



International Journal of Economic Research

ISSN : 0972-9380

available at <http://www.serialsjournal.com>

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Volume 14 • Number 3 • 2017

Migration Motivation, Migrant Characteristics and Migration Outcomes in Nigeria: Evidence from survey Data

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Abstract: There are many preconceived notions about what drives international migration and how it affects development. Migration from rural areas to cities within and outside, is increasingly becoming rampant in Nigeria. On the surface, it seems obvious that individuals migrate from the countryside to the urban areas and to overseas to earn cash. While migration is indeed partially motivated by the desire for economic mobility and the need to support families at home, the desire for personal development is also a substantial motivator. Incorporating non-economic incentives into existing models could enable scholars to approach migration from an alternative and more holistic standpoint that differs from pure economic considerations. This paper has therefore argued and summarized current thinking on international migration and its motivations. It has also offered some policy options concerning international migration. In particular, the study uses data from the Nigerian Migration Survey by the World Bank for empirical analysis and the findings call for additional examination of non-economic motivations for better understanding of migration choices and patterns. The study therefore concludes that although economic incentives are important, they do not fully explain migration decisions among Nigerian migrants. Non-economic considerations are also important.

Keywords: Migration Motivation, Migrant Characteristics, Migration Outcomes, Survey Data

JEL Classification: F22; F24; O15; R23

INTRODUCTION

International migration studies have become important subjects of discourse in economic development literature of many less developed countries. In view of the recent trends in globalization, international

migration has become a great force to reckon with. This is evidenced by the fact that the number of international migrants, or people residing in countries other than their countries of birth, has increased over the past 45 years, from an estimated 76 million in 1965 to 175 million in 2002, and to over 200 million in 2013 (World Bank, 2014). According to Ozden and Schiff, (2006), international migrants include millions of educated and semi-educated people from countries in which human capital is relatively scarce. Thus, international migration raises concerns and hopes for the less developed countries from which international migrants come.

Theoretically, the motivation for migration has been a source of contention in the literature. This is because the World bank and several authors have argued that the motivation for migration may be described as a combination of social, ethnic, and politically, related push and pull factors. Ozden and Schiff, (2006) suggest that many international migrants embark on migration because it leads to significant flows of relatively low skilled workers whose productivity and wages are far higher abroad than at home. International migration also produces other benefits. The most tangible of these are remittances, the income that migrants send home. The World Bank (2013), also argues that labour migration is becoming the leading motive for migration of migrants in Central and Eastern European and Central Asian countries. This labour migration has been generally understood to be driven by differences in returns to labour, or expected returns, across. Some models of migration emphasize that migration streams emanate from wage differentials across markets or countries that arise from heterogeneous degrees of labour tightness. However, Harris and Todaro (1970) stress that migration is driven by expected rather than actual change in wage differentials. Though, their model was built to understand and explain internal migration in less-developed countries, their approach of explicitly modelling expected wage differentials has been widely generalized in formal explanations of international migration because it reflects the uncertainty that migrants will be able to successfully locate better paying jobs in another location.

Analyzing Todaro and Harris model, Bauer and Zimmermann (1999) argued that the predictions made by that economic model have had mixed results in predicting and explaining migration across different countries. These authors also show that wage and employment differentials were statistically significant motivations of migration in the expected direction only about half the time. At other times, these differentials seemed to produce the opposite of the expected outcome. The table below shows some of the reasons or motivations for migration as identified by World Bank (2013).

Table 1
Motivations for Migration

	<i>Push Factors</i>	<i>Pull Factors</i>
Economic and demographic	Poverty Unemployment Low wages High fertility rates Lack of basic health and education	Prospects of higher wages Potential for improved standard of living Personal or professional development
Political	Conflict, insecurity, violence Poor governance Corruption Human rights abuses	Safety and security Political freedom
Social and cultural	Discrimination based on ethnicity, gender, religion and the like.	Family reunification Ethnic (diaspora migration) homeland freedom discrimination.

Source: World Bank (2013)

As presented above, the World Bank shows that the motivation for migration can be economic, demographic, political, social and cultural. But the neoclassical economic theory argues that it is differentials in wages among countries or regions that motivate people to move from high-unemployment, low-wage region to low-unemployment, high wage, regions. Alternatively, the “new economics of migration”, which is an extension of neoclassical theory, use households, families, or other groups of related people, rather than markets themselves, as their unit of analysis. To minimize risk and maximize income, these units operate collectively. Some households thus, send one or more family members to other parts of the country abroad or to a larger city in order to increase overall family income while others members of the household remain behind to earn lower but more stable income.

