

Citizen Diplomacy and Diaspora Patriotism: A Case for Nigeria's National Development

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Abstract: Patriotism as devotion and commitment to one's country is a critical factor desired of diaspora populations around the world by different home governments due to the anticipated effects on national development. But eliciting high sense of patriotism from the citizens in diaspora is a herculean task because of ineffective diplomatic linkages between them and the home governments. As a result, the development potentials and benefits derivable from the diaspora populations get stuck in the host country instead of being repatriated home. This situation has contributed significantly in worsening the development gap created especially through brain-drain from the developing countries to the developed countries of the world. In reactions, attempts have been made by different countries to reverse the process from brain-drain to brain-gain by exploring the development potentials of the diaspora populations in favour of national development in different ways. In this light, it is argued that the various efforts towards turning brain-drain into brain-gain through diaspora patriotism will remain an exercise in futility especially in a country like Nigeria unless citizen diplomacy is effectively applied.

Key words: Citizen Diplomacy • Diaspora • Patriotism • Brain-Drain • Brain-Gain

INTRODUCTION

The nexus between citizen diplomacy and diaspora patriotism cannot be underestimated in relation to national development. Over a long period of time, migration of citizens from one country to another has raised a lot of concerns especially on the opportunities available to them and the development potentials they possess. In some countries, the presence of migrants who largely constitute the diaspora are often viewed as burden to the host nation and relief to the country of origin; in other cases, they are seen as human resources or assets that can be exploited for national development depending on their economic potentials. These perceptions on the productive capacity of the diaspora largely determine how the citizens are regarded and treated; similarly, the regard and treatment accorded to the diaspora is said to inform their level of patriotism towards the development of the country of origin and or the host country. This study is therefore an attempt to examine the development potentials of the Nigerian Diaspora and how it can be enhanced through citizen diplomacy. Hence, the critical

questions that will be addressed in this exposition with focus on Nigeria and instances drawn from other countries are: Does Citizen Diplomacy Promote Diaspora Patriotism? Does Diaspora Patriotism enhance national Development? To what extent does citizen diplomacy promote diaspora patriotism for national development?

Citizen Diplomacy, Diaspora Patriotism and National Development:

The question of whether citizen diplomacy promotes diaspora patriotism is of critical concern and debates that have pervaded existing literature. Citizen diplomacy as a concept is versed with several interpretations, but may be explained within the context of "People-Centrism". Writing on "Citizen-Centric Diplomacy: The Challenges for Nigeria's Defence and Security in the 21st Century", Okeke and Onyekwelu [1] sought to examine the patriotic essence of citizen diplomacy in handling the defence and security issues of the Nigerian State. Recapitulating the declaration of the then Minister of Foreign Affairs, Late OjoMaduekwe, Okeke and Onyekwelu (2014) stated that:

Citizen Diplomacy' requires the government of Nigeria to more consciously resort to the calculi of the basic needs, human rights and socioeconomic welfare of the citizen in conducting bilateral and multilateral engagements with other nations.... If you are nice to our citizens; we will be nice to you; if you are hostile to us, we will also be hostile to you.

In essence, citizen diplomacy has three critical components: the *basic needs, human rights* and *socio-economic welfare* of the citizens as the driving forces of bilateral and multi-lateral engagement with other nations in the international system. [1] noted that though this may appear insignificant, it has enormous *normative implications* and *transformative potentials* on the citizens' life and attitudes to the nation. In their submission, [1] contended that both internally and externally, Nigeria has not achieved the desired defense and security interests because citizen diplomacy has not been effectively applied to ensure the protection of the Nigerian Diaspora. This submission implies that effective application of citizen diplomacy has the potentials of enhancing their patriotism in favour of national defense and security.

This is more so because what the citizens do for the state largely depends on what the state does for the citizens.

Similarly, Folarin [2] earlier studied "Nigeria's New Citizen-centered Diplomacy: Any Lessons from the US?" The objective of the study was to identify and examine the lessons Nigeria could draw from US practice of citizen diplomacy. [2] noted that US practice of citizen diplomacy began with the American history and has enhanced the patriotism of the citizens towards building the nation's image in the international system. [2] noted that the practice of citizen diplomacy by US extends beyond its conceptualization by Nigeria. Whereas Nigeria perceives it as protection of the citizens which is even more of rhetoric than reality, the US practice of citizen diplomacy goes beyond the protection of the citizens to include the participation of the citizens in the foreign policy process so that it will no longer be elite-driven but people-oriented. Thus, [2] drew three lessons from which Nigeria should learn the practice of citizen diplomacy; they are: participation of the civil society in the foreign policy processes through opinion polls, initiation of sustainable exchange programmes among Nigerians and citizens of other nations and the protection of the citizens both at

home and abroad. These have been the critical components of US practice of citizen diplomacy which [2] recommends that Nigeria should learn.

Writing on "Absentee Patriotism: India, the Indian Diaspora and the PravasiBharati Divas", Singh [3] explained diaspora patriotism as the expression of affinity by migrants to their countries of birth or ancestral homelands. [3] maintained that such affinity is often demonstrated in the ways that they maintain their ethnic identities while rebuilding their lives and futures for their successive generations in the countries to which they relocate. In maintaining their ethnic identities, [3] noted that they often show attachment to their countries of birth cum ancestral homelands by way of regular visits or remitting parts of their earnings, either to support families or to develop their countries. [3] asserted that a country such as India is replete with these instances and provide adequate basis to explain how the notion of "absentee patriotism" may remain alive as an extended form of nationalism in out-of-state existences.

Terrazas [4] studied "Diaspora Investment in Developing and Emerging Country Capital Markets: Patterns and Prospects". The essence of the study was to explore how diaspora financial resources can be mobilized for national development in developing countries where the underdeveloped financial systems hinder formal savings and investment. With the aid of content analysis techniques, [4] argued that there is significant relationship between diaspora financial resources and national development which can only be mobilized through diaspora patriotism. In this light, [4] asserted that though "remittances tap the incomes of migrants, the greater challenge is to mobilize the wealth of the Diasporas". [4] averred that the wealth of the Diasporas can be adequately mobilized for national development especially in emerging economies through the capital markets with the aid of: deposit accounts, securitization or remittance flows, transnational loans, diaspora bonds and diaspora mutual funds. [4] observed that there are some characteristics of developing and emerging economies which require the mobilization of diaspora resources for National development; they are: underdeveloped financial system which hinder savings and investment; large, safe borrowers dominate formal borrowing and smaller riskier borrowers must resort to informal financial markets; substantial foreign financing is necessary to fund investment due to small pool of domestic savings; high

potential growth should attract foreign investment, but international investors have proven reluctant to invest in developing economies. In view of these characteristics, [4] recommended what the diaspora should do to include: (a) mobilizing sufficient resources to finance development through domestic and external pools of savings; and (b) ensuring that international investment is sufficiently stable to promote long term growth. [4] maintained that besides direct investments through the remittances and assets of the diaspora, portfolio investment through the capital markets is also very essential for national development.[4] identified such areas of the capital markets which the diaspora resources can be invested for national development in their countries of origin to include: maintenance of deposit accounts; securitization of remittance flows; facilitation of transnational loans; purchasing of diaspora bonds; and maintenance of diaspora mutual funds. In attempt to authenticate the efficacy of exploiting the diaspora's investments in the capital market for national development, [4] identified the countries where such had worked to include: Israel, Egypt, India, Ghana and Ethiopia.

