Kinship Networks and International Migration in Nigeria
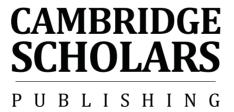
Kinship Networks and International Migration in Nigeria

By

Olayinka Akanle

CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS
PUBLISHING

TO MY WIFE
Mrs. Olufunmilola Esther Akanle. My sweeter than honey.
My friend and my confidant

and my children
Imoleoluwa Paul, Anjolaoluwa Elizabeth
and Araoluwa Oluwabamise Stella

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

FOREWORD

This book offers a comprehensive account of the Nigerians' international migration order in manners that connect the past with the present showing the future. It was written with strong national and international development background to impact theory, research, policy and practice positively. The main focus was to illuminate the hitherto dark road of international migration to development especially in developing countries and this has been well done. There are books and literature on the subject addressed in this book but there are, notwithstanding, few that pay sufficiently significant attention to Nigeria, and Sub-Saharan African nations, even when this is the hub of international migration on the continent. More so, very few of the previous literature did academic and practical justice to the connections among international migration, return, kinship networks, support beyond remittances, and development in manners that resonate needed contextualities. This is indeed Sociology of Migration with the attendant explanations of the networks supporting migration. Without the networks and their understanding, migration and the demographics seem void.

This book is lucid, easy to read, direct, pragmatic and practical. Another achievement of this book is its multi-disciplinary and policy appeal. It is contemporary and very up to date yet richly historical making it tower above peers. This is because a major gap in previous literature is due to ahistoricity. I commend the author for the courage to take on this important issue for the benefit of national, regional and global sustainable development.

I therefore convincingly offer you this book and wish you a pleasant reading.

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PREFACE

This book is a result of an extended research conducted in Nigeria among international migrants and kin. It was within a rich national and international development framework to unravel the dynamics and implications of ascendancy of international migration in the country for development. Both primary and secondary data were gathered and robust methodology was deployed to enable reliable and valid data gathering and analysis and prevent vacuous conclusions. African oral traditions through proverbs were also employed to deeply enrich the book and general, as well as specific, understanding of the problematic. Important findings were made and useful conclusions were reached. Original models were also developed. Ultimately, this book was written to benefit migration and development teaching, research, programming, policy and practice.

This book is divided into twelve chapters. Chapter One introduces the issues raised in the book and gives the general background. Chapter Two provides the history and trajectories of contemporary international migrations in Nigeria to illuminate the past and forces driving subjects of concern. Chapter Three establishes the interface of kinship and return migration so as to understand the ligaments of the two matters and the ultimate development outcomes. Chapter Four provides theoretical contextualization and base for the work through Max Weber's Social Action. This chapter serves as the theoretical framework of the book. Chapter Five provides the methodological explanations. Chapter Six opens the data analysis section by showing the link among kinship, first time migration experiences and social class dynamic import.

Chapter Seven examines the implications of kinship norms and their appropriation as migrants traverse their migration course and life cycle. Chapter Eight engages the nature of support systems available to migrants and their responses to the support systems especially post-return. Chapter Nine discusses migrants' kinship constructions demonstrating the mutability of kinship contingent upon nature of support relations within kinship networks. Chapter Ten employs African Proverbs to contextualize findings to enhance understanding of the issues discovered. Chapter Eleven develops original models and frameworks from the findings to guide teaching, research and policy on migration and development. Chapter Twelve, which is the last chapter, gives the concluding reflections based on findings.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria is a nation with substantial historical and development paradoxes and contradictions. While its pre-colonial era was one of group autonomy and sustainability, the colonial era was one of subjugation, servitude and cultural distortions. While its independence ushered in an array of hope, particularly with bourgeoning agriculture and the discovery of crude oil in commercial quantities in 1956 and actual export in 1958 with the 'oil boom' throughout the 1960s and early 1970s (Federal Ministry of Education, 2005), the country was subsequently bedevilled with military coup d'état/political instability, ethnic sensationalism, corruption and widespread poverty beginning with the 'oil glut' of the late 1970s and Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) from 1986. Although Nigeria has re-democratised since 1999, with the hope of quality livelihood, just like in the immediate post-independence era, corruption, irresponsible leadership and insensitive reforms have further led to retrogression in the quality of lives of Nigerians.