Several developed countries are tightening internal security and therefore making immigration rules more stringent. But people must migrate; for some, it remains the only lifeline to meaningful and gainful employment. Consequently, a lot of innovativeness is needed for potential migrants to overcome the many hurdles placed on the way by visa officials. One method that seems to have worked significantly for many is to get admission into schools in the proposed destination countries. As the potential migrant provides all documentation for schooling, he is allowed to travel. Captured in a survey of this kind, these appear among those for whom reason for migration is education. But do all those who give education as reason for migration actually get educated? And do they come back? Is it possible that education may be no more than a way of scaling the visa hurdles of most industrialized countries for many potential migrants? As can be seen in Figure 1, there seems to be so much closeness between the number of those that proffer education as major reason and those currently being educated among internal migrants. But among international migrants, there seems to be so much discrepancy between the number that proffer education

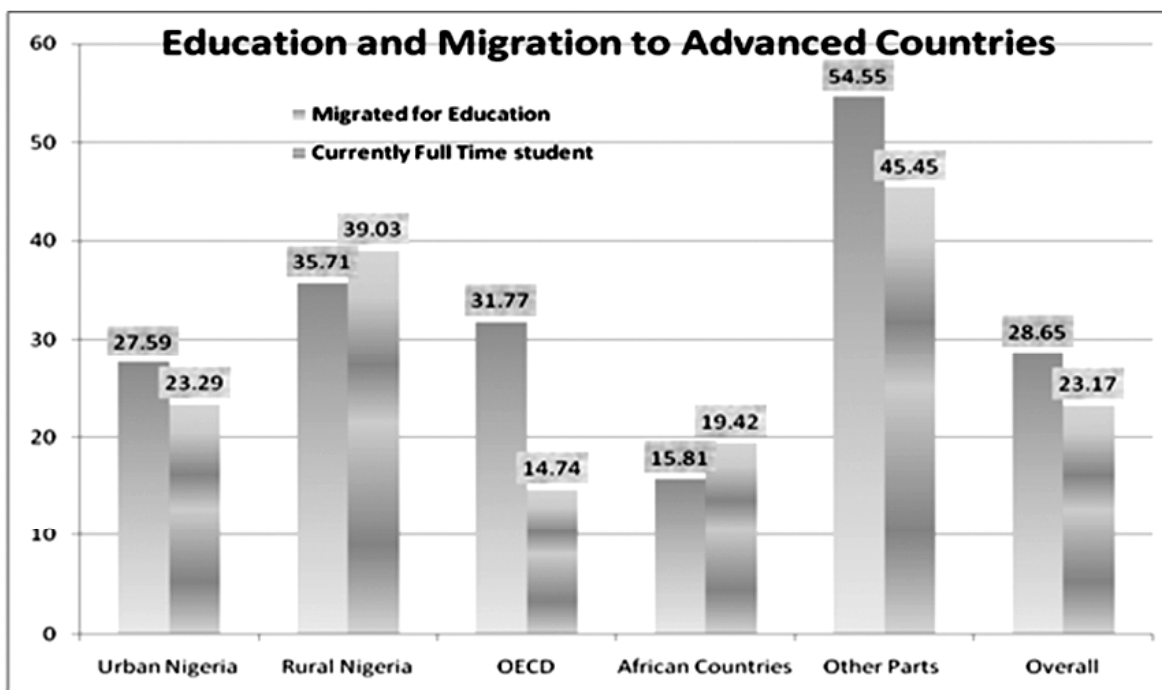


Figure 1: Education and Migration to Advanced Countries

Source: Survey Data

as the major reason for migration and the number currently being educated. The figure underneath shows the proportion in each broad destination that advanced education as the reason for migration and the proportion that are currently full time students. In many destinations, the differences between the proportions that said they travelled for education and the proportion that are eventually full time students are marginal – and this is ideal. But for the OECD and other countries outside of Africa, this difference is quite wide. Whereas it is approximately 4 percentage points for urban Nigeria, 3.3 percentage points for rural Nigeria and 3.3 percent for those in other African countries (actually full time students in rural Nigeria and other African countries are more than the number that gave education as reason for migration). In contrast, while 31.8 percent of those in the OECD declared they were moving for education, only 14.7 percent are full time students. The comparative figures for those in other parts of the world are 55.6 percent and 45.5 percent respectively.

Why such huge discrepancies? Academically, one can argue that maybe many of those who finished are now employed; in any case the numbers represent stock not flows. But that even makes our point. If those that travelled for education returned after their education, then the stock should on the average, even out. But the data seems to suggest they do not. Whatever the academic argument though, many Nigerians know that some developed countries would do anything possible to stop people from moving to find work in their place, but would not mind if the same persons travel to school there. They also know that moving from one status to another while inside the country may not be as technically difficult as pasting a visa on a new passport. So maybe, it is worth a gamble. And the most important part of this is that while academics can argue on the how and why, those who most need to travel have the understanding of the dynamics of such a gamble. And they consistently take the chance!

Unfortunately, in less developed countries like Nigeria, the causes, decisions and motivation frameworks of migration are significantly less studied empirically than the economic impacts of migrants' movements and flows. To address this gap, the objective of this study is to empirically examine migrant characteristics in Nigeria, migrant destination by age, sex and place of birth, and migrant motivation and reason for leaving by destinations and see if their motives finally tally with the migration outcomes. And migrant's reason for leaving by regions of origin.

