

University of New England

**Diaspora Capital, Capacity Development and African
Development: Role of Nigerian Migrants In Australia**

A Dissertation submitted

by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the role of Australian-based skilled migrants from Nigeria in the capacity development of their country of origin. The dataset that formed the basis for the analysis was collected through semi structured interviews and surveys with two cohorts of skilled migrants. The first set of data is about the lived experiences of forty-five skilled migrants and two Nigerian diplomats in Australia. The trans-national activities, emotional ties, and social and professional networks that these sets of skilled migrants maintain across Nigeria and Australia are examined to ascertain their relevance for the capacity development of Nigeria through the transfer of professional skills. The second set of data consists of survey responses and semi- structured interviews obtained from twenty-two returned migrants who have gone back to Nigeria after their studies or employment in Australia. Underpinned by a qualitative approach to research design and a thematic approach to data analysis, the professional skills, and knowledge, economic, social, cultural and human capital of these skilled migrants are discussed as a form of migrants' social remittances and diaspora capital in the context of capacity development. Capacity development of Nigeria is discussed as an independent process that can be achieved with the contribution of migrants' diaspora capital. The thesis introduces the new concept of non-financial remittances, which marks its significance and contribution to research on migration and diaspora capital.

This thesis is important because it examines the lived experiences of Nigerian diaspora members in Australia, trans-migrants and return migrants who have returned to Nigeria after spending extended periods of time studying and working in Australia. The diaspora capital of these diaspora members and returned migrants is examined in terms of their contributions to capacity development through their transfer of skills for the capacity development of Nigeria. Diaspora capital in the context of this study is defined to have an encompassing meaning that entails several benefits that the Nigerian diaspora own and can be used to contribute to capacity development of Nigeria. This thesis looks beyond the argument of the negative effects of brain drain of skilled migrants by highlighting the idea that financial and social remittances can compensate for brain drain and migration of skilled migrants in developing countries. The diaspora option to enhance capacity development, migrant's social networks and trans-national activities are suggested as countervailing trends that may mitigate the negative effects of skilled migration from the homeland.

The framework of analysis for the study is built around Bourdieu, Putnam and Coleman's idea of social capital theory to examine migrants' bonding, bridging, linking and digital social capital and their effects on social network formation transfer of professional skills and capacity development. The research findings highlighted six major themes that include diaspora capital, modes of professional skills transfer and challenges that impede the use of diaspora capital for capacity development. Based on these analyses, the thesis argues that social networks, professional networks and trans-national activities of skilled migrants such as professional visits to Nigeria, virtual online

activities and volunteering can counter-balance the negative effects of brain drain and the exodus of skilled migrants on the capacity development of Nigeria. The study found that there are several inefficiencies and structural weaknesses that hinder the optimal utilisation of the skills of these groups of skilled migrants for capacity development. In the concluding chapter, the thesis provides policy recommendations on how the Nigerian government might more fully harness and utilise the skills of the Nigerian-born migrants of the diaspora.

Key words: Social Capital, Social Remittances, Diaspora, Trans-national Migration, Nigeria, and Capacity Development

Certification of Dissertation

I certify that the ideas, experimental work, results, analyses, software and conclusions reported in this dissertation are entirely my own effort, except where otherwise acknowledged. I also certify that the work is original and has not been previously submitted for any other award, except where otherwise acknowledged.



20/04/2018

Signature of Candidate

Date

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the thousands of skilled Nigerian migrants who have left the shores of their country in search of greener pastures but are still interested in using their skills for the capacity development of Nigeria.

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Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ADIBP	Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection
ADCP	African Diaspora Policy Center
AIDS	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
APC	All Progressive Congress
APNN	Association of Psychiatric Nurses of Nigeria
ASIC	Australia Security and Investment Commission
AusAID	Australia Agency for International Development
BMed	Bachelor of Medicine
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
DIBP	Department of Immigration and Border Protection
EFCC	Economic and Financial Crimes Commission
ERGP	Economic Recovery and Growth Plan
F	Female
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
FRACGP	Fellow of the Royal Australian College of General Practitioners
GEF	Global Economic Forum
GDP	Global Domestic Product
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
HMCAN	Health and Managed Care Association of Nigeria
HMO	Health Maintenance Organisation
HR	Human Resources
IBRD	International Bank of Reconstruction and Development,
ICT	Information Communication Technology
ICPC	Independence Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences
IFMM	Ifunanya Foundation Medical Mission
IMF	International Monetary Fund

IOM	International Organization for Migration
LEADS	Linkage Expert and Academics in the Diaspora Scheme
M	Male
N-SIP	National Social Investment Programme
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NSW	New South Wales
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NNPC	Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation
NIDO	Nigerians in the Diaspora Organization
NNVS	Nigeria National Volunteer services
NSHDP	National Strategic Health Development Plan
NSV	Nigerian Society of Victoria
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
QLD	Queensland
R&D	Research and Development
RM	Returned Migrant
RQAN	Return of Qualified African Nationals
SA	South Australia
SSA	Sub Saharan Africa
TOKTEN	Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals Programme
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VIC	Victoria
WA	Western Australia
WTO	World Trade Organization

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Chapter One

Introduction

1. Research aims

This thesis examines the lived experiences of members of the Nigerian diaspora and their remittance practices, specifically the transfer of non-financial capital, identified in this research as ‘diaspora capital’. It considers which factors inform how the Nigerian diaspora living in Australia, and those who have returned to Nigeria from Australia, engage in the remittance activities associated with non-financial diaspora capital. It also considers the factors that hinder these diaspora capital remittance activities. This research therefore examines diaspora remittances via the lens of non-financial ‘diaspora capital’. Diaspora capital in this research is defined as the cultural, social and human capital of some expatriate Nigerians, purposefully used to enhance the individual, community and the national development of Nigeria. Diaspora capital encompasses forms of non-financial capital such as the transfer of knowledge, skills, technical information, technology-based approaches, entrepreneurial activity, and social and professional networking, all with the aim of capacity development. This research also considers non-financial diaspora capital to be practices and relationships that seek to improve individual, community and national outcomes via the transfer of ideas about good governance, transparent business practices, human rights, gender equality, individual and community empowerment, and volunteering and charity.

Some of these themes have been examined separately in other research (see for example Evans, 2000; De Haas, 2005, 2010; Faist, 2008). In this research the focus is not on measuring the fiscal impact and outcomes of non-financial transfers but rather in

primarily examining the nature of, the reasons for, and the lived experiences of those who engage in transfers of diaspora social capital, and secondarily, the factors that hinder non-financial diaspora transfers. This research draws on the idea of diaspora capital as being a human activity seeking to improve human outcomes as its primary aim. It is suggested that when human outcomes improve it has a direct and positive outcome on national advancement. Embedded in this understanding is the idea that members of the diaspora are likely to be agents of social change and key actors in capacity development. By framing this research within this lens, the aim is to build on the work conducted by Conway and Potter (2007), Levitt and Lamba-Nieves (2011) and Mullings (2011) that demonstrates how diaspora members can be viewed as active agents of social change, and in turn contributors to development. This research therefore also aims to build on the research conducted by Putnam (2004), who argues that members of a diaspora engage in the practice of social capital accumulation. In expanding their own skills, furthering their education, and advancing their own knowledge, members of a diaspora accumulate a bank of skills and knowledge that enables continual capital transfers which seek to improve capacity and advance development in their country of origin. Taking this position, the argument is therefore that diaspora social capital (and its accumulation and ongoing transfer) is continual, long-term and sustainable, particularly when measured against financial transfers or remittances.

One clear objective of this research is to expand the idea of non-financial remittances as something just as tangible as financial transfers, that diaspora social capital transfers are purposeful, the transfers are of multiple skills and knowledge that has been accumulated over time, and they seek to empower Nigerians (as in the cases presented in this study) at the micro-level yet with an understanding that this will lead to better macro-level outcomes over time, which can be understood as capacity development. Hence, the

forms and practices of diaspora capital that are examined in this research are considered to be more sustainable, and likely just as empowering, as financial remittances.

1.1. Objectives of the study

In order to understand the nature of diaspora capital, and its contribution to the development of Nigeria, this study compares and contrasts two cohorts: Nigerians living and working in Australia and Nigerians who have lived and worked in Australia but have since returned to Nigeria. The first objective of this qualitative study, a survey consisting of semi-structured interviews with the two cohorts, is to inform the nature of, the practices, and the lived experiences of both cohorts to demonstrate the fluid nature of diaspora capital, and more so, its “human face” (Conway, Potter & Bernard 2012, p. 190). The second objective is to posit the factors that hinder the transfer of diaspora capital. This seeks to address what others have considered as the “institutional barriers and limitations” that may “reduce or nullify” the “development contributions” of diaspora as “agents of change” (Conway et al., 2012, p. 191).

Following on from this is the third objective, which is to highlight what policy changes should occur in Nigeria to assist more effective transfers of capital. Apart from contributing to scholarship on the nature and practices of diaspora capital, this research therefore seeks to provide policy recommendations on how the Nigerian government could improve and enhance policy and legislative frameworks in order to improve the efficiency and effectiveness of non-financial remittances to Nigeria. The position of this thesis is that Nigerians who seek to study and work in countries such as Australia are often willing to contribute to the ongoing development of Nigerian society, its governance and its social and economic improvement (macro-level), yet the focus of transfers often occurs at the micro-level. Even the small changes represented by these

capital transfers will, over-time, tend to permeate up and have a positive impact at the national level.

1.2. Making the case for the study of diaspora capital and capacity development in Nigeria

This thesis focuses on forms of non-financial remittances to demonstrate that the cultural, social and human capital of diaspora capital can, and do, counter the immediate, and often short-term financial losses experienced when Nigerians leave their country. By taking a longer-term view, it is considered that Nigerians may return to their country more capital of the cultural, social and human form and that diaspora capital is capable of having more direct and long-term effects, overcoming whatever short-term financial loss that might be experienced because of a putative ‘brain drain’ (discussed below). Hence, the position of this thesis is that diaspora capital can counter-balance a ‘brain drain’ and in the long-term enhance Nigeria’s capacity development. Supporting the methodological approach of examining the lived experiences of the two cohorts that inform this research, this thesis draws on the works of Coleman, Bourdieu and Putnam and their understanding of social capital as a theoretical framework to examine the nature of diaspora capital and diaspora capital accumulation, and their relationship to capacity development. In focusing on how non-financial remittances are practised by Nigerians, such as in the development of knowledge transfer practices via professional networks, social networks, entrepreneurship, technologically-assisted communications, and other forms of non-financial diaspora capital, this research considers the value of examining convertible forms of capital as a relevant framework to address the research aims.

By framing this research as an examination of the practices, experiences, and contributions of diaspora social capital to Nigeria, the aim is to demonstrate that

enhanced capacity development can occur if stronger legal and legislative frameworks are enacted. This would enable both individuals and organisations to more directly and transparently transfer their diaspora capital back to Nigeria, but only if augmented with structural and institutional changes at the federal level in Nigeria. Because capacity development is considered to be a process directed by the Nigerian government to meet the various developmental needs of Nigerians, the facilitation of policies that will enhance the process for transferring the non-financial capital of the diaspora is the overarching aspiration of this research. The structural, political and social challenges that hinder the successful transfer of diaspora capital are examined in this thesis, along with recommendations to improve diaspora capital transfers.

1.3. Significance of the study

While significant scholarly research to date has examined diverse aspects of diaspora activities, for example, trans-migrant activities in terms of different forms of trans-national entrepreneurship, and financial and social remittances (discussed in the following section of this chapter), this research seeks to provide a more holistic pattern of the nature of, practices, experiences and problems associated with the transfer of diaspora capital to Nigeria. In informing a thematic approach of data analysis, this research seeks to evaluate if the concept of diaspora capital can better encapsulate how individual Nigerians practise capacity development and how this may improve both individual and national outcomes in Nigeria. It also aims to understand, and explain, the different reasons for remittances and the formal and informal nature of remittances. This research therefore seeks to make a scholarly contribution broadly to remittance literature, generally to diaspora studies, and specifically to social and human capital research. In this study, the concept of diaspora capital seeks to provide a way of understanding the interrelationship between financial remittances and non-financial remittances, with a

focus on the latter, conceptualised as diaspora capital.

Diaspora capital, as adopted as the research framework for this thesis, doesn't dismiss the nature of, or the contribution of financial remittances, rather it seeks to identify the interrelationship between financial remittances, human and social capital from the lived experiences of the Nigerian diaspora and returned Nigerians. In doing so, it aims to understand the reasons for different types of remittances, with a specific focus on human capital and social capital contributions. It seeks to understand how diaspora capacity development activity is driven by individual-family needs as well as individual activity seeking improved social and national outcomes for Nigeria. As a diaspora capital study some discussion of the core concepts is considered necessary to ground this study: preceding this are the research questions that inform this thesis.

1.4. Research questions

- The research questions that inform this study are: What is the nature of the Nigerian diaspora's non-financial contributions to the development of Nigeria?
- What are the factors that enhance or inhibit non-financial remittances from the Nigerian diaspora?
- How effectively have Nigerian skilled trans-national and return migrants been able to transfer their skills and social capital to Nigeria for capacity development?
- How can migration of skilled Nigerians be beneficial to their country of origin for capacity development with focus on how government policies can be used to harness the diaspora capital of Nigerian migrants who reside in Australia and Nigerian returned migrants?

1.5. Definitions

1.5.1 Trans-migrants

According to the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) (2016), more than 247 million people, or 3.4 percent of the world population, live outside of their countries of birth. The most popular migrant destination countries are the United States, followed by Saudi Arabia, Germany, the Russian Federation, the United Arab Emirates, the United Kingdom, France, Canada, Spain, and Australia. The top six immigration countries, relative to population, are outside the high-income Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) countries: Qatar (91 percent), United Arab Emirates (88 percent), Kuwait (72 percent), Jordan (56 percent), and Bahrain (54 percent). The Mexico-United States corridor is the largest migration corridor in the world, accounting for 13 million migrants in 2013. The volume of South-South migration stands at 38 percent of the total migrant population. South-North migration stands at 34 percent (IBRD, 2016, p. xi).

In migrating from a country of origin to a host country (permanently, short-term or long-term), migrants today are often more likely to be trans-migrants. Trans-migrants often maintain connections and relationships with families and colleagues still residing in the country of origin (Fouon & Glick Schiller, 2001, p. 545). Trans-migrants are those whose “daily lives depend on multiple and constant interconnections across international borders”, and more so whose “public identities are configured in relationship to more than one nation state” (Glick Schiller, Bash & Blanc-Szanton 1992, p. 13). For Pellow (2011, p. 133) the trans-migrant is one “with his or her feet in two nations” and as such they “develop networks, activities, lifestyles, and values spanning home and host societies”. Embedded in this is a sense that the trans-migrant will maintain cross-border

engagement, likely with the aim of contributing to the development of their country of origin (Kearney, 1995). However, they do this with identities that are “both” and “and”, meaning they have partial and overlapping identities (Kearney, 1995, p. 558). Trans-migrants are therefore defined as having dual identities, multiple socio-cultural and economic relations, and interrelationships both familiar and institutional across nation-state borders (Abella & Duncan 2008; Bach, Glick Schiller, & Szanton-Blanc 1994; Glick Schiller & Fouron 1999; Glick Schiller et al., 1992).

As agents of change they encourage, support and promote national development via diaspora organisations operating in the host country as well as individually engaging in practices of remitting social and financial capital (Guarnizo, Portes & Haller, 2003). While engaging with diaspora organisations or institutions aligned with the country of origin, trans-migrants often act outside of formal organisations or institutions in engaging in development or transferring capital (Dunn 2005; Portes, 2008). For Guarnizo (1997) and Guarnizo et al. (2003) today’s trans-migrant is considered a new class of migrant that may identify as an economic entrepreneur or a political activist. As with any form of remittance, be it financial or social remittance, the trans-migrant is likely to be an active participant. In forming and maintaining social networks, trans-migrants stay connected to their country of origin but more so they are likely to circulate information and resources which inform remittance practices (Goulbourne, 2002; Vertovec, 2001).

Scholars of trans-migration do not necessarily see migration as a loss to the country of origin, as in the ‘brain drain’ debate, rather trans-migration is seen as strengthening capital flows (financial and social) because of the linkages made in, and with, the host country (Evergeti & Zontini, 2006). Embedded in this thinking about migration, the

process is no longer seen as a one-way process of assimilation to a destination country, rather today the trans-migrants may live their social, cultural, economic, and political life across borders (Levitt, Dewind & Vertovec 2003; Levitt, 2004). This is made possible because of globalisation, which allows for affordable access to modern communication and rapid transport (Faist, 2006; Levitt and Jaworsky, 2007). According to the United Nation's (UN) International Migration Report (2015, p. 2) "in today's increasingly interconnected world, international migration has become a reality that touches nearly all corners of the globe, often making distinctions between countries of origin, transit and destination obsolete. Modern transportation has made it easier, cheaper and faster for people to move".

1.5.2. Diaspora

The term 'diaspora' captures the social, cultural and material relations experienced by trans-migrants. For Braziel and Mannur (2003, p. 9), the difference between diaspora and the notion of trans-nationalism embedded in trans-migrant studies is that the latter often focuses more on the economic and technological aspects, whereas diaspora refers directly to the "migrations and displacements of subjects". Diaspora, broadly defined, refers to migrants who live outside their countries of origin (Ionescu, 2006). As a trans-national population (Riddle, 2008) they maintain a material relationship with their country of origin (Safran, 1991). The UN (2006) describes diaspora as a trans-national community of migrants that maintain close ties with their countries of origin. Evidence of their "close ties" can be found in how they engage in material relationships. This is noted by Sheffer (1986, p. 3) who considers diaspora as "ethnic minority groups" of "migrant origins residing in and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin". The idea of material links and relationships is an important one when considering how diaspora is understood and

differentiated from trans-migrants (Barkan 2006; Hall, 1990; Butler, 2001).

The term diaspora has also been used to denote the shared values of religious or nationalist groups residing outside their countries of origin (Brubaker, 2005; Cohen, 2008). Cohen (1996) considers that members of a diaspora have a shared imagination that is often articulated via cultural artefacts and social memory. Ionescu (2006, p. 15) reflects that the term diaspora conveys "...a collective dimension...as a community, a group or even as an organised network and association sharing common interests". Yet, it must be noted that a diaspora is also made up of "individuals with different personal histories, strategies, expectations and potentials" (Ionescu, 2006, p. 15). According to Brubaker (2005) there are three essential criteria in defining diaspora: the first is dispersion in space of migrants; the second is orientation and links to migrants' homeland and; lastly, boundary-maintenance. Boundary-maintenance enables members to identify as a distinctive community held together by unique, as well as relatively intense boundaries, which link members of the diaspora, in different states, into a single trans-national community.

Members of a diaspora consider that their origin country is a source of their cultural capital, value, identity and a reflection of their nationalism. According to Safran (1991) the idea of 'homeland' acts to maintain a collective memory about a country of origin as an ideal home and allows the members of a diaspora to imagine the place to which they might eventually return. This position enhances their sense of belonging to their homeland, shapes their identity, and enhances a collective commitment to ensure the ongoing development of their country of origin. In understanding how the members of a diaspora reflect on their country of origin as a source of identity and a place of likely return (permanently or to visit) explains (at least in part) why diaspora members seek to

make financial and non-financial contributions to their country of origin. One common thread among a diaspora is that they identify with their country of origin and that they are willing to maintain ties to it (Enedu, 2017).

Diaspora groups are largely aspirational in that they consider the need to contribute to the development of their country of origin via financial and non-financial capital transfers. Financial and non-financial remittances are considered a factor in the improvement of the standard of living in the diaspora's country of origin (Agunias & Newland, 2012a; Riddle, 2008). Various government and non-government organisations (NGOs) seek out diasporas with a view to encouraging financial investments and to promote nationalism among diaspora populations (Faist, 2010), positing the valuable role diaspora play in relation to country of origin development.

Members of a diaspora are considered to have a psychological belonging to a collective culture yet there are distinctions to be made in understanding the reasons for movement of the diaspora and how that impacts on the sense of belonging. For example, Cohen (2008) puts it that the Diasporas exist as a result of war or persecution; the Jewish diaspora for example, whose members may have a heightened sense of psychological belonging. Diaspora has a long association with the historical Jewish experience that included forced expulsion, persecution and a sense of the loss of Jewish identity (Agunias & Newland, 2012a; Ndhlovu, 2014). Here, the term diaspora carries a tragic connotation associated with an enduring sense of loss and a longing to return to an ancestral homeland (Ndhlovu, 2014; Shuval, 2000). In a somewhat similar way, the term diaspora has also been used to denote religious or nationalist groups forced to live outside of an imagined homeland (Faist, 2010) or those seeking, but often hindered, in their desire to return to their ancestral home (Safran, 1991). One often-common theme

noted in research on the concept of the diaspora is the role of financial remittances, for many of the reasons noted above, but in most cases for the purpose of individual or national improvement of development.

In Cohen's (1996) view, trans-national bonds no longer have to be cemented within host country borders. The recent influence of information technology, driven by the Internet, has made it possible for virtual diaspora groups to exist. The development of information technology, coupled with rapid globalisation and the trans-national activities of migrants' means diaspora are no longer restricted to single host country groups (Kissau & Hunger, 2010). Information technology, specifically the Internet, enables communication that is essential in bonding and linking diaspora members. Virtual diaspora communities have always relied on networks that facilitate both local and trans-national communication. The Internet has enabled social network interactions regardless of physical location (Bennett & Segerber, 2012; Kissau & Hunger, 2010; Kittilson & Dalton, 2011; Jiang & De Bruijn, 2014).

Brinkerhoff (2009), in a study of five diaspora groups from Afghanistan, Egypt, Somalia, Nepal and Tibet, living in America, identified the use of digital diaspora networks. In this study Brinkerhoff (2009) used in-depth interviews to gather insights from diaspora leaders and used a discourse analysis to analyse three months of web-based interactions of diaspora groups over the Internet. Brinkerhoff (2009) found that diasporas have the potential to support social cohesiveness, security and economic development in both host countries and countries of origin. Brinkerhoff (2009) likened diaspora groups to cyber grass roots organisations even though they exist exclusively in cyber space. In these ways diasporas can be thought of as having a diaspora consciousness, reflected in

their daily practices, sense of belonging, networking and virtual interactions (Wahlbeck, 1999).

According to Chikezie (2015) diasporas deploy social capital through trust networks, relationships and kinship links. Diasporas can deploy political capital in the form of advocacy for and against their countries of origin, for instance by lobbying policy makers in their countries of origin. Cultural capital is also evident in the diaspora through the mix of home and host country experiences; diaspora members often bridge two or more cultures and may be able to help migrants' country of origin to connect meaningfully to the world.

For Akanle (2011, p. 105) Nigeria is “surely the source of the most prominent diaspora in Africa, only rivalled by that of South Africa”. It is estimated that there are about 20 million Nigerians living overseas (Amagoh & Rahman, 2016, p. 36). It is likely there are more than two million skilled members of the Nigerian diaspora residing in Europe and America including some 25,000 Nigerian health workers living in the United Kingdom, over 10,000 Nigerian medical doctors living in America and 20 percent of all Nigerian educated pharmacists are working overseas (Migration and Development, 2011).

The 2016 Australian Census recorded 8,493 Nigerian-born nationals living in Australia (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS, 2016). According to the ABS 2016 census, there are 5,051 male and 3,442 females who are Nigerian-born in Australia. These data show that 3,703 Nigerians hold dual citizenship. New South Wales has the highest number of Nigerian residents followed by Victoria, Western Australia and Queensland. Of note is that 73 percent of the Nigerians who came to Australia already hold degree qualifications (ABS, 2016). The ABS (2016) data also show that Nigerians in Australia work across

various sectors of the Australian economy, including healthcare professionals, community and personal service assistants, labourers, machinery operators, and clerical and administrative workers.

Nigerian diaspora groups are operational in all Australian states and territories. Some of the key groups are: the Nigerian Association of South Australia; the Nigerian Society of Victoria; the Nigerian Association of Queensland; the Nigerian Association of the Australia Capital Territory; the Nigerian Association of Western Australia; and the Nigerian Association of the Northern Territory. These diaspora organisations assist with settlement issues, provide support for Nigerian job-seekers, especially Nigerian youth, and provide parenting support for members with children born in Australia. A particular focus is on supporting parents to educate their Australian-born children about Nigerian culture and to introduce children to Nigerian languages (Nigerian Association South Australia, 2015; Nigerian Society of Victoria, 2015). These diaspora organisations also encourage the celebration of important national days.

The Nigerian diaspora in Australia may also be members of the Nigerians in Diaspora Organisation (NIDO), formed in 2001. The aim of NIDO is to enhance the skills and knowledge of Nigerians who reside overseas. In enhancing skills and knowledge, the aim is to promote and increase socio-economic and infrastructural development in Nigeria via the transfer of skills and knowledge honed while living and working outside of Nigeria. NIDO operates in Europe, Asia, America and Africa. NIDO provides a unique platform for skilled diaspora including intellectuals, academics, educators, health professionals, technocrats, and policy makers to engage in capacity development with the Nigerian government. NIDO contributes to this development by facilitating and enhancing professional networking, social advocacy, education, health, technology and

economic empowerment. NIDO also assists in promoting Nigeria globally as an investment destination (NIDO, 2017).

The Nigerian diaspora in Australia is considered a closely-knit group sharing a common identity as Nigerians living in Australia. Membership in diaspora groups creates and facilitates interaction that can advance forms of financial and non-financial remittances (Papademetriou, 2015). Diaspora organisations are considered to have a positive impact on Nigeria, encouraging entrepreneurialism and philanthropic activities, developing human capital and new technical skill transfers that aim to improve capacity building in Nigeria. As with the case of trans-migrants, diaspora members are often seen as a cohort that may return to their country of origin and as such will return with human capital (Portes, 2010a). For Nigerians migration has become an “important survival mechanism”, with local and national ramifications (Akanle, 2011, p. 105). For Adepoju (2007, 2008, 2010) the high levels of migration from Nigeria have affected the nation’s psyche and drive diaspora relations and remittance practices.

1.5.3. financial remittances

Trans-migrants and diaspora financial remittances are well studied, often as an economic measure in relation to the receiving country (Carling & Hoelscher, 2013; Khachani, 2009; Lianos & Pseiridi, 2014; Meseguer, Ley & Ibarra– Olivo, 2017; Ruiz & Vargas-Silva, 2014). Financial remittances are the monetary funds, or financial flows, arising because of migration (permanent or temporary), often engaged in by members of the diaspora with the aim of improving development in their country of origin. Financial remittances are unreciprocated monetary transfers sent to individuals, families, colleagues or communities without attaching any claim, as opposed to a loan (Adams & page, 2003; Bakewell, Dehaas, Vezzolis & Jonsson 2009). Hence financial

remittances are considered as personal transactions. Financial transfers may be channelled through official or unofficial channels (Chowdhury & Mamta, 2011).

Official channels, for Nyamongo, Misati, Kipyegon and Ndirangu (2012, p. 242), involve transfers using both banking systems and money-transfer organisations. Unofficial channels involve sending remittances via family members or friends returning to the country of origin (permanently or visiting) or via unlicensed money transfer operators using networks such as *hawala*.

The purpose of financial remittances generally is to augment household income (Ratha, 2007) however moral obligations also drive financial remittances. According to Datta (2012), in a quantitative study of Somalian migrants in the United Kingdom, different motivations and reasons exist to explain why financial remittances are sent to the country of origin. Poor family circumstances (the inability of the receiving family to sustain a minimum standard of living) and moral obligations appeared the most frequent reason for financial remittances. Conversely, in a study of trans-migrants from Brazil, financial remittances were transferred to accumulate financial and physical assets, to pay mortgages, to pay credit card debt and to make pension contributions. Datta (2012) also suggests that trans-migrants are able to fund financial remittances not only via wages but also via welfare payments and bank loans.

According to Giuliano and Ruiz-Arranz (2006), who studied financial remittances across 100 developing countries, they found consistent patterns in the use of financial remittances to build economic investment in countries of origin by both senders and receivers. Financial remittances, in this research, were found to be used to invest in small businesses and real estate, which supported local economies. This trend is found to be particularly evident in economies where the financial system is under-developed.

Financial remittances, in these instances, helped to alleviate a lack of available credit in the country of origin suggesting that financial remittances not only fulfil moral obligations and provide for a minimum standard of living but also support local economies via small and medium investment capital. This was also found to be the case in research conducted by Brown (1994) when examining financial remittances in the South Pacific, by Massey and Parrado (1998) in the case of Mexico, and by Misati and Nyamongo (2011) when examining private investments in sub-Saharan Africa.

The personal reasons for financial remittances are varied and likely driven by multiple factors, which some of the above research indicates. However, most of the research on financial remittances focuses indirectly on the human motivations for the practice, instead of focusing directly on the impact of financial remittances. Generally financial remittance research, for example, tends to focus on the relationship between monetary transfers and economic growth (see Barro, 1991; Calderon & Liu, 2003; Giuliano & Ruiz-Arranz, 2009; Mundaca, 2009; Sufian & Siridopoulos, 2010). Other research focuses on the effectiveness of financial remittances in relation to issues like poverty reduction (Adams & Page, 2005), impact on education (Ajala & Asres, 2008), on health care (Antón 2010), or on household consumption (Combes & Ebeke, 2011).

Some financial research also considers the vulnerabilities associated with financial remittances (see Adams 2003; Adams & Page 2003; Nyamongo & Misati, 2010; Yang, 2008). This is particularly noted in relation to the Global Financial Crisis (Allen & Giovannetti, 2010; Barajas, Chami, Fullenkamp & Garg 2010). Other vulnerabilities and problems noted in research conducted on financial remittances relate to issues of exchange rates (Amuedo-Dorantes & Pozo, 2004), transaction costs (Freund & Spatafora, 2008), impact on banking and financial systems (Noman & Uddin, 2011;

Manta, 2011), and the issues associated with flows of unrecorded or informal remittances (Maimbo & Passas, 2004).

As a monetary instrument, as noted above, the focus of financial remittance research is generally on the amount, use and impact of the monetary transfer (World Bank, 2016). The size of the sector for some countries of origin yet remains significant. This is the case for Nigeria. While not the focus of this research, it is worth noting the size of the financial remittance sector. In some instances, remittances represent a sizeable and stable source of funds that sometimes exceeds official aid or financial inflows from Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) (International Monetary Fund, 2009). That said, according to the IBRD (2016, p. 23) the largest remittance recipient countries in 2015 were India (US\$72.2 billion), China (US\$63.9 billion), the Philippines (US\$29.7 billion), Mexico (US\$25.7 billion), Nigeria (US\$20.8 billion), the Arab Republic of Egypt (US\$20.4 billion), Pakistan (US\$20.1 billion), Bangladesh (\$15.8 billion), Vietnam (US\$12.3 billion), and Indonesia (US\$10.5). Remittance flows to sub-Saharan Africa (SSA), which incorporates Nigeria, was US\$33 billion in 2016, a decline of 6 percent from 2015. Declines in SSA financial remittances, according to the World Bank (2017a) were the result of slow economic growth in remittance-sending countries, declines in commodity prices (especially oil prices), and diversion of remittances to informal channels due to exchange rate regulations.

In the case of Nigeria, the country experienced a significant decline in foreign exchange revenue, caused by the fall in oil prices, which resulted in tighter capital controls and a “managed” exchange rate policy (World Bank, 2017, p. 27). These changes resulted in large black-market premiums in the foreign exchange markets, which diverted significant amounts of formal remittances to informal channels. Remittances to Nigeria,

the largest regional remittance recipient, are expected to increase by 1.9 percent post-2017. The average remittance costs in SSA in 2017 was 9.8 percent (World Bank, 2017). The region has the highest remittance costs in the world. In 2017 some of the most expensive remittance corridors were intra-regional, for example from Angola to Namibia (27 percent), South Africa to Botswana (21 percent), and Nigeria to Mali (20 percent) (World Bank, 2017, p. 27)

Remittance data, it must be noted, are often under-reported, leading Subair-Abuja (2014) to claim that the sector is much larger than that indicated in official sources. Subair-Abuja (2014) claims that between 2011 and 2014 the Nigerian diaspora remitted US\$63 billion into the domestic economy. This differs from International Organisation for Migration (IOM) data and World Bank data, which estimate that in 2012 Nigerian remittances were valued at US\$21 billion. Subair-Abuja (2014) also notes that financial remittances account for more of the national economy than 34 of Nigeria's 36 states.

The Nigerian government acknowledges that the diaspora contributes to capacity development through financial remittances (Adejokun, 2016; Agabi 2016). Reflecting this, the Nigerian government introduced the *Nigerian in Diaspora Commission (Establishment) Act* (2017) (Adebayo, 2017; Umoru, 2017). The 2017 Act establishes the Diaspora Commission under the jurisdiction of the Federal Ministry for Foreign Affairs, which has the responsibility to coordinate Nigerian diaspora activities via a database of Nigerians living overseas. Further, the Nigerian government, in a bid to engage diaspora in capacity development activities introduced a US\$300 million Diaspora Bond in June 2017 (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2017). In the Nigerian government's opinion, the Diaspora Bond will be used to raise funds to finance capital projects in Nigeria. Projects such as these however focus more specifically on financial

contributions and arguably have missed an opportunity to draw on forms of non-financial diaspora contributions, such as technical skills held by the Nigerian diaspora. While the *Nigerian in Diaspora Commission (Establishment) Act* is a recognition by the Nigerian government of the role the diaspora can play in providing financial capital for the purposes of development, the Act and the Bond project, as noted in the concluding chapters of this thesis, highlight the need for more to be done at a government level to ensure and enhance ongoing non-financial capital transfers and contributions.

1.5.4. Non-financial remittances

Some diaspora literature does consider the role of non-financial remittances but often secondary to financial remittances (Agunias & Newland, 2012b; Aikins, 2013). Other studies do however examine human capital and the transfer of knowledge and skills, as the primary focus (Ratha & Shaw, 2007; Terrazas, 2010). Yet Conway et al. (2012, p. 189) consider that “far less attention has been paid to non-monetary flows of remittances, exchanges, transfers and substitutions”. For Levitt (2001a) social remittances are often understudied yet they provide insight into the role remittances play generally in capacity development. This research seeks to address this identified conceptual gap. It adopts the term diaspora capital to encapsulate the depth and add rigour to what is generally termed ‘social remittances’.

Social remittances are the term used to describe the non-financial remittances of trans-migrants (Lacroix, Levitt & Vari-Lavoisier 2016; Levitt 1998, 2010). Grabowska and Garapich (2016) consider social remittances to be the transfer of knowledge, ideas, practices, codes of behaviour, values and norms, business development approaches, entrepreneurial activities, problem solving, and innovation methods drawn from the experiences and education acquired by the diaspora living in host countries. Social

remittances circulate in several ways. For example, Grabowska, Jazwinska and Radziwinowicz's (2017) study of diasporas in the United Kingdom found that social remittances are transferred when returning to the country of origin but also circulate via online interactions, professional and social networking groups. While social remittances, like financial remittances, are often measured as a transfer from the host country to the country of origin, White (2016) considers that the transfer can occur when the trans-migrant returns to their country of origin and their knowledge and experience is witnessed and experienced first-hand. According to Adepoju and Wiel (2010) and Obadare and Adebani (2009) Nigerian non-financial remittances have been less evaluated, with much Nigerian remittance research focused on the monetary size of remittances being sent to Nigeria, or the focus has been on the impact of financial remittances on Nigeria's economy, often at the micro-level. This research seeks to contribute to scholarly research on the nature of non-financial remittances to Nigeria and its impact on capacity development. This research considers the issue of 'brain drain', a key issue that shapes debates about the role of remittances. In the case of Nigeria, its position in the Brain Drain Value Rank is 48 (out of 144 countries) with a score of 3.8 (on a scale between one to seven, with one indicating the most talented migrate and seven indicating there are ample opportunities in the country of origin) Global Economic Forum (GEF) (2012-2013). This research counters the view that the 'brain drain' is a necessarily negative consequence of out-migration and instead suggests that if seen as the enhancing of diaspora capital, it may have long-term benefits for Nigeria and its capacity development.

1.6. Brain drain debate

The term 'brain drain' (Bhagwati, 1976) has been used to conceptualise the negative impact that occurs when skilled professionals migrate resulting in a labour and skills

shortage, which generally will adversely impact on capacity development (Bhagwati, 2003; Connell, 2010a; Glennie, 2010a; Kissick 2012; Liebig 2003; Nwozor, 2011; Zanker, 2008). Brain drain, for Amagoh and Rahman (2016, pp. 37-38), is the “territorial or geographical exit of skilled professionals from a country of origin due to failure of the state or other institutions to deliver human well-being and security”. Docquier and Marfouk (2006) define a skilled migrant as a foreign-born individual aged twenty-five or more holding an academic or professional qualification beyond a high school qualification. The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2012), defined skills of skilled migrants in the broadest sense taking into account the level of education, professional knowledge and general technical, entrepreneurial and organisational know-how which migrants and their children have acquired both from their countries of origin and destination country. Grabowska (2017) identified skills as abilities, traits, personality and behaviour rather than formal, technical knowledge and individual endowment.

Socio-economic inequality, and demographic imbalances are considered key reasons for migration, particularly for skilled professional workers (Connell, 2010b; Kissick, 2012). The brain drain impacts on organisations, industries and communities, hence it has a national impact, because important civil sectors lose skilled and valuable workers who have been trained and educated often with limited individual and national resources (Abella 2006; Adepoju 2009; Liebig, 2003; Terrazas, 2011; Zanker, 2008). Conversely, however, migration of skilled migrants, as noted in this thesis, also generate forms of remittances – identified to date as diaspora capital – that can contribute to capacity development (Hernandez-Coss & Bun, 2007; Ratha, Mohapatra, Ozden, Shaw & Shimlee, 2011; World Bank, 2017).

Emerging in the 1960s because of the mass-migration of doctors, nurses and scientists trained in developing countries and migrating to developed countries, seeking better standards of living and better wages (Adepoju 1977; Gish & Godfrey, 1979), the ‘brain drain’ became one framework to explain migration patterns. In the early work by Lee (1966) the decision to migrate was determined by factors and conditions in both the country of origin and the host countries, postulating there existed a push-pull model of migration. Reasons for migration were not solely because of the conditions in the country of origin (such as low incomes, a poor economy, political unrest and other similar civil conditions) nor was it solely about conditions in the host country (higher incomes, better standards of living, social and political stability). Rather both sets of factors and conditions contributed to decisions to migrate. Early work such as Lee (1966) and Gish (1971) also noted that less developed countries were experiencing the greatest financial burden from the brain drain. In the case of the Philippines, government reports found that the Philippines were the largest supplier of migrant health workers to the United States. Rather than rail against the practice the Filipino government set about training Filipino healthcare workers to meet the demands of American medical practice (Gish, 1971; Gish & Godfrey, 1979). Until the 1980s this practice continued with the losses of skilled health workers made up for in returned financial remittances to the Philippines.

The effect of brain drain on the development of the diaspora country of origin remains a continuous debate. Some scholars such as Aboderin (2007), Adepoju (2007), Connell (2010), and Nwozor (2011) argue that the brain drain has a negative effect on the economy of developing countries, however recent studies such as Meyer (2011), Grabowska et al. (2017) find that migration opens several opportunities for the diaspora to acquire economic capital, knowledge, skills and competencies which are not attainable in their countries of origin. As skilled professionals that are likely to be over

25 years of age and already holding an academic or professional degree beyond a high school qualification, these groups of skilled professionals have been trained with the limited resources of their origin countries and are expected to contribute to development of these countries with their knowledge and skills. In contrast to staying in their countries of origin, these skilled professionals decide to migrate to a destination country for various personal reasons which may include higher wages, healthcare, children's education and better living conditions (Kapur & Mchale 2005; Kissick, 2012, Thompson 2004). Yet as a diaspora, they maintain material links and relations with their country of origin and seek to contribute to the capacity development of their country of origin. Their contribution may be in financial remittances, or as evident in this research, their contribution may be in the form of transfers of skill, knowledge, technical know-how, business information and the like. Hence, the contributions made by skilled members of the diaspora, both financial and non-financial, are increasingly being understood by some researchers as a form of "brain gain" or "brain circulation" partially countering the image of the "brain drain" as only depleting human capital stocks, particularly in developing countries (Saxenian, 2005; Mullings, 2011). This is the position ('brain circulation' rather than simplistic 'brain drain') taken in this research.

1.7. Capacity development

A central theme of this thesis is to demonstrate the role the members of the diaspora and their capital play towards the capacity development of Nigeria. The United Nations Development Program (UNDP) defines capacity development as the process through which individuals, organisations and societies obtain, strengthen and maintain the capacities to set and achieve their own development objectives over time (UNDP, 2008). Similarly, Hope (2010) defines capacity development as a process that enhances competency of individuals, the public sector, civil organisations and local communities

to engage in activities that increase positive development and impact on sustainable development such as poverty reduction, and better governance. The World Bank (1998) defines capacity development as a process that brings about changes in socio-political, policy related and organisational development. According to the World Bank (1998) capacity development is the ability of individual, organisation and society to perform functions, solve problems as well as set and achieve a country's development goals in an effective, participatory and sustainable manner. Venner (2015) defines capacity development as the “ability of local authorities to govern, accomplish social purposes to make informed decisions based on analytical information, to allocate resources rationally and to produce responsive and efficient public goods and services” (Venner, 2015, p. 86).

Capacity development encompasses the politics, the role of the government, civil societies and culture in development processes. Capacity development addresses power relations, public participation, leadership and empowerment of individuals (Freeman 2010; Hope, 2010, 2011; Lange, 2013; Venner, 2015). Capacity development releases the resources already embedded in countries rather than a reliance on foreign aid to facilitate development. Governments of developing countries are expected to lead the capacity development processes by setting out their own long-term development objectives. Capacity development broadly seeks to enable countries to manage their own affairs, which is considered crucial for economic development and poverty reduction. Local, cultural and moral value systems need to be considered in order to attain the long-term developmental goals of developing countries (Brinkerhoff, 2004). The capacity development process is a departure from the idea of reliance on foreign aid for development (Hope, 2010; Venner, 2015).

According to Zafarullah and Huque (2012) capacity development processes should be a holistic approach that integrates economic growth, human advancement and sustainable development. The process of development should recognise the culture and history of a country as well as recognise its societal nature and the nature of its economic system, with the aim of sensitive and ethical targeting of programs seeking improvement and the well-being of its citizens (Zafarullah & Huque, 2012). Zafarullah and Huque (2012, p. 44) consider it to be:

...A gradual process over a long period of time attaining intermediate goals in small and wide space before reaching an ideal situation. The notion of development signifies a move from unsatisfactory social, economic and political conditions to one that is more human, relatively prosperous, environmentally safe and politically more inclusive.

