

Country Paper:
Nigeria

Dynamics of International Migration in Nigeria
(A Review of Literature)

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Premise and Background to the Literature Review

The need to review the literature on international migration in Nigeria is based on the fact that both the internal and international migrations in the country have experienced significant changes not only in the pattern of the process, but also in its conceptualization, terminologies, methods of collecting, collating and publishing international migration data and information generated. In order to appreciate the changes in the international migration, in particular, several available and relevant works on the topic were reviewed, including those on internal migration, which could have served as a precursor to the international migration. The literature review is also undertaken as a way of appreciating the gaps in knowledge on international migration, which would require refocusing and/or exploring.

To start with, it is to be noted that the migration data and information supplied for the country vary in their quality and comprehensiveness. These are manifest in the varied measures and methods adopted by the studies. There are many problems encountered, in forms of changing units of analysis within which to classify migration as internal or international, and of definitions of basic concepts and terms. For example, the imprecise extent of empires during the pre-independence era in Nigeria created problems of moves considered as international. In addition, many of the works reviewed did not take into cognizance the factor of duration of stay in the definition of migration. Consequently, movements that lasted less than six months (the standard duration for defining migration), for example, the nomadic and commercial migrations were often less researched into. This affected the level of coverage of works on the subject matter, in terms of its volume and other pertinent characteristics of international migration.

Another aspect of concern in the literature review is on labour migration. Most of the works reviewed focus more on internal labour migration than on international labour migration. In addition, even the few works on the latter hardly captured the changes that are taking place, in forms of more and more of the labour migrants that moved out becoming commercial migrants and or of new entrants moving out as entrepreneurs that are self-employed in the informal sector that are moving out for

shorter period and as circulatory migrant traders. Often the mobility of such people is left out of the main stream of migration studies. In other words, majority of the works are generally considered under economic migration, without differentiating between labour migrations, of people that moved out for wage employment, from those that moved as self-employed. In addition, the works that are reviewed invariably indicate the varied migration processes in terms of their scale (volume), patterns and reasons for migrating, among others. Consequently, the adequacy of the works in capturing the diverse nature and dynamics of the labour migration is open to question.

In addition, forced migration has emerged as an important aspect of migration research in Nigeria. However, there is a dearth of data on this form of migration. The available data are often not current or accurate, due to the sudden and unplanned nature of forced migrations and the lack of a data collection, collation and dissemination culture.

Finally, the review of the literature on international migration process in Nigeria is in response to one of the central objectives of the African Migration Perspectives project, which is to provide an overview of migration research in some selected African countries, Nigeria inclusive. This is with a view to highlighting gaps in knowledge and areas that require further research. It is also to bring to the limelight relevant migration studies, which have remained unpublished, such as PhD thesis, MSc, dissertations and other empirical study reports.

The premise for the literature review is also the varied spatial, social, economic and political setting that make the choice of Nigeria as a member of the network of countries within the McArthur's Project on Global Migration and Human Mobility Programme on "African Perspectives on Human Mobility Programme" pertinent. With an area extent of 923,768 square kilometres, and a population of 140.03 million people in 2006 (NPC, 2008) Nigeria, is currently ranked the tenth most populous country in the world and as the most populous country in Africa and West Africa. Due to the large population size of the country, population mobility within and without the country is a phenomenon of high currency.

In more details, Nigeria accounts for 15.15 and 51.66 per cent of the total population of Africa and the entire Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), a sub-region, respectively. Its annual population growth rate is relatively high, and estimated to be between 2.4 and 2.8 per cent respectively in the 1991 and 2006 censuses. Also, the country has a youthful population, with 43 per cent of its total population being under 15 years old and with a low percentage, of 3 per cent for those 65 years and above. Migration being a selective phenomenon, particularly, in favour of the active and young, the youthful nature of the Nigerian population, therefore, creates a large reservoir of potential migrants who have high propensity for internal and international migration (PRB, 2007).

Nigeria's migration history supports this assertion, as considered within three main eras: the pre-independence, the independence, and the post independence eras. Moreover, Nigeria has over 400,000 square kilometers' land boundaries, which have been difficult to manage. This is because of their very porous nature and the high affinity of the Nigeria's people with those in the neighbouring countries. To the east and north east are the Republics of Cameroon and Chad; Niger Republic is to its north; while Benin Republic is to the south west. Its southern border, of 1,600 nautical kilometers long coastline, begins from the border with Benin Republic in the west and extends eastwards to the border with Cameroon; inclusive the oil-rich Bakassi Island that has just been ceded to Cameroon.

In terms of its social geography, Nigeria is a multi-ethnic federation, of more than 250 ethno-linguistic groups, the dominant groups being Hausa, Ibo, and Yoruba, which share similar cultural traits with ethnic groups in neighbouring countries. The latter situation sustains social interactions between ethnic groups in Nigeria and neighbouring countries, and facilitates population mobility and invariably international migration.

In addition, Nigeria's population characteristics and their dynamics display profound disproportions when analyzed with the development indicators or the Millennium Development Goals (MDG). The Infant Mortality Rate, of 140 and 100 deaths per 1,000 live-births in 1970 and 2005, is not only high and detrimental, but has remained

astronomically high, compared to situations in more developed North, where it has been drastically reduced to about 6 per cent (2007/2008 Human Development Report, Nigeria). The same scenario applies to Maternal Mortality Ratio, of 1,100 per 100,000 live-births in 2000 (Earth Trends, Country Profile- Nigeria 2003). Life expectation at birth, of 53 years in 1998, plummeted to 43 in 2005 and picked up a bit to 47 years by 2007 still expected to be 46 years by 2010 (PRB, 1998; 2005; 2006; Population Reference Bureau, PRB, 2007). People living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHAs) were estimated to be 5.4 and 3.7 per cent of the total population of adults, aged 15-49 respectively in 2003 and 2007 (PRB 2003; 2007). The scourge of HIV/AIDS pandemic is often associated with the unsavory reduction in life expectancy.

Also, the education index for the country reveals not only low, though increasing adult literacy rate, but worrisome gender disparity. The adult literacy rate for both sexes was 68.0 in 2003 and 69.1 per cent by mid-2008. Gender-wise, the rates for males and females were respectively 75.7 and 60.6 per cent and 78.2 and 60.1 per cent in 2003 and 2004 respectively. In addition, the pupil-teacher ratio has been high, though fluctuating. At primary school level, the ratio was 1:44 in 2003 and 1:31 in 2006; while at the secondary level, it was 1:36 in 2003 and 1:33 in 2006. There are also gender disparities in the gross enrolment at the two levels: of 45.4 and 54.6 per cent respectively for females and males at the primary school level and 50.3 and 49.7 per cent respectively at the post primary school level for 2003 and 2006 respectively.

Besides, the GDP per capita (PPP US\$) was estimated at \$1,128 (Human Development Report, 2005). The proportion of the population below a dollar per day gave a national poverty incidence of 51.6 per cent. There are also disparities in the level of the livelihood of urban and rural dwellers. The urban poverty incidence was 40.1 per cent, compared with rural poverty incidence of 60.6 per cent in 2005. Moreover, Nigeria's Human Development Index (HDI) value, of 0.47 per cent in 2005, indicates the very low level of living in Nigeria. In addition, the real GDP growth rate has been low and is even decreasing, from 10.4 per cent in 2003, to 6.4, 6.2 and 5.6 per cent respectively in 2004, 2005, 2006 (EIU Country Report). The GDP per capita has not fared better, as it slightly increased from \$620.9 to \$673.2, \$840.4 and \$1,036.2 respectively in 2003, 2004, 2005 and 2006 (Central Bank of Nigeria, CBN; Annual Report).