BRIEF REVIEW OF LITERATURE

There exists extensive literature that reflects the fact that family issues, economic and non-economic reasons, social ties and social networks play an important role in migration decision (Pytlikova and Smith, 2004). These reasons usually reflect networks established in source and destination areas. In case of source areas, migrants are seen to be future agents of remittances and other supports to the domestic family. While in the case of destination areas, migration networks are seen to assist potential migrants to secure accommodation, find jobs, make new contacts and to adapt to new environment- which can be economic, social or cultural. (Bauer, Epstein and Gang, 2002). Heitmueller (2006) presents an interesting model of network migration where he argues that incumbent migrants' population may actively influence future migration flows, yet the coordination failure causes inability to achieve Pareto efficient point. Epstein and Gang (2006) further examines migration networks and motivations that are caused by imperfect information available to potential migrants who follow signals given by previous migrants instead of relying on their own private information.

Kerr and Kerr (2011) surveyed empirical studies on the motivation and economic impacts of immigration in various host countries. The study also analysed the magnitude of assimilation of immigrant workers into host-country labour markets and the concomitant effects for natives. The survey particularly emphasizes the recent experiences of Northern Europe and Scandinavia and relevant lessons from traditional destination countries like the US. They find that immigration has various magnitudes of impact in different economies and that the immigrants are also motivated by different reasons. Specifically, they argued that if migration is not motivated for employment reasons, assimilation into host-country labour market is likely to be slower and less successful. Studies conducted by Sumption and Flamm (2012) suggested that the primary motivation for migrating or naturalizing includes quest for social and political rights, especially the right to vote and the desire for a sense of belonging. However, some are motivated to apply for citizenship upon migration because naturalized citizens earn more than their noncitizen counterparts for a number of reasons, and are less likely to be unemployed, and are better represented in highly skilled jobs. In view of the economic crisis that rocked the US, the study found that naturalized citizens seemed to have survived the effects the economic crisis more successfully. Thus, from 2006-2010 they experienced a decline in median annual earnings of 5%, while it was 19% for non-citizens and 8% for the US born. Consequently, the study show that the earning gap between naturalized and non-citizens immigrants increased from 46% to 67% over the same period. Taylor (2006) also reveal that incentives for international migration can be created by the income gaps between rich and poor countries. However, this is a necessary and not a sufficient condition since many people may still not migrate even when income at home are significantly lower than incomes abroad.

Chiang, Hannum and Kao (2013) investigate the incentives for labor migration of youth in rural China using panel data from the Gansu Survey of Children and Families. They examine the individual and altruistic economic motivations featured prominently in demographic and economic research on migration. Their results show that, while young men and young women express different motivations for migration, the desire for personal development is a common motivator for young migrants. The study also argue that non-economic incentives may play an important role in youth migration in rural China and that positioning in family structures shapes the susceptibility of individuals to migrate due to altruistic economic motivations.

Other studies on migration such as Salt (1992) and Liang and Chen (2004) equally argue that people's decision to migrate are motivated by multiple economic and family incentives that co-exist with one another and both international and internal migration (eg in China) show that migrants (especially young women) that pursue gains that are not economic through migration. Studies such as Ma and Jacobs (2010) and Wong and He (2008) argue that such non-economic desires include pursuit of new knowledge, urban experience, pursuit of cosmopolitan lifestyle and a search for modernity. Hu (2012) in his own study suggests that motivations for migration can explain population movements within an economy and that migrants who are motivated by economic reasons may differ from those who are motivated by non-economic factors, when it comes to migration behavior. Another study by He and Gober (2003) compares economic with non-economic reasons for migration. They define non-economic motivations as family-related issues and reasons such as marriage, moving with family and joining relatives/friends. In view of this, Murphy (2008) argue that young men and women may hold different reasons for migration due to specific norms that affect men and women's migration behavior and attitudes.

In the light of the above studies reviewed, it obvious that the motivation to migrate differs among individuals across different communities.

Furthermore, Kerr and Kerr (2011) argued that following economic theory, people move and migrate across different countries for diverse reasons and international labour mobility is occasioned by wage differences across countries. Borjas (2009) also suggests that many students from developing economies migrate to developed countries, for either short or long term, to study in the institutions and universities of advanced countries. As reflected by the growth of refugees in Northern Europe, Middle East and some parts of many African countries, many migration analysts have also opined that many migrations are motivated by oppressions, hardships and other unfortunate circumstances. According to Kerr and Kerr (2011), international questionnaires show evidence of migrant motivations, especially in choosing destination countries. Studies such as Munshi (2003) and Mandor (2007) also provide evidence that migrants frequently cite better personal safety, higher levels of income, established immigrant networks and short distance to home countries as the main motivation for choosing their new host countries. Their findings also show the importance of income differentials in comparing the income or GDP levels between source and host countries. According to Murphy (2008), young men and women may hold different reasons for migration. This could be due to specific gender norms in the sociocultural context that affect men and women's migration incentives and behavior. Further to this, recent empirical findings also disagree on the extent to which men and women migration decisions are affected by economic motivations. Some studies argue that men and women differ in the kinds of economic motivations that lead to their migration decisions. For example, He and Gober (2003) suggest that migrant men in China allude to the importance of business-related economic motivations and incentives more than women. On the other hand, in contrast, Liang and Chen (2004) show that migrant women and men alike migrated primarily for economic reasons in Shenzhen.

Thus, in this study we pay particular attention to migrant characteristics in Nigeria, migrant destination by age, sex and place of birth, migrant reason for leaving by destinations and migrant's reason for leaving by regions of origin.

