The 1969 Ghana Exodus: Memory and Reminiscences of Yoruba Migrants[1]

Rasheed Olaniyi

Department of History,

University of Ibadan

Email: rasolaniyi@yahoo.com

Abstract

Using the 1969 Ghana deportation of illegal aliens as a case study, this working paper explains how xenophobia became one dominant aspect of nationalism repelling aliens in the process of nation-building and the rapidly changing social-economic contexts. The paper further examines the trauma of deportation experienced by Yoruba migrants, some of who were jailed; molested and robbed of life investments. Those who could not re-integrate into their hometowns made return migration to Ghana and onward migration to a third destination in major cities of West Africa to sustain their livelihood and entrepreneurship**.** Deportation of Yoruba from Ghana occurred at the height of the Nigerian civil war (1967-70) and political turbulence in other West African countries, which further raises questions about citizenship, power relations and state stability in the postcolony. This working paper illuminates the multiple challenges of deportation including reintegration process, access to resources, standard of living, children's education, coping with family separation and stereotypes. In approaching this research, my sources include alternative archives, in-depth oral interviews, life and family histories with different generations of Yoruba returnees and deportees from Ghana who were selected randomly. I interviewed early migrants to Ghana whose career began in the 1920s until deportation in 1969. This category witnessed the accomplished and unfulfilling dimensions of a diasporan experience. The second category were the younger generation who were either born or brought up in Ghana before the Alien Quit Order. The data collected were analysed through political economy approach to explain the changing power relations, migration patterns and emerging inequalities in the postcolony.

Biodata

Rasheed Olaniyi teaches at the Department of History University of Ibadan. He obtained his PhD from the Bayero University, Kano, Nigeria in 2004. He is the author of *Diaspora Is Not Like Home: A Social and Economic History of Yoruba in Kano, 1912-1999*(Germany: Lincom Europa-www.lincom-europa.com)

[1] The research for this paper was supported under the SEPHIS Postdoctoral Research Grant 'Rethinking Migration and Diaspora Identity in West Africa: A Comparative Study of Yoruba in Northern Nigeria and Ghana, 1900-1970.' Project No. 2849-DCO0013857/sephis/res/142/07. I thank the Olu of Inisa, His Royal Highness, Oba Joseph Oladunjoye Oyedele Fashikun II; Dr. S. Ademola Ajayi; Dr. Duro Adeleke of the University of Ibadan; and my research assistants for the fieldwork.

Introduction:

In the decade following independence in West Africa, the challenges of nation-building spurred a new wave of nationalism, ethno-nationalism, economic competition and political instability that increasingly undermined the historical legacy of Pan-Africanism. The central focus of this working paper concerns the expulsion of Yoruba migrants from Ghana in November 1969. Despite their long-term migration and historic socio-economic contributions to the nascent Ghanaian polity, they were stereotypically labeled aliens by the emerging African state. The Yoruba were highly integrated in the socio-economic and political structure of Ghana that they never envisaged such a sudden deportation. They invested in intermarriages, politics, education, religion, sports, and the economy; and therefore, considered Ghana a second home.[1] Kwame Nkrumah selected his close aides from amongst the Yoruba, presumably to secure the political support of the economically powerful group.[2] In the sports sector, as a way of negotiating their citizenship, Yoruba set up or supported the Cornerstone Football Club, Kumasi; Federal United Club, Tamale; and Sunset Club, Ginjini.[3]

Federal United Club, Tamale 1963. Source: Fieldwork in Ogbomoso, February 2008

Due to their dominance of the informal sector, Yoruba migrants strongly held the view that their deportation would not be possible without the collapse of Ghana economy. As a measure of negotiating power and citizenship, they had investments in the social sector, which included schools and religiously organizations. The social consciousness of belonging was developed.

As traders, Yoruba in Ghana contributed to the spread of Islam and Christianity.[4] Migrants from Ogbomoso town in particular established branches of Baptist Church in both the rural and urban areas of Ghana. By 1948, they had formed Baptist associations reporting to the Baptist Convention until 1964 when they formed their own Ghana Convention.[5] In the 1940s equally, Muslim traders from Ogbomoso established Nurudeen Society for the spread of Islam in Ghana. They established Mosques in Tamale, Accra, Secondi, Suhum, Koforidua, Tarkwa, Tema, Kumasi and others.

The emergent power relations between the indigenous groups and Yoruba migrants were characterized by perceptions of deprivation, exploitation and commercial monopoly, which steadily transformed Yoruba identity from traders to criminals who deserved deportation. Expulsion of aliens became a weapon of political mobilisation and expression of economic grievances tolerated under colonialism. It symbolised the state redefinition of citizenship as a way of empowering the natives and departing from "colonial mentality." According to Eades, the state emerges as the crucial figure in the lives of the Yoruba traders, 'the climate created by the state in designating the traders as 'aliens', aided in placing the stranger in a very tenuous position in relation to the local population. By 1969, government propaganda placed the migrants at the heart of a controversy over the economy and state intervention in the economic field. The trader's intermediate position between large firms and the Ghanaian consumer helped to create a network of distribution for large firms that extended the market to rural areas…Cast in the guise of a stranger, the trader became a medium through which to articulate discomfort with shortages, prices and hoarding, and other symptoms of an economy out of control."[6]

From the early 20th century, Ghanaians and Yoruba migrants were mutually engaged in economic and social intercourse that benefited the two groups. Sudarkasa notes that Yoruba in Ghana were allowed to operate due to their intermediary roles, which facilitated the movement of goods between urban and remote rural areas. Yoruba migrants immensely contributed to rural economic development and transformation. They equally provided revenue in form of taxes and gifts to the state and traditional authorities.

Postcolonial Africa was caught between modern nationalism and the quest for nationhood. The dialectics between nationalism and nationhood fostered new tension. African nationalism (Pan Africanism) of race consciousness was antagonistic of African nationhood of ethic consciousness. [7] Pan-Africanism became an abstract concept whereby nation building was an applicable concept to consolidate post-colonial power elite. The establishment of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) by African leaders was therefore meant to claim legitimacy for state rule to the detriment of Pan-Africanism. In essence, the pursuit of nation-building negated the vision of Pan-Africanism. As Mazrui affirms, modern African nationalism was a product of racial solidarity and shared blackness. The awareness of shared blackness under the pressure of colonial control partly led to the emergence of Pan-Africanism. In contrast, the struggle for viable modern nations within Africa was mutated by acute ethnic cleavages that pitched "natives" against "immigrants."

Under Kwame Nkrumah Ghana's founder-president, Pan-Africanism of *liberation* and *integration* were impressively considerable. Ali Mazrui (1995: 35) explains that in the second half of the 20th century, Pan-Africanism became accomplished. It involved the consciousness of a common African destiny and solidarity of Africans against colonialism, racism and apartheid. In this key period, the influence of Pan-Africanism encouraged greater tolerance for minority groups within African countries who because of historical circumstances and colonialism found themselves scattered among several African states.[8] However, since the independence, Pan-Africanism of *integration* became a dismal failure. This brand of Pan-Africanism that sought regional integration in terms of a free trade area, development alliance, and economic union of economic community was eroded with the rise of proto-nationalism.

