Oga loko* in relation to the labour group and the owners *Ogas* of the labour groups varied. Yet, every labour group depended on the authority of the respective groups' owners *Ogas* through the *Oga loko* to effectively organize and carry out their labour services hired. The *Oga loko* had more access to the labour group owner *Oga* while the rest of the migrant farm labourers had limited access to the labour group owner *Oga*. Labour group owner who was a migrant farm tenant/farmer or independent migrant farm labourer had free and frequent access to the *Oga loko* of the labour group on matters related to the labour group which he/she owned and controlled.

The *Oga loko* unlike the other migrant farm labourers of the labour group was a labourer that has lived and worked longer with a particular (employer/recruiter who was) owner of the labour group in providing labour services. The *Oga loko* that has lived and worked much longer with the labour group owner was because of his/her over one year or two years of renewal of his/her labour contract with his recruiter *Oga* unlike the many other migrant farm labourers of the labour group that have stayed and labour for less than a

year with their recruiter *Oga* and labour group. This enhanced more the *Oga loko*'s access to the owner *Oga* of the labour group. For the *Oga loko*'s labour services including his diligent duties as *Oga loko*, the *Oga loko* in addition to being rewarded on the basis of his/her labour contract *agreement* as a labourer, he/she may also received bonus reward which included extra wages. The form of the bonus reward was at the discretion of his/her recruiter (owner of the labour group) of the *Oga loko* who was engaged as a labourer and supervisor at the same time. The additional benefit as bonus reward was not and may not be necessarily wages.

The independent migrant farm labourers also recruited (potential) migrant farm labourers across the border and organized the labourers into labour groups. And the labour groups were owned and controlled by independent farm labourers. The independent migrant farm labourers that owned and controlled the labour groups were heads of the labour groups and they were also referred to as *Oga loko*. The independent farm labourer as the *Oga loko* of the labour group he/she owned and controlled appointed another *Oga loko* (small *Oga loko*) among the labourers of his/her labour group to have closer contacts with the labour group and supervise the labour service of the labour group. In this case, the independent migrant farm labourer who was the head and *Oga loko* of a labour group had more-or-less closer labour and social relationships with his labourers under his/her labour group. Their close relationships were the result of interaction in the process of providing hired labour services to local farmers and other migrant farm tenants/farmers as well as communal interaction among themselves other than labour activities in the host communities.

In cases where the *Oga loko* was a farm manager to a local farmer, the *Oga loko* was responsible for settling the labour contract *agreement* of labourers under his/her labour group while the local farmer settled the *Oga loko* for his/her labour services using his labour group. A local farmer who owned cocoa farm observed that, on completion of one year of labour *agreement* '...the *Oga loko* is paid but the rest [of foreign labourers' payment] depends on their agreement with the *Oga loko*...' The local farmer also said: *Oga loko* settles his boys based on their agreement but for me the *Oga loko* works for me when I have work. When they [foreign labourers] get work he [*Oga loko*] organized his

boys for work. However, when it is my work, the negotiation is between me and Oga loko and then the Oga loko settles them(**KII/Male/ Local farmland owner-farmer/ Olosun/19-10-2017**).

This suggests that even when wages received from labour services to local farmers increased the *Ogo loko* make lots of wages off the labour group. The labour relationship between migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers that recruited them, perhaps, gave room for exploitative labour practices through the extension of labour rules beyond the labour contract *agreement* terms as a control mechanism to derive maximal benefits and profits. That is, as earlier observed, at the onset of the labour contract *agreement*, the migrant farm labourers assumed that the labour rules were as contained in the labour contract, but on arriving from across the border in Ibadan to start labour services, the recruited migrant farm labourers were given and required to conform to additional labour rules that were not part of the terms of the labour contract *agreement*.

4.5.7 Criteria for becoming Chief Labourer *Oga Loko*

To become *Oga loko* was a function of different factors which included being the longest serving labourers and the most productive labourer and charismatic labourer. The latter were the most significant criteria in that regard. A migrant farm tenant/farmer puts it this way:

...[B]ecoming *Oga loko* is not part of the agreement but emerges as a result of his labour performance among his labour group peers. In addition, the *Oga loko* title is a reward from the big *Oga* [the migrant farm tenant that recruited the labourers] to one of his labourers for good work. It may sometimes be the [migrant] labourer who may have stayed and worked longer [with the migrant farm tenant in providing labour services, during which he become more experience in farm labour operations] than other labourers. For these reasons, becoming *Oga loko* is based on my discretion and not because of agreement.

(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Olokonla-Ijaiye Farm Settlement/Basari, Togo/24-10-2017)

In case of the females labour group, the criteria for a female *Oga loko* differed from that of males labour group as observed by a female migrant farm tenants that owned and controlled both male and female labour groups separately: ‘...For the women labour group, it is the oldest female that has been married [that is once married and may have

been now separated from the spouse]. This is because the married women [unlike those who migrated to reunite with husband,] were more exposed to farm work unlike the unmarried women' (IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Olokonla-Ijaiye Farm Settlement/Basari, Togo/24-10-2017)

This criterion for selection of a female *Oga loko* which was based on the oldest female in a female labour group was an indication of respects accorded to older women/elder women which was associated with traditional African culture of gerontological orientation. This assumed that older women as other older people must have had long social contacts, well experienced to manage a group of people/labourers and highly knowledgeable about farm production and the appropriate labour skills required in different nature of farm work. This did not, however, exclude the effectiveness of the potential female *Oga loko* in labour performance which was also required of a (potential) male *Oga loko*.

4.5.8 Roles and Authority of Male Chief Labourer *Oga Loko*

The general functions of *Oga loko* were a reflection of the role and authority of males *Oga loko*. The roles and authority of a male *Oga loko* were: to direct, instruct and coordinate labourers in order to ensure high and efficient labour performance. He was authorized to oversee labourers and labourers' performance and report even when it was poor labour performance or behaviour, and ensures every migrant farm labourer worked at the same pace as others labourers. And the labourers that cannot keep to pace with work were required and encouraged by *Oga loko* to return the next day to complete their piece of labour of the larger farm work.

4.5.9 Roles and Authority of Female Chief Labourer *Oga Loko*

While the general functions of *Oga loko* tend to reflect the incorporation of the notions of masculinity in the role and authority of *Oga loko*, a female *Oga loko* had slightly distinct role and authority which related to certain areas of farm labour she carried out. As observed, the female *Oga loko* was required to similarly: direct, instruct and coordinate female labourers to ensure high and efficient farm work performance, and she was authorized to oversee and supervise labourers and labourers' labour performance and report back to the labour group owner, even when there was any incidence of poor labour performance or misbehavior in the process of the labouring. Also, the *oga loko* leads the

labour group in harvesting, collecting, gathering and packing of harvest farm produce, and also ensure no cutting of trees and planting of weeds. Interestingly, in a rare case, the female migrant farm tenant/farmer that owned and controlled a labour group also carried out the spraying of agro-chemicals, while the labour group were involved in other areas of labour in her farm production.

The numbers of migrant farm labourers in a labour group varied and it depended on the capacity of a particular migrant farm tenant/farmers and independent migrant farm labourer who recruited labourers into labour groups to manage the groups and his/her capacity to compensate the migrant farm labourers under him/her. As earlier observed of a labour contract, the reward or compensation of labourers was the results of the labour contract relationship and not necessarily on frequency of farm labour services hired in a host community, which determined the wages received. There were usually at least 3 to 15 or 20 migrant farm labourers in a labour group. The inclusion in the labour group did not consider or factor the time of arrival of any labourers before placing the labourer into labour group or become member of any labour group. Migrant farm labourers who arrived at different times were included in a labour group. For some arrived and joined a labour group when other migrant farm labourers were drawing closer to the point of completing their labour contract *agreement*. What was vital was that every migrant farm labourer in a labour group will and were rewarded/compensated in accordance to the time they actually began and completed their respective labour contract. But as the *Oga loko* ensured that all labourers under his supervision delivered on their farm labour services effectively, it was the concern of local farmers and migrant farm tenants/farmers that the labourers' work would and in many cases did enhance good farm production. The migrant farm labourers' and in particular the labour groups' labour services were seen as necessary for improved farm production.

4.6 Farm Labour Migration, Migrants and Adaption in Host Community

On farm labour migrants adaptation, the research findings were that the adaptation of migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers preceded their residence and work life in the Ijaiye forestry reserve/camp, Ijaiye farm settlement and other host farm communities in Ibadan. Their adaptation began in the process of migration as the migrants

were crossing the Nigeria border into Ibadan. As the newly recruited migrant farm labourers accompanied the migrant farm tenants/farmers that had first and subsequent series of cross border migration experience to Ibadan, initially as migrant farm labourers and later as migrant farm tenants/farmers, at the crossing border point of Nigerian border to move further to Ibadan, the migrant farm tenants/farmers in company of the recruited migrant farm labourers encountered Nigeria Immigration officials.

In deliberate attempts to migrate across the Nigerian border further into Ibadan, the new recruited migrant farm labourers on their first migration journey were exposed to the tactics of negotiating entrance into Nigerian border and overcoming cross border permit challenges with Nigeria Immigration officials by migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers that recruited them, given that they were already residents and farming in the Ijaiye farm settlement and farm communities of Atan, Ijaiye and Olosun in Ibadan and were also knowledgeable and well experienced in cross border negotiation methods of overcoming cross border challenges. By their observations of the conversations in the negotiation processes including the behavioural tactics of getting cross border entrance into Nigeria between the migrant farm tenants/farmers and Nigeria Immigration officers or between independent migrant farm labourers and Nigeria Immigration officers, the new migrant farm labourers learnt the required tactics to overcome cross border permit challenges. Sometimes, the new migrant farm labourers were merely informed of the successful tactics of negotiation to deploy at border points to gain entrance into Nigeria. This was the first stage of migrant farm labourers adapting into their receiving country Nigeria before further migration and adaptation in their host community in Ibadan in Nigeria.

The negotiation process included financial inducement fused with the language of financial negotiation with which immigration permit papers were obtained at the cross border points, as described by a migrant farm tenant/farmer: ‘...Immigration [officers] wanted to disturb but with my papers we were cleared’ as this was part of organized migration to cross the Nigeria border into Nigeria and to migrate further to Ibadan **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry reserve-Farm Settlement/Kubenebene, Benin/23-10-2017)**.

The immigration permit papers in many cases were cross border letting-in permit-money. That is, the exchange of cash for cross border permit. The financial inducement was in exchange for unofficial permit to migrate across the Nigerian Border into Nigeria. As evident from the farm communities in the study area, many of the migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers were without legal work or residency permit papers, and not even ECOWAS papers, except their African racial colour of identity and in some instances language identity to prove their African affinity, with which to enhance their cross border chances to Nigeria. Like many farm labour migrants, a Togolese farm labour migrant believed that: 'it is easier to obtain papers in Nigeria than in my place Togo' (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/Basari, Togo/17-10-2017**). That is, obtaining permit papers was easier in Nigeria than in the farm labour migrants countries of origin. This notion became the basis for initiating and engaging in migration from their countries of origin without legal immigration permits. And the cross border entrance negotiation process and methods which the new and old migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers have learnt, used and adapted to was an expected and necessary act at the border of Nigeria in order to get border crossing entrance into Nigeria so as to gain further migration access to Ibadan. To emphasize this context of negotiation process and methods, a migrant farm tenant/farmer explicitly depicted that:

...We encountered immigration problem as they demanded for papers at the border...and we paid them N500 per person while some times we pay N1000 per person at each check point. Usually I will discuss with the driver then I will give him money and the driver uses the money to settle immigration officers.

(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sabokoma, Togo/25-10-2017)

Once the new and old migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers were in their host community, the permit papers obtained at the border crossing point lapsed. On immigration official routine checks by different Nigeria immigration officials from those encountered at the border and since the immigration officers knew that the farm labour migrants were in Ijaiye forestry reserve and farm settlement and the other host communities in Ibadan, many of the farm labour migrants particularly the new migrant farm labourers were arrested for staying in the host communities of their received country, Nigeria, without documentation and legal immigration permit papers. In spite of the

circumstances of arrests, the farm labour migrants learnt and acquired at least the power of cross border access negotiation into Nigeria. A senior chief who was the acting community chief baale of Atan puts it this way: ‘...The foreigners are smuggled in and later they get papers from immigration officers at the cost of N3000 or N2000. The immigration officers visit the [Atan] community to make sure every foreigner has papers’ **(KII/Male/Senior chief-acting community chief of Atan/Atan/ 20-10-2017).**

In the situation of any arrest of any farm labour migrants, the Association of Togo and Benin (ATB) which comprised mainly migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant labourers played a significant role in gaining the release of arrested migrants. Since the migrant farm labourers and migrant women were mostly the responsibility of the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent farm labourers (in cases where migrant women were married to them), they ensured that the migrant farm labourers under their control obtained immigration permit papers. Therefore, obtaining immigration papers at the Nigeria border crossing point or in host communities of Ibadan itself was an adapting process for the farm labour migrants. The immigration permit papers were legal requirements that enabled migrants to live and work in Nigeria. This suggests that perhaps even when a permit was issued unofficially, in the eyes of the Immigration Officers, the permit gave certain authority to the migrants to live and work or stay as guests. Without meeting the ‘immigration legal requirements’, official acceptance to reside and farm in the host communities of Ibadan will not have been allowed and the adapting process problematic, which regularly manifested in the arrest of migrants by immigration officials.

Thus, an aspect to the challenges of adaptation for some particular migrant farm tenants/farmers was the frequent permit payments required for presentation to and for clearance from Immigration officers. This was stressed by migrant farm tenant/farmer with an expression of displeasure: ‘...they continually demand for immigration papers which cost a fee of N2, 500 to obtain immigration permit papers to stay’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Ijaiye Forest Reserve-Farm Settlement/Jugu, Benin/14-10-2017).** While the cost of obtaining immigration permit at the cross border points appeared lesser than what was paid to obtain residency and farm work permit papers when a migrant was already in the host communities, similar concerns and displeasures were expressed because

of previous arrests and the fear of future arrest when immigration papers were not (yet) renewed.

Once any of the migrant farm tenants/farmers, migrant farm labourers and migrant women was arrested, the Association of Togo and Benin (ATB) took the responsible to get the migrants arrested released from the custody of immigration officials . From the Focus Group Discussion session with the migrant farm tenants/farmers, a particular migrant farm tenant/farmer pointed out that: The Association of Togo and Benin tasked members to contribute like N100 to assist the arrested persons [migrants] to get the correct papers, which cost N2,500' (FGD/ Males/Association of Togo and Benin/Goronjo/13-10-2017). The ATB played a significant role in facilitating the adaptation of migrants through ensuring that all migrants have legal status to stay and work in Ibadan. The role of the Association of Togo and Benin (ATB) which facilitated adaption processes was, however, limited to migrants that were registered members of ATB and not migrants who were not registered with the ATB. Like the ATB, the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers also ensured the migrant farm labourers under their control also obtained immigration permit papers in order to have legal status to stay and work in Ibadan.

Also, the role of ATB included the general welfare of its registered members in areas such as contributing finances for and transportation of corpse of any deceased migrant to his/her community/country of origin as well as protecting the rented farmlands, farm production and other assets of any deceased migrant for the wife's inheritance or any other rightful next of kin to inherit the assets. The protection of the interests of migrants registered with ATB was stated by a migrant farm tenant/farmer in these words: '..If not for the Association of Togolese and Beninois, the locals would have taken over the place of one of us [migrant] that died. But with the association, the association sold the late [migrant] farmer's farm produce and gave the money to the wife' (FGD/Males/Goronjo/Association of Togo and Benin/13-10-2017). However, at the time of this study, as earlier stated, there were many migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers and the migrant women that had no immigration permit papers to enjoy the protective benefits of ATB.