Newland and Plaza [5] wrote on “What we know about Diasporas and Economic Development”. The objective of the study was to examine the economic development potentials of the Diasporas. [5] identified three opportunity areas where the Diasporas can be of significant economic development essence to their homeland which are: *trade, investment and skills and knowledge transfers*. Hence, they share the view that government can do more to remove obstacles and create opportunities for diasporas to engage in economic development, by taking specific actions to understand where and who the diasporas populations are, build solid relationship with diaspora partners and facilitate their involvement in the country of origin, consolidate their sense of belonging and build institutions to implement coherent diaspora engagement policies; more so, diaspora policies work best when diasporas are engaged as full development partners.

In the light of the foregoing reviews, it is evident that there are strong correlations among citizen diplomacy, diaspora patriotism and national development. Whereas citizen diplomacy encourages diaspora patriotism, the later promotes national development through trade, investment, as well as skills and knowledge transfers.

The Nigerian Diaspora and Their Experiences Abroad:

The population of the Nigerian Diaspora is substantial to the extent that their contributions to national development cannot be relegated to the background. Although the exact data on the population of the Nigerian Diaspora cannot be accurately determined due to poor statistical records, the information provided by the Migration Policy Institute [6] on selected countries constitute reliable basis of analysis.

Table 1: The Nigerian Emigrant Population in Selected Countries, 2012

Country	Migrants from Nigeria
United States	252,000
United Kingdom	184,000
Chad	13,000
Italy	48,000
Cameroon	116,000
Spain	37,000
Germany	23,000
Ireland	19,000
Benin	43,000
Cote d'Ivoire	44,000
Canada	19,000
Sudan	15,000
Niger	20,000
Saudi Arabia	15,000
Gabon	23,000
India	10,000
Libya	7,125
Netherlands	9,453
Total	897,578

Source: Migration Policy Institute (2015); Adebayo (2010)

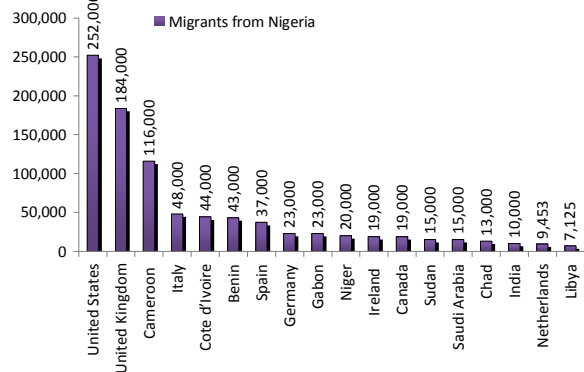


Fig. 1: Migrants from Nigeria in Different Countries, 2010-2012

The data contained in table 1 and figure 1 show that in the 18 countries selected, the Nigerian Diaspora totals 897,578 citizens with an average of 49,865 persons. It is

vital to note that while the Migration Policy Institute (2015) [6] provided data for the first 18 Countries, Adebayo (2010) [7] provided for the last three countries: *India, Libya and Netherlands*. Among these countries, the United States of America is seen to record the highest, followed by the United Kingdom, Cameroon, Italy and Cote d'Ivoire respectively; while Chad recorded the lowest population of the Nigerian diaspora. Notably, only 3 countries (United States, United Kingdom and Cameroon) have populations of the Nigerian Diaspora above the average of 49,865 citizens. Meanwhile, in discussing the citizen diplomacy and diaspora patriotism in relation to national development, relevant instances will be drawn from the selected countries especially the United States that has the highest population of the Nigerian Diaspora.

It is however important to note that the population of the Nigerian Diaspora in the United States, United Kingdom, Germany, Ireland and Canada seems to vary as provided by the [6]: where the data on the table of remittances of the Nigerian Diaspora from different countries provided 252,000 for the United States, the table for the population characteristics of the Nigerian Diaspora in the US captured 376,000. This variance may be on the basis that the 252,000 population of the Nigerian Diaspora stated is a fraction of the 376,000 citizens who made some remittances to the country. Besides, another data supplied by [7] captured different figures thus:

Table 2: Population Difference of the Nigerian Diaspora in Selected Countries

Country	Migrants from Nigeria	Population
United States	252,000	3,240,000
United Kingdom	184,000	154,000
Germany	23,000	17,903
Ireland	19,000	16,300
Canada	19,000	19,520
Total	497,000	3,447,723

Sources: Migration Policy Institute (2015); Adebayo (2010)

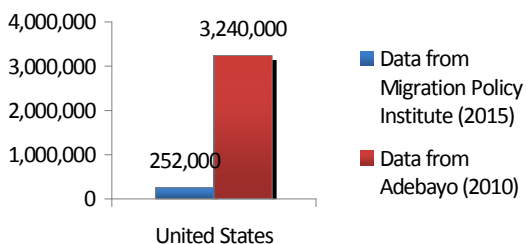


Fig. 2: Nigerian Diaspora Population Difference in the US

Data Sources: Migration Policy Institute (2015); Adebayo (2010)

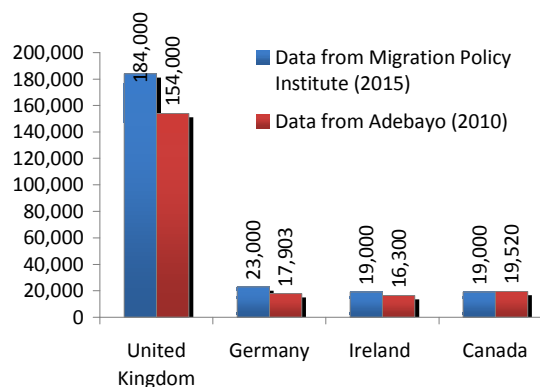


Fig. 3: Nigerian Diaspora Population Difference in UK, Germany, Ireland and Canada

Data Sources: Migration Policy Institute (2015); Adebayo (2010)

The population differences of the Nigerian Diaspora in the identified countries may be based on three possible reasons: (i) increase in the Nigerian Diaspora population due to emigration from Nigeria as observed in the data for United Kingdom, Germany and Ireland; (ii) decrease in the Nigerian Diaspora Population as recorded in the data for Canada probably due to voluntary return or deportations. However, the population difference recorded in the case of US as provided by the [6] and [7] could have been that that of the former is more or less a selection of sample that made financial remittances or have substantial economic assets. Without prejudice to the foregoing expositions and the observed statistical inconsistencies, the data provided largely indicate that Nigeria has a substantial, viable and productive Diaspora population across the globe.