Zafarullah and Huque (2012) identify that capacity development provides for citizens to be the focus of a country's development goals. However, such approaches don't isolate countries from the effect of globalisation, rather they also allow for cross-fertilisation of ideas from other cultures, and these ideas can contribute towards the positive and empowering socio-economic development of the country. The World Bank (2017b) argues that capacity development is a process that focuses on the need of people to improve their standard of living by expanding the range of opportunities open to them by promoting social inclusion of the poor and vulnerable. The aim in any such approach should be to provide equitable and affordable access to social services, to reduce vulnerability to risk, increase political participation, and protect people's political, social and economic rights. It therefore should be a process that empowers people, builds resilient societies and makes government institutions accessible and accountable to citizens.

Capacity development builds on systematic change and calls for an integrated approach to reinforcing governance and delivery systems not only at the societal level but also equally at organisational and individual levels (UNDP, 2008; Morgan, 2008). Capacity development processes lack a particular conceptual framework. Programs tend to adopt a technical approach with understanding of local knowledge and practice. In addition, it is necessary to engage local partners and stakeholders to drive the change process needed to improve capacity development (UNDP, 2008). The World Bank (1998) considered capacity development as fundamentally a country-led and country-owned process of change. Hope (2010) suggests that some fundamental principles such as active civil societies, democracy and good governance facilitate capacity development. Furthermore, Hope (2010), argues that for capacity development to be effective, it has to be locally owned and controlled by those committed to the objectives of the capacity development initiative in the long term as well as those who will be responsible and accountable for the capacity development processes.

Local ownership and control of capacity development will better reflect local priorities and interests of the community to avoid donor-driven or imposed development objectives, which often do not meet the goals of capacity development initiatives (Hope, 2010; Tarp & Rosen, 2012; Venner, 2015). In addition, capacity development is a continuous dynamic long-term process. A long-term approach helps create a greater potential to achieve sustainable capacity development building on the existing local capacity across public, private and civil societies. Therefore, contributions from individuals who are members of the communities are significant to the success of capacity development. A country's successful development hinges on having sufficient capacity. Capacity entails the abilities, skills, understanding, attitudes, values,

relationships, behaviours, motivation network and broader social system to carry out functions and achieve their development objectives over time (UNDP, 2008).

Various definitions and frameworks for capacity development have been advanced in recent years. While these frameworks differ in details all of them underline the importance of understanding the context in which development programs occur. These concepts reflect agreement on the notion that there are different dimensions or levels of capacity development and it is important to be cognisant and responsive to the relationships among them. However, without strategies, policies, law and procedures functioning well, the community engagement of citizens, organisations and skilled individuals with the required knowledge cannot be focussed to further capacity development.

The individual level of capacity development refers to the skills, experience and knowledge that are vested in people (Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA, 2006); UNDP, 1998; World Bank, 1998). Individuals are endowed with a mix of capacities that allow them to perform whether at home, work or the society at large. Some of these are acquired through formal training and education. Capacity development at this level can also be attained through learning and work experience (CIDA, 2006; UNDP, 1998; World Bank, 1998). Capacity development frameworks are used in this study to illustrate the need for Nigeria to appropriate its own process of development by creating an enabling environment and necessary support for the utilisation of social, human and cultural capital of the Nigerian diaspora.

This study considers some of the factors that hinder the Nigerian diaspora from contributing to capacity development via the transfer of their non-financial capital. It considers that diaspora capital (non-financial contributions of knowledge, skills, and

expertise) is being under-utilised by the Nigerian government when approaching and planning its capacity development programs. Some of the possible reasons for this are examined in later chapters of this thesis, however it is noted that corruption, a lack of planning infrastructure, poor governance, a lack of government transparency, a weak economy and political, ethnic and religious instability, mean that the Nigerian government is not-well placed to plan and engage diaspora capital activities. More so, as will also become apparent in results and discussion chapters of this thesis, there appears to be a lack of trust in some diaspora communities about the motivations of the Nigerian government in their engagement with the diaspora. This claim is examined in detail using Putnam's (2000) concept of 'linking' social capital, which examines the relationship between government and citizens via the lens of mutual trust, obligation and civic engagement. At this point however, the following provides a broad landscape to locate some of the issues facing Nigeria that are hindering its advancement. Some of the issues noted below are expanded on in Chapter three and its discussion of diaspora views about engaging in capacity development.

1.8. Nigeria: Political, economic and social background

Nigeria is the most populous African nation, with a population of over 180 million. It has a per capita income of US\$1500 (World Bank, 2012) and is ranked 153rd (of 187 countries) on the human development index. Over 70 percent of the population lives below the poverty line (World Bank, 2012).

Prior to British colonisation, Nigeria existed as territories, kingdoms and empires that existed independently with their own indigenous system of administration (Babalola, 2016). Each territory established independent regional and global trade relationships that served as a platform for British trade expansion and consequent British colonial rule of

Nigeria. When Nigeria became a British protectorate in 1891, the colonial government amalgamated the north and the south of Nigeria into a single entity under indirect rule in 1914 (Falola & Heaton, 2008). In 1954, Nigeria was divided into a federation of four geographical regions. This division reflected the historical, religious, cultural and political differences between Nigeria's three largest ethnic groups, the Hausa-Fulani, the Yorubas and the Igbos, while leaving the issue of the minority ethnic groups unresolved. This would have political consequences for post-colonial governments (Gambari, 2017). Nigeria gained independence in 1960 yet was plagued by military coups from 1966 to 1979 and again from 1983 until 1998 (Adepoju & Wiel, 2010).

While Nigeria has been considered a stable democracy since 1999, the 1967-1970 Nigerian civil war and periods of military control since have resulted in systemic corruption, economic mismanagement and the plundering of Nigeria's natural resources (DeHaas, 2006; Ogunmola, 2010). Since 2009, Nigeria (in particular in the northern regions) has experienced the Boko Haram insurgency. Boko Haram seeks the introduction of *Sharia* law to the secular country. According to Olaniyan and Asuelime (2014) in 2011, Boko Haram conducted 136 attacks in Nigeria resulting in the death of 599 people. In 2012, Boko Haram killed over 1000 Nigerians. Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria has also imposed several challenges on the country related to civilian security and protecting property. As a result of Boko Haram activities, Nigerians are regularly denied the right to freedom of movement and association due to likely attacks from explosives planted in public places (Olaniyan & Asuelime, 2014). Other negative effects caused by Boko Haram are the closures of businesses and churches. More broadly, the instability has affected adversely Nigeria's international and diplomatic relations.

The Nigerian economy inherited by President Muhammad Buhari in 2015, according to the World Bank (2017a), is weak with large gaps in infrastructure and poor services delivery. The poor Nigerian economy indicates the need for economic stabilisation of the Nigerian currency (the 'Naira') and the need to combat corruption. Political instability and corruption have hampered Nigeria from developing a strong economy even though it has significant oil and gas reserves and other viable natural resources (Olukanni, 2011). Nigerian natural resources include, but are not limited to, oil, natural gas, tin, iron ore, coal, limestone, lead, zinc, gemstone, potash, uranium and granite (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2017).

The Nigerian oil and gas sector accounts for about 35 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), and petroleum export revenue represents over 90 per cent of total export revenue (Sayne, Gillies & Katsouris, 2015). The Nigerian National Petroleum Corporation (NNPC) manages the exploration and sales of Nigerian crude oil, selling around one million barrels of crude oil daily. The NNPC was worth an estimated US\$41 billion in 2013 and constituted the largest source of domestic revenue. An attempt by the Nigerian government to remove petroleum subsidies in 2012 drew unprecedented attention on how the government manages its natural resources particularly the exploration and sales of crude oil. In 2014, the Nigerian Central Bank also raised the alarm that US\$20 billion could not be accounted for by the Nigerian oil and gas sector (Sayne et al., 2015). In 2015, the Nigerian government and the NNPC swaps deals (in which crude oil was bartered for petroleum products, rather than sold for money with the aim of exchanging about 330,000 barrels of crude oil for imported petrol and diesel product) drew national attention to the corrupt practices and mismanagement in the oil and gas sector.

As a result mainly of the corruption and mismanagement of the Nigerian oil and gas sector, the Nigerian economy officially went into recession in 2016 (Asogwa, Barungi & Odhiambo, 2017). Declines in global oil prices and a plummeting domestic currency added to negative Gross Domestic Product (GDP) results. Inflation resulted, and the economic downturn was exacerbated by acts of vandalism on oil pipelines and on barges in the Niger Delta, likely by militant groups. These aspects continued to further weaken Nigeria's energy industry, and hence the economy (Asogwa et al., 2017; Giokos, 2017). An overreliance on natural resources meant Nigeria had done little in terms of diversification of its economy, further deteriorating the economic conditions facing Nigeria in the recent decade.

The United Nations Global Human Development Report 2016, estimates that 53 percent of the Nigerian population live on less than US\$1.90 a day in purchasing power parity terms (UNDP, 2017). The northern parts of the country have the highest population of poor and vulnerable (UNDP, 2017). Unemployment has steadily increased since 2015 (Barungi, Odhiambo & Asogwa 2017), so much so that 2.3 million Nigerians applied for jobs under the 2017 *National Social Investment Program* (N-SIP). N-SIP was initially established to create 300,000 jobs via the National Home Grown School Feeding Program and the Government Enterprise and Empowerment Program (Odunsi, 2017; Ogunmade, 2017). But with unemployment rates in Nigeria more than doubling from 6.4 percent in 2014 to 13.3 percent in 2016 (Ogunmade, 2017), this and similar projects were likely to only have a minor impact on unemployment and poverty. The National Directorate of Employment, only established in 1996, until then had been the key instrument in addressing unemployment, especially for women and youth. While attempting to address unemployment and poverty via the N-SIP program, the Nigerian government also announced the 2017 *Economic Recovery and Growth Plan* (ERGP)

However, there are doubts regarding the government's ability to meet its targets due to the lack of focus on the need to increase infrastructure planning and development, and deal with systemic corruption (Barungi et al., 2017). The poor state of the Nigerian economy, social and ethnic unrest and ongoing corruption have led many Nigerians to migrate and as a result of this to engage in remittance practices.

1.9. Chapter summaries

This chapter has outlined the thesis aims and objectives. It has also provided key discussions of core concepts adopted in this thesis, in particular the concept of diaspora capital and in more general terms it has informed an understanding of the ideas and debates regarding the concepts of trans-migration, the material conditions and relationships of diaspora, the core themes of financial and non-financial capital, the nature and purpose of capacity development, and it has noted the shifting debates evident regarding 'brain drain'. The following chapter presents the review of literature on social capital theory and diaspora capital adopted in this thesis. Chapter three presents theoretical and methodological framework while chapter four discusses the methodology, data collection process and data analysis of the research. Chapter five presents the first of the results chapters; the results and discussion of the survey and semi-structured interviews with members of the Nigerian diaspora currently residing in Australia who engage in diaspora capital transfers. The following chapter, chapter six, presents the second results chapter, the results and discussion of primary data obtained from survey and semi-structured interviews with former members of the Nigerian diaspora who had been residing in Australia but who have since returned to Nigeria. Chapter seven presents a set of policy recommendations suggesting how diaspora capital transfers could be improved for the benefit of capacity development in Nigeria. This chapter also provides a conclusion to this study and suggests further avenues of research

on diaspora capital and its potential to improve the social, political and economic conditions in Nigeria.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2. Introduction

This chapter discusses the foundation and premises of social capital theory within the context of existing literature. It begins with a literature review of the concept of social capital, and specifically engages with the idea of diaspora social capital. It then moves to a review of the works of Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), James Coleman (1926-1995), and Robert Putnam (1941-2004) in order to gain a better understanding of the themes used in this study as they emerge, a review and evaluation of the accumulated knowledge relevant to the current research was undertaken.

Manual and electronic searches were carried out based on key words and phrases connected to the research questions and used within the discourse of diaspora capital. The research included but was not limited to scholarly books and journals and official government documents. As a result of this search a number of key factors contributing to diaspora capital of Nigerian skilled migrants in Australia and returned migrants are incorporated into the results and discussion chapters.

2.1. Social Capital

Social capital refers to the “norms and networks that enable people to act collectively” (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000, p. 225). Social capital is identified as social networks acting together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate cooperation within social groups (Adler & Kwon 2002; Siisiainen, 2000; Tzanakis, 2013). For Field

(2003, p. 3) “memberships of networks, and a shared set of values, are at the heart of social capital”. Social capital includes the emotional and social bonds, values and attitudes that govern interactions amongst individuals and government institutions and contribute to the development of society (Fine 2010; Grootaert, 1997; Koniordos 2008; Narayan, 1999; Serageldin & Grootaert 2000; Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Social capital is also significant to the notion that social relations, networks, norms, and values matter in the functioning and development of society.

According to Grootaert (1990), social capital is defined as the set of norms, networks and organisations through which decision-making and policy formulation occur. Social capital provides for groups of individuals to be guided by norms of reciprocity and social networks. Moreover, Serageldin (1996, p. 196), defined social capital, not unlike Field (2003), as a “glue that holds the society together” (Serageldin, 1996, p. 196), Serageldin identified social capital as necessary to a functioning social order along with a certain degree of common cultural identification, sense of belonging and a shared behavioural norm which is expected of members of a particular group.

Newton (1999) engaged in the study of social capital as a set of outcomes produced by norms and networks. According to Newton (1999) social capital is a set of norms and values relating to trust, reciprocity and cooperation. Social capital is a range of social networks of individuals, groups, organisations and associations that operates in society.

Social capital is used in many spheres to describe human life and society (Portes, 1998). Social capital is a multidisciplinary concept when applied to research, drawing from functionalist, critical and rational perspectives (Tzanakis, 2013). Woolcock (2010) identifies nine different fields where social capital has been used as a research framework. These fields include family and youth behavioural problems, crime and

violence, public health and environmental issues as well as economic development. There are also various sources of social capital. Ostrom (1994) identifies four key sources of social capital: networks, norms, social belief, and rules.

There are doubts as to whether social capital constitutes a form of 'capital' and if capital represents the notion of economic capital and having similar characteristics as economic interest such as accruing interest and transformation capacity. Arrow (1999) suggests that the term 'capital' is inappropriate to describe social networks organised for reasons other than economic capital. Baron and Hannan (1994) also engage with the concept that social capital doesn't qualify as 'capital', as social capital must possess an opportunity cost. Bourdieu (1986) argues that the existence of non-economic social capital has positive effects on social networks with a broader discussion on capital, Narayan and Pritchett (1999) define 'capital' as horizontal connections and linkages with higher income that increase the performance of government and provide a platform for tackling social problems. This study further builds on Robison, Schmid, and Siles's (2002) idea that social capital has 'capital'-like properties that include transformation capacity, durability and ability to create other capital forms and investment properties such as the conversion of migrants' social capital to diaspora capital, financial capital and cultural capital.

It is the seminal work of Coleman (1987, 1988, 1990) on social capital for the creation of human capital and Putnam's (2000) work on civic participation and democracy, which have shaped significant sociological approaches to social capital studies. The work of Bourdieu (1986, 1989, 2008) on social capital and social obligations that he considered convertible into economic and cultural capital is similar. In sociological literature, social capital is understood as a set of norms that facilitates social interaction and networks in the community, family and in groups and organisations. Policy makers have identified

the use of social capital to help mitigate social inequalities. For example, social capital has been used to examine economics, development and governance (Dasgupta & Serageldin 2000; Schiff, 1992). Social capital can have an impact on development outcomes including growth, equity and poverty alleviation. On the other hand, not all effects of social capital are positive. Pillai, Hodgkinson, Kalyanaram and Nair (2017) and Wacquant (1998) consider the negative effects of social capital, namely its function in excluding some members of society from social, economic and political benefits. In the case of the diaspora, the benefits accruing to individuals as members of a particular group, ethnic or religious organisation, are not available to non-members. Therefore, individuals who are not members of the groups are excluded. Exclusion of individuals outside a closed group is a weakness of social capital approaches.

With social networks a key factor in examining social capital, formation of social networks may create dependency and excessive claims on members of the group. For example, Gertz (1963) in a study of failed enterprises in Bali identified that the demands of closed social networks on successful business people can result in failure of their business ventures by preventing capital accumulation (Gertz, 1963). In addition, Portes (2014) also identified excessive trust in group members as a main reason for disappointments and individuals leaving social networks. Furthermore, social capital practices create bonds between members that can lead to a dependency-oriented culture, resulting in low network mobility and the prevention of new social networks emerging (Pillai et al., 2017). Wacquant (1998) in a study of African Americans identified that social capital in social institutions that sought to improve welfare and services had the ability to transform into instruments of surveillance, suspicion and exclusion rather than social integration and mutual trust building. Portes (1988) therefore emphasised that social capital can have both positive and negative sides. Social ties can bring about

greater regulation over negative or harmful behaviours while also providing privileged access to resources. Social capital can therefore restrict individual freedom and bar outsiders from gaining access to the same resources through particularistic preferences (Portes, 2008)

2.2. Diaspora social capital

According to Levitt (2001b) diaspora social capital identifies behaviours, values and ideas that shape diaspora remittance practices. It is also migrants' social capital and social networks that play a crucial role in promoting their entrepreneurship, and community and political integration. The premise behind the notion of social capital implies that people invest in social relationships as social networks with expected returns (Lin, 2001). Social networks have validity when they enhance the diaspora's development and advancement, such as identifying job opportunities (Lin, 2001, 2005). In addition, resources and human interactions based on social ties are beneficial to individuals operating within a social network. Some of these ties determine an individual's access to resources made available because of their membership to social networks and the relationships forged from social network membership and participation. Social relationships are expected to reinforce identity and recognition by being assured of one's worthiness as a member of a group, sharing similar interest and resources not only to provide emotional support but also public acknowledgement to a group member's claim to certain resources (Bourdieu, 1986; Coleman, 1988; Flap, 1991; Lin, Cook & Burt 2008; Leornardi & Nanetti 1993; Putnam, 1995).

A growing number of migration scholars have begun to explore the impact and usefulness of social capital for migrant communities, trans-migrants and diaspora groups (Anthais 2007; Babaei, Ahmad & Grill 2012; Edwards, 2004; Haugs, 2008; Heering,

Van Der Erf & Wissen, 2004; Lancee 2012; Nannestad, Svendsen & Tinggaard, 2008). Grootaert, Narayan, Jones and Woolcock (2004) have also developed an approach relating social capital to capacity development. There are positive connotations attached to social capital such as evocation of social networks supporting exchange of innovations, enterprise building, financial support and trust in institutions (Ionescu, 2006).

In migration research, for example, Haugs (2008) examines the role of social networks among Bulgarian migrants in Germany. Haugs (2008) identified the relations between the sociology and economics of migration and the influence of social capital on the decision to migrate and the chain migration process. In Haug's opinion, interaction in social networks makes migration easier by reducing the cost and risk of migration. In this case, social capital paves the way for establishing trans-national migration networks through building of social networks. Migrant social networks help migrants to finance their travel, and find jobs and accommodation on arrival in destination countries.

Similarly, Heering et al. (2004) use social capital as a lens to examine migrants from Morocco who have settled in Western Europe. In a qualitative study of Moroccan migrants Heering et al. (2004) showed that social networks shaped decisions about whether to migrate from Morocco to Western Europe. According to them the social capital theory also assigns importance to the functioning of interpersonal social networks between migrants in receiving countries and family members in migrants' origin countries. Furthermore, Heering et al. (2004) found that social capital underpins, generates and sustains international migration and argues that migration flows will continue because of the cost and risk that are covered for potential migrants such as the risk of migration and settlement in destination countries (Heering et al. 2004). However,

Wissink and Mazzucato (2017) argue that not all migrant social networks facilitate migration, but the absence of a prior social network for migrants in destination countries is also a factor that prevents a further migration chain.

Government policies on migration can hamper the role of social networks in facilitating migration, often due to restrictive family reunion policies (Bragg & Wong, 2016). Social networks can also impede migration when the diaspora does not assist new arrivals into destination countries because of job market competition or work place rivalry (Paul, 2013). In addition, Evergeti and Zontini (2006) critically reflect on social capital theory in relation to migrants' ethnicity, family networks, and the maintenance of ethnic identities. Evergeti and Zontini (2006) explore the inner dynamics of groups with transnational ties and family networks that expand across the globe, finding strong ethnic groups preserve community cohesion and shared norms, sometimes at the expense of members to the groups. For example, participation in strong networks of families and communities can strain relationships and result in disappointment as a result of broken expectations. Literature on social capital tends to emphasise the positive sides of strong networks. However, Evergeti and Zontini (2006), in their study of migrant youth behaviours at school concluded that not every strong social tie is an advantage for everyone engaging constructively with the community.

2.3. Bourdieu's theory of social capital

According to Bourdieu (1986) social capital is construed through investment strategies oriented to the institutionalisation of groups. Groups created by social capital are used as a reliable source of other benefits such as economic and cultural capital. As a result, Bourdieu's (1986) definition of social capital provides clarity that social capital is apportioned into two main elements, the social relationship itself which allows the

individual to claim access to resources offered by other members, and the amount and quality of these resources by which individuals can benefit. Hence social capital is, for Bourdieu (1986, p. 248)

...The aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutional relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition or in other words to membership of a particular group.

Social capital, for Bourdieu, is related to the size of networks and the volume of past-accumulated social capital. Bourdieu (1986) identifies profit as being the main reason that individuals maintain links in a network. Profit is not necessarily economic but according to Bourdieu it can be reduced to economic profit because social capital can be converted into cultural and economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986; see also Siisiainen, 2000; Tzanakis, 2013). Bourdieu considers social capital as being made up of social obligations, which are convertible into economic and cultural capital. Bourdieu (1986) argues that social capital is understood in terms of social, economic and cultural capital.

Economic capital is the economic assets of individuals that can be converted into money. Cultural capital is an individual's knowledge, experiences and social connections. Social capital is the circle of friends, groups, membership and social networks that also include virtual online communities (Bourdieu, 1986; see also Ryan, Erel & D'Angelo, 2015). Bourdieu (1986) recognises social capital as one of the three forms of capital together with economic capital and cultural capital. Thus, offering a more differentiated understanding of how capital is accessed and accumulated, Bourdieu (1986) argues capital assets can be divided into three forms that are the embodied, objectified and institutionalised states of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986).

Embodied cultural capital refers to dispositions of the mind and body such as accent, comportment and the ethnic group of an individual (Bourdieu, 1986; see also Kelly & Lusic, 2006; Roska & Robinson, 2016). Embodied cultural capital comprises the knowledge that is inherited by socialisation to culture and tradition. It entails the mastery of language, a person's communications skills and self-presentation (Robinson, Schmid & Siles 2002). Embodied cultural capital can be acquired through human socialisation or inherited at birth. Embodied cultural capital is better expressed in the concept of 'habitus', which includes bodily comportment and speaking as markers of distinction (Bourdieu, 1986; Erel, 2010; Kelly & Lusic, 2006; Roska & Robinson, 2016). Bourdieu defines habitus as a structure that organises the perception of practices (Bourdieu, 1986). Habitus is the cognitive and mental system of structures that are embedded within an individual (Bourdieu, 1986). It consists of human thoughts, tastes, beliefs, interests and understanding of the world. According to Bourdieu's idea, habitus has the potential to influence our actions and to construct our social world as being influenced by the external (Bourdieu, 1986).

Institutionalised cultural capital refers to knowledge such as academic qualifications, institutional formal recognition of a person's cultural capital, usually credentials and professional qualifications. Institutional cultural capital plays a crucial role in the labour market (Bauder, 2003; Bourdieu, 1986; Kelly & Lusic, 2006; Roska & Robinson, 2016). Bourdieu (1986) opined that embodied cultural capital is the best-hidden form of hereditary transmission of capital and self-improvement. In other words, embodied cultural capital is defined as a lifelong disposition of the mind and body. Such long lasting dispositions are ways of thinking and acting that an individual has gradually acquired through socialisation by individuals who are members of a certain class in society (Bourdieu 1986). These sets of people have acquired the valued characteristics

that facilitate access to a range of social space and position (Cederberg, 2015). Moreover, cultural capital can also be institutionalised through educational qualifications such as a university degree. Educational qualifications, even though regarded in the migrant's country of origin and an important factor in qualifying for skilled migration, on arrival in the destination country may become devalued because they are seldom recognised due to non-recognition of foreign qualifications (Bauder, 2003; Currie, 2007; Erel, 2010; Kelly & Lusic, 2006).

Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital helps explain how educational and professional institutions exercise nationally based protectionism by not recognising qualifications acquired abroad that includes institutionalised cultural capital. Even where foreign qualifications are formally recognised, employers may invoke criteria such as the lack of local professional knowledge or skills and the lack of work experience, and this places the skilled migrant in a disadvantaged position. However, these restrictions contain elements of embodied cultural capital such as the ability to participate in locally shared professional cultures (Bauder, 2003; Bourdieu, 1986; Kelly & Lusic, 2006; Ryan et al., 2015). Cultural capital consists of informal education transmitted through families, political parties, diaspora groups and ethnic groups (Erel, 2010).

While Bourdieu did not study migration, subsequent application of his ideas of social capital to the study of migration has provided definitions of various forms of capital that can be examined as material and non-material capital. This is because social capital refers to relationships or networks that make and sustain professional and cultural connections and the capital derived from learned experiences (Bauder, 2003; Bourdieu, 1986; Kelly & Lusic, 2006; Despić, 2015). As becomes evident in this research, Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital plays an important role in the diaspora's professional

and social mobility and its members' integration into the labour market in destination countries (Bourdieu, 1986; Erel, 2010; Lesage & Christiana, 2012). The notion of cultural capital has been used to examine the nature of skilled migration in previous studies, specifically to understand opposition to skilled migrant intakes.

Applying the concept of Bourdieu's cultural capital to the migration of skilled professionals from Turkey to Germany and Britain, Erel (2010) criticised the treatment of cultural capital as personalised and ethnically bounded and with the assumption that the set of cultural skills a migrant brings to destination countries may not fit into the cultural capital existing in destination countries. Erel (2010) called it the "rucksack" approach to the study of a migrant's social and cultural capital. According to Erel (2010) migrants don't hold homogenous cultural capital; instead a migrant's cultural capital is the product of different factors such as gender, ethnicity and class. For Erel (2010), a migrant's cultural capital consists of language skills, knowledge about customs and life style, and professional qualifications. When unpacked, rather than looking for a fit, migrants engage in bargaining activities with institutions and employers about the value of these skills and attributes.

Erel (2010) argues that migration of skilled professionals provides a mechanism to mobilise, enact and validate a migrant's cultural capital. In Erel's (2010) opinion migration helps increase migrants' cultural capital; skilled professionals create a mechanism of validation through professional and social networks of migrants. Erel (2010) argues further that migrants can acquire more cultural capital that helps them obtain skilled jobs in destination countries. Migrants use their embodied cultural capital such as language skills and cultural knowledge to access intercultural jobs working with migrants or ethnic minorities in destination countries. Similarly, migrants whose institutional cultural capital is transnationally validated can use it for professional skilled

jobs. According to Erel (2010) migrants do not only unpack their cultural capital in destination countries but also use the resources they bring from their countries of origin and develop them in destination countries to create distinct dispositions. Migrants further use social networks to create mechanisms of validation of their individual cultural capital. Erel (2010) also observes that while deskilling and the non-recognition of migrants' academic qualifications and work experiences from their origin country affected some migrants, other migrants were able to obtain skilled jobs. According to Erel (2010) several factors influence migrants' integration into the labour market in destination countries, such as professional regulations of various occupations and national employment and labour policies. Migrants' cultural capital explains the use of restrictions by educational and professional institutions exercising national protectionism by not recognising qualifications and work experiences from migrants' countries of origin.

Similarly, Bauder (2003) also used Bourdieu's concept of cultural capital to study the labour market experience of Asian migrants in Canada and the failure to recognise their academic and professional qualifications from their countries of origin. Bauder (2003, p. 699) argues that the failure to recognise migrants' work experience and qualifications is a systematic process of labour exclusion, putting it as:

...my theoretical arguments explore the writings of Pierre Bourdieu on cultural capital. I extend Bourdieu's argument to an immigration context and argue that the non-recognition of foreign credentials amounts to the systematic exclusion of immigrant workers from the upper segment of the labour market...I suggest that professional associations and the state actively exclude immigrant labour from the most highly desired occupations in order to reserve these occupations for Canadian born and Canadian educated workers. I suggest that that institutionalized process of cultural distinctions contributes to the segmentation of immigrant labour.

According to Bauder (2003) immigrants bring their dispositions to a new habitus in destination countries in which different rules apply. Migrants tend to be marginalised because they carry their own habitus from their countries of origin. According to Bauder (2003) the Canadian labour market is inaccessible to many immigrants from Asia because foreign education and degrees qualify people to migrate to Canada but cannot get them skilled jobs and impose a major barrier to employment. The non-recognition of foreign credentials constitutes deskilling and devaluation of migrants' institutional cultural capital. Bauder (2003) discovered that Asian migrants are often excluded from the skilled labour market in Canada. Many skilled professionals take up jobs below their qualifications, with some deciding to undertake the accreditation process of their foreign qualifications but discover that the process is often difficult with several barriers. As a result, some skilled professionals often switch careers because accreditation is too cumbersome. More so, Bauder (2003) argues that occupations that are less skilled are not desired by Canadian-born residents and without requiring accreditation or even work experience become attractive career paths for members of the diaspora, even if they have higher educational training. The devaluation of foreign education and credentials and the demand for Canadian experience are viewed as institutional barriers to labour market integration among Canadian immigrants. Due to these barriers migrants resolve to take less skilled jobs with the intention of obtaining economic capital.

Kelly and Lusic (2006) examined skilled Filipino migrants in Canada and discovered that when economic capital is circulated back to the Philippines it becomes convertible to other forms of capital such as the education of siblings and family members. A diminished cultural capital as a result of low skilled occupation in Canada is rationalised against the enhanced economic capital. For example, a dentist from the Philippines takes

up a factory worker's role in Canada and obtains more economic capital than working as a dentist in the Philippines. According to Kelly and Lusia (2006), the significance of financial remittances in migrants' origin countries and the dependence on financial remittances as a source of income for survival also explain the continuous willingness of skilled professionals to take low skilled jobs to acquire convertible economic capital. When economic capital is evaluated in a trans-national context its worth is higher when converted into financial remittances.

2.4. Coleman's theory of social capital

According to Coleman (1988) the idea of social capital focuses on the source of social capital realisable through relationships of obligations and mutual trust. Coleman (1988) defines social capital by its function. Social capital is an entity consisting of all expected future benefits derived not from one person's labour but from connections with other people. Social capital does not constitute the resources themselves but rather the ability of the individual to mobilise these resources for benefit.

Coleman (1988) attributes social capital to close ties, a medium to obtain valuable information, norms, obligations, and trust. In addition, Coleman (1988) argues that the source of social capital is in the closure of social networks. The closure of networks facilitates the emergence of effective norms and maintains the trustworthiness of others, thus strengthening social capital. Coleman's idea of social capital lays emphasis on a dense network that strengthens trust and shared norms, so organisations and communities function effectively (Cederberg, 2015; Coleman, 1992; Woolcock, Grootaert, Narayan & Nyhan, 2004). Closures of social networks are important not only for the existence of effective norms but also the trustworthiness of social structures that allows the spread of obligations and expectations (Coleman, 1988; Portes &

Sensenbrenner, 1993). Coleman (1990, 1992, 2008) focuses on social capital that is achieved through relationships of mutual trust and obligations within closed and multiple networks. Coleman's idea of social capital focuses on network closure in which everyone is connected such that no one can escape the notice of others within a closed group. Coleman defines closure as the existence of sufficiently dense ties between certain numbers of people to guarantee the observance of norms (Coleman, 1988).

Coleman sees social capital as a bonding mechanism that adds to the integration of social structure. For Coleman, social structures predate the agent who can use embedded social capital as a resource (see Tzanakis, 2013). These groups are identified as dense networks. These dense networks are noted for access to information that may not be available to individuals outside the network (Coleman, 1988; Portes, 1998). Also, network closure facilitates the trust and sanction that make it easy for people within the network to trust each other. Coleman illustrates that in a closed network, without a high degree of trust amongst the members, these groups cannot exist. Coleman's work on social capital is useful in elucidating the nature of resources within different networks and the extent to which they are made available because of norms governing expectations of obligation, trust and support.

Coleman's (1988) work is useful in interpreting the nature of resources accessible as a result of being part of a group that an individual can access because of norms governing obligations and support. For example, Coleman (1988) attributed social capital to community ties. Coleman considers community ties as essential because of the benefits individuals can achieve as a result of being part of a community. Vulnerable people such as senior citizens and young children can walk down the street without fear of being attacked or molested because mutual trust and obligation guarantee their safety:

individuals within the community look out for each other's safety (Coleman, 1988; Portes, 1998).

Coleman also examined social capital as the set of resources that are inherent in family relations and in the community. For many families the factors impelling migration provide good examples of what Coleman refers to as the use of social capital to create human capital. Social capital within the family consists of the strong bonds between parents and children and the measures parents take to sacrifice for the future of their children (Coleman, 1988). Social organisations are useful for the cognitive and social development of individuals in the community. They are important forms of social capital with the potential to obtain information that is inherent to social relations (Coleman, 1988). People attain vital information through social networks. For example, regular interaction with colleagues in the workplace can serve as a vital source of information for professional development (Coleman, 1988).

Social capital can also be described as forms of credit slips for individuals within an organised group (Coleman, 1988; Portes, 1998). This credit depends on the trustworthiness of the social environment, which guarantees that obligations will be repaid (Coleman, 1988; Portes, 1998). Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in its absence would not be possible as with physical and human capital (Coleman, 1988). Coleman (1988) also relates social capital within the family as necessary for a child's intellectual development. It is argued that children are strongly affected by the human capital possessed by their parents and these determine their academic success and level of education (Coleman, 1988, 1990, 1992, 2008; see also Portes, 1998, 2010b).

Coleman's idea of social capital is criticised for failing to distinguish between resources and the ability of network members to obtain these resources (Tzanakis, 2013). Donors and recipients of social capital have different motivations that cannot be fully accounted for by a rational framework when social capital shifts from an individual level relationship to a feature of a community at the community level. Hence, Coleman's idea of social capital becomes conceptually vague (Tzanakis, 2013). Coleman (1988) identifies close ties as a source of new knowledge and resource. However, while Coleman regarded close bonds as a positive source of social capital, other researchers have highlighted the negative aspects of social capital, such as its bonding and exclusive nature, because these ties also convey redundant information (Coleman, 1988). Moreover, Lin (1990) argues that closure of groups is not necessary except when there is a goal-specific pursuit by actors that should not be interfered with by people outside the group. Members of a closed group require a bridging network with other people (Lin, 1990). Therefore, closure creates negative externalities such as in-group solidarity (Lin, 2004). In addition, Edwards, (2004) and Lin (2004) have argued that the closeness of these groups may lead to limiting information as members of these closed groups rarely interact with people outside their groups.

Marger (2001) studied Canadian immigrant entrepreneurs. The research examined the extent to which Coleman's idea of social capital may play important roles in the economic adaptation of immigrant entrepreneurs in Canada. According to Marger (2001), migrants' social capital in the form of diaspora groups, ethnic networks, family ties and entrepreneurial skills plays a key role in the establishment and operation of immigrant owned business in Canada. According to Marger (2001), migration produces social networks in the diaspora that help the decision to migrate and settle in destination countries. Coleman's idea of social capital (Coleman, 1988, 1990, 1992, 2008)

essentially refers to participation within social networks of kinship, family and ethnic groups. Marger (2001) discovered that migrant entrepreneurs can obtain information regarding the business climate, types of enterprises and regulatory processes that are relevant to setting up their businesses in Canada. Social networks also provide migrants with a support system that assists in securing housing, resolve initial settlement issues, and yield crucial information regarding business opportunities in Canada (Marger 2001).

However, Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) also use Coleman's (1988) idea of social capital by emphasising the collective use of social capital specifically as it relates to economic activities. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) redefined social capital as:

...Those expectations for actions within a collective group that affects economic goals and goal-seeking behaviours of its members, even if these expectations are not oriented towards the economic spheres.

Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) also adapted a different definition of social capital that differs from Coleman's idea of social structures. Portes and Sensenbrenners' (1993) definition of social capital suggested an encompassing definition of social capital that includes Bourdieu's earlier definition of social capital and various social groups. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) suggested that there were four sources of social capital, which were value injection, reciprocity exchanges, bounded solidarity and enforceable trust. According to Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993), bounded solidarity and enforceable trust are applicable to migrant and diaspora groups. Migrants are also able to draw on the trust and reciprocity that flow from diaspora membership. According to Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993), the more severe the challenges migrants encounter in destination countries the stronger the degree of in group solidarity and greater degree of social

capital that can be appropriated based on trust and solidarity (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993).

McMichael and Manderson (2004) in a study of Somalian migrants who resettled in Melbourne (Australia) under the Refugee and Humanitarian Program examined the role of social capital and social networks in the resettlement of these migrants. These groups of Somalian migrants, now living in Australia, still have nostalgic recollections of their country of origin despite their experiences of war, displacement and the resettlement processes. These groups of migrants identified Somalia as a place where dominant norms and values provided an environment of trust and social support (McMichael & Manderson, 2004). According to McMichael and Manderson (2004), the Australian government provides supports to new arrivals. On arrival in Australia, a humanitarian settlement caseworker meets migrants at the airport, provides migrants with short-term accommodation, assists migrants with opening bank accounts, and helps migrants register for Medicare and necessary hospital cover. Humanitarian settlement caseworkers also help with enrolment in English classes.

On the other hand, the Somalian diaspora groups and community groups help new migrants in building bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding and bridging social capital are types of social capital that give these migrants a sense of identity within the Somalian associations and support the awareness of Somalian culture in Australia. A sense of community amongst Somalians is also nurtured by forming new relationships and interactions in the process of resettlement in Australia. Kinship and community connections are used to help people find employment and housing, access government and welfare services, and identify facilities and opportunities for migrants in Australia. Social interactions and social networks amongst Somalians are a mode of information sharing about changes in immigration policies, healthcare and social support. However,

the experience of war and displacement and separation of families amongst Somalians have led to a general level of mistrust. Kinship ties among Somalian immigrants are often fragile with some migrants describing how the lack of long standing familiar and social bonds in Australia precludes the establishment and maintenance of trusting relationships (McMichael & Manderson, 2004).

2.5. Putnam's theory of social capital

Putnam (2000) examines social capital theory from a political engagement perspective. Putnam (2000) argues that norms and network of civil engagement play an important role in the maintenance of social capital. Putnam (2000) identifies elements that make up social capital include trust between the citizen of a country and the government. In addition, Putnam identifies various components of social capital to include moral obligations, norms, social values, trust and social networks. Putnam (2000) considers a possible explanation for the weakening of some community networks. Putnam's (2000) idea of social capital acknowledges that migrants and ethnic minorities may be reliant on dense networks that reinforce their dependency on niche markets. Putnam's concept of civil society includes the functions of voluntary associations such as ethnic and diaspora groups (Putnam 2000).

Furthermore, Putnam (2000) examines the trend in civil engagement across a variety of frameworks and relates this trend to social capital, and used data on voters' turnout for government elections, church attendance and memberships in professional organisations to create a comprehensive examination of civil engagement and a decline in civil engagement. In addition, Putnam's idea of social capital revolved around a society network between people and building trust towards each other and the government. He

notes three forms of social capital that involves bonding, bridging and linking social capital (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 2001).

Bonding, bridging and linking social capital are important and useful for community engagement as this determines relationships and levels of mutual trust. Putnam (2000) used these three types of social capital to capture both the dynamics of openness and closure of groups within civil societies. Putnam (2000) defines bonding social capital as consisting of inward looking networks that tend to reinforce exclusive identities and homogenous groups, as bonding social capital is generated between people within the same organisations and social groups, while he saw bridging social capital as outward looking and encompassing people across diverse social groups. Bridging social capital adheres to networks that are heterogeneous social groups and brings people into contact with individuals who are different from them. Both bridging and bonding social capital involves various levels of trust. Bonding ties are based on trust with people you already know such as co-ethnic migrants, family, friends and kinship ties. Bonding social networks can be usually depended on for credit, insurance, and social and emotional support.

On the other hand, bridging social capital is based on general trust that is built through interactions with a range of social groups. Bridging social capital offers more opportunities for social and economic advancement. Bridging social capital comprises relationships of respect and mutuality between people such as casual friends, work place colleagues and professional networking groups (Putnam, 2000). Bridging social capital provides a good source of information about career opportunities (Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). Bridging and linking social capital are mediums that facilitate information and contribute to capacity development of communities (Woolcock, et al.,

2004). Linking social capital is the relationship between people and organisations across different hierarchical levels and power (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 2001). The relationship between individuals and government helps individuals to gain resources that result in broader change. These institutions include the government. Thus, linking social capital has been used in this research to examine the social capital and relationship between the Nigerian diaspora and the Nigerian government (see also Kastrolyano 2000; Portes 1998; Sobel, 2002; Tzanaki, 2013; Woolcock and Narayan, 2000). In addition, linking social capital refers to confidence and trust in government and democratic processes (Szreter & Woolcock, 2004; Putnam, 2000). Linking social capital focuses on social relations between individuals and groups who hold different positions in a system of social hierarchy (Iosifides, Lavrentiadou, Petracou & Antonios, 2007).

Szreter and Woolcock (2004) and Woolcock (2001) also engage with the concept of linking social capital. Linking social capital entails the relationship individuals have with societal institutions such as the government agencies, civil organisations, and voluntary groups. Linking social capital represents the extent that individuals build relationships with institutions and individuals who have relative power over them, for example, the government and various government institutions (Hawkins and Maurer, 2009). Therefore, linking social capital provides access and connections to power structures and institutions which in Putnam's perspective includes a well-functioning government that includes civil engagement by citizens and a good economy, considered necessary for a functioning social network of mutual trust and participation of citizens in the capacity development of the economy. Putnam (2000) identified voluntary associations as the sole source of societal mutual trust (Cohen, 1997; Putnam et al. 2003). For Putnam, voluntary associations are an important source of mutual trust and social capital. He

defines a voluntary association as a socially organised group based on mutual trust between the members.

A major limitation of Putnam's theory of social capital is the explanation of the origin of social trust. Trust is developed as a result of close ties. However, Putnam's perspective of trust seems sometimes to fall short in encompassing the complexity of modern societies with their extensive norms of reciprocity and social networks of civic engagement (Putnam, et.al. 1993). Putnam's idea of trust seems vague when applied to complex societies where mutual trust is built gradually through bonding ties and gradually extends to bridging ties.

