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# INTERNAL MIGRATION IN NIGERIA: *A positive contribution to human development*

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## Research Report

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## Preface

Movement of people, merchandise and ideas from one location to another is a common phenomenon in both developed and developing nations. This study examined the impact of internal migration on human development using three different variables – access to education, life expectancy and living standards. As the study found, internal migration in Nigeria presents a rather curious but complex trajectory, which involved rural-urban, rural-rural, urban-urban and urban-rural dynamics. As in other parts of Africa, internal migration in Nigeria is fuelled by a number of factors; the most notable being economic recession and economic growth, education, marriage, civil service (in-service) transfer and national service. The study also found that two generations of internal migrants exist in Nigeria – first generation and their dependants and second generation migrants. These layers of internal migrants are not specific to Nigerians, but also apply to non-Nigerian migrants from neighbouring West African countries.

For the different generations of internal migrants, regional differences in education, socioeconomic and political developments play important roles in how internal migration impacts upon access to education, increases in life expectancy and living standards. Contrary to the general perception (in existing literature) that internal migration mirrors economic and environmental problems, the study concludes that internal migration contributes to development, empowerment and poverty alleviation. Hence, the report favours government interventions in ensuring policies and programmes that are capable of harnessing the benefits of internal migration rather than regarding the phenomenon as a problem affecting economic and environmental spheres.



## Abstract

A combination of the following data sets were examined in this report to assess the impact of internal migration on human development in Nigeria: the 2010 Internal Migration Survey conducted by Nigeria's National Population Commission, key informant interviews and focus group discussions involving about seven thousand internal migrants spread across twenty-four locations in Nigeria's six geopolitical zones, participants' observations and existing literature. As the study found, layers of internal migrants, comprising two different generations: first generation and their dependants and second generation migrants. These internal migrants are originally from within Nigeria and from neighbouring West African nations. They were driven by motivations that occasionally overlapped and, at other times, diverged. Their experiences, like their motivations, are equally different and nuanced. These particular characteristics, combined with the existing regional differences in Nigeria, make internal movements of people, merchandise and ideas an essential component of life in the studied areas. However, contrary to the widely held view that internal migration is an economic and developmental problem, the study found that internal migration increases access to education, prolongs lives and contributes to improved living standards, not only for the internal migrants and their dependants and loved ones in regions of origin, but also of their host communities in destination areas. Owing to its impact on human development, the study favours policy interventions in, among others, internal migration and development, migration facilitation, migration management and migration data collection.

**Keywords:** internal migration; human development; destination area; source area; motivation; migration management; Nigeria; life expectancy; education; standard of living; remittance.



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## **List of acronyms and abbreviations**

ACP	African, Caribbean and Pacific Group of States
AIAE	African Institute for Applied Economics
CBN	Central Bank of Nigeria
DGIS	Directorate General for International Cooperation
ECOWAS	Economic Community of West African States
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GCIM	Global Commission on International Migration
GSM	Global System for Mobile Communication
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IDP	Internally Displaced Person
EM-DAT	International Emergency Events Database
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IOM	International Organization for Migration
KII	Key Informant Interview
LGA	Local Government Area
NEEDS	National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy
NIMS	National Internal Migration Survey
NPC	National Population Commission
NNVS	Nigeria National Volunteer Service
NYSC	National Youth Service Corps
NIDO	Nigerians in the Diaspora Organization
ODA	Official Development Aid
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper
SAP	Structural Adjustment Programme
TAC	Technical Aid Corps
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNO	United Nations Organization



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## Executive summary

Although there has been increased attention given to migration by the Nigerian Government since the country's return to democracy in 1999, there has been very little concern for internal migration. Concerns for migration, both in governmental and academic institutions, have weighed heavily on international migration with a focus on issues such as brain drain/gain, remittances and diaspora organizations. The majority of information and concerns for internal migration is anecdotal, and research findings, where they exist, are few and outdated. In Nigeria, internal migration is discussed in the literature in relation to links between internal migration and environmental problems, in particular urban pollution and slum and ghetto development. Another trend in the literature on internal migration is the rural-urban nexus. However, to justify these and other concerns, much empirical evidence is still required. Although a few studies have analysed internal migration dynamics and challenged some of the reasons offered in the literature, one issue that is still missing today is the impact of internal migration on human development. This research report aims to fill the gap through an investigative analysis of the impact of internal migration on human development in selected communities in Nigeria.

Through existing literature, most importantly the 2010 Internal Migration Survey (IMS, 2010) conducted by the National Population Commission, group discussions and in-depth interviews with internal migrants in twelve locations spread across Nigeria's six geopolitical zones over a one month period (1-30 June 2012), this research has found that although internal migration in Nigeria may have negative impacts, it is also a positive contributor to human development. As the study has shown, internal migration in Nigeria dates back to the pre-colonial periods, in which trade and cultural practices linked the different peoples and communities. Colonial state delineation, which fractured Africa into nation-states, commonly cut groups into two or more. These splintered subgroups continue to retain familial ties with their kin in Nigeria, and movement across porous borders between the main and sub-ethnic groups is often carried out as if no international borders exist.

The study also found that the average age of most internal migrants in Nigeria is between 14 and 65, and internal migration involves both genders. In addition, internal migration in Nigeria is not dependent on education and skill, as both the educated and uneducated, the skilled and unskilled migrate. Although the

states used for this study are evenly selected to cover Northern and Southern Nigeria, internal migration in Nigeria has many, different flow patterns, and instances of movement between and within ethnic groups exist.

Two generations of internal migrants exist in Nigeria. The first generation includes the first movers and their dependants, who may move with them or join them later on. The second generation of internal migrants includes only those who were born in the places of destination to which their parents have migrated. A wide range of factors lead to internal migration in Nigeria, and the motivations and expectations of the different generations of internal migrants vary and may, sometimes, overlap. Drivers of internal migration, include economic reasons, educational opportunities, marriage, civil service (in-service)

transfer, National Youth Service (NYSC), freedom from parents, human trafficking, among others. As with other sources identified in this study, the civil service and NYSC offer dependable data on internal migration.

Although various constraints and peculiarities exist across the country, the study found that internal migration impacts positively upon human development in three key areas: increasing access to education, life expectancy and living standards. Given these, the study's findings suggest that for Nigeria to harness the full potential of internal migration, four strategic policy-development areas are urgently required. These are migration and development, migration facilitation, migration regulation and migration management.

## Résumé analytique

Bien que le gouvernement nigérian se soit montré plus attentif au problème de la migration depuis le retour du pays à la démocratie en 1999, la question de la migration interne reste très peu abordée. Les inquiétudes exprimées par les institutions tant gouvernementales qu'universitaires vis-à-vis de la migration s'intéressent avant tout à la problématique de la migration internationale et plus particulièrement à la fuite / l'afflux des cerveaux, aux transferts de fonds et aux organisations issues de la diaspora. L'essentiel des informations et des préoccupations liées à la migration interne est de nature anecdotique et les résultats des travaux de recherche, quand ils existent, sont rares et obsolètes. Au Nigeria, la migration interne n'est abordée dans la littérature qu'en fonction des liens existants entre migration interne et problèmes environnementaux, plus particulièrement en rapport avec la pollution urbaine et le développement des bidonvilles et des ghettos. La littérature consacrée à la migration interne se focalise également sur la relation milieu rural/zone urbaine. Pour légitimer ces préoccupations, il convient donc de disposer de plus de données empiriques. Quelques études sur l'analyse de la dynamique de la migration interne ont bien contesté certaines des raisons invoquées dans la littérature, mais

il convient à présent d'analyser l'impact de la migration interne sur le développement humain. Le présent rapport de recherche vise à combler cette lacune par l'analyse de l'impact de la migration interne sur le développement humain dans certaines collectivités au Nigeria.

L'examen de la littérature existante (principalement de l'Internal Migration Survey (IMS, enquête relative aux migrations internes, 2010) menée par la Commission démographique nationale, mais aussi des discussions de groupe et des entretiens approfondis menés avec des migrants internes dans douze localités réparties dans les six zones géopolitiques du Nigeria entre le 1er et le 30 juin 2012) a révélé que la migration interne au Nigeria pouvait certes avoir un impact négatif, mais qu'elle favorisait également le développement humain. L'enquête a montré que la migration interne au Nigeria remontait aux périodes précoloniales, quand le commerce et les pratiques culturelles reliaient entre eux les différents peuples et collectivités. La délimitation coloniale a morcelé l'Afrique en États-nations et, souvent, a fragmenté les groupes ethniques ; ces sous-groupes maintiennent encore des liens étroits avec la communauté principale au Nigeria : les déplacements de part et

d'autre des frontières poreuses entre groupe principal et sous-groupes ethniques se font souvent comme si aucune frontière internationale existait.

L'étude a également révélé que l'âge moyen de la majorité des migrants internes au Nigeria se situait entre 14 et 65 ans et que ce type de migration concernait les deux sexes. De plus, la migration interne au Nigeria ne dépend pas du niveau d'éducation, ni des qualifications ; certains migrants sont instruits ou qualifiés, d'autres pas. Bien que les états sélectionnés pour cette étude couvrent autant le Nord que le Sud du Nigeria, on constate que la migration interne au Nigeria présente de nombreux schémas migratoires différents et que des déplacements ont lieu entre différents groupes ethniques ou au sein d'un même groupe.

On distingue deux catégories de migrants internes au Nigeria : la première se compose des précurseurs, c'est-à-dire des premiers migrants, et des personnes à leur charge qui se déplacent avec le migrant ou le rejoignent ultérieurement sur le lieu de destination ; la deuxième catégorie de migrants internes concerne uniquement les migrants qui sont nés dans le lieu de destination où leurs

parents ont émigré. La migration interne au Nigeria est caractérisée par un large éventail de facteurs ; pour les différentes catégories, les motivations et les attentes diffèrent et parfois, se chevauchent. La migration interne est envisagée pour différentes raisons : motifs économiques, études, mariage, mutation dans la fonction publique, Brigades nationales pour la jeunesse (NYSC), pour s'affranchir des parents ou encore pour le trafic d'êtres humain. Comme les autres sources identifiées dans cette étude, la fonction publique et les NYSC constituent des sources de données fiables sur la migration interne.

En dépit des différentes contraintes et particularités propres au pays, l'étude a révélé que la migration interne exerçait une influence positive sur le développement humain dans trois domaines clés : elle assure un meilleur accès à l'éducation, une augmentation de l'espérance de vie et l'amélioration du niveau de vie. À la lumière de ce constat et afin d'exploiter pleinement le potentiel de la migration interne au Nigeria, il est urgent d'élaborer quatre domaines stratégiques de développement : migration et développement, facilitation de la migration, régulation du phénomène migratoire et gestion de la migration.

## Resumo executivo

Embora se tenha vindo a verificar um aumento da atenção prestada pelo governo nigeriano à migração desde o regresso do país à democracia em 1999, tem havido muito pouca preocupação com a migração interna. Preocupações face à migração, tanto em sede de instituições governamentais como académicas, incidiram fortemente na migração internacional, com um enfoque em questões como a fuga/aquisição de cérebros, remessas e organizações na diáspora. A maioria das informações e preocupações em torno da migração interna são esporádicas, e os resultados das investigações desenvolvidas, sempre que existentes, são escassas e desactualizadas. Na Nigéria, a migração interna é debatida na literatura no âmbito das ligações entre migração interna e problemas ambientais, mais especificamente, a poluição urbana e o desenvolvimento de bairros de lata e guetos. Outra tendência presente na literatura sobre migração interna é o nexo rural-urbano. No entanto, para justificar estas e outras preocupações, são ainda necessárias muitas evidências empíricas. Apesar de alguns estudos que analisaram a dinâmica de migração interna terem desafiado algumas das razões invocadas na literatura, uma questão que continua ainda hoje a estar ausente é o impacto da migração

interna no desenvolvimento humano. O presente relatório de investigação tem por objectivo colmatar essa lacuna, através de uma análise investigatória do impacto da migração interna no desenvolvimento humano em comunidades seleccionadas da Nigéria.

Através da literatura existente, com preponderância, o Estudo de Migração Interna de 2010 (IMS 2010) realizado pela Comissão Nacional de População; discussões de grupo e entrevistas exaustivas com migrantes internos de doze locais espalhados pelas seis zonas geopolíticas da Nigéria, ao longo do período de um mês (1-30 Junho de 2012), este trabalho de investigação apurou que embora a migração interna na Nigéria possa ter o seu impacto negativo, é, no entanto, um contributo positivo para o desenvolvimento humano. Tal como o estudo demonstrou, a migração interna na Nigéria remonta aos períodos pré-coloniais, nos quais as práticas comerciais e culturais ligavam os diferentes povos e comunidades. O delineamento do Estado colonial, que fracturou África em Estados-nação, dividiu na maioria das vezes os grupos em dois ou mais, e esses subgrupos desagregados mantêm actualmente laços familiares com os parentes na Nigéria, sendo que o movimento através de fronteiras

permeáveis entre os grupos principal e sub-étnico frequentemente decorre como se não existisse uma fronteira internacional.

O estudo apurou ainda que a média de idade da maioria dos migrantes internos na Nigéria se situa entre os 14 e os 65 anos, e que a migração interna abrange ambos os sexos. Além disso, a migração interna na Nigéria não depende do grau de instrução e qualificações, já que tanto os indivíduos com instrução e sem, qualificados ou não, migraram. Embora os estados sobre os quais este estudo se debruça sejam uniformemente seleccionados para abranger o norte e o sul da Nigéria, a migração interna na Nigéria apresenta padrões de fluxo e tipos de movimento muito diferentes entre e no interior dos grupos étnicos.

O autor defendeu que existem na Nigéria duas categorias de migrantes internos. A primeira categoria, que incluía os que primeiro se deslocaram e seus dependentes, que se poderão deslocar com eles ou se poderão vir a juntar a eles em determinados destinos, numa data posterior, e a segunda categoria de migrantes internos, que descreve exclusivamente os que nasceram onde os país tiveram emigraramo. Há toda uma vasta série de factores

subjacentes à migração interna na Nigéria e, relativamente às distintas categorias, as motivações e as expectativas são diferentes, podendo, por vezes, sobrepor-se. De acordo com as conclusões do estudo, incluem-se entre as motivações da migração interna, razões económicas, educação, casamento, transferência de serviço civil (serviço interno), o National Youth Service (NYSC), vontade de libertação dos pais, tráfico humano, entre outros. Tal como outras fontes identificadas neste estudo, o serviço civil e o NYSC apresentam-se como fontes de dados fiáveis sobre migração interna.

Embora existam diversas limitações e peculiaridades em todo o país, o estudo constatou, contudo, que a migração interna tem um impacto positivo no desenvolvimento humano em três áreas fundamentais: aumento do acesso à educação, expectativa de vida e padrão de vida. Em virtude do mesmo, as conclusões do estudo indicam que para que a Nigéria possa aproveitar plenamente o potencial da migração interna, são urgentemente necessárias quatro áreas estratégicas de desenvolvimento de políticas. Estas são a migração e o desenvolvimento, a facilitação da migração, a regulação da migração e a gestão da migração.

## **I. Introduction and background**

### **I.1 Introduction**

Internal migration, defined as ‘a movement of people from one area of a country [especially one local government area] to another area of the same country for the purpose or with the effect of establishing a new residence’ (IOM, 2011 as recommended in ACP Observatory Research Guide, 2011a) either temporarily or permanently, is a complex and multidimensional process. With more than 140 million people (NPC, 2012c) and a growth rate estimated at 2.5 per cent in 2010, Nigeria has a high urban growth rate (UNPD 2010). This urban growth, estimated at 3.84 per cent for the period 2005–2010 (UNPD, 2009), cannot be dissociated from migration, especially internal migration.

Human development defined by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) (2010) and adopted by the ACP Observatory as a process of enlarging people’s choices, entails two important things: expanding human capabilities and functionalities. To attain any of these, UNDP suggested three steps: leading long and healthy lives, being knowledgeable and having a decent standard of living (UNDP in ACP Observatory on Migration, 2011: 10). This study, conducted across Nigeria over a four-week period, showed that internal migration is vital to attaining these objectives.

Given the above conceptualization of internal migration, the movement, especially of members of sub-ethnic groups that may have been grouped with other ethnic groups to form a nation-state during the colonial rule, into their main ethnic group in another country is considered to be international migration. This is in spite of the fact that to such people, no international migration had occurred. Besides familial ties, Africa’s porous borders, linguistic and cultural similarities, among others, have ensured that these splintered subgroups moved across borders as if no international borders exist. Given these factors, this intra-ethnic migration, on which not much has been written, imposes considerable difficulties in identifying and distinguishing ‘international migrants’ entering Nigeria to reunite with familial or ethnic relations from Nigerian nationals, including ‘internal migrants’.

