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NIGERIAN DIASPORAS IN THE SOUTH: *Harnessing the potential for national development*

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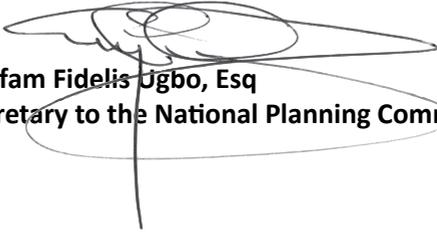
Foreword

With over 3 million of its nationals living abroad, the Government of Nigeria fully recognizes the role of the diasporas in contributing to the development of their home country. For that reason, an institutional framework aimed at integrating Nigerian diasporas into the national development process, has been established.

In the last decade, great attention has been given to the potentials of Nigerian diasporas in the North, residing mainly in Europe and the United States of America. On the contrary, the potentials of the Nigerian diasporas in the South remain largely unexplored despite the fact that 44.4 per cent of Nigerian migrants reside in other sub-Saharan countries.

I am therefore honoured to endorse this pioneer study on Nigerian diasporas in Ghana and South Africa commissioned by the ACP Observatory on Migration. As the report clearly shows, diasporas in the South have a huge potential contribution to the development of Nigeria through financial, social and cultural remittances, and constant transfer of skills homeward.

The measures for improving, sustaining and enhancing the involvement of Nigerian diaspora members in the South recommended in this work will therefore, certainly be taken into consideration in the framework of the forthcoming Government development planning. Through the implementation of these measures, the Government would provide a solid mechanism to match the supply of labour with demand in a safe, humane, legal and orderly manner so as to enhance the economic, social and human development of Nigeria. This will be aiming at giving the diasporas a greater a more active role in poverty reduction and human development.



Ntufam Fidelis Ugbo, Esq
Secretary to the National Planning Commission

Abstract

This study on Nigerian diasporas is aimed at providing practical recommendations for policy and programmes aiming at enhancing the contributions to human development that could be brought by Nigerian diasporas in the South could bring, a community often overlooked by researchers and policymakers. In order to explore the potential of Nigerian diasporas in the South, a methodology designed to construct a socioeconomic and demographic profile of diasporas' members has been adopted. A combination of questionnaire surveys and embassy surveys involving the Nigerian embassies in Ghana and South Africa and other key informants' interviews permitted to uncover the social, cultural, material and transnational ties diasporas' members maintain with Nigeria. The study shows that the profiles of Nigerian diaspora members in South Africa and Ghana is similar to that of Nigerians in Europe and North America in terms of migration push and pull factors, remittance behaviour, identification with 'home', aspirations and desire to succeed, and return to Nigeria. The harnessing of the abundant skills, knowledge and financial, social and cultural remittances transferable by Nigerian diasporas in the 'South' will be possible only if the barriers and challenges to maximizing its contributions are promptly removed through the setting up of a relationship between states on diaspora issues and the engagement of non-state actors on the processes for attaining and harnessing diasporas' contribution to the country's development.

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It is futile to list or acknowledge all the many people or groups who have contributed to the successful implementation of this study, we acknowledge those who may have assisted and cooperated with us during the numerous processes of implementing this work but whose names are not included here.

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List of acronyms

ACP Observatory	African, Caribbean and Pacific Observatory on Migration
AGOA	African Growth Opportunity Act
ANA	Association of Nigerians Abroad
ANPA	Association of Nigerian Physicians in the Americas
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
CSOs	Civil Society Organizations
Migration DRC	Development Research Centre on Migration, Globalization and Poverty
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
ENAHPA	Ethiopia North Americas Health Professionals Association
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FML&P	Federal Ministry of Labour and Productivity
GMOD	Global Migrant Origin Database
HND	Higher National Diploma
HTAs	Home Town Associations
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICT	Information, Communications Technology
ICPC	Independent Corrupt Practices and Related Offences Commission
IOM	International Organization for Migration
ISP	Internet Service Provider
MBA	Masters in Business Administration
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NBS	National Bureau of Statistics
NAPTIP	National Agency for the Prohibition Of Trafficking in Persons and other Related Offences
NELEX	Nigeria Electronic Labour Exchange Desk within the Labour Ministry in Nigeria
NGOs	Non-Government Organizations
NIDAN	Nigeria Diaspora Alumni Network

NIDO	Nigerians in the Diaspora Organization
NIP	National Implementation Plan
NIS	Nigeria Immigration Service
NNVS	Nigeria National Volunteer Service
NPC	National Planning Commission
NpopC	National Population Commission
NSAs	Non-State Actors
ODA	Overseas Development Assistance
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
PEA	Private Employer Association
REC	Regional Economic Community
SAMP	South African Migration Programme
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN-ESCAP	United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (in Bangkok)
UNPD	United Nations Population Division
USAID	United States Agency for International Development

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Executive summary

This study on Nigerian diasporas in the South is a pilot study initiated by the African, Caribbean and Pacific (ACP) Observatory on Migration (ACP Observatory hereafter).

The study aims to interrogate the interrelationships between South–South migration and development on how to effectively integrate this form of human mobility into national and regional development plans and poverty reduction challenges in Nigeria. More generally, the study makes a contribution to global understanding of migration opportunities in ACP countries and the need to provide a baseline of reliable data and fresh empirical evidence on the role of ‘diasporas’ as development agents. This is the first Nigeria diaspora study in Ghana and South Africa. It fills various data gaps and proposes measures for improving, sustaining and enhancing the involvement of Nigerian diaspora members in these countries, potentially giving diasporas greater and active roles in development planning in Nigeria.

This study demonstrates that there are abundant skills, knowledge and financial, social and cultural remittances transferable by Nigerian diasporas in the ‘South’ waiting to be harnessed for the purposes of human development in their home country.

However, harnessing these resources requires that individual and group economic potential is unlocked, and that the barriers and challenges to maximizing diaspora contributions are promptly removed.

The key finding of the study is that the Nigerian diaspora profile in South Africa and Ghana is similar to that of Nigerians in Europe and North America in terms of migration push and pull factors, remittance behaviour, identification with ‘home’, aspirations and desire to succeed, and return to Nigeria. There is also specific individual and group willingness to participate in contributing to human development in Nigeria. Other findings include:

- **Professional experience:** More than 76 per cent of the diasporas interviewed have university bachelors and masters degrees, all of whom have skills both to drive positive changes and aggregate growth and human development in the home country. More than 67 per cent of those with these qualifications were either private investors or self-employed taking advantages of the opportunities lacking in the home country. About 23 per cent of respondents were employed. There were some few graduate students engaged in part-time income generating

jobs. USD 24,583 and USD 26,000 represents annual household income of the basic professionals in paid employment in Ghana and South Africa respectively. However, the average annual household of the Nigerian Entrepreneurial Professional diasporas is USD 65,238 in Ghana and USD 63,600 in South Africa indicating that this group have higher disposable incomes which may affect the potential of playing a role in contributing to human development in Nigeria.

- **Migration Profile:** Key reasons for respondents' migration from Nigeria to Ghana and South Africa was to search for a better environment for improving their life conditions. Few students have also migrated in pursuit of uninterrupted higher education programmes. Though, most Nigerian diaspora members expect their stay in host countries to be temporary but very few were not sure about the estimated time for their permanent return. Respondents cited corruption, lack of opportunities, poor political, economic and social governance, unemployment, insecurity, and health related issues as barriers over the decision to return on a permanent basis. No respondent planned to relocate to another country.
- **Communications:** Most Nigerian diasporas in both countries

connect to Nigeria by receiving and sharing information on events in the home country mostly through telephone and Internet-based means of communication. About 15 per cent use letters and oral means of information exchange at the meetings of their home town associations.

- **Remittances:** Most of the remittances sent to Nigeria were primarily for the survival of family members. About 27 per cent of respondents remitted money for personal investments, private property development and for meeting personal obligations. Different academic qualifications and job placements account for income and remittances levels for the two categories of professionals sampled. The average annual remittance of Nigerian diaspora is USD 2,880.82. This drops down to USD 2,400 if the median amount sent is considered (see Table 15). In South Africa, an annual estimate of more than USD 3,300 remittance is recorded compared with an annual estimate of USD 2,470 from Ghana. Informal channels were used mainly by respondents. Higher salaries earned by professionals based in South Africa may account for the high remittance levels.
- **Investment and human development in Nigeria:** More than 96 per cent of respondents admitted to have acquired assets for private investment in

Nigeria. Another 92 per cent have indicated interest in initiating personal investments in private property development – primarily in education, housing and health and provision of social amenities, hotel and tourism, banking and financial services. All 100 per cent of respondents show interest in contributing to political, economic and administrative governance in Nigeria if allowed. More than 43 per cent of respondents identified skills transfer and knowledge transfer as the type of support they will offer to development projects in Nigeria. However, respondents, identified unfavourable political/economic/social environments, internal resentment by public institutions and absence of trade/diaspora policies, legislation and formal procedures on how to manage investments in Nigeria while in foreign countries as major barriers to investment growth that can motivate them to contributing to development in Nigeria.

- ***The diaspora's network and relationship with the Nigerian Embassies:*** More than half of the respondents have strong feelings of 'belonging' to their homeland and participate in the activities of home town associations and the national diaspora unions of their country in the host communities. Some belong to two or more

diaspora' networks than they do for their work-based networks. Most Nigerian diaspora members wish their embassies would take more interest in the individual and associations' welfare than the renewals of travel documents. They desire that the embassies would provide more information and assistance relating to settlement in the host countries and generating information on investment and employment opportunities in Nigeria. Finally, they expect more diplomatic involvement in seeking appropriate redress for the violation of their rights in the host communities.

Policy implications and recommendations

Currently, the draft National Migration Policy, National Labour Migration Policy and a consideration for a separate diaspora policy remain the missing link for the determination of the future of different migration configurations in Nigeria. Diaspora contributions will not boost human development in Nigeria if the adoption of the policies that would clearly spell out all migration/diaspora cross-cutting issues, individuals, associations that will essentially guide diaspora and agency roles in relationship between and among states are not prioritized.

There is need to expedite the review of the draft National Migration Policy, the draft National Labour Migration Policy and the proposed diaspora policy prioritizing migrants' rights irrespective of their immigration status with a view to harmonizing the three documents into one policy document to avert policy duplications, promote policy focus or precise policy direction and permanently correct the current fragmentation of the migration portfolios in the government MDAs. The two draft policy documents recognize the contribution of diasporas and linked labour migration to income generation and redistribution, employment, economic growth, development, enhance skills and technology transfer, trade, accountability transparency, brain gain, good governance, financial, human and social capital formation while promoting and harnessing the contribution of labour migrants to national development plans. They also promote and harness the productive utilization of diasporas' expertise within the formal sector of the national economy.

gender, health, rights, youth, poverty, education, employment, MDGs) in the poverty reduction strategy programmes (PRSP) and address a long-term pro-poor approaches to the implementation of NEEDS, SEEDs and its local offshoots in the Local Government Areas (LGAs) should be key. In this regard, a Diaspora Trust Fund could be created to complement and supplement both reintegration and diaspora development initiatives. Similarly, it is important to essentially introduce and guide the relationship between states on diaspora issues (for example Nigeria signing bilateral agreements/Memoranda of Understanding – MOU with other ACP countries) and concretely engaging other non-state actors on the processes for attaining and harnessing diasporas' contribution to development in Nigeria is strongly recommended.

The setting up and recognition of a central body for the management of migration and migration data information issues must be a priority for government. The incorporation of migration cross-cutting issues (of

Résumé analytique

Cette étude sur les diasporas nigérianes dans le Sud est une analyse pilote initiée par l'Observatoire d'Afrique, des Caraïbes et du Pacifique sur les migrations (Observatoire ACP dans la suite du texte).

L'étude a pour objectifs d'interroger les interrelations entre migration Sud-Sud et développement et de chercher la manière dont on peut intégrer cette forme de mobilité humaine de manière effective dans les plans de développement et de réduction de la pauvreté nationaux et régionaux au Nigéria. De manière plus générale, l'étude permet de mieux comprendre les opportunités migratoires dans les pays ACP et le besoin de disposer de nouvelles données de référence et de preuves empiriques fiables quant au rôle des « diasporas » comme agents de développement. Il s'agit de la première étude portant sur la diaspora nigériane au Ghana et en Afrique du Sud. Elle permet de combler diverses lacunes au niveau des données et propose des mesures pour améliorer, maintenir et renforcer l'implication des membres de la diaspora nigériane dans ces pays, tout en accordant aux diasporas un rôle plus important et actif dans la planification du développement au Nigeria.

Cette étude montre clairement que le savoir-faire et les connaissances,

comme d'ailleurs les transferts financiers, sociaux et culturels pouvant être transmis par les diasporas nigérianes du « Sud » sont très importants ; ils devront être mobilisés pour promouvoir le développement humain dans le pays d'origine. Toutefois, la mobilisation de ces ressources nécessite de libérer le potentiel économique des personnes et des groupes et d'éliminer rapidement les obstacles et défis qui entravent la maximisation des contributions de la diaspora.

La principale conclusion de l'étude est que le profil de la diaspora nigériane en Afrique du Sud et au Ghana ne diffère en rien du profil des Nigériens installés en Europe et en Amérique du Nord en matière de facteurs incitatifs et dissuasifs de la migration, du comportement des émetteurs, d'identification au pays d'origine, d'aspirations et de volonté de réussir et de rentrer au Nigeria. L'étude a aussi relevé la volonté spécifique des personnes et des différents groupes à participer au développement humain au Nigeria. Les points suivants ont aussi été constatés:

- **Expérience professionnelle** : plus de 76 % des membres de la diaspora interrogés sont détenteurs d'un baccalauréat ou d'un master universitaire ; ils disposent donc tous des compétences pour

apporter des changements positifs et promouvoir la croissance globale et le développement humain dans leur pays d'origine. Plus de 67 % des personnes disposant de ces qualifications sont des investisseurs privés ou des travailleurs indépendants profitant des possibilités d'emploi qui font défaut dans le pays d'origine. Environ 23 % des répondants sont salariés. Quelques étudiants diplômés exercent un emploi générateur de revenus à temps partiel. Les revenus annuels du ménage des professionnels de base s'élèvent à 24 583 dollars E.-U. au Ghana et à 26 000 dollars E.-U. en Afrique du Sud. Le revenu annuel moyen des ménages des entrepreneurs de la diaspora nigériane s'élève par contre à 65 238 dollars E.-U. au Ghana et à 63 600 dollars E.-U. en Afrique du Sud : les revenus disponibles plus élevés dont dispose ce groupe pourraient donc influencer favorablement leur contribution au développement humain au Nigeria.