Nannestad et al. (2008) examine the use of Putnam's idea of bonding and bridging social capital to examine the problem of integrating non-Western migrants into Denmark, Norway, Sweden and Finland. According to Nannestad et al. (2008) bridging social capital connects migrants to the broader society while bonding social capital closely binds people in a small social group. Nannestad et al. (2008) suggest that migrants need both bonding and bridging social capital to help integrate into Western countries. Migrants' close family, kinship and ethnic ties are not an impediment to the development of migrants' bridging social ties. Both bridging and bonding social capital are coherent and needed to integrate into Western societies. Nannestad et al. (2008) suggest that encouraging migrants to participate in voluntary organisations is crucial for building migrants' bridging social capital and connecting with activities in the community.

Similarly, Village, Powell and Pepper (2017) in a cross-sectional quantitative study of 61,386 church members and data drawn from the 2011 national church life survey, examine the level of bonding and bridging social capital ties amongst first generational Asian migrant church members compared with Australian-born church members.

Village et al. (2017) discover that bonding social capital is at its lowest when migrants arrive in new destination countries, with bonding social capital increasing over time to include bridging social capital, as migrants join other sub-groups in the church. Bonding social ties are usually antecedent to establishing ties that are effective in accessing social capital. Migrants initially rely on bonding social capital, and gradually move to bridging social capital as they become more established in destination countries. Involvement in religious activities over an extended period of time leads to increased bonding and bridging in migrants' social capital. According to Village et al. (2017), religious organisations such as churches help Asian migrants form both bonding and bridging networks. Churches and other religious organisations facilitate social capital and can be important social organisations for first generation Asian migrants. Religious institutions have a more accepting attitude towards social engagement beyond congregation and church activities. Religious organisations offer migrants the opportunity to create social ties by relating with Australian-born church members. Migrants develop bridging ties by joining church and other social and religious activities outside the church, meaning migrants get introduced to external networks through friends they meet in their place of worship. According to Village et al. (2017), Christian Asians may be able to generate more bonding ties if they are in a congregation with people of similar ethnic background. Village et al. (2017) suggest that church attendance may promote both bonding and bridging social ties because people formed bridging capital in the church, which can be later converted to bonding social capital, as church members form relationships which are beyond religious activities.

Guzman and Garcia (2017) studied Filipino migrants in Poland with a specific focus on the influence and sensitivity of migrants' cultural and ethnic ties with bonding and bridging social capital. Soon after Filipinos arrive in Poland they form ethnic bonds.

These social bonds are formed out of shared ethnicity and culture and represent an important source of social support, belonging and assistance. The Filipino migrants who participated in this study described their ethnic relationships as an important source of support and a sense of belonging. Bonding social capital therefore creates a source of social and emotional support from people with similar migration experiences. Bonding social capital created a sense of trust, intimacy and kinship ties amongst migrants in destination countries. Bonding ties create a sense of belonging and connections and a medium for the flow of vital information. According to Guzman and Garcia (2017) social capital needs to extend beyond harnessing economic benefits for new migrants, such as locating job opportunities. Economic integration of migrants is only a fragment of migrants' overall experiences of the migration process. Social capital covers migrants' social wellbeing, trans-national ties and settling in destination countries.

Guzman and Garcia (2017) are of the opinion that migrants' feeling of discrimination and bias in destination countries make them feel unsafe, and increase the participation in diaspora groups as a source of bonding social capital. Guzman and Garcia (2017) also identified social institutions such as religious organisations and the Philippine embassy in Poland as facilitating migrants' bridging and bonding social capital. The Filipino embassy regularly organises events that are significant to Filipino culture such as that marking Philippines Independence Day. These events create a platform to get to know other Filipinos in the community and build bonding and bridging social capital. Similarly, the Filipino church in Poland creates an avenue to connect and establish relationships especially with Catholic churches, as the Catholic denomination is prevalent in both Filipino and Polish cultures.

Ryan, Sales, Tilki and Siara (2008) also sought to investigate Polish migrants in Britain using bonding and bridging social capital within migrant communities and the trans-national bonding social capital migrants rely on while in Britain. The study explored migrants' experiences using primarily qualitative interviews and focus group discussions with Polish migrants as respondents. Ryan et al. (2008), through the exploration of Polish migrants' networking skills and strategies, examined trans-national ties migrants have with their countries of origin. Ryan et al.'s (2008) findings include that migrants seek emotional support in combating homesickness through the bonding social capital of kinship and ethnic ties in Britain. Polish migrants also rely on emotional support from family and friends that still reside in Poland. Ryan et al. (2008) were also of the opinion that Polish migrants who can speak English and communicate with people from other backgrounds build bridging social capital more easily than Polish migrants who cannot communicate in English. Therefore, Ryan et al. (2008) discovered that the ability to speak English and communicate with a diverse range of people are important components in building bridging social capital.

Ryan et al. (2008) further argue that the support system required and available to newly arrived Polish migrants to Britain may differ from the type of networks migrants establish after becoming more familiar with their new environment. While some Polish migrants could not speak English on arrival, they were reliant on support from Polish diaspora groups in Britain. When migrants acquire some English language speaking skills they are able to build more bridging social capital. Therefore, in their opinion, migrants' bonding and bridging social capital are dynamic as they settle in destination countries. However, Ryan et al. (2008) discovered that Polish migrants had no trust in each other and tended to compete against one another. Polish migrants are reluctant to circulate information about job vacancies in their workplace, as they are afraid that if

other Polish migrants get employed in the same organisation it creates a medium for work place rivalry. According to Ryan et al. (2008) the flow of information on jobs and housing circulated within a particular group, locking migrants into specific ethnic niches thus exacerbating competition, rivalry and exploitation. Yet, according to Ryan (2011) language skills, cultural capital and educational backgrounds of migrants are important in accessing benefits from social networks.

Similarly, Ryan and D'Angelo (2017) in another study of Polish migrants in Britain studied the changing social relationship of migrants over an extended period of time. Ryan and D'Angelo (2017) reflected on migrants' social network composition, structure and how they evolve over time as Polish migrants settle in Britain. Ryan and D'Angelo (2017) used interviews from migrants to identify that time plays a crucial role in the maintenance of social and trans-national ties. Migrants maintain close ties to family members in Poland on both the short and long term, but gradually weaken ties with friends and acquaintances as they develop bridging ties in destination countries (Ryan & D'Angelo, 2017).

2.6. Summary

This chapter has examined existing literature on social capital theory. This literature examined the use of social capital in establishing migrant bonding and bridging, linking and digital social capital in connecting migrants to both their destination and origin countries. The roles of migrants' social ties are examined as economic, social, emotional and overall well-being support that migrants need through the migration process. This chapter further discussed the dynamic nature of migrants' social capital, such as that the longer they stay and build bridging ties the less attached migrants are to various niche groups. Social capital theory is examined in this chapter as having both positive and

negative effects on the diaspora. Social capital can facilitate the flow of information to help migrants settle in destination countries and help migrants build trans-national ties to their origin country. On the other hand, social capital can create a medium for distrust, formation of niches and exclusion of migrants from vital information and the labour market.

This chapter has also examined Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam's idea of social capital. Bourdieu's idea of social capital is examined in terms of convertible capital, which can be converted into economic and cultural capital. Bourdieu's idea of cultural capital is examined as the key to migrants' entrance into labour markets in their countries of origin, similarly migrants' cultural capital is examined as an individual possession of migrants which they acquire and increase through the migration process and when they are able to settle in destination countries.

The deskilling of migrants' institutional cultural capital is discussed in this chapter as a major challenge due to non-recognition of skills and work experiences prior to migration. Skilled migrants may have to obtain jobs that are below their qualifications, or switch careers in order to obtain economic capital. Migrants' economic capital is discussed in the light of Bourdieu's (1986) idea of convertible capital, which can be used for building social networks and investment by skilled migrants. Chapter three examines the social capital theoretical framework used in this research and its application to diaspora capital, migrants' trans-national activities and capacity development.

Chapter Three

Theoretical Framework

3. Introduction

This chapter sets out the theoretical and methodological framework of this research. Social capital and its relationship to diaspora activities are the theoretical framework used to analyse the activities of the two cohorts of the Nigerian diaspora in the results and analysis chapters. The work of Pierre Bourdieu (1930-2002), James Coleman (1926-1995), and Robert Putnam (1941-2004) are used as a theoretical framework to add to existing literature on diaspora capital and its role in the capacity development of Nigeria. This chapter establishes how social capital can provide a particular perspective that allows for a deeper understanding of how and why members of the diaspora engage in forms of social capital remittance and explain their motivations for such activities.

3.1. Application of social capital theory to this research

This research adds to existing literature on social capital (as diaspora capital) and capacity development in three different ways. Firstly, this study uses social capital theory as the theoretical framework of analysis for this research. Social capital theory provides a particular perspective through which to examine diaspora capital as social, cultural and financial capital that resides in skilled Nigerian-Australian trans-national and returned migrants. Social capital theory is used to examine the complex relationships migrants have across their social networks that include bonding, bridging, linking and digital social capital that skilled Nigerian-born migrants can use in capacity development. This study places more emphasis on the Nigerian diaspora as a source of not only financial

capital but also social remittances, which are crucial for bonding, bridging and long-term capacity development of Nigeria. Thirdly, this work adds to existing literature by bringing in empirical qualitative research data of forty-five skilled Nigerian-born migrants who reside in Australia and twenty-two returned migrants who have returned from Australia to Nigeria after spending an extended period of time in Australia improving their social and cultural capital.

Previous literature on the migration of skilled migrants has focused on the negative effects of departure of skilled migrants on developing countries, especially African countries (Adepoju, 2007; Brinkerhoff, 2004). Brain drain research has shown relative losses to countries with low levels of skills and the extent to which such losses impede economic growth. However, this study adds to existing literature by arguing that the departure of skilled migrants should be considered as an outflow and exchange of knowledge that later benefits origin countries rather than a one way brain drain. Skilled Nigerian born migrants want to live and work in an environment where they are stimulated to apply their best efforts and be rewarded accordingly. Returned and trans-national migration frameworks provide the avenue for origin countries to utilise the skills these professionals have obtained for capacity development. Globalisation facilitates the easy transfer of financial remittances and creates a platform to spread human capital, new ideas, and innovations to Nigeria.

However, the influence of technology and faster modes of transportation has indicated a need for a more structured theory to study migration that is different from the older brain drain perspective. Migrants still have strong ties to their origin countries, and still identify with their culture even though they are settled in other countries. Therefore, with

the improvement in technology, there is a need to shift attention away from the negative effect of the migration of the skilled to other dimensions of migration that are paramount in both intellectual and policy terms. The next subsection examines the application of Bourdieu, Coleman and Putnam's idea of social capital theories used in this study.

3.2. Application Bourdieu's theory of social capital

This study engages with Bourdieu's (1986) ideas of convertible forms of capital in terms of economic, cultural and social capital. Economic capital in this study is examined in terms of financial remittances that skilled Nigerian-born migrants contribute to capacity development in Nigeria. Financial remittances are identified as a source of consumable and long-term sustainable finances in recipients' households. Consumables entail payment of rent, medical bills and daily living expenses in recipients' households. In addition, long-term sustainable economic capital within the context of this study involves the financing of education, investment in real estate and setting up of businesses. The process of accumulation of economic capital is discussed in terms of skilled Nigerian migrants integrating into the Australian labour market. The accumulation of economic capital is also examined in terms of migrants being able to utilise their cultural capital.

Institutional cultural capital is used in this study to examine skilled Nigerian migrants' qualifications and work experience. The Nigerian and Australian academic qualifications of these migrants are examined in terms of their cultural capital. The utilisation of cultural capital of Nigerian migrants is examined in three different sets: Firstly, there are the migrants who are able to integrate into the Australian labour market with their cultural and human capital from Nigeria; secondly, there are the skilled Nigerian migrants who are satisfied with the acquisition of economic capital irrespective

of being affected by deskilling. These groups of migrants are satisfied with trans-national exchange of currency, which they use to create wealth through investment and affirm Bourdieu's idea of convertible capital. Migrants in this group, irrespective of their level of cultural capital, obtain less skilled jobs to acquire economic capital which when transferred to Nigeria can generate economic and social capital. Lastly, there are some skilled migrants who change their career focus so they can acquire skilled jobs in Australia.

This research uses Bourdieu's idea of embodied and institutional cultural capital to examine the human capital of migrants. Embodied cultural capital is used to discuss the skills, knowledge, expertise, norms and beliefs that Nigerian skilled migrants possess before coming to Australia and the acquisition of new embodied cultural capital in Australia. In addition, institutional cultural capital of these returned and trans-national migrants is examined in terms of the acquisition of more academic qualifications and workplace training to enable them to practise their various professions in Australia and on return to Nigeria.

Bourdieu's (1986) idea of social capital is used to examine the individual and social networks of migrants. The research stresses the importance of networks for the transfer of human and cultural capital of trans-national and returned migrants to Nigeria. Social networks of migrants provide professional and social benefits that can be transferred to the origin countries of migrants for capacity development. Diaspora groups of migrants, membership of migrants' virtual communities, professional and social groups are identified as a source of social capital in this research. Therefore, the unit of migration is not just an individual but also a network of skilled professionals that can be beneficial

for capacity development. Coleman (1988) defines social capital as the capacity of an individual to command scarce resources by virtue of their membership in networks or broader social structures. These resources alone are not social capital: the individual's ability to mobilise these resources on demand is defined as social capital. Migrants' social capital is maintained through membership of diaspora organisations, frequent visits to their origin country, communication by social media, marriage and participation in events and membership in hometown associations.

3.3. Application of Coleman's theory of social capital

This research also considers Coleman's (1988) theory of social capital because it presents a network-based interpretation of the source of social capital between members of a particular group. Coleman (1988) places the source of social capital in the structure of social networks by analysing the close and complex ties that facilitate the emergence of various forms of social capital such as obligations, information channels, trust, norms and effective sanctions. Coleman also lays emphasis on cultural capital relevant to the acquisition of social remittances. This study focuses on Nigerian diaspora groups as social networks of individuals and a source of relationships between migrants. Coleman's (1988) perspective of social capital is used to examine the Nigerian diaspora in Australia as homogenous networks that promote solidarity, identity and social networks for Nigerians. Therefore, Coleman's idea of social capital is used to examine these diaspora groups as an association with social control, guided by norms of reciprocity. In addition, social interactions within the group serve as an important source of information for migrants. Migrants can access information that can help in assimilation into their new environment. Therefore, social capital is a public good, it is

not owned by an individual but social capital is dependent on membership of a particular diaspora and professional networking groups (Baker, 2000; Lin, 2001; Portes, 1998).

3.4. Application of Putnam's idea of social capital

Putnam's (2000) perspective of social capital is relevant to this study, as Putnam (2000) elevated the use of social capital from a feature of individual and small groups to a feature which studies community engagement of citizens and building trust and relationship with the government and civil societies. Therefore, this research uses Putnam's (2000) idea of social capital as a collective concept functioning at the aggregate level and a diagnostic tool for building mutual and societal trust between Nigerian citizens and the Nigerian government. Diasporas are examined both as a source of bonding, bridging, digital and linking social capital following Putnam's idea of social capital. The Nigerian diaspora has bonding social capital as some members maintain close ethnic and family ties such as close friends and family members that can be relied on during an emergency for help. Bonding social capital is used in this study to represent homogenous networks encompassing solidarity and community identity that is a source of social cohesion. Bonding social capital also contributes to developing a sense of efficacy, psychological empowerment and a need to express individual identity. This study further examines this bonding social capital as essential but not sufficient for the transfer of relevant information as they tend to be closed groups and limited in information. However, bonding social capital enables migrants to determine their identity and form their own niche in migrants' destination countries. Bridging social capital is discussed in this research as ties that are an important source of information and facilitate migrants' social connections globally. Bridging social capital is represented by heterogeneous networks of professionals, such as professional online

networking groups and skilled migrants who use social media and form both bonding and bridging social capital that may be used to contribute to capacity development of Nigeria.

This study also examines the influence of technology on the social capital of migrants. Social and professional networks are established with the use of the Internet through various professional networking groups, for example, online professional networking sites such as *LinkedIn*. Professional networking groups are discussed as a source of career information and professional development.

Bridging social capital is discussed in this research as loose ties that are important source of information and facilitate migrants' social connections globally. Bridging social capital is represented by heterogeneous networks of professionals such as professional online networking groups and social media. Highly skilled migrants form both bonding and bridging social capital that are used to contribute to capacity development of Nigeria. Following Putnam's (2000) perspective of social capital, diaspora organisations are examined, as voluntary associations where members are able to build mutual trust and are a source of civic engagement between Nigerian citizens and the Nigerian government. Nigerian diaspora groups in Australia are studied as an embodiment of social capital with resources that are connected to membership of virtual, professional and ethnic and diaspora networks through which social and financial remittances are transferred to Nigeria from the Australian diaspora through trans-national and returned migrants.

3.5. Chapter summary

This chapter has examined the role of social capital theory in developing a theoretical framework to examine diaspora capital, trans-national migration and capital

development of Nigerian skilled migrants. Bourdieu's idea of social capital is applicable to this research in terms of a migrant's cultural and social capital that can be converted into economic and used for capacity development of Nigeria. Coleman's idea of social capital is examined as a source of social networks and the foundation for bonding and bridging social capital. Putnam's idea of social capital is used to examine bonding, bridging, linking and digital social capital on diaspora capital, trans-national activities of migrants and capacity development of Nigeria.

Chapter Four

Methodology

4. Introduction

The essence of this chapter is to discuss the methodology the researcher used in this study. This chapter will discuss the researcher's position, research context, research design, research methodology and methods used in the investigation of diaspora capital, trans-national migration and the process through which professional skills are used for capacity development of Nigeria. This study is guided by Bourdieu's (1930-2002), Putnam's (1941-2004) and Coleman's (1926-1995) idea of social capital theory in the collection and analysis of data. The specific data collections methods used were surveys (De Vaus, 2002) and semi structured interviews (Denzin and Lincoln, 2002).

The process by which the researcher moved from personal questions to the research questions that were used in this study is explained in this chapter. This chapter provides a description of the data gathering procedure and outlines the foundation and theoretical perspective on which the research is based and provides a summary of the ethical considerations used in this study.

4.1. Researcher's position

The researcher is a Nigerian skilled migrant who resides in Australia with dual nationality. Arriving in Australia in 2012 as an international student at the University of Adelaide South Australia studying International Trade and Development, engagement with the Nigerian diaspora revealed the strength of ties the Nigerian diaspora had with their country of origin. More so, in informal discussions with members of various

diaspora groups the common theme was that the skills and knowledge learnt while in Australia (regardless of whether there was an intention to stay permanently in Australia or return at some point to Nigeria) would ideally be used to improve conditions in Nigeria, be it for individuals, families, communities or the country. It is in this flux space of an aspiration to contribute to the betterment of Nigeria, with various skills, and at various levels of non-financial engagement, that this research developed.

A deeper experience also informed this research, that of being a trans-national migrant. While now an Australian citizen, as a Nigerian I am often asked about my migrant status. This question likely stems from my African features and my Nigerian accent. This recurring question reminds me, as it may other migrants, that despite being an Australian citizen, I am still seen as a migrant. During one visit to Nigeria, for a family event, a family member asked when I was going home, meaning returning to Australia. This question left me wondering where home actually is? The country of origin for a migrant (especially one who left as an adult) retains an emotional and cultural sense of belonging. These research questions kept lingering in the mind of the researcher:

- What is the nature of the relationship that Nigerian diasporas have with their country of origin?
- How effectively have Nigerian skilled trans-national and return migrants been able to transfer their skills and social capital to Nigeria for capacity development and what factors impede the process of financial and non- financial remittances transfer?

Curiosity about the emotional and cultural experiences of migrants led me to the work of Levitt (2004) on trans-national migrations and issues of home and country. This informed an understanding of the place in the world of a migrant who resides in

Australia. Literature such as this, and literature on trans-national migration and social networking informed the researcher's early thinking about diaspora and the emotional and cultural viewpoints of its members. More so, and informed from my own early experiences of diaspora engagement in Australia, diaspora practices of returning their skills and knowledge to Nigeria (as permanent residents of Australia or as members of the diaspora returning permanently to Nigeria) were consciously considered as a positive set of practices. This view was countered in the literature by emphasis on the negative impact of the 'brain drain' evident in a significant amount of diaspora scholarship. It is from these positions that this research emerges.

4.2. Research design

The researcher used a qualitative approach to the study. A qualitative research method allows researchers to provide detailed description and analysis of the quality and substances of human experiences (Babbie, 2016; Bryman, 2012; Marvasti, 2004). A qualitative research method is marked by certain criteria. It is generally geared to capture the reality of the study; the researcher is allowed to use expressive language and collection of descriptions (Neuman, 2011). Research data used for a qualitative study can be represented in the form of words, pictures and extracts from fieldwork transcripts (Sarantakos, 2005).

As identified in chapter 2, social capital theory directed the methodology and method choice as well as the data analysis used in this study. The researcher also used a theoretical interpretivist perspective to explore how participants interpret their world and then place these interpretations into a social science framework, thus participants first interpreted their experiences that were then interpreted by the researcher through the lens of concepts, social capital theories and scholarly literature (Babbie, 2016; Crotty 1998; Sarantankos, 2005). The researcher made use of interpretivist perspective as it provides

the flexibility to actively engage the participants (Babbie, 2016; Crotty 1998; Sarantankos, 2005). The researcher endeavoured to emphasise the meanings given by participants to their experiences while at the same time recognising the role of beliefs, social reality and social and cultural capital and how these can be influenced by the research process (Marvasti, 2004; Sarantankos, 2005).

4.3. Research context

The researcher started the process with a pilot study of ten skilled migrants who resided in Armidale, New South Wales and Adelaide, South Australia. These ten respondents were sent surveys to fill out and return to the researcher. The pilot study served several purposes which included to examine whether respondents are accessible because these skilled workers are geographically dispersed, to ascertain if the technique of data collection can help generate the required information for the project, to ascertain if the surveys and interview guides are well constructed or if changes and adjustment are needed and to ensure the means of return of this survey are convenient for respondents (Sarantakos, 2005). In addition, the pilot study also helped the researcher to test the suitability of the research methods and instrument. The pilot study lasted for two weeks and all respondents returned their surveys through the online web link. However, the researcher had to clarify ambiguities with the respondents through face-to-face interviews. The feed back from the pilot study helped the researcher to better structure the questions and include some relevant questions in the qualitative online surveys and interview guides.

After the conclusion of the pilot study, online surveys were sent out to diaspora group members. Some of these groups include the Nigerian Association of South Australia

and the Nigerian Society of Victoria. Surveys were introduced to respondents using a cover letter explaining the reason for the study, why it is important to participate in the research and relevant reasons the recipient of surveys has been selected to participate in the study.

4.4. Selection of participants for the study

Respondents in this study were selected using a purposive sampling method. A purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling in which the respondents who intend to participate in the study are selected on the basis of the researcher's judgment (Adler & Clark, 2011; Sarantakos, 2005). However, the researcher does not select participants on a random basis. The goal of purposive sampling is to choose respondents in a strategic way, so that those sampled are relevant to the research questions that are examined in the study (Bryman, 2012). Purposive sampling is essentially to do with the selection of units, such as individuals, groups and organisations who are relevant to the research questions being asked in the study. Therefore, the research questions and theoretical framework provide the context for the choice of participants in the study.

Moreover, this technique of sampling allows the researcher to purposely choose subjects who in their opinion are relevant to the research project. The choice of respondent is guided by the knowledge and expertise of the researcher (Babbie, 2016; Sarantakos, 2005).

This study used two sets of migrants who are either skilled trans-national migrants in Australia or returned migrants who have worked and studied in Australia before returning to Nigeria, after spending an extended period of time in Australia. In addition, this study also included the opinion of policy makers, for example, the incumbent Acting High Commissioner and a recently retired High Commissioner of Nigeria to Australia

and four diaspora group presidents were interviewed to represent the views of the Nigerian government. In this study, the researcher selected migrants using a social capital theoretical framework as a guide. These two set of migrants have a level of diaspora capital and maintain strong links to Nigeria not only through sending financial remittances to their origin country but also contributing to capacity development through non-remittances that involve transferring their human and cultural capital.

Skilled migrants who reside in Australia were identified through the various diaspora groups in Australia. Diaspora group presidents served as gatekeepers for the project. For example the diaspora group leader of Victoria and South Australia and some sub groups such as Egbe Omoodudua were approached and enlightened on the benefit of the study to Nigerian migrants in Australia and their origin country. These diaspora leaders sent e-mails to all the members of the diaspora group who fit the criteria needed by the researcher. These e-mails encouraged skilled migrants to participate in the study, through an online survey web link included in the emails. The researcher also conducted face-to-face semi structured interviews with short listed participants who demonstrated active engagement and skills transfer to Nigeria. The participants that were interviewed were selected after completing the online surveys (see Appendices 5 and 6).

Returned migrants in Nigeria were also identified through purposive sampling. This group of people must meet certain criteria, such as they must have acquired knowledge and skills in Australia through their work or study for an extended period of time in Australia. These sets of migrants were sent on line survey web links to complete a survey and were followed up with interviews to clarify ambiguities. These surveys were returned through web links to the researcher. The researcher was able to follow up with interviews to clarify any ambiguities.

Table 4.1 (below) shows the various forms of institutional cultural capital and profiles of the Nigerians who participated in this study, their skills, academic qualifications, and years of work experience.

Table 4.1: Profile of participants in Australia (Research data 2016)

Respondent (R) /Gender/Age range	Occupation in Australia	Years of Experience	Nigerian Qualification	Australian Qualification	State of residence	Data collection	Skills
R 1 M 46-55	Financial Advisor	10 years	Bachelor	Applied finance /ASIC training	VIC	Survey/Interview	Financial planning skills
R 2 M 46-55	Medical Doctor	16 years	BMed	FRACGP	VIC	Survey/Interview	Medical
R 3 M 36-45	Medical Doctor	3 years	BMed	Master/FRACGP	VIC	Survey/Interview	Medical
R 4 F 36-45	Nurse/Life Coach	10 years	Diploma	Psychology/ Nursing	VIC	Survey/Interview	Nursing/mentoring
R 5 M 46-55	ICT Expert	18years	PhD	Post Doctorate	VIC	Survey/Interview	ICT skills
R 6 M 36-45	Medical Doctor	10 years	PhD	FRACGP	VIC	Survey/Interview	Medical
R 7 M 46-55	Procurement Specialist	11 years	Bachelor	Bachelor	VIC	Survey	Procurement/ Litigation
R 8 M 46-55	Lawyer	22 years	Diploma	Bachelor	VIC	Survey	Litigation
R 9 M 46-55	Medical Doctor	13 years	PhD	Post Doctorate/ FRACGP	QLD	Survey/Interview	Medical
R 10 M 36-45	Medical Doctor	10 years	BMed	FRACGP	NSW	Survey/Interview	Medical
R 11 M 46-55	Business Man	10 years	Bachelor	Law degree	VIC	Survey/Interview	Legal/litigation
R 12 M 25-35	Quality Control Officer	2 years	Bachelor		WA	Survey	Production
R 13 M 46-55	Researcher	6 years	Master	PhD	NSW	Survey/Interview	Conflict Resolution
R 14 M 36-45	Lecturer	2 years	Master	PhD	NSW	Survey/Interview	Education
R 15 F 36-45	Social Worker	2 years	Bachelor	Master	SA	Survey	Community Development
R 16 M 36-45	Social Worker	2 years	Bachelor	Master	SA	Survey/Interview	Medical and health
R 17 F 36-45	Lecture/Life Coach	10 years	Bachelor	Doctorate/Coach Certification	SA	Survey/Interview	Lecturing, Mentoring and Coaching
R 18 M 36-45	Medical Doctor/ Lecturer	5 years	BMed	Master/Doctorate	NSW	Survey/Interview	Medical and Lecturing
R 19 F 25-35	Nurse	3years	Diploma	Bachelor	SA	Survey	Infection control
R 20 M 46-55	Engineer/Real Estate	10 years	Master		VIC	Survey/Interview	Engineering
R 21 F 25-35	HR Manager	2 years	Bachelor	Master	VIC	Survey	Human Resources
R 22 M 25-35	Minister of Religion	2 years	Bachelor	Philosophy and Theology	NSW	Survey/Interview	Pastoral Care
R 23 M 46-55	Lecturer	2 years	Master	PhD	NSW	Survey	University Teaching
R 24 M 36-45	Education Counsellor	2 years	Bachelor	Diploma	SA	Survey	Business
R 25 M 46-55	Researcher/Lecturer	3 years	Master	PhD	NSW	Survey	Capacity Building
R 26 M 25-35	Minister of Religion	3 years	Bachelor	Philosophy and Theology	NSW	Survey	Religious Development
R 27 M 36-45	Registered Nurse	4 years	Bachelor	Nursing	VIC	Survey/Interview	Health Services Management
R 28 M 46-55	Researcher/Social Worker	3 years	Bachelor	Master /PhD	NSW	Survey/Interview	Research and Development
R 29 F 36-45	Researcher	3 years	Bachelor	Master/ PhD		Survey	Medical
R 30 M 46-55	Aged Care Worker	7 years	Bachelor	Diploma	VIC	Survey	Disability Support
R 31 M 46-55	Lecturer	12 years	Master	PhD	NSW	Survey	Education Management /Research
R 32 F 25-35	Disability Support Worker	2 years	Master		VIC	Survey	Aged care
R 33 M 36-45	Psychiatric Nursing	10 years	Bachelor	Master	VIC	Survey/Interview	Mental health
R 34 F 36-45	Nurse	3 years	Diploma	Bachelor of Nursing	SA	Survey	Nursing
R 35 M 36-45	Management Consultant	3 years	Bachelor		VIC	Survey/Interview	Corporate management
R 36 M 25-35	Pharmacist	2 years	Diploma	Bachelor/Master	SA	Survey	Health care
R 37 F 25-35	Laboratory Technician	3 years	Bachelor	Master	VIC	Survey	Diseases Diagnosis
R 38 M 25-35	Engineer/Quality Control Officer	3 years	Bachelor	Master	VIC	Survey	Engineering
R 39 F 25-35	Data Entry Clerk	3 years	Bachelor		NSW	Survey	Data Processing
R 40 M 36-45	Project Analyst	3 years	Bachelor	Master	VIC	Survey	Project Analysis
R 41 F 36-45	Data Analyst	4 years	Bachelor	Master	SA	Survey	Data Management

R 42	F 36-45	Aged Care Nurse	15 months	Bachelor	Bachelor	SA	Survey	Healthcare
R 43	M 25-35	Engineer	2 years	Bachelor	Master	SA	Survey/Interview	Engineering
R 44	M 36-45	Lecturer/Researcher	4 years	Master	PhD/Post Doctorate	NSW	Survey	Education management
R 45	M 36-45	Medical Doctor	9 years	BMed	FRACGP	NSW	Survey	Medical

Abbrev: ASIC – Australia Securities and Investment Commission; BMed – Bachelor of Medicine; F – Female; FRACGP – Fellow of the Royal Australian College of General Practitioners; HR – Human Resources; IT – Information Technology; M – Male; R – Respondent

The ages of respondents who participated in this study range from 25 to 75 years. Oral interviews with returned migrants were conducted in Abuja and Lagos, Nigeria. Returned migrants have been identified in this study as being induced by the pull of emerging employment opportunities in Abuja and Lagos. Oral interviews with these returned migrants were conducted in Abuja and Lagos (Nigeria). Abuja is the federal capital territory and Lagos is the economic capital of Nigeria offering quality educational and research opportunities and provides a cosmopolitan environment for returned migrants. Returned migrants have been identified in this study as being induced to return by the pull of emerging employment opportunities in Abuja and Lagos.

Table 4.2 shows the full profile of all the returned migrants who participated in this study.

Returned migrant No.	Occupation	Course of study	Australian institution attended	Age group	Gender	Location Nigeria	Skills obtained overseas
RM 1	Policy Officer/ Entrepreneur	Sociology and public policy	University of Melbourne	25-35	M	Lagos	Social policy and entrepreneurial skills
RM 2	Trade Officer	International trade and development	University of Adelaide	25-35	F	Lagos	Trade negotiation and trade policy
RM 3	Information Technology Expert	Information technology	University of Queensland	36-45	M	Abuja	Information technology
RM 4	Business Developer	Business development	University of Western Australia	25-35	F	Abuja	Strategic planning for business
RM 5	Medical Doctor	Public health	University of Adelaide	36-45	F	Abuja	Public policy and decision making in the health sector
RM 6	Architect	Urban vision and architecture design	RMIT Melbourne	25-35	F	Lagos	Architecture and design
RM 7	Business Manager	Masters of business administration	University of Western Sydney	25-35	F	Lagos	Business Management skills
RM 8	Human Resource Manager	Human resource management	University of Adelaide	36-45	F	Abuja	Human Resource Management
RM 9	Human Resource Manager	Human resource management	University of Sydney	25-35	F	Abuja	Human relation skills

RM 10	Medical Doctor	Healthcare and hospital management	University of Adelaide	56-65	M	Abuja	Health insurance and hospital management skills
RM 11	Lawyer	Master of Law	University of South Australia	25-53	F	Abuja	Commercial law skills
RM 12	Lawyer	Master of Law	Griffith University	25-35	F	Abuja	International law
RM 13	Lawyer	Master of Law	University of Sydney	25-35	F	Abuja	Commercial law
RM 14	Business Manager	Business management	Flinders University	25-35	F	Abuja	Corporate management
RM 15	Business Manager	Business development	University of Newcastle	25-35	F	Lagos	Business administration
RM 16	Development Manager	Master of Development Studies	University of Adelaide	25-35	F	Abuja	Development studies
RM 17	Advertising and Marketing Manager	Advertising and marketing	Flinders University	25-35	F	Lagos	Effective technique in marketing
RM 18	Pharmacist	Master of pharmacy	University of Adelaide	25-35	F	Lagos	Effective drug control strategies
RM 19	Business Administrator	Master of business administration	University of South Australia	25-35	M	Lagos	Business intelligence strategies
RM 20	Lawyer	Oil and gas law	University of New South Wales	25-35	M	Lagos	Oil and gas contracting, health and safety and policy and control skills
RM 21	Medical Doctor	International healthcare management	University of Newcastle	25-35	F	Abuja	Healthcare management and healthcare financing skills
RM 22	Geologist	Master of Geology	University of Melbourne	25-35	M	Abuja	Technological advancement in geo sciences and mining

Abbrev: RM – Returned Migrant; F – Female; M – Male

4.5. Pseudonyms

Participants were represented using pseudonyms in this thesis, so that nothing is attributed back to an individual participant. Pseudonyms are fictitious names used to represent participants in a study. For examples table 4.1 identified participants as Respondent 1- Respondent 45 while table 4.2 identified respondent as Returned Migrant 1 to Returned Migrant 22 and so forth.

4.6. Research Methods

This research is based on survey responses (Appendix 4) and oral semi-structured interview (Appendix 5) data collected from Nigerian migrants in Australia and who have studied and lived in Australia before returning to live in Nigeria. The data were collected through surveys and oral interviews over a twelve-month period from September 2015

to September 2016. Nigerian skilled migrants, who participated in this study, work and reside in different towns and cities across Australian states and territories. Forty-five skilled migrants (33 males and 12 females) and two Nigerian diplomats completed the survey. Twenty migrants were further interviewed to gain more in-depth understanding of their lived experiences and attitudes regarding non remittances practices, termed in this thesis as diaspora capital, and their trans-national activities (individual and institutional). The use of surveys and semi structured interviews in this study resulted from the understanding that participants are the vessels of knowledge needed to answer the main research questions (Babbie, 2016; Bryman, 2012). The face-to-face interview provided the researcher with an opportunity for interaction with respondents, observe their tone of voice and non-verbal languages.

The researcher used an interview schedule that contained questions about various topics to be discussed with the respondents. Questions contained in the interview schedule were carefully worded with detailed sequence and constructed based on the theoretical conceptions of the research topic and subsequent analysis of interview transcripts. The researcher continually clarified the meanings of the answers according to the various themes used in the result and discussion chapters of the thesis. These interview guides were modified as appropriate for each participant depending on their occupation, interest, and involvement in professional skills transfer to Nigeria. Cores of opened questions were used in the interview guides and the list of topics to cover during the interview session. The responses from these interviews were transcribed and used as data for the analyses of the study. Semi structured in-depth, interviews were held in respondents' office and work place environments because these were more quiet and conducive environments. Interviews were recorded on an audio recorder. The researcher also took notes of the important discussion during the interview (Bryman, 2012).

Recorded conversations helped to complement the natural limitations of human memories and the intuitive glosses that researcher might say during an interview. Recorded interviews provided a medium for the researcher to repeatedly examine the responses of the participants after the face-to-face interview session. Furthermore, audio recording of the interview allows the data to be reused for future research. Recorded interviews were written as interview transcripts (Bryman, 2012). These transcripts were reviewed for specific responses of participants.

Consistent with the social capital theoretical framework of analysis, surveys provided a means for feedback and a suitable technique for understanding diaspora capital, skills transfer and capacity development. The semi structured interview allowed for flexibility around research questions and provided a depth of meaning through the verbal account and face-to-face interactions. Semi structured interviews allowed the researcher to pursue areas not previously included in interview guides (Babbie, 2016; Bryman, 2012). Semi structured interviews and a theoretical interpretivist research paradigm were suitably placed within social capital theory.

4.7. Memoing and data analysis

As part of the research process memo writing was used throughout the fieldwork and data collection process. Memo writing is a reflective process that is used to record theoretical thoughts about interviews, participants and emerging categories as well as data collection tool (Charmaz, 2008; Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006). In combination with the tape recordings and notes taken during interviews, separate summaries were written for each session. At the end of the field work all digital transcripts were read and the broad ideas, words and phrases that appeared frequently in the notes and memo were identified as likely themes to be used in this study (Charmaz 2008; Mills et al. 2006). Memo writing helped the researcher to identify the themes that emerged from the

fieldwork and how they developed. The researcher used memo writing to identify which themes were important and facilitated on going comparison between the beliefs and actions of participants of the study.

The researcher carried out the post-interview stages of the data collection process. This post-interview stage involved working on the recorded interviews and feedback from the surveys. This process involved transcribing, analysing , verifying and reporting the responses obtained from the participants of the research. The researcher transcribed written oral conversations into written text in the form of transcripts. Transcripts were used for data analysis. Transcribing interviews from audio recording to text involved a series of technical and interpretational issues, and the researcher stated explicitly the comments and expressions of the respondents (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009).

Through a review of the analytical memo notes, questions that arose were included in subsequent guides and were answered with further data collections. A thematic approach was used for data analysis. Braun and Clarke (2006) defined a thematic analysis as a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns with a data set. The researcher decided to use a thematic approach as it provides for an accessible and theoretically flexible approach to analysing qualitative data (Babbie, 2016). A thematic approach provides a flexible and useful research tool that can potentially provide a rich, detailed and complex account of research data. The researcher was able to use thematic analysis to answer the research questions in the study. Patterns of diaspora capital, trans-national migration, skills transfer and capacity development of Nigeria were explored through the rigorous process of data familiarisation, data coding and theme development and revision of identified themes in the study (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Themes used in this study were arrived at following a rigorous data review process involving recorded tape analysis, listening to digitized audio files, reviewing memos and continuous reading of

interviews transcripts. The identified themes, which consistently recurred across both trans-national and returned migrants, are presented below

Table 4.3. Themes identified amongst skilled migrants in Australia (Research data 2016)

Themes	Sub-themes
1. Diaspora capital	Cultural capital (work experience, academic qualifications, values, skills, knowledge, and expertise). Financial remittances. Social capital (social networks, digital social capital, bridging, bonding, and linking social capital).
2. Mode of professional skills transfer	Professional visit to Nigeria, volunteering and partnership with non-governmental organisations (NGOs), coaching and mentoring, international conferences.
3. Challenges that impede the use of diaspora capital for capacity development	Lack of basic social infrastructure, corruption. Public sector corruption and abuse of powers and political instability.

The research themes listed in Table 4.3 relate to Nigerian diaspora capital of skilled migrants in Australia and the transfer of relevant professional skills of these migrants for capacity development of Nigeria. Theme one discusses the diaspora capital of the Nigerian diaspora. The second theme identifies the various modes of skills transfer from the diaspora to Nigeria for capacity development.

4.4. Themes identified amongst returned migrants

Themes	Factors
Determinants of return migration and re-integration of returned migrants	Visa restrictions, scholarship and funding agreements, job availability in Nigeria, family reasons, and starting a business.
Modes of professional skills transfer	Work place interaction, media and public enlightenment, seminar and conferences, research, and development.
Challenges to professional skills transfer	Lack of supportive technical expertise, different work ethics, resistance to change, modification of skills to suit the Nigerian context.

The first theme discusses the various factors that facilitate return migration and the re-integration of returned migrants. Some of the reasons identified in this study that motivated return migration include visa restrictions and scholarship funding, starting a business in Nigeria, family commitment, and the prospect of employment in Nigeria. The second theme examines returned migrants directly in relation to their accumulated diaspora capital and its various modes of professional skills transfer. Some skilled returned migrants indicated that they could transfer their skills in their work place by increased engagement with the public sphere to increase capacity development.

4.8. Ethics approval

The Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) of the University of New England, Armidale New South Wales was contacted for human ethics approval before collecting data for the project. HREC reviews ethics applications involving human participants to ensure that they are ethically acceptable and in accordance with relevant standards and guidelines. The aim of the ethical review is to address ethical issues and possible minimise risk of harm to the researcher and participant. Risk is the potential of harm that includes physical, social, economic, legal, psychological, social or spiritual harm (Babbie 2016). Research participants are identified as a valuable part of the research process and not merely a means of collecting research data. For example, this research may pose psychological and social harm to participants considering their migration and assimilation experiences in Australia.

Ethics from the University of New England (Ethics number HE15-180) were approved for this research. The researcher ensured that the wishes of respondents irrespective of age, class or ethnic group were always respected (Babbie, 2016; Marvasti, 2004). Several steps were taken prior to, during and after the fieldwork and data process commenced. The researcher was concerned with the ethics in social research and the researcher's

responsibilities established while investigating the experience of the participants. Engaging in fieldwork required establish formal protocols, which outlined the ethics to be observed in voluntary participation. Information sheets and consent forms were created according to the University of New England's guidelines (see Appendix 8 for ethics approval).

