Engagements between African Diaspora Academics in the U.S. and Canada and African Institutions of Higher Education: Perspectives from North America and Africa

Report for the Carnegie Corporation of New York

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Project Summary

In 2011 and 2012, I conducted two research projects on the nature, dynamics, and possibilities of engagement between African born diaspora academics in Canada and the United States and African institutions of higher education. The first project entitled, "Engagements between African Diaspora Academics in the U.S. and Canada and African Institutions of Higher Education," was undertaken in 2011 with the research assistance of Dr. Kimberly Foulds. Findings from the first project reinforced the need to explore how African institutions perceive and deal with African diaspora academics. Without such an understanding it is difficult to develop programs and initiatives that promote effective and mutually beneficial engagements.

The second project was conducted in 2012. It focused on "The African Dimension of Engagements between African Diaspora Academics in the U.S. and Canada and African Institutions of Higher Education." It involved three researchers, Dr. Gerald Wangenge-Ouma on South Africa, Dr. Ibrahim Oanda Ogachi on Kenya, and Dr. Olayiwola Erinosho on Nigeria. They explored the internationalization policies and experiences of universities in the three countries in general and their existing or preferred modalities of engagement with the African academic diaspora. The three countries were selected because of their relatively large university systems in their respective regions and academic diaspora populations in North America and elsewhere in the world.

The two intertwined projects involved both primary and secondary research and the collection of perhaps the most comprehensive qualitative and quantitative data on the subject to date. In Canada and the United States, 105 African born academics were interviewed in person in the cities of Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, New York and Chicago, and elsewhere by Skype, email, or telephone. The three researchers in South Africa, Kenya, and Nigeria also interviewed numerous academics and university administrators in person, by email or telephone. In addition, quantitative data was gathered from various official agencies such as Statistics Canada and the U.S. Census. Numerous institutional and scholarly secondary sources both published and unpublished were also consulted in Canada, the United States, South Africa, Kenya, and Nigeria.

Four reports, one covering the North American findings and the others covering each of the three African countries identified, were submitted to the Carnegie Corporation of New York. This report summarizes the findings from the two projects, assesses their policy implications for universities in Canada and the United States on the one hand, and in Southern, East, and West Africa on the other, as well as on donor agencies. It offers concrete proposals on how more effective strategies for engagement between African diaspora academics in Canada and the United States and African institutions of higher education might be established in the areas of faculty and student exchanges, scholarly and curricula collaborations, and the policy and institutional changes that can sustain them.

Overall, the project helps broaden and deepen our understanding of the challenges and opportunities of engagement between African diaspora academics and African institutions by identifying the prevailing policy and institutional contexts, conditions, and perspectives on both sides of the Atlantic. It brings together two streams of research and advocacy that, separately, have expanded rapidly in recent years. One is the work on the role of the diaspora in international politics and development. The other is the internationalization of higher education. In the first instance, scholarly interest in the various contributions by diasporas to their countries of origin and residence has grown as governments, humanitarian organizations, and international

agencies have increasingly come to be valued rather than dismissed or even disparaged. Diasporas from the global South located in the global North are seen more and more as potential assets for the development, democratization, reconstruction, and globalization of their home countries. The growing valorization of diaspora engagement and mainstreaming is captured in the shift of metaphors used to describe skilled labor migration from "brain drain" to "brain gain" to "brain circulation."

For its part, internationalization has emerged as one of the defining issues of higher education. A growing number of colleges and universities around the world including those in Canada, the United States, and across Africa loudly proclaim their commitment to internationalization in the names of academic excellence and institutional competitiveness. They perceive and justify internationalization on a wide range of economic, political, sociocultural, and academic grounds. The rationalizations often betray competing and sometimes complimentary idealistic, instrumentalist, and ideological interests and imperatives. But they all reflect attempts by universities to navigate the complex, and for some treacherous, terrain of globalization in higher education.²

By examining the prevailing and potential relationships of the African born academic diaspora in Canada and the United States with African universities, this project advances our understanding, facilitates advocacy for, and suggests productive ways in which better strategies and initiatives of diaspora engagement might be developed. The diaspora clearly constitutes a critical conduit through which African higher education can be internationalized. It might also offer new insights into the prevailing politics and desirable patterns and processes of higher education internationalization among North American universities.

In its findings the project clearly identifies and seeks to explain the nature, dynamics, forms, and challenges of engagements between African born academics in Canada and the United States and African institutions. These engagements in their current forms and trajectory are quite complex, often contradictory, and subject to change. This is because the processes of diaspora formation and higher education internationalization are likely to shift in the face of transformations in the global, regional, and national political economies in which the diasporas and the universities operate.

Project Findings

Size and Scope of the African Academic Diaspora in the United States and Canada

The African born academic diaspora in Canada and the United States is an integral part of the African Diasporas in the two countries that emerged out of various historical waves of African global migrations. In the United States, the African diaspora has been constituted out of four great migrations—the Atlantic slave trade, migration of enslaved Africans from the Atlantic world, the Great Migration from the South, and the more recent migrations from Africa and the African diaspora in the Americas and Europe. Save for the third wave, Canada replicates the same pattern. The African born academics are part of the last wave for both countries. They represent a critical trend in contemporary African global migrations.

Research shows that while the bulk of the continent's migrants go to other African countries, many of them as refugees, African migrations to the global North including the U.S.

and Canada have grown rapidly in recent decades. The latter are made up predominantly of highly educated migrants. Indeed, African-born residents enjoy some of the highest levels of education of any population in the United States and Canada. The African born academic diaspora in Canada and the United States constitute the sharp edge of Africa's unusually high rates of skilled labor migration, the highest in the world for a region with the world's lowest stock of skilled workers. Not surprisingly, serious concerns have been raised about the effects of such massive "brain drain." The academic and policy literature underscores both the developmental pitfalls and possibilities of these phenomena, which we need to examine more systematically with reference to academics.

The African born population in Canada reached 401,500 in 2006 (of who 35% were from Northern Africa; 34.3% from Eastern Africa; 13.7% from Western Africa; 10.6% from Western Africa; and 6.4% from Central Africa). This represented 6% of the foreign born population, which in turn comprised about 21% of the country's total population.³ Altogether, only 34.2% of the African born immigrants in Canada in 2006 had come before 1991, 30.4% came in the period 1991-2000, and 29.4% in 2001-2006.⁴ The African immigrants compare favorably with the native born and other foreign populations in the areas of educational attainment, labor force participation, but less so in levels of unemployment and income. Appendix 1 shows selected demographic, cultural, labor force, educational and income characteristics of African immigrants in Canada.

Out of the 342,320 resident African born immigrants enumerated in Appendix 1 aged 15 years and over, 66% had a postsecondary certificate, diploma, or degree; 108,690 of them were educated in Canada. Most were trained in the professional fields of management and public administration, followed by architecture, engineering and related technologies, health, parks, recreation and fitness, social and behavioral sciences and law, mathematics, computer and information sciences, physical life sciences and related technologies, and at the bottom in terms of percentages were those trained in humanities, education, personal, protective and transportation services, visual and performing arts, communication technologies, and agriculture, natural resources and conservation.

The African immigrants boasted a labor participation rate of 71.2%, employment rate of 63.5%, and unemployment rate 10.8%. In terms of fields of employment, the leading sectors were health care and social assistance, manufacturing, and retail trade, followed by in descending order, professional, scientific and technical services, educational services, accommodation and food services, finance and insurance, wholesale trade, public administration, other services other than public administration, information and cultural industries, construction, real estate and rental and leasing, arts, entertainment and recreation, mining and oil and gas extraction, agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting, utilities, and management of companies and enterprises. Altogether, 16,285 were in educational services.

Data from Statistics Canada on university employment acquired specifically for this project indicates that in 2008 there were 297 African born academics employed as full-time faculty in Canada's 124 universities and colleges. They mainly come from Egypt, Nigeria, Tunisia, South Africa, Kenya, Cameroon, Zimbabwe, Ghana, Mali, Morocco, Rwanda, Algeria, Cote d'Ivoire, Tanzania, Senegal, Congo, Madagascar, DRC, and Benin. In terms of gender distribution, the vast majority were men. As for rank, for the 203 whose records were complete, 34 were full professors, 59 associate, 61 assistant, and one other. Forty-eight were senior administrators. Overall, African born academics constituted a rather small percentage of the foreign born professoriate in Canadian universities, which continued to grow. Between 1996 and

2006 the total number of university professors rose from 45,960 to 56,115, while that of immigrant professors rose from 18,245 to 20,620. The percentage of immigrants and non-permanent residents rose from 39.7% to 40.8% between 1996 and 2006.⁵

In the United States, both the African born population in general and the academic diaspora in particular are of course much larger. In 2010, the foreign born population totaled nearly 40 million, which accounted for 12.9% of the total U.S. population. African born immigrants accounted for 1.6 million, or 4% of the total foreign born population, compared to 53% for Latin America and the Caribbean, 28% for Asia, 12% for Europe, and 2% for Northern America. Only 9.1% of the African born population had come before 1980, 12.9% came between 1980-1989, 26.5% from 1990-1999, and 51.5% from 2000. Since 2000 the rate of immigration from Africa stripped all other world regions; the rate for all foreign born was 34.7%, for Asia 36.2%, for Latin America 35.2%, and for Europe 24.2%. In terms of their profile and social indicators slightly more than half, 52.6%, of the African born population in 2010 was male, 54% were married, 46.1% were naturalized citizens, had an average family household size of 3.9, and 68% spoke English well or very well, a figure that was higher than for any foreign born population (it was 54.4% for all foreign born).

In terms of levels of education and labor force participation, they were exceptionally high for the African born population as shown in Appendix 3. While 57% of the total population and 59.3% of the native born population had post-secondary education, the figure for the African born residents was 68%, only bested by those from Northern America at 70% (which excludes Mexico). The equivalent figure for all foreign born was 45.8%, ranging from 67.2% for the Asian born, 62.9% for those from Oceania, 59.7% for the European born, to 27.2% for the Latin American born. In terms of those holding bachelor's degrees or higher, the African born were only second to the Asian born at 40.3% to 48.5%, respectively, compared to 28.4% for the native born, 27.0% for all foreign born, and 11.2% for the Latin American born (in the 2000 US Census, the African born population was in first place in this category).

The labor force participation rate for the African born population was 75.1% in 2010 compared to 63.0% for the native born and 67.7% for the foreign born as a whole. In terms of occupational distribution, nearly 30% were in management, business, science, and arts and a quarter in service, followed by sales and office, natural resources, construction, and maintenance, and production, transportation, and material moving, in that order. Despite their high levels of education and labor force participation, the incomes of African born households are on average considerably lower than those of the native born and immigrants from the other world regions except Latin America. This would seem to suggest that African immigrants pay the tax levied on being relatively recent immigrants, a racial tax as people of African descent that African Americans have historically paid, and an extra cultural tax in the devaluation of their human capital as immigrants from a continent that is routinely negatively stereotyped and despised.

Finding recent and reliable data on the size of the African born academic diaspora in the United States employed in American universities and colleges is quite challenging. The most comprehensive data was produced by the National Study of Postsecondary Faculty in 1999 and 2004. In the 1999 report, respondents were asked their country of birth and were offered the options of USA or to specify another country. In 2004, they were asked if they were born in the United States. In 1999, 86.7% were born in the United States, followed by 4.7% in Asia, 4.2% in Europe, 1.9% in Latin America, 0.9% in Canada, and 0.9% listed as other. In last place were African born academics who accounted for only 0.8%. In terms of citizenship, 94.4% were U.S. citizens, while only 0.1% were citizens of an African country, compared to 1.4% for

Asia, 1.4% for Europe, 0.5% for Canada, 0.3% for Latin America, and 1.8% other. In 2004, the relative size of faculty born in the U.S. had dropped to 84.5%, while the foreign born accounted for 15.5%, of who 9.4% were U.S. citizens and 6.3% non-citizens.

Given that in 1999 there were 1,028,000 faculty in American universities and colleges, 0.8% translates into 8,224. It can safely be assumed that the number of African born academics increased in the next decade. By 2009, the total number of faculty members in the country's 4,600 colleges and universities (of which 1,705 are public, 1,713 private nonprofit, and 1,216 private for profit) had grown to 1,365,014 (out of 3.6 million higher education employees including staff and administrators); of whom 7.0% were black, 3.0% nonresident foreign, and 5.4% were listed as race unknown. It would be safe to assume given the rapid growth in the number of African immigrants during this period, the high levels of education among these immigrants, and their concentration in professional fields that the size of the African born academic population probably increased to 1.5-2.0%. This would mean that there are currently between 20,000 and 25,000 African born academics working as faculty in American colleges and universities. This excludes those employed as staff and administrators, whose numbers are likely to be a few thousand more.

The Nature and Dynamics of Engagement for the African Academic Diaspora

From an extensive review of the existing literature on academic diaspora networks in general and the more limited studies on the international engagements of the African academic diaspora, and more crucially the in-depth interviews that were conducted with 105 African born academics in Canada and the United States, several generalizations can be made. First, it is clear that many of these academics do or seek to actively engage African institutions of higher education but are often hampered by various obstacles rooted in their social and institutional contexts and in the conditions of African universities. Second, for the engagements to be effective and sustainable there is need to develop organizational infrastructures that minimize the challenges and maximize mutual benefits for African academics in both regions. Third, it is critical to promote engagements that are multifaceted, innovative, and attuned to the massive transformations taking place in contemporary systems of higher education and the complex landscape of internationalization in higher education.

The profile of the African born academics who were interviewed for this project is summarized in appendix 4 in terms of their gender, nationality, and discipline or field of specialization. Also included is the distribution of those in administrative positions. The interviewees came from large and small, public and private, elite research universities and liberal arts teaching colleges. Their professional biographies clearly indicate that diaspora academics have complex transnational trajectories. Almost invariably, they were educated and have worked in different countries in Africa, Western Europe, and North America. Thus they enjoy extensive networks that can be tapped to globalize African institutions and knowledges.

The discussion that follows is divided into three parts: first, the contexts and perceived benefits of engagements among the diaspora academics; second, the activities and modalities of their engagement with African institutions; and third, the challenges of engagement that they encounter and how they view or describe them.

The Contexts and Benefits of Engagements

Many of the African born academics interviewed for this project expressed strong interest in establishing robust relationships with African universities either in their countries of origin or elsewhere on the continent. But they operate in contexts in which they do not always have much control. The contexts include the prevailing perceptions of Africa and African universities by Canadian and US universities and the changing dynamics of the academic system, which manifest themselves in many ways including the growing financial challenges facing the higher education sector. From the interviews conducted for this project, three contexts stood out: first, the impact of the tenure track system and career trajectories; second, the role of gender; and third, the impact of processes and patterns of diasporization.

Universities in Canada and the United States vary in their levels of commitment, both rhetorical and real, to internationalization in general and to building relationships with Africa in particular. For most, Africa remains at the bottom of the barrel in terms of their internationalization strategies and priorities. African institutions are not seen as important sources of beneficial partnerships involving major research grants and collaborations. Exceptions include universities, mostly in the United States, that have large African studies programs as evident in interviews with diaspora academics at the universities of Wisconsin, Illinois, Michigan State, and Indiana where such programs exist. Other universities seek to benefit from large, if cyclical, official programs of development assistance targeted at Africa as is the case in some Canadian universities. Also, compared to such Asian countries as China, Japan, and India African countries are not valued as major generators of foreign fee-paying students.