Moreover, the percentage of Foreign Direct Investment to the GDP has been low and fluctuating, of 2.6 per cent in 2003 then to 2.1, 4.4, 9.8 and 6.8 per cent respectively through 2004 and 2007. Oil exports formed more than one-third of the GDP, of 29.6, 38.6, 47.9, 39.5 and 34.7 per cent respectively during the same period, 2003 to 2006 (CBN, 2007). These percentages are also pointers to the decreasing importance of agricultural products in the economy and more and more reliance on petroleum over the years, among others.

Nigeria's low level of development, as reflected by the development indices earlier examined, significantly influence the level of emigration from the country. Under this scenario, youths in search of employment opportunities and social security, emigrate to other countries in North Africa, Europe and North America.

In the light of the above premise, the literature review of the dynamics of mobility and migration in Nigeria are examined within three main eras, of pre-colonial, colonial and immediately after independence and the post independence eras, as the processes of mobility and migration changed over space, scale, direction, category of movers and reasons for moving, among others.

Dynamics of Migration in the Pre-Colonial Era

International migration in Nigeria pre-dates the colonization of Nigeria, irrespective of the difficulties encountered in classifying the moves as either internal or international and of getting accurate data. The former problem arises from the fact that Nigeria could not have been identified as a nation as of this era, as different ethnic groups and/or nationalities lived under different kingdoms and empires within the geographical space now referred as Nigeria.

Nonetheless, international migration was evident in the movements of indigenes that were involved or were victims of slave-raiding and slave trading, inter-ethnic conflicts and warfare. Also, legitimate trading, nomadic herding of livestock, and pilgrimage to religious places in the Arabian Peninsula, brought about diverse human mobility and migration within and across borders of existing empires and kingdoms. The dynamics of the unhindered spatial movements of people within and outside empires/kingdoms

in Nigeria and Africa at large were encouraged by the lack of well-defined boundaries between existing empires and kingdoms. Although there is a paucity of documentation of the human mobility and migration during this era, nevertheless, some studies, such as Alkali (1985) and Armstrong (1955) conveyed the idea that migration flows during the period were dynamic and diverse.

Further evidence of the dynamics of the level of the human mobility and/or migration flows and trends during this era indicate that the Sokoto Caliphate was essentially populated by immigrants, of Gobirawa, Nufawa, Bussawa, Tuaregs, Adrawa and the Zebrama ethnic groups, while the emigrants were mostly Hausa-Fulani (Kwaire, 2000). In addition, emigration from the northeastern part of Nigeria can be traced to the 19th century, prior to the partitioning of Africa, when most of the ethnic groups found in Nigeria's neighbouring francophone countries migrated from and were part of the old Borno Empire (Mahadi, 1989).

Also, the dynamics of migration in the north-central part of Nigeria was noted as early as 500 BC, when it was essentially determined by the quest for territory, that is, people moving to secure land of their own or for identity (Armstrong, 1955). For example, the Idoma speaking people of the middle belt of Nigeria (presently in the north central zone) were said to have migrated from the Kwararafa kingdom in north eastern part of Nigeria between 1535 and 1745 in two phases to their current locations in Benue and Nassarawa States and to the northern part (Ogoja) of the Cross River State. The people were said to have acquired their main cultural feature (agrarian) from their interaction with other ethnic groups during the migration process (Erim, 1981).

To further buttress the point, the Tiv people of the middle belt (in the present day north central zone), from ethnographic and historical studies were identified to be of Bantu stock (Makar, 1994). They are recorded to have migrated from the Congo basin, crossing several countries, which was a process of international migration, on their way to locations in the present day four States of Benue, Plateau, Nassarawa, and Taraba. It was on this regard of their movements being over internal locations in the country that Lord Lugard, the first Governor General of Nigeria stated that "the

peoples of the Benue River valley moved continuously along the valley in search of farmland” (Armstrong, 1955).

Moreover, migration within this same zone in the early part of the century was characterized by the movement of people to highlands, such as the Jos Plateau, Adamawa and Mambila highlands. These were regarded as a safe haven to avoid Islamic Jihad of Othman Dan Fodio and his followers, who moved from the northwestern part of the present day Nigeria to the north-central zone in order to convert people to Islam (Mahadi, 1989).

Further south, the colonization of areas to the south-west by the powerful Oyo empire builders led to subsequent movements, founding of settlements, and trading activities. These are manifest in the extent of the Oyo Empire that stretched as far west as the Ashanti and Dahomey areas (Akinjogbin, 1980). The latter movements tend to account for the significant presence of Yoruba immigrants from old Oyo Empire in neighbouring Empires in former francophone and Anglo-phone countries of West Africa, such as the present day Republics of Benin, Togo, Cote d’Ivoire and Liberia.

The establishment of many settlements in the Yoruba land is another form of colonization; hence, another evidence of internal migration during this period. For example, Ibadan was founded by people from Egba, and Ife, Ijebu, Ijesa, Ekiti, Igbomina, Akoko and by non Yoruba group led by Lagelu around 16th century. The Fulani Jihadists were also instrumental to the migration of some Oyo people to Ibadan war camp whenever they raided their villages (Albert, 1994).

In addition, slave raiding and slave trading were activities that manifest forced migrations during the pre-colonial era. The genesis of the slave raiding and trading in many parts of present day Nigeria dates back to about 1500 (the approximate period of the Atlantic slave trade), with the forced human movement in the coastal areas (Niger-Delta, Calabar, etc) and in the Yoruba region of the southwest of the country. One aspect of the result was that many people took refuge on defensive sites, such as the Idanre hills and on the Jos Plateau. And another aspect is the imprint of the slave trade in Nigeria seems prominent in the central middle belt of the country. The latter was referred to as the major source for slaves for both the coastal trade and trade in the northern part of the present day Nigeria (Mondjannagni, 1982; Nwosu, 2003;

Adepoju, 1996). However, the much more documented impact has been the cross-Atlantic slave trade, which dislodged thousands of people across the Yoruba and Hausa-Fulani kingdoms respectively. This gives credence to a truly international migration par excellence, across the ocean to an entirely new space.

Besides, there were other categories of migrants at this period; inclusive, the migrant traders and herdsmen. These were prominent in the trans-Saharan trade. For example, traders in Hausaland ventured out on long distant trading to the present-day countries of Benin, Burkina Faso, Mali, and Cameroon (Akinjogbin, 1980). Also, the pastoral activities of the nomadic Fulani dated back to this era; the nomads moved their cattle with the seasons from one locality to the other within the geographical space now referred to as Nigeria. Their movements spanned the whole length and breadth of the grassland or savanna region of West Africa (Stenning, 1957).

In addition, early pilgrimage tradition in West Africa led to long distance moves outside the present day Nigeria (Alkali, 1985). Muslims in Kanem, Borno and Hausaland had opened up an early migratory corridor between Western Sudan and the Arab world in the bid to reach Mecca by land. The emphasis placed on the performance of pilgrimage by the rulers of some of these early West African empires/kingdoms contributed to the international mobility. It was shown to even surpass that of some Arab rulers at that time, in spite of the proximity of the later to Mecca. Over time, these movements gave rise to a sizeable number of Hausa communities that were established on much more permanent basis along the pilgrimage routes within present day Chad and Sudan (Alkali, 1985).

Dynamics of Migration in the Colonial Era & Shortly after Independence

The arrival of the British in the 19th century marked a turning point and added another angle to both internal and international migrations in Nigeria. Activities of the colonial administration led to demarcation of boundaries, a relatively stable government, modern means of transport; and a monetized economy, among others. The British economic policy snow-balled into the independence era in Nigeria; hence, waves of migration that propelled the export oriented political-economic policy of the

colonial administration. This was sustained and persisted during the period shortly after the country gained its independence. The political economy of the country was such that it provided a framework for large-scale migration; deriving from the need for large labour force for mines, plantations and public administration. Labour was recruited through persuasion and coercion (Adepoju, 1996).