The post-1999 period has been characterized by a series of far-reaching socioeconomic reforms that have ironically increased unemployment and poverty. Within this period, the pool of out-of-school children and unemployed youths and middle aged has increased, and more children were used to work for the extra cash needed for the family (Federal Ministry of Education, 2005). The democratic dispensation has been widely described as mediocre as it has not affected citizens' welfare positively (Civil Liberties Organisation, 2003). Further, while urban poverty is rife, in Lagos state particularly, in a 2008 Opinion Poll in the state, over half (55.5 percent) of the people maintained that civil rule had not affected their quality of lives positively in any way, and that poverty was indeed on the increase, with at least 70 percent of Nigerians living below $1 a day (Akanle, 2013, National Bureau of Statistics, 2012).

The background socio-historical and political economy of Nigeria opened up a new chapter in Nigerian international migrations and in kin group relations, creating a peculiar reality since the 'oil glut'/SAP and generalized in a reversed development era. This is more so as migration is

an increasingly important survival mechanism, and impacts at the family, community and national levels (The World Bank, 2011; Adepoju, 2010). Thus, Nigerians have since been migrating across continents and nations in search of a 'golden fleece' and 'greener pastures' as antidotes to dashed aspirations at home. Since international migration is socioeconomically and demographically selective, some Nigerians migrate overseas without necessarily severing kinship cords for various reasons, including valued consanguine and affine relationships as important social capital. This creates a sense of belongingness and kinship traditions that mobilize and sustain support.

Kinship networking is thus an important aspect of Nigerians' lived experiences (Akanle and Olutayo, 2012a). Lived experiences are, in this case, not time and space bound, as migrants in different domains and times may link with kin groups to achieve goals. On the other hand, kin members at 'home' may also link members when they are abroad, or upon their return, for the same purpose. The nature of these relationships is important since reference to individuals and groups in the society is by kin linkages, often represented in the family name and other form of identities, which must be protected. Sayings like "blood is thicker than water" and "friends like siblings" are indicative of respect for kinship dynamics as individuals attempt to survive. It is thus expected of kin members to support one another in times of need and protect the group's survival by helping members in need. There are unique, but often taken for granted, cultural traits and ethos, which cause the background dynamics to resonate with strategic sociological and integrative functions for group members, wherever they may be.

For example, *aso-ebi* (family/group attire) shows a level of family unity, cohesion and affinity. Sometimes, though the wearers may not be related by blood, its qualification as *aso-ebi* significantly suggests that they all demonstrate their belongingness to the family (*ebi)* at that point in time, especially as constructions of family may transcend blood relationships (Akanle and Olutayo, 2011). Hence, the Nigerian kinship system forms a possible basis of collectives or cooperatives and economic development through 'family-owned enterprise' or '*ebi* commonwealth', which serves as a deterrent to capital-versus labour dichotomy and strife (Akinjogbin, 2002). Within this framework of social organizations and relations, the elite family member's wealth and achievement are thus, for instance, conceived of as the family's common wealth and achievement, just as one member's poverty is perceived as the family's common poverty (Akinjogbin, 2002).

The generalized kinship imports found specific expression within those kin constructs that influence returnees' ideas and practices (Akanle and Olutayo, 2012a and Akanle and Olutayo, 2011). Returnees, in this case, are Nigerians who have lived abroad for at least five years and have lived consistently back home for a minimum of two years. Those who only went abroad to study will however not be included, except if they later regularized their status and lived beyond their period of study. Returnees hold important characteristics suitable for comprehension of holistic migration dynamics. Returnees are members of kin groups, and their activities are best explored and understood within such frameworks. This study therefore contends that returnees are not monolithic entities but those that affect, and are affected by, kin expectations and roles.

The background framework is particularly important, as returnees are currently at 'home'. 'Home' is the place where returnees' practical kinship connections and implications are mostly expressed. This is due to the web of significant others in real terms, given the lineage undercurrents that transcend mere origin and are important sources of social identity and social connections that determine actions (Trager, 2001).

Like other poor and low-income countries, particularly in the emerging Diasporas, with relatively youthful and educated populations, increasing socioeconomic and demographic pressures for international migration are under way in Nigeria[1]. Factors that will continuously drive international migrations in Nigeria are rife and appreciable. Such factors include: aging population in the developed countries[2], declining cost of migration, increasing unemployment rate and poverty in Nigeria (Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development, 2007), accessible information gateway about desirable foreign livelihoods and global immigration policies that favour skilled labour movements. International migration pressures therefore hold the prospects of being one of the most serious developmental challenges to face Nigeria in the nearest future. On the other hand, this challenge presents an opportunity for the nation to galvanize development if the flow and dynamics of Nigerians' international migration order are sufficiently comprehended.