- **Profil migratoire** : la recherche d'un environnement meilleur permettant l'amélioration de leurs conditions est l'une des principales raisons qui ont poussé les répondants à migrer du Nigeria vers le Ghana et l'Afrique du Sud. Une poignée d'étudiants a migré pour avoir accès à un enseignement

supérieur ininterrompu. La plupart des membres de la diaspora nigériane interrogés prévoient que leur séjour dans le pays d'accueil sera temporaire, mais très peu sont capables d'estimer la durée de celui-ci avant d'opérer un retour définitif au pays. Parmi les obstacles invoqués par les répondants pour ne pas décider de rentrer de manière définitive, on trouve : la corruption, le manque d'opportunités professionnelles, une gouvernance politique, économique et sociale médiocre, le chômage, l'insécurité et les problèmes en matière de santé. Aucune des personnes interrogées n'envisageait de s'installer dans un autre pays.

- **Communications** : la grande majorité des membres de la diaspora nigériane dans les deux pays utilise principalement le téléphone et l'Internet pour se tenir au courant des événements dans le pays d'origine et les communiquer. Environ 15 % choisit de communiquer par écrit ou d'échanger des informations oralement lors des réunions des associations de leur ville d'origine.
- **Transferts de fonds** : la plus grande part des transferts de fonds vers le Nigeria sert avant tout à assurer la survie des membres de la famille restés au pays. Environ 27 % des répondants

envoient de l'argent pour effectuer des investissements privés, se lancer dans le développement immobilier privé ou s'acquitter d'obligations personnelles. Les différents diplômes et emplois pourvus déterminent les niveaux de revenus et d'envoi de fonds des deux catégories de professionnels de l'échantillon. La moyenne des transferts de fonds réalisés par la diaspora nigériane s'élève à 2 880,82 dollars E.-U. Ce montant tombe à 2 400 dollars E.-U. si l'on prend en compte le montant médian envoyé (cf. Tableau 15). En Afrique du Sud, on estime les transferts de fonds annuels à plus de 3 300 dollars E.-U. et à 2 470 dollars E.-U. au Ghana. Les personnes interrogées ont généralement recours aux canaux informels. Les salaires élevés versés aux professionnels installés en Afrique du Sud peuvent être à l'origine des niveaux élevés de transferts de fonds.

- ***Investissements et développement humain au Nigeria*** : plus de 96 % des répondants ont admis avoir acquis des actifs à des fins d'investissement privé au Nigeria. 92 % des répondants sont intéressés par un investissement personnel dans le développement privé - principalement dans les domaines de l'éducation, du logement et des soins de santé,

de la fourniture d'infrastructures sociales, des infrastructures hôtelières et touristiques, des services bancaires et financiers. Si elles étaient autorisées, toutes les personnes interrogées ont affirmé vouloir contribuer à la gouvernance politique, économique et administrative du Nigeria. Plus de 43 % des répondants ont indiqué, à différents moments, que le transfert du savoir-faire et des compétences était le type de soutien qu'ils désiraient offrir aux projets de développement au Nigeria. Les répondants invoquent aussi les différents obstacles qui les empêchent d'accroître leurs investissements et ainsi de contribuer au développement du Nigeria, soit : environnement politique/économique/social défavorable, ressentiment des institutions publiques et absence de stratégies commerciales/en rapport avec la diaspora, absence de législation et de procédures formelles sur la manière de gérer des investissements au Nigeria quand on est installé à l'étranger.

- ***Les réseaux diasporiques et le rapport avec les ambassades nigérianes*** : plus de la moitié des répondants expriment un fort sentiment d'appartenance au pays d'origine : ils participent aux activités des associations liées à leur ville d'origine et aux

syndicats de leur pays dans le pays hôte. Certains appartiennent à deux, voire à plusieurs réseaux diasporiques ; parfois, ces réseaux sont plus importants et plus nombreux que leurs réseaux professionnels. La plupart des membres de la diaspora nigériane aimeraient que leur ambassade s'intéresse plus au bien-être des personnes et des associations qu'au renouvellement des documents de voyage. Ils attendent que leur ambassade leur fournisse des informations et une aide lors de l'installation dans le pays d'accueil et qu'elle génère de l'information sur les possibilités d'investissement et d'emploi au Nigeria. Enfin, les migrants attendent d'elle un engagement diplomatique plus soutenu lorsqu'il s'agit de demander une juste réparation en cas de violation de leurs droits au sein des communautés d'accueil.

Implications stratégiques et recommandations

À l'heure actuelle, les ébauches de politique nationale en matière de migration, de politique nationale en matière de migration de la main-d'œuvre et d'une éventuelle stratégie distincte en matière de diaspora ne permettent pas de déterminer l'avenir des différentes configurations migratoires au

Nigeria. Les contributions de la diaspora ne pourront pas stimuler le développement humain au Nigeria tant qu'on ne donnera pas la priorité absolue à l'adoption de politiques qui définissent clairement toutes les questions transversales liées à la migration / aux diasporas, aux personnes, aux associations en charge d'orienter les diasporas et aux rôles des différents organismes en lien avec les États. Il convient donc d'accélérer l'examen des projets de politique nationale en matière de migration, de politique nationale en matière de migration de la main-d'œuvre et de la stratégie proposée en matière de diaspora donnant la priorité aux droits des migrants (indépendamment de leur statut d'immigrant) et de les harmoniser pour en extraire un seul document politique, ceci afin d'éviter toute duplication. Il convient également de renforcer l'axe politique et de promouvoir une orientation politique précise et, ainsi, d'éviter la fragmentation actuelle des portefeuilles liés à la migration au sein des différents ministères et services gouvernementaux. Les ébauches des documents politiques reconnaissent bien la contribution des diasporas, et donc de la migration de la main-d'œuvre, à la génération et à la redistribution des revenus, à l'emploi, à la croissance économique, au développement, au renforcement du transfert du savoir-faire et des technologies, au commerce, à

l'imputabilité et à la transparence, à l'afflux de cerveaux, à la bonne gouvernance, à la formation du capital financier, humain et social, et la contribution des travailleurs migrants aux plans de développement nationaux. Ils encouragent également l'utilisation productive de l'expertise des différentes diasporas dans le secteur réel de l'économie nationale.

Le gouvernement doit accorder la priorité à la constitution et à la reconnaissance d'un organe central en charge de la gestion des questions liées à la migration et aux données migratoires. L'intégration des questions transversales en matière de migration (genre, santé, droits, jeunesse, pauvreté, éducation, emploi, OMD) dans les documents de stratégie pour la réduction de la pauvreté (DSRP) devra être un objectif central, ainsi qu'une approche à long terme axée sur les pauvres lors de

la mise en œuvre des NEEDS, des SEEDS et de leurs délégations dans les zones de gouvernement local (Local Government Areas, LGAs). À cet égard, la création d'un « Fonds financier diasporique » pourrait compléter et étoffer tant la réintégration que les initiatives des diasporas en matière de développement. De même, il est important d'établir et d'orienter les relations entre les États en matière de diaspora : le Nigeria pourrait, par exemple, conclure des accords bilatéraux/des protocoles d'accord avec d'autres pays ACP. Il est également fortement recommandé de faire participer de manière concrète d'autres acteurs non étatiques aux processus visant à mobiliser et à exploiter la contribution des diasporas au développement.

Resumo executivo

Este estudo sobre o envolvimento das diásporas da Nigéria no Sul é um estudo-piloto iniciado pelo Observatório das Migrações ACP dos Grupos dos Estados da África, Caraíbas e Pacífico (ACP) (doravante denominado Observatório ACP).

O estudo destina-se a questionar as inter-relações entre a migração Sul-Sul e o desenvolvimento, com vista a integrar eficazmente esta forma de mobilidade humana nos planos de desenvolvimento nacionais e regionais e nos desafios de redução da pobreza na Nigéria. De um modo mais geral, o estudo contribui para a compreensão global das oportunidades de migração nos países ACP e da necessidade de oferecer uma linha de base de dados fiáveis e provas empíricas actuais relativamente ao papel das 'diásporas' enquanto agentes de desenvolvimento. Este é o primeiro estudo sobre a diáspora da Nigéria no Gana e na África do Sul. O estudo preenche várias lacunas de dados e propõe medidas para melhorar, sustentar e melhorar o envolvimento dos membros da diáspora nigeriana nestes países, potencialmente concedendo às diásporas papéis mais importantes e activos no planeamento do desenvolvimento na Nigéria.

Este estudo demonstra que existem remessas abundantes de

competências, conhecimentos, financeiras, sociais e culturais transferíveis pelas diásporas nigerianas no 'Sul' que podem ser utilizadas para efeitos de desenvolvimento humano no país de origem. No entanto, beneficiar destes recursos requer que o potencial económico individual e de grupo seja desbloqueado e que as barreiras e os desafios para maximizar as contribuições da diáspora sejam prontamente ultrapassados.

A principal conclusão do estudo é que o perfil da diáspora Nigeriana na África do Sul e no Gana é semelhante à dos Nigerianos na Europa e na América do Norte em termos de factores de repulsão e atracção, comportamento de remessa, identificação com a '*origem*', aspirações e desejo de ter sucesso e voltar à Nigéria. Existe também a vontade específica individual e de grupo em participar na contribuição para o desenvolvimento humano na Nigéria. Outras conclusões incluem:

- **Experiência profissional:** Mais de 76 % dos membros da diáspora entrevistados são detentores de títulos universitários, sendo que todos dispõem de competências para promover mudanças positivas e incentivar o crescimento e o desenvolvimento humano no país de origem. Mais de 67 % das

peças com estas qualificações eram investidores privados ou trabalhadores independentes que beneficiaram de oportunidades ausentes no país de origem. Cerca de 23 % dos inquiridos estavam empregados. Alguns estudantes do ensino superior desempenhavam actividades remuneradas em part-time. Estima-se que 24.583 USD e 26.000 USD correspondem aos rendimentos anuais dos agregados familiares dos profissionais de base com empregos remunerados no Gana e na África do Sul respectivamente. No entanto, a média anual dos agregados das diásporas profissionais e empreendedoras nigerianas corresponde a 65.238 USD no Gana e a 63.600 USD na África do Sul, indicando que este grupo tem rendimentos disponíveis superiores, o que pode afectar o potencial de desempenhar um papel na contribuição para o desenvolvimento humano na Nigéria.

- **Perfil de migração:** Os principais motivos de migração da Nigéria para o Gana e para a África do Sul apontados pelo inquiridos foram a busca de um ambiente mais favorável para melhorar as suas condições de vida. Alguns estudantes também migraram em busca de programas de ensino superior contínuos. No entanto,

a maior parte dos membros da diáspora Nigeriana esperam que a sua estadia nos países de destino seja temporária, mas muito poucos não tinham a certeza sobre o tempo estimado até ao seu regresso permanente. Os inquiridos referiram a corrupção, a falta de oportunidades, a fraca governação política, económica e social, o desemprego, a insegurança e as questões relacionadas com a saúde como barreiras para a tomada da decisão de regressar permanentemente. Nenhum dos inquiridos referiu a intensão de mudar-se para outro país.

- **Comunicações:** A maior parte das diásporas Nigerianas em ambos os países estão ligadas à Nigéria através da recepção e partilha de informações sobre eventos no país de origem, sobretudo através de meios de comunicação baseados no telefone e na Internet. Cerca de 15 % recorrem à troca de informações por carta ou verbalmente em reuniões das associações na cidade de origem.
- **Remessas:** A maior parte das remessas enviadas para a Nigéria destinaram-se sobretudo à sobrevivência dos familiares. Cerca de 27 % dos inquiridos remeteram dinheiro para investimentos pessoais, desenvolvimento de propriedade privada e cumprimento de

obrigações pessoais. As diferentes qualificações académicas e cargos ocupados determinam os níveis de rendimentos e de remessas relativos às duas categorias de profissionais inquiridos. A remessa anual média das diásporas nigerianas correspondem a 2.880,82 USD. Este valor é reduzido para 2.400 USD se for considerado o montante mediano enviado (consultar a tabela 15). Na África do Sul, registou-se uma estimativa anual de remessas superior a 3.300 USD em comparação com uma estimativa anual de 2.470 USD no Gana, sendo que os inquiridos utilizaram principalmente canais informais. Os salários mais elevados atribuídos aos profissionais baseados na África do Sul podem estar na origem dos elevados níveis de remessas.

- ***Investimento e desenvolvimento humano na Nigéria:*** Mais de 96 % dos inquiridos admitiram ter adquirido activos para investimento privado na Nigéria. 92 % manifestaram interesse em iniciar investimentos pessoais no desenvolvimento de propriedade privada, sobretudo no ensino, habitação, saúde e provisão de amenidades sociais, hotelaria e turismo, serviços bancários e financeiros. 100 % dos inquiridos demonstraram interesse em contribuir para a

governança política, económica e administrativa na Nigéria, se possível. Mais de 43 % dos inquiridos identificaram, em diferentes alturas, a transferência de competências e conhecimentos como o tipo de apoio que atribuirão a projectos de desenvolvimento na Nigéria. No entanto, os inquiridos identificaram o ambiente político/económico/social desfavorável, o ressentimento interno pelas instituições públicas e a ausência de políticas comerciais/de diáspora, procedimentos legislativos e formais sobre como gerir investimentos na Nigéria vivendo no estrangeiro como as principais barreiras para o crescimento do investimento que pode motivá-los a contribuir para o desenvolvimento na Nigéria.

- ***Rede da diáspora e relacionamento com as Embaixadas Nigerianas:*** Mais de metade dos inquiridos têm um forte sentido de ‘pertença’ ao país de origem e participam nas actividades das associações na cidade de origem e nas uniões da diáspora nacional do respectivo país nas comunidades de destino. Alguns pertencem a duas ou mais redes da diáspora, em vez das redes baseadas no trabalho. A maior parte dos membros da diáspora Nigeriana gostariam que as embaixadas demonstrassem mais interesse pelo bem-estar

dos indivíduos e das associações do que pela renovação dos documentos de viagem. Gostariam que as embaixadas fornecessem mais informações e apoio relativamente à permanência nos países de destino e gerassem informações sobre oportunidades de investimento e emprego na Nigéria. Por fim, esperam um maior envolvimento diplomático na busca de uma abordagem adequada à violação dos respectivos direitos nas comunidades de destino.