The immigration permit papers enhanced the process of adaptation of migrants and being without immigration papers to some extent impeded and some instances deterred the processes of adaptation of migrants in Ibadan. Nevertheless, the locals were not concerned with whether the migrants were with immigration permit papers or not as long as they found the migrants of good character and trustworthy. This helped the migrant to be accepted and to adapt to the host community. In other words, the locals even if (not) conscience or knowledgeable about the implications of immigration permit papers, overlooked official acceptance to enhancement of adaptation or unconsciously did not recognize official acceptance to enhancement of adaptation of farm labour migrants or simply left the duty of (un)documented migrants to immigration officials. This may have been the case because the locals did not give serious and deliberate considerations to the consequences of the status of the migrants in their community, particularly, the immigration status of the farm labour migrants in their communities. Instead, the consequences was seen in relations to the migrants' benefits to the host communities rather than to the migrants.

To avert arrest, the ATB members formed an organized surveillance network to enable them to monitor and quickly detect the presence of Immigration officials. Through the organized surveillance network, information quickly reached migrants particularly undocumented immigrant to hide to elude arrest. Through similar organized surveillance network, they mobilized and encouraged migrants to obtain immigration permit papers. On either sides, the migrants have learnt how to live and farm in host communities of Ibadan with or without immigration permit papers. This indicates that they have adapted in understanding how to deal with immigration situations which arises annually by living and farming in host communities of Ibadan without or with permit papers.

Beyond the ATB which was a local social network established by the farm labour migrants and independent migrant farm labourers from Togo and Benin with a transnational outlook, the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent farm labourers who were relatives, fellow countrymen/women and recruitment agents of migrant farm labourers and were already adapted in certain aspect of local culture in Ibadan facilitated the social and psychological adaptation processes of the migrant farm labourers. A migrant farm

tenant/farmer who once arrived in the Ijaiye farm settlement community as migrant farm labourer states the significance of the relatives and countrymen in adaption process: ‘...my Oga who is also my brother showed me how to settle in this community...’(IDI/Male/Migrant Farm Tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Cotonou, Benin/15-10-2017). In the newhost community environment when a migrant farm labourer had no guidance and support to ease the challenges of adapting to the new environment successfully, adaptation became problematic as a migrant farm tenant/farmer shared from his past life situation as migrant farm labourer in Ibadan: ‘...I had suffered and endure here [in Olosun] a lot since I had no one as elder here for support...’(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/Basari, Togo/17-10-2017). Therefore, earlier migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers were vital in the adaptionprocess ofnew/later migrant farm labourers to their new host community. This included adaptation to local farm production methods, the guidance and conformity to the social rules of the host community (as stated earlier) in order not to cause social disharmony and not to attract varying degrees of sanctions in form of fines or expulsion from the community, as determined by the community chiefs and council of elders in case of Atan and Olosun while in Ijaiye farm settlement it was determined by the acting chief and council of elders.

For many of the migrant women, particularly those married and those who migrated for the purpose of reunion, were compelled to adapt. Their lives of adaptation were facilitated by their spouses who were already established and adapted themselves in the host communities. For many of the migrant women, they had no option than to immerse themselves in the host communities as their spouses, for the good of their marital relationship and improved livelihood. At least before embarking on migration, the migrant women were prepared for the journey and were aware of their need to adapt to their spouses’ host communities, knowing that their home countries lives and opportunities were different. Even though they were not certain of what the exact experience of adapting would be, the necessity of reunion with their spouses meant that what ever the adapting experience would be, they had to migrate. In this regard, a migrant woman pointed out that:

...We adjust since our husbands are able to adjust. I am looking for a better life elsewhere outside our place [country of origin] like in London. If it were possible, we would have gone there by now. But we do not have such opportunity [to travel there]. It is also because we do not have any other work opportunities, which is why we are still into farming here [Olosun]. Nobody likes sufferings.

(FGD/Females/Migrant women/Olosun/ Benin and Togo/18-10-2017)

As observed earlier, there were social rules in Ijaiye forestry reserve, farm settlement and the other farm communities which the migrant farm tenants/farmers, migrant farm labourers and migrant women were to adhere to. The rules had no exclusion, as the local farmers and other locals who were residents in these farm settlement and communities of Ibadan were also to conform to the rules and they did conform to the rules. The responsibility to ensure the rules were adhered to by the migrants in order not to cause social disharmony and attract sanctions lied with the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers who recruited the migrant farm labourers across the border into Ibadan from their respective countries of origin. The new migrant farm labourers like the longest resident migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers, immediately got to adapt to the social rules of the host communities by conforming to them. Any violation of these social rules attracted varying degrees of sanctions in form of fines or expulsion from the community, as adjudicated by the community chiefs in case of Atan and Olosun while in Ijaiye farm settlement, it was adjudicated by the council of elders. The council of elders in Ijaiye forestry reserve comprised both indigenes and local migrants from other parts of Nigeria who have long lived in Ijaiye forestry reserve/camp/farm settlement community and adapted in certain respect to the local culture such as the ability to communicate in Yoruba language were co-opted in the council of elder. At the time of this study the elders who were current members of the council have been in Ijaiye forestry reserve/camp/farm settlement community since 1970s.

In the course of this study, in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement, as reference to the weight of sanctions, reference was made to a case of adultery committed by a male migrant farm tenant/farmer with the wife of another male migrant farm tenant/farmer. This adulterous act as narrated was that: while other farm labour migrants were way on

farm, the male migrant said to have committed the adulterous act will often dressed up nicely, moved and hung around with married migrant women that their husbands were away on farm or to town and in coveting companionships with the migrant women; in a particular instance, the act resulted in adultery. The said male migrant involved was expelled from the Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement community while the migrant woman continued to stay with her husband. This depicts that the point of consent or consensual sex or sexual interaction was pointless but weighty sanction awaits any man found to violate the host community rules thus ignoring the migrant woman involved in and consented to adulterous act (**Case study/ Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forest Reserve-Farm Settlement/ Basari, Togo/ 18-10-20170**).

In another context, there was an observed case of fighting by two young male migrant farm labourers belonging to two different labour groups of different migrant farm tenants/farmers in the course of the study. It was a case of breach of labour commitment by one of the migrant farm labourers, and in order to compel the other migrant farm labour to fulfil his commitment, attack was used by the other migrant farm labourer, and in reprisal attempts, the two migrant farm labourers engaged in a fight. This breached the social rules of *no fighting* thus disrupted the social harmony of the Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement community. And immediately the council of elders of about five to six elders of authority and arbitration summoned the migrant farm labourers that fought with their recruiters/employers, the migrant farm tenants/farmers who were their *Ogas* that they were serving. In the presence of the community, in an open space, both migrant farm labourers that fought narrated their versions of the cause that led to the fight.

a



b



Plate 4.7a: A town crier calling out Ijaiye farm settlement community for meeting
Plate 4.7b. Ijaiye forest reserve camp's council of elders in a meeting discussing community issues

c



Plate 4.7c. Council of elders met to adjudicate over labour transaction conflict between two migrant farm labourers under different employers/labour groups, which led to fight between the labourers. In attendance were their employers/migrant farm tenant (one of them appeared in white Pyjamas *Jalabia*)

In the course of each of their narrative of the cause of the fight, the elders posed questions to clarify points and the lines of the circumstances that led to the fight in the story narrated in order to have a better understanding of the matters so as to enable them to eventually make and give their judgement. The council of elders as arbiters ruled with sanction that one of the migrant farm labourers who did not breach the labour commitment of cooperative labour but the one that caused the fight too must pay a fine of ₦10,000 by the end of the same day the fight occurred. When the time given lapsed, the migrant farm labourer fined stands expelled from community that same day, until the fine is paid. This was because the sanctioned migrant farm labourer was expected to have reported the matter to the council of elders, if their recruiters *ogas* could not resolve the conflict between them instead of starting a fight.

In this particular case, the migrant farm tenants/farmer that recruited the migrant farm labourers were also responsible for their migrant farm labourer's actions and were also expected to pay the fine on behalf of the migrant farm labourer since the migrant farm labourer had no control over finances/wages of their labour services like many other migrant farm labourers. To avoid the consequences of violating the social rules, labourers of the labour groups which the migrant farm labourers were organized into were to exercise and ensure good control over the labour groups. The migrant farm labourers' social contact with the host communities was also very limited. This was in addition to the migrant farm labourers spending 06:00 am to 07:00 pm daily for labour in farm work, which daily isolates them from the host communities. All of which served as control measures that helped the migrant farm labourers not to breach the rules and to avoid sanctions by not violating any social rules so as to adapt to the host communities. In both the former and latter cases, the council of elders' authority and arbitration imposed sanctions to any violators whether migrants or locals.

The local community elders' intervention in conflicts between the migrants whose cases were discussed indicated the extent to which the migrants were integrated in the host communities. To adjudicate on such conflict clearly indicates the extent of their acceptance as members of the host community and the consequences of their actions in their host communities. The interventions in the latter cases discussed were possible cases

of adjudicating on labour contract *agreement* disputes, between migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant labourers; the local community elders were directly or indirectly involved, in which when necessary, the community of elders compelled any unwilling migrant farm tenant/farmer to fulfil his part of labour *agreement* to the migrant farm labourers .

Similarly, community labour for cutting and clearing grasses around social utilities such as water wells and the community projects levies collected from farm labour migrants and locals including local farmers and used also for repairs and/or construction of infrastructures such as roads and bridges were authorized and coordinated by the council of elders of authority. In Atan and Olosun, community projects in particular were an issue authorized by the community chiefs *orbaale's* councils. In Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement community, the community labour required all male migrants' and local farmers' direct participation. Those who failed to be involved were sanctioned with a fine which was discretionary to the council of elders of authority and arbitration. The same council compelled any migrants whether foreign-migrants or citizen-migrants being males and females, married or unmarried to pay residence taxes for their stay in the Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement community. The failure of any foreign migrants and local migrants to pay any taxes at a certain period was followed with the threat to expel him/her and if any migrants fail to pay within the period such migrants were eventually expelled from the Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement community.

However, both local and migrant women were excluded from involvement in community labour and in financing community project. This was because the project levies were paid by their spouses who were the heads of households, and such levies covered every member of the household including, labourers, the migrant women and local women. For many migrant farm tenants were heads of a households including the two female migrant farm tenants. The local citizen-migrant women as the foreign migrant women were required to pay residence taxes, and if any of these women failed to pay the taxes they faced the threat of expulsion from the community, even though there was no reported case of expulsion of local and migrant women from the host communities. Such residence taxes were paid by the women's spouses. It was observed that in the case of Ijaiye

forestry reserve/farm settlement, the taxes and/or fines received by the council of elders were shared among council of elders, which they used for their personal benefits. It was not channelled into any community project and for the benefit of the community. Except for a particular member of the council of elders was not interested in some of the dealings of the council like issuance of fines and collecting a share of the fine for himself like the other members of the council of elders.

The social rules with its corresponding sanctions were also deliberately established by rules that forced or enabled every migrant farm labourer and migrant farm tenant/farmer to conform to certain expected normative behaviours in the host community in order to gain acceptance and belonging in that host community. This was to avoid damage to social relationships, not to cause social disharmony, cultural confrontations and to avoid being labelled a nuisance and a deviant. Also, this indicated the process of adapting to the host communities for the social order of the host communities. Except in few cases of infringement on the social rules, the new migrant farm labourers and long-stayed resident migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers knew these social rules and their consequences and to a great extent conformed to the social rules as the act of adapting to their host communities.

Once the migrant farm labourers became migrant farm tenants/farmers, their change in status in the processes of farm production through established tenancy relationship reflects the great extent of their adaptation. To establish tenancy relationship implies the migrant farm tenants/farmers must have during the years of working as migrant farm labourers learnt and known the importance of conforming to the host communities' social rules as well as the labour rules and tenancy rules in farm production. It also implied that any migrant farm tenant/farmer and migrant farm labourer in the host communities must have adapted to a certain extent to want to continue to live and engaged in farm production in the host communities. This point on processes of adapting through tenancy relationship was depicted in relation to the significance of the guidance and support of earlier migrants to new/late migrant farm labourers in these words: '...My arrival here in Ijaiye camp was through my sister, and adjusting in Ijaiye camp was made easy. But this was also because of my initial stay at Iseyin Oyo. In Ijaiye camp, adjusting was challenging at the beginning until when I got farmland and started farm. But '...at the

beginning I was not settled yet...'(IDI/Male/ Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Jugu, Benin/14-10-2017).

The tenancy rules and social rules served as part of the integrative mechanisms of the migrant farm tenants to host communities to the extent that their adherence to the tenancy rules and social rules meant the willingness of any migrant farm tenant to adapt to their host farm settlement and communities. Real adaptation to many migrant farm tenants/farmers and for labourers starts after receiving their reward of labour contract *agreement*, with which the labourers became empowered to and rent farmlands for farming and to earn livelihood income as against their previous stress period of labour services which they did not get immediate reward/income- for it was difficult period of adaptation.

A good farm production, market and prices for farm produce in Ibadan rather than in farm labour migrants's countries of origin made it necessary for the farm labour migrants to adapt. With available opportunities to improve their life chances, then the other social conditions of the host community environment that may impede adaptation did not necessary matter as they circumvent or endured such challenging social conditions in order to adapt to their host community. What was important was that their undesirable circumstances and aspirations were compelling enough to make them adapt to any social conditions.

Interestingly also, for migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers that once lived and farmed in the primary destination as Isenyi and Bani with similar locals' cultural dispositions as Ibadan, it was rather easier for such migrant tenants and labourers to adapt, having known what many of the local cultural expectations were. This was, however, not without the support of earlier migrant farm tenants/farmers who enabled later migrants social acceptance and establishment of tenancy relationships in the locals' cultural environment, as pointed out by a migrant farm tenant/farmer: 'On arrival here [Olosun] I started work immediately and with the Oga's help I adjusted quickly, particularly he helped me to get access to farmland for farming in a short time' (IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/Langabo, Togo/19-10-2017). Such social acceptance which came with a certain level of established social trust between migrants

and locals was an indication to their level of adaption processes that led to new special social relationships. This point was made in these words: ‘...I get access to loan from locals, which helps me, and I paid as promised and I am okay’ (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/Kaboli, Togo/21-10-2017**).

A local farm cooperative in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement which comprised local farmers also included migrant farm tenants/farmers, with which the migrant farm tenants/farmers accessed credit facility like the local farmers, but with the surety of the local farmers. Bank credit facility were accessed without discrimination from locals except that a local farmer must be a surety to guarantee payment of credit that was accessed for the purpose of investing in farm production. This necessity to adapt was made more explicit in these words: ‘It is good to stay, and **one is** productive here [Atan] than *Iware* [in Oyo], and the purpose for being here is to see and benefit from opportunity, and so far it has been good to stay here and to work well’ (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Atan/ Akebumkamene, Togo/23-10-201**).

The extent of adaptation of migrant farm tenants/farmers, migrant farm labourers and other migrants to host communities by measure of local participation was highly limited to certain social space. In the host communities, migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers including migrant women that were muslims, were welcome and accepted to join the local muslims to participate in worship in mosques, as one of the migrant farm tenants/farmers from Togo was an Imam at the mosque in Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement. Similarly, migrants that were Christians accepted to and were accepted to participate in worship with local Christians in churches in the local communities. This was without discriminations and they were hardly noticeable to differentiate them from the locals, and the high level of social interaction among them even outside worship centres made locals and migrants highly identical by their respective religious cultures, beyond their religious cycles.



a

b



Plate 4.8a: Cross section of migrant women and their children mixed with locals in church for Sunday service in Ijaiye forest reserve camp.

Plate 4.8b. Cross section of male migrant farm tenants with locals in the same church as above for Sunday service.

c



d



Plate 4.8c. Male and female migrants socializing after church service with locals.