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[1] Minoian and Freinkman, 2006, make an identical declaration about Armenian Diaspora though Armenia is in the mature Diaspora category. Examples of other countries in the mature Diaspora classification are India and Mexico. Some of the countries in the emerging Diaspora include South Africa, Colombia and Argentina.

[2] Rapidly greying work force has forced such countries as Japan, Sweden, Norway, Moldova, Cape Verde, United Kingdom and other parts of the European Union to factor increased immigration into their labour policies (Migration Policy Institute, 2009).

Regrettably however, important kinship conditions that could determine the comprehension of the flows, dynamics and optimization have not been sufficiently prioritized in research and policy domains. The course, causes and dynamics of Nigerians' international migrations have been documented. These are agreed to be contingent upon colonial antecedents, socioeconomic and political expediencies of Nigeria, and contemporary global political economy. These are part of the quest to appropriate Diaspora public spheres for family reunion, financial and professional benefits as well as other orthodox and less orthodox purposes (Osili, 2004; Van Den Bersselaar, 2005; Hernandez-Coss and Bun, 2006; Ero-Phillips, 2008; Togunde and Osagie, 2009). Underlying these migration trajectories, however, are kinship nuances. Traditionally, Nigerians have an attachment for kinship networks and familial social relations. Even with globalization, urbanization and popularity of nuclear families, kin groups could still exert degrees of influences on members who must be 'responsible'.

Hence, while studies have shown the effects of the push and pull factors in migrations, the kin groups may have to give consent in the form of support to facilitate migrations. In Africa, and Nigeria in particular, where people have orientations towards kinship in their activities, regardless of the push and pull factors, there could be forces that make movements achievable. That is, something must have given push and pull factors effectiveness, regardless of their popularity as explanatory frameworks in international migrations studies. Then, could there be a place for kinship networks in comprehending return migrations' trajectories? Against an African background, where people appreciate strong filiations and close relationships, social mechanisms that could make kin groups encourage others to migrate in specific directions, thereby breaking valued ties particularly in terms of distance, need to be explored. This study therefore goes beyond common knowledge of seeking greener pastures abroad and bringing such things back upon return, but rather provides a detailed exploration of kinship networks that could possibly determine or moderate international migrations, particularly return. It is important to know more about the kinship networks of the returnees, as this could have implications for reliable comprehension of the nexus among international migrations, support, and development. This is the sociological concern and alignment of this study.

Quite often, the processes of migration of people are either initiated or supported, or both, by the family and/or larger kinship networks at home and/or in the host countries. The initiation and/or support are likely to be accompanied by expectations, however. From the home fronts, for example, supports are sometimes expected to be repaid; chain migrations

sustain kinfolks so as to be supported, and allegiance to the families should not falter. Interestingly, the returnees have traversed, and are still traversing, the kin expectations in concrete terms. Even when, sometimes, the rules of support are not written, they are informally efficacious, as materials and extra-materials are 'expected' to be contributed to sustain the system. The social exchange, reciprocal mechanisms, and support system are bound to have consequences, especially upon return. It is then possible to ask, for instance, how will returnees' reciprocal mechanisms and support system[3] operate in the networks of relationships that are sometimes built on patrimonialism?

Events and literature have shown that, as Nigerians migrate in large numbers across socioeconomic, spatial and professional divides, supports are comparatively low and very few actually return (Osili, 2004; Hernandez-Coss and Bun, 2006; Ero-Phillips, 2008; United Nations, 2009). The average annual net migration for Nigeria, for instance, stands at -60.0/ 1000 in the period 2005-2010 (United Nations, 2009). Thus, the current study seeks explanations as to the dynamics of migration and kinship elements that have implications for international migration and support behaviours. This investigation is particularly important because, while the fact that Nigerian migrants, for various reasons, maintain some economic ties to their communities of origin has received substantial attention, the nuanced dynamics of kinship networks and implications have not been sufficiently prioritized as necessary predictor variables. In fact, most scholarly attention has been toward issues around remittance (Osili, 2004; Hernandez-Coss and Bun, 2006; Ero-Phillips, 2008) but not kinship undercurrents and prompts that influence Nigerians' migrations and support behaviours.

