

## **A PHILOSOPHICAL APPROACH TO THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF FORCED MIGRATION IN NIGERIA**

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### **Abstract**

*The political economy of a country is pivotal to its economic dynamics as well as its social system. Nigeria is the most populous Black Country, with an estimated population of about 160 million people. The country has become an epicenter of various crises comprising economic, social, and political dimensions over the years. Her post colonial experience has been marked by truncated development and frustrated hope. The failure of governance manifests in poor socio-economic performance, causing suffering and unfulfilled expectations as well as facilitated insurgency, conflicts and political instability. The involvement of multi-lateral development agencies such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank in the management of the nation's economy further aggravated the development challenges. These conditions have led to the massive migration of Nigerian citizens including trained professionals like doctors, nurses, engineers and academics to developed countries around the world, a situation conceptualized in this paper as forced migration. Contrary to the prevailing notion that the migration of skilled professionals is voluntary and advantageous for the sending country in terms of brain gain, brain circulation and remittances, Nigeria as a sending country lose more as it is deprived of the expertise and services of these migrants, which is critically important for its development. This paper, therefore, recommends that Nigeria should re-orient her development strategies towards ensuring that the conditions that necessitated the forced migration of her citizens from all walks of life are mitigated such that when people migrate, it will be done on a voluntary basis. Also, in view of the current reality that substantial numbers of Nigerians now work as professionals outside the country, deliberate efforts should be made by the government to creatively engage this Diaspora population towards achieving the much needed development goals.*

**Keywords:** migration, politics, economy, development, policy, Nigeria.

### **Introduction**

Although migration is as old as human history, it has increasingly attracted more attention in contemporary times. Clearly, this is connected to emergent human security issues bordering on personal safety and economic concerns. Issue of migration in Nigeria is very complex that they raise very serious questions that

beg for answers. For instance, what are the main causes of population movement in Nigeria? In other words, why do Nigerians migrate to other cities and countries? How does migration affect the security architecture of Nigeria as a country? What is the relationship between migration and nomadism? Has migration undermined or enhanced the economic and socio-political development of Nigeria? Our attention is drawn to these sorts of questions in the course of this study.

The fact remains that the economy of Nigeria has witnessed unprecedented incidences for economic doldrums, societal dislocations and political upheavals. Gopalkrishna and Oloruntoba (2011, p.2) observe that due essentially to the mono-cultural nature of the economy which depends on oil as the main earner of foreign exchange and the bad management, Nigeria's economy experienced serious macro-economic difficulties in the 1980s. This situation which, according to them, necessitated the invention of the Bretton Woods Institutions – the International Monetary Fund, and the World Bank to impose the Structural Adjustment Program (SAP) as a way out of the economic malaise (Gopalkrishna & Oloruntoba, 2011, p.2), laid the foundation for more problems. Evidence abound that the failure of SAP led to the closure of many industries, resulting in loss of employment, eradication of the middle class and erosion in the purchasing power of average worker (Onimode, 1988, p.61).

In addition to the above economic problems, conflicts, violence, and wars gained ascendancy during the same periods as various ethnic groups rose against one another. Politically, the Nigerian state virtually lost its legitimacy and failed to meet the expectations of the people. Consequently, from 1966 to 1998, coups and counter coups became a normal phenomenon while political instability became the rule rather than the exception (Gopalkrishna & Oloruntoba, 2011, p.2). This tripartite trajectory has accentuated the massive movement of people within and outside the country. The failure of governance and the inability of the state to contain insurgency have not only further threatened the continued existence of the country as a corporate entity, but have also aggravated the rate of migration. The current spate of violence unleashed on the country by the radical Islamic sect known as Boko Haram (people committed to the propagation of the prophets teachings and Jihad) has further exacerbated socio-economic conditions as well as the safety of the people, especially in the Northern part of the country.

While it is true that migration within the country dates back to the pre-colonial era, the colonial policy deliberately encouraged the movement of people to the

cities, to increase the prospect of earning wages for the payment of taxes, which had become compulsory by then (Gopalkrishna & Oloruntoba, 2011, p.3). Although the concept of forced migration is predominantly used to describe the movement of refugees, asylees, and internally displaced persons (Castls 2003), this paper conceives of the Diasporization of Nigerians due to economic constraints as an instance of forced migration. There are several perspectives about the effects of migration on sending countries. This paper contributes to this debate by examining the implications of forced economic migration and the effects on the development of Nigeria. With a focus on the emigration of skilled professionals from Nigeria to other countries such as USA, Canada, and Europe, we contend that for Nigeria to become relevant in the twenty-first century, the circumstances that warrant forced economic migration must be clearly examined and meaningfully addressed.