In the US, the public is questioning the value of higher education as never before. Politicians, pundits, and parents openly decry the declining value and quality of college education. The media is full of stories about higher education's bubble as costs have grown faster than the consumer price index. Higher education experts tend to identify five major disruptive forces: first, low students' completion and graduation rates; second, demographic shifts in terms of students' diversity and inter-institutional mobility; third, resource constraints as reflected in rising institutional debt, and reduced state subventions and family ability to pay; fourth, availability of improved alternatives to conventional colleges facilitated by the growth of online instruction and the Massive Open Online Courses (MOOCs) movement led by some of the world's top universities; and finally, the value gap as reflected in what students are learning, their employment prospects, and rising debt levels.

A recent report by Moody's Investor Service for the first time presented a negative outlook for the entire US higher education sector. It identified five factors contributing to this, namely, that price sensitivity continues to suppress net tuition revenue growth; all non-tuition revenue sources are also strained; diversity of revenue streams no longer offers a safe haven; rising student loan burden and defaults taint perception of value of a college degree; increased public scrutiny drives escalated risk of more regulation and accreditation sanctions; and the prospects for long-term sustainability depend upon strong leadership through better governance and management, which is not assured in many universities with their perennial divisions between faculty and administrators.⁸

This may seem far removed from the question of internationalization and engagements of diaspora academics with African universities. But it is not. As American and Canadian universities face greater financial pressures, the more their internationalization efforts will be driven by instrumental economic considerations in which Africa's position as a low priority may

deepen. Also, this is reinforcing changes in the tenure system, which has implications for the stability, security and freedom of academics to undertake internationalization efforts without extra-institutional resources. Academics with tenure-track faculty positions are more likely to establish engagements than those with part-time or adjunct positions

Declining revenues and changes in the business models of universities has led to the rapid growth of part-time faculty positions, which now constitute 70% of the professoriate in the US up from 36% in 1989, 43% in 1999, and 49% in 2007. This has serious implications for Africanborn academics who for various reasons, tend to be less competitive than their American-born counterparts in the American academic labor market. Adjuncts are not only lowly paid, with salaries averaging \$2,700 per credit three-credit course, they have punishing schedules that allow for little research let alone the possibilities of international scholarly engagement. Among tenure-track academics, pre-tenure faculty have fewer incentives than tenured faculty to establish external relationships, especially with African universities with their relatively higher costs in terms of resources and reputation.

Notwithstanding these shifting and challenging contexts, the benefits of engagement are widely appreciated among African born academics in the US and Canada for affective, professional, and ideological reasons. The affective motivations include the sense of guilt, obligation, and responsibility, and a quest for well-being. The language used by many of the interviewees is revealing: they want to give back, to contribute, and help Africa develop, many said. In the poignant metaphor of Reitumetse Mabokela, an education professor at Michigan State, "I always think of it as national service. I particularly work with black women scholars. That's my commitment to make sure they have support, because they are critically underrepresented. If they are in the ranks, they are junior lecturers."

For Tuzyline Allan, professor of English at the Baruch campus of the City University of New York, the benefits of engagement are "incredible. A sense of well-being, a sense of camaraderie, a sense of shared purpose for large numbers of people with whom you have similar feelings about the continent and its challenges." Charles Quist-Adade, a sociologist at Kwantlen Polytechnic University in Vancouver, enthuses, "I have always wanted to give back to the country of my birth. I was a beneficiary of Ghana Government and the Cocoa Marketing Board scholarships from grade school till graduate school and it's been a long-held dream to give back to those I call my 'unsung heroes and heroines'—the cocoa farmers of Ghana."

For some teaching in Africa is a source job satisfaction they find missing teaching apparently disinterested and entitled North American students. As Uzoma Esonwanne, an English professor at the University of Toronto, who actively participated in projects in Gambia established by his former Canadian university, Gambian students "come hungry for knowledge. They work you until you drop from exhaustion, because they want more; they are like sponges. They think what you know has value. You don't have to persuade them. In the US and Canada, there is little urgency, because of the amount of opportunity available. Knowledge is a product to be consumed; its value is exchange value—what am I going to use this for? What will this get me?" Obiora Okafor, a professor of Law at York University, explains that, pedagogically, 60% of his drive is to give back to Nigeria and 40% to give his students an enriching and useful academic experience.

Others emphasize the intellectual benefits. Ato Kwame Onoma, a political scientist at Yale University, stresses it helps one to "balance theoretical knowledge with deep substantial knowledge." For Marieme Lo, a professor of women studies and women and gender studies at the University of Toronto, it makes "theorizing more robust, in addition to sharing expertise and

perspectives across disciplines.... Especially if you are teaching African studies, it makes sense to know what's going on and what other colleagues are doing." Pius Adesanmi, an English professor and Director of the Project on New African Literatures at Carleton University, is even more categorical. "As an African intellectual, that's the source of everything you do. You cannot not be active. You lose your critical edge; you lose the very source of information of your scholarship. It keeps you rooted, grounded."

For Tiyanjana Maluwa, a professor of Law and founding Director of the School of International Affairs at Pennsylvania State University, the benefits are mutual: "I get to maintain my research interests and contact with institutions and colleagues in Africa, while colleagues from the other side have the benefit of interacting with me and, through me, my institution in the US. They also facilitate the possibility of collaborative teaching and research on both sides and opportunities for faculty exchange visits, especially with respect to the University of Cape Town with which Penn State has a formal cooperation agreement." He holds honorary appointments at the University of Cape Town, where he used to teach, and the University of Pretoria.

Personal obligations arising out of transnational households can provide further opportunities and benefits for engagement. Dickson Eyoh, a political science professor at the University of Toronto originally from Cameroon, observed that during breaks he visits South Africa to see his daughter who lives there. It was during those visits that he established connections with the University of Cape Town and spent six months as a fellow at the African Institute of South Africa in 2007.

For most diaspora academics engagements with African institutions arise out of their personal relationships, often through colleagues they went to school or worked with on the continent or abroad. Eyamba Bokamba, for example, who has trained dozens of African linguists since joining the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign in 1974, attributes his active connections to universities in Kenya, Tanzania and South Africa to his former students. Others benefit from contacts of people they met at conferences whether in Africa or North America and elsewhere. Depending on the discipline, several interviewees co-publish with their former students. Social media is also an avenue through which some relationships have been established and maintained as Msia Kibona Clark, a professor of Pan African Studies at California State University, Los Angeles, and Lyombe Eko, a professor of journalism and mass communication at the University of Iowa, noted in their interviews.

Diaspora networks can play an important role in facilitating engagements. Marieme Lo mentioned the Senegalese Professional Network comprised of academics and other professionals in North America and Europe. It organizes homecomings every two years, which focus on diaspora involvement and initiatives. Local authorities and colleagues are invited to participate. Ighoverha Ofotokun, a medical professor at Emory University, has represented the Association of Nigerian Physicians in America on "a committee with Nigerian Ministry of Health, Nigerian University Commission, association of medical and dental schools, and association of deans and provosts of colleges of medicine to review curriculum and review minimum standards of what should be taught in medical schools in Nigeria." He hopes to use these connections to explore collaborations between his institution and Nigerian medical institutions. Cheikh Thiam, professor of French and African and African American Studies at the Ohio State University, notes that the International Society for African Philosophy and Studies founded in 1995 offers a vibrant space for discussion "between African scholars and the Diaspora."

The nature of relationships between diaspora academics and African universities shift over time, as Data Barata, an anthropologist at California State University at Sacramento

observes, "Over the years, the relationships have oscillated between informal and formal. When I go to Ethiopia for research, I keep a formal affiliation with anthropology at AAU [Addis Ababa University]. Once research is over, it becomes an informal relationship." In the same vein, it is worth pointing out that institutional and individual relationships can precede each other and be mutually reinforcing.

The Forms and Modalities of Engagement

From the interviews it is clear diaspora engagements with African universities take various forms organized around the three dimensions of the academic enterprise, namely, teaching, scholarship, and service. Thus we can fruitfully isolate the activities that seek to promote teaching through student exchanges and study abroad programs, short courses and summer classes, curriculum development, and supervision of graduate student dissertations. Second, activities through which diaspora academics foster scholarship and professional activities in African institutions including joint research and grants, publishing and manuscript reviews, donations of books, journals and equipment, building data bases and digital archives, performance evaluations for promotion cases and as external examiners, and mentoring.

Third, diaspora academics sometimes help augment national development capacities through consultancies. For higher education, more specifically, there are numerous examples of diaspora academics establishing or providing critical leadership for higher education institutions and networks including centers, institutes, foundations, and universities. As for the modalities, engagements are effected through physical visits and conferences, faculty appointments and sabbaticals, and online and virtual connections. Also, diaspora academics are increasingly good at leveraging their own institutions, foundations, and international agencies in support of connections and capacity development in African universities. The multiplicity of diaspora engagements even for individual academics cannot be overemphasized.

Many diaspora academics take advantage of study abroad programs organized by their institutions, which they sometimes initiate, to establish connections with African universities. These programs not only benefit their own teaching and scholarship, they often assume and hope they are valuable to their African counterparts. Unfortunately, more often than not, these programs tend to be one-way and unequal as Heinz Klug, a law professor at the University of Wisconsin who takes students to his native South Africa, observes. "What happens is that students pay tuition, airfare, and subsistence in Johannesburg. The other way around, for students from Europe, they pay tuition at home. The issue with setting this up for developing countries, especially black South Africans, is they don't have the resources."

In the opinion of Clapperton Mavhunga, a professor of science and technology at MIT, this is equally true of faculty exchanges. "What masquerades as engagement between scholars studying Africa or institutions in collaboration with African institutions themselves," he insists, "is a partnership between a rider and a horse. They are just being used as oil rigs to mine the crude." Ousseina Alidou, a professor of African Languages and Literatures at Rutgers University, argues that while the nature of the exchanges can be flexible, they need to "be mutually beneficial. It may not be exchanging exact items. There may be 3 faculty going to Niger and 3 doctoral students who need access to library resources, laboratories (who are in the sciences) coming here."

Some interviewees noted that they teach short-courses during their visits to the continent. Moradewun Adejunmobi, a professor of African American and African Studies at the University

of California, Davis, tells us, "I teach a summer abroad class every other year in Ghana for 4 weeks; I'm in Ghana fairly frequently. I use Ghana as a base to get to other places in West Africa." Wilfrid Gangbo, a mathematician at Georgia Tech, goes to Benin every year where he teaches in the Math Institute "for 2 to 3 weeks. I give lectures. I do the same thing in Senegal. I did that some time in Mali. I have also been recruiting students from Benin." When he is invited anywhere in Africa he pays for his own airfare.

Several diaspora academics expressed satisfaction in the work they do supervising graduate student dissertations in African universities. For example, Ussif Sumaila, an environmental economist at the University of British Columbia, has co-supervised MA and PhD students in fishery studies in his native Ghana. Souleymane Bachir Diagne, a professor and Director of Graduate Studies in the Department of French and Romance Philosophy at Columbia University, supervises Ph.D. students at his former institution, Cheikh Anta Diop University in Dakar, and conducts seminars during his frequent visits to the country. Similarly, Olufemi O. Vaughan, historian and Director of Africana Studies at Bowdoin College, informs us he continues "to evaluate Masters and PhDs at the University of Ghana, Legon. They send me a thesis once or twice a year. Whatever opportunity I have to collaborate with African colleagues, I take advantage."

Several interviewees hailed the research contributions of diaspora academics. At the time he was being interviewed, Diagne noted that he was "coordinating a special issue of French journal devoted to philosophy in Africa. Many of the contributors are my former colleagues in Dakar." Toyin Falola, a historian at the University of Texas at Austin, has established several book series that actively publish African scholars. In addition, he has helped launch several Nigerian journals. He also created the heavily subscribed online forum, USA-Africa Dialogue Series. Nkiru Nzegwu, professor and former chair in the Department of Africana Studies at Binghamton University, has also founded several online journals that publish scholars in Africa and the Diaspora under what she calls the African Knowledge Project located on the web portal called AfricaResource. 13

Several interviewees reported sending books, journals, and equipment to universities and colleagues on the continent. Some recounted their role as reviewers for promotion cases and as external examiners and mentoring colleagues including their former students when they return home or to other countries in Africa. As for building knowledge repositories and archives, examples include Esonwanne, who secured funding in 2011 for a project to digitize Yoruba oral literature that involves collaboration between faculty at his university and Kwara State University in Nigeria. At Cornell University, Salah Hassan, professor of art history and former Director of the Africana Studies & Research Center, has long been committed to developing more equitable relations with African institutions and to promoting the arts and humanities that tend to be ignored by agencies that fund African universities and scholarship. He used a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation to support the creation of a Database on Contemporary African Artists and Networking as well as several grants from the Ford Foundation to organize African participation at the 49th and 50th Venice Biennales. He has also coordinated major international conferences on the African arts in the US, Ethiopia and the Sudan some funded by his university.

It is not unusual for diaspora academics to broaden their engagements with African universities to encompass consultancies and work with national, regional, continental, and international development agencies and projects. A fascinating example is Éliane Ubalijoro, an environmental and agricultural scientist at McGill who has six patents to her credit and has major funded biodiversity projects with the Universities of Botswana and Cape Town. She is a member

of the Presidential Advisory Council in Rwanda, her home country, which organizes biannual workshops one in Kigali and the other in New York that brings scientists from East Africa, South Africa, McGill, and elsewhere, which President Kagame attends.

Equally fascinating are the stories of diaspora academics establishing or leading higher education activities and initiatives. In 2006, two Ghanaian diaspora academics in the humanities, Ato Quayson, an English professor and Director of the Center for Diaspora and Transnational Studies at the University of Toronto, and Emmanuel Akyeapong, a historian and former chair of the Committee on African Studies at Harvard, together with Irene Odetei at the University of Ghana, established the International Institute for Advanced Studies (IIAS), to pursue research on cultures, institutions and economic enterprise in Africa. Interested in African solutions to African problems, it brings together scholars in Ghana and the diaspora in collaborative research that harnesses the energies and creativity of local and international intellectual agendas and creates a forum where researchers and policy makers can dialogue over key developmental issues. IIAS presently has nine fellows (drawn from the social sciences and the humanities), affiliated scholars, and a permanent bi-lingual staff (French and English) at its offices at the University of Ghana. An affiliate of the International Development Research Centre (IDRC), IIAS is also one of two residential sites in West Africa for the African Humanities Program Fellows from the American Council of Learned Societies. Its seminars and public lectures are widely patronized and it offers visiting scholars and graduate students opportunities to affiliate and share their work within the larger academic and intellectual communities in Accra.

In the sciences, Wole Soboyejo, a professor of Mechanical and Aerospace Engineering at Princeton University has been an indefatigable champion for the development of scientific capacity in Africa. He chairs the Scientific Committee which advises the Nelson Mandela Institutions on establishing new centers of science and technology in Africa, of which currently there are three in Tanzania, Burkina Faso, and Nigeria. He also built the US/Africa Materials Institute, an exchange program that has sponsored more than 100 visits by African scientists to leading American engineering schools. Moreover, he is the founder of the African Renaissance Institute of Science and Technology (ARIST). ARIST seeks "to strengthen African science and technology education at existing universities and institutions of higher education through programs that would promote world class education, research, entrepreneurship, and innovation." It brings together "leading African scientists, engineers, humanists and entrepreneurs to teach and engage in education and research at African institutions that are designated ARIST centers of excellence. ARIST faculty include African scientists from world leading institutions such as Stanford, MIT and Princeton that are dedicated to helping to build existing African institutions and networks for African excellence in science and technology." It offers short courses in selected areas that might be of interest to industry and academia, as well as "integrated M.S. and Ph.D. course support that could facilitate co-teaching and research by ARIST faculty and faculty at African institutions."