But these various populations of the Nigerian Diaspora in different countries have been facing a lot of diplomatic challenges which tend to threaten their patriotic contributions to national development. Some of these diplomatic challenges include *incarcerations, xenophobic attacks, deportations and extra-judicial killings*. These are some of the experiences of the Nigerian Diaspora which require the application of citizen diplomacy to elicit the patriotism of the Nigerian Diaspora for national development.

Incarcerations of the Nigerian Diaspora: There is no doubt that the Nigerian Diaspora in different countries are largely incarcerated. Several reasons have been adduced for the incarceration. As Nwogbaga [8] noted:

Some of these Nigerian citizens languish in the foreign jails without trials for various offences such as drug trafficking, human trafficking, fake travel documents, internet scam, identity fraud, cybercrimes. Some of them are not only jailed without trial but also denied legal counsel and communication rights with relatives. For example, OgochukwuMalu was jailed without trial in China for entering the country with Guinea Passport instead of Nigerian Passport.

The table 3 and figure 4 clearly captured the data on the Nigerian Diaspora in the foreign jails of selected countries between 2002 and 2012.

Table 3: Nigerian Diaspora in the Foreign Jails of some selected Countries, 2002-2012

Country	Estimated number of Persons
Equatorial Guinea	128
Brazil	469
India	500
China	1000
Britain	1000
Togo	300
South Africa	56
Total	3,453

Sources: Nwogbaga (2013)

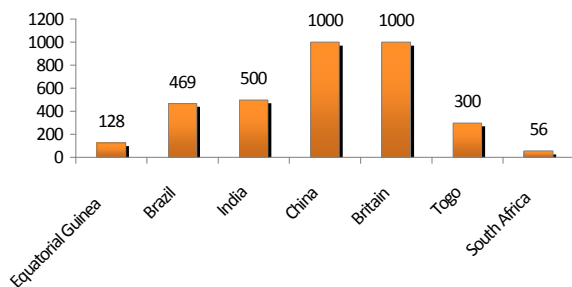


Fig. 4: Nigerian Diaspora in the Foreign Jails of some selected Countries, 2002-2012

Data Source: Nwogbaga (2013)

The data contained in figure 4 indicate that China and Britain has the highest records of Nigerians in their jails while South Africa has the lowest as at the period of 2002 to 2012. Yet, China is a major Trade partner with Nigeria and Britain is the ex-colonial lord. In attempts to decongest British jails especially of the Nigerian Diaspora and the associated financial

costs of the prisoners' welfare compelled a country like Britain to negotiate the contested "Prisoners Exchange Agreement" with the Nigerian government for the transfer of some Nigerian diaspora prisoners [8]. But [8] argues that it would rather be preferable that the Nigerian government negotiates the release (and deportation where necessary) of such citizens in foreign Jails because Nigeria's 148 prisons capacity estimated at 46,700 inmates as at 2011 was over-populated with 80,000 inmates; taking more inmates from abroad would be congesting the Nigerian prisons more.

Deportation of Nigerian Diaspora: Deportation is the expulsion of a person or group of people from a place or country. The term *expulsion* is often used as a synonym for deportation, though expulsion is more often used in the context of international law, while deportation is more used in national (municipal) law. Definitions of deportation apply equally to nationals and foreigners. Nonetheless, in the common usage, the expulsion of foreign nationals is usually called deportation. In essence, deportation is the removal of an alien out of the country, simply because his presence is deemed inconsistent with the public welfare and without any punishment being imposed or contemplated either under the laws of the country out of which he is sent or of those of the country to which he is taken. All countries reserve the right to deport persons without right of abode, even those who are longtime residents and/or possess permanent residency. In general, foreigners who have committed serious crimes, entered the country illegally, overstayed and/or broken the conditions of their visa, or otherwise lost their legal status to remain in the country may be administratively removed or deported. In many cases, deportation is done by the government's executive apparatus and as such is often subject to a simpler legal process (or none), with reduced or no right to trial, legal representation or appeal due to the subject's lack of citizenship. In recent times, Nigerian Diaspora has faced a lot of deportations from different countries for various reasons ranging from crimes, illegal entry, overstaying, broken visa conditions, expired or forged immigration documents, or loss of legal status. Some data on the deportation of Nigerian Diaspora is presented in the table and figure below thus:

Table 4: Nigerian Diaspora Deported From Different Countries

Date	Deporting Country	No. of Deportees
Jan 24, 2013	Spain	41
Dec. 18, 2015	Europe	28
Dec 21, 2016	Libya	140
March 017	Libya	236
April 25, 2017	Libya	253
Feb 1, 2017	UK	83
Feb 28, 2017	South Africa	97
March, 2017	Italy	70
March, 2017	Belgium	7
March, 2017	Germany	3
March, 2017	North African Countries	314
Feb 23, 2017	Cameroon	517
Total		1,300

UN Refugee Agency (2017); The Cable (2017); NEMA (2017)

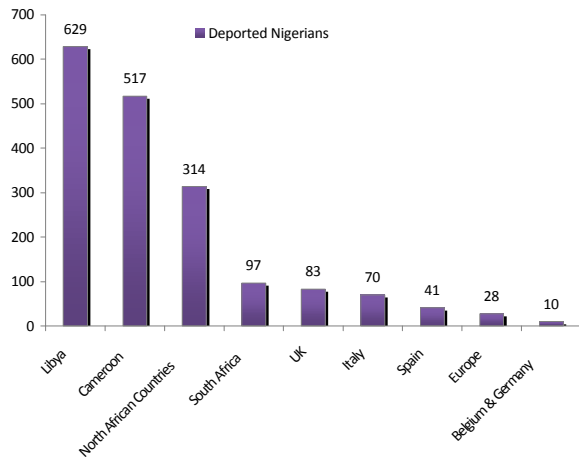


Fig. 5: Nigerian Diaspora Deported From Different Countries

Data Source: UN Refugee Agency (2017); The Cable (2017); NEMA (2017)

Based on the available data presented in table 4 and figure 5, Cameroon has the highest record on the deportation of the Nigerian Diaspora; then followed by “North African Countries”, Libya, South Africa, UK, Italy, Spain, “Europe”, Belgium and Germany. There is no doubt that the harsh economic reality in Nigeria has largely led to ceaseless emigration. However, while some Nigerians travel abroad to engage in productive ventures, a few do so with the alleged motive of engaging in crime so as to make quick money. Also, some Nigerians travel abroad through illegal means and with forged documents. As such, Nigerians will likely continue to seek a better life outside the shores of country until the government fixes

the economy and security. Most of the Nigerian Diasporas deported from Cameroon were those that took refuge there following the Boko Haram insurgence in Nigeria. The large number of deportees from Libya and some other North African Countries were so because they constitute the transit routes to their desired European Countries. Hence, most of the times, Nigerians travelling to Europe are intercepted there and deported. Some of the development implication of these deportations is that most of the time, the deportees are taken unaware and forcefully repatriated without recourse to their assets and investments in those countries. Hence, they come back empty handed and become frustrated dependents in Nigeria.