4.9. Consent and information forms

Consent forms were used to include information about the study and the researcher as well as contact details for queries and complaints (Babbie 2016). Participants of the study reviewed and signed consent forms before the taking the surveys and interviews (see Appendix 7). Participants acknowledged that they were aware of the possible risk involved in participating in the research, and within the consent form was an assurance of a level of confidentiality and anonymity. In addition, the consent form also stated the proposed duration of the interview, which is between 45 minutes to 1-hour interview session.

Information sheets gave participants general descriptions of the project, how the interview would be conducted and how information gathered will be used. Participants were also informed that taking part in the study is voluntary. This means that participation is not as a result of inducement, coercion or pressure to participate in the study. Therefore, participants are to wilfully decide if there would like to participate in the study (Crotty, 1998; Curtis & Curtis, 2011).

4.10. Summary

This chapter discussed the methodological approach used in this study. The researcher explained in details the research process and the data analysis process. Participants of this study were chosen using purposive sampling. The researcher used a thematic approach to answer the research questions and also to relate with skilled migrants' lived experiences, views and perceptions on diaspora capital, trans-national migration and capacity development. This qualitative study examined the data by themes in order to examine the deeper meaning embedded in the respondents' replies to semi-structured interviews. As a sociological analysis of the lived experiences of two Nigerian diaspora cohorts, this research adopted methodologies consistent with this type of research and analysis (Crotty, 1998; Curtis & Curtis, 2011)

The researcher discusses the use of surveys and semi structured interviews as tools for data collection. Surveys and interviews were used to generate authentic data while encouraging shared self-disclosure and free expression for the participants of the study. The important themes identified in this study are developed in chapter five and chapter six.

Chapter Five

The Nigerian Diaspora in Australia: Results and Discussion Part 1

5. Introduction

This chapter introduces the cohort of the Nigerian diaspora surveyed and interviewed for this research. It begins with an overview of the survey data that demonstrates the various forms of capital held by the cohort. This is followed by a discussion of the practice of capital accumulation that has occurred since the cohort arrived in Australia. It informs the previous discussion of social capital and in this chapter notes the hindrances in acquiring further capital and in transferring existing capital. Following this is a brief discussion of financial remittances. While this is not the primary focus of this study, it is informative in understanding diaspora remittances in general, and noting the complex values surrounding remittance practices. It is also informative in understanding why financial remittances are neither sustainable nor make a direct contribution to Nigerian capacity development. As this thesis indicates, it is in the transfer of non-financial diaspora capital that presents clearer evidence that capacity development in Nigeria can be realised.

Beginning this discussion is a thematic overview of the data extracted from the survey and interviews conducted as the primary research component of this thesis. Three core themes, and their respective sub-themes, were identified from the interview and survey transcripts of forty-five participants and two Nigerian government officials who took part in the research.

The profiles of participants in this study show that there is substantial Nigerian diaspora capital in Australia that may be harnessed to enhance social progress and economic development in Nigeria, overall contributing to capacity development. The breadth and depth of skills and diversification of experience constitute an invaluable form of institutionalised social and cultural capital for the Nigerian government to utilise for the capacity development of Nigeria.

5.1 Nigerian diaspora capital

After Nigerian migrants arrive in Australia they acquire new skills and competencies, such as better English language skills, work place skills and entrepreneurial skills. This study elaborates on the skills acquired, positing it as diaspora capital accumulation. The skills, or capital, of the diaspora surveyed and interviewed for this research are outlined and considered as capital that can be contributed towards capacity development in Nigeria. Respondent 44 is a good example of this. He arrived in Australia in 2005 as a PhD student and also did postdoctoral research in Australia. He is currently employed as a university lecturer in Australia. He resides in Melbourne (Victoria). Respondent 44 said this about his skills and experience that he has obtained in Australia and the use of these skills to Nigeria.

I have acquired some skills from studying and working in Australia, which include teaching, research, and academic administration skills. These skills are beneficial to Nigeria because it is a developing country. Nigeria needs the sets of academic and professional skills that I have to enhance the capacity development of its large population.

Likewise, respondent 43, an engineer who is employed in the energy production and qualities control sector in Australia, obtained his bachelor degree from the University of Lagos in Nigeria. He came to Australia on a student visa in 2013 and studied a Master's

Degree in Engineering at the University College London School of Energy and Resources in Adelaide (South Australia). Respondent 43 had this to say about their skills and the benefits of these skills to Nigeria.

I have acquired skills in energy production. My skills will benefit Nigeria because electricity is a major driver of social and economic growth globally.

Respondent 38 is a quality control officer in Australia. Respondent 38 resides in Mildura (Victoria). He also came to Australia on a student visa and studied a Master's Degrees in Petroleum Engineering and a Master's Degree in Applied Project Management at the University of Adelaide (South Australia). Respondent 38 had this to say about the skills he has acquired in Australia

The skills I have acquired while working and studying in Australia will be useful in the oil and gas sector in Nigeria.

Respondents 37, 3, 10, 45, 19 and 33 are all skilled Nigerian diaspora members, who work in the healthcare sector in Australia. Each discussed the benefit of their skills in various economic sectors in Nigeria.

Respondent 37 is a laboratory technician, who migrated to Australia on a student visa in 2009. Respondent 37 works full time with Austin Pathology in Melbourne (Victoria). She acquired a degree in biomedical sciences in Nigeria before coming to Australia to study a Master of Laboratory Science at RMIT in Melbourne (Victoria). Respondent 37 has since acquired skills in disease diagnosis. She gave an elaborate description of the skills acquired in Australia and its relevance for the capacity development of Nigeria when she remarked that:

My skills will benefit Nigeria because disease diagnosis and patient treatment are areas in which my country is not developed. Many people die without the knowledge of what illness they have, due to lack of resources, my skills will help people to manage their health conditions better.

Respondents 3, 10 and 45 are medical doctors. Respondent 45 is a medical doctor who resides in Coffs Harbour (New South Wales). Respondent 45 obtained his medical degree from Nigeria and arrived in Australia in 2005. He migrated to Australia for better career prospects and economic stability. He stated that he enjoys providing medical care to clients in regional areas. Respondent 45 attained the fellowship of Royal College of General Practitioner in Australia, practice-based training and accreditation of previous medical training both from Nigeria and Australia. Respondent 45 commented about the skills he has obtained in Australia and its benefits to Nigeria.

The skills I have obtained in Australia will benefit Nigeria, these skills can be used to offer evidence-based medical care and organised healthcare delivery, my skills will also improve primary healthcare delivery because the benefit of preventive medicine has been ignored; instead of going to primary healthcare centres, patients in Nigeria are seeking specialist treatments.

Similarly, respondent three is a medical doctor who arrived in Australia in 2005 and resides on the Gold Coast (Queensland). This respondent is of the opinion that primary care is under-developed in Nigeria and he thinks his skills can help improve the delivery of primary health care in Nigeria.

My skills will help develop primary health care centres to deal with grass roots medical illness and minimise the need for secondary and tertiary care of patients.

Respondent 33 is a psychiatric nurse who resides in Shepparton (Victoria) with skills, knowledge and expertise in psychiatric and mental health nursing. He arrived in

Australia in 2005 and did three months of work placement to gain full registration to practice and then completed a Master's Degree in Mental Health and a Diploma in Drug and Alcohol Counselling. He further discussed the relevance of his skills to Nigeria:

One of the major things lacking in Nigeria is leadership and management. My skills can be used to fill this gap particularly in the area of policy formation and clinical practice guidelines in mental health practice.

Respondent 19 is a registered nurse who arrived in Australia in 2010. She currently works as a registered nurse in an aged care facility. She obtained a Bachelor of Nursing from the University of South Australia. She said the most rewarding part of her job is being able to reduce infection and help the elderly to achieve independence. She also identified her skills and expertise in infection control and its relevance to improving healthcare in Nigeria. She said,

My skills in nursing and infection control are useful to Nigeria because infection control and nursing is a global concern due to the rate of mortality, as a result of the spread of infection. My knowledge of infection control can help reduce this fatality.

Babawale (2008, p. 28) argues that skilled Nigerians of the diaspora have acquired skills in a range of professions such as medicine, law, business, politics, governance and administration. According to Babawale (2008) skilled Nigerians also have diverse social capital, experience, knowledge, skills and expertise that are needed for African capacity development. Babawale (2008) identified the need for more government engagement to harness the diaspora capital of migrants. Babawale (2008, p. 29) suggested more government involvement with Nigerian diaspora groups could facilitate professional skills transfer and capacity development.

Conway et al. (2012) identified that migrants do contribute to capacity development of their countries of origin through the diffusion of social capital and social remittance. Conway et al. (2012) expand the definition of social remittances to entail skills, knowledge exchange, ideas and practices. Generally, it is considered that the African diaspora have a role to play in the facilitation of generation and distribution of knowledge from the diaspora to enhance capacity development in their countries of origin (Zezeza, 2004). Grabowska and Garapich (2016) in a multi-sited qualitative study in Sokolka, Pszczyna, Trezebica and the United Kingdom identified migrants' social remittance practices and defined social remittance to include the transfer of ideas, skills, practices, codes of behaviour, values and norms between their country of origin and destination. Grabowska and Garapich (2016) also agreed that migration presents an opportunity for skilled migrants to acquire new ideas and professional skills in their new environments.

Levitt (2001a) shared a similar view that migrants contribute to development through social remittances. Levitt (2001a) studied migrants from Mira Flores, who have migrated to Boston, and found that migrants not only bring back financial remittances but also social remittances in terms of new skills or enhanced skills that are used for the development of their country of origin. According to Levitt (2001a) migrants' new skills play a major role in entrepreneurialism, community development and political integration. Levitt (2001a, pp. 59-63) identified three different types of social remittances migrants brought back to Mira Flores that include normative structures, systems of practice and social capital. Migrants' social capital is transmitted through migrants' social networks across their countries of origin and destination countries.

Data from this research shows that migrants' professional skills obtained in Australia can be transferred to Nigeria through various virtual and professional networks. Amagoh and Rahman (2016) studied the Nigerian diaspora in developed countries and suggested that Nigerians use their knowledge, skills and expertise to contribute to capacity development of their country of origin through various measures. Measures identified by Amagoh and Rahman (2016) include migrants' social networks and associations that are used to transfer skills to Nigeria without necessarily returning to Nigeria. They act to create awareness on national issues and democratic ideas, improve healthcare and education through civil societies, financial remittances and enriching the tertiary education sector in Nigeria through collaborative research and student exchange programs with universities in the United States of America.

5.1.2. Hindrances to further diaspora capital accumulation

Data from this study have shown three levels of utilisation of diaspora skills and institutional cultural capital in Australia. First, some skilled Nigerians are able to get into their preferred professions on arrival in Australia, thereby improving on their already acquired cultural capital. For example, respondent three, a medical doctor in Frankston (Victoria), who arrived in Australia in 2001, had this to say about the process of utilising his institutional cultural capital obtained from Nigeria in Australia.

As a foreign trained medical doctor, trying to qualify to practise in Australia is difficult, especially if you are coming from a developing country like Nigeria...You have to take some qualifying exams both in Nigeria and in Australia. If you are able to pass the exams then you start work in the regional areas like Shepparton in Victoria working in the hospital emergency unit...And after a while if you want to become a general practitioner, you also have to take the required training and qualifying exams together with your years of experience in

Australia...However, there is a career limit you can attain as a foreign doctor. Like you can't qualify to become a specialist in some fields of medicine like thinking to become a cardiologist because they have reserved that for Australian...people fail the exams based on flimsy excuse like the examiner will tell you I don't understand your accent, you don't have the requirement. We have done our best we hope it works better for our children because they have the Australian accent...

Extracts from the interview with respondent three shows the tedious process foreign medical doctors undergo in order to utilise their foreign education and accreditations and avoid deskilling, hence wasting their cultural capital. The medical profession, and many other skilled occupations are stringently regulated in Australia. The highest standards of regulation are imposed on the medical professionals, requiring them to pass several exams before they can practise their profession in Australia. Further restrictions are placed on becoming a specialist in particular fields of medicine. However, the few Nigerian doctors who are able to qualify are only able to attain their first jobs in regional areas because regional areas with low population areas have shortages of medical personnel in Australia. Respondent three is hopeful that his children and future generations can attain better career status because they are born in Australia and have Australian accents.

Embodied cultural capital such as accents, skin colour, and overall appearance of migrants are markers of distinctions that separate migrants from Australians (Bauder, 2003; Erel 2015; Kivunja, Kuyini, and Maxwell, 2013; Cederberg, 2015). These factors may form the basis of discrimination in the workplace and place migrants in a disadvantaged position, as migrants are sometimes perceived as foreigners who have come to Australia to take the jobs of Australians (Bauder, 2003; Kivunja, et al. 2013, Cederberg, 2012, 2015). The interview with respondent three has shown that migrants'

embodied cultural capital can hamper their access to skilled employment, especially having a different look and accent (Kivunja, et al., 2013; Robison, et al. 2002).

Cederberg (2015) in a study of racism, discrimination and ethnic inequalities amongst Bosnian and Somalian refugees in Sweden identified migrants' embodied cultural capital as a major factor relating to migrants' integration and ethnic discrimination in Sweden. Cederberg (2015) identifies that the inability of immigrants to draw on previous educational qualifications from their countries of origin is a major impediment to getting skilled employment in Sweden. Employers in Sweden request Swedish-specific educational and work experience which migrants do not have.

Some respondents in this study had to change their professions in Australia so they could secure employment, for example, respondent 16, a dentist who arrived in Australia in 2013 with his wife and two children. This respondent identified his reasons for migrating to Australia as the need for security of life and property. He had this to say about his change of profession to become a social worker in Australia,

After my masters of public health at the University of Adelaide, I tried doing the qualifications necessary for me to practise as a dentist in Australia. I started the courses but it was too long and a tedious process to have my previous qualifications from Nigeria, recognised by the regulatory body... so I opted out and took a master in social work degree. Similarly, my wife is a Veterinary Doctor from Nigeria but she could not meet up with the requirements to validate her qualifications so she can practise in Australia so she took a degree in nursing from Flinders University and she is now working as a registered nurse at the Queen Elizabeth Hospital in Adelaide. So we just had to pick the professions that are easy to get into.

Similarly, respondent 42 a computer science teacher from Nigeria who arrived in Australia in 2010 and resides in South Australia had this to say about her change of profession,

I was a qualified computer science teacher in Nigeria with a degree in teaching. I was teaching in a high school: when I came to Australia my sister advised that I study a certificate three in aged care in Adelaide so I can get a job in an aged care facility. I was able to work as an aged care worker while I studied a nursing degree. I finished my nursing degree October 2015. I now work at a Lutheran aged care facility as an aged care nurse. I changed my career from teaching to nursing because that is where the jobs are in Australia for migrants and most Australians are reluctant to become a nurse because they believe it is a less paid job, long shift hours and very tedious.

The non-recognition of Nigerian qualifications in Australia constitutes a significant devaluation of the skilled diaspora's institutional cultural capital (Bauder, 2003). Some members of the Nigerian diaspora in Australia make attempts to pursue the accreditation of their qualifications but discover that the process is technically prohibitive and restricted to Australian trained personnel and very expensive. Migrants sometimes retrain in fields like community/social work and nursing where they could more easily secure employment. Some are also of the opinion that acquiring an Australian qualification is a strategy to gain access to the Australian skilled job market. Migrants acquire more academic qualifications to obtain skilled employment. Bauder (2003) shares the view that skilled professionals who migrate suffer de-skilling and non-recognition of their foreign educational qualifications in Canada. Bauder (2003) identified the devaluation of migrants' overseas education and work experience as an institutional barrier to labour market integration amongst Canadian migrants. As a result of these barriers migrants are faced with occupational down-grading, meaning migrants may be forced to switch careers and experience loss of status (Bauder, 2003).

Lastly, some respondents in this study identified that they have not secured any formal qualifications in Australia but are satisfied with the acquisition of economic capital. These sets of skilled migrants are of the opinion that acquisition of economic capital is

crucial and the exchange rate between the Australian dollar and the Nigerian currency is enough achievement. These members of the diaspora are happy doing less skilled jobs such as being disability support workers, aged care workers and taxi drivers rather than acquiring more education so they can get into skilled jobs. For example, respondent 32 had this to say,

I was a lecturer in a polytechnic in Nigeria (similar to TAFE in Australia) I could not cope with concluding a PhD in Australia, I thought I will rather focus on a full-time job as a Disability Support Worker as I get more money than working as a lecturer in Nigeria.

Similarly, respondent 30 has lived in Melbourne (Victoria) for seven years and has been working as an aged care worker. She had this to say:

I have lived in Australia for 7 years and I did my Certificate Three in Aged Care and I have enjoyed working in various aged care facilities in Melbourne. I use to work, as a scientist in Nigeria but the jobs here in Australia for migrants is care worker because Australians do not want to do the aged care job. I enjoy the job because I make more money as aged care worker in Australia than a scientist in Nigeria. When I send the money home I can build a house and have investments and live better than people who have never worked in Australia.

Kelly and Lasis (2006) agree with respondent 32 and respondent 30. A migrant's institutional cultural capital can be devalued through the process of migration but economic capital can provide an investment in the broader cultural capital of a migrant's family network. Kelly and Lasis (2006) examined Filipino migrants in Canada and discovered that the economic capital accumulated by these sets of migrants from a low status job in Toronto can be converted into substantial financial cultural and social remittance if evaluated in a transitional space given the Philippine national economy's reliance on financial remittances. Migrants' diminished cultural capital of a degraded

occupation in Canada can be measured against enhanced financial remittances when sent to the Philippines and evaluated in a trans-national Habitus. Currie (2007) discussed the non-utilisation of migrants' cultural capital as a process of deskilling and a waste of already accumulated cultural capital. Grabowska (2016, 2017) identified that if migrants do not obtain skilled jobs, migrants learn several other skills in destination countries, which includes the ability to interact with people from diverse cultures, thus enabling communication and non-verbal skills.

Trans-national conversion of Australian dollars to the Nigerian Naira serves as the main motivation for these sets of skilled workers to remain in Australia and take up low skilled jobs (Conway et al., 2012). Currency conversion and the pressure of sending financial remittances to Nigeria explain many migrants position in the lower segments of the Australian labour force (Kelly & Lusic, 2006). The significance of economic capital in Nigeria and the acquisition of financial remittances explains why skilled members of the diaspora are able to endure deskilling to get better wages by taking low skilled jobs in Australia rather than returning to Nigeria to do professional jobs. When the economic capital is being evaluated in a trans-national context its worth is far higher when sent to Nigeria as financial remittances.

5.2. Diaspora practices of financial remittances

Primary research data from this study have shown that the Nigerian diaspora remit funds for a variety of reasons. While the focus of this study is primarily on forms of non-financial remittances (as diaspora social capital), it is informative to understand the complexity of the diaspora experience when living away from their country of origin.

For this reason, a brief discussion of financial remittances may be insightful. Further insight may be gathered because it informs decisions made by the diaspora about employment, education and wage labour. That is, in some instances it is evident that some of the diaspora will not engage in capital accumulation, rather they will rely on wages from less skilled employment in order to continue to contribute to development in Nigeria.

The Nigerian diaspora send financial remittances for a number of reasons that include financing education, daily family upkeep and social security, special occasions such as weddings, funerals, business development, investing in real estate, buying properties as well as investing in residential accommodation (Jeremiah 2017; Hernandez-Coss & Bun, 2007). Financial remittance is a strong factor when a Nigerian decides to migrate. For example, when the researcher asked respondent 25, a Nigerian who resides in Brisbane (Queensland) about sending financial remittances to Nigeria to support his family, he had this to say about sending financial remittances to Nigeria,

I don't send money to Nigeria for Christmas or New Year celebrations. I only send my hard-earned money when it is necessary like helping my siblings start up a business, pay rent for their shops or pay school fees. I also send money to my parents who are retired...because we don't have a social welfare system in Nigeria

Respondent 25 is of the opinion that he only sends money to Nigerian on certain occasions usually for a specific purpose. Respondent 25 only sent money to his vulnerable parents to meet their subsistence needs. In contrast, respondent 28, a researcher and a social worker who resides in Armidale (New South Wales) shared his view about sending financial remittances to Nigeria:

I send money to Nigeria on a fortnightly basis from my income for family upkeep. I am trying to complete our house in Nigeria. My children are also in Nigeria and I send them money for their daily upkeep every month... I also send money for the payment of their University fees in Nigeria...I recently sent money to a friend whose wife has been sick...To me a major part of my fortnight earnings goes into sending financial help back to Nigeria.

To further discuss the essence and benefit of financial remittance to Nigeria respondent 37 averred that:

I don't have too much money because I am a single parent. But I sent some money over to Nigeria recently to support my brother's International English Language Testing System (IELTS) test. I also send money to my parents during Christmas. I am also trying to raise some money to buy land in Ilesha, my hometown in southwest Nigeria.

What emerges from the participants' view in this study is that the Nigerian diaspora in Australia send money to Nigeria for a range of reasons that includes both short-term and long-term investments in properties and to enhance business ventures in Nigeria. In this sense, financial remittances take the form of enhancing development outcomes. To invest in Nigeria while they live in Australia and to enhance capacity development through the reduction of poverty experienced by family members and friends left in Nigeria, are aims that posit micro and macro level advancements.

Due to poor standards of education in public primary and secondary schools in Nigeria, individuals send their children to privately owned schools, which are expensive. Parents and relatives abroad sometimes pay these school fees. These provisions arguably provide enhanced opportunities for those that benefit. Financial remittances are not only used for consumables, they are also used for business development. These funds are used for initial business capital in Nigeria and help sustain existing businesses. Nigerian diaspora members contribute to the economic development of their homeland through Foreign

Direct Investments (FDIs) and trans-national entrepreneurship. This includes support for existing entrepreneurs and setting up small businesses in Nigeria. Yet, as argued in this research, the diaspora can also combine skills, knowledge, social, and professional networks they have cultivated abroad thus yielding important advantages for economic development in Nigeria. Financial remittances to Nigeria aid capacity building and also facilitate human capital formation mainly by improving access to education (Kelly & Lusia 2006, p. 840).

The Nigerian diaspora also sends financial remittances to Nigeria for short-term needs. Some of these financial remittances are for family upkeep, to cover daily meals and subsistence expenses such as food, clothing, medicine and rent. Financial remittances are also sent to help the elderly and people with disabilities. Some vulnerable people are dependent on their relatives overseas. Data from this study show that the Nigerian diaspora send money with specific aims, generally family welfare needs. Rahman and Fee (2012) identify that financial remittances are meant to be a continuous practice, not a one-off financial transaction, but a recurrent practice that happens regularly between migrants, family and friends in countries of origin. This is not evident in this research.

Financial remittances are also sent to Nigeria for special occasions. Nigerian special occasions such as wedding and funerals are very expensive as these ceremonies are celebrated over two to three days, and they attract a lot of people (Hernandez-Coss and Bun, 2007). These ceremonies are also rich displays of the Nigerian culture. Therefore, money is sent to Nigeria by the Nigerian diaspora in Australia to support these important occasions. For example, respondent 23 and respondent 36 supported this view:

I sent money to Nigeria for my son's wedding. I was very surprised at the huge budget even though we planned to have a quiet wedding ceremony. However, that can't be possible in our Nigerian Yoruba culture as there is a standard that is meant to be followed: no father is ready to give his daughter out in marriage, for less than the requirements of the bride price and three days wedding ceremony...I also had to send money to Nigeria during the Muslim festivities for my children and daughter in law to buy new clothes (Respondent 23).

I had to attend my grandmother's burial in 2014. I also had to send my financial support for the occasion. As you know occasions like weddings and funerals require the contribution of family members because we do not practise the western world idea of funeral insurance (Respondent 36).

Elaborate celebration of significant events such as weddings and funerals is a significant part of Nigerian culture. These events normally attract a guest list of close to a thousand people and an invitation is not a pre-requisite to attend these ceremonies. It is necessary to involve family members who reside overseas in financing these celebrations as a source of support. Significant events involve a lot of vendors such as chefs, live band music, and fabric makers who need to be paid. The Nigerian diaspora sends financial remittances to support these significant occasions, evidence of their material connections to Nigeria.

Lianos and Pseiridis (2014) identified altruism as the main motivating factor for financial remittance. Migrants prioritise the welfare of family members and friends in countries of origin and, in their opinion, remittances should be considered in the context of family and a source of income for families. Remittances are seen as an implicit contractual agreement between migrants and their family members. Kurien (2008) in an extensive ethnography study in Kerala, India and the Persian Gulf discovered that religious and cultural activities are motivating factors for sending financial remittances to their

countries of origin. Financial remittances sent to origin countries are increased during Muslim and Hindu festive periods to support families financially during the festive season. Kurein (2008) also discovered that financial remittances are used for the payment of wedding dowries in these countries. Therefore, the poor economy of origin countries is not the only motivating factors for sending financial remittances. Religion and cultural factors of a migrant's origin country may also be a motivating factor.

Financial remittances are more effective than foreign development aid in Nigeria (Legrain, 2006; Skeldon, 2008). Financial development aid is channelled through the Nigerian government for various development projects such as the eradication of poverty and to meet the needs of vulnerable groups such as women and children. However, large portions of financial aid are spent on administrative costs, and financial development aid is wasted through corrupt government administration and leadership, leaving little of the money received for expenditure on development projects. The corrupt attitude of the Nigerian government officials makes the utilisation of foreign development aids less effective (Legrain, 2006; Skeldon 2008).

In this context, financial remittances may be more effective because they end up in the hands of the recipients and are used to meet the needs of specific projects within the recipient's household. However, financial remittances as investment or business transactions, as is often the case, can blur the distinction between altruism and profit seeking (Arango 2004; Legrain, 2006; Skeldon, 2008). However, there are still community benefits in these cases. For example, expenditure on consumption for housing construction has an important multiplier effect through the creation of local employment and demand for local building products. In the case of household-based altruism; expenditure for food also creates economic capital for farmers supporting the

agricultural sector of the economy. As a generality, financial remittance as used for household consumption or investment can contribute to building short-term economic capital in the Nigerian economy. It is however, diaspora capital – or non-financial capital that is likely to deliver capacity development and provide long-term sustainable solutions to Nigeria.

It is therefore difficult to conclude that financial remittances are sufficient to replace the loss of skills and cultural capital to the economy of Nigeria. This is because financial remittance may not be sustainable in the long term because it creates a level of dependency on handouts. Therefore, to examine the Nigerian diaspora in Australia as solely a source of financial remittances represents a myopic view of the potential two way benefits of the emigration of skilled migrants. The Nigerian government has adopted a wide range of policies represented in the Nigerian in the Diaspora Organization (NIDO), Nigeria National Volunteer Services (NNVS) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD). These policies were designed to purposely tap into the human and social capital of the Nigerian diaspora. Discussing the impact of financial remittances on Nigeria, a retired Nigerian Ambassador, asserted:

Financial remittance has played a major role in Nigeria. Families survive on remittances from the diaspora; remittances have also been used to set up small businesses. When a family has a child in Australia and the child is able to send them \$AUD1,000 using the money transfer organisation rate of today, that it about N270,000...diaspora can also be used as development agencies to set up non-governmental organisations that contribute to capacity development in Nigeria.

The discussion with the retired Ambassador on the benefits of financial remittances to Nigeria shows that the government of Nigeria recognises that financial remittances play a major role in the Nigerian economy. Financial remittances are external funds that can

be identified as foreign investments in the country and are not affected by the economy of Nigeria. However, respondent one, a financial adviser, has a different view about the impact of financial remittances on recipients of these remittances. In his own opinion, he had this to say:

I send money to Nigeria when it is really necessary because in my own personal opinion it creates some level of dependency on people in the diaspora. Some relatives will not make a realistic financial plan within their budget. As a result, they will need more financial support apart from their regular income... They tell you I can phone my brother in Australia to send me money. I keep wondering if they forget that the same brother who resides in Australia has his own family and financial commitments. They need to be taught to be financially independent and not relying on some money from abroad... financial remittances are important, but we have to empower people, not just to unnecessarily depend on others to send them money, there is a need to make people in Nigeria more financially independent.

Jadotte (2009) supports the view of respondent one on financial remittances. Jadotte (2009) recognised that financial remittance can create negative incentives if they are perceived as a permanent source of income. Jadotte (2009) relates the reduction in working hours and labour market participation in Haiti to dependence on financial remittance. Jadotte (2009) argues that financial remittances create dependence. Exploring the relationship between financial remittances and other household income helps to show if remittances create dependency in Nigeria. Nigerian households that receive financial remittances do not totally depend on them as they still keep their paid jobs (Hernandez-Coss & Bun, 2007, pp. 41-43). However, there are a lot of concerns that the salaries paid to workers in Nigeria are very low. The minimum monthly salary paid to government workers in Nigeria is N18, 000, that is, less than \$AUD60. In addition, these salaries are not being paid regularly as people are owed backlogs of wages; further, these salaries are not sufficient to meet financial commitments. Another

reason for dependency on remittances is because a significant number of university graduates are unemployed in Nigeria (Aiyedogbon & Ohowofasa, 2012). The Nigerian Bureau of Statistics has estimated that in 2016 the unemployment rate was 13.9 percent. Hence, some Nigerians are in need of financial remittances from relatives in the diaspora to supplement their monthly income.

Remittances sent to Nigeria don't replace household incomes. Households do not solely depend on financial remittances, rather financial remittances help supplement family income. Remittances are considered as one of the drivers of developing economies but sometimes they have negative effects. For example, remittances can drive inflation at local levels, specifically the price of land and properties as Nigeria has a very volatile and unregulated black-market for the sale and purchase of foreign currencies. This creates more purchasing power for people from the diaspora to buy properties while the locals suffer from the income discrimination created by financial remittances sent back to Nigeria (Legrain, 2006).

5.3. Professional skills transfer practices and capacity development

The interview data sourced for this research indicates that some members of the Nigerian diaspora have attempted to transfer their diaspora capital to Nigeria via direct and indirect methods of professional skills transfer. It is in this rich data that it becomes evident that diaspora capital – that is non-financial capital remittances – of skills, knowledge, expertise, technical services, business practices, governance capabilities, sector skills (mining, healthcare, communications etc.,) are flowing from Australia to Nigeria in a largely unregulated and ad hoc way. What is also evident in this data is that the purveyors of non-financial diaspora capital – as opposed to financial remittances, are

strongly grounded in the view that it is leading, and will directly lead, to capacity development outcomes.

Some of the methods identified in this research for the transfer of diaspora capital to Nigeria by the Nigerian diaspora in Australia are found in professional return visits to Nigeria, mentoring and coaching, volunteering and partnership with local NGOs, and attending international conferences with Nigerian colleagues. Indirect modes of professional skills transfer to Nigeria are evident in the use of the Internet to build social capital. The clear aim of these skills transfers, as identified in this primary data, is to contribute to the capacity development of Nigeria. For example, respondent 33, a psychiatric nurse in a mental health facility in Shepparton (Victoria), and respondent 17, a lecturer and life coach in Adelaide (South Australia), who is also the President of the Nigerian Association of South Australia, both suggested the processes of professional skills transfer and social remittance that might benefit capacity development of Nigeria, in their own view:

The Nigerian government needs to start by actively organising the professional skills in the diaspora that involve people of like minds and professional inclination and actively get in the local organization and government agencies in Nigeria involved in capacity development projects (Respondent 33).

My country would benefit from the transferred knowledge that can be adopted to suit the Nigerian context, new ideas, technology, and medical practice. This can be carried out if professionals are interested in volunteering, working holiday, visiting lecturers, consultancy with developmental groups, participating in government, business activities and participation in boards and committees' decisions (Respondent 17).

The responses from these respondents show that there is still need for diaspora engagement by the Nigerian government. There is need for the Nigerian government to

provide a platform to transfer knowledge and skills that are critical elements for the capacity development of Nigeria. Via the transfer of knowledge and skills the diaspora influences capacity to develop new ideas, produce goods and services. This study further examines various modes of professional skills transfer to Nigeria.

Professional visits to Nigeria in the context of this study mean that the Nigerian diaspora who reside in Australia should go to Nigeria to spend some time working and transferring their knowledge and expertise to professionals in their country. The work performed while in Nigeria can either be voluntary or paid work but the short-term return of these skilled professionals must be sustainable. This implies that members of the skilled diaspora must return with sufficient financial, human and social capital to contribute to capacity development.

The members of the Nigerian diaspora interviewed for this research consider they are making a positive impact on the development of their country of origin because of their professional skill transfers that seek to establish new businesses, employment, improve the economy and make a sustainable long-term contribution towards improving civil society. For example, respondent 20 is an engineer and a real estate professional and was able to transfer his professional skills through professional visits to Nigeria. He went back to Nigeria to work for a period of six years. He stated that:

I worked in Nigeria between November 2009 to July 2015 I left Australia with my immediate family (my wife and two daughters). I worked in Nigeria with a large team to deliver what I think is the best mobile network in Nigeria with Etisalat communication company in Nigeria. I am a very hands on person; I led a team of technicians, and I was able to transfer my skills to the technical brainstorming session and made team members responsible for the project. Team members were responsible for the project by giving them various bits of the work to do, I promoted both individual and team work.

Respondent 20 has been able to show a positive impact on three levels of capacity development. Respondent 20 contributes to individual development through hands on experience of telecommunication projects. Respondent 20 was also able to impact on individual knowledge through enlightenment and teaching teamwork to achieve results. Respondent 20 also contributes to organisational capacity development by improving the technological sector through transfer of his technological skills. Respondent 20 contributes to societal capacity development by providing better communication services to the Nigerian community.

Respondent 27, a registered nurse and a health services manager, contributes to the healthcare sector in Nigeria by owning and running a foundation and hospital. He disclosed that:

Medic Angel is a charity foundation and a hospital. We have Medic Angels' foundation, where we get donations from people and provide free healthcare service to Nigerians who cannot afford our services. We also have the hospital that is a commercial venture. We established the hospital to meet the needs of Nigerians and provide world-class standard delivery of healthcare services. The hospital also provides homecare-nursing services in Lagos Nigeria especially for people with aged parents. We regularly recruit some healthcare support workers to help senior citizens in their homes. Some Australian partners fund our foundation. The foundation started in 2014, the foundation is registered as a non-governmental organization in Nigeria and currently has 12 people as beneficiaries of its scheme, and recipients of these services are identified through schools and religious organizations. The hospital currently has ten full-time staff on its payroll (doctors, nurses, a facility manager and an accountant.). I visit Nigeria at least three times a year for professional visits.

Respondent 27 contributes to capacity development through improvement in healthcare provision enhancing the health of Nigerians. Respondent 27 also contributes to the Nigerian economy through the provision of jobs for healthcare workers and bringing

about a range of valuable skills to contribute to capacity development in the Nigerian healthcare sector. Respondents 10 and 45 are both medical doctors. They visit their colleagues in Nigeria to discuss the latest medical techniques and technologies with them and help them with suggestions on improving healthcare delivery in Nigeria.

Trans-national activities of the Nigerian diaspora in recent times have complemented returned migrants as an asset for capacity development. If Nigerian-born skilled migrants do not eventually return to their home country, the commitment, cultural capital and social capital of migrants living in Australia can still be used to contribute to development in Nigeria through the various means of skills transfer and a range of trans-national activities that help contribute to capacity development in Nigeria. Levitt (2001a) agrees that visits to a migrant's country of origin provide a medium for professional skills transfer and the transfer of social remittances for capacity development. Levitt (2001a) identified the crucial role that a migrant has played in the development of Mira Flores during their visit, through the renovation of a school, building new homes, school and healthcare centres.

Grabowska and Garapich (2016) identified migrants as agents of professional and skills transfer. Grabowska and Garapich (2016) argue that migrants transfer new culture, business skills and new language skills, ideas and practices. Grabowska and Garapich (2016) argue that migrants returning to Poland with better nursing skills help contribute to improved healthcare delivery in Poland. Therefore, migrants' trans-national activities link migrants to origin and destination countries. Some skilled professionals examined in this study also transfer their skills through volunteering and partnership with non-governmental organisations (NGOs) (Adebanwi, 2005).

Respondent 45 and respondent two, who are medical doctors, have identified that they work with NGOs in Nigeria to do medical mission work in the eastern part of the country. Respondent 45 and respondent two, along with other healthcare professionals, started the Ifunanya Foundation Medical Mission (IFMM). This medical foundation started in 2010. IFMM is a Christian faith-based non-governmental organisation. Their activities in Nigeria spread through remote areas in the Imo, Ebonyi and River states of Nigeria. IFMM works with villages and community heads to identify the needs of people in the community and provide services within their reach. Respondent 45 had this to say:

We do an annual medical mission to Nigeria towards the end of the year. Through that we give back to the society and transfer our professional skills to Nigeria for the improvement of healthcare services. We travel to remote areas with several other professionals such as nurses, evangelists, and dentists to do our voluntary work. We also partner with the Nigerian Christian Medical and Dental students of the University of Calabar. Supplies for these medical missions are from Australia, The United States of America and some are sourced locally in Nigeria. We usually attend to around 600 patients, donate free reading eyeglasses, clothe the poor and give some utility supplies to prison inmates. We have a lot of challenges on this project such as funding, mobilisation of professionals to help with the medical mission, and also security problems while on the field. However, we are encouraged to do this by the smiles and the relief we bring to people through our charitable deeds.

The respondents to date are examples of trans-national migrants who live across two different countries, and who transfer their skills to Nigeria for capacity development through volunteering. They are citizens of Australia but still maintain their ties to Nigeria. These trans-national migrants participate in social and economic activities to enhance societal capacity development in Nigeria. Research data used in this study has shown that volunteering activities and partnership with NGOs enhance the activities of skilled migrants and impact positively on various sectors of the Nigerian economy.

Diasporas deploy a range of resources in the service of development and humanitarian relief particularly during the Ebola outbreak in West Africa (Pailey, 2017). The World Health Organisation (2018) reported 28,616 cases of Ebola and a death toll of 11, 310 across West Africa. The diaspora provided human, financial and social capital to limit the effect and the spread of the disease (Chikezie, 2015). Medical practitioners from the diaspora went back to West Africa to provide professional support to the health care sector and help reduce the mortality rate. Members of the diaspora were able to deploy resources to stop the spread of the disease and work on the recovery of the healthcare system. Maxmen (2018) argued that the Ebola crisis in West Africa motivated the Nigerian government to establish a public health agency to reduce the spread of the disease. The Nigerian government strengthened the Nigerian Centre for Disease Control. Maxmen (2018) argued that the response to the Ebola outbreak provided the needed background and capacity to help diagnose and track the spread of Lassa fever in Nigeria in early 2018.

Putnam (2000, p. 117) argues that altruism, volunteering and philanthropic activities are a central measure of social capital and constitute a major aspect of civic responsibility. An assessment of social capital should include trends in volunteering, altruism and philanthropic activities. According to Putnam (2000, p. 117) volunteering reinforces community bonds, and networks of social connections by contributing at a societal level to capacity development, in turn helping vulnerable members of the community. These activities foster social networks, norms of reciprocity and place emphasis on the social welfare of vulnerable members of the society.

Orozco and Zanello (2009) consider migrants' philanthropic and capacity development activities as a desire to maintain their cultural identity and contribute to society building. Migrant volunteer activities help to maintain relationships with local communities and retain a sense of community. Migrant volunteering activities target vulnerable populations such as children, the elderly and women. Voluntary activities by migrants address a range of problems such as public infrastructural development, maintaining schools, water works, education and healthcare. Orozco and Zanello (2009) attribute migrant volunteering activities to culture, family links and the need for capacity development of their country of origin.

Respondents 44, 23, and 31 are university lecturers who work and reside in Australia. They are also trans-national migrants as they live their lives across two countries. Respondent 44 said about his efforts in transferring his professional skills to Nigeria:

I have been able to transfer my skills by teaching students and supervising research students from all over the world, that includes Nigeria.

Respondent 31 stated that:

I transfer my skills through teaching and international conferences and sending my publications to Nigeria to enhance students' knowledge in the field of agriculture.

Respondent 33 is a psychiatric nurse. He identified the International Association of Psychiatric Nurses of Nigeria (APNN) as his medium of professional skills transfer. He said:

My engagement with the International Association of Psychiatric Nurses of Nigeria (APNN) has afforded me greater opportunity to be involved in professional skills transfer. The membership of this organisation is global and skills transfer to Nigeria and across Africa is the main objective of this organization; in the last ten years, I have been involved in organising specialized training, workshop and annual

conferences for colleagues back in Africa, through which I have been able to impact them with knowledge in the field of psychiatric nursing.

Respondent 18, also a lecturer stated that:

I have transferred my skills to Nigeria through medical student exchange programs. I support international students that come over for short-term courses in Australia; some of these courses are Australian government sponsored. These courses are both hands on and practical. They take the knowledge they have gained back to their country and utilise it in the medical sector.

Amagoh and Rahman (2016) acknowledge that the Nigerian academic diaspora contributes positively to academic development in Nigeria through their engagement in teaching and research activities in Nigeria. This diaspora has helped with the development of student syllabus, teaching, research and university administration. The Nigerian diaspora has also facilitated partnership between the Kennesaw State University (United States of America) and the University of Ibadan (Nigeria) for student exchange and collaborative research. This collaboration in education between Nigeria and the diaspora contributes to capacity development (Amagoh & Rahman, 2016), hence the activities of skilled migrants facilitate capacity development.

Respondent 35 is a management consultant and the president of the Nigerian Society of Victoria with experience in Australia and the United Kingdom. His mode of professional skills transfer is mentoring young Africans globally. He stated:

I transfer my skills to Nigeria and Africa by mentoring young Africans. I am actively involved in two Africa youth mentoring groups (Fitrah and Incubate Foundations) in Melbourne Australia. Although these groups are Australia based, we mentor African youths globally. In these groups, we mentor African youth with a range of skills, knowledge, and expertise to support their development in their career progression, entrepreneurial skills, leadership skills and family relationship skills.

Fitrah and Incubate Foundation are mentoring groups for young Africans in Australia. These groups give young Africans a positive outlook to life and the society. Fitrah is a social enterprise that helps young Africans who reside in Australia find meaning and purpose through building their social and professional network. Fitrah focuses on vulnerable people such as migrants. The aim of Fitrah is to promote multiculturalism and cultural awareness in Australia.

Respondent 17, a nurse and a life coach who resides in Melbourne (Victoria), transfers her skills through coaching in life skills.

I have been to organisations including banks in Nigeria to speak on staff motivation in the workplace. I also have an extraordinary passion for motivating women to help them build marriages and careers because of the gender inequality in my country Nigeria. Women should not only be relevant in the kitchen and raising children, but women should have a career and bring in some income into the family.

Similarly, respondents 26 and 22 are ministers of religion and they have both transferred their skills to Nigeria. Respondent 26 said:

I have counselled people working in palliative care to ensure they provide the right support for clients towards their end of life journey.