Another scientist, Neil Turok, a South African born physicist who taught at Cambridge followed by Princeton before his appointment as Director of the Perimeter Institute for Theoretical Physics, an independent research center located in Waterloo, Canada, in 2008, founded the African Institute for Mathematical Sciences in 2003 as a collaborative venture between several elite South African, British and French universities. It offers a Master's degree and postgraduate certificate in mathematics. Another AIMS center was established in Abuja in 2007, Dakar in 2010, followed by Accra and Addis Ababa. With \$20 million funding from the

Canadian government, Turok established the Next Einstein Initiative with the goal of establishing an additional 15 Institutes across Africa by 2020.¹⁵

For an impressive model of diaspora initiative from a social scientist, Leonard Wantchekon, an economist and political scientist, who relocated from NYU to Princeton in 2011, stands out. Committed to the development of methodologically sound social science research and policy making in Africa, he is a member of the Executive Committee of the Afrobarometer Network, as well as the Ibrahim Index Technical Committee of the Mo Ibrahim Foundation, which supports good governance and great leadership in Africa. In 2004, he set up the Institute for Empirical Research in Political Economy (IERPE). The Institute located in Benin, his homeland, launched its Masters program in 2006. IERPE brings more than two dozen prominent professors from around the world to teach for periods of three months to a year including several who are from the Benin and African diasporas. He visits Benin every other month and has leveraged his position as a renowned professor at leading America universities to secure resources from various sources and agencies. In 2014 he plans to start the African School of Economics, a university with 12 masters programs, in which IERPE will be one. It will have a staff of 80 from the current 20, and permanent as well as affiliated faculty. He expects it to be financially independent from tuition and entrepreneurial projects. There are plans to introduce a Ph.D. program in 2018 and an undergraduate program in 2024. Upon completion the university will have a student body of 5,000.

Several interviewees have also established foundations to promote higher education in Africa. In 1993, Assefa Mehretu, a geographer at Michigan State, founded the Ethiopian American Foundation, which was incorporated in 1994, to give scholarships and grants to graduate students and faculty in Ethiopia. Moe recently, he established the Michigan University Partnership, a consortium of five Michigan universities including Michigan State and the University of Michigan, to help Ethiopian universities "to organize sabbaticals for them and for Americans to go teach courses that might not be covered by Ethiopians, developing graduate programs, advising graduate students." When interviewed Margaret Aguwa, an associate dean and medical professor at Michigan State, was in the process of establishing a foundation "to assist in education, technical training, and train ultrasound technicians."

Travel is the most effective way through which contacts between the diaspora academics and their African colleagues are established and maintained. In addition to the former attending conferences across the continent to which they are invited or invite themselves, occasionally they take the lead in organizing conferences on the continent or the diaspora. Examples include Martial Agueh, a mathematician at the University of Victoria who organized an international conference on applied math in his native Benin in 2010 and intends to organize similar conferences every two years. Kelechi Kalu, a political scientist and Director of the Center for African Studies at Ohio State, which has formal partnership with universities in eleven African countries from Egypt to South Africa, takes pride in the fact that he organized the first academic conference at Juba University in South Sudan after the referendum. As center director, the list of universities he visits has expanded, where he happily gives unpaid lectures. For many years Falola has convened an annual international Africa conference in Austin and recently launched an annual International Conference in Nigeria, named after himself, both of which are always well attended by scholars from the continent and the diaspora.

Several interviewees reported spending sabbaticals in African universities during which they work with colleagues, teach, and even do consultancies as Bonny Ibhawoh, a historian at McMaster University noted. During his sabbatical at the University of Lagos, he also worked as

an NGO consultant for Shell as part of his research and activist work on human rights. Many of the South African diaspora academics who were interviewed for this project hold visiting appointments known as honorary or extraordinary professorships. A few universities elsewhere on the continent are adopting similar models. Awam Amkpa, director of Africana Studies at New York University (NYU), reports that he was appointed an Interim Dean of Visual and Performing Arts at Kwara State University in Nigeria by the new Vice-Chancellor, a friend of his who relocated from Western Illinois University, "to help them develop a curriculum to train the next generation. It's close to what I do at NYU." Perhaps more than any other country South Africa is able to attract diaspora academics from other African countries. As Adesanmi puts it, "I have more extensive network in South Africa because the South African universities system is a first world thing."

One of the most inspiring examples of joint appointments encountered during this project comes from Nakanyike Musisi, a historian at the University of Toronto. From 1999-2009 she worked in Toronto for 3-4 months and for 8 months as Director of the Institute of Social Research at Makerere University in Kampala. During her tenure as Director, she raised \$19.6 million for the Institute that funded graduate education, research, infrastructure, and management. Numerous MA and PhD students were trained, the curriculum revamped, and model engaged learning projects established.

Virtual and online modes of engagement are also growing. Obiora Okafor established a virtual transnational classroom between his campus, York University and the University of Jos, which he later expanded to Ghana. Charles Quist-Adade created and teaches a web-conferencing course on globalization linking his Canadian students with their peers at the University of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah University of Science and Technology, and the Ghana Institute of Journalism. Kalu mentions a class at OSU which was hooked up through video to the same class in Durban in which the students used the same texts. Collins Airhihenbuwa, Head of Biobehavioral Health at Penn State, who has established numerous connections with universities in South Africa, Ghana, Nigeria and Senegal as well as international philanthropic and public health agencies, discussed using video conferences to connect researchers.

Diaspora academics are sometimes able to support African institutions by leveraging resources from their own institutions, foundations, and national and international agencies. Several expressed pride for bringing African students to their institutions for graduate training. Examples include Bonny Norton, a South African born linguistics professor at the University of British Columbia, who has established relationships with universities across the continent. She has used grants from the Canadian Social Sciences Humanities Research Council to bring dozens of students from the developing world including Africa. Awam Amkpa offers another example. He and his colleagues in Africana studies fought hard for the establishment of NYU in Ghana, a collaborative venture between NYU, the University of Ghana, and Ashesi University. The branch campus, whose academic program he directs, contributes to the development of higher education in Ghana through teaching and student exchanges, research grants and conferences for Ghanaian faculty. It also enables him to travel to Ghana frequently and maintain his academic contacts. Diaspora academics at the University of California, Berkeley, also played an important role in the establishment of Berkeley's summer school in Nairobi.

Thomas Tieku, a political science professor at the University of Toronto, noted he is a lead researcher for a \$10 million grant at the University of Waterloo's Center for International Governance Innovation that sponsors Canadian students to African universities and African students to Waterloo. Through this grant they have built relationships with five universities in

Ghana, Ethiopia, Uganda, Kenya, and South Africa. At Penn State, Gabeba Baderoon, a professor of Women's Studies and African and African American Studies was, at the time of the interview, in the process of setting up Consortium between Penn State, the Universities of the Western Cape, Cape Town, and Witwatersrand to discuss critical issues on race, identity, and culture through conferences and publications.

For many diaspora academics engaged with Africa interviewed for this project, their connections are often multinational, multi-institutional, and sometimes even multi-sector. An additional example to those mentioned above in this regard is Joseph Mensah, a professor of geography and social science at York University, who has relationships with academics in various universities in Ghana, Uganda, and Kenya, as well as with professional associations.

The Challenges of Engagement

Despite the interest of many diaspora academics in establishing relationships with African universities, and the many efforts outlined above, significant challenges remain. Five can be isoltade: first, lack or inadequate administrative and financial support on both sides; second, rank and gender imbalances in accessing resources and opportunities for internationalization and engagement; third, attitudinal obstacles including what many diaspora academics regard as unrealistic expectations and negative perceptions by African institutions and academics; fourth, hurdles arising from differences in academic systems; and finally, questions of citizenship and patterns of diasporization can loom large.

The infrastructure to support diaspora academics is solely lacking in African universities. Several reported their frustrations for not being provided the facilities including accommodation and office space they had been promised prior to their arrival. Few African institutions have the resources to bring diaspora academics. Salikoko Mufwene, a linguist at the University of Chicago, notes "it has been easier for me to get invitations from other parts of the world than from African universities and I believe the main reason is financial." But engagements are not likely to improve much, A.B. Assensoh, a professor of African American/Diaspora Studies at Indiana University, contends if African universities don't step up and US-based universities are expected to "shoulder all expenses." Rita Kiki Edozie puts it more colorfully: "African relationships are very needy and that's fine but American universities especially the state universities are becoming very needy too. They are looking to partner with universities who can match. They are partnering with Chinese universities who can bring something to the table. All they could do was host us when we come."

However, the administrative and financial challenges are not confined to Africa institutions. Martial Dembele, a professor of education at the University of Montreal, shared his experiences as Associate Director of the Interuniversity Centre Paul-Gerin-Lajoie International Development in Education (CIPGL) whose aim was to support education for all in developing countries. The Centre worked with teacher training colleges in ten Francophone countries. The project floundered from lack of administrative and financial support at his university. It didn't bring money like projects in Brazil and China and the partnership with two other Quebec universities gave his university less control. Several interviewees made similar observations that their increasingly cash strapped universities focus their internationalization efforts on students and partnerships with universities in the major emerging economies primarily because of the financial resources they bring.

As noted earlier, the impact of the tenure system is particularly intriguing. While some interviewees claimed tenure had little or no effect on their willingness and ability to pursue active engagements with African universities, for many others it did. The pre-tenure years are often taken up with building dossiers that would earn them tenure. For many academics receiving tenure gives them the necessary professional and personal security, stability and confidence to venture into building international relationships in their institutions and credibility with African institutions. As Musisi put it, tenure "helped on all different levels: with the funders, at Makerere, and being able to come back. It was like that card, ace; I could pull it out any time."

But even among tenured faculty, associate professors and full professors sometimes enjoy different opportunities for engagement, so do those in administrative positions whose limited flexibility in terms of time may be counterbalanced by their institutional capacity to promote African engagements for others in their institutions. As Nwando Achebe, a historian at Michigan State, avers, "Certainly, tenure, but it's not just tenure, it's being a full professor," which gives one optimal leverage with one's institution and colleagues in Africa to pursue engagements. For Edozie, it also goes beyond tenure; her administrative position as Director of African American Studies enabled her "to make relationships like the ones I made in South Africa with authority." This underscores a little appreciated fact that many diaspora academics are in increasingly important positions of authority as department chairs, program directors, college deans, university provosts and even presidents that has not been adequately explored and leveraged.

Several female academics raised the question of gender. It is instructive that hardly any male scholar did. One noted she couldn't move around because she was a woman with young children, but now that her last child is going to college she will be able to do so and take visiting positions or establish more active connections with African universities. Another raised the question of security for women scholars traveling alone. The role of gender dynamics is of course not confined to African women academics. All over the world there are significant gender differences in the ability of male and female academics to pursue internationalization due to imbalances in higher education and the prevailing divisions of labor, which appear to be even more pronounced for the African born academic diaspora. Research shows that almost invariably women's rates of international participation lag behind those for male academics. Commenting on a report on the changing academic profession, one scholar observes that while 37% of male academics in the United States reported research collaborations with international colleagues, the figure was 27% for female academics.¹⁷

The academic and domestic divisions of labor among academic men and women are mutually reinforcing. Men tend to dominate fields such as science, technology, engineering, and mathematics disciplines that are "characterized by more international collaboration and publication than the soft or feminized subjects in the humanities and social sciences... some of these barriers are also related to marital status, spouses' employment, and parental status. It is found that female academics with partners, who are employed full time and with children, are less likely to take part in international research collaboration than male academics (with or without children) and are also less likely to do so than single female academics without children." Moreover, it may not be as beneficial for women in countries with competitive tenure-track systems like the United States to invest in interactions with academic systems that are even more gender-segregated; they are better off trying to make their name at home. ¹⁸

Many diaspora academics complain of the attitudes they encounter among colleagues on the continent. They tend to be slow in responding to communication. Akinwumi Adesokan, a professor of comparative literature at Indiana University, tells the story of a colleague who wanted to spend his sabbatical at an African university in a country he had previously taught "but couldn't find any support. He ended up going to Korea and Jamaica." In 2009, Adesokan got an invitation from a colleague to help design a course, but he hasn't heard back since.

Some find the negative attitudes of their African colleagues quite disconcerting and disabling. Adesanmi states bluntly: "It's not easy. There's resentment. We get called names. I wrote an essay, I gave a series of talks in the US three years ago, I called it criminalized migration. Colleagues treat us as traitors. You abandoned us when the going got tough. We deal with a lot of hostility. They say it on listservs and they call you names and stuff. Sometimes you can't even critique their work. It's very challenging. You go out of your way to be overly humble to deal with them because you are dealing with fragile sensitivities."

Mamadou Diouf, a historian and Director of the Institute for African Studies at Columbia University puts it differently, "they believe that Africans outside the continent are trying to hijack their positions as they are trying to present themselves as representative of Africa, which I am not." But he insists it is critical to engage academics on the continent because their voices need to be heard in scholarly discourses on Africa. The diaspora cannot represent them in global conversations about Africa because as diasporans they are embroiled in discourses of their locations; at best they can serve as a bridge in conversations between Africa and the world. In his opinion, diaspora academics need to shed any conceits that they speak for Africa.

The notion that diaspora academics have to be humble enough to realize the divergence of intellectual perspectives, priorities, and paradigms on the two sides of the Atlantic and appreciate the difficult acts of straddling they have to perform was expressed by others as well. Hlonipha Mokoena, an anthropologist at Columbia University, captured this when she observed, "the debates here are quite different from the ones in South Africa and the ones in South Africa are quite different from the ones here. Sometimes you find yourself talking and you realize that whatever you are saying doesn't make sense in the context. I found myself talking in a way that for many South Africans is aggravating or annoying. When I'm here, I'll talk about things in a way that Americans find aggravating or annoying. It's really a balance. It's not as straightforward as just getting on a plane."

Misunderstandings on both sides can also be debilitating. Musandji Fuamba, an engineering professor at the Polytechnique Montréal, who has established teaching and research connections with universities in his native DRC, Morocco, and Gabon gives the example of his personal expriences. African academics used to consultancies often expect to be paid for research projects and "they quickly get discouraged when they realize there is no money for salaries but only for paying research expenses like transportation, books, facilities, etc. Also between institutions for the same reasons. African institutions have very high expectations in terms of getting money to do everything there, instead of targeting research or instruction objectives."

The negative impact of the consultancy-syndrome on collaborations is stressed by Kimuli Kasara, a political scientist at Columbia, who laments the failure of her project with a Kenyan think tank. She states, "It became very clear that they 1) wanted me to bring in funding and 2) didn't want to do serious research on this topic. They wanted to produce a short paper and hold a conference to which important Kenyans and donors could be invited. It was pretty disheartening, but I think this example illustrates the fundamental problem of trying to collaborate on research when your partners have fundamentally different incentives and a very different audience." Idris Assani, a mathematician at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, was taken aback by students he brought from his native Benin who seemed to expect him "to guarantee they would

do extremely well, in 5 years, they'd have their Ph.D. They'd get a job in the US. You'd be responsible for their career and life. It was too much to ask."