Plate 4.8d: Central mosque in Ijaiye farm settlement. The Imam of the mosque who was a Togolese is dressed in white was heading to mosque to lead Friday prayers. At the time, December, 2017, this Muslim community was observing the seasonal Islamic fasting.

e



f



Plate 4.8e. Worshippers leaving mosque after the Friday prayers.

Plate 4.8f. The Central mosque in Atan

However, on local political participation, many of the migrant farm tenants/farmers, migrant farm labourers and migrant women were socially excluded. As immigrants with or without immigration permit papers and not citizen of their received country, many of the migrants stayed off on every level of local political participation. Except for a migrant woman who said by marriage she is involved in local politics: ‘...since I am also married here ... I vote now that I am a Nigerian woman...’ (**IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sabokoma, Togo/25-10-2017**). And to a Ghanaian migrant farm tenant/farmer: ‘...I am not involved at all and I am not interest in politics except in the church (CAC), of the branch of the church I was attending in Ghana’ (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Atan/Krobo Eastern Ghana/23-10-2017**).

Further, a migrant farm labourer in Atan, whose local political participation excluded voting in elections but included getting involved in political discussion regarding campaign issues which affects locals as also affecting migrants in the same community. He emphasized that: ‘...I participate in local political discussion but do not vote. My participation is for the reason that the project of politician is for the benefit of Atan residents including us that are foreigners’ (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Atan/Akebumkamene, Togo/23-10-2017**). For many farm labour migrants, the intimidation from locals because of their contrast and alternative political views or party politics to locals in some instances led to conflict and as such the intimidation from locals made the ‘foreigners’ disinterested in getting involved in local political participation. Most farm labour migrants stayed off local political participation in order to avoid intimidation from locals or wrongful incriminations which may lead to their expulsion from the community and/or reported to and arrest by immigration officials which will lead to their expulsion from Nigeria. Since many of the farm labour migrants had no immigration permit papers they were susceptible to deportation once they were reported or accused of any offense. Like other migrants, a migrant farm tenant/farmer states: ‘I do not involve myself in local politics even though I have been invited. I do not necessary participate since my interest is in the work that brought us here’ (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/Anadana, Benin/23-10-2017**).

Besides community projects, the social inclusion of many migrant farm tenants/farmers, migrant farm labourers and migrant women manifested particularly in Atan in the non-discriminate admission into community clinic, access to community social utilities such as water tanks and wells at designated community centres. The entertainment centres particularly in Atan with a range of outdoor entertainment activities such as drinking joints attracted migrant farm tenants/farmers from Ijaiye farm settlement community and Olosun community on weekends especially on Sundays. With Atan as a community with more advanced social infrastructures than Ijaiye forestry reserve and farm settlement communities and Olosun community, many migrants felt they belonged to participate in the social life of the Atan community.

a



b



Plate 4.9a: Central community water well that serve Atan community including migrants.

Plate 4.9b. Atan central water station. The borehole water was channeled into the highwater tanks for community use including migrants. Though, some migrant women complaint about locals dominating the process of accessing borehole waters.

c.



d



Plate 4.9c:Community clinic in Atan. Here, Olosun and Ijaiye forest reserve camp and farm settlement community access primary healthcare services beside self-drug medication accessed from mini provision shops/chemists.

Plate 4.9d:Water well in Ijaiye forest reserve camp where migrants and locals draw water for various uses.

e



f



Plate 4.9e. The human made pond in forest reserve camp/Ijaiye farm settlement was where some of the migrants and locals sourced for water especially when access to water was a challenge.

Plate 4.9f: Authorized houses built by a Beninois independent migrant farm labourer. He lives in the house on the left his wife, while his labourers lives in the house on the

right. The houses were built on a rented section of land in Ijaiye forest reserve camp.

In Ijaiye and Olosun communities, the migrant women, like the local women, were involved in range of petty businesses such as by-the-door eateries or home-door eateries, sales of provisions and commercial grinding services as grinding of grains. Another level of social inclusion was the approved selections of certain trust worthy and good character migrant farm tenants/farmers who have long-stayed in their host communities without problems into the privileged groups as farm cooperative or vigilante group. On the basis of similar criteria, very few selected farm labour migrants were incorporated into the host community vigilante groups in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement communities and Atan community. In Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement, a Beninois migrant was accepted into vigilante group and in Atan community a Togolese migrant was also accepted into the vigilante group. In the vigilante groups, trusted migrant farm tenants/farmers who were accepted into the group were accorded similar privileges and duties as local members of the vigilante group. The community acceptance of migrant farm tenants/farmers into its vigilante group was expressed this way:

... There is no discrimination against me because I am a foreigner since I have lived with them for a long time and dress often like the Yoruba. I participate in vigilante and we freely work together without any discrimination against me. And since I keep to rules [of the community] as a foreigner, no body discriminate against me. The rules if they were also violated by the locals, they were equally punished.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Atan/ Krobo Eastern Ghana/23-10-2017)

The vigilante group was set up for community policing to provide security in relations to the social rules of the host communities. Also, the vigilante groups were created for communal safe as guard against criminals including intruders/invasers such as herdsmen. However, the intrusion of herdsmen with their cattle in the farms in Ijaiye farm settlement community in 2016, which had almost caused farmers/herdsmen violent conflict led the Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement community to the establish a vigilante group for policing and to avert any similar potential act or threats. Beyond social trust as part of the criteria to incorporate any migrant farm tenants/farmers into privileged group, a member of council of elders in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement community revealed another criterion:

... This is because of the confidence of the community in them [foreigners]. This is also because the foreigners are part of the camp and they represent the camp in good ways. But members of the vigilante are people who have witchcraft powers to protect themselves when they confront thieves.’
(KII/Male/Local farmland owner-farmers and elder/Ijaiye Forest Reserve-Farm Settlement/23-10-2017)

Migrant women, on the other hand, had no formally organized association or group, except for a female migrant farm tenant/farmer who was noticed to be a member of the ATB. Beside her, a female migrant farm tenant/farmer who was married to the late community chief *baale* of Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement community stressed that attempts to mobilize the migrant women into a form of an association like Yoruba women was unsuccessful, not even with the permission of their spouses.

Interestingly, as observed, unlike in Adeniran and Olutayo’s (2011) study of Ejiybo Yoruba Nigerian migrants in Cote d’Ivoire where migrants were required to present Ivorian permanent residency permit as identity card to access social amenities and infrastructures, in this study, it was observed that Beninois, Togolese and Ghanaian farm labour migrants in Ibadan, Nigeria, did not require residency and work permit card identity to access social amenities and infrastructures in the farm communities studied, even though immigration officials always checked to ensure that every migrant has immigration permit papers. Instead, Beninois, Togolese and Ghanaian farm labour migrants, like locals, made mandatory contributions of levies for community projects and residency permit to their host community, which allowed the migrants access to community social utilities and other social infrastructure in the host community. For the locals in farm communities in Ibadan, Nigeria, the consideration was not immigration permit papers of migrants, rather the trust that the individual and community had in a farm labour migrant, which included the farm labour migrant’s commitment to payment of community levies and other levels of participation in community development. This enabled the farm labour migrants to access social infrastructures/community social utilities, privileged groups, and farmlands, which in the case of the latter, the migrant becomes a farmland tenant and establishes tenancy relationship.

In all of the aspects of adaptation of migrant farm tenants/farmers, migrant farm labourers and migrant women to their host communities, the capacity of the migrants to

communicate in the local language *Yoruba* with locals and migrants from other different ethnic nationality groups of the same or different countries was the most significant and potent aspect of adaptation of migration and for the migrants. Essentially, the capacity of any migrant to communicate in the local language elevated and enhanced their social acceptance and inclusion into different segmented social space like the privileged groups in the host communities. Most of the farm labour migrants especially migrant farm labourers learnt and improved their capacity to communicate in the local language from earlier farm labour migrants such as the migrant farm tenants/farmers, while some migrants exposed to Yoruba speaking community particularly those in Republic of Benin such as Anadana community and other primary destination in Yoruba communities in South West of Nigeria, where the migrants were before further migration to Ibadan, Nigeria deployed the *Yoruba* language to quickly benefit from adapting to host communities. Of the categories of migrants in the Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement and the other farm communities in Ibadan, the migrant farm tenants/farmers and some migrant women were more proficient in communicating in the local language than migrant farm labourers especially that many of the migrant farm labourers had not stayed in the host communities beyond one year of farming season. For the longest resident Togolese migrant farm tenant/farmers in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement community:

...[W]ith my brother who brought me here [and introduced me here] in Ijaiye camp, adjustment was easy. I learnt the Yoruba language with the assistance of my brother who often informed me what certain words and things meant. With the local language, there was no need for translation from someone while doing business or in other matter that needs to be discussed privately without an outsider knowing it.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sokode, Togo/19-10-2017)

Migrant farm labourers that have returned severally to Ibadan for labourer services for wages were also able to communicate considerably in the local language. The combination of length of duration which a migrant stayed in a host community and frequency of social contacts with locals and other migrants with proficiency in the local

language suggests the degree to and how migrants were able to gain the capacity to communicate in the local language.

The benefits of communicating in local language varied from migrant to migrant as indicated by a migrant farm tenant/farmer from Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement: ‘I have stayed here long enough to learn the [Yoruba] language. I have suffered a lot, and I having learnt to understand and speak the local language. This is because I do not want someone to collect and eat from what I have sweated for and produced’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/ Cotonou, Benin/14-10-2017)**. To another migrant, who was a female migrant farm tenant/farmer: ‘...Effective communication with villagers helps in my interactions with them and being able to speak the Yoruba language has helped me in my 5 years here. But at the beginning it was not so’ **(IDI/Female/Migrant woman/Atan/ Towon, Togo/23-10-2017)**.

Though there was a rare case of a Ghanaian migrant farm tenant/farmer who has lived and farmed in Atan for 25 years but had weak proficiency in speaking Yoruba language. The Ghanaian migrant farm tenant/farmer, however, acknowledged the significance of the local language to migrants. In his words: ‘... in addition to speaking to locals in the local language [Yoruba], even though I am not good at it, but just manages to communicate in the language, speaking Yoruba can enhance communication in social gathering, businesses and many forms of [social] interaction’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/Krobo Eastern Ghana/23-10-2017)**.

The general usefulness of the local language was that it enhanced different kinds of social relationships with locals. It increases the migrants’ capacity for effective social relations and integration into the local’s culture and social activities. For many of the farm labour migrants, the ability to communicate in the local language eased their engagement in trade particularly in price negotiation, as a migrant farm tenant pointed out: it also prevents the farm labour migrants from being tricked or cheated in negotiations including farm produce trade negotiation. Also, it eased negotiations for labour services and labour wages as well as enabled the farm labour migrants to play and joke with locals and to gain the support and cooperation of locals. In these respects, migrants and locals exchanged their personal and countries’ experiences and stories. For the migrant particularly, they were part of the

social life experience of the locals in the host communities. In brief, a migrant farm tenant/farmer in Olosun community puts it this way:

... [B]eing able to learn and to communicate effectively in the local language helps in many ways such as during trade, and when I also need to discuss a matter I can discuss it directly by myself without any translation from someone else. Another good thing about communicating in Yoruba language is that it helps one sees the opportunities associated with farming activities and trade. So, staying here in Olosun is helpful and opens opportunities unlike in my country [Togo].

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Olosun/Basari, Togo/17-10-2017)

All of these implied a situational language identity change from the Togolese, Beninois and Ghanaian languages of migrants to Yoruba language identity in situations of interaction with locals. This was particularly in situations where there were significant material benefits. In such situations, the migrants concealed their foreign (language) identity to elude exploitation or maximize profits/gains in the process of trade price negotiations for their farm produce. In broader social relationships, a migrant assumed the identity of the locals and presented same identity to the locals in different social space in order to maximize social and economic benefits. This situation of migrants changing their identity and presenting the locals' identity through use of the locals' language to derive certain gains from their host community/country has been similarly noted by Adeniran and Olutayo (2011) in a study elsewhere and seem to be the strategy which migrants deploy to gain social recognition, acceptance and other economic benefits. Local language adaption enabled situational identity switching and presentation in different local interactions (trade and labour wage negotiation) to maximize social and economic benefits.

To many migrants, particularly migrant farm tenants/farmers that have families or children in Ibadan, communicating with local identity in Ibadan benefits them and their families but the English language as a national language of identity for communication in Nigeria as a country had less significant future gains for their children. Many of the migrants had a part of their families in their countries of origin where their children of school age enrolled and obtained school education which allows them to study in French language rather English language. This was also the case for migrants that were hoping to return to their countries of Benin and Togo with their families. From this context, a migrant farm tenant/farmer states that:

I have hope of returning which is why my children are in school back home[Togo]. This is because enrolling them here in Olosun will not be helpful to them when they return to Togo – Since I will be here just for a short while. In schooling in Togo they will learn in French and since it is an official language it will be much helpful to them in Togo than studying in English here which will be to their disadvantage when they return to a French speaking society.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/ Basari, Togo/ 17-10-2017)

In Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement community, some migrant farm tenants/farmers with children between age two (2) and five (5) enrolled such children into open space pre-primary French school called *Ecole Alliance Internationale De Camp Replublique du Benin*. It was open to members of the host community particularly migrants from French speaking countries. In Atan community, some migrant farm tenants/farmers with school age children especially the migrant farm tenants/farmers married to local women, they enrolled their children in English speaking schools. The reasons were in two fold: first, there was no French school other than English language schools, and second, such migrants were not sure of their future return to their home countries of origin.

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Plate 4.10a: Founder of Ecole Alliance Internationale displaying an advert Jessy of the school.

Plate 4.10b. Ecole Alliance international classes for children from French speaking countries such as Benin, Togo and other interested persons. The school is located in Ijiaye forest reserve camp.

The capacity to communicate in the local language enabled the initiation, cultivation and the development of other special social relationships such as marriage. In the context of this study, generally, inter-ethnic and inter-country marriage often indicate the acceptance of the married parties and their families' acceptance of one another and their tolerance to their cultural differences with its varying consequences to the marriage. It also indicates a certain extent of acceptance or adaptability in a particular society and acceptance to a particular family. In this regard, a study of migrant farmers by Popoola (2016) on 'Cross-border migrants' integration in rural border communities of South-West Nigeria' which identified marriage of migrants to locals as an indication of adaptation revealed that most migrants preferred to marry among themselves. Similarly, as observed in this study, many of the married migrant farm tenants/farmers were married to their home countries' women, which were not necessarily the result of prejudiced cultural differences but was informed by the negative experiences of some farm labour migrants with local women. Though such negative experiences can shape cultural prejudices. Unlike in Olosun and Ijaiye, there were few cases of migrant farm tenants/farmers in Atan community in Ibadan who married local women, that is Yoruba women in Atan. However, there were historical misgivings which created farm labour migrants' disinterest in local women as elaborated by a migrant farm tenant/farmer in these words:

...[M]y wife is not of my language [that is she not from my ethnic group]. So, because I am married already, there is no need marrying from here [Olosun, Ibadan]. But if I were married here and the family of my wife prevents their daughter from returning with me then that means I would have to return home alone. Sometimes, the foreigner returned without the children [which mean he is separated from the wife and children]. And sometimes it is not the wife that refuses to return but the children. Because of the many experiences which foreigners have gone through, many families back home who are aware of such experiences will not allow their sons to marry abroad where he is working. For me [back home too] my parents will not accept a foreign wife [from outside Togo] and it is because of these bad experiences that my parents discouraged me on the matter of marrying a woman in Nigeria before I came to Olosun.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/ Basari, Togo/ 17-10-2017)

In this study, it was noticed that adaptation by marriage was weak because of the high level of disinterest in migrant/local marriage which was associated with failed cases of migrant/local marriages. But in very few cases of migrant/local marriages, it was observed

that marriage was a significant factor of influence in the processes of adaptation at least in the context of the experience of a few migrant farm tenants/farmers and locals in marital relationships. However, for the migrant farm labourers, they had no wives, but even if they had, at least, none was living with any wife in the host community except may be in their communities/countries of origin. Besides, their labour contract *agreement* did not include migrating with their wives from countries of origin to Ibadan. In rare cases, however, independent migrant farm labourers in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement community and Olosun were with their respective wives who were from their communities/countries of origin.