While respondent 22 was of the opinion that:

I transferred my skills through teaching from the Bible and admonishing people in the parish, where I worked as a priest before migrating to Australia. I also ensure that I create a general awareness of the value of peaceful dialogue.

Furthermore, besides using the internet as a medium of professional skills transfer to Nigeria, the primary data collected for this research has shown that Nigerian migrants

are actively transferring their skills to Nigeria and globally. This research has also shown that skilled migrants use various methods of skills transfer. The various, methods of skills transfer include visits to Nigeria, establishing charity foundations, business ventures, mentoring and coaching people in Nigeria and globally.

5.4. Nigerian diaspora groups in Australia and diaspora capital

The Nigerian diaspora in Australia internally generates its social capital through bridging, bonding, linking, and digital social capital (Putnam, 2000). Social capital in this context has helped create an outward-looking approach. This outward looking approach is developed through the relationships that exist between members of the diaspora and bridging social ties outside the diaspora. Data from this research show that these four forms of social capital exist and have developed simultaneously within the Nigerian diaspora in Australia. The Nigerian diaspora in Australia exhibit Coleman's (1988) idea of social capital that is dependent on co-ethnic ties as the basis for bonding and bridging social capital (Coleman, 1988).

Migrant trans-national activities are also a form of bridging social capital. Therefore, social capital theory is relevant to diaspora issues especially to the diaspora contribution to development in origin and destination countries. Social capital emphasises the attention to the specific networks and connections that members of the diaspora share among them and the special ties and trans-national emotional connections migrants maintain with their countries of origin (Fukuyama 2001; Garip 2008; Gittell & Vidal 1998). This study has shown that the Nigerian diaspora has a positive impact on Nigerian development through various efforts and by means of professional skills transfer to Nigeria.

Similarly, the Nigerian diaspora in Australia also displays Bourdieu's (1986) idea of social capital. Bourdieu (1986) separated social capital into two parts: the social relationships that allow individuals to claim access to resources possessed by their associates; and social groups with reproducing mechanisms through which an individual could generate and access social benefits (Bourdieu, 1986). Applying Bourdieu's idea of social capital, primary data from this study identifies the Nigerian diaspora in Australia as a source of social networks and mutual support. Identifying the Nigerian diaspora as a social network with its own social capital a retired Nigerian ambassador had this to say:

Nigeria diaspora group can be identified as a professional social network with its own social capital. It is structured along six main diaspora groups in each capital and territories in Australia. There are also sub groups that are divided along ethnic and religious lines. These religious sub-groups are important because these churches and places of worship have a similar mode of worship to the ones we practise in Nigeria. It creates some form of ethnic and religious bonds between its members... The Nigeria diaspora groups in Australia are more like a network of skilled professionals that migrated to Australia to work and attain a better standard of living.... The Nigeria diaspora groups in Australia have been very beneficial to Nigeria. There are several medical doctors, professors, registered nurses and engineers working in Australia. These Australian diaspora groups also provide social support for their members. I am aware of diaspora members supporting a family in Melbourne through loss and grief.

The Nigerian diaspora promotes Nigerian identity in Australia. Nigerian diaspora groups are also a source of emotional, social and professional support to their members, and help migrants get through the challenges they experience on arrival in Australia by providing crucial information on housing, children's education, and migrant social and welfare support. Zontini (2010) studied Italians in the United Kingdom and discovered that migrants' families, social networks and co-ethnic group provide significant support

in settling into the United Kingdom. Social capital for these Italian migrants is a source of information and generates norms and effective sanctions. According to Zontini (2010), people of Italian origin are involved in a variety of social networks based on kinship ties and ethnic relations that are depicted by closure of these groups, presence of trust and maintenance of norms, value, solidarity and cooperation amongst people of Italian origin. Portes and Sensenbrenner (1993) suggest that migrants' solidarity in the form of social capital possesses two distinctive analytical elements. First, an emergent sentiment prompted by the experience of being lumped together with a common identity as foreigners, subject to the same discrimination by the host community. Second, a common cultural memory brought from their countries of origin, which comprises similar customs, mores, culture and language.

5.5. Bonding social capital: Nigerian diaspora in Australia

Bonding social capital refers to the relationship between family members, close friends, and neighbours that an individual can leverage for economic and material gains (Putnam, 2000). These strong intra-community ties give families and communities a sense of identity and common purpose. Migrants use the support from bonding social capital to settle within Australia and enhance their individual capacity development through the acquisition of beneficial social networks, which can enhance their career and social and economic lives (Autarsi 2000; Portes, 1998; Sobel, 2002; Tzanakis 2013). This form of social capital helps people to build a sense of communal security, support and solidarity and shared identity and culture. This relationship between migrants is characterised by norms, values and benefits developed by the diaspora (Baum & Ziersch, 2003).

The Nigerian Diaspora Association constitutes a safety net that members can use when needed. This is because family and friends, as well as the common nationality of being a Nigerian, represent a valuable asset to its members. The Nigerian community in Australia is also a social group that supports each other in family emergencies such as grief and loss processes, or babysits children while parents are at work, or lend emergency cash to one another. Mutual trust and social cohesion are also embedded in the Nigerian community. This shapes action in every business transaction and more fundamentally group activities such as raising funds; paying membership dues and helping members get jobs, with the preceding activities involving a level of trust. Trust within the community has also led to reciprocity where members do not expect favours in return which is guided by norms of reciprocity (Putnam, 2000).

To illustrate the use of bonding social capital in Nigerian diaspora groups in Australia, respondent 36 is a pharmacist who arrived in Australia in December 2006. His uncle who migrated to Australia four years earlier than him was his main motivation for coming to Australia.

I have an uncle who has lived in Adelaide for over 12 years. He is married to an Australian citizen. He motivated me to come, and live with him in Australia. He helped me with all the admission processes to get into Flinders University, where I did my first degree in laboratory science. My uncle was a good source of support through my migration process, and he helped me out to settle in Australia. I lived with his family for a while, and I helped to look after their kids while he and his wife were at work particularly during school holidays.

Similarly, reflecting family ties and the significance of bonding social capital in the Nigerian community in Australia, respondents four and 37 are sisters and they are used as an example of bonding social capital. Respondent 37 had this to say:

My sister invited me to Australia at first to help babysit my niece in 2006 while she and her husband were at work. I stayed with her on a tourist visa for six months. After then I went back to Nigeria. I then applied for a student visa and I migrated to Australia to study laboratory science. My sister with the support of her husband paid for my studies, and I lived with them in Melbourne. I remember my sister had to work two jobs while I was studying and looking after the kids. She also helped sponsor my wedding in Australia. Unfortunately, the marriage did not work out as it failed due to our irreconcilable differences and on the grounds of domestic violence. My sister provided all the necessary support through the divorce process, and she was the only reason I didn't become homeless and end up in a women's shelter.

Respondents 15 and 41 are also sisters. Replicating bonding social capital within diaspora groups, respondent 41 arrived in Australia in 2006 while respondent 15 came with her family in 2011. At the interview with respondent 41, she had this to say:

I had to bring my sister to make a living for herself and her family, as we don't understand the way the Nigerian economy is going. My sister came over to Australia as an international student. I suggested she studied nursing to make her application for a permanent visa easy because it is a course on the skilled migration list. But she could not stand working in the hospital environment. So we did more research, and she opted to study masters in social work degree from the University of Flinders in Adelaide. Also, my younger brother migrated on a temporary work visa, that is a regional sponsor visa, in 2014. He studied agriculture at the University in Nigeria and was helping my father on the farm till my dad passed away in 2013. The farm work became very unsafe for him because there was dispute over the farmland and there was also threat to his life. So, I encouraged him to apply for a South Australian regional sponsor visa. My brother now lives in Adelaide

Likewise, respondents 16 and 18 are very close family friends. They met at a diaspora group meeting in Adelaide (South Australia). Respondent 16 asserted,

He loaned me \$5,000 when I needed to pay my University fee as an international student, with the trust that I will refund it later.

Putnam (2000) described social trust as essential criteria for social capital within a social network. Putnam (2000) views social trust as a valuable community asset. Individual levels of social trust are determined by social stratification in society and personal life experiences. Primary data from this research has shown that social capital is developed and manifested in diaspora groups in Australia as a social network, which facilitates migration and settlement of individuals in Australia. This process contributes to individual capacity development, as skilled migrants are able to obtain better education and economic capital, and this improves their cultural capital through the acquisition of skills and professional development (Putnam, 2000). Nigerians in Australia are using bonding social capital as a safety net to support each other and derive social and emotional benefit from this relationship. Bonding social capital is represented in the development of smaller close knitted relationships between members of diaspora groups.

The views of participants in this study reflect awareness of trust, norms of exchange and reciprocity as essential elements of social capital. Cherti (2008), in a study of Moroccans in London, identified a high level of bonding social capital through mutual support and trust within its members. Despite tensions between members of the community its strength as a whole resides in a sense of solidarity. Mutual support within the group is shown through assisting each other in times of crises and celebration. For example, members give financial support to each other in times of crises and there was also a collective community fund raising after the earthquake in Morocco in 2004. The funds raised were used to help victims of the earthquake (Cherti, 2008).

Bonding social capital involves close durable relationships resulting from shared resources of social and emotional support. These close knit groups may also disconnect members from important information. Members may sometimes be excluded from

information about the wider Australian society. Therefore, bonding social capital is sometimes categorised as negative social capital leading to closed ethnic enclaves that prevent the flow of information, while bridging social capital encompasses solidarity and community identity (Putnam 2000, pp. 21-22). This identity contributes to developing a sense of efficacy and professional advancement and a need for migrants to express their identity. Bridging social capital is also facilitated through Internet-based organisations, that is digital diaspora, and through professional network sites (Putnam 2000, p. 21).

The emergence of organised diaspora communities in Australia constitutes social and cultural capital. The cost of migration decreases with the existence of a network abroad that helps migrants to discover opportunities in destination countries and provide support on arrival in destination countries. Furthermore, a network of family members abroad can contribute to migration as it provides a route through family reunion. Bonding social capital contributes to individual capacity development as it provides the social and professional networks for Nigerian migrants to settle in Australia, obtain jobs and generate economic capital which can be sent back to Nigeria as financial remittances (Coleman, 2008).

There is a level of social cohesion and mutual trust as suggested by Putnam (2000), which varies, depending on if it is bonding or bridging social capital. Nigerian diaspora groups foster both bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding and bridging of social capital are essential for sustainable development and to facilitate the production of social networks outside the Nigerian diaspora. Nigerian diaspora groups are widely recognised as an important source of migrants' social capital. This network facilitates migration and settlement as well as the maintenance of migrants' trans-national lives.

Interfacing both forms of bonding and bridging social capital helps migrants develop trans-national identities. Skilled Nigerian-born migrants in Australia establish social ties with other Nigerians. These social ties help migrants in making social connections and assistance to overcome cultural shocks when settling in Australia. Migrants gradually establish new webs consisting of Nigerians and other foreigners through which migrants build bridging social capital. Migrants build bridging social capital through visits to Nigeria, contact with people residing in Nigeria, through telephone, mail, sending financial remittances to assist family and friends and memberships of professional and social associations which link migrants to their origin and destination countries. These relationships that migrants form across Nigeria and Australia establish a platform for social capital and enhance the transfer of financial, cultural capital, and professional skills for the capacity development of Nigeria (Village et al., 2017).

However, some Nigerian migrants who reside in Australia have identified that they do not belong to diaspora groups. In their opinion diaspora groups only represent the self-interests of the diaspora group leaders. At the interview with respondent eight, he averred that:

I have not joined the diaspora group, because I haven't seen any benefit they have to offer. They will rather waste funds on celebrating Nigerian independence parties rather than help international students who are experiencing financial difficulties with their tuition fee, I think there are a lot of problems with the management of the diaspora organisation. So, in my own opinion I will rather not associate myself with a diaspora organisation while in Australia.

Similarly, respondent five offered:

I don't identify with the diaspora groups in Victoria because in my opinion there are several managerial problems.

Extracts from the interviews with respondents eight and five have shown that diaspora groups have their own challenges and some migrants do not associate with diaspora groups in Australia. Some skilled Nigerian migrants have expressed reservations about joining diaspora groups as people compete against each other and may be very reluctant to pass on information about migration processes and job opportunities in Australia. For example, respondent seven, a Disability Support Worker had this to say about helping new Nigerian migrants obtain jobs and the settlement of new migrants in Australia:

When our Nigerian people come over here, they are always looking for jobs because of their financial conditions in Nigeria. I like to help get jobs but I recently learnt my lesson about helping people where I work, because some Nigerians will want to take over your job from you. They start to monitor how many shifts you get a fortnight and calculate how much money you get paid a fortnight. These Nigerians are new working in the organization; they do not consider that you have been working longer than them. So in my own opinion if you don't want their problems don't help them get jobs where you work, let them go find jobs with other organisations or Jobs Australia can help them find jobs.

Paul (2013) in a study of Filipino migrants in Singapore gave a range of reasons why Filipinos don't help each other secure jobs in Singapore. Some of the reasons identified in this study include prior negative experiences of helping other migrants secure jobs and low commitment level of those to perform well at the jobs. In addition, Paul (2013) also identified that migrants prefer to help close family members secure a job because it helps reduce poverty in the family rather than other members of their migrant cohort. Nigerian diaspora groups can either be examined as diminishing social capital and capacity development or contributing to the development of Nigeria through transfer of technology, financial remittances, social remittances and migrants' cultural capital. Discussing the negative impact of diaspora on capacity development (Aigbinode, 2011)

identified that the Nigerian diaspora has helped finance terrorism and related groups through sending of financial remittances to aid their activities. Some of the groups identified by Aigbinode (2011) include the Biafra movement and the Niger Delta conflicts in the oil producing areas of Nigeria. Respondent seven has expressed her opinion about using diaspora networks to obtain jobs in Australia. According to respondent seven her opinion about helping other Nigerians changed because of her personal experience of work place rivalry and breaches of confidentiality about how much income she earns as a Disability Support Worker.

5.6. Bridging social capital: Nigerian diaspora in Australia

Bridging social capital within the Nigerian diaspora links people based on a sense of collective identity because they share the same identity as Nigerians (Putnam, 2000, p. 22). There are also communal ties, which are based on a sense of identity, religion, class, ethnicity, gender, and social status. The Nigerian Society of Victoria has a slogan that says, “*We are better together*”. This implies that they believe in the unity and support that the diaspora group provides for its members.

The various Nigerian groups in Australia celebrate Nigerian Independence annually, which is the 1st of October. This event brings Nigerians together from within the different states in which they reside. Nigerian independence celebrations provide an avenue for the rich display of Nigerian culture, art, music and dance in Australia. The events of Independence Day are focused on the role of the diaspora in facilitating capacity development of Nigeria through the promotion of Nigerian entertainment and the tourism industry in Australia. This form of social capital serves as a source of interaction and information sharing as it is loosely formed to engage Nigerians from diverse religious and ethnic groups. Nigerians also come together at group meetings as

an assemblage within a social network. Therefore, bridging ties link different members. Bridging social capital can also be related to a positive form of social capital leading to integration and social mobility of migrants with a positive influence on both the origin and destination countries of these skilled migrants (Beames & Atenco, 2008; Blakeley, 2002; Koniordos 2008). According to Ferguson, Salominaite and Boersma (2016), skilled migrants accumulate social capital through international ties amongst their host countries and expatriate communities. Accumulation of social capital improves access to important information related to scarce resources such as employment opportunities. Skilled migrants also draw on social capital deriving from their countries of origin and are encouraged to use their professional networks for capacity development (Ferguson, et.al, 2016).

Although the Nigerian community did not intend to foster business relations because they were formed to provide social and emotional support to Nigerians who reside in Australia, yet Nigerian diaspora groups in Australia play a role that cannot be underestimated, especially in skills transfer to their origin country (Faist, Fauser & Reisenaur, 2013). This is because some Nigerian migrants are trans-national migrants who maintain strong relationships with their country of origin through social and financial remittances that contribute to various relevant sectors of the Nigerian economy (Levitt, Dewind & Vertovec, 2003). For example, illustrating bridging social capital as a form of transfer of professional skills for capacity development, respondent 27, a registered nurse and trans-national migrant, said:

I am a health services manager and registered nurse by occupation. I work for Eastern Health Hospital in Melbourne Victoria. I have worked in this role for four years. I have obtained relevant skills that can be used in any hospital anywhere in the world. I own a hospital in Nigeria called Medics Angels. The skills I have acquired in Australia include

healthcare management, and critical care, clinical judgment skills, and clinical assessment skills that I have been able to transfer as social remittances to the Nigerian healthcare industry. These skills have helped improve health care delivery in Nigeria by providing medical services at world class standard. I have also contributed to the economy of Nigeria, through the provision of jobs for healthcare workers. I visit Nigeria at least three times a year for professional, family, and holiday visits. Through these visits to Nigeria, I have been able to transfer my skills to the healthcare industry for capacity development of my country.

Similarly, reflecting the importance of bridging social capital as a means of professional skills transfer and the transfer of information, respondent 20 is another example of a trans-national migrant who resides in Melbourne (Victoria). He said:

I am a Telecommunication engineer by profession; I have worked both in the United Kingdom and in Hong Kong. I am passionate about my job, and the most rewarding aspect of my career is that it provides me with life and work balance and enables me to spend time with my family. I relocated to Nigeria with my family in November 2009 to June 2015 to do a contract job with a telecommunication company called Etisalat in Nigeria as an engineering director. I was excited about the opportunity to serve my country and the experience it will afford my family because my wife is Australian, so I thought it was a good opportunity for my family to experience life in another country. I was able to impact my knowledge extensively on my teammates through projects we did together. I use *LinkedIn* for professional networking and keeping in touch with my ex-colleagues.

Both respondents 20 and 27 have shown interest in maintaining ties with Nigeria that gives them a sense of identity as a Nigerian migrant who resides in Australia. Respondent 20 relocated to Nigeria for a period of six years. Within the six year period he wanted his family to experience Nigerian culture and language that also might give his children a sense of belonging as Nigerians. Identifying the need for children to learn about Nigerian culture in Australia has led to the creation of Nigerian language associations in Victoria. This group teaches children how to speak the Nigerian language

and also to cook Nigerian meals. The aims of these language groups are to pass on the norms and values of the Nigerian culture to children of Nigerian-born skilled migrants who reside in Australia.

Respondent 27 has transferred his skills to the healthcare sector, while respondent 20 has contributed to the telecommunication sector through professional skills transfer and bridging networks of skilled Nigerian-born migrants. Respondent 27 has established a hospital in Nigeria and has some professionals working to provide healthcare services to patients using its services. Respondent 27 visits Nigeria occasionally to transfer his skills. Respondent 20 relocated to Nigeria with his family for a period of six years. Both respondents transferred their skills by travelling to Nigeria to work and contribute to capacity development. Therefore, this study has shown that it is through bridging social capital ties that information and professional ideas can most effectively reach professionals in Nigeria.

Relocation of expatriates to Nigeria helps facilitate organisational and societal capacity development in Nigeria, as skilled migrants are able to physically transfer their skills to contribute to the development of various sectors of the economy. However, a major limitation in this move is that it involves a large sum of money. Due to the depreciating value of the Nigerian currency (the Naira), some expatriates request to be paid in foreign currency equivalent to the amount they earn in developed countries. Some will also require modern technologies that are not available in Nigeria to do their jobs.

The United Nations Development Programme and the United Nations Volunteer Scheme introduced the Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals programme (TOKTEN) and the Return of Qualified African Nationals (RQAN). The objective of

the scheme is to facilitate capacity building of origin countries of skilled migrants. The United Nations also saw professional skills transfer as crucial to bridge the gap between developed and developing countries. TOKTEN is an innovative mechanism used to identify and recruit qualified expatriate nationals from the diaspora to serve in key capacities where there are shortages of the skilled.

In 2001, the Nigerian government participated in the TOKTEN program. Nine hundred skilled Nigerian diaspora professionals were engaged in capacity development (Mayah & Yusuf, 2011). These professionals made a significant impact on the energy sectors, as there was a recommendation for the improvement of electricity supply in Nigeria. However, the Nigerian government soon recognised that to promote diaspora engagement, there is a need for a virtual online program to connect and maintain relationships between the expatriates with Nigeria. Virtual online programs help reduce the cost to expatriates and their families relocating to Nigeria.

Respondent 13 is also an example of a trans-national migrant who is currently using the ideas, skills, and innovation he acquired in Australia to start up his business in Nigeria. He is able to transfer these skills with the use of the Internet, explaining the use of bridging social capital as a means of professional skills transfer for the development of Nigeria. At the interview with him he had this to say:

I just concluded my PhD in Australia...I recently got a grant from Tony Elumelu foundation in Nigeria. It's called a start-up grant of \$USD5,000. I did a proposal and my idea was from Australia's real estate industry. So, I am currently working on a real estate website in Owerri, Imo state of Nigeria. I have contacted owners of properties who will like to rent out to students or people working in Owerri. These landlords will like their properties to be enlisted on the website, I am doing this with a friend who resides in Nigeria. He can do the logistic sides of

things while I do the technical aspects of the job... So, we are estate agents and we book dates for inspection of properties with prospective tenants, if these prospective tenants like the property we draw up the rent agreements and get our commission from the landlord. I just thought this was a good idea and a one-stop shop for any student or university worker who needs a good accommodation in Owerri.

The above professionals have used bridging social capital to facilitate various means of skills transfer that contribute to capacity development of the Nigerian economy through improving the healthcare sector by creating a hospital and healthcare foundation where people can access better provision of quality health care services. Also extracts from the interview with respondent 20 have shown his contribution to providing better telecommunication services in Nigeria. Telecommunication services facilitate the development of trade and services through the use of the Internet and mobile phone for business and daily interaction with people.

Bridging social capital helps to generate broader identities and reciprocity by linking up with people and helps the free flow of information diffusion across a wider network that includes the origin countries of migrants. As a result, bridging social capital is advantageous because it refers to the extent of out-group relationships. Bridging social capital also refers to relationships that cross-demographic divides such as class, age and ethnicity (Putnam, 2000). It extends further than the immediate circle of family members, friends, neighbours and reaches out to build relationships with people in the wider communities such as distance friends, colleagues and broader social and professional networks.

The analysis of bridging and bonding social capital has a significant influence on the way in which the capacities of online interactions have been perceived and evaluated. Bonding and bridging social capital facilitates the use of digital social capital. Digital social capital provides for the use of the internet to facilitate new forms of social and professional interactions with existing ties, new ways of developing an individual social network and recovery of old professional and social networks.

5.6.1. Digital social capital

The members of the Nigerian diaspora in Australia have developed significant bonding and bridging social capital, reciprocity, and solidarity among themselves. The rapid growth in the use of communication technologies by skilled migrants who reside in the diaspora is a promoted trans-national activity for skilled migrants (Bennett & Segerber, 2012; Kittilson & Dalton, 2011; Jiang & De Bruijn 2014; Kissau & Hunger, 2010.). The use of professional networking sites has strengthened social ties to create a trans-national social field that contributes to the growth of social networks. Professionals use e-mails, instant messaging devices or professional and social network platforms to communicate with their families, friends, and colleagues as well as unknown people (Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe 2007; Ellison, Steinfield & Lampe 2011; Penard & Poussing, 2014). All Nigerian professionals surveyed in this research use the Internet as a means of communication. However, their level of activity varies between daily, weekly, fortnightly or monthly visits to professional networking sites. Social capital is not limited to a coalition of groups and organisations but also professional social network sites. Dekker and Engbersen (2014) suggest that digital social capital facilitates migration, with the Internet as a central facilitator for organising and promoting collective actions

for ethnic, linguistic and migrant welfare. Kperogi (2011) focused on the Nigeria diaspora in the United States of America and the influence of the Internet in civil engagement. Kperogi (2011) highlighted the role of the Internet in facilitating communication and civil engagement of Nigerians in capacity development through their online engagement and professional skills transfer.

Kperogi (2011) argues that the federal government of Nigeria is paying attention to civil engagement activities on the Internet. Nigerians in the diaspora rely on the Internet for their local newspaper access. Kperogi (2011) also highlights the role of the Internet in facilitating communication and civil engagement by participating in political debates, sharing migration experiences and contributing to capacity development by sharing professional knowledge and skills over the Internet. Kperogi (2011) argues that digital social capital plays a major role in encouraging civil engagement and accessing online newspapers and discussion forums such as the *Nigerian Times* newspaper, the *Nigerian Village Square* and *Sahara Reports*.

Online interaction affects an individual's stock of social capital. People can share their knowledge in an online network specifically through professional networking sites (Boase, Horrigan, Wellman & Rainie 2006; Fernback 2007). Some of these sites range from *Linked In*, *Young Professionals*, and *Research Gate*. This study has shown that skilled diaspora professionals have used professional networking sites for social and economic benefits. Participants in this study were asked if social networking sites had been useful in enhancing their social capital through the accumulation of cultural capital and expanding their social network. They were asked to identify the benefits of using social networking sites. Some of the benefits from using professional networking sites

in this study included the building of professional networks as a means of professional development, client sourcing and a site for seeking job opportunities.

Twenty-four participants in this study stated that they use professional network sites to build their own professional network. Internet users through e-mails, instant messaging and social networks communicate and share their professional knowledge, not only with family and friends or colleagues but also with unknown professionals having a similar career. Respondent 20 had this to say about his use of professional networking sites to build his own professional network:

I have worked as a Telecommunication Engineer in Hong Kong China, United Kingdom, Australia and Nigeria. Professional networking sites such as LinkedIn help me share my knowledge, connect and interact with professional colleagues all over the world. I have also been able to use LinkedIn to interact with my ex colleagues in countries where I have worked.

The primary source of depreciation of social capital is when people move to another geographic location, because they tend to lose contact with professional networks and their colleagues. Moreover, migration tends to weaken social ties with friends, neighbours and colleagues in the origin country (Cummings, Richards and Huysman, 2006; Hopkins, Thomas, Meredyth, & Ewing, 2004; Julien, 2015). However, the Internet can limit this depreciation by facilitating contacts with geographically dispersed friends or acquaintances. Despite migration, it is possible to maintain strong ties across a long distance with the use of the Internet as a means of communication. The Internet can also be a convenient means of meeting new acquaintances and creating virtual sociability with people (Hooghe & Oser 2015; Julien, 2015). Professional networking sites such as *LinkedIn* has over 300 million users. *LinkedIn* is equivalent to an online resume and it helps to show individual professional work experience and academic qualifications,

hobbies and career interests of migrants. This professional networking site also host thousands of online professional groups enabling professionals to build their professional networks within their respective niche.

Keles (2015) studied the linkages between social capital, diasporas and the Internet through research on the Kurdish community in London and agrees that migrants build social capital through virtual online communities. Keles (2015) identified the crucial role of the Internet, specifically social media, plays in building networks and accumulating social capital within the Kurdish community in London. Keles (2015) attributed the rapid growth of the community and its social network to the use of satellite TV and the Internet, and specifically social media as a medium of information transfer to members of the Kurdish community. Keles (2016) disclosed that *Facebook*, *Twitter*, *LinkedIn*, *MySpace*, and *Skype* have created a trans-national social field that contributes to the growth of migrants' social networks, social capital and political participation. Users were able to obtain vital information about migration, job opportunities, accommodation, settling and integrating into their new environment through the use of the Internet. Before the use of the Internet for communication Nigerians in the diaspora used bulletin boards in the various high commission offices (Odotola, 2010). With the introduction of the Internet people are able to communicate on several discussion forums such as *Naija Net*, *Naira Land* and *Google*-based discussion groups on issues ranging from immigration, politics, political conflicts and the development of Nigeria. Odotola (2010) observed these Nigerian forums from 2000 to 2008 and discovered that there was an increase in communication on these forums during Nigerian political election periods and Nigerian independence celebrations. Odotola (2010) observed that the Internet is used in these peak periods to examine civil engagement and assess the political participation of Nigerians.

Five participants in this study decided that they use professional networking sites as a source of professional development that enhances their individual capacity development. Professional development involves resources in the form of online short courses or international conferences that are relevant to individual professional development. Information is exchanged, and they reinforce the relationships that exist within these Internet groups. For example, respondent 20 discussed his use of the Internet as a source of professional development.

I find the Internet as indispensable, there are so many online short courses that I have been able to do on the Internet. This has helped broaden my knowledge. I have also added these courses to my resume to enhance my job search.

Furthermore, digital social capital serves as a unique resource that provides information and contributes to the acquisition of specific skills. Online social interaction enhances a medium of sharing skills and knowledge (Cummings, et al. 2006; Hopkins, et al., 2004; Julien, 2015). Through online social interactions, individuals make expressions of social capital that specifically effect and extend their relationships. A major advantage of the use of the Internet is the reduced geographical distance and the accessible means of getting information at a very low cost. Communication with other professionals is easy and can be done with a mouse click. Skilled Nigerian-born professionals can easily communicate globally through text messages, e-mails and videos. For example, respondent 13 had this to say:

I coordinate a non-governmental organisation called life-excel in Nigeria. I am a personal development coach and an idea strategist. I have a drive for excellence in career and relationship. I am interested in young people and personal development so I usually organise workshops and seminars for personal development while in Nigeria (...) After I left Nigeria for Australia in 2013; I had to transfer my skills through the use of

the Internet, life videos and videoconferences. We just concluded a series on success in relationships and career.

Extracts from the interview with respondent 13 have shown that the Internet has created a global community of professional networking. In the past, skilled professionals only had the option to join a professional networking group such as the Nigerian Association of Medical Doctors or the Local Chamber of Commerce or other networks to interact with other professionals within their area of work. Putnam (2000) argues that the decline in community participation began over thirty years ago hence the Internet did not cause the decline in social group membership. According to Putnam (2000) the Internet has helped strengthen social capital and social networks. The creation of chat rooms and Internet forums has enhanced the idea of professional skills transfer and individual capacity development in a cost-effective way. Professionals transfer their skills through online facilities that are less expensive and allow individuals to reach a more targeted audience. Therefore, the Internet facilitates the transfer of professional skills without the need for expensive travel.

Four participants in this study used the Internet as a medium for job seeking opportunities. Respondent 10 is a life coach. Respondent 10 disclosed:

I use the Internet and social networking site for client sourcing. I have a website for my mentoring and coaching business. This website is linked to all social media sites and professional networking sites. This helps create awareness of what I do; I have had clients come into my office claiming they saw the advert on the Internet.

Consequently, this study has identified virtual online communications on professional networking sites as a means of social remittance and skills transfer for the development of Nigeria. Keles (2015) identified that the use of the Internet changed the function of

the Kurdish diaspora community centres in the United Kingdom. Diaspora community centres were formerly used as the source of job information for Kurdish migrants in the United Kingdom, however, the use of this changed with modern technologies such as the Internet that transmit information on the organisation's *Facebook* page and other social media sources. Autor (2001) identified the effectiveness of the use of the Internet in job searching. According to Autor (2001), jobs posted online are easier to search, they are updated frequently, and jobs placed on the Internet reach more people at a lower cost compared to a newspaper. According to Autor (2001), online job posting has grown with over 29 million jobs on job websites.

Digital social capital creates a means whereby professionals who have migrated still communicate, share their experience and share job opportunities available in the sectors where they work, with their colleagues who reside in their origin countries. The Nigerian diaspora, with sufficient support from the Nigerian government, has a range of skills that can be transferred to their country of origin. Some of these skills include medical and healthcare, community development, research and development (R&D), project management, data management and information technology skills. These skills from migrants abroad are used for the development of organisational capacity building of the various sectors in the country and some of these skills can be transferred through the Internet. This is further emphasised by respondent 13 who transfers his knowledge on real estate development through the use of the Internet for the capacity development of Nigeria. This research used linking social capital to examine the relationship the Nigerian diaspora has with the Nigerian government within the context of professional skills transfer.

5.7. Linking social capital: the Nigerian diaspora in Australia

The Nigerian High Commission in Australia drew up a document called ‘The Draft Cooperative Program of Action between the Nigerian High Commission, Canberra and the Nigerian Community in Australia: Operational Plan and Set Goals for 2011 and Beyond (see Appendix 1). The aim of the document is to address issues facing the Nigerian community in Australia and the various associations, ethnic and faith-based Nigerian groups in Australia. Some of the key points in this document include migration and development issues and describe the Nigerian diaspora in Australia as a critical organisation for Nigerian nation-building and the pursuit of Nigerian development aspirations. It seeks Nigeria’s development goals through harnessing the benefits of the diaspora, which include foreign expertise in areas such as science and technology, agriculture, Information Technology (IT), space and nuclear science as well as mining. This draft agreement also focuses on mining Nigeria’s rich natural resources and training 10,000 Nigerians to enhance their capacity on mining issues. This document clearly identifies the Nigerian High Commission in Canberra as the main organisation that facilitates professional skills transfer from Australia to Nigeria. This document was not implemented because the Nigerian High Commissioner who drafted the document retired.

The Nigerian Society of Victoria (NSV) also prepared a draft in support of the ‘National Strategic Health Development Plan (NSHDP) 2000 to 2015 (see Appendix 2). This project was intended to improve the performance of the healthcare system in Nigeria by 2015 through the contribution of Nigerian healthcare professionals who reside in Australia. Some of these projects include support for the eradication of polio, improvement of maternal and child health care and primary health care centres, elimination of Human Immunodeficiency Virus, Acquired Immunodeficiency

Syndrome (HIV/AIDS) and support for the government reproductive health and safe motherhood programs. NSV had plans to support professionals to return to Nigeria and work to help salvage the healthcare industry. However, the Nigerian government could not carry out the NSHDP project, as the then Minister of Health was relieved of his position. As a result, the project was not completed.

On the grounds stated above, using linking social capital to describe these two situations, skilled Nigerian migrants in Australia tend to have lost some trust and confidence in the role of government in professional skills transfer and capacity development of Nigeria using the diaspora option. For example, at the interview with respondent 27, a healthcare manager commented:

I approached the Lagos State government of Nigeria to help implement a few healthcare programs, to enhance its primary healthcare centres. I wrote several proposals and had to make power point presentations to the Commissioner of health and his colleagues in Lagos state, Nigeria. However, I didn't get the contract but heard about a year later that the government stole my idea, and the project was done without my knowledge. I also approached the commissioner for transport in Lagos state to do a free first aid training session for drivers of public transport in Lagos state. The first aid course was to help in case of emergency; drivers may be able to save lives if an accident occurs. However, I was very disappointed when I got a response that they won't be able to do the training for drivers due to logistic problems.

Respondent 27 and several other members of the diaspora have expressed dissatisfaction in the available process of professional skills transfer and utilising diaspora capital for capacity development that is facilitated by the Nigerian High Commission. As a result, people have tried transferring their skills without the influence or assistance of the Nigerian government. These draft documents were never implemented as a result of various bureaucratic issues, including the retirement of public officials and lack of

continuity of the incumbents. Failure to implement these draft documents meant that the professionals who intended to transfer their skills through the proposed medium of skills transfer could not carry out their projects to contribute to capacity building of Nigeria, and the Nigerian government has only provided limited linking social capital for skilled Nigerian migrants in Australia (Boateng, 2010; Breuskin, 2012; Hall 2004). Respondent 28 was of the opinion that:

There are too much red tape and administration making everything too difficult. The government needs to stop unnecessary red tape and embrace technology to make the education sector work better.

Extract from the interview with respondent 28 shows the obsolete and slow processes by which the Nigerian government approaches development issues that are necessary for the capacity development of Nigeria. Fennema and Tillie (2001) used social capital to examine migrants' civil engagement within diaspora groups in Amsterdam, Fennema and Tillie (2001) concluding that participation by migrants and capacity development of migrants to their country of origin required a level of social trust.

According to Putnam (2001) there are various reasons for the low political participation by Americans that include distrust in the government and fraying social bonds. There is need for diaspora organisation leaders to be able to carry out community projects with a sense of responsibility. Social trust is essential because diaspora members need the assurance that their leaders are competent to make policies in the interest of their members. However, a recently retired High Commissioner of Nigeria to Australia said the Nigerian High Commission in Canberra always provides the necessary support to individuals who want to transfer their skills:

We have been able to link Nigerians who want to transfer their skills to Non-governmental Organisations (NGOs) and organisations that can help and make the process easier. We previously helped some medical doctors move old equipment to Nigeria and got necessary approvals from the Nigerian customs service and other relevant organisations. Both financial and social remittances have played a major role in the development of Nigeria. Families survive on remittances from the diaspora; remittances have also been used to set up small businesses. Diaspora can also be used as development agencies. Development work can be done through religious organisations and formation of NGOs. These NGOs can then partner with existing organisations rendering similar services in Nigeria.

The primary data collected in this research has shown the need for the Nigerian High Commission in Canberra to be more efficient and supportive of professional skills transfer and diaspora engagement for the development of Nigeria. There is also the need to educate Nigerians that the High Commission can help with professional skills transfer to Nigeria. Putnam (2000) provided various measures to enhance linking social capital and political participation to include contacting government officials, signing petitions and attending public meetings. Therefore, the awareness of the usable medium of professional skills transfer and social remittances can improve the primary role of government in building the required linking social capital between skilled Nigerians who reside in Australia and the Nigerian government (Boateng, 2010).

5.8. Challenges to the effective utilisation of diaspora capital for capacity development

Capacity development is important because of its relationship to the performance of a country's system, particularly in delivering basic goods and services and providing a suitable policy and regulatory environment for the transfer of professional skills (Akanle & Adesina 2018). Until the last decade, capacity development was viewed as a technical process involving the simple transfer of foreign aid, knowledge and

organisation skills from OECD countries to developing economies. Sufficient attention was not given to the broader political and social context within which capacity development takes place. The new emphasis on capacity development is being placed on local ownership of development processes and recognises the importance of political leadership and the prevailing political and governance system in creating opportunities for capacity development efforts. Capacity development cannot be successful if the country's conditions are unfavourable. Therefore, an enabling environment is essential for capacity development to be effective and the full utilisation of migrants' diaspora capital. Respondents 45 and two are medical doctors. They expressed their views that the government needs to provide an enabling environment to facilitate professional skills transfer and the capacity development of Nigeria.

Government needs to be more involved. There is lack of necessary infrastructure required for healthcare professionals to work in Nigeria (Respondent 45).

There are several challenges with working with the government. These problems include poor and obsolete healthcare facilities and corruption of government workers (Respondent 2).

Capacity development involves much more than enhancing the knowledge and skills of individuals. It depends crucially on the quality of the organisation in which skilled individuals work. The enabling environment influences the operations of a particular organisation. The structure of powers and influences in Nigeria determine the effectiveness of capacity development. Therefore, capacity development is not only about the transfer and utilisation of skills and procedures, it is about incentives and governance that improves the standard of lives of Nigerians (Akanle & Adesina, 2018).

Individuals, organisations and an enabling environment are the three levels of capacity development. These three levels of capacity development are interdependent of each

other. Individual capacity development enhances skills, experience and knowledge. However, the utilisation of these skills is dependent on the organisations in which individuals work and transfer their knowledge and on the other hand, the enabling environment influences the operation of organisations by providing a suitable environment for their operation, including the institutional framework and the structures of power and influence in which organisations are embedded. This study identifies lack of basic infrastructure, corruption, public sector corruption and political instability as factors that impede the effective utilisation of diaspora capital in Nigeria.

Discussing the lack of basic social infrastructure, lack of a good enabling environment in Nigeria and lack of support for transfer of professional skills, two respondents had this to say:

There is no stable electricity in Nigeria; electricity is something I have taken for granted in advanced countries where I have worked. You need to design your own source of power supply for each station you build, and most time the power supply is based on diesel generator sets. Diesel generator sets and diesel are very valuable in Nigeria, you find out that people come to your site trying to steal diesel or the generator parts, this poses a huge challenge, merchants also supply adulterated diesel. These are things you deal with on a daily basis rather than doing your job. In addition to electricity problems, the educational system in Nigeria is very poor. You can barely hire a good graduate. Especially, in technical areas, where well-experienced Nigerians are rare to find in Nigeria, this brings frustration on a daily basis (Respondent 20).

The major challenge we face is the provision of electricity in Nigeria for people to visit this website to book appointments... Also the banking system is not really reliable because it imposes its own challenges of debiting customers twice or no network when clients need to make payments (Respondent 13).

Akinwale (2010, p. 221) agrees with respondent 20 about the reliance of the Nigerian telecommunication sector on diesel operating generator sets, stating that poor

telecommunication connectivity across the telecommunication industries in Nigeria has led to public complaints about telephone network failure. According to Akinwale (2010, p. 221), telecommunication industries use litres of diesel daily to power generators located at installation stations across Nigeria, thereby incurring additional cost for customers. Akinwale (2010) classified Nigerian infrastructural development into four groups, which include energy/power, transportation infrastructure, water infrastructure and communications, and argued that none of these sectors is effective for the capacity development of Nigeria. Akinwale (2010) attributes the failure in infrastructural development in Nigeria to negligence and corruption. According to Akinwale (2010) Nigeria suffers from several cases of inadequate infrastructure, including irregular supply of electricity, shortage of water, fuel scarcity, an unreliable healthcare system, an unstable education system and bad roads.

The negative impact of power outages in Nigeria is substantial. According to World Bank research on Nigerian infrastructure, Nigeria is affected by power outages more than 320 days a year and about 50 percent of Nigeria's population is without electricity (World Bank, 2011). The poor state of infrastructure in Nigeria has constrained economic growth and development. Fagbadebo (2007) related the lack of infrastructural development in Nigeria to corruption, as money allocated for these projects is stolen by the corrupt leaders in Nigeria and the failed and corrupt Nigerian government provides an environment for poor infrastructural development. Corruption and low levels of transparency and accountability have been major sources of development failure in Nigeria. Illegal activities such as money laundering prevail in Nigeria (Fagbadebo, 2007).

The Nigerian road system is in a state of disrepair and barely usable; road accidents and road deaths are frequent. Nigeria faces major challenges. Amongst them is its state of infrastructure, from roads and railway to irrigation systems, water pipes, mobile and broadband networks, housing and energy (Siyan & Adegioriola, 2017). Considering the weak enabling environment and various push factors that motivate migration some of the respondents averred that:

The government needs to provide an enabling context that will allow experts to contribute their quota to the development of Nigeria (Respondent 23)

My country is not developed enough for me to survive on my income as a laboratory scientist (Respondent 37)

My country is under developed (Respondent 16).