Against the prevailing tendency to justify economic migration as a necessary feature of development (Padademetriou & Martins), we argue that Nigeria should ensure that the conditions that forced people out of the country must be frontally tackled so that trained professionals are retained to contribute their own quotas to the development of the country. This paper is divided into seven sections. The first is introduction, the second attempts an understanding of migration as a concept while the third sections deals with the theoretical framework. Sections four and five contain a survey of the causes, dimensions and effects of forced economic migration in Nigeria; the sixth section attempts policy oriented advice through which Nigeria can minimize the disruptive effects of forced migration, while section seven concludes the paper.

### **Understanding the Concept of Migration**

The theory of migration was first postulated by Sjaastad (1962). This theory commonly known as Sjaastad's human investment theory of migration treats the decision to migrate as an investment. This theory was further developed by Todaro (1969) in his model of labor migration and urban unemployment in developing countries. Taking into account the (anticipated) probability of obtaining employment after migration, Todaro hypothesized that people migrate as long as the wage differential is large, even if the unemployment rate in the receiving area is high. He stressed that people weigh both costs and benefits before moving to other areas (Todaro, 1969, pp.34-35).

Indeed, there are fundamental factors driving migration dynamics in Nigeria which, perhaps are either not perceptible to, or adequately captured by,

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academics and politicians. Although there is poor availability of data, making accurate data on the phenomenon of migration, it is generally known to be on the increase. The increasing trend of the migratory patterns seems poised to remain irreversible, even uncontrollable, giving the interplay of economic, social, and environmental conditions in the country. These internal factors are reinforced by the menacing international economic arrangement, which simultaneously marginalizes and incorporates the nation, and in the process either exacerbates or creates further migratory conditions and population displacements.

By standard dictionary definition, an emigrant is “a person coming to live permanently in a foreign country” (Toure & Fadayomi, 1999, p.75). However, this study broadens the definition of emigration to include people who move from one location to another within a particular country (domestic or intra-state migration); or from one country to another (international migration) either for permanent settlement or for temporary sojourn. Either form of migration can be voluntary or forced. Voluntary migrants are people whose movement is, strictly speaking, not spawned by conditions beyond their control but who, for sheer discretion, choose to relocate in other regions of their countries, or in another country. Irrespective of the initial intention to settle, voluntary emigrants can at any time return to their countries or regions of origin.

Involuntary or forced emigrants, on the other hand, are those who are forced by factors and circumstances beyond their control to seek sanctuary in other parts of the country or beyond the borders of their countries of residence. This category includes, but not limited to, refugees and internally displaced persons. According to the 1951 United Nations Convention on Refugees, and the Protocol of 1967, a refugee is:

Any person who, owing to well-founded fear of being persecuted for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of particular social group or political opinion, is outside the country of his nationality and is unable to or, owing to such fear, is unwilling to avail himself of the protection of that country (UN Protocol of 1967 as cited in Toure & Fadayomi, 1999, p.75).

As we have already noted, this study conceives of the Diasporization of Nigerians due to economic constraints as an instance of forced migration.

### **Political Economy of Forced Migration: A Theoretical Framework**

Migration is as old as human civilization. Human beings have always moved from one location to the other in search of better opportunities. While many cases of migration are voluntary, some, such as movement on account of wars, conflicts, natural disasters and economic hardship are involuntary. As Clunise-Ross et al, rightly observed, there has been a radical shift in the magnitude and geographical pattern of international migration from the 1950s to the current time (Clunise-Ross, Forsyth and Huq, 2009, p.670). By the 1990s, Europe, North America and Oceania had become large scale recipients of immigrants up to approximately 2.5 million per annum. The sending countries are Africa, Latin America, and the Caribbean (Clunise-Ross, Forsyth and Huq, 2009, p.671). Evidently, therefore, there are economic, technological, and demographic reasons for increased labor mobility and migration flows across borders.