The many cases of marital conflicts that led to failed marriages between migrants and locals created a general historical misgivings for many of the migrants. Such historical misgivings became reference point to many migrants as well as their families back home in considering marriage to local women in Ibadan. This historical misgivings were seriously considered by locals when the matter of marriage to their daughters was initiated by migrants. As many of the migrants expressed scepticism or outright disinterests in the potential or significance of getting married to local women, a particular migrant farm tenant/farmer whose wife was from Benin puts it this way:

... [B]ut I said I would not marry a local woman because of the differences in beliefs and values... if I married a wife here she will not return home with me... If I go back home and if I do not have money I will not be able to return to Nigeria... to reunite with her and the children here. ‘...[and because of lack of money,] I have only been home two times in the last two years, even though I often communicate home with my family on [mobile]phone.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/Cotonou, Benin/21-10-2017).

This suggests that when people have negative experiences with other people especially when it becomes a historical experience with misgivings it tend to shape cultural prejudices toward other people.

In a similar context, the depressing life experiences which migrants went through like an independent migrant farm labourer in Atan who was separated from his wife who was a indigene/local and now being formerly married to local woman with it conflicts served as also a (self) reference point. This independent migrant farm labourer who was in Iware

community in Oyobefore he later moved to Atan community stressed that: ‘ ...The girl’s parent refused [her to relocate with me] and took her away from me since I was not a Nigerian....because of this I decided I will not marry a Yoruba girl. But will have to marry a Togolese girl’(IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Atan/ Akebumkamene, Togo/23-10-2017).

Some male migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers pointed out that the infraction of marriage relationship which was caused by the local woman’s family by stopping or not encouraging her to migrate with the husband or by the local woman’s disinterest to not migrate with and relocate to the country of origin of her migrant husband. Yet, the inter-ethnic and inter-country marriage notion or prejudices were similar on the side of migrants and locals, as similarly stressed by a migrant farm tenant/farmer:‘ I am not encouraged to marry here [Olosun]...If you get married here to a local woman they will not return home with you. This is because of the refusal of the woman’s parent.’(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/Langabo, Togo/19-10-2017).

Many families of local women/girlshave also expressed similar reservations and disinterest in their daughters getting married to farm labour migrantsconsidering that the farm labour of the migrants was seen by locals as degrading for a good living. Also, knowing that their daughters would at some point may have to migrate to their migrant spouses’ home countries.For similarreason a migrant farm tenant stressed:‘... [B]ecause I do not have money I cannot marry from Nigeria. They also see us as visitors and may not be interested in marrying a foreigner. To avoid this, I married from my country [Benin]’ (IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/ Jugu, Benin/ 19-10-2017). A female local farmland owner/farmer whose dislike also showed in her disapproved facial expression stressed that: ‘... I will not marry my daughter to a foreigner except it is the wish of my daughter...’ (KII/Female/local farm land owner-farmer/Atan/23-10-2017). On the basis of these similar reasons,a local farmland owner/farmer in Olosun pointed out that the absence of marriage between migrants and locals was because locals sent their daughters to schools as a result they will not consent to their daughters marrying migrants.

To some other farm labour migrants, the cultural differences that affected migrant/local marriage were inconsequential since the basis of marriage was the underlining meanings and importance the intended or married parties gave and attached to the marriage. This view was, however, not surprising since the migrant farm tenant /farmer who expressed this view was the longest resident Togolese who was a Muslim with two wives and with one of them being a local. As an emphasis, the migrant farm tenant/farmer stressed that: 'Like dress, being dressed as a local showed we are now Yoruba too. And others here are married to Yoruba women. Women are not different and so the wife a person get married to does not make any difference. So, it does not make any difference if a person's wife is Yoruba or foreigner. All are regarded as the same.' **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sokode, Togo/19-10-2017)**. Adeniran's (2010) study noted that Nigerian Ejigbo Yoruba migrants in Cote d'Ivoire remarked their marriage to Ivoirian women as accomplishment which gives them social, political and economic acceptance and advantages in the process of adaption to the host communities in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire. This is unlike the case in this study in Ibadan where both migrants and locals have misgivings about migrant/local marriage.

Yet for the locals in Ibadan, Nigeria, their basic concern was in their daughters who were married or when married to migrants would have to leave her community/country of origin to the migrants' countries of origin. This made marriage between migrants and locals problematic. For this reason, particularly in Atan, the senior chief as the acting community chief emphasized that before any marriage between any migrants and local women, he interacts with the young women/girls and her families to clarify if the local woman would and her family would allow their daughter to migrate with the migrants when the farm labour migrant is returning to his country of origin. The senior chief as the acting community chief of Atan also stressed that when it is determined that it would not be the case the migrant/local marriage was not encouraged or stopped from going on in order to avoid later marital conflicts between the migrant and local woman. The senior chief emphasized that:

...[B]ecause of past experience, before any foreigner gets married to any local woman, the baale has to clear the implications in it. He will ask if the lady will follow the foreigner to his country. Togolese that are married to local girls hardly go back home. They are held back especially if the local

girl who is the wife refuses to follow him [the foreigner] to his country. Sometimes, instead of separating from the family particularly the children they [foreigner] decide to stay back...[which is something the parents of the foreigners do not approved of].

(KII/Senior chief- acting community cheif of Atan/Atan/20-10-2017)

This suggests that the marriage of migrants to local women tends to increase the influence of the women's local culture on the migrants. The local pressed and influenced the migrants to adapt to the local culture. All migrants had different ethnic and other social considerations that influenced where they got married. A migrant farm tenant/farmer that has insight into the influence of marriage in fit-in-enhancement to the local communities puts it this way:

...If I did not bring my wife from home I would have married here. Marriage as a whole is about love even if I do not like the people's culture I would have gone ahead to marry and then adjust to the culture, like their greeting pattern of bending to agree-If my son and daughter have not agreed to marry here I would have ask them to go home and marry.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Kubenebene, Benin/23-10-2017).

While this suggests that most of the migrants' wives join them to avoid the social rule of no adultery and for household care, another consideration for marriage to local women by migrant farm tenants/farmers who were married to local women and with children in English language school in the local community of Atan was depicted by another migrant farm tenant/farmer to be: '...like me, where ever one finds survival it is good to adjust, and for me I am okay' **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/Kaboli, Togo/21-10-2017)**. And in staying, he was enjoying certain privileges from his local son in-law such as access to farmlands. Another migrant farm tenant/farmer reasoned that: 'My wife is from Togo, she was my brother's friend's daughter. This made it easy unlike the attempt to marry someone else, who maybe a local or unknown foreigner, which would have taken time' **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Jugu, Benin/14-10-2017).**

In this latter case, the intent was not a show of dislike for local women Yoruba women but for the circumstance of easy path to marriage. The response of a migrant farm labourer in Olosun on this subject was that: '...Why not, I will marry Yoruba if she agree, ha ha ha

ha' (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Olosun/Gando,Togo/18-10-2018**), knowing that he was simply teasing because by his labour contract he cannot be married. His response showed a mere way of joking, since the same migrant farm labourer had stressed that to invest the wages from his labour contract, he will have to seek parental advice. And since many parents of the migrants had no interests in their children getting marriage to local women of Nigerian origin, it can be said that the migrant farm labourer would say otherwise when marriage would become an actual consideration for him.

The migrant women married to local men did not have similar discontentment, at least not observed in the study, just like local men getting married to migrant women. The culture of the local context of the migrants' host communities pressed on the migrant woman or man married to a local man or woman respectively. In this case, the local man or woman influences the migrant woman or man in relations to his/her culture of local context, that is, a migrant woman or man were influenced by the local man or woman to adapt to their host community. A migrant woman once married to a local who was the deceased community chief *baale* of Ijaiye forest reserve/farm settlement community, had not only the communicative capacity in the local language but in many ways adjusted to the other cultural life styles of the people of her late husband, a *Yoruba* man. Such adjustment to local cultural styles included dressing fashion or type of foods and she had immersed herself with the *Yoruba* ethno-cultural identity. Yet she retained her social connection with her family in her home country of origin which signified that she has a dual cultural identity and affiliation: that of her husbands' community in Nigeria and her community in Togo. In her sense of living and embodying different cultures from two different worlds, her view on inter-cultural relationship as marriage of man and women from two different contexts were also different. Her remarks were that: 'I am an example of that inter-cultural marriage [of two different countries]' (**IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sabokoma, Togo/25-10-2017**).

The migrant women tend to be more open to local/migrant marriages even with its manifest influence on the migrant woman or man in the host communities. As a female migrant farm tenant/farmer pointed out: 'It is sometime good and if it does not create trouble for him and my family then I would not reject it [marriage proposal from a local

man], since we are all Africans. It is Yoruba that likes [doing bias]things, if not, there are Ibo marrying Togolese in my country' **(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Olokonla-Ijaiye Farm Settlement /Basari, Togo/24-10-2017)**.A migrant farm tenant/farmer from Ghana who was married to local women in Atan in Ibadan, Nigeria,but now sparated,similarly bared the influence of the local culture on him. He states that:

With the rules here, it shows that this place Atan is peaceful to stay, and I decided to get married to a Yoruba woman. With her influence and that of the people of this community I dress like Yoruba. I have children here too. At celebrations, I dressed in [Yoruba] local attire. And dressing to suite local fashion attire excites the locals, which is why I dress like them.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Atan/ Krobo Eastern Ghana/23-10-2017)

Besides the historical misgivings which strained migrant/local marriage in this study, it is interesting to note other social misgivings and interests elsewhere noted by Adeniran (2010) from his study of Nigerian Ejigbo Yoruba migrants in Cote d'Ivoire. Unlike the male migrants and local women,and their families' dispositions towardsinter-cultural and inter-country marriage in Ibadan, for Nigerian Ejigbo-Yoruba migrants in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, the establishment of marital relationship with local Ivoirian women provided leverage when engaging in the socio-economy of the host communities, supports and enlarge their migrant network functioning, his Nigerian status such as belongingness, and social and cultural transnational interaction with community of origin are retained. Thus, for the male Nigerian Ejigbo-Yoruba migrants in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire,the marital 'relationships often assist them in the process of integrating into the host society easily' such that they were able to get residence permit or citizenship card, government jobs, or contracts, lands, loans from government and banks, and business ventures and premises.Whereasfemale Nigerian Ejigbo-Yoruba migrants were considered a 'lost' to migrants' network functioning since committed and Nigerian status of belongingness shifts to that of their Ivorian spouses.

The social and cultural transnational interactions of the female Nigerian Ejigbo-Yoruba migrants with community of origin in Nigeria is reduced, weakened or lost to their Ivorian spouses' communities of origin in Cote d'Ivoire. Without providing the perspective of Ivorian women and their families regarding marital relationship to Nigerian Ejigbo-Yoruba migrants, the context of marital relationship in Abidjan described by Adeniran

(2010) suggests that inter-cultural and country marital relationship from the perspective of the Nigerian Ejigbo-Yoruba migrants was encouraged and had been more beneficial to the migrants. This was unlike the migrants in Ibadan where there was no reported evidence of official resident permits, citizenship card, or contract opportunities to male migrant farmers/labourers (once) marriage to local women in Ibadan, Nigeria. The exception to this was the general immigration permits which was required by immigration officials from foreign migrants as a proof of their legal stay in Ibadan as any where else in Nigeria. And this did not necessary translate to significant advantages in adaptation processes.

While there were some migrants adapting particularly to the local dress fashion and varieties of local foods, some of these same migrants particularly migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers that were married to their home countries' women were indifferent to the meaningfulness of immersing or adapting to local culture except the local language. That is, many of the migrants were indifferent to some other cultural lifestyles of the host communities. To this category of farm labour migrants, their interests were in the opportunities which the farm production and farm produce markets in Ibadan provided and how successful they were hoping to become. Since the migrants motivations and aspirations for cross border migration to Ibadan was for better opportunities which the farm and market activities in Ibadan provided, their concerns was not necessarily with adapting to the local cultural lifestyles but the success of their aspirations, which some of them have accomplished from their migration to Ibadan, or which some of them will be accomplishing from their migration in Ibadan. Particularly for the migrant farm labourers, the farm production in Ibadan provided wage labour and labour wage opportunities, potential access to farmlands and with the hope to improving their life chances.

The migrants' aspirations for accomplishments regardless of their indifference in many other cultural life styles enabled as well as compelled them to adapt to the host communities social rules and local language. And most migrants adapted to the living in mould housing patterns, the use of nearby forestry/bushes as rest-room/toilets, and human made ponds and make shift bathrooms as places of bathing. Some migrants' views, of the interests they sought to accomplish, tend to reflect the general underlining motivations and aspirations of migration of migrants in the Ijaiye forestry reserve, farm settlement and the

other farm communities in Ibadan, as expressed by most particular migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers in Olosun, Ijaiye and Atan. These views which were shared by some migrants was stated by a migrant farm labourer in these words: ‘...[w]e are not concern with the way [of life of] the people here, [in] how they do things, our interest here is making money...’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Olosun/Gando, Togo/18-10-2018).**

Similarly, a migrant farm labourer in Atan who separated from his local wife and had also loss a farmland due to conflict with a local farmer whom he share farmland boundary with, felt cheated and treated unfairly by other local labourers in a joint wage labourer engaged in with them. His expression on anxiety and discontent were in form of complaint about the local labourers’ behaviours, which was that, whenever he engaged in a joint labour contract with them that they often did not reciprocate in equal measures to the farm labour services he often contributed to any labour services the local labourers involved him in. In this regard, the migrant farm labourers stressed that:

... I am not after the local cultural behaviour, I am here for money and as long as I get what I want I am okay, especially when I get work I face it. I do not care about the peoples’ way of life – I do not like this place and I am searching with the hope that by this time [October, 2017 of the next year October, 2018] I will relocate to another place.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Atan / Cotonou, Benin/21-10-2017)

The unconcern of this migrant farm labourer was because of his unfortunate experience of failed marriage and not being able to accomplish much material gains as he was barely surviving. To a migrant woman who become a migrant farm tenant/farmer by inheriting farmlands of her late local spouse, the late community chief *baale* of Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement community, her interest was more on how to cultivate and sustain the inherited farmlands for profit and not to pay attention to local cultural styles which by marriage became accultured to her life. She stated that: ‘I am not concerned with people’s behaviour, it is money that I am concerned with, if not I would have return to my country. But since I am also married here with or without money I would not have return [back home] but I will have to continue to visit home from time to time’ **(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sabokoma, Togo/25-10-2017).** Another view in similar regard was that:

...In adopting to the Yoruba fashion of clothing here, back home it is frown at, in which one is made caricature of, as one is seen and said to have turn to Yoruba. Since the fashion designs are different, however, the interest is not necessary what to wear here. One is not concerned with any of those clothing fashion of locals, one is strictly here for business- There is never time to dress specially. Every six days [in a week] we are on farm and only returned back at near night hours- sometimes at night.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Olosun/ Bante Benin/18-10-2017)

The conflict of prioritizing what was significant or insignificant lied in the economic and material aspirations of the migrants. The aspect of life opportunity which migrants considered significant impelled the migrants to penetrate and immersed themselves in those aspects of life and they similarly adapted to those aspects of life. That is, they adapted to those cultural aspects that increased their capacity to profit from the opportunities in farm production and markets including farm activities such labour services for wages in Ibadan. In explaining this particular context, there was the case of a migrant farm tenant/farmer that believed it necessary to restrain himself from joining and participating in vigilante group activities in order to maximize the opportunities in Ibadan which had enticed him to engage in migration. And since the opportunities in Ibadan gave him the hope of improving his living and social/business investments in his community/country of origin, it illustrates the aspect where and how migrants choose to immerse themselves and adapt to their host communities. In the words of the migrant farm tenant/farmer: ‘... I could not join vigilante because of the work that I have, and I do it alone, without which I will not have anything to show back home’ **(IDI/Male/ Migrant farm tenant/Atan/ Cotonou, Benin/21-10-2017)**.