Academic systems and calendars can pose their own challenges as well as Alamin Mazrui, a professor of linguistics and literature at Rutgers, observes. Despite having the time, his attempts to teach at the University of Nairobi, which has a partnership agreement with Rutgers, failed because Nairobi "did not have a category for people who worked part of the year. I could get a job of a professor but I would have to be there the entire year. Nothing that was part-time lecturer, professor." Gikiri wa Thuo, a mathematician at Florida A&M University, adds "We're not on the same system. We could be on summer vacation, but they are not. Scheduling is a little tough." Baderoon notes differences in time zones and workloads require sensitivity. "We have to find a way to meet at the same time. That sometimes means 9am for us 4pm for them and make sure we are not unreasonably extending people's workdays. Also, academics in difference parts of the world have different workloads. When generating projects with colleagues with strained work resources, I was very sensitive to that."

Opportunities for engagement may also vary according to discipline as mentioned by Mentewab Ayalew, a biologist at Spelman College. She maintains that while Spelman encourages international studies and connections with Africa, this happens mostly in the humanities and social sciences rather than the sciences. Faculty and students in the latter disciplines "feel they will miss something" and not gain much from such engagements.

Besides these potential institutional obstacles, citizenship status can be an obstacle for travel and the ability of non-citizens to access available opportunities such as Fulbright fellowships. The processes and patterns of diasporization are important in so far as they affect the predispositions of the African born academic diaspora. The attitudes among diaspora academics towards engaging African universities in their countries of origin or other countries seem to be strongly influenced by the nature of their emigration and how they established themselves in Canada and the United States. Those who left out of the trauma of war, for example, or became political exiles are less likely to be interested in actively engaging their countries of origin compared to those who left for more mundane reasons. In so far as many largely fled the crises of African universities and economies in the 'lost decades' of the 1980s and 1990s they are keen to reconnect.

In conclusion, the research revealed that, all things being equal, full professors working in large and elite research universities are more willing and capable of pursuing engagements with African institutions than pre-tenure faculty or faculty in teaching-intensive liberal arts colleges and poorly resourced universities. The former are motivated by the desire to give back to their countries of origin or other African countries as a way of sharing their privileges. It also seems to satisfy a deep need that is simultaneously epistemic, emotive, and existential to affirm themselves and challenge and change common negative Western stereotypes about Africa, the capacities of its peoples, and the possibilities of its future, which strike them particularly hard because of their very success. It is also clear that a diaspora academic is more likely to have an affiliation with an African university if he or she attended one. Similarly, those who taught at an African university as full-time faculty before coming to US or Canada are more likely to have an affiliation.

Some African academics in Canada and the United States arrived as children or were born in the two countries of first generation African parents and have maintained a strong African identity. The first generation children of African immigrants, who were not the focus of this study, are likely to play an increasingly important role in forging new types of engagement with Africa compared both to their African born parents and the historic African Diaspora. ¹⁹ Beyond the dynamics of generational and family connections, engagements are also often driven by the existence and density of national social and professional diaspora networks.

Understanding the circumstances, perspectives, and challenges faced by the diaspora is not enough if the dreams of turning the academic diaspora into a significant partner for the development of African higher education are to be realized. It is imperative to comprehend as clearly and concretely as possible the institutional contexts, capacities, composition and motivations of institutions and academics on the continent in order to establish effective and sustainable strategies and initiatives of engagement between the two communities. Only by aligning and synergizing the professional and institutional interests of academics and universities in North America and Africa, can the full potential of African diaspora engagements be realized.

This is what informed the decision to undertake the second project on "The African Dimension of Engagements between African Diaspora Academics in the U.S. and Canada and African Institutions of Higher Education" whose findings are summarized below. It became clear that gathering data only from the diaspora reinforced the perceptions and interests of the diaspora, their concerns and critiques, the notion that knowledge exchanges with Africa is unidirectional. It is imperative to understand how African universities perceive these relationships, their benefits, modalities, and challenges.

The Nature and Dynamics of Engagement for African Institutions of Higher Education

The studies conducted in Kenya, South Africa, and Nigeria for this project reflect many of the issues and challenges observed among African born diaspora academics in Canadian and American universities. Most pertinent is the lack of clearly articulated institutional policies among African universities to engage the diaspora. Relationships with the diaspora largely tend to be informal and individualized and often diaspora-driven. Nevertheless, the research revealed considerable appreciation of the potential benefits of engaging the academic diaspora in North America and elsewhere. For these benefits to be fully realized there is need for African institutions to be more proactive, for them to develop more structured programs of partnership that maximize both their interests and those of the academic diaspora.

Despite the underdevelopment of diaspora engagement strategies in African universities, the three studies underscore the fact that important shifts have taken place at the continental and national levels in official attitudes towards the diaspora. Increasingly aware of the negative developmental impact of the massive "brain drain" they have suffered in recent decades, and fueled by the transformative effects of democratization and economic reform, as well as keen to harness the opportunities of globalization and remittances, the diaspora is no longer dismissed as a lost cause at best, and a horde of national traitors at worst by African states, business and civil society leaders. Instead, it is regarded as a potentially powerful locomotive whose human, financial, social, and cultural capitals can be mobilized and help drive the development of the continent and their respective countries of origin.

Emblematic of this shift in perspective is the designation by the African Union of the diaspora as the continent's sixth region. The diaspora has been granted some representation in selected organs of the Union. The AU has tried to actively court the diaspora through various schemes and projects. Various governments including Kenya, South Africa, Nigeria and many of their regional neighbors have introduced diaspora policies that often include granting dual citizenship or special overseas citizenship cards, establishing directorates, agencies or

committees of diaspora affairs in foreign ministries, creating diaspora databases, promoting diaspora networks, holding regular consultations with the diaspora, and improving mechanisms for remittances and diaspora investment. Although the academic diaspora are often not specifically targeted, these strategies have created a more auspicious environment for universities to develop effective policies and strategies for academic diaspora engagement.

The Forms and Modalities of Engagement

Four types of engagement between African universities and the academic diaspora can be identified, namely, national, disciplinary/professional, institutional, and individual initiatives. Overall, individual initiatives seem to predominate. In comparative terms, national, disciplinary and institutional initiatives tend to be more developed in South Africa than in Kenya and Nigeria. This can be attributed to the relatively higher levels of economic development and university resources in South Africa than in the other two countries.

Examples of national initiatives in South Africa include the South African Network of Skills Abroad (SANSA), the South African Diaspora Network (SADN), and the South African Chairs Initiative. In Nigeria, this includes the Linkages with Experts and Academics in the Diaspora Scheme (LEADS) and the government's initiative to recruit diaspora academics as leaders of new federal universities. In Kenya, such national academic schemes do not yet exist, although plans are advanced to establish the National Diaspora Council of Kenya (NADICOK) under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that will coordinate diaspora initiatives by various ministries including Education and through which the academic diaspora can be more systematically engaged.

Started in 1998 as a joint initiative between the University of Cape Town and the French Institute of Research for Development, SANSA was incorporated into the auspices of the National Research Foundation (NRF) in October 2000. Within two years it claimed more than 2,000 members, mostly senior academics, business executives and other high ranking professionals in over 60 countries; the majority were in the United States, United Kingdom, and Australia. Its objective was to promote networking on business, employment, and academic ventures. In the academic realm SANSA sought to support research and training collaboration, exchange of information and knowledge, and innovative peer review evaluation processes. The takeover of SANSA by a government agency, the NRF, Wagenge-Ouma contends in his report, may have limited its effectiveness to mobilize the South African intellectual and scientific diaspora especially among those who distrusted state institutions.²⁰

SADN was also established at the University of Cape Town in 2001 with assistance from the World Bank Development Market Place to promote knowledge and entrepreneurial connections between South African firms and the South African business diaspora. Initially it attracted interest from local and diaspora entrepreneurs in the areas of technology development, consulting and legal services, and manufacturing, but it suspended its operations in 2003 due to lack of funding and support staff. Far more successful has been the South African Chairs Initiative, launched by the Department of Science and Technology and managed by the NRF. Its objectives are to increase the number of world class researchers in South Africa through the retention of leading local talent and attracting prominent international diaspora academics as part of a drive to strengthen and improve the research capacities of South African universities, science councils and other institutions. The initiative is also designed to address the scientific leadership development needs in the universities and forge "new public-private partnerships in

order to give South African universities and industry a competitive edge."²¹ By 2009, out of 152 chairs awarded 89 had been filled, 20 by international academics, among them members of the South African diaspora.

The LEADS program in Nigeria was established in 2007 by the country's National Universities Commission "to support the Federal Government's efforts to transform the education sector." It aims "to attract experts and academics of Nigerian extraction in the Diaspora on short term basis to contribute to the enhancement of education in the Nigerian University System; to create appropriate engagement-positions and job satisfaction for Nigerian academics and experts, so that they are not attracted away or wasted internally; to encourage healthy staff movements, interaction and collaboration across and between Nigerian Universities and other sector of education and National development, and among other benefits, to encourage experts in industry to participate in teaching and research in Nigerian Universities."

Individuals from the Nigerian academic diaspora can apply for affiliation to federal, state, and private universities for periods ranging from three to twelve months in the fields of information and communications technology, management, science and business administration, mathematics, medicine and dentistry, mining engineering, natural sciences, and oil and gas engineering. Successful applicants receive funding for international and local travel, accommodation, and a stipend. By 2010/11, \text{\$\frac{1}{2}}2.6\$ million (about \$144,000) had been spent on the scheme on 35 scholars. The number currently stands at 41 scholars from six countries.\text{\$^{23}}\$ Among its achievements, according to the official website, it attracted Nigerian experts and academics in the diaspora back home to contribute to the education system, some of who have relocated permanently. All this has enhanced "skills acquisition in rare areas of expertise, encouraging experts in industry to participate in teaching, research and cross fertilization in Nigeria Universities, enriching curriculum review process with modern, high tech and new trends in the relevant discipline, and promoting re-union and re-integration of experts to their heritage and community life." Given the size of the Nigerian academic diaspora, the program has yet to scratch beyond the surface of possibilities.

The Nigerian government's initiative to recruit diaspora academics as leaders of new universities apparently started in 2009 with the appointment of Abdul-Rasheed Na'Allah, a professor at Western Illinois University, as vice-chancellor of the newly created Kwara State University. He proceeded to attract a "number of eminent Nigerian scholars in the Diaspora to return to their native land to work at the university as pioneer professors. Among these is Professor Abiola Irele, a renowned scholar in African literary and cultural studies. When the Nigerian government decided to create six new public universities in what is called, in Nigerian political lexicology, the country's six geopolitical regions (hitherto without universities), it made sense to adopt the Kwara University model" by appointing diaspora academics from US universities as vice-chancellors in three of the six new universities and allocating \$33 million to each university as take-off grants. "The immediate consequence is that Nigerian university lecturers abroad who are about to retire or have lost their jobs are increasingly keen to return home and take up university jobs in their native land." This would also seem to be an exaggeration, but it points to new found willingness at the highest levels of government to mobilize the academic diaspora for the revitalization of the Nigerian higher education system.

As for disciplinary and professional initiatives that seek to engage the diaspora, the best known in the South African context is the Economic Research Southern Africa (ERSA). Established in 2005 and funded by the National Treasury of South Africa, it is "designed to both broaden the scope of economic research in South Africa, and to deepen its quality in order to

ensure greater international exposure of economic research conducted in Southern Africa."²⁵ It seeks to do this by creating a network of economic researchers based in South African universities, training and mentoring young economists, and supporting linkages with international economists through its Academic Visitors Program.

A few years later, the Diaspora Fund was set up "to draw the internationally based South Africans into a continued and extended association with South Africa.... Having South African researchers visiting from leading international universities broadens the horizon for South African students and integrates them in international debates and exposing them to the cutting edge of the discipline. Last, but by no means least is the intention to ensure that graduate students in South Africa are exposed to inspirational role models." Several South African diaspora academics have been sponsored under the program.

This is an area in which Kenya seems to be particularly well positioned because of the plethora of international, continental and regional scholarly and scientific centers, agencies, and networks located in the country. In his report, Ogachi lists about two dozen, most of them headquartered in the country that often invite or include international scholars and scientists in their work. ²⁶ Nigeria also boasts of dozens of regional and national professional organizations including scholarly associations ranging from the Nigerian Institute for International Affairs and the Nigerian Institute of Social and Economic Research, to the National Science and Technology Development Agency and the Nigerian Educational Research and Development Council, to the Nigerian Medical Association and the Nigerian Society of Engineers.

The argument Ogachi makes in the case of Kenya applies to Nigeria, that these organizations can be used to facilitate linkages between higher education institutions in the two countries and the wider East African and West African regions and the African born academic diaspora in North America and elsewhere in the world. While these organizations do not seem to have dedicated diapora programs, anecdotal evidence from the diaspora seems to suggest many have indeed incorporated the African born academic diaspora in Canada and the United States in their research activities or served as an important conduit, directly or indirectly, in connecting these academics to Kenyan and Nigerian universities.

Many universities in the three countries are increasingly developing internationalization initiatives by establishing partnerships with overseas universities. These efforts are not always well-coordinated, strategic, or adequately resourced. Indeed, some are opportunistic and dependent on donor funding or expectations of financial support from their external partner institutions. Few specifically target diaspora academics. But the fact remains interest in internationalization is growing and the benefits of engaging the diaspora are beginning to be recognized as evident in the case of the new Federal Nigerian universities discussed above.

The larger and historically advantaged institutions in South African enjoy some of the most extensive international partnerships, networks of alumni in the global North, and the resources to support diaspora engagements as evident in the case of the University of Cape Town, which pioneered SANSA and SADN. Others have set up targeted diaspora initiatives such as the University of the Witwatersrand Faculty of Health Sciences Alumni Diaspora Program, which seeks "to stimulate research collaboration and networking among the exemplary Health Sciences Witsies around the globe. The Program aims to boost the strength of this network, stimulate dialogue and help establish further collaborative and exchange partnerships with international institutions." Wangege-Ouma notes that several alumni from the university located in Canada and the United States are actively involved in the program through research collaborations and giving lectures.

In short, South Africa's historically and still privileged institutions dominate and determine the nature of international collaborations in general and with the country's own academic diaspora. South African universities have also been able to attract other African diaspora academics for visits and collaborations far more than universities in other countries have been able to as noted earlier in the report. Several have set up institutionalized and formalized programs organized around appointments of honorary, extraordinary, visiting or adjunct professors, and through joint research projects and co-authorship, lectures and short courses. In contrast, in the less well-endowed universities or colleges within universities in the country and many parts of the continent, engagements and collaborations with the academic diaspora tend to be informal, sporadic, and unsustainable.

This seems to be largely the case in Kenya and Nigeria. Despite the fact that the major universities in the two countries have long enjoyed international connections the establishment of offices or centers of international programs is relatively recent. In Kenya, the University of Nairobi did not launch its Centre for International Programs until 2001 and Moi University's International Office opened several years later. In Nigeria, the University of Ibadan, the country's oldest university, only established its Office of International Programs in 2009, the same year that Kwara State University, one of the new regional federal universities was established with its Center for Innovation and International Studies to promote and coordinate its international activities. Many Nigerian universities have yet to do so despite starting international partnerships.

In both Kenya and Nigeria, while various universities have established dozens of international partnerships to promote student and faculty exchanges, curricula and research collaborations with universities in North America and elsewhere in the world, they are silent in their mission statements and objectives on engaging the African academic diaspora. Occasionally, they might boast about having alumni in various countries. Alumni relations appear relatively rudimentary in many of these universities. A fascinating initiative at Kenyatta University was the establishment, in 2011, of a Foundation in the United States to generate financial and material support from alumni, friends, other partners and individuals in the diaspora to enhance the university's ability to attract and retain world class faculty, strengthen research capacity, enhance quality programs, and improve facilities.³⁰

Clearly, engagements between African institutions of higher education and diaspora academics are typically the result of individual initiatives. More often than not, they emanate from self-sponsored visits home or to conferences by the diaspora during which they may be invited to local universities either by former colleagues or by students who they trained in Canada and the United States.