To sufficiently understand the issues at stake therefore, it is important to ask and engage the following questions: does kin migration influence initial/first time emigration? How were kinship networks appropriated by migrants to facilitate initial/first emigrations? What influence do a kin group's expectations and support have on return migration/returnees? How do returnees' (migrants') support systems operate? What is the nature of support existing between returnees/international migrants and kin members upon return? How do international migrants/returnees construct kinship and migration courses? The primary purpose of this book is thus to explore these questions scientifically in manners that will be useful

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[3] Reciprocal mechanisms and support system here do not necessarily imply purely economic exchange or 'transactions' but exchange activities that may include social, informal, cultural and ceremonial exchanges. These exchanges therefore include both material and non-material ones.

practically for policies and practices interested in appropriating Nigerian and African international migration for development.

There has been growing attention given to Nigerians' international migrations in the social sciences, and in Diaspora and Development Studies. The growing interest, though largely uncoordinated, is huge and multi-sectoral, including governments, Civil Society Organisations (CSOs), international organizations, academia, Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs), community groups and individuals, due to perceived prospects in these migrations for national development. The growing attention is, however, currently shifting substantially to the phenomenon of returnees, given their proven influence and capacities. Returnees are seen as potential engines of growth and development through their high volume of remittances, sustained chain migrations, transfer of learned ideas, technical skills and international networking. While this interest is necessary and commendable, the important subliminal background dynamics have not been sufficiently investigated by scientific studies, leading to partial and weak understanding of Nigerians' international migration trajectories in general and of returnees in particular.

Most previous books and studies consider support from migrants to households alone, without the exploration of that from kin groups to returnees. Hence, existing studies have focused attention on remittances as measures of support rather than more inclusive concepts and measures. Support, within the remit of this study, is that which is extensive and includes supports that go in both directions. That is, supports from returnees to kin members and those from kin members to returnees. This study deploys contemporary and innovative measures of support dynamics that transcend remittances and conventional support constructions, and they include, for example, continuous decision making processes, coordination, interests, information sharing, increased social capital of kin groups through having a member abroad, as well as kin perception and contribution to returnees' re-adjustment processes.

This book makes timely, informative, useful and enduring original contributions to pressing research and debate on international migrations, development, and kinship studies. The focus is on exploration of social relations that inform the culture of kinship as a veritable social force and capital in international migrations pre-migration, upon migration, and upon return. The book therefore explores the necessity of making kinship engagement an important aspect of enquiries in contemporary migrations in the quest for development. Although some social networks may also exert some influence on issues to be considered, the primary focus of this

book is kinship relations that are more defining and enduring as basic organizational principle of African societies.

Operationalisation of Concepts

This section gives the meanings of central terms/concepts as used in the book. This is to avoid misunderstanding of the concepts by would-be readers, as the concepts may be ambiguous compared to usage in many other contexts.

Kinship is pattern of social relationships existent among a collectivity of people in a definite society and/or culture.

Kinship Network is the interconnectedness of kinship in practical terms. When kinship is deployed, used, and appropriated across time and space in manners that interlock roles that transcend the individual and connect with others within a kinship system, it becomes a network.

International migrant(s)/migrant(s) are individual(s) who leave their countries of origin and cross definite international boundaries over a specific/prolonged period of time for predetermined purposes.

Returnees are international migrants who have emigrated and lived for five years or more in Euro-American countries but have returned to Nigeria for a minimum of two years to resettle. These people must also necessarily consider themselves returnees.

Support is the nature of assistance that returnees and kin exchange in the course of the migration life cycle of the returnees. This work therefore focuses on supports that flow both ways - to and from returnees and kin - unlike previous studies that focused only on supports (usually remittances) that flow from migrants to kin, as though kin do not have the capacity to give support and do not give any.

Support dynamics is the fluidity and process of change undergone by supports that returnees and kin exchange in the course of returnees' migration and life cycle.