Implicações e recomendações de políticas

Actualmente, a proposta de Política de Migração Nacional, de Política de Migração Laboral Nacional e uma consideração para uma política de diáspora individual permanecem em falta para a determinação do futuro de diferentes configurações de migração na Nigéria. As contribuições da diáspora não impulsionarão o desenvolvimento humano na Nigéria se não for dada prioridade à adopção de políticas que abordem claramente todas as questões fracturantes sobre a migração/diáspora, indivíduos, associações e que orientem essencialmente os papéis da diáspora e das agências na relação entre estados. É necessário acelerar a revisão da proposta de Política de Migração Nacional, de Política de

Migração Laboral Nacional e de política de diáspora que estabeleça como prioridade os direitos dos migrantes, independentemente do estatuto de imigração com vista a harmonizar os três documentos num documento político para evitar a duplicação de políticas, para promover o foco político ou precisar a direcção política e corrigir permanentemente a actual fragmentação dos portfólios de migração nas MDAs governamentais. Os dois documentos de proposta de políticas reconhecem a contribuição das diásporas e da migração laboral para a geração e redistribuição de rendimentos, emprego, crescimento económico, desenvolvimento, melhoria de competências e transferência de tecnologia, comércio, transparência contabilística, 'ganho de cérebros', boa governação, formação de capital financeiro, humano e social, promovendo e potenciando a contribuição de migrantes laborais para os planos de desenvolvimento nacionais. Do mesmo modo, promovem e potenciam a utilização produtiva da especialização da diáspora no sector real da economia nacional.

O estabelecimento e o reconhecimento de um organismo central para a gestão da migração e das questões de informação relacionadas com dados de migração têm de ser uma prioridade para o

governo. A incorporação de questões fracturantes sobre a migração (género, saúde, direitos, juventude, pobreza, ensino, emprego, ODM) em documentos de estratégia de redução da pobreza (DERP), o estabelecimento de abordagens de combate à pobreza a longo prazo para a implementação de NEEDS, SEEDs e os focos nas Áreas Governamentais Locais (LGAs) devem ser considerados pontos fulcrais. Relativamente a este assunto, poderia ser criado um Fundo Fiduciário da Diáspora para complementar e suplementar a reintegração e as iniciativas de

desenvolvimento da diáspora. De modo semelhante, é essencialmente importante introduzir e orientar a relação entre estados em questões da diáspora (por exemplo assinatura por parte da Nigéria de acordos bilaterais/ Memorandos de Entendimento (MdE) com outros países ACP), assim como é altamente recomendável envolver concretamente outros intervenientes não estatais nos processos para promover e potenciar a contribuição da diáspora para o desenvolvimento na Nigéria.

I. Introduction and background

Nigeria has a complex migration history, undergoing a major migration shift from being a country of immigration during the colonial era to being one of emigration since the 1970s and 1980s. With a large population size and a strong economy, Nigeria is an active key member of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS). Nigeria has not only ratified the 1979 Protocol relating to the Free Movement of Persons, Right of Residence and Establishment and the ECOWAS 2008 Common Approach on Migration but has also endorsed key international instruments pertaining to migration (with the exception of the 1990 UN Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of Their Families.) It has implemented the first phase of the free-movement protocol relating to visa abolition but has yet to fully implement the other phases concerning the right of residence and establishment of ECOWAS community citizens.

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa and 9th worldwide with more than 158 million people in 2010 (UNICEF, 2010). Its population growth rate is estimated at 2.5 per cent per annum for the period 2005–2010. The country's population is projected to increase to 193 million people by 2020 and 289 million in

the year 2050 (UNDP, 2009). Figures on Nigeria's total migrant stock outside the country are conflicting. Out-migration from Nigeria is considerable, primarily because the rate of unemployment across the different tiers of the labour force has been on the increase in recent times (NPC, 2011).¹ In 2008, only 9.1 million of the 61.1 million strong labour force were employed that is only 15 per cent of the estimated strong labour force was in formal employment. The unemployment rate has risen from 14.9 per cent in 2008 to 21 per cent in 2010.

While UNDP (2010) estimates the total migrant stock at 1.3 million or 0.7 per cent of the country's population, Ratha and Shaw (2007) maintain that an estimated 3 million or more Nigerians live in other sub-Saharan countries. More research is clearly needed on sub-Saharan Africa n countries migration and its development implications for Nigeria. In spite of the data discrepancies, Nigeria is an ideal case study for examining South–South migration and the role of diasporas

1 Statement by Labour minister on the role of the FML&P in the management of migration (Presented at the National Conference on Migration – Abuja – 4th April 2007 cited by the National Planning Commission (NPC) on the First National Implementation Plan (NIP) of the NV20; 2020.

in the South in development. The potential contribution of the diaspora members to the development of the Nigerian economy goes well beyond personal remittances. The Nigerian diaspora can be a potent force for development for the country through the promotion of trade, including improved access to foreign capital markets, investment, research and innovation, skills-knowledge and technology transfers and through philanthropic activities. A growing body of research suggests that skilled migrants and country networks abroad are important reservoirs of knowledge and capital (Pack and Page 1994; Khadira 1999; Meyer and Brown 1999; Saxenian 2002, 2004, 2006; Barré and others 2003; Kuznetsov, 2006; Wickramesakara, 2009, IBRD/World Bank, 2011). Others analyse how members of the African diaspora contribute to their countries of origin without distinguishing between skilled and unskilled emigrants (Orozco 2000, 2006a, 2006b; Lowell and Gerova 2004; Lucas 2004; Portes et al., 2007; Crush, 2011; IBRD/World Bank, 2011; Chikezie, 2000; Mohamoud 2003, 2010; Mohan and Zack-Williams 2002; Bakewell, 2008; IBRD/World Bank, 2011). Some studies show that lower-skilled migrants also make important diaspora contributions to their countries of origin (Orozco, 2003; 2006a, 2006b; Lowell and Gerova 2004; Lucas 2004; Portes et al. 2007; Crush 2011).

This study has a particular focus on the neglected issue of South-South and intraregional migration. A large stock of Nigerians reside in African countries such as Sudan, Cameroon, Gabon and South Africa while other important destinations outside Africa include the Gulf States of Saudi Arabia and Kuwait (Adepoju and Jacques-Minnegher, 2008). This study focuses in particular on Nigerians in Ghana (a major West African migration hub) and South Africa (an economic powerhouse in sub-Saharan Africa). Both are key Nigerian emigration destinations with a large stock of skilled and unskilled Nigerian emigrant nurses, doctors, engineers, teachers and domestic assistants.

I.1 Objectives

The overall objective of this study is to enhance the role of the Nigerian diaspora residing in ACP and other developing countries in promoting human development in Nigeria and to contribute to the development of related policies.

Specific aims

- To propose a short- and long-term policy strategy to sustain and foster the contribution of Nigerian diaspora members to human development in Nigeria, endorsed by key Government officials in concerned Ministries;

- To map Nigerian diasporas in several key ACP destination countries and identify their interests and characteristics and types of engagement in development efforts in Nigeria; and
- To foster a learning process on how migration and development research can be a valuable tool for policymakers in designing development programmes and plans.

Study focus

The study has three main areas of focus:

- To build a socioeconomic profile of the Nigerian diaspora within the ACP with a particular emphasis on their expertise, skills and knowledge; remittances of finances, skills, and social attitudes; distribution and reasons for choice of destination.
 - To assess the diaspora contribution to national development with a focus on (a) Economic Impacts, for example; in investment, stocks capital, asset acquisition, economic stability in the home country, charitable contributions/ community development donations, building and construction, family assistance and so on; (b) Political impacts, such as political stability in the home country, financial sponsoring or influencing voting attitude of family members, and so on; (c) Social Impacts, for example; positive attitudes toward home country, and links with family and friends; (d) Cultural Impacts and (d) Skills and Knowledge Transfer.
- To examine the policy implications for diaspora engagement through (a) proposing short- and long-term policy strategies to sustain and foster the contribution of Nigerian diasporas members to human development in Nigeria endorsed by key government officials in concerned ministries and agencies; and (b) mapping the Nigerian diaspora in several key ACP destination countries, identifying their interests and characteristics and types of development engagement efforts Nigeria can tap from.

2. Literature review

The numbers of migrants moving within the South may be greater than those moving from South to North. Ratha and Shaw (2007), for example, estimate that South-South migration accounts for 47 per cent of global mobility. However, their figure probably excludes many irregular migrants. The fact that South–South migration may outnumber South–North movement does not mean that going to another developing country is always the first choice of migrants from the South. In many cases the choice is not for the migrants to make. Due to high administrative barriers and demands in developed countries for high-skilled workers, most potential migrants usually have no option than to try their luck in other developing countries (OECD, 2011). Though, the barriers to entry in the countries of the ‘South’ may not be that different from those of developed countries, cross-border mobility is often easier due to porous borders and opportunistic government officials.

The African diasporas are increasingly viewed as a key to realizing the development potential of international migration (de Haas, 2006a; Sørensen, 2007; Van Hear et al., 2004). However, there remains confusion about who exactly constitutes the diaspora and which groups should be targeted for ‘diaspora engagement’ (Bakewell,

2009). The African Union defines the African diaspora as consisting of people of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and *who are willing to assist* in the development of the continent and the building of the African Union (African Union, 2005). The definition by the African Union (AU) has been partially adopted for all ACP countries by the ACP Observatory on Migration, yet including those living in all African countries. The Southern African Migration Programme (SAMP) has also defined diasporas to include people living in other countries in Africa (Crush, 2011).

Within the context of the migration and development policy debate, ‘diasporas’ usually refers to those migrants who engage in activities that enhance the development of their countries of origin, and/or have an interest in or are willing to contribute to the human development of their countries of origin. The ACP Observatory on Migration adopts a human development approach to studying South–South migration and development issues in ACP countries. The human development concept has been defined by UNPD et al (2010)² as follows:

2 As cited in ACPOBS. 2011. *Potential Microeconomic and Human Development Effects of Remittances*. Brussels : ACPOBS, 2011. ACPOBS/2011/BN02.

'A process of enlarging people's choices - Enlarging people's choices is achieved by expanding human functioning and capabilities. At all levels of development, the three essential capabilities for human development are for people to lead long and healthy lives, to be knowledgeable and to have a decent standard of living. But the realm of human development goes further - to reach essential areas of choice, highly valued by people, range from political, economic and social opportunities for being creative and productive to enjoying self-respect, empowerment and a sense of belonging to a community. The concept of human development is a holistic one putting people at the centre of all aspects of the development process'.

Increasing attention is being paid to the role of the diasporas in human development of their countries of origin. Previously, migrants were viewed as a loss to the sending country ('brain drain'). Migrants are now increasingly viewed as a resource or extension of nation-state. States and international institutions are paying greater attention to the role of the diaspora in national development and a growing number of developing countries view diasporas as an antidote to the brain drain – brain gain. In the context of 'South–South' migration, 'diaspora' members contribute to the development of their country of destination (for

instance by working and paying taxes) and their country of origin (such as by sending remittances) (SAMP, 2006; Stark, et al. 1997).

Mohan (2002) examines the complex interconnections between diasporas and development in a three-fold categorization of development '**in**', '**through**', and '**by**' the diaspora. Development '**in**' the diaspora refers to the economic and social advancement of immigrants in the destination country; that is, how people within diasporic communities use their localized connections to secure economic and social well-being and as a by-product, contribute to the development of their locality. Development '**through**' the diaspora refers to how diasporic communities use their diffuse global connections beyond the locality to facilitate their economic and social well-being. Development '**by**' the diaspora refers to the roles played by migrants in developing their country of origin. The critical question is what act or acts are sufficient and necessary to constitute a linkage meaningful enough to be considered as diasporic? How much of a linkage is required to call a group a diaspora? Finally who is defining the connection – an individual, a community, an outside group, or all of them? (Mohan, 2002).

The focus of this study is development by the Nigerian diaspora. Most of the existing research on development

by the diasporas in Africa focuses on remittance transfers whether of goods, cash, social, cultural, skills and knowledge transfer. Remittances to home countries contribute to household livelihoods and can play a key role in social or human capital investment in education, health, housing and food. They may also be used as capital to invest in income earning household inputs and capitalize entrepreneurial activities. In addition, the diaspora may also contribute to development in their home country through increasing direct investments, improving access to foreign capital markets through investment funds, and transferring technology through for example, professional associations that provide expertise to origin country firms, temporary assignments of skilled expatriates in origin countries and the return of emigrants with enhanced skills (IBRD/World Bank, 2011).

It is widely acknowledged that for many developing countries, remittances are a larger source of income than Overseas Development Assistance (ODA) and Foreign Direct Investments (FDI). According to the World Bank, the total volume of international remittances received by developing countries in 2011 was USD 325.5 billion out of a total USD 440 billion in global remittance flows. Nigeria received USD 19

billion³, making it the only African country in the top ten international remittance recipients in the world. This figure excludes transfers concluded through irregular and informal channels. Formal banking and financial transactions though more regulated and reliable, have many characteristics that mitigate their usefulness for migrants. First, they can be difficult and expensive to access; second, getting a bank account is hard for low-income earners and semi-literate people; and third, irregular cross-border migrants often cannot access formal transfer windows and foreign exchanges regulations and differential exchange rates may inhibit the use of formal systems as official exchange rates are often far below black market exchange rates.

According to the UNDP (2006), using remittances to link local actions to national priorities and global mandates is an important factor in engaging diasporas and home towns associations (HTAs) in the development debate. Such interventions need to include elements of gender, human rights,

3 Remittance figures keep changing. As at the time of completing this study, the remittance volume to Nigeria according the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) has hit USD 21 billion as at February 2013. Also, the World Bank and CBN figures conflicts for a variety of differences in the methodology and definition used to capture remittances figures.

human capital and broader social dynamics. Nigerian home town associations of note include the National Association of Yoruba Descendants in North America (Egbe Omo Yoruba) and the Igbo Community Association of Nigeria (ICAN) in Dallas-Fort Worth (Texas). Similar Nigerian HTAs have also been active and visibly replicated in Ghana and South Africa albeit with almost similar level of sociocultural and economic engagements in their host communities.