The Benefits and Challenges of Engagement

For institutions and academics based on the continent, engaging the African born academic diaspora in Canada and the United States holds both benefits and challenges. The benefits include, at the national level, reversing the "brain drain" and potentially turning it into "brain gain" and "brain mobility" to use the analytical metaphors of our times. The administrators and academics who were interviewed by Wangenge-Ouma in South Africa, Ogachi in Kenya, and Erinosho in Nigeria identified several advantages at the institutional level.

They maintained the diaspora can help overcome critical skills shortages especially in the fields of science and technology. They welcome the opportunities for student training and

mentoring, research collaborations and joint publications, sabbaticals and conferences, and the transmission of new knowledges and technology. Thus the diaspora can open invaluable, and sometimes impenetrable, doors to international scholarly networks so essential to enhancing a university's research capacities and reputation. This pays dividends in a highly competitive university system such as South Africa's in which research output and scholarly publications leverage the scale of state subsidies. Wangenge-Ouma notes that the University of Cape Town, often ranked the best in Africa, boasts the highest number of co-authorships with overseas scholars. Between 2007 and 2011, its academics produced 646 co-authored articles with colleagues at six top US and Canadian universities.³¹ Some of these were results of collaborations with the South African academic diaspora.

In the Kenyan case the diaspora is also seen as a source of access to external funding, curriculum reform, graduate program development, and resources such as books and scholarships. For Nigeria, Eironosho contends the academic diaspora can assist in reforming what he regards as the country's dysfunctional and lackluster university system into truly international centers of learning. The rather exaggerated expectations of the transformative role academic diasporas can play reflect the relatively bigger challenges of capacity and resources university systems the two countries face compared to South African universities in general and its historically advantaged institutions in particular. There is a tendency for academics on the continent to inflate the resources available to the diaspora and place unrealistic demands on their colleagues in Canada and the US as many diaspora academics are wont to complain.

But attitudes towards engagements with the academic diaspora are not always positive as evident in Ogachi's report on Kenya. He writes, "when asked how at a personal level they considered such engagements many expressed reservations with such phrases as, diaspora academics come with a patronizing attitude; diaspora academics will want to be treated better by the institutions compared to some of us who have been struggling here; short-term engagements may not be adequate to create an impact; some diaspora academics are not as highly qualified compared to some of us, but they want to portray an impression that they are more qualified, and those of us who remained here are less qualified and therefore the source of poor standards in our universities; what our universities need is money to improve infrastructure not importation of human resources who may be more expensive to maintain..." In the South African case, according to Wangenge-Ouma, the diaspora is sometimes accused of lacking enthusiasm or even patriotism. This is most often heard in the historically disadvantaged institutions. Such charges are often leveled at some of those who left between 1990 and 2000 and suspected of objecting to the transformation of post-apartheid South Africa; their disinterest serves as a validation of their flight. In short, these academics are suspected of using negative perceptions about the quality of scholarship in the country as an alibi for leaving and staying away.

Thus academics on the continent have their own attitudinal problems. In Kenya, according to Ogachi, they include negative stereotypes of the diaspora, narrow-mindedness, slowness in responding to diaspora colleagues, disinterest, and fear or inadequate awareness of the benefits of engagement. Institutional challenges include the lack of clear policies and guidelines, poor resources, incentives, research infrastructures, and management practices. Wangenge-Ouma stresses the most common challenge mentioned in the South African context was the lack of a systematic institutional approach, which results in initiatives of engagement with the academic diaspora receiving inadequate support. In the Nigerian case, Erinosho laments the poor training of many younger Nigerian academics, which makes them unattractive for their

colleagues in the diaspora to collaborate with. Another way of looking at that is that this presents the academic diaspora opportunities for mentoring.

Promoting Productive and Sustainable Diaspora Engagements

This study has identified many of the challenges and opportunities for engagement between the African born academic diaspora in Canada and the United States with African institutions of higher education as part of the broader processes and strategies of internationalization on both sides of the Atlantic. The diaspora constitutes a powerful social force of intermediation between Africa and North America. It possesses the capitals, capacities, and even compulsions to build effective, productive, and mutually beneficial and sustainable relationships between institutions in the global North and Africa. Its growing size, combined with Africa's widely trumpeted economic resurgence, can only make its potential role and contributions more critical for both.³² But in order for this to be the case, several key changes are recommended at the levels of institutional policy, menu of programs, and practices of coordination.

At the policy level, it is critical that universities in Africa, the United States and Canada are encouraged to develop systematic policies on diaspora engagement as part of their internationalization strategies. This entails working with the relevant international, regional and national university associations and agencies to develop templates and protocols of best policies and practices. Universities do take policy signals from such associations and agencies seriously. The next step would be to mobilize and target specific universities, which based on their size, reputation, and resources can serve as models.

The first priority, then, in promoting constructive and sustainable engagements between the academic and African universities must be the development of comprehensive institutional policies that guide pragmatic, innovative and flexible strategies of engagement. It cannot be overemphasized as Wole Soboyejo put it so well in his interview, "My biggest wish would be to convince the international community to not invest in small things and to invest in big things and help in self-sufficiency in Africa." I would recommend that the Carnegie Corporation work with other donors and agencies invested in African universities and the internationalization of higher education to mobilize resources for a project on policy development of diaspora engagements.

The menu of programs has to be equally focused and discerning. They have to center around three sets of activities and initiatives critical to the educational enterprise: promoting faculty exchanges, scholarly partnerships, and curricula collaborations. For each of these domains it is best that a pivotal scheme serve as the fulcrum of creative initiatives. The problem with many higher education internationalization initiatives is that they are often too diffuse, piecemeal, and inflexible.

In terms of faculty exchanges, I would propose establishing a well-funded and multifaceted African Diaspora Chairs Initiative (ADCI). Such an initiative would be carefully calibrated to cater to faculty at different stages in their careers to maximize their involvement and contributions. It would also allow for varied periods of engagement. This is simply to recognize the different needs, interests, and capacities of junior faculty, middle level faculty, and senior faculty as well as male and female faculty. Above all, it would be a dual chair program, in which the diaspora recipient would be paired with an African recipient who would be accorded reciprocal arrangements at the home institution of the diasporan academic. This would entail the two institutions of the holders of the chair signing off on the exchange, thereby fostering interinstitutional collaboration.

As for promoting scholarly partnerships, I would propose creating an African Diaspora Research Initiative (ADRI). Under this initiative, research grants of various sizes from seed grants to full-fledge grants would be given to collaborative partnerships or teams working in a handful of specific research areas, perhaps 4 or 5 in the sciences, social sciences and humanities. The chosen areas would sunset after a designated number of years, subsequently new areas would be chosen. To quote Jonathan Fenton, President of the McArthur Foundation in his keynote address at the 2008 Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, who was quoting me, "A good idea, proposed by Paul Zeleza, is to choose themes around which to organize significant exchanges. These might include leadership and governance, science and technology, democracy and development, human rights and civil society, Pan-Africanism and globalization, environmentalism and energy." Besides the joint research projects, each partnership would require co-authorship and co-publishing of the research results.

In order to promote curricula collaborations, I would suggest setting up an African Diaspora Co-Curriculum Development Initiative (ADCDI). The initiative would support applicant faculty in Africa and the diaspora to work collaboratively for a specified time period in curriculum development, reform, and exchange. The activities could include the partners exchanging syllabuses, developing joint curriculum, providing instruction, both physical and virtual, in each other's institutions, sponsoring student exchanges, mentoring students, sharing in graduate student supervision, and undertaken faculty-student research. The key, again, would be reciprocity, ensuring that the exchanges are designed in such a way there is movement of pedagogies, people, and products in both directions in a manner that is appropriate, creative and pragmatic. Given the massive changes taking place in course delivery methods and content with the rise of the massive open online courses, evolving instructional technologies would have to be incorporated in such endeavors.

The three initiatives, ADCI, ADRI, and ADCDI, have to be seen as inter-related and mutually reinforcing, and part of an integrated program that could perhaps be called the African Diaspora Academics and Universities Consortium (ADAUC). While the diaspora could come from any number of institutions in Canada and the United States, it might make sense, on the African side to focus on a select number of universities, perhaps 10-15, although their composition might shift over time depending on the scholarly and curricula priorities. The question of institutional location and structure is a vexing one. In terms of location, the consortium could be based in Africa, the US, or Canada at a single university, in an existing interinstitutional association, or in a newly created inter-university partnership. Alternatively, it could be based at a Foundation providing the bulk of the funds such as the Carnegie Corporation. Another possibility is to affiliate it with a relevant international agency involved in higher education internationalization, global or African development.

I am inclined to suggest the creation of an independent, transnational consortium located in both the United States and Africa. This would give the consortium the necessary trans-Atlantic coordination, freedom and creativity to develop a robust mission, mandate, and sets of activities without being circumscribed by existing institutional constraints. At a minimum, it would have two organs. First, an Executive Board or Committee composed of a handful of higher education and diaspora experts from Canada, the United States, and Africa; the Carnegie Corporation and other major donors would be represented. An Executive Director and a handful of administrative assistants would undertake Day to day operations and administration. As is the case with grant making agencies, the processes of selecting recipients for support under the three programs

enumerated above, and others or entirely different ones that might be created, would be done by ad hoc teams of reviewers assembled for that particular purpose.

These proposals, encouraging universities in Africa, Canada and the United States to develop systematic policies for higher education internationalization involving the African born academic diaspora, establishing initiatives to promote faculty, scholarly, and curricula exchanges and collaborations, are made out of a long-standing awareness, confirmed by research done for this project, that the African academic diaspora holds enormous potential in internationalizing and strengthening the capacities of African universities and knowledge systems. While the specific proposals may be found wanting, what cannot be in doubt is that the academic diaspora cannot continue to be ignored as a major actor in promoting the fortunes of African universities.

It is sometimes not fully appreciated that the major foundations, academic associations, and university organizations in the United States and Canada and international agencies can play a critical role in raising the profile and prestige of partnerships with African universities, which would help validate and promote the extensive relationships the African born academic diaspora have already built and continue to build with African institutions. Thus, besides material resources that would facilitate and strengthen such relationships, equally important, if not more so, are the reputational and rhetorical resources that these actors can bring to enhancing engagements between the academic diaspora and African universities that go beyond the willingness and investment of individuals or the sporadic initiatives of one or two universities.

This is to argue for the creation of an ongoing strategy in which Africa is increasingly embedded in the internationalization drives of Canadian and American universities as much as African universities recognize and mobilize the academic diaspora. Lest we forget, much of the academic diaspora was produced in Africa, and will always be an integral part of the institutional histories of the continent's universities. The challenge is to turn the diaspora into the future of these universities as well as networks of intellectual resources and capacities that can help them utilize the human capital they built or nurtured at great expense and reposition the universities at home and globally. As evident in this report, the African born academic diaspora in Canada and the United States will continue engaging Africa in numerous ways with varying degrees of success and effectiveness. The real value added by creating the enabling policies and support systems outlined here lies in reinforcing and maximizing the often uncoordinated efforts of the diaspora and African universities to engage each other, thus making them more strategic and sustainable.

Appendices

Appendix 1: Selected Demographic, Cultural, Labor Force, Educational and Income Characteristics of African Immigrants in Canada

| Selected demographic, cultural, labor force, educational and income characteristics | Total - Immigr ant status and period of immigra tion | Immig rants | Before 1991 | 1991 to 1995 | 1996 to 2000 | 2001 to 2006 |
|---|--|----------------|----------------|--------------------|--------------------|-----------------|
| Total population 15 years and over by legal marital status | 342,320 | 342,320 | 136,235 | 53,415 | 58,540 | 94,125 |
| Never legally married (single) | 97,405 | 97,405 | 24,885 | 17,875 | 20,570 | 34,080 |
| Legally married (and not separated) | 194,745 | 194,745 | 85,415 | 27,000 | 30,790 | 51,540 |
| Separated, but still legally married | 15,140 | 15,140 | 5,375 | 3,275 | 2,910 | 3,580 |
| Divorced | 21,885 | 21,880 | 12,415 | 3,645 | 2,910 | 2,915 |
| Widowed | 13,140 | 13,145 | 8,140 | 1,620 | 1,360 | 2,020 |
| Total population in private households by census family status | 373,340 | 373,335 | 135,855 | 54,660 | 66,185 | 116,645 |
| Number of family persons | 303,860 | 303,860 | 111,420 | 46,000 | 55,205 | 91,245 |
| Husbands or wives | 187,040 | 187,045 | 83,905 | 25,870 | 29,270 | 48,005 |
| Common-law partners | 14,020 | 14,020 | 6,155 | 2,190 | 2,305 | 3,370 |
| Lone parents | 26,510 | 26,510 | 10,070 | 5,780 | 4,980 | 5,685 |
| Children in census families | 76,290 | 76,290 | 11,295 | 12,160 | 18,645 | 34,180 |
| Number of persons not in census families | 69,480 | 69,480 | 24,435 | 8,655 | 10,985 | 25,400 |
| Living with relatives | 15,380 | 15,385 | 4,060 | 2,010 | 2,655 | 6,655 |
| Living with non-relatives only | 14,360 | 14,360 | 2,585 | 1,640 | 2,675 | 7,460 |
| Living alone | 39,740 | 39,735 | 17,790 | 5,010 | 5,655 | 11,290 |
| Total population aged 1 year and over by mobility status 1 year ago | 374,380 | 374,380 | 136,195 | 54,790 | 66,310 | 117,075 |
| Non-movers | 297,205 | 297,200 | 122,775 | 46,780 | 53,575 | 74,065 |
| Movers | 77,180 | 77,180 | 13,420 | 8,015 | 12,735 | 43,005 |
| Non-migrants | 45,355 | 45,355 | 8,435 | 5,495 | 8,540 | 22,880 |
| Migrants | 31,820 | 31,820 | 4,985 | 2,515 | 4,195 | 20,130 |
| Internal migrants | 16,375 | 16,375 | 4,310 | 2,070 | 3,555 | 6,435 |
| Intraprovincial migrants | 11,325 | 11,325 | 3,400 | 1,495 | 2,330 | 4,100 |
| Interprovincial migrants | 5,045 | 5,045 | 910 | 575 | 1,225 | 2,335 |
| External migrants | 15,445 | 15,450 | 675 | 445 | 635 | 13,690 |
| Total population aged 5 years and over by mobility status 5 years ago | 370,495 | 370,495 | 136,195 | 54,790 | 66,310 | 113,195 |
| Non-movers | 148,360 | 148,360 | 88,635 | 27,205 | 23,220 | 9,300 |
| Movers | 222,140 | 222,135 | 47,565 | 27,590 | 43,095 | 103,890 |
| Non-migrants | 93,820 | 93,815 | 29,840 | 18,055 | 27,875 | 18,045 |
| Migrants | 128,320 | 128,320 | 17,725 | 9,530 | 15,215 | 85,845 |
| Internal migrants | 45,280 | 45,280 | 15,600 | 8,495 | 13,520 | 7,670 |
| Intraprovincial migrants | 32,910 | 32,915 | 12,470 | 6,075 | 9,580 | 4,790 |
| Interprovincial migrants | 12,370 | 12,370 | | 2,420 | 3,940 | 2,875 |
| External migrants | 83,040 | 83,035 | 2,125 | 1,040 | 1,695 | 78,175 |
| Total population by mother tongue | 374,565 | 374,565 | 136,240 | 54,805 | 66,315 | 117,215 |
| English | 74,980 | 74,980 | | 10,635 | 11,025 | 15,410 |
| French | 44,935 | 44,930 | | 4,225 | 7,560 | 13,405 |
| Non-official language | 232,265 | 232,265 | 71,615 | 36,675 | 43,325 | 80,650 |
| English and French | 1,380 | 1,380 | | 215 | 185 | 470 |
| English and non-official language | 9,255 | 9,260 | | 1,720 | 1,680 | 2,340 |
| French and non-official language | 10,610 | 10,610 | | 1,145 | 2,355 | 4,560 |
| English, French and non-official language | 1,135 | 1,140 | 385 | 185 | 185 | 385 |