HISTORY AND TRAJECTORIES OF CONTEMPORARY INTERNATIONAL MIGRATIONS IN NIGERIA

The history of migration in Nigeria is long and dates back to the pre-colonial era[1]. Migration in the era was contingent upon trade, trade routes, markets, religions, diplomacy, wars, conquests and slave trade (Dioka, 1997; Labo, 2000). Generally, migration and contacts at this period were clandestine, political and commercial in nature with elaborate sociocultural consequences on the groups (Oduwobi and Iwuagu, 1997). The historiography of migration in Nigeria can thus be best categorized as voluntary and forced migration; the most significant of forced migrations being slavery.

Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and Forced Migration

A detailed discussion of Nigerians' international migrations must necessarily attend to the history of the Atlantic slave trade for its many far-reaching implications on the life and progress of Africans, and Nigerians, and for its potential significance in shaping Africa's diasporic emergence and development (Babawale, 2008). Although slavery discourse and justifications are now very rare in contemporary writings due to controversies and intellectual scandals that are often associated with such writings, extant literature down the ages is dotted with positions that considered enslavements of people, Africans in particular, as human in character. According to Do Nascimento (1977) for instance, for centuries, slavery was regarded as philanthropic, especially when enslavement of Africans was justified with the myth of *the Black continent's* racial and cultural inferiority, as pursued by David Hume. This orientation was also

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[1] It is however acknowledged that that there was no entity called Nigeria in the pre-colonial times. What existed during this period were autonomous empires and kingdoms. Reference to pre-colonial Nigeria is therefore only for analytical and clarity purposes.

echoed by Frederick Hegel when he observed that Africa is not a historical part of the world and has no movement or development to exhibit. Popular thinkers like Montesquieu and J.J Rousseau were also not immune from slavery's justification bug when they wrote about the cultural backwardness, savagery and civilization backwardness of the Negros (Yelvington, 2001).

It was not until the beginning of the 1890s that W.E.B. Dubois (1868-1963), St. Clair Drake (1911-1990), Zora Neale Hurston (1930-1960), Kathering Dunham (b.1909), Jean Price-Mars (1876-1969) and Romulo Lachatanere (1909-1952) began to tackle *The race question* in slavery justification and began a crusade against the hitherto established positions (Ogundipe, 2007; Yelvington, 2001). The established slavery justification thesis was mere deception to distort African diasporic history. According to Babawale (2008:9) 'the pervading deception and distortion of African history were fall outs of a collective failure to duly acknowledge and emphasize the Egyptian contribution to civilization and a deliberate attempt to put history and negative consequences of a forced exodus in proper perspectives'.

Slavery is undoubtedly the most controversial part of pre-colonial African history, due to its interface with racism, ideological contests, colossal human loss, hydra-headedness of the subject and stunted contemporary African development, especially of the Sub-Sahara. Although rich historical accounts and archaeological discoveries have shown that Africans (Negroid people) had a presence in Southern Europe, Asia and the Middle East before the slave trade, the massive dispersal of Africans and the largest involuntary migrations of people the world has ever known occurred during the Trans-Atlantic slave trade between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries (Uya, 1984). Toasije (2009) recently made a related observation on the presence of Africans in Europe pre-slave trade, in the article *The Africanity in Spain: identity and problematization.* According to Toasije (2009: 348), Africans in Spain for instance, have a large historical presence and influence through their ancient presence in the Iberia Peninsular since pre-historic times, and their encounter came to create the so-called Celt-Iberians.

Regardless of the heavy loss during the "Middle Passage", Africans constituted the great majority of people moving from the Old World of Western Europe and Africa to the New World before the nineteenth century, and the forced migration of Africans across the Atlantic was part of an important historical development that resulted in the consolidation of a single "world" and African Diaspora around the Atlantic, including Western Europe, Western Africa, the Caribbean Islands, and Mainland

North and South America (Lovejoy, 2000; Mohan and Zack-Williams, 2002). Against this background, according to Babawale (2009:17), '[i]t is logical therefore to treat the slave trade as the origin of the Diaspora'.

Although the "Number Game" is only an attempt to achieve objectivity in the reconstructions of an epochal occurrence, and is fraught with controversies and sentiments that usually bedevil colonial and slavery discourses, scholars have however dared such indulgences. Between 1500 and 1860, an estimated 11.8 million people are known to have left the shores of Africa through slavery either to the Americas or Europe, and the most widely accepted number is put at 12 million (Lovejoy, 2000; University of Calgary Applied History, n.d). A literature search on the subject suggests the range of enslaved Africans through the trade could not be less than 6 million and could be as high as 30 million. The number controversy notwithstanding, the fact that the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade was a major event in the history of African people, and that a major effect was the forced migration of several Africans to the New World, can never be disputed.

