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Regional Characteristics and Migration in Developing Economies: Evidence from Nigeria

Chukwuma Agu¹, Anthony Orji² and Vincent Onodugo³

¹ Institute of Development Studies, University of Nigeria, Enugu Campus, Email: chukwuma.agu@unn.edu.ng

² Department of Economics, University of Nigeria, Nsukka, Email: anthony.orji@unn.edu.ng

³ Department of Management, University of Nigeria, Enugu Campus, Email: vincent.onodugo@unn.edu.ng

Abstract: Given the economic objective of attracting and retaining skilled migrants in a globally competitive economy and the social objective of ensuring a socially cohesive society, this research examines the whole issue about the North- South divide in poverty and other characteristics and how these affect migration. The impact of migration on child education, the impact on ownership of assets, etc on migration are also investigated. Furthermore, this paper also identified which regional economic factors influence the individual's migration decision, taking into account personal characteristics. For empirical analysis, we used data from the Nigerian Migration Survey by the World Bank. The micro data allowed us to identify household factors that influence migration decisions. In doing this, we controlled for different individual propensities to migrate and also assessed the genuine impact of regional economic factors on migration. The results showed that individual, regional and country specific factors make significant impact on migration decisions and dynamics.

Keywords: Regional, Characteristics, Migration, Outcomes, Developing Economy, Survey Data, Nigeria

JEL Classification: F22; F24; O15; R23

INTRODUCTION

Theoretically and empirically, human migration has long been recognised as a vital element of population dynamics which can have significant impact on both areas of origin and destination. The relationship between migration and the characteristics of both areas of origin and destination has received some attention in the literature (Dustmann et al, 2010). Although the findings are not yet conclusive, there is evidence that the peculiarities of migrant's areas of origin and migration outcomes. Studies such as Hammer et al. (2002) and Rustenbach (2010) suggest that the existence of a strong relationship between migration and development can have a decisive impact on the direction and speed of development on both origin and

destination. According to Oderth (2002) characteristics of migrant's place of origin and migration outcomes have shaped the nature of both receiving and places of origin more than any other phenomenon in human geography. Some cross-country studies done in Germany and in the United Kingdom, using European data also find similar results (Dustmann et al, 2010). However, others show that the result of regional characteristics and migration outcomes can defer depending on the relative emphasis on economic, social, and psychological and cultural factors (Schneider, 2008).

In developing countries, the gap between demographic characteristics and economic welfare seems to be a major determinant of worker emigration to the developed countries. Also, the dynamics of migration have been largely dependent cultural and historical issues (Agu, 2009). As the demographic giant in Africa, Nigeria has become increasingly involved in international migration to different parts of Asia, U.S.A, Europe, and South Africa. In line with this, Fadeyi (2010) argued that Nigeria is also a source and destination country within West Africa. In the Nigerian context, it has also been emphasized that cross-border labour migration has been on the increase. Trade is also being stimulated between Nigeria and the host countries. On the other hand, World Migration (2003) stresses that cross-border migration leads to a lack of skilled manpower in key sectors of national development. On the social front, long term migration negatively affects the male/female ratio and leads to disrupted family structures, which in turn, might affect the growing feminization of migration in Africa.

In view of this, highly skilled migrants from Nigeria and other developing countries are also becoming a more attractive resource for industrial countries as these countries experience demographic shifts characterized by skilled labour force shortages in certain sectors of their economies. Although there are a number of regional characteristics that may affect migration outcomes, in this paper we also include individual-level factors in our analyses, such as education, gender and age. Generally, research in the area of the impact of regional characteristics and labour migration is generally inconclusive. In the some countries of destination, Nigerian migrants are respected, while in others, they are generally regarded negatively. For example some Migrants have been blamed for or are feared to cause various problems such as; spread of diseases, driving down wages of local workers, rise in crimes and displacing or taking away jobs from local workers. Thus, given the economic objective of attracting and retaining skilled migrants in a globally competitive market and the social objective of ensuring a socially cohesive society, this research examines the whole issue about the North- South divide in poverty and other characteristics and how these affect migration. The impact of migration on child education, etc on migration are also investigated.

The rest of the paper is organised as follows. Section II describes the methodology of the survey. The results and findings are presented and discussed in Section III. Section IV gives some policy recommendations and section V concludes the paper.

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 over sampling 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 1 below.