METHODOLOGY OF THE SURVEY

The study followed a structured methodology with the 2006 National Population Census providing the sampling frame. The NBS frame has 23,070 enumeration areas in the 776 Local Government Areas of the country, politically consisting 36 states and Abuja Federal Capital Territory. For the purpose of the study, the States were classified into either high or low migration and regrouped into four regions – the North, South East, South South and South West (the three political regions in the North was grouped into one given that relatively fewer number of states were selected from the North generally on account of being predominantly a low migration zone).

Following a random selection of 3188 enumeration areas with the help of the National Bureau of Statistics, a disproportionate sampling based on expert knowledge of the country aimed at oversampling the high migration states was adopted. A ratio of 2:1 in favour of the high migration states produced 12 states from the high migration stratum and 6 states from the low stratum. Three LGAs were randomly selected from each high stratum state while the states in the low stratum had 2 LGs selected from 3 of the states each and 1 LG each from the other three to make a total of 45 LGs i.e. $(3 \times 12) + (2 \times 3) + (1 \times 3)$. Thereafter 2 EAs were selected per sample LGA to yield a total of 90 EAs. Households were considered according to three strata – those with an international migrant, those with an internal migrant and those with no migrant.

Each sample EA was partitioned using a defined procedure into an average of 6 to 10 segments and one was randomly selected. The random list from NBS was used in locating the lead households from where partitioning could take off. The target 2000 households for the study were near evenly allocated to all Local Government Areas in the sample. Actual sampling of households was through a 2-phase sampling that first lists all households in a randomly selected part of the EA with about 100 occupied households (in both urban and rural EAs). Adjustments in the sample results were made using household weights, calculated as the inverses of the probabilities of selection of each household, taking into account all the stages of selection. The final sample is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2
Listed and Sampled Households in LGAs and EAs of the North and South

	<i>North</i>		<i>South</i>		<i>Total</i>	
States in Sample	6		12		18	
LGAs	9		36		45	
Eas	18		72		90	
	No	%	No	%		
Listed	Int'l	4	0.49	813	99.51	817
	Internal	305	9.45	2922	90.55	3227
	Non Migrant	1441	35.75	2590	64.25	4031
Total		1750	21.67	6325	78.33	8075
Migration Incidence		0.23		12.85		10.12
Interviewed	Int'l	3	0.53	560	99.47	563
	Internal	173	19.77	702	80.23	875
	Non Migrant	406	49.94	407	50.06	813
Total		582	25.86	1669	74.14	2251

FINDINGS FROM THE SURVEY

Migration and Remittances from Out-migrants

This section shows the assessment of migrants, their characteristics, destinations and home regions and households.

Migrant Characteristics

Table 3 shows the age distribution of migrants for ages 15 years and above. Being the most accessible, urban areas in Nigeria are the dominant destinations for nearly all age groups. The concern about rural urban migration has been growing ever since independence as labour flows from the predominantly rural farming locations in the country to urban areas. Consequently, on the average, no less than 60 percent of migrants in most age groups are found in urban areas in Nigeria. This ratio ranges from 53 percent for the 55 – 64 age group to 71 percent for the 18 – 24 age group and includes 65 percent of all male migrants and 66 percent of all female migrants. The next most preferred migrant destination is the OECD with about 18 percent of all migrant groups. For the OECD migrant destination, there are substantial variations in the

proportion of each age group. The most numerous group in absolute terms is the very mobile 25 – 34 age group with 300 persons from the sample; but the group with the highest proportion of its members in the OECD is the 45 – 54 age group with nearly 34 percent of all migrants in this group in the OECD.

Two sectors underscore migration to rural areas in the country – public service and agriculture. Teachers and other public servants are regularly posted to institutions in rural areas while differences in soil fertility, weather conditions and farming practices lead to migration for farming purposes. Though significantly not very common, some migrants that move for the latter reason are seasonal. Overall, migrants to rural Nigeria constitute approximately 10 percent of all migrants. The age group with the lowest proportion of its population in rural areas is the 35 – 44 age group, which incidentally also have one of the highest proportion of migrants to the OECD. In contrast to this age group, the very young (15 – 17) and the very old (65 and above) have far above the average share of their population in the rural areas. This mirrors the situation in the whole country, where the rural areas are losing manpower; particularly the young, to urban areas on account of poor infrastructure and limited employment opportunities outside of agriculture. Migration to Africa and other countries in the rest of the world outside the OECD is relatively small – together forming the remaining 7 percent of migrants. Each of the 18 – 24 and 25 – 34 age groups have above 7 percent of their population within Africa but majority of the other age groups have about 6 percent with the exception of the 45 – 54 which has only 3 percent. There are relatively far fewer migrants to other regions and countries outside of Africa and the OECD; less than 1 percent of all migrants. And they comprise mainly of 18 to 44 with only 1 person in the 45 to 54 age group.