In strengthening the synergies between migration and development, the diaspora's role in supporting economic and social development and employment policies in their countries of origin has been increasingly recognized. This entails recognition that the impacts of remittances are not just economic but also social and cultural. Migrant workers are already taking responsibility for schools, health care and education in the communities back home with spillover benefits into the transportation, tourism and construction sectors. Many professional migrants are engaged in philanthropy and transfer of technology and skills, and creating enterprises. At the meeting of the Third Euro-African Ministerial Conference on Migration and Development in Dakar, Senegal, 2011, the transnational dimension of

diaspora, their role in the economic, social and cultural development of their countries of origin, and the necessity to protect the free movement of skills were debated. Currently, many countries of origin are beginning to see diasporas as major sources of direct investments in critical industries often as 'first movers' who open the way for other, more detached investors, bearers of critical skills, experience, and networks, and an influential lobby group that can advance the homeland's political and economic interests at the destination.

Many government initiatives already harness the potential of diasporas, though their impact and effectiveness is largely unknown. Some countries grant their diaspora certain legal and political rights, including voting and property rights and, in some cases, access to government services (Gamlen, 2006). Others have even established institutions to specifically handle the diaspora portfolio such as diaspora ministries and consultative councils. Diaspora involvement can have a dark side as well, as diaspora groups have been known to fund and support armed conflict, corruption, and criminal enterprises (UN-ESCAP, 2010).

A number of development activities undertaken by diaspora members can be identified from the literature, which are clearly linked to

international development priorities such as the Millennium Development Goals and Nigeria's own development priorities:

- **Household poverty alleviation:** Activities of African diasporas at the microlevel are essentially private, personal and informal (as opposed to public and professional), starting with family and gradually extending to institutions that support the family – such as schools and churches or temples, with its progression from remitting money to relatives to social investment in communities of origin, with a special emphasis on education (Young and Shih, 2003; Gerretsen, 2007). African diasporas inject much-needed financial resources where they are most needed – at the household level where donor activities and national governments are not able to effectively reach.
- **Health and education:** A significant proportion of remittances are used for education and health services for family members. Diaspora remittances have reportedly contributed immensely to female education, improved family health, and reduction in infant mortality rates. Many African diaspora groups also operate scholarship programmes for needy students pursuing secondary education in their home communities (Young and Shih, 2003).
- **Small business development:** African diasporas have supported small business development (Sander and Maimbo, 2005). Examples of such businesses include hairdressing, fitter-mechanics, masonry, carpentry, arts and crafts, and family businesses, usually in the agricultural and retail sectors.
- **Agribusiness development:** Apart from direct investments in family agricultural activities, African migrants continue to prefer ethnic foods in their foreign locations. This has given rise to a number of ethnic foods stores wherever significant populations of these immigrants reside (Sander and Maimbo, 2005) This food preference contributes to job creation, both home and abroad, and introduces their host countries to African dishes. The demand for ethnic foods may have contributed to improved food processing, packaging, storage, and market-chain extension. For example, demand for oil palm paste and *fufu* by some African migrants has led to development of canned oil palm pulp, and cassava/yam flours replacing the traditional pounding with mortar and pestle.⁴
- **Community and rural development:** African diasporas

⁴ Op cit., and the First National Implementation Plan (NIP) of the NV20; 2020.

organized along home town/ villages and ethnic lines in *Home town Associations* are known to contribute to community development by providing financial support for building schools, hospitals and other service centres in their hometowns and villages – much more consistently and to a higher level than delivered by governments and donors through community-driven development instruments (Sander and Maimbo, 2005).

- **Real estate development:** A significant proportion of new home construction in many of the urban domains on the continent belongs to Africans living abroad. This has impacted positively on local businesses in terms of construction, brick manufacturing, masonry, woodwork and carpentry (furniture, roofing industry, doors and window frames; Sander and Maimbo, 2005).
- **Transportation:** Africans in Europe in particular have contributed to the expansion of private commercial vehicle ownership in the home country, making transportation of people and farm produce a lot easier.⁵

- **Infrastructure development on information and communications technologies (ICTs)/Internet:**

As the modern information age dawned, African diasporas have quickly transitioned their home countries into this era: Africa online, for instance, was started by Kenyans who were then students at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT)⁶. Today, the business has become one of the major Internet Service Providers (ISPs) on the continent. Network Computer Systems is recognized as the first ISP in West Africa. Members of the Association of Nigerians Abroad (ANA) are reported to have put their expertise in electrical engineering at the country's disposal when this sector was being privatized.⁷

- **Knowledge and technology transfer:** Diaspora groups frequently play a critical role in accelerating technology exchange and foreign direct investment in their home economies. For some, there is a non-financial intrinsic motivation. In addition to utilizing ICT to enhance remittance services, diasporas are helping to bridge the digital divide in their countries of origin by incorporating technology transfer into social, economic, and political activities.⁸

5 A Concept Note on '*Mobilizing the African Diaspora for Development*' - September 7, 2007 by the Capacity Development Management Action Plan Unit (AFTCD) of the Operational Quality and Knowledge Services Department (AFTQK).

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

- **Diaspora knowledge networks (DKN):** The literature identifies various types of DKN - (a) *Technical expert network* activities include joint (diaspora and home country) expert teams established in strategic areas of focus and direction; and concrete action plans provided to implement science, engineering and technology themes. It also covers peer reviews involving the diasporas' scientific community and technical or strategic inputs to projects that are initiated. Research collaborations between diaspora host institutions and home country counterpart research institutions is another area of engagement; (b) *Investment and business promotion networks* involve diaspora demonstration of new applications to improve local understanding for increased productivity; providing insight on new research or information that may not be readily available to local talent; and stimulation of business and public debates on how Africa can access global business opportunity and increase market and investments' (FDI) shares of the global economy; (c) *Policy-relevant actions network* activities include disseminating information to others about the work that is being done in Africa; and networking and facilitating introductions between members of participating diasporas.⁹
- **Promotion of good governance:** As diasporas gain more voice and recognition, they have begun demanding participation in the home country political process. Examples include the following:
 - *Elected offices in home countries:* An increasing number of Africans abroad are seeking elected office in their home countries, including as members of their national legislatures and even as presidential aspirants.¹⁰
 - *Demanding the right to vote from their foreign locations:* For example, Ghanaians abroad formed the Diaspora Voters Committee (DVC) to lobby the Ghanaian Government for implementation of the Representation of Peoples Amendment Act of 2005 to enable Ghanaians abroad vote in the 2008 general elections.¹¹
 - *Political contributions to mainstream parties.*
 - *Media and development:* To the extent that information pluralism is essential to the development of good governance, African diasporas have made significant, though

9 Ibid.

10 Ibid.

11 Ibid.

unrecognized, contributions to fledgling democracies on the continent. Today, Africans in the Diaspora are informed about major developments in their home countries, make critical comments, participate in chats/discussions, and influence home country policies and the political environment through numerous online sites, debate forums, and network newsletters founded and populated by the diaspora members. Diaspora online forums, devoid of official control by governments, have given voice to even home country news commentators, who have become more vocal in their criticism of government officials and wrongdoing than was the case during the periods of government-controlled print, radio and television broadcasts.¹²

- **Basic services delivery in health and education:** There are scattered examples of sustained African diaspora networks, mostly in the health and education sectors where the highly educated diaspora members establish some form of link with their home country institutions such as universities and research centres, providing occasional face-to-face tutoring, collecting

and distributing materials such as books, computers and medical supplies, and mobilizing their host countries to assist in these efforts. Some notable examples include:

- The 4,000-member Association of Nigerian Physicians in the Americas (ANPA), and the Ethiopian North American Health Professionals Association (ENAHPA) are engaged in health services delivery to the home country, including public health and preventive services, donation of medical supplies, pharmaceutical products, books and journals. ENAHPA has sponsored over 600 (primarily HIV/AIDS) orphaned children by providing food, clothing, shelter and education. The group also undertook three medical/surgical missions to Ethiopia in 2006 alone, and performed 203 surgeries, most of which were complex procedures, such as cardiac, neurological, oral maxillofacial and reconstructive surgeries, and interventional radiology.¹³
- Medical professionals belonging to the Nigerians in the Diaspora Organization (NIDO) delivered the following services in Nigeria: a pain and arthritis clinic, training of trainers on emergency medical

12 Ibid.

13 Ibid.

response and life-saving skills, free medical missions to two general hospitals, and molecular science and technology show. Various agencies of the Nigerian Government, including the Federal Road Safety Commission, the Nigerian Emergency Management Agency, the Nigerian Police Service and Armed Forces have benefitted immensely from diaspora support in this regard.¹⁴

- West Africa Doctors & Healthcare Professionals Network, is a virtual meeting place for doctors and healthcare professionals. The network makes it convenient and easy as a one stop information site for medical news, research advances, journals, disease outbreak updates and more. This network was initiated by a Sierra-Leonean immigrant who resides in Norway.¹⁵

- **Institutional research partnerships:** An increasing number of African immigrants are forging links between their host institutions and home counterparts. For instance African immigrants who are members of faculty at American universities have been taking their American students to Africa on study abroad tours. In some cases, the foreign students conduct part

of their thesis research in Africa while African faculty members interact and build professional relationships with colleagues in North America. African immigrant faculty and researchers also represent African perspectives at major global knowledge forums, for example, science and technology interests at Sigma Xi and other science and technology networks. The use of online tools could enable counterparts in African to remotely participate in such important gatherings.¹⁶

- **Other notable activities**

- Forwarding thematic literature, material and technological equipment to the country of origin;
- Diaspora volunteers counter the effects of brain drain through a multipurpose programme;
- Making relevant information, technical knowledge and know-how available to home country institutions;
- Linking counterparts who remained at home with projects implemented in the host country/region;
- Promoting beneficial relations between the country of origin and the host country;

14 Ibid.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid.

- Channelling resources for humanitarian causes and for the education of young expatriates in the host country and of young people who remained in the country of origin;
- Facilitating assimilation of new arrivals (especially on university campuses of the host country) and thus helping to train the next generation; and
- Sponsoring students from the country of origin.¹⁷

These are undoubtedly interesting examples of notable Nigeria diaspora activities from the global North already taking roots in Ghana and South Africa.

17 Op.cit.

3. Dimensions of the Nigerian diasporas in the South

Estimates of the number of Nigerians living in other African countries vary markedly. The Global Migration Origin Database (GMOD), for example, estimates that there are 646,264 Nigerians elsewhere in Africa (Table 1). Orozco and Mills (2007), in contrast, place the figure at 3,197,540. Interestingly, both conclude that around 60 per cent of Nigerian emigrants reside in Africa.

As shown in table 3, only four of the top 15 destinations of Nigerian migrants are located in the North. Therefore, it can be argued that South–South migration is very important with respect to migration from Nigeria. In fact, nearly 56 per cent of all Nigerian migrants are located in ten African countries namely Sudan, Cameroon, Ghana, Niger, Benin, Burkina Faso, Guinea, Kenya, Togo and Gabon (Table 2).

Challenges of variations in definitions, methodology and sources of available data on the Nigerian migrants' stock abroad or those in the diaspora exist. It is unknown whether the first or second or even the third generation

migrants are captured by these estimates. Most importantly, because the GMOD, DRC and other data estimates on Nigerian emigration stock which located Sudan as hosting the highest Nigerian emigration stock were collated before the Southern Sudan independence in 2011, further study to ascertain with precision the current Nigerian emigrant stock in the old and new Sudan is needed.

There is common agreement that data on remittances sent to Africa is unreliable (Sørensen, 2004). For instance, the Central Bank of Nigeria (CBN) estimates the 2011 remittances inflow at USD 19.1 billion, nearly twice the USD 10 billion reported by the World Bank. Nonetheless, all sources agree that Nigeria remains the largest remittance receiver in sub-Saharan Africa (Sander, 2003). According to the World Bank, remittances sent to Nigeria rose from only USD 10 million in 1990 to USD 3.3 billion in 2005 and USD 10.6 billion in 2011 (Figure 1). Figures by the Central Bank of Nigeria show that remittances to Nigeria rose from USD 14.4 billion to USD 19.1 billion between 2005 and 2011.

Table 1: Location of the Nigerian diasporas

	Global migrant origin database		Orozco and Mills, 2007	
	Number	Percentage	Number	Percentage
East Asia and Pacific	2,176	0.2	37,879	0.7
Europe and Central Asia	191,999	18.4	954,155	18.5
Latin America and Caribbean	2,257	0.2	10,951	0.2
Middle East and North Africa	26,992	2.6	145,703	2.8
North America	153,706	14.8	763,401	14.8
South Asia	17,890	1.7	61,777	1.2
<i>Sub-Saharan Africa</i>	<i>646,264</i>	<i>62.1</i>	<i>3,197,540</i>	<i>61.8</i>
Grand total	1,041,284	100	5,171,405	100

Sources: *Global Migrant Origin Database* (http://www.migrationdrc.org/research/typesofmigration/global_migrant_origin_database.html) and Orozco, M. and B. Mills, 2007.

Table 2: Top 10 destinations of Nigerian migrants in the South

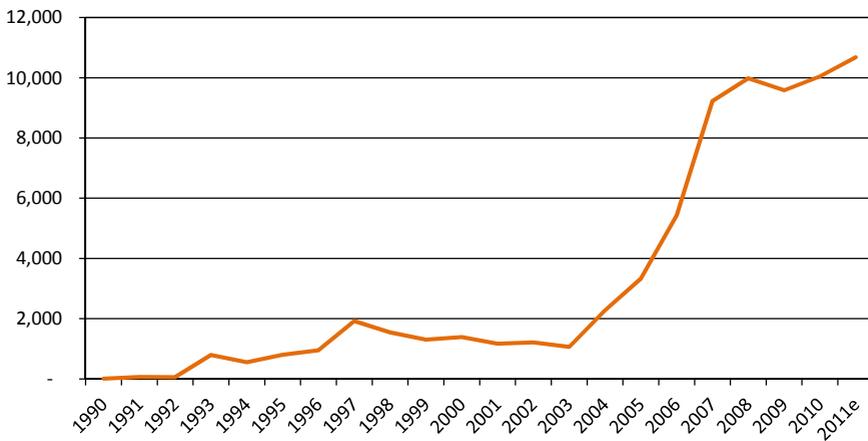
Country	Global migrant origin database	Share (in %)
Sudan	247,420	23.8
Cameroon	87,352	8.4
Ghana	53,486	5.1
Niger	41,379	4.0
Benin	29,911	2.9
Burkina Faso	26,572	2.6
Guinea	25,885	2.5
Kenya	25,853	2.5
Togo	18,695	1.8
Gabon	14,790	1.4
Other (North and South)	469,941	45.1
Total	1,041,284	100.0

Sources: *Global Migrant Origin Database* and Orozco, M. and B. Mills, 2007.