Although this study recognizes the considerable importance of intra-ethnic movement – movement of the aforementioned splintered sub-ethnic groups from their ‘new nation-states’ into Nigeria, where their main ethnic group is found, it focuses exclusively on internal movement within Nigeria. In order to do this effectively, the internal migrants interviewed for this report were asked about their ethnic origin,

and interviews and discussions were held solely with those who could be recognized and identified as Nigerians.

The study, divided into four chapters, used the 2010 Internal Migration Survey (IMS, 2010) produced by Nigeria's National Population Commission, as a benchmark. It aims primarily at filling gaps noted not just in the IMS 2010, but also in previous studies on internal migration. Common to both the IMS 2010 and existing literature is the contention that internal migration is both an economic planning and environmental failure. However, findings from this study indicate otherwise. To do this, the study examines the impact of internal migration on human development in Nigeria. While chapter one outlines the major focus of the study, chapter two reviews the existing literature. Chapter three presents, discusses and analyses data obtained from the field while chapter four concludes and suggests policy recommendations on how Nigeria could harness its internal migration potential.

## **1.2 Background**

Many policymakers continue to doubt that the movement is a good thing, which is one reason why migration is still very regulated, while goods and services can cross borders without

problems. However, as findings from this study have shown, the histories of the different pre-independence groups in what later became known as Nigeria can only be told in relation to migration. North-South and South-North internal migration of Nigerians followed colonial construction of transportation networks, notably road and rail systems. These developments in road and rail construction, as Coleman (1971) noted, stimulated unprecedented socioeconomic and political developments in Nigeria, as well as North-South labour migration, as new employment opportunities developed in the urban centres of Lagos – Abeokuta and Ibadan – where colonial administration and trading firms set up their offices. The establishment of tin and coal mines in Jos and Enugu respectively stimulated South-North, North-East and West-East labour migrations. This opening up of Nigeria's economy not only stimulated an intra-Nigerian movement of people, merchandise and ideas; but also movement of non-Nigerians (Africans, Asians and Europeans) into Nigeria and Nigerians into other places. As the literature has shown, although these migration dynamics were clear enough at this early stage, not much of their dynamics featured in (national and regional) development planning. However, as this study has found, migration, especially internal

migration, can be vital to human development, poverty eradication and national integration.

From independence in 1960 to the oil boom of the 1970s, internal migration flows were stimulated by economic growth and recession, displacement and ethnic conflicts. Beginning with the Civil War, which uprooted Igbo traders and other non-Hausa-Fulani people from Northern Nigeria; civil strife between Ife-Modakeke, Umuleri-Aguleri, Izon-Urhobo, Urhobo-Itsekiri and others across Nigeria have led to population dislocation. Military and democratic rule have also stimulated migration. In most cases, people migrated to areas where economic opportunities and peaceful living existed. In the 1980s, as shown in chapter two, structural adjustment programmes and economic recession stimulated (labour) migration from rural to urban and urban to rural areas in Nigeria, as well as migration to and from neighbouring West African nations.

Although rural-urban migration, urban-urban migration, urban-rural and rural-rural migration, as well as the migration of other African countries' nationals into Nigeria and the emigration of Nigerians to other African nations, have all featured in the literature, no reliable data exists on migration flows within and outside Nigeria until fairly recently. The recent effort, which culminated

in the IMS 2010, is nevertheless far from being absolute, as most of its data are either obsolete or too few to make any appreciable impact on policy formulation. Consequently, not much of Nigeria's internal migration dynamics have featured in policy formulation and national development plans. What then, is the nexus between internal migration and human development?

As shown in the IMS 2010 and existing literature, at the base of Nigeria's population pyramid are 45 per cent of its people aged between 14 and 35. This huge number formed a critical mass of the country's unemployed population. Many Nigerians have emigrated abroad for employment opportunities, for example, Yoruba traders in Treichville (Abidjan, Côte d'Ivoire), Igbo spare-part dealers in Douala (Cameroun), as well as thousands of travelling cotton pickers in South Sudan. , Many more were caught in the midst of social unrest in South Africa (in 2009), and scores were trapped in the wave of the Arab Spring, during which the International Organization for Migration (IOM) had to help repatriate about 6,000 Nigerians<sup>1</sup>. However, migration movements in Nigeria are not solely directed abroad. In fact, considerably larger numbers are internal migrants from different parts of Nigeria and

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1 Temitayo Famutimi, "IOM Evacuates 326 Nigerians from Libya", *Punch* (Newspaper), 15 July 2012.

others from different parts of West Africa who migrated to different parts of Nigeria for economic and other reasons. Many Hausa-Fulani communities are in Southern Nigeria, just as many Southern Nigerians live in Northern Nigeria. Many Yoruba and Igbo are in different cities in Northern and Central Nigeria, just as Northerners abound in different parts of Southern Nigeria, engaging in various business activities. In Sagamu and Ile-Ife (in Ogun and Osun), hundreds of Hausa-Fulani daily engage in the kola nut trade just as thousands of Yorùbá people dominated trade in Jos, Kaduna and Kano. In different parts of Nigeria, the Hausa-Fulani dominate the irregular trade in foreign exchange whereas the Benin people, among many others from the Edo, Delta and Benue States, dominate the sex trade across cities in Nigeria. In the same vein, thousands from North and Central Nigeria live in different parts of Southern Nigeria working as domestic workers, gatemen (locally called Mai-Guard) and farm-labourers. Deregulation and privatization have also led to the movement of skilled manpower across Nigeria. For instance, the Global System for Mobile Communication (GSM) and banking operations in Nigeria have brought hundreds of skilled and technical personnel from one part of Nigeria to another. These people are negotiating a living in Nigeria's urban

and rural areas. These hordes of labour migrants, whether Nigerians or inter-ethnic group migrants from neighbouring West African states, are pivotal not just to their home communities where, among other things, regular remittances are sent, but also their host communities where they ply their trades and market their skills.

In its latest reports, Nigeria ranked 5th among the highest remittance-receiving nations in the world with a total of 21 billion US dollars for the year 2012 (World Bank, 2012b). The nation's remittance regime for 2012 therefore doubled the 2008 figure of USD 10 billion, and is higher than the total Official Development Aid (ODA) to sub-Saharan Africa for 2010, which stood at USD 20.5 billion (World Bank, 2011b: 50). These do not include monetary inflows through informal and unregulated channels. In fact, remittances sent by Nigerian migrants are believed to be about five times higher than the Official Development Aid (ODA) directed to the country (Adepoju, 2004: 17). Undoubtedly, the effect of international migration is not limited to remittances and cash flow alone, as it includes a wide range of development issues – governance and legal protection, employment and social protection, health services and education, tertiary education, knowledge and skill development, economic growth, financial services and growth, trade, agriculture and

rural development, infrastructure and environment among others (IOM, 2010). Also equal to these is migration's negative impacts – such as prostitution, as the case of Benin girls in Italy makes clear: the transmission of diseases such as HIV/AIDS. From the above, it can be argued that migration, whether international or internal, has both negative and positive impacts.

Based on the previous remarks, it can be argued that while data exist on the impact of international migration, notably in the form of remittance-sending to Nigeria, neither the existing literature nor the IMS 2010 could tell us anything about, for instance, remittances from internal migrants in Nigeria. This is despite the fact that banks in Nigeria have local products that focus on local fund transfers. Can we then adduce this lack of data on internal migration's impact on human development in Nigeria to a mis-diagnosis or a true lack of impact on Nigerians?

As this study aims to show, the impact of internal migration goes beyond remittances, as it also creates employment and the exchange of skills, ideas and culture, as well as other gains associated with living abroad. However, the establishment of the Nigeria National Volunteer Service (NNVS) in 2002, the Nigerians in the Diaspora Organization (NIDO) in 2000 and the Diaspora Commission,

which was proposed in 2010 but is yet to take off, among others, signal a fascination with international migration at the expense of internal migration in government circles in Nigeria. This is rather unfortunate, as it raises important questions about policymakers' understanding of the place of migration, notably internal migration, in human, economic and national development.

Currently Nigeria lacks any coordinated policy on internal mobility that can ensure that the nation harnesses the potential inherent in internal migration. The data collected in the IMS 2010 was an important step. Yet the lack of a coordinated policy framework signifies a serious and pressing danger for trade, the exchange of ideas and intra-ethnic relations among the constituent ethnic groups that comprise the nation. It also impacts, albeit negatively, on indigenization and residency, as the ongoing debacle in Plateau State shows, notably in Jos where the native-settler dichotomy has made life brutish and short as contending parties daily maim, burn, destroy and kill one another. It is in order to ameliorate these and other anomalies that this study examines the impact of migration, especially internal migration, on human development in Nigeria.

### 1.3 Research methodology

The overall objective of this study is to enhance the capability of the Government of Nigeria to understand and harness the potential of internal migration in Nigeria. Further to this, the objective includes the need to provide a better understanding of the internal migration trajectories within the nation: their dynamics, patterns and characteristics.

In addition, the study examines the contributions of internal migration to Nigeria's sociocultural, economic and political development. The study also examines how existing policy frameworks and structures cater for internal migrants. Like their counterparts in the Northern and Southern hemispheres, how do we measure internal migration's net contributions to Nigeria's total gross domestic product (GDP)? Contributions include remittances; employment generation; investment, both in places of temporary settlement and in home communities; scholarship schemes and medical/humanitarian missions, among others, which were set up and/or embarked upon and executed by various individuals, groups of individuals, associations and organizations. It is believed that improved and systematic insight into Nigeria's complete internal migration trajectory would help the nation in developing a holistic programmatic and policy framework on internal migration. It will also help the country

to understand its internal migration patterns and to identify its dynamic characteristics and contribution to human development efforts. Overall, a better understanding of the internal migration trajectories within the country is hoped to assist policymakers in designing development policies and programmes.

This study combines quantitative data sets obtained from the 2010 Internal Migration Survey (IMS, 2010) with qualitative data and insights obtained from focus-group discussions, key informant interviews and existing literature. The IMS 2010 used a systematic sampling procedure, which involves household surveys in census enumeration areas (EAs) for sampling the respondents, which covered all the 36 states of the Federation and the Federal Capital Territory (FCT). The survey, besides providing baseline data on internal migration in Nigeria, focused on migrants, non-migrants and return migrants in 30 clusters (15 urban and 15 rural) in each state. These totalled 110 clusters nationwide. In both urban and rural areas, a total of 11,100 internal migrants, 11,100 non-migrants and all return migrants formed the core of the sample population used for the national survey. Insights from existing literature, focus-group discussions (FGDs) and key informant interviews (KIIs), which were conducted among purposively selected internal migrants from the National Population Commission's (NPC)

delineated census enumeration areas in Ibadan (Oyo State), Lagos (Lagos State), Yenagoa (Bayelsa State), Port Harcourt (Cross River State), Abuja (Federal Capital Territory), Ilorin (Kwara State), Kaduna (Kaduna State), Kano (Kano State), Gombe (Gombe State), Yola (Adamawa State), Umuahia (Abia State) and Awka (Anambra State) were combined with data sets obtained from the IMS 2010 to arrive at the various conclusions and recommendations in this report.

These enumeration areas are already carved, easily recognizable areas with geographical units having a population size of between 400 and 650 people. In Nigeria, there are about 200,000 census enumeration areas. Among many others, the Federal Office of Statistics and the Ministry of Health have used these enumeration areas for sampling and for conducting national surveys. Quantitative data can be obtained from the questionnaires that formed the basis of the surveys. The alternative to this are the electoral wards' boundaries of the Independent National Electoral Commission (INEC), which, like the enumeration areas, are also the smallest electoral units, used to locate polling booths in local government areas. These can also be used to draw respondents and make aggregations for, among other things, research purposes. In this study, INEC wards prove to be largely unusable because (i) they lack easily recognizable defining features

through which internal migrants could be separated from non-migrants and also because (ii) they lack easily recognizable physical or geographical boundaries. For these reasons, the NPC enumeration areas have the advantage and, hence, were used for the focus-group discussions and key informant interviews.

To generate qualitative data and insights from the FGDs and KIIs, internal migrants from enumeration areas in each of the cities and states were selected from areas where internal inbound migrants are based. For instance, in Oyo and Lagos, as in other parts of the country, the FGDs and KIIs were conducted in the Sabo and Ojoo areas of Ibadan (both in Oyo State) and in Sabo, Agege, Oko-Oba and Mile 12 in Lagos State. In these, as in all enumeration areas used for this study, respondents were asked about their ethnicity and residency. In this way, respondents are determined by their ethnic composition. In addition to this selection method; ethnic, social and religious associations that were exclusively set up by internal migrants in these enumeration areas were identified and KIIs and FGDs were carried out among selected members of these associations and groups. In this way, the study was able to sort out internal migrants from among the general population purely along ethnic lines. Responses and respondents for the KIIs and FGDs were solicited after this disaggregation.

These two approaches – FGDs and KIIs – were used to complement both the IMS 2010 quantitative data and existing literature. In addition to the above, this study also combines personal/participants’ observations with the questionnaire methods to weave a narrative on the impact of international migration on human development in Nigeria. In general, the study focused on the dynamics of internal migration as well as how internal migration contributed to human development using three basic variables: education, life expectancy and standard of living.

### *1.3.1 Study areas and research techniques*

Due to its diversities and heterogeneous nature, it is impossible to examine Nigeria as a whole. Hence, respondents were purposively drawn from Ibadan (Oyo State), Lagos (Lagos State), Yenagoa (Bayelsa State), Port Harcourt (Cross River State), Abuja (Federal Capital Territory), Ilorin (Kwara State), Kaduna (Kaduna State), Kano (Kano State), Gombe (Gombe State), Yola (Adamawa State), Umuahia (Abia State) and Awka (Anambra State). In

these states, the author concentrated only on enumeration areas with a high internal-migrant population density. Although this rather small sample may not be representative of what goes on in the entire country, it does give a snapshot view of the situations within the different sections of the country. This is because the states cover the six geopolitical divisions of the country. In other words, while the sample allows the author to cover the entire country and focus exclusively on internal migrants, the sample size for the KIIs and FGDs is not representative enough for a country such as Nigeria. However, in view of resource availability – personnel and financial – the author ensured equity in the areas covered by focusing on two states in each of the six geopolitical zones.

The table below presents household distribution by migration status in the selected states.

**Table 1: Distribution of household population by migration status and states**

State	Migrant (in %)	Non-migrant (in %)	Return-migrant (in %)	Total (in %)	Total Number
Abuja (FCT)	30.8	68.4	0.8	100.0	2,356
Abia	44.4	51.3	4.3	100.0	2,178
Adamawa	25.0	73.0	1.9	100.0	1,873
Anambra	38.4	55.6	6.0	100.0	1,307
Bayelsa	42.9	56.9	0.3	100.0	3,010
Cross River	32.0	65.1	2.8	100.0	2,357
Gombe	10.5	88.1	1.4	100.0	4,608
Kaduna	24.4	73.7	1.9	100.0	2,176
Kano	21.3	77.4	1.3	100.0	4,142
Kwara	28.0	71.7	0.3	100.0	2,880
Lagos	36.4	59.9	3.7	100.0	1,455
Oyo	31.0	67.5	1.5	100.0	2,390

Source: Extracted from the National Population Commission, National Internal Migration Survey 2010.

From the table above, the numbers of internal migrants present in states across Nigeria differs greatly. Irrespective of the differences in the numbers of internal migrants in these states, (24) FGDs and over 250 KIIs were organized in each of the twelve states. In each of the FGD clusters, there were 10 individuals; thereby making a total of 240 internal migrants per FGD in each state and a net total of 490 respondents per state and a total of 5,880 people across Nigeria. Informants for the KIIs were randomly selected while for the FGDs, informants were purposively selected among migrant groups and opinion leaders (where such existed). In both the KIIs and FGDs, the research focused primarily on the impact of

internal migration on education, life expectancy and standard of living.

Insights generated from the existing literature, the IMS 2010, KIIs and FGDs are presented in chapter three of this final report.

### 1.3.2 Key variables

As a standard measurement and as noted by the UNDP and cited in IOM's 2010 *Nigeria: Country Profile*, human development is measured based on three criteria – education, life expectancy and standard of living (UNDP, 2010). Education, as a variable, is measured, on the one hand as a subset of access and school enrolment and, on the other hand as

a subset of adult literacy. In this study, the author examined how internal migration has provided, increased or otherwise affected access to education both in internal migrants' places of origin and their destinations. Primary to the above is the need to know how migration increased access to education. As the study showed, this could entail migrants sending money home to fund their wards and children's education or contributing to the educational development of others whether in their places of origin or places of residence. The development implications of internal mobility could also occur through community projects such as buildings for schools, donating to schools, donating to libraries or any other educational purposes. Here, the research paid specific attention to the different ways through which migrants contribute to (a) their own educational development; (b) those of others; and, on some occasions, (c) if the need for education underscored migration in the first place. Also crucial to the above is whether or not migrants became 'educated' (adult literacy) as a result of migration or in the process of migration. Does the need for education play any role in the decision to migrate? The same applies to adult literacy.