For some migrants, beyond gaining from the economic opportunities of their host communities, adjusting their lives to the host communities was as significant as their aspirations. And the extent to which they were able to accomplish their aspirations was significantly connected to their immersed social interaction levels in the locals’ culture, within which to deploy and manipulate certain aspect of the context of the local culture to their benefits. The notion of the power of immersing in and putting on the identity of the local culture was depicted by a Togolese migrant farm tenant/farmer in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement community: ‘My adjustment to local culture helps me not to be identify as a foreigner’ and ‘being able to understand and speak the Yoruba language as

well as dress like the Yoruba people is more like I belong here' (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/ Sokode, Togo/14-10-2017**). To another migrant: '...It is important to dress like locals in their local attire to identify with friends who are locals and to also identify with the community with which to gain more community acceptability particularly at social functions' (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Jugu, Benin/14-10-2017**).

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b



Plate 4.11a:The researcher with a Ghanaian migrant farm tenant in Atan. This migrant diversified his major source of income to palm wine drinking business. He is dressed in *Yoruba* attire. This gave him a *Yoruba* resemblance.

Plate 4.11b.The researcher with Togolese migrant farm tenant in Ijaiye forest reserve camp. This migrant is the longest resident Togolese in Ijaiye forest reserve camp as well as in Ijaiye farm settlement, Atan and Olosun. He has been in the forest reserve camp since the early 1970s. He is also dressed in wrapper attire that is also common with the *Yoruba*. He is also articulate in speaking *Yoruba*.

The significance of migrants' adaption to the culture of the locals and host communities has also been noted by Adeniran (2010). He observed that in the interaction of Nigerian Ejigbo-Yoruba migrants with Ivorians in social space as the markets in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire, the 'interest at stake determine' the form of identity that was projected. Such that for 'business and survival sake' and to add for other social and economic interests, the Nigerian Ejigbo-Yoruba migrants present themselves in the local Ivorians languages and dress. Thus Adeniran (2010) stressed that the 'socio-economic environment in Abidjan made it expedient for people to identify with the host community.' Yet, in this study, as described earlier and for emphasis, the many aspects of the locals' cultural styles has its limited significance to migrants, and how significant any aspects of the locals' cultural styles was considered to be dependent on how a migrant felt and rationalized about his relationships and certain situations in his host community as well as the permissiveness of the host community.

For many migrants, adapting to certain aspects of the cultural styles of the host community did not restrain their dual transnational cultural connections, interactions, and belonging with their communities/countries of origin and host community of destination. As retaining home culture as well as taking the host community culture, in which both embodied a migrant, was significant in interaction situations and situational presentation of self to fit in, gain acceptance and benefits from either or both the home community/society and host community/society. This context which emphasized the significance of living and interacting with home-community of origin and from host community across the border points to living in two community/society at the same time, such that one was lived physically (host communities) and the other in mind and proxy through kith and kin or friends (communities of origin).

Interacting with home-community/country of origin helps the migrant to cloth on, live and retain his/her original culture beliefs and orientation as emphasized by a migrant farm tenant/farmer from Basari, Togo: 'I do not dress like locals because one's home life cannot be completely eroded in any person...even though what I am putting on is English wear, but it is a general wear' (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/Kaboli, Togo/21-10-2017**). These views emerged from the social experience of migrants' involvement in range of relationships in farm production, farm produce trading and social contacts with

locals in the host communities. But since many of the farm labour migrants often visited and other eventually return to their communities/countries of origin, the next theme discusses the lives of the migrants in their communities/countries of origin in relation to the opportunities that they created in their communities/countries of origin.

4.7 Investment Aspirations, Generation of Opportunities, and Re-Adaptation

In the research findings, the opportunities which migrants created and stimulated in their communities/countries of origin of Togo, Benin and Ghana were related to the social conditions or demands of their countries of origin and the drive and yearning to obtain life necessities that can improve their livelihoods. For many of the farm labour migrants, the expectations of families and the communities of their countries of origin was that the life experience outside their community particularly for the young people marked an accomplishment.

For the young people who had not or never migrated outside their communities, they were considered as not knowing what life is all about or not being men enough. With such notion, migration was seen to define manhood and independence and in some ways migration was more of a ritual to manhood and accomplishment. As a migrant farm tenant/farmer stressed: ‘...As my father’s brother went home I followed him to Nigeria...[W]here I came from in my country, if you have not travelled out then you are no body...’ (IDI/Male/MFT/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Jugu, Benin/14-10-2017). To another migrant farm tenant/farmer who was referred to the community head of Olosun, in Ibadan, Nigeria, by his brother who was a return migrant from Olosun community where he once stayed and engaged in farm production: ‘[T]o be regarded as somebody you have to travel out. This is because when you are there [abroad] your family will enjoy and when you return home, the things you have done will help you to live better than when you left’ (IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/Bante Benin/18-10-2017).

This context tends to correspond to Black *et al.*’s (2006) observation of the migration notion and behaviour in East and southern Africa, where migration, especially, temporary seasonal migration was ‘often actively encouraged as a right of passage’ for especially young males. Just as ‘permanent or semi-permanent migration was seen by most families as an option of last resort’. Similar context was observed by Adepoju (2008) of migrants in

the Sub Sahara Africa. All of these were essentially because remittances from migration ‘provided investment capital for rural commodity production, investment capital for inheritances, stimulated the flow of new ideas and social practices into rural areas, and enhanced rural livelihoods’ of the migrants and their families. And from which their larger communities of origin benefited directly or indirectly.

The community expectations influenced and formed (potential) migrants’ aspirations, and these community expectations in themselves became an inducement for migration. That is, the community expectations which embodied the life attitudes and behaviours of families were an inducement and push factor for international migration to Ibadan. In the study, it was observed that in relation to the social conditions in a particular community/country of origin, the expectations from and aspirations of migrants influenced and shaped the kinds of opportunities which the farm labour migrants created in their communities/countries of origin. That is, what enterprises they invested their incomes of labour and farm production earned from their migration destination in Ibadan.

From the study, it was noted that most of the farm labour migrants invested their incomes from farm labour and farm production into human assets, social assets and small business assets. Most of the investments were in human and social assets than small business assets. Investments in human assets in communities/countries of origin which most migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers with labour groups were involved in and created was labour recruitments through labour contract *agreement*. Most of the international or across the border farm labour recruitments to Ibadan from the countries of origin of (potential) farm labour migrants reflect a case where a female migrant farm tenant/farmer from Togo pointed out that: ‘...I brought in 27-30 labourers. I recruited and used them only for my farm work...’ in Ibadan (**IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/ Olokonla-Ijaiye Farm Settlement/Basari, Togo/24-10-2017**). Thus, the cross border farm labour recruitments to Ibadan in Nigeria from mostly Togo, and Benin, and farm less or almost non-existing in Ghana which became entrenched by migrant farm tenants/farmers, return migrants and migrant farm labourers as a transnational labour recruitment practice had over four decades generated continuously and provided labour employment opportunities for (potential) migrant farm labourers as well as indirect

opportunities and benefits for the farm labour migrants' families and communities/countries of origin. As emphasized and as discussed earlier, the first theme analyzed and presented had also elaborated some similar aspects of why and how transnational labour recruitment practice emerged in migrants countries of origin connecting to Ibadan.

The labour recruitment opportunities provided cross border employments by labour contract *agreement*. The cross border farm labour employments were considered and seen as investment in human assets. The nature of investment in human assets were such that the recruiters who were migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers and sometimes return migrants borne the cost of migration of the recruited migrant farm labourers from their communities/countries of origin to Ibadan destination in Nigeria. The cost of migration included cross border *financial inducement* to immigration officials as immigration permit fees for papers, transportation cost, shelter, feeding and minor health treatment costs, expenses on levy and taxes to the host communities and in some cases sanction fines paid on the head of the recruited migrant farm labourers for certain offenses committed by the recruited migrant farm labourers.

The benefits of the (labour of) recruited migrant labourers in farm production and for farm labour services to migrant farm tenants/farmers, independent migrant farm labourers and local farmers outweighed the costs of investments in the migrant farm labourers. Consequently, the benefits in profits over the costs of finances spent on cross border migration and the social burden of migrant labourers, encouraged and sustained the recruitment of migrant labourers across the border to Ibadan, Nigeria, from Togo and Benin and in rare circumstance from Ghana. The opportunities in farm production were beneficial to migrant farm labourers but the opportunities were more beneficial to the migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent farm labourers.

As similarly discussed in the second theme of the analysis, the migrant farm tenants/farmers after benefiting from the years of the labour contracts of labour services of the migrant farm labourers in their farm production in terms of easy and improved production, they further enjoyed the benefits of the proceeds of their farm production through trading off its farm produce. They as well benefited from the labour service of

migrant farm labourers to local farmers in terms of income receipt which the migrant farm tenants/farmers used a part to support his/her farm production and fulfil other social functions/utilities. The independent farm labourer, on the other hand, improved their incomes from the labour wages paid for the labour services of the migrant farm labourers under him/her. Whereas, the migrant farm labourers simply benefited from the proceeds of their labour services to mainly local farmers and other migrant farm tenants/farmers. And this was the reward from the labour contract which the migrant farm labourers received for the labour services.

As a result of the benefits that accrued from the opportunities of labour recruitments, migrants' investments in their communities/countries of origin were extended to other areas of opportunities such as development in human assets: the support to economic and social needs of their respective families such as the house construction, and skills acquisitions/development enterprise and school education sponsorship including payment of school fees. These aspects of human assets were dependent on the income earned from proceeds of farm production and labour services of migrant farm tenants/farmers and migrant farm labourers. The income earned across the border were transformed to migrants' remittances to their families in communities/countries of origin. Thus, the significant aspects of their investment in human assets as pointed out by a migrant farm tenant/farmer was that:

I sent and gave [social] support to my family including bike back home. This support included assisting my relatives like my brother with labourer work for farm work. My relative upon returning back home supported his family. But I am not involved in community project. I have not done things that support the large community like government but I have helped my family like given them bike and other financial support needed.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Jugu, Benin/14-10-2017)

Through similar remittances to support families back in communities/countries of origin like many other cross border farm labour migrants, a migrant farm tenant/farmer who has been in Nigeria for for eight (8) years, part of which he spent in Lagos as a driver and later moved to Ibadan as an alternative and secondary destination to farm, pointed out that, his investment in human assets through support to family members opened up and expanded better future opportunities back home. He explained that such investments were

accomplished in: ‘... a house built, and I provided supports to my children back home as well as supported other family members which included support to my brothers to learn mechanic, carpentry and bricks making business’ (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/ Sokode, Togo/14-10-2017**). Similarly, another migrant farm tenant/farmer stated that: ‘I have been supporting my family even if I have been here for just five years ... I support my child back home to work. Also, I supported my brother who is learning weaving when I visited home and returned home to work’ (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/ Kubenebene, Benin/23-10-2017**). This was not different from a Ghanaian migrant farm tenant/farmer’s investment which he noted as: ‘... Every three (3) years I send support to my children in Ghana in terms of money for house and family care... and food because I have a house already’ (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Atan/ Krobo Eastern Ghana/23-10-2017**).

The investments in these human assets through remittances used also as supports to families were not only intended to reduce family dependence but to open opportunities once hoped for and to improve the livelihoods of families of migrants in communities/countries of origin. These forms of opportunities had different support dimensions to families as pointed out by a particular migrant:

...From the income of farming and labour services I was able to support my children in school. Most of my children are in school back home. Some of them visited me here [Olosun] while on school holiday. While they were here, they helped me on farm and as they were returning back home to resume school I gave them school fees—some are in primary school and others are in the university studying.
(**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Olosun/ Bante Benin/18-10-2017**)

These opportunities created through investments in human assets were mostly limited to the family and with exclusive direct benefits to families of the migrants, as similarly depicted by another migrant who said: ‘I sent two vespers home which my brothers are using...’ (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/ Kaboli, Togo/21-10-2017**).

Migrants also generated small business opportunities which defined their small business assets. While the small business assets belonged to and were controlled by farm labour migrants/farmers and their families, the small business enterprise benefited the

communities where the business enterprise were established. The businesses provided employment opportunities to migrants' family members that did not migrate but were looking forward to the return of and to gain from their brothers, sisters and other relatives that migrated cross the border to Ibadan for farm labour services and farm production. In depicting this, a migrant that came from where opportunities were lacking in his community/country of origin emphasized that: '...The opportunity of farming in Olosun is empowering, and through the income from the farming business here I have a machine [bike] back home that is used for Okada [motorbike taxi] business by my family members. I also opened a big shop for clothing and shoes' (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/Basari, Togo/ 17-10-2017**). Similarly, a Beninois migrant farm tenant/farmer also stated that:

...With the income here [Olosun] I provided labour opportunities to labourers back home and supported family members of my parents and wife to get license for machine [motorbike]. I acquired [mechanic] equipment for mechanic business, and I have given many family members bikes with which to do business to support their families.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Olosun/ Bante Benin/18-10-2017)

Migrant women positions in generating opportunities as evident in this study were limited to the labour recruitments of particularly their families/siblings (that is paternal family) back in their communities/countries of origin. As pointed out by one of migrant women after a long pause: '...Our money is not to be sent home but to support our husbands and house needs in here [Ibadan, Nigeria] such as provision of soap, salt, magi [seasoning] and so on' (**FGD/Females/Migrant women/Olosun/Benin and Togo/18-10-2017**). This suggests that migrant women have more social capacity and less financial capacity to invest in their own/paternal or spouses' communities/countries of origin, except for the female migrant farm tenant/farmer and migrant farm labourers that benefited from cross border labour recruitment contracts, investments in farm productions, and causal labour services. A female migrant farm tenant/farmer who recruits female migrant farm labourers, viewed her investments which provided opportunities to families as well as created future opportunities to family and business growth opportunities as emanating from her success from cross border farm work. She pointed out that:

[As] my achievements, I have built a house back home and provided support to my children through educational school support. [Also,] I built sheep paddock where I am breeding sheeps back home, and as the sheeps increase [in commercial quantity] I will sale them to pay school fees and provide other family needs.

(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/ Olokonla- Ijaiye Farm Settlement/Basari, Togo/24-10-2017)

Since the migrant women significantly depended on their spouses who were migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers for resources as money and other household material terms, their male migrant spouses were responsible for any investments and financial remittance support to the family and communities/countries of origin of the migrant women. Whereas Black et al. (2006) noted of sub-Saharan Africa that the remittances which women sent home are a lifeline for family sustenance (Adepoju, 2006a ;Makinwa-Adebusoye, 1990) in this study, migrant women, especially, married migrant women, did not have financial capacity to send home financial remittances. Instead, the migrant women social capacity was to facilitate the recruitment of their paternal siblings and relatives. Therefore, if not for anything, some of the migrant women's relatives were recruited across the border into their spouses' labour group in Ibadan, Nigeria. This was the opportunities which the migrant women were able to create for their families/relatives. Through their siblings and relatives' wages/income from recruitment contracts across the border, the migrant women's siblings and relatives were able to support their families.