Table 3: Top 15 destinations of Nigerian migrants

Country	Global migrant origin database	Orozco and Mills, 2007	Share (in %)
Sudan	247,420	1,354,809	23.76
United States	143,054	783,327	13.74
Great Britain	89,580	490,517	8.60
Cameroon	87,352	478,317	8.39
Ghana	53,486	292,876	5.14
Niger	41,379	226,581	3.97
Germany	30,273	165,767	2.91
Benin	29,911	163,785	2.87
Burkina Faso	26,572	145,502	2.55
Guinea	25,885	141,740	2.49
Kenya	25,853	141,564	2.48
Country	Global migrant origin database	Orozco and Mills, 2007	Share (in %)
Italy	22,972	125,789	2.21
Togo	18,695	102,369	1.80
Gabon	14,790	80,986	1.42
Other	184,062	889,571	17.68

Sources: *Global Migrant Origin Database* and *Orozco, M. and B. Mills, 2007*.

Figure 1: Total remittances inflows to Nigeria, 1990–2011 (in USD millions)

Source: World Bank, 2011.

Even though the majority of Nigerians are located in the South, World Bank data shows that Nigerian diasporas in the South account for only 20 per cent of total remittance flows (Table 4). The actual figure may be much higher as migrants in the South who use informal channels are underrepresented in World Bank figures.

Nigeria is also a major destination for migrants from other states in West Africa. Therefore, Nigeria has recorded considerable outflows of remittances

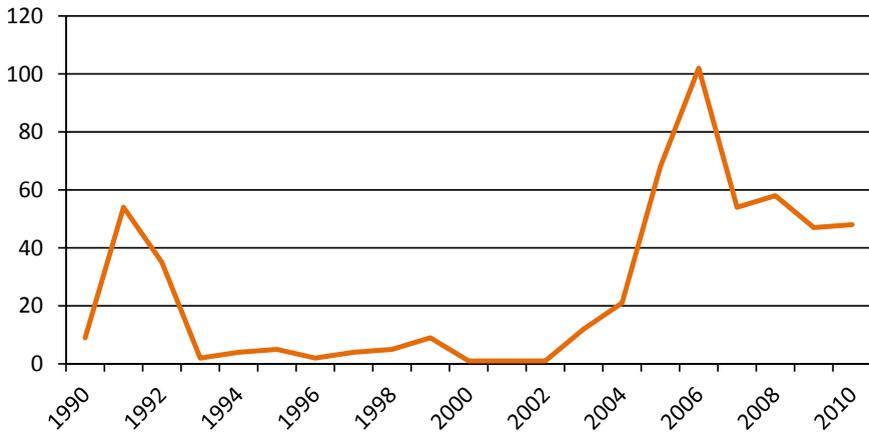
in recent years. Data from the World Bank shows that remittances outflows from the country rose from USD 1 million in 2001 to USD 102 million in 2006 (Figure 2). The figures have since fallen down to USD 47 million in 2009 and USD 48 in 2010. The bulk of these remittances are sent to Benin, Togo and Mali (Table 5). Surprisingly, 4.3 per cent of the remittances are sent to Australia and more research is needed to uncover the extent of South–North remittances

Table 4: Remittances to Nigeria, 2010

North	Total	Percentage
United States	3,279.18	32.9
United Kingdom	2,024.14	20.3
Italy	709.84	7.1
Spain	493.14	4.9
Ireland	402.16	4.0
Germany	333.58	3.3
Canada	244.38	2.5
Other North	452.41	4.5
Total North	7,938.84	79.6
South	Total	Percentage
Chad	477.62	4.8
Cameroon	327.94	3.3
Benin	199.19	2.0
Côte d'Ivoire	162.80	1.6
Sudan	151.60	1.5
Niger	125.90	1.3
Other South	590.78	5.9
Total South	2,035.82	20.4
Total remittances	9,974.66	100.0

Source: *World Bank, 2011.*

Figure 2: Migrant remittance outflows from Nigeria, 1990–2011
(in USD millions)



Source: World Bank, 2011.

Table 5: Remittances from Nigeria, 2010

	Total (USD million)	Percentage
Benin	87.36	35.59
Togo	54.27	22.11
Mali	37.34	15.21
Niger	14.65	5.97
Egypt, Arab Rep.	13.78	5.61
Australia	10.63	4.33
Ghana	10.57	4.31
Cameroon	5.57	2.27
Senegal	4.26	1.73
Other South	7.01	2.86
Total remittances	245.44	100.00

Source: World Bank, 2011.

4. Study methodology

The study methodology involved the following components:

4.1 Questionnaire survey

The survey was designed in partnership with the research team focusing on Kenyan diasporas under the guidance of the Southern African Migration Program (SAMP). The original plan was to launch the survey online and using social media and social networks services (SNSs) as tools for recruiting participants from the Nigerian diasporas. The methodology was designed to construct a socioeconomic and demographic profile of the Nigerian diasporas to first uncover the social, cultural, material and transnational ties that migrants maintain with countries in the South and secondly, examine the potential for return migration.

The online survey methodology was later adjusted as it became clear that there would be considerable challenges for the diaspora in accessing the survey. Poor Internet reception; inadequate time; a lack of consistent and general access to the Internet (in city and sub-urban centres) emerged as major drawbacks for the use of this methodology. In Ghana and South Africa, there were no established diaspora association websites from which

the online questionnaires could be accessed and where diaspora association members could interact either with themselves or with the study team. However, a total of 110 respondents were surveyed in both countries. Out of this, 78 in-depth interviews were conducted using the online questionnaire format. Forty interviews were conducted in Ghana and 38 in South Africa. A total of 32 questionnaire responses were received via e-mail. The responses received were originally designed to be filled via an online weblink. We received 16 responses each from Ghana and South Africa respectively.

Given the challenges associated with an online survey, an alternative survey strategy was developed. The main researcher took a field trip to Ghana and South Africa to establish inter-personal contacts with diaspora members and organizations and to conduct face-to-face individual interviews, using both the questionnaire instrument originally developed for the online survey and the individual in-depth questionnaires. Some of the online questionnaires were sent to respondents and responses were received manually and through emails. During the field survey, the Ghana chapter of the Nigerian Diaspora Organization (NIDO) was

still at a preparatory stage. Therefore, the primary source of contacts to identify Nigerian diasporas in Ghana was through diaspora faith-based contacts at religious houses founded by and attended mostly by Nigerians such as the Living Faith International (also known as Winners' Chapel International), the Redeemed Christian Church of God and diaspora associations. This approach proved useful as information regarding diaspora members could not be readily accessed from the Nigerian embassy in Accra. Members of religious institutions and diaspora associations provided additional contacts of non-Christian diaspora groups within existing home town associations (HTAs), professional groups in banks, traders and small scale entrepreneurial groups.

In South Africa, there exist splinter HTAs with memberships reflecting the different ethnic configurations in Nigeria. These include the Imo State Group, Abia State Group, the Yoruba Community and the All Nigerian Community. Most of the respondents were reached through initial contacts with different members of these diverse HTAs. Members of the Nigerian diaspora in the academy were reached through the assistance of the International Office at the Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg. Preliminary contact was mainly made via mobile

telephone and personal introductions. The study background and purpose were outlined to respondents and face-to-face interviews were conducted in offices, homes or in neutral places such as restaurants.

4.2 Embassy survey

The Nigerian embassies in Ghana and South Africa both lack data on their nationals in those countries. The embassy in Ghana has contact details of key diaspora individuals and some groups as it hosts social events during important national celebrations. An embassy survey was designed to collect information on the numbers of registered and unregistered Nigerian nationals who reside in the focal host countries and to disaggregate those who enter as skilled workers, temporary workers, refugees, students, traders and unskilled workers as well as determine the number and range of activities pursued by diaspora organizations in these countries. Embassy questionnaires were designed and sent through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Nigeria to the Nigerian embassies in Ghana and South Africa. Additional embassy questionnaires were submitted at the Nigerian embassies in Ghana and South Africa. No response was received from either embassy during the survey period.

4.3 Key informant interviews

Key informant interviews were conducted in Nigeria to find out more about the status of the draft national migration policy and the background of related migration policies including the institutional and technical capacities and statutory roles of institutions in the management of regular and irregular migration, remittances, and legislation. Information was also sought on diaspora engagement policy and how these institutions could tap the diasporas for human development in Nigeria. Key institutions included the National Commission for Refugees, Migrants and Internally Displaced Persons (NCFRMI); the Nigeria Immigration Service (NIS); the National Bureau of Statistics (NBS); migration rights groups, the Nigeria National Volunteer Service (NNVS); the National Association of Nigerian Traders (NANTS); the National Planning Commission (NPC), and the National Population Commission (NpopC). Key informant interviews were also conducted with individuals and representatives of government ministries, departments and agencies (MDAs), diaspora organizations and Private Employment Agencies (PEAs).

4.4 Challenges and study limitations

Senior government officials (including officials from the Ministry of Foreign

Affairs participated in the processes leading to the development of the questionnaires. The officials were briefed on the study background and objectives during the preliminary stages of the study by the ACP Observatory on Migration at the office of the International Organization for Migration (IOM) in Abuja and either follow-up visits and or calls were made after the initial meetings in Abuja for more information and clarifications. The input of the Nigerian embassy in Ghana is appreciated. However, the contribution from the Nigerian embassy in South Africa could have been stronger. Similarly, the study team did not receive any response on the embassy questionnaires passed through the consular office at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to the Nigerian Embassies in Ghana and South Africa. As a result, it is difficult to assess what role the embassies are playing, or could play, in facilitating diaspora involvement and engagement in Nigerian development.

This study is further limited by various methodological and data issues. The research techniques employed in the study resulted in a selection bias, resulting in the participation of individuals who are closely networked, had higher levels of education and better employment profiles than what might generally be expected of the Nigerian diaspora. A

few students and non-professional Nigerian diaspora groups were also surveyed. Furthermore, the study was conducted only in Ghana and South Africa and the study results are specific to these countries. More male than female respondents also participated in the study. The survey was also limited in the amount of detail it collected on some topics. For example, few respondents were entirely comfortable releasing details on income and remittances levels.

5. Study results

The study found that there are emerging diaspora policy proposals in Nigeria (different from the ideals of cross-cutting migration issues as well as mainstreaming migration into development planning proposed in the draft of the National Migration Policy which is being currently reviewed). A comprehensive diaspora policy would not only identify and designate potential areas of using diaspora skills and transfer of expertise, but would map the interests, characteristics and methodologies for diaspora engagement in human development. The two proposals on the establishment of the Diaspora Commission and Diaspora Voting Right currently being pursued by the National Assembly still have a long way to go with uncertain outcomes as they are yet to be approved by the Senate of the same Assembly. For now, it remains unclear what the Nigerian policy environment holds for the proposed diaspora policy.

One of the challenges to effectively tap the potential positive impacts of diaspora contributions in education, housing, investments, poverty alleviation and empowerment of individuals is the lack of information about the diaspora, especially those located in the South. No data is available to determine the size and volume of skills and knowledge

that could be engaged in human development in Nigeria particularly those *who are willing to assist* in the development of the country and the African continent. This study aims to fill this information gap.

5.1 Diaspora profile

A similar sample size was drawn from respondents in Ghana (50.1%) and South Africa (49.1%). The vast majority (95%) of those interviewed were born in Nigeria (Table 6). Although the Nigerian constitution recognizes dual nationality, only 25 per cent of the respondents have dual citizenship. The remainder maintain only their Nigerian nationality. Most of the dual citizens only took out second citizenship as a survival strategy in their host countries and are uncertain of what to do with the dual citizenship when they return home. For example, Emmanuel Bolarinwa¹⁸, a professional property and investment entrepreneur said the following:

‘Even when we’re filling the application forms for the South African Passport, we know when it comes to accessing the key real sectors for employment, we are discriminated against. Then also, after the 2008 xenophobic attacks,

18 Name changed to ensure anonymity.

Nigerians are wiser to possess the South African identity card, so we save ourselves from unnecessary embarrassments to obtain the South African passports [...] but many people would likely return home with the dual citizenship once there are signals of improved and consolidation of good governance in the home country'.

The sample was dominated by those in the 40-49 age group (72.6%), followed by those between 18-29 (19.1%) years of age and between 30-39 (3.7%) years old. Only a small number (4.6%) were over 50 years of age. Eighty per cent of the respondents were married and the majority have Nigerian spouses; nine per cent have Ghanaian spouses and six per cent South African spouses. In terms of gender, 91.5 per cent of the respondents were male while only 8.5 per cent were female. Though women also migrate across international borders independently searching for economic opportunities, the majority of women in this study were married and were either invited by their spouses to join them or directly migrated and joined by their husbands. Most of the women are employed and contribute gifts, goods and financial remittances. These

women can also be categorized along their male counterparts who will contribute knowledge and skill remittances to the home country. Most respondents were married prior to migration but those who were unmarried at the time of entry tended to marry nationals of their respective host countries. In addition, 81 per cent of the respondents have dependants. As many as 66 per cent of the dependants live with the respondents in the host countries while 29 per cent and 4.5 per cent of the other dependants respectively are either in Nigeria or are living in other countries. The respondents in both Ghana and South Africa are highly educated with nearly 80 per cent having at least an undergraduate university degree (Table 7).

In terms of the reasons for leaving Nigeria, 72.7 per cent moved because of economic factors such as the search for employment or business opportunities, 19.1 per cent cited education as the main reason, five point five per cent moved because of marriage while two point seven per cent moved with the spouse. The reasons given for leaving were very similar in both Ghana and Nigeria (Table 8).

Table 6: Country of birth, current residence and current citizenship of respondents

	Frequency	Percentage
Country of Birth		
Nigeria	104	94.6
Ghana	4	3.6
Others	2	1.8
Total	110	100.0
Country of Residence		
Ghana	56	50.9
South Africa	54	49.1
Total	110	100.0
Current Nationality		
Nigeria	83	75.5
Ghana	27	24.5
Total	110	100.0

Source: Survey results, 2012.

Table 7: Education profile of the respondents

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Secondary	13	23.2	11	20.4	24	21.8
University degree	23	41.1	22	40.7	45	40.9
Masters degree	20	35.7	20	37.0	40	36.3
Doctorate degree	0	0.0	1	1.9	1	0.95
Total	56	100.0	54	100.0	110	100.0

Source: Survey results, 2012.