Xenophobic Attacks: South-Africa; India: Series of xenophobic attacks against Nigerians and some other Africans have been recorded in South Africa, India and Kenya. These attacks have largely threatened the security of the lives and property of Nigerians in those countries to the extent that entire Diaspora Population is no longer safe. The causes of the attacks were blamed on: *the employment of desperate foreigners as strike breakers; jealousy over foreigners’ business prosperity; perception of foreigners as sources of crimes; and the killing of a 14 year old South African boy by a Somali.*

The employment of desperate foreigners generated the fears that the diaspora population in the identified countries threatens the employment and job opportunities of the citizens. For instance, in South Africa and Kenya, it was acknowledged that the Nigerian Diaspora especially, Medical Doctors, are used to foil the industrial actions of the labour unions in the sense that they are employed to substitute the indigenous workers each time they went on strike. However Jeremy Cronin, the Deputy Minister of Transport stated that: *“one of the triggers for the latest flare-up was the employment of desperate foreigners as strike breakers in an industrial dispute in Isipingo just days before the violence”.* There is a tendency to employ part-time workers if there is a strike and usually this creates hostility.

Besides, the businesses of the diaspora population are alleged to be more prosperous than those of the citizens. In January 2015, xenophobic violence erupted in Soweto and the targets were foreigners mainly Somali and Pakistanis who owned small shops which are commonly known as “spazas”. In a number of townships in South Africa, foreigners rent space in the yards of South

Africans where they operate *spazassome* pay up to R3000 a month for rent. The money is a livelihood for some South Africans who may not have anyone employed in their home. The damages to foreign owned businesses in 2008 were as high as R1.5 million, with victims having no means of recouping these losses [6].

Also, the diaspora population are said to constitute not only *critical criminal groups* especially in the areas of human and drug trafficking believed but also constitute *threats to the economies of their host countries*. As noted by Abike (2017) [9], 63 per cent of the extrajudicial killings were carried out by the police. This submission is corroborated by the survey conducted by [4] of municipal police trainees and officers in the City of Johannesburg which:

...showed that 30% of the municipal police officers surveyed believed that 'foreigners cause crime'. Another 23% felt that 'overcrowding' (due to urbanisation into Johannesburg) caused crime. The survey also showed that municipal police officers had a very poor understanding of the different kinds of foreigners described in South African legislation e.g. migrant workers, refugees or undocumented migrants. As municipal police officers take on extended policing functions, their attitudes towards non-nationals and knowledge of the relevant legislation becomes increasingly important; as they will also be responsible for ensuring the safety of migrant communities.

Misperceptions about the amount of migration into South Africa are reinforced by the belief of some top government functionaries that immigrants are poor and unskilled and therefore compete with South Africans for scarce public resources such as work, health care etc. this supposition is substantiated by the occasional comments of High-ranking government officials and politicians who have, at times, fuelled

xenophobic views that portray refugees and other migrants as burdens on the state. For example, the Minister of Home Affairs stated in 1994 that: If South Africans are going to compete for scarce resources with the millions of 'aliens' that are pouring into South Africa, then we can bid goodbye to our Reconstruction and Development Programme (Minister of Home Affairs, 1994) [10]. Also, [10] stated in 1998 that there were between 2.5 and 5 million illegal 'aliens' in South Africa which were costing the State "billions of Rand per year" (Minister of Home Affairs, 1998) [11].

The xenophobic attacks which erupted in South Africa and India were sparked by the *death or killing of the citizens* believed to have been caused by foreigners. For instance, the xenophobic violence which erupted in Soweto in January 2015 was sparked by the killing of a 14 year old South African boy by a Somali who claimed the boy was part of a group which tried to rob his shop. In view of this, On 15 March 2015, King Goodwill Zwelithini, the King of the Zulu nation, addressed a moral regeneration event in Pongola, Kwa-Zulu Natal where he stated that *government is not protecting citizens from the influx of foreigners*. He also said *foreigners must please go back to their countries*. It seems that his speech was misconstrued by some as an order to take the law into their own hands and chase foreigners out of South Africa [12]. Notably, the Zulu king is respected by his people; if he gives an instruction the majority is likely to obey. Similarly, in India, Nigerian and other African students came under attack from Indian crowds; Five Nigerians were beaten and badly wounded in Noida, a town in Uttar Pradesh state, on Monday 10th April, 2017 because of their alleged link to the death of an Indian student. Some were beaten by a mob in the district of Greater Noida, a suburb of Delhi, until they became unconscious. Indian police however said the cause of the student's death remains unknown. It is however noted that it was not the first time African students have been attacked in India over the past years thus:

Table 5: Xenophobic Attacks against Foreigners in India

Date of Attack	Identity	Place of Attack in India	Form of Attack
2013	Nigerian Man	Goa	Stabbed to Death
February 2016	Tanzanian Student	South City of Bangalore	Assault/partial stripping
May 2016	Congolese man	Delhi	beaten to death over auto-rickshaw
May 2016	Nigerian Student	Hyderabad	Attacked by an Indian Man
10 th April, 2017	5 Nigerian Students	Noida, Uttar Pradesh State	Beaten/badly wounded

Source: Compiled by the Author

The xenophobic violence started in Durban, foreign shop owners were the first targets and then followed foreigners in general. The violence spread to Gauteng, where foreigners in townships and informal settlements were killed and assaulted. Meanwhile, political leaders called for calm but government was criticized that it was slow to intervene. King Zwelithini refused to apologize; instead, he blamed the media for misrepresenting his comments. On Monday 20 April, he called an *‘imbizo’* (community gathering) where he called for calm and asked that locals must protect foreigners, it was a little late because the xenophobia violence had already spread to Gauteng and the death toll as a result of the violence increased and many foreigners were displaced in tents.

The xenophobic attacks took various forms like: *Eviction, beating, incarceration, killing* of the Diaspora population as well as *looting and burning of shops and institutions*. The first major incidence of xenophobic violence in South Africa took place in Johannesburg in May 2008.[5] acknowledged that as many as sixty-two people were killed during the 2008 xenophobic attacks and as many as 16 000 displaced; 21 of those killed were South Africans mostly of Shangaan origin on the suspicion was that *they were too dark or they couldn't speak Zulu* fluently. This drew international attention to xenophobia in South Africa. The attacks were initially selective before turning to general attacks on all foreigners. A database compiled by Duncan Breen in 2010 at the Consortium for Refugees and migrants in South Africa records a large number of attacks in Cape Town since 2008, which include:

....the eviction of five Somali shops in Valhalla park; the killing of a Somali shopkeeper in Fisantekraal; the killing of one and injury of three foreigners in Delft; the attack of a Burundian national by police in the Cape Town CBD and the murder of a Malawian national. A database compiled by Breen in 2013 reveals the killing of two Somali nationals in SamoraMachel and the killing of two Somali traders in Wynberg and Mitchell's Plain respectively, by local traders.