In more depth, internal migration was promoted, leading to enhanced rural-rural migration, as people moved over a relatively freer space, to work as either migrant tenant farmers, as farm labour and or as migrant traders. The items of trade and direction of their trade also changed, from local to imported goods, mostly in a south-north and north-south direction (Udo, 1975). The seasonal movement of nomads that was noted for the pre-colonial era continued, the exceptions being movements towards viable locations in the south.

Studies on internal labour migration also reveal that migrant labourers from different parts of the country, especially from rural areas moved into regional headquarters, administrative and market centers of Lagos, Kano, Zaria, Enugu, Ibadan, Sokoto, and Kaduna, among many others, in quest of trade and gainful employment (Udo, 1975; Shimada, 1993; Ikwuyatum, 2006).

For international migration, Abba (1993) reported that between 1914 and 1922 there was a noticeable immigration of foreigners into Kano and its environment. It was estimated that within this period between 10,000 and 30,000 Tuaregs from Niger Republic moved into Kano city in Nigeria.

Afolayan (1998) reported the recruitment of some Nigeria workers, who had been involved in constructing the Nigerian railway, for work on rail lines in Tema-Takoradi area of Gold Coast and the Cotonou-Parakou in Dahomey (Adegbola, 1972). Also, between 1900 and January 1902, approximately 6,500 labourers left Lagos to work on the Sekondi-Tarkwa rail line and in the gold mines of the Gold Coast, where wages were higher than in Lagos. In Dahomey, many of the Nigerian emigrants took to trading after the completion of the railway, while many of them left for Ivory Coast after the World War 1. Many of the emigrants from Nigeria were attracted by evidence of success displayed by returnees; by the belief that wealth was easier to

acquire while away from home; and over time, wives or new brides joined their husbands (Adegbola, 1972).

Other evidences point to the increasing immigration and emigration in Nigeria. For the former, Prothero (1957) indicated that at least 250,000 immigrants entered the northwestern region of Nigeria between 1931 and 1952 from the French territory in the north and west; a situation that was suggested to have been so since 1903. For the latter, Lawan (2004) gave a conservative estimate that over 70,000 Nigerians living in Sudan were mostly from Hausaland and Borno. Mahadi (1989) also argued that the 1948 census of Ghana showed about 46,800 Nigerians lived in Ghana, which later rose to 100,000 in 1959; thereby, doubling the 1948 figure of migrants from Nigeria. Prothero (1957) also revealed that 257,000 migrants left the northwestern region in 1952-1953 census for the Gold Coast, Dahomey and Togo, out of which 28,000 people were mostly from 'Arewacin Sokkwato', that is, from Northern Sokoto.

Adegbola (1972) and Afolayan (2004) also noted the emigration of Ogbomoso people from south western Nigeria to Dahomey and Ghana. The volume of indigenes of Ejigbo in Abidjan, though low in the mid-20th century, was recorded to have picked up after the World War II. Adegbola (1972) and Mabogunje (1972) indicated that people from Osun Division, in particular Saki, emigrated to Ghana, Upper Volta, Dahomey, Mali, Togo and Niger, among other West African countries. The increasing level of the emigration was associated with the economic development and vigorous Pan-African movement pursued by Ghana shortly after its independence. This was punctuated by the expulsion of between 0.5 to 1.0 million foreigners from Ghana, including Yoruba emigrants. This was consequent on the deteriorating economic conditions in Ghana and the Aliens Compliance Order of November 1969. The experience dictated other migration decisions: movement to alternative destinations, in particular Ivory Coast, shorter duration of stay and circulatory movements. These are different forms of the dynamic aspects of migration of latter years.

In short, many of the works on immigration and emigration in Nigeria can simply be described as movements within relatively homogenous West African states. This is because the boundaries that split the people of common culture and ethnic groupings into different countries were more or less perceived by the people across the border as

‘artificial’; hence, many of the international migrants that originated just across the border in the contiguous countries of Benin, Niger, Chad and Cameroon perceived their movements as within the same socio-cultural space rather than between two different nations (Asiwaju, 1984; 1989; Okobiah, 1989). This perception for the farther away West African countries, of Ghana and Cote d’Ivoire did not hold. Consequently, the lack of contiguity of the former British colonies resulted in varied destinations for Nigerian emigrants, and for longer period of stay for enhancing their livelihood, among other reasons.

The more accepted international migrations were, therefore, those that took place between Nigeria and the mother-country, Britain, where the emerging elites moved to mainly for educational pursuit and in a few cases for administrative matters. The other emerging destination country of less importance was the United States of America.

Dynamics of Migration in the Post-Independence Era

However, the third and final quarter of the 20th century, the post-independence era, witnessed heightened labour migration from several parts of the country to the main administrative and economic centers of the country and to more varied destinations than ever before. Relatively large scale of immigration into the country was interrupted by flight and or expulsion. This affected the course of migration, as changing political economy of Nigeria, in forms of civil war, reconstruction, the development of natural resources and establishment of main administrative centers affected migration decision-making of people. For example, many of the government policies led to a lopsided development, of creation of more employment opportunities and provision of infrastructure and facilities in urban centers than in the rural areas. Thus, employment opportunities were outside the people’s primary productive activity, of agriculture; and/or were created in areas such as the tin mines of the Jos Plateau, the Enugu coal mines and the coastal industrial/port cities of Lagos, Port Harcourt and Calabar. Also, the cash-cropping system of the colonialist had brought about movement of people to the cocoa and rubber plantation belts of south-western and south-eastern parts of Nigeria, and to the groundnut belt of Northern Nigeria for migrant laborers from the Middle Belt region of Nigeria (Udo, 1975; NISER, 1998).

Moreover, the cause of human mobility had not always been economic; civil war and ethnic conflicts had spurred the dislocation of minorities from their destination back to their home region. The Biafra War of 1967-1970 recorded the largest dislocation and dislodging of many ethnic groups from the northern part to the south-eastern and southwestern parts of the country. And for some of the people dislodged during and after the Biafra war, the option was the flight out of the country, to the Republic of Benin and to the outlying islands of Sao Tome and Principe.

Furthermore, the immigration of ECOWAS citizens into Nigeria took another dimension after the Protocol on Free Movement of Goods, Capital and People was ratified in 1980 (Afolayan, 1988). This almost coincided with the period of economic buoyancy in Nigeria, such that many ECOWAS citizens immigrated into Nigeria. But this was short lived; due to a sharp decline in the price of oil. Consequently, in January/February 1983 and April/June 1985, many ECOWAS citizens that had exceeded the 90 days of grace without the residence permit were expelled from the country.

In addition, by the late 1980s, some other changes in the economic and political policies of the country resulted in changes in the pattern of migration in Nigeria. One in particular is the adoption of the Structural Adjustment Programme (SAP) in June 1986. SAP dictated a shift from the official policy of full employment to substantially reduced government spending on critical services, such as health, education and housing (Afolayan, 1998). This created a greater tendency for persons to emigrate. Evidence include the relatively large number of women traders that shuttle between Lagos and Abidjan in Cote d'Ivoire and in a few other coastal West African countries (Afolayan, 1991).