Mazrui explains that, 'Africans are better uniting for freedom than at uniting for development.'[9] As the expulsion of Yoruba in Ghana shows, Pan-Africanism lacked the stimulus for development and regional economic cooperation.[10] According to William Bascom, "As Africa's new nations have emerged, they have met in Pan-African conferences, but there has been no common action to form a Pan-African state…it appears that the vested interests of Africa's leaders and political parties may become a primary obstacle to federation (integration)." [11]

The achievement of independence transformed the erstwhile free movement of persons across African countries as the emergent nation-states enacted immigration laws and regulations governing conditions for entry, residence and employment of non-nationals.[12] According to the Economic Commission of Africa (1981),

> The coming of independence changed the pattern of migration by reducing free international movements by the elaborate development of visa and passport regulations, or customs and controls, of the need for foreign workers to obtain work permits, or restrictions on the repatriation of savings.[13]

Examples of such regulations against immigration of aliens included: Ghana Nationality and Citizenship Act, (1957); the Deportation Act, 1957 (Act 15) in Ghana; the Deportation Amendment Act, 1958 (Act 49); the Deportation (Amendment) Act, 1959 (Act. 65) in Ghana; Employment of Visitors Act (1968) and Immigration Act (1966) in Botswana; Immigration Act (1963) in Nigeria; Act of 1962 in Gabon; Immigration and Quota System in Sierra Leone; and the Passport and Immigration Act (1960) and Manpower Act of 1974 in Sudan. As Akinsanya notes, the economic nationalism in less developed countries was characterised by a drive to increase or gain control over their economies, especially alien owned enterprises.[14]

The deportation orders were rooted in colonial ideology despite attempts by some African nationalists to revive African communal life. Both Sekou Toure of Guinea and Nyerere of Tanzania practiced African Socialism. Peil provides examples of how Ghanaian fishermen

were deported from Guinea; Nigerian traders were deported from Cameroon, Ivory Coast, Ghana and Zaire; Civil servants from Dahomey left Ivory Coast and Niger; and Togolese farmers and labourers were deported from Ghana and Ivory Coast in the process providing employment opportunities for the natives.[15] In the 1950s, the emerging psychological unity of new nationhood ensured the Africanization of institutions and government services to insulate countries against alien or European influence while in the 1960s, the expulsion of alien commercial groups of African descent became the common theme of enforcing indigenisation and political authority.[16]

Proponents of this view argued that economic development could only be secured if the commanding heights of the economy were controlled by the indigenes. In northern Nigeria, the Northernisation Policy was considered imperative as a way of dealing with or excluding southern Nigerians who were qualified to fill European positions but ideologically hostile to the ruling elite. Claude Ake (1965: 536) demonstrates that, "…instead of contributing to economic development, Pan-Africanism retards it by diverting attention from domestic failures…Pan-Africanism can be manipulated as an 'emotional new deal' to obscure domestic failures."[17] In its trajectory, Pan-Africanism exhibited the paradox of both liberalising and authoritarian tendencies in matters of intergroup relations.

Fieldwork and Sources

In approaching this research, my sources included indepth oral interviews with different generations of Yoruba returnees and deportees from Ghana who were selected randomly. I interviewed early migrants to Ghana whose career began in the 1920s until deportation in 1969. This category witnessed the accomplished and unfulfilling dimensions of a diasporan experience. The second category were the younger generation who were either born or brought up in Ghana before the Alien Quit Order. Interviews were carried out in the hometowns of the Yoruba deportees such as Inisa in Odo-Otin Local Government of Osun State, and Ogbomoso, a major town in Oyo State. Indigenes of the two towns constituted the largest population of the Yoruba in Ghana.[18] Almost every household or family compound of the two towns had representatives in Ghana. In essence, I interviewed migrants and non-migrants who represented two worldviews on the question of migrant and

migration experiences in West Africa. The interview model allows individual informants to give testimony and accounts of domestic economy, family life and migration patterns.

In some ways, there was reluctance from some of the informants to speak about themselves or subscribe to the idea that their own story could help reconstruct the history of migration. As oral sources in this paper demonstrate, most of the informants were enthusiastic about the research questions and in recounting their own experiences.

For this paper, the subjectivity of the social groups interviewed was noted but the oral sources they offered possess no equal measure. Moreso, the currency of orality in the reconstruction of history of migration becomes germane, especially in the context of denial of history by hegemonic (mis) representation (state xenophobia); forgotten history or history that is buried alive. During the interviews, I allowed informants to organize their own responses; especially in the ways migration was central to their lives, families and communities. Through this method, individuals discuss experiences within the matrix of dominant social patterns. I used virtual representations and popular songs in the reconstruction of migration accounts. During the fieldwork, the reminiscence of informants shows that spirituality is equally as important as the economy in driving migration. Informants relished the empowerment that migration portrayed in the search for modernity, concept of "big mannism," notions of icons, family breadwinners, patrons of local development, community leadership and role models. One major challenge was that despite their display of social consciousness in the Ghana diaspora, they had little grasp of politics and policies of immigration or citizenship.

Yoruba Returnees from Ghana

Source: Focus Group Discussion in Inisa town, February 2008.

In Inisa, I had the privilege of interviewing the traditional ruler (Olu of Inisa). I visited and took photographs of important projects that Yoruba in Ghana contributed to the development of their hometowns. These included Churches, Schools, Mosques, Palaces, Town Halls and Post-Offices. Newspapers that reported the deportation of Yoruba (Nigerians) from Ghana were consulted at the National Archives, Ibadan. Secondary sources, especially published materials were equally used for this working paper.

Memory of Deportation

Shortly after Ghana attained independence in 1957, Yoruba traders rejoiced over the acquisition of liquidated stores and warehouses of the deported Portuguese merchants.[19] The Portuguese exit rapidly expanded Yoruba commerce in Ghana from petty traders to stall owners. Many of them diversified from petty trading into cocoa agents, importers/exporters and wholesalers; grinding mills and farming. Ethnic occupational specialisation became the

striking phenomenon of the Yoruba commercial diaspora in Ghana, especially in trading and processing sectors.[20] Eades (1979) observes that in Tamale, northern Ghana, the older Central Market was the main stronghold of the Yoruba traders where they rented a third of the 700 stalls and built additional 200 stalls on land allocated by the Tamale Council.[21] Yoruba women controlled about 42 of the shops.

Adebayo suggests that the multiplicity of monetized social payments culminated in labor migration from one part of British West Africa to another. In his words, "…Nigerians moved into Ghana in an ever-increasing number. This phenomenon had major consequences for kingship relations and on social stability, but its financial implications were clear: they were driven by the need to accumulate money, and they would not rest until the need was achieved."[22]

Yoruba men and women traders were in control of Ghana markets in both rural and urban centers. This prosperity equally led to the swelling size of Yoruba population whose second generation competed with the natives over government jobs. The population of Nigerians in Ghana increased threefold from 57,400 in 1931 to over 191,802 in 1960. The rising commercial profile of the Yoruba migrants attracted competition and indignation from Ghanaians, especially the Kowu ethnic group of the Accra region who developed a feeling of displacement from their established socio-economic position.[23] The natives were confronted with suspicion of exploitation and domination by the migrant elements they co-existed with. Ethnic stereotyping of Nigerians in Ghana has been outlined in Peil's study,

> They (Nigerians) are target workers; immediately they get a few cedis they go into retail trade and they prosper too. They don't part with their money easily; they are unfriendly and do not help friends when they are in financial difficulty. They are impatient with buyers, arrogant and difficult to come to terms with. They are thrifty and clannish. They don't seem to trust Ghanaians and confide in them.[24]

The stereotyping and ethnic perception seems to have generalized and exaggerated. There were several Yoruba in Ghana who had splendid relationship and established trust with Ghanaians.