With respect to Nigeria alone, it was recorded that not less than 20 Nigerians had been killed in xenophobic attacks against foreigners in South Africa on January 2, 2017; while about 96 Nigerians were killed in 2015. Dabiri-Erewa complained that over 116 Nigerians were killed within two years in South Africa. Among those killed are IkejiakuChinedu, Christian Onwukaikae, Monday Okorie, Gideon Ogalaonye, Nnamdi Michael, AdeniyiOlumoko,

TochikwuNnadi. Within the period of attacks, Nigerian Diaspora lost their economic assets worth of 4.6 million Rand or N90 million[9]. The Nigerian community in South Africa, led by Ikechukwu Anyene, has confirmed the attacks and looting of Nigerian-owned businesses in Pretoria West on Saturday. She quoted Anyene as saying that the union had reported the incident to the Nigeria mission and South African police. [9] noted that *“...five buildings with Nigerian businesses, including a church, have been looted and burned by South Africans”*.

Extra-Judicial Killings: Extra-Judicial killing refers to the termination of an individual's life without recourse to the due processes of the law and decisions of courts of competent jurisdiction. Such executions may be carried out by mobs or state security agents either out of provocations or pre-planned actions. So far, many Nigerians have been victims of extra-judicial killings in many countries as captured in table 6 and figure 6.

Table 6: Extra-Judicial Killing of Nigerian Diaspora

Date	Country	No. of Persons
1994	Gabon	23
2002	Indonesia	55
Jan. 2007-April 2008	South Africa	84
Jan.-Dec. 2016	South Africa	20
May 2007	Czech Republic	1
March 2, 2009	Belgium	1
March 2009	Equatorial Guinea	16
Total		180

Sources: Nwogbaga (2013)

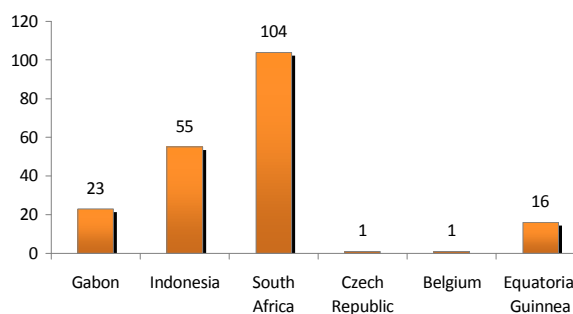


Fig. 6: Extra-Judicial Killing of Nigerian Diaspora
Data Source: Nwogbaga (2013)

The data in figure 6 showed that South Africa has the highest record of extra-judicial killing of Nigerian Diaspora; this was followed by Indonesia, Gabon and Equatorial Guinea respectively before Czech Republic and Belgium. As Eke [13] and [8] noted, the 23 Nigerians killed in 1994 were among the 270 African immigrants who were maltreated to death in Gabon at the Cross-Bouquet

detention camp in Libreville. While other countries like Ghana, Togo and Benin, whose citizens were also involved, made attempts to seek explanations, Nigeria was not seen to have made any serious efforts to show concern over the death of those individuals [13]; [8]. With respect to South Africa, the 84 Nigerians were killed in different circumstances: for instance, whereas IkechukwuObiakor was subjected to death in Lindela detention camp in Johannesburg while waiting for deportation; EkeneMbakwe was shot in his shop by the South Africa Police Patrol Team in Johannesburg [13]. Furthermore, the Nigerian diplomat, Wayi L. M. was killed at Nigeria’s Embassy in Czech Republic by Jiri Pososky, an irrate victim of ‘419’ (Advance Fee Fraud). The Nigerian woman, MrsEvelyneUcheAmarin was killed by her Belgian husband, MrWimVanacker. Some of these killings occurred when Nigeria had declared the adoption of citizen diplomacy in the conduct of its foreign policy. It is the killings of Nigerian diaspora without consequences that gave leeway for the perpetrators to continue and it even extended to other countries. For instance, the initial killings of Nigeria diaspora in South Africa without the diplomatic intervention of the Nigerian government eventually gave way for the xenophobic

attacks on the Nigerian Diaspora which claimed so many lives as pictured earlier; this has been extended to India where the citizens massively attacked Nigerian Students in their country.

Development Potentials of the Nigerian Diaspora:

Drawing instances from the United States of America which recorded the highest population of the Nigerian Diaspora, the development potentials of the Nigerians is seen to span across different sectors critical to the development of the Nigerian State. These potentials are discussed based on: (i) *development characteristics* (household income, employment, educational),(ii) *Economic Assets* to (iii) *Professional Occupations* and(iv) *Annual Remittances*.

The [6] analyzed the development characteristics of the Nigerian diaspora population in the US on the basis of *Household Income, Employment and Educational Attainment*. The analysis was made in comparison with the total US population. The discussion of these development potentials of the Nigerian Diaspora as regards the United States needs to draw insights from the observed characteristics of the Population which the [6] captured thus:

Table 7: Population Characteristics of the Nigerian Diaspora Population in the US, 2009-2013

Population Generation	Nigerian Diaspora in the United States	Total US Population
First- and Second-Generation Immigrant Population	376,000	73,140,000
<i>First-Generation Immigrant Population***</i>	213,000	38,468,000
...that was working age (18-64)	83%	81%
...that entered the US before 2000	51%	64%
...naturalized as US Citizens	52%	44%
<i>Second-Generation Immigrant Population****</i>	163,000	34,672,000
...that was under age 18	63%	46%
...that was working age (18-64)	37%	43%
...with only one parent from Nigeria	38%	--

Source: Migration Policy Institute (2015)

The data contained in table 7 indicate that there is first-generation and second-generation immigrant population of the Nigerian Diaspora in the United States of America as well as of the total US population. For the Nigerian Diaspora, the data for first-generation and second-generation is presented thus:

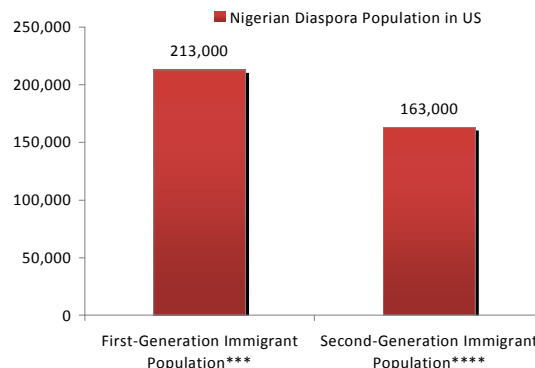


Fig. 7: Nigerian Diaspora Population in the United States Based on Generation

Out of the 376,000 Nigerian Diaspora in the US, 213,000 citizens are the first-generation immigrant population, while 163,000 are the second-generation immigrant population of Nigerian descent.