Table 1
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

Education, Migration and the Nigerian Household

The literature on migration and development has long acknowledged education as a crucial factor in determining migration trends in literature. The infamous 'brain-drain' description of migration of skilled workers from developing countries to developed ones is simply an acknowledgement of the potential

losses incurred by countries when the best of their skills move to other countries. Docquier and Marfuok (2006) database and analysis of international migration by educational attainment literally force the issue and move it from the theoretical to the front burner in the empirical literature. Besides placing the household in a relatively more advantaged position to exploit opportunities that may be in foreign lands, education enhances individual skills and makes it more probable that the destination society will want him. Adjustment and possible assimilation is equally easier for the educated.

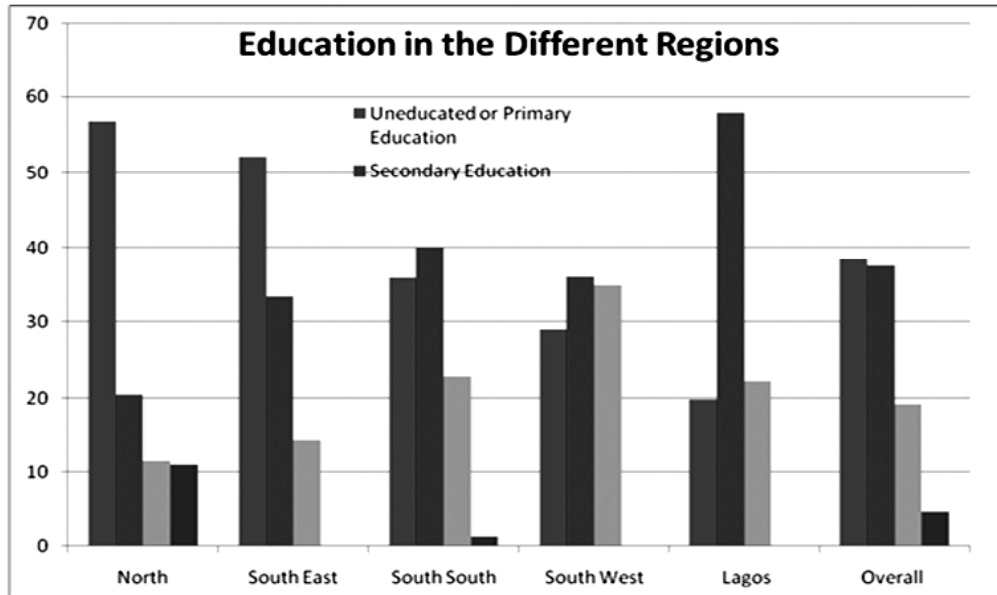


Figure 2:

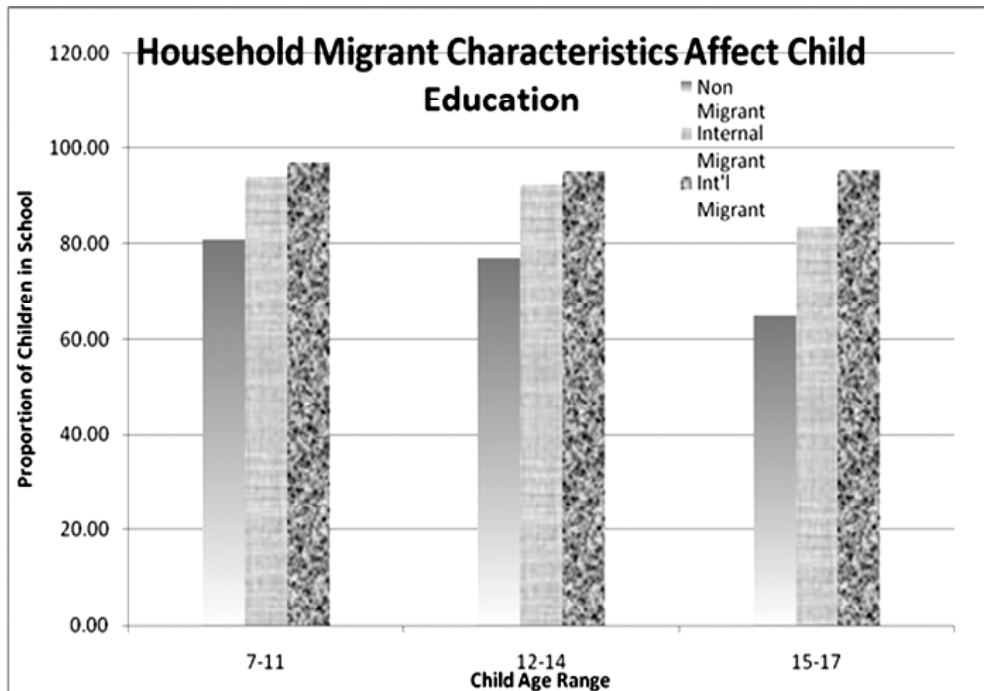


Figure 2:

Figure 2 (in appendix) shows how household migrant characteristics affect child education while table 2 shows the educational attainment of individuals in the sample by sex. The first 6 columns with figures indicate education attainment of household heads while the rest show the education attainment of the entire sample. It seems that while female household heads are generally less educated as the proportion of female household heads with no formal education of 30 percent is much higher than the 18 percent for their male counterparts. This is despite the fact that at just about 300 persons, the aggregate number of female household heads in the sample is relatively small compared to 1918 male household heads. This indicates that these women are not products of women liberation movement as much as they are of widowhood and sudden separation. The proportion with tertiary education appears not to be statistically different with about 17.9 percent of male household heads having and 16.1 female household heads. The share of men with secondary education is however higher at 23 percent compared to 19 percent for women. The same trends of more women without any formal education appear in the entire sample analysis (last four columns) where the proportion of females without any form of education is 23 percent compared to 15.5 percent for males. In contrast, 11.4 percent of all males have tertiary education compared to 8.6 percent of females. In between (for secondary, technical and other education), the males equally show marginal gains over females.

Table 2
Education Attainment of Individuals in Sample

<i>Highest level of schooling completed</i>	<i>All HH Heads</i>		<i>Male</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>All Sample</i>		<i>Female</i>		<i>Male</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>
No formal education	441	19.83	350	18.25	91	30.43	2,352	18.95	1,352	22.75	1,000	15.46
Alphabetization	48	2.16	39	2.03	8	2.68	1,063	8.56	504	8.48	559	8.64
Primary School	443	19.92	382	19.92	59	19.73	3,151	25.39	1,478	24.87	1,673	25.86
Secondary School	492	22.12	435	22.68	56	18.73	3,062	24.67	1,411	23.74	1,651	25.52
Secondary Level Technical	150	6.74	133	6.93	17	5.69	551	4.44	242	4.07	309	4.78
Tertiary/University	393	17.67	343	17.88	48	16.05	1,245	10.03	508	8.55	737	11.39
Post-secTech/Voc	84	3.78	75	3.91	9	3.01	256	2.06	126	2.12	130	2.01
Graduate School	65	2.92	54	2.82	11	3.68	161	1.3	67	1.13	94	1.45
Other	105	4.72	104	5.42			553	4.46	247	4.16	306	4.73
Don't know	3	0.13	3	0.16			18	0.15	8	0.13	10	0.15
Total	2,224	100	1,918	100	299	100	12,412	100	5,943	100	6,469	100

On the whole, the country is not exactly highly educated though. While overall literacy levels have improved over the years, there is still much space for further improvement. For example, about 19 percent of the population still have no education at all and another 9 percent are merely alphabetized. About 53 percent of the entire population are either uneducated or have a maximum of primary school education while another 29 percent have a maximum of secondary or technical education. These numbers do not indicate how many actually finished each level of education; that can be deduced by a close look at the maximum number of years each individual spent in school – another indicator in the instrument – an exercise we intend to undertake in future analysis. Though the combination of formal tertiary, graduate school and post-secondary technical education shows an appreciable 13.4 percent of the population, the

share of graduate school education is paltry at 1.3 percent. Non-formal education is still relatively well-patronized with nearly 5 percent of the population into it. The above education structure as outlined from the sample tells on the nature of jobs that the people can do and are doing. As we can also see, the job structure by each group partially reflects the education pattern embraced and the extent of formal training received by individuals. It seems being born in an urban area is associated with greater access to education.