Ghana also witnessed a relatively booming cocoa sales and the country became the world's leading producer by the late 1950s. The prosperity of this period combined with construction projects spurred by independence attracted migrant labour from Nigeria and other parts of West Africa. Migrant workers from Nigeria settled in Ghana providing cheap labour for industrial, construction, agricultural and domestic work in Ashanti, Brong Ahafo, Volta, Accra-Tema and Western Ghana.[25] The construction of the Akosombo Dam project attracted migrant labourers who settled in the Volta basin to take advantage of the employment and commercial opportunities offered by the alumna processing plants owned by Kaiser Engineering and the Government of Ghana.[26] In addition, the economic and industrial potential arising from the construction of the port city of Tema on the Atlantic corridor and mining of gold and bauxite at Obuasi and Konongo aided migration flows from Nigeria. By the 1950s, Kumasi had become a replica of "Ogbomoso abroad," with higher concentration of accomplished traders.

Moreso, the profligacy of Yoruba merchants and their pseudo-capitalist tendencies intensified the process of xenophobia. It was alleged that Yoruba flaunted their wealth by wearing shoes and clothes decorated with Ghanaian currency. One of the Yoruba returnees drew from his experience that rich traders often had excessive gold decorations and abused the power of money.[27] Many Ghanaians felt degraded and subordinated by the extravagant tendencies of the migrants. One of the Ghanaian xenophobic slogans against the Yoruba was "*Mubako*" meaning "you are going."[28] Ghanaians were curious of how Yoruba traders arrived Ghana with virtually no capital and subsequently became wealthy.

Some Ghanaians believed that Yoruba could make money from anything including the air. The Yoruba traders owned most beautiful houses they could not build in their hometowns and because of their economic power married Ghanaian women. Some of them financed politicians and posed significant threats to highly respected power elite. The alleged oppressive attitude of the Yoruba traders was said to have contributed to the displacement

of the indigenous traders through higher bargaining and bidding process. One of the Ghanaian proverbs captures this scenario that, "*onyame ntise alate ni*" meaning, *God is not a Yoruba.*[29] Yoruba in Ghana like some other immigrant communities in West Africa, "…were no longer a group to be despised by their hosts; they had power, and consequently won respect…"[30]

Following the incipient harassment, some Yoruba relocated from Ghana while others who were educated or wealthy applied for their permits.[31]

Sent forth Ceremony for Alhaji Shittu Orogbade 16th October, 1969 by Ogbomoso migrants before the Quit Order. He was presented Qur'an and Rosary.

Source: Fieldwork in Ogbomoso, February, 2008.

Beyond the economic rivalry and criminalisation of the migrants was the Ghana national party politics. After Dr. Kofi Busia formed his government, there was widespread rumour that all aliens would be jailed for failing to vote United Party.[32]

According to J.D. Hargreaves, there were many ironies in the deportation order, "that the laws which had turned long-term residents into aliens had been passed under the government of the great pan-African Kwame Nkrumah; that he had moved to do so by the support which some of them gave to political rivals, the very people who were later to carry out the expulsion of 1969; that non-African aliens commonly known as expatriates were (having ready access to residence permits) largely unaffected."[33] In essence, the political survival of the power elite constituted a salient force in the deportation of the aliens.

Indeed, the attainment of independence in West African countries undermined the status and economic privileges of the immigrants. They became more vulnerable and excluded when classified as minorities and strangers within a modern nation state. In 1969, they encountered the "Portuguese treatment" with worst socio-economic consequences. A new immigration law announced by the government of Dr. K.A. Busia required all aliens in Ghana to carry their permits on their persons wherever they went.[34] Faced with economic crisis and the pressure of indigenization from Ghanaians, the Busia government banned all non-Ghanaians from petty trading. The Quit Order promulgated on November 18th, 1969 stipulated that aliens who held no valid resident permit should quit the country within twelve (12) days. The government announcement stated:

> It has come to the notice of the Government that several aliens, both Africans and non-Africans in Ghana, do not possess the requisite residence permits in conformity with the laws of Ghana There are others, too, who are engaging in business of all kinds contrary to the term of their visiting permits. The Government has accordingly directed that all aliens in the first category, that is those without residence permits, should leave Ghana within fourteen days, that is not later than December 2, 1969. Those in the second category should obey strictly the term of their entry permits, and if these have expired they should leave Ghana forthwith. The Ministry of Interior has been directed to comb the country thoroughly for defaulting aliens and aliens arrested for contravening these orders will be dealt with according to the law.[35]

Ghanaian authority embarked on the expulsion of the aliens claiming that any alien without valid residence permit would not be allowed to stay in the country. Thus, the Quit Order was meant to purge the number of 'undesirable elements' in the country. The new

immigration law targeted persons without valid residence permits who were unemployed or who were engaged in activities injurious to the well being of Ghana citizens and the country. It pointed out that, "Special cases of persons who though Aliens were born in Ghana and have lived in the country all their lives and lost contact with their countries of origin as well as persons who though not born but have lived in Ghana many years will be considered each on its merits provided they are of good behaviour and are gainfully employed."[36]

Essentially, the deportation order shows how immigrants were criminalised in the process of socio-economic crisis, nation-building and emerging proto-nationalism. The authoritarian characterisation of citizens and strangers dated back to the cocoa crises of the 1930s. At a meeting of Okyeman in 1935, the traditional council urged the colonial government to ensure that 'troublemakers' (migrants) were kept out of Akyem Abuakwa,

> Okyeman consider…that it is now time that people from Sierra-Leone, Nigeria and other places should be made amenable to the customary laws of the various states in which they reside and that any act of insubordination on the part of any such strangers should, with the sanction of Government, be punished by deportation. These foreigners…disrupt the people of this Country…[37]

This resolution was a product of the power tussle between the colonial state and the migrants on one hand, and the traditional authority on the other hand. In 1932, the Nigerian cocoa farmers in Akyem Abuakwa opposed the local cocoa hold-up led by Okyenhene. It was claimed that some of the Nigerian farmers had supported the predatory European firms against the natives. Cocoa became the salient element in the capitalist-generated social transformation, ethnicity and political alliances.[38] In 1953, local business community formed the National Crusade for the Protection of Ghanaian Enterprises which opposed the foreign entrepreneurs.

Beyond the economic grievances, migrants in Ghana were less fortunate in participation in the national politics. The agitation for the expulsion for the aliens continued under the leadership of Kwame Nkumah. But he repulsed the pressures arguing from cosmopolitan and Pan-African perspectives that no nation could develop without immigrants and that any

of the natives who felt otherwise should leave Ghana. It was argued however that Dr. Kofi Busia, the country's Prime Minister merely implemented what his predecessors had designed to purge the increasing population of the immigrants.

Under Nkrumah, deportation of aliens was restricted to political opponents. Many wealthy Nigerian traders constituted opposition to Nkrumah's Convention Peoples Party (CPP) arising from its failure to accommodate religious diversity despite its clamour for pan-Africanism. Yoruba leaders in Ghana were founding and active members of the Muslim Association Party (MAP).[39] Ideologically, African traditional power elite, especially some of the Ghanaian chiefs opposed the emergent nationalist political forces.[40] Moreso, the principal factor for the Yoruba leaders of (MAP) opposing (CPP) was its resentment to support government sponsorship and establishment of Islamic schools in Ghana.[41]

Nawair-Ud-Deen School, Tamale (Class III, 20/12/1962)
Source: Fieldwork in Ogbomoso, February 2008.

Nawair-Ud-Deen School, Kumasi (Class III, 1961)
Source: Fieldwork in Ogbomoso, February 2008.