The exception to that was migrant women that worked as migrant farm tenant/farmer and migrant farm labourers to earn income/wages for the remittance to sustain their own livelihoods as well as their families' livelihood. In this sense, the migrant women were lifeline of cross border migration recruitment contracts to their families, through which they enabled the improvement of their families' livelihoods. Yet, the women who lived back home in countries of origin of the migrants and did not migrate, through remittance used for investments in family needs and assets in the migrants' communities/ countries of origin, women who stayed back in countries of origin and did not migrate benefited from the investments made in human assets and business assets. For a migrant farm labourer whose wife was in home country of origin, the wife would eventually benefit from his cross border labour service. He explained that: '... I hope to return in November[2017] but

I have no money back home. This is the reason why we are here [Olosun]... And that is why I am here too-My wife is back home learning tailoring and I sent her support as much as I can' (**IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Olosun/Gando,Togo/18-10-2018**).

Investments in social assets were mainly in social networks to sustain the cross border migration of farm labour recruitments which benefited investments in human assets and business assets. That is, local social networks in communities/countries of origin of farm labour migrants which were connected to the local social network in the migrants' host communities/country were the social capital through which migrant farm labourers and particularly migrant farm tenants/farmers invested to generated additional opportunities in human assets and business assets in their communities/countries of origin. Thus, the investments enabled financial and social remittances in communities/countries of origin. Besides the financial remittance which result from labour wages and trade-profits from farm produce, social remittance were more or less investment in farm production and farm labour styles, skills and technologies that few farm labour migrants acquired from the host communities and introduced to their families for farm production in their communities/countries of origin. However, most of the farm labour migrants in farm communities in Ibadan were rather hoping to introduce similar farm labours skills and farm production technology to their communities/countries of origin when they returned to their communities/countries of origin. This point was stated by Beninois migrant farm tenants/farmer:

I will return back home with farming skills and teach cassava planting skills like how to plant cassava with a certain long length of cassava stem and using cutlass to cut the cassava stick-This is because I will not be here forever. But once I get what I want I will return-By God's grace I will build a house. When I return, I will continue with farm work even when there is no market [back home] as this was the reason for leaving home in the first place. With the house, I will continue to manage with the farm and market situations in my country.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Kubenebene, Benin/23-10-2017)

On similar note, a Togolese migrant farm labourers said:

On returning I will take back home plantig styles and used it over there such as using cutlass for planting rather than hoe [as much sand on seed prevent quick growth] because of the duration of the planting. Instead of rope, I will take home the style of using belt or iron belt for climbing palm trees... When I return, I will continue with farming. But for now, I will keep returning and visiting until I decide where to stay. Just started here and have no investment here.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/Atan/ Akebumkamene, Togo/23-10-2017)

Another migrant said: ‘...farm skills are some of the things which I can take back home to teach others. This will include teaching them pattern of farming and weeding that makes it faster for planting’ for better farming [production]’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/Cotonou, Benin/21-10-2017)**.

In some cases, investments in social assets were in household and ceremonial rituals such as marriage, burial rituals, and other social ceremonies as naming ceremonies. Interestingly, the investments in human assets, small business assets and social assets were livelihood investment enterprises which farm labour migrants were looking forward to falling back on when they finally return to their communities/countries of origin.

The social significance of these investments which reflects the intentions of many migrants were pointed out by a migrant farm tenant/farmer: ‘...[O]nce I return back home I will continue doing farming while my family members will continue to take care of the business that I have established, while I will continue with farming as a father’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Olosun/ Basari, Togo/ 17-10-2017)**. To elaborate this view, another migrant farm tenant/farmer who built a house and set up a cassava processing machine for commercial services in the community of his country of origin said:

...If I were home, I would not have gotten these things. And the money from farming here [Olosun] was used to help my family back home-But here [in Olosun], I will not do anything because I will have to return back home at some point. [And] this is because I am here to look for money- These things back home will help me to continue prospering at home as I will also continue with farming when I return back home.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Olosun/Basari, Togo/17-10-2017)

To many of these farm labour migrants even when there will be absence or low markets for farm produce in their communities/countries of origin when they finally return, the whole essence of their investments was to help them not to depend wholly on the farm produce markets when in their countries of origin. Their investments in other areas in their communities/countries of origin were to be the main alternative sources of their livelihoods' income. Such investments in families in communities/countries of origin with which to fall back on in meeting the migrants' families and communities expectations was also gratifying to the migrants, as also expressed by a Beninois migrant farm tenant/farmer:

...But for me, from the money I am making here [Ijaiye] I sent some home for school fees as support to my children, and also built a house. This two are enough for me and this gives me peace of mind and I have peace of mind. But for investment in community projects back home, I am not involved in it. Community development is not something for me. It is for the government. Since I do not have much money to carry out such project, the support I sent back home was just for my family.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/ Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/ Cotonou, Benin/14-10-2017)

For independent female migrant labourers and female migrant farm tenants/farmers particularly, the essence of such investment in women as human assets and yet at the same time as business investment was stated by a female migrant farm tenant/farmer to be in the labour recruitment of women. By investment in women as a human assets, a female migrant farm tenant/farmer remarked that '*It is to give women opportunity and empower them...*' **(IDI/Female/Migrant farm tenant/Olokonla -Ijaiyi Farm Settlement/Basari, Togo/24-10-2017).**

In all of these, not every migrant farm tenant/farmer, particularly, migrant farm labourer that was able to invest significantly in human assets, small business assets and social assets in their communities/countries of origin. This contributed to many migrants been disinterested in visiting home countries often and/or in returning to communities/countries of origin since they did not have business or social assets to fall back onto continue with life after returning from the life of migrant and migration.

For a migrant farm tenant/farmer that has lived in Ibadan over forty (40) years of engaging in farm production and once worked as migrant farm labourer and currently has two wives and many children, he has accomplished little in terms of investment in his communities/countries of origin. Instances as this were a contributive factor to limited opportunities, which tend to make many migrants uncertain of when to return to their communities/countries of origin. And as expressed by the Togolese migrant farm tenant/farmers who has stayed longer in Ijaiye forestry reserve/farm settlement community than any other Togolese migrant farm tenants or labourers: ‘...I am not sure I will be returning except God decides’. But ‘I think that at some point when my strength for farming is weakened, I can then return home. But even without any physical assets like a house back home I sent supports to my family in terms of financial assistance’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Ijaiye Forestry Reserve-Farm Settlement/Sokode, Togo/19-10-2017)**. This was also depicted by another migrant who identified himself with his host communities as well as his community/country of origin: ‘...Nigeria is now as my home –but I only do visit home [country of origin] once in a while. I am here for farm. I am more like Yoruba, but I am not removed from home like other foreigners’ **(IDI/Male/Migrant farm tenant/Atan/Kaboli, Togo/21-10-2017)**.

For many migrant farm labourers, particularly, their investments were in human assets and businesses, and most used the income from the wage labour which was the reward from their labour contract to invest in motorbikes that was used either as motorbike taxi to continuously generate additional income or for personal/family use. And other investments were to meet other range of family needs such as purchase building material items to build a house and for apprenticeship such as tailoring for some family members like their wives and the eventual investment in tailoring/fashion business to also generate additional income that supports the family. For many migrant farm labourers that were not yet able to generate opportunities through investments in their home countries, especially after their first individual labour contract, the tendency with them was to also return to their host communities/country with a renewed labour contract or to engage in wage labour independently in order to strive to improve their income level through labour services and then eventually become migrant farm tenants/farmers and to continue to strive to gain from proceeds from farm production and labour services of other migrant farm

labours which they would at some point recruit and place under their control as a labour group. Through that, they will become more able to invest in and generate opportunities in their countries of origin. This being the reason for which many migrant farm labourers continue to return to their host communities/country, a migrant farm labourer remarked that:

...My aspiration is to return back home after collecting [my labour agreement settlement] money of ₦220,000 when the agreement ends...when I get money then I will decide what to do with it [money] or my father will advise me on what to spend the money on... After which I may return to service my Oga again.

(IDI/Male/Migrant farm labourer/ Olosun/Icha- Idacha, Togo/18-10-2018)

The investments of farm labour migrants in their countries of origin were mainly preparatory activities to returning to their countries of origin, and any investments made were intended to eventually support the farm labour migrants' re-adaptation or re-integration in their communities/countries of origin. It was intended to not lose social connection to events in their communities/countries of origin. The loss of social connections for other migrants kept them off home and without social cycles to fall back on to ease a re-intergration as they eventually return to countries of origin. This was most especially for migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers that were still struggling to make accomplishment in farm production in Ibadan in which to translate to the accomplishment from investments in order to meet the expectations of families and the community awaiting them in their country of origin.

These contexts in which migrant farm tenants/farmers and labourers generated opportunities through their investments in their respective communities/countries of origin tend to be broad migration behavioral patterns of migrants in Sub-Saharan Africa as similarly noted in migration literature on Africa (Orozco, 2007; Adepoju, 2006; Black et al, 2006). Thus, it has been observed that in Sub-Sahara Africa, migrants used their remittances to enhance and sustain their lives and meet needs especially for the improvements of the livelihood of poor families and communities. The human, social and economic investments made through remittances to specific investments in real estate, house construction, school education of siblings and/or their children, agri-extension training to simulate ideas, and improved farm or social practices in order to

improve agricultural management techniques, small business enterprises for additional and sustainable livelihoods income, social capital and community development in countries of origin were also noted by Migration Policy Institute (2002) as investments in preparation for the migrants' return and/or as migration retirement capital and inheritances. As other migration contexts in Africa, in this study, migration remittances which enabled migrant farmers and labourers to invest in their communities/countries of origin in Togo, Benin and Ghana was the key incentive for their engagement in international migration to Ibadan, Nigeria. Others who migrate for other reasons as security of life later found migration remittances from their host communities in Ibadan to their communities/countries of origin as significant to transnational lives. The intention was to define their unfortunate situations back home as fortunate situations that open cross border opportunities to them in host communities in Ibadan.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, POLICY IMPLICATIONS OF THE STUDY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Summary

International farm labour migration as any form of migration has different triggered factors at the point of origin and inducement factors at the point of destination. This connected people/communities across borders. In Africa, there is a history of local and international migration for the purpose of farming, in which different communities in different African countries are connected. Interestingly, in literature, the triggers of migration were associated with farm labour migration in African were pinned to changes in agriculture structure and changing agro-ecology which in the recent past have been linked to climate change. With their consequences on farm production, research accounts that the farmers sometimes have to move to other locations across borders in search of alternative conditions of farm production. The interest of the study was then to examine specific social and production factors which accounts for international farm labour migration to Ibadan, Nigeria.

The findings of the study were interesting, to the extent that international farm labour migration was not exclusive to cross border or international farm labour engagements of farmers. While there were farmers in other West African countries that migrate from their communities/countries of origin to farm communities of destination in Nigeria, in the case of this study in Ibadan, there were other West African peoples in non-farm economic sectors that engaged in international labour migration as opposite to international farm labour migration for the purpose of opportunities in non-farm labour sectors in other cities in Nigeria. This latter category of migrants had migrated to Ibadan as a secondary destination and not as a primary destination. In that regard, there were also certain farmers that migrated to other rural farm communities in particularly South West Nigeria that were in distance or proximity to Ibadan as a primary destination before migrating further

to Ibadan as a secondary destination. What informed were people, including farmers, migrated across the border either for farm or non-farm labour opportunities varied according to the context situations which every migrant was confronted with and which he/she experienced.

What became clear in analysing international farm labour migration to Ibadan was that people of different occupations and even those without occupations had cause to migrate based on the social and farm production conditions which they were confronted with and how they experienced those conditions. For those without occupations, there were those migrants without jobs after completing primary school and those simply aspiring to take on jobs as drivers or mechanics. But without accessing or getting the opportunities in those occupations, they had to migrate across the border to look for opportunities. And there were also those migrants whose small scale business were not doing well, unprofitable and so they had to migrate across the border for alternative opportunities. Interestingly, those with occupations had to look for similar or different lines of occupations.

There were migrants, especially migrant women, who migrated for the purpose of reunion/visit. This was particularly for migrant women that were married before migrating with or to join their spouses at their spouses' destination. There were also other migrants that felt insecure and so had to migrate across the border for the security of their lives and alternative opportunities, in which they became migrant farm labourers and subsequent migrant farm tenants/farmers. There were also farmers who as a result of surplus farm produce from farm production on the one hand, had on the other hand limited access to market outlets and experienced saturated markets with surplus farm produce that could not be absorbed through trade exchange, thus, they further experienced unprofitable prices of the farm produce. For those reasons, they had to migrate across the border to other locations of primary destination or secondary destination for better farm production and profitable market conditions for farm produce. Further, there were other farmers who were providing mainly family labour but were without access and control over such family farmlands, consequently, they had to migrate across the border to a primary destination and secondary destination to access and control the farmland which they

eventually rented and to be independent of family farm production control and the proceeds from it.

The inducement to migrate to farm communities in Ibadan as a destination from communities/countries of origin was primarily because of the many profitable market outlets for farm produce in Ibadan, which generated improved income and wealth/investments for migrants. For migrants in non-farm labour in cities in South West Nigeria and migrant farmers in other rural farm communities in South West Nigeria as their primary destinations, their inducement to Ibadan was also profitable market conditions linked to farm production. As a consequence of undesirable situations for migrants in non-farm labour sector and unfavourable farm production conditions in their primary destinations, the favourable and profitable markets and farm production in Ibadan induced these categories of migrants to migrate further to Ibadan as a secondary destination. In this particular case, the primary destination was not a transition point and route but an actual destination until when the migrants had to migrate to a secondary destination. In Ibadan, the migrants in non-farm labour became migrant farm labourers just as the farmers continued as migrant farmers but first as migrant farm labourers and some later became migrant farm tenants/farmers.

Many of the migrant farm tenants/farmers subsequently had to recruit relatives and people from their communities /countries of origin to provide farm labour services for their farm production at the destination. This study did not go deep into history to unravel the broader contexts of the origin of the international farm labour migrants outside Ibadan as the farm labour migrants pulled into the farm communities in Ibadan were examined in this study. Therefore, no connection between migration in colonial and immediate post-colonial period was examined except as captured in the varied scholarly literature reviewed in this thesis. The historical reference point which this study examined was that, the first migrants were migrant farm labourers who migrated to farm communities in Ibadan on the invitation of Oyo state government field officers to complement the field officers labour particularly in the State, but more so in Ijaiye forestry reserve in Ibadan, which later extended to Ijaiye farm settlement. But because the visitation was not authorized by the state government, the rewards to the migrant farm labourers was farmland allocations to

them to farm on and earned income. With the state government policy of *Taungya system* which gave access to farmland to locals in the farm settlement on lease, the migrant farm labourers access to farmland also expanded and the demand for migrant farm labourers also increased beyond the farm settlement to proximate farm communities to the farm settlement. As the locals became farm tenants of the state government, the migrant farm labourers became farm tenants of the locals as the local farmland owners in turn leased some of the portions of the farmlands which the state government had leased them to migrant farm labourers.

The migrant farm labourers after many years of farm labour services earned one of these rewards: a motorbike, farmlands, money or any other reward they negotiated for. Each reward was based on a labour contract *agreement* which migrant farm labourers had with migrant farm tenants and independent migrant farm labourers whose interests was to recruit farm labourers across the border from their communities/countries of origin and to use them to provide farm labour services for their farm production as well as to local farmers and other migrant farmers not in the business of cross border labour recruitment. The labour services of migrant farm labourers (was used to) improved the farm production of migrant farm tenants from which the international migrant farm labour received his/her reward from the international migrant farm tenants and independent international migrant farm labourers.