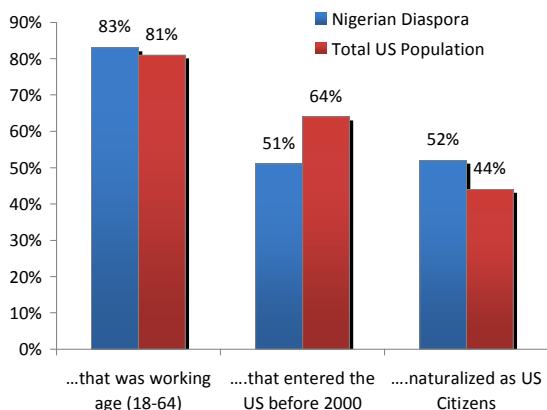


Fig. 8: First Generation of US Immigrant Population Characteristics

The first-generation immigrant population of the Nigerian Diaspora was 213,000 while that of the US total immigrant population was 38,468,000. Out of these first-generation immigrant population, those who were of working age (18-64 years) were 83% of the Nigerian Diaspora and 81% of the total US population; those that entered the US before the year 2000 were 51% for the Nigerian Diaspora and 64% for the total US population; while those that naturalized as US citizens were 52% of the Nigerian Diaspora and 44% of the total US population.

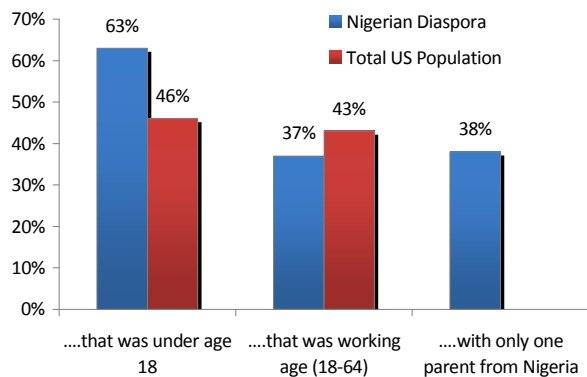


Fig. 9: Second Generation of US Immigrant Population Characteristics

In terms of the second-generation immigrant population, 163,000 were the Nigerian Diaspora while 34,672,000 was a share of the total US population. Out of this population, those that were under age 18 years were 63% of the Nigerian Diaspora and 46% of the total US

population. Those who were of working age (18-64 years) in the second-generation immigrant population were 37% of the Nigerian Diaspora and 43% of the total US population. Out of the Nigerian Diaspora population in the US, 38% of them had one parent from Nigeria. Observably, greater percentage of the Nigerian Diaspora population in the US were under 18 years while 37% were of working age; this implies that *the Nigerian Diaspora as at the period under review not only had a reasonable workforce, but also a sustainable population in the US that constitute a reasonable workforce at the present and in the future.*

Table 8: Household Income Characteristics of the Nigerian Diaspora Population in the US, 2009-2013

House Hold Income	Nigerian Diaspora in the United States	Total US Population
Median Household Income	\$52,000	\$50,000
Average Household Size	3.0	2.5
Share of Households with high incomes (\$90,000 ⁺)	25%	25%
Share of Households with Very high incomes (\$140,000 ⁺)	10%	10%

Source: Migration Policy Institute (2015)

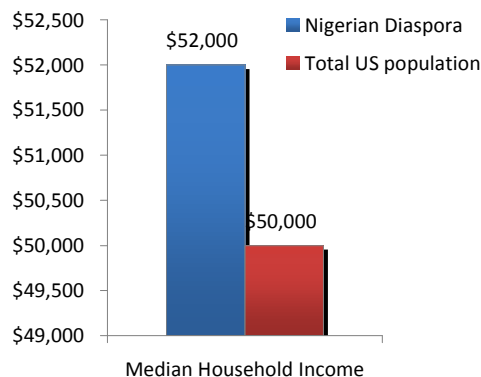


Fig. 10: Median Household Income of the US Immigrant Population

Source: Migration Policy Institute (2015)

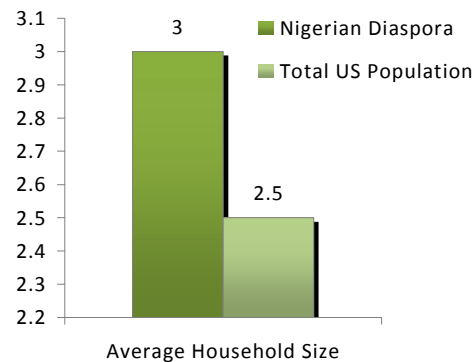


Fig. 11: Average Household Size of the US Immigrant Population

Source: Migration Policy Institute (2015)

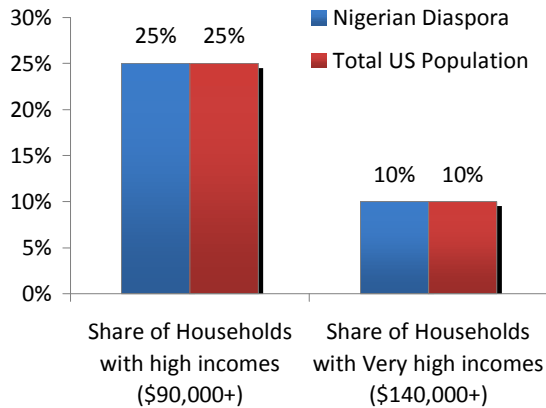


Fig. 12: Share of US Immigrant Population Household Income
Source: Migration Policy Institute (2015)

In terms of the household income, the [6] observed that while the Median Household Income for the total US Population is \$50,000; that of the Nigerian Diaspora population is \$52,000. While the average household size for the Nigerian Diaspora population is 3.0, that of the total US population is 2.5. Also, the Share of Households with high incomes (\$90,000⁺) for both populations is 25%; and Share of Households with Very high incomes (\$140,000⁺) for both populations is the same (10%). These data suggest that there are little or no significant variations in the Household Incomes of both the Nigerian Diaspora Population in the US and the total US population. Invariably, *Nigerians in the US have reasonable access to economic opportunities in the United States as to have very close household income indices.*

Table 9: Employment Characteristics of the Nigerian Diaspora in the United States, 2009-2013

Employment	Nigerian Diaspora in the United States	Total US Population
Total Population age 16 and Older	262,000	239,386,000
Share in the Labour Force	73%	64%
...that was employed	88%	91%
...that was in a professional occupation ⁺	46%	31%

Source: Migration Policy Institute (2015)

In the area of employment, the total population of people within the age bracket of 16 years and above is 262,000 for the Nigerian Diaspora in the US, while that of the total US population is 239,386,000. This suggests that greater number of the Nigerian Diaspora in the US constitute a productive workforce.