The standard measurement for life expectancy includes access to good and affordable (a) health care, (b) food, (c) shelter, (d) security

of lives and property, (e) a clean environment, (f) adopting of healthy habits and (g) other essentials to life. This study draws out how internal migration increases or decreases access to the aforementioned criteria both for the migrants and their dependants, whether at destination or source areas. Intrinsic to the above is the need to know if migration increases (or decreases) migrants' life expectancies; whether or not the decision to migrate was premised on the need to live a better and more fulfilling life. In the case of a refugee situation, how has internal migration ensured a better life? The questions here focused more on how migration has either increased or decreased longevity. Where migrants come from areas where there is no access to health care, where maternal mortality is high, where there is no access to potable water, where sanitary toilets, clean environment and so on are lacking, life expectancy will be low, as life-threatening diseases and conditions capable of leading to early death will abound. How has migration increased access to all these essentials of life? It is believed that if all these are present in their places of residence or places of temporary residence, then migrants will live longer.

Regarding the standard of living, the study is concerned with how internal migration contributed to people's accumulation of wealth, change in

status, contributions to their home communities and places of temporary residences through projects such as personal houses, care for parents and loved ones, remittances to home or source areas for funding children's education, providing empowerment for younger ones, wives and siblings. How has internal migration provided jobs for internal migrants? As seen in the chapter on the literature review below, studies have shown that remittances from international migration may increase the development of non-farming activities in rural communities and lead to further migration. How then, in the case of internal migration, has this mobility within borders contributed to increasing the living standards of not just internal migrants but also their dependants? In general, how does internal migration contribute to, more importantly, a better standard of living for Nigerians?

## **I.4 Hypothesis**

This study hypothesizes that internal migration in Nigeria was heightened by uneven development in education, economy, and social and infrastructural sectors along its regions. Equally, it presupposes that these lopsided developments caused situations whereby men and women, irrespective of age and region, moved from one area to another where their basic needs of life could be best achieved. Invariably, internal

migration in Nigeria has followed four different trajectories: rural-urban, urban-rural, urban-urban and rural-rural. Finally, the study contends that internal migration increases and enriches not just the migrants, but also their dependants and hosts in three critical areas – access to education, increase in life expectancy and an increase in the standard of living.

## **I.5 Conclusion**

From the above, internal migration is an age-old phenomenon and, as such, its contributions to human society deserve closer study, especially in a large and populous nation like Nigeria. In the succeeding chapters, we examine migratory trends and patterns, as well as their impact on human development.



## 2. Literature review

### 2.1 Introduction

Although no universally accepted definition of internal migration currently exists, the consensual definition of internal migration is any temporary or permanent movement of people from one area of a country to another area of the same country for the purpose, or with the effect of, establishing a new residence (ACP Observatory on Migration, 2011: 5; Kok, 1999:19). Defined in this way, an internally displaced person (IDP), a transferred civil servant or a Nigerian university graduate who is deployed by the National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) to serve the nation in a place other than his or her place of habitual residence is also an internal migrant. Besides a lack of consensus on the definition, controversies also exist on the length or duration of the migrants' stay and the distance between the place of habitual residence and host location. For instance, a number of studies maintained that such movement must have occurred within the last six months and must have originated from one local government area to another (Afolayan et al., 2008: 2). Nigeria's National Population Commission in its 2010 Population Estimation Survey on Internal Migration in Nigeria (IMS, 2010) not only defined internal migration as any change of residence that has taken place within national borders and

across local government areas, but also that such movement must have lasted for a period of not less than six months (NPC, 2012b). In some other literature (Bilsborrow, 1987; 1992; Kingsley, 1974), a time frame of between ten days and three months, as well as any location whether or not such location lies within the same local government area as the place of habitual residence or not, have been suggested.

In this study, the author argues that internal migration, conceived as it is in the literature, takes no notice of Africa's peculiar history. As shall be shown shortly, a critical component of colonial rule is the need to define and delineate the colonized peoples. In Africa, the European powers therefore splintered ethnic groups in Africa into subgroups, and some of these splintered groups were grouped with others to form new nation-states. Because the colonially created African states are not successors of their pre-colonial counterparts, sub-ethnic groups still retain familial ties with their kin in their 'old states,' and movement across Africa's porous borders between the main and sub-ethnic groups is often carried out as if no international borders exist. Any definition of internal migration that takes no notice of this category of movement, especially where splintered groups share borders

with their main groups in other nation-states, is too generalistic of the African situation.

Although migration studies, as an area of serious study and as a policy field, developed a little late in Nigeria, the literature on migration in Nigeria showed that migration is not a new phenomenon, as the histories of the different ethnic groups cannot be told except in relation to migration.

While this review is not a *tour de horizon* of migration literature in Nigeria and Africa, it must be admitted that the literature, generated as it were by academic scholars and students in the form of theses, dissertations, monographs, books and journal articles, as well as by governmental organizations, non-governmental organizations and development agencies in the form of reports, country-specific studies and occasional publications, has been enormous, massive and breathtaking. However, this avalanche of literature focused more on international migration than internal migration. To review internal migration literature, this review essentially concentrated on themes rather than chronology, issues rather than authors. In addition, the review is divided into three time periods: pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial. Done in this way, the review is able to show, in sharp relief, that migration has a long antiquity in Nigeria. It also

shows the concerns of authors and organizations over the years as well as the various achievements and gaps in migration studies. The review ends by drawing out gaps in the literature as well as setting a new research and policy agenda for further migration research, not just in Nigeria but across Africa and beyond.

## **2.2 Pre-colonial migration trajectories**

As studies on Nigeria have shown, the histories of the different ethnic groups that constitute contemporary Nigeria are histories of movements and counter-movements. The Yorùbá people were believed to have ‘dispersed’ from somewhere in the Middle East (Arabia) to Ile-Ife, from where they further migrated to other Yorùbá villages, towns and cities (Johnson, 1920). The Binis were believed to be a sub-ethnic group of the Yorùbá who migrated from Ile-Ife; while the Itsekiri, Urhobo and others around the Niger-Delta have been traced to Edo and Awka, among other places (Davidson, 1965). The Bayajjida story, which chronicled the origin of the Hausa states of the Sudan, is also a story of migration, with Bayajjida described as a Prince from Baghdad who settled in Daura. His offspring were the founders of other Hausa states (Davidson, 1965). Sarkins and Emirs in these Hausa states were also reputed for sending

their wards and children to different centres of Islamic and Arabic training in Sokoto, Kano and Ilorin, as well as to Mali, Songhai, Istanbul and others (Lovejoy, 1980). Evidence also abounds of long-distance merchants from Central and Western Nigeria who not only traded with others in Kano and Sokoto, but also across the Sahara with Libya, Morocco and Egypt (Lovejoy, 1980). The use of cavalry in the nineteenth century Yorùbá Civil War, for instance, has also been traced to the movements of men, merchandise and ideas from Northern Nigeria (Ajayi and Smith, 1971: 124-125). The ignoble trade in slaves, especially the predation of the Igbo and Ibibio areas by Itsekiri, Urhobo and Efik, led to the displacement of thousands of Igbo and Ibibio peoples who fled into the forests to escape capture and enslavement, and also to the forceful (international) emigration of Igbo and Ibibio peoples (Davidson, 1965). Clapperton, one of the earliest Europeans to visit Nigeria, maintained that as early as the 1830s, herders from Sokoto were destroying farm products in Ancient Oyo and rather large fights were recorded (Lander, 1830: 46-47).

In addition, contacts between different Nigerian groups with outsiders, first through trade (including the ignoble trade in slaves), and later through the world religions and colonialism, imposed new layers of migration on Nigerians. With the Niger-Delta

peoples enslaving and depopulating (by killing and selling as slaves) their Igbo and Ibibio neighbours, thousands were forced to flee into the forests. Many of the captured ones were sold as slaves and were consequently taken to Calabar, Badagry and Elmina (in Ghana) before being transported across the Atlantic to Europe and the New World (Lovejoy, 1978: 341-368). The Hausa-Fulani preyed on their neighbours around Central Nigeria and sold scores as slaves to traders from the Maghreb who later transferred their human goods across the desert to North Africa, the Middle East and Asia (Davidson, 1965). Many more escaped enslavement by fleeing into Yorubaland. Attempts to end the trade in slaves, which brought Christian missionaries from Sierra Leone and Brazil effectively into Badagry, Lagos and Abeokuta and ushered in an era of migration-inducing relationships between the different groups in Nigeria and between Nigeria and Europe, originally led to a new layer of migration. With the British Navy dominating and preventing slavers' ships from sailing across the international waters, enslaved people from Northern and central parts of Nigeria were exchanged domestically as slaves in Yorubaland, for instance. These men and women served in their 'new homes' until 1893 when colonial rule outlawed the holding of domestic slaves anywhere in Yorubaland (Oyeniyi, 2010a).

These pre-colonial polities had no fixed geographical boundaries, as the literature has demonstrated. Although lacking physical boundaries, cultural borders like languages, customs and ethno-national identities of different kinds, did exist. These cultural borders were, however, shared (Oyeniyi, 2010a). Being shared, ideals such as intergroup marriages, intercommunicable languages, trade relations and religions served as effective instruments for migration (Oyeniyi, 2012b).

The relative absence of physical borders in pre-colonial Nigerian polities makes it difficult to situate pre-colonial migration trajectories between the two migration dichotomies – internal and international migrations. However, two categories of pre-colonial migration that have been recognized in the literature are intragroup and intergroup migrations (Ikime, 1985: 1-35). These two categories, although similar to internal and international migrations, differ markedly from contemporary understanding of internal and international migration, as the fluid nature of movements and interrelationships between pre-colonial groups skewed the lines separating internal from international migration, as understood in contemporary terms.

Despite the above, the two categories of migration also manifested features associated with

contemporary migration trajectories and the literature noted the following forms of intragroup and intergroup migrations: temporary and permanent migration, step and circular migration, displacement and the refugee situation as well as permanent return.

A cursory look at the histories of nations in Africa reveals that African states, Balkanized by their erstwhile colonial masters into many different nations, which were, for the most part, without respect for pre-colonial existing cultural complementarities that served as demarcations, simply confound all existing definitions of migration. Although fractured to suit European colonial advantages, groups in Africa have since refused to relinquish their erstwhile pre-colonial group dynamics and indigenous structures. State and local government area creation also fall into this categorization. For instance, the Igbomina of Kwara are separated from their folks in Osun; Ibarapa people are split between Oyo and Ogun just as some other Yoruba peoples are separated from Kogi and Kwara States and are now regarded as part of Niger State. Similarly, the Ketu people in the Republic of Benin are separated from their Yorùbá kin of Southwest Nigeria. In addition to artificially created colonial nation-states, post-independence states and local government council area creations

are fracturing groups even more and these layers of dismemberment are drivers for intergroup movements.

This complex societal structure, especially the non-existing border system within and among ethnic groups, is being erroneously described as 'porous borders.' In addition, the refusal by people to respect artificially created borders or obey laws guiding movements across borders is often viewed from outside the context of the specific African intra and intergroup relation systems.

Given the above, this study proposes one of two things: either a re-conceptualization of what constitutes internal migration in order to adequately capture the aforementioned complexities, or an introduction of a third category of migration – intergroup or intragroup migration. By intergroup migration, we describe any movement of members of a particular ethnic group to another ethnic group, not minding if this is within a local government council area, state or nation. Defined in this way, the movement of Yorùbá people from Nigeria to Ketuland, another Yorùbá people in the Republic of Benin, will be separated from the international migration of, for example, any non-Yorùbá people of Nigeria to Ketuland or anywhere in the Republic of Benin. For the Yorùbá people, movement to Ketuland in the Republic of Benin will, from this new

conceptualization, amount to internal movement of Yorùbá people within Yorubaland.

From the pre-colonial Hausa tradition of equalizing growth and manhood with having travelled to the coast in Lagos and the sheer fact that by the 1830s, a strong and vibrant Hausa community had been established at Iraye Quarters in Ile-Ife, the famed cradle of the Yoruba race, to the excavation of Ife art forms in places like Nupeland and Sokoto and the numerous trips by Itsekiri traders to the shrines of Ibini Ukpabi, the Long Juju of Arochukwu and numerous other examples, we now know that migration was not just an important component of pre-colonial Nigerian polities, but it also constituted what has been called 'cultures of migration' in pre-colonial Nigeria, as in other parts of Africa (Davidson, 1965, Akinjogbin, 1985, Hans Peter Hahn and Georg Klute, 2007).

### **2.3 Colonial migration trajectories**

As the above has shown, migration featured prominently in Nigeria's pre-colonial polities. However, as a component of social change, the first official mention of migration in Nigeria's colonial history was in a 1943 memo where Mr. E.A. Miller, Commissioner for Labour, noted that '... the move to the cities had begun

and already is presenting difficulties of control and distribution' (quoted in Oyeniyi, 2010: 57). Serving as impetus to migration during the colonial period were two world religions (Islam and Christianity), colonialism<sup>2</sup> and Western education, which was born of both Christianity and colonialism. Through their inherent administrative authorities, the world religions were posting preachers and teachers, imams and pastors from one location to another, which were in most cases from urban to rural areas. In this way, Islam and Christianity, in trying to create disciples for their religions and educating these disciples, inadvertently introduced a migration trajectory that oscillated between urban-rural and rural-urban areas. While religions foster urban-rural movement, western education created movement from rural to urban centres, where the earliest educational institutions were seated (Coleman, 1986).

With the establishment of colonial rule in Nigeria came new labour requirements, which opened the doors for European trading firms

who settled and opened shops in and around Lagos, Abeokuta, Ibadan and other Nigerian cities. The development stimulated both inter- and intragroup migration in the same way as the introduction of export crops such as cocoa, coffee, cotton and rubber stimulated trade relations between groups across Nigeria. As Coleman argued, the developments associated with tin mining in Jos stimulated movements of young, able-bodied men from Eastern and Western Nigeria to Jos in much the same way as coal mining in Enugu stimulated movement from Northern Nigeria to Eastern Nigeria (Coleman, 1986). Oyeniyi (2010a) noted the role played by internal migrants' labour in post-conflict reconstruction in Yorubaland after the nineteenth-century Yorùbá Civil Wars, while Falola (1985) attributed the origin and growth of some Yorùbá cities, especially Ibadan, to labour of both intra and intergroup migrants. In general, Oyeniyi and Falola attributed socioeconomic developments in Yorubaland from the last quarter of nineteenth century to internal migrants' labour.

As roads, railways, harbours and vital telecommunication networks were built and societies were opened up to commerce and colonial administration during the colonial period, peoples, hitherto confined to their places of habitual residence,

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2 Colonialism in Nigeria refers to British territorial expansion and imperial rule, which started at different times in different parts of Nigeria but effectively between 1860 and 1900. The colonial administrators used the Indirect Rule system, which depended on the native rulers to administer different parts of Nigeria. In 1914, the different parts were administratively joined and ruled as one country, Nigeria.

began to move from one place to another. Collectively and individually, intergroup relations, trade and commerce as well as warfare, religion (Islam and Christianity) and (mission) education played fundamental roles in stimulating and altering patterns of movements (of men, merchandise and ideas) across and outside Nigeria.

In spite of the above, migration was erroneously seen during the colonial period as essentially rural to urban, and it was also associated with delinquent behaviour, especially in colonial Lagos (Oyeniyi, 2010a).

## **2.4 Post-colonial migration trajectories**

Despite the fact that internal migration took a central position in Nigeria's pre-colonial and colonial administration, it was (and still is) seen in negative terms in the post-colonial period. While colonialism lasted, migration was seen as primarily rural-urban in nature. Essentially, it was seen as tied to urban unemployment, social and environmental pollution; with migrants seen as a hungry, unemployed, disorganized and inchoate group that was largely tolerated.