Since the recruited migrant farm labourers were controlled by the migrant farm tenants who were their recruiters/employers, the reward of wages from the labour services of migrant farm labourers to local farmers was received and controlled by migrant farm tenants. Any reward that a migrant farm labourer got was based on his/her labour contract *agreement*. Migrant farm labourers whose labour contract was for farm labour service to local farmland owners/farmers in exchange for access to farmland was employed only for a certain period. The labour contracts of some migrant farm labourers were for farm labour services for at least one year for payment of incomes/wages by their recruiters/employers the migrant farm tenants/farmers or independent migrant farm labourers. The labour contract of other migrant farm labourers in exchange for their farm labour services was a motorbike. Every reward from a labour contract *agreement*

was based on what was negotiated for. While relatives and community of the migrants, safeguarded the labour contract *agreement*, the recruitment process of migrant farm labourers across the border was sustained by the labour contract, which guaranteed receipt of reward from the labour contract. This encouraged international migration inflows to farm communities in Ibadan.

The transnational network supported cross border farm labour recruitment processes to the extent that every migrant farm labourer depended on the transnational network of earlier migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers to migrate across the border to a primary destination and to secondary destination. The transnational networks became the migration corridors to a certain destination, in this case Ibadan, Nigeria. The transnational network which connects to local network of migrants assisted migrant farm labourers to establish tenancy relationship with local farmland owners/farmers. It had largely assisted the migrant farm labourers to adapt to any new destination. Importantly, the transnational network in connecting different communities/countries across the border, served as corridors of back and forth migration until at such a time when the migrants returned finally to their communities/countries of origin. In this regard, the transnational network was also of significance to the migrants' re-adaptation in communities/countries of origins, just as it was significant to the migrants in assisting him/her not just in assimilating forms of new identity at the new destination. Also, the transnational network enabled migrants to retain the identities of their communities/countries of origin with which the migrants possess and embodied his/her dual identity that were valuable in different beneficial interactive situations in the community/country of destination and origin. Therefore, cross border recruitment processes based on labour contract and the transnational network of information and agents were mechanisms observed to be vital in sustaining international farm labour migration to a certain destination, in this case Ibadan.

5.2 Policy Implications of the Study

Migration is a global phenomenon in the sense that people always have reasons to migrate from one location to a different location. The state policies of some countries also attract and give reasons to some people in certain countries to migrate to other countries with attractive policies which encouraged and welcome migrants. In other instances, severe

conditions give reasons to people to migrate from their countries to other countries with less severe or better conditions, where they hope to be empowered or feel more empowered. In spite of some of the benefits of international migration linked to reasons which people have to migrate, international migration has become a political, social and economic burden and security threat to countries receiving international migrants. Yet, since migration is an inevitable social phenomenon due to the different social dynamic which people are confronted with and for which people have reasons to migrate, to minimize the varying social risks with migration, the contemporary emphasis on migration is migration management which include a thorough process of selection of migrants into other countries and integration. Integration here translates to include migrants having access to opportunities and social infrastructures that improve their well being. With this, the migrants in turn contributed to the growth of the various sectors which they are involved in, for the economic and development of the countries they have become part of.

In advance countries as USA and Canada, there are well organized policy system of accepting international farm labour migrants in agricultural sector as farm workers. International migrants were recruited into plantations or farm settlements where the recruited migrants also lived to provide range of labour services to owners of such agricultural estates for a certain period. In some stances, some of the migrant farm workers eventually became citizens of the host country and in other instances the migration policy allowed the farm workers to live and work on the farm estate for certain period and must return once his/her contract ended. And such farm workers can only return on a renewed contract or reapplication. The former was a resemblance of colonial farm settlement with concentration of farmers and other farm workers with its problems for the migrant labourers while the latter tended to remove the semblance of farm labour practices that are linked to colonial farm settlements or slavery agricultural estates to more humane practices that benefits the migrant farm workers and facilitate addressing the issues of migration.

The organized system of recruitment of agricultural workers into agricultural estate has been part of the larger policy of international migration management. In Africa, the some

of the once established colonial plantations, forest reserve, and farm settlements (referred to in literature and findings of this study) which benefited from the voluntary migration or transplantation of farm labourers within or across colonial state borders have continued to exist in contemporary times in countries as Cote d'Ivoire while in other countries such as Nigeria, the colonial farm settlements collapsed. Beside farm production, how well organized those farm settlements and plantations served and empowered migrant farm labourers is a question for historical sociology or a sociological analysis of history. Yet, what became clear was that migrant farm labourers were burdened socially in the farm settlements, with minimal personal and economic benefits to the migrant farm labourers but with maximal economic and political benefits to the colonial state.

In post colonial independence Nigeria, the farm settlements of Oyo state government in Nigeria which is operated on *Taungya system* benefits local farmers including local farmers that are migrants from other parts of Nigeria. The international farm labour migration prior to 1970s, and which has continued since 1970s when the farm settlements were established, have become part of community of the farm settlements, with different aspects of life history to explore. With the increasing population of international migrant farm labourers, in which some became migrants farm tenants/farmers controlling a lot of farmlands and farm production, there is at present not clearly stated policy that addresses the migration management of the inflow of migrants into farm settlements. The *Taungya system* which has been discussed in this thesis rather focused on local farmers through which the state strategically expects it to boost the agriculture production, the rural economy as well as the state economy. This was to also empower local farmers. The local farmers in turn relate with and relied on the international farm labour migrants to sustain their farm production, with which the local farmers continuously participate to trade in farm produce. In spite of the increasing population of international migrants, particularly, international farm labour migrants in the farm settlements in Oyo state, they appear not yet to be problematic to the agricultural sector of the state. Instead, through their farm labour and farm production of over four decades, they have contributed to increase farm production and trade in farm produce in the state. Whether the state government is officially in the know of the international farm labour migrants contribution to the agricultural sector and production and trade of the state is not clear. This did not exclude

farm production and market competitions between local farmers and farm labour migrants as well as competition over farmlands. And what the consequences of the competition are for local farmers or the larger state agricultural policy for development.

What is clear is that there is no formal or informal policy that addresses migration management of inflows of international farm labour migrants in the farm settlements. Also, there is no specific census to account for the increasing demographic population of international farm labour migrants in the farm settlements and farm communities in the state. Interestingly, the international farm labour migrants have an organized farm labour recruitment process and transnational network with established migration corridors that facilitates migration from sending countries in parts of Africa to the receiving farm settlements and communities in Ibadan in Nigeria. However, this cross border recruitment process and transnational networks only facilitated the stream of inflows of migrants to Ibadan without necessarily managing the migration inflows of the farm labour migrants to farm settlements and communities in Ibadan.

This is made difficult by Economic Community of West African States, ECOWAS policy of free movement of people which includes movement for the purpose of trade and other economic opportunities. This also encourages cross border migration which includes international farm labour migration and tend to remove or limit the State's control over migration management of inflows of labour migrants in Nigeria to the control of ECOWAS regional mechanisms and AU framework on migration management. With these policies which facilitate free movement of people and integration of these people in Africa, the migrants independently and discretionarily exercised control over migration inflows. Therefore, the cross border recruitment of farm labour migrants invariably gave some farm labour migrants control over migration inflows to the farm settlement and communities in the State rather than the State moderating the cross border recruitment processes and having control over migration inflows of farm labour migrants in the State.

To maximize the benefits of the farm settlements to the local economy and the economy of the State, it requires the investments of the federal, state and local governments in the farm settlements. For the State to also take advantage of the migrants' labour to boost farm production as well as for the migrants' farm production to boost trade in farm

produce and other agricultural related non-farm economic businesses in the formal and informal sectors, it also requires the investments of the State government in the farm settlements and farm communities with international farm labour migrants. This includes other economic sectors with migrants' participation. The policy direction in the agricultural sector outside any formal migration management policy of the State should be to formally recognize the migration inflows and presence of international farm labour migrants in the farm settlements and communities in the State and their (potential) significance to the State beyond the agricultural sector. This includes the consequences of the demographic population of the international farm labour migrants to State. All of these should be part of the broader policy dialogues on migration, agriculture and the political economy (of the state in agricultural change and development) that will lead to the formalization of appropriate State policy on migration management that gives the State a certain level of control over migration inflows of international farm labour migrants to a State and country.

While positive and negative lessons can be taken from migration management of migrant farm labourers/workers in farm settlements, agricultural estates and farm communities elsewhere, it is important for the State to maximize economic benefits from migration and from farm labour migrants. The State officially needs to recognize and introduce an inclusive policy that deals with and support migrant farmers/labourers like the local farmers. This will remove or neutralise the exploitation and exclusive management of migrants to the authority of locals of the host communities of migrants alone. This means, at least in the farm settlements, migrants will be given legitimacy to access farmlands directly from the State. With the State control over migration management and activities of migrants, the State will need to set in appropriate social, economic and agricultural infrastructures (such as good roads and transportation systems that connect trade centres, health centres, food processing and preservation centres, micro financial institutions, institutional cooperation and farm housing) in the farm settlements as required in rural farm communities to boost farm production and trade for farm produce.

Many of the infrastructures in the farm settlements and farm communities were observed in some instances to be moribund or absent as a consequence of State policy changes and

policy priorities of successive state governments. The successive State policy prioritization excluded the advancement of the farm settlements and limit agricultural support to farmers to provision of fertilizer at subsidized rate or market price. The infrastructure when provided will improve not just the social and health capacity of the farm labour migrants and local farmers/labourers but serve as a crucial value chain infrastructures that boost agricultural production, trade and economy of the State. In this way, the farm labour migrants and local farmers from the State will maximize profits and wealth from the ECOWAS and AU migration policy on free movement of people and goods as anchored on economic integration. This will further boost the leverage of Ibadan as an economic centre of trade in West Africa.

Strategic institutional cooperation with financial institutions with no or less interest credit facilities and agricultural research institutions such as IITA which partners with farmers on experimental basis to improve agriculture, needs to be expanded to meet production interests of the population of farm labour migrants and local farmers in the farm settlements and farm communities in order to improve access to and boost agricultural input technologies to improve farm production and information capacity that connects to profitable markets to sustain farm production. In this sense, a public-private partnership will be necessary.

Commercializing agricultural production also requires reformulation of agriculture structure through policy to give more access to farmlands to considerable migrants and local farmers. The commercial agricultural production in the farm settlements and farm communities which depend on traditional agricultural technology need to move beyond political rhetoric, propaganda, and policy politics on agriculture to consistent workable policy support to farmers through deploying, empowering and making accessible advanced agricultural technologies to farmers to boost commercial agricultural production to meet the changing local demands, regional and international markets supply and standards. Consequently, with the comparative advantage of Nigerian entrepreneurs in small scale agro-processing technology for processing of agricultural raw materials and foods, the Nigerian state government should encourage her agro-processing entrepreneurs and enterprises to take advantage of ECOWAS' and (the potential) ACFTA's policies on

free trade including continental cross border agricultural trade to expand and established agro-processing enterprises (in other African countries in dearth or want of agro-processing technology) to convert the surplus farm produce and other agricultural produce in Togo and Benin (other African countries) into other refined usable foods and items for sale or future trade and consumption. This can be achieved by creating and facilitating cross border value-chain infrastructure and environment between communities/ countries of origin and destination.

These focal points on policy implication means that the State needs to continue to make investment in the farm settlements or agricultural estates and farm communities through policy framework of migration management. This is considered key to initiating beneficial bilateral or multilateral relationships between the State that host the farm labour migrants and states/countries of origin of the farm labour migrants. Yet, migration can only be more beneficial if migration is not with political and security risks to migrants receiving communities/countries. Such risks manifest with the sectoral dominance of certain class of migrants or the migrant population being infiltrated and used to create social risks to the host communities/countries. The increasing instances of social risks posed or generated by migrants elsewhere as it is increasingly manifesting in Nigeria, particularly, in the violent conflicts between farmers and herdsmen (with few isolated incidence of such conflict in the Ijaiye farm settlement) with incidences of humanitarian emergency, farm production collapsed and food insecurity and markets disruptions make migration management the more important. In conflating sense and debate that herdsmen are foreign migrants and not local herdsmen makes it also important for a policy framework of migration management that captures the demographic population of migrants, define their origin and actual citizenship and their consequent to State agricultural production and the larger economy of the state.

5.3 Conclusion

International migration or migration across the borders for the purpose of accessing alternative opportunities to improve lives or for life exploration or life security has been the driving force of migration. From the study, while analyzing international farm labour migration to Ibadan, it was observed that there were different circumstances that triggered

cross border migration of people from the same communities/countries or different communities/countries, even when they were found to have been engaged in the same sector of farm production and farm labour at the host community/country. What this means is that even when different circumstances confronted people of different occupations including farmers to migrate across the border, not every migrants that engaged in cross border migration had interest to migrate across the border to engage in farming. Some migrants had migrated across the border for opportunities in non-farm economic sectors in other parts of Nigeria.

Yet, these categories of migrants were involved in farming as the farmers that had to migrate across the border to engage in farming. The categories of migrants in non-farm labour and those in farming became migrant tenants/farmers and migrant labourers at the destination. It is significant to note that for migrants in non-farm labour, their unfulfilling aspirations elsewhere at their primary destinations compelled them to migrate further to a secondary destination to engage in farm labour which required no financial capital except social capital. Yet, most of these farm labour migrants, especially migrant farm labourers, were able to earn income from labour services and the migrant farm tenants/farmers on the other hand generated income and wealth/investments from the labour of the migrant farm labourers and their farm production with which these migrants invested in their communities/countries of origin.

Whether some migrants achieved their aspirations which they took across the border or not, Ibadan was a destination that provided migrants with new and alternative opportunities away from their countries of origin. What is instructive from this study is that in analyzing migration, there is no one factor/condition that triggers migration, but instead, there are different factors/conditions that triggers migration. And that in spite of the different factors/conditions that triggered migration, actual migration was and is set in motion only when (potential) migrants have information on and are aware of the alternative locations with new and alternative opportunities or environment for them to meet their aspirations, to assuage their fears and gain a sense of security.

As a result of the social and economic significance of the farm settlements and farm communities in Ibadan to migrants' investments in their communities/countries of origin

and the relevance of the migrant farmers/labourers in the farm settlements, the farm communities and to local farmers in boosting agricultural production and trade in agricultural produce to the state economy, Ibadan continues to increase the demand for international farm labour migrants. For similar reasons, Ibadan also continuously attracts international farm labour migrant. Yet, in order not to create unnecessary competition that will displace local farmers or establish production dependence on migrant farmers, with its immediate and long term economic and labour implications for the state, there is vital need for the strategic management of international farm labour migration to the state. This will enhance tapping into the opportunities that come with the dynamics of international farm labour migration with which to empower and benefit individual farm labour migrants, local farmers as well as the general local and state economy.

5.4 What the Study has added to Knowledge

While migration is a historical as well as a contemporary phenomenon, people engaged in international labour migration for different reasons. Similarly, people engaged in international farm labour migration for different reasons. However, often there is the tendency in literature to isolate the reasons at the origin and at destination as mutually exclusive reasons that account for migration such as international farm labour migration. Interestingly, as the addition of this research to knowledge, the study acknowledges the conditions which people of communities/ countries experience and give them reasons for migration. Yet the conditions alone were not sufficient reasons for migration except when there is information on better conditions and alternative opportunities cross the border in a different community/country of destination. The conditions of push at communities/countries of origin and the conditions of pull at the communities/countries of destination were/are not mutually exclusive. The push and pull factors/conditions have to be present for migration to occur. As the conditions at the origin force or motivate people to want to migrate, the conditions at the destinations give reasons to people to migrate. Interestingly, Mabogunje (1970) in his migration system theory points to the interconnectivity of development in which development in a location affects the development in another location, and in which migration flows move along these connected locations of development. To put it explicitly, migration push conditions at origin and pulls conditions at destination are connected and cannot be discussed in isolation.

of the other in migration discourse even though developments in connected locations of migration tend to have separate and different effects on the (potential) migrants and on migration and locations of migration.