The CPP leaders after its separation from the United Gold Coast Convention (UGCC) opposed the efforts of MAP leaders to obtain state financing of schools. Thus, the Yoruba Muslim leaders withdrew their political support for Nkrumah and the CPP.[42] As a matter of political expediency in the emerging rivalry between indigenous hosts during the nationalist struggle for power, Yoruba strategically supported the political structures and aspirations of the Ashanti chiefs. According to Hargreaves, this was an attempt by Nigerian immigrants to reconcile membership of trans-African communities through which their commerce in kolanuts and cattle could flourish with citizenship in the new Ghana.[43] To Nkrumah, however, the pressure groups and political opposition of the Muslim migrants threatened the vision of a unitary nation-state.

Additionally, the Yoruba petty bourgeoisie in collaboration with cocoa farmers and traditional authorities opposed Nkrumah's Socialist ideology. The economic mobility of the Yoruba migrants equally facilitated colonial penetration in Ghana. As noted by Mikell (1989:

xi) cocoa was a major source of wealth and causes of chaos in Ghana. Cocoa production made Ghana a valuable British colony and centre of attraction for the Yoruba migrants.

In 1954, during the local government elections, MAP presented candidates in six wards where most of the Yoruba migrants lived. According to Sudarkasa, four of the six candidates were elected, including the Yoruba candidate for Aboabo, Akani Smith who was the son of the Chairman of the Egba Parapo in Kumasi. At the national level, one Alhaji Popoola Tayo from Ogbomoso contested for House of Assembly under MAP and lost to the CPP.

In addition to the denial of state support for the Yoruba Muslim run schools, many Yoruba opposed CPP and supported MAP because the CPP politics of intolerance extended to the marketplace. CPP party thugs harassed Yoruba women between 1952 and 1953 at the Kumasi Central market while seeking their support.

Having consolidated its political base at the local government elections, MAP declared its alliance for the National Liberation Movement (NLM). As Sudarkasa explains, MAP supported NLM from its formative stages and Alufa Lardan, a Yoruba leader accompanied Dr. Busia on his campaign tours. The growing power and popularity of MAP-NLM alliance infuriated the CPP and as the ruling party of the newly independent nation in 1957, its leaders began to dislodge MAP members. Nkrumah's government deported Alufa Lardan and Ahmadu Baba to Kano. Mr. Samuel Faleye, another Yoruba opposition leader in Berekum, Ghana was deported to his Oluawo's compound in Inisa town, Nigeria.[44] In this way, Nkrumah's suppression of political opposition equated minority rights with separatist tribal or religious forces.

Before the end of 1957, MAP and NLM formed a new alliance under the United Party (UP) led by Dr. Busia with membership made up of Nigerians. In order to deal with the increasing power and influence of the UP, the CPP government passed a law barring non-Ghanaians from holding seats on local councils.[45] This new law forced Bunyamin Oni, a Yoruba representing Aboabo on the Kumasi Council to escape to Lagos having learnt of

the government plans to imprison him.[46] CPP labeled MAP leaders as "trouble makers" banning twelve of them from Kumasi to Accra. One of them, Alhaji Raji Bakari, a leading Yoruba member of the Muslim community and strong supporter of UP was exiled.[47] These Yoruba politicians were deported from Ghana on the basis that their activities as non-Ghanaians were not in the national interest. Ideologically, Nkrumah adopted a socialist pattern of development and feared that the emergence of a strong indigenous capitalist class could undermine his prominent status in politics. Nkrumah considered indigenous capitalists as a threat since they had capacity to buy political influence. By 1961, he had eliminated political opposition from traditional elite and other elements outside the CPP.[48]

Sudarkasa concludes that,

> The deportations, and the laws under which they were effected, signaled the beginning of the legal transition in the status of 'populations of foreign origin' in Ghana from that of 'strangers' to that of 'aliens.' By the promulgation of the Nationality Act and various Deportation Acts, the newly elected CPP government accomplished two ends. First, it asserted a right which all contemporary nation-states claim, namely the right to define citizenship and to specify rights, privileges, and duties of non-citizens as well as those of citizens; and second, it divested the *traditional polities* within the nation-state of Ghana of their ancient prerogative of defining the terms upon which 'strangers' would be permitted to reside in their midst.[49]

Equally, the generality of Yoruba entrepreneurs who were not deported had experienced commercial depression in the private sector due to discrimination in allocating import licenses and government hostility to private enterprises. Many Yoruba traders competed with state trading corporations and could hardly carry out their traditional commodity distribution.

The contradiction of the emergent nationhood was that during the desperate economic conditions in Ghana, the party and government they financed and supported declared them criminals and aliens. It should be noted that Yoruba diaspora in Ghana was not politically a monolithic entity. There was diversity in terms of political support.[50] Many Yoruba were

active supporters of Nkrumah's CPP. For example, the Yoruba dominated Young Pioneers, a youth vanguard of the CPP. The youth vanguard was set up for the implementation of Nkrumahism and political mobilisation of the citizens at the grassroots level. Yoruba played significant roles as (CPP) officials. At Techima, Mr. A.A. Fajinmi from Ogbomoso served as the Party Secretary.[51]

In his address to the third African Regional Conference of the International Labour Organisation (ILO) in Accra, Busia asserted that, 90 per cent of the country's prison population and known criminals were aliens.[52] He said, "I would like to assure you that my government does not contemplate a mass expulsion of aliens…which has obviously caused some anxiety, especially in some African countries…Unfortunately many aliens have left who would have qualified for residence permits."[53] Even though the deportation was only aimed at reducing the number of undesirable aliens in Ghana, it affected the generality of the Yoruba traders in the informal sector. Kinship networks facilitated and nurtured Yoruba migration to Kano. They lived like one big family whereby an injury to one was injury to all. The tension generated by the announcement equally led to the molestation of the migrants. More importantly, Yoruba migrants learnt that for them to stay in Ghana, they had to fulfill the following conditionality:

a) their children must not go to school; and
b) they must be predominantly farmers and labourers and not traders.[54]

In the event, Ghanaians besieged and fought each other over the looted property of the aliens.[55] Nigerian government through the Federal Commissioner for External Affairs, Dr. Okoi Arikpo protested to the Ghanaian government over the molestation of Nigerians. The protest made Ghana government to warn the natives through the press and radio to desist from molesting aliens affected by the new immigration law.

Following the Quit Order, the Association of the Nigerian Community that was well developed and highly supported by the Federal Government of Nigeria sent a petition to the Ghana Interior Ministry for an extension of its less than two weeks deadline. The petition demanded for more time to enable them pay and be paid their debts and to claim their social

security and compulsory savings contributions. They equally complained of hardship cases where pregnant women and children attending Ghanaian schools and universities could not travel under such circumstances.

The deportation was carried out in a disorderly and in a militarised fashion without plans for transportation; welfare of women, infants and the elderly. At least ten (10) Nigerians mostly children died in various camps in Ghana while awaiting transportation to Nigeria due to congestion and inhuman conditions.[56] Deportees were forced to sell their belongings at cheap prices to pay their way back to the hometowns. Some were not allowed to sell their houses because an order was given by the government to the Ghanaians not to buy them even at very low prices.

This accounted for the reason why many of the Yoruba deportees abandoned their houses; entrusted them to Ghanaians or set them ablaze out of frustration. Expensive Raleigh Bicycles were sold for £20.[57] Some other goods worth over £50 were reluctantly sold for £2 or £1 to earn a living and money for transport. Most of the deportees were deprived of their properties due to looting and harassment that followed the Quit Order. Their cocoa farms were equally confiscated.[58] The Ghanaian authority imposed restrictions on the repatriation of savings. Some of the returnees claimed that they were only allowed to carry maximum of £2,000 and that several commercial banks denied them the rights of withdrawing the deposits.