Migrant destinations in the survey are broadly grouped into five – urban areas within Nigeria, rural areas within Nigeria, countries in the OECD, African countries besides Nigeria and other parts of the world outside Africa and not in the OECD. Table 3 shows the distribution of migrants in the different destinations by sex. Overall, there are more male migrants than female. Nearly 64 percent of migrants to urban areas in Nigeria are males while only 36 percent are female. With 51 percent share, there are however more female migrants in rural areas than males. International migrants whether to OECD, African countries or other parts of the world are predominantly males taking as much as 71.5 percent, 75 percent and 77 percent respectively. This trend, particularly for international migrants, is not surprising given that international migration demands high spirit of adventure, found more among (young) men. However, such jobs as teaching and farming which lead to migration to rural areas are held more by women. As such, migration to rural areas reflects this higher proportion of women.

Place of birth of the migrants are captured under three broad zones – urban areas in Nigeria, rural areas in Nigeria and outside Nigeria. The data suggests that the rate of urban to urban migration in the country is quite high. About 68 percent of those born in urban areas migrate to other urban areas. This figure is, by all standards, pretty high, and impacts the proportion of those born in urban areas that migrate to rural areas. The latter group is quite small at about 6 percent. With few exceptions, urban to rural migration is not a common phenomenon in the country and so the relatively low 6 percent of those born in urban areas migrating to rural areas may not be unrelated to public posting. Just as those born in urban areas, the principal migrant destination of those born in rural areas is urban Nigeria, constituting about 66 percent of migrants from rural areas. But the proportion of rural migrants from rural areas is higher than rural migrants from urban areas. While nearly 20 percent of those born in urban areas are in the OECD, only 13 of those born in rural areas are in the OECD, but a marginally higher proportion of those born in

rural areas are in other African countries and less than 1 percent of those born in urban and rural areas are in other places outside the OECD and Africa.

For those born outside Nigeria, the trend is different. Majority of these remain in their countries of birth or migrate to other countries outside Nigeria. Nearly 88 percent of all those born outside Nigeria remain outside Nigeria; only about 12 percent migrate back into the country, with about 5 percent migrating to rural areas while the other 7 percent remain in urban areas. In many cases, those that remain outside the country form second generation migrants and are more or less global citizens, usually with multiple citizenships. A high proportion of this group (53.5 percent) is in the OECD while no less than 32 percent are in other African countries. Unlike most other groups, there are some 2 percent of that population in other countries outside the OECD and Africa.

Table 3
Migrant Destination by Age, Sex and Place of Birth

<i>Age Group</i>	<i>Migrant Group</i>	<i>Urban Nigeria</i>	<i>Rural Nigeria</i>	<i>OECD</i>	<i>Africa</i>	<i>Others</i>	<i>Total</i>
15-17	Freq.	77	26	3	7		113
	Percent	68.14	23.01	2.65	6.19		100
18-24	Freq.	447	87	41	47	6	628
	Percent	71.18	13.85	6.53	7.48	0.96	100
25-34	Freq.	934	107	300	104	11	1,456
	Percent	64.15	7.35	20.6	7.14	0.76	100
35-44	Freq.	362	27	139	33	4	565
	Percent	64.07	4.78	24.6	5.84	0.71	100
45-54	Freq.	103	15	64	6	1	189
	Percent	54.5	7.94	33.86	3.17	0.53	100
55-64	Freq.	24	4	14	3		45
	Percent	53.33	8.89	31.11	6.67		100
65+	Freq.	40	10	6	4		60
	Percent	66.67	16.67	10	6.67		100
Male	Freq.	1,378	161	413	161	17	2,130
	Percent	64.69	7.56	19.39	7.56	0.8	100
Female	Freq.	778	169	165	54	5	1,171
	Percent	66.44	14.43	14.09	4.61	0.43	100
Urban Nigeria	Freq.	1,042	96	303	80	13	1,534
	Percent	67.93	6.26	19.75	5.22	0.85	100
Rural Nigeria	Freq.	1,102	235	222	103	7	1,669
	Percent	66.03	14.08	13.3	6.17	0.42	100
Outside Nigeria	Freq.	7	5	53	32	2	99
	Percent	7.07	5.05	53.54	32.32	2.02	100
Overall	Freq.	2,161	339	578	215	22	3,315
	Percent	65.19	10.23	17.44	6.49	0.66	100

Migrants' Reasons for Leaving

As there are diversities of migrants, so are there diversities of reasons for migration. Tables 4 and 5 show the reasons for migrating by migrant destination and region of origin respectively.

