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# FROM BRAIN DRAIN TO BRAIN TRAIN – A TRANSNATIONAL CASE ANALYSIS OF NIGERIAN MIGRANT HEALTH CARE WORKERS

Sheri Adekola

Wilfrid Laurier University, adek2880@mylaurier.ca

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**FROM BRAIN DRAIN TO BRAIN TRAIN – A TRANSNATIONAL CASE ANALYSIS  
OF NIGERIAN MIGRANT HEALTH CARE WORKERS**

**By**

**SHERIFAT (SHERI) ADEKOLA**  
**B. Sc. (Ottawa, 2001); B. Ed (Brock, 2005); M. Ed. (York, 2011)**

**DISSERTATION**

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## DECLARATION OF CO-AUTHORSHIP/PREVIOUS PUBLICATION

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## ABSTRACT

This study involves a micro-analysis of the experience of Nigerian-trained health professionals in Canada and is designed to understand the experiences of these skilled migrants, the impact of their migration, and how further migration might be stimulated or reduced through engagement in transnational activities with workers still in Nigeria. The research questions asked, (a) Which discourses of skill exchange are most meaningful to Nigerian health care workers in Canada? (b) How is this process of value exchange and extraction structured by transnational connectivity? (c) How does this research contribute to current concepts regarding skilled migration?

Framed by the Integrative Model Approach of Koser & Salt (1997), this narrative inquiry used semi-structured interviews, modified surveys with open-ended questions, document analysis, and key informant interviews to collect data from a total of 132 participants. Findings were organized around three concepts – skilled migration discourse, transnationalism, and remittances – used to frame how migrants understand their experience and the consequences of their migration in both the sending and receiving countries.

“Brain train” – migration for educational purposes – was the skilled migration discourse most often chosen by respondents regardless of gender, occupation, marital status, or prior education. However, older participants (aged 50 and up) tended to identify with “brain circulation” and “brain networking.” Participants reported various levels of engagement in transnational activities such as sending/receiving remittances, gaining new skills, and making charitable donation. Active transnational engagement was shown to increase the likelihood of migration inquiries from non-migrant counterparts. Overall, migrants reported positive outcomes from their migration to Canada, although adjustment periods resulting in loneliness and separation were described. As a consequence of their migration, respondents often pursued higher levels of education in Canada, which improved their career options, increased professional training, and enhanced their independence.

## **DEDICATION**

I dedicate this dissertation to my Saviour; Jesus Christ, my husband, my family, and friends. This dissertation would not have been possible without God having it in his plan for me. To my dad, whose aspiration is for me to become a doctor and normally cheer me on and support me in all projects but did not make it to watch me in this project; I know he has watched me all the way from Heaven. To my mom, Oyeyemi, you are an example of God's greatest gift to any child. To my husband, Oyeyemi, my great companion; God placed you in my life for a reason. To my children – Debra, Junia, and Israel – who were my number one fans and encouragers even when it meant I had to spend the evening in front of the computer instead of in the front yard with them. To my sisters, and their families, whose support and encouragement helped me to follow through and not give up. Finally, I must also dedicate this work to my extended family, friends and church family. You have supported me and kept me focused with your words, actions, and prayers.

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taught me the value of hard work, dedication, and the incredible magnitude of an education; those are values I have carried and will always carry with me for the rest of my life. Thank you for being the parents I needed, and thank you, Mom, for those endless prayers you always render on my behalf.

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Sheri Adekola  
Wilfrid Laurier University  
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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

CAQDAS	Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis
CBIE	Canadian Bureau for International Education
CGA	Certified General Accountant
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIC	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
CNO	College of Nurses of Ontario
GCE	General Certificate Examination
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
IEN	International Educated Nurses
IMG	International Medical Graduates
IMP	International Mobility Program
IOM	International Organization for Migration
IRCC	Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (formerly CIC)
IT	Information Technology
KII	Key Informant Interview
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
LMIA	Labour Market Impact Assessment
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NELM	New Economics of Labour Migration
NGO	Non-Governmental Associations
NIDO	Nigerian in the Diaspora Organization
NMA	Nigerian Medical Association
NNAS	National Nursing Assessment Service
OPEC	Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries
PSW	Personal Support Worker



RN	Registered Nurse
RPN	Registered Practical Nurse
SAMP	The Southern African Migration Programme
SS3	Senior Secondary Three
SSCE	Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination
TFW	Temporary Foreign Worker
UN	United Nations
UNDESA	United Nations – Department of Economic and Social Affairs
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
YMCA	The Young Men's Christian Association

## GLOSSARY OF TERMS

*Terms*    **Definition**

<i>Assimilation</i>	Encouraging immigrants to adopt the cultural practices of the receiving countries' mainstream community (Castles: 155)
<i>Astronaut Commuters</i>	A migration relationship where after immigration the husband (usually) returns to their homeland to make a living to support their wife and Children, who remain in the host (destination) country.
<i>Brain Distribution</i>	See table 2 on page 31 for Skilled Migration Discourses
<i>Case Study</i>	Case study is a detailed examination of a subject. A process or record of research in which detailed consideration is given to the development of a particular person, group, or situation over a period of time.
<i>Competencies</i>	Evans' (2002) starfish model also suggests that there are five types of occupational competencies (a) content-related and practical competencies (willingness to carry out duties), (b) competencies related to attitudes and values (responsibilities or reliabilities), (c) learning (openness to learning or perceptiveness), (d) methodological (networking skills or handling multiple tasks, and (e) social and interpersonal (communication skills or awareness of others' viewpoints). The ones that are most important for migrants are openness to learning, networking and communication skills. Migration provides distinctive conditions of acquiring competences because of cultural differences in the workplace, socially-situated learning, and the short duration of migration.
<i>Cultural capital</i>	According to Bourdieu (2011) - cultural capital comes in three forms—embodied, objectified, and institutionalized. It refers to the collection of elements such as credentials, skills, intellect, dialect, accent, clothing or material belongings that one acquires through being part of a particular social class. For example- French educational system has translated inherited class privilege into economic privilege.
<i>De-skilling</i>	Reitz (2001) considers de-skilling as a loss to both the country of origin and destination. Bauder (2003), in his study based in Vancouver, claims that the devaluation of the immigrant cultural capital renders the upper segment of the Canadian labour market inaccessible to immigrants from South Asia and the former Yugoslavia. The migrants are forced to work in unregulated jobs or totally switch careers.
<i>Diaspora</i>	The term diaspora was originally used to describe the conditions of dispersed Jewish communities (Safran 1991) and used to describe groups which had been displaced through various processes of migration, such as movement of labour and trade (Vertovec and Cohen 1999).).
<i>Diaspora effect</i>	Mainly entrepreneurial assessment of the flow of capital (human and other) from core to emergent countries.

<i>Dual Citizenship</i>	Someone who has citizenship in two or more countries
<i>Economic Migrants</i>	someone who emigrates from one region to another to improve economic opportunity
<i>Globalization</i>	Globalization refers to a process that intensifies social and economic relations across greater distances, relationships that are becoming more intense and robust rather than stretched (Waters, 1995 p. 58 in Kivisto), it refers to processes that may be more decentralized or deterritorialized.
<i>Horizontal Social Mobility</i>	Horizontal social mobility occurs when there are movements from one position to another within the same social level, such as changing jobs (but without altering occupational status) or moving between social groups (while maintaining the same social status). This may also involve a change in occupation or remaining in the same occupation but in a different organization, or may even involve staying in the same organization but transferring to a different location.
<i>Interpretivist Paradigm</i>	In interpretivist paradigm our knowledge of reality, including the domain of human action, is a social construction produced by human actors and that this applies equally to researchers.
<i>Migration</i>	International Organization for Migration defines migration as a process of moving, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes.
<i>Mobility Migration</i>	According to Urry (2002), there are five different forms of mobility corporeal mobility; the movement of material objects (trades of goods, sending and receiving gifts); imaginative travel through images of places in print and visual media; virtual travel in real time (i.e. Skype) and communicative actions through person-person messages, letters, faxes and telephone calls which might be instantaneous or with a time delay (King 2012:143). International Organization for Migration defines migration as a process of moving, either across an international border, or within a State. It is a population movement, encompassing any kind of movement of people, whatever its length, composition and causes.
<i>MooringsMobility</i>	Moorings are defined as “those social expressions which not only allow a person to materialize his or her physical, psychological and emotional well-being, but also serve to bind a person to a particular place” (Moon, 1995, p. 514According to Urry, there are five different forms of mobility corporeal mobility; the movement of material objects (trades of goods, sending and receiving gifts); imaginative travel through images of places in print and visual media; virtual travel in real time (Skype) and communicative actions through person-person messages, letters, faxes and telephone calls which might be instantaneous or with a time delay (King 2012:143).
<i>Movement Moorings</i>	A change of position only. Moorings are defined as “those social expressions which not only allow a person to materialize his or her physical, psychological and emotional well-being, but also serve to bind a person to a particular place” (Moon, 1995, p. 514).

<i>Philanthropy Movement</i>	The desire to promote the welfare of others, expressed especially by the generous donation of money and other goods to good causes. A change of position only.
<i>Remittance Philanthropy</i>	Faist (2007) defines remittance as the flow of money, knowledge and universal ideas. Remittances also comprise non-monetary transfers, gifts in kind, self interest The desire to promote the welfare of others, expressed especially by the generous donation of money and other goods to good causes.
<i>Return Migrants Remittance</i>	People who migrate to another country and later return to their country of birth (Harvey p.294). Faist (2007) defines remittance as the flow of money, knowledge and universal ideas. Remittances also comprise non-monetary transfers, gifts in kind, self-interest.
<i>Skilled Migrant Discourse</i>	See table 2 on page 31 for Skilled Migration Discourses
<i>Sojourner Return Migrants</i>	Migrants who stayed in host country temporarily after acquiring education. People who migrate to another country and later return to their country of birth (Harvey p.294).
<i>Trans migrant Sojourner</i>	Migrants who stayed in host country temporarily after acquiring education. (also see Transnational Migration).
<i>Transnational Migration/Trans migrant</i>	A process of movement and settlement across international borders in which individuals maintain or build multiple networks of connection to their country of origin while at the same time settling in a new country” (Fouron & Glick-Schiller, 2001, p. 60).See Transnational Migration
<i>Transnationalism/ Transnational Migration</i>	Transnationalism is the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and destination (Glick Schiller et al, 1999,48)A process of movement and settlement across international borders in which individuals maintain or build multiple networks of connection to their country of origin while at the same time settling in a new country” (Fouron & Glick-Schiller, 2001, p. 60).
<i>Transnationalism</i>	Transnationalism is the process by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social, economic, and political relations that link together their societies of origin and destination (Glick Schiller et al, 1999,48)

## CHAPTER 1 – INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background to the study

International migration from developing to developed nations has rapidly increased over the past few decades. According to United Nations (UN) global migration statistics, in 2015, 244 million international migrants lived abroad (UNESCO, 2016), and it is estimated that 105 million people work abroad (International Organization for Migration [IOM], 2013). Approximately 20% of global migrants in 2010 originated from Africa (IOM, 2011). According to latest statistics Canada reports available at the time of preparing this manuscript, 12.5% of immigrants migrated from Africa (up from 10.5% in the previous 5 years) (Statistics Canada, 2011). In a recent population census conducted in 2014, Nigeria ranked 11<sup>th</sup> as a source country for permanent residents in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2015). Both current and anticipated trends indicate that skilled African migrants will comprise an important part of the projected growth in the Canadian population. The migration of Africans to Canada is particularly important when we account for the skills migrants bring to Canada in the health care field. According to Clemens and Petterson (2008), based on their migrant 2005 census study of nine countries that included the United Kingdom, United States, France, Australia, Canada, Portugal, Belgium, Spain, and South Africa, Africa as a continent is the second highest supplier of nurses globally, and Nigeria ranked third in Africa by graduating 7% of African nurses. In Canada, the College of Nurses of Ontario (CNO) reported in 2015 that internationally educated nurses accounted for 25.7% of their membership the previous year. According to CNO, Nigeria ranked in the top five source countries in 2013 and 2014 with 2.1% of applicants and 2% of Registered Practical Nurses; and in the top three in 2012 and 2013 at 3.0% and 3.1%, respectively, for Registered Nurses (just after the Philippines and India).

The development consequences of this migration process must be understood from both Canadian and African perspectives. The outflow of talent from developing nations like Nigeria in Sub Saharan Africa deserves special analytical attention. According to Castles (2002), countries like Canada, the United States, and Australia set up a privileged system to attract entrepreneurs, executives, scientists, professionals, and technical specialists. While these destination countries and their immigration policies consider skilled immigration favourably regarding its domestic impact, there are widespread worries about the potentially negative consequences of the extensive emigration of highly skilled workers on their countries of origin in the Global South. Such concerns can be examined through the various terminology and discourses associated with skilled migration.

Koser and Salt (1997) noted there is no commonly agreed-upon international definition for highly skilled migrants, but Docquier and Marfrouk (2006) defined highly skilled migrants as migrants aged 25 years or more (of working age) with a tertiary education (having attained more than a secondary school diploma that is equivalent to 13 years or more of education) from their country of origin (Vinokur, 2006). This definition eliminates students from the highly skilled category, in contrast to King (2012), who believes the definition must include international students and those in training, as suggested by Kuptsch and Oishi (1995, p. 287). Skilled-labour migrants could be professionals, managers, engineers, technicians, academics, or scientists, according to Mahroums (1999), and entrepreneurs and students were also added to the mix by Williams and Baláz (2005). Health care workers are part of the skilled migrant group.

Skilled-worker migration is primarily a response to real and perceived inequalities in socio-economic opportunities that are themselves a result of dependent and/or uneven regional development. Connell and Conway (2000) observe that social influences on migration, such as access to education and health services, are also important. People also migrate because they lack

supportive networks (i.e., institutional, infrastructural, technical, educational, or social support or financing to build or develop) in one location and can find them in another.

It is important to differentiate skilled workers from other migrant classes because of the codified knowledge and expertise they bring from their country of origin and the fact that they “may seek to maximize their return on investment in their education and training by moving around the world in search of the highest paid and/or most rewarding employment” (Iredale, 1999, p. 90). Health care workers are part of this group, and Crush and Pendleton (2010) note that health professional migration is significant because of the direct policy consequences of health worker migration on development outcomes, and the need for states to understand these dynamics in order to promote health worker retention.

## 1.2 Research Rationale

Nigeria is an interesting case for a number of reasons. Firstly, with an estimated 186 million people, Nigeria is unarguably Africa’s most populous country (World Bank, 2013). Secondly, the country is a member of the Organization of the Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC). It is ranked as the 7th largest oil producer in the world (OPEC, 2017) has a GDP of US\$405 billion (National Bureau of Statistics, n.d.). However, Nigeria has difficulty providing infrastructure and is unable to sustain its middle class as 53.5% of the population lived below poverty line in 2009 (World Bank, n.d.). Thirdly, the little middle class that exist look outward to educate the families. Hence, Nigeria has become the eighth-largest source of foreign students in Canada, representing 2.56% of the international student population. Nigeria is considered the fastest-growing (+25%) country of origin of international students in Canada compared to the number of students in 2014 (Canadian Bureau for International Education, 2016). Fifth, Nigeria is emerging as a top African emigration country and top 20 in the world with net migration of - 0.2/1000 (World Bank, 2012) and it receives a huge amount of foreign currency from its citizens overseas. According to the data from World Bank, Nigeria ranked 6th overall in the world in

2015 by receiving almost twenty-one billion (\$20.8B) dollars in remittances, though the actual figure might be higher due to informal channels (de Haas & Plug, Pieke et al. in de Haas, 2010, World Bank, 2016)

The rationale for highlighting this analysis is that, unlike other professions, a higher percentage of healthcare professionals come from Nigeria than other African countries and unlike the other top countries for migrants to Canada (China, India and the Philippines) that supply international health care workers, Nigerians value education and mostly immigrate to Canada with the whole family as an economic migrants rather than as refugees, and yet relatively less research focuses on Nigerians in Canada. Nigeria is one of the top 10 source countries for international medical graduates in Canada (Health Force Ontario, 2011) and, according to Valiani (2012), is ranked even higher in the United States. Several studies in the last 15 years have investigated why health care workers migrate (see Buchan et al., 2003; Cabanda, 2015; Clark et al., 2006; Crush & Pendleton, 2010; Freeman et al., 2012; King, 2002; Kingma, 2001; Kline, 2003; Oni, 2000; and Walton-Roberts et al., 2017). Kingma (2001) specifically discussed some of the reasons for nurse migration, including the search for professional development, better wages, improved working conditions, higher standards of living, and socio-economic and political pull aspects such as personal safety. Crush and Pendleton (2010) added that other forces that might intensify the intention to migrate include dissatisfaction with working conditions due to health risks or workload, distressed citizens, and the availability of exit options.

In the case of Nigeria, Oni (2000) noted that educational infrastructure is underdeveloped, with the ratio of lecturers to students appalling, the number of universities too low to meet the country's needs, and the rate of pay too low to keep professors in the country. Similar circumstances inform the condition of nurses. Freeman et al. (2012) defined nurse migration by defining the attributes that motivated their participants to migrate; this includes external barriers that influence migration, freedom of choice to migrate, human rights to exercise



basic freedoms, and other dynamics informing movement. These attributes helped in conceptualizing the present study and developing relevant research questions.

Rather than just employing other frameworks on skilled migration, this study focuses on the migrants' own perspectives regarding their migration experience. Over the last two decades, the bulk of research on skilled migrants has used macro- and meso-scale analysis based on occupation, skill, or country of origin (see Couton, 2013; de Haas, 2010; de Haas & Vezzoli, 2013; Koser & Salt, 1997; Remennick, 2013). Less noticed, but equally important, is the perspective skilled migrants themselves have of the discourses that are used to explain their skilled migration and its causes and consequences for them, their families, and their source and host countries.

### 1.3 Aims and Objectives

The purpose of this study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the lived experiences of health care migrants from Nigeria now living in Canada and their individual perceptions regarding their migration experience and their perceptions of skilled migration discourse. Using the skilled-migration framework proposed in section 2.2, I explore how skilled-migration concepts link to transnational and remittance practices in order to explain the consequences of skilled migration for Nigerians now living in Canada. These concepts guided my research questions: *(a) which discourses of skills transfer are most meaningful to Nigerian health care workers in Canada? (b) how is this process of value exchange and extraction structured by transnational connectivity? (c) how does this research contribute to current concepts regarding skilled migration?*

In order to answer the research questions, several objectives guide this research. The research questions are mapped with the objectives below:

**(a) Which discourses of skill exchange are most meaningful to Nigerian health care workers in Canada?**

**Objective (1) – to understand skilled migration discourses as they relate to Nigerian health care workers’ own perspectives**

This objective seeks to identify and discuss how skilled migrants perceive various skilled migrant discourses. This objective is addressed in Chapter 2 through the literature review and in Chapter 6 where empirical findings are related to the relevant literature.

**Objective (2) – to look at the occupations of migrant health care workers pre- and post-migration to determine the development consequences of their migration for both individuals and the sending and receiving states.**

In order to fulfill this second objective, it is necessary to analyze the social status of the skilled migrant in terms of Urry’s (2010) approach that relates to social status (discussed in section 2.2). This conceptual framework is introduced in Chapter 2 (Section 2.2) and discussed in Chapter 6, along with my framework.

**(b) How is this process of value exchange and extraction structured by transnational connectivity?**

**Objective (3) – to contribute to the literature on development consequences of skilled migration from Nigeria (an understudied population).**

As part of this objective, a systematic review of Nigerian diaspora literature is included in Chapter 2 (section 2.3) together with secondary data about Nigeria, Nigerian migration pathways to Canada, and Nigerian education and licensing of health care workers documented and evaluated in Chapter 4.

**Objective (4) – to understand the effect of migration on individual health care workers and understand the consequences that migration has on their non-immigrant counterparts.**

To learn about consequences of migration and its impact on people’s everyday lives, data in the form of modified surveys and a series of interviews were collected in Canada and Nigeria. The methodology used to guide the collection of data is discussed in Chapter 3, and the findings from the data collection are presented in Chapter 5.

**Objective (5) – to understand if participating in transnational activities (e.g., remittance sending by migrants) may fuel more migration and create a migration chain.**

As part of this objective, the concept of transnationalism is described in Chapter 2, and Chapter 6 focuses on critical evaluation of transnational activities in light of analysis of the empirical data.