Another cause of migration is the environmental factor (Afolayan and Adelekan, 1998). Climatic and seasonal variability are the primary factors of seasonal migration, while severe drought and periodic environmental hazards are factors for irregular movement. Seasonal migration, especially of the 'yan cin rani' type, meaning 'eating the dry season away', has been very much evident in the Sokoto area of Northern Nigeria (Prothero, 1957). The more serious drought, of 1972-3, led to a large number, though not well documented, ecologically displaced Internally Displaced Persons

(IDPs) into urban centers within the country. For some, the movements were to other locations outside Nigeria, the latter being locations within the Niger and Chad Republics (Prothero, 1959; Mortimore, 1988; Afolayan, 1992).

Circulatory movement started reflecting in both the internal and international labour migration, between the poorer and better-endowed areas of West Africa, as a 'new' strategy to mitigate instability of stay away from the source region, Nigeria. This has been the situation long before for nomads; but the novel aspect of it is among migrant laborers and traders, who shuttle between destination and Nigeria, in case of any deportation order (Afolayan, 2004). They feature also in the two categories of movers identified to be crossing the frontiers of West African countries; the transient (commuters, visitors, frontier workers) and permanent migrants (Afolayan, 2000). Labo (2000) described them as people that across the international boundary, even though they belong to the same ethnic group; yet they are separated by political borders of West African countries.

Moreover, there has been significant international migration of professionals from the region, but there is virtually no documentation of these movements, hence, there is a dearth and virtual absence of empirical research on this important and often the most publicized category of international migrants. By the middle of the 20th century, emigration of professionals, high-level manpower and skilled workers emerged from the developing countries to the developed countries. Brain drains in Nigeria was becoming prominent as from the 1960s, taking a dramatic turn after the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) was introduced in 1985 (Afolayan, 1988; Adegbola, 1991; Adepoju, 1991).

The creation of states and more local government areas in Nigeria in the 1970s, and the development of the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja, brought about new dynamics of internal migration within the north central zone of the country. The Federal Government development policies energized the migration of people from rural to urban headquarters; from rural areas to State and Local Government Headquarters; and to the Federal Capital Territory located in the north central region of Nigeria (Afolayan, 1998; Ikwuyatum, 2006). The latter, Abuja (FCT), was for long known to be a sparsely populated area; but with the establishment as the FCT, it is presently the

administrative and economic nerve center of the country and it is second only to Lagos as the major migration pull center (Afolayan, 1998).

All these changes in the migration phenomena in Nigeria are perhaps captured in the available data provided by the Nigerian censuses in the last 40 years or more. The 1963 and 1991 censuses, the 1991 Post Census Enumeration Survey (PES), and NISER Migration Survey (1998) reveal some of the dynamics of the volumes and directions of voluntary immigration into Nigeria. The 1963 census data indicates that a total of 101,461 foreigners, (65,467 males and 35,994 females). This included Africans and non-Africans living in Nigeria. The population of foreigners accounted for about 0.18 per cent of the country's the total population of 55.7 million. In 1991 census, the figure had increased to 447,135 immigrants (268,339 males and 210,796 females), constituting 0.54 per cent of the total population of 88.99 million (NPC, 1998).

Although foreigners formed very small percentages of the total population at the 1963 and 1991 censuses, nonetheless, the annual growth rate of immigration, that is, of 5.5 per cent is high. When the number of immigrants from each African country is compared, Cameroon had the largest number of immigrants (18,434; 18.2%); followed by Niger (8,807; 8.7%), Ghana (7,563; 7.5%) and Togo (7,392; 7.3%). Liberia had the least with 712 immigrants (0.7%) in 1963. But by the 1991 census, there were significant changes in the volume and direction of the international flows. The 1991 census shows that 40 per cent of the immigrants were from the neighbouring countries of Benin, Niger, Chad, and Cameroon (NPC, 1998). Benin had the highest figure of immigrants (100,939; 21.2%); followed by Ghana (78,706; 16.5%), Togo (48,993; 10.3%), and Niger (37,035; 7.8%). Sierra Leone had the least number of immigrants (1,623; 0.3%). There were also changes in the number of immigrants from 'Other' African countries, of 2,767 (2.7%) and 104,816 (22.0%), and of those from 'Non-African' countries, of 46,951 (46.3%) and 74,534 (15.6%) respectively in the 1963 and 1991 censuses.

In addition, the data sets reveal sex selectivity, with males dominating the immigrant population. The sex ratios in 1991 census and in the 1991 Post Enumeration Survey

(PES) were 126.4:100 and 118.3:100 respectively. These can be judged against the sex ratio for the entire country, of 100.01:100 and 99.78:100 respectively.

More recent data on immigration and emigration are estimates derived by varied international agencies and research units. For example, the UNDP and Development Prospect Group (2005) estimated emigrant stock of Nigerians that lived abroad as 836,832 people, forming 0.6 per cent of the country's estimated population of 117.608 million people in 2005. The top ten countries that the Nigerian emigrants moved to were Sudan; followed by the United States, Great Britain, Cameroon, Ghana, Niger, Germany, Benin, Burkina Faso, and Guinea.

For the immigrant stock in 2005, a total number of 971,450 persons were estimated, that is, about 0.7 per cent of the total population of Nigeria (UNDP, Development Prospect Group, 2006). Unlike the situation for emigration, the top source countries were mostly from the neighbouring West African states, of Benin, Ghana, Mali, Togo, Niger, Chad, Cameroon, Liberia, Mauritania and Egypt. Also, immigrants exceeded the number of emigrants by 134,618. Although all these statistics are quite revealing of the dynamics of international migration in Nigeria, there is still the indication of very low level of knowledge on the precise situation of things.

The literature captures some aspects of the diversification of the destinations that emigrants from Nigeria are moving to of recent (Nightingale, 2003; Nwajiuba, 2005; Carling, 2005; Obialo and Museckaite, 2008). The more varied reasons for migrating and the increasing categories of migrants are some of the explanatory factors for the diversified destinations. For example, labour migrants/professionals are migrating in larger numbers to more countries in the developed North, such as the United States of America (US), Saudi Arabia and Western Europe (Denmark, Ireland, France, Spain, Italy), the United Kingdom (UK), and Canada. Likewise, the trafficked children and women in transit move from Nigeria via Mauritania, Morocco to Italy or Spain. Diversified destinations within Africa are also noted, as many emigrants move to South Africa, Botswana, Kenya and Ghana in more recent times than ever before. The numbers in each case is more of estimates than the actual.

Furthermore, the literature on forced migration is just coming up; but generally it reveals that people have been forcefully ejected from their places of residence by man-made disasters (wars, ethnic and religious conflicts, government policies and project, political instability) and by natural disasters (famine, drought, flood and earthquakes). Nigeria hosted approximately more than 10,000 refugees at the end of 2003, including 6,000 from Liberia, more than 3,000 from Chad and about 1,000 from other African countries (UNHCR, 2005). The composition of the refugee camp at Oru in Ogun State, according to Kuteyi (2005), shows the disproportionate share of West Africa States in which out of the 4,917 refugees at the end of 2004. Majority of the 4,198 refugees (85.4%) were from Liberia, while the remaining ones were from Sierra-Leone (640), the Democratic Republic of Congo (38), Sudan (20), Rwanda (10), Cote d'Ivoire (6), Cameroon (2), Ghana (1), Chad (1), and one of them was from Burundi.

Trafficking in humans is another type of international migration in Nigeria, which is currently a huge challenge; its causative factors are multi-faceted and it is a complex phenomenon. Trafficking in persons is defined as the recruitment, transportation, transfer, harbouring or receipt of persons, by means of the threat or use of force or other forms of coercion, of abduction, of fraud, of deception, of the abuse of power or of a position of vulnerability or of the giving or receiving of payments or benefits to achieve the consent of a person having control over another person, for the purpose of exploitation (UNICEF, 2005).