And without adequate planning for the sales of their immovable properties, most left Ghana with virtually nothing. Many of them had lost touch with their hometowns and families for a very long time and had made Ghana their home. Most of them who had married Ghanaians had to leave their wives behind to look after the properties and children. In a way, the deportation led to economic loss, social dislocation and family separation. The Quit Order was so deplorable that many of them attempted to commit suicide.

Local transporters exploited the stampede situation as fares rose by 300 per cent. Several families were brought in 10-ton open lorries at the rate of £500 per lorry most of which belonged to Tarzan Transport Service, Accra. Many Nigerians made the long journey from

the Ghana-Togo border on foot, as they had no money on them to pay for their fares. Some of those who were unable to pay their fares or applied for the stay permit were arrested on the streets and whisked off to the prison from where they were taken to the border. The refugees who had families and not enough money on them to feed settled by the roadside while others returned in batches.

Contemporaneously with the deportation was the military putsch in Benin Republic, led by Lt. Colonel Maurice Kouandete who overthrew the government of Dr. Emile Zinsou. Many of the refugees were therefore stranded along the Nigeria-Benin Republic border where they had their Christmas.[59] The Lorries conveying about 10,000 refugees were detained by the Dahomean authority for non-payment of a road tax of £1.10s each. The Lorries were allowed to continue their journey after the intervention of a representative of the Christian Council of Nigeria.[60] Following the harrowing experiences of deportation, one of the victims, Mr. Tijani Oyebanji from Ogbomoso who had been in Ghana since 1950 remarked that, "I shall never spend one shilling to travel out of Nigeria again."[61]

Deportees As Agents of Social Change

There were mixed responses to the reception of the deportees in their hometowns. Some families rejoiced that their households formerly depopulated due to migration were repopulated. Those who brought money home were quickly reintegrated since they served as breadwinners. But they could not be mentored on areas of investment or trading patterns at home before exhausting their funds. Among the deportees were those who never forgot their hometowns and families while in the diaspora through regular visits for ceremonies, family meetings, and important festivals. Additionally, their remittances were utilised to address socio-economic needs of the family members at home and to modernise their traditional family buildings. There were also those who had constructed their own buildings before leaving Ghana. Such category was less dependent on their family members after their return. Traditional rulers offered relief materials to the refugees. In Oyan town, the Oloyan of Oyan, Oba Nathaniel Omotoso Orimadegun I, who appealed to the government to ensure the registration of 400 pupils, received over 6,000 deportees. He equally cautioned food sellers and traders against inflation.

Some families grumbled over the returnees due to competition over family inheritance, farms and landed properties. The deportees were stereotypically referred to as "*Sesede*" meaning "newcomers or new arrivals." Among the returnees were generations who only knew their hometowns by name only sought refuge at Mosques, Schools, Churches and palaces until they could locate their families.

For example, the following stereotypical song was composed to welcome the deportees:

Taja taja loko ko won de, ero to wa ni Ghana
Jesu maje ngbagbe ile mi
Jesu maje ngbagbe ile mi
Tero Ghana yi ko wa logbon
Jesu maje ngbagbe ile mi.

Implied meaning:

Deportees from Ghana arrived with most of their movable items
Jesus don't let me forget my home
Jesus don't let me forget my home
The experience of Ghana deportees is a lesson for us all.
Jesus don't let me forget my home.

Despite the hardship that accompanied the unplanned deportation, the dynamism of the Yoruba deportees rapidly transformed their hometowns and other parts of West Africa where they returned or relocated. Many arrived without business capital or lacked the basic information about how to invest their capital. The latter group spent their capital on domestic matters.

Paradoxically, those entrepreneurs and wealthy merchants who were employers of labour in the diaspora became employees at home. The adjustment process was problematic as entrepreneurs struggled to regain their historic reputation of economic power and *big-manism*. The reality of the new adjustment led to deaths of well to do businessmen. It was indeed a return to the traditional life. Older men engaged in farming and rapidly transform rural

economy in Yorubaland. Some revived the traditional arts and crafts such as embroidery, weaving and tailoring; and drumming.[62]

Those who learnt goldsmith in Ghana continued with the trade at home. The arrival of Yoruba goldsmiths many of them from Ofa town and Ogbomoso led to the development of aluminum pot industry in Yorubaland and other parts of Nigeria. In order to ensure the continuity of social status and standard of living, some of the entrepreneurs relocated to other parts of Nigeria such as Kano, Kaduna, Zaria, Jos and Lagos. Some learnt new jobs for quick money. It is interesting to note that the bulk of children born in Ghana from Inisa town migrated to Port Harcourt where they formed a new Yoruba community in the post-civil war era.[63] They apparently migrated to Port Harcourt to benefit from the oil boom of the 1970s. The migration of the returnees to cities provided more opportunities for employment, social mobility and inter-state trade.

The economy of Yoruba towns that had been agrarian was transformed. In Ogbomoso, for example, the British introduced Tobacco crop as a cash crop to supplement income from yam, corn, beans and cassava cultivation.[64] Through their industry and business acumen, returnees offered their hometowns "soul and character." They established small businesses, which played important roles in the local communities. In several Yoruba towns, the identities of the returnees remained exclusively "*Baba* or *Mama* Ghana" to denote their "been" to Ghana.[65]

In Ogbomoso, deported entrepreneurs transformed the economic fortunes of the town. They invested in hotels, estates, sawmills, transport, bakery/confectionery, supermarkets and manufacturing industries that provided employment opportunities. Such entrepreneurial families included Adebayo Amao (*Alata*), Areago, John Brown, Idowu and Alapo Evergreen. The activities galvanised the commercial scene hitherto dominated by European firms of GB Olivant; United African Company (UAC); Syrian and Lebanese traders.

In Igosun town (Kwara State, Nigeria) deportees made impact as traders, transporters, carpenters and bricklayers. The traders among them opened shops, selling manufactured commodities to meet the growing needs of the local population.[66]

As a survival strategy, the returnees reinvented the tradition of solidarity through the formation of "Abode Ghana Society." The association provided platform for the gradual reintegration of the deportees into the socio-economic fabric of their local communities. They set up self-help groups and cooperative unions to pool capital for their businesses and sought government aid. In Ogbomoso, deportees set up cooperative unions such as Abodedun, Abodayo, Abodire, Ile-Labo-isinmi, Ile-Nirewa, Ogbomoso Dun, Irepodun, Adelebayo and Irewole Abosanmi. The nomenclature of the cooperative societies symbolises their new social status and re-integration process as a way of rejecting the stigma of deportation. Broadly, it symbolises how deportees celebrated their return to mean: glorious return, reward of networking, and affirming that home is the place for retirement.

These cooperative societies formed the first Cooperative Union-Ogbomoso Irepodun Cooperative Thrift and Credit Union Limited (C.T.C.U.) in Ogbomoso on April 6th, 1972 with Registration Number 2940 of the defunct Western State which covered Oyo, Ondo, Ogun, Osun and Ekiti states today. It was from these associations that Ogbomoso became widely known for cooperative societies.