Those born in urban households seem to have greater access to education than those born in rural households. Table 3 shows the classification of the sample on the basis of the three areas of birth – rural Nigeria, urban Nigeria and outside Nigeria in relation to the highest levels of education attained. The results indicate that 26 percent of persons born in rural areas have no formal education, compared to only 8 percent of persons born in urban areas that are this disadvantaged. Beginning with the share of the sample with at least alphabetization, the proportions in urban areas become superior to those in rural areas. By secondary school, the relative shares completely turn in favour of those in urban areas and remain so for tertiary and graduate school education. The share of persons with ‘other’ education is however, higher in rural areas. Classification of the education by region show that most of these with ‘other’ education are in rural Northern Nigeria and the education referred to is primarily Islamic education. The proportion of the sample born outside Nigeria is relatively small and they managed to keep pace with education, mostly straddled between the two extremes of education between those born in rural and urban areas of Nigeria.

Table 3
Level of Education by Place of Birth

<i>Highest Schooling Completed</i>	<i>Urban Area within Nigeria</i>		<i>Rural Area within Nigeria</i>		<i>Outside Nigeria</i>	
	<i>Freq</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Freq</i>	<i>%</i>
No formal education	418	8.26	1,927	26.44	7	15.91
Alphabetization	606	11.98	445	6.11	5	11.36
Primary School	1,347	26.62	1,793	24.6	8	18.18
Secondary School	1,540	30.43	1,511	20.73	6	13.64
Secondary Level Technical/Vocational Sc	261	5.16	283	3.88	7	15.91
Tertiary/University	627	12.39	606	8.32	7	15.91
Post-secondary Technical/Vocational Sch	125	2.47	130	1.78	1	2.27
Graduate School	119	2.35	40	0.55	2	4.55
Other	17	0.34	535	7.34	1	2.27
Don't know			18	0.25		
Total	5,060	100	7,288	100	44	100

Finally to the point that is very great interest in the literature: by how much is education related to migration? We will not presume to provide an answer to this question in this piece; clearly deeper correlation and regression analyses are necessary to be able to come to a firm conclusion with the present data set. However, there seems to be a lot that could be gleaned from the plain presentation of the data as in Table 4 below. There seems to be remarkable differences among the household strata as found in the table. Panel A shows the education of the different household strata for all sample while panel B shows the education of adults above 15 years of age for each of the household stratum. For the entire sample, while nearly 63

percent of non-migrant households have only primary education at the most, only 39 percent of individuals in households with an international migrant are that limited in education. In between, with 52 percent of individuals with maximum of primary education are households with only internal migrants – closer to the non-migrant households but showing some difference all the same. In turn, 36.5 percent of individuals in households with international migrants have secondary school education compared to 21 percent in non-migrant households. Again, while 24 percent of individuals in households with international migrants have tertiary education, only 8 percent of individuals in non-migrant households have a degree. The non-migrant households make up with ‘other’ education, which has been highlighted to consist mainly of Islamic education and which is predominant in the North. For all the levels of education, households with internal migrants straddle between the two performance extremes of non-migrant households and households with international migrants.

The gaps remain fairly the same as in the overall sample when only persons 15 years and above are taken into consideration as in Panel B; amplifying the point that this difference in educational attainment has less to do with age than it has to do with other socio-economic appurtenances that surround each household stratum. Here while 49 percent of persons in non-migrant households are uneducated or have a maximum of primary education, the corresponding proportion in the international migrant household group is 26 percent retaining the above-23- percentage superiority of households with international migrants to non-migrant households. Internal migrant households remain somewhere at the middle course between the two. Again, with 30 percent of members with tertiary education, the gap between international migrant households and their non-migrant counterparts rises to 17.4 percent as against 15.5 percent under the entire sample.

Table 4
Education of Migrants in the Sample

<i>Panel A: Entire Sample</i> Education	<i>Non migrant</i>		<i>Internal Migrant</i>		<i>Int'l Migrant</i>	
	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Uneducated or Primary Education	2,890	62.61	2,497	52.04	1,179	39.33
Secondary Education	949	20.56	1,570	32.72	1,094	36.49
Tertiary Education	374	8.1	580	12.09	708	23.62
Other	403	8.73	151	3.15	17	0.57
Total	4,616	100	4,798	100	2,998	100
<i>Panel B: Above 15 Years</i> Education	<i>Non migrant</i>		<i>Internal Migrant</i>		<i>Int'l Migrant</i>	
	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Freq.</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Uneducated or Primary Education	1,410	49.09	1,264	37.92	601	25.94
Secondary Education	809	28.17	1,394	41.82	1,004	43.33
Tertiary Education	366	12.74	573	17.19	699	30.17
Other	287	9.99	102	3.06	13	0.56
Total	2,872	100	3,333	100	2,317	100