| Total population by language spoken most often at home | 374,560 | 374,565 | 136,235 | 54,800 | 66,310 | 117,215 |
|---|---------|---------|---------|--------|--------|---------|
| English | 154,755 | 154,755 | 75,860 | 23,440 | 23,400 | 32,060 |
| French | 77,940 | 77,940 | 24,130 | 8,335 | 15,920 | 29,550 |
| Non-official language | 104,565 | 104,560 | 26,670 | 17,495 | 19,450 | 40,945 |
| English and French | 3,795 | 3,800 | 1,560 | 600 | 755 | 890 |
| English and non-official language | 16,450 | 16,455 | 5,805 | 3,110 | 2,815 | 4,715 |
| French and non-official language | 15,025 | 15,025 | 1,515 | 1,495 | 3,530 | 8,485 |
| English, French and non-official language | 2,030 | 2,030 | 690 | 330 | 435 | 570 |
| Total population by knowledge of official languages | 374,560 | 374,565 | 136,235 | 54,805 | 66,310 | 117,210 |
| English only | 204,615 | 204,615 | 82,200 | 35,245 | 34,175 | 52,990 |
| French only | 48,225 | 48,225 | 7,865 | 3,900 | 9,735 | 26,725 |
| English and French | 115,440 | 115,440 | 44,990 | 14,760 | 21,495 | 34,200 |
| Neither English nor French | 6,285 | 6,285 | 1,180 | 900 | 905 | 3,295 |
| Total population 15 years and over who worked since January 1, 2005 by language used most often at work | 252,490 | 252,490 | 100,510 | 40,335 | 45,175 | 66,470 |
| English | 177,620 | 177,620 | 78,735 | 31,250 | 29,010 | 38,615 |
| French | 56,240 | 56,240 | 15,665 | 6,575 | 12,355 | 21,640 |
| Non-official language | 1,800 | 1,800 | 420 | 285 | 255 | 840 |
| English and French | 14,395 | 14,395 | 4,750 | 1,890 | 3,170 | 4,580 |
| English and non-official language | 1,190 | 1,190 | 450 | 235 | 160 | 335 |
| French and non-official language | 350 | 345 | 40 | 10 | 80 | 220 |
| English, French and non-official language | 895 | 895 | 440 | 85 | 135 | 235 |
| Total - Citizenship | 374,565 | 374,565 | 136,235 | 54,800 | 66,315 | 117,215 |
| Canadian citizens | 258,160 | 258,160 | 131,275 | 50,995 | 55,635 | 20,250 |
| Canadian citizens only | 211,700 | 211,700 | 115,295 | 41,450 | 40,780 | 14,175 |
| Citizens of Canada and at least one other country | 46,455 | 46,460 | 15,985 | 9,540 | 14,855 | 6,075 |
| Not Canadian citizens | 116,410 | 116,405 | 4,960 | 3,810 | 10,680 | 96,960 |
| Total immigrant population by age at immigration | 374,565 | 374,565 | 136,235 | 54,805 | 66,310 | 117,215 |
| Under 5 years | 26,825 | 26,825 | 10,665 | 3,465 | 4,385 | 8,310 |
| 5 to 14 years | 63,475 | 63,480 | 23,200 | 9,550 | 12,160 | 18,570 |
| 15 to 24 years | 72,240 | 72,240 | 31,990 | 9,940 | 11,000 | 19,310 |
| 25 to 44 years | 183,295 | 183,295 | 62,515 | 26,855 | 33,020 | 60,905 |
| 45 years and over | 28,725 | 28,725 | 7,865 | 5,000 | 5,745 | 10,115 |
| Total - Population by visible minority groups | 374,565 | 374,565 | 136,240 | | 66,315 | 117,215 |
| Total visible minority population | 282,590 | 282,590 | 86,470 | | 52,915 | 97,960 |
| Chinese | 8,465 | 8,465 | 5,020 | 1,375 | 645 | 1,420 |
| South Asian | 50,800 | 50,795 | 36,860 | 5,435 | 3,275 | 5,225 |
| Black | 141,290 | 141,285 | 25,530 | | 30,260 | 58,915 |
| Filipino | 340 | 340 | 120 | 45 | 65 | 110 |
| Latin American | 230 | 225 | 90 | 25 | 35 | 80 |
| Southeast Asian | 1,015 | 1,015 | 710 | 80 | 75 | 145 |
| Arab | 75,785 | 75,780 | 16,035 | 10,940 | 17,835 | 30,970 |
| West Asian | 840 | 835 | 490 | 135 | 55 | 155 |
| Korean | 25 | 25 | 0 | 0 | 15 | 155 |
| Japanese | 90 | 90 | 30 | 10 | 30 | 20 |
| Visible minority, n.i.e. | 365 | 370 | 255 | 55 | 25 | 35 |
| Multiple visible minority | 3,360 | 3,360 | 1,325 | 565 | 595 | 870 |
| Not a visible minority | 91,975 | 91,975 | 49,765 | 9,550 | 13,405 | 19,255 |
| Total population 15 years and over by generation status | 342,320 | 342,320 | 136,235 | | 58,540 | 94,130 |
| 1 st generation | 342,320 | 342,320 | 136,240 | | 58,535 | 94,130 |
| 2nd generation | 0 | 342,320 | 130,240 | 0 0 | 0 | 94,130 |
| | | | 0 | 0 | | |
| 3rd generation or more | 242 220 | 342 220 | | | 59 525 | 04.120 |
| Total population 15 years and over by labor force activity | 342,320 | 342,320 | 136,235 | | 58,535 | 94,130 |
| In the labor force | 243,735 | 243,730 | 96,125 | | 43,615 | 64,840 |
| Employed | 217,490 | 217,490 | 91,035 | | 38,590 | 52,840 |
| Unemployed | 26,235 | 26,240 | 5,095 | 4,120 | 5,025 | 12,000 |

| Not in the labor force | 98,590 | 98,590 | 40,110 | 14,275 | 14,920 | 29,285 |
|--|---------|---------|--------------------|--------|--------|--------|
| Participation rate | 71.2 | 71.2 | 70.6 | 73.3 | 74.5 | 68.9 |
| Employment rate | 63.5 | 63.5 | 66.8 | 65.6 | 65.9 | 56.1 |
| Unemployment rate | 10.8 | 10.8 | 5.3 | 10.5 | 11.5 | 18.5 |
| Total labor force 15 years and over by class of worker | 243,730 | 243,730 | 96,130 | 39,145 | 43,620 | 64,845 |
| Class of worker - Not applicable | 11,495 | 11,495 | 1,845 | 1,730 | 2,115 | 5,805 |
| All classes of worker | 232,235 | 232,235 | 94,280 | 37,410 | 41,505 | 59,035 |
| Wage earners | 201,720 | 201,720 | 76,835 | 32,885 | 37,420 | 54,585 |
| Self-employed | 29,920 | 29,915 | 17,175 | 4,420 | 3,985 | 4,340 |
| Unpaid family workers | 600 | 595 | 275 | 105 | 100 | 115 |
| Total labor force 15 years and over by industry - North American Industry | 000 | 373 | 275 | 103 | 100 | 113 |
| Classification System 2002 | 243,730 | 243,730 | 96,130 | 39,145 | 43,620 | 64,840 |
| Industry - Not applicable | 11,495 | 11,495 | 1,845 | 1,730 | 2,120 | 5,805 |
| All industries | 232,235 | 232,240 | 94,280 | 37,410 | 41,500 | 59,040 |
| Agriculture, forestry, fishing and hunting | 1,160 | 1,165 | 350 | 145 | 250 | 415 |
| Mining and oil and gas extraction | 1,570 | 1,565 | 575 | 185 | 285 | 510 |
| Utilities | 1,110 | 1,105 | 530 | 160 | 190 | 230 |
| Construction | 5,880 | 5,875 | 2,460 | 860 | 960 | 1,595 |
| Manufacturing | 27,710 | 27,710 | 9,020 | 4,415 | 5,325 | 8,955 |
| Wholesale trade | 11,030 | 11,030 | 5,105 | 1,680 | 1,695 | 2,555 |
| Retail trade | 25,250 | 25,250 | 10,095 | 4,255 | 4,440 | 6,460 |
| Transportation and warehousing | 11,915 | 11,910 | 5,410 | 2,455 | 2,050 | 2,000 |
| Information and cultural industries | 6,860 | 6,860 | 2,455 | 1,225 | 1,380 | 1,800 |
| Finance and insurance | 12,870 | 12,870 | 6,185 | 1,725 | 2,060 | 2,895 |
| Real estate and rental and leasing | 4,355 | 4,355 | 2,425 | 705 | 620 | 600 |
| Professional, scientific and technical services | 21,565 | 21,565 | 9,510 | 2,890 | 4,280 | 4,885 |
| Management of companies and enterprises | 330 | 330 | 200 | 10 | 65 | 55 |
| Administrative and support, waste management and remediation services | 14,660 | 14,665 | 3,905 | 2,390 | 2,635 | 5,735 |
| Educational services | 16,285 | 16,290 | 7,265 | 2,270 | 2,775 | 3,985 |
| Health care and social assistance | 30,645 | 30,645 | 12,560 | 5,045 | 5,650 | 7,385 |
| Arts, entertainment and recreation | 2,680 | 2,685 | 1,005 | 485 | 555 | 635 |
| Accommodation and food services | 14,710 | 14,705 | 4,770 | 2,835 | 2,600 | 4,500 |
| Other services (except public administration) | 10,920 | 10,925 | 4,605 | 2,090 | 1,765 | 2,460 |
| Public administration | 10,735 | 10,730 | 5,850 | 1,580 | 1,920 | 1,380 |
| Total labor force 15 years and over by occupation - National Occupational | 10,733 | 10,730 | 3,030 | 1,500 | 1,720 | 1,300 |
| Classification for Statistics 2006 | 243,735 | 243,730 | 96,130 | 39,145 | 43,620 | 64,840 |
| Occupation - Not applicable | 11,495 | 11,495 | 1,845 | 1,730 | 2,115 | 5,805 |
| All occupations | 232,240 | 232,235 | 94,280 | 37,415 | 41,505 | 59,035 |
| A Management occupations | 24,190 | 24,190 | 14,475 | 3,350 | 3,055 | 3,315 |
| B Business, finance and administrative occupations | 45,750 | 45,755 | 21,495 | 6,350 | 7,410 | 10,500 |
| C Natural and applied sciences and related occupations | 23,365 | 23,365 | 8,685 | 3,660 | 5,345 | 5,675 |
| D Health occupations | 19,250 | 19,250 | 8,470 | 3,150 | 3,255 | 4,375 |
| E Occupations in social science, education, government service and religion | 23,745 | 23,745 | 9,270 | 3,550 | 5,010 | 5,915 |
| F Occupations in art, culture, recreation and sport | 5,370 | 5,370 | 2,535 | 790 | 945 | 1,105 |
| G Sales and service occupations | 51,875 | 51,875 | 16,875 | 9,570 | 9,355 | 16,075 |
| H Trades, transport and equipment operators and related occupations | 21,975 | 21,975 | 8,400 | 4,235 | 3,870 | 5,475 |
| I Occupations unique to primary industry | 1,810 | 1,810 | 540 | 275 | 345 | 650 |
| J Occupations unique to processing, manufacturing and utilities | 14,900 | 14,895 | 3,535 | 2,485 | 2,920 | 5,960 |
| Total population 15 years and over by highest certificate, diploma or degree | 342,320 | 342,320 | 136,235 | 53,415 | 58,535 | 94,130 |
| No certificate, diploma or degree | 44,325 | 44,325 | 12,935 | 7,850 | 8,325 | 15,215 |
| Certificate, diploma or degree | 297,995 | 297,995 | 123,300 | | 50,210 | 78,915 |
| High school certificate or equivalent | 69,595 | 69,600 | 26,970 | 12,975 | 11,995 | 17,655 |
| Apprenticeship or trades certificate or diploma | 26,730 | 26,730 | 12,120 | 4,380 | 4,005 | 6,230 |
| College, CEGEP or other non-university certificate or diploma | 55,035 | 55,035 | 25,955 | 8,990 | 8,490 | 11,605 |
| University certificate or diploma below bachelor level | 31,605 | 31,600 | 13,295 | 4,270 | 5,225 | 8,805 |
| University certificate, diploma or degree at bachelor's level or above | 115,035 | 115,030 | 44,960 | | 20,490 | 34,625 |
| omversity commeane, diploma of degree at bacheloi s level of above | 113,033 | 113,030 | ++ ,⊅00 | 17,733 | 20,470 | J+,UZJ |