Consistent with Todaro's view of migration as a purely economic phenomenon, the two most common reasons advanced for most migration episodes in the survey are employment and education. The former appears in two broad terms – search for work and taking advantage of job opportunities. Education is the single most prominent reason advanced for most migration episodes. But the relevance of search for work and taking up job opportunities put together, being the reason why about 48 percent of migrants left, outweighs education. The next most important reason for migration as given by the sample is marriage arrangement which is the reason for nearly 15 percent of all migrants, made up mainly of migrants to urban and rural Nigeria with 16 and 27 percent respectively. Movement to re-unite with family members or to get back to original homes also feature significantly among reasons for migration again mostly to rural Nigeria involving nearly 10 percent of all migrants to the rural area. Conflict and civil wars, divorce and marriage dissolution or even loss of spouse to death, land ownership, quality of land, health challenges, flood and drought all feature far less prominently among reasons why people migrate either within or out of the country. Since the end of the Nigerian civil war, armed conflicts among groups within the country have been less widespread and so have not been much occasion for people to relocate from their places of residence. Just as in many other countries, there are skirmishes here and there, but these are usually not significant enough to warrant complete relocations, exceptions existing only in cases like the Kaduna riots of the early 2000s which led to dislocation of several families. Likewise, family related problems often do not lead to migration; often, affected individuals can change locations within the same zones, but hardly move across much space on account of family problems. So they are not very strong drivers of migration. The extent to which the search for education affects migration depends largely on the destination of the migrant. While only 27.6 percent of migrants to urban areas in Nigeria go for education, as much as 35.7 percent of those who go to rural areas are in search of education. Likewise, nearly 32 percent of migrants to the OECD go in search of education. Migration to other parts of the world outside of Africa and the OECD for educational purposes are even much higher, involving nearly 55 percent of all migrants to these areas compared to only about 16 percent of migrants to African countries. In effect, more than half of every person that moves out of the continent but not into an OECD country only goes there for educational purposes in contrast to only 1 in every 7 going into African countries. In turn, search for work (including available job opportunities) is the major driver for migration to African countries and the OECD and involves nearly 70 percent of all migrants to the former and 54 percent of all migrants to the latter. These proportions are higher than the proportion (49 percent) of those going to urban Nigeria in search of work and definitely higher than the 22 percent going to rural areas in Nigeria either in search for work or with job opportunities. Job search also does not feature as prominently for those travelling to other parts of the world as it does for those travelling within the continent and or to the OECD.

Migrants from different regions in the country move for different purposes. The region with the highest proportion of its migrants moving for educational purposes is, expectedly, the South West (which incidentally also has the highest literacy rate). About 41 percent of all migrants from the region move to acquire further education. The North also has quite a high proportion of its migrants (about 32.5 percent) moving for educational reasons. Interestingly, the two regions with the highest proportions of migrants

than all other regions – the South East and South South – mostly move for other reasons than education. For the South East, there are much fewer reasons for migrating than the rest of the regions. For example, conflict and civil war, domestic issues as marriage dissolution and/or death of spouse, land ownership, poor quality of land, health problems, drought and flood, hardly feature among reasons for migration in the region. Search for work and job opportunities constitute the most important reason for migration for about 66.7 percent of all migrants from the region. This is the case despite the relatively less average education in the region compared to other regions. Finding work and taking advantage of job opportunities forms the reason for migration for less than half the migrants from other regions - approximately 47.5 percent of migrants from the South West, 46.2 percent of migrants from the South South, 37 percent of migrants from the Lagos and 30 percent of migrants from the North.

The North, with about 27.7 percent of migrants, in turn has the highest proportion of migrants that move for marriage-related reasons. It is followed by South South and Lagos with 21.3 and 17.6 percent of all migrants respectively. These numbers compare disproportionately with the 2.9 percent from the South East and 5.9 percent from South West. Lagos, with 9 percent, is also an outlier relative to other regions in terms of the proportion of its migrants that moved to join other family members and has significant proportion of migrants moving to return to previous homes. In general, motivation for migration for families in Lagos could significantly differ from what exists in other parts of the country.

Urban migrants seem to appreciate education (or at least have more propensity to migrate for it) than rural migrants. In turn, those migrating from rural areas are mainly concerned with getting work. The proportion of males and females that migrate for educational reasons do not differ much – with 29.4 percent of males compared to 27.5 percent of females. However, whether among males or females, the proportion of urban migrants moving to acquire education is higher than the proportion of rural migrants that move for the same reason. For example, 32 percent of urban males migrate for educational reasons compared to 27.6 percent of rural males. Among females, the gap is even wider. While 31 percent of urban females migrate for educational reasons, only 24 percent of rural females migrate for the same reason. The pressure for employment is much higher among potential migrants from rural areas than among urban migrants. Overall, a much higher proportion of migrants from the rural area move in search of work compared to migrants from urban areas. For example, 38 percent of males and 18.7 percent of females from the rural areas migrate in search of work compared to 27 percent of males and 11.7 percent of females from the urban areas. This might mirror the weakening productive base of the rural areas as more persons get less interested in subsistence agriculture in the face of dwindling opportunities for other employment types.

There are differences between men and women in the motivation for migration. While there is not much difference between the proportion of men and women migrating in search of more education, a higher proportion of men migrate for work reasons than women. As much as 34 percent of males migrate for the sole purpose of searching for work whereas among women, this proportion is a mere 15.7 percent. On the whole, the survey results indicate that females are more affected by family changes than males. Culturally, women move to meet their husbands. With few exceptions therefore, the man's location often determines the family's location. This trend is captured by the survey results as the proportion of women moving for marriage arrangements is quite high, approximating 37.5 percent compared to only 2.4 percent among men, with rural women having marginal edge in proportion than their urban counterparts. Migration among women for the purpose of joining other family members is higher than that among men. But other

aspects of family challenges – divorce/marriage dissolution, death of spouse, family problems and return to original home – affect both men and women the same way.

Individual education is critical in determining why and how he would migrate. It seems though that those with lower education on the whole move more for the purpose of acquiring more education. As much as 51 percent of those with other (mostly Islamic and other unclassified educational qualifications) move most for further education. Next are those with secondary education with 35.6 percent and then those with primary education with 26 percent moving for more education. Only 18 percent of those with tertiary education are reported to have migrated for the sole purpose of acquiring more education. This trend is same whether among males or among females.