The discourses on transnational network as an active international network which facilitate international migration and which migrants depend on for international migration for the purposes of labour migration as well as farm labour migration is not a new feature of international migration. For it has historical roots with established patterns of international migration corridors that supports, motives and facilitates contemporary migration. Beyond the discourse on transnational network which are depicted in research literature, another aspect of the finding from this research which augments to research knowledge on international farm labour migration is the point that, there is an international or cross border farm labour recruitment process based on labour contract *agreement*. And that through the organized social form of international/cross border farm labour recruitment and labour contract, there were transnational connections between communities/countries of origin of particularly farm labour migrants and the community/country of destination of the farm labour migrants. What is interesting about the international/cross border farm labour recruitment processes and labour contract *agreements* is that the labourers did not just migrate independently but that the labourers were recruited under a labour contract *agreement* that takes them across the border to the destination into a labour group for (wage) labour services. Of significance to the international/cross border farm labour recruitment processes and labour contract is that the recruitment process and labour contract did not just involve individual migrant farm labourers but included the migrant farm labourers' families, relatives, and community as the community chiefs and local police in community/country of origin. Their involvement gave confidence to and guaranteed the labour contract. The recruitment process highly favoured the male gender over female gender, but not because the women could not engage in the intensive labour required in farm production or migrate independently but because of what the male gender that dominated the international farm labour migration sector considered as the undesired social tendency and burden of young migrant women/girl, which included young women/girl eloping to marry, thus infringing on their labour contract. The infringement and elopement also meant financial and social

moral loss to the migrant farm tenants/farmers that recruited them for the purpose of labour services.

Another input of this research knowledge on international farm labour migration was that through the labour recruitment process, there was the formation and organization of different migrant farm labourers with different or similar terms of labour contract into a labour group. An effective organization of the labour group was supervised by a chief farm labourer *Oga loko*, and the labour group was owned and controlled by migrant farm tenants/farmers and independent migrant farm labourers with the purpose of enhancing every migrant labourers' productivity in order to sustain farm production and enhance the adaptation of the international farm labour migrants particularly migrant farm labourers. Therefore, beyond the conditions that created the consideration for migration and motivated people to eventually migrate, the international/cross border farm labour recruitment process was sustained by labour contract and transnational network as both continued to facilitate outflow and inflow of recruited farm labour migrants from communities/countries of origin to community/country of destination.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Studies

In examining the context of international farm labour migration to Ibadan in this study, the migration triggers at point of origin and migration inducement at point of destination and the mechanisms that pulled migrants from the points of origin and connect them to point of destination were analysed. With this, the study got insights into the recruitment processes of farm labourers at the point of origin across the border to destination. The study had to rely on data of self reporting of the farm labour migrants to analyze the recruitment process of migrant farm labourers which was defined by labour contract, which the migrant farm labourers undertook with their recruiters that were also migrants, that is, migrant farm tenants/farmers that were already established in the host communities.

The recruitment process and labour contract also involved the relatives and community institutions of particularly the migrant farm labourers. Therefore, research on this similar subject with the participation of the relatives, police and community chiefs at the point of origin of the migrant farm labourers will give a broader insight into the interactive

processes and organization of the labour recruitment processes and labour contract of migrant farm labourers and migrant farm tenants/farmers. This would be vital to analyzing what appears in this study to be the history of communities at point of origin connected to other communities at destination through corridors of international farm labour migration, which continues to encourage and sustain migration flows from those communities of origin across the border to a destination in the case of this study being Ibadan. In a similar study, however, the context of destination and the origin of the farm labour migrants should be both examined in one study in order to understand both ends of the context at same time and in a single analysis.

Another observed phenomenon from the study which did not necessarily connect to the recruitment process of migrant farm labourers was the labour group which the migrant farm labourers recruited across the borders from other communities/countries were placed into. The labour group comprised the collectivity and organization of migrant farm labourers for effective farm labour services. This study discovered the existence and central significance in the utilization of the labour group to support farm production of the migrant farm tenants/farmers and the local farmers. Another, could focus on examining the labour group using participatory methodology such as social ethnography to understanding the larger significance of the labour groups from the experience of the migrant farm labourers. In addition, with the benefits of the participation of international migrants in the agricultural sector and the continuous inflow of migrants including farm labour migrants into farming in Ibadan, Nigeria, a study that explores international farm labour migration management will be contributing to the broader policy of migration management for development. Another similar research can focus on international migrant women that were few but part of international farm labour migration to Ibadan. Whereas, female are hardly recruited and taken across the border as farm labourers because of female gender biases in relation to their social reproductive roles and risks to migration investment, the few female migrants involved in farm production in the farm settlements and communities either as migrant farm labourers or migrant farm tenants/farmers can be focused on to examine gender dimensions of the recruitment process at their communities/countries origin, and the significance of migration for the purpose of labour and farm production to their lives and the host communities/country.

5.6 Limitations of the Study

The international farm labour migrants studied were not citizens and natives of the local farm communities in Nigeria that hosted them. They were mainly migrant natives from other West African countries, even though there were some farm labour migrants that had social contacts with native Yoruba in their countries that have same ancestry and language with the natives Yoruba that were host communities of the migrants. In the latter case, such migrants were able to communicate in the native language of the host communities without trying to learn the language. But since the researcher was neither a native of the host communities nor a native of any of the international farm labour migrants, the researcher had to depend on translation from the native language to English language. This is because many of the farm labour migrants could not communicate in English language which the researcher understood. Instead, many of the farm labour migrants could communicate in French language or their foreign native language. Except for some of the farm labour migrants particularly migrant farm tenants/farmers that have been long time resident in host communities who could communicate in the native Yoruba language and Nigerian pidgin English language. The researcher depended on such migrants and translators. The research questions elicited responses from the study respondents/participants: these were asked in English language, and the research field assistant translated it to Yoruba language to migrants and then the migrants responded in Yoruba, the research field assistant then translated it in English language for the researcher.

In cases where the study respondents/participants could only communicate in their foreign native language and French language, a migrant that was acquainted or part of study and was from same country with the study participant/migrants and can communicate in same foreign native language or French language with such study participants, assisted in translations: a research question was asked in English language to a migrant who then translated it to the foreign native language or French language to the farm labour migrants participating in the study. The farm labour migrants then responded in French language or the foreign native language which was further translated to English language for the researcher. In some cases, research questions were posed to locals in English language who then translated it to Yoruba language to migrants that were able to communicate in

Yoruba and the migrants further translated it to the foreign native or French language and the responses to the researcher were through same reversed linear order which the research questions were posed. What this means is that, the translation of the research questions and interpretation of responses may have had some effects on the actual responses as the data and information given. Such effects may include lost of exact responses, expressions and certain meanings in the process of translation and interpretation.

The qualitative methodology of using Focus Group Discussion (FGD) in field work to collect data from international farm labour migrants proved challenging, thus FGD was not as effective as KII, KII and Case study. The migrant farm labourers, particularly, could hardly make out time from farm labour engagements to assemble for FGDs. As a result of intensive farm labour demands, making out time for FGD by the migrant farm labourers and particularly for the migrant farm tenants/farmers that recruited and controlled the migrant farm labourers' labour service meant losing transaction time for labour services for wages and farm production for good farm produce as well as loss of income. Similarly, many of the migrant women were not open to participate in the study for whatever purpose it was to serve. This may have been to protect themselves from imagined and unforeseen trouble that they assumed may result from any information that they have shared by participating in the study. While FGD maybe good to other subjects of research, which in this particular study it was assumed to be so, after considering the potency and criteria of the FGD instrument including its openness to discussions to reveal, clarify and build on response information, in the actual field work of this study, farm labour migrants, even with those that participated in the FGDs were sometimes reluctant or cautious of what kind of information they share in the presence of other migrants. That is, reluctant to discuss and share information on their circumstances back home and experience of migration. Other farm labour migrants were open to interactive discussions in FGDs, and other farm labour migrants even with the prompting from the researcher in the FGD session, were still reluctant to speak, in which they simply make references to other discussion points as correct. It was the locals, particularly, the community chiefs' understanding and confidence built between the researcher and the community chiefs/locals that helped the researcher to access farm labour migrants and to organized

FGDs (with the other research instrument) and the openness in discussion that the researcher enjoyed from other farm labour migrants.

Also, the methodology could not capture the history of international farm labour migrants in Ibadan before the 1970s. This could have partly been as a result of historical memories of the farm labour migrants that participate in this study since many farm labour migrants that were residents before the 1970s could have returned to their countries of origin after many years of residents and farming in their host communities/ country, Nigeria. With references made by a few farm labour migrants of the past, not much was revealed and learned from and about past migrants. The study only started from the 1970s thus losing the broad historical accounts of the reasons for the international/cross border migration of labour, the nature of labour recruitment process of farm labour migrants and the reward system across the borders to Ibadan and the life context of the farm labour migrants in Ibadan.

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APPENDIX I

Focus Group Discussion Question Guide

(Migrant Farmers/Labourers)

This question guide with which your discursive responses are required is a Ph. D academic endeavour on the subject of international farm labour migration to Ibadan. The Ph.D student researching on this subject is in the Department of Sociology University of Ibadan. Please note that your participation in the research will be of no negative consequence to you, fellow migrants or other persons referred to. Thank you.

1. As migrant farmers, what cause made you to leave your communities/countries for Ibadan?
2. Why did you come to Ibadan to farm instead of going elsewhere to farm?
3. Please explain the ways in which you came to this community in Ibadan.
4. What kind of relationship do you as migrant farmers have with local farmers in this community in Ibadan?
5. How does the ways in which you relate with the local farmers affect your farm production?
6. How do you get to adjust to your host community in Ibadan where you farm?
7. What are the kind things that you have given and made back home in your community when you revisit or return?

APPENDIX II

Key Informant Interview Question Guide

(Community Heads/Chiefs)

This question guide with which your response is required is a Ph. D academic endeavour on the subject of international farm labour migration to Ibadan. The Ph. D student researching on this subject is in the Department of Sociology University of Ibadan. Please note that your participation in the research will be of no negative consequence to you, the migrants or other persons referred to. Thank you.

1. What is it about the farm production (farm settlements) in your community that attracts international (foreign) farm labour migrants?
2. Describe the kind of relationship which these international farm labour migrants have with local farmers (ie farm land owners/farm labour employers and farm labourers)?
3. How does the relationship between international farm labour migrants and local farmers affect the farmers' production (and farm production in your community)?
4. How do these international farms labour migrants settle in this your community in Ibadan where they farm? (What are the ways in which these international farm labour migrants settle in your community?)

APPENDIX III

In-Depth-Interview Question Guide

(Migrant Farm Tenants)

This question guide with which your response is required is a Ph. D academic endeavour on the subject of international farm labour migration to Ibadan. The Ph.D student researching on this subject is in the Department of Sociology University of Ibadan. Please note that your participation in the research will be of no negative consequence to you, fellow migrants or other persons referred to. Thank you.

1. As a migrant farm tenant in this host community in Ibadan, what cause made you to leave your communities/countries for Ibadan?
2. Why did you come to Ibadan to farm instead of going elsewhere to farm?
3. Please explain the ways in which you came to this community in Ibadan in which you became a farm tenant?
4. What kind of relationship do you as migrant farm tenant have with local farmers (i.e. native farm land owners and farm labourers) in this community in Ibadan?
5. How does the ways in which you (farm tenant) relate with the local farmers affect your farm production (and farm production in this community)?
6. How do you get to adjust to your host community in Ibadan where you farm?
7. What are the kind things that you have given and made back home in your community when you revisit or return?

APPENDIX IV

In-Depth-Interview Question Guide

(Migrant Farm Labourers)

This question guide with which your response is required is a Ph. D academic endeavour on the subject of international farm labour migration to Ibadan. The Ph.D student researching on this subject is in the Department of Sociology University of Ibadan. Please note that your participation in the research will be of no negative consequence to you, or fellow migrants or other persons referred to. Thank you.

1. As a migrant farm labourer in this host community in Ibadan, what cause made you to leave your communities/countries for Ibadan?
2. Why did you come to Ibadan for farm labouring instead of going elsewhere for farm labouring?
3. Please explain the ways in which you came to this community in Ibadan in which you became a farm labourer?
4. What kind of relationship do you as a migrant farm labourer have with local farmers (i.e. farm land owners, farm labour employers and farm labourers) in this community in Ibadan?
5. How does the ways in which you (migrant farm labourer) relate with the local farmers affect your farm production (and farm production in this community)?
6. How do you get to adjust to your host community in Ibadan where you are involved in farm labouring?
7. What are the kind things that you have given and made back home in your community when you revisit or return?

APPENDIX V

Key Informant Interview Question Guide

(Indigenous Farm Land Owners/Farmers)

This question guide with which your response is required is a Ph. D academic endeavour on the subject of international farm labour migration to Ibadan. The Ph. D student researching on this subject is in the Department of Sociology University of Ibadan. Please note that your participation in the research will be of no negative consequence to you, migrants or other persons referred to. Thank you.

1. As a local/native farm land owners (or farmer) that employs international farm labour migrants such as migrant farm labourer or rent farm land to international farm labour migrants such as migrant farm tenants) what is it about the farm production (farm settlements) in this community in Ibadan that attracts these international (foreign) farm labour migrants rather than elsewhere?
2. What kind of relationship do you as local/native farm land owner or as migrant farm labour employer has with international farm labour migrants (i.e. migrant farm tenants and migrant farm labourers) in this community in Ibadan?
3. How does the ways in which you (local/native farm land owner or migrant farm labour employer) relate with these international farm labour migrants (migrant farm tenants and migrant farm labourers) affect their/your farm production (and farm production in this community)?
4. How do these international farm labour migrants adjust to their host community in Ibadan where you are involved in farm production?

APPENDIX VI

Case Study-Non Participant Observation Guide

(Migrant Farm Tenant)

The Non Participant Observation Guide with which the researcher is led to observe your farm activities is a required Ph. D academic endeavour on the subject of international farm labour migration to Ibadan. The Ph. D student researching on this subject is in the Department of Sociology University of Ibadan. Please note that your participation in the research will be of no negative consequence to you, fellow migrants or other persons referred to. Thank you.

1. Observe farm production activities of migrant farm tenant.
2. Observe the nature of relationship between migrant farm tenant and farm land owners and local/native farm labourers (observe how the relationship between migrant farm tenant and local/native farm land owners and local/native farm labourers is initiated, form and secured).
3. Observe the ways migrant farm tenant relations with local/native farm land owners and local/native farm labourers affect his/her farm production (and farm production in the community in Ibadan)
4. Observe the ways in which the farm tenant adjust to his/her host community (farm settlement) in Ibadan (observe how the ways in which farm tenants settle in host community in Ibadan affect his/her farm production and stay in the host community in Ibadan).

APPENDIX VII

Case Study-Non Participant Observation Guide

(Migrant Farm Labourer)

This Non Participant Observation Guide with which the researcher is led to observe your farm activities is a required Ph. D academic endeavour on the subject of international farm labour migration to Ibadan. The Ph. D student researching on this subject is in the Department of Sociology University of Ibadan. Please note that your participation in the research will be of no negative consequence to you, fellow migrants or other persons referred to. Thank you.

1. Observe farm production activities of migrant farm the labourer (observe how the migrant farm labourer service is employment).
2. Observe the nature of relationship between migrant farm labourer and local farmers and local/native farm labourers (observe how the relationship between migrant farm labourer and local/native farmers and local/native farm labourers is initiated, form and secured).
3. Observe the ways migrant farm labourer relations with local/native farmers and local/native farm labourers affect farm production of their farm labour employers (and farm production in the community in Ibadan)
4. Observe the ways in which the migrant farm labourer adjust to his/her host community (farm settlement) in Ibadan (observe how the ways in which migrant farm labourer settle in his/her host community in Ibadan affects their farm labour services and farm labour employers' farm production and stay in the host community in Ibadan).