Table 8: Reasons for leaving Nigeria

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Employment/ business	13	23.2	11	20.4	24	21.8
Education	23	41.1	22	40.7	45	40.9
Marriage	20	35.7	20	37.0	40	36.3
Moved with spouse	0	0.0	1	1.9	1	0.95
Total	56	100.0	54	100.0	110	100.0

Source: Survey results, 2012.

5.2 Experiences in the host countries

The experiences of the surveyed diaspora members in Ghana and South Africa play an important role in determining both the potential and likelihood of participating in development projects in their home country. In the aggregate, 80.7 per cent of the respondents were gainfully employed in the host countries (Table 9). The remaining 19.3 per cent were students. Self-employment is common among the Nigerian diaspora but is more important in South Africa (59%) than Ghana (53.6%). Entrepreneurship (51%) and investment (18%) were cited as the main occupations in both Ghana and South Africa. Many noted that South Africa and Ghana are very open to investment. Mr. Benjamin¹⁹ who holds dual citizenship and has

a Higher National Diploma (HND) in computer science and a Masters in Business Administration (MBA), arrived in South Africa in 1997:

‘I use my degree in Maths and computer science, software development course and an MBA; with knowledge of business and Information Technology (IT) to carve a career for myself. I initially found it difficult when I came because the white South Africans dominated the IT and formal sectors. Gradually, I was able to overcome job discrimination and now I work as a Business Software Specialist. Though I never suffered unemployment due to my field of specialization in Nigeria, but what is good here is that South Africa presents many good opportunities to develop which is lacking in Nigeria and I prefer it here primarily due to my international exposure and the value I can add when I return to Nigeria’.

¹⁹ Name changed to ensure anonymity.

Table 9: Current employment status

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Employed	9	16.1	7	13.0	16	14.6
Self Employed	30	53.6	32	59.0	62	56.3
Student	11	19.6	10	19.0	21	19.3
Professional expertise/ consultancy	6	10.7	5	9.0	11	9.9
Total	56	100.0	54	100.0	110	100.0

Source: *Survey results, 2012.*

The study examined the degree to which the Nigerian professionals have used their professional qualifications. This is important in determining the degree to which professionals are earning valuable experience in the host country which can be turned into a useful asset should they decide to return to Nigeria. The vast majority (94.4%) are employed in occupations which require the application of their professional skills, indicating that there is little 'brain waste' occurring.

Basic professional members of the diaspora (defined as those earning monthly or weekly wages and some working students or those on self-sponsorship) earn average salaries

of USD 24,583 per annum in Ghana and USD 26,000 per annum in South Africa (Table 10). Members of the Entrepreneurial Professional Diaspora (which includes independent business owners) earn much higher average salaries of USD 65,238 per annum in Ghana and USD 63,600 per annum in South Africa. The income of Nigerian artisans, petty traders, retailers and others in the informal sector who do not keep financial records could not be adequately captured because of incoherent and inconsistent responses to questions on their income levels.

Table 10: Average household income of basic and entrepreneur Nigerian diasporas

	Basic Nigerian professional diasporas		Nigerian entrepreneurial professional diasporas		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Less than USD 20,000	20	45.5	3	6.5	23	25.6
USD 20,000 - 40,000	22	50.0	8	17.4	30	33.3
USD 41,000 - 60,000	2	4.5	12	26.1	14	15.6
USD 61,000 - 80,000	0	0.0	11	23.9	11	12.2
USD 81,000 - 100,000	0	0.0	8	17.4	8	8.9
More than USD 100,000	0	0.0	4	8.7	4	4.4
Total	44	100.0	46	100.0	90	100.0

Source: Survey results, 2012.

5.3 Transnational linkages

Visits to Nigeria

Visits to the home country are one of the major manifestations of the transnational linkages maintained by diasporas. Migrants who have strong links with their home country are more likely to visit their home country more frequently than those whose ties with the home country are weaker. The respondents in both Ghana and South Africa visit Nigeria quite frequently, with 60 per cent visiting at least once a year. As

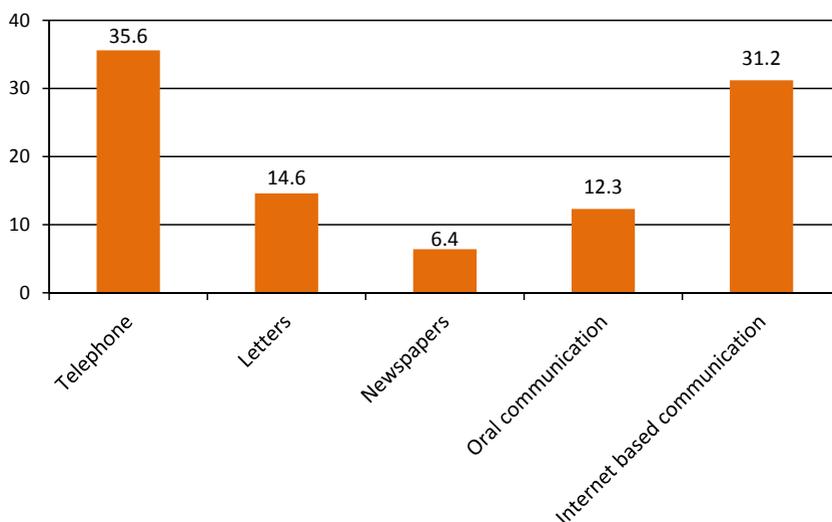
expected, those based in Ghana visit more frequently (76.8% at least once a year) than those based in South Africa (63% at least once a year; Table 11). As many as 44 per cent visit Nigeria mostly to reconnect and socialize with their families and friends while 25 per cent visit for holiday and pleasure purposes. Only 21 per cent visit for business or investment purposes and this was predictably higher among the Nigerian diaspora in Ghana (23.2%) than South Africa (18.5%).

Table 11: Frequency of visiting Nigeria

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Every six months	13	23.2	7	12.9	20	18.1
Once a year	30	53.6	27	50.1	57	51.9
Once every two years	5	8.9	7	12.9	12	10.9
Once every three years	2	3.5	1	1.9	3	2.7
Less than once every three years	3	5.4	7	12.9	10	9.2
Have not returned since migrating	3	5.4	5	9.3	8	7.4
Total	56	100.0	54	100.0	110	100.0

Source: *Survey results, 2012.*

Figure 3: Means of contact with events and family in Nigeria (in %)



Source: *Survey results, 2012.*

Contact with friends and events in Nigeria

Besides visiting, the Nigeria diaspora in both Ghana and South Africa show great interest in following events in their country of birth. The survey results show that they maintain contact with their friends mainly through telephone (36%); Internet-based communications (31%) and, to a lesser extent, through letters (15%) (Figure 3).

Cash remittances

Migrant remittances are a concrete indicator of the strength of ties maintained by diasporas with their home country. A significant number of the respondents remit cash (Table 13) and other valuables (Table 18) to their families in Nigeria for family upkeep, personal investment and personal obligations (Table 16). The majority of those who do not remit are students who are themselves dependents. The main recipients of the remittances are parents (39.4%), children/dependants/siblings (15.7%) and extended family members (14.6%; Table 16). Only 10 per cent of remitted cash goes to community organizations. Only 23.9 per cent are regular remitters sending money on a monthly basis. The same proportion remit on a quarterly or annual basis while the majority (56.8 %) only send remittances 'when the need arises'.

The amounts remitted vary widely, but a considerable proportion (42%) remit between USD 4,001 and 5,000 (36.4%) per annum while 23.6 per cent reported sending home between USD 1,001 and 2000 per annum and 21.3 per cent between USD 2,001 and 3,000 per annum. There are also differences between the two diasporas with those in South Africa tending to remit more than those in Ghana. For example, 63.8 per cent of those in South Africa remit more than USD 3,001 per annum compared with only 37.7 per cent of those in Ghana (Table 13). As demonstrated in tables 16, 17 and 18, over 95 per cent of Nigerian diasporas who remit between USD 1,000 and 5,000 indicate the destinations and the utility of the cash and gift remittances of the diasporas. The destinations and utilities of the remittances significantly demonstrate certain socioeconomic and migration policy gaps that need to be immediately fixed by the Government. Education, housing, health, support to family/family welfare packages and property development feature prominently as important areas of diasporas interests that need to be addressed in the event of directing policy dialogues for proposals on establishing incentives to attract a return migration for the diasporas' direct contribution to human development in Nigeria.

Table 12: Main recipients of remittances and frequency of sending remittances to Nigeria

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Remittance Recipients						
Spouse	3	6.7	2	4.5	5	5.6
Children/ dependants/ siblings	8	17.8	6	13.6	14	15.7
Parents	15	33.3	20	45.5	35	39.4
Extended family members	7	15.6	6	13.6	13	14.6
Friends	4	8.9	4	9.1	8	9.0
Religious organizations	3	6.7	2	4.5	5	5.6
Community organizations	5	11.0	4	9.1	9	10.1
Others	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Total	45	100.0	44	100.0	89	100.0
Frequency of Remittances to Nigeria						
Monthly	11	23.9	9	20.5	20	22.2
Quarterly	4	8.7	3	6.8	7	7.8
Annually	7	15.2	5	11.4	12	13.3
Others/as needs arise	24	52.2	27	61.3	51	56.8
Total	46	100.0	44	100.0	90	100.0

Source: Survey results, 2012.

Table 13: Annual remittances sent by the Nigerian diaspora in Ghana and South Africa

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
USD 1 - 1,000	2	4.4	1	2.3	3	3.4
USD 1,001 - 2,000	16	35.5	5	11.4	21	23.6
USD 2,001 - 3,000	9	20.0	10	22.8	19	21.3
USD 3,001 - 4,000	1	2.2	2	4.6	3	3.4
USD 4,001 - 5,000	15	33.3	22	50.0	37	41.6
More than USD 5,000	2	2.2	4	9.2	6	6.8
Total	45	100.0	44	100.0	89	100.0

Source: Survey results, 2012.

Table 14: Average amounts sent annually for sample (in USD)

	Ghana	South Africa	Total
Mean	2,471.25	3,305.56	2,880.82
Median	1,900.00	4,000.00	2,400.00
Maximum	7,200.00	7,800.00	7,800.00

Source: Survey results, 2012.

Table 15: Cost of sending remittances per transaction

Amount (in USD)	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
No Charges	41	66.1	43	67.1	84	66.6
USD 1 - 5	6	9.7	4	6.3	10	8.0
USD 6 - 10	5	8.1	5	7.8	10	8.0
USD 11 - 25	6	9.7	3	4.7	9	7.2
USD 26 - 50	2	3.2	3	4.7	5	4.0
More than USD 50	2	3.2	6	9.4	8	6.3
Total	62	100.0	64	100.0	126	100.0

Source: Survey results, 2012.

The mean amount remitted is USD 2,880.82 per annum (Table 14) and the median amount is USD 2,400 per annum. Confirming the observations from table 14, the average amount remitted from South Africa (mean = USD 3,305.56 p.a. and median = USD 4,000 p.a.) is higher than that from Ghana (mean = USD 2,471.25 p.a. and median = USD 1,900 p.a.). These figures, and the South African data in particular, might seem high relative to other studies that have tried to capture the remittance patterns of the African diaspora. For instance, Ratha et al. (2011) have shown that an emigrant African remits about USD 1,263 p.a. although Ratha's study cannot be said to have fully captured African diasporas in Africa. There is a large group of skilled and high earning individuals in the study sample which partly explains why the remittances are relatively high. It is likely that the higher salaries earned by professionals based in South Africa account for the differences between that country and Ghana.

The majority of respondents wish to send cash in a speedy and efficient way but are hampered by problematic processes and prohibitive transaction costs. The Nigerian diaspora in Ghana and South Africa transfers remittances to Nigeria mainly through informal channels. The majority (67%) send cash via friends

(67%). Only 11 per cent used Western Union/Money Gram. The results confirm the popularity of informal channels in South-South remitting. One reason for the preference for informal channels is the lower cost: about two thirds reportedly pay no charges for remittances transferred to Nigeria (Table 15). The few that used formal channels paid charges of USD 6-10 (8%); USD 1-100 (6%); and USD 26-50 (4%). As long as formal channels charge such high transaction costs, the diaspora will continue to use informal modes of cash transfers. Suggestions have been made for the Central Bank of Nigeria to mandate the establishment of diaspora desks within the local banks to handle diaspora financial remittances at lower cost and without delays to the end users.

The primary reason for remitting is to provide financial support for family and friends (over 95% of respondents). Equally important are personal investments (mentioned by 55%) and personal obligations (mentioned by 28.1%). Only 12.4 per cent said their remittances were a contribution to community development programmes. The results in table 16 shows the differences between Ghana and South Africa in terms of motives for remitting were not that significant.

Table 16: Reasons for sending remittances to Nigeria

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Financial support to family/friends	43	95.6	41	93.2	84	94.4
Personal investments/ Private property development	23	51.1	26	59.1	49	55.1
Personal obligations	15	33.3	10	22.7	25	28.1
Debt servicing	9	20.0	7	15.9	16	18.0
Contribution to community development programmes	5	11.1	6	13.6	11	12.4
Respondents	45		44		89	

Source: Survey results, 2012. - Note: Question is multiple response.

Table 17: Contribution of remittances to development in Nigeria

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Education	16	35.6	13	29.5	29	32.6
Housing	15	33.3	13	29.5	28	31.5
Health provision	12	26.7	15	34.1	27	30.3
Community infrastructure development	5	11.1	7	15.9	12	13.5
Child care support	5	11.1	3	6.8	8	9.0
Faith based organizations	1	2.2	2	4.5	3	3.4
Self help group	2	4.4	1	2.3	3	3.4
Respondents	45		44		89	

Source: Survey results, 2012. - Note: Question is multiple response.

The use of the remittances varied widely but the most common ones include education (32.6%), housing development (31.5%) and health provision (30.3%; Table 17). The result is not surprising given that remittances were mainly transferred by the diasporas for financial support to the family and friends and to some extent private property development. Though, this is a general reflection of the trend in the diasporas' investment portfolios where the diasporas invest in the education and the health of family members in the home country, housing and property development. A proportion of this relates to state's obligation and responsibilities social protection issues of their citizens home and abroad. Though, most diasporas prepare to provide accommodation for themselves at home in the case of eventual return to their country and invest in fixed assets to guarantee income on return. Nigerian diasporas and its associations need to engage the Government more on how to access their basic rights most especially when they are beyond the borders of their home country and they feel they need protection from their rights being violated.