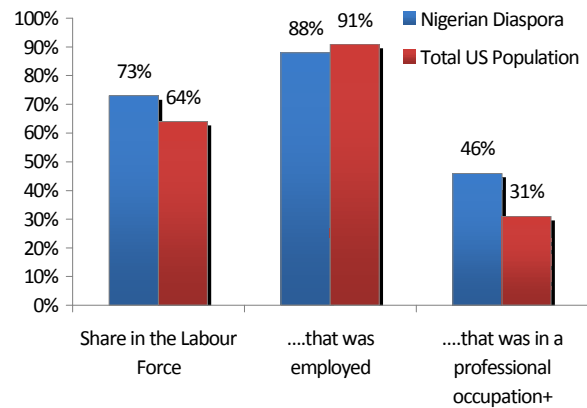


Fig. 13: Employment Characteristics of the Nigerian Diaspora in the United States, 2009-2013
Source of Data: Migration Policy Institute (2015)

Out of these populations, 73% of the Nigerian Diaspora in the US share in the labour force; while 64% share in the labour force of the total US population. Notably, those that were employed constituted 88% of the Nigerian Diaspora in the US and 91% of the total US population; while those in *professional occupation*⁺ were 46% for the Nigerian Diaspora in the US and 31% for the total US population. Evidently, greater percentage of *the Nigerian Diaspora contributes significantly to both professional and non-professional occupations in the United States.*

Table 10: Educational Attainment Characteristics of the Nigerian Diaspora in the United States, 2009-2013

Educational Attainment	Nigerian	
	Diaspora in the United States	Total US Population
Total Population age 25 and older	207,000	201,925,000
...with less than high school education	3%	13%
...with high school or some college education	31%	57%
...with a Bachelor's Degree	37%	20%
...with an advanced Degree	29%	11%

Source: Migration Policy Institute (2015)

The educational attainment characteristics of the Nigerian Diaspora in the United States also indicate that they possess reasonable qualifications. The total population age 25 and old with educational qualification for the Nigerian Diaspora in the US number 207,000; while that of the total US population is 201,295,000. Only 3% of the Nigerian Diaspora and 13% of the total US population possess less than high school education; while 31% of the Nigerian Diaspora and 57% of the total US population

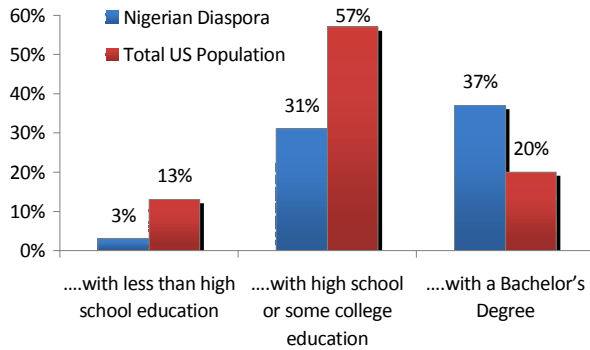


Fig. 14: Educational Attainment Characteristics of the Nigerian Diaspora in the United States, 2009-2013

have high school or some college education. Interestingly, whereas 37% of the Nigerian Diaspora possess Bachelor's Degree, only 20% of the total US population possess same. Similarly, while 29% of the Nigerian Diaspora has advanced degree; only 11% of the total US population possesses advanced degree. Although there is a statistical inconsistency in the data provided by the [6] given that the percentage summation of the calculations for the total US population is 101% instead of 100%; the overall data indicate that a reasonable number of the Nigerian Diaspora in the US are well educated and as such, have an appreciable degree of human resources development potentials.

The data contained in table 11 and figure 15 indicates that the highest record of Economic Assets of the Nigerian Diaspora is Savings Account, followed by Thrift Plan and interest-earning checking account. It is also

Table 11: Diaspora Population Economic Assets in the United States, 2009-2013

Diaspora Economic Asset	Native Born (%)	Foreign Born (%)
US government Savings Bond	11	3
IRA or Keogh Account	25	13
401k or Thrift Plan	44	28
Interest-Earning Checking Account	39	25
Savings Account	58	43
Money Market Deposit Account	15	9
Certificate of Deposit	10	7
Mutual Fund	13	6
Stocks	17	9
Municipal or Corporate Bonds	1	<1
Rental Property	5	4

Source: Terrazas, A. (2010)

observed that the economic assets of the native-born are higher than those of foreign-born. Hence, besides the fact that the Nigerian Diasporas have substantial economic assets around the world especially in the United States, they tend to make more of savings than investments outside the country. Invariably, the Nigerian Diaspora plan to remit their savings for investments in Nigeria at least at micro-economic level; but they often loose these assets on deportation. In essence, the Nigerian Diasporas have the mindset of contributing to Nigeria's national development; but such patriotic intents are most of the time stunted and distorted by the diplomatic challenges they face.

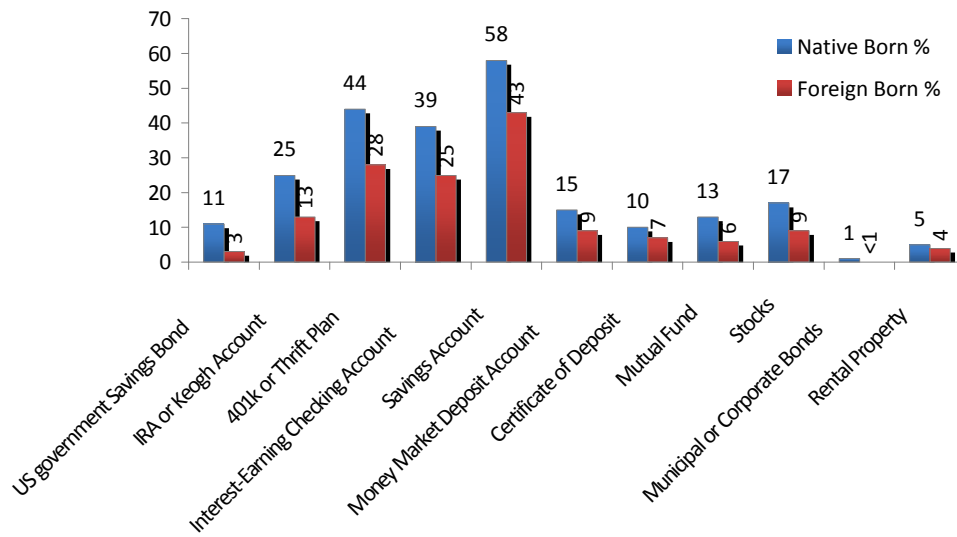


Fig. 15: Diaspora Population Economic Assets in the United States, 2009-2013
Data Source: Migration Policy Institute (2015)

Table 12: Annual Remittances from the Nigeria Diaspora, 2003-2010

Year	Amount in US (Billion) Dollars
2003	\$3
2004	\$2.3
2005	\$0.33
2006	\$5.4
2007	\$17.9
2008	\$9.98
2009	\$18.6
2010	\$10
Total	\$52.1329

Sources: PAC (2005); World Bank (2005); Eke (2009); Onwuliri (2011).