**(c) How does this research contribute to current concepts regarding skilled migration?**

**Objective (6) – to refine and propose a conceptual framework for studying skilled migrants.**

This final objective was achieved through a framework developed using the integrative approach suggested by Koser and Salt (1997), which maps the relationship between skilled migration discourse, transnational activities, and remittances. The objective will be introduced in Chapter 2 and discussed with empirical data in Chapter 6.

#### 1.4 Methodology overview

Central to this research is the choice of methodology. A narrative is a relatively coherent personal story with a beginning, middle, and an end that is constructed through an exchange between an interviewer and interviewee in relation to a particular focus (Wells, 2011). Narratives provide a unique window into individual migration experiences and reveal motivational, political, and legal dimensions of migration (Pajnik & Bajt, 2010, p. 155). The development of a narrative allows theories (on skilled migration) to hover supportively while the phenomenon being discussed occupies center stage (Tuan, 1991). For this study, modified surveys, in-depth interviews, and key informant interviews were conducted in Canada and Nigeria to examine individuals' perceptions about international migration and how it has shaped their experience and their family's life in Canada. The experiences were reported as narratives focusing on their stories.

The study does not make use of predefined theoretical frameworks as a starting point but instead uses an inductive approach to explore this research area from a fresh angle. This is

justified by the fact that the goal is to capture the individual experiences of skilled migrant workers using narrative analysis as a suitable methodology based on the idea that people use stories to make sense of their lives. This type of analysis explores the data looking specifically for stories of shared experiences.

## 1.5 Dissertation Structure

The thesis consists of seven chapters. The purpose of this introductory chapter, **Chapter 1**, is to set the scene for the thesis by describing its overall context and rationale, including aims and objectives. **Chapter 2** reviews the relevant literature on Nigerian diaspora and the concepts of skilled migration, grouped into three parts significant to the research area based on my conceptual framework. The relevant literature used includes skilled migration discourses, transnationalism, and remittances. The methodological paradigm adopted for this study is described in detail in **Chapter 3**, along with the rationale for this choice. Narratives methodology has directed the methods used for data collection and is central to the way in which this thesis captures and presents the empirical evidence. Interview questions (see Appendices G and H) and a copy of each of the modified survey used in Canada (see Appendix D) and Nigeria (see Appendix E) are provided in appendices. **Chapter 4** records contextual background about Nigerians and their migration to Canada. **Chapter 5** reports the findings of the empirical data collection. The findings are presented with reference to the research questions. **Chapter 6** presents a discussion of the findings. Empirical findings are connected with the literature and synthesized to provide a holistic response to the research questions and objectives. Chapter 6 also presents the main findings concerning the transnational activities and remittances engaged in by the migrants, and any effects on their non-migrant counterparts as compared to those predominantly discussed in the literature. The final chapter, **Chapter 7**, sets out the main conclusions, limitations, policy implications and makes suggestions for further research.

## 1.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has introduced the main questions (a) which discourses of skills transfer are most meaningful to Nigerian trained health care workers in Canada? (b) how is this process of value exchange and extraction structured by transnational connectivity? (c) How does this research contribute to current concepts regarding skilled migration? The objectives for the study include – (1) To contribute to the academic and professional literature on development consequences of skilled migration from Nigeria (an understudied population) (2) To look at the occupations of migrant health care workers pre- and post-migration to determine the development consequences of migration for individuals and for sending and receiving states (3) To understand the effect of migration on individual health care workers and understand the consequences that migration has on their non-immigrant counterparts (4) To understand if participating in transnational activities (e.g., remittance by migrants) actually fuels more migration and creates a migration chain (5) to refine and propose a conceptual framework for studying skilled migration.

## CHAPTER 2 – LITERATURE REVIEW

Multiple terminologies are used to refer to skilled migrants. As noted by Koser (1997) these terminologies include ‘skilled international migration’ (Findlay, 1991); ‘skilled international labour circulation’ (Cormode, 1994); ‘professional transients’ (Appleyard, 1991) and the ‘migration of expertise’ (Salt & Singleton, 1995, as cited by Koser & Salt, 1997: 287). Other terminologies associated with highly skilled migrants include ‘expertise’ or ‘skill’; and ‘migration’ or ‘movement’, but Koser and Salt propose using the word ‘movement’ instead of ‘migration’ when discussing highly skilled migrants because movement suggests a change of position only. They prefer referring to this group as having ‘expertise’ instead of ‘skills’ because such may be acquired through experience, not just education or targeting training. They argue that there is no fine line between skills-based and qualifications-based procedures for recognizing migrants’ professional expertise. Skilled migrants could be professionals, managers, engineers, technicians, academics, or scientists (Mahroums, 1999). Entrepreneurs and students were also added to the skilled migration category by Williams and Baláž (2005).

### 2.1 Overview of Skilled Migration

Iredale (1999) and Koser and Salt (1997) espouse the fundamental theories involved in skilled migration. Koser and Salt (1997: 289) identify the theoretical perspective of the skilled migrant as “focusing on the international spatial division of labour (including the more recently growing importance of global cities), and on the links between global economic systems of trade, finance and labour exchanges.” They divide the model for studying skilled worker migration into the macro, meso, micro, and multi-level models. Using specific examples from Baker (1996) in Australia and Ong et al. (1992), they claim that macro-level models tend to favour economic conditions in shaping the demand and supply of highly skilled workers. Their meso-level model discusses international recruitment agencies as migration channels for the highly skilled, and the

micro-level model focuses on the individual migrant, using an ‘interplay’ of migrants, transnational corporations, and their families. The multi-level models integrate the micro-level, focusing on individuals, with the meso-level, looking at the roles of international recruitment agencies as a migration channel for the highly skilled, and communities as copying mechanisms for the migrants and their destination countries.

Koser and Salt’s approach is in line with Peixoto’s (2001) suggestion about integrating the macro (economic and social) because it leads to investment and resource assignment decisions, with the micro (individual) ability to choose a career path, and the analysis of intra-organizational transfers (used to build structures and define human resources strategies) at the theoretical level. Iredale (1999) lists elements of the theoretical framework as the international spatial division of labour, nature of careers, role of internal labour market, roles of politics and unilateral/bilateral agreements, and recruitment agencies. For the purpose of my research, after careful analysis and consideration, I adopted the Koser and Salt integrative multi-level approach as my framework because multi-level models integrate the micro-level, focusing on individuals, with the meso-level, looking at the roles of international recruitment agencies as a migration channel for the highly skilled, and communities as copying mechanisms for the migrants and their destination countries. Regarding the multi-level framework, I combined the three concepts - skilled migration discourse, transnationalism, and remittances - based on figure 1

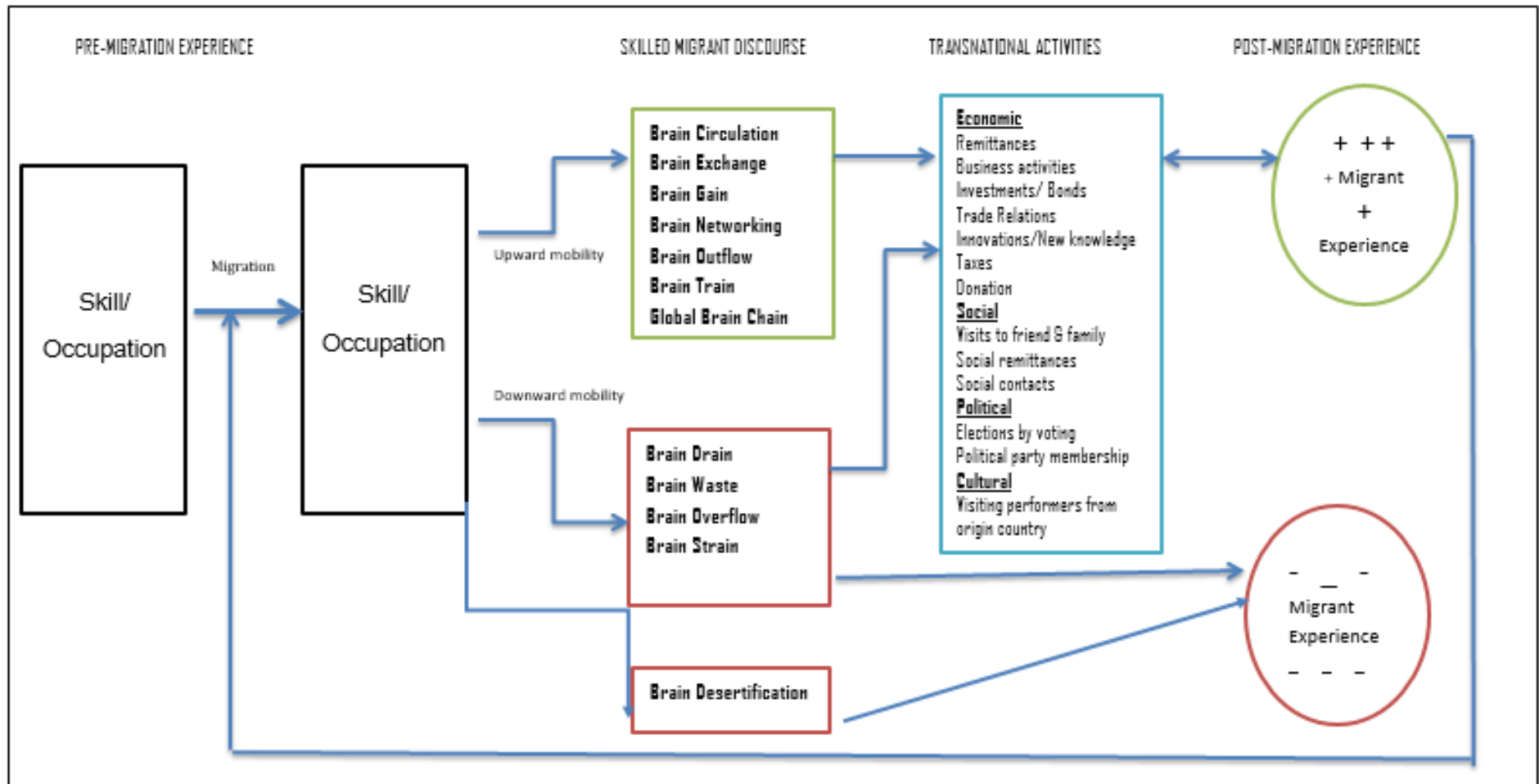
### 2.1.1 Overview of the framework

When migrating voluntarily, skilled migrants usually head to where they can optimize their potential and reduce their risks. Even though highly skilled individuals are key factor inputs for innovation and knowledge-driven economic development (Reiner, 2010), some migrants sometimes experience diverse upward or downward mobility depending on their lifestyle and education level before and after migration. Urry (2010) describes social mobility as a transformation of the distribution of resources or social position of individuals, families, or

groups within a given social structure or network. By definition, social mobility requires movement between different social positions as well as a change of status, which can be horizontal or vertical in direction. Those who gain in property, income, status, and position are said to be upwardly mobile, while those who move in the opposite direction are downwardly mobile. Lateral movement occurs when no change in relative status or position takes place.



Figure 1 – Proposed Skilled Migrant Conceptual Framework



## 2.1.2 Detailed explanation of the framework

The skilled migrant framework in figure 1 was developed as part of the research objective. The concepts were based on the readings and integrated based on the suggestion by Koser and Salt calling for a multi-level integrated approach to studying skilled migrants rather than the macro-level theory-based approach. As shown in Figure 1, in this research I compared the skills, education, and occupation of the migrants before they left their country of origin to their skills, education, and occupation in the destination country. Even though William and Balaz (2005) warned that not all individuals benefit from their migration experiences, I am assuming migrants desire upward mobility, which would equate to the positive lexicon of skilled migration discourse. Moreover, such migrants' participation in transnational activities in their destination country would allow non-migrant counterparts to perceive them as having had a positive migrant experience, which may in turn promote and produce further chain migration events.

However, if their migrant experience is one of downward mobility, they will likely see themselves as fitting into the negative lexicon of the skilled migration discourse. Hence, if their participation in transnational activities is limited, their families in the origin country might perceive them as having a negative migrant experience. But some migrants might still participate in transnational activities, such as remitting funds back home. If the migrants who perceive themselves as fitting into the negative lexicon of the brain drain continue to participate in transnational activities, the people they left behind might still perceive them as having a positive migrant experience because of their demonstration of wealth through remittance processes. In this case, the prioritization of transnational activities may result in the reproduction of migration as well the formation of a migration mentality (Connell & Conway, 2000), regardless of the relative success of the migrant.

After the data collection, I validated the concepts and added Crush's (2010) term and concept of Brain flight to the group.

## 2.2 Skilled Migration Discourse

### 2.2.1 Skilled Migration Discourse Overview

Table 1 outlines each of the skilled migrant discourses in alphabetical order.

**Table 1 – Skilled migration discourses**

Skilled Migration Discourse	Brief Overview	Overall Developmental Consequence
Brain Abuse (Bauder, 2003)	Improper utilization of the quality and the skills of people they brought from their country of origin	Negative
Brain Circulation (Saxenian, 2006)	Highly skilled migrants who move in and out of their host and home countries for business, work and investment purposes	Positive
Brain Desertification (Faist, 2007)	Highly skilled migrants do not return and do not sustain any ties with those who stayed in the countries of origin.	Negative
Brain Drain (Bhagwati and Hamada, 1974)	Brain drain describes the phenomenon of the emigration of highly qualified, talented professionals from one country to another and, as such, is part of the broader process of uneven development.	Negative
Brain Exchange (William & Balaz, 2003)	Balanced and effective use of human capital within systems of international movement. This is evident when multinational firms move skilled workers between their operations in different countries.	Positive
Brain Flight (Crush & Pendelton, 2010)	When educated workers leave their home countries due to strong pull-push factors of destination countries (high emigration potential)	Negative
Brain Gain (Ciumasu, 2010)	Accumulation of human capital in the destination country.	Positive
Brain Networking (Ciumasu, 2010)	Brain networking (long time commitment of expatriates to distance collaboration) can facilitate decision among undecided ones to return home, then to return (brain circulation).	Positive
Brain Outflow (Ghosh & Ghosh, 1982)	Emigration of underemployed or surplus labour with zero marginal productivity in the home country.	Negative
Brain Overflow (William & Balaz, 2003)	Underused skill at origin.	Neutral
Brain Strain (Lowell et al., 2004)	Regulating migration flows to avoid the loss of highly skilled to the degree it causes brain strain which results in economic shortage of labour in sending countries. Brain strain happens only when there is clear evidence that migration flows had adverse consequences on sending economy.	Negative
Brain Train (William & Balaz, 2003)	Serial mobility to obtain educational and training upgrades and enhancements.	Positive
Brain Transfer (Faist, 2007)	Several forms of brain transfer including brain drain followed by brain gain because there is usually a deficit at exit (country of origin) followed by a possible gain; the latter explains that for the migrants and their country of origin.	
Brain Waste (Bauder, 2003)	Highly skilled migrant workers who cannot find employment at their skill level post-migration and do not return to their country of origin (Faist, 2007, p. 33).	Negative
Global Brain Chain (Faist, 2008)	Refers to a “staged cascade” which involves ongoing brain drain and gain when migrants move from one host country to another location.	Positive

## 2.2.2 Positive Skilled-Migration Discourse

This section is focused on the positive skilled migration discourse as shown in figure 1 of the conceptual framework.

### Brain Circulation

Brain circulation allows a transfer of knowledge through expatriate nationals and occurs when migrants who have left their origin country return home to establish business relationships or to start new companies while maintaining their social and professional ties with the destination country (Saxenian, 2006). Saxenian refers to these former immigrants as “astronaut commuters” who have now become transnational entrepreneurs by structuring a two-way flow of capital, skill, and technology flows. In this dynamic, migrants pursue studies overseas, develop careers and professional networks after their studies and then can return to their country of origin to create further networks and commercial opportunities. Unlike brain drain, which generally connotes permanent migration and loss for the sending nation, brain circulation is considered temporary migration that involves a period of study followed by occupational mobility and international business expansion.

Vinokour (2006) explains brain circulation in terms of reversible migration including the return migration of expatriates which acts as an equalizing transfer of technological and organizational capacity back to source countries. This results in a positive-sum game where former migrants become transnational entrepreneurs, structuring a two-way flow of skill, technology, and capital to from destination to source countries.

### Brain Exchange

Other positive lexicons include ‘brain exchange,’ or the effective use of human capital in the relatively balanced and mostly temporary flow of migrants between core economies (William

& Balaz, 2003). UNESCO (2007) suggests that brain exchange allows sending and receiving countries to benefit from the specialized experience of expatriate professionals.

### Brain Gain

Brain gain is defined as the accumulation of further specialized human capital for highly skilled migrants in the destination country after initial migration (Ciomasu, 2010). Human capital theory was formulated by Sjastaad (1962), based on the functionalist paradigms of migration. This micro-economic approach dominated development theory (de Haas, 2010) and reigned post-World War II until 1973 (de Haas, 2007). Human capital represents a form of investment, and migration decisions represent one way to alter the potential rate of return on that investment (Liebig, 2003). When migration is engaged for the purposes of ongoing specialised training, this generates an increase in human capital that is not solely provided by the sending countries. Human capital accumulation then adds another driver to migration decision making. Migration allows for the potential of greater returns on the initial investment in education and training.

The brain gain debates fit into what de Haas (2012) refers to as “migration optimists.” The migration optimist approach perceives migration largely as having a positive impact on the development process. Migration is seen as benefiting societies who send migrants because the movement can generate flows of return capital (remittances and investment) and investment that can subsequently stimulate development and modernization in the sending countries. Brain gain also generates return migrants who can become positive agents of economic growth by expanding investment and production systems (Harvey, 2008, p. 4; Pellegrino, 2001). Spoonley (2003) suggests that brain gain also occurs when a country successfully integrates skilled workers into its labour markets. When origin countries cannot compete with the destination country to bring this talent back home (Robertson, 2006), migrants who moved to the destination country often choose the diaspora option.

## Brain Networking

‘Brain circulation’ and ‘brain networking’ are used interchangeably by some scholars (e.g., Saxenian, 2006). Ciomasu (2010) warns against using brain circulation and brain networking as synonyms because he sees them as exclusive. Brain networking is a long-term commitment of expatriates to distant collaboration, which can facilitate decisions among the undecided to return home as they fall in and out of the network. This is in contrast to brain circulation, which suggests individuals as moving more or less permanently between their home and host countries (case for some migrants), for example in the case of migrant ‘astronauts’ where one parent raises the child in the destination country while the other goes back to the country of origin to provide for the family or people working as professionals in many locations. Harvey (2008) has also cautioned that the process of brain circulation might differ due to the nature of the source countries, demonstrating the danger of using brain circulation and brain networking interchangeably. I use brain circulation to describe highly skilled migrants who move in and out of their host and home countries for business, work, and investment purposes (Harvey, 2008).

## Brain Outflow

Brain outflow is the exodus of underutilized skilled workers in the country of origin. It is the result of weakness in the demand for skilled labor in the home country.

## Brain Train

Brain train, on the other hand, concerns mobility specifically for educational or training purposes, for example in the case of health workers migrating for ongoing education/training.

### 2.2.3 Negative Skilled Migration Discourse

## Brain Drain

The brain drain debate was introduced in recent decades and is still being considered in the literature. Brain drain describes the phenomenon of the emigration of highly qualified, talented professionals from one country to another in search of better opportunities. It usually occurs from lower income class countries to countries that have immigration policies that favour skilled migrants and have job opportunities

The causes and impacts of brain drain in Africa can be understood using push-and-pull factors according to El-Khawas (2004). Push factors motivate people to leave the semi-periphery regions, while pull factors, such as living conditions and employment opportunities, attract them to core regions. Technologies such as internet links, cellular phones, and multimedia have also helped people in searching for employment beyond their national boundaries (El-Khawas, 2004). El-Khawas adds that brain drain has an impact on the sending and receiving countries because the receiving countries acquire talent without spending resources to educate or train the skilled workers. Multinational companies also benefit from the profit acquired through the lower wages of foreign workers, and migration contributes to the economic growth of the West through tax payments and increased productivity. Africa, as a migrant-sending continent, may benefit from remittances, but the gap between initial investment in human capital development and returns through remittances were not seen as equivalent by brain drain advocates (Bhagwati and Hamada, 1974; Lucas, 1988). As Vinokur (2006) noted, study and productive work are separated temporally because the highly skilled worker has been educated in the source country at the country's expense and then works in a destination country with that destination's productive capital. Papademetriou (1985) concluded that migration will cause depletion of manpower from sending countries by enticing their productive, healthy, and dynamic members to developed countries (de Haas, 2010, p. 233).