Remittances in kind

Besides sending remittances in the form of cash, the Nigerian diaspora in Ghana and South Africa also send remittances in kind. These include household goods, clothing and appliances (95%), educational materials (52%); equipment including cars (48%) and others like jewellerys, perfumes, tourists' collections, chocolates, children toys and so on (36%; Table 18). The study further demonstrates the African cultural value attached to giving. For example though, 'in kind remittances' and gift items might be perceived as a transnational or a 'cosmopolitan' deposit of social remittances valuable for assessing comparative development, an expression of kindness, goodwill, emotion or love through gift items. 'In kind remittances' might as well improve individual and group social capital in the African setting.

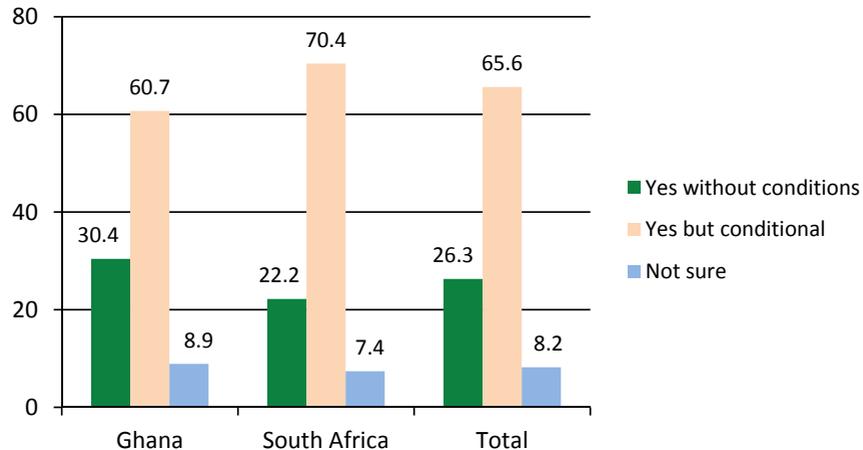
The study also showed that the Nigerian diasporas members encounter significant challenges in transferring goods to Nigeria. They include, among others, high transaction costs (mentioned by 51%); delays in delivery (23%) and unreliability of methods (15%).

Table 18: Remittances in kind sent to Nigeria by the respondents

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Household goods, clothing and appliances	30	56.6	20	38.5	50	95.0
Educational materials	11	20.8	16	30.8	27	51.6
Equipment including cars	15	28.3	10	19.2	25	47.5
Others	10	18.9	9	17.3	19	36.2
Food	6	11.3	1	1.9	7	13.2
Respondents	53		52		105	

Source: Survey results, 2012. - Note: Question is multiple response.

Figure 4: Intention to return to Nigeria on a permanent basis (in %)



Source: Survey results, 2012.

Return migration

Return migration can potentially turn the loss of skills experienced by a country (or ‘brain drain’) into a ‘brain gain’ and sometimes ‘brain

circulation’. The study therefore sought to establish the potential for return migration among the Nigerian diaspora in Ghana and South Africa. As many as 66 per cent of respondents wish to return to

Nigeria on a permanent basis but will only do so under certain conditions (Figure 3). These conditions relate to an enabling business environment, and economic, political and social security. Other conditions include the availability of functional social and physical infrastructures and a transparent and level playing field for investment and business. As Mr. Charles²⁰ commented:

‘South Africa chambers of commerce functioned more effectively, more organized and more rule based than Nigeria – Internet communication better and dissemination of information; method of doing business also better – there is less cronyism, patronage and ‘god-fatherism’ and the environment is more reliable, stable and quite efficient. However, I believe security in

Nigeria is better than in South Africa but in South Africa business is more straightforward and more predictable’.

The majority of the respondents (58%) are not sure when they might return to Nigeria. This might be connected with the situation there where the economic and political situation remains the same as when they left. Only 6.4 per cent plan to return within the next year, 18.4 per cent within 1-5 years and 16.5 after at least 5 years. Over 87 per cent of the diaspora indicated that they face barriers concerning return to their home country. The barriers include poor political, economic and social governance (51.6%), insecurity (32.6%), and health related issues (15.8%) as barriers over the decision to return on a permanent basis (Table 19).

20 Name changed to ensure anonymity.

Table 19: Barriers to returning to Nigeria on a permanent basis

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Poor Political/ Economic/Social Governance	25	52.1	24	51.1	49	51.6
Insecurity	16	33.3	15	31.9	31	32.6
Health Care	8	16.7	7	14.9	15	15.8
Work Commitments	5	10.4	8	17.0	13	13.7
Financial Constraints	2	4.2	0	0.0	2	2.1
Respondents	45		44		89	

Source: Survey results, 2012. - Note: Question is multiple response.

The survey also sought to establish whether the Nigerian diaspora is interested in returning home on a temporary basis. The results show that 63 per cent are interested in returning on a temporary basis. More than 60 per cent of the respondents said they were interested in temporary return if there is something worthwhile to do in Nigeria or they are invited to participate in a skill transfer programme. However, 49.5 per cent said they were only interested if the programme was less than two weeks in duration. Only three per cent were interested in programmes lasting longer than a year (Table 20).

Diaspora investment

About 97 per cent of the diaspora members confirmed that they had acquired properties and investments in Nigeria though the scale and

volume of property and investment was not disclosed. Overall, 79 per cent have an interest in investing in Nigeria. Areas of potential investment of resources include governance (mentioned by 83%), education (82%); political, economic housing (65%); the health and social sector (54%); financial services (53%); and hotels and tourism (48%; Table 21). There was limited interest in important economic sectors such as agriculture and agribusiness, mining, and manufacturing. Nigerian diaspora members are clearly unwilling to be too ambitious as they are aware of the absence of enabling diaspora policies that guarantee significant returns on their investments. This clearly needs to be addressed by political will and a commitment to policy.

Table 20: Desired length of stay in Nigeria on skill transfer programme

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Less than 2 weeks	25	44.6	29	54.7	54	49.5
2 - 4 weeks	8	14.3	5	9.4	13	11.9
1 - 2 months	6	10.7	4	7.5	10	9.2
3 - 6 months	11	19.6	11	20.8	22	20.2
7 - 12 months	4	7.1	2	3.8	6	5.5
More than 1 year	2	3.6	1	1.9	3	2.8
Not sure	0	0.0	1	1.9	1	0.9
Total	56	100.0	53	100.0	109	100.0

Source: Survey results, 2012. - Note: Question is multiple response.

Table 21: Type of proposed investment

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Political, economic and administrative governance	32	82.1	34	85.0	66	83.5
Education	32	82.1	33	82.5	65	82.3
Housing	24	61.5	27	67.5	51	64.6
Health and social sector	23	59.0	20	50.0	43	54.4
Financial services	23	59.0	19	47.5	42	53.2
Hotels and tourism	21	53.8	17	42.5	38	48.1
Transport	12	30.8	8	20.0	20	25.3
Agriculture/agribusiness	8	20.5	4	10.0	12	15.2
Manufacturing	1	2.6	2	5.0	3	3.8
Others	1	2.6	2	5.0	3	3.8
Respondents	39		40		79	

Source: Survey results, 2012. - Note: Question is multiple response.

All of the respondents expressed interest in contributing to national development programmes in Nigeria, including in political, economic and administrative governance (60%), education (59%), housing (46%), microfinance (38%) and tourism (34%; Table 22). Areas of less concern included efficient transportation, agriculture and community infrastructure development.

In terms of the form of support which they would provide to development projects, 43.5 per cent indicated that

they would offer knowledge transfer and 43.4 per cent would offer skill transfer. Only 4.6 per cent are willing to contribute anything financially. Several obstacles to participation in development initiatives were identified: nearly half (45%) mentioned an unfavourable political, social and economic environment in Nigeria. Around 20 per cent felt that the absence of an enabling migration or diaspora policy was also an obstacle to greater engagement (Table 23).

Table 22: Potential involvement of diasporas in national development projects

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Political, economic and administrative governance	32	57.1	34	63.0	66	60.0
Education	32	57.1	33	61.1	65	59.1
Housing	24	42.9	27	50.0	51	46.4
Health provision	24	42.9	22	40.7	46	41.8
Social sector	23	41.1	20	37.0	43	39.1
Micro financial services	23	41.1	19	35.2	42	38.2
Hotel and tourism	21	37.5	17	31.5	38	34.5
NGO creation	16	28.6	20	37.0	36	32.7
Transport	12	21.4	8	14.8	20	18.2
Gender development	8	14.3	9	16.7	17	15.5
Agriculture/agribusiness	8	14.3	4	7.4	12	10.9
Community infrastructure development	5	8.9	7	13.0	12	10.9
Child care services	5	8.9	7	13.0	12	10.9
Others	1	1.8	2	3.7	3	2.7
Respondents	56		54		110	

Source: Survey results, 2012. - Note: Question is multiple response.

Table 23: Barriers to diasporas' participation in home country focused development initiatives

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Unfavourable political/ economic/social environment	25	47.2	23	43.4	48	45.3
Absence of enabling diaspora policy	12	22.6	9	17.0	21	19.8
Internal resentment by public institutions	10	18.9	6	11.3	16	15.1
Work commitment	5	9.4	8	15.1	13	12.3
Financial	2	3.8	3	5.7	5	4.7
Legal	0	0.0	4	7.5	4	3.8
Others	2	3.8	1	1.9	3	2.8
Respondents	53		53		106	

Source: Survey results, 2012. - Note: Question is multiple response.

Diaspora networks

More than half of the diasporans (88%) are members of at least one diaspora network. Some belong to two or more. Nigerian diasporans belong mainly to hometown associations (88%) and national associations (74%; Table 24). Others belong to professional academic and student groups. This strongly indicates that though the

Nigerian diasporans are far away from their 'home' country they continue to find expression in belonging 'home' – 'belonging' to their homeland by joining and participating in the activities of home town associations and the national union of their country. Other reasons for joining diaspora associations include the need for access to information, solidarity, protection, cultural, value and ethnic orientation.

Table 24: Participation in diaspora networks

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Home town association/s	18	32.1	30	55.6	48	87.7
National association	29	51.8	12	22.2	41	74.0
Academic	10	17.9	9	16.7	19	34.6
Work-based	6	10.7	8	14.8	14	25.5
Government/ NIDO	0	0.0	9	16.7	9	16.7
Others	3	5.4	2	3.7	5	9.1
Respondents	56		54		110	

Source: Survey results, 2012. - Note: Question is multiple response.

Table 25: Focus of diaspora networks

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Home country development focused	6	85.7	5	83.3	10	84.5
Promoting political/ economic dialogue and civil engagement with home government	5	71.4	5	83.3	10	77.4
Promoting education	6	85.7	4	66.7	10	76.2
Ceremonial/ observing national events	3	42.9	3	50	6	46.5

Promoting political/ economic dialogue and civil engagement with host government	4	57.1	3	50	7	53.6
Promoting social and cultural activities	4	57.1	2	33.3	6	45.4
Others	1	14.3	1	16.7	2	15.5
Respondents	7		6		13	

Source: *Survey results, 2012.* - Note: Question is multiple response.

The study revealed significantly that the diaspora networks/home town associations are focused on home country development (85%) and directed at mainly promoting political and economic dialogue and civil engagement with the home government (77%), promoting education (76%) as well as promoting economic dialogue and civil engagement with the host government (54%; Table 25). Though, the organizations may have clear aims and objectives, they do not have a clear and viable action plan of achieving their objectives. They have no registered offices and so they use the homes and offices of key members for meetings. It is therefore strongly recommended that diaspora organizations raise the quality of their memberships, focusing the associations/organizations in order to benefit both the diasporas, host community and the home

government. Student participants do not always belong to functional diaspora networks.

Few Nigerian diaspora members in the sample belonged to an Internet based social group. This is strange as most of the online questionnaires filled were sent and received via emails. That is to say, this is neither for the absence nor lack of access to the Internet. Certainly, some of the students interviewed have some Facebook accounts, Twitter handles, blog spots and others. For the adult professional group however, we can hazard that their job and family pressures may not allow them much time for belonging to any Internet based social group. But they do frequent online news for information about the homeland more than belonging to some Internet-based group. A reality however is that students in Ghana are not as frenzy

or keen on Internet-based social group as in Nigeria. Table 26 shows that Nigerian diasporas seem to use more of their mobile phones for communications than chatting or 'pinging' on Internet-based social groups. However, Nigerian diasporas shared information on Nigeria among themselves mainly through home town/cultural associations (87%); words of mouth (51%) and through meetings (42%).

The participation of the survey respondents in diaspora networks was not regular with 58 per cent indicating that they meet only 'when the need arises'. This finding reveals some consistency and efficiency gaps since the study did not test for those levels in the economic dialogue and civil engagements with home and host governments by the diaspora networks. However, 11.2 per cent met at least once a month and 19.6 per cent meeting twice a year. This means that the home town associations may not in strict sense have fixed dates for meetings but they respond to events, activities and issues that directly affect them both in the host communities and in the home country. For example, during the January 2012 fuel crisis in Nigeria, diaspora members responded with peaceful protests around major cities of the world. In Accra, Ghana, a press release was published by concerned Nigerians. Key Nigerian entrepreneur

diasporas in South Africa intervened to appeal to diaspora members on behalf of the federal Government in South Africa to remain calm as the situation was being sorted out at home.

However, these associations also have cultural days they celebrate. NIDO for example celebrate the October 1 Nigeria's Independence Anniversary in most locations all over the world. The Independence anniversary with the diasporas' day celebration every July of every year are usually annual ceremonial fanfares and talk shops where serious issues affecting diasporas' welfares are though presented and discussed but not having concrete outcomes.

Many respondents indicated that there is a focal contact in diaspora networks. Usually either the NIDO or the different home town association have elected offices that are keenly contested by duly registered members. Sometimes the elected positions have been a source of acrimony, division and disaffection to the point that it may run counter-productive to the main aim of fostering unity and progress of members. Also, if the Government has a particular interest in a candidate, usually for political reasons, this interference has the effect of attacking the foundation of the progressive growth of such associations.

Table 26: Means of information sharing among the diasporas' network

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Home town/ cultural association	25	44.6	23	42.6	48	87.2
Words of mouth/ phone calls	16	28.6	12	22.2	28	50.8
Meeting	15	26.8	8	14.8	23	41.6
Internet-based social group	9	16.1	11	20.4	20	36.5
Embassy bulletin information	9	16.1	3	5.6	12	21.7
Newsletter	8	14.3	1	1.9	9	16.2
Respondents	56		54		110	

Source: Survey results, 2012. - Note: Question is multiple response.