| Bachelor's degree | 62,145 | 62,145 | 24,485 | 8,445 | 10,920 | 18,290 |
|--|---------|---------|---------|--------|--------|--------|
| University certificate or diploma above bachelor level | 14,320 | 14,315 | 5,895 | 1,730 | 2,375 | 4,310 |
| Degree in medicine, dentistry, veterinary medicine or optometry | 6,625 | 6,630 | 2,910 | 870 | 1,025 | 1,825 |
| Master's degree | 24,035 | 24,035 | 8,605 | 2,690 | 4,400 | 8,340 |
| Earned doctorate | 7,910 | 7,915 | 3,060 | 1,220 | 1,775 | 1,855 |
| Total population 15 years and over with postsecondary qualifications by | 7,710 | 7,713 | 3,000 | 1,220 | 1,773 | 1,033 |
| major field of study - Classification of Instructional Programs, 2000 | 228,395 | 228,395 | 96,330 | 32,595 | 38,215 | 61,260 |
| Education | 12,165 | 12,165 | 6,325 | 1,420 | 1,910 | 2,515 |
| Visual and performing arts, and communications technologies | 5,330 | 5,330 | 2,770 | 680 | 705 | 1,175 |
| Humanities | 12,460 | 12,455 | 5,975 | 1,515 | 1,810 | 3,160 |
| Social and behavioural sciences and law | 24,750 | 24,755 | 10,040 | 3,595 | 4,130 | 6,990 |
| Business, management and public administration | 56,955 | 56,960 | 25,700 | 7,690 | 8,710 | 14,855 |
| Physical and life sciences and technologies | 12,735 | 12,730 | 4,600 | 1,625 | 2,490 | 4,015 |
| Mathematics, computer and information sciences | 17,285 | 17,285 | 5,710 | 2,515 | 3,590 | 5,470 |
| Architecture, engineering, and related technologies | 45,555 | 45,555 | 18,040 | 6,735 | 8,210 | 12,575 |
| Agriculture, natural resources and conservation | 3,680 | 3,680 | 1,110 | 585 | 690 | 1,295 |
| Health, parks, recreation and fitness | 30,005 | 30,005 | 12,780 | 4,775 | 4,870 | 7,575 |
| Personal, protective and transportation services | 7,435 | 7,435 | 3,280 | 1,440 | 1,090 | 1,625 |
| Other fields of study | 40 | 45 | 0 | 10 | 15 | 1,625 |
| Total population 15 years and over by location of study | 342,320 | 342,320 | 136,235 | 53,415 | 58,535 | 94,130 |
| No postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree | 113,920 | 113,920 | 39,905 | 20,825 | 20,325 | 32,865 |
| Postsecondary certificate, diploma or degree | 228,395 | 228,400 | 96,330 | 32,595 | 38,215 | 61,265 |
| Inside Canada | 108,690 | 108,690 | 58,855 | 17,395 | 17,100 | 15,335 |
| note Canada | 100,070 | 100,020 | 30,033 | 17,575 | 17,100 | 10,000 |
| Total population 15 years and over by employment income and work | | | | | | |
| activity | 342,320 | 342,320 | 136,235 | 53,415 | 58,540 | 94,125 |
| Did not work or had no employment income in 2005 | 118,390 | 118,390 | 42,945 | 16,970 | 17,590 | 40,885 |
| Worked full year full time with employment income | 115,100 | 115,100 | 57,265 | 18,985 | 19,825 | 19,020 |
| Average employment income \$ | 55,959 | 55,959 | 67,842 | 48,592 | 46,392 | 37,508 |
| Median employment income \$ | 40,515 | 40,515 | 48,101 | 38,252 | 37,671 | 30,436 |
| Standard error of average employment income \$ | 610 | 610 | 1,150 | 783 | 591 | 524 |
| Worked part year or part time with employment income | 108,830 | 108,830 | 36,025 | 17,460 | 21,125 | 34,220 |
| Average employment income \$ | 24,569 | 24,569 | 35,413 | 23,044 | 20,644 | 16,355 |
| Median employment income \$ | 13,725 | 13,725 | 20,691 | 12,834 | 12,299 | 10,505 |
| Standard error of average employment income \$ | 364 | 364 | 992 | 561 | 429 | 268 |
| Total population 15 years and over by employment income | 342,320 | 342,320 | 136,235 | 53,420 | 58,540 | 94,130 |
| Without employment income | 100,845 | 100,845 | 36,885 | 14,490 | 14,530 | 34,935 |
| With employment income | 241,475 | 241,475 | 99,350 | 38,925 | 44,005 | 59,190 |
| Under \$5,000 | 37,480 | 37,480 | 10,655 | 5,905 | 7,270 | 13,650 |
| \$5,000 to \$9,999 | 25,420 | 25,420 | 6,835 | 4,690 | 5,235 | 8,665 |
| \$10,000 to \$19,999 | 39,305 | 39,300 | 12,220 | 6,480 | 7,800 | 12,805 |
| \$20,000 to \$29,999 | 33,005 | 33,010 | 11,980 | 5,405 | 6,195 | 9,430 |
| \$30,000 to \$39,999 | 29,100 | 29,100 | 12,865 | 4,620 | 5,510 | 6,105 |
| \$40,000 to \$49,999 | 20,330 | 20,330 | 10,350 | 3,220 | 3,530 | 3,225 |
| \$50,000 to \$59,999 | 14,740 | 14,735 | 8,205 | 2,420 | 2,360 | 1,760 |
| \$60.000 to \$74.999 | 15,115 | 15,115 | 8,740 | 2,525 | 2,455 | 1,390 |
| \$75,000 and over | 26,985 | 26,990 | 17,495 | 3,670 | 3,655 | 2,160 |
| Average employment income \$ | 38,516 | 38,516 | 52,723 | 34,652 | 31,520 | 22,410 |
| Median employment income \$ | 25,064 | 25,064 | 35,862 | 24,035 | 22,454 | 15,177 |
| Standard error of average employment income \$ | 343 | 343 | 766 | 481 | 365 | 249 |
| Standard error of average employment income \$ Fotal population 15 years and over with income in 2005 by composition of | 343 | 343 | 700 | 401 | 303 | 245 |
| total income % | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |
| Market income % | 89.5 | 89.5 | 91.8 | 88.3 | 88.4 | 82.9 |
| Employment income % | 80.6 | 80.6 | 79.7 | 83.6 | 84.7 | 77.4 |
| Wages and salaries % | 72.9 | 72.9 | 70.6 | 76.9 | 79.1 | 72.4 |
| Self-employment income % | 7.7 | 7.7 | 9.1 | 6.8 | 5.6 | 5.1 |

| Investment income % | 4.0 | 4.0 | 5.5 | 2.4 | 1.6 | 2. |
|---|-------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------|--------|-------|
| Retirement pensions, superannuation and annuities % | 2.9 | 2.9 | 4.6 | 0.6 | 0.5 | 0. |
| Other money income % | 2.0 | 2.0 | 2.0 | 1.6 | 1.5 | 2. |
| Government transfer payments % | 10.5 | 10.5 | 8.2 | 11.7 | 11.6 | 17. |
| Old Age Security pensions and Guaranteed Income Supplement % | 1.8 | 1.8 | 2.6 | 1.4 | 0.4 | 0. |
| Canada/Quebec Pension Plan benefits % | 1.5 | 1.5 | 2.4 | 0.4 | 0.2 | 0. |
| Child benefits % | 2.8 | 2.8 | 1.0 | 4.5 | 4.7 | 6. |
| Employment Insurance benefits % | 1.3 | 1.3 | 0.7 | 1.5 | 2.2 | 2 |
| Other income from government sources % | 3.1 | 3.1 | 1.5 | 4.0 | 4.0 | 7 |
| Income taxes paid % | 17.8 | 17.8 | 20.9 | 15.3 | 14.8 | 11 |
| Total population 15 years and over by wages and salaries in 2005 | 342,325 | 342,320 | 136,235 | 53,415 | 58,540 | 94,13 |
| Without wages and salaries | 120,205 | 120,205 | 47,975 | 17,490 | 17,420 | 37,3 |
| With wages and salaries | 222,115 | 222,115 | 88,260 | 35,925 | 41,120 | 56,8 |
| Under \$5,000 | 34,340 | 34,340 | 8,800 | 5,595 | 6,720 | 13,23 |
| \$5,000 to \$9,999 | 22,070 | 22,070 | 5,095 | 4,045 | 4,650 | 8,2 |
| \$10,000 to \$19,999 | 34,900 | 34,900 | 10,110 | 5,495 | 7,165 | 12,13 |
| \$20,000 to \$29,999 | 30,590 | 30,585 | 10,675 | 4,995 | 5,790 | 9,12 |
| \$30,000 to \$39,999 | 27,680 | 27,680 | 12,140 | 4,410 | 5,220 | 5,9 |
| \$40,000 to \$49,999 | 19,635 | 19,635 | 9,830 | 3,180 | 3,490 | 3,1 |
| \$50,000 to \$59,999 | 14,265 | 14,265 | 7,855 | 2,375 | 2,315 | 1,7 |
| \$60,000 to \$39,999 | 38,635 | 38,635 | 23,755 | 5,835 | 5,770 | 3,2 |
| Average wages and salaries \$ | 37,894 | 37,894 | 52,598 | 34,509 | 31,491 | 21,8 |
| Median wages and salaries \$ | 26,010 | 26,010 | 37,473 | 25,213 | 23,324 | 15,1 |
| Standard error of average wages and salaries \$ | 349 | 349 | 814 | 453 | 354 | 2 |
| | 342,320 | | | 53,415 | 58,540 | 94,1 |
| Total population 15 years and over by total income in 2005 Without income | | 342,320 | 136,240 2,100 | 2,865 | 3,550 | |
| With income | 21,650 320,670 | 21,650 320,665 | 134,135 | 50,550 | 54,985 | 13,1 |
| Under \$5,000 | 40,970 | 40,965 | 10,270 | 6,980 | 8,020 | 15,6 |
| \$5,000 to \$9,999 | 36,460 | 36,460 | 9,885 | 5,885 | 6,615 | 14,0 |
| \$10,000 to \$19,999 | 70,140 | 70,140 | 26,460 | 11,135 | 11,815 | 20,7 |
| \$20,000 to \$19,999 \$20,000 to \$29,999 | 46,620 | 46,620 | 17,225 | 7,745 | 8,545 | 13,1 |
| | | | | 5,815 | | 7,8 |
| \$30,000 to \$39,999 | 37,145 | 37,145 | 16,655 | | 6,780 | |
| \$40,000 to \$49,999 | 24,765 | 24,760 | 13,205 | 3,750 | 4,250 | 3,5 |
| \$50,000 to \$79,999 | 38,175 | 38,180 | 22,740 | 5,790 | 5,720 | 3,9 |
| \$80,000 and over | 26,400 | 26,395 | 17,690 | 3,460 | 3,235 | 2,0 |
| Average income \$ | 35,983 | 35,983 | 49,022 | 31,913 | 29,770 | 21,1 |
| Median income \$ | 22,345 | 22,345 | 31,682 | 21,375 | 21,034 | 14,5 |
| Standard error of average income \$ | 287 | 287 | 634 | 397 | 307 | 1164 |
| Total persons in private households by income status in 2005 | 372,725 | 372,725 | 135,665 | 54,585 | 66,065 | 116,4 |
| Total persons in economic families | 318,845 | 318,845 | 115,350 | | 57,775 | 97,7 |
| Persons in economic families below low income cut-off before tax | 93,305 | 93,305 | 14,530 | 13,855 | 17,070 | 47,8 |
| Prevalence of low income before tax in 2005 for economic family members % | 29.3 | 29.3 | 12.6 | 28.9 | 29.5 | 49 |
| Persons in economic families below low income cut-off after tax | 73,120 | 73,120 | 10,000 | 10,510 | 12,990 | 39,6 |
| Prevalence of low income after tax in 2005 for economic family members % | 22.9 | 22.9 | 8.7 | 21.9 | 22.5 | 39,0 |
| Total persons 15 years and over not in economic families | 53,880 | 53,880 | 20,315 | 6,605 | 8,290 | 18,6 |
| Persons not in economic families below before-tax low income cut-off | 28,220 | 28,215 | 8,730 | 3,195 | 4,005 | 12,2 |
| Prevalence of low income before tax in 2005 for persons not in economic | 20,220 | 20,213 | 0,730 | 3,193 | 4,003 | 12,2 |
| families % | 52.4 | 52.4 | 43.0 | 48.4 | 48.3 | 65 |
| Persons not in economic families below after-tax low income cut-off | 25,050 | 25,045 | 7,290 | 2,885 | 3,585 | 11,2 |
| Prevalence of low income after tax in 2005 for persons not in economic | 20,000 | 25,015 | .,250 | 2,003 | 2,505 | -1,2, |
| Termence of fow medine after the in 2005 for persons not in economic | 46.5 | 46.5 | 35.9 | 43.7 | 43.2 | 60 |

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Canada.

Appendix 2 Educational and Employment Indicators for the African Born Population in the United States, 2010

| Region of origin | percent distribution of pop Less than high school | | High school grad | duate or | Some co | llege or | Bachelor's | 1 |
|-------------------------|--|----------|------------------|----------|------------------|-------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| | | | equivalency | | | e's degree | degree or higher | |
| Total | 14.4 | .4 | | | 28.9 | | 28.2 | 1 |
| Native | 11.0 | - 1 | 29.7 | | 30.9 | | 28.4 | |
| Foreign born | 31.7 | 1 | 22.5 | | 18.8 | | 27.0 | |
| Africa | 12.1 | 1 | 20.0 | | 27.7 | | 40.3 | 1 |
| Asia | 16.1 | | 16.6 | | 18.7 | | 48.5 | 1 |
| Europe | 15.2 | 1 | 25.2 | | 23.3 | | 36.4 | 1 |
| Northern America | 10.0 | 1 | 20.1 | | 27.5 | | 42.5 | 1 |
| Oceania | 14.0 | 1 | 23.2 | | 30.0 | | 32.9 | 1 |
| Latin America | 46.8 | 1 | 25.3 | | 16.7 | | 11.2 | 1 |
| Labor force participati | on, percent of population 1 | 6 and c | older | | | | • | 1 |
| Region of origin | Box sexes | | Male | | Female | | Percent of female | 1 |
| 0 0 | | | | | | | in total labor | |
| | | | | | | | force | |
| Total | 64.4 | (| 59.8 | | 59.3 | | 47.3 | 1 |
| Native | 63.8 | (| 58.1 | | 59.7 | | 48.1 | 1 |
| Foreign born | 67.7 | , | 78.9 | | 57.0 | | 42.9 | 1 |
| Africa | 75.1 | | 82.4 | | 67.0 | | 42.3 | 1 |
| Asia | 66.2 | | 75.6 | | 58.0 | | 46.8 | 1 |
| Europe | 57.5 | (| 57.5 | | 49.4 | | 47.6 | 1 |
| Northern America | 57.4 | (| 57.5 | | 49.2 | | 47.2 | 1 |
| Oceania | 71.3 | | 32.5 | | 60.9 | | 44.1 | |
| Latin America | 70.0 | | 82.9 | | 58.0 | | 40.0 | |
| Occupation, percent di | stribution of civilian popul | lation 1 | 6 and older | | | | | _ |
| | Management, | Servio | | | d Office | Natural res | ources, construction, | Production, |
| | business, science, | | | | | and mainte | nance | transportation, |
| | and arts | | | | | | | and material |
| | | | | | | | | moving |
| Total | 35.9 | 18.0 | | 25.0 | | 9.1 | | 11.9 |
| Native | 37.4 | 16.6 | | 26.4 | | 8.4 | | 11.2 |
| Foreign born | 28.6 | 25.1 | | 17.8 | | 13.0 | | 15.5 |
| Africa | 37.7 | 24.8 | | 19.8 | | 3.3 | | 14.4 |
| Asia | 47.4 | 17.5 | | 21.0 | | 3.4 | | 10.6 |
| Europe | 44.6 | 16.7 | | 19.4 | | 8.5 | | 10.7 |
| Northern America | 59.0 | 9.3 | | 21.1 | | 4.6 | | 6.0 |
| Oceania | 40.9 | 19.5 | | 22.6 | | 6.8 | | 10.3 |
| Latin America | 14.1 | 31.2 | | 15.6 | | 19.8 | | 19.3 |
| Median household Inco | ome by household type | | | | | | | |
| | All households | | Family house | eholds | | -family | Family/non-family | median income |
| | | | | | households ratio | | | |
| Total | \$50,046 | | \$60,609 | | \$30,440 | | 1.99 | |
| Native | \$50,541 | | \$62,358 | | \$30,585 | | | |
| Foreign born | \$46,224 | | \$49,785 | | | \$28,287 | | |
| Africa | \$45,926 | | \$51,785 | | | ,070 | 1.66 | |
| Asia | \$63,777 | | \$72,114 | | \$33, | | 2.13 | |
| Europe | \$51,764 | | \$68,062 | | \$27. | , | 2.48 | · |
| Northern America | \$64.095 | | \$83,369 | | \$36,668 2.27 | | 2.27 | |
| | \$71,441 | | \$76,152 | | \$45,385 | | 1.68 | |

Source: US Census, The Foreign Born Population in the United States, $2010\,$

\$38,554

\$25,133

1.53

\$38,238

Latin America

Appendix 3: Profile of African Born Academics Interviewed in the Canada and United States