## Brain Waste

An example of this idea of brain waste comes from Bauder's study based in Vancouver on immigrants from South Asia and the former Yugoslavia. These migrants are forced to work in unregulated jobs or have to switch careers. De-skilling results in a loss to both the country of origin and the destination (Reitz, 2001).

Bauder (2003) coined the term brain waste, and claims that the non-recognition of migrants' foreign credentials devalues their institutional cultural capital, and makes the upper segments of the labour market in the destination nation inaccessible to migrants. This exacts an emotional cost as newcomers and families face decreased social status. While educational credentials can be codified, host employers are more interested in the unobservable 'ability' of immigrant workers (for example, this is commonly known as Canadian experience in Canada) (Lien & Wang, 2005, p. 55).

Bauder (2003) sees non-recognition of foreign credentials as the systematic exclusion of immigrant workers from the upper segments of the labour market. Workers are segmented through immigration status and place of origin, which construct the nature of barriers against the full recognition of foreign credentials (also see Samers, 1998). Non-recognition of credentials contributes to 'deskilling,' when immigrants lose access to their previously held occupational status and income. Hanlon, cited by Bauder (2003), suggests the perspectives of professionalism are a product of "cultural battles" over who is highly skilled and who is not, and what is cultural capital and what is not (Bauder, p.703). Brain abuse discourse as developed by Bauder sees cultural capital as an explanation for the devaluation and segmentation of immigrant labour. Bauder notes that education reproduces national structure, but when education is gained in a different national context, it permits a division of labour based on country of origin/ place of education. Building on the work of Bourdieu (1986), Bauder notes that while Bourdieu presented the French educational system as translating inherited class privilege into economic privilege, he



interprets the Canadian national system as translating inherited Canadian birthplace into economic privilege (Bauder, p.702). When this translation is disrupted by migration, the potential for brain waste arises.

Bauder (2003) argues that Canadians are wasting the brains of skilled workers whose foreign credentials are de-valued after migration. This devaluation of immigrant cultural capital is viewed as wasting human capital. It has a negative effect on the migrants and their families because the loss of labour market status means diminished social status. Bauder uses as examples highly skilled migrants working in the destination country or return migrants who return to their countries of origin because they cannot find employment at their skill level.

#### Brain Overflow

Brain overflow, termed by William and Balaz (2005), is a process in which emigration occurs because of the over-supply or over-education of labour in any given country or region (Pellegrino, 2001) Brain overflow tends to promote migration out of the destination country of those who are underemployed and unemployed. Therefore, it represents a solution to the underutilization of skill in the country of origin. This occurs when a nation produces more people than needed in occupations—evident in some countries but is not the case of my participants due to my sampling in Nigeria.

#### Brain Strain

Brain strain occurs when there is clear evidence that migration flows have adversely affected the sending economy. When possible, migration flows are regulated to avoid the loss of highly skilled workers (Lowell, 2004).

#### Brain Desertification

Another negative discourse includes ‘brain desertification,’ which refers to highly skilled migrants who do not return and do not sustain any ties with people in their countries of origin.

This is the worst case of brain drain. According to Faist (2008), brain desertification is characterised by the perception of the lack of sustained ties with those who stayed in the country of origin and the lack of migrants' potential for return

#### 2.2.4 Summary

There are multiple discourses associated with international skilled worker migration that reflect a spectrum of development consequences from positive to negative. While a vast amount of literature on these concepts and their application to various contexts exists, there has been relatively little analysis of how skilled migrants themselves view such discourses, and what definition aligns most closely to how they view their own migration decisions, experiences and outcomes.

#### 2.3 Nigerian Diaspora

The African diaspora was the focus of intense study in the 1950's and the 1960's, and was used as a political and analytical term in order to examine the dispersal and development consequences of the migration of people of African descent mostly slaves (about 12 million) who were exported from west and eastern Africa to the Americas during the Transatlantic slave trade and also recent migrants from African (Akyeampong, 2000). African Diasporas, which are comprised of many countries from Africa, are key factors in promoting the migration-development nexus. The African diaspora is actually *defined* by the African union (2015) as development agents for their home nations:

The African Diaspora consists of peoples of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union.

The Southern African Migration Programme (SAMP) also expanded the term diaspora to also include people living in other countries within Africa (Crush, 2011).

The Nigerian diaspora can be considered as Nigerians living outside the country without an immediate plan to return (Akinrinade & Ogen, 2011; Ogbuagu, 2013). The Nigerian diaspora has tended to be subsumed under the African diaspora, or as part of the Black community (Ogbuagu, 2013), with its history yet to be written (Akinrinade & Ogen, 2011). There is a large concentration of Nigerians in Europe and America, and their experiences of migration and settlement deserve greater analytical attention. For example, there has been a steady increase in the number of Nigerians in Canada, with the 2015 census estimating that there are currently 33,140 people of Nigerian origin in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2016), up from 27,650 (Statistics Canada, 2011). In the United States there has also been an increase, with 299,000 people who self-identified as Nigerian-American in 2015, compared to 264,550 in 2010 (US Census Bureau, n.d.).

Current research distinguishes six waves of emigration from Nigeria marked by differences in destination, the sociodemographic characteristics of migrants and the motives of immigration. The six waves are (1) the pre-colonial and colonial era marked the first migration that begins with the Hausas and several pilgrimages to Mecca and Medina (Mberu & Pongou, 2010, Akinrinade & Ogen, 2011). (2) The trans-Atlantic slave trade (16<sup>th</sup> – 19<sup>th</sup> century) marked another significant milestone in forced migration of Nigerians outside of the country; this period marks the movement of Africans to Europe and America and it is believed to be the founding myth of the African diaspora (Akinrinade & Ogen, 2011). (3) The colonial period was from 1860 to 1947, in this period the Nigeria diasporic space expanded on a large scale through voluntary migration for education and labour migrations for plantations, mines and public administration from Nigeria to United Kingdom, United States of America and other African countries such as Cameroon, Sierra Leone, Guinea, Benin Republic and Ghana (Akinrinade & Ogen, 2011); (4) Post independence migration from 1960 continues with Nigerians looking for greener pastures overseas (deHaas, 2006; Akinrinade & Ogen, 2011); and (5) some emigrated in the 1980s and

early 1990's, fleeing from collapse of crude oil prices, violence and political repression of the country seeking Asylum and UK, Germany, Canada, Ireland, South Africa, Austria and France (Mberu & Pongou, 2010). (6) Since the 1980s, the waves of economic migration to OECD countries continues. Table 2 provides a summary for the six waves.

Table 2 - Waves of Nigerian emigration

Waves	Year	Type of Migration	Reason	Destinations
<i>Pre - Colonial period</i>		Circular	Religious pilgrimages	Hausa to Sudan (Mecca and Medina)
<i>Trans-Atlantic slave trade</i>	1500-1900	Forced	Slave trade	Europe and Americas
<i>Colonial period</i>	1860-1947	Voluntary	Education and labour	United Kingdom United States of America Sub Saharan Africa
<i>Post-Independence</i>	From 1960	Voluntary	Several push and pull factors (e.g. Biafran war)	
<i>Forced Exodus</i>	1980-2005	Forced	Political oppression and violence	Seeking Asylum internationally
<b>Transnational</b>	2000's	Voluntary/ Transnational	Economic	OECD countries

Currently it is estimated that the Nigerian diaspora is comprised of more than one million Nigerians living in more than 100 countries; with half this number settled in developed regions (USAID, 2015). Nigerians in the U.S. are known as an accomplished group due to their impressive contribution to the U. S. economy (Joshua et al., 2014; Bakewell & deHaas, 2007), and in Europe they are known to have the highest level of education and income (Knowles, 2013).

For members of the diasporic community, their movement was motivated by their desire to improve their lives and the lives of their children. However, accessing quality education has always been an important cause of emigration (deHaas, 2006). Nigeria has transformed itself from a net immigration to a net emigration country (Blackwell and DeHaas, 2007), and functions as a source and destination country (Adepoju, 2011; Black et al., 2004) for people from

ECOWAS States (Benin, Ghana, Mali, Togo, and Niger); European Union States (Russia, United Kingdom and Germany, Italy, Portugal, and France) and Non – EU states (like Ukraine, Belarus, Serbia, and Turkey)

Nigeria, like several other sub-Saharan African nations, is a country of many religious and ethnic groups. In the process of settling in new places and bringing relatives to join them, Nigerians established religious as well as social, faith-based, cultural, professional and ethno-cultural organizations and practices. Christians and Muslims cultivated their ethnic and religious identities, often gathering as major avenues for contact with their members as well as providing support and serving as a coping mechanism allowing the pooling resources with those from the same place of origin, background, and religious group. As well as maintaining transnational links with distant relatives back home.

The Nigerian diaspora is not homogeneous, rather it is ethnically diverse (de Haas, 2006). There are deep socio-cultural and religious divisions within Nigerian society which are extended to Nigerians in the diaspora. Nigerian diaspora members also have to contend with the discourse of cybercrime attributed to Nigeria, such as the notorious and (in)famous “419” advanced-fee scam (Mba et al, 2017).

Despite the challenges members of the Nigerian diaspora may face overseas, the Nigerian government has taken pro-active steps to tap to the resources of its diaspora by establishing the Nigerian in the Diaspora Organization (NIDO) in 2012. This government initiative aims to (1) increase the participation of the diaspora in Nigerians affairs, (2) serve as a communication forum between the country and the diaspora (3) improve Nigeria’s international image and (4) focus on building a network of Nigerians with professional skills database and make it available to the government and the private sector (deHaas, 2006, Akinrinade & Ogen, 2011). The government then followed with Nigeria National Volunteer Services (NNVS), another government agency established to reinforce bonds with the diaspora and encourage them to return in order to reverse

brain drain and benefit from brain gain (Adepoju, 2011). It is unclear how effectively NIDO and NNVS function in practice, and some have suggested that the efforts of the Nigerian government to tap into the diaspora has not been actualized (de Haas, 2007, Akinrinade & Ogen, 2011). The presence of health care workers in the diaspora is significant, since previous research has established that home country health systems can benefit from the involvement of the diaspora and research is needed to examine the involvement in origin country (Nwadiuko et al., 2016).

Labour Migration research from Sub Saharan Africa in the health care field yields valuable insights into the nuances of migration decisions. To date, several authors have highlighted the motivations for Nigerian-trained health care professionals to migrate (Astor et al, 2005; Adelakun, 2013; Aboderin, 2007; Kalipeni et al, 2012). The social, cultural, political, professional, economic and institutional contexts in which migrants make decisions in developing countries differ from that of developed countries (Guilmoto & Sandron, 2001; Vujicic et al, 2004). Due to demands in developed countries for skilled health workers (doctors, nurses, teachers, paramedics, engineers, and scientists) there is a strong flow of such migrants from Africa to the Global North. There are several factors attributed to this. These push factors are due to a combination of internal (higher salaries, unsatisfactory working/ living conditions, lack of jobs, low wages, no constant electricity, limited career opportunities, security, corruption and political instability) and external factors (better job opportunities, flexible career paths, higher pay, satisfactory living/working conditions, higher standard of living, political stability and professional development) and sometimes personal factors (Adepoju, 2011; Adefuska, 2012; Kalipeni et al; Salami et al, 2016).

Nigerian-trained health care workers have predominantly settled across the globe, with Nigeria representing the main source country for doctors in the United Kingdom, the United States, and Canada (Connel et al, 2007; Duvivier et al., 2017; Komolafe, 2003, Mills et al., 2011 and Valiani, 2012). According to the Nigerian Medical Association (NMA) – the largest medical

association in West Africa, there are about 19,000 physicians in the diaspora while the rest of the country (population of 186 million) has access to just 40,000 physicians (NMA, n.d.). This presents a ratio of 1 physician to 4,650 patients, falling way below the World Health Organization minimum standard of 1 physician per 1,000 people (Adefusika, 2010; Kalipeni, 2012). According to the latest data available by World Health Organization, Nigeria has an average physician density of 0.38 physicians/1,000 population in 2009 compared to Canada's average of 2.48 physicians/1,000 population (2012). Conditions and demands of employment thus contribute to Nigeria's inability to retain physicians (Mills, 2011; Docquier & Rapoport, 2012, Labonte et al, 2006) which also give rise to medical tourism. Nigerians are known to travel on a short visit for medical purposes (Makinde, 2016).

Likewise, the demand for international educated nurses in the global north posits a strong pull for Nigerian nurses, with half of internationally educated nurses in the United States hailing from Canada, United Kingdom, India, Korea and Nigeria (Brush et al, 2004). This demand poses a challenge to the health outcomes of a country that has only 16.1 nurses and midwives per 10,000 people (World Health Organization, 2015). Salami et al. (2016) identify push factors, retention rate, and inability to secure a job as the major causes of nurse migration from Nigeria. The study notes that although there is a strong push for Nigerian nurses who are motivated to emigrate out of Nigeria due to work environments, the desire to advance in their careers and improve economic prospects, international educated nurses still experience racism, deskilling, cultural shock, discrimination, and barriers to integration at the destination countries. The recent systematic literature review by Salami et al. (2016) concluded that the emigration of Nigerian nurses could be attributed to problems with recruitment, training, and retention within Nigeria. Contrary to Kalipeni et al. (2012) that states that joblessness does not cause brain drain, Salami et al (2016) argue that some nurses might migrate due to (a) inability to secure a job, (b) security

threats in the northern part of the country, (c) inadequate compensation, (d) unsafe work environments and (e) limited opportunity for career advancement.

According to Labonte et al., South Africa and Nigeria are the top two suppliers of doctors and nurses in Canada. They noted that there is a concern on the increase of migration of doctors from Nigeria to Canada (2006:22). Similarly, Adepaju (2011) noted the United Nations estimate that “Africa will need to train additional 1 million health care professionals over the next decade” (p. 308). Traditionally, such suggest ‘brain drain’ patterns are considered harmful to development at the source countries (Brush et al., 2004; Kalipeni et al., 2012). Kalipeni et al. (2012) claim that solutions to the brain drain of African health care professionals are far from reach without the assistance of the developed countries. Adepaju (2011) also calls on the destination country to assist with programs that will see orderly return and re-integration of highly skilled professionals to their source countries by fostering local developments and supporting and collaborating with specialized projects that will avail diaspora health care workers to travel to their source countries for a short period of time. Likewise, Salami et al. (2016) adds that bilateral migration agreements that benefit the source country might help to promote brain circulation. Adefusika (2010) also identifies mobilization of diaspora through virtual participation, formulating a national diaspora policy involving Nigerian government, economic “share-ship” utilizing the dual citizenship status and connecting diaspora productively through temporary work engagements in Nigeria, and other strategies to diminish the negative effect of brain drain.

Although, researchers have and are still referring to the concept of ‘brain drain’ as a discourse (refer to section 2.1 for detailed explanation), recently the positive effects of skilled migration have been put at the center of the debate considering the effects of brain circulation, diaspora, return migration and transnationalism (see section 2.4).

There are continuing debates on the link between international labour migration, remittances, and development. Undoubtedly, remittances play an important part in migration and



development theory and policy debates, not only because they sustain households (de Haas 2012, Nyamongo et al. 2012 and Gamlen 2014), but also because they are believed to contribute to development. The influence of remittances is discussed in detail in section 2.5. While the health sector in the country might be suffering from the loss of highly skilled professionals, many people in Nigeria are greatly benefitting from the financial and material contributions they make. Remittance from the Nigerian diaspora to Nigeria have increased rapidly, and Nigeria hails as the largest remittance recipient in sub-Saharan Africa (Akinriade & Ogen, 2011; dehaas, 2006), and still, the country has not pursued a remittance-led development strategy (deHaas, 2006). China, India, Malaysia, Ireland and others have benefited from diaspora investment by tapping into the resources of their Diasporas, for example, diaspora engagements led India to become global giants in Information Technology (Akinriade & Ogen, 2011).

Adefusika (2010) states that Nigerians might become “Americanized” and might not return to their countries due to safety issues, loss of their ‘comfort zone’, established business and family relations abroad, or fear of persecution from Nigerian government and the society. Contrary to Adefusika, other authors (Olatuyi et al., 2013; Nwadiuko et al., 2016) highlight the interest of health care professionals in the idea of returning to Nigeria. A survey conducted in 2012 in Ghana and South African by Olatuyi et al. 52% claimed that migrants visited home once a year. This contrasts with Crush, Chikanda & Pendelton (2012) who note that the South African physician diaspora in Canada is generally ‘disengaged’ when it comes to associating with other fellow home-country professionals, either in Canada or South Africa, and more than half do not participate in any way.

There has to be a seismic shift in thinking about migration by the Nigerian government, and they have yet to grasp migration as part of the possible solution to underdevelopment, rather than part of the problem. Nigerian immigration policies are restrictive (deHaas, 2006) in the sense that they do not track emigration and the government lacks regulations in its policies. Leaders

pursue a “laissez faire” policy concerning emigration with little or no intervention (deHaas, 2006), even though migrants contribute to the country through remittances and philanthropy (Boyle & Kitchin, 2014).

### 2.3.1 Summary

Together these studies provide important insights into Nigerian health care professional migrants and the Nigerian diaspora. The review indicates that there is relationship among development, diaspora, return migration and remittances. Section 2.5 will provide a more detailed review of the literature on remittances.

## 2.4 Transnational Perspectives

This section focuses on transnationalism because the ability of an immigrant to participate in transnational activities will be seen by non-migrant counterparts as a positive migrant experience, and possibly fuel more migration. It also frames how international skilled migration might continue to inform development processes in Nigeria. The last part of the chapter discusses various transnational activities migrants can participate in and whether participating in such transnational activities can reproduce out-migration. The transnational activities are classified as economic, social, cultural, and political, as suggested by Al-Ali et al. (2001).

### 2.4.1 Overview of Transnationalism

Several scholars have discussed transnationalism (see Castles & Miller, 2009; Faist, 2004; Glick Schiller, Basch, & Blanc-Szanton, 1991). The transnational approach as pioneered by Basch et al. (1994, 7) is defined as “a process by which migrants (transmigrants) develop and sustain ‘multi-stranded relationships’ – familial, economic, social, religious and political – that span borders and link their societies of origin and settlement”. De Haas (2010) subsequently refers to this era of international migration studies as the “transnational turn”. Spoonley et al. (2003) stated that transnationalism refers to the existence of significant networks that affect the

nation-states and are maintained across borders due to the cultural connectivity of two or more communities. Through transnationalization, the dichotomies of “origin” versus “destination” and the categories of “permanent” versus “temporary” versus “return migration” are challenged due to migrants’ ongoing circulation and simultaneous commitment to two or more nation states.

#### 2.4.2 Evolution of Transnationalism

At least three different versions of transnationalism have evolved from the initial model proposed by Schiller et al. (1995), who were the first to articulate the terminology in 1992. Alejandro Portes (2001) expanded on Schiller et al.’s (1995) work and conceptualised transnational communities as “labour’s analog to the multinational corporation” (Portes 1996:74, cf. Kivisto 2001:558-559). Portes also differentiated the various categories of *economic transnationalism* that involve entrepreneurs with networks of suppliers’ capital and markets that cross nation-state borders, as opposed to *political transnationalism* where migrants’ main goal is to attain political power in their source and receiving countries by exploiting the political activities of party leaders, officials, and community leaders. Lastly is *socio-cultural transnationalism*: activities which are meant to reinforce national diasporic identity abroad and support cultural events and goods that reinforce identity and community.

Portes suggested that transnationalism be viewed as a variant of, rather than an alternative to, assimilation theory. He pointed out four possible outcomes to adaptation: 1) transnationalism is new and permanent; 2) abandonment of transnationalism in favor of full assimilation; 3) rejection of transnationalism by the children of transnational migrants in favour of assimilation; (4) transnationalism does not include the return home of migrants.

The second theorist to elaborate on transnationalism was Thomas Faist (2000). He established the terminology of transnational social spaces as involving kinship (remittances), circuits (instrumental exchange or trading networks), and communities (shared conception of

identities) rather than transnational social fields, because “space,” unlike “social,” refers to two or more places. He explained this in terms of the two paradigms (push-pull factors in migratory flows and the center-periphery conceptualization of the migratory process) and described the outcome in terms of assimilation and ethnic pluralism.