The leadership styles, innovation, sincerity and transparency of the cooperative unions leaders attracted several people who had had apathy for such financial associations. They were able to secure loans from commercial banks, which they borrowed, to registered members. Through the support of the traditional ruler of Ogbomoso, Oba Jimoh Ajagungbade III and state governments, the cooperative union spurred business activities and accelerated development. It enhanced urbanisation process and efficient transport system.[67] Cooperative members used loans to finance the higher education of their children abroad. The existence of the cooperative unions was indispensable to the establishment of commercial banks in Ogbomoso and some other Yoruba towns.

Cooperative Union Building in Ogbomoso

Source: Fieldwork in February, 2008

In Ejigbo town, the rapid commercial and relative industrial growth during the 1970s was facilitated by various credit societies and cooperative unions established or supported by the returnees from Ghana. They include: Ejigbodun Cooperative Society (1973); Ejigbo Irepodun Onikoko Cooperative Society (1973); Ejigbo Abodedun Cooperative Society (1974); Ejigbo Ilalodun Cooperative Society (1974); Ejigbo Igbehin Adun Cooperative Society (1974); Ejigbo Mafowuro Sere Cooperative Society (1975); and Ejigbo Omo ni Igbehin Cooperative Society (1976). The Ejigbo branch of the defunct Oyo State Cooperative Union was established in May 1976 with the seven cooperative societies as pioneering members.[68]

The cooperative unions served as modernisation of the traditional guild system and encouraged occupational, commercial and industrial growth and development of the Yoruba towns during the 1970s. The cooperative societies emanated from the creativity, dynamism, industriousness and aggressive commercial capacities of the Yoruba migrants in Ghana. It

symbolises their entrepreneurial skills and characteristics that vindicate them from being portrayed as criminals. Before the end of the 1990s, the Ogomoso Irepodun Cooperative Investment and Credit Union Limited which was established with only nine Cooperative Societies in 1972 expanded to have one hundred and fifty-five vibrant societies.[69]

A leading example of the deported entrepreneurs from Ghana was Chief David Adebayo Amao Alata[70] who was honoured with the chieftancy title of *Babalaje* (leader of business tycoons) of Ogbomosoland in recognition of his commercial contributions. He was a successful businessman and pioneer of manufacturing industries in Ogbomoso whose conglomerate employed over 10,000 workers and agents between the 1970s and 1990s. He was educated at C.M.S Central School, Onitsha and Commerce College, Kumasi Ghana.[71] After his deportation from Ghana where he spent 24 years, Amao Alata served as a co-founder of the cooperative union in Ogbomoso.

He succeeded in transforming his distributive trade into a manufacturing conglomerate which comprised of the following: Alata Sawmill and Furniture; Alata Hotels; Alata Motors; Alata Supermarket and Pharmacy; Alata Soap Industry; Alata Toilet Roll Industry; Alata Foam Industry; Alata Candle Industry; Confidence Brewery and Bottling Company; Alata Flour Mills. With these chains of businesses and manufacturing industries, he was appointed the Chairman, Board of Directors of Ogbomoso Community Bank; and Ogbomoso Chamber of Commerce. On the social front, he was a member of Rotary Club International, Ogbomoso Committee of Friends and a member of Ogbomoso Police/ Community Relations Committee (PCRC).

Due to his philanthropic contributions to the welfare of the people of his community and beyond, he was honoured with the Oyo State Merit Award in 1987 by the state government and the Harris Memorial Award of Rotary Club International in 1985. In 1991, St. John University Louisiana, U.S.A honoured him with Doctorate Degree (PhD) in Business Administration for his outstanding contributions to the industrial development of his community. His death in 1994, led to the collapse of his business empire and inadvertently, the commercial pride of Ogbomoso. In line with Lawuyi (1997), returnees from Ghana "…play a role in shaping both historical processes and public discourse, which, more often

than not, centers around their activities and thoughts…They emerge from the intensely competitive market in which individuals struggle to realise themselves in the face of extreme material and ideological dissolution as the embodiment of current values, symbol of success, and determinant of progress."[72]

Yoruba socio-cultural institutions set up in Ghana continued to flourish in Nigeria. Such institutions provided religious, communal and educational services. For example, Nurudeen Muslim Society set up by Ogbomoso migrants in Ghana had branches and schools in Jos, Kano, Kaduna, Zaria, Lagos, Sokoto and other towns in Nigeria.[73] The expansion at home, after deportation, however, contributed weakness of foundation branches in Ghana. For example, Baptist work in Ghana suffered major setbacks from which it has not fully recovered.[74] The aftermath of Yoruba deportation from Ghana illuminates the weakness in the establishment of the Baptist churches with the exclusion of the natives. Following this weakness, the revival of Baptist work in Ghana was left in the hands of white missionaries until 1990 when the natives took over the leadership of the Ghana Baptist Convention.[75]

Expulsion of those born in Ghana-second generation migrants, who had acquired the language and cultural values led to social dislocation. Many of them considered Ghana as home but the expulsion prevented some from realising their educational goals, careers in sports and prospects of intermarriages with Ghanaians. They had integrated to become part of the social system. For example, as a way of creating otherness, the second generation of the Yoruba in Ghana referred to the Igbo as "These Nigerians."[76]

Part of the social dynamics of the Yoruba in Ghana was giving Ghanaian facial marks to their children. This was a demonstration of cultural integration rarely practiced among immigrants. Even though, it was claimed that the mark was used in controlling child mortality, it was a symbol of a prosperous diaspora and memory of migration. Additionally, it served as a mark of modernity or cultural diversity whereby Yoruba rejected their own facial marks and child mortality remedies to accept those of the Ghanaians. It was a symbol of loyalty to the Ghanaian nation. Some Yoruba parents also gave their children Ghanaian names following the days they were born.

The deportation led to widespread child fostering. Returnee parents migrated to secure means of livelihood while children were kept in the traditional setting of the old family houses, usually with grandparents. The education of children was truncated as some parents lacked the capacity to send them to school in Nigeria. Many children lost many years before returning to school while others had to learn trading and artisanship skills. Those who married Ghanaians had problems of coping with matriarchal culture, which allows women to claim ownership of the child. Many children born of Ghanaian and Nigerian parents had to relocate to Ghana. The Western State Ministry of Education made special arrangement for the school registration of the deported children.[77] Yet, many abandoned their education and returned to Ghana to start farming.

Returnees or descendants of early migrants who had no houses in their hometowns or who could not locate their family houses became homeless. They accommodated at churches, mosques and town halls.

Cultural Conversation

Yoruba in Ghana was indeed, a mixed culture with the experience of cultural transfer. In Ghana, Yoruba promoted their socio-cultural institutions. They lived a Yoruba communal life bonded by kinship and ethnic affinity. Yoruba food, music and costume were promoted in the diaspora. They maintained trans-territorial links with the homeland for the advantages of long-distance exchanges.

The cultural diversity promoted by the migrants ensured that they continued with Ghanaian cultural values after their deportation. In Inisa town, the application of medicinal marks for the control of child mortality has continued. During my fieldwork, I observed "Ghana" facial marks on children who have never been to Ghana. The "Ghana" mark was introduced as the most efficacious traditional medicine against child mortality. It has gradually become what has been referred to as "Inisa mark."

My interlocutors were proud to inform me that neighbouring towns often come to Inisa to apply such marks on the faces of their children against health problems associated with child's growth such as teething, walking and most importantly, convulsion. This constitutes

an outstanding aspect of changing tradition or invention of tradition that is equally shifting identities. Ghanaian food, dressing, personal hygiene has been promoted in the Yoruba towns of Ogbomoso, Inisa and Oyan. These towns also accommodate a growing number of Ghanaian immigrants employed in both the formal and informal sectors.