Given their centrality as established, influential empires and kingdoms and occupations of strategic locations critical as slave routes, the Igbos, Old Oyo, Niger Delta States of Old Calabar and Kalabari played crucial roles. The slave trade dominated the activities of these empires and kingdoms internally and externally and it was a major factor in their growth, development and collapse (Uya, 1984). Traditional rulers in the empires and kingdoms initially participated actively in the selling of persons as commodities to enrich themselves and their empires and this was a major reason for the construction of "outsiders", "strangers", and justification of generalized expansionist agendas. Significant numbers of the empires and kingdoms like the Old Oyo that initially benefited from slave raiding, however, inevitably became victims of the insatiable European desire for slaves as their social controls were broken towards the end of eighteenth century (Uya, 1984).

The European power and suzerainty to extract millions of Africans from their motherland forcefully to the Americas and the Caribbean could however not be said to be total. This is because, according to Lake (1995), while slavery achieved forceful removal of Africans from their cultural roots, these processes did not successfully erase Africans' sense of belonging to the African brotherhood and kinship within all of that generation of the Diaspora and subsequent ones. The relations with and longing for home were expressed and exemplified in verbal associations and acceptance of origins *as the real home* in concrete actions, as often demonstrated in practical root/home tracing.

Colonialism and Migration

A lot of people voluntarily migrated individually and in groups before colonialism in Nigeria. Such groups included the Ejigbo people of contemporary South-western Nigeria into Cote d' Voire, the Ogbomoso people of contemporary South-western Nigeria into Ghana and the Igbos of contemporary South-eastern Nigeria into the coastal areas of West Africa. The Igbos' migrations, for instance, started as early as 1832 (Olutayo, 1999). International migrations in contemporary Nigeria are, however, largely traceable to colonial formations. Advocates of colonialism always resorted to very specific modes of behaviour in order to conceal the negative outcomes (Do Nascimento, 1977). Such modes of behaviour are outright dissimulations: the altering of modes of production and political systems through the indirect rule and assimilation system in West Africa for instance. Interestingly, justifications and seeming advantages of colonialism were both without and within.

While the justifications from the outsiders abroad were due to immediate revenue gains and egoistic aggrandizement that usually follow the conquest of a foreign land, some Africans within themselves saw colonialism as positive incursions of civilization. For many, especially the literate ones, who inhabited the mercantilist enclaves scattered along the west coast of the continent, according to Mason (1993), the penetration of merchant capitals was seen as progress in itself, marching forward irresistibly, banishing superstitions and slavery and instilling enlightenment and healthy attitudes in its wake. Also, according to Adetugbo (2001), colonialism and the implantation of Christianity were often justified because Africa was really a dark continent of cannibals and snakes and powerful juju. Colonialism, and Christianity as its weapon, was thus seen as a needed instrument to liberate Africa from paganism, cannibalism and polygamy (Adetugbo, 2001). This colonial irresistible march became institutionalized in, for instance, St. Louis, Freetown, Monrovia, Cape coast, Lagos and Calabar (Mason, 1993) as the epicentres of the newfound civilizations due to their rich economies and strategic geography.

Colonialism altered the pattern, course and courses of migration in a unique way through alterations of indigenous political economy and officially orchestrated migrations. Agricultural activities, for example, were shifted from being for basic survival to cash based economy, redefining needs, while social relations and formations became reconfigured by colonial organizations through imported policies. The reconfiguration of the socioeconomic base separated people from the means of survival, thereby creating pools of unemployed and paid workers

ready to migrate to the emerging plantations and mines (Swindell, 1984; Labo, 2000), especially as the medium of exchange changed, new classes were created and taxes levied (Rodney, 1972; Jumare, 1998).