### 2.4.3 Transnationalism and globalization?

Globalization refers to processes that are “decentered” or “deterritorialized,” while transnationalism is not denationalized because it spans two nation-states. Although sometimes used as synonyms, differences exist between transnationalism and globalization.

Transnationalism refers to sustained cross-border ties, events, and processes of exchange and connection that span the borders of several nation-states (Faist, 2010). Faist views globalization as an inexorable structural economic transformation operating outside of thought and human practice that is changing the world we live in for the better (Smith, 2005, p. 236). Unlike Faist, Portes sees globalization and transnationalism as synonymous and refers to globalization as a process that makes possible the proliferation of social relations across greater distances. He claims that relationships are becoming more intense and robust rather than over-stretched (Waters, 1995, p. 58 in Kivisto, 2001).

Diaspora and transnationalism are intuitively linked (Bauber and Faist, 2010; Vertovec and Cohen 1999) and have several intertwined definitions. Transnationalism can be helpful in studying migrant life trajectories and transnational studies have many parallels with other migrant theories. According to De Haas (2008), transnationalism should be combined with the New Economics of Labour Migration (NELM) as “transnational livelihood strategies” pursued by households and other social groups. De Haas (2008) asserted that “return visits, return migration, remittances, transnational business activities and also investment and political involvement in countries of origins are all expressions of the transnational character of migrant’s lives” (p. 39).

Faist, conversely, discussed the typologies of transnational life as diffusion, families, association, networks, communities or diasporas. As King (2012) and Faist (2009) noted, there are several themes that have evolved on transnationalism which include but are not limited to “transnational migrants, transnational communities, transnational citizenship, transnational identities, transnational social spaces and transnational anything-you-want”. These are presented in alphabetical order in Table 3.

*Table 3 - Typologies of Transnational life*

<b>TRANSNATIONAL CONCEPTS</b>	<b>DEFINITION</b>
<b>Transnational Circuits (Rouse, 1991)</b>	A single community spread across a variety of sites maintaining transnational identity.
<b>Transnational Citizenship</b>	Enjoyment of membership statuses in two or more states, e.g. Dual citizenship.
<b>Transnational Cultural Diffusion (Appadurai, 1996)</b>	Ideas styles, religion and other things borrowed from one culture to another. This allows individuals to create a spread of different cultural items within a single culture or from one culture to another
<b>Transnational Communities (Portes et al., 1999)</b>	Always going to be hybrid and in-between (Conway, 2007) <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>▪ A set of intense cross border social relations that enable individuals to participate in activities of daily life in two or more nations (Portes, 1996 cited in Bailey (2001).</li> <li>▪ Diasporic communities can be regarded as a special case of transnational communities (Bailey, 2001: 418)</li> <li>▪ Communities are facilitated through availability of faxes, videos, emails, WAP protocols and cheap flights (Lessigner, 1995 in Bailey p.418).</li> <li>▪ Can be used interchangeable with Diaspora.</li> </ul>
<b>Transnational Identities</b>	See Transnational Circuits.
<b>Transnational Networks &amp; Advocacy Group (Keck &amp; Sikkink, 1998)</b>	Organizations characterized by voluntary, reciprocal and horizontal patterns of communication and exchange e.g. domestic and international non-governmental Associations (NGO), advocacy groups, foundations, media,, churches, trade unions or government associations.
<b>Transnational Migrants</b>	Transmigrants are those whose lived experiences transcend the boundaries of nation- states and who develop and maintain multiple relationships (familial, economic, social, organizational, religious and political that span the borders (Basch et al. 1994: 7 in Bailey (2001).
<b>Transnational Religions and communities (Levitt, 2001, 2007)</b>	Transnational religion and communities focus on the everyday, lived practice of migrant religion grounded in at least two locations. They incorporate religious experiences and express identities based on multiple connections to various groups, settings and practices rather than accepting the identity categories and social structures that nation states impose on them.
<b>Transnational Social Fields (Basch et al., 1994)</b>	A set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices and resources are unequally exchanged, organized and transformed (Levitt and Schiller).

<b>Transnational Social Formations (Guarnizo, 1997)</b>	A link at the societal level that link together people from their origin with destination as a parcel of single sociocultural, economic, and political field rather than individuals (Guarnizo, 1997)
<b>Transnational Social Spaces (Faist, 2000)</b>	<p>“Ties and the unfolding strong and dense circular flows of person, goods, ideas and symbols within a migration system.”</p> <p>Kivisto (2001, p. 573) suggested that when conducting research that involves transnational social spaces, one must keep the following in mind:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>•Cost associated with travel which can vary by distance from homeland</li> <li>•Access to communication technologies in sending and receiving countries</li> <li>•Political and economic issues in sending and receiving countries</li> <li>•Role of discrimination in receiving countries</li> <li>•Level of involvement in receiving countries</li> <li>•Impact of popular culture</li> <li>•Role of nation–states</li> </ul>

#### 2.4.4 Transnational Activities

There has been growing recognition of the increased possibilities for migrants and their families to live transnationally. Transnationalism, as explained above, involves the circulation of people, ideas, and capital (Spoonley et al., 2003, p. 35). In the circulation of capital, remittances have played a major role in sustaining and increasing the income of the country of origin. This may be supplemented by the circulation of goods through container shipments, trade and barter systems, or money exchange. Koser (1997) concurs that the ‘three Ts’ (Transportation, Tourism, and Telecommunication) create an increase in transnationalism because of cheaper airfares, an ability to take funds back home to invest, and cheap telephone calls and internet access.

In the circulation of cultural capital, remittances have played a major role in sustaining and increasing the income of countries of origin. This may be supplemented by the circulation of goods through container shipments, trade and barter systems, or exchanges of money. In addition, technologies allow the use of computers to circulate ideas, maintain transnational links, and contribute to online virtual communities (Spoonley et al., 2003, p. 37).

Crush et al. claimed that “Social Networking sites have become a way for users to connect with family, friends, and colleagues globally” (2011, p. 3). This aspect of transnational study has to be accounted for in the current study because I personally know the effects of social networking sites such as Facebook and LinkedIn. An accountant that I knew personally studied in

Nigeria and did not get a job when he was done. He migrated to Canada years ago, and earned his Certified General Accountant (CGA) licence. Years later, he moved back to Nigeria as an expatriate and was offered a well-paying, high-social-level job, illustrating the full effects of brain circulation.

According to Bailey (2001), transnational migration contributes to and is influenced by the structure of transnational communities (Glick Schiller et al., 1992). Schiller et al (2012) suggested that reasons for transnational migration include family ties, community, advocates, and business activities. Walton-Roberts (2003) in-depth empirical study of transnational migration networks between Canada and India affirms the merit of adopting transnational study. The present research study adheres to Kivisto's (2001) suggestion of transnational elements, keeping in mind that in order to conduct an investigation that involves transnational social spaces, one must consider the cost and distance of travel from the source country, and assess the technology and political or economic issues in both countries, as well as the level of involvement and role of discrimination in receiving countries. Table 4, provides a list of transnational activities that can be observed at source and destination countries. An analysis of the participation in those activities will indicate whether each actually fuels more migration by affecting the migration decisions of people left behind in the source country.

Table 4 – Transnational Activities

	Activities in Source Country	Activities in Destination Country
<b>Economic</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Financial remittances (e.g., individual or collective)</li> <li>• Other remittances (education, health, &amp; clothes)</li> <li>• Investments</li> <li>• Charitable donations</li> <li>• Taxes</li> <li>• Government bonds</li> <li>• Purchase entry into government programs</li> <li>• Business activities</li> <li>• Trade relations</li> <li>• Innovations</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Charitable donations</li> <li>• Donations to other community organizations</li> </ul>
<b>Political</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participation in elections</li> <li>• Membership in political parties</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Political rallies</li> <li>• Political demonstrations</li> <li>• Mobilization of political contacts</li> </ul>
<b>Social</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visits to friends and family</li> <li>• Social contacts</li> <li>• Social remittances</li> <li>• Contributions to source country newspapers</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Membership of social clubs</li> <li>• Attendance at social gatherings</li> <li>• Links with religious or refugee organizations</li> <li>• Contributions to newspapers</li> <li>• Participation in discussion groups</li> </ul>
<b>Cultural</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Visiting performers from home countries</li> <li>• Other cultural events</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Participating in events that promote culture</li> <li>• Education</li> <li>• New knowledge</li> </ul>

Table is an Author's assimilation using Al-Ali et al. (2001) and Harvey (2008)

As transnational migrants span across nation states, the vehicles of integration or incorporation they experience can involve assimilation, dual citizenship, diaspora, expatriates, transnational communities, return migrants, sojourners, and moorings. This section provides a brief analysis of each of these terms in a tabular format in table 5.



Table 5 - Mode of Incorporation

Modes of Incorporation	Definition
Assimilation	Encouraging cultural practices of receiving community (Castles: 155)
Diaspora	<p>A process in which space, place and time are not static but continuously used, imagined, and negotiated in the construction of both bounded and unbounded identities, communities and nation states (King 2012: 146).</p> <p>It is a positive sum game where former migrants (such as astronaut commuters) become transnational entrepreneurs, thus structuring the two-way flow of skill, technology and capital to source countries (Vinokour).</p>
Dual Citizenship	Someone who has citizenship in two or more countries
Expatriates	An expatriate is a person temporarily or permanently residing in a country other than that of their citizenship/origin. Returning professionals with overseas experience and technical skills, new knowledge and IT expertise (Conway et al, 2012 p. 193).
Moorings	Moorings are defined as “those social expressions which not only allow a person to materialize his or her physical, psychological and emotional well-being, but also serve to bind a person to a particular place” (Moon, 1995, p. 514
Return Migrants	People who migrate to another country and later return to their country of birth (Harvey p.294).
Sojourner	Someone staying temporarily in host country.

#### 2.4.5 Criticism of Transnationalism

Even though the relationships of transnational migrants have been documented as spanning different states, some authors have expressed reservations. Bailey (2001) noted this phenomenon involves only limited migrant types such as voluntary (immigrants, international business workers, students, seasonal workers), and does not necessarily apply to forced migrants, those who are internally displaced, refugees, exiles, circulators/sojourners and settlers, and non-

contemporary migrants (e.g., foreign workers, diasporic communities). Bailey claimed this typology was derived from three analytical continuums (1) separating short-distance from long-distance, e.g., international migrants; (2) distinguishing voluntary (students) from involuntary migrants (refugees); and (3) division of short-term temporary moves (sojourners) from long-term permanent moves (settlers). This dimension assumes it is simple as either one retains a territory across a nation-state as either host or destination whereas, it might be complex e.g. transnational corporations or dual citizenship.

Bailey noted a lack of attention to space-time relations in transnational communities while theorizing agency and hybridity in transnational accounts hinders the ability to connect transnationalism to a general view of globalization. It relies on the “category as fixed and undermines the co-mingling of economic and cultural practices” (Bailey, 2001, p. 416).

Vervotec (2012) also called for a shift from transnationalism to transformation so that we can gain deeper understanding of the broader shifts in social, political, and economic organization rather than the localized change of social organizations or groups in cross-border contexts. He claimed that transnational migrants’ practices amplify transformative global processes due to dual/multiple citizenship, technological changes which provide access to cheaper communication/resources, remittances, and hometown associations. The effect of these criticisms is further analysed and discussed in chapter 6 because both the sending (Nigeria) and the receiving (Canada) states involved in this research allow dual citizenship.

#### 2.4.6 Summary

This section discussed an overview of transnationalism, its development, and its relationship with migration development. In addition, transnational activities were also introduced and categorized according to various criteria. The following section explains another concept related to skilled migrant workers.

## 2.5 Remittances

This section provides insight into remittances as a hotly debated concept in international migration (Maimbo & Ratha, 2010). It also offers a description of how remittances might play a part in value exchange and extraction in skilled migration structured by transnational connectivity. The first part of this section provides an overview of the concept, followed by the types of remittances, and then the consequences of remittances on the source country.

### 2.5.1 An Overview of Remittances and Skilled Migration

Migrant remittances refer to the transfer of money, knowledge, or ideas by a foreign national to their country of origin. Remittances also include non-monetary transfers, gifts in kind, self-interest in honour, symbolic exchanges, reputation, and status (Conway et al., 2012, p. 192). Remittances are investments against uncertainty for the donor and the recipients, especially women recipients, who might choose to invest the remittance in productive activities, save it towards future investments, or use it for other consumables (Connell & Conway, 2000).

The World Bank (2003) argues that the negative effects of brain drain are somewhat offset by remittances from migrants. Adepoju (2002) shows that migration in Africa is closely linked to long term family strategies involving investment of resources in educating at least one member of the family (in most instances the firstborn of the family) who is then expected to seek out opportunities for income generation, including potentially international migration (as cited in Castles, 2002). In this way education, migration and remittances are linked in long-term household strategies of economic development. Ali (2007), Cohen (2001), Paerregaard (2008), and Suzuki (2006) note that migrant remittances can also build the transnational social status of the sender because they sustain other family members, community, local government, and traditional practices and celebrations (as cited in Cohen, 2011).

The issue of remittance as a transnational activity was included in my study to explore whether the provision of remittances might fuel more migration and sustain occupationally selective migration, thus not only building migration chains but also concentrating the occupational orientation of potential migrants. The World Bank report also posits that skilled workers will remit more funds, but Faini (2006), in referencing the work of Rodriguez and Horton (1994), states that skilled workers might remit less because they tend to be from wealthier and more-educated families that might not depend so fully on remittances as a substitute to other income or personal upkeep. Furthermore, skilled migrants might spend a longer time abroad and thus be better able to bring their closest relatives to the destination country in comparison with their non-skilled counterparts.

### 2.5.2 Types of Remittances

The International Monetary Fund separates remittances into worker remittances (money sent home by workers abroad), compensation of employees (gross earnings of foreigners abroad for less than 1 year), and migrant transfers (Taylor, 1999, p. 67). Because Nigeria receives a high level of remittances, I was especially interested in looking at the relationship between workers' skill levels and the influence of remittances on ongoing migration.

### 2.5.3 Impact of Remittances

Remittances have several economic and social effects on the receiving country (Connell and Conway, 2000). The economic effects may include appreciation of the receiving economy's currency, decreases in community standards, avoidance of low-status jobs by recipients (who will then supplement part-time labour with remittances rather than try to attain full-time employment), and dependence on imported foods by the receiving country rather than locally produced food. Socially, remittances might cause those dependent on them to undermine community relationships, gender roles, or labour arrangements. They can also foster social stratification due

to external sources of finance and underwriting of expenses that might lead to the development of a false migration mentality (i.e., entitlement) instead of spurring the migrant to, for instance, obtain an education to gain employment. Faist (2000) highlights the positive aspects of social remittances that include ideas and positive social practices that might promote human rights, gender equity, or democracy.

#### 2.5.4 Summary

This section started with the general overview of remittances, followed by their relation to the migration-development nexus. Next, an explanation of the types of remittances was provided. The section concluded with an examination of the potential impact of remittances on the people receiving them.

#### 2.6 Conceptual Framework

I now describe a conceptual framework I developed which incorporate the various concepts (skilled migrant discourse, transnationalism, and remittance) presented in the previous section to analyze and document the experiences of skilled health care migrants and their counterparts left behind. The framework was developed before the study and was later reviewed after data collection for consistencies. This framework avail us in determining that participating in transnational activities creates a positive migrant experience which might fuel more migration.

According to Reiner (2010), skilled migrants migrate to where they can optimize their potential while reducing risk. Even though highly skilled individuals are key contributors to innovation and knowledge-driven economic development, the social mobility migrants are able to attain will depend on several contextual factors. Various conceptual approaches regarding skilled migration position the phenomena on a spectrum from positive to negative in terms of its development (individual and structural) consequences. In terms of how migrants experience this process, Urry's (2010) work on social mobility helps us conceptualize how migration can

transform the distribution of resources and the social position of individuals, families or groups within a given social structure or network. Social mobility denotes movement between social positions, which can be horizontal or vertical in direction. Those who gain in property, income, status, and position are said to be upwardly mobile, while those who move in the opposite direction are downwardly mobile. Lateral movement occurs when there is no change in status or position.

Iredale (2001), looking at the case of New Zealand, suggests the “mode of incorporation” experienced by highly-skilled migrants has been transformed by social, political, or economic factors from “advantage” (experiencing upward profession mobility) to “handicapped” (facing an unfavourable reception) because of race discrimination or lack of legal status. These migrants tend to end up as ghetto service providers or unemployed. This finding motivated me to check for a similar trend in the cases of Nigerians in Canada and this was not the case with the Nigerians interviewed.

If migrants experience upward mobility, as suggested by Urry (2010), they will likely see themselves fitting into one of the positive lexicons of the skilled migration discourse. If they also participate in transnational activities their good fortune may potentially translate into the promotion of further international migration. However, if migrants experience downward mobility, they will likely see themselves as fitting into the negative lexicon of brain drain. Hence, their participation in transnational activities may be limited or nonexistent due to financial constraints, and their families in the origin country might perceive them as having a negative migrant experience due to their lack of engagement. Still, some migrants might participate in transnational activities such as remitting funds (remittance) back home even if they face fiscal difficulties post migration due to their concern with status and reputation. If the migrants who perceive themselves as fitting into the negative lexicon of the brain drain are able to participate in transnational activities at a sufficient level, the people they left behind might still perceive their

migrant counterparts as having a positive migration experience. In this way, being able to participate in transnational activities can generate a wider migration mentality in the source region (Connell & Conway, 2000) despite the actual outcome of the migration experience.

## 2.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter was divided into four sections and aided in discussing relevant literatures about Nigerian diaspora, skill migrant concepts (skilled discourse, transnationalism and remittance) in international skilled migration debates. Together these studies provide important insights into the skilled migrants' literature which forms the basis of this study and assisted in developing the conceptual framework before data collection began. Chapter 3 will look at the methodical framework guiding the design of the data collection.

## CHAPTER 3 – RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter introduces the research methodology used for this study. First, the research design is described, followed by some essential background on narrative approaches. The subsequent two sections describe the data collection sites used for this study followed by analysis.

### 3.1 Research Design

This study is situated within the interpretivist paradigm to enable comprehension of the meanings migrant health care workers construct to explain their migration decisions and consequences. The interpretivist paradigm recognizes the complex nature of decision making processes and contexts, and highlights the importance of individual perspectives and narrative formations (Haralambos, 1985). The interpretive approach facilitates study of the social reality of human beings by understanding participants' actions in their appropriate context.

An interpretive approach also provides deep insights into “the complex world of lived experience from the point of view of those who live it” (Schwandt, 1994, p.118). Interpretive research assumes that reality is socially constructed and the researcher becomes the vehicle by which this reality is revealed (Cavana, Delahaye, & Sekaran, 2001; Walsham, 1995). This approach is consistent with the construction of the social world characterized by interaction between the researcher and the participants (Mingers, 2001). The researcher's interpretations play a key role in the narrative approach, bringing “such subjectivity to the fore, backed with quality arguments rather than statistical exactness” (Garcia & Quek, 1997, p. 459).

Additionally, a theoretical framework based on the paradigms and the naturalistic strategies of narrative inquiry was developed to situate the methodological approach for this research within the broader qualitative research literature.

The research strategy for this study includes case study/analysis and narratives. The case study allows me to explore the meaning that health care worker migrants associates with their migrant experience individually, and also to understand the meaning that each migrant gives to



their own skill migrant discourse debates at the micro level. As King (2012) noted, biographical (auto-biographical) approaches, life histories, personal narratives, participatory methods and creative literatures were identified as productive methodologies and sources for understanding the experience of migration or what it is like to be a migrant (Miles and Crush, 1993; King et al., 1995; Findlay and Li, 1997; Lawson, 2000).

### 3.1.1 Case Study

Although a case study can follow either qualitative or quantitative approaches (Doolin, 2007; Stake, 1994) or any mix of both (Yin, 2003). Walsham (1995) further highlights the value of interpretive case studies. In qualitative and interpretive case studies the researcher is directly involved in the process of data collection and analysis (Creswell, 1998; Klein & Myers, 1999; Morgan & Smircich, 1980; Morse, 1994); however, in the latter, the researcher, through a close interaction with the actors, becomes a “passionate participant” (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p.115). Instead of seeking answers to questions such as “how much” or “how many,” case study design is useful for answering “how” and “why” questions (Benbasat et al., 1987; Yin, 2003). Using the case-study method allowed me to explore the meaning that health care worker migrants associate with their migrant experience individually, and also to understand the meaning that each migrant gives to their own skill migrant discourse at the micro level.