Scholars have tried to explain the causes of migration from various perspectives. Some see forced economic migration as a consequence of the capitalist state's response to the penetration of the European merchant capitalists. In this view, the colonial administration in most African states introduced taxation which made it imperative for able bodied-men to migrate to the cities to work in order to earn enough money to pay taxes (Ake 1981, p.107). As Ake notes, this pattern of migration caused a serious disruption in the indigenous production processes because able-bodied men left the rural areas for the cities. Consequently, agriculture, in which the colonized countries had comparative advantage, was neglected. Others see migration as a normal phenomenon with socio-economic benefits. It is common knowledge that before the European colonization of the African continent, the movement of people was a regular occurrence. However, colonization and later neo-liberalism accentuated this phenomenon both in pattern, structures and outcomes (Toure & Fadayomi, 1992, p.54). During the colonial era, a lot of migration took place both at the regional and international eves. Also, the pattern of migration was a reflection of the development policies of the colonialists which was focused on exploitation of raw materials and seeking market outlets for manufactured products (Amin 1974, p.4).

Now, the colonial administration in Nigeria deliberately emphasized the development of specific cities, usually near ports of shipment, to further its mercantilist cause of procuring raw materials for its industrial production in the metropolis. An example is the Lagos port to which almost all the railway lines have direct link. However, the nature of migration during colonial era remains mainly within Nigeria and other African countries and it can be categorized as rural-rural, rural-urban, urban-urban, urban-rural (Amin 1974, p.23). Ayithey

(1999) in his book, *Africa in Chaos: A Comparative History*, shows how the European government balkanized the various nations in Africa and caused massive disarticulation into the indigenous economies of these countries and oriented them towards the metropolis. He contends that the disarticulation in the indigenous economies are today, partly responsible for the food crisis and other poor showing in economic performance.

Furthermore, there is a perspective that international migration is undertaken to eliminate disparities in wages in the sending and receiving countries. In regard to this perspective de Haan (2007, p.273) argues that, 'there is an assumption that the movement of labor would lead to the elimination of disparities and equalization of development.' In other words, migration is mutually beneficial, especially to the sending countries. The import of this assertion is that through international migration, particular disparities in wage differentials will be minimized. It is this orientation which holds that migration benefits the sending countries that motivate some scholars to advocate for more migration of people from regions of low economic growth to the developed economies.

The international political economy of migration and remittances has been conceptualized in the context of advantages to richer nations. This is problematic for developing countries in the first place, because the sending countries are gradually being deprived of the best of their human capital to the benefit of the advanced countries. This is even more puzzling when one examines the huge cost that the struggling economies of Africa incur in the process of educating her citizens. As Okeke (2008, p.44) submits, 'African countries generally fund the education of their nationals, only to see them end up making contributions to the continual growth of the advanced economies with little or no return on their investments.'

Moreover, the advanced countries of the world have a gradually ageing population, which in effects, constitutes a veritable threat to the sustainability of their economies, particularly given the commitment of the state to maintain stable social security benefits for pensioners and the unemployed. It is therefore necessary for these countries to devise ways of recruiting skilled people from the Third World to augment the shortfall in their labor demand. This is currently manifested in the various visa and lottery programs introduced by various countries both in Europe and North America. It is interesting that these countries often are not looking for illiterates or semi-skilled people to migrate to their countries. In effect, there is a subtle replication of the interpretation of 'Matthew

Effect' (the rich getting richer and the poor getting poorer, derived from Matthew 25:29) – a term used by Gopalkrishna & Oloruntoba (2011, p.7) to decry a situation where the advanced countries are so far ahead of the Third World countries in all ramifications of development that Third World countries lose what they have and the advanced countries gain more.

While it may be argued that the conditions at the sending countries facilitate the migrations of technical and skilled professionals, it can also be argued that the ageing population at the core countries as well as their wide industrial bases and sophisticated services sector, have led to the design of various programs to attract skilled professionals to the countries. Although some of these countries such as USA give the need to diversify the nationalities of their population as the reason for devising diversity lottery (Gopalkrishna & Oloruntoba, 2011, p.9), evidence abounds that the migrant populations are needed in the labor force and are contributing significantly to the US economy.

No doubt, the shrinking economic space in Nigeria could simply not afford to accommodate the growing population of trained professionals, hence the need for the professionals to seek alternative destinations for the utilization of their skills. This view was reinforced by Egbe and Ndubuisi (1997). They contend that:

During the past decades, thousands of Nigerians entered the USA to study, majority of whom came on student visas with the expectation of returning home after their studies. However, the end of the oil boom coupled with the disarticulations in the economy led them to stay back (p.133)

This trend has continued up till now as many people who travel out for higher education never contemplate coming back to the country because the conditions abroad are more conducive while the remuneration is far more rewarding than what an average professional earns in Nigeria. According to Obom-Egbulem (2010, p.17), there are more than 5000 Nigerian medical doctors practicing in the USA and the United Kingdom.