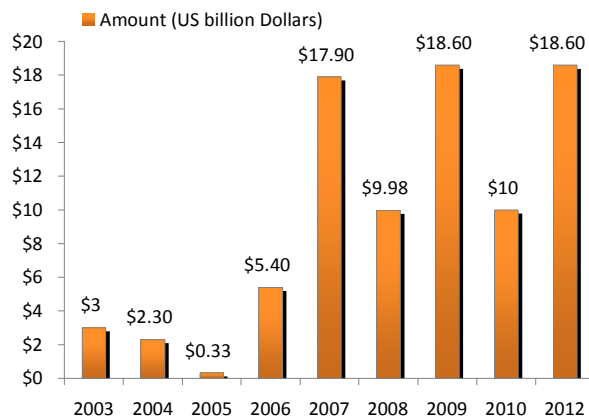


Fig. 16: Annual Remittances from the Nigeria Diaspora, 2003-2010 and 2012

Data Source: Nwogbaga (2013)

The data contained in table 12 and figure 16 Showed that within the period under review, Nigeria recorded the highest amount of diaspora remittances in 2012 and 2009 (\$18.60 billion), followed by 2007 (\$17.90 billion), 2010 (\$10 billion), 2006 (\$5.40 billion), 2003 ((\$3billion), 2004 (\$2.30 billion) and 2005 (\$0.33 billion). These remittances are of significant impact to national development either at micro-economic or macro-economic level of investments within the nation’s economy. Recall that part of the conditions required to grant Nigeria debt relief by foreign creditors within the period of 2005 and 2006 included that:

- Nigeria would clear the arrears of about \$6 billion;
- Nigeria would make an upfront payment of \$12 billion to secure the debt relief.

The total of these amounts is \$18 billion [8]; this amount was remitted to the Nigerian Economy in 2009 and 2012 separately alone. A closer observation reveal that the three years (2007, 2008 and 2009)

which recorded the highest remittances from the Nigerian Diaspora fell within the period when the wave of citizen diplomacy was relatively high in Nigeria’s foreign policy and external relations. This suggests that the declaration and relative application of citizen diplomacy in Nigeria’s foreign policy processes tends to enhance a sense of patriotism among the Diaspora populations. As [8] noted:

...the financial capital remitted by the Diaspora to their families in Nigeria could be used for various development projects in addition to the consumption needs of the relatives. In order to further explore the economic potentials of the Nigerian Diaspora expressed in their human and financial capitals...the formulation and implementation of the country’s foreign policy needs to be focused more on protecting the interests, welfare and security of all the citizens abroad.

Focusing protecting the interests, welfare and security of all the citizens abroad constitute the core thrusts of citizen diplomacy which is expected to largely enhance diaspora patriotism for national development as evident in their financial remittances as presented in various years. In order to further buttress this submission regarding the significance of diaspora financial remittances for national development from different countries provided by the [6] is of essence thus:

Table 13: Remittance Inflows to Nigeria by Sending Country and the Nigerian Emigrant Population, 2012

Country	Migrants from Nigeria	Remittances sent to Nigeria
United States	252,000	\$6.1 billion
United Kingdom	184,000	\$3.8 billion
Chad	13,000	\$1.4 billion
Italy	48,000	\$1.3 billion
Cameroon	116,000	\$961.1 million
Spain	37,000	\$933.5 million
Germany	23,000	\$613.4 million
Ireland	19,000	\$607.5 million
Benin	43,000	\$580.2 million
Cote d’Ivoire	44,000	\$474.2 million
Canada	19,000	\$454.0 million
Sudan	15,000	\$418.2 million
Niger	20,000	\$366.7 million
Saudi Arabia	15,000	\$328.9 million
Gabon	23,000	\$277.8 million
Total	871,000	\$18.6 billion

Source: Migration Policy Institute (2015)[6]

To facilitate proper presentation of the data in a Bar chart for better analysis, the various amounts of the remittances from 12 countries initially expressed in Million US Dollars, is converted to US billion dollars and presented thus:

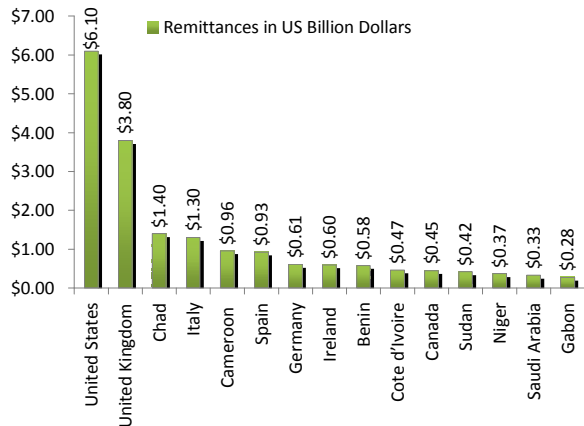


Fig. 17: Remittance Inflows to Nigeria by Sending Country, 2012

Source of Data: Migration Policy Institute (2015)

A critical analysis of the data contained in table 13 and figure 17 showed that the United States hosts the highest population of Nigerian Diaspora to the tune of 252,000 () while Chad has the lowest number of Nigerian Diaspora to the tune of 13,000 persons. But it is observable that having a smaller number of diaspora population does not logically imply having a smaller remittance inflow. For instance, Chad that has the lowest number of Nigerian Diaspora generates remittance inflow higher than those of 12 other countries except US and UK. This observation may be explained for two possible reasons: it is either there is higher access to profitable economic opportunities in Chad; or that there is less restrictions and regulations on the remittance outflows from Chad than those of other countries. Importantly, the Nigerian government needs to pay diplomatic attention to these diaspora populations especially in those countries with high remittance inflows which recently in began to deport the Nigerian Diaspora like the US, UK, Italy, Cameroon, Germany and Spain etc.

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendation: This study set out to investigate the following questions: Does Citizen Diplomacy Promote Diaspora Patriotism? Does Diaspora Patriotism enhance national Development? To what extent does citizen diplomacy promote diaspora patriotism for national development? The findings of the

study showed that effective application of citizen diplomacy promotes diaspora patriotism which in turn enhances national development. No doubt, the population of the Nigerian Diaspora is very enormous and can largely contribute towards Nigeria’s national development. But the failure of the Nigerian State in her responsibility to protect the lives and property of the Diaspora population seriously threatens their disposition towards patriotism for national development. Consequently, effective application of citizen diplomacy is strongly recommended to galvanize their sense of patriotism adequately to enhance national development given their significant potentials observed in the foregoing expositions.

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