### 3.2 Narrative Inquiry

Narrative [analysis] rarely allows us to prove anything. It is essentially a hermeneutic study, where continual engagement with the discourse as it was delivered gains entrance to the perspective of the speaker and the audience, tracing the transfer of information and experience in a way that deepens our own understandings of what language and social life are all about. (Labov, 1997)

In this statement, Labov captures the essence of narrative analysis which is to learn about individual perceptions and feelings concerning a particular subject through reflection on life events and experiences. Quantitative data may be useful in measuring attitudes and proving hypotheses; however, narratives offer a powerful methodological framework for learning about

individual perceptions and meanings. Cronon (1992) reminds us that people live and tell their story, while narrative inquirers describe lives, collect and tell these stories, and write narratives of the experiences. Narrative scholars keep a story ‘intact’ by theorizing from the case rather than from component themes (categories) across cases (Riessman, 2008). “Themes are the goal directed sequences that characters pursue in narratives” (McAdams 1996, p. 308).

Narratives share the following characteristics with other qualitative methods (Polkinghorne, 1995):

- Focus on everyday life experience about a particular subject
- Value participants’ perspectives
- Use enquiry as interactive process between researcher and respondents
- Are primarily descriptive and rely on participants’ words

Narratives are told by people from all social backgrounds. We can trace storytelling to the earliest possible records of human existence, such as the Gilgamesh Epic, the Pentateuch, Greek myths, and other religious stories that have been studied to provide ontological questions of human existence. However, the recent practice of carefully studying narratives emerged in the 1960s and was brought to the fore in the 1980s. It has since attracted several qualitative researchers (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000; Clandinin & Huber, 2002; Conle, 2000; Cronon, 1992; Czarniawska, 2004; Elliott, 2005; Ezzy, 2002; Labov, 1972; Labov & Waletzky, 1967; Mishler, 1986; Polkingthorn, 1995; Riessman, 2003).

Stories are not created out of a vacuum – they are influenced by situations involving participants who talk about their experiences. These stories create an organized way of talking about past events and experiences (Riessman, 1993, p. 3). The storyteller (participant) organizes their experiences to explain a situation or build to a conclusion. The context and the individual are thus both important components of a story; no story formulation occurs without a context and no storytelling without the teller.

The situation and the teller together make narrative important to understanding skilled migrant experiences. Savin-Baden and Nierkirk emphasized that researchers should listen to the participant's story, acknowledge mutual construction, and acknowledge that people are living in their stories as an ongoing experimental text and retelling it as they reflect on life and explain themselves to self and other (2007, p. 463). Such stories may not be structured with a beginning, middle, and ending but are narratives produced through variably interrupted reflections of a storied life. Meaning-making and interpretation first happens between the narrator (or participant, i.e., the maker of the experience) and listener (or researcher). The study of narratives is the study of how humans experience the world (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990). Life is chaotic, and our experiences are multifaceted. Narrative inquiry involves collaboration.

Riessman (1993) identified five levels of representation that take place in the process of conducting narrative inquiry, as follows:

- Participants draw selective attention to a body of raw experience in the telling of the story
- Translation and presentation for a particular audience
- Recording and transcription to further collapse the multidimensionality of the live narrative and “reshape” the material into a “hybrid story” (p. 13)
- The exercising of self-awareness and self-discipline during ongoing examination of texts against interpretation, and vice versa
- The reader brings her own understanding and interpretive process when engaging with the text

### 3.2.1 Data Collection and analysis in narrative inquiry

Narrative inquiry uses a form of sampling (Patton, 1990) known as purposive sampling, in which participants are selected according to the criteria specified by the researcher and based on initial findings. In the interpretive process, narrative researchers may examine stories using a holistic, categorical, or content-versus-form approach. Connelly and Clandinin (1990) coined the term “narrative inquiry” (Clandinin, Pushor, & Orr, 2007) to refer to their conceptualization of a

methodological framework for guiding the process of inquiry into the narrative phenomenon. Riessman (2008) provided a typology of analytical approaches (thematic, structural, dialogic, performative, and visual) that could be used in isolation or in combination to study narratives. Riessman delineates four main methodological approaches that cut across different types of narrative research:

1) *Thematic analysis*, in which content is the exclusive focus with minimal attention to how the narrative is spoken or written. This form of analysis is close to grounded theory but keeps the story intact and often uses prior theoretical concepts as themes. Thematic meanings and an understanding of the content or the point of the narrative are emphasized over language and form.

2) *Structural analysis* focuses on narrative form and draw out the underlying meanings inherent in communicative acts. Structure can refer to genre, a larger storyline, or linguistic form, and often entails great attention to details of speech in order to understand how the narrative is composed. This focus on organizing the content to generate insights goes beyond what is simply stated in a narrative.

3) *Dialogic/performance analysis*, which brings to the fore questions around who narrates, when, and why. Narrative can be viewed as dialogically produced and performed, dialogic/performance analysis views stories as social artefacts that say as much about society and culture as they do about a person or group.

4) *Visual narrative analysis*, which integrates words and images (photos, paintings, video, collage, etc.) and examines how individual and collective identities are composed and performed visually. Riessman (2008) suggests three sites for analysis that need to be incorporated into visual narrative analysis: the story of the production of the image, the image itself, and how the image can be read.

This study used a combination of *thematic and dialogic performance* as a form of narrative analysis. The participants' narratives are products of an interactions between myself and

the participants and this analysis allowed me to keep the entire participant story intact rather than using categories.

### 3.2.2 Use of Narrative Inquiry methodology for this study

Data collection and analysis for this study followed a cyclical process using semi structured interviews and also modified survey as an interview tool; this allows me to use early findings to shape the ongoing data collection. The first part of the study involved the use of a modified survey (see Appendix D) in Canada that allowed participants to respond to open-ended questions. In Nigeria, the modified surveys were given to the participants in my presence and were encouraged to fill it out while with me, most of them were already familiar with the brain train terms and were told they can select multiple options they can relate with. The modified survey was conducted in public space, this increased the rate of participation since the Nigerians I contacted were highly suspicious of interactions with people they were unfamiliar with (the fear of kidnapping, security threats and lack of adequate law enforcement officers is of concern in Nigeria currently). The narratives were aligned against a series of discourses arising from the surveys and interviews in order to understand how respondents perceive their professional international mobility, so a broader sample was needed, thus open-ended surveys allow the capture of both the structural elements (education, migration experiences, subsequent training and so on) and the reflective part, including how transnational practices fit into an individual's sense of professional and personal identity.

Interview coding is used to capture what is in the interview data and to learn how people make sense of their experiences and act on them. Coding is the first step of qualitative data analysis, as it helps to move away from specific statements to more universal themes contained in the interview data (Charmaz, 2006). There are four different types of coding that can be used with interviews.

### Open Coding

*Open coding*, also known as line-by-line coding, provides a starting point to identify preliminary phenomena and produce a list of themes of significance to the interviewee. The next step is to attach conceptual labels to each line in the interview transcript in order to capture what has been said. These labels can correspond closely to the interview context and when taken from the interviewee's own words, are known as *in vivo coding*. Codes are assigned to participants' words and statements to develop concepts, establishing the start of the analytic process. The detailed and thorough process of line-by-line coding helps to expose the text and interpret the transcript in new and unaccustomed ways which also help test the researcher's assumptions. Strauss and Corbin (1998) suggest using initial or 'sensitizing questions' to help the researcher grasp what the data might be indicating. Suggested questions might be "Who are the actors involved?", and "What are the actors' descriptions and meaning of these situations?" (Strauss & Corbin, 1998, p. 77).

### Focused Coding

The next coding type is more abstract than open coding and is known as *focused coding* or selective coding. Focused codes are applied to several lines or paragraphs in a transcript and require the researcher to choose the most telling codes to represent the interviewee's voice.

### Theoretical Coding

*Theoretical coding* is useful when core categories have become saturated, meaning there are no new findings, concepts, or themes resulting from additional data collection. Theoretical coding examines these saturated categories and provides the researcher with analytical criteria for the development of conceptual relationships between categories and their relevance to the literature (Glaser, 1992).

### Axial Coding

*Axial coding* combine original codes into major categories and defines subcategories and their relation to the major categories. Charmaz (2006) explains that axial coding re-assembles data broken up by open (line-by-line) coding.

For this study, *open coding* was used for the modified survey and interviews with the help of Computer Assisted/Aided Qualitative Data Analysis Software (CAQDAS) known as NVivo, from QSR. Neither axial coding nor theoretical coding were used in this study to avoid the need for becoming overly prescriptive.

Since a thematic approach can include interview conversations, group meetings, and written documents (Riessman, 2008), this study used thematic analysis after generating the codes. Care was taken not to alter the participant stories as suggested by narrative inquiries. According to Riessman, when new interpretations are required, the researcher must use a more inductive methodology such as thematic analysis. The decision to use thematic narrative analysis indicates that attention is paid to the narrative at three levels: stories told by research participants; the researcher's own interpretive account (narrative of narrative); and the reader's reconstruction (narrative of narrative of narrative) as set out by Riessman (2008). The 'unit of analysis' therefore involves the interviewee (narrator), the researcher, and the themes.

Thematic content analysis also allows individual units of meaning – primarily words and phrases, expressions of thought, ideas, experiences, and emotions – to emerge from within the text of the interviews. Units of meaning then have the potential to be formed into wider themes.

Narrative is both a method and a phenomenon (Conle, 2001). Conducting a narrative thematic analysis allows for migrant health care worker experiences to be told through their own stories and interpretations. The respondents' narratives collected with semi-structured interviews and open responses on surveys provided a unique window into individual migration experiences and revealed motivational, political, and legal dimensions of migration that are both individual,

but also reflective of wider systematic processes (Pajnik & Bajt, 2010). This methodology also allowed theories to hover supportively while the phenomenon being discussed occupies center stage (Tuan, 1991). As the researcher, I became part of the narrative frame of the respondents' storytelling through my open-ended questions on the modified surveys and interviews. Narrative thematic analysis was used to highlight key elements of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006), which in turn allowed for the formation of shared narratives (Shay, 1994) reflective across several participants' stories rather than just individualized biographies.

Qualitative researchers who work with thematic analysis have different opinions about the most suitable timing to conduct a review of existing literature. While Glaser (1978) advocates waiting to conduct a literature review until after the initial findings emerge so as not to influence the researcher, Charmaz (2006) advises that the initial literature review be carried out before the data is collected. This is the approach taken in this research, resulting in connection with literature on skilled migration. And going back to the literature to compare, contrast and re-adjust.

### 3.2.3 Limitations of the Narrative Inquiry Methodology

Savin-Baden and Niererk (2007) suggest that narratives involve 'the real' and its representation in text; interaction between the text and the author; interaction between the subject and the author; and lastly, interaction between the subject and intended meanings. These interactions make it difficult to interpret the data, and the relationships between narrative, interpretation, retold story, data interpretation, and presentation can become blurry. Duff and Bell (2002) argue the issues that directly affect the ways people experience immigration, settlement, and language learning emerge through and are bound up with the stories they tell. They suggest the limitations of using narrative methodology include the required time commitment, which tends to limit the number of participants in a study; ethical issues; and the potential for the researcher to impose their own meaning during the narrative inquiry analysis.



Because narratives are internally interpreted and constructed, we may face dilemmas of credibility, validity, and trustworthiness (Savin-Baden & Nierkirk 2007). People relive stories when retelling them, and through this, the stories are affirmed, modified, and newly created; agency gives the narrative structure. The shape of our story, the roles available, the chain of causation, and the sense of a climax or ending are all also affected by the stories and their retelling (Duff, Duff & Bell, 2002). Conle (2001) noted that the challenges of narratives include truth claims (saying the truth), sincerity claims (expressing feelings), and social appropriateness. Savin-Baden and Niererk (2007) wrote that a narrative approach makes it easier to get people to tell their truth and tell their stories which give rise to rich in-depth data, which in turn can produce deeper meanings to be reflected upon.

Clandinin (2006) warned that care must be taken in how we use narrative and narrative inquiry, suggesting that researchers are part of a “metamorphic parade” ; a situation where researchers cannot bracket themselves out, but find ways to inquire about participants’ and researchers’ experiences and constructed experiences through the relational inquiry process (Clandinin & Connely, 1998 p.47). We need to find ways to inquire into participant’s experiences – their own, as well as co-constructed experiences developed through the narrative process. Researchers become engaged and take part through retelling their own stories or working along with participants through reliving their stories. Questions arising from the collecting, analyzing, and telling of individual stories include the following: (1) Who owns the story? (2) Who can tell it? (3) Who can change it? (4) Whose version is convincing? (5) What happens when narratives compete? and (6) As a community, what do stories do among us? (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2006).

This study followed the methodological guidance of Riessman (2005) and Shay (1994) to allow for narratives to be gathered and analyzed through the modified survey and interview data because the migrant’s own voice has been missing from academic interpretations, and skilled migration and its ongoing development consequences (in part through the transnational nature of

modern life) are increasingly important shapers of life for people such as my subjects in Nigeria and Canada. Additional input came from personal experience, researcher's notes, and field notes.

### 3.3 Research Sites

The objective of this research was to explore the discourse of skilled migration that respondents felt most accurately represented their own migration experience. This study was transnational, with data collection in large metropolitan cities in Canada and Nigeria, the locations where the majority of migrants tend to be concentrated (IOM, 2015). For example, of Canada's 6.8 million foreign-born people, 46% live in Toronto (Statistics Canada, 2011). This allows me to compare the experience of Nigerian migrants in Canada with that of those that were left behind in order to know the consequences of migration on the non-migrant counterparts.

The two sites were Greater Toronto Area in Canada and Ibadan in Nigeria. Toronto is home to new immigrants and housed 42.7% of Nigerians (14,145) while 62.3% of Nigerians live in Ontario (Government of Canada – Source by country) and Lagos/Ibadan are one of the biggest and busiest cities in Nigeria and home to the largest teaching hospital in Nigeria.

#### 3.3.1 Data collection sites: Canada and Nigeria

In Canada, data collection occurred between March 2015 and September 2016. The sampling had a diverse mix of health care workers (those with training prior to emigration and those receiving further training post migration) in order to capture the full range of skilled migration contexts. The selection of participants for the modified survey was carried out using snowball sampling; seeking Nigerian health care workers educated in Nigeria but had been in Canada for at least 4 years and living in the Greater Toronto Area. The second data collection – predominantly the interview stage followed a purposive sampling of international educated health care workers. The survey data collection included professionals who were Nigerian by origin but schooled here in Canada. In Canada, a total of 59 participants were recruited from schools,

community agencies, migrant networks, social networking sites and through face to face recruitment to complete the modified surveys and interviews.

There were two data collection periods in Nigeria (in Lagos and Ibadan in April-May 2015 and August 2016). Using the snowball sampling method 63 people were recruited. Participants were individuals currently employed as health care workers interviewed to understand how or if their professions influenced their migration intention. In Nigeria, the data collection sites included the University College Hospital (UCH) of the University of Ibadan, individual private offices, Lagos University Teaching Hospital (LUTH) in Lagos, and several private hospitals in Ibadan and Lagos. These settings allowed access to health care workers, recent graduates during their work or placements, and students at the teaching hospital.

### 3.4 Methodological Approach

The purpose of this study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the lived experiences of health care migrants from Nigeria now living in Canada and their individual perceptions regarding their skilled migration discourse and migration experience. The data sources for examining the research questions include (a) field notes from observations, (b) modified surveys, (c) semi-structured interviews with the participants, (d) public documents posted on government/non-governmental websites, and (e) statistical data. Table 6, provides an overview of these data sources which together were used to address this study's three research questions and their corresponding objectives:

#### ***Which discourses of skill exchange are most meaningful to Nigerian health care workers in Canada?***

1. To understand the Skilled migration Discourse as it relates to Nigerian health care workers' own perspectives

#### ***How is this process of value exchange and extraction structured by transnational connectivity?***

2. To look at the occupations of migrant health care workers pre-and post-migration to determine the development consequences of migration for individuals and for sending and receiving states.

3. To contribute to the academic and professional literature on development consequences of skilled migration from Nigeria (an understudied population).
4. To understand the effect of migration on individual health care workers and understand the consequences that migration has on their non-immigrant counterparts.
5. To understand if participating in transnational activities (e.g., remittance by migrants) actually fuels more migration and creates a migration chain.

***How does this research contribute to current concepts regarding skilled migration?***

6. To refine and propose a conceptual framework for studying skilled migrants.

*Table 6 – Data Collection Method*

<b>METHOD</b>	<b>INTENDED RESULT</b>	<b>DATA COLLECTION INSTRUMENTS</b>	<b>RESULTS OF DATA COLLECTION</b>
<b>Modified survey</b>	Main data collection source	Modified survey questionnaire	Completed surveys
<b>Semi-structured interviews</b>	Main data collection source	Interview transcripts	Audio file, notes and fully transcribed interviews
<b>Key informant interviews</b>	To obtain overview from community leaders concerning the effects of migration	Email and telephone interviews	Interview transcripts
<b>Secondary data</b>	To obtain statistical and other data about skilled migrants	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Canadian, Nigerian government documents</li> <li>• Census data</li> <li>• CIC</li> <li>• CNO</li> <li>• IEN</li> <li>• IOM</li> <li>• CARE</li> </ul>	Statistical and other forms of relevant data

### 3.4.1 Modified Surveys

Objectives 1, 2, and 6 above were addressed through the use of a survey. Originally, the research design for this project called for using a first round of data collection to gather

demographic data, and then to schedule a follow-up interview. Initially, when I contacted the respondents, most of them agreed to participate in the survey. However, the ones that actually followed up were few. As a result, some responded and declined by arguing that they were too busy, did not have much time, or their children were at school and they needed to assist them with their homework. It took several weeks to receive delayed responses. In collaboration with my supervisor, the survey (initially all closed-ended questions) was modified to include open-ended questions that I would have asked during a face to face or telephone interview. I followed up with my respondents again, and there was an increase in the willingness to participate. The Modified survey is an acceptable way to collect qualitative data since it allows the respondents to pause, think, reflect, and control the conversation. Also, it helps researchers to capture responses unobtrusively, encourage creativity, and allow for self-expression of the participant. Additional face-to-face interviews were scheduled with those who were willing. After accommodating this request, the response rate improved. The modified survey was distributed to more participants. The anonymous survey contained structured questions to capture the following demographic data: discipline/degree program, gender, age, ethnic group, immigration status, prior occupation, marital status, and present occupation. Additionally, open-ended questions were included in the survey to provide participants with space and opportunity for expressing their opinions and thoughts and writing comments about their migration process; this content provided the participants' narratives. The printed aids about skilled migrant discourse and transnational activities were provided while the participants completed the surveys (see Appendix B: Modified Surveys). Most of the respondents were aware of some of the skilled discourse terms (e.g. brain drain, brain circulation), but most of them did not identify with these discourses, but rather asked for the definition of the other terms, which they read verbatim (see table 1) and requested clarification if needed.

#### 3.4.1.1 Sample design and ethical consideration

The sample population for this project consisted of skilled immigrants from Nigeria who had lived in Canada for at least 4 years, and those in the health professions in Nigeria. Purposive sampling, a form of non-probability sampling, was used and thus this project does not qualify as representative. This should not be understood as a limitation, however, since the research was designed as a narrative study, and purposive sampling is consistent with sampling procedures commonly found in studies using narrative analysis (see Section 3.1.1). In all, 98 respondents answered the survey in Nigeria and Canada, adding more depth to the study.

Ethical guidelines were carefully followed when conducting interviews and collecting the survey data. All data were treated confidentially, as was explained to the participants along with the aims of the study. This research was approved by the Research Ethic Board at Wilfrid Laurier University and the participants were told about their right to discontinue at any point. All respondents in Nigeria and Canada completed or verbally agreed to the information included in the informed consent form (See Appendix C).

#### 3.4.1.2 Data gathering methods

Surveys were distributed using a paper-based format. Individuals were invited to participate, and the survey was delivered to them personally by hand, email and postal mail. It was also sent to several people through faith and cultural groups; students at colleges; and members of Nigerian organizations, professional associations, or churches; and some colleges with health worker bridging programs including Humber, Sheridan, Fanshawe and Centennial Colleges, and York University. In addition, personal acquaintances employed as health care workers distributed some surveys at their schools or workplaces. This kind of distribution methodology functioned as a form of snowball sampling, which ensures access to social groups beyond the researcher's immediate social circle and extends the data collection across a diverse

population. The survey was also mailed to connections found on social media sites like Facebook and LinkedIn. Crush et al. (2011) claim that “social networking sites have become a way for users to connect with family, friends, and colleagues globally” (p. 3).