Indeed 'forced migration' is a reaction to certain push and pull factors. Okeke (2008, p.50) poignantly elucidated the push factors as follows:

Low and eroding wages and salaries, poor and unsatisfactory living conditions, lack of good transportation system, inadequate housing and accommodation, under-utilization of qualified personnel,

unsatisfactory working conditions, low and discouraging prospects of professional development, lack of research fund and research facilities including staff support, continuous decline in the quality of educational system including an unstable academic calendar which is often disrupted as a result of strike actions by staff unions, violent student demonstrations, cult activities and general break down of law and order reinforced by political instability, discrimination in appointments and promotions which result in frustrations among qualified and skilled personnel; and the vexed issue of bad governance and corruption...

The above factors generally create an incommensurate working environment for skilled professionals who have no option but to look elsewhere for more conducive conditions.

On the contrary, the pull factors include the following: higher remuneration and standard of living, more favorable working conditions including job and career opportunities, professional development, substantial and readily available research fund, advanced technology, availability of experienced staff, political stability that encourages a modern educational system coupled with the prestige of advanced training and emphasis on meritocracy, transparency, hard work and intellectual freedom (Okeke, 2008, p.52).

### **Dimensions and Effects of Forced Economic Migration on Nigeria**

From the ongoing, there is an increasing concern over the effects of forced economic migration on Nigeria. Notwithstanding the paucity of data on rural-urban migration within the continent, the effects of this phenomenon are visible everywhere. Importantly, the agrarian nature of the Nigerian society has accentuated the impacts of massive flows of able bodied men on food sufficiency. Similarly, urban conurbation and associated crimes from unemployed youth remains a central concern for Nigerian policy makers.

In the labor-scarce Nigerian environment, the absence of able-bodied men was keenly felt and led to a 'labor gap;' women have to work longer and harder in different fields and had no less time for home chores. Thirsk (1991) found out in his study of England in the eighteenth century that migrants appeared to have played important roles in the modernization of agriculture. Such positive impacts are, according to him, contingent upon many factors like the seasonality of movements, educational levels, length of time spent away, assets and social



structures and institutions, allowing women and others to pursue activities previously reserved for men and household heads (Thirsk, 1991, p.66). We agree with Thirsk that migration can significantly contribute to the development of a particular community if the necessary conditions are in place.

However, it seems that the most deleterious effect of forced economic migration is its manifestation at the international level. There have been significant concerns about brain drain for many decades. Although hampered by data availability, recent analysis has considered the issues involved (de Haan 2007). According to statistics made available by the International Organization for Migration (IOM), Africa has already lost one-third of its human capital, and has continued to lose its skilled personnel at an ever increasing rate. An estimated 20,000 doctors, university lecturers, engineer and other professionals have left the continent annually since 1990 (de Haan 2007, pp.77-78). In the case of Nigeria, the estimates from the Presidential Committee on Brain Drain set up by Babangida Administration, showed that between 1986 and 1990, Nigeria lost over 10,000 academics from tertiary institutions alone. It is also estimated that over 30,000 highly skilled personnel left the country, including the public and private organizations (Egbe & Ndubuisi, 1997, p.112). This period also coincided with the massive collapse in the economic and social infrastructure in the country, which in itself was the fallout of the ill-advised Structural Adjustment program. Nigerian migrants to the UK have continued to increase from the 1980s to the present moment. A recent study by David Owen discovered that in 2006-2007, the number of Nigerian migrant workers to the UK was 12,500 based on the number of National Insurance authorization issued (Owen, 2010, p.12). In tandem with the central position of this paper that the feasibility of getting job abroad is a strong motivation for the emigration of skilled professionals, the study shows that on average those who migrated from Africa to the UK got jobs within the first 12 months of relocating (Owen, 2010, p.13).

Ironically, while the developed countries keep attracting the best of Nigerian human capitals, it is increasingly becoming a disturbing pattern to see semi-qualified personnel dubbed as 'experts' taking very critical and important position in lucrative sectors such as oil and gas as well as in communication companies in Nigeria. These 'experts,' who are usually paid in hard currencies (such as dollars, Euros and British pounds), create a disincentive to the development of indigenous human capacities in Nigeria because they are made to occupy position that are otherwise supposed to be occupied qualified professionals.

The scholars that have vigorously argued in favor of migration as a sure means of facilitating development have tried to justify their position by providing figures of remittances. Papademetriou and Martin (1991, p. 197), show that income from migration stimulates economic activity, both directly and indirectly and that it leads to significantly higher levels of employment, investment and income.