Conclusion

In the process of nationhood construction, the encounter between Pan-Africanism and proto-nationalism steadily undermined the fortunes of Yoruba migrants as a powerful commercial group in Ghana. The contradiction of citizenship in the emergent African state shows how the deportation that began with opposition politicians shortly after independence was extended to the migrant traders in order to attain economic nationalism. The struggle for state power weakened the concept of pluralism and protection of minority rights envisaged for post-colonial state by pan-Africanism movement. Yoruba deportation from Ghana started under Nkrumah whom many of them opposed but the large-scale deportation was carried out under Dr. Busia whose political career they financed and supported. In Ghana, as elsewhere in Africa, the post-colonial state linked political and economic rights to the notion of citizenship (indigeneity or autochthony). From 1957, new legislations on immigration and deportation were enforced to exclude Yoruba political opponents from civic rights including voting and holding elected office and by 1969; it had been extended to the denial of economic rights. These denials truncated Yoruba aspirations of transiting from British subjects or "protected persons" to asserting political and socio-economic rights as "Ghanaian citizens" within the context of pan-Africanism.

The pains of deportation were a paradox for socio-economic development in Yorubaland. Returnees provided modernising impulse with the expansion of new businesses, artisanship, and informal mechanisms of capital formation. They aided the spread of new skills and new wealth where they relocated.

The paper underscores the practices and principles of adaptation in a changing social context where they left for several years or had never lived. Deportation created opportunities for family reunion and reshaped familial relations in both collaborative and competitive ways, especially over scarce resources. Returnees facilitated transformation of rural areas and new

investment in agriculture. Despite the economic loss encountered during deportation, cultural conversation and migratory flows have continued between Ghanaians and Yoruba. The establishment of ECOWAS (Economic Community of West African States) in 1975 and the leadership roles of President Jerry Rawlings who favoured Yoruba enterprise in Ghana further aided this process.

Notes

---

[1] Unlike in other Yoruba diasporas in West Africa, they buried their dead ones in Ghana.
[2] An example was Samuel Oduntan from Ogbomoso who was security aide of Kwame Nkrumah.
[3] Interviews with Alhaji Salimonu Adebiyi at Inisa on 16th February, 2008 and Dr. Paul Alabi Oguntoye at Ibadan on 26th February, 2008.
[4] There were several Yoruba religious practitioners in Ghana. Discussions with Sheik Muhammad Nurein at Ibadan, December 2007.
[5] I.A. Adedoyin, *The Place of Ogbomoso in the History of Nigerian Baptists* (Ibadan: Penthouse Publications), 2005, p. 8.
[6] Donald Carter, "Review of Strangers and Traders: Yoruba Migrants, Markets and the State in Northern Ghana" by J.S. Eades in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. 1, No. 1, March 1995, pp. 208-209.
[7] Ali A. Mazrui, 1982, "Africa Between Nationalism and Nationhood: A Political Survey" in *Journal of Black Studies*, vol. 13, No. 1, p. 24.
[8] Claude Ake, 1965, "Pan-Africanism and African Governments," in *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 27, No. 4, (Oct.),p. 538. For example, the Hausa and Yoruba formed substantial minority commercial groups in every West African country.
[9] Ali A. Mazrui, 1995, "Pan-Africanism: From Poetry to Power," in *Issue: A Journal of Opinion*, Vol. 23, No.1, African Studies (Winter-Spring), pp. 35-38.
[10] It was only in 1975, that the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) was created.
[11] William R. Bascom, "Tribalism, Nationalism and Pan-Africanism," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 342, 1962, p. 29
[12] Aderanti Adepoju, "Illegals and Expulsion in Africa: The Nigerian Experience" in *International Migration Review*, Vol. 18, No. 3, 1984, p. 427
[13] Adepoju, p. 428.
[14] Adeoye Akinsanya, "Host Governments' Responses to Foreign Economic Control: The Experiences of Selected African Countries," in *The International and Comparative Law Quarterly*, Vol. 30, No. 4, 1981, p. 769.
[15] M. Peil, "Ghana's Aliens," in *International Migration Review*, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 367-381.
[16] The Ghanaian Alien Quit Order affected over 400,000 Africans.
[17] Claude Ake, 1965, "Pan-Africanism and African Governments," in *The Review of Politics*, Vol. 27, No. 4, (Oct.),pp. 532-542.
[18] Interview with His Royal Highness Oba Joseph Oladunjoye Oyedele Fashikun II Olu of Inisa town on 16th February, 2008. And Focus group discussion with Mr. Afolabi Salaudeen (Chairman National Union of Road Transport Workers, Inisa Branch); Mrs. Kehinde Afolabi (Mama Kaduna); and Mr. Amoso Fakayode at Inisa town on 16th February, 2008 at Inisa town.
[19] Some of the Yoruba had served as wholesalers and retailers to the Portuguese importers. Examples of those who bought Portuguese shops included Salawu Eyan'ree; Karimu Ire Akari and Olaosebikan from Ogbomoso. Interview with Alhaji Shittu Orogbade at Ogbomoso, 12th February, 2008.
[20] Polly Hill, *The Occupations of Migrants in Ghana* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan), 1970; J.S. Eades, *Strangers and Traders: Yoruba Migrants, Markets and the State in Northern Ghana* (Trento, NJ: Africa World Press), 1994. They specialised in Yoruba cloths, provisions and other commodities.
[21] "Kinship and Entrepreneurship Among Yoruba in Northern Ghana" in W.A. Shack and E.P. Skinner, eds., 1979, *Strangers in African Societies* (Berkeley: University of California Press).

[22] A.G. Adebayo, "Money, Credit and Banking in Colonial and Postcolonial West Africa," in Alusine Jalloh and Toyin Falola, *Black Business and Economic Power*, (Rochester: The University of Rochester Press), 2002, p. 158.