Notably, there is not much variation in those that move for job search among the different educational groups; with the range being between 26 for those with secondary education and 30 percent for those with tertiary education. But in terms of available job opportunities and transfers, those with tertiary education have the most, with about 36 percent of migrants in this group compared to 8 percent of those with other education, 11.7 percent of those with primary education and 14.9 percent of those with secondary education. This is intuitive; more education will always mean better opportunities. However, as pointed out earlier, it is possible that a significant proportion of those reported to have moved for job opportunities may reflect, not existing jobs, but potential jobs and job search.

Migration for the reason of marriage arrangement is most among the less educated – with 18 percent among primary school graduates compared to only 0.1 among those with more higher education. Add to that

Table 4
Migrant Reason for Leaving by Destinations

<i>Reason for Migrating</i>	<i>Urban Nigeria</i>		<i>Rural Nigeria</i>		<i>OECD</i>		<i>African Countries</i>		<i>Other Parts</i>		<i>Overall</i>	
	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>
Education	593	27.59	120	35.71	183	31.77	34	15.81	12	54.55	949	28.65
Search for work	619	28.8	42	12.5	155	26.91	87	40.47	5	22.73	910	27.48
Job transfer/job opportunity	433	20.15	31	9.23	156	27.08	49	22.79	4	18.18	678	20.47
Civil conflict/war	1	0.05			2	0.35					3	0.09
Marriage arrangement	348	16.19	90	26.79	47	8.16	12	5.58			497	15.01
Divorce/marriage dissolution	1	0.05	1	0.3	2	0.35	2	0.93			6	0.18
Death of spouse or partner	7	0.33	3	0.89	2	0.35					12	0.36
Family problems	10	0.47	9	2.68	1	0.17	5	2.33			25	0.75
Moved to join other family members	62	2.89	21	6.25	23	3.99	9	4.19			115	3.47
Return to original home	51	2.37	13	3.87	3	0.52	6	2.79			73	2.2
Do not own land here			1	0.3							1	0.03
Poor quality of land or depleted soils	5	0.23	2	0.6	1	0.17	2	0.93			10	0.3
Health problems	4	0.19	1	0.3			1	0.47			6	0.18
Flood	3	0.14					1	0.47			4	0.12
Drought			2	0.6							2	0.06
Other	12	0.56			1	0.17	7	3.26	1	4.55	21	0.63
Total	2,149	100	336	100	576	100	215	100	22	100	3,312	100

Table 5
Reason for Leaving by Regions of origin

<i>Reason for</i>	<i>North</i>		<i>South East</i>		<i>South South</i>		<i>South West</i>		<i>Lagos</i>	
	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>%</i>
<small>Migrating</small> Education	116	32.49	202	27.67	292	23.86	211	41.13	128	26.23
Search for work	64	17.93	346	47.4	283	23.12	108	21.05	109	22.34
Job transfer/ opportunity	45	12.61	141	19.32	283	23.12	136	26.51	73	14.96
Civil conflict /war	1	0.28			1	0.08	1	0.19		
Marriage arrangement	99	27.73	21	2.88	261	21.32	30	5.85	86	17.62
Marriage dissolution	1	0.28			1	0.08	2	0.39	2	0.41
Death of spouse	4	1.12			7	0.57	1	0.19		
Family problems	2	0.56	1	0.14	2	0.16	1	0.19	19	3.89
Moved to join family	10	2.8	13	1.78	34	2.78	14	2.73	44	9.02
Return to previous home	2	0.56	2	0.27	42	3.43	6	1.17	21	4.3
Do not own land						1	0.19			
Poor quality of land	7	1.96							3	0.61
Health problems					3	0.25	1	0.19	2	0.41
Drought	2	0.56								
Flood	1	0.28			2	0.16			1	0.2
Other	3	0.84	4	0.55	13	1.06	1	0.19		
Total	357	100	730	100	1,224	100	513	100	488	100

the fact that it is mostly women that move for marriage reason and one comes to the conclusion that migration for marriage reasons is a phenomenon mostly associated with female illiterates. This of course does not mean that other groups do not move for the same reason, but it seems that for most female illiterates, marriage is a key empowerment for them to be able to leave their places of birth in the first place. Migrating solely for the purpose of joining other family members or returning to original home is also much higher among the uneducated; at 9 percent among primary school graduates compared to 4 percent among those with secondary education and 1.4 percent among those with tertiary education. However, migration forced by such family problems as divorce and marriage resolution is more among those with higher education (particularly secondary and tertiary) than those with lower education. Possibly, this reflects the fact that those with higher education have greater capacity to take a walk in the event of marriage dissolution. Those without the capacity either stay in the marriage or hang around the same area within the locality if the marriage should dissolve. Migration for family problems is also higher among the uneducated.