The above arguments notwithstanding, we contended that the negative effects of forced economic migration both at the domestic and international levels far outweigh its positive contribution to the development of the sending countries. According to Docquier and Rapoport (2004), detrimental effects of migration include international inequality, particularly if migrants are disconnected from those left behind at home.

As we stated earlier, the developed countries have established different programs to attract more qualified Africans to migrate. The justification for this is the tenuous argument that international migration has some beneficial effects on the sending countries. Such beneficial effects could include remittances, return migration, creation of trade and business networks and incentive effects on human capital formation at home (de Haan 2007, p.24). Indeed, the question of remittances is central to much of the thinking on the impact of migration. However, it is very difficult to have accurate data as conditions for making remittances have a tendentious effect on the certainty of the remitted amount.

Apart from uncertainty in the estimation of remittances, assessment of impact needs to be sensitive to the complexity in which these financial flows are embedded. As de Haan further argued, such assessment need to take account of the fact that this considers only successful migration, and there is a possibility that many migrants have not remitted despite having invested heavily in relocating (de Haan 2007, p.24). In addition, with the ongoing global economic crisis and the resultant deceleration in the rate of growth in developed countries, the possibility of migrants securing jobs looks unpromising. No job implies fewer remittances.

Furthermore, with regard to brain drain, remittances need to be offset against the (public) investment in education and other forms of publicly funded investment. This is because, regardless of the amount being remitted, the sending countries remain at a very strong disadvantage in other areas of potential benefits like

taxation, mentoring, leadership development, patriotism and other dimensions of contribution which the skilled personnel would have made to the economies.

As we mentioned earlier, the consistent depletion of the skilled workforce of Nigeria as a country is affecting the potential for the development of the country in a negative way. In the health sector, for instance, the high percentage of the medical personnel that have migrated abroad could have been available to render high quality service to the people, thereby contributing to the improvement of the health sector. Also, given that most of the skilled personnel that have migrated were trained with public money, it amounts to loss of investment, and at best, a negative return, for people to migrate without giving back to the society, which has invested in them. In the same vein, the income redistribution effect that the presence of the skilled professionals that have migrated could have had on the sending country (Nigeria) is conspicuously missing.

Gopalkrishna and Oloruntoba, (2011) suggests other negative effects of migration of skilled professionals on the Nigerian economy as follows:

- The further reduction of the already low quality skilled manpower
- Increase in the continual dependence on foreign technical assistance
- Slowdown of the transfer of technology and the widening of the gap between Nigeria and the industrialized countries
- The loss of money in taxable income from the skilled manpower which would have been a potential contribution to the Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

### **Forced Migratory Conditions and the Challenge of Appropriate Response**

We have argued above that the high rate of migration of people in Nigeria is a direct result of the social, economic, and political conditions. These conditions have not been favorable to the majority of the citizens in the continent. Most states in Africa today are suffering from crisis of identity. The content and character of amalgamation of the country promote social fragmentation, disintegration and disaggregation; split groups and identities into warring factions; undermines the state by emptying it of its social content and relevance; and sacrifices human happiness for the fundamentalism of the market. These immanent tendencies erode the social basis of existence and warrant the struggle for survival at all costs, including searching for greener pastures outside the shores of the country.

Also, the deepening of poverty, social inequalities and declining social welfare has pushed many individuals to sectarian identities, reinforced their potency in society, and made them alternative sites of political expressions and struggle, fuelling tension and conflicts in Nigerian society. In other words, Nigerian state is under beleaguered complexity, which has made it incapable of meeting the needs of the people. The attendant conflicts in many parts of the country have been responsible for the forced economic migration of her professionals to other lands. Politically, the preponderance of the inclination towards 'do or die' politics of intolerance and exclusion ensure that the wrong people acquire political power for the wrong reasons. Consequently, good governance is sacrificed on the altar of political opportunism. In the process, the state lacks the wherewithal to provide the common good and effectively regulate the market. The failed expectation of the professional class, inevitably necessitate their mass exodus to advanced countries where they can have their needs met.

We have argued that far from being a desirable option for facilitating development, migration portends a long term danger to Nigeria and constitutes a veritable threat to the desire of the country to catch up with other emerging economies in other regions of the world. In recognition of this threat, Nigerian government (at various levels) should start making arrangement to mitigate the effects of migration, while maximizing the gains.