In Canada, 44 out of 85 surveys were returned, a response rate (about 52%) of the collected data was very high since the survey was distributed on a personal basis. Respondents were advised they could phone me anytime if they had questions about the survey, and some participants did call and we discussed the questions as they completed the survey. Overall, only one person chose not to participate and called me after she began to review the survey, citing privacy concerns as her reason for opting out. Others simply did not return the survey, stating they were too busy or offering to return it at a later date, but then not following up. In Nigeria, a total of 45 surveys were returned out of 65 handed out with a response rate of 69%. This is also quite high because most of the surveys were completed in my presence and only about 15 of them were returned back to me on alternate days.

#### 3.4.1.3 Question design and coding

The questions were crafted carefully to avoid lengthy, ambiguous, leading, or biased wording and jargon. The survey was pre-tested for content and validity using the first few samples collected. The following question types were used:

##### Multiple Choice

This required respondents to choose just one response from a list of alternatives. The data analysis required that there be only one variable per question in most questions, except for the one below.

Do you belong to any Nigeria Association? <input type="checkbox"/> Yes <input type="checkbox"/> No
If Yes, is it <input type="checkbox"/> Faith Based <input type="checkbox"/> Culture based <input type="checkbox"/> Educational <input type="checkbox"/> Professional <input type="checkbox"/> Other

### Multiple Choice

These questions listed a set of items from which respondents selected any that applied to them.

Each statement was assigned a separate variable in the data analysis. (See Appendix D & E for sample questionnaire)

**Looking at the Brain Circulation typology which one of these will you consider evident in your situation right now?**

*Please check one of the statement that is most applicable in your situation, if there is more than 1, please rank them as 1, 2,*

<b>BD</b>	I do not feel like returning to Nigeria and I do not return or sustain any ties with those who stayed in Nigeria
<b>BC</b>	I travel between Canada and Nigeria for business, work and investment purposes
<b>BT</b>	I came to Canada to acquire more knowledge and keep in contact with people back home and will move back to Nigeria

### Likert Scale

A three-level Likert scale was used for some questions in order to add a neutral middle level (sometimes). In the data analysis, each statement was re-grouped into economic, social, or political activities, and each group assigned a separate variable.

Do you participate in any of these events there? Looking at the typology of activities below which of these activities do you participate in Nigeria?

**Back home in NIGERIA (please check all that are applicable)**

I send money home	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I make other contributions (education, health, clothes etc)	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I have other investments	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I donate to charities	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never

### Fill in the blank

These questions required respondents to fill in the requested information. This allowed a range of data to be collected, and this was then coded to identify keywords for analysis. Of note, the range of responses to the question about education level shown below included a number of



similar types, e.g., BSc. BScN, 1<sup>st</sup> degree, Bachelor's, and these were categorized into groups labeled Bachelor's, Diploma, Advanced Diploma, etc.

**Pre-Migration (Nigeria) \*\*These questions pertain to your condition in Nigeria\*\***

Education: \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation/industry \_\_\_\_\_

#### Open-ended questions

Open-ended questions allow respondents to formulate their own statements and can lead to unexpected responses. Open-ended questions allow participants to give their response using their own words and these can be manually coded. Some participants requested they be allowed to write in short phrases or keywords, and I agreed.

What happened when you reached here – settling down, getting a job etc.?

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#### 3.4.1.4 Coding missing responses

In every survey, data will be missing for different reasons, and these instances need to be recorded and coded in a consistent way to validly analyze responses. In this study, different codes were given to different types of missing data.

- If a respondent *has not responded to a question*, the reason might be from overlooking the question, and the code given was “no answer.”

- If a respondent *was not required to answer a question*, the reason was a response to a previous question indicated there was no need, and the code given was “*not required to answer.*”
- If a respondent ticked several answers when they were supposed to select one response, the code given was “*invalid response.*”

<p>Has anyone in Nigeria asked you information about migrating to Canada? <input type="checkbox"/>Yes <input type="checkbox"/>No</p> <p>If yes, what reasons/advice did you give them?</p> <hr/> <hr/>
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#### 3.4.1.5 Data Entry

The collected survey data was entered into an Excel spreadsheet, and then longer qualitative answers were imported into the qualitative analysis software NVivo. Excel provided the means for basic data analysis and for keeping track of closed-ended questions. Excel also enabled clean-up of data in the ‘fill-in-the-blank’ range to maintain consistency (e.g. Registered Nurse, Nursing, RN, Licensed Nurse, etc. all became Nursing for standardization purposes). After cleaning, any qualitative data were imported into Nvivo to facilitate advanced analysis of longer interviews.

#### 3.4.2 Interviews

The interviews for this study were conducted in two phases: the first phase consisted of four explorative interviews in Canada and two in Nigeria. The second phase consisted of 21 interviews in Canada and 23 in Nigeria. Volunteers were asked to participate in a face-to-face, semi-structured interview of approximately 30 minutes in length, to be held at a location of their choice. Most Canada based research participants chose to be interviewed at their home or in a café. An interview guide was used during the semi-structured interview, which included questions

about the participant’s general migration experience (from application to departure) in the first section; their experience at the country of destination in the second section; and advice as to how the process could have been made easier for them in the third section (see Appendices G & H: Interview Guide).

This methodology is recognized as a suitable approach when seeking out rich data that can illuminate individual experiences and attitudes. The interview questions were designed to understand the skilled migrant experience prior to migration and the consequences of their migration based on the themes of the study (skilled migration discourse, transnationalism, and remittances) and were asked in a non-directive manner to meet the study’s aim by allowing the respondent to construct their narratives. The interviews were then transcribed into a Microsoft Word document and loaded into the NVivo software for coding and analysis as soon as possible after the interview.

#### 3.4.2.1 Development of interview questions

The interview questions were based on themes identified in the initial findings from the survey and were pre-tested with the first few rounds of interviews. The following themes were addressed (see Table 7). Appendix G provides a detailed list of the interview questions.

Table 7 – Interview question themes

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Objectives addressed</b>	<b>Notes about question</b>
Skilled Migration discourse	Objective 1	Which discourse best captures their own migration experience
Reason for Migration	Objective 2 Objective 3	-Why do they migrate -Whose idea was it -Who migrated with them -Which category did they migrate in
Effect of Migration	Objective 3	-On getting here, how was settling down for them -Who assisted them in settling down
Process of Migration	Objective 4	-What was the process like -Waiting time
Advice to Others about Migration	Objective 4	-Has anyone asked them for advice on migrating -What advice was given to them
Transnational Activity	Objective 5	Which transnational activities do they participate in

#### 3.4.2.2 Use of software for data management and analysis

Software can support the research process, but ideas and intellectual effort must come from the human conducting the research and analysis (Weitzman, 2000). For this study, a spreadsheet management application (Microsoft Excel) and the qualitative analysis software QSR NVivo were used to support the analysis and to help manage the interview data. Qualitative analysis software assisted in the processes of reflecting on the data, developing themes, coding, and accomplishing more rigorous and consistent data analysis.

#### 3.4.2.3 Transcribing interviews and importing into Nvivo

Nvivo software significantly facilitated the process of organizing, re-arranging and managing the themes identified in the qualitative data by allowing coding and organization of the data. Interview coding was done using line-by-line coding and then identifying the themes as nodes in the Nvivo software rather than letting the software automatically generate the codes. Following the narrative inquiry guideline, I worked through each of the forty interview transcripts using the open-coding approach.

An extended coding process facilitated reflection on coding and categories, a process captured in part in written memos (see Section 5.2 for lists). These memos were consulted when establishing links between thematic categories. The process involved in writing the memos ('memoing') itself was particularly useful, as it helped me keep track of my thoughts (in my field notes) without the pressure of having to determine how my ideas would eventually fit in the overall research findings and analysis. Memoing offers the freedom to jot down ideas that can later be organized, categorized, or excluded, as needed. For me, the writing of and reflecting on memos was a crucial step in the development of the final coding themes.

### 3.5 Analysis of Findings

Interviews, surveys and secondary data, and personal field notes and memos were compared and combined with the interview data to check for consistency and alignment in the analysis and findings. This process was used to build a detailed framework for this study. The findings from the empirical data were compared to issues identified in the literature review, which led to the development of the conclusions and recommendations (Chapter 7).

### 3.6 Reliability, Validity, and Generalizability

Credibility is imperative to qualitative research and requires steps to ensure participant representation is accurately identified and described (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Creswell (2007) suggests that numerous paths can lead to effective validation for researchers who seek parallel approaches. My review of the methods and analysis occurred simultaneously throughout the research process and provided me with balanced considerations as I endeavored to align and interpret the theoretical concepts and empirical data (Guba & Lincoln, 1994).

Data were collected through different means; interviews, modified surveys, and key informants' interviews. This process helped me to "check my own subjectivity and ensure the trustworthiness of my findings" (Jones, 2002, p. 469). Lastly, findings were communicated through thick-rich descriptions. The unique voice of the migrant health care worker participants was at the core of my research process and allows for future researchers to determine applicable transferability of findings to other settings (Creswell, 1998). My goal was to provide an accurate portrayal of how migrant health care workers from Nigeria experience and understand their own migrant process and the consequences of their migration, and how those interpretations align with some of the main concepts of skilled migration in the literature.

### 3.7 Ethical Issues

In this study, the main ethical issues were to maintain anonymity and confidentiality. Hence, informed consent forms (see Appendix C) were designed in which I declared my obligation to secure the participants' anonymity and confidentiality. For the modified surveys/interviews, participants were initially contacted informally, and were followed up with an email explaining the study's aims and the interview procedure. The email assured participants about anonymity and the confidentiality of the data after collection. It also informed them the interview would be recorded if they agreed to transcription (see Appendix A for the e-mail sent out prior to interviews). Some of the interviews were recorded on paper while some were recorded with a digital voice recorder. Following the interview session, these files were transferred to Word and Excel on my personal computer for transcription and imported into Nvivo for coding. When transcribing, participants' names were replaced with code numbers to maintain anonymity and protect confidentiality. The recordings will be destroyed after the final submission of my dissertation.

### 3.8 Chapter Summary

This chapter has introduced and discussed the choice of narrative inquiry methodology as a suitable research methodology for this study. A thematic and dialogue narrative inquiry was used to explore the phenomenon under study: how Nigerian skilled health care workers interpret their own migration and the consequences of their migration on their non-migrant counterparts. The data collection framework is presented in Table 8.

Table 8 – Methodological Framework

Research Paradigm	Perspective	Research Strategy	Research Methodology	Research Methods
Interpretivist	Interpretivism	Narrative Inquiry	Qualitative	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1.Modified Surveys</li> <li>2.Semi-structured interview</li> <li>3.Document Analysis</li> <li>4.Participant Observation</li> <li>5.Interpretation &amp; interaction</li> </ol>
<p><b>Generalizability</b></p> <p>Not a primary goal, made on an individual basis</p> <p><b>Nature of Data</b></p> <p>Verbal representations of story, with a focus on the study of cases and thick description</p> <p><b>Data Analysis</b></p> <p>Analysis using verbal, visual, and inductive approach</p> <p><b>Establishing Trustworthiness Credibility</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Prolonged engagement</li> <li>b) Triangulation (sources, methods, theories)</li> <li>c) Description</li> </ol> <p><b>Transferability, Dependability &amp; Confirmability</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>d) a-c above &amp; reflexive journal</li> </ol>	<p><b>Ontology</b></p> <p>Multiple realities constructed by individuals.</p> <p><b>Epistemology</b></p> <p>Results are products/interaction between the participant and the reader</p>		<p><b>Data Sources</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Paper modified (open-ended) survey</li> <li>2. Semi-structured interview</li> <li>3. Additional documents               <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Secondary data</li> <li>b) Researcher’s field notes</li> <li>c) Reflexive journal of researcher</li> </ol> </li> </ol> <p><b>Data Gathering</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>4. Audio recording of interview &amp; transcription</li> <li>5. Statistical Data</li> <li>6. Government Websites</li> <li>7. C.N.O. and I.E.N., IOM</li> <li>8. Field notes</li> <li>9. Reflexive journal</li> </ol> <p><b>Recursive Data Analysis</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>10. Document analysis</li> <li>11. Transcription of interview, field notes, reflexive journal</li> <li>12. Import in to qualitative (Nvivo) software program</li> <li>13. focused coding/and data analysis</li> </ol>	<p><b>Background Questionnaire</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Literature review</li> <li>2. Develop questionnaire</li> <li>3. E-mail/call people invitation for participation</li> <li>4. Modified Questionnaire in Canada</li> <li>5. Import in to Nvivo (qualitative software program)</li> <li>6. Develop interview protocol</li> <li>7. Stage two: Conduct and record semi-structured interviews in Canada</li> <li>8. Stage three: semi-structured interview in Nigeria</li> <li>9. Stage four: Finish interviews and perform key informant interviews in Canada</li> <li>10. Literature review</li> <li>11. Constant comparative method of coding/and data analysis</li> </ol> <p><b>Document Storage &amp; Analysis</b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>14. Field notes from participant observation to provide description of the participants</li> <li>15. Import notes, excerpts, quotes, or passages into to qualitative software program</li> <li>16. Focused coding/and data analysis</li> </ol>

## CHAPTER 4 – STUDY SITES: NIGERIA AND CANADA

This chapter will provide a contextual background about Nigeria and Nigerians in Canada using the meta-analysis of secondary data sources such as government documents and census data. Note that this section is not about why Nigerians migrate, as other studies have discussed that (see Adekola, 2010). Rather, it gives an overview of Nigeria's status as one of the top 10 suppliers of health care workers in Canada and Nigerian migration pathways to Canada. This chapter is meant to address the third research objective:

OBJ 3. To contribute to the academic and professional literature on development consequences of skilled migration from Nigeria (an understudied population).

To do so, this chapter will report on the findings of the secondary data analysis of official statistics and other government documents performed as part of this study. The chapter documents information regarding Nigeria and begins with a brief outline and details about Nigeria, Nigerians' migration pathways to Canada, and the support network that exists within the Nigerian community in Canada. I then summarize comparisons of the role of Nigerian International Healthcare Professionals to three other middle-income source countries, namely China, India, and the Philippines because these countries like Nigeria are top supplier of health care workers and still they differ in the migrants' pathway and experiences in Canada and their use of their migrant worker overseas as a developmental tool.

This chapter is organized into sections highlighting (a) overview details about Nigeria, (b) Nigerians' pathways of migration to Canada, (c) migration networks that support Nigerians, (d) modes of integration to Canada, and (e) International Healthcare Professionals in Canada.

### 4.1 General information about Nigeria

Located on the west coast of Africa, Nigeria is the continent's fourth-largest country in size, and is diverse in peoples and cultures. It is the most populous nation in Africa with a population of..., and also one of the fastest growing nations on earth. Bordering the North



Atlantic Ocean between the Republic of Benin and Cameroon, Nigeria covers 356,668 square miles, which is about 572,926 square kilometers. The old capital, Lagos, was colonized by the British in 1861; in 1914, the entire country became the colony and protectorate of Nigeria.

Nigeria gained political independence on October 1, 1960, and became a federal republic in 1963. Since that time, Nigeria has undergone numerous social, economic, political, and structural changes, including the transfer of the federal capital from Lagos to Abuja in 1991. Currently, Nigeria is divided into 36 states and one federal capital territory, which is located in the center of the country. Each state is headed by a governor, and the federal capital territory by a minister. The country has over 250 cultural groups with the dominant groups being Hausa and Fulani 29%, Yoruba 21%, Igbo (Ibo) 18%, Ijaw 10%, Kanuri 4%, Ibibio 3.5%, Tiv 2.5%.<sup>1</sup>

The total population of Nigeria was 181,562,056 (over 186 million) in 2015, with 43% of the population under 15 years of age (CIA, 2016). Nigeria is ranked seventh in the world in population, and accounts for 2.48% of the world's total population (United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs, 2015). This population is forecast to rise exponentially to almost 399 million by 2050, when it will account for 4% of the world's population.<sup>2</sup>

#### **4.1.1 Education**

Nigeria has adopted the 6-3-3-4 (see figure 2) educational system, in which children aged three to five are educated prior to entering primary school. They then spend six years at primary school, after which they are expected to enroll in secondary school if they pass the National Common Entrance Examination (Akinyode, 2005). Otherwise, they go on to learn skilled trades. Those who pass proceed to either a public secondary school co-funded by parents and the government or a privately funded (what some refer to as 'international') secondary school and

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.worldatlas.com/articles/largest-ethnic-groups-in-nigeria.html>

<sup>2</sup> <http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/population/theme/trends/dem-comp-change.shtml>

attend three years at the junior level, followed by three years at senior high school once they pass the junior secondary school exam; if they don't pass, they will have no choice other than to learn skilled trades. The Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination (SSCE) is taken at the end of Senior Secondary Three (SS3). The General Certificate of Education (GCE) is conducted as a supplement for those students who did not have the required credit from their SSCE. Candidates who have the required credits can proceed to the tertiary school – university, college, polytechnic or technical school – of their choice funded by their parents, which could be up to four years of university (Akinyode, 2005). There are several credentials (certificate, diploma, higher national diploma/advanced diploma and undergraduate degrees) that are possible in Nigeria. Figure 2 shows the credential pathways.

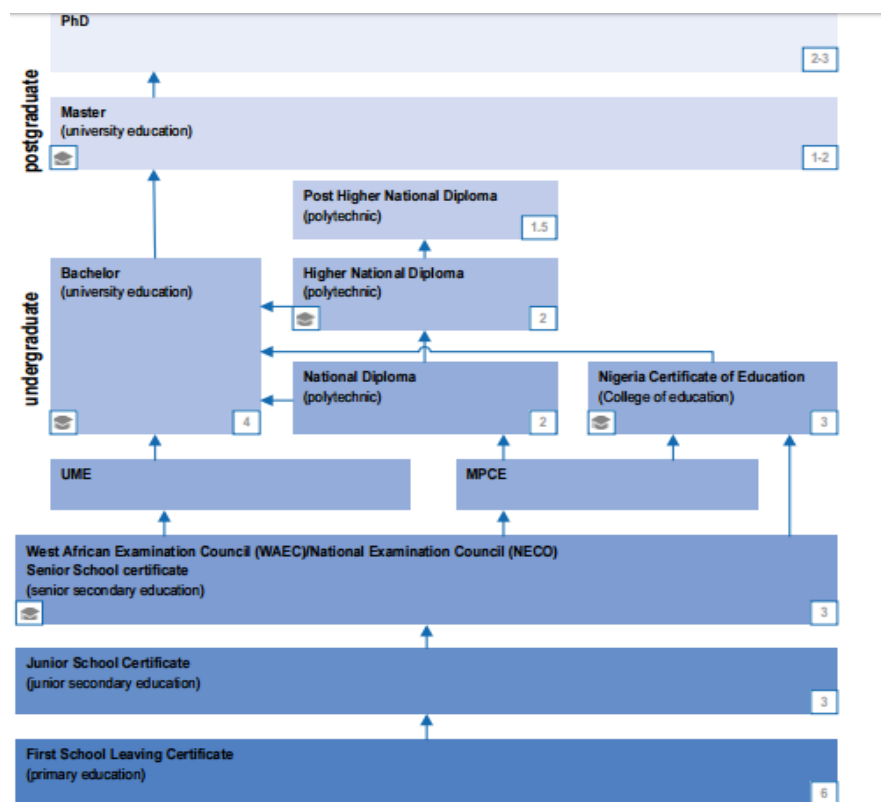
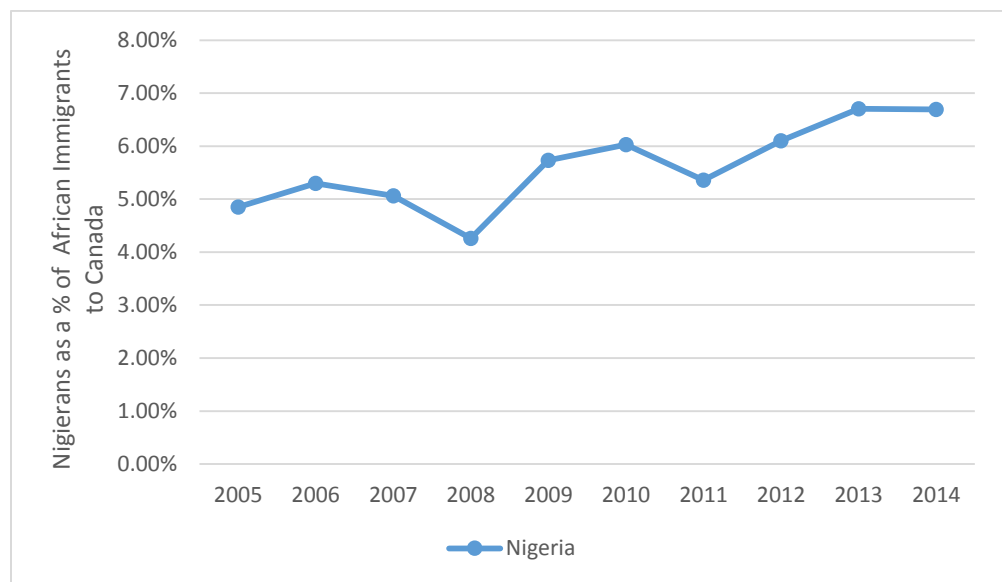


Figure 2 - Nigerian Educational Systems – adapted from internationalizing education (n.d.) Retrieved from <https://www.nuffic.nl/en/publications/find-a-publication/education-system-nigeria.pdf>

#### 4.2 Some Historical Trends in Nigerian Migration

Heaton (2004) argues that secondary data analysis is an effective means of analyzing data when there is difficulty accessing a hard-to-reach sample, and when dealing with particularly sensitive issues, small populations, or rare phenomena (p. 16). Since Nigerians represent a small portion of the Canadian population, secondary analysis presents itself as a way to explore this unique group of people. This report uses secondary data from government statistics in Canada and the United States, and also draws on my own personal experience as a Nigerian Canadian.