This global violation of human rights occurs within and across the Nigerian borders. As a result, Nigeria is a major source, transit, and destination country of trafficked persons, children inclusive. Notable destination of women trafficked from Nigeria include Mali, Cote d'Ivoire, Equatorial Guinea, South Africa, and southern countries of the European Union, in particular Italy, where the women work as commercial sex workers (Carling, 2005; Nightingale, 2003; UNESCO (2006), Nigeria also serves as a transit corridor through which traffickers convey their victims to other countries, among which are by land from Central Africa through Nigeria to countries on the northwestern coast of North Africa to countries in southern Europe.

Operational Models and Theories in Migration

Several migration theories and models were examined in the literature on migration in Nigeria; but there is yet no concise, precise model or theory developed for studying migration in Nigeria. Rather, what exists in the literature review is an amalgam of varied factors that are responsible for the migrations and their consequences on the country. The factors examined are exogenous and endogenous factors that predispose or have led to migration in the country. The former covers economic differentials, internal stability/political disorder, international security, and global networks of communication and transportation. The latter, endogenous factors, relates to the decision-making process of individuals that shape their aspiration and perception of potential places to move to and social-economic networks that affect the migration dynamics (Mabogunje, 1970; Afolayan, 1976; 2000; 2004). Some of these factors were considered singly or as a combination of factors that affect the migration decision-making of migrants.

Also, many of the works referred to some models, without rigorous statistical tests carried out. One popular model is the pull-push model (Udo, 1993; Afolayan, 1998; Awaritefe, 2000). The basic assumption of the push-pull model is hinged on the fact that there exist push factors or repulsive forces, such as poverty, unemployment, dearth of basic socio-economic infrastructure, and generally lack of economic opportunities, which compel persons to move out of their locality or place of residence to another place or destination of higher opportunities. The migrant is attracted (pulled) to destinations with those facilities and opportunities which the migrant lacks and wishes to have. This model has been used extensively to explain the rural-urban migration pattern in Nigeria by several scholars among which are Udo (1975), Adegbola (1972), Afolayan (1972) and Ajor (2005).

Afolayan (1972), however, criticized the 'push-pull' model as being mechanical, as it leaves the actors more or less as robots. She, therefore, proposed a behavioral approach or the theory of spatial behavior, which postulates that migration decision making process is based on an evaluation of the exogenous factors. The approach considers some social and psychological factors, in particular perception and

evaluation, in the decision-making of actors. The decision-making serves as the intervening variables that make individuals decide either to move or not-move. If they were to move, their movement may be at different time intervals, based on their evaluation of situation. Since evaluation is often based on incomplete information and other human traits, the decision may not always be the best.

Many of the writings have indirectly applied the push-pull model in their explanation of the prominent rural-urban migration pattern in Nigeria, without necessarily reviewing the model. The rural areas in Nigeria are perceived as places that lack basic socio-economic infrastructure; ridden with poverty, yet it is home to majority of Nigerians; hence rural dwellers are 'pushed' out or made to migrate to urban centers with perceived greater socio-economic opportunities and facilities for good life. The decision to move out of rural areas is often based on the socio-economic inadequacies that exists in the source region (rural); this sets up a trajectory or pattern of movement from places (rural) with 'push' endogenous factors (unemployment, dearth of socio-economic, poverty etc.) to destinations with attractive exogenous factors (pull) of employment opportunities, accessibility and availability of socio-economic facilities, and better life generally. Consequently, the rural-urban migration pattern emerges from the latter dynamics of human mobility, which the push-pull theory stands to explain.

Another operational model of note is the systems approach to theory of rural-urban migration, as conceptualized by Mabogunje (1970). This approach requires that a particular complex of variables be recognized as a system possessing certain properties which are common to many other systems. The systems approach to rural-urban migration is concerned with why people migrate and with all the implications and the ramifications of the process. The systems approach is designed to answer such questions such as: why do and how does rural person become a permanent city resident? What changes does the rural person undergo in the process? And what effects have these changes both on the rural area of origin and the city destination?

Migration process is, therefore, conceived as a system, in which attraction is focused not only on the migrant but also on the various institutions (sub-systems) and the social, economic and other relationships (adjustment mechanisms) which are essential parts of the process of migrant's transformation. The two most important sub-systems are the rural and urban control subsystems. The system comprises not only matter (the migrant, the institutions, the various organizations) but also energy. In the physical sense, energy is simply the capacity of a given body to work, which is in two forms: potential and kinetic energy. In the theory of rural-urban migration, potential energy is likened to the stimuli acting on the rural person to move. Once the person has been successfully taken out from the rural area, it is assumed that she/he is translating potential energy into a kinetic form. In essence, the major concern of the systems theory is not only the act of moving out but also the cost, distance, and the direction of movement. The rural-urban migration is therefore seen as an open system which involves not only exchange of energy but also of matter, in this case, persons within the environment.

The Action Theory of Max Weber, Maslow's Need model and Amin's Dependency Model all revolve on the political economy of both the source and destination areas (Carling, 2005). Many of these models would pass as examination of the relationship between migration and the political economy of the source region, or as links between migration and partitioned culture areas of West Africa and or of failed States (Asiwaju, 1984; Adekanye, 1998; Akande, 1998; Oji, 2006).

The typology by Ullman of regional complementarities, transferability and intervening opportunity formed the bases for spatial interaction adopted by Nuhu-Koko (1993). The Classical Economic Theory, of demand and supply of goods and services, adopted by Barkindo (1993) is also one of the models in the literature. The theory posits and perceives migration as movement of people from regions of labor surplus, low level of demand and dearth of employment opportunities to areas or regions of high demand for labour and with many employment opportunities.

Ikwuyatum (2006) employed the concept of the New Economics of Labour Migration to examine the determinants and the consequences of migration, in particular the impact of remittances on household farm and non-farming economic activities in the source region. The fundamental view of NELM, as expressed by Stark (1991) is that migration decisions are not taken by isolated actors, but by larger units of related people, essentially the household. Based on this premise, the impact of migration would not be limited to individuals, but would be quite widespread. Consequently, remittances are perceived as not only encouraging migrants' households' income and consumption, but having a multiplier effect on the economy of non-migrant households and on the entire economy of rural sending communities.

Methods and Methodologies

Various types of methods have been used in migration research in Nigeria. They can be classified into qualitative and quantitative methods. The qualitative method includes oral interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs), in-depth interviews of targeted key informants and opinion leaders, ethnographic studies and content analysis (Musa, 1988; Obomamu, 1999; Afolayan, 2004; Kuteyi, 2005; Oji, 2006; Ikwuyatum, 2006). In addition, Albert (1994), used observation and life history method in the study of urban migrants in Sabon Gari in Kano metropolis.

Majority of the empirical works reviewed compliment qualitative methods of analysis with one form of quantitative method or the other. The use of questionnaire as a tool and/or a method of data collection are profound in most of the empirical works reviewed. In addition, e-mail snow-balling data collection method was adopted by Oji (2006) to collect migration and socio-economic data via the internet. This has been facilitated by the development of Information and Communication Technology (ICT).

Also, regression analysis was used in several works, among which are Adewale (2005), Ikwuyatum (2006) and Yusuf (2008) in explaining relationships between migration and socio-economic variables. For example, Adewale (2005) used the regression analysis to test the relationship between the length of stay of migrants in

rural areas and the age of migrants. Oji (2006) and Fregene (2007) used the Logit model analysis in their works. Fregene (2007) used the model to identify migrant fishermen on the west coast of Lagos State. Moreover, Ikwuyatum (2006) applied other statistical techniques, of Computable General Equilibrium Model (CGE) and the Social Accounting Matrix (SAM) to measure the multiplier effect and/or increase of remittances on household income, consumption and savings and on household productive activities.