Total Interviewees: 105

Women: 31 (29.5%)Men: 74 (70.5%)US: 77 (73.3%)Canada: 28 (26.7%)

• HBCUs: 3 (2.9%)

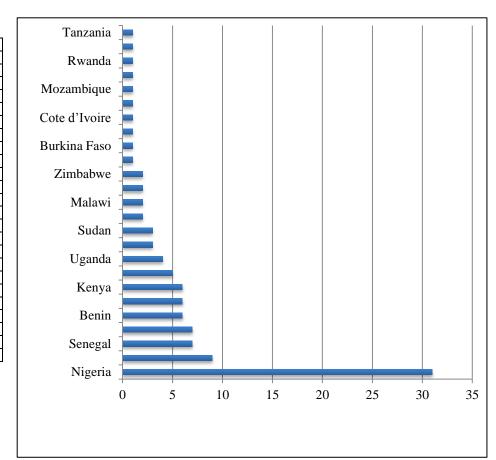
Total Potential Interviewees Contacted: 337

US: 263 (78%)Canada: 74 (22%)

HBCUs: 42 (12.5% of total contacts; 16% of US contacts)

Countries Represented:

| Nigeria | 31 |
|---------------|----|
| Ghana | 9 |
| Senegal | 7 |
| South Africa | 7 |
| Benin | 6 |
| Ethiopia | 6 |
| Kenya | 6 |
| Cameroon | 5 |
| Uganda | 4 |
| DRC | 3 |
| Sudan | 3 |
| Egypt | 2 |
| Malawi | 2 |
| Sierra Leone | 2 |
| Zimbabwe | 2 |
| Algeria | 1 |
| Burkina Faso | 1 |
| Burundi | 1 |
| Cote d'Ivoire | 1 |
| Eritrea | 1 |
| Mozambique | 1 |
| Niger | 1 |
| Rwanda | 1 |
| Somalia | 1 |
| Tanzania | 1 |



Disciplines Represented:1

Social Science and Humanities: 84 Individuals (80%)²

| | # represented | # of women | # of men |
|-----------------------------|---------------|------------|----------|
| African/Pan African Studies | 11 | 5 | 6 |
| Political Science | 8 | 2 | 6 |
| African American Studies | 7 | 4 | 3 |
| History | 7 | 2 | 5 |
| Education | 6 | 2 | 4 |
| English | 6 | 1 | 5 |
| Africana Studies | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| Comparative Lit/Studies | 5 | 1 | 4 |
| Law | 5 | 1 | 4 |
| Linguistics | 5 | 1 | 4 |
| African Languages | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| French | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| Sociology | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Women/Gender Studies | 3 | | 3 |
| Anthropology | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Art History | 2 | | 2 |
| Cultural Studies | 2 | | 2 |
| Geography | 2 | | 2 |
| Int'l Relations/Affairs | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Journalism | 2 | | 2 |
| Communications | 1 | 1 | |
| Criminal Justice | 1 | | 1 |
| Economics | 1 | | 1 |
| Film | 1 | | 1 |
| Human Rights | 1 | | 1 |
| International Development | 1 | 1 | |
| Language & Literacy | 1 | 1 | |
| Peace & Conflict Resolution | 1 | | 1 |
| Total: | 99 | 30 | 69 |

Math and Sciences: 21 Individuals (20%)³

| | # represented | # of women | # of men |
|--|---------------|------------|----------|
| Mathematics | 6 | 1 | 5 |
| Engineering | 4 | 1 | 3 |
| Biobehavioral Health | 1 | | 1 |
| Biochemistry/Nutritional Sciences | 1 | | 1 |
| Biology | 1 | 1 | |
| Climate and Society | 1 | | 1 |
| Community Outreach & Clinical Research | 1 | 1 | |
| Fisheries | 1 | | 1 |
| Logistics and Operations Managements | 1 | | 1 |
| Medicine and Infectious Diseases | 1 | | 1 |
| Medicine (Global Health) | 1 | | 1 |
| Pathobiological Sciences | 1 | | 1 |
| Science, Technology, and Society | 1 | | 1 |
| Totals: | 21 | 4 | 17 |

Note: While African born women faculty are underrepresented at Math and Sciences in higher education, two of the four women represented here work at Spelman, a women-only HBCU.

Administrative Responsibilities: 22 Individuals (21%)⁴

Represented: # Of women: # Of men:

¹ The other tables have too many variables to fit into a graph nicely, or at least one that Excel offers.

² Because some faculty have joint appointments or are in fields that could represent two distinct disciplines, there is overlap in the counts. For example, a faculty member may be housed in African American Studies and another in African American Studies. Those 2 faculty would represent 3 entries: 2 in African American Studies and 1 in African Studies.

³ There is no overlap in these counts.

⁴ Klug_Wisconsin holds 2 leadership positions: Associate Dean for Faculty Development and Research and Director, Global Legal Studies Center. He is counted here twice.

| Director/Chair | 19 | 3 | 16 |
|-------------------------------|----|---|----|
| (program/department/center) | | | |
| Dean, Community Outreach | 1 | 1 | |
| and Clinical Research | | | |
| Associate Dean, International | 1 | | 1 |
| Affairs (Law School) | | | |
| Associate Dean for Faculty | 1 | | 1 |
| Development and Research | | | |
| Total Positions Held: | 22 | 4 | 18 |

Notes

¹ The literature on this is now quite substantial. The World Bank even established an African Diaspora Program. For a few useful studies that outline some of the debates, see Michel Beine, Frédéric Docquier and Hilda Rapoport, "Brain Drain and Human Capital Formation in Developing Countries: Winners and Losers," *The Economic Journal* 118: 631-652; Frédéric Docquier, Olivier Lohest, and Abdeslam Marfouk, "Brain Drain in Developing Countries," *The World Bank Economic Review*, 2007: 1-26; Frédéric Docquier, Lindsay Lowell, and Abdeslam Marfouk, "A Gendered Assessment of the Brain Drain," Institute for the Study of Labor, Discussion Paper No. 3235, December 2007; William Easterly and Yaw Nyarko, "Is the Brain Drain Good For Africa?" Brookings Global Economy and Development, Working Paper 19, March 2008; and Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "The Role of African Diasporas in Post-Conflict Reconstruction," in Cassandra R. Veney and Dick Simpson, eds. *Post-Conflict Development and Democracy in Africa*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, November, 2012: 185-218.

eng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=89425&PRID=0&PTYPE=88971,97154&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=0&Temporal=2006&THEME=72&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEF=0

² Paul Tiyambe Zeleza, "Internationalization in Higher Education: Opportunities and Challenges for the Knowledge Project in the Global South," *Sarua Leadership Dialogue Series* 4, 2 (2012): 4-27.

³Statistics Canada, 2006 Census of Canada, Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration, available at ww12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/tbt/Rp-

 $^{^4 \}text{ http://www} 12.\text{statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/} 2006/dp-pd/tbt/Rp-eng.cfm?LANG=E&APATH=3&DETAIL=0&DIM=0&FL=A&FREE=0&GC=0&GID=0&GK=0&GRP=1&PID=89424&PRID=0&PTYPE=88971,97154&S=0&SHOWALL=0&SUB=723&Temporal=2006&THEME=72&VID=0&VNAMEE=&VNAMEE=0.$

⁵ Canadian Association of University Teachers, 1212-1213 Almanac of Post-Secondary Education in Canada, Ottawa: CAUT, 36.

⁶ U.S. Census, Foreign Born, available at http://www.census.gov/population/foreign/ Accessed December 15, 2012; also see Steven A. Camarota, *Immigrants in the United States: A Profile of America's Foreign Born Population* available at http://cis.org/node/3876#public accessed December 15, 2012.

⁷ The Chronicle of Higher Education, *Almanac of Higher Education*, 2009-10; *Almanac of Higher Education*, 2012-13.

⁸ Moody's Investor Service, "US Higher Education Outlook Negative in 2013: Revenue Pressure on All Fronts Intensifies Need to Grapple with Traditional Cost Structure," January 16, 2013; Moody's Investor Service, "More US Colleges Face Stagnating Enrollment and Tuition Revenue, According to Moody's Survey Smaller, Highly Tuition-Dependent Colleges Have Greatest Need for New Revenue Strategies," January 10, 2013.

⁹ The Chronicle of Higher Education, "Trends in Faculty Employment," The Almanac of Higher Education 2009-10.

¹⁰ See some of the following reportsCoalition on the Academic Workforce, A Portrait of Part-Time Faculty Members, June 2012; The American Association of University Professors, The Inclusion in Governance of Faculty Members Holding Contingent Appointments available at http://www.aaup.org/report/governance-inclusion: also see, Audrey Williams June, "Adjuncts Build Strength in Numbers: The New Majority Generates Shift in Academic Culture," The Chronicle of Higher Education, November 5, 2012.

¹¹ Audrey Williams June and Jonah Newman, "Data on Adjuncts' Pay Emerges on Web Site," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, January 11, 2013; Dan Berrett, "Underpaid and Restless: Study Presents a 'Dismal Picture' of Life as a Part-Time Professor," *The Chronicle of Higher Education*, June 20, 2012.

¹² Among the book series are *Studies in Africa and the Diaspora* by the University of Rochester; *Culture and Customs of Africa* by Greenwood Press, *Classic Authors of Texts and Authors on Africa* by Africa World Press, and *Studies on the African World* by Carolina Academic Press. For more details see his website, http://www.toyinfalola.com/.

¹³ The website for the forum and repository is http://www.africaresource.com/. The journals include including West African Review (http://www.africaresource.com/. The journals include including West African Review (http://www.africaresource.com/. The journals include including West African Review (http://www.africaresource.com/. The journals include including West African Review (http://www.westafricareview.com/), JENdA: A Journal of Culture and African Women Studies

(http://www.jendajournal.com/), Ijele: Art eJournal of the African World (http://www.ijele.com/), Journal on African Philosophy (http://www.africanphilosophy.com/), and Proud Flesh: New Afrikan Journal of Culture, Politics & Consciousness (http://www.proudfleshjournal.com/). Some seem to be defunct.

- See its website at http://www.arist-edu.org/
 See *Naser Faruqui*, "Canada is helping to find the next Einstein in Africa," International Development Research Council, http://www.idrc.ca/EN/Resources/Publications/Pages/ArticleDetails.aspx?PublicationID=1123
- ¹⁶ Ashesi University was founded by Patrick Awuah, a US educated Ghanaian engineer at Microsoft, in 2002. It is a liberal arts college whose mission is to "to educate a new generation of ethical and entrepreneurial leaders in Africa and to cultivate within our students the critical thinking skills, concern for others, and the courage it will take to transform their continent." The degrees it offers "in Business Administration, Computer Science, and Management Information Systems prepare students to innovate in their fields." See the university's website, http://www.ashesi.edu.gh
- ¹⁷ See Agnete Vabø, "Gender and International Research Cooperation," International Higher Education 69 (2012): 19-20; the report is by The Research Institute for Higher Education, The Changing Academic Profession in International Comparative and Quantitative Perspectives. Report of the International Conference on the Changing Academic Profession, RIHE International Seminar Report, No. 12, September 2008.
- ¹⁸ Vabø, "Gender and International Research Cooperation," 19-20.
- ¹⁹ For informative studies that focus on higher education and the children of immigrants, see Sandy Baum and Stella M. Flores, "Higher Education and Children in Immigrant Families," Future of Children, 21, 1 (2011): 171-193; Pamela Bennett and Amy Lutz, "How African American is the New Black Advantage? Differences in College Attendance among Immigrant Blacks, Native Blacks and Whites," Sociology of Education 83 (2009): 701-100; Randy Capps and Michael Fix, eds. Young Children of Black Immigrants in America: Changing Flows, Changing Faces, Migration Policy Institute, 2012; and Isidore Opkewho and Nkiru Nzegwu, eds. The New African Diaspora: Assessing the Pains and Gains of Exile. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2009.
- ²⁰ For other reviews of SANSA's activities, see Mercy Brown, "The South African Network of skills abroad (SANSA): the South African experience of scientific diaspora networks," in *Diaspora Scientifique*, ed. R. Barre, V. Hernandez, J.B. Meyer, and D. Vinck. Paris: Institute for Research and Development, 2003; and Jonathan Marks, "Evolving Diaspora, Promising Initiatives," in Diaspora Networks and the International Migration of Skills: How Countries Draw on their Talent Abroad, ed. Yevgeny Kuznetsov. Washington, DC: The World Bank. ²¹ See the SATCHI website, http://www.nrf.ac.za/projects.php?pid=61
- ²² LEADS' initiative can be found at http://www.nuc.edu.ng/pages/pages.asp?id=54
- ²³ Erinosho gives the following figures, US 28, UK 6, Canada 3, Malaysia 2, Australia 1, and Ireland 1.
- ²⁴ Tunde Fatunde, "Nigeria: Diaspora academics to head up universities," *University World News*, Issue No. 72, 27 February
- ²⁵ ERSA's website can be found at http://www.econrsa.org/
- ²⁶ Ogachi's list includes the African Academy of Sciences, African Agricultural Economics Education Network, African Economic Research Consortium, African Health Research Forum, International Centre for Insect Physiology and Ecology, African Mathematics Millennium Science Initiative, African Population and Health Research Centre, African Network of Scientific and Technological Institutions, African Technology Policy Studies Network, Alliance for a Green Revolution in Africa, Association for Strengthening Agricultural Research in Eastern and Central Africa, Biosciences Eastern and Central Africa, Collaborative MSc Program in Agricultural and Applied Economics for Eastern and Southern Africa, Consortium for Advanced Research and Training in Africa, Forum for Women Educationalists, Institute of Statistics and Applied Economics, Natural Products Research Network for Eastern and Central Africa, Network of Conservation Educators in the Albertine Rift, Regional Initiative in Science and Education, Regional Universities Forum for Capacity Building in Agriculture, Social Science and Medicine in Africa Network, University for Peace African Program, World Agroforestry Center, and International Centre for Research in Agroforestry.
 ²⁷ See the website for the program at

- http://www.wits.ac.za/alumni/news/facultynews/Healthsciencesmay2010/3350/FHS_Alumni_Diaspora.html

 28 See the website for the Center at the University of Nairobi at http://international.uonbi.ac.ke/node; and the International Office at Moi University at http://io.mu.ac.ke/
- ²⁹ For Office of International Programs at Ibadan see, http://www.oip.ui.edu.ng/, and for Kwara State University see, http://www.kwasu.edu.ng/ciis/about-ciis
- ³⁰ Robert Okemwa Onsare, "Kenyatta University Establishes A Foundation," The Global Herald, 3, 2011, available at http://theglobalherald.com/kenyatta-university-establishes-a-foundation/20283/; also see the Foundation's website at http://www.kenyattauniversityfoundation.org/
- ³¹ The universities are: Harvard (211), Columbia (138), Johns Hopkins (117), the University of Washington (91), University of California at San Francisco (88), and the University of Toronto (81).
- ³² On Africa's economic resurgence, see Paul Tivambe Zeleza, "Africa's Renewal: The Challenges and Opportunities of Sustainability and Leadership," Colloquium, The Thabo Mbeki African Leadership Institute, University of South Africa, Pretoria, South Africa, June 14-15, 2012.

³³ Jonathan Fenton, "Learning, Knowing, and Serving: The MacArthur Foundation in Africa," address to the African Studies Association Annual Meeting, Published November 13, 2008, available at http://www.macfound.org/press/speeches/fanton-remarks-learning-knowing-serving-africa/