Table 27: Opinion regarding services rendered by Nigerian Embassy in host country

	Ghana		South Africa		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Unhelpful/very unhelpful	25	44.6	29	54.7	54	49.5
Helpful/very helpful	19	33.9	13	24.5	32	29.4
Neither helpful or unhelpful	8	14.3	9	17.0	17	15.6
Don't know	4	7.1	2	3.8	6	5.5
Total	56	100.0	53	100.0	109	100.0

Source: Survey results, 2012.

Diaspora members do rely on their embassies on various aspects relating to their welfare. The survey asked the respondents to rate the quality of service which they receive from the local Nigerian embassy. Half of the respondents found the Nigerian Embassy unhelpful or very unhelpful. Dissatisfaction levels were higher in South Africa than Ghana (Table 27). Thus, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should work with relevant stakeholders at improving relations and promoting dialogue on diaspora welfare in the host countries. Through the functional legal attaché units, the embassies could provide temporary legal services to Nigerians accused of crime.

Two incidents show the kinds of challenges faced by diaspora members. In early 2012, there were sudden skirmishes with Nigerian diaspora traders in Ghana when the Ghanaian authorities demanded through the Ghanaian Ministry of Trade that Nigerian traders who wish to continue trading in the country should pay a mandatory USD 300,000 in violation of the ECOWAS Free Movement protocol and its Supplementary protocol on the Rights of Establishment. This sparked a bitter row among the Nigerian diaspora traders and the Ghanaians especially at the market area popularly called 'Circle', West of Accra metropolis, where a large

concentration of Nigerians sell their merchandise. The forceful closure of most Nigerian diaspora stalls in the market brought a great deal of conflict. Nigeria, Ghana and ECOWAS are currently resolving the issue as it had also become a political campaign issue in Ghana.

A similar event occurred between Nigeria and South Africa in 2011. In this particular instance, over 120 Nigerians, including a serving Nigerian senator, were denied entry into South Africa on the allegation that their yellow (health certificate) cards were not original. In spite of the pleas by the Nigerians that the same yellow cards were used to process their visas, South African authorities quarantined and later deported all the Nigerians. Authorities in Nigeria protested and retaliated by deporting a number of South Africans in an irregular situation in Nigeria. South Africa later profusely apologized for the ugly incident and decried the actions of the immigration officials at the Oliver Tambo international airport. Though relations were later normalized between the countries, the events trumped up a number of xenophobic attacks on Nigerians by South Africans.

In both instances however, the issues were quickly resolved diplomatically before it escalated beyond control. Nigerian diaspora members allege that they are unjustifiably and frequently

harassed and humiliated abroad and that the Government's intervention on this occasion was only because a senator of the country was involved in the accidental maltreatment. Nigeria no doubt has the capacity but lacks the will to undertake guarantee social protection mechanisms for its nationals abroad. This capacity should be built upon to more effectively protect diaspora members abroad.

Another problem confronting most Nigerian diaspora members, especially in South Africa, is xenophobia. South Africans have an unjustifiably low and stereotyped opinion of most Nigerians. According to Mr. Olutunde²¹:

'The issue of generally viewing all Nigerians as illegal immigrants is quite unfounded. Though, some few Nigerian migrants like many other migrants from Zimbabwe, Soweto, Zambia and other South African countries collude with authority and immigration officials to circumvent immigration regulations and commit crimes. Some are lucky to regularize their immigration status while some others initially with the assistance of South African citizens involved in organized criminal activities. What happens is that some new Nigerian migrants into South Africa are usually identified by their various local ethnic communities in South Africa and are registered free of

charge. Once they are registered, they are qualified to be assisted with advice on how to regularize their papers, job placement and settlement, but those that don't register cannot be known that they even exist in the first place, so they cannot be helped in case they have a need. They are the ones that stray into crime and when caught they make the news simply because of the size and Nigeria's position in Africa. But the larger truth is that not many Nigerians are into crime here because most Nigerians belong to at least one ethnic, national or professional group. The different ethnic associations or groups in all their meetings always admonish members the importance of being law-abiding and also we always encourage members to restrain from any illegal activities that can damage our individual family names and our national image and to report any fellow Nigerians who they suspect is involved in illegal activities. In a number of cases we also work with our consular office at Illovo to assist those with very genuine cases of need for assistance'.

In Ghana, respondents noted that Nigerian involvement in crime and fraud was limited and confined to isolated cases. Mr. Po, a Private Enterprise Consultant noted that 'due to the internal operations of the Independent Corrupt Practices and Related Offences (ICPC) and the Economic and Financial Crimes

21 Name changed to ensure anonymity.

Commission (EFCC) the environment became too difficult for these criminals, so they shifted their base to other countries'. The respondents believe that if these two crime fighting agencies sign bilateral agreements with host countries, sometimes with the help of International police (INTERPOL), they could facilitate the arrest, extradition, prosecution and punishment of any Nigerian suspect without media publicity on Nigerian migrants involved in crime.

6. Conclusions and recommendations

The Nigerian Government is strongly encouraged to closely examine this study's outcomes with a view to activating and intensifying engagement with Nigerian diaspora members in the South on a systematic, incremental and iterative basis. This should be carried out with a view to mapping and harnessing the skills and potential of the Nigerian diaspora in all ACP countries. Particular recommendations include the following:

- Most of the Nigerian diaspora members sampled send remittances to Nigeria and many are willing to contribute to national development if the Government decisively and fully unlocks the opportunity for them to realize their individual and group potential. Due to the limited opportunity for participation in human development activities in Nigeria, only a few are able to transfer their skills. Obstacles include an unfavourable political/economic/social environment, the absence of an enabling diaspora engagement policy, the negative attitude of public servants in national and state public agencies and the absence of post-return migration guarantee mechanisms.
- The first step to engaging Nigerian diasporas for human development might therefore be the establishment of a special diaspora unit focused specifically on Nigerians living in other countries in the South. These units inside the very many Nigerian missions within the ACP countries could be coordinated with the assistance of Migration/Diaspora consultant/Experts at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs headquarters. A start-up budget and other mechanisms to sustain this type of unit should be adequately provided for. Donor support can be solicited or sourced for an initial take-off. The activities of these units could be coordinated with the proposed Diaspora Commission who could take over their supervision at inception.
- Diaspora members are in constant contact with Nigeria and visit the country at least once a year especially during the festive period. The Government can create opportunities and structure policies to facilitate diaspora mentoring and knowledge exchange during these visits.
- Telephone and Internet-based communication were the main means of communication with family and friends in Nigeria. Nigeria could actually explore online communication means to establish and maintain closer

contact within individual and group diasporas through online social media and other social networks services. The Government can reach out to diaspora members through this medium by offering online consular services targeted specifically at meeting some of the challenges diaspora members face concerning welfare, employment and investment opportunities and guarantees after return.

- A larger proportion of financial remittances are sent via informal channels due to the high transaction costs of formal channels. Diaspora remittances to Nigeria are sent mostly to parents, children/dependants/siblings for family consumption and not necessarily into increasing production. Economically, this could increase inequality and fuel inflation, but the positive effects on income and livelihood strategies should be kept in mind, including the effects on improved access to education and health care for family members.
 - Some remittances are sunk directly into personal investment development projects. This can be tapped directly for budgeting and national development planning through direct review of legislation on remittance transfers. Local mobile transfers are currently in place but could be extended to include international mobile transfers.
- Given the opportunity, the Nigerian diaspora is interested in investing their resources in education; political, economic and administrative governance; housing; financial services; health and social sector; and tourism. There is less interest in investment in agriculture and agribusiness, mining and transport. Support programmes should focus on those sectors in which they have an expressed interest.
- Nigerian diaspora members are either members of one or several diaspora networks such as hometown associations and national association. Government should work towards restructuring the coordination mechanisms for the HTAs, cultural groups and the NIDO primarily in constructing skill databases, social protection issues and other relevant cross-cutting diaspora issues that would require direct government and or policy interventions. It is important to structure the proper coordination of diaspora members and their associations operating within the host countries and limit the factors destabilizing internal cohesions within the diaspora groups. For example, there are palpable frictions between the Nigerians in the Diaspora Organization (NIDO) and the diverse Home Town Associations (HTAs) within the host and home countries.

- There have been various calls for a viable institutional diaspora coordinating framework or government ministry or agency with clearly defined functions and roles that will process, organize, regulate and work towards harnessing Nigerian diaspora contributions to human development. The proposed Diaspora Commission may fill that gap if properly structured. The Commission needs to include engagement with diaspora members in the South in its mandate. The national Government can also legislate the establishment within the 36 State Governments in the country to individually create a Ministry of Tourism and Diaspora relations. This would make it easy to identify and establish diaspora linkages at state and national Government levels since diaspora members in the host countries primarily associate with their ethnic/home town associations/communities and state associations and cluster organizations on arrival in host countries.
- Many migration-related national and international laws, protocols and conventions need review (for example the law on dual nationality, the 1963 Immigration law and the NAPTIP Act to reflect current migration realities) and those already reviewed need to be speedily domesticated in national legislation. Migration related legislation and agencies must also strictly adhere to provisions including the design of programmes to promote voluntary return of diasporas/migrants usually result in complex processes involving several authorities on all sides. Proper administrative infrastructure and cooperation mechanisms to implement them need to be put in place.
- Policy documents and regulations should instruct all levels of Government to provide preferential terms to diaspora investors including:
 - Regulations on Promoting Foreign Investment act could lay out general principles for tax breaks, access to land for establishing factories, and employment of local labour;
 - Law on the Protection of the Rights and Interests of Returned Overseas and Relatives of Overseas Africans would guarantee property rights of this constituency, including inheritance rights and the right to receive remittances from overseas;
 - Direct all levels of Government to support diaspora efforts to establish commercial, industrial or agricultural ventures or in critical sectors;

- Remove surcharges on remittances in the receiving country in order to stimulate official transfers and help improve banking services among rural communities. Fees are already paid in the sending country by the diaspora and domestic surcharges imply double taxation;
- Regulations on Encouraging Investment by Overseas Africans would promote investments in real estate development and industries;
- The Government could also establish 'science and technology parks,' which are fully serviced with infrastructure, with highly preferential investment terms to attract South-South-trained professionals;
- Overseas African scholars with registered capital of, say, USD 10,000 could enjoy rent-free office space for the first year, followed by rental for an unspecified period at 50 per cent of the market price (or an option to buy at 80% of the market price);
- Start-up companies would enjoy a three year tax holiday, followed by a 50 per cent tax rebate for two years and a 20 per cent for a further year;
- The use of appropriate workshop space (for example, 5,000 m³) for say two years rent-free or for sale at a 'preferential' price;
- Tax rebates (50% - to be explored);
- Low interest loans from a development fund;
- Alongside efforts to bring back foreign trained scientists, technicians and business managers to stimulate new industries, government departments should also be keen to recruit returned graduates from overseas into public administration;
- Make provisions to allow the intellectual elite to become transnational by formally recognizing dual nationality, issuing multiple visas at reduced costs or in providing permanent residence 'permit cards' to the diaspora and insuring that there are no restrictions on legal exit or entry into the country by members of the diaspora;
- Make the diaspora part of policy think tanks on critical issues and as board members of public bodies, and consult them using online means in discussions on national strategies.
- Accept Intra-ACP professional accreditations, such as

professorship, in designating adjunct status of diaspora in local institutions (for example, universities, research centres, businesses, employment);

- Encourage the diaspora to form new professional, kinship and common-place organizations;
- Encourage mainstream African media to become internationalized through websites and satellite broadcasting, enabling them to reach the overseas Nigeria diaspora constituency.
- The Nigerian Government provides the Nigerians in the Diaspora Organization (NIDO) office space within its Embassy in Washington DC for NIDO coordination, but the organization manages its own affairs, including election of executives and board. NIDO delegates in July 2007 travelled to Abuja for the 2nd Science and Technology Conference under the theme, *'Connecting Nigeria with Her Diaspora'* to dialogue with their home based colleagues and officials of the federal, state and local governments on the best and most practical, efficient and cost-effective ways to impact the Nigerian economy. The emphasis of this workshop was on practical projects covering numerous scientific and technological fields. Nigerian President, Yar-Adua,

addressed this workshop and called for collaboration with qualified Nigerians in the diaspora to put science to use in national development and tasked the ministers of science and technology, education and health to work with Nigerians in the diaspora in creating platforms in science for Nigerian institutions of learning. The Government should reach out to the diaspora in Africa and the South in similar manner.

- The Government recently launched the *Linkage with Experts and Academics in the Diaspora* (LEAD) programme aimed at attracting qualified Diaspora to contribute to development of the Nigerian University System through short-term (3-12 months) academic appointments. The first phase of the service is limited to disciplines like information and communications technology (ICT) management science and business administration, mathematics, medicine and dentistry and mining. Diaspora participants received a return economy class air ticket, and accommodation duration stay in Nigeria that was provided by the University of Attachment. The programme also covered local travel expenses relevant to the programme and a professorial salary in Nigeria (USD 1,250 - USD 1,750 per month) depending

on field and candidate's level of experience. The Government also recently made available for sale federal Government housing and land in Abuja to NIDO members. These efforts can be replicated for the Nigerian diaspora in the countries of the South.

- Lastly, an increasing number of Nigerian diaspora members abroad are seeking elected office in their home countries, including as members of their national legislatures and even as presidential aspirants. They also seek business and entrepreneurial opportunities in major development sectors in Nigeria. Existing national platforms for diaspora engagement should be restructured, funded and sustained to capture the offshore skills and financial resources of the diaspora community. Enabling environment of transparent opportunities to promote diaspora's desire to participate and enhance their contribution to human development in Nigeria must be fostered by the Government. This study with its recommendations should provide an important link to engaging Nigerian diasporas in the South in participating in and promoting development in Nigeria.

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Nigerian diasporas in the South as development agents.

This first ever study on the Nigerian diasporas in Ghana and South Africa highlights that the profile of these diasporas is similar to that of Nigerians in Europe and North America in terms of migration push and pull factors, remittance behavior and identification with 'home'. In addition to filling various data gaps, the study recommends measures to promote the active involvement of these particular Nigerian diasporas in development initiatives in their country of origin. The empirical evidence on the role of diaspora members residing in the South as development agents makes the study a must read for policymakers, civil society, researchers and all those interested in Nigerian migration issues.