The poor infrastructure in the country has led to lack of employment in Nigeria. There is a need for the government to address the socio-economic problems and the lack of employment in Nigeria; factors which motivate the migration of skilled Nigerian migrants. Economic factors also provide a motivation for migration. In Nigeria jobs do not exist for the majority of the population, hence some people are also under-employed. Job creation for Nigeria's burgeoning population is one of the major challenges facing the Nigerian government. Unemployment, poor working conditions in the workplace, low wages and non-payment of salaries, the lack of electricity and modern infrastructures in the work place will continuously motivate the migration of skilled Nigerian-born migrants from Nigeria and will hinder progress of effective skills transfer and capacity development of Nigeria, despite efforts to enhance the diaspora capital and engage the diaspora for capacity development activities. These poor economic conditions need to be addressed by the Nigerian government, as does the issue of corruption.

Corruption is a major impediment to development in Nigeria, causing obstacles for national development. Fagbadebo (2007) describes corruption as more dangerous than any other crime because it slows down the process of development (Fagbadebo, 2007). Okafor (2013) defined corruption from an economic viewpoint as the misuse of a position of authority for personal benefit and any act or behaviours that contrive to deviate from societal approved standards and behaviours. Okafor (2013) examined corruption as the main factor for the failure of two state owned public institutions in Nigeria: the automobile and steel industry. Okafor (2013) examined corruption in these industries, finding nepotism and the recruitment of incompetent officers and personnel to manage industries as factors leading to corruption and the unbridled accumulation of stolen wealth by corrupt Nigerian leaders.

Processes to eliminate corruption are complex and take both time and the absolute commitment of Nigerian political leaders and Nigerian citizens. The All Progressive Congress (APC) won the Nigerian elections in 2015 and President Muhammad Buhari, the flag bearer of the party, became Nigeria's president. Nigerians voted for the APC political party because it was hoped that its agenda to eliminate corruption would bring about marked changes to the country's infrastructure and sweep the country clean of the practice of money laundering to other countries. The President at his inauguration ceremony described corruption as the greatest form of human rights violation. President Muhammad Buhari launched an anti-corruption program after taking office in May 2015 and further strengthened the capacity of the existing anti-corruption agencies such as the Economic and Financial Crimes Commission (EFCC) and the Independent Corrupt Practices and Other Related Offences (ICPC).

Corruption affects public finances, business investment as well as the standard of living of Nigerians. Recent corruption scandals have highlighted the large funds that have been stolen or misappropriated by politicians and senior government officials. The funds that have been stolen are meant for capacity development and creating an environment for Nigerians such as improving social infrastructure. However, very little has been done to explore the dynamic effects of corruption that affects the capacity building of Nigeria to achieve its development potentials. Some of the respondents that participated in this study had the following to say about their experience of corrupt practices in Nigeria, the negative impact of corruption on their process of skills transfer, and efforts to contribute to capacity development of Nigeria. Respondent 20 asserted that:

People try to find ways for you to compromise your integrity. You go to Nigeria thinking I am a Nigerian right? But your exposure and education from Australia have taught you to do things in a professional and ethical way. People come to your office to ask you to award them contracts and you can tell that they have no qualification or experience for the contract they are asking you for. They tell you, they will give you 20% of the proceeds from the contract. This is pure corruption and shows they do not have the intention to deliver good quality products... They just want to squander the money the way it is done in government. When you refuse to give them the contract, they say, what exactly is his problem? Maybe he thinks he is a white man.

Likewise, respondent 27 said

You can't get anything done without giving money to the government officials in charge. You don't get any services or approval of procedures without giving out money.

Respondents 10 also identified bribery of government officials as one of the reasons the government is not efficient.

I had to give money to government officials to get any document I need to work with because they are always complaining about low salaries or no payment of wages at all

Amadi and Ekekeweme (2014, p. 165) argue that corruption is endemic in West Africa. According to their views, government officials usually extract commissions at every available opportunity. The unauthorised commission cut of government contract in West Africa is 10 percent of the total profit. Gray and Kaufmann (1998) also agree with respondent 20, 27 and 10. According to Gray and Kaufmann (1998) bribery and corruption inflate the cost of supplies of goods and services and lead to insufficient economic outcomes. Bribery and corruption also impede long-term economic development. Gray and Kaufmann (1998) argue that bribery includes extortion, fraud, embezzlements, and the appropriation of public assets by politicians and high-level government officials. Gray and Kaufmann (1998) argue that strategies to reduce corruption needs to pay more attention to its root causes such, as poverty, poor incentives, and lack of economic and institutional reforms.

According to Osibanjo (2017) some socio-economic factors in Nigeria facilitate corruption, such as weak government institutions, poor pay incentives for Nigerians, lack of openness and transparency in the public service, and the culture of giving and accepting bribes by the Nigerian population. Osibanjo (2017) claims that the Nigerian government is prepared to defeat corruption in Nigeria by replicating the model used to end corruption in the Lagos state judiciary, by providing accommodation for judges, and increasing the salaries and allowances of judges. Osibanjo (2017) also argues that a robust international collaboration is needed to end corruption in Nigeria. According to Osibanjo (2017) international organisations may help return Nigeria's stolen assets that are hidden abroad by corrupt leaders.

Public sector corruption is the abuse of authority by public officials to make personal gains (Gray & Kaufmann 1998). Government workers exploit their powers of discretion delegated to them by the government to further their own personal interest, by indulging in illegal or unauthorised activities. These activities include but are not limited to bribery, embezzlement of government funds, extortion and fraud. A World Bank report (2005) showed that Nigeria's public sector lacks transparency and accountability. According to Adekoya (2016) the economic condition of Nigeria results from high levels of corruption in the public service where government officials recklessly plunder the country's resources and extort money from people in order to carry out their paid duties. Adekoya (2016, p. 22) claims the following:

We can no longer ignore the issue of corruption that is now believed to be quite endemic in our public sector...people abroad now believe that that it is impossible to undertake any form of transaction successfully in Nigeria without bribery... The Nigerian government is concerned with increasing cases of white-collar corruption in the workplace including advanced fee fraud, bank theft, insider dealings and product counterfeits

Similarly, respondents that participated in this study narrated their experiences of public corruption and abuses of power by government officials in Nigeria while they were trying to transfer their skills for capacity development of their home country.

The company spends a lot of money building fibre backbones in Lagos, Kano, Kaduna and Abuja and you need to get the right of way to get the approval before you can build the fibre back bone. The same government that collected the fee and issued approval to erect the fibre backbone will later decide they need the land to build roads and drainages. This means the company have to dig up the fibre. As a result, the infrastructure that is meant to create jobs and wealth for the citizens of Nigeria gets damaged before anyone can use it. All these contribute to frustration and make it really difficult, to make a difference (Respondent 20).

Corruption creates and increases social inequality and exclusion in Nigeria. Corruption in the public sector increases the gap between the rich and the poor. While corrupt government workers enjoy a luxurious life, millions of Nigerians are deprived of the basic needs and basic social infrastructure. As a result of corruption in the public sector many Nigerians are forced to pay bribes in order to access basic services that they are entitled to as Nigerian citizens. Examples of these services include but are not limited to employment, accessing healthcare services in government owned hospitals and getting admission into government owned colleges, polytechnics and universities in Nigeria. Corruption in the government sector in Nigeria can be a major hindrance for capacity development, social inclusion and economic growth. Corruption further weakens people's trust in the government and the accountability of the public sector. For example, respondent 20 had this to say about his experiences while trying to transfer his medical skills in Nigeria:

In my opinion, the Nigerian government is not ready to participate in the development of the country. We offered to provide some free service such as first aid training to Lagos state drivers so they can help in case of accidents or emergencies since we do not have a reliable emergency service in the country. The commissioner for transport refused to organise the drivers and he said it was not possible for logistic reasons. We also offered to organize free training on the effect of drugs and alcohol on public transport drivers; we never got a response from the ministry of transport. However, we had some level of success with the delivery of free cervical screening for women. We organized private individuals such as female politicians and donors to fund this programme that was a huge success in Lagos over 500 women were screened for cervical cancer (Respondent 20).

Some colleagues and myself also submitted a proposal about two years ago to manage the primary healthcare centres in Lagos. We explained in the proposal that this initiative would help reduce the waiting time in our hospitals, people should be able to access basic healthcare at this centre at the barest minimum cost. We defended the proposal four times with the hope that we would get the scheme working. However, this idea was stolen by the

commissioner for health in Lagos state, I learnt the scheme did not work as we proposed because it was not their idea or dream (Respondent 27).

Siyan and Adegioriola (2017) argue that corruption and the weak nature of government institutions effect investment in infrastructure development and increase the poverty level in developing countries. Siyan and Adegioriola (2017) consider that good governance and strong institutional frameworks need to be developed before capacity development can be possible. The availability of infrastructural amenities accelerates socio-economic development and the lack of them will make capacity development impossible.

Respondent 27 has expressed negative views about the limited support from the government to support the professional skills of skilled Nigerian born migrants. Respondents 27 and 20 indicate that the Nigerian government has not integrated capacity development into its development goals. Capacity development is an indigenous process of development that can only be done by Nigeria itself. The concept of capacity development includes human resource development, the process of equipping individuals with the understanding, skills and access to information, knowledge, and training and an enabling environment that helps Nigerian skilled migrants to perform efficiently with the transfer of various professional, cultural and social skills that can be used to facilitate capacity development in Nigeria.

Political instability is another factor that impedes the effective use of diaspora capital for capacity development. Akinwale and Aderinto (2012) identified that political instability in Nigeria can be related to several factors such as ethnic religious violence, electoral violence, youth militancy, and civil unrest. Respondent 20 agreed with this view. He

narrated his experience of terrorism and political unrest in Nigeria as the main factor that motivated the return of his family to Melbourne. In his own words he said:

The terrorist attacks by Boko Haram made it very difficult for my family to remain in Nigeria. My wife did not feel safe in Nigeria anymore. I had to send them back to Australia because of security reasons. I had to commute between Melbourne and Abuja to see my family.

While Nigeria has been considered a stable democracy since 1999, Nigeria has also experienced periods of civil war (1967 to 1970). Political unrest and military rule from 1966 to 1999, saw several military dictators rule Nigeria resulting in corruption and plundering of the country's natural resources as well as economic mismanagement (Ogunmola, 2010).

Since 2009, Nigeria has experienced the Boko Haram insurgency (*Boko Haram* means 'Western education is sinful'). Boko Haram is a home grown terrorist group that has been waging war in the northern parts of Nigeria (Adenrele, 2012). The Boko Haram insurgency is a result of several social problems in Nigeria including poverty, youth unemployment and several unresolved political and religious tensions between various ethnic groups in Nigeria (Olaniyan and Asuelime, 2014). The mission of Boko Haram is to change Nigeria to a Muslim country, governed under *Sharia* law. The introduction of *Sharia* law to Nigeria is the motive behind the activities of Boko Haram such as various religious riots, car bombing of public gatherings and mass killings in Nigeria (Ismail 2013). The Boko Haram insurgency has resulted in brutal attacks on churches, schools, police stations, and the media. Olaniyan and Asuelime (2014) note the activities of Boko Haram between the years 2011 to 2012. In 2011, 136 Boko Haram attacks were recorded throughout Nigeria causing the deaths of 599 people.

In 2012 over 1,000 people were killed by Boko Haram, the Boko Haram insurgency in Nigeria has imposed several challenges, such as challenges to the security of lives and properties, and people's right to freedom of movement and association due to attacks and the planting of bombs in public places. The negative effect of Boko Haram on Nigeria includes the closure of businesses and churches within the affected regions in Nigeria, due to frequent attacks and mass killing of Christians through planting bombs in church premises during church services. Boko Haram insurgencies have also affected Nigerian and their diplomatic relationship as Nigeria is categorised as an unsafe environment because of frequent bomb attacks, kidnappings and hostage taking of foreigners (Olaniyan & Asuelime, 2014).

Omofonmwan and Odia (2017) also discussed the political unrest in the Niger delta crude oil exploration area of Nigeria. The crises in the Niger delta area is as a result of the negative impact of oil exploration which has resulted into environmental degradation, loss of aquatic life, loss of biodiversity and air pollution in the area. Oil exploration in these area has left the residents with loss of their agriculture livelihood leading to poverty, squalor and gross under development, formation of militant groups, civil unrest and political riots against multinational mining companies and against government policies on mining of crude oil in the Niger delta area of Nigeria. Political unrest has increased with lack of security for foreign staff of multinational companies exploring crude oil in these areas. This is due to kidnapping and ransom requests before staff of multinational companies are released (Omofonmwan & Odia 2017).

5.9. Summary

This chapter discusses the data analysis from forty-five skilled Nigerian migrants that reside in Australia, and two Nigerian diplomats. This chapter uses Bourdieu's (1986)

idea of convertible capital to discuss the participants' social, economic and cultural capital. The various level of Nigerian skilled migrants' utilisation of cultural capital are discussed, considering the various impediments migrants experience while trying to utilise their cultural capital from Nigeria. Some of these impediments include the non-recognition of migrants' qualifications from Nigeria and stringent rules from professional regulatory bodies that impede the entrance of foreigners into skilled professions in Australia.

This chapter also discusses the positive and negative effects of economic capital and financial remittances on Nigeria and the role of financial remittances to facilitate capacity development of Nigeria. Participants in this study have shown that Nigerian skilled migrants' financial remittances can be utilised for both the short and long-term benefits of the recipient. However, financial remittances also create dependency on a foreign source of income, which may not be sustainable over the long-term.

Diaspora capital is used to identify both financial and non-financial benefits of Nigerian migrants for capacity development. Putnam, Coleman and Bourdieu's concept of social capital theory is also used to examine migrants' social network across Nigeria and Australia as it facilitates migration and development. The levels of social capital in Putnam's work are examined within the Nigerian context of bonding, bridging, digital and linking social capital.

This chapter further examines the activities of these migrants in facilitating trans-national activities for capacity development across Nigeria and Australia. Some of these activities include transfer of professional skills through professional visits to Nigeria, through the use of the Internet and professional networking sites. Professional skills are also transferred through coaching and mentoring. These professional skills transfer

activities of trans-national migrants facilitate capacity development in Nigeria. The influence of technology in facilitating social capital is further discussed in this chapter; technology also helps to facilitate the transfer of skills for capacity development of Nigeria. To present a holistic approach to the utilisation of migrant capital the next chapter identifies the role of skilled Nigerian migrants who have returned to Nigeria after acquiring and improving their cultural capital in Australia. Data from this thesis aim to analyse the utilisation of their skills and the role of these returned migrants in capacity development in Nigeria.

Chapter Six

Returned Migrants in Nigeria: Results and Discussion Part 2

6. Introduction

This chapter presents primary qualitative data and analyses drawn from oral interviews with twenty-two (six males and sixteen females) returned migrants who have gone back to Nigeria after periods of study and work in Australia. The returned migrants were interviewed to get an in-depth understanding of their lived experience of social capital activities and the hindrances to these activities. It also seeks to understand their motivations for engaging in capital accumulation efforts while in Australia. Further, the aim was to understand the challenges they experienced in accumulating their capital while in Australia.

Grounding this chapter is the idea of returned migrants as agents of social change via their various means of professional skills transfer used for capacity development in Nigeria. Secondary data used in this chapter is from scholarly literature with a focus on the lived experiences of returned migrants, their capital, the role of that capital in capacity development and their activities as agents of social change.

The chapter is divided into three themes. The first theme discusses the various factors that facilitate return migration and the re-integration of returned migrants. Some of the reasons identified in this study that motivated return migration include visa restrictions and scholarship funding, starting a business in Nigeria, family commitment, and the prospect of employment in Nigeria. The second theme examines returned migrants directly in relation to their accumulated diaspora capital and its various modes of

professional skills transfer. Some skilled returned migrants indicated that they could transfer their skills in their work place by increased engagement with the public sphere to increase capacity development.

6.1 Oral interview results: Overview of core themes

This section is a thematic presentation of data elicited through oral interviews, by theme and sub-theme. Themes and sub-themes were arrived at following a rigorous data review process involving data analysis, listening to digitised audio files and continuous critical reading of interview transcripts. The qualitative data presented in this chapter represent the response of the twenty-two participants. As returned migrants they bring a different view to the research presented in the previous chapter. This chapter also brings a different perspective to research, which suggests that returned migrants are, from an economic view, failures (Cassarino, 2004). In this research, the argument is that if the focus is on non-financial capital contributions (as members of the diaspora or as returned migrants) as opposed to measurements of financial remittances or financial contributions, a more insightful picture of diaspora capital and its role in capacity development becomes clear. From the perspective of returned migrants one insightful way they can be seen as contributing to capacity development is via the professional knowledge and skills they accumulated while outside of Nigeria, that as members of the diaspora they return to Nigeria, but more so are able to effectively transfer those skills to others when they return to Nigeria.

However, data from this research show that returned migrants on arrival in Nigeria face a number of challenges when seeking to act as agents of change and development. Some of the challenges this study has identified include: lack of supportive technical expertise

to support capacity development efforts, different work ethics, resistance to change, and the modification of skills to suit the Nigerian context. Similarly, the decision to return to Nigeria is often determined by both personal and structural conditions which are factors when considering the successful return of migrants and the success of their professional skill transfer activities. Available opportunities and perspectives of the environment in both home and the host countries determine migration decisions, including the possible return to migrants' home countries. The other significant factor noted in this research on returned migrants and their capacity for development activities is the notable differences in professional skill transfers in the Nigerian work place.

6.2. Determinants of return migration

6.2.1. Visa conditions

A visa is an endorsement that may be placed on a passport granting the holder official permission to enter, leave or stay in a country for a specified period of time. A visa can be valid for single entry or multiple entries into a destination country (Australian Department of Immigration and Border Protection, 2017). Binding visa restrictions represent an important legal hurdle applied to some foreigners before they are allowed entry to visit, work or study in Australia. Some visa requirements include a significant cost to have the visa application processed. Other costs are associated with migration, especially if that migration is for the purposes of study to increase professional skills, including payment of tuition fees and having excess funds for health and housing requirements.

Nigerians apply for Australian study and work visas through professional visa services located in Lagos and Abuja Nigeria. The issuing immigration officers in Nigeria have

the right to either grant or deny an individual entry visa into Australia. On arrival into Australia there are also several visa requirements that an international student or a foreign worker needs to meet to remain in Australia. Some of these requirements include regular payment of tuition fees, adhering to work restrictions and the requirement to be actively enrolled during periods of study. Some scholarships granted to international students to study in Australia also include the 'No further stay option', which means these students cannot apply for a temporary or permanent visa after completing their studies and are required to return to Nigeria. Eight returned migrants who participated in this study identified visa restrictions as their main reason for returning to Nigeria. This is because these returned migrants were granted student or temporary work visas only and they had to return to Nigeria on the expiration of their temporary visas.

Respondent eight is a human resource manager. She completed a Masters of Human Resources at the University of Adelaide, (South Australia) in 2012. She is an example of a returned migrant who was required by the Australian Government to return to Nigeria after the expiration of her visa. Bragg and Wong (2016) in an in-depth qualitative study with immigrant families in Alberta (Canada), like Respondent eight, found that visa restrictions have a significant impact on migrants and their development of capital and professional skills. Some of the respondents in this study said they returned home solely because of the condition of their scholarship. For example, Respondent five, a medical doctor who completed a Master's Degree in Public Health at the University of Adelaide (South Australia) in 2013, was legally required to return to Nigeria for at least two years after completing studies in Australia.

Some skilled migrants returned to Nigeria due to the conditions of their visa or their scholarship requirements. For example, the Australia Agency for International

Development (AusAID) scholarship recipients has a two-year exclusion rule from re-entry into Australia, except on a short visit (AusAID, 2016). The scholarship program has identified various priority areas for developing countries that require the intervention of the Australian Government. Some of these sectors of the Nigerian economy include agriculture, health, mining and public policy. The awardees of these scholarships are not allowed to remain in Australia or apply to return to Australia for a period of two years (except on a tourist visa) following the completion or termination of the scholarship, unless the Australian government supports their return to Australia (AusAID, 2016).

This two-year period is provided to enable the recipient of these scholarships the time and resources to achieve the aim of the scholarship (AusAID, 2016). The aim of the scholarship scheme is to contribute to the long-term development needs of Australia's partners' priorities under bilateral and regional agreements. In addition, the recipients of these scholarships are meant to use the skills and knowledge obtained in Australia to drive developmental changes that contribute to capacity development in their countries of origin. For example, Respondent five who was a recipient of the AusAID scholarship, was able to study public health in Australia and on her return was employed by the National Agency for Aids, where she currently conducts research on mother to child transmission of HIV. Similarly, Respondent two was also a beneficiary of an AusAID scholarship. She was able to study international trade and trade policy with the scholarship awarded her by the Australian Government. This has helped her contribute to trade issues and capacity development in Nigeria. In these instances, while visa restrictions forced their return to Nigeria, they were able to contribute to the development of Nigeria, in this instance in the areas of health and health policy administration. Others in this study appeared to more willingly return to Nigeria, often in an entrepreneurial capacity to invest in Nigeria.

6.2.2. Professional reasons for return to Nigeria

Some of the returned migrants interviewed for this study identified that they returned because they want to start their own business in Nigeria, as opposed to staying in Australia and doing so there. In their experience the Nigerian work environment provides them with the necessary social networks of people and social capital they need to start their business. In these instances, the returned professional has been educated in Nigeria, completed further education overseas or has business experience overseas and on their return to Nigeria they are able to consolidate their accumulated skills and capitalise on them. Their return to Nigeria gives them the opportunity to capitalise on their acquired skills and social capital to start their own business. Six returned migrants in this study identified that they returned to Nigeria because they considered that they have better opportunities of having their desired career by becoming entrepreneurs. They also consider that such business activity can contribute to the organisational and societal capacity development through their business initiatives. Respondent one was awarded a degree in Sociology and Public Policy from the University of Melbourne (Victoria) in 2014. Respondent one said he acquired entrepreneurial skills and wanted to use those skills to increase employment opportunities in Nigeria, saying:

I returned to Nigeria because I wanted to become an entrepreneur. I wanted to join the transport industry through the Uber network and create more jobs for Nigerians.

Respondent 10 is a medical doctor with a focus in healthcare management and health insurance who attended the University of Adelaide (South Australia) and developed

skills in healthcare management and health insurance. Respondent 10 had this to say about the skills he obtained in Australia:

I am the Managing Director of a Health Maintenance Organization (HMO) in Nigeria. So, I went overseas to acquire more knowledge.

Respondent 10 and Respondent one are entrepreneurs who returned to Nigeria intending to use the financial and social capital that they acquired while in Australia to create productive businesses that assist with employment and management. These sets of skilled workers rely on Putnam's (2000) idea of bonding and bridging social capital. Bonding social capital is necessary to help them navigate the Nigerian market and re-integrate into Nigerian society. While their bridging social capital helps create global links that facilitate information and create a successful business (Putnam, 2000). The businesses contribute to organisational capacity development for the Nigerian transportation and medical sectors. Respondent one engaged in employment provision and Respondent 10 contributes to capacity development in the healthcare sector by bringing his cultural capital to healthcare management for the better performance of hospitals and provision of healthcare delivery in Nigeria. Respondent 10 had this to say:

When I came back from my study period in Australia, I was able to advise the Nigerian government on the national health insurance scheme. I became one of the stake holders that started the scheme with some colleagues because we had the idea of managed healthcare from developed countries where we previously lived...so we could provide the government with a blue print, upgraded our Health Maintenance Organization to meet the global requirement for managed healthcare.

Some professionals returned to Nigeria as entrepreneurs and innovators. They are prepared to utilise the skills and academic qualifications that they have acquired for the benefit of Nigeria. In addition, these skilled migrants returned because they believe that

the skills they have acquired abroad and their accumulated financial savings would be used to make significant changes in various sectors of the Nigerian economy such as enhancing individual, organisational and societal capacity development in the various sectors of the Nigerian economy such as healthcare, transport, and international trade and development.

Paasche (2016) in a study of returned migrants from the United Kingdom and Norway to Iraq and Kurdistan identified that returned migrants utilise their social capital to invest in business and entrepreneurial activities. Paasche (2016) suggests that returned migrants starting their own business reflect upward social mobility, and while considering some returned migrants as risk takers and agents of development who have accrued social and financial capital while abroad, they often apply their skills to inventive and productive use.

Trans-national linkages established by returned migrants are beneficial to Nigeria. These trans-national links of migrant social networks enable these returned migrants to mobilise the necessary resources for capacity development, including access to foreign investors, transfer and use of foreign technology, international markets and access to pools of local human resources. These trans-national linkages and development of local human resource pools facilitate capacity development of Nigeria through the transfer of skills by returned migrants.

The extracts from interviews with these returned migrants have shown that the existing return migration theories do not provide an overview of returned migrants' intentions in coming back to Nigeria. The data indicate that skilled migrants return to their countries of origin for several reasons that include, but are not limited to, starting up new businesses. Migrants build their social capital and maintain close relations with their

family and professional colleagues while abroad and on return to Nigeria. Returned migrants bring back to Nigeria valuable skills, knowledge and capital that they intend to utilise to contribute to capacity building of Nigeria.

Respondent 21, a medical doctor who graduated with a Master's Degree in International Healthcare Management from the University of Newcastle (New South Wales), said that securing a job in Nigeria was her main reason for returning to Nigeria. Respondent 13, a lawyer who was awarded a Masters of Law from the University of Sydney (New South Wales) also said she returned to Nigeria because she was able to secure a job in a law firm and that was her main motivation for returning to Nigeria.

Some motivation for return migration seems to be primarily driven by the prospect of employment on return to Nigeria. Similarly, some returned migrants came to Australia on work related study or projects, where return migration was an inherent part of their work contract. Furthermore, family reasons constituted another important determinant for return migration in this study.

6.2.3. Family reasons for return migration

Another important factor that induced return migration amongst the participants was family. A significant number of returned migrants went back to Nigeria to either start a family or reunite with their families. Five respondents in this study said that they returned to their home countries for family reasons. Nigerian society regards family as a source of identity and bonding social capital, meaning family members are emotionally bonded to each other. However, when parents migrate to work or study, they often seek to improve the well-being of their family and provide better opportunities for their children. While migration provides a means of achieving financial stability, the absence of parents can be detrimental to a child's social and psychological well-being and

children may sometimes neglect their studies due to lack of parental control (Akanle, 2013). The involvement of substitute care or lack of care causes difficulties for some children's psychological development. For example, some respondents in this study left their partners and children in Nigeria. Most children were left in the care of their grandparents while parents were working or studying abroad. Some of the respondents had this to say:

My husband made the decision that I must leave our son with my mother in-law while I studied at the University of Adelaide. So, I had to go back to Nigeria immediately I finished my degree. While I was studying I also had to take time off to travel to see my son and husband (Respondent 19).

I was married and had two children before I left to study abroad; so, I decide to return home after my studies (Respondent 9).

I had to come back home because I was engaged to be married to my husband and he had a good job working with the government (Respondent 7).

My father wanted me to marry from our Igbo ethnic group; the best place to get potential suitors is to come back to Nigeria (Respondent 12).

What these interviews suggest is that one of the important factors that induce return migration was family. A significant number of returned migrants come back to reunite with their families because their families constitute their bonding social capital. Social ties with families, household, friendship and community ties link migrants with their home countries. Akanle (2013) in a study of migrants who returned to Nigeria identified that kinship ties are a motivating factor for return migration. Kinship ties represent an important aspect of Nigerian culture and lived experience. Akanle's (2013) research shows that kinship lineage and network are important in the Nigerian environment and culture. Conway et al. (2012) also studied Trinidad and Tobago returned migrants and

identified that family creates a sense of belonging, community and altruism and family ties are a main factor for return migration to Trinidad and Tobago. According to Conway et al. (2012), migrants returning to Trinidad and Tobago bring improvement in welfare and healthcare delivery to their country of origin. This was also found in this research of returned Nigerian migrants.

Nigerians generally regard family as a major social institution that is created by blood, marriage or adoption (Akanle, 2013). Respondents in this research, who are not married, signified a desire to get married to people from their own ethnic groups to start their own families. Marrying into the same ethnic group is considered to avoid cultural differences. The desire to avoid inter-ethnic marriage constitutes one of the main motivations for most unmarried people to return to Nigeria. King (2000) also notes that family reasons for return migration include retirement, parental ties, marriage and children's education.

Extracts from participants in this study on their motivations for return migration have shown four main impacts of return migration on capacity development in Nigeria. Firstly, migrants bring with them new skills, cultural capital acquired in Australia through work experience, training, and education. Secondly, migrants who return to Nigeria with financial capital in the form of savings are able to participate as entrepreneurs and investors in Nigeria. In addition, returned migrants contribute to social capital in Nigeria through the various personal and professional networks they have acquired during the time spent in Australia.

6.2.4. Structural and development factors for return migration

Several structural reasons facilitate the decision to either return to Nigeria or continue living in Australia. Guzzetta (2004) highlighted various reasons for return migration that

include changes in migration policies of destination countries that make return migration feasible, and awareness of the need for skills and knowledge of returned migrants in their countries of origin. Guzzetta (2004) states that return migration could be motivated by disappointment over inability to achieve goals that induced initial migration.

Return migration of skilled migrants has long been encouraged as a means of counterbalancing the negative effects caused by the migration of the skilled. A more recent consensus has been formed around the realisation that migrants can assume an important role in the development of Nigeria, either while they still reside or work in Australia, or while moving between both Nigeria and Australia. It is gradually becoming clear that some migrants who reside in Australia do not choose definitive return, particularly in the light of growing economic and social crises in Nigeria, while some skilled migrants are content to return permanently to Nigeria.

Globalisation and the development of communication have helped facilitate the transnational movements of Nigerians. One aspect of return migration is its potential to enhance capacity development in the migrants' country of origin. Several recent studies on return migration support this view. For example Klein-Hitpab, (2016, p. 55) identifies returned migrants as knowledge brokers in Poland. According to Klein-Hitpab (2016) returned migrants bring about innovations in the workforce via the implementation of the management skills they developed while living outside of Poland. This was found in areas of apprentice training and management, the facilitation of more efficient and target oriented organisational structures, the introduction of better work conditions, improved work place communication and quality assurance standards (Klein-Hitpab, 2016, p. 81).

Similarly, Akesson (2015) studied migrants returned to Cape Verde by examining the various entrepreneurial activities migrants engaged in on return to Cape Verde, finding

these activities enhanced capacity development of migrants' countries of origin. Akesson (2015) also identified the role of social capital in enhancing entrepreneurial activities of migrants. Akesson (2015) identified the role of social networks as important for Cape Verdean returned entrepreneurs, particularly during the start-up stages of their business. Bonding and bridging social capital of migrants hence is essential for harnessing business opportunities and accessing various resources for the progress of the business. Grabowska (2017) observed Polish migrants and discovered that migratory social skills can be part of migrants' social remittances on return to their countries of origin. Grabowska (2017) discovered that migrants develop social skills that can be used in the workplace and employment related situations. Grabowska (2017) argued that migrants acquire skills to take initiative and problem solving skills in the work environment.

Furthermore, this research has found that there is a need for proper re-integration of returned migrants and opportunities for returned migrants to contribute to capacity development through the transfer of their human, social and cultural capital, acquired from Australia. However, while returned migrants can make valuable non-financial and financial contributions to capacity development these cannot be considered as a substitute for more effective development policies. Capacity development is a prerequisite to development and implementing effective policies to maximise the use of migrant capital in Nigeria is needed.

6.3. Re- integration of returned Nigerian migrants

Returned migrants, in this research, encountered problems of re-integration back into Nigerian society. Re-integration is the process of returning back to the society or community where a migrant originated (Ammassari, 2006; Ammassari & Black 2001;

Chobanyan, 2013; International Labour Organisation (ILO, 2010); Mensah, 2016). Successful re-integration requires a complex approach aimed at the holistic well-being of individuals in their own social, economic and cultural setting. Re-integration entails the provision of social, physical, healthcare, and legal and economic support to returned migrants (Bhatt & Roberts (2012). Re-integration services are aimed at ensuring that returned migrants can live a normal life on return to Nigeria and then are able to make meaningful contributions to their society (Ammassari, 2006; ILO, 2010; Mensah, 2016).

This research finds that a major challenge facing the Nigerian government is the re-integration of skilled returned migrants. The Nigerian government has not established an official program to facilitate return migration of skilled migrants. Rather, this group of professionals rely on their social networks of families, friends and professional colleagues to help them reintegrate into the community (ILO, 2010). The ability of returned migrants to impact on capacity development is highly dependent on the condition of their return and their re-integration experiences (ILO, 2010). Returned migrants can positively impact on development in their countries of origin by bringing back skills and social capital acquired while in Australia but only if they are able to successfully re-integrate back into Nigerian society. When successful re-integration occurs, it can directly lead to economic growth.

Trans-national migration theory and practice regard return migration as part of a circular system of economic and social relationship and exchanges facilitating the re-integration of migrants while conveying knowledge, information and skills that can be used for capacity development (Mensah, 2016). According to King (2000) returned migrants' re-integration problems can be classified into two groups that are 'objective' factors and 'perspective' factors. King (2000) identified that the objective needs for successful re-

integration include the availability of jobs, satisfactory accommodation and participation in community organisations. According to King (2000) migrants' perspectives of re-integration may reflect dissatisfaction, reverse culture shock and drive a desire to re-emigrate.

6.4. Migrants as agents of social change

Returned skilled migrants are also agents of change that create good governance and contribute to capacity development. Respondent 10 opined about the role the group Health and Managed Care Association of Nigeria (HMCAN) has played in the provision of managed healthcare and the passage of National Health Insurance Scheme Act by the Nigerian government. The aim of HMCAN is to provide quality and affordable healthcare delivery to all Nigerians and foreigners residing in Nigeria.

After some colleagues and myself returned to Nigeria. We organized HMCAN. We also urged the government to start the National Health Insurance Scheme that is similar to the Medicare we have in Australia... I became the Chairman of the Organisation. Some of our goal is to positively contribute to the understanding and practice of managed care amongst the stakeholders. We also organise nation-wide providers and client forums that are held annually in all states of Nigeria and the Federal Capital Territory of Nigeria. The forum helps to sensitise clients and beneficiaries of the health insurance scheme to access affordable healthcare. HMCAN also organises workshops and seminars for stakeholders of the scheme such as the health maintenance organisations. As a result of the emerging relevance of the organisation we facilitated the public hearing of the National Health Insurance Scheme at the Nigerian National Assembly. Members of HMCAN served in various healthcare committees that have led to the launch of the National Health Insurance Scheme. We are currently advocating for a national coverage of health insurance for all Nigerians, not just the private health cover and government workers alone.

One aspect of return migration is its potential to enhance capacity development of migrants' origin country. Respondent 10, a medical doctor and healthcare manager, was

able to use his cultural capital and awareness to contribute to healthcare policies in Nigeria. Respondent 10 used his knowledge from Australia to facilitate policies that improve the access and provision of healthcare delivery in Nigeria. However, capacity development necessitates the existence of a conducive environment for returned migrants. Re-integration and opportunities for returned migrants to contribute to development through the transfer of skills and human capital, investment and entrepreneurial, social professional, and scientific skills acquired from Australia is necessary. Similarly, Respondent 13 had this to say about the use of her acquired legal skills to contribute to social change in Nigeria.

I participate along with some colleagues to educate people on radio programs on their basic legal rights such as their rights to get bail for free from the Nigerian police. We actually call the radio program 'know your rights'. I also educate people on their right to be assumed innocent until proved guilty by a court of law, simple landlord and tenants' legal rights particularly on quit notices. This radio program is interactive as people can phone and ask questions or make their contributions to public enlightenment. By these public enlightenment programs, I have been able to contribute to social change in Nigeria.

Examining the multiple ways that migration relates to social change and capacity development is a formidable task as migrants are exposed to legislation and policies that facilitate capacity development. These bring about formation of civil societies that create awareness and expectation from government institutions. Awareness created by civil societies means migrants are able to decide on how to cast their votes for political leaders who they think have effective development agendas and policies for the country.

A major challenge to effect the needed change is the lack of an enabling environment in Nigeria. There is a need for the Nigerian government to design policies that will encourage migrants to return and promote their re-integration into Nigeria. Therefore, a

more forward-thinking approach to channel migrants' capital by the Nigerian government is aimed at changing their social environment, and promoting migratory innovations. The enabling environment for the occurrence of capital transfers and capital investment is essential. Migrants must be conceived as part of the capacity development solution (Grabowska et al., 2017).

Yet there are challenges at the structural level. Nigerian employers do prefer skilled professionals who have studied and worked in developed countries. As Hammonds (2015) notes this is because returned migrants bring with them professional training, new ideas and expertise. These skilled migrants propose new ideas to business but also to government about how both should prioritise the distribution of limited resources contributing to the development of a functional economy.

Because returned migrants capitalise on their accumulated professional skills to secure more skilled jobs and managerial positions with better remuneration and work conditions, there is resentment from those who have not migrated or improved their own capital. This is especially the case because of the high level of unemployment in Nigeria.

Respondent 2 confirmed this:

The benefit of studying abroad for me was that it helped me get a better job with a government parastatal. It also provided me with the knowledge of the world trading system and how to better position my country to benefit from the World Trade Organisation (WTO). I was also promoted to a managerial position because of my qualifications and years of experience...this led to a lot of resentments in my work place.

Returned migrants come back to Nigeria better equipped to meet the skills needed by employers within their area of expertise. Recognition of their foreign qualification by employers places these returned migrants in management roles within their

organisations. This has resulted in work place rivalry and resentment, particularly with those who never migrated. The absence of effective policies for the re-integration of skilled migrants, including addressing issues of resentment, constitute a challenge to full utilisation of the human, social and cultural capital brought back to Nigeria by Nigerian skilled migrants. From this research it is clear that returning Nigerians are able to make significant contributions to Nigerian society and governance. Respondent 10 outlined the nature of change a returned Nigerian can make:

My business spans all over 28 states out of the 36 states in Nigeria. My skills are in health insurance and healthcare management, my skills are relevant because my country has just started the National Healthcare Insurance Scheme, and they need people with the knowledge of health insurance to fast track the process. Studying in Australia helped support my career as I was exposed to how health care insurance is managed in ten different countries in the world. (RM 10)

Nigerian skilled returned migrants can foster capital transfers in two ways: firstly as a knowledge carrier through their physical mobility, which is an effective way of transferring embodied cultural capital of skilled returned migrants; and secondly, return migration can initiate knowledge transfer through their access to external knowledge pools by developing and using global social networks to facilitate capacity development in Nigeria. The use of migrant social networks for skills transfer provides migrants with the technical and organisational problem-solving skills that are beyond those available in Nigeria (Klein-Hitpab, 2016). Returned migrants' existing social and professional networks help in re-integration into the Nigerian labour force and facilitate individual, organisational and societal capacity development.

Migrants acquire new norms, values, ideas and aspirations during their stay abroad specifically as skilled migrants. However, returned migrants face a great variety of difficulties on return. Some migrants come back from relatively rich countries to a country with a lower standard of living. Migrants come back from different complex social systems to relatively simple, social and economic structures in which much of the overseas acquired skills may need to be modified to suit the Nigerian context, because these countries have very different work environments, norms, values and cultural capital (Klein-Hitpab, 2016). Nonetheless, this research has found the returned migrants have adopted multiple modes of professional skills transfers.

6.5. Modes of professional skills transfer

This study has identified various means of professional skills transfer that include skills transfer through professional networking sites, workplace interactions with colleagues, professional skills transfer through research and development and professional skills transfer through conferences and seminars. One of the most direct and successful modes is the use of the Internet, specifically the use of professional networking groups. Respondent 10 had this to say when asked about how they make use of professional networking sites:

I update my professional qualifications on social network sites.
I also frequently recruit staff from professional network sites.
My company usually posts job vacancies on LinkedIn to recruit staff.

Information and communication technologies have become a global driver of migration and capacity development. They have facilitated the exchange of resources and information along with participation in professional networking sites. Specifically, the Internet has changed the nature of professional relationships compressing time and space as it eliminates distance between skilled professionals (Diminescu, 2008). For example,

the use of video calls and Skype allows these professionals to have a face-to-face online contact. Bacchi (2016), in a study of skilled Egyptian migrants from Austria, agreed with the value of information technology for successful professional skills transfers. According to Bacchi (2016) new technologies can be used to introduce new skills and ideas to enhance social, political and economic development. More so, these online professional relationships have led to the emergence of new virtual communities. The circulation and sharing of information through the Internet play a central role in creating virtual communities and migrant social networks. Therefore, the Internet provides an avenue to interact and exchange information and sustain relationships with individuals who are not physically in the same proximity.

Migrants also re-connect with their country of origin through the Internet by sustaining relationships with people who never migrated and reside in Nigeria. Furthermore, the Internet provides space for migrants to communicate among themselves in virtual communities. These online interactions further contribute to building and constructing a sense of community that may contribute to building mutual benefit, reciprocal trust, strengthening pre-migration and new social ties through exchange of professional information. Individuals can share and accumulate social capital, and mobilise individuals and communities for social, economic and political benefits. Shaker (2017) studied Iranian women in Australia and discovered that this group of women utilises a combination of different information technology devices including the Internet, mobile phones and landline phones to have daily communication. According to Shaker (2017) Iranian women in Australia also use various video chat applications and Internet call applications to sustain relationships with their country of origin. Just as Respondent 10 uses professional networking, this was common among other participants:

I search for job opportunities on professional network sites (Respondent 21).

I get the latest information on what is happening around the world, latest job advertisements and the skills others have acquired, or find out which competencies employers are looking for, the use of professional networking sites are very beneficial to my career (Respondent 2).

I use *LinkedIn* for networking and keeping abreast of current professional trends in my field (Respondent 3).

Professional network sites help me learn new things, meet new people, interact with diverse range of professionals and exchange career ideas (Respondent 12).

Therefore, professional network sites and the use of the Internet play a major role for migrants and returned migrants, socially and in terms of future employment. Other respondents have identified other means of professional skills transfer on arrival in Nigeria. These include professional skills transferred through workplace interactions.

Another mode of professional skills transfer for returned migrants is through work place interaction with colleagues and employees. The workplace is one of the most important sites for the generation, application and transfer of professional skills and knowledge obtained from Australia. Skills transfer in the workplace enhances capacity development, as returned migrants are able to share their knowledge with colleagues. The workplace provides for collaboration and circulation of skills and knowledge that can also be beneficial to organisational capacity development. The transfer of knowledge in the work place is easily facilitated when there are necessary mechanisms, support and resources to help returned migrants transfer their skills. Professional skills and knowledge are transferred through daily activities of skilled migrants, with some of the returned migrants that participated in this study saying:

My years of work and study abroad were very beneficial because I got a better job when I returned home. I could transfer my skills in the workplace through participating in trade negotiations for my country; I also transferred my skills through meetings with colleagues and working directly with entrepreneurs, assisting individuals and my country on trade issues (Respondent 2)

Likewise, Respondent one identified that his skills are also being transferred in the workplace:

Before I returned to Nigeria I was already certain that I would become an entrepreneur working in the transport sector. So, I could purchase some vehicles with the money I brought into the country. I transferred my skills to my employees through work place orientations, inductions, and training and at staff meetings.