As the literature showed, the location of industries, government offices, public and private agencies,

infrastructural and developmental projects in urban centres, which started in the colonial period, continue to draw migrants, especially young ones, from rural areas. Economic boom and decline have also stimulated migration in post-colonial Nigeria. Nigeria, in the 1970s, witnessed an unprecedented oil boom, which spurred structural and infrastructural developments in urban centres, notably in Lagos and other cities across Nigeria (Adepoju, 1977). An economic decline of immense proportion hit the nation in the 1980s following a fall in crude oil commodity prices, and exacerbated by the structural adjustment programmes (SAP)<sup>3</sup> that were orchestrated by the World Bank and IMF (Potts, 1995; Greenberg, 1997: 85-93). Large movements from rural to urban and urban to rural areas followed this development. During the 1970s and, to a sizeable extent, the 1980s, employment opportunities, due to developmental projects located in city centres, drew young people from the rural and agricultural economy to urban and industrial areas. In most Nigerian

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<sup>3</sup> Structural adjustments are the policies implemented by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (the Bretton Woods Institutions) in developing countries. These policy changes are conditions for getting new loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) or World Bank, or for obtaining lower interest rates on existing loans.

cities, infrastructural development failed to live up to the rapid immigration and urbanization; urban employment, housing and sanitary problems of varying magnitude soon arose and these became synonymous with rural-urban migration, especially in policy planning and formulation. As economic decline ushered in unprecedented changes in government policies, especially during the military rule, government spending on social welfare programmes declined precipitously and thousands of workers lost their jobs. The outsourcing<sup>4</sup> of hitherto regular employment became the norm in private enterprises and those who could not get placement in the informal economy were forced to return to the farms. Essentially, while economic boom stimulated rural-urban migration; economic decline, as Potts (1995 and 2012) argued, weaned, in some instances, urban-rural migration, and in others, rural-urban migration.

## **2.5 Contemporary migration trajectories**

Two common complaints in contemporary literature on internal migration in Africa are a paucity

of migration literature and the unreliability of migration data (IOM, 2008b). The concerns about data reliability is generally shared, and this is not peculiar to internal migration as a phenomenon. On the paucity of literature, it must be stated that while literature on international migration has grown exponentially during the last two decades, little attention has been given to internal migration. This is striking, as migration, during the last forty years, has not only become an issue in academic and government circles, but is also largely internal in nature. With an estimated 740 million internal migrants compared with 214 million international migrants, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) estimated that internal migration is three times higher than international migration (UNDP, 2009). As this review seeks to show, it can be safely argued that a welter of literature has developed, especially during the last two decades.

While academic papers have concentrated on theories, methodologies and epistemologies, policy papers and reports have served as useful links between theory and practice. Generally, the concerns of the literature have been to provide answers to three basic questions: (a) Who migrates? (b) Why do people migrate? (c) What are the impacts of migration on the source and destination areas? Attempts to

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<sup>4</sup> Outsourcing is the process of contracting an existing business process, which an organization previously performed internally to an independent organization, where the process is purchased as a service.

provide nuanced answers to these questions have thrown up volumes of literature, yielded up a number of theories and present us with different approaches and problems. Individually and collectively, all of these have enriched our understanding and shed useful light on the issue of migration.

One of the earliest and perhaps one of the most enduring theories of migration was propounded by Michael P. Todaro (1967), who answered the three questions above within the rubric of surplus labour and rural-urban wage differentials. As argued, migration is a 'beneficial' process by which surplus rural labour was withdrawn from the traditional agricultural sector and reallocated to the (growing) urban industrial sector. Todaro (1967) asserted a shifting labour from rural locations where their marginal social products were often assumed to be zero to urban industrial complexes where these marginal products were not only positive, but also rapidly growing as a result of capital accumulation and technological progress. Migration is thus conceived as a critical reflection of a society in the process of transitioning from an agricultural to an industrial economy.

From migrants' identity and motivation to the decision-making process guiding migration, a number of other theories have come up

serving both as proofs and refutations of Todaro's claims. Caldwell, in relation to Africa, punctured Todaro's model by asserting that migration decision making largely involved the entire household and therefore followed a different curve than Todaro's. On the model's preoccupation with urban problems, especially unemployment, Adepoju (1977), Rempel and Lobdell (1978), Dike (1982), Babatunde and Mertinetti (2010) enthused that a substantial number of African migrants were self-employed and therefore moved into the informal sector of urban areas where entry rules were relaxed.

Mabogunje's push-and-pull model, an innovative adaptation of Lee's (1966: 47-57) world systems model, posits that centrifugal factors at the place of habitual residence and centripetal factors at the place of destination serve as push-and-pull factors, drawing migrants from one place to another (Mabogunje, 1970). As argued, centrifugal or push factors such as inadequate health care and unemployment, primitive conditions and natural disasters (such as desertification, famine or drought), political fear and persecution, slavery and forced labour and the like drive out-migration while pull factors, which include higher wage rates and job opportunities, social amenities and education, better living conditions and enjoyment, political and religious freedom, better medical care and

attractive climates and so on serve as magnets, drawing people from areas of lack to these centres (Uneke, 1980, Dike, 1982, Mabogunje, 1985). For Nigeria as well as other African nations, Mabogunje concluded that the effect of selective and unequal urban development and the growing disparity between rural and urban areas is the reason why people migrate from the former to the latter (Mabogunje, 1970:1-18). In addition, the theory divided labour markets in urban centres into two segments: a primary segment, which requires highly skilled labour, and a secondary segment, which is labour-intensive and requires low-skilled workers. Since employment opportunities, better living conditions, political and/or religious freedom, enjoyment, education and better medical care have been concentrated in Africa's urban centres since the colonial periods, they therefore served as pull factors, which have turned urban centres into magnets drawing migrants from the rural areas. Haas (2008) described this migration theory as 'the most comprehensive attempt at integrating both first (endogenous) and second order (contextual) migration system feedbacks so far' (Hein de Haas, 2007: 13).

Space constraints, however do not allow us to examine other theories of migration. Notwithstanding this, the following points, which have been raised in other studies, deserve

special mention. Although languages, cultural practices and ethno-national identities of different kinds that served as cultural borders existed in the pre-colonial polities, there were no fixed geographical boundaries. As the cultural borders were shared (Oyeniyi, 2012), they also served as effective instruments for migration. A number of studies have also affirmed the male-dominated dynamics of migration. Among others, Coleman (1985), Falola (1985), Mabogunje (1985) and Oyeniyi (2010) noted that since the colonial period, young and able-bodied males, more than their female counterparts, migrated. Adepoju (1977) and Oyeniyi (2010) adduced this gender bias to the very nature of colonial employment, especially following track, railway and road construction, which required strength and many days of service outside the homestead. In other studies across Nigeria, it has also been suggested that factors such as patrimony administration, which favours the first male, made it important for others in the family, especially other males, to migrate in search of economic capital with which to start their lives (Findley, 1997, Babatunde and Martinetti, 2010). As this study found, things have changed, as females now migrate just like their male counterparts.

Although the theories are clear on the location of both push-and-pull factors, they generalized on the flow of

internal migrants as essentially being towards the urban centres. While incontrovertible evidence abounds to support a large rural-urban migrant flow, Potts (2010), among many others, has shown that in some places, urban-rural migration followed and, in others, rural-rural migration also occurred. This study also found that urban-urban migration is also occurring. In addition to these gaps, the theories, especially those of Todaro and Mabogunje, also failed to explain the non-mobility of a large section of people in rural areas.

Today, migration in Nigeria, like in other parts of Africa, has assumed a considerable measure of diversity and continuity. It has also assumed rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-rural and urban-urban patterns. Furthermore, these movements, sometimes free and sometimes forced, were driven by a host of factors, some of which are not essentially tied to the economy.

## **2.6 Migration and human development in Nigeria**

Human development, as the UNDP noted, is a process of enlarging people's choices through the expansion of human capabilities and functionings. To attain these two objectives, the three cardinal measurements suggested are: leading long and healthy lives, being

knowledgeable and having a decent standard of living (UNDP, 2010). In a study on international migration and national development, Hein de Haas noted that forty years after independence, migration, whether internal or international, in Nigeria 'is still primarily seen as a development failure rather than a constituent part of broader social and economic transformation processes' (de Haas, 2007: 7-8). Internal migration is still seen as necessarily rural-urban in nature and also as 'a force disrupting social cohesion in village societies and causing urban crises' (de Haas, 2007: 9). So, in most national policy papers, internal migration is strongly associated with human 'trafficking, forced child labour and prostitution' (de Haas, 2007: 7-8). In Nigeria's Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP),<sup>5</sup> internal migration is regarded as a force 'which potentially contributes to urban unemployment and urban pollution and waste management problems' (NNPS, 2004 + xix). Among many other ills, internal migration was blamed for the ageing of rural populations, deepening rural poverty, urban insecurity, social dislocation, the breakdown of societal values and community unrest (NNPS, 2004:43). This view of internal migration, especially as relates to urban population growth,

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5 This is also known as the National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS).

is erroneous, as most population growth in cities is due to, among other things, fertility and not necessarily internal migration.

On the correlation between internal migration, prostitution and human trafficking, the received doctrine was that women and children are vulnerable to trafficking from rural areas to the cities, and generally from one local government and state to the other. However, studies have shown that rather than women and children, more men and boys are actually trafficked (Raymond, 2002; Farley and Melissa, 2003; Melde and El Mouaatamid, 2011). In fact, both males and females are victims of prostitution, trafficking and forced labour. Sadly data on the nexus between internal migration and the aforementioned are lacking in the case of Nigeria. For the most part, these victims were uprooted from their places of habitual residence through job placements, migration networks or through family connections. In the case of children, what initially began as traditional child fostering that had existed in the cocoon of the extended family system has, today, changed character and is replaced by a system where middlemen source children from rural areas and economically disadvantaged households, which are then supplied to non-relatives mostly in urban areas (Akinyoade, 2012: 6). Women and children (males and females) are trafficked from, for

instance, Shaki in Oyo State, different parts of Akwa-Ibom, Cross River, Ebonyi, Imo, Benue and Kwara States to cities like Lagos, Abeokuta, Ibadan, Kano, Calabar and Port-Harcourt. In most cases, these victims were promised employment or care (as the case may be) for a certain period at destination areas, but once they are trafficked, the agreements are usually dumped, and the victims are forced to stay far longer than expected (or agreed). In many cases, victims of trafficking ended up as agricultural workers, child beggars and prostitutes (WAO, 1999) in the places of destination. Child begging is especially widespread in northern Nigeria. These beggars have been discovered to be victims of trafficking (Olagbegi, 2006: 3). Other reports have claimed that boys, *almajiri*, sent to Koranic teachers to receive a Koranic/Arabic education are often forced by their teachers to beg for alms and surrender the money they earn (Akinyoade, 2012: 6; Olori, 2012; WAO, 1999). Given the above, it is understandable why internal migration was perceived as entailing child abuse, human trafficking and prostitution.

International migration, on the other hand, was seen as useful only to the extent that it yields remittances and also in strong connection with return migration. As the literature showed, while the negative view to internal migration persists, an appreciable

change in perception has come for international migration since the return to democracy in 1999. Citing the Nigerian National Population Service, de Haas noted that 'some momentum for change has been building... and increasing numbers of Nigerians in the diaspora are... contributing to the economy now' (de Haas, 2007: 6-7). In addition, the Government of Nigeria has also begun to strengthen links with international migrants and their respective destination countries to develop technical assistance and business ties with a view to 'attract investment from wealthy Nigerians... abroad' (de Haas, 2007: 10). The presidential dialogue with Nigerians abroad in 2002, which culminated in the establishment of Nigerians in the Diaspora Organization (NIDO) and the Nigeria National Volunteer Service (NNVS), marked this as shift in policy and attention to migration. This policy shift applies only to international migration and internal migration continued to be viewed as an impediment to national development (de Haas, 2007:13-14).

However, in another study by the Global Commission on International Migration (GCIM), Nwajiuba (2005) demonstrated the dynamic nature of migration in his study of international migration and livelihoods in southeastern Nigeria. He showed how international migration can dramatically impact on internal migration, not just by setting off

processes that enhance livelihood, but also how remittance accruing from international migration has stimulated the development of non-farming activities in rural areas and how these activities stimulated rural-urban migration across the region.

The study further asserts that while rural-urban migration has remained predominant, other migratory trends have also occurred. With more than 80.3 per cent of the studied population asserting that preceding the decision to migrate and choice of destinations was economic (pull) factors; the study however claims, contrary to Deborah Potts (1995), that the structural adjustment programme (SAP) led to 100 per cent rural-urban migration in southeast Nigeria. Contentious as this may appear, especially given the fact that the whole essence of the SAP was to adjust the uneven nature of the economy and that agriculture, indeed, received considerable attention during the period. The study listed 'increased interest rates, constraints to input purchase and a fall in real farm gate prices' (Nwajiuba, 2005:9), as some of the reasons behind the maximum influx of rural dwellers into the urban centres.

Significantly, a number of studies have challenged if these non-farming activities can remove the supply constraints to improved productivity in agriculture (Nwajiuba, 2005 and

Akinsami, 2005). Henry Rempel and Richard Lobdell's study of the role of remittances in rural development in Nigeria asserts that although remittances have followed migration, both internal and international, their impact on agriculture and rural developments is minimal and that there is no evidence to show that neither remittances nor the use to which such remittances were put have been a significant means for rural economic development (Henry Rempel and Richard Lobdell, 1977). Notwithstanding the contentions in the literature on the place of SAP on migration dynamics, a preliminary study (as part of this study) of international migration in southwestern Nigeria, especially in Ejigbo, Ola, Iwo, Ede and Ogbomosho reveals that international migration creates opportunities for non-farming activities, some of which have taken many rural dwellers to city centres. While a number of studies have hinted on this development, in-depth studies have yet to be done either to validate it or to resolve the contentious claims. For instance, what are these non-farming activities and how has this altered the general perception of rural migrants as unskilled and jobless people in search of employment?

Nwajiuba reveals another important contributor to migration in Nigeria: displacement. As Oyeniyi (2007) argued, conflicts and wars in Africa

have, at different times, stimulated in-migration and out-migration in different parts of Africa. While the Nigerian Civil War of 1967-1970 remained the only large-scale civil conflict in Nigeria, intergroup conflicts of different kinds dotted Nigerian landscapes stimulating a flux of people who were compelled to seek refuge elsewhere. Nwajiuba also noted that land degradation, insufficient land and/or nutrition-deficient land have stimulated land-related conflicts in southwest, southeast, central and northern Nigeria, and have forced people to flee in different outward direction. In Niger Republic, the invasion of locusts and other pests has displaced many people, who, in order to satisfy their biosocial needs, have migrated into Northern Nigeria (Nwajiuba, 2005: 9).

Chinedu (2011) of the African Institute for Applied Economics (AIAE) affirmed that Nigeria is experiencing increasing incidences of disease, declining agricultural productivity, an increasing number of heatwaves, unreliable or erratic weather patterns, flooding and declining rainfall in already desert-prone North Nigeria. These developments are stimulating internal out-migration as people migrate in droves to areas where their survival is assured. The International Emergency Events Database (EM-DAT), as noted by Chinedu, revealed that about 5,650 people were displaced by floods and

that flood, pests and waterborne diseases destroyed crops and disrupted the planting season in 2007 alone. In Niger State, more than 200,000 people were already displaced while more than half a million risk displacement through flooding around the Niger-Benue confluence (Ujah, 2011: 37). Enormous population dislocation as a result of intergroup conflicts has been recorded between Ife and Modakeke, Urhobo and Itsekiri, Urhobo and Izon, Umuleri and Aguleri, Tiva and Jukun, Jukun and Kuteb and other areas (Albert, 1999).

In its 2009 Country Profile, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) demonstrated that while Nigeria's oil sector remains the nation's primary engine of growth and a magnet for migrant workers, other sectors of the economy, most notably telecommunications and wholesale and retail sectors, have also grown exponentially and are now drawing migrants from different parts of Nigeria and its West African neighbours to both urban and rural areas (IOM, 2009).

Important to government concerns about international migration in contemporary Nigeria is the issuing of remittances. As amply demonstrated by the World Bank and Central Bank of Nigeria, remittances from the global North to Nigeria in 2010/2011 stands at USD 10 billion (about N 1.5

trillion) (World Bank, 2012a). This does not apply to remittances sent through informal channels. Locally, internal migrants send millions of yet-to-be calculated naira from host to home communities across Nigeria. Unfortunately, no study exists to shed light on this.

## **2.7 The 2010 Internal migration survey**

The National Internal Migration Survey 2010 was conducted by the National Population Commission, a statutory body mandated to collect, collate, analyse, publish and disseminate information on migration statistics for socioeconomic planning, policies formulation and monitoring the development programme in Nigeria. The survey aims at providing baseline data on internal migration; identifying causes and courses and measuring the effects/consequences of internal migration in Nigeria. The survey also aims at advancing best practices in the management of internal migration in Nigeria (NPC, 2012b).