Mapping, as a quantitative method of migration analysis, was used also to express patterns and flows of migration in works, such as Adegbola (1972), Udo (1975), Afolayan (2001) and Ikwuyatum (2006).

Availability of Data

In general, there is a dearth of data and information on international migration in Nigeria. This is based on the difficulties encountered in obtaining data and information on the issue for the literature review. Virtually all the libraries, archives and documentation centers in the six geo-political zones of the country were combed for the exercise, with very limited result. There seems to be more research works on internal migration than on international migration. Majority of the works on the former are historical in nature and are essentially ethnographies of the people, for example Armstrong (1955), Erim (1977) Freund (1981), Okebe (1985), Makar (1994) and Okpaga (1995). However, a number of studies, such as those of Udo (1975), Afolayan (1998) and Shimada (1993, NISER (1998) and the 1991 Post Enumeration Survey (NPC, 1998) have attempted more in-depth and quantitative examinations of the dynamics of internal migration in different parts of the country. The surveys by NISER (1998) and the 1991 PES (1998) are the most comprehensive of them all, in terms of national coverage. However, both surveys were more on internal migration than on international migration.

Accordingly, the immense paucity of data and information on international migration becomes obvious than it is for internal migration. There is, therefore, a dire need of data and information on who comes from, or moves to or through Nigeria. Other issues of concern are on why people are migrating into, out of or through Nigeria; the

changes in the different types of movers, the categories of, that is, the different types of migrants: transit, permanent; trafficked, circulatory, commuters, forced migrants and so on. Furthermore, research interest should be on countries or regions people move to over time and if there are changes, reasons that brought about the changes and what have been the effects of the migration dynamics on the migrants themselves, their source region and destination, among others. These questions and enquiries form the premise for the present literature, so as to know the level of knowledge on the issues, the gaps in knowledge and future research areas.

Dynamics of the Causes

Push Factors

As stated earlier on, in most of the literature, the push-pull model was used in explaining forces that triggered off human mobility within the country. Also, the idea of the model features in the writings on international migration in Nigeria. For example, the underlying causes of the brain drain have been associated with a set of factors; inclusive the austerity measures of the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) of the 1980s, which led to unreasonably low wages paid to professionals. Also, the formal sector of the economy was characterized by poor working conditions. These manifested in forms of poor infrastructural system, inadequate social amenities, the devalued national currency, decreasing standard of education, and pervading corruption in the public, among many others.

Studies, such as Astor et al. (2005), Carrington (1999), Hagopian et al (2005), Nwajiuba (2005), Aboderin (2007), (2007), and Obialo and Museckaite (2008) have shown that skilled workers and professional emigrants (brain drain) anchored their actions on socio-economic imbalance; lower salaries at home as against higher salaries abroad, lack of job satisfaction, and low productivity. Other factors are under-utilization of resources in the country, lack of appropriate technology and equipment to work with, incessant power shortage/electricity outage, industrial strike actions and retrenchment.

The relevance of the push-pull model is, however, limited by the fact that the migrations that resulted were subject to individuals' evaluation and other processes of rational decision making. In other words, the works that utilized the model failed in most cases to draw out the mechanical nature of the model.

This is unlike the situation of involuntary migrations that depict more of the uncontrolled nature of forced migration. Forced migration is not all that novel in Nigeria, as occasional outbursts of instability were recorded even in the earlier epochs. For example, forced conscription into army and heavy taxation, among others led to a Tuareg revolt in 1917; subsequently, the people were displaced to other settlements.

Forced migration has been assuming new forms and higher rate of occurrence of recent. These are exemplified by the Sahelian droughts of 1970s and 1980s, and the civil wars that rocked the neighboring countries of Nigeria. The former has pushed scores of people and animals living in the arid region, particularly from Niger to move into northern part of Nigeria. Watt study (1983) on famine in the northern part of the country revealed that the massive socio-economic dislocation of the Sahelian famine generated complex patterns of human mobility. Incidents of famine and agricultural decline in parts of Northern Nigeria, traced from records extending to early 20th century, were recorded to have impacted negatively on agricultural production and food intakes; hence, ecologically-induced movements of people were to places that offered better agricultural prospects or to other sectors of the economy (Swindell, 1982; Afolayan, 1992; Afolayan and Adelekan (1998). In the current past, the vortex of movement has become much more complex, with a huge international influx of nomads from Niger, Chad, Burkina Faso and Mali southwards towards greener rural destinations in northern Nigeria and even to urban centers that were driven by oil-money (Apeldoorn, 1981; Abba, 1993). And as Watt (1983) stated "An oil rich Nigeria constituted a better economic prospect for destitute Sahelian herders".

The incessant droughts of the 1990s and 2000s have continued to displace many people unwillingly. Grainger (1990) noted that a sizeable number of recent migrants

in the dry lands of Africa are environmental refugees from drought and famine stricken areas in search of new livelihoods (see Renaud, et al. 2007), sometimes, across international boundaries. Nomadic Arabs from Niger are recorded as still crossing into the northern most parts of Nigeria in Gashigar, Duji, Asaga, Damasak and Alla border settlements of Borno State (Ali, 2006).

Still, another form of forced migration is the expulsion of former economic migrants that were declared to have violated their conditions of stay in member states of the economic region, ECOWAS. In 1983, the government of Nigeria expelled a large number of aliens without the necessary documents from its territory. Immigrants from many of ECOWAS member states in Nigeria that had overstayed the 90 days of grace without a visa, were expelled from Nigeria in January/February 1983 and May/June 1985. Majority of them were Ghanaians (Afolayan, 1988).

Moreover, political development within West Africa, to a large extent, dictated immigration into Nigeria. The civil wars in Liberia, Chad and Sierra Leone in particular have triggered human mobility towards Nigeria. James (1987) reported that about 700,000 Chadian refugees were hosted by Nigeria as a result of the 1981 civil war in Chad; even though many of these people were deported by the government in 1983. However, about 150,000 of the expelled claimed they were born in Borno State. This claim goes further to highlight the blurred nature of boundaries between Nigeria and her neighboring West African and Central African countries. The implication of the latter is the big question of citizenship and identity, that is, who is or is not a Nigerian? The problem has become more complicated due to the fact that Nigerian borders are very porous and migrants move across the border with relative ease. In addition, existing culture and people across the border are similar. Hausa and Fulani ethnic groups are in Nigeria and in other northern neighboring countries. Consequently, identity and or citizenship are a huge problem along the northern boundary of Nigeria, in particular Chad.

Also, the changing political situation, of instability in the host (Cote d'Ivoire) country, strain in the host-stranger relationship and problem of identity card created a sense of

insecurity and forced many Yoruba, in particular, Ejigbo people back to Nigeria in 1993, after several years of their sojourn in that country (Afolayan, 2004).

Pull Factors

The pull factors have at varied times acted in drawing people away from Nigeria (emigration) or in pulling them into the country (immigration). An overriding factor for explaining emigration from Nigeria is the sharp economic and political differentials between Nigeria, other West African countries and the developed North and vice versa at other times.

For the latter, immigration, even right from the early days of the colonial rule, the British administration system was considered better than that of the French in many of the country's neighboring francophone countries (Armstrong, 1955). For example, early in the 20th century, Northern Nigeria presented the pull factors, of better grazing facilities, the provision of wells for pastoralists and their flocks, the provision of veterinary services and the lower taxes paid in the Kano area. These led to the immigration of nomads from neighboring countries into Sokoto region and of Tuaregs into the Kano region, among others (Barkindo, 1993; Kwaire, 2000). Urbanization during the British rule also provided large markets for livestock and its products. Furthermore, Abdu (1982) noted that while seasonal out-migrants predominated, substantial numbers of migrants were moving in search of additional income and wealth due to rising standard of living within Nigeria.