My skills are in business development. I returned to Nigeria because I believed that there were opportunities for me, I could transfer my skills in the workplace by creating a weekly strategic planning session to discuss business growth (Respondent four).

My work and study abroad gave me the opportunity to be promoted to a senior manager with the non-government organisation where I work. I supervised staff from five different countries and could transfer my skills through online software and physical interactions with these staff during international gathering (Respondent three).

I coordinate the organisation call centre staff; teach them basic things like phone etiquette and how to give authorisation codes to hospitals that provide secondary services under the National Health Insurance Scheme. Through this I was able to transfer my knowledge to colleagues in the work place (Respondent 21)

What the above suggests is that in the workplace professional skills can be transferred through formal interaction. Klein-Hitpab (2016) identified three different types of skills that can be transferred in the work place; these include technical skills, management skills and communication skills. Returned migrants' technical skills are similar to Bourdieu's idea of embodied social capital that is explicit in nature and can be better transferred through work place interaction. Furthermore, the implementation of

technical knowledge often depends on the existence of management skills, which comprise operational and strategic competencies. For example, in a medical organisation while good communication skills may be helpful to relate with clients, more easily diagnose ailments, and enhance work place interaction, management skills are also crucial to help with administration. Hence, management skills and communication skills are important forms of organisational knowledge that are generally more explicit in character than technical knowledge. Implicit knowledge such as technical knowledge is normally more difficult to transfer, as it is cultural capital that is structurally embedded in the skilled migrant. Therefore, successful transfer and implementation of organisational knowledge can lead to innovations in the work place such as the implementation of innovative management procedure and strategic adjustment. In terms of innovation capacity have gained relative importance for the innovation capacity of firms and the modification of skills for organisational capacity development.

Javorcik, Ozden, Spatareanu & Neagu (2011) in a study of migrants and Foreign Direct Investments (FDI) identified that returned migrants have business and social networks that span across international borders and can help reduce contractual and information barriers to starting a business in their country of origin. According to Javorcik et al. (2011) returned migrants can facilitate beneficial international transactions. Returned migrants have the required ethnic and national knowledge that help eliminate the lack of language skills and lower communication cost. Returned migrants also have the required knowledge about market structures, consumers' preferences, business ethics and commercial codes. According to Javorik et al. (2011), returned migrants' social skills, networking skills and knowledge of the local environments decrease the cost of negotiating international trade.

For skills to be effectively transferred employers must recognise the competencies and the need for these skills. Professional skills can either be lost or utilised in the workplace. The utilisation of knowledge is based on the interaction between individuals and the work culture in Nigeria. Often returned migrants must adapt to local work ethics that they are not used to: this may include the style and standard of professional practice that these migrants find at odds with what they are familiar with while in Australia. For example, Respondent 12, a lawyer who completed a Master of Law at Griffith University in (Queensland) stated that:

I find it difficult to transfer my skills in the Federal Ministry of Justice where I work as a state counsel because my supervisors are not ready to embrace change. They don't believe you have any unique skills. Filing of court processes and cases are approached the same way it has been for decades.

Respondent eight, had a similar experience, stating, "The skills I acquired involve human resources, recruitment and selection process, staff motivation and reward. However, these skills are better transferred if staff ideas are more welcomed by the management."

Returned Nigerian migrants also transfer management skills, especially knowledge in the fields of entrepreneurial, organisational structures, human resources strategies as well as project management. Skilled returned migrants are well positioned to use their knowledge to start their own companies or form subsidiary companies. Returned migrants introduce more efficient and target oriented organisational structures and workplace procedures to their work environment, hence improving communication structures and quality standards.

However, Respondent 12 and Respondent eight indicate that there is resistance to change by management and poor re-integration of returned migrants in the workplace could compromise the knowledge transfer capacities of returned migrants in the workplace environment. This makes it difficult for workers to effectively utilise the skills they have obtained in Australia to facilitate capacity development in the workplace. Workplace interaction can enhance organisational capacity development if properly supported by the management of the organisations.

Professional skills from returned migrants can also be transferred through research and development. Research is useful not only for academics but it can also enhance the process of government legislation and policy formulation. Some returned migrants who participated in this study identified that they are able to transfer their skills through research and development. Respondents five and 20 offered the following:

I studied in Australia at the University of Adelaide. I did a Master of Public Health. Apart from the advanced medical skills that I acquired, I also acquired skills in policy research and decision-making. These skills helped me get a better job after I returned to Nigeria. I now work with National Agency for AIDS Control in Nigeria. I could transfer my skills through policy research and publishing papers on maternal and child transmission of HIV/AIDS in Nigeria (Respondent five).

I use the skills I have acquired in legal research in administering my daily casework. I also use these tools for legal research and contribute to some law journals and legal research database in Nigeria (Respondent 20).

Respondent five and Respondent 20 have added to existing knowledge and enhanced organisational capacity development through their roles in research in both the healthcare and legal sectors in Nigeria. Research enhances government policy-making decisions for the provision of informed, evidence-based policymaking and management of public resources. In addition, research increases the level of knowledge and

understanding of a particular subject. Aderinto and Samuel (2008) identified the need for more research on HIV/AIDS in Nigeria particularly amongst young adults. According to Aderinto and Samuel (2008), there is still stigmatisation of people with the HIV viruses. Respondent five and 20 have been able to use their added knowledge and skills to improve their productivity in the workplace on arrival in Nigeria. This is particularly evident in the healthcare sector because medical research has a high value to society as it provides information about disease trends, risk factors, outcome of treatments and various pattern of care.

In the case of Respondent five, this respondent has produced publications on child and maternal transfers of the HIV virus (a major concern to the population of Nigeria) and has also addressed issues relating to unwanted teenage pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases in her research on HIV, while Respondent 20 has contributed to law report reviews in Nigeria. Both returned migrants have participated in organisational capacity building of the health and legal sectors in Nigeria.

This study also identifies public enlightenment programs through electronic and print media as a means of professional skills transfer for the capacity development of citizens of Nigeria. Respondent 10 had this to say,

I transfer my skills on health insurance to Nigerians through public sensitisation on television and radio programs in Nigeria. We educate Nigerians on the benefits of having health insurance and tell them about their rights to access care at their appointed healthcare providers. I am currently writing a book on healthcare insurance in the Nigerian context now. There is no book written on this subject in the country. Hopefully the book will be launched before the end of the year 2018.

Respondent 10 intends to create more awareness of the benefit of the national health insurance scheme in Nigeria through the publication of a book on health insurance in the

Nigerian context. Similarly, other returned migrants use various communication methods to transfer their knowledge considering the need for capacity development in Nigeria, as Respondent five said:

From the research we have so far conducted on HIV we discovered it is prevalent amongst students, adolescents and people with low levels of education. So, we decided to focus on these groups of people in our media campaigns to the market place, university campuses and poor suburbs within the cities we are currently working.

What the extract from Respondent five indicates is that several methods of public enlightenment can be used to transfer professional skills on return to Nigeria. The particular method used at each point in time will generally depend on several factors such as the literacy level of the target audience, location, age groups, and the predominant language spoken by these beneficiaries. Education and public enlightenment can contribute to skills transfer from returned migrants and also used to facilitate capacity development in Nigeria.

Some of the respondents in this study also identified seminars and conferences as their medium of professional skills transfers on their return to Nigeria. Some of these respondents averred that:

When I arrived back in Nigeria from Australia, I got a job with the Federal Ministry of Information Communication Technology in Abuja, Nigeria. So, I work for the government. I transfer my skills through seminars and workshops. During these seminars, we develop business intelligence strategies for entrepreneurs and the government. We also provide training on how information technology can facilitate the growth of small and medium scale businesses in Nigeria. All these contribute our knowledge to nation building within our capacity (Respondent 19).

The HMO I work for organises annual sensitisation programs for the enrollees and beneficiaries of the National Health Insurance

Scheme. These sensitisation programs are seminars and conferences where enrollees are enlightened on the various benefits of using the health insurance scheme. These seminars aid development, as our aim is to provide better outcomes for our healthcare delivery system (Respondent 21).

Knowledge and skills are transferred through seminars and conferences to contribute to organisational capacity development in Nigeria. The African Diaspora Policy Center (ADCP) (2011) utilises seminars and conferences as a means of tapping into the skills of returned migrants. The ADCP attracts returned migrants through the Linkage Expert and Academics in the Diaspora Scheme (LEADS). The LEADS program attracts experts to Nigeria by facilitating conferences and seminars in the areas of information and communication technology, management sciences, medicine, mathematics, dentistry, mining engineering and natural science. Seminar and conferences are also utilised by the African University of Science and Technology in Abuja to facilitate the transfer of returned migrants' skills for the capacity development of Nigeria. The African University of Science and Technology was established in 2007 with the objective to train African scientists and engineers with the help of returned migrants and professionals in the diaspora.

This research finds that skilled migrants return to Nigeria with the intention of using their skills and knowledge to effect changes in the Nigerian social and economic sectors. However, it is noted that in relation to return migration, there are several barriers to their progress to effect changes in their origin countries (Cassarino, 2004). Some of the challenges these skilled migrants encounter include: different work ethics; necessary modifications of their skills to suit the Nigerian context; lack of technical support due to poor infrastructure; and resistance to change.

Some respondents in this study have identified that they had to modify their skills to suit the Nigerian context. For Respondent's one, six and 12 said this,

My main challenge was that I found it very difficult to understand Nigerian transportation system especially the way the roads are linked and identifying the shortest route to each destination. This includes the facts that our roads are bad and traffic is not predictable especially in Lagos. So, you cannot estimate an arrival time for taxi drivers. This makes monitoring the drivers a bit difficult. Also, the Google maps and Global Positioning System (GPS) that we have here are not as reliable as the ones we were trained with in Australia. I had to rethink and design strategies that support the Nigerian context to make the system work. Also, the frequent fuel scarcity in the country poses a huge challenge on the smooth running of the business (Respondent 1).

We were trained using the Australian legal system to study the Master of Law in Australia. Although, it is a sort of a similar legal system because the British also colonised Nigeria, however, the processes are sort of different the way our judiciary and court systems work is different from the way the Australian court system works. So, you must make necessary modifications to meet the requirements to file your processes in court (Respondent 12).

...our architectural design and city development designs are different from the ones we studied abroad. We have chosen and select the ones that are relevant for the Nigerian context. The city layouts are totally different (Respondent 6).

These respondents have shown that the knowledge acquired abroad can only be useful after it has been modified to fit into the Nigerian context. To efficiently transfer skills obtained from Australia to the Nigerian context, a mutual understanding and acceptance of the different rule systems involved is essential to contribute to capacity development. There is a need for migrants to communicate effectively in both countries, in different institutional contexts and to facilitate a mutual understanding of heterogeneous norms, values and rule systems. A skilled returned migrant is at an advantage in managing these two systems existing in both Australia and Nigeria because a returned migrant has lived

and obtained experience in Nigeria and Australia. They are well positioned to act as institutional entrepreneurs and invigorating institutional change, transferring and implementing new knowledge that helps contribute to capacity development in Nigeria and alters institutional arrangements, for example, introducing new procedures in the work place. Therefore, there is a need for an enabling environment and necessary support to facilitate the capacity development process and skills transfer of migrants.

Similarly, another factor that poses a challenge to the effectiveness of skills transferred from the diaspora is the reluctance of the system and employers to accept change and new ideas from these returned migrants. Some of these returned migrants had this to say:

My employer was reluctant to accept my proposals due to different levels of understanding the trade concepts (Respondent two).

Most Nigerians have unreformed mindset, because they are really reluctant to embrace change (Respondent six).

Management needs to be more welcoming of staff's new ideas (Respondent eight)

Most people did not agree with my knowledge, skills and ideas because they are ignorant of the positive contribution of the skills to the organisation (Respondent 11).

The major challenge I experienced was a major resistance from people who say they do not believe in health insurance and the whole idea of health insurance is fraudulent. Most Nigerians still believe in the ideas of paying cash to access healthcare and organisations still use retainership arrangements to provide healthcare to their staff, rather than using their health insurance cards and HMOs do the necessary payment on their behalf (Respondent 10).

I encountered opposition when I made attempts to transfer my skills. This is because colleagues that studied and worked in Nigeria were not familiar with my ideas. For instance, some colleagues insisted that subscription to an online research journal couldn't be justified, because in their opinion the cost of subscription exceeds the benefit to the law firm (Respondent 20).

Extracts from these respondents show that the system is reluctant to accept change. This is because people in Nigeria are not fully aware of the benefit of the skills brought back by returned migrants, that they can bring positive changes and development to the Nigerian economy. Returned migrants do not only change work place procedures and organisational structures, they also introduce institutional changes in the context to which they are returning based on their Australian workplace experiences and different institutional contexts. Returned migrants often have a different level of expectation regarding the functionality of the work environment in Nigeria. If the work place conditions in Nigeria do not meet their expectations, some returned migrants seek change to better the function of institutions and the workplace.

6.6 Work ethics

Various narratives from the respondents in this study have shown that on a migrant's return to Nigeria, skilled workers were given supervisory and senior management positions in their workplace. The returned migrants said they expected a certain standard of work and a pace of work and commitment like the ones they experienced while in Australia, but this was not the case in Nigeria. Some of these respondents had this to say:

When you fix appointments with clients and colleagues, they come to your office at least an hour late. They tell me to make my time management schedule a bit more flexible to accommodate their very unserious attitude towards work. This is because they cannot meet up with the scheduled time for their appointments (Respondent 20).

There are very different work ethics in Nigeria. In advanced countries, you get paid an hourly rate but in Nigeria you get paid monthly, most people are not ready to work they are just waiting for their monthly salary at the end of each month (Respondent 10).

When I get to the office at resumption time, there is nobody at his or her work desk. People always stroll in 2 to 3 hours late. When you ask them for the reasons for coming late, they say I had to drop my children off at school, queue for petrol to get to work and do some chores at home before coming to work. If you demand a better attitude to work from them, they remind you it's a government organisation not your family business (Respondent 19).

Poor work ethics have made the smooth transfer of professional skills difficult as these returned migrants have different expectations from the realities of the Nigerian work environment. Baaz (2015) studied returned Congolese migrants from Europe. He did identify that returned migrants have a different work ethic compared to those who never migrated. Returned migrants are hard working, more focused and industrious. Workers who never emigrated were always procrastinating and reserving work to be done in the future. He also disclosed that those who never emigrated were more corrupt, and often collect unauthorised fees before serving the public. Paasche (2016) in a study of returned migrants to Iraq and Kurdistan identified corruption as a major impediment to re-integration of returned migrants, as well as the unequal distribution of power and wealth and the lack of merit-based job opportunities. Paasche (2016) argues that corruption is an understudied factor that cuts across the economy, development and security of a migrant's country of origin. According to Paasche (2016), factors such as weak social institutions and low incomes lead to corruption. Paasche (2016) defined corruption as culturally embedded in the economy of developing countries and includes nepotism, abuse of power, misappropriation of funds, insider trading and abuse of the public purse. Paasche (2016) also discovered that corruption could obstruct entrepreneurship by affecting the broader economic environment.

There are several problems around the re-integration of migrants when they return to Nigeria particularly in the workplace. Re-integration in the workplace is important and does not always happen smoothly. Successful re-integration of migrants in their countries of origin, especially of skilled professionals, has often been seen as a measure that favours capacity development. Migrants have generally been able to accumulate financial capital, new knowledge, skills and human and social capital that can be productively used in Nigeria. Likewise, Wong (2017) studied returned Ghanaian migrants. In Wong's view returned migrants expected a certain pace of work, commitments and achievements similar to that which they were accustomed to while in the developed countries. However, these positive attitudes to work within the Ghanaian workforce were absent. When returned migrants request better work ethics it results in high staff turn-over (Wong, 2017).

Returned migrants sometimes have problems with the approach to work evident in Nigeria, leading to lack of understanding between these skilled workers and those who have never lived or worked abroad. These migrants encounter difficulties in the workplace related to precarious infrastructure, slow and heavy bureaucracy and administration, corruption, and malfunctioning services.

6.7. Infrastructure deficits

The poor state of infrastructure in Nigeria makes it difficult for people to transfer their skills. Some of the respondents interviewed claimed,

There are no updated resources to carry out research in Nigeria. Our libraries are out dated and sometimes the government is not ready to pay for subscription for online research journals (Respondent five).

The facilities we have here cannot be compared to the ones we are trained to use in Australia, the lack of basic infrastructures and machines makes it difficult to work (Respondent 22).

My major challenge in transferring professional skills is that the resources we have are not sufficient to efficiently drive the adoption of Information Technology processes in government administrative procedure (Respondent 19).

The absence of basic facilities such as the Internet makes the transfer of skills difficult (Respondent eight).

Primary data from this study has shown that return intentions of skilled Nigerians and those relocating to Nigeria after an extended period abroad may increase if there is a belief that the Nigerian government can provide an enabling economic environment, a viable re-integration policy with adequate career growth and future prospects, address workplace ethics and attitudes and improve infrastructure. Because of the challenges such as these faced by returned migrants, several respondents indicated that they are considering relocating back to Australia. Specifically, the lack of support in re-integrating back into Nigerian society and the lack of support for the transfer of their capital and skills in the workplace raise a major concern for migrants when re-considering returning to Australia.

According to the ADCP (2011) several factors point to re-integration policy continuity and coherence (for example, when a new government takes over the administration of Nigeria they sometimes annul the policies and programs of their predecessors). The ADCP (2011) has identified that since President Obasanjo who established NIDO ended his tenure as the president of Nigeria, little has been done to facilitate the diaspora's engagement in the capacity development of Nigeria. Ammassari (2003) studied a cohort of Ghanaian and Cote d'Ivoire skilled returned migrants and found that they can impact positively on capacity development if there is a suitable enabling environment.

Therefore, economic, social-cultural and political conditions prevailing in developing countries, particularly Nigeria, may effectively prevent the utilisation of professional returned migrant capital and skills to the optimum level.

This research has identified skilled returned migrants as individuals who return with financial capital, knowledge, skills and social capital, yet little attention is directed to the enabling environment and various social and infrastructure constraints these migrants encounter on return to Nigeria. However, the development potential of returned migrants is fundamentally contingent on general social, economic and political conditions in Nigeria. The extent that migrants can contribute to capacity development is dependent on the available infrastructure, social facilities and the re-integration support, as well as government legislation to support skilled returned migrants. These essential components require structural reforms and government intervention. Capacity development in Nigeria is undermined despite the efforts of skilled returned migrants to contribute to capacity development. This is evident in the research conducted with returned migrants as discussed in this chapter.

6.8. Summary

This chapter has discussed and analysed primary data from twenty-two skilled migrants who have returned to Nigeria, examining their efforts to transfer the various skills they have obtained in Australia for capacity development. Social capital theory has been used as the conceptual framework to analyse and discuss the various processes of re-integration and professional skills transfer of these returned migrants and their contributions to capacity development of Nigeria. The various modes of professional skills transfer are discussed in this chapter, and include the use of information technology, research and development and public enlightenment to promote the various

activities that migrants do to facilitate capacity development in Nigeria. Skilled returned migrants are examined as agents of change in Nigerian society bringing innovations and awareness to various sectors of the Nigerian economy that include healthcare, education, transport and legal sectors of Nigeria.

Data used in this chapter focus on the various reasons for return migration and the difficult re-integration processes. This chapter further discusses the inadequacy of the Nigerian government in providing the necessary policy environment for the skilled to be re-integrated into the Nigerian workforce. Instead it notes that returned migrants usually rely on their bonding and bridging social capital to acquire jobs and re-integrate into the Nigerian work force. The lack of appropriate re-integration policies and several structural and economic problems have been identified in this chapter as impediments for the effective transfer of a migrant's cultural capital.

The various modes of professional skills transfer used by these returned migrants to transfer their skills for organisational capacity development are also identified in this study. This study also includes observation on the inadequacy of the existing theories on return migration, as these theories do not consider the transfer of professional skills from these skilled workers and several other reasons for return migration. This chapter concludes with emphasising the challenges of effective utilisation of skills in Nigeria. Some of these challenges include different work ethics, inadequate infrastructure to facilitate skills transfer, and resistance of Nigerians to change.

Chapter Seven

Conclusion

7. Introduction

This chapter synthesises the findings of this research. The conclusion stems from the examination of the various issues that emerged from the theoretical framework, concepts, secondary and empirical data collected from field research using surveys and semi structured interviews to examine the lived experiences of skilled Nigerian migrants in Australia and skilled migrants who have returned to Nigeria. The implications of this study are identified and recommendations for policy reforms and further research are considered in this chapter.

The main aim of this thesis is to understand the role of the diaspora capital of skilled Nigerian migrants who either reside in Australia, or who resided in Australia before returning to Nigeria. This thesis examines how diaspora capital can be effective in Nigerian capacity development, and has critically examined the role of trans-national migrants in facilitating skills transfer to Nigeria through entrepreneurial activities, professional visits, online activities and membership of professional networking groups. In addition, this thesis has added to existing knowledge on Australia-Nigerian returned migrants' professional skills transfer and capacity development in Nigeria.

This concluding chapter will revisit the aims and objectives of the study and summarise the central arguments presented to date. This chapter will also identify the contribution of the thesis to diaspora studies, migrants' social capital and trans-national migration. This research found that there are significant policy weaknesses that hinder the transfer

of diaspora capital to Nigeria, which adversely impacts on the country's development. To that end, this chapter outlines a number of policy recommendations for the Nigerian government. Lastly, this chapter notes important areas for future research.

7.1. Revisiting aims and objective

Four aims informed this research. Firstly, this study seeks to re-conceptualise the definition of diaspora capital to include both financial and non-financial remittances of Nigerians residing in Australia or those who have returned to Nigeria as productive contributors to capacity development in Nigeria. Non-financial remittances have been examined as forms of social, human and cultural capital, which are transferred with the intention of capacity development. While financial remittances are well studied, this research sought to understand and demonstrate how non-financial diaspora capital has an important role to play in improving Nigeria's economic, social, cultural and political society.

In evaluating the nature and value of diaspora capital in the contemporary Nigerian context, this thesis seeks to contribute to scholarship on social capital theory, transnational migration, capacity development framework and diaspora studies by considering how migrants' non-financial remittances are understood in these theoretical spaces. The key purpose was to authenticate the role of non-financial remittances as a core instrument in capacity development; something often under-considered in other remittance studies.

Secondly, this study also aims to further the understanding of the various constraints and opportunities attached to skilled Nigerian migrants in their efforts to effectively transfer their human, social and cultural capital. Significant hindrances to the successful transfer of diaspora capital were found in the primary research conducted for this study. These

hindrances were experienced by the Nigerian diaspora in Australia and those who returned home. For the latter the issues of successful re-integration were particularly evident. Without policy prescriptions for issues of re-integration, it is likely that the level of return migration and importantly the transfer of diaspora capital is at risk. Numerous factors that impacted the ability of returned migrants to re-integrate, including both structural and economic problems, require immediate redress if diaspora capital is to be successful in Nigeria's capacity development.

The ability of migrants to impact on capacity development is shown in this research to be highly dependent on the conditions of their return and their re-integration experiences. Skilled returned migrants can positively impact on capacity development in Nigeria if they have the necessary support to facilitate the transfer of their professional skills on arrival in Nigeria. Returned migrants bring back skills, knowledge and social networks acquired while abroad, which can directly lead to business opportunities, expand employment, improve business efficiency, positively impact on work ethics, all contributing to economic growth in Nigeria, which in turn enhances the process of capacity development. Re-integration into the Nigerian labour workforce does not happen smoothly, hence there is a need for the Nigerian government to provide policies that assist successful re-integration and provide an enabling environment to facilitate migrant re-adjustments into the Nigerian environment.

Thirdly, the utilisation of skills acquired by skilled Nigerian migrants and their institutional cultural capital has been extensively examined in this study. The various impediments to the utilisation of skilled Nigerian migrants' professional skills and work experience are examined within a context of the non-recognition of foreign qualifications of skilled migrants. The various methods Nigerian skilled migrants

utilised their embodied cultural capital and institutional capital to obtain skilled employment and avoid deskilling is found to be a significant area of consequence when it comes to efforts to expand diaspora capital.

Lastly, this study further identified the need for the Nigerian government to embrace the diaspora and return migration to mitigate the effects of the brain drain, which impedes the national development of Nigeria. This study argues that, even if skilled migrants do not permanently return to Nigeria but they are able to effectively transfer their diaspora capital – that is, their skills, ideas, knowledge, networks, entrepreneurialism, business proficiency, their language and corporate understanding, and the other social and cultural capital that they acquired while working and studying outside of Nigeria, then members of the diaspora can still make a positive contribution to the capacity development of Nigeria. However, to enable the diaspora to contribute to capacity development, the Nigerian government needs to actively engage the diaspora and offer support and incentive for migrants to effectively contribute both non-financial and financial remittances to Nigeria.

7.2. Summary of arguments

This study considers the issue of the ‘brain drain’ and its significance in engaging with migration research. The African brain drain debate has been subject to controversy for decades. While some policy-makers and researchers have emphasised the negative effects of brain drain, this study has argued that migration leads to the redistribution of social, human and cultural capital of Nigerian migrants in the diaspora and can facilitate capacity development in Nigeria. Trans-national and return migration reduces the negative effects of the brain drain if properly supported by the government. Given that migration from Nigeria is likely to continue in the future, positive steps are needed to

ensure Nigeria benefits from migration. Here the notion of effective diaspora capital transfer becomes significant.

Research conducted for this thesis has shown that skilled Nigerian migrants maintain ongoing emotional, social and professional ties with their country of origin. There is evidence of a willingness among members of the Nigerian diaspora to contribute to the improvement of Nigeria, regardless of whether they intend to return or not. Moreover, effective diaspora capital transfers, particularly of non-financial capital, can – if properly supported by the Nigerian government – offset the initial cost associated with the brain drain (that is, the training of Nigerians in key areas needed to improve Nigerian society, only to have them leave Nigeria and take their acquired skills with them). Put more directly, this thesis has argued that the Nigerian diaspora can offset the brain drain if able to effectively transfer their capital while outside of Nigeria and on return to Nigeria. In addition, trans-national and return migration are able to bring political, social and economic benefits to Nigeria provided policy makers understand the needs and aspiration of the diaspora and work closely with migrants and business communities to create the necessary support that will facilitate the transfer of professional skills, whether or not migrants choose to return to their country of origin.

7.3. Contribution of the study

Overall, this study emphasises the significance of migration and diaspora engagement for Nigeria. This study has shown that migrants acquire more skills and extend their social and cultural capital through migration. Migration can be beneficial to Nigeria as a source of diaspora capital and by the harnessing of both financial and non-financial benefits of diaspora members who reside in Australia and other destinations, and who can and do contribute to the capacity development of Nigeria. This study considers that

there are a number of recommendations for the Nigerian government to embrace both the diaspora and return option of migration to facilitate the ongoing and future capacity development of Nigeria.

The Nigerian government has made some efforts in relation to the diaspora to further their positive contribution to diaspora capital. For example, in July 2017 the Nigerian government took the initiative towards engaging the diaspora for capacity development through the establishment of the *Nigerian in Diaspora Commission (Establishment) Act* (2017). This legislation has identified the need to harness the human and social capital of Nigerian in the diaspora globally. The new legislation also intends to support and facilitate diaspora voting allowing expatriate Nigerians to participate in elections while they reside outside of Nigeria. Similarly, the Nigerian government in a bid to raise financial capital has rolled out USD\$300 million in Diaspora Bonds in June 2017 (Appendix 3). However, if diaspora capital is going to make a more significant contribution to capacity development in Nigeria, other areas of policy required consideration.

The structural reform policies needed by the Nigerian government to effectively ensure the transfer of non-financial diaspora capital should focus on the broader needs of Nigerian society. Structural reform should consider capacity development as its primary aim. For example, there is a clear need for the Nigerian government to address the poor state of Nigeria's infrastructure. Structural attention is needed to address, in particular, the lack of basic technology available within Nigeria. For members of the diaspora, one of the key impediments to their effective transfer of their non-financial capital – as evidenced in this research – is the lack of a modern efficient communication sector. Reform of the communication sector, specifically the provision of a secure, reliable and affordable Internet service, would significantly improve Nigerian society on a macro-

level and in turn it would allow for more effective transfers of diaspora knowledge, skills and opportunities. In this sense, this structural reform would have a double effect on the progression of Nigerian development.

There is a need for effective support and policies to encourage the use of modern technology, such as the Internet. A reliable Internet will facilitate professional skills transfers, but also reduce corruption and red tape, address poor work ethics, create incentives and opportunities in the labour market, assist with tax reforms, and generally contribute to investment in Nigeria. A modern communication sector, including a reliable and affordable Internet would create an enabling environment for the country to attract new migrants, encourage the return of the diaspora, assist the diaspora in making effective capacity development transfers, and overall boost economic growth in Nigeria. Effective communications would increasingly harness the benefit Nigeria could receive from its global diaspora. This is one example of the type of structural reform required. The following section specifically outlines the need for various policy reforms specifically considered necessary to harness the Nigerian diaspora for the purposeful aim of capacity development. Nigerians in the diaspora are well positioned to make invaluable contributions in the area of research, information exchange, mentoring, advocacy and building social networks; all of which will assist in the capacity development of Nigeria.

7.3.1. Re-integration of returned and trans-national migrants

Re-integration assistance and policies are essential for Nigerian skilled trans-national migrants who need to transfer their skills for the capacity development of Nigeria. There is a need for a new perspective on the positive contributions that the Nigerian diaspora can make. Put another way, emigrating Nigerians should not be seen as an asset lost but rather as agents who can contribute to capacity development while residing outside of Nigeria. Similarly, returned former members of the diaspora should not be seen as failures, but as a cohort that returns with enhanced skills, knowledge, expertise and experience that, if supported by effective re-integration policies, can and will make a positive contribution to Nigeria.

Returned migrant re-integration policies should address the needs and priorities of skilled migrants. Re-integration policies need to address the barriers outside of the conditions of the labour market. For example, some returned migrants may have lost language skills or cultural knowledge while abroad, and some children born to migrants while in destination countries may not speak the native language well and need special services to help develop their language skills. In these two examples, the returned migrant should not be disadvantaged but rather supported in re-integrating themselves and their families back into Nigerian work and life. While they remain alienated from Nigerian culture or excluded from the Nigerian workforce they are not able to make positive contributions to Nigeria's ongoing development. There is a need to have effective policies that create and sustain economic and social foundations into which a returned migrant can easily re-integrate into the Nigerian environment.

Economic re-integration policies should provide for support and processes by which Nigerian skilled migrants are re-settled into the Nigerian labour market on return to Nigeria. Returned migrants need support to be able to transfer their skills and in turn be financially rewarded for the contribution their enhanced skills make to Nigeria (Chobanyan, 2013; ILO, 2010). For the successful re-integration of skilled returned migrants into Nigeria, there is a need for solutions to employment related problems that include finding a suitable job that matches individual skills and work experience for the advanced skilled returned migrant. To better harness the skills of these migrants, re-integration policies should be individualised plans that target vital information which can be used to match migrants with relevant needs for capacity development in various sectors of the Nigerian economy. The vital information should include the level of education of the skilled returned migrant, including professional skills acquired while overseas and their overseas work experiences. Good salary schemes for these returned migrants, infrastructural development in Nigeria and improved working incentives are all considered areas requiring government reform.

The re-integration process would vary with each migrant, with some migrants able to obtain jobs because of the human, social and cultural capital they bring from the destination country. This is particularly evident for returned migrants who are starting a new business venture. However, for other returned migrants re-integration policies must enhance the use of the skills of the returning migrants and positively support measures allowing them to effectively transfer their professional skills. This approach should be adopted from the view that their contributions will contribute to capacity development in Nigeria. The support for re-integration of skilled migrants should focus on the individual need of these migrants, such as employment options for spouses of returned

migrants and access to quality education and healthcare for children and families of trans-national and returned migrants. Re-integration policies of skilled trans-national and returned migrants should also provide information about job opportunities to match their high skills. Contacts with employers can also be made over the Internet or telephone before returning to Nigeria to ensure these migrants are employed on return to Nigeria.

The skills of these returned migrants need to be adaptable to local needs in Nigeria. Adaptation of foreign skills to the Nigerian labour market will require some training and support for the full utilisation of the skills these migrants bring back to Nigeria. Re-integration policies need to identify the skills and experiences that migrants have acquired abroad and recognise how it can be modified to meet the local needs. This study has shown a range of skills that trans-national migrants and returned migrants have acquired while in Australia. However, to be able to fully utilise these skills, there is still a need to be able to adapt these skills to Nigerian society and contribute them to various sectors of the Nigerian economy. Modifications of their skills are also very crucial to help them adjust their career paths and ensure the skills and expertise that they have acquired abroad can be effectively utilised in the Nigerian economy.

Some prospects for returned migrants lie in entrepreneurial activities. Re-integration policies should therefore also include the provision of incentives to encourage entrepreneurial activities for returned migrants. Re-integration policies should include tax exemptions in setting up new business ventures, housing and social benefits for trans-national and returned Nigerian skilled migrants, assisting them to re-integrate into the Nigerian environment and make immediate and successful contributions to the Nigerian economy.

Re-integration policies should also recognise that while not all returning diaspora may have obtained skilled jobs while abroad, they have still increased their embodied social and cultural capital via learning or improvements in second language skills, specifically advancements in the English language, but also in financial, administration and political skills, as well as social and cultural skills which with the support of re-integration policies could still see them transfer this expertise to Nigeria.

While the Nigerian government may identify the need for Nigerian skilled migrants to return and contribute to capacity development on a permanent and long-term basis, it may be possible to consider appointing them to short-term positions allowing them to contribute to the accomplishment of specific projects within a short period of time. Short-term labour contracts would assist the returned migrants in deciding if they will continue to reside in Nigeria or returning to Australia if they are unable to re-integrate successfully into the Nigerian work environment as well as allowing them to reconnect with Nigerian society. The latter will likely have an impact on decisions about further relocation. Trans-national migrants have to be given sufficient support via the encouragement of trans-national activities that support short-term work contracts for these ex-migrants, and facilitate their final return.

7.3.2. Policies to support formal transfer of financial remittances

Migration of the skilled is conceptualised as being a potential contribution to development, with labour emerging as the most valuable export commodity in developing countries. The benefit of skilled emigration rests on financial and social remittances within a dominant migration-development discourse. This is viewed as

being critical in unlocking the development potentials of migrants and the benefits of migration for Nigeria.

Skilled migrants possess substantial resources in terms of economic capital as illustrated by the level of official transfer of financial remittances sent to Nigeria. The volume of financial remittances has reached high enough levels that it raises questions about how remittances are measured, recorded and sent between Australia and Nigeria either through formal or informal channels and the uses of financial remittances to enhance capacity development in Nigeria.

The major challenge of financial remittances remains the cost of sending financial remittances to Nigeria, because banking costs are high. While formal remittance transfer systems through the Nigerian banking system are trusted for safe delivery of financial remittances, because of the high cost of financial remittance transfer other informal transfers occur. Strict banking rules in Nigeria, such as the provision of documentation, provision of identification documents for the recipients and slow procedures for sending financial remittances limit the use of the Nigerian banking sector for delivering financial remittances. Again, this suggests informal channels are being used which suggests that the size of the financial remittance sector is much higher than official estimates. The shortfalls of the Nigerian banking system have encouraged many Nigerian migrants residing in Australia to turn to alternative informal channels for delivery of financial remittances to Nigerians.

Informal channels of sending financial remittances offer services at lower cost and other attractive features such as speed and various methods of payments, strategic location of payments and withdrawal points. Reliance on informal channels of sending financial remittances can be risky and creates unreliable data on the amount of financial remittances sent to Nigeria. The need to have an effective means of sending financial

remittances makes it imperative to increase the appeal of formal transfer channels and lowering the cost of transactions and to create platforms for easier sending and receipt of financial remittances. Beyond sending financial remittances, harnessing the social, cultural and human capital of the diaspora is crucial for the capacity development of Nigeria.

7.3.3. Effective policies to harness diaspora capital of Nigerian migrants in Australia

Firstly, there is a need for effective policies that support statistical data collection on international migration of Nigerian skilled migrants. A lack of reliable data on the size of the Nigerian diaspora globally constitutes an obstacle to developing effective diaspora policies and programs. The Nigerian government frequently identifies the lack of reliable data on the Nigerian diaspora in Australia and globally. It is crucial for the government to have a specific number for Nigerian- migrants and their children who reside in the diaspora. Data from census, population registers and household surveys can generate a better understanding of migration pathways, occupational experiences of Nigerian skilled migrants in Australia, their age, gender, educational level and labour market status. The Nigerian government can also obtain detailed information about Nigerian migrants through multicultural organisations, diaspora organizations and professional organisations in Australia, as well as the Australian Government Bureau of Statistics.

Secondly, a diaspora skills audit is crucial for Nigeria. To help Nigeria identify its diaspora capital in Australia, appropriate outreach strategies towards members of the diaspora can only be obtained if data is available on how many skilled migrants reside in the Australian diaspora, their location, the available human capital in the diaspora and

the willingness of these groups of Nigerians to contribute to the capacity development of their origin country through the transfer of their professional skills.

Thirdly, there is a need for the Nigerian government to have an effective diaspora engagement plan by taking specific actions to understand where and who the members of the diasporas are, build solid relationship based on trust with diaspora members, and facilitate their involvement and transfer of diaspora non-financial capital to Nigeria. There is a need for the Nigerian government to regularly communicate the various market and business opportunities, specifically investment opportunities, available in Nigeria to members of the diaspora. Building trust and an effective communication system with the members of the diaspora will help the Nigerian government to be able to identify the skills in the diaspora. These skills can be effectively matched to Nigerian development needs. Diaspora engagement should be a priority for the Nigerian government to be able to achieve the aim of capacity development. These reforms will give the Nigerian government a better understanding of the problems encountered by their nationals in the destination countries and encourage migrants to involve themselves more in the development of their country of origin. Several migrants who participated in this research were found to have little knowledge of the various initiatives undertaken by the Nigerian government to engage with the diaspora.

The government of Nigeria should improve its communication and the effectiveness of its activities regarding policies for the Nigerian diaspora. Interviews conducted in this study have shown that many members of the Nigerian diaspora in Australia are willing and able to be involved in a more meaningful way to help the development of Nigeria. However, the Nigerian government needs to be more involved by identifying the talents, skills, knowledge and expertise that these skilled migrants can offer to Nigeria and

provide the necessary schemes to promote the effectiveness of diaspora capital to capacity development. These initiatives can only be successful if the gaps are identified and policies formulated in response.

Furthermore, there is also a need for the Nigerian government to identify clear developmental goals, to which they want the diaspora members to contribute to ensure effective capacity development. The Nigerian diaspora in Australia can contribute financial, social, human and cultural capital to the development processes but the contribution of the diaspora cannot substitute for the cultivation of domestic legislation to integrate the basic elements of good governance into development. Harnessing the diaspora capital of Nigerians in Australia cannot be done in a vacuum. There is a need for a visible and effective capacity development framework with achievable development goals. Capacity development frameworks should be used, as an integral part of developmental planning and in turn the Nigerian government needs to identify what areas of development can be supported by diaspora capital.

It is also crucial to build the trust of the diaspora members in soliciting their support. Building trust with diaspora populations involves creating effective policies that support the transfer of professional skills, and creating a workable environment for diaspora engagement in development activities. The introduction of investment bonds may not yield favourable outcomes for the Nigerian government because there is lack of trust between the Nigerian diaspora and the Nigerian government, due to the lack of support in the transfer of skills for capacity development of Nigeria as identified by this study.

It is also important that the Nigerian government build trust with members of the diaspora by including steps to improve the domestic business environments, and ensure

greater transparency in the regulation and licensing of new businesses. Effective policy implementation and a universal guideline that supports investment in Nigeria are crucial for the Nigerian government to build trust with diaspora members. This includes translating promise into reality and the importance of diaspora engagement in development. The Nigerian government still lacks the ability to design effective policies and implement them for effective capacity development of the country. Effective diaspora engagement policies are crucial to utilise the skills of the diaspora. There is a need for the Nigerian government to utilise the available resources to address poverty and build capacity for quality leadership and good governance, solving inter-ethnic crises, insecurity and socio-economic inequalities. Diaspora engagement plans need to address the push factors for migration from Nigeria and address national economic development. The Nigerian government needs to intensify its cooperation with NIDO to enable the government to tap into diaspora resources. Nigerians in the diaspora have organised themselves along professional, ethnic and religious lines. These professional groups can be used for effective mobilisation of human and social capital for the benefit of Nigeria.

Trans-national and returned migrants need to be included in an overall comprehensive policy approach to migration. These concepts need to be balanced against other components of migration policy, including the availability of legal channels for labour migration to meet labour market demands. One aspect of return migration is its potential to enhance Nigeria's development. This necessitates creating a conducive environment for the return and re-integration of return migrants. The transfer of migrant skills, technology, investment, entrepreneurship, social, professional and scientific networks are ways by which these returned skilled migrants could contribute to capacity development.

However, while migrants can make valuable financial and non-financial contributions to development there is still a cogent need for government to make developmental policies to facilitate trans-national migration, and the return and re-integration of migrants. International migration can be beneficial to both destination and origin countries in dealing with issues around migration and development. It is necessary to adopt a more realistic approach, given the availability of jobs and the aging population in developed countries while developing countries such as Nigeria have high youth unemployment. There is a need for the Nigerian government to arrange for labour mobility agreements to provide jobs for its growing population.

There is need for better management of migration flows. Better migration management can reduce the effect of any putative brain drain on Nigeria and help reduce the unemployment burden on the Nigerian government. The growing importance of transferring migrant social, human capital and cultural capital back to Nigeria is now being recognised and the efforts to ensure migrants can act effectively as development agents have increased. Migrants' financial remittances are significant and contribute to development through the provision of consumables and long-term investment. However, financial remittances alone will not sustain the long-term capacity development of Nigeria. Hence, there is a need to approach diaspora capital from a holistic approach to include the non-financial benefits that diaspora members have to contribute to capacity development.

There is a need for an all-inclusive diaspora Commission Act that addresses the needs of migrants both in destination countries and the country of origin. To harness the capital of Nigerians in the diaspora there is a need for inclusive legislation that is not only drafted by Nigerian lawmakers but includes the opinions of members of the diaspora. The Diaspora Commission Act and the activities of Nigerians in the diaspora

organisations should be aimed at capacity development of Nigeria rather than only focus on the size, nature and role of financial remittances in facilitating development. The focus should be on non-financial diaspora contributions and the Nigerians able and willing to provide this capital for improved capacity development. The proposed diaspora voting should be effected. Diaspora voting will give Nigerians in the diaspora a sense of belonging and participation in the democratic process in Nigeria.