In addition to identifying the disappearance of gender bias in internal migration flows, some major findings from the survey include a higher number of educated and skilled migrants, some of whom are professionals, technical and related workers as well as a preponderance

of migration among youths (aged between 20 and 35), especially from North and Western Nigeria (NPC, 2012b: 75). In addition, the survey found that economic-related factors are the main motivation for migration and that migration decisions are sometimes taken by migrants' families. As also noted in the literature, the survey also found that most migrants are 'self-employed' and that although internal migrants send remittance and gifts, these are predicated on the volume of resources available to them. Moreover, the survey found that access to health care for internal migrants was limited and that most lived in an unclean and unsecured physical environment (NPC, 2012b).

Although some of its findings are positive, the survey does conclude that internal migration is a drain on socioeconomic and political development in Nigeria and, as such, the Government of Nigeria should put in place measures to discourage internal migration, as it depopulates rural communities. In addition, the survey also recommended the provision of employment in other areas to discourage the rural-urban drift, as well as the provision of health care and other basic amenities like water, security and roads, among others.

## **2.8 Conclusion**

Although the literature focused on issues such as who migrates and why, as well as the impact of migration on migrants, the sending communities and the receiving ones; most literature on internal migration regarded the phenomenon as reflecting a society transitioning from an agricultural to an industrial economy. While most literature claimed that internal migration is driven by wage differentials, especially between rural and urban communities, other factors also apply. Forced migration, for instance, follows no regular pattern. The group migration of tenant farmers and herders is usually not entirely economically related. In addition, the literature has also shown that internal migration does not necessarily involve rural-urban dynamics, but also rural-rural, urban-rural and urban-urban migration flows.

The literature is also clear on the primary importance of Africa's sociopolitical and historical evolution in considering internal migration. The continuing existence of pre-colonial ethnic and language groups has ensured that national boundaries are treated as artificial boundaries and national laws and regulations restricting and guiding inter-state movements of people are difficult to enforce.

From the IMS, we gathered that internal migration is a harbinger of rural poverty and dislocation, urban (planning) problems and environmental pollution, housing difficulties and urban unemployment. Seen in these ways, the IMS argues that internal migration hinders Nigeria's socioeconomic development. In addition, the IMS also submits that internal migration is solely rural-urban in nature and driven almost entirely by economic factors. Similar views are expressed in the National Population Commission's First National Implementation Plan for NV20:2020, where policymakers paid no attention whatsoever to (internal) migration. Although government policies and programmes

geared towards achieving the Millennium Development Goals by 2020 emphasize the importance of national statistics, population characteristics and dynamics; they fail to see any linkage between human development and internal migration. Nevertheless, the policy framework prides itself as focusing on human capital development and on developing a knowledge-based economy on a four-dimensional scale – institutional, economic, social and environmental (National Planning Commission, 2012a: 80).



### **3. Data presentation, analysis, findings and results**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This study found there to be two generations of internal migrants in Nigeria. The first, which describes the first or original migrants or movers, is termed as first-generation migrants. This includes a subgeneration, which describes spouses, children and other dependants of these first migrants. The second generation describes the children of migrants, who were born at the place of destination, to which their parents have migrated.

It must be noted that motivation for migration differs markedly for these two generations of internal migrants. This is also true for the impact of migration on them. While it is easier to capture motivation and measure the impact of migration among first-generation migrants, it is difficult to capture motivation for migration for the second generation of internal migrants. The data presented in this study covers these two generations of internal migrants.

Given the nation's size, the study used twelve locations, spread evenly across the nation's six geopolitical zones, as representative examples. These locations are Ibadan (Oyo State), Lagos (Lagos State), Yenagoa (Bayelsa State), Port Harcourt (Cross River State), Abuja (Federal Capital Territory), Ilorin (Kwara State), Kaduna (Kaduna State), Kano (Kano

State), Gombe (Gombe State), Yola (Adamawa State), Umuahia (Abia State), and Awka (Anambra State). Although this is a qualitative study, the quantitative aspect of the study depends on the IMS 2010. As already noted, this study focused on three specific variables – education, life expectancy and standard of living – to assess the impact of internal migration on human development. In this chapter, we present the data, findings from the data and results obtained from the FGDs and KIs carried out among internal migrants in the above locations.

#### **3.2 Data presentation, analysis and discussions**

The opinions and insights used in this study are drawn from respondents from the following locations and states:

- i. Ibadan (Oyo State) and Lagos (Lagos State);
- ii. Yenagoa (Bayelsa State) and Port Harcourt (Cross River State);
- iii. Umuahia (Abia State) and Awka (Anambra State)
- iv. Abuja (Federal Capital Territory) and Ilorin (Kwara State);
- v. Kaduna (Kaduna State) and Kano (Kano State);

vi. Gombe (Gombe State) and Yola (Adamawa State).

The presentation focuses primarily on the impact of internal migration on human development measured as a subset of the three aforementioned variables. Besides presenting the data according to these variables, efforts were also made to present the studied population's view of the studied phenomenon.

**Table 2: Percentage distribution of the migrant population by sex and state**

States (of current residence)	Males (in %)	Fe- males (in %)	Total number
Abuja (FCT)	52.9	47.1	295
Abia	45.2	54.8	281
Adamawa	38.0	62.0	300
Anambra	52.0	48.0	300
Bayelsa	45.1	54.9	319
Cross River	44.6	55.4	289
Gombe	51.7	48.3	325
Kaduna	51.3	48.7	345
Kano	45.6	54.4	294
Kwara	44.5	55.5	330
Lagos	44.3	55.7	300
Oyo	56.7	43.3	300

*Source: Extracted from the National Population Commission, National Internal Migration Survey 2010.*

The tables, which were obtained from the National Population Commission's 2010 *National Internal Migration Survey*, present the percentage distribution of internal migrants in

the aforementioned locations both by state and gender, as well as the urban-rural dynamics of internal migration in Nigeria.

**Table 3: Percentage distribution of migrants (weighted) by the nature of their current place of residence and state: Urban-rural dynamics**

States	Urban (in %)	Rural (in %)	Total number
Abuja (FCT)	85.1	14.9	295
Abia	48.4	51.6	281
Adamawa	58.3	41.7	300
Anambra	98.0	2.0	300
Bayelsa	62.4	37.6	319
Cross River	41.5	58.5	289
Gombe	58.5	41.5	325
Kaduna	68.4	31.6	345
Kano	55.1	44.9	294
Kwara	69.7	30.3	330
Lagos	97.0	3.0	300
Oyo	84.0	16.0	300

*Source: Extracted from the National Population Commission, National Internal Migration Survey 2010.*

Given the above internal migrant population dynamics, we conducted a total of 24 qualitative FGDs involving 2,880 people and 3,000 KIIs in twelve locations across Nigeria's six geopolitical zones. In each of these 12 states, we conducted interviews and group discussions in one urban and one rural area, thereby making a total of twenty-four locations altogether.

In terms of gender and age distribution, in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River,

1,088 respondents (37% of the total respondents) were female whereas in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja, 676 respondents (23% of the total respondents) were female. In total, we examined 1,764 females and 4,116 males. The average age of the studied population was between 14 and 65. The breakdown of the respondents by location can be found in the annexes at the end of this report. The author interviewed and had discussions with 5,880 internal migrants across Nigeria. The table below, which is derived from the IMS 2010, gives a quantitative picture of age and gender distribution of

internal migrants in these states and the Federal Capital Territory, Abuja.

From the IMS 2010, it could be deduced that most internal migrants are between ages 20 and 34. As submitted by the IMS 2010, this age range constituted over 46 per cent of internal migrants in Nigeria. On gender, the IMS 2010 submitted that more females (52%) than males (40%) migrated from this middle age group. However, the national survey's submission on the percentage of females and males negates the insights obtained from the KIIs and FGDs used in this report.

**Table 4: Percentage age and sex distribution of internal migrants in selected states and the federal capital territory, Abuja**

Age at arrival	Male	Female	Both sexes	Total number
10 to 14	10.9	9.3	10.1	1,130
15 to 19	12.5	12.7	12.6	1,411
20 to 24	12.4	17.8	15.2	1,703
25 to 29	15.7	20.7	18.3	2,052
30 to 34	11.9	13.9	13.0	1,453
35 to 39	10.0	9.0	9.5	1,068
40 to 44	8.8	6.1	7.4	827
45 to 49	6.3	3.5	4.8	543
50 to 54	4.1	2.5	3.3	365
55 to 59	2.7	1.1	1.9	212
60 to 64	2.2	1.4	1.8	199
65 to 69	0.9	0.7	0.8	91
70+	1.6	1.3	1.4	161
All Ages	100.0	100.0	100.0	11,215

Source: *Extracted from the National Population Commission, National Internal Migration Survey 2010.*

### 3.2.1 *Internal Migrants*

From the data presented above, it can be argued that internal migration in Nigeria is a complex and dynamic phenomenon, which involves both educated and uneducated Nigerians. There are both internal inter-state and intra-state movements. As defined in chapter two, internal migration is believed to have occurred when a person moves from one local government to another where he or she resides for more than six months. Given this conceptualization, a larger number of people across Nigeria are internal migrants without realizing it. For instance, most Nigerian cities and towns have more than one local government council. As such, inhabitants of these cities and towns who, as a result of constraints of space or physical development, may be living separately from their extended families in another part of the town, invariably become internal migrants in their hometown. It is noteworthy however that for an average Nigerian, internal migration mainly involves movement from one ethnic group to another that may or may not be within the same administrative region, or movement from one geopolitical zone to another.

Although not explicitly clear in the data in this chapter, but certainly noted during the field work, is the peculiar characteristic of internal migrants in Nigeria. As note earlier,

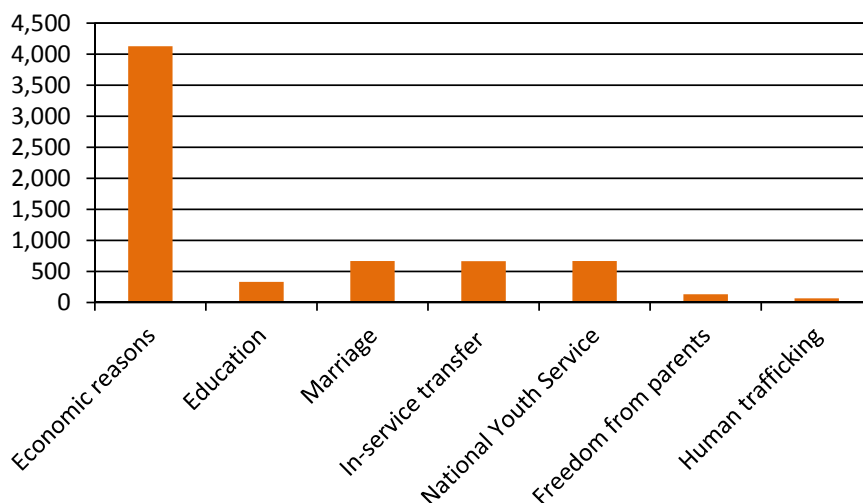
two generations of internal migrants were encountered across Nigeria. These are the first movers and those who were born at destinations. This classification is based on the length of time of migration and settlement in the destination areas. These categorizations hold an important place in the discourse on how internal migration impacts on human development. As the study found, a larger percentage of the first generation of internal migrants were either illiterate or unemployed (or both) prior to migration. For this generation of internal migrants, it is difficult, if not totally impossible, to compare the educational situation in the destination areas with those in the source area. The same applies to variables such as access to and quality of education, or the contributions of internal migration to job creation, or other variables used in measuring human development. It is only when a first generation migrant had worked or was educated prior to migration that he or she can compare between places of origin and places of habitual residence. In the case of their dependants, irrespective of whether they moved with the first movers or joined them at a later date, similar situations exist. Where the dependants' education and work experience are limited only to destination areas, they are also not in a position to compare situations between the source and destination

areas. It must be admitted that more than the first-generation migrants, a larger percentage of dependants of first movers had education or work experiences in either places of origin or destination areas. Unlike the first, second-generation migrants had no work experience or prior education and skills from their source areas. So, like first-generation migrants, they are also limited in their knowledge of situations in source areas.

In addition to the above, motivation for migration across generations also differs. For first-generation migrants, motivation for migration may be economic in nature, while the children and spouses of such

migrants, irrespective of whether they were born in these places of habitual residence or they joined their parents after a period, cannot be said to have been driven by economic factors. Equal to the above are cases of involuntary migration, especially the migration of displaced persons, refugees and trafficked persons. Although this report captures issues surrounding the first and second generation of migrants, it omits out issues relating to displaced persons and refugees. In Figure 1 below, we present factors motivating internal migration among the studied population in Nigeria irrespective of their generation.

**Figure 1: Motivation for internal migration in Nigeria**



Source: Own data based on field survey.

As the table above shows, the majority of respondents (3,656) claimed to have migrated from their places of habitual residence to their current destinations for economic reasons. Economic motivation, for these internal migrants, includes higher wage-earning jobs, employment opportunities, skill acquisition, training and so on. Only a few respondents (294) claimed that skill

acquisition and training motivated their migration. The IMS 2010, as shown in the table below, however reported that about 17.6 per cent (pg. 17) migrated for economic reasons.

Both the IMS 2010 and this report agreed that economic factors, notably labour migration, remained as one of the major push factors for internal migration in Nigeria.

**Table 5: Distribution of migrants according to reasons for migration by sex**

Reason for migration	Male (in %)	Female (in %)	Total (in %)	Number of respondents
To get a job	24.1	10.6	17.6	2,642
Further Education	15.7	10.9	13.4	2,012
To marry	1.9	11.1	6.4	955
Join spouse	3.8	28.7	15.9	2,385
To be an apprentice	2.1	1.9	2.0	303
To live near relatives	9.2	7.6	8.4	1,264
To be a house-help	1.4	2.0	1.7	254
Move with parents	7.7	7.1	7.5	1,121
To receive medical care	1.2	1.0	1.1	168
Due to work transfer	6.5	3.6	5.1	767
Posting as Youth Corps Member	0.8	0.5	0.7	99
To avoid conflict	1.4	1.2	1.3	199
Retired	1.0	0.6	0.8	124
Adventure	2.6	1.4	2.0	307
Windowed	0.5	1.0	0.8	117
Divorced	0.2	0.3	0.2	34
Other	2.9	3.0	2.9	442
Don't know	1.2	0.8	1.0	154
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>15,038</b>

Source: Extracted from the National Population Commission, National Internal Migration Survey 2010.

However, some details on motivations for migration, which were also captured in the national data as the table above showed, did not count for generating dependable national data on internal migration in the IMS 2010. For instance, dependable national data can be generated from the federal posting of civil servants and members of the National Youth Service Corps to different locations. In addition, no mention was made of the two generations of internal migrants in the IMS 2010. As this study has shown, these differences are vital not just in the area of dependable or credible internal migration data generation, but also in the areas of motivation for migration as well as the positive impact of internal migration on human development. In the context of this study, a lack of emphasis on these important issues contributed to why internal migration is erroneously perceived as a draw on development.

Notwithstanding the above gaps in the IMS 2010, this study and the national survey agreed that a larger percentage of internal migrants in Nigeria migrated for economic reasons (to get a job) (17.6%).

In the views and opinions of a large majority of respondents interviewed in the course of this study, a number of regional variations existed in Nigeria's migration trajectory. The majority of respondents from the Abia, Anambra,

Bayelsa and Cross River who moved from their respective home communities to destinations in Oyo, Lagos, Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe States claimed to have migrated to 'make money'. Similarly, migrants who moved from Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja to Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River expressed the same motivation. In Abuja, Lagos and Port Harcourt, internal migrants represent not only large numbers of informal economic operators, but also include civil servants and graduates on mandatory one-year national service. Of these respondents, it is difficult to say which generation of internal migrants moved for economic motives.

As respondents also noted, the in-service transfer of civil servants, mandatory National Youth Service for Nigerian university graduates and marriage are no less important reasons for internal migration in Nigeria. The relocation of Nigeria's capital from Lagos to Abuja also entails the relocation of most, if not all, staffers of different ministries. In addition to this, civil service by nature regularly posts and reposts staff from one location to another. Of the 215 Federal Civil Service staff interviewed across the country, 162 claimed to have relocated with their entire families to their new locations. In addition, except in occasional

reposting, National Youth Service Corps (NYSC) members posted to different locations migrated to their current locations on account of national service. While civil servants may stay at their destination until retirement or further posting (to another location), NYSC members can only remain for one year, unless retained by their employers at their destinations or when they have voluntarily stayed. However, it is difficult to capture the number of NYSC members who have stayed at their destinations after completing their one-year national service.

Marriage, unlike other motivations for migration captured in Table 5 above, is gender biased, as it involves more females than males. 85 per cent of respondents who claimed to have migrated due to marriage were females (see Table 5 of the IMS 2010 above). This results from the patriarchal nature of Nigerian society. It is customary for females to follow their husbands everywhere they go. The same does not apply to males. Civil service transfers and national service involved both genders.