Hence, the colonial administration built development centres around mineral deposits and shifted the centre of gravity of economic activities from the hinterlands to the coastal regions, where new capitals were created to serve the economic interests of colonialism (Labo, 2000). Although, 'intra-Nigeria' migrations at the time were opened, Trans-Atlantic Migrations were regimented. Nigerians migrated mainly to the United Kingdom for 'national interest or on special and compassionate grounds and individual cases' mainly for higher education (National Archive Ibadan records, File No.37722/S.5; Nwajiuba, 2005; de Haas, 2006). Migrations to Cameroon and Fernando Po (contemporary Guinea) rose consistently, beginning from 1943, due to an increase in the plantations and the need for labour in those regions. Also, there was a massive movement of Nigerians to the Gold Coast (Ghana) to participate as labourers and traders in the then booming economy, which led to the establishment of some administrative bodies, like the Inter-Occupational Union for the transfer of Manpower from Upper Volta to the Ivory Coast (SIAMO), to officially manage the unprecedentedly heavy traffic of labourers (Labo, 2000).

As colonial formation changed the constructions and conceptions of values, it led to the new notion of needs and accumulations. Migrations to plantations, mines, colonial households and institutions changed the perception of selves and significant others. Forces of colonialism led to fundamental socioeconomic changes in the communities, and the indigenous people, in responding to the changes, appropriated and lived the colonial creations (Van Den Bersselaar, 2005) under conditions that were beyond their control. Colonial examinations of contemporary migration order are unavoidable, as it marked the undeniable official beginning of Nigeria's incorporation into the global society. In line with this, Labo (2000:4) observed that "[e]ven after independence, the direction of migration has not deviated from the trend in the colonial period".

Having successfully subjugated the communities, colonial administrators assumed superior status and associated respect attached to their complexion, their origin and being. *Oyinbo* became synonymous with class, superiority and near deification. As such, indigenous populations with direct contact with colonial officials in the mines, plantations, offices and households achieved enviable statuses. Interpreters, tax collectors, cooks, servants, court clerks, 'informants' and 'spies' who were able to learn rudimentary English and colonialists culture, assumed greater

importance. Consequently, bearing foreign names and possessing foreign goods became synonymous with 'connections', class and prestige, regardless of the essence and antecedents of such names and goods.

In response to emerging colonial institutions, like changes in the medium of exchange, taxation and valued jobs, migration abroad over time became more than a marginal increase or additional income, but a rational response to specific circumstances (Freund, 1981; Swindell, 1984). Colonialism thus re-invigorated and accentuated opportunities for long-distance migrations/trading and specialized skills, like Aro, Umunneoha, Nkerre and Awka as well as the Ogbomoso and the Ejigbo migrants. Hence, by the 1920s the Igbos, for example, had broken national boundaries to appropriate colonial creations (Uduku, 2002) to fluidly migrate and establish trade blocs across domains and territories in manners that have come to shape their descendants' economic and entrepreneurial worldviews in definitive terms to date[2]. Like the Kru people of Liberia and Sierra Leone (Frost, 2002), Nigerians and other colonial West Africans that accompanied colonial vessels across the Atlantic, those that replaced free slaves on the plantations, those that migrated within West African nations, and the few that 'enjoyed' scholarships to study in Europe and became educated elites to fill colonial vacancies, acquired important social standings in the communities.

The enthronement of capitalism ('legitimate trade') after the abolition of the slave trade demanded free but cheap and mobile labour, and West Africans, in common with Indians and Chinese, were used as indentured labourers around the middle of the nineteenth century (Zack-Williams and Mohan, 2002, Mohan and Zack-Williams, 2002; Frost, 2002). It would then be correct to maintain that African development suffered the setback it did largely on account of the many adverse effects of the twin evils of slavery and colonialism (Babawale, 2008). According to Babawale (2008:9), 'while the former depleted the continent of its greatest and most productive human capital, the latter altered the course of the existing traditional economic and highly sophisticated political systems. Common to both was the abrupt termination of Africa's thriving civilization and alteration of the continent's growth curve'. Suffice then to maintain that contemporary Nigerian International Migrations and African Diaspora are best appreciated within the context of merchant capitalism and colonialism as necessary precursors.

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[2] For an interesting account of the Igbos migrations and entrepreneurial development and historiography in relation to other ethnic groups in Nigeria, please see Olutayo, O.A. 1999. The Igbo Entrepreneur in the Political Economy of Nigeria. *African study monographs.* 20.3. Pp. 147-174.