[23] Interview with Alhaji Salimonu Adebiyi, born 1920. He migrated to Ghana in 1940. His father was pioneer Yoruba migrant in Ghana who worked in the railway construction and joined the British West African Frontier Force in Ghana. Interviewed on 16th February, 2008 at Inisa town.
[24] M. Peil, "Ghana's Aliens," …
[25] John A. Arthur, "International Labor Migration Patterns in West Africa," in *African Studies Review*, Vol. 34, No. 3, 1991, p. 71.
[26] John A. Arthur, "International Labor Migration Patterns in West Africa,"…
[27] Interview with Mr. Joseph Aderibigbe at Inisa on 16th February, 2008.
[28] Interview with Alhaji Shittu Orogbade at Ogbomoso, 12th February, 2008.
[29] The Yoruba were referred to as *Alata/Arata fuo*-meaning traders while Yoruba referred to Ghanaians as *Aina/Arna*. Despite the envy and commercial competition, Yoruba were accepted as highly civilized and peace loving. The natives gave so much respect to Yoruba and were treated preferentially from others. This factor must have influenced the migration of Ghanaians to Nigeria, following the economic downturn of the 1970s. Interviews with Alhaji Bello AbdulRasak on 19th December, 2007 at Ogbomoso and Mr. John Abioye, on 28th December, 2007 at Ibadan. Both interviewees were born in Ghana.
[30] Martin H.Y. Kaniki, "Attitudes Towards the Lebanese in Sierra-Leone During the Colonial Period," in *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, Vol. 7, No. 1, 1973, p. 104.
[31] The application was done through the Association of the Nigerian Community in Ghana and the Nigerian High Commission. Interview with Prince Philip Oyedele at Inisa, 16th February, 2008. He was Special Assistant to the Kwame Nkrumah and the Secretary of the Ghana Automobile Spare Parts Association.
[32] "Horror Stories By Refugees" in *Nigerian Tribune*, 15th December, 1969, p. 1.
[33] J.G. Hargreaves, "From Strangers to Minorities in West Africa," in *Transactions of Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 31, 1981, p. 97
[34] This was similar to some of the colonial policies in Eastern and Central Africa that required African natives to carry identity passport wherever they go. The colonial law was aimed at controlling migration, taxation and labour supply.
[35] Quoted in *The Pioneer Newspaper*, Kumasi, November 19, 1969 by Niara Sudarkasa, "From Stranger to Alien: The Socio-Political History of the Nigerian Yoruba in Ghana, 1900-1970" in W.A. Shack and E.P. Skinner, eds., 1979, *Strangers in African Societies* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
[36] "Nigerians in Ghana are Racing Back," in *The Nigerian Tribune*, December 4th, 1969, p. 94.
[37] R. Rathbone, 1996, "Defining Akyemfo: The Construction of Citizenship in Akyem Abuakwa, Ghana 1700-1939," in *Africa: Journal of International African Institute*, Vol 66, No. 4, pp. 506-525.
[38] G. Mikell, 1989, *Cocoa and Chaos in Ghana* (New York: Paragon House).
[39] The formation of MAP could be said to be a union of convenience between host and migrant Muslims in Kumasi, Ghana. The first President of the party was Halidu Suame, an Ashanti convert and Alhaji Alufa Lardan, a Yoruba Muslim, who was the Chariman. After the consolidation of the party, Ahmadu Baba, Hausa from Nigeria and the unofficial Serikin Zongo. Niara Sudarkasa, "From Stranger to Alien:….
[40] Niara Sudarkasa, "From Stranger to Alien: The Socio-Political History of the Nigerian Yoruba in Ghana, 1900-1970" in W.A. Shack and E.P. Skinner, eds., 1979, *Strangers in African Societies* (Berkeley: University of California Press).
[41] The Egba Yoruba in Ghana established Nawar-al-Deen Schools.
[42] Niara Sudarkasa, "From Stranger to Alien:…
[43] J.D. Hargreaves, "From Strangers to Minorities in West Africa," in *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, Vol. 31, pp. 95-113.
[44] Interview with prince Philip Oyedele.
[45] Niara Sudarkasa, "From Stranger to Alien:…
[46] Niara Sudarkasa, "From Stranger to Alien:...
[47] Niara Sudarkasa, "From Stranger to Alien:…
[48] J.D. Esseks, 1971, "Political Independence and Economic Decolonisation: The Case of Ghana Under Nkrumah," in *The Western Political Quarterly*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp. 59-64.
[49] Niara Sudarkasa, "From Stranger to Alien:…

[50] Interview with Mr. Muhammed A. Olaopa, 78, at Ogbomoso on 30th May, 2007.
[51] Interview with Reverend Dr. Bunmi Olujinmi
[52] The Quit Order occurred at the height of the Nigerian Civil War-the Igbo's Biafra and the Federal Government of Nigeria. Hence, the Ghanaian government exempted the Igbo who had no residence permits. They were classified as refugees on the account that they were not safe in Nigeria and had no place to go. In addition, Nigerian who were the Ghanaian civil service and students of teacher training colleges were exempted from deportation. Even though they were asked to regularise their papers, some felt they had to leave Ghana.
[53] "Why Aliens Were Expelled-Busia" in *Daily Times*, December 12th 1969, p. 2. In order to mitigate the hardship, Busia's government set up four camps where soldiers were providing food, services and medical aid. The Nigerian government headed by General Yakubu Gowon equally sent relief materials and transport to the victims. Many of the refugees who were stranded at the Takoradi and Tema habours were offered free "emergence boats" *King Jaja* and *Oduduwa* by the Nigerian government. Before the expiration of the Quit Order, over 20,000 residence permits had been issued and a further 2,000 were issued daily.
[54] Interview with Reverend Dr. Bunmi Olujinmi at Ibadan on 7th February, 2008.
[55] "Ghanaians Fought Over Property of Aliens," in *Daily Times*, December 11th 1969, p. 1.
[56] "10 Nigerians Dead in Refugee Camps," in *Daily Times*, 29th December, 1969, p.1.
[57] Interview with Mr. AbdulAziz Folorunso Ishaq who born in 1965 at Tamale, Ghana. Interviewed on 14th February, 2008 at Ibadan.
[58] Some Yoruba in Ghana practiced agriculture by planting food crops. Interviews with Alhaji Salimonu Adebiyi at Inisa town, 16th February, 2008 and Reverend Dr. Bunmi Olujinmi at Ibadan, 7th February, 2008.
[59] "10,000 West Citizens Stranded in Dahomey," in *Nigerian Tribune*, 6th December, 1969, p. 1. It should be noted that the Benin Government, Federal Government of Nigeria and Western State provided relief materials to the refugees.
[60] "Nigerian, 63, killed on Ghana Border," in *Daily Times*, December 27, 1969, p. 1.
[61] "Nigerian Refugees Shut Out At Border" in *Daily Times*, 11th December, 1969, p. 1.
[62] Interview with Dr. S.A. Ademola Ajayi, who was born in Ghana and relocated home with his parents in 1969. Interviewed on 31st December, 2007.
[63] Interview with Kemi Folorunso whose grandfather from Inisa was a pioneer Yoruba migrant in Ghana. Her father was born in Ghana and after the deportation he migrated to Port Harcourt where he engaged in haulage business. Interviewed on 18th February, 2008.
[64] A.A. Adeleye, *Ogbomoso: Selected Essays on Socio-Economic Development Up to 1990* (Lagos: Loladis Nig. Ltd.) p. 39
[65] Interview with Dr. Adeleke at Ibadan on 31st December, 2008.
[66] Wahab Ayodeji Oyediran, *A History of the Socio-Economic Development of Igosun, 1960-1993* (Long Essay Submitted to the Department of History, University of Ibadan) January, 1997, p. 28.
[67] According to Pa Babalola Akande, a pioneer of the cooperative unions who migrated to Ghana in the 1940s controlled the unions for 15 years, Oba Jimoh Oyewumi granted the association a plot of land for the building of its secretariat and offered period advise on the sustainability of the unions. Interview with Pa Babalola Akande at Ogbomoso on 14th February, 2008.
[68] Ladipo Deji Alabi, *The Origin, Growth and Development of Ejigbo, 1900-1976* (Long Essay Submitted to the Department of History, University of Ibadan), June 1987, p. 72.
[69] *A Story Book on Ogbomoso Irepodun Cooperative Investment and Credit Union Limited,* (Ogbomoso: Afro-Modern Printers, 1997).
[70] *Alata*-Ghanaian word for Yoruba was adopted as his business name and family identity.
[71] A.A. Adeleye, *Ogbomoso*…pp. 59-60.
[72] Olatunde B. Lawuyi, "The Political Economy of Video Marketing in Ogbomoso Nigeria" in *Africa*, Vol. 67, No. 3, p. 476.
[73] Interview with Mr. Hamzat O. Olaopa, 74, at Ogbomoso on 22nd May, 2007.
[74] I.A. Adedoyin, *The Place of Ogbomoso in the History of Nigerian Baptists*…p. 10
[75] I.A. Adedoyin, *The Place of Ogbomoso in the History of Nigerian Baptists*
[76] Interview with Dr. S.Ademola Ajayi
[77] "School Registration Plan for Deported Children" in *Daily Times*, 27th December, 1969, p.1.