An equally important motivation for internal migration is education. Although almost all people interviewed for this study attested to internal migration's potential in increasing access to education, a few claimed to have migrated to their destination areas to be freed from

parental holds and influences, as well as being the victims of human trafficking.

### *3.2.2 Education*

The impact of internal migration on education is measured in terms of access to education either by internal migrants or by their dependants. In both cases, this study captures situations whereby internal migration increases the internal migrants' access to education and skill development and where migrants, or their dependants, were able to take advantage of this opportunity. The study also covers situations where internal migrants were unable to take the educational advantages available to them, but remitted money and other assistance towards increasing educational opportunities for their dependants in source areas.

As noted in the national survey, literacy among internal migrants in Nigeria leaned towards males rather than their females counterparts. Table 6, which was obtained from the IMS 2010, reveals that 70.1 per cent of non-migrant males are literate compared to 54.9 per cent of females. One of the implications of this could be that internal migration is perhaps higher among non-literate than literate Nigerians.

**Table 6: Percentage distribution of non-migrants by literacy and sex**

Literacy	Male (in %)	Female (in %)	Total (in %)	Number of respondents
Yes	70.1	54.9	62.7	7,051
No	29.9	45.1	37.3	4,198
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>11,249</b>

Source: *Extracted from the National Population Commission, National Internal Migration Survey 2010.*

**Table 7: Percentage distribution of migrants by literacy status and sex**

Literacy	Male (in %)	Female (in %)	Total (in %)	Number of respondents
Yes	77.6	64.4	70.8	7,887
No	22.4	35.6	29.2	3,255
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>11,142</b>

Source: *Extracted from the National Population Commission, National Internal Migration Survey 2010.*

The above, which was obtained from the national data, also corresponds with the opinions and views of a large majority of internal migrants interviewed for this study. As this study found, most respondents claimed that although education is relatively free and cheap in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano and Gombe, it cannot compare with education in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River in terms of content and personnel. In Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River, internal migrants perceived the quality and cost of education as more qualitative and costly than what could be obtained in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano and Gombe.

Despite the high cost, privately owned schools are considered to be better

by respondents in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River, and 3,163 respondents agreed that internal migration to Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River increased access to better and qualitative education. However, only 167 respondents are either engaged in educational activities or enrolled in schools – government or private. Respondents identified three factors as underlying this low interest in education – endemic poverty, colonial rule and Islam. Endemic poverty, which, in the first place, led to North-South internal migration, also ensured that migrants are too concerned with the challenges of ‘making money’ than taking any educational advantage available in states such as Abia, Anambra, Oyo,

Lagos, Bayelsa, Cross River and others across Southern Nigeria.

Of the 2,940 internal migrants interviewed in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja, 2,664 respondents claimed that internal migration increased access to education, but only 173 respondents claimed to have taken full (educational) advantage of internal migration to these states. All respondents agreed that qualitative education abounds in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River and other states in Southern Nigeria. To educate their dependants, 2,898 of these respondents claimed to have left their wards and children in their states in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa, Cross River and other states across Southern Nigeria and remitted money and other resources home for their educational development. Only a few respondents (294 in all) sent their dependants to privately owned schools while more than 86 respondents claimed to have put their dependants in government-owned schools.

It is sad to note that the majority of internal migrants in the twelve states are not engaged in any schooling and educational activities; they however claimed that education is an investment.

As noted by respondents in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and

Abuja, free education and the ease of getting scholarships abound in these states, however a large majority affirmed that inadequate teaching, endemic poverty and poor educational content ensured that only a few of these internal migrants are currently studying in these states. However, these people claimed to be remitting money home to fund the education of their dependants.

In spite of the differences noted, internal migrants in these twelve states confirmed that internal migration increases access to education both in the migrants' places of origin and their destinations. However, different circumstances in the different states played fundamental roles in how internal migrants benefited from this opportunity. For internal migrants in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River regular and periodic remittances are used to fund dependants' educations. In addition to this are also contributions to community projects like donations for school-building, donations of books to school libraries, the provision of scholarships, donations of furniture and the like.

The following results were obtained from the both the IMS 2010 data and insights from KIIs and FGDs presented above.

- A small number of Nigerians migrated from one location (local

government area or group) to another in Nigeria for educational reasons.

- A small number of educated people migrated. A large majority of internal migrants in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja had only secondary education while a large number of internal migrants in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River are either uneducated or had just primary school education. A cross-section of internal migrants in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River also had Koranic/Arabic education while a very small number of internal migrants in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja had tertiary education.
- There is relative ease in getting a scholarship for education in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja than in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River. Despite free education and the ease of obtaining a scholarship, migrants from Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja, for reasons discussed below, cannot take advantage either in the origin or destination areas.
- For all Nigerians, education is regarded as the greatest investment.

- Internal migrants remitted money from destination to source areas to fund their dependants' educations.
- Internal migration increases access to education in all the twelve states. Disparity in quality and the high cost of education are two hindrances preventing internal migrants from taking advantage of this.
- Internal migration increases access to job opportunities in the twelve states. Highly qualified graduates from Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River found opportunities in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja while uneducated and unskilled migrants from these states found jobs for which little or no skill is required in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River.
- The more educated internal migrants are, the more internal migration contributes to their (human) development.

The points above demonstrate that although education plays a marginal role in most migrants' decisions to migrate, or their decisions to prolong their stays at destination areas, only a few respondents from the twelve states claimed to have migrated for educational reasons; however, education contributes to internal migrants' (human) development both at origin and at destination. In

addition to hastening the assimilation processes of the migrants, it also facilitates migrants' attainments of set objectives or purposes/ motivations for migration. Although more uneducated people migrated than educated, we found that for the studied population, experience and exposure are equated with education and these played important roles in how internal migration impacts human development. For the uneducated and unskilled internal migrants, internal migration bestows some level of exposure, which was regarded as an asset and tantamount to education in itself. So, even where expectations were not met at the destination, internal migrants across Nigeria considered migration itself as a school, a training ground and considered non-migrants (even if they are educated) as less privileged and uneducated people.

As also noted above, differences in educational development between Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa, Cross River and other states in Southern Nigeria and Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and other states in Northern Nigeria have important implications for internal migrant's roles in enhancing human development. While in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa, Cross River and other states in Southern Nigeria, content-rich education leads to skill acquisition, 'civilization' and

sophistication that cannot compare to what is obtained in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and other states in Northern Nigeria. It however breeds unemployment, especially since job creation has not been on a par with the number of school leavers and graduates, notably in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa, Cross River and other states in Southern Nigeria. Unemployment and a glut of qualified individuals in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa, Cross River and other states in Southern Nigeria inexorably leads to an increasing wave of migration from these states to Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and other states in Northern Nigeria where there were perceived or real employment opportunities.

In addition to the above, the study found that a large majority of internal migrants across the twelve states affirmed that the majority of internal migrants from Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and other states in Northern Nigeria knew that a Western/secular education will enhance their statuses, but endemic poverty and the Islamic religion ensured that only the rich few could take advantage of such opportunities, as government-owned schools, which offer free or cheaper education is content-deficient and suffers from chronic personnel problems. For internal migrants from Adamawa,

Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and other states in Northern Nigeria to Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa, Cross River and other states in Southern Nigeria, a Koranic/Arabic education, which they claimed allowed poor people to educate their dependants while these dependants also earn little income through begging, offers no alternative to a Western (secular) education.

Only a negligible few in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa, and Cross River admitted to reaping the educational advantages that internal migration to these states bestowed. The study found that three factors are the underlying causes for this apathy – endemic poverty, colonial rule and Islam. Endemic poverty, which, in the first place, led to North-South internal migration, also ensured that migrants are too concerned with challenges of ‘making money’ than taking any educational advantage available in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa, Cross River and other states in Southern Nigeria. The role of Islam in this process is a little complex and should be treated with caution. As most respondents in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River claimed, Western education is perceived as anti-Islam, and as harbouring Christianity and capitalism; hence deeply religious internal migrants from Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and

Abuja still prefer a Koranic/Arabic education to a Western education. In addition to the above is the erstwhile British colonial policy of curtailing the spread of Christianity to only Southern Nigeria. This policy, for which much literature is available, played a fundamental role in creating a wider educational gap between Northern and Southern Nigeria. Endemic poverty and fundamental Islamicism, especially in post-independence Nigeria, have compounded this problem. The majority of internal migrants in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River believed that religious crises and the ongoing Boko Haram terrorist acts derived from this gap in educational development of the two sections of the country.

In summary, differences in educational development between these states would mean that internal migration, for people from Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja, to Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River would enhance access to better-quality education. However for internal migrants from Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River to Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja, internal migration to Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja simply translates to leaving a high-cost but content-rich education for a cheap, second-rate education.

A large majority of internal migrants from Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River affirmed that the cost of education in these states is too high and therefore ensures that they remain unable to take the educational advantages that migration presents them. Although there exists an ease of non-farming, begging and other menial job opportunities in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River, the cost of living in these states is higher than in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja. By implication, internal migrants from Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja to Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River may have moved to a region where a better educational system is available, but they cannot afford the costs associated with this educational opportunity.

As for their counterparts in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja, issues associated with the quality of education and costs in privately owned schools ensured that the majority of internal migrants from Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja, kept their wards and children in Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River and remitted money home for their education. Such remittances

have kept both government and privately owned schools in Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River serviced while ensuring little or no resources to schools in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja.

### *3.2.3 Life expectancy*

The standard measurements for life expectancy include, among other things, access to good and affordable health care, food and shelter, security of lives and property, a clean environment and the teaching of healthy habits. In this study, we find out how internal migration increases or decreases access to these aforementioned criteria both for the migrants and their dependants. In the first place, we seek to know whether or not the migration decision is premised on the desire to increase life expectancy. As the study found, access to health care, potable water and a clean environment is not uniform across Nigeria, so rates of diseases, maternal mortality and other life-threatening situations that may result from these abound in varying degrees. In areas where there is little or no access to all these variables, life expectancy is low. For brevity and resource management, this study limits its scope of what to examine here to access to health care and security of life and property. To

this end, the study focused on access to hospitals (primary, secondary or tertiary), treatment and the affordability of drugs and other prescriptions.

Security, which can be viewed parochially as the protection of life and property from real or perceived danger, is an all-encompassing phenomenon. Besides that this is not given to easy measurement, there are also various ways through which security can be measured. Among others, security can be measured from two major perspectives: institutional and individual levels. At the institutional level, the emphasis is on a state's security architecture and its ability to ensure the protection of the lives and property of its citizens. At the individual level, the emphasis is on how an individual exposes him or herself to circumstances that compromise his or her life and property. Just as the state's inability to provide adequate security can compromise citizens' lives, so also an individual's lifestyle can compromise his or her security. In relation to this study, the state's ability or inability to provide security impacts negatively or positively on both migrants and non-migrants alike; however, an individual's exposure to risks differs greatly and this places individuals at different levels of security risk. In order to test for security of life and property, we therefore focused on

an individual's risk exposure through living habits like cigarette smoking, alcoholism and other unhealthy habits. While these habits are not peculiar to migrants, they are however indicative of comfort and how much value individuals place on their own lives. In addition to this, we also focused on migrants' access to the state security infrastructure, especially in terms of protection from danger. In comparison with what was offered in their places of origin, how has migration to destination areas across Nigeria fostered the security of life and property?

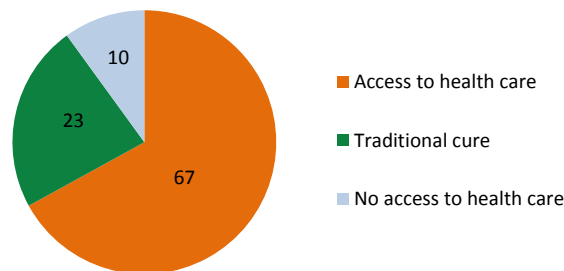
This study believes that increased access to health care, healthy food and quality water, security of life and property and so forth, shall increase life expectancy. It is also believed that people prefer areas where all these are assured to areas where they are not. Therefore, how much of these are factored into either migration decisions or the migrants' continued stay at destinations? All the internal migrants encountered in the twelve states claimed to have migrated to another place to achieve a long, better and more fulfilled life. However, these internal migrants also claimed that only God can give a long, better and fulfilled life. The same religious sentiment was expressed on security of life and property.

Like schools, hospitals in Nigeria are either government-owned or

they are private businesses, owned by individuals and organizations, especially religious organizations. In most parts of Nigeria, free health care, which is mostly limited only to consultation, abounds in public hospitals. Although more than half of internal migrants interviewed in the twelve states claimed to have had access to hospitals and treatment in either public or in private hospitals, a small number claimed to have had limited or no access to hospital. The views and opinions of the internal migrants in the twelve states are captured in the charts below. From the charts below, almost half of

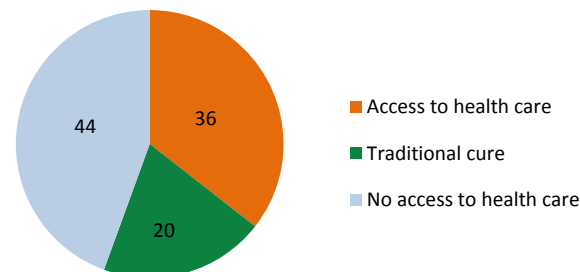
internal migrants interviewed in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River claimed to have access to hospitals while more than half of these internal migrants claimed not to have access to hospitals. A small minority claimed to have preferred traditional cures. In Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja, a large majority of internal migrants interviewed claimed to have access to hospitals while a small number claimed not to have access to hospitals. A small number, only 331 respondents, in these states claimed to have preferred traditional cures.

**Figure 2: Health care access in the selected states in Northern Nigeria (in %)**

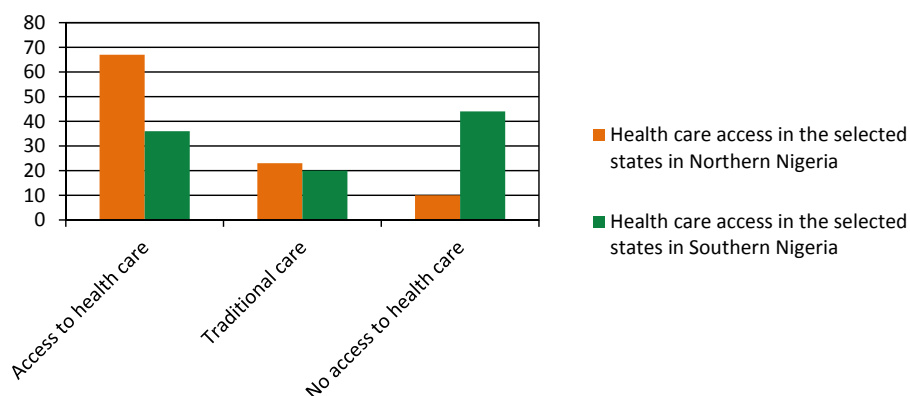


Source: Own data based on field survey.

**Figure 3: Health care access in the selected states in Southern Nigeria (in %)**



Source: Own data based on field survey.

**Figure 4: Health care access among internal migrants in Nigeria (in %)**

Source: Own data based on field survey.

Compared to Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja, where almost half of the internal migrants claimed that the cost of health care is affordable, a very large majority of internal migrants in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River claimed that the cost of health care is prohibitive in these states. However, on quality of health care – measured in terms of the availability of medical personnel, drugs and other prescriptions – more than half of the total number of internal migrants from the twelve states claimed that quality health care abounds in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River than in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja.

As shown in the national data, illnesses are common to both migrants and non-migrants alike. However, different reasons abound

mitigating against access to health care by migrants. The table below, which was obtained from the national survey on internal migration, presents the different types of illnesses to which internal migrants in Nigeria are exposed.

As noted earlier, illnesses are blind to gender and residence. As such the tables below, obtained from the national survey, present the type of health care, the availability of health care services, access to health care and other dynamics impacting on access to health care both for migrants and non-migrants across Nigeria.

In Table 9, more females than males claimed to have access to health facilities in their locality while more (84.5% claimed that access to hospital occurs more in urban areas than in rural areas. On the percentage

distribution of respondents according to the availability of health facilities, Table 10 showed that more males than females attend health centres. As the table also showed, more rural dwellers (68.2%) have access to a health centre than urban dwellers. However, more urban dwellers have access to a chemist/pharmacy (75%) than rural dwellers. In terms of time taken to reach a health facility, it

take more males (42.6%) less than 30 minutes to get to health facility than females in urban centres, as shown in Table 11. A similar trend was recorded by for rural dwellers.