Contemporary International Migration and Remittances in Nigeria

Contemporary international migration in Nigeria began immediately after the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in 1985 due to unprecedented poverty, unemployment, corruption, mismanagement and austerity measures in the country after the state was rolled back (Akanle and Olutayo, 2009). The Nigerian contemporary international migration is high and has been appreciated by stakeholders, and the appreciation was largely due to the consequences and management of migration. In 2010 for instance, Nigeria was ranked among the top 10 emigration countries in Africa (The World Bank, 2011). The high proportion and exponential growth of the Nigerian migration was also brought to the fore when the British High Commission in Nigeria was declared the busiest visa post in the world in 2005, and when a ban was placed on Nigerians aged 18-30[3] by the United Kingdom authorities in the same year. These twin activities and responses explained the unprecedented high volumes of visa applications and pressures and subsequent suspicion aroused by Nigerians' large scale migrations. As the numbers of Nigerians in the Diaspora continue to increase, so do their homeland supports. In 2004, Nigeria was the largest recipient of remittance in Sub-Saharan Africa, with a receipt of 65 percent, and 2 percent of formal global remittance of about US$2.26billion (211.32 billion Naira), equivalent to 3.15 percent of Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (World Bank, 2004). In the first six months of 2007, Nigeria received a total remittance of US$8 billion (928.00 billion Naira) (Gupta, Pattillo and Wagh, 2007). By 2009, as a proportion of Gross Domestic Product (GDP), remittances to Nigeria had consistently increased and accounted for at least 5.0 percent (United Nations, 2009). By 2010, the volume of remittances to Nigeria had consistently increased to $10.0 billion (about N1.5 trillion Naira) and this made Nigeria the highest remittance recipient country in Africa (The World Bank, 2011). Nigeria was only followed on the top 10 list of remittance recipient countries in Africa by Sudan at distant second with $3.2 billion and Kenya in distant third with only $1.8 billion (The World Bank, 2011).

Even when remittances are consistently on the increase, have dwarfed aids, and have favourably rivalled Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs), studies have shown that the overall and long term investment and development impacts of migrant supports may not necessarily be positive,

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[3] This age group has been discovered to be the most migratory in Nigeria and identical societies in the emerging and matured diasporas.

due to social networks and lifestyles (Africa Recruit, 2003; Osili, 2004). Even when assets are difficult to acquire, a significant proportion of Nigerian families and communities sell assets to raise funds for migration, with nearly all expecting higher returns (Nwajiuba, 2005), and this affects the eventual uses or remittances. For instance, some migrants send their initial remittances for loan repayments to the beneficiaries (Hernandez-Coss and Bun, 2006).

Other common uses of remittances in Nigeria are: family up-keep and social security, financing of kin's education, return on family investments, special occasions like funerals, weddings, pilgrimages *et cetera,* and business development and sustainability (Word Bank, 2005). Most Nigerians migrate to the United States of America, United Kingdom and Canada. There are an estimated 5 million Nigerians living in the US, 90,000 live in the UK, and about 500,000 hold dual citizenship, but estimations have put the figures at between 800,000 and 3 million in accommodation of the 'illegal/undocumented immigrants' (Ogbebulu, 2008; United Nations, 2009). In 2004, 10 percent of the official recorded remittance flows to Nigeria through Money Transfer Operators originated from the UK and more than half originated from the United States (Hernandez-Coss and Bun, 2006).

Other recently attractive destinations are Italy, The Netherlands, Germany, Spain, Greece and Sweden, since it is becoming increasingly difficult to migrate into the UK and the USA if one is not a student or skilled migrant (Hernandez-Coss and Bun, 2006). 'Just as there are no accurate statistics as regards the forced emigration of Africans, contemporary statistics on Africa's human capital loss to the rest of the world are scarce but worrisome. The continent has already lost and is continuing to lose an appreciable percentage of its human resources and skilled personnel at an alarming rate' (Babawale, 2008:16-17).

So many factors have been adduced for Nigerians' large-scale emigration. They include colonialism, poverty, economic modernization, comatose industrialization, unemployment, government ineptitude, lack of social welfare, competitive air fares, compression of time and space, easy information exchange that facilitates knowledge of desirable livelihood on the other side, migrants' attempts to achieve status and influence as *been-tos* (Returnees) reshaping both the primordial and civic cultures in a number of ways, as well as sacrifices, ambition and commitment to improved ways of life (Gravil, 1985; Ekeh, 1989; Long, 2005; Van Den Bersselaar, 2005). Specifically, contemporary factors leading to large-scale Nigerian emigration are largely contingent upon crucial and systematic interplay of recent exigencies and deep-rooted historical events.