*Figure 3 – Trends in the share of African immigrants in Canada from Nigeria*

Figures 3 and 4 capture patterns of Nigerian migration to Canada and the United States. Figure 4 shows a decline in Nigerian migrants into the United States while there is a slight increase in Canada. The demonstrated increase in Nigerian immigration to Canada could be linked to the several migration pathways that are available for immigrants; these are later discussed in greater detail.

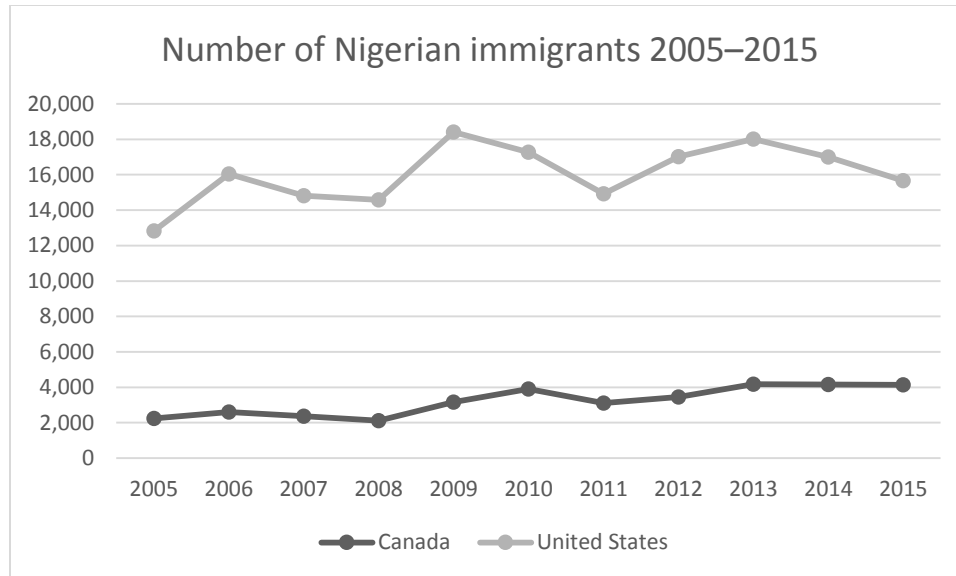


Figure 4 – Trends in Immigrants to Canada and United States (compiled by the author from Statistics Canada and US immigration statistics)

### 4.3 Nigerians in Canada

Nigerians began migrating to Canada during the period from 1967 to 1970, a time that coincides with the Biafra War. The population counts were not separated by country in immigration statistics until 1973. Currently, the number of Nigerians living abroad is not known by the government officials due to poor management and accounting practices. Hon. Abike Dabiri-Erewa (Chairperson of the Nigerian House of Representatives’ Committee on Diaspora Affairs) states that there is no record of how many Nigerians are living in the diaspora (Sahara Reporters, 2014), however the bilateral matrix data from World Bank (2013) estimated that 1.1 Million Nigerians live outside of the country. President Buhari estimates that Nigerians living abroad number around 15 million (Today, 2015). Regarding census data, Table 8, shows the number of people that self-identify on census surveys as Nigerians from 1973 to the present. In Canada, the most recent available census survey in 2015 states there are 33,140 Nigerians in Canada. Nearly half of all Nigerians live in Toronto, where 49.9% of Toronto's population was foreign-born (Toronto Star, 2007).

Table 9 – Nigerian born population in Canada and Toronto (Statistics Canada)

Census Year	Population	Toronto
1973–1991	3,919	
2001	9,530	5,275
2006	19,520	10,430
2011	27,625	14,145
2015	33,140	Not yet available

#### 4.3.1 Migration Pathways

There are several pathways for migrating into Canada. A foreign national could apply for permanent residency under any one of the family sponsorship, express entry, immigrant investor, provincial nominee, Quebec skilled worker, self-employed, or refugee programs. There is also a temporary residence option for students, workers, or visitors. Each of these programs has different requirements to be met by a foreign national. In this section, I will be comparing Nigeria to China, the Philippines, and India since these four countries have several characteristics in common. The countries are top source countries for nurses (a key sector of health care professionals) (Brush & Sochalski, 2007). These three countries are also top in receiving remittances, yet they differ on their approach to health care migrants. Philippines and India uses health care workers as a development tool (Bourgeault, 2010) and promotes migration (Reitz, 2001; Walton-Roberts, 2013). This comparison has a policy implication on how the Nigerian government might consider leveraging on the trained health care worker from Nigeria as a developmental tool for the country.

##### 4.3.1.1 Permanent Residency

Figure 5, shows the distribution of foreign-born nationals in Canada by source country from least to highest. Nigeria ranks as the 15<sup>th</sup> supplier of permanent residents in Canada.

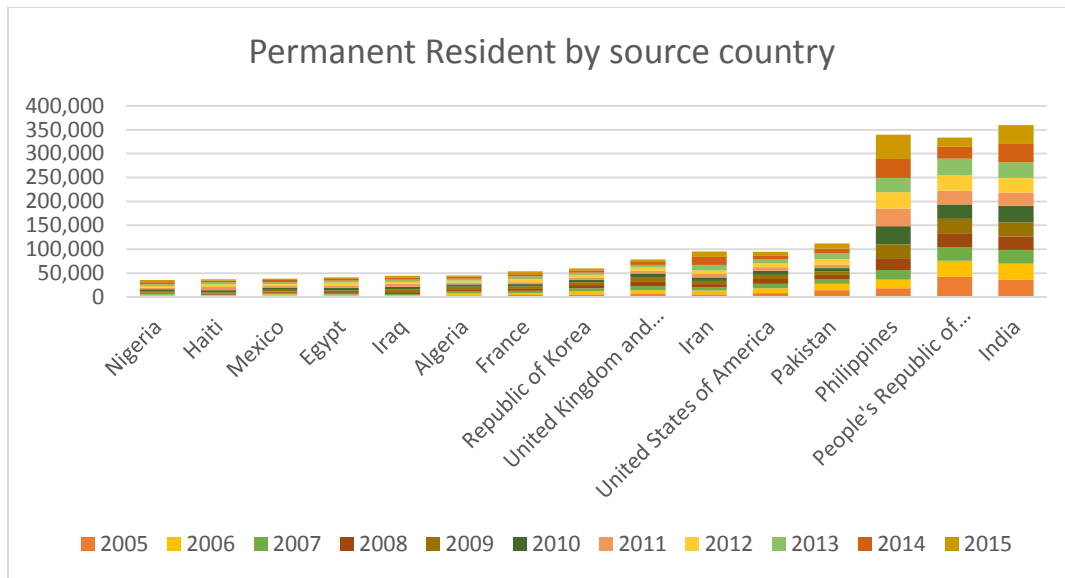


Figure 5 – The distribution of permanent residents across the top 15 source countries. (IRCC– Facts and Figures 2005–2015)

#### 4.3.1.2 Temporary Residency

The above section gives the information about permanent residency statistics in Canada but since there are several pathways for foreign nationals to come to Canada as temporary residents, this section will be further divided into temporary residence pathways established by the Government of Canada, i.e., International Mobility Program (IMP), International Students, Refugees and Temporary Foreign Workers (TFW), and visitor visa.

#### 4.3.1.3 International Mobility Program

Canada’s international mobility program allows employers to hire foreign workers such as international students who graduated from Canadian schools, without the need for a Labour Market Impact Assessment (LMIA). This category mostly includes trades, investors, professional technicians, intra-company transferees, television/film production workers, youth exchange programs, exchange professors, visiting lecturers, researchers, charity /religious workers and their family members (IRCC, n.d.). Others included under this program are persons authorized to work in Canada temporarily due to free trade agreements, such as NAFTA; International Experience

Canada participants; some permanent resident (PR) applicants settling in Canada while their PR applications are finalized; and spouses of highly-skilled foreign workers (IRCC, n.d.).

*Table 10 – International Mobility Program work permit holders with a valid permit on December 31st by top 50 countries of citizenship, 2005 to 2014*

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
<b>United States of America</b>	17,299	19,170	20,299	22,747	23,964	28,235	31,607	34,509	36,480	36,729
<b>India</b>	2,454	3,177	3,767	5,206	6,427	9,648	16,467	23,684	31,660	36,484
<b>China, People's Republic of</b>	3,945	5,127	6,702	9,471	11,669	13,938	16,034	18,846	24,674	29,771
<b>France</b>	6,238	7,324	7,774	9,282	12,548	14,796	16,295	17,057	19,131	21,026
<b>Australia</b>	7,550	8,040	8,403	12,159	18,845	18,844	18,057	16,918	17,363	18,443
<b>United Kingdom and Colonies</b>	7,167	7,422	8,012	8,971	10,018	9,951	11,078	11,619	12,110	11,710
<b>Ireland, Republic of</b>	1,427	1,912	2,220	2,352	2,858	3,678	5,353	6,245	7,220	10,133
<b>Korea, Republic of</b>	2,654	2,741	3,069	4,467	5,668	7,619	8,556	9,100	9,216	9,663

Source: Statistics Canada Facts and Figures 2014 (The Philippines is a distant 12 and Nigeria is 18.)

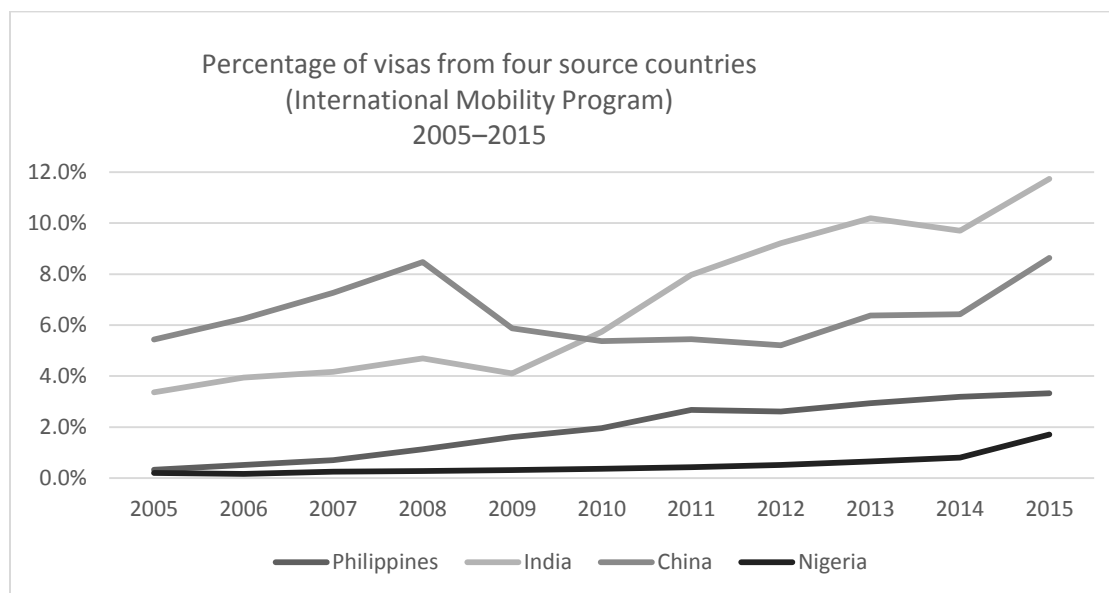


Figure 6 – Number of visas (International Mobility Program)

Along with Nigeria, other top source countries for permanent residents include India, China, and the Philippines. Figure 6, compares the top three countries for permanent residence

with Nigeria. Since 2010, India has had the most people in the International Mobility Program. Less than 2% of migrants were from the Philippines (ranked 27<sup>th</sup>) during this time period, and Nigeria ranked even lower, with less than 1% through all years which means the international mobility program is not a common route for Nigerians coming to Canada.

#### 4.3.1.4 International Students

International students are temporary residents who are legally authorized to study in Canada on a temporary basis.

*Table 11 – International Students by top countries, 2005 to 2015*

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
<b>China, People's Republic of</b>	40,018	39,990	41,113	43,099	50,442	57,328	68,459	81,430	95,710	110,918
<b>India</b>	7,151	7,462	7,925	8,283	11,680	20,278	27,336	32,242	34,882	38,891
<b>Korea, Republic of</b>	27,594	29,548	30,670	28,972	27,160	25,291	22,621	20,277	19,118	19,358
<b>France</b>	6,952	8,125	9,005	9,377	10,356	11,360	12,711	14,746	16,482	19,035
<b>Saudi Arabia</b>	1,126	1,260	2,012	4,463	8,413	12,267	14,181	13,933	13,958	13,677
<b>United States of America</b>	13,130	12,920	12,832	12,223	12,124	12,154	12,187	12,300	12,270	12,450
<b>Brazil</b>	1,344	1,531	1,959	2,396	2,415	2,722	3,270	5,127	7,758	8,920
<b>Nigeria</b>	1,560	1,643	1,919	2,178	2,820	3,648	4,431	5,480	6,902	8,620





Figure 7 – Percentage of International students in Canada from 2005 through 2014.

Compared to the other countries, more international students in Canada come from China than any other country, as shown in figure 7, and their proportion increased from 30% of the total in 2005 to over 60% in 2014. India is far behind at 20%, and Nigeria stands at a far distance of 2.8% and ranks 8<sup>th</sup> as a source country for international students (CBIE, 2016). Though the Philippines was one of the top three suppliers of permanent residents, they were not among the top 50 countries on the list of international students.

#### 4.3.1.5 Refugees

Refugees are people who have applied for refugee protection status inside Canada and are waiting for a decision from the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada.

Table 12 – Refugee claimants by top 50 countries of citizenship, 2005 to 2015

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
China, People's Republic of	1,643	1,500	1,343	1,475	1,449	1,528	1,794	1,666	760	1,188	1,498
Pakistan	645	609	356	387	421	516	895	865	630	774	899
Iraq	106	183	270	291	232	146	157	165	239	580	598
Nigeria	580	672	749	760	768	849	683	713	470	579	794
Colombia	1,110	1,373	2,589	3,066	2,256	1,336	864	701	598	576	696
Syria	58	33	69	64	87	120	176	345	495	565	577
Slovak Republic	8	6	7	74	355	263	316	443	33	480	353
Afghanistan	238	253	289	433	408	406	417	368	388	463	495

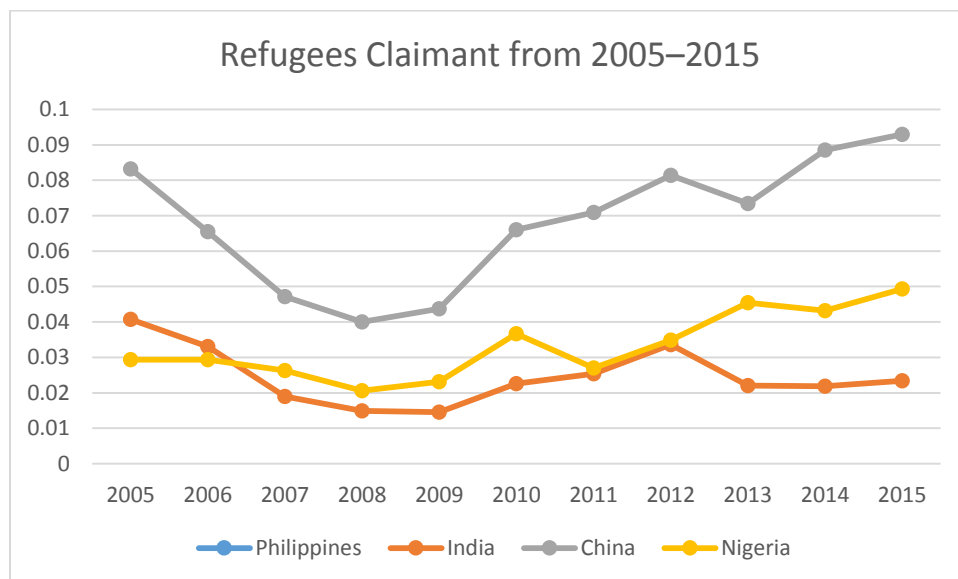


Figure 8 – Refugee Claimants

In the distribution of refugee claimants, China topped the chart again in figure 8, rising to over 9% of the total in 2015. They were followed by Nigeria at close to 5% and India at 2%. The Philippines was not among the top 50 countries on this list.

#### 4.3.1.6 Temporary Foreign Workers

The temporary foreign worker program allows employers to hire foreign workers to fill short-term labour and skill shortages after completing a Labour Market Impact Assessment, and after arriving at the finding that few Canadians are available to a particular job.

Table 13 – Temporary Foreign Workers by source countries

	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015
Philippines	16,561	21,362	32,451	46,816	51,019	44,399	36,981	36,499	40,650	38,711	11,758
India	3,561	4,249	6,249	8,333	8,287	7,336	5,727	6,519	7,925	6,242	1,970
United States of America	4,721	4,924	5,458	6,307	6,239	5,044	4,937	5,745	5,864	4,468	5,483
Mexico	322	833	2,337	4,820	4,468	2,746	4,018	2,983	4,225	3,867	22,983
United Kingdom and Colonies	3,175	3,567	4,400	5,808	5,649	4,159	3,747	4,053	4,947	3,867	1,853
France	1,233	1,509	1,928	2,309	2,432	2,404	2,659	2,922	3,235	3,211	1,398
Guatemala	166	295	588	1,113	1,238	1,468	1,523	2,036	2,504	2,764	5,676
Korea, Republic of	632	1,020	1,531	2,924	3,104	2,307	2,210	2,519	3,376	2,568	881

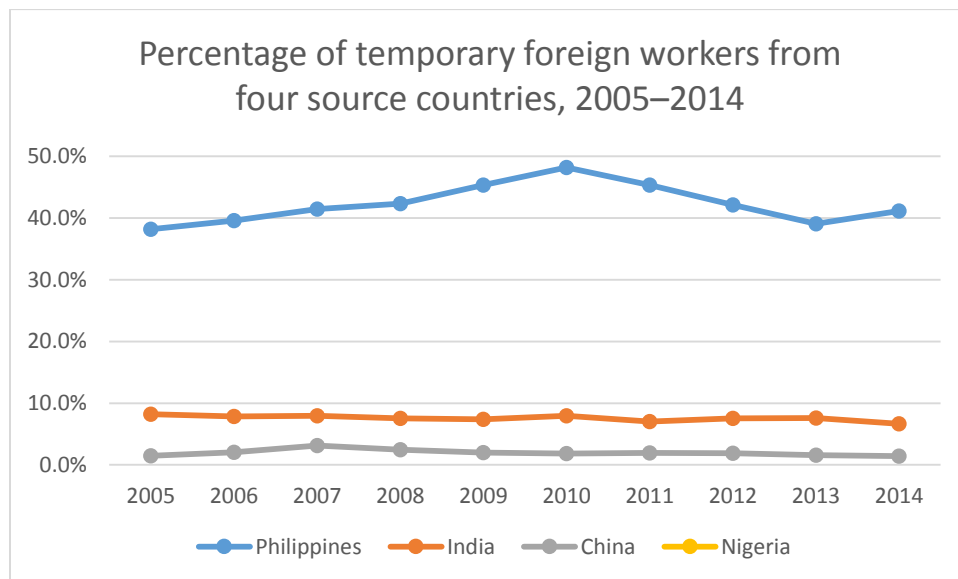


Figure 9 – Temporary Foreign Workers from top source countries

In the temporary foreign worker category, the Philippines had the highest percentage with over 40% of the total of temporary foreign workers in 2014, followed by India and China (ranked 14<sup>th</sup>). Results for 2015 were not available except for the Philippines and Mexico. Nigeria was not among the top 50 countries on this list in figure 9 and table 12. Which again denotes that temporary foreign worker is not an option evident among Nigerian migrants.