Clearly the argument can be made that the higher education access drives mobility among international migrant households, but there is no question that the benefits of mobility feed back into maintaining the educational advantage of this household stratum over the rest. In the first place, if as is known in the literature, quite a significant proportion of remittances goes into consumption and social sector spending, assuming all other factors constant, then households at the same level of economic welfare with a non-migrant household but which have the advantage of having an international migrants and receive remittances are more able to pay for higher education than households without a migrant. In addition, the social network implies access to a wider range of education options than those without the same opportunities.

POLICY ISSUES AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The nature of labour migration in Nigeria is linked, on the one hand, to the pattern of (uneven) development accentuated by several dimensions of policy, and, on the other, to a pattern of capitalist growth, which has implied continued and growing informalisation of the rural and urban economy. We have argued earlier in this paper that this pattern of development, apart from being inimical to the poor regions, is consistent with a 'low road' to capitalist development, constraining the possibility of more rapid growth and technical change. In the light of this, we suggest that migration policy has to be concerned not only with supporting migrants, but also with the mutual links between migration and development across different regions. Some of the major policy recommendations in this context include;

1. Efforts should be made by the government to utilise resource flows from emigrants to strengthen national and regional development: Policy frameworks regarding the effective utilisation of financial inflows from emigrants to strengthen the development process at national or regional levels should be adopted. Similarly, the existing policies in Nigeria should address any concerns related to the migration of persons with professional or technical expertise, who are willing to make a contribution to the development process as returnees or in their non-resident status. These issues need to be considered at national and regional levels and effective policies need to be formulated which can integrate development concerns with the migration process. This is very germane in enhancing the role of migration on development across different regions in Nigeria.
2. Government should develop migration information systems: In Nigeria, one of the areas that requires immediate policy intervention is the creation of an appropriate information system on international migration. This would enable the authorities to monitor and manage emigration and immigration issues more closely. The status of out-migrant data can be improved by making the registration of entry by migrant workers mandatory at the Nigerian missions operating in labour receiving countries. The nature of outflow data at home can be strengthened by a fuller utilisation of the data already available with government departments and recruitment agencies. A key requirement in this regard would be the strengthening of the statistical departments of the concerned government departments.
3. Efforts of government should be geared towards pro-poor development in backward regions: Nigeria should adopt some policy initiatives to enhance a more vigorous pro-poor development strategy in backward areas of the countries. This could take the form of land, water, health and

education management through targeted approaches and increased public investment in those strategic areas. These strategies need to be accompanied by changes that improve the poor's access to land, to health facilities, to common property resources, to quality education, to social and physical infrastructure, and to governance institutions. The set of changes mentioned above will require strong organisation initiatives and intervention by the relevant authorities and on behalf of the poor. This will certainly enhance the welfare of the poor across the regions and reduce the negative impact of emigration in those regions.

4. Specific interventions should be targeted at some important sectors: To ameliorate some of the negative features of labour migration, the authorities should target development at poor. Efforts should be made to strengthen the position of the poor who resort to survival migration. This can be achieved by helping the poor to overcome some major constraints that they face. These include; food and credit. Access to food can be improved through a more effective public distribution of fertilizer and agro-allied credit schemes. Also, organizing the poor into self-help or savings groups, specifically tailored to the requirements of migrants, could help increase access to credit. These are ways to encourage the poor and ameliorate some of the negative features of labour migration.

CONCLUSIONS

This paper presents evidence on the importance for the migration decision in Nigeria of the person's situation, in particular: (a) family characteristics, such as being married to a working woman, having children, or living with relatives (b) personal factors such as education or age and (c) employment situation, and other personal characteristics.

The paper also studies the influence of regional economic variables and shows that interactions between these and personal characteristics are crucial for explaining the current pattern of regional migration flows in Nigeria. Personal characteristics not only have an important direct effect on migrations but they also alter the effect of some regional economic variables on the migration decision and affect the interpretation of these regional effects. The findings about the effects of the regional variables enable us explain the present pattern of inter-regional migration in Nigeria. Thus, the important point is that the people that move in Nigeria are not always the same kind of people that used to do so. The reason is that the motivation behind migration decisions in Nigeria may have changed in line with regional variations or regional labour markets.

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