These tables present not only the gender dynamics, time and sector, but also rural-urban dynamics relating to health care among migrants and non-migrants in Nigeria.

**Table 8: Percentage distribution of migrants by nature of illness by sex and type of residence**

Nature of Illness	Male (in %)	Female (in %)	Total (in %)	Number of respondents
Malaria	56.7	56.2	56.4	4,346
Diarrhoea	8.3	9.1	8.7	673
Intestinal worms	7.0	6.4	6.7	513
Typhoid	17.4	17.2	17.3	1,333
Cholera	9.5	8.4	8.9	688
Meningitis	2.3	2.0	2.2	166
Poliomyelitis	1.0	1.3	1.1	88
Tuberculosis	4.7	3.9	4.3	328
Fever	36.3	37.7	37.0	2,853
Cough	15.8	17.0	16.4	1,265
Gonorrhea	1.8	1.6	1.7	130
Syphilis	1.6	1.4	1.5	113
Hepatitis	3.3	3.3	3.3	255
HIV-AIDS	2.3	2.4	2.4	181
Others	4.9	5.9	5.4	417
<b>Total number</b>				<b>7,701</b>

Source: Extracted from the National Population Commission, National Internal Migration Survey 2010.

**Table 9: Percentage distribution of respondents according to the availability of health facilities: type, time by sex and sector**

Are there any health facilities in your locality?	Male (in %)	Female (in %)	Urban	Rural (in %)	Total (in %)	Number of respondents
Yes	72.9	73.3	Yes	84.5	60.3	73.1
No	27.1	26.7	No	15.5	39.7	26.9
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>

Source: Extracted from the National Population Commission, National Internal Migration Survey 2010.

**Table 10: Percentage distribution of respondents according to the availability of health facilities: type, time by gender and sector**

Type of health facilities	Male (in %)	Female (in %)	Urban (in %)	Rural (in %)	Total (in %)	Number of respondents
Health centre	65.0	61.6	60.7	68.2	63.6	833
Private health centre	37.8	40.2	43.8	30.8	38.7	507
Hospitals	41.1	48.4	57.1	23.3	43.9	575
Chemist/Pharmacy	63.2	67.6	75.0	49.2	64.9	850
Traditional Medicine	28.9	31.4	31.0	28.0	29.9	391
Other	4.4	5.3	4.6	4.9	4.7	62
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,309</b>

Source: Extracted from the National Population Commission, National Internal Migration Survey 2010.

**Table 11: Percentage distribution of respondents according to the time taken to reach a facility**

<b>Time taken to reach a facility</b>	<b>Male (in %)</b>	<b>Female (in %)</b>	<b>Urban (in %)</b>	<b>Rural (in %)</b>	<b>Total (in %)</b>	<b>Number of respondents</b>
Less than 30 minutes	42.6	35.4	40.4	38.8	39.8	522
30 minutes - Less than 1 hour	36.9	42.5	41.0	35.9	39.1	512
1 hour but less than 2 hours	16.1	16.5	14.7	18.7	16.2	213
2 hours but less than 5 hours	2.8	3.2	2.5	3.8	3.0	39
5 hours and above	0.9	1.8	0.7	2.0	1.2	16
Don't know	0.7	0.6	0.6	0.8	0.7	9
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>1,311</b>

Source: *Extracted from the National Population Commission, National Internal Migration Survey 2010.*

Regarding access to quality food and water, a large majority of internal migrants interviewed across the twelve states claimed that better-quality food and water abound in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River than in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja. Although most internal migrants in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River claimed that quality food also abounds in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja, they admitted that better-quality water abounds in Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River than in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano,

Gombe and Abuja. Only 37 per cent of respondents (1,232) in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja claimed that quality food and water abound in these states.

As noted earlier, for almost all respondents across the twelve states, they believe that only God can provide or give security of life and property. Notwithstanding this strong religious sentiment, this study focused on risk exposure both at home and at work. In addition to this, the study also focused on the migrants' access to a state security infrastructure, especially in the face of any threat. In comparison with what was offered

in their places of origin, how has migration to the destination area across Nigeria fostered security of life and property?

Although all internal migrants interviewed across the twelve states expressed concerns over the recent spate of bombing in Northern Nigeria, nearly all internal migrants claimed that Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja are the safest and most life-prolonging places in Nigeria. For the majority of internal migrants in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River life and property (in the pre-Boko Haram period) were more secure in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja than in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River.

On risk exposure, the study focused on migrants' living habits like cigarette smoking, alcoholism and living in unclean environments. A large majority of respondents (2,331) in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River admitted to cigarette smoking, alcoholism and also living (at home) in an unclean environment while less than half of the internal migrants in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja admitted to smoking cigarette, alcoholism and living in an unclean environment. A little less than half of the internal migrants encountered in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River claimed to know the

health risks associated with cigarette smoking, alcoholism and living in an unclean environment while more than half in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja claimed such knowledge. Few numbers of internal migrant respondents (1,299) in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River admitted to having toilets in their homes while others admitted to either using public toilets or open spaces around their neighbourhoods.

In addition to the above, we captured the migrants' exposure to danger, especially from their non-migrant hosts and also their access to a state security infrastructure, especially in terms of protection from danger. Almost half of the internal migrants interviewed in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River claimed to have suffered attacks from their non-migrant hosts while a few claimed to have suffered police brutality and extortion. A few preferred not to comment, while about one third of the internal migrants in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja claimed to have suffered attacks from their hosts while a relatively small number opined that they have been victims of police brutality. More than half of all internal migrants in the twelve states claimed not to have been attacked either by their hosts or by the police while a handful of individuals decided not to comment.

The majority of internal migrants interviewed in the twelve states agreed that access to police services is easier in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja than in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River. About half of the internal migrants in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River would rather secure themselves in whatever way possible than enlist the services of state security while just a handful in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja would do same. About a half of the internal migrants in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River would rather negotiate with their attackers than call the police while a handful of internal migrants in these states preferred not to give an opinion. More than half of the internal migrants interviewed in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja would rather negotiate with their attackers than involve the police while those who would rather not comment are few.

The following results were obtained from the both the IMS 2010 data and insights from the KIs and FGDs presented above:

- A larger number of internal migrants in Nigeria migrated to enhance and prolong their lives. Although disagreement exists on how this is achieved, many Nigerians believed that only God can give a long, better and more

fulfilled life. The same religious sentiment was expressed on security of life and property.

- Internal migration facilitates access to qualitative health care. Although differences exist in the states, movements from one location to another made available a wide range of health care facilities to Nigerians.
- Internal migration provides access to hospitals whether these are government-owned or privately owned.
- Although for many internal migrants, improved health care abounds in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River internal migration to any of these twelve states assures improved health care.

Although life expectancy is a subset of many other factors, access to hospitals is fundamental to health care delivery. Divided into three, hospitals, like schools, are owned either by government or by private individuals and organizations. From the IMS 2010 data, the opinions and views gathered from FGDs and KIs presented in the previous chapter, hospitals in Nigeria, like the country's educational system, also suffer from government neglect, a lack of qualified personnel, inadequate supplies and so on. To ameliorate these deficiencies, privately owned

hospitals that charge higher costs abound across Nigeria. As the data showed, access to hospitals is widespread across the country. But quality health care is more pervasive in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River than in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja. As earlier noted, endemic poverty, which ensured that internal migrants from these Nigerian states cannot take educational advantages, internal migration from one location to another, also prevented the majority of internal migrants from these states, especially from Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja, from accessing quality health care.

As the data showed, unhealthy habits of different kinds abound in Nigeria. These range from alcoholism and cigarette smoking to prostitution. In addition, many Nigerians live in unclean environments. These situations impact negatively on life expectancy, as they expose the people to terminal diseases and other life-threatening illnesses. For the majority of Nigerians, irrespective of state (either of residency or descent, ignorance of the impact of unhealthy living on human development has led to the widespread belief that only God can provide or give long life and security (of life and property).

Risk exposure is not limited to the above alone; housing standards in

Nigeria, especially in urban centres are worrisome. Where people are crammed together in smaller shanties, where toilets, potable water, goods roads and other basic amenities are luxuries, living a quality, better and more fulfilled life will remain a dream. Food, as the study found, is cultural and quality food of different kinds abounds in different parts of Nigeria. The general opinion of the internal migrants interviewed in the course of this report shows that water quality is believed to be more abundant in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River than in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja,.

Although Nigerians expressed serious concerns over the incessant crises in Northern Nigeria, the internal migrants interviewed believed that of the twelve states visited in the course of this report, Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja are regarded as the safest parts of Nigeria. In addition, access to state security services is open and better in these states than in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River. These internal migrants also expressed the view that internal migrants in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River are more exposed to xenophobic treatment and police brutality than those in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja.

From the data presented and opinions and views collated above, access to health care is checked by poverty and a lack of quality health care. Unwholesome practices and unhygienic environments, coupled with poor housing conditions ultimately ensured that internal migrants' need or quest for a long and quality life at destination areas is never achieved. As a result, most internal migrants in these twelve states expressed the religious sentiment that only God can provide or give a long life and security (of life and property).

### *3.2.4 Standard of living*

On the last variable, the study focused on how internal migration contributed to the internal migrants' living standards, measured in terms of job creation and employment, the accumulation of wealth and change in status, contributions to home communities and/or places of temporary residence, and so on. How has internal migration provided jobs for the internal migrants? As shown in the literature review, remittances, for instance, increase the development of non-farming activities in rural communities and lead to further migration. How, has internal migration contributed to increasing the living standards of not just migrants but also their dependants? In general, how

does internal migration contribute to Nigerians' standard of living?

Living standards, as defined in this study, refer to amount of wealth, comfort, material goods and necessities available to a person, group of persons or certain socioeconomic class within a specific location. This, as the study finds, can mean many things. Based on the opinions and views expressed by the internal migrants interviewed across the twelve states used for this report, living standards can be measured in terms of the acquisition or possession of material goods such as houses and cars, provision for dependants and care for parents and loved ones, remittances to home for funding children's education, as well as providing empowerment for younger ones, wives, siblings and others.

Given the number of things that can be grouped under living standards, the study focused on three objective material possessions – owned cars and houses, remittances and gifts to source areas and 'other development projects' in which migrants may be involved. A large majority of internal migrants interviewed across the twelve states affirmed that internal migration contributed positively to their living standards.

Beginning with owning houses and cars, about half of the internal migrants interviewed across Nigeria

claimed to own their houses, while a few across these states claimed to have at least one house each in both source and destination areas. In addition, a handful across these states claimed to have more than one house in both the source and destination areas. In all, more than half of the internal migrants interviewed across the twelve states claimed to be living in rented houses while a quarter of these internal migrants claimed to be squatting with others.

On personal cars, about half of the interviewed internal migrants across the twelve states claimed to own personal cars. In Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River just over one thousand internal migrants claimed to have their own cars. In Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna,

Kano, Gombe and Abuja, over one thousand five hundred internal migrants interviewed claimed to have their own cars. In all, about half of the total internal migrants interviewed across the twelve states claimed to have their own cars.

A large majority of internal migrants interviewed across the twelve states claimed to be sending remittances home to fund dependants' education while a handful, (1,066) across these twelve states claimed to be sending remittances home to care for their parents. Only 1,132 internal migrants across the twelve states claimed to be sending remittances home to either start or complete new projects while approximately 100 internal migrants across these states claimed not to be sending remittances home.

**Table 12: Percentage distribution of frequency of remittances to the non-migrants**

<b>Frequency of remittances</b>	<b>Male (in %)</b>	<b>Female (in %)</b>	<b>Total (in %)</b>	<b>Number of respondents</b>
Irregular	14.2	16	15.1	1,706
Monthly	3.5	4.3	3.9	439
Yearly	3.1	2.8	2.9	332
Other	0.5	0.4	0.4	47
No response	78.7	76.6	77.7	8,771
<b>Total</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>100.0</b>	<b>11,295</b>

Source: *Extracted from the National Population Commission, National Internal Migration Survey 2010.*

In the national survey on internal migration in Nigeria, the author obtained, as shown in the table below, that remittances were sent regularly and periodically by internal migrants across Nigeria. This study, as shown in the discussion below, also shares similar findings with the national data on regular and periodic remittances. A major issue, which is also noted in the national study, is the migrants' refusal to make available any information about the individual nature of their remittances. The fear, as expressed by internal migrants, was that the government may use such information for tax-collection purposes.

More than half of the internal migrants interviewed in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja claimed to have sent remittances home while a little below half in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River claimed to be sending remittances home. In Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja, a paltry 366 internal migrants interviewed claimed to be sending about half of their annual earnings home while 1066 internal migrants in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River claimed to be sending about half of their annual earnings home. In Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja, only 400 internal migrants interviewed claimed to be investing part of their

earnings in these states while 500 internal migrants in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River claimed to be investing part of their earnings in these states.

Sending gifts such as clothes and jewellery, animals and food items, building and household materials (such as corrugated iron or roofing sheets), radios, mobile phones, televisions and so on, annually and/or periodically is commonplace among Nigerians. As the study found, a larger number of internal migrants interviewed in the twelve states claimed to have sent home gifts worth more than fifty thousand naira annually. In Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River, almost half of the internal migrants interviewed claimed to have sent gifts worth more than fifty thousand naira home annually as did those in Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja.

On other development projects, 28 per cent of respondents (932) in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River claimed to have remitted money home which their parents and loved ones invested in animal rearing. Such animals were later brought down to Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River for sale during festive periods. For this generation of internal migrants, a practice such as this afforded them not only the opportunity to plough their income

into another money-yielding venture, but also into a venture that provided employment opportunities for their parents and loved ones. 12.5 per cent of the respondents (412) in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River also claimed to have invested in shares and bonds while 21.5 per cent of the respondents (716 respondents) in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River claimed to have invested in real estate. Four per cent of respondents (133) in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River claimed to have invested in children and ward education while 34 per cent of the respondents (1,132) in Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa and Cross River claimed not to have invested into anything either at home or at destination.

About 1,265 internal migrants interviewed from Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and Abuja claimed to have invested in real estate while a paltry 400 internal migrants interviewed in these states claimed to have invested in shares and bonds. In these states, less than half of the interviewed internal migrants claimed to have invested in their children and wards' education while a paltry 67 internal migrants in these states claimed not to have invested in anything.

The following results were obtained from both the IMS 2010 data and the insights, opinions and views

expressed by internal migrants during the KIIs and FGDs:

- Internal migration in the states examined is driven by the quest for improved living standards through employment, wealth generation, change in status and so forth.
- Internal migration contributed immensely to Nigerians' standards of living.
- Internal migration contributed positively to migrants' living standards in the areas of job and employment creation.
- Internal migration increases migrants' wealth accumulation and change in status.
- Through the regular, seasonal and periodic sending of remittances, source areas receive financial and non-financial resources with which they carry out physical development and expand their economic bases.
- Through remittances, internal migration encourages the development of non-farming employment outlooks in source areas.

As the data and opinions expressed above by internal migrants showed, internal migration enhances migrants' living standards. With many internal migrants in the twelve states possessing their own houses and about half of the total internal

migrants interviewed across these states owning their own cars, there is no doubt that internal migration contributes positively to their sense of fulfilment. In addition to the above, internal migration also contributes to the nation's standard of living through job creation and employment generation. It provides employment opportunities not only to migrants, but also to their dependants in source areas who, owing to the remittances, were able to either continue their traditional economic activities or diversify into other areas.

In addition to the above, internal migration stimulates the accumulation of wealth and a change in status not just for migrants and their dependants, but also for the host or destination communities who depend on the migrants' services. In terms of contributions to home communities and/or places of temporary residence; internal migration provides a large swath of the population with ready engagement and thereby lessens pressure on areas where jobs or employment are not readily available. As the migrants claimed, making money is easier at most destinations.

Furthermore, migration plays an important role in the educational development of not just the internal migrants, but also their dependants.

With a large number of internal migrants interviewed across the twelve states claiming to be sending remittances home to fund their dependants' education and an appreciable number claiming to be sending remittances home for caring for their parents for either their upkeep or to start or complete new projects with remittances, it goes without saying that school enrolment, physical development in housing and economic growth in general must have benefitted substantially from internal migration.

### **3.3 Conclusion**

In most of the literature and policy papers, internal migration was seen as an economic and development failure, as internal migrants were regarded as environmental and development problems, notably for urban planning purposes. However, if the impact of internal migration is measured in terms of its contributions to internal migrants and their dependants' education, life expectancy and standard of living, internal migration can be a major contributor to human development. It therefore cannot be solely a symptom of economic and developmental planning problems and should be approached in a lot more delicate way.