De Haan (2007, p.280) provides some incisive analysis on the usefulness or otherwise of remittances. She reasoned that:

There is no doubt that remittances can have negative and positive consequences. Evidences suggests that the way remittances are used depends on the form of migration, the characteristics of the migrants and those who stay behind, and conditions for use of remittances and returning migrants. This finally points to one of the complexities of understanding impact of migration: The conditions that make remittances helpful for development or poverty reduction are generally the same conditions that made migrants leave in the first place.

In other words, regardless of the quantum of remittances, if the socio-economic and political conditions are not right, there is no possibility that much anticipated improvements in the living conditions of the people that are left behind will be better.

Through the Diaspora organization, the government should take the responsibility of encouraging the skilled personnel outside the continent to take active part in the process of nation building.

Although the various Diaspora organizations (such as the Nigerian in Diaspora Organization [NIDO], Association of Nigerian Physicians in America, etc) are the initiatives of the professionals, the fact that the Nigerian government now sees them as partners in development (Okeke, 2011, p.68) is a welcome development. These organizations should be encouraged to involve in assisting to generate foreign direct investment, boosting knowledge exchange among higher institutions of learning, as well as making useful contributions to reform agenda. They should also be encouraged to return to the country to take up political appointment when necessary. The political will of Nigerian leaders to recognize the Diaspora's potential contribution and the possibility created by information technology will show the impression that brain drain, is not after all, a total loss to the country.

### **Policy Oriented Advice/Recommendation**

In reacting to the inscrutable phenomenon of forced economic migration, the government of Nigeria should collate data on their skilled professionals and put in place mechanisms to pool the resources of Nigerians in Diaspora to boost development. In view of the growing importance of remittances, such flows should be monitored such that taxes could be deducted. The government should also leverage the Diaspora organizations to attract Foreign Direct Investment (FDI). Following the example of China and Japan (Litchfield & Waddington, 2003), Nigeria should encourage technology transfer by tapping into the knowledge of professionals of Nigerian origin outside the country.

Brain drain, which the emigration of skilled professionals has caused, should be turned to facilitate brain gain and brain circulation. For instance, academics of Nigerian origin in the Diaspora can form partnerships with universities in Nigeria such that during summer breaks they can spend time at these universities to help in supervision of academic projects and bringing in best practices to teaching and university administration. These academics and other professionals can also help to facilitate exchanges and grants with foreign universities and from corporate bodies abroad.

Finally, it is pertinent that political elites in Nigeria work to ensure that the conditions at home are conducive for the citizens at home and for those in

Diaspora who may wish to return home. Indeed Diaspora Nigerians should be encouraged to visit home and motivated to remain if need be. They can replicate what they have learned and practiced in their host countries at home. It is a common saying in Igbo language that *anyi lucha n'ama, anyi eburu naba n'obi* (after laboring abroad, we carry home the proceeds). There is no place like home. The import of this is that living or working abroad should be optional, voluntary decisions rather than involuntary compulsion.

## **Conclusion**

This paper has philosophically appraised the political economy of forced migration in Nigeria with particular attention to its impact and challenges in the yet unfolding new millennium. We have looked at the conditions that necessitated the mass exodus of Nigerian professional from 1970s till the present moment. Even though many scholars have tried to establish a positive link between international migration and development, we argued that, in the main, Nigeria is the loser both in material and human terms. With particular respect to the health sector, we contend that the implication is very grave. This is because most hospitals in Nigeria lack the requisite qualified manpower to treat patients. This invariably affects not only productivity but also life span.

The challenge for Nigeria on the issue of forced migration is to respond in such a way as to tackle the conditions that we have stated above. In other words, the strategies to be used involve both a response and reaction. Responsively, Nigerian political elites must ensure that they formulate policies and act in ways that can engender peace, security, and development. Thus, it is necessary to avoid terrorisms and crisis which are strong factors that generate forced migration. These constitute disincentive to socio-economic development. The political system in the country must also be operated in such a way that inclusion, participation, adherence to the rule of law, respect for human rights, and establishment of constitutional empowerment of state institutions, which are hallmarks of liberal democracy should be entrenched.

In this way, good governance will be guaranteed and the state will be able to fulfill its social contract with the people. This will make access to education and opportunity for gainful employment a reality. Under this situation, only few people will have the motivation to migrate, and migration will not be forced but a free and voluntary undertaking. It is therefore, pertinent for Nigerian government to ensure that good and appropriate socio-political and economic conditions are put in place to reduce the mass movement of her trained

professionals. For those who have already migrated, a linkage should be established to leverage their intellectual, experiential, and material resources towards developing Nigeria.

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