7.3.4. Economic reforms to facilitate professional skills transfer and capacity development

Incentives to encourage return migration cannot succeed unless there are improved economic and social conditions in Nigeria to support returned migrants and their transnational activities. For example, Nigeria ranks 169 out of 190 economies on the World Bank 'Ease of Doing Business' ranking for 2017. The poor ranking by the World Bank is a result of several factors that include poor infrastructure, the slow procedures associated with the registration of businesses in Nigeria, lack of access to reliable and affordable electricity for the operation of business, as well as a poor communication sector and related infrastructure. Many businesses in Nigeria have to rely on self-supply of electricity. Self-generated electricity through inverters and generators increase the cost of production for businesses in Nigeria. In addition, the purchase and registration of property entails a cumbersome process of formal property transfer that is costly and complicated.

The Nigerian economy at present does not encourage foreign direct investment, transnational activities and return migration. Diversification of the Nigerian economy is a structural requirement for the improvement of Nigeria. Nigeria currently relies on crude oil to generate income yet crude oil income is not sufficient to support the economic

needs of a growing population. There is a need to explore other sectors of the economy such as the agriculture and mining sectors. These can help engender economic growth, improve productivity in Nigeria and lead to the creation of more jobs.

The poor social and economic conditions in Nigeria have resulted in a decline in the value of Nigerian currency. Non-payment of workers' salaries contributes to corrupt practices. An incremental and regular payment of salaries and better working conditions for government workers will help reduce corruption in the public service. Reform of the Nigerian civil service should be responsive to its actual need. A component of civil service reform is to provide adequate remuneration, reducing and eliminating the need for public employees to act corruptly. These reforms should be complemented by the introduction of an adequate checks and balances process.

An enabling environment for capacity development reveals the complexities of factors that are important to be put into place; conditions that can support socio-economic development in Nigeria. Government needs to improve policy, legal and regulatory frameworks, build institutional capacity across sectors and various levels of the society and maintain accountability and feedback mechanism in the provision of social services that support overall development.

A better economy and effective measures that support the reduction in corruption will facilitate more involvement in professional skills transfer from migrants that reside in the diaspora. An effective legal and judicial reform is necessary to reduce corruption. There is a need for the Nigerian police to be more effective in eliminating the culture of giving and collecting bribes in Nigeria. In addition, there is also a need for the Nigerian government to clarify and streamline necessary laws, and also strengthen the law enforcement capacity.

Policy reforms should include measures to improve the security of lives and properties. The activities of the Boko Haram insurgency, the Niger delta militant groups in Nigeria and several other ethnic, communal and religious crises have resulted in Nigeria being identified as an unsafe country for foreign direct investment, as well as return migration and trans-national activities. There is a need for the Nigerian government to address security issues in the country. Nigerian migrants should feel safe to return to their country of origin to transfer their skills and be able to contribute to capacity development.

In order to facilitate economic and social activities of diaspora members that contribute to capacity development, it is important to design an acceptable business legal framework. An effective business legal framework provides the basic context for rules governing operations of trade and services in various sectors of the Nigerian economy. Business legal frameworks also define the principal administrative, economic and fiscal guidelines for investment in Nigeria. Therefore, there is a need for the Nigerian government to create an acceptable business legal framework for an effective environment for organisational capacity development. The creation of an effective legal framework for the operation of trade and services will protect the interest of both skilled returned and extant migrants and the Nigerian government. This legal framework will provide support, transparency and universal guidelines on investment and entrepreneurial activities in Nigeria. Returned migrants and trans-national migrants will be able to make reference to these guidelines for economic activities that promote social and economic development.

7.4. Implication of the study in Nigeria and beyond

In order to understand migrants' diaspora capital I have used social capital theory, trans-national migration and capacity development frameworks as a theoretical basis for this study. Social capital is examined using Bourdieu's, Coleman's and Putnam's idea of social capital to present various scholarly opinions of social capital on migrant communities and the building of diaspora groups. Social capital is also examined in terms of bonding, bridging, linking and digital social capital, the various networks that migrants form within their ethnic groups and as a source of information in bridging social capital are examined in this study. The role of the government in formation of a social network for migrants between their countries of origin and the destination countries of skilled migrants and community participation of migrants in capacity development are examined using Putnam's idea of social capital.

This thesis has extensively used primary data obtained through surveys and semi-structured interviews to examine Nigerian migrants who reside in Australia as trans-national migrants who through their trans-national activities might contribute to capacity development in Nigeria. In addition, this study has also examined skilled returned migrants as agents of change and the various factors that impeded the effectiveness of the skills these groups of migrants transfer to Nigeria.

Although this study draws on a Nigerian case study it does not mean the findings here do not have implications that extend beyond the case study of this thesis. It is likely that this thesis has implications for developing countries, particularly in Africa, that are mainly the originating countries of labour migrants and are very reliant on migrants' financial remittances. The implications of this study on Africa can be summarised as follows:

There is a need to identify and explore other benefits of the diaspora that are more than financial remittances. Skilled migrants' financial remittances constitute an important source of foreign exchange and income for migrant families and friends in developing countries. Financial remittances as examined in this study have positive impacts as they help improve the quality of lives in Nigeria and also promote socio-economic development. This study has also shown that migrant financial remittances can either be used for consumption or investment purposes. However, the debate reflecting the use of financial remittances in development is still ongoing. While the volume and uses of financial remittances can be an important source of income for families and households, the impact of financial remittances in the long-term is very uncertain. According to the World Bank remittances sent to developing countries diminished in 2016. The reduction in the amount of remittances is a result of many factors that include low oil prices, weak economic growth and the falling exchange rate of major currencies (World Bank, 2017b).

The position of this thesis is to explore the reliance on financial remittances by migrant supplying countries and provide a platform to examine other benefits, which the diaspora has to offer, such as migrants' skills, knowledge, cultural and social capital which are able to contribute to capacity development in the long term, and not just rely on financial remittances.

Furthermore, this study identifies the various challenges trans-national and returned migrants encounter in Nigeria, which are peculiar to working in a developing country and contribute to the push factors of migration. Some of the issues identified in this study include the lack of government policies to facilitate trans-national migration and poor working conditions. In addition, the lack of support for returned migrants to successfully

integrate back into their countries due to several challenges impedes their ability to positively impact on capacity development in Nigeria.

7.5. Suggestions for further research

This thesis is an invitation to look more closely at the roles migrants can play in capacity development of their countries of origin within the given framework of diaspora capital. This study has explored themes and practices that require extensive theoretical and empirical consideration. In other words, this study has extensively examined migrants and their relationship to homeland capacity development. There are several ways which future research can improve on the findings of this thesis. I suggest the following areas, in particular, that can be considered for further research.

Firstly, as discussed earlier, the Nigerian government has introduced the *Diaspora Establishment Act* in July 2017. However, it is too early to evaluate the effectiveness of this legislation in organising the Nigerian diaspora, addressing the needs of diaspora members and harnessing the social, human and cultural capital of the diaspora. There is a need to examine in the future how effective this legislation will be in achieving its aims of drawing on the skills of Nigerians who reside in the diaspora. Furthermore, one of the aims of having this legislation is to supervise the welfare of Nigerians in the diaspora and facilitate diaspora voting. This thesis strongly suggests that there is need for further research to evaluate the success of this legislation in overseeing the welfare of Nigerians in the diaspora that is beyond raising financial capital in terms of diaspora bonds and facilitating the easy transfer of financial remittances to Nigeria.

Secondly, there is a need to examine the efforts of the Nigerian government in creating an enabling environment for professional skills transfer. This is because the lack of an

enabling environment impedes the activities of trans-national and returned migrants to effectively transfer their skills. Issues such as the absence of basic infrastructure like electricity, good roads, security of lives and properties, and access to good standard education impede the transfer of professional skills.

More qualitative research can be done on trans-national entrepreneurial activities of migrants. Given the poor socio-economic conditions in Nigeria and similar developing countries most migrants will continue to resort to trans-national emigration rather than return home to facilitate professional skills transfer. However, there is a need for more research on the impacts of globalisation and information technology such as easier modes of professional skills transfer through the Internet, effects of online networking groups in facilitating capacity development, and cheaper and faster modes of transportation that connect migrants' origin and destination countries. There is need for research on how these modern and dynamic technologies impact on the transfer of migrants' social, human and cultural capital to enhance capacity development.

Thirdly, there is a need for research on a bilateral labour mobility agreement in Nigeria to reduce the problem of youth unemployment and avoid irregular migration. The Nigerian government can apply the Philippine's government model of organised labour mobility to developed countries to help reduce youth unemployment and facilitate capacity development through the sending of financial and social remittances for capacity development. Labour mobility agreements will provide a relief to the growing unemployed population in Nigeria, as unemployed individuals would be able to go overseas to work legally with the support of the Nigerian government. The departure of these migrants would not constitute a brain drain but rather provide an avenue for

individuals to be more productive and to acquire new cultural capital and utilise the skills they already have.

7.6. Researcher statement

This thesis has examined the lived experiences of Nigerian skilled migrants. Two cohorts of Nigerian skilled migrants were examined in this study using qualitative methods of data collection, social capital theory, and trans-national and capacity development frameworks. This thesis argues that Nigerian skilled migrants remit more than financial capital, namely they contribute diaspora capital and this is crucial for capacity development.

The first sets of Nigerian migrants examined in this study are members of the diaspora who engage in trans-national practices to transfer their professional skills to Nigeria and enhance the process of capacity development of Nigeria. This study has shown that Nigerian migrants maintain social and emotional ties to their country of origin through the use of information technology, social and financial remittance flow and return to Nigeria for professional and family visits. The various modes of professional skills transfer used by these migrants to contribute to capacity development of Nigeria are discussed in this study.

The second cohort of Nigerian migrants examined in this study are migrants who have returned to Nigeria to use the various forms of diaspora capital acquired in Australia for the capacity development of Nigeria. This study examined the various motives for return migration of skilled migrants to Nigeria and the various challenges they face while trying to contribute their skills for capacity development of Nigeria. This thesis concludes with policy recommendations for the Nigerian government to better harness the diaspora capital of its citizens in Australia.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Appendix 1

Draft Cooperative Programme of Action Between The Nigerian High Commission, Canberra And The Nigerian Community in Australia: Operational Plan and Set Goals For 2011 and Beyond.

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"A Road Map"

Briefing Note

Background

The Nigerian community and the various associations, Ethnic/sociocultural and Faith based Groups (**network of Churches, Mosques, professionals, etc**) play very important role in the task of the High Commission in meeting its basic obligations of promoting the welfare, and protecting rights of Nigerians in Australia and the countries of concurrent accreditation. They are equally important and are in a position to make very valuable contributions in the pursuit of mutually satisfactory Nigeria-Australia relations. The assumption of duties by a new High Commissioner to Australia presents an opportunity to build on previous efforts to develop a close relationship with the Nigerian community. Towards this goal, a number of priority areas have been identified and an operational plan developed to serve as a guide for action. The Plan of Action is, so to say, a Road Map in Mission's cooperative endeavor with Nigerians and various Associations in Australia and other countries of concurrent accreditation.

2. This Briefing Note sheds further light on the Plan of Action and Set Goals for further discussions, inputs and subsequent implementation in close consultation and cooperation with the Nigerian community.

Migration and Development Issues

3. Migration and Development issues have moved to the top agenda across the world. The link between migration and development has become a topical issue at national and international levels for a broad range of reasons. With an estimated

population of about 20 million in the Diaspora and home remittances put by the World Bank at around \$18.6 billion dollars (**Over Eighteen billion United States dollars**) in 2009, Nigeria which is reputed to be the 6th largest recipient of remittances in the world, can no longer ignore the link. Since the "**Town Meeting**" held in Atlanta in summer of 2000, increasing attention has been paid to the Nigerian Diaspora as a critical factor for nation building and the pursuit of Nigeria's developmental aspiration. This is from the perspectives that the Nigerian Diaspora has proved to be a veritable source of foreign earnings and expertise in a wide area, (Science and Technology, Agriculture, information technology, space nuclear science etc) that should be tapped. The issue is not to pursue a complete ingathering of Nigerians from the four corners of the world but to continue to harness in an innovative way the potentials of the Nigerian Diaspora towards national development. This fact has led to a paradigm shift in our consular relations with other countries and Nigerians abroad away from the narrow confines of repatriation and voluntary assistance towards the broader concept of **Migration and Development**.

4. It must be acknowledged that there are serious problems and challenges in our consular and immigrations relations with several countries across the world including Australia which must be addressed. The problem areas include the following: the irregular Nigerian migrants; reissuance of passports, problems of trafficking in drugs and persons (particularly women,) large number of asylum seekers; fake documents. All of these also require appropriate action. Consequently in pursuit of a new trend in our consular and immigration relations, all of these need to be put in proper perspectives. The success of a new policy posture as envisioned above will require cooperation between the Mission, the Nigerian Community, DFAT AUSAID Department of Immigration and Citizenship and other stakeholders on Australian.

5. The Road Map and Plan of Action is being proposed along the following lines:
- (i) Sensitization and Push for a paradigm shift in our consular and immigration relations, away from current focus on repatriation towards the concept of "**Migration and Development**".

(ii) **Submission and commencement of negotiation of a draft M. o U. on Migration Partnership between Nigeria and Australia. (End August 2011)** The Draft M.o.U will encompass cooperation in the following areas:

- Practical programs and activities to harness the large pool of Nigerian Professionals in Australia to support development programs at all levels of government in Nigeria, local state and federal levels; (the brain drain and brain gain debate);
- prevention of irregular migration, fight against smuggling of migrants, trafficking in persons and drugs;
- promotion and protection of human rights;
- capacity building in immigration administration; border management and control;
- Re-admission and reintegration; Voluntary Assistance Return (VAR); vocational training;
- Close working relationship with the International Organization for Migration(IOM) ;
- Detecting Fraudulent Document/cooperation between immigration officials of our two countries; Regular migration including visa issues,
- Remittances issue A less cumbersome and expensive remittances regime.

(iii) Elaboration of a Working Programme of Cooperation with the Nigerian community in various parts of Australia, Western Australia. New South Wales, Queensland Northern Territories and Tasmania etc

Page | 3

- (iv) Organization of Workshops, Dialogue Seminar and open forum on Consular, migration and development issues in collaboration with the respective chapters of Nigerian Associations in different parts of Australia (**First in the series to be held in November 2011 after preparation of the necessary concept note**)
- (v) Census of Nigerian Nationals in Australia including those in correctional centres; (to be undertaken in cooperation with NACA, Nigerian Churches, cultural Groups etc .
- (vi) Formation of a Federation of Nigerian Associations in Australia.
- (vii) Acquisition of a passport machine in Canberra Efficient, effective and courteous visa and other consular services in the Consular section and

Support for Sustainable Management of Nigeria's Mineral Resources

6. According to a recent publication by the World Bank, Changing the Face of Nigeria's Mining Sector, organized mining commenced in Nigeria between 1902 and 1903. By 1919 the Geological Survey of Nigeria was established and Minerals Ordinance of 1946 and the Coal Ordinance of 1950 provided the legal framework for mining in Nigeria and by 1960 over one hundred mining companies operated in the country, employing several Nigerians and minerals mined included tin, coal and industrial minerals. Lamentably the discovery of oil in 1956 and its exploration drew attention away from Nigeria's vast mineral resources and wealth. Several attempt have been made to give the sector the required attention. This most recent was in 2005 when government obtained some credit from the World Bank/IDA to what has now become known as the **Sustainable Management of Mineral resources (Project SMMRP)**. It was part of the strategy to develop Nigeria's non-oil sources of revenue. Its Objectives include the following:

- Sustained the determined efforts of Government to tap the potentials of Nigeria's vast Solid Mineral resources for industrial minerals production;
- Create non-farm and non-oil wealth through artisanal and small scale mining
- Establish a conducive socio-economic regulatory and fiscal framework and environment favorable to the development of domestic private sector to attract foreign investors
- Empowering and engaging mining communities un the development of the development process.

7. The SMMRP has achieved a lot. It includes the following:

- (i) Passing into Law of an investor friendly Legal and Regulatory Framework "The Minerals and Mining Act No 20 of 2007" and the Nigerian Minerals Regulations 2011;
- (ii) Adoption of the Nigerian Minerals and Mining Regulations 2011 which encapsulate a general provision, Minerals Title Administration, Mines operations, mine health and Safety, inspectorate Department, Mines Environmental management, protection and rehabilitation programme as well as artisanal and small scale mining
- (iii) Establishment of a Mining Cadastre Office to ensure transparency and efficient grant and management of title in line with international best practices;
- (iv) **Provision and Improvement of Physical infrastructure through the establishment of a befitting Headquarters Ministry of Solid Minerals, and Zonal Offices in Jos Sokoto Kano Kaduna**
- (v) **Establishment of the National Geoscience and Research Laboratories Centre**

- (vi) **Provision of Field Vehicles establishment of the Nigerian Institute of Mining and Geosciences**
- (vii) **Capacity Building through training of over 10,000 Nigerians in various components part of the sector**
- (viii) **Focus on and Development of Nigeria's huge gemstone potentials**

As a result of the foregoing the mining sector has witnessed tremendous progress in form of:

- Increased investor (over 10,000 applications were received and 4,000 licenses have been granted while 50 international mining companies are at present exploring for different minerals in Nigeria;)
- Improved mining investment small grant programme about 133 mining cooperatives have benefitted from the programme and livelihood of mining operators has improved to over 500%.
- Increased revenue profile as reflected in the gradual rising from N215.48 million in 2005 to N823 million in 2009.

Possible Role of Australian and Nigerian Professionals

8. The foregoing brief description of the positive developments in the Nigerian mining and solid minerals sector is an indication of the fact the sector has been repositioned to enable full harnessing of our vast solid minerals. The success of Australia in transforming its solid minerals and natural resources sector into a power house, driving its economy is worthy of emulation. Efforts must be made to ensure close working relationship between Nigeria and Australia in this area. In this connection we must take advantage of the large presence of Nigerian professionals in this sector in Australia. The focus is how Nigerians can help in the promotion of government objectives as envisioned in the Sustainable Management of Mineral Resources Project in Nigeria. Some have suggested that States endowed with Solid

⇒ Search

minerals should in fact be a focus of attention in this regard to borrow from Australia's experience.

The Cultural Sphere:

9. Nigeria's rich cultural heritage is a veritable tool of projecting a positive image for the country. Properly packaged it also has the potentials to spin a wave of economic returns. Consequently the Mission in cooperation with the Nigerian community will take full advantage and areas of focus will include the following:

- (i) Encouragement and support for the Ethnic and Cultural Association in the drive to fully harness Nigeria's rich cultural heritage through various activities: socio cultural presentations , art exhibition in various parts of Australia;
- (ii) Cultural Diplomacy Initiatives: Closer ties with the National Art Gallery of Australia and National Art Gallery of Nigeria and the National Commission on Museum and Monuments.
- (iii) Encourage and facilitate visits to Sydney and other major cities in of Australia "**Nigerian Cultural Ambassadors**": Nollywood actors, actresses; musicians TUFACE Dbanj, Lagabaja; ASA National Troupe of Nigeria etc.
- (iv) **Participation in Australia's multicultural festivals;**

Information Management , the Media and Public Diplomacy;

10. The Internet and satellite radio/television broadcast as well as the social media have led to a total revolution of media and information management. This development requires a new approach to information management. The vision of the Mission is to work closely with the Nigerian community to use the "new medium" to project a possible image of Nigeria and Nigerians in general. Towards this goal conscious efforts will be made to cultivate the media and engage in public diplomacy

to endear the country to Australians; reach out to influential politicians and the Australian Parliament. Proposed areas of action include the following:

- (i) Regular publicity of Mission's activities at bilateral and multilateral levels as well as coverage of High-level visits through press releases, articles in the Nigerian and Austrian media; Newsletter;
- (ii) More efficient management of Mission's Website as a user friendly medium for Mission's activities and tool of **Public Diplomacy as well as** a veritable information on Mission's activities, Nigerians and Nigeria in general.
- (iii) Promotion of positive image of the country through a more effective and innovative information management and promotion of Nigeria's image.
- (v) Vigorous public communication activities and constructive media engagement; Pursuit of 'Public Diplomacy'; This is aimed at promoting a positive image and combating stereotypes about Nigeria and Nigerians in Austria;
- (vi) Reaching out and encouraging the formation of **"friends of Nigeria in the Austrian Parliament"**.

Sustainable Development, Climate Change and the Global Green New Deal

11. Australia has made tremendous progress in pursuit of sustainable development and meeting the challenges of climate change and promotion of the Global Green New Deal initiative. Nigeria should work closely with relevant Australian Institutions in this respect for the following:

- Pursuit of Nigeria National Environment Agenda in various thematic areas, climate change, combatting desertification, land degradation,

- Effective implementation of the National Policy on Electronic Waste
- Prevention of dumping of hazardous waste
- Implementation of a sustainable development programmes and projects (CDM, Carbon Tax policies et al)
- Effective adherence to the EITI initiative particularly in the mining and mineral resources sector. etc.

Conclusions

12. The primary purpose of this Briefing Note is to commence a consultative process and stimulate further discussions between the Mission and the Nigerian community in Australia. Hopefully the discussions would spin a wave of various initiatives to promote welfare of Nigerians and advance Australia -Nigerian relations; as we all work together for the realization of our shared goal, of turning Nigeria into the paradise of our dreams.

**High Commission of Nigeria
Canberra
10th August 2011.**

Appendix 2

Draft

The Nigeria Society of Victoria Incorporated (NSV): The Melbourne Declaration and Programme of Action in Support of Health Care System in Nigeria

Preamble:

1. On the sideline of the 2014 International Conference on AIDS (AIDS2014), held in Melbourne, Australia from 20-25 July 2014, the **Nigerian Society of Victoria Incorporated (NSV)**, with the active support of the **Nigeria High Commission in Canberra, Australia**; organised a meeting/reception in honour of the Nigerian Delegation to the Conference. The Nigerian Delegation was led by the Honorable Minister of Health of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, Professor Onyebuchi Chukwu. Others include the Director General of the National Agency for Control of AIDS (NACA), the Executive Director of Positive Action for Treatment Access (PATA) and other top Health dignitaries from Nigeria. The event was also attended by the Nigerian High Commissioner to Australia, Ambassador Ayo Olukanni and other officials of the Nigerian High Commission.
 2. The meeting provided the opportunity for extensive exchange of views between members of the NSV and other diaspora Nigerians from different parts of Australia most of whom are very successful medical practitioners and professionals in the Health Care sector in Australia. The focus of the meeting was the state of Health Care in Nigeria.
 3. It was acknowledged that the successive governments in Nigeria have strived to improve the health status of Nigerians over the years through various national Health Care programmes. In this regard, great progress was recorded and in this connection, the Federal Government, State Governments and the Leadership of the Ministry of Health were commended for their efforts. It was nonetheless agreed that a lot of challenges remained and there must be a concerted effort to provide Nigerians with an adequate health care system.
- The National Strategic Health Development Plan (NSHDP) 2010-2015**
4. In particular, the meeting reviewed the Health Care system and health indicators in Nigeria and acknowledged that current trends are encouraging. In this regard, it recognized that that the **National Strategic Health Development Plan (NSHDP) 2010-2015** presented an opportunity as stated in its Vision and Mission statements and overarching goal "to significantly improve the health status of Nigerians through the development of a strengthened and sustainable

health care delivery system” and the general objective of the post 2015 agenda / plan should be to consolidate on the gains and advance the objectives.

The meeting consequently agreed that members of the NSV and other Nigerians in Diaspora in Australia will - through various initiatives - be involved and undertake the following:

5. **Support the Initiative under the NSHDP** to “To reduce the morbidity and mortality rates due to communicable diseases to the barest minimum; reverse the increasing prevalence of non-communicable diseases; meet global targets on the elimination and eradication of diseases; and significantly increase the life expectancy and quality of life of Nigerians”.
6. **Support the 8 priority goals of the NSHDP** namely, Leadership and Governance for Health, Health Service Delivery and Human Resources for Health, Financing for Health, Establishment of a National Health Management information system, and partnership for Health, Community Participation and Ownership as well as Research for Health.
7. Provide support for the various Medical Health Centers across Nigeria including the specialist Hospitals such as: the Federal Neuro Psychiatric Hospitals; the National Orthopedic Hospitals; the Eye Centre and the National Ear Care Centre and hospitals designated for the treatment of Cancer.

Support for the Polio Eradication Programme

8. It was observed that the polio-eradication Programme had achieved significant success but steps must be taken for complete eradication of Polio in Nigeria.

Improvement of maternal and Child Health and Primary Health Care

9. It was acknowledged that the maternal and infant mortality in Nigeria remained unacceptably high despite tremendous progress made in reducing them and vigorous steps should therefore be taken to support the maternal, newborn and child health programme; as well as other components of Primary Health Care.

Support for NACA and the fight against HIV/AIDS.

10. The meeting welcomed the efforts of the National Agency for Control of AIDS (NACA) in the fight against HIV/AIDS. It was agreed that steps will be taken to support NACA in pursuit of its vision, mission and mandate to plan and coordinate activities and programmes as envisioned under the National Response Strategic Framework on issue of HIV/AIDS prevention, Care and Support.

Reproductive Health

11. It was observed that Reproductive health was important, particularly against the background of growth in Nigeria's population, its strategic importance in propagating safer motherhood, as well as in the prevention of sexually transmitted infections (STIs).
12. While the President Goodluck Jonathan administration is to be commended for investing in the reproductive health programme, action should be sustained to ensure universal coverage of these services.

On-going Health and Medical initiatives from Nigerians in Australia

13. It was acknowledged that individual Nigerians, persons of Nigerian heritage and links, organisations and groups in Australia are involved in implementation of on-going Health Care programmes in various parts of Nigeria, and steps should be taken to bring such initiatives to the attention of the relevant unit of the Federal Ministry of Health for information and necessary support as appropriate.

Commitment and Implementation Arrangements

14. Participants at the meeting reaffirmed their commitment to the implementation of this **Declaration and Programme of Action** as envisioned and in this connection agreed to an Implementation arrangement as follows:
 - (i) The Nigeria Society of Victoria will set up a coordinating committee of Health Professionals in Victoria and other stakeholders from other parts of Australia to identify projects and programmes to be supported within the framework of this Declaration and its Programme of Action;
 - (ii) Existing Programmes on the part of Nigerians, persons of Nigerian heritage and links, organisations and groups in Australia will be identified and collated for registration and sent to the relevant unit of the Ministry. Copy will also be made available to the Nigerian High Commission in Canberra for information and supplementary action; and
 - (iii) The Federal Ministry of Health will designate an appropriate Unit/Desk to facilitate coordination, follow-up and implementation of programmes and

initiatives emanating from the NSV and this **Declaration and Programme of Action**.

- (iv) The health professionals in Australia shall be linked up with the Diaspora Unit of the Federal Ministry of Health with a view to developing and signing an appropriate Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between the Ministry and the body of Nigerian Health professionals in Australia.

Conclusion

15. In conclusion the meeting expressed its appreciation to the Hon Minister of Health **Professor Onyebuchi Chukwu**, the Nigerian High Commissioner to Australia, **Ambassador Ayo Olukanni**, NSV Executive Committee led by its **President, Fred Alale** and NSV members for the initiative for the meeting. Participants also thanked the Nigerian Delegates including top health dignitaries for honouring the invitation to the event and their contributions during the deliberations.
16. Finally it was agreed that concerted efforts must be made to ensure the implementation of this **Declaration and Programme of Action**.

Initialed by:



Fred Alale
President

Nigerian Society of Victoria Incorporated



His Excellency Ambassador Ayo Olukanni
Nigeria High Commissioner
Canberra



Dr Bridget Okoeguale
Director

Department of Public Health
Federal Ministry of Health
Abuja, Nigeria

Done at Melbourne, Australia, on this day 22nd July 2014.

Appendix 3

**High Commission
of the Federal Republic of Nigeria**

Tel: 61 2 6282 7411
61 2 6282 0357
61 2 6282 0693
Fax: 61 2 6282 8471
E-mail: chancery@nigeria-can.org.au
Website: www.nigeria-can.org.au



26 Guilfoyle Street
Yarralumla ACT 2600
P O Box 241
Civic Square ACT 2608
CANBERRA, AUSTRALIA

Ref: 3/NCA/AC/330/Vol.II

16th June, 2017

The President
Nigerian Association South Australia

Dear Sir,

THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF NIGERIA USD300 MILLION DIASPORA BONDS

This is to inform that the Federal Government of Nigeria (FGN) has rolled out the first ever Diaspora Bonds of USD300 million.

2. All Nigerians in diaspora are encouraged to take advantage of this long-lasting investment in their country which also provides the opportunity to be part of Nigeria's development stride.
3. However, applications to purchase the Bonds cannot be made directly to the issuer (FGN). As an investor, it is required to consult with your stockbroker, private bank, wealth manager or other financial intermediary in your host country regarding the application process. It would be appreciated if the above information is disseminated to the Nigerian community.
4. Please accept the assurances of the High Commission's highest consideration.


Mrs. Joy Adeniran
For: Ag. High Commissioner



Appendix 4

School of Behavioural, Cognitive and social sciences

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Australia

Phone +612 6773 2992 or +612 6773 2250

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I wish to invite you to participate in my research project, described below.

My name is Adedamola Olagbegi and I am conducting this research as part of my PhD in the School of Behavioural, Cognitive and Social Sciences at the University of New England, Armidale, NSW 2351 England. My supervisors are Associate Professor Habib Zafarullah, Dr Finex Ndulohvu and Dr Juan Zhang

Research Project	Diaspora Capital, Capacity Building and African Development: Role of Nigerian Migrants in Australia
Aim of the research	The research aims to explore the role of the Nigerian Diasporas in Australia in capacity building in their countries and its implications for African development. This work will focus on the non-financial benefits of migration such as acquisition of social remittances (skills, knowledge, work experience and academic qualifications) that can be beneficial to origin countries. This work will further suggest ideas that can potentially help origin countries to better harness the cultural, human and social capital benefits of their African Diasporas
Questionnaire	I would like you to fill out a questionnaire; the questionnaire will take approximately 10 minutes.
Confidentiality	Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study will remain confidential. No individual will be identified by name in any publication of the results. All names will be replaced by pseudonyms; this will ensure that you are not identifiable. If you agree I would like to quote some of your responses in my research. This will also be done in a way to ensure that you are not identifiable.

Questions	The questions will not be of a sensitive nature: rather they are general questions, aiming to enhance my knowledge on the role of the Australian Diasporas in the development of Nigeria.
Use of information	I will use information from the questionnaires as part of my doctoral thesis, which I expect to complete in October 2017. Information from the questionnaires may also be used in journal articles and conference presentations before and after this date. At all time, I will safeguard your identity by presenting the information in a way that will not allow you to be identified. Pseudonyms will be used in instances where participants' responses are directly quoted.
Upsetting issues	It is unlikely that this research will raise any personal or upsetting issues but if it does please indicate and a counsellor will be sourced for you.
Storage of information	I will keep hardcopy recordings and notes of the interview in a locked cabinet at the researcher's office at the University of New England's School of Behavioural, Cognitive and Social Sciences. Any electronic data will be kept on a password-protected computer in the same School. Only the research team will have access to the data.
Disposal of information	All the data collected in this research will be kept for a minimum of five years after successful submission of my thesis, after which it will be disposed of by deleting relevant computer files, and destroying or shredding hardcopy materials.
Approval	<p>This project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of New England (Approval No HE 15-180, Valid to 01/. 09. / 16). Feel free to contact me with any questions about this research by email aolagbeg@myune.edu.au or by phone on +612 6773 2332.</p> <p>You may also contact my supervisors; my principal supervisor is Associate Professor Habib Zafarullah he can be contacted on email at hzafarul@une.edu.au or by phone on +612 6773 2250. My co supervisors are Dr Finex Ndulohvu he can be contacted on email at fndhlovu@une.edu.au or by phone +612 6773 2133 and Dr Juan Zhang she can be contacted on email at jzhang39@une.edu.au or by phone on +612 6773 2277.</p>

**Contact
details**

Research Services
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Armidale, NSW 2351

Tel: (02) 6773 3449

Fax: (02) 6773 3543

Email: ethics@une.edu.au

Thank you for considering this request and I look forward to further contact with you.

Regards,

Yours sincerely,

Adedamola Olagbegi

PhD Candidate

Discipline of Sociology, BCSS School

School of Behavioural, Cognitive and Social Sciences

University of New England, Armidale NSW 2351,

Australia



Questionnaire for skilled migrants in Australia

The purpose of this questionnaire is to gather information that will help to explore the role of the Nigerian Diaspora in Australia in capacity building of its origin country and its implication for African development. This work will focus on the non-financial benefits of migration such as acquisition of social remittances (skills, knowledge, work experience and academic qualifications) that can be beneficial to origin countries, this work will further suggest ideas that can potentially help origin countries to better harness the cultural, human and social benefits of their African Diaspora

This can only be achieved by getting your valued contribution and responses, the information you provide is important

Biography information

First, I like to ask you a few questions, please tick the appropriate box

1. What is your gender?
 - Male
 - Female

2. What is your age group
 - 25-35
 - 36-45
 - 46-55
 - 56-65
 - 66-75

3. Marital status

- Single
- Married
- Defacto relationship
- Widowed
- Divorced

4. What year did you arrive in Australia?
5. Where do you reside in Australia?.....
6. What is your country of origin?.....
7. What ethnic group do you belong to?.....

8. What is your citizenship status in Australia

- Temporary work visa
- Permanent residency
- Australian citizenship

9. Why did you migrate to Australia? (Tick more than one)

- Employment opportunity
- Better wages
- Over population
- Environmental factors
- Political reasons
- Postgraduate studies
- Security of life and properties
- Insufficient support structure for skills development
- Career prospect
- Family reunion
- Economic stability
- Social reasons such as (reuniting with friends, travel opportunities)
- Children education
- Other reasons (please specify).....

Academic qualifications, skills and work experience

Factors such as Personal circumstances, education and occupational background contribute to decisions to migrate from origin countries. The following questions aims to gather information about your career and decision to migrate. I will appreciate your answering these questions, as the information you provide will be very important to us.

1. What is your occupation in Australia?
2. Where do you work in Australia?
.....

3. What is the nature of your work?
4. How long have you worked with this organisation?.....
5. Are you satisfied with your current occupation?
 - Yes
 - No
6. If yes what are the most rewarding /significant aspects of your work?.....
.....
.....
7. If no, why are you dissatisfied?.....
.....
8. Previous jobs in Australia?
9. Why did you change your job.....
10. Previous jobs in origin country?

11. What was your highest academic qualification before migrating to Australia?
 - Advanced diploma
 - Bachelors degree
 - Masters degree
 - PhD
11. Did you undertake further studies in Australia?
 - Yes
 - No
12. If yes what degree did you study for and in what subject area?.....
13. Did you undertake any formal professional training in your area of expertise? (e.g. TAFE or Colleges)
 - Yes
 - No
14. If yes what sort of training did you undergo?

Migrants' social remittances

The following set of questions is aimed at exploring the benefits of migration to originating countries, which are beyond financial remittances and also include non-financial benefit of migration, such as building a viable Diaspora with skills, knowledge and human capital which are transferable to origin countries. Therefore, the aim of these set of questions is to provide ideas for originating countries to better harness the cultural, human and social capital of their Australian Diaspora.

1. Have you obtained relevant skills while working and studying in Australia that can be beneficial to your country of origin?

- Yes
- No

2. Why do you think these skills are relevant to your origin country?

.....

.....

3. How do you think these skills will be beneficial to your origin country?.....

.....

.....

4. Are you a member of any Diaspora association relating to your origin country e.g. National Association of Nigerians in South Australia

- Yes
- No

5. If yes what Diaspora association do you belong?

.....

.....

.....

6. Are you a member of any professional association of the Diaspora (e.g. Rural Doctors Network of Australia, Australian Community Workers Association

- Yes
- No

7. if yes what professional association do you belong?.....

.....

.....

8. Do you think memberships of this association are useful for your professional development? (If yes please explain)

.....

.....

9. Are you a member of any social networking site for business professionals such as

- Linked in
- Networking for professionals
- Young entrepreneurs
- Fast pitch
- Entrepreneur connect
- Focus
- Ecademy
- Connect
- Others

10. How often do you visit these sites?

11. What are the main values of using these sites?.....

10. Do you share ideas, regarding professional skills, experience and future plans on social network?

- Yes
- No

10. Do you think these professional networking sites are useful for you skills development?
- Yes
 - No
12. Do you often visit your origin country?
- Yes
 - No
13. If yes how often do you visit your origin country?.....
14. What is the purpose of your visit?
- Holiday
 - Family visit
 - Professional purpose
 - Others.....
15. Have you tried to share your skills or expertise with people from your origin country working in similar sector as you?.....

16. Have you identified any medium or platform of skills transfer where your skills can be useful to your country of origin? Such as Nigeria in the Diaspora Organisation or Nigeria National Volunteer service
- If yes, please explain.....

 - No
17. What challenges did you face when you tried to transfer your skills to your origin country?.....

18. How do you think this challenges can be overcome?.....

19. Do you think it's a good idea for Nigerian skilled migrants residing in Australia to visit their origin country and work for a while in other to help transfer their knowledge to relevant sectors?
- Yes
 - No
20. If yes do you plan to return to your origin country?
- Yes
 - No
21. If yes when do you intend to return to your origin country?
- 1-2 years

- 3-5 years
- 5 years or later
- Never

22. If you do not plan to return can you please give reasons?.....

23. What do you think will be the benefits for your country of origin if skilled workers are able to return to their country of origin to work for a while in relevant sectors where their skills are needed?.....

24. Are you involved with government /development organisations in your origin country?
 Yes
 No

25. If yes, in what capacity?.....

26. Do you have any recommendations on how the Diaspora can contribute to development in your country of origin?
 If yes, please explain.....

 No

Thank you for your time. I really appreciate your help; if you have any questions do not hesitate to contact me through my email address aolagbeg@myune.edu.au



Appendix 6

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Questionnaire	I would like you to fill out a questionnaire; the questionnaire will take approximately 15 minutes.
Confidentiality	Any information or personal details gathered in the course of the study will remain confidential. No individual will be identified by name in any publication of the results. All names will be replaced by pseudonyms; this will ensure that you are not identifiable. If you agree I would like to quote some of your responses. This will also be done in a way to ensure that you are not identifiable.
Participation is Voluntary	Please understand that your involvement in this study is voluntary and I respect your right to withdraw from the study at any time. You may discontinue the interview at any time without consequence and you do not need to provide any explanation if you decide not to participate or withdraw at any time.
Questions	The questions will not be of a sensitive nature; rather they are general questions, aiming to enhance my knowledge on the role of the Australian Diasporas in the development of Nigeria and Zimbabwe.
Use of information	I will use information from the questionnaires as part of my doctoral thesis, which I expect to complete in October 2017. Information from the questionnaires may also be used in journal articles and conference presentations before and after this date. At all time, I will safeguard your identity by presenting the information in a way that will not allow you to be identified. Pseudonyms will be used in instances where participants' responses are directly quoted.
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Disposal of information

All the data collected in this research will be kept for a minimum of five years after successful submission of my thesis, after which it will be disposed of by deleting relevant computer files, and destroying or shredding hardcopy materials.

Approval

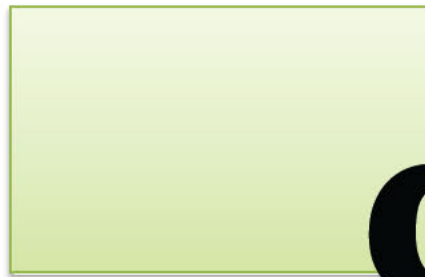
This project has been approved by the Human Research Ethics Committee of the University of New England (Approval No....., Valid to .././.....).

Contact details

Research Services
University of New England
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Tel: (02) 6773 3449
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Thank you for considering this request and I look forward to further contact with you.

Regards,
Yours sincerely,
Adedamola Olagbegi
PhD Candidate
Discipline of Sociology, BCSS School
School of Behavioural, Cognitive and Social Sciences
University of New England, Armidale NSW 2351,
Australia



CONSENT

**Research Project: Diaspora Capital, Capacity Building and African
Development: Role of Nigerian Migrants in Australia**

FOR

for

I,
have read the information contained in the Information Sheet
for Participants and any questions I have asked have been
answered to my satisfaction.

participate

Yes/No

I agree to participate in this activity, at any time.
at any time.

Yes/No

I agree that research data gathered for the study may be
published using a pseudonym

Yes/No

I agree that I may be quoted using a pseudonym

Yes/No

I am older than 18 years of age.

Yes/No

.....
Participant

.....
Date

Appendix 8

Ethics Office Research Development & Integrity Research Division Armidale NSW
2351 Australia **Phone** 02 6773 3449 **Fax** 02 6773 3543 **jo-ann.sozou@une.edu.au**
www.une.edu.au/research-services

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE MEMORANDUM TO: Dr Finex Ndhlovu, Ms Juan Zhang & Mr Adedamola Olagbegi

School of Behavioural, Cognitive & Social Sciences

This is to advise you that the Human Research Ethics Committee has approved the following:



PROJECT TITLE:

APPROVAL No.: COMMENCEMENT DATE: APPROVAL VALID TO: COMMENTS:

Diaspora Capital, Capacity Building and African Development: Role of Nigerian and Zimbabwean Migrants in Australia

HE15-180 01 September, 2015 10 September, 2017 Nil. Conditions met in full

The Human Research Ethics Committee may grant approval for up to a maximum of three years. For approval periods greater than 12 months, researchers are required to submit an application for renewal at each twelve-month period. All researchers are required to submit a Final Report at the completion of their project. The Progress/Final Report Form is available at the following web address:

<http://www.une.edu.au/research/research-services/rdi/ethics/hre/hrec-forms>

The NHMRC National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans requires that researchers must report immediately to the Human Research Ethics Committee anything that might affect ethical acceptance of the protocol. This includes adverse reactions of participants, proposed changes in the protocol, and any other unforeseen events that might affect the continued ethical acceptability of the project.

In issuing this approval number, it is required that all data and consent forms are stored in a secure location for a minimum period of five years. These documents may be required for compliance audit processes during that time. If the location at which data and documentation are retained is changed within that five year period, the Research Ethics Officer should be advised of the new location.

Jo-Ann Sozou Secretary/Research Ethics Officer



13/10/2016 A15/20