## 4. Conclusion and policy recommendations

### 4.1 Conclusion

This study is as exploratory as it is investigative in nature. It sheds useful light on the dynamics of internal migration and its impacts on human development in Nigeria. Internal migration can be analysed from many different perspectives such as motivations, impacts, and other socioeconomic variables. Although this study, which focused on the impact of internal migration on human development, found rural-urban migration flows to be the most predominant, other migration flows are equally important and ongoing. For the most part, economic factors drive internal migration across Nigeria.

International migration is the topic of some significant studies either as theses/academic papers or as policy papers. Internal migration, however, is less studied despite being three times as important in numbers. This gap in the literature has led to a situation whereby internal migration is seen essentially as a planning and developmental problem. As this study shows, however, internal migration can contribute positively to human (and national) development.

Given Nigeria's diversity and heterogeneous nature, this study measured human development using

three standard variables, proposed by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and adopted by the ACP Observatory on Migration, among selected numbers of internal migrants in twelve states spread equally across Nigeria's six geopolitical zones. These variables are education, life expectancy and standard of living. The author examined how internal migration impacted on each of these variables by engaging internal migrants in the studied areas through discussions and interviews.

This study has further found that internal migration occurs due to a complex array of interacting economic, social, cultural, and psychosocial factors. Some of these factors are directly related to and/or contingent upon prior migration, while others are related to the wider socioeconomic and political circumstances in the source areas, which necessitates and drives layers of migrants. These layers of migration involved first and second generation of internal migrants. For these generations of internal migrants, motivation differs and so does the internal migration impact on them. While first-generation migrants may have prior education or work experience before migration, second-generation migrants may not have. The sheer fact that dependants and

spouses of first-generation migrants migrate to join their spouses, fathers or brothers also makes their cases different in terms of motivation and thus impact. For these dependants, prior education or work experience means that they are able to compare source and destination areas and therefore assess the impact of internal migration in terms of contribution to their lives. The situation of second-generation migrants is different and more complex. Being born in the destination areas and therefore lacking any prior experience or education, they may as well be considered as native to these destination areas. While an understanding of the impact of internal migration on human development can assist migrants, irrespective of generations, to better utilize internal migration to their advantage, the study found that government policies and programmes capable of harnessing internal migration's potential are lacking. A good example of this is the indigenization laws, which prescribe that only natives of particular areas can hold political positions. It is the considered view of this study that residency rather than indigenization should be the rule. With emphasis on indigenization, internal migrants, as the study has found, are often placed at a disadvantage and therefore cannot challenge the wider socioeconomic and political circumstances within which internal migration occurs. As

the literature also showed, internal migration, especially in government and policy circles, is still regarded as an economic and policy planning failure rather than a contributor to human development that should be properly harnessed.

Through an analysis of findings from the existing literature, the IMS 2010, and the opinions and views expressed by a selected number of internal migrants across twelve states, this study has thus found that a broad range of causal factors exist for internal migration, factors which frequently intersect in complex ways. Indeed, several factors combine to stimulate internal migration in the cases herein discussed. In some cases, internal migration occurs where socioeconomic progress abounds. In others, socioeconomic backwardness drives migration. Consequently, there are lessons to be learnt. Internal migration has potential negative consequences for migrants if the circumstances necessitating migration in the first place persist. As discussed, internal migration may not always sufficiently fulfil the migrants' aims and objectives. However, policies and programmes aimed at harnessing internal migration's potential need to address the immediate factors necessitating migration in the short term, but also, fundamentally, the broader socioeconomic contexts in which migration occurs. This

includes the development of policies and programmes that deliberately facilitate migration for those who, due to socioeconomic push factors, need to migrate in order to secure employment. It also includes the development of local economies and infrastructure to make migration a choice, through the establishment of local employment opportunities for communities that may be vulnerable to migration as a necessity.

Sometimes, internal migration may occur because people are not able to access the necessary social, economic, educational and other resources in their communities of origin. Where people are unable to achieve their goals, migration becomes a necessity and where, even in destination areas, migrants are unable to attain their goals; further migration becomes inevitable. This may also hinder the chances of return.

It is clear from the existing literature, the IMS 2010, and the interviews and discussions used in this study that internal migration has links with the socioeconomic and political situations of the destination areas and as well as ease of movement between source and destination areas. There is also the need to change the perspective that internal migration is a reducer and not a contributor to development. As this study has found, internal migration is a poverty alleviation strategy,

which cuts across gender, ethnic and religious divides, and urban and rural divide and other state-specific circumstances in Nigeria. Perceiving internal migration from any other view-point is like allowing a head of steam to pass without harnessing its horse-power. It is a sheer vacuity from which nothing is gained. As the study has shown, the flow of gains from internal migration depends on the circumstances in both the source and destination areas. In other words, the ramifications of the internal migration experience are far-reaching and the effects on migrants, source and destination areas often continue and, for the most part, foster the migration of others.

Migration, as this study has also shown, also occurs where there is poverty, a severe shortage of viable employment and educational opportunities, or where there is uneven development. Undoubtedly, the consequences of internal migration can be complex and far-reaching. In general, the solution lies in addressing those circumstances that made migration attractive. It is subsequently necessary to concentrate policies and programmes on finding sustainable ways to challenge wider global, local, gender and ethnic inequalities, which underpin most migratory phenomena. At the same time, it is important to ensure safe, legal

and humane migration practices in both source and destination areas. There is also the need for up-to-date migration monitoring, evaluation and data collection.

## **4.2 Policy recommendations**

### **4.2.1 *Re-conceptualizing internal migration***

Given Nigeria and Africa's colonial history, it is important to re-conceptualize internal migration, especially as the different pre-colonial ethnic groups that were divided by colonial administration and placed into the new nation-states, still continue to regard movements from their new nation-states to their pre-colonial (original) homes as a regular movement and not as international migration. This coupled with circumstances whereby multiple local government councils can exist in a single town, makes it important not just for academia, but also for policy formulation to re-conceptualize internal migration as far as Nigeria and Africa are concerned.

Given the above, this study recommends one of two things: either a re-conceptualization of what constitutes internal migration to adequately capture Nigeria and Africa's complexities or an introduction of a third generation of migration – intragroup migration.

By intragroup migration, the study describes any movement of members of a particular group between two or more local government council areas, states or nations. In addition to the above, the study also recommends that the ACP Observatory should add this new categorization and definition to its Research Guide.

### **4.2.2 *Developing internal migration policies and programmes***

It is high time that Nigeria had a national policy (and programmes) on internal migration. Until fairly recently, migration – both internal and international – received little or no attention from the Nigerian Government. However, increasing attention to mobility, especially since the year 2000, has been limited to international migration, with concerns on brain-drain/gain, diaspora organizations and remittances. Internal migration, contrary to what the 2010 National Internal Migration Survey showed, has both a positive and negative impact and to focus exclusively on one at the expense of the other is a misdiagnosis. In the 2010 National Internal Migration Survey, internal migration was still regarded as a challenge to development and an economic as well as planning failure. This view of internal migration excludes its positive potentiality such

as cash flow, skills, training and other forms of capacity building which it affords not only to the migrants, but also their dependants at the places of origin. These positive contributions of internal migration should, at the very least, be incorporated into the nation's poverty alleviation and empowerment scheme while efforts are geared towards reducing its negative impact. In addition, government at all levels should develop programmes to harness and enhance internal migration both in the source and destination areas.

As the study has found, owing to Africa's colonial experience, especially the Balkanization of Africa into various nation-states, which, in most cases, divided many ethnic groups between two or more nation-states, two generations of internal migrants have emerged in Nigeria. On the one hand is the movement of Nigerians from one part of Nigeria to another and, on the other hand, is the movement of non-Nigerians, a larger majority of whom were part of ethnic groups split by colonial nation-state creation, from different (but neighbouring) West African states, to Nigeria. At the ECOWAS level, efforts must be made to ensure that ECOWAS member states are made aware of the negative impact of the colonial delineation of states on pre-colonial ethnic groups and the current trends in interregional migration between

these groups. In addition, efforts must be made to ensure that the protocols of ECOWAS on cross-regional migration are respected. At the moment, the ACP Observatory on Migration is conducting a study on the ECOWAS Protocol, studies like this are not only necessary, but must also be intensified.

#### *4.2.3 Providing awareness and education on internal migration*

The official perception of internal migration as a challenge to development has a colonial root. This root has to be addressed and changed. In addition, policymakers need to be made aware that internal migration is a positive contributor to human development. Nigerians, in general, also need education on internal migration. Internal migration gives access to education, increases life expectancy and contributes to living standards. Therefore neglecting internal migrants is a disservice to the nation.

Moreover, Nigeria needs to revamp its indigenization laws. Internal migrants, especially second-generation migrants, should be allowed the rights and privileges due to all citizens, irrespective of their origin/place of birth. This is important for property ownership, qualifications for elective positions and the like. Above

all, this will help in breaking down the ethnic and religious divides that militate against national integration.

#### *4.2.4 Needs for internal migration data*

Commendable as the 2010 Internal Migration Survey is, there is still a dearth of internal migration data in Nigeria. As the study has found, there are a number of areas where detailed and dependable internal migration data could be collected in Nigeria. Based on the conceptualization of internal migration as the movement of people from one local government to another, where such movement has lasted for above six months, sources of internal migration data could therefore include but not be limited to the various government ministries, National Youth Service Corps, health institutions, banks, GSM service providers and so on. Although the 2010 Internal Migration Survey also mentioned one or two of these sources, no effort was made to generate any data from these sources.

Data collection also must be regular and constantly updated for planning purposes. In addition, a data bank or data centre is also urgently needed. It is the considered view of this study that a lack of dependable data informed the skewed conceptualization of internal migration and its potential by the Government of Nigeria.

#### *4.2.5 Dynamics, motivation and patterns of internal migration*

As this study has found, internal migration is not essentially rural-urban in nature. It is rural-rural, urban-urban, rural-urban and urban-rural in nature. It involves both genders, although more males than females migrated. However, where migration is motivated by factors of marriage or the need to join spouses, more females than males migrated.

According to this research, a number of factors influence internal migration in Nigeria. These include economic, social, education, marriage, compulsory national service, internal job transfers and human trafficking. For the most part, educational, physical and social developmental differences between the different states in Nigeria play an important role in stimulating the internal movement of people, ideas and goods. For instance, people from Abia, Anambra, Oyo, Lagos, Bayelsa, Cross River and other states in Southern Nigeria, armed with different skills and knowledge, find it easier to ply their trades and market their skills in Abuja, Adamawa, Kwara, Kaduna, Kano, Gombe and other states in Northern Nigeria than in Southern Nigeria, where there is a glut of such skills and knowledge.

In addition, especially for people from Northern Nigeria, migration provides

resources, especially financial resources, which they deployed on new and often non-farming activities, which invariably increases their financial and social powers.

Arising from the above, state and local governments, especially in Northern Nigeria, can deliberately encourage internal migration to and from the South for developmental purposes in education, health care and so on. NYSC members from the South can be deployed into teaching and health care services in Northern Nigeria and incentives can be provided to encourage them to stay, even after the one-year national service. In the same vein, internal migrants to the South who are desirous of learning can be encouraged to do so at the expense of the Northern local government and states who would rebate such costs directly to the destination local government and states in the South.

Movements, in most cases, have also involved migrating from less environmentally hazardous areas to areas where environmental security is less guaranteed. This exposed migrants to diseases and other life-threatening situations. Migrants should be made aware of this danger and, above all, the Nigerian State needs to ramp up environmental awareness campaigns, as increases in population, even where migrants are not concerned, necessarily increase waste generation. Only by equally

increasing waste-curtailing measures can hazards associated with the environment be reduced.

#### *4.2.6 Developing local economies*

One of the prominent push factors for internal migration was the lack of employment opportunities in source areas. Therefore, local and state government across Nigeria should work together with local and international agencies in developing local economies and businesses. This would positively impact internal migration policies and programmes by creating local employment opportunities for communities that may be vulnerable to emigration.

Notwithstanding the above recommendation, it must be noted that both economic development and economic stagnation stimulates immigration. Economic development is a multidimensional phenomenon. On the one hand, it ensures that more people have the means to emigrate while, on the other hand, it encourages immigration from other communities where no such development exists. For the most part, economic stagnation ensures that migration becomes a means to alleviate poverty and emigration to other communities becomes an important livelihood strategy and way to improve one's opportunities. Notwithstanding the

above, migration that is borne out of economic development undoubtedly yields more to human development than where the reverse is the case.

#### *4.2.7 Providing longer-term assistance to internal migrants locally and nationally*

Longer-term assistance for internal migrants is necessary. While the immediate goals of internal migrants are often met, longer-term monitoring and assistance is needed to ensure that, in the long run, the circumstances leading to migration are controlled or improved and the gains accruing from migration are transferred to source areas.. This, of course, requires resources that are beyond migrants and their host communities, and it is incumbent on policymakers to enable longer-term policies and programmes that target migrants' motivations.

Presently at the level of government, migration is wrongly perceived as an obstacle to development. However, as this study found, there is a general perception among Nigerians that internal migration leads to better economic freedom. Internal migrants believe that 'money is easier to make' at their different destinations. Although avoidable constraints often hinder internal migrants from fully utilized accessing new education and health care afforded by internal

migration, it must be noted that internal migration in Nigeria is not solely a survival or livelihood strategy. Its gains include access to education, training and skills as well as access to health care. Notwithstanding the government perception of the phenomenon, the general perception, whether real or imagined, keeps fuelling North-South movements of Nigerians within Nigeria and also movements into Nigeria from other West African neighbours. This lack of synergy between government and the people has led to a situation whereby, except for migrants' families, no official assistance is provided to internal migrants irrespective of whether they originated from within Nigeria or neighbouring West African nations. As this study has shown, the gains from internal migration would remain local and family-based if the official perception prevails. For instance, local and state governments may use internal migration to bridge the educational gap between Northern and Southern Nigeria by providing assistance, which include free tuition and scholarships, to migrants who elect to educate their wards and children in Southern Nigeria. Also as a way to re-equip its educational system, local and state government in Northern Nigeria could develop a scheme that allows members of the National Youth Service Corps, who may elect to stay after the one-year

national service rather than returning to joblessness in Southern Nigeria, into key sectors, such as education and health care. Besides national integration, such a scheme would also enhance the collation of dependable migration data.

#### *4.2.8 Training needs for government agencies*

A situation whereby government departments and agencies, such as the National Agency for Prohibition of Traffic in Persons and Other Related Matters (NAPTIP), the Nigeria Police Force and so on, summarily dismissed migrants as victims of human trafficking is unacceptable. This, among other things, indicates a huge need for training and skill acquisition, especially in screening and profiling, for these officials in government agencies and departments. This would not only ensure citizens' trust and respect and help to ensure that both internal migrants and trafficked persons receive assistance specific to their particular needs, but would also impact positively on data collection.

### **4.3 Final considerations**

From the foregoing, it is incontrovertible that internal migration can contribute positively to human development. As some of the findings in this study have clearly shown, the IMS 2010's submission that internal migration hinders socioeconomic development and therefore should be discouraged is erroneous.

In addition, the findings of this survey are not entirely representative given the limited number of respondents compared to Nigeria's overall population. Contrary to the NPC's contention that the government should discourage internal migration, this study advocates that the Government of Nigeria should rather put measures in place to maximize the positive impacts of internal migration.



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## 6. Annexes/Appendices

**Table 14: Nigerian internal migrants by location**

Location	FGDs	KIIs	Total
Ibadan	260	250	510
Lagos	260	250	510
Ilorin	260	250	510
Yenagoa	260	250	510
Port Harcourt	260	250	510
Umuahia	260	250	510
Awka	260	250	510
Abuja	260	250	510
Kaduna	260	250	510
Kano	260	250	510
Gombe	260	250	510
Yola	260	250	510
<b>Total</b>	<b>3,129</b>	<b>3,000</b>	<b>6,120</b>

**Table 15: Non-Nigerian internal migrants by location**

Location	FGDs	KIIs	Total
Ibadan	20	25	45
Lagos	20	25	45
Ilorin	20	25	45
Yenagoa	20	25	45
Port Harcourt	20	25	45
Umuahia	20	25	45
Awka	20	25	45
Abuja	20	25	45
Kaduna	20	25	45
Kano	20	25	45
Gombe	20	25	45
Yola	20	25	45
<b>Total</b>	<b>240</b>	<b>300</b>	<b>540</b>

**Table 16: Motivation for internal migration in Nigeria**

Motivation	Nos. in Studied Population
Economic reasons	4,129
Education	333
Marriage	669
In-service transfer	667
National youth service	670
Freedom from parents	133
Human trafficking	67



The complex realities of ACP countries also call into question the separation between internal and international migration. Through the analysis of local realities in Nigeria, this study proposes new concepts that may engage the debate on the specificities of South-South migration.