The continued waves of immigration into Nigeria in the third and final quarters of the 20th century are explained by the economic boom that Nigeria enjoyed in the early 1980s, which attracted a large wave of migrants from Niger (Abba, 1993). Also, Abanga (1998) revealed that Chadian moved into Nigeria for economic gains. Moreover, while the Chadian war accounted for the greatest exodus of migrants into Maiduguri, it was the economic opportunities available to the immigrants in Nigeria that provided the sustenance that kept them even longer than before. Abba (1993) noted that a large number of irrigation projects in Kano State, numbering about 25,

provided gainful employment to many Nigerian immigrants. In addition, the high demand and price of kola nuts, high quality imported manufactured goods through the francophone countries and the convertibility of CFA franc have also been seen as pull factors for immigration into Nigeria from other Member States of ECOWAS.

For emigration, the social and cultural factors had all the while been underlying factors that moderated the economic factor in emigration out of Nigeria. This is exemplified by the emigration of Ejiogbo people in the southwestern part of Nigeria to Abidjan. The perceived affluence of Cote d'Ivoire, as well as the chain effect that successful earlier emigrants had on latter migrants in the mid-1950 to early 1970s had sustained the out-flow to the present (Adegbola, 1972; Afolayan, 2004).

Nigerians were also in relative large numbers in Ghana in the 1960s, of 192,000 Nigerians, when they formed 23 per cent of Ghana's total population. But as a result of the Alien Compliance Order of 1969, the number decreased to 56,000 in 1970, the largest decline for any migrant group; and by which time their proportion had decreased to 10 per cent.

However, one attempt at appreciating the limits of the push-pull model is the consideration of the social network, as a mediating factor. This brings in behavioral factors in migration decision-making, of Knowledge, Attitude and Practice (KAP). For example, Afolayan (2004) on Ejiogbo has shown that more than two-thirds of the migrants moved at the insistence of relatives and friends (Afolayan, 2004).

Additionally, strong socio-cultural tie, especially ethnic affinity had served to bind the people around Lake Chad irrespective of which country they belong. This also dictates migration across borders within the region. Such ethnic affinities especially inter marriages among kith and kin across borders had brought together a people divided by an international border. The marriage of Nana (Princess) Yagumsu Kunuma, the daughter of the late Shehu of Borno, Shehu Umar Garbai to the Sultan of Kanem in Chad is one high level union which typifies the ties between a divided

people (Abba, 1993). So strong is the cultural factor between the Kanuri in Borno and those in Chad and Niger that not a few of the royalty on each side are still kith and kin, with metropolitan Borno serving as the 'cultural Mecca' for many Kanuri in Diasporas (Tijjani, 1993).

Also, Islamic education has contributed immensely to the international mobility in the northern part of the country. Scores of men and children traveled far away to study under learned scholars (Malams), not minding distance nor the border. Abanga (1989; 1999) noted the role metropolitan Borno played, as a center of Islamic education, to many Chadian immigrants. Also, Abba had earlier on observed a large influx of Nigeria scholars and koranic students from Niger Republic and Chad into Kano (1993). These Koranic students are often drop-outs and or were sent out by their Koranic teachers to beg for their livelihood. Such beggars are common feature in most northern cities of Nigeria and are referred to as 'almajari'.

For the formal education, the advent of the British administration in Nigeria in the early 20th century paved openings for Nigerian students registering for higher education in different higher institutions in the United Kingdom. For instance, in 1968, an estimated 7,000 students registered and by 1978, an estimated 30,000 Nigerians qualified as graduates, and were living outside Africa, with 2,000 of them living in the United States. In 1984, the Nigerian population living in the United States of America had increased to 10,000; many of who were highly skilled persons.

Besides, the emigration of the professionals and skilled workers got its boost from better opportunities for professional development and high quality of social infrastructure, high purchasing power of the foreign currencies, as well as enabling environment for children' education and livelihood. Many of these educated Nigerians were not returning to the country at the completion of their education, as used to be the situation in the early 1960s (Adegbola, 1991; Adepoju, 1991; Afolayan, 1998). Nowadays, the emigrants tend to stay for longer period after they might have graduated or never return; hence, a well-developed culture of professional migration seems to have emerged (Hagopian, et al. 2005)

Dynamics of the Pattern of Flows: From, Through and Into Nigeria

While there have been significant changes in the migration flows into, through and from Nigeria over space and time, the migration flows are better described as complex. Human mobility across national boundaries in the past had been largely north-south and to a lesser extent, west-east; resulting from trading, droughts, conflicts and pilgrimage (Freund, 1981; Abdu, 1982; James, 1987; Mortimore (1988). Mortimore (1988), for example, argued that the north-south mobility across Nigeria's borders dates back to the colonial era. Its continuation depended, at times, on the effectiveness of diversification strategies, of the seasonal movements of nomads from the arid region to the relatively green areas of Sokoto and Kano (Goddard, 1974; Apeldoorn, 1981; Grainger, 1990). Abdu (1982) revealed that migrants north of Sokoto were still migrating to the south-western forest lands of Nigeria and outside the country, for example, to Ghana.

Moreover, James (1987) believed that both the north-south and east-west movements took place, with a counter current of west-east mobility to the Arab world, especially to Saudi Arabia; explained by the age old pilgrimage tradition. The latter is still relevant to international mobility, as a good number of Nigerian pilgrims stay back in Saudi Arabia, for economic reasons, after their Hajj ritual (Alkali, 1985).

Likewise, the movement of Chadian to Nigeria was recorded as essentially east-west, with Maiduguri being the major destination, and Jos, being the most probable southernmost end (James, 1987). These flow patterns were further buttressed by the fact that out of the three countries bordering Nigeria in the north, Nigerien migrants constituted the highest percentage of immigrants (between 7-8%) of the total immigrants to Nigeria by the 1970s-80s (NPC, 1998).

Presently, most illegal/undocumented emigrants from the south-west, south-east and south-south geo-political zones of Nigeria moving to the OECD and Gulf Arab

countries largely transit through Chad or Niger, en-route Morocco, Mauritania and other North African countries to the Mediterranean countries, with final destination in Western Europe (Adepoju, 1991).

Also, the volumes and directions of forced migration had been changing over time. The two major expulsions from Nigeria involved thousands of ECOWAS citizens; refugees of concern to the United High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) from Sierra Leone and Liberia numbered close to 7,000 at Oru Refugee Camp near Ijebu-Ode, Ogun State of Nigeria (Adedayo, 1997). The dynamics of refugee flows in the country are still to be investigated at greater depths than hitherto. For instance, the number of assisted refugees by UNHCR has been decreasing, with the options of repatriation, resettlement in third country and closing down of the camp. Also, there are very few writings on refugee-in-orbit within the country and on Nigerians as refugees outside the country.

Impacts or Consequences

Many of the works considered the impacts or consequences of international migration in Nigeria on the individuals and the country than on the destination areas. The consequences could be positive or negative; the main problem is the balancing of the two sides of the coin. This is because the measures are most often subjective, depending on the perspectives of the evaluator, the context of the evaluation and often a mixture of more than one measure is needed for an objective evaluation to be made, among others. Also, the separation between the positive and normative is normative. Nonetheless, a review of the literature is to bring out the findings on how migration has impacted the individuals involved, the source and the destination areas.

The Positive

Many immigrants from the Republic of Chad Nigeria were found in construction and industry, and or as day or night watchmen, cleaners, shoemakers, car washers and even street beggars (James, 1987). Emigrants from Ejigbo are said to be affluent; judging from the display of their appearance, their active participation in constructing

new buildings and engaging in development projects in their source region (Afolayan, 2004).