The time spent by most migrants surveyed in the work in their respective destinations ranges between one and five years. For most of the destinations, over 50 percent of all migrants have been there for anything between one and five years with the proportions ranging from 49.5 percent for those in the OECD to 59 percent for those in other regions outside the OECD and Africa. Our findings also show that approximately 24 percent of migrants to most of the destinations have spent between 5 and 10 years. Again, there is a wide range of migrants within this group across the different destinations. For example, while only 15 percent of migrants to rural areas have spent between 5 and 10 years, as many as 31 percent of migrants to other regions outside the continent and the OECD have spent that length of time in their destinations. But while nearly 20 percent of migrants to the rural areas in Nigeria have spent less than a year, only 9 percent of migrants in the 'other countries' group have are less than one year in their destinations. But to buttress the fact that migration to these non-traditional countries is a recent phenomenon, no migrant was reported to have spent above 10 years outside the continent and the OECD. In contrast, migration to the OECD has been such a long standing affair that as much as 15.4 percent are reported to have spent above 10 years with over 8 percent of the total migrants to the OECD having spent more than 15 years in their different countries of migration. This proportion outpaces even that for migrants to urban and rural Nigeria where for the former, only 11.4 percent have spent more than 10 years in their destinations and for the latter, only 10 percent have done same. For African countries, only 8.4 percent have spent more than 10 years in their respective destinations.

POLICY IMPLICATIONS

The international migration and motivation puzzles presented above lead us to some potential policy implications.

1. There is need for serious reorientation among the youths in developing countries who constitute the greater number of migrants among the different geopolitical zones. The motivation for migration should be reevaluated always in line with current realities. This is because many young people who migrate to other countries in search of education suddenly find themselves out of school because they lack the requisite resources to handle the expenses there. On the other hand, they also discover that the cost of education is more demanded in the destination countries than in the source countries. This also happens in the case of migrants seeking for marriage, jobs, etc. So there is need for serious reorientation among the youths to ensure the potential migrants move with the right motives.
2. There is need for gender sensitivity when formulating migration and development Policies. Several authors are beginning to argue that gender is important when studying the motivations, barriers and outcomes of international migration. Ignoring the relevance of gender in discussing how labour markets, societal norms, social networks, and migration motivations work means overlooking important determinants and effects of migration. A study by Kanaiaupuni (2000) in this context argues that "migration is a profoundly gendered process and the conventional explanations of men's migration in many cases do not apply to women." Thus, there is need to formulate policies that focus not only on male migration and miss opportunities to emphasize female migration and its potential benefits. To this end, there is growing concern that women migrate for different reasons and remit different amounts, and for different reasons than men.

For female migrants, the reasons for moving or not moving abroad are complex and also numerous. It also appears that men are more likely to be motivated to move abroad mainly for economic reasons, while women are more likely than men to be “tied movers or tied migrants.” That means women can migrate abroad to follow a spouse, or join other family members overseas. This is possible even when their average income and would be higher at home. Some other females are also motivated to stay behind to care for other family members, especially children who would be costly to move. On the other hand, a study in Mexico found that female migrants are better remitters. That is they send home more remittances, than male migrants on the average. The study also shows that females are more likely to send money home when their households suffer income shocks due to a parent’s illness or other issues than their male counterparts. This is part of the complexity associated with female migration.

3. Another vital issue in understanding motivations for migration is that differentiating between individual and altruistic motivations as well as between economic and non-economic incentives carries implications for migrant’s choice of destination. In recent years, certain areas have suffered insufficient migrant work force despite the growth of internal migration at the national level. One possible explanation for the lack of migrant labour in specific areas may be due to the mismatch between the local image and migrant motivations. Migrants who desire economic prosperity may be highly responsive to the demands of labour markets, but those who value non-economic experiences likely prefer other popular destinations.

CONCLUSION

Economic development and underdevelopment shape migration. Migration, in turn, shapes development. The critical question for governments is how to design policies that can enhance the potential for migration to contribute to economic development in migrant-sending regions—that is, how to use migration as a development tool.

This paper has summarized current thinking on international migration and its motivations. It has also offered some policy options concerning international migration. There are many preconceived notions about what drives international migration and how it affects development. Migration from rural areas to cities is increasingly commonplace in Nigeria and is closely connected to the country’s economic growth. On the surface, it seems obvious that individuals migrate from the countryside to the urban areas and to overseas to earn cash. While youth migration is indeed partially motivated by the desire for economic mobility and the need to support families at home, the desire for personal development is also a substantial motivator and one that appears to carry implications. Incorporating non-economic incentives into existing models could enable scholars to approach migration from an alternative and more holistic standpoint that differs from pure economic considerations. In particular, our findings call for additional examination of non-economic motivations, especially among young migrant men, to better understand youth migration choices and patterns.

Therefore, in this paper, we argue that although economic incentives are important, they do not fully explain migration decisions among Nigerian migrants. Non-economic considerations are also important. Thus, in our argument, we differentiate between three kinds of migration motivations. These include; individual economic motivation, which is simply the desire of individuals who migrate to improve their

economic position. Second, family-support motivation, which is an altruistic economic motivation in which individuals migrate to provide for family members and remit back to countries of origin. Finally, personal development encompasses non-economic incentives and benefits. This equally and suggests the pursuit of self-cultivation through the act of migration.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We acknowledge the funding assistance from World Bank Programme on African Migration to carry out this research.

NOTES

1. We acknowledge the funding received from the World Bank Project on African Migration
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