Other ways that the impacts of international migration in Nigeria have been examined in the literature are from the increasing flows of imported goods from the neighboring countries and exports of locally derived materials from Nigeria. Nuhu-Koko (1993) estimated that Nigeria's foreign trade provided over 70 per cent of the goods and services to the immediate and interior parts of land locked countries. With this high level of movement of goods would have been the movements of people. Livelihoods and complementarities between nations are ensured through international migration, for instance, Nigeria's livestock industry is largely dependent on imports from Chad and Niger. Mortimore (1988) revealed that 21-34 per cent of Nigeria's beef comes through the permeable Nigeria-Niger border alone.

To some, the above would have been regarded as positive. This could have been based on the fact that movements of the pastoral would ensure availability of animal protein and beef for sale. For some others, it would tantamount to smuggling of goods, evasion of customs duties and even veterinary risks, among others.

Apart from the economic and livelihood impacts, town unions or migrants associations assist in pooling resources from emigrants for the development of the source region. In the quest to return technology and development back to developing countries, in particular sub-Saharan African countries, different groups and associations have emerged in assisting the developing countries to receive back what they lost through brain drain.

Aligned with this backdrop, Umez (1998) specifically charged "Educated Nigerians Abroad (ENA)" to develop their country of origin. Remittances, in cash and kind, are sent to Nigeria by emigrants abroad. Some individuals, organizations and higher institutions have also received donations and equipment worth millions of dollars. Umez (1998) revealed that Nigerians in Diasporas remitted home \$168 million in

1997 through Western Union alone. Official records indicate that remittances formed 2.8 per cent of the GDP in 2006, when US\$10.58 billion was recorded as remittances inflows. The annual rate of growth has been astronomical, 63.3 per cent; yet, the real value and growth rate could be higher if the informal sources of remitting cash and kind to Nigeria were taken into consideration (CBN, 2007). In all these reviews, measuring the levy of positive impact of remittances is not decisive, as other considerations must be made.

The Negative Impact

Economic activities of emigrants have been found to be detrimental to Nigeria. Balami et al (2001), for example, have shown that even though the unofficial grain trade between Nigeria and Niger through Diffa (a border town of Niger) ensured the steady supply of grains to deficit areas in Niger, ecologically, it led to the depletion of the already fragile border ecosystem along Nigeria's northern border. This was because the international mobility across the northern fringes of Nigeria was predominantly southerly. The seasonal emigration of nomads towards south led to overgrazing and desertification of land within the borderlands of Nigeria. About the same scenario is still observed in Nigeria's north eastern border with Niger, around Damasak (Borno State), where nomadic Arab groups frequently cross the border to overgraze pasture in Nigeria (Ali, 2006).

Social discord and insecurity have also been seen as negative consequences of international migration in Nigeria. These manifest in frequent land disputes along the Komadugu-Yobe area over land ownership, since land is held collectively by members of the same family on the two sides of the Nigeria-Niger border (Ali, 2006).

A consideration of the mass exodus of almajirai into Kano from Niger was identified to be critical in their involvement in the Maitasine crisis of 1981, where it was observed that about 85 per cent of the 187 aliens that were arrested during the disturbance came from Niger Republic (Abba, 1993).

Perhaps much more reported, but without adequate supporting data, is the perceived impact of the emigration of professionals and skilled workers on relevant sectors of the country's economy (Astor, et al. 2005; Hagopiana, 2005). In particular, the education and health sectors tend to have suffered largely, judging from the poor health care delivery systems and fall in the educational standards (Astor et. al. 2005; Ohagi, 1989). For example, Ohagi (1989) noted that the emigration of consultants undermined the credibility of resident doctors in Nigeria's teaching hospital. He further decried the quality of medical practitioners graduating from medical schools of some universities in the country, whose accreditations had been withdrawn by the Nigerian Medical and Dental Council (NMDC). The latter was attributed largely to lack of personnel and facilities.

Gaps in Knowledge

Generally, there is a dearth of up-to-date knowledge on the dynamics of international migration in Nigeria. Though it is a general discourse that there is a "massive outflow" of Nigerians, the dynamics of the volume, directions of the flows and other aspects of international migrations are still indefinite. Coupled with these are the methodological problems, of definitions of terms, data collection, analysis and publication, among many. Therefore, research gaps are in the areas of changes in the category, status, locations and livelihood of emigrants and immigrants. These are in terms of diversification of migration destinations, transformation of labour migrants to self-employed, commercial/business migrants, changes in the component of migration streams (feminization), transformation of legal status of migrants from regular to irregular migrants and consequences of international migration.

In more detail, there is the need to understand better the implications of changes in the migrants' residency in destination areas on the socio-economic conditions of regular migrants, transit migrants, refugees opting for local integration, the trafficked, and repatriated migrants, among others. Furthermore, research on the impact of migration on the health status and economic conditions of regular migrants, trafficked children and women and refugees are very few. Other areas of grey knowledge are on the survival strategies devised by professionals in the interim of getting an equivalent job

that marches their skill. Research in this area would make for clarification of consequences of brain drain, as we consider other perspectives on the issue, such as brain waste and brain circulation. In essence, there is the need to study more the consequences of international migration than concentrating on the causes and because most of the works reviewed dealt on the consequences on the left-behind dependants.

As well, further works are to be carried out on measuring the impact of migration on the development of the country. This would translate to collating data on remittances not only from official ends, but from other sources, to make the data comprehensive. In addition, remittances should be measured both ways, rather than the present state of measuring only remittances received.

In addition, there is the need to consider other models, rather than using the same mechanical model, the push-pull model to study both the voluntary and involuntary migrations.

Conclusion

The literature review of dynamics of international migration in Nigeria has demonstrated the changing and extremely complex nature of the phenomena over the different eras considered, in particular in the recent past. These manifest in the diversification of the migration streams, increasing volume, changing causes of migration, predominance of certain categories of migrants, especially the brain drain and the trafficked and attempts at measuring consequences of international migration, among others. However, knowledge on many of these issues is still very low and incomprehensive. There is, therefore a call for better and more comprehensive knowledge of the phenomena than ever before in order to manage migration better for development purposes.

This becomes very important as the many gaps in knowledge on the dynamics of international migration have thwarted attempts made up to date in relating migration to development to fall short of the expected. For instance, even though the Nigerian

and Chadian immigration into Nigeria may not cease, data and information on them should be up to date and accurate; and there should be ways of utilizing such data and information to the best benefit of the source and destination. Likewise, even though emigration from Nigeria cannot cease, the government should put up favorable atmosphere for potential immigrants to stay and develop the country. Moreover, there is the need to know more about how Nigerian emigrants fare in destinations they move to. This is because of the many reports of the negative effects they have had on some destination countries, the challenges that they themselves are faced with, in particular, when they are ill-equipped to cope with the demands and conditions of living in new environment; hence, the many cases of deportation, jails and even sentences of death on the violators, among others.

As the positive aspect of remittances of the Nigeria's Diaspora population on the development of the country is being acknowledged and fanned presently, there should also be the reciprocal duty of the Federal Government of Nigeria, the host Government and other international agencies on migration issues to balance the facilitation and regulation of the diverse groups of international migrants in Nigeria; thus, a concerted national approach to migration management would be guaranteed.

Therefore, the best way to manage international migration in Nigeria is an adequate balance of the study of the four aspects of migration, which are adequate consideration of the relationship between migration and development, promoting the positive aspects, while regulating the negative, and protection and care of migrants, in particular the more vulnerable, the refugees.

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