#### 4.3.1.6 Temporary Resident Visa

A temporary resident visa, also known as the visitor visa, allows a foreign national to visit Canada for a specific period. Table 14 shows the top countries that people visit from.

Table 14 – Source country of temporary visa approvals

	2011	2012	2013	2014	2015	Total
China, People's Republic of	274,956	317,823	367,556	463,450	513,757	1,937,542
India	182,927	200,758	207,045	223,868	241,606	1,056,204
Mexico	102,122	104,839	94,434	112,387	119,792	533,574
Philippines	108,137	103,533	106,554	95,352	81,617	495,193
Brazil	78,285	82,749	81,909	91,421	96,025	430,389
Korea, Republic of	40,566	35,122	32,618	32,968	31,194	172,468
France	32,242	35,261	34,415	37,709	32,575	172,202
Saudi Arabia	29,511	29,373	28,723	29,549	27,430	144,586
Jamaica	20,682	22,158	25,503	26,784	26,534	121,661
Russia	24,754	27,165	25,567	23,301	18,038	118,825
Nigeria	16,770	17,174	21,512	25,752	28,425	109,633
Colombia	20,637	20,209	19,899	20,682	23,297	104,724
Pakistan	17,810	20,057	18,624	19,783	20,948	97,222
Iran	19,473	19,223	19,545	15,636	18,531	92,408
Indonesia, Republic of	16,455	17,732	18,973	19,753	18,984	91,897
Japan	16,121	15,745	17,148	17,295	16,349	82,658
United States of America	16,119	15,220	14,670	14,832	13,679	74,520
South Africa, Republic of	16,331	16,130	14,629	13,610	13,800	74,500

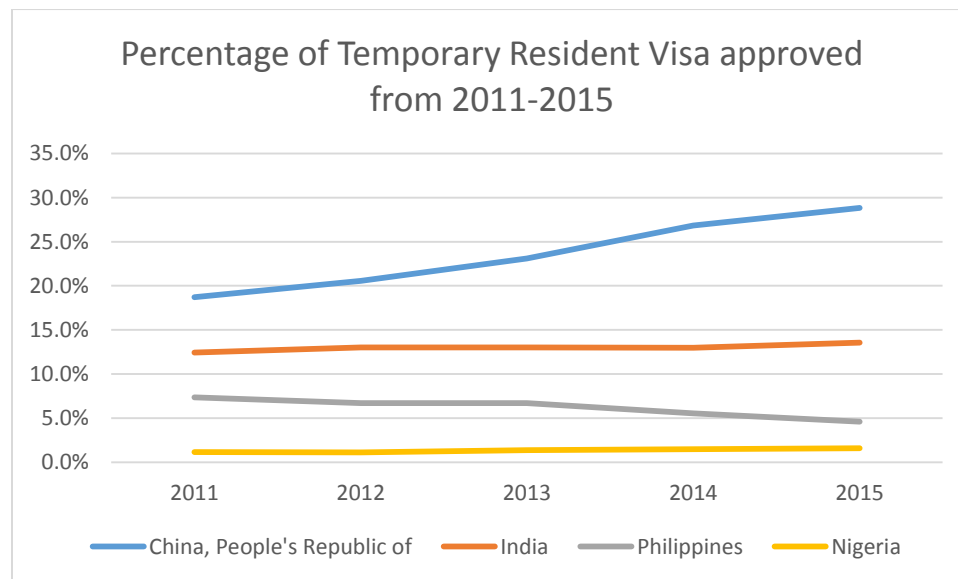


Figure 10 – Percentage of temporary resident visa approvals from 2011–2015

Figure 10, above, shows a decline in temporary resident visa applications from the Philippines, from 7.4% in 2011 to 4.6% in 2015. Indian and Nigerian application approvals

remain steady, while China saw a slight increase in approvals and is currently the leader at 29%. This is one of the most common routes that Nigerians use to enter Canada.

#### **4.3.2 Healthcare professions**

In Canada, Nigeria has consistently placed in the top 10 source countries for most of the healthcare professions listed under the International Educated Health Professionals. While Nigerians are not top ranked in the different streams of how they enter Canada, they are top ranked in economic streams such as labour migrants and international students and the number shows a noticeable representation of Nigerians in the health professions in Canada. This section of the chapter provides an overview of international educated health professionals by their country of origin. Table 15 and Figure 11 show the source countries, led by India, while Nigeria, in the 8<sup>th</sup> position, accounts for only 2% of the overall population.

Table 15 – Healthcare Professions by source countries (2007)

	India	Pakistan	Philippines	Iran	Egypt	China	Iraq	Bangladesh	Nigeria	Sri Lanka	Other	Totals
<b>Medicine</b>	1300	1083	308	728	666	477	272	297	188	229	3511	9059
<b>Nursing</b>	169	28	563	25	3	72	1	3	49	12	626	1553
<b>Pharmacy</b>	164	40	59	19	33	21	15	12	17	8	253	641
<b>Dentistry</b>	112	19	56	75	18	16	31	4	2	6	181	520
<b>Medical Laboratory Technology</b>	115	22	66	34	12	31	19	8	14	6	140	467
<b>Physiotherapy</b>	107	8	75	10	5	6		7	4	1	84	307
<b>Medical Radiation Therapy</b>	17	12	21	10	3	18	3	3		1	49	137
<b>Psychology</b>	12	5	3	5			2			1	50	78
<b>Occupational Therapy</b>	11	3	20	1		1		2		1	34	73
<b>Midwifery</b>	5	2	12	20		2		2			16	59
<b>Dietetics</b>	11	2	6	4	1	3		2	1		20	50
<b>Respiratory Therapy</b>	5	4	6			1		1			9	25
<b>Optometry</b>	4	2	3	1		1			1		10	23
<b>Audiology &amp; Speech Therapy</b>	1	2				2					13	18
<b>Dental Hygiene</b>	1		1	4		1					11	18
<b>Massage Therapy</b>			1			1					11	13
<b>Dental Technology</b>	1			1		1	1				6	10
<b>Chiropractic</b>	1					1				1	6	9
<b>Chirody &amp; Podiatry</b>				1		1					3	5
<b>Pharmacy Technician</b>	3										1	4
<b>Denturism</b>					1						1	2
<b>Opticianry</b>	1										1	2
<b>Totals</b>	2028	1228	1195	931	741	648	340	340	276	266	4975	12969

Table was reproduced from Health Force Ontario (2007)

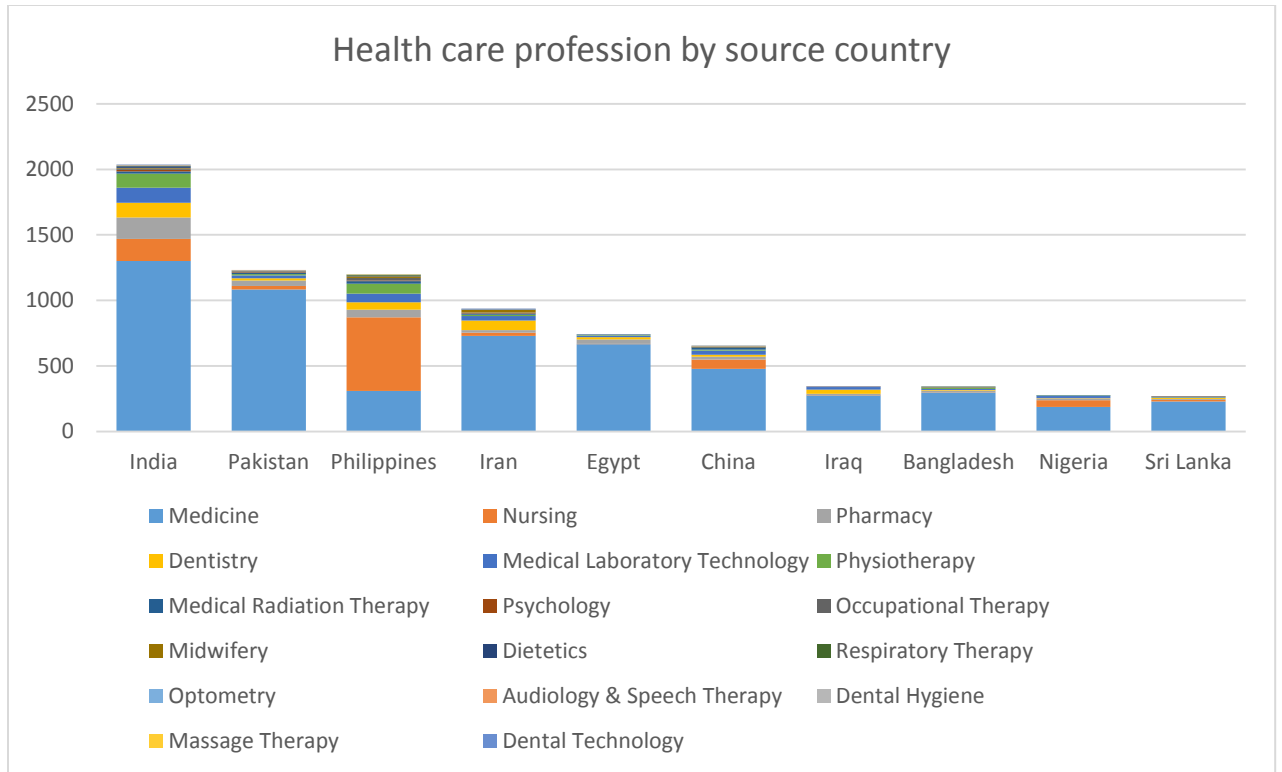


Figure 11 – Health care profession by source country

#### 4.3.2.1 International Medical Graduates (IMGs)

International medical graduates (IMGs) are individuals who have completed, or will complete, medical training and/or residency outside of Canada or the United States. The counts of active physicians in Canada show that almost one out of every four doctors (24%) of 77,479 received their medical degree from another country (Sumalinog et al, 2016)

#### 4.3.2.2 Internationally Educated Medical Laboratory Technologists

Table 16 demonstrates that the Philippines accounts for half of the internationally educated medical laboratory technologists, while one-fourth of the applicants came from China and India. Nigeria accounts for less than 10%, though the country still ranks 4<sup>th</sup> on this list.

Table 16 – Internationally Educated Medical Laboratory Technologists in 2007

<b>Country</b>	<b># of Applicants</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<i>Philippines</i>	15	50.0%
<i>China</i>	5	16.7%
<i>India</i>	3	10.0%
<i>Nigeria</i>	2	6.7%
<i>Pakistan</i>	2	6.7%
<i>Algeria</i>	1	3.3%
<i>United Kingdom</i>	1	3.3%
<i>Hong Kong</i>	1	3.3%
<i>Total</i>	30	100.0%

#### 4.3.2.4 Registered Nursing and Registered Practical Nursing

As seen in Table 17 Nigeria ranks 5<sup>th</sup> as the supplier of Registered Practical Nurses while India and the Philippines held a commanding lead as the supply leaders.

Table 17 – International Registered Practical Nurses

	<b>2013</b>	<b>2014</b>	<b>2015</b>
<i>India</i>	280	325	466
<i>Philippines</i>	254	323	346
<i>United Kingdom</i>	29	32	25
<i>Israel</i>	26	21	18
<i>Nigeria</i>	18	18	14
<i>Saudi Arabia</i>		12	9
<i>Pakistan</i>		11	9
<i>United Arab Emirates</i>		8	9
<i>Singapore</i>		8	10
<i>Russian Federation</i>		9	
<i>Hong Kong</i>	14		12
<i>Romania</i>	14		
<i>Poland</i>	11		
<i>Jamaica</i>	10		
<i>China</i>	9		
<i>Other countries</i>	187	152	151
<i>Total</i>	852	919	1069



#### 4.3.2.5 Internationally Educated Pharmacists

Most of the internationally educated pharmacists in Table 18 hail from India and Egypt, which account for more than one-fourth each. Nigeria is at a distant 4% but still ranks 9th as a supplier.

Table 18 – Internationally educated Pharmacist in 2007

<b>India</b>	<b>117</b>
<b>Egypt</b>	111
<b>US</b>	56
<b>U.K.</b>	38
<b>Pakistan</b>	27
<b>Jordan</b>	24
<b>Iran</b>	20
<b>Philippines</b>	20
<b>Nigeria</b>	18
<b>Iraq</b>	13

#### 4.3.2.6 Internationally Educated Optometrists

Table 19 showcases the internationally educated optometrists. Health Force Ontario did not specify the number, but based on rankings, Nigeria ranks 2<sup>nd</sup> after the United Kingdom as a major supplier from 2005 to 2007.

Table 19 – Internationally Educated Optometrists

<b>Ranking of top source countries for optometrists in Canada 2005–2007</b>		
<b>2005</b>	<b>2006</b>	<b>2007</b>
<b>India</b>	United Kingdom	United Kingdom
<b>Nigeria</b>	Nigeria	Nigeria
<b>Iran</b>	Iraq	India
<b>Colombia</b>	Egypt	Iran
<b>China</b>	Nicaragua	Cuba

\*Reproduced from Health Force Ontario (2007)

#### 4.3.4 Mode of Integration

Migrants have several ways of incorporating into their host society. Some use the diaspora approach, while others use assimilation or transnationalism. Portes (2011) favoured assimilation theory and argued that there are four possible outcomes to adaptation, which are 1) transnationalism is new and permanent; 2) abandonment of transnationalism in favor of full assimilation; 3) rejection of transnationalism by the children of transnational migrants in favour of assimilation; and (4) transnationalism does not include the return home of migrants.

##### *4.3.4.2 Transnationalism: Remittances*

One of the transnational activities evident among migrants is remitting, which typically involves the flow of money, knowledge, and/or ideas. For this study, remittance refers most often to the transfer of money by a foreign national to their country of origin. However, it also comprises non-monetary transfers, gifts in kind, symbolic exchanges, reputation, and status (Conway et al., 2012, p. 192). Remittances are investments against uncertainty for the donor and the recipients – especially women recipients – who might choose to invest a remittance in productive activities, save it towards future investments, or use it for other consumables (Connell & Conway, 2000). The issue of remittance as a transnational activity and its relationship into fueling migration has been raised in several studies (see chapter 2).

The World Bank ranked Nigeria fifth in the world in 2015 for receiving remittances; a total of US \$20.8 billion in remittances was reported, and the actual figure might be higher if informal channels are included (de Haas & Plug, 2006; Pieke et al., as cited in de Haas, 2010). International remittances were otherwise led by India (\$72 billion), China (\$63 billion), the Philippines (\$29 billion), and Mexico (\$25 billion) in 2015. According to Senior Special Assistant to the president on Foreign Affairs and the Diaspora, Abike Dabiri-Erewa, this figure hit \$35 billion in 2016 (Daily Trust, 2016). She also mentioned that “This is the highest in Africa and the third largest in the world remittance by Nigerians living abroad.”

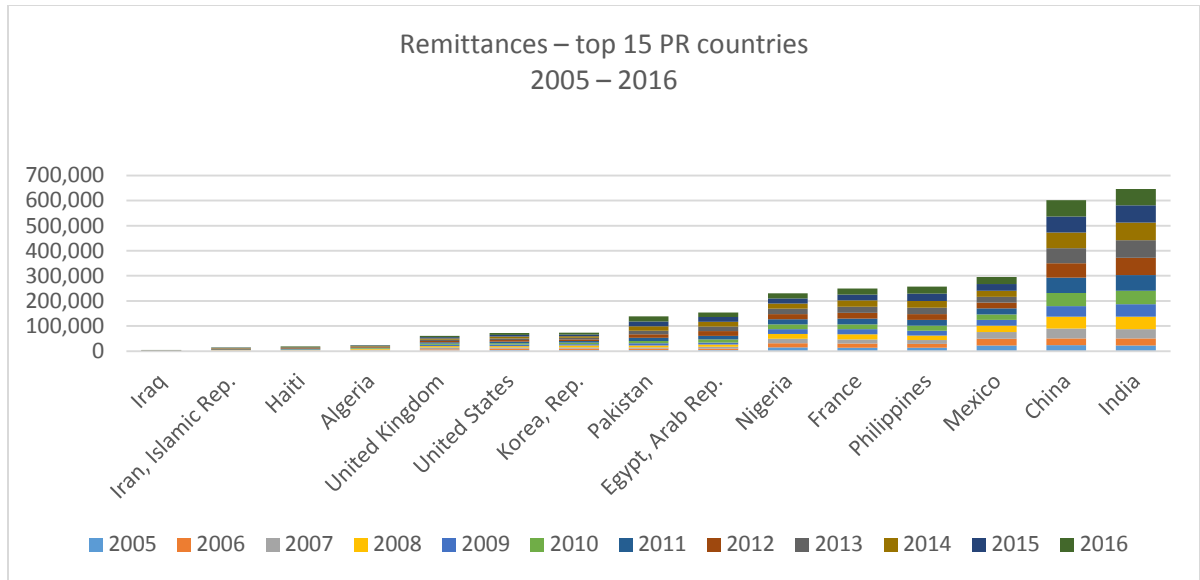


Figure 12 – Remittance by top 15 countries in USD. 2016 is an estimate by the World Bank

#### 4.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter documents and attempts to synthesize what little we know about Nigerians in Canada and their pathway to citizenship, and clearly shows that Nigerians are economic migrants in Canada. It seems that Nigerians have a highly selective migration process in terms of the movement from Nigeria to Canada as Permanent Resident applicants, International Students, and Temporary Foreign Workers where Nigerians rank as one of the top 10 source countries, while they are very low in the Refugee and IMP country rankings. Of note, like the other top 10 countries in migration, Nigeria is also within the top 10 suppliers of Canadian healthcare professionals.

## CHAPTER 5 – EMPIRICAL FINDINGS

The research findings underlying this chapter are based on the following data sources: surveys, semi-structured interviews, key informant interviews, and the researcher's notes. This chapter starts with a description of the participants, and the findings are further divided into the individual research questions and related objectives.

### 5.1 Descriptive Analysis of Participants

One hundred and twenty-two (N=122) Nigerian health care workers participated in this study. Fifty-nine participants (n=59) were from Toronto and the Greater Toronto Area in Canada, and 63 participants (n=63) were from Nigeria. Participants from both Canada and Nigeria in the health care worker occupational area were selected in order to document and analyze the consequences of migration for both migrants and their non-migrant counterparts. As Canadian immigration data illustrates, Nigerians are relatively overrepresented in the health care occupations when compared to their overall Canadian immigration numbers. Toronto participants were recruited from different social groups using religious organizations, social media sites (e.g., Facebook, LinkedIn), and community colleges as recruitment channels. Nigerian participants were recruited from hospitals, clinics and medical training sites in Nigeria. Table 20 provides details on participants' demographic background.

Table 20 – Sample and Population Characteristics

	Total Participants		Canada Participants		Nigeria Participants	
	(N= 122)		(n=59)		(n=63)	
<i>Age</i>	N	%	n	%	n	%
<b>Under 30</b>	15	12.3%	4	6.8%	11	17.5%
<b>30–39</b>	35	28.7%	16	27.1%	19	30.2%
<b>40–49</b>	35	28.7%	19	32.2%	16	25.4%
<b>50–60</b>	21	17.2%	14	23.7%	7	11.1%
<b>Over 60</b>	5	4.1%	5	8.5%	0	0.0%
<b>Not stated</b>	10	8.2%			10	15.9%
<i>Gender</i>						
<b>Male</b>	16	13.1%	6	10.2%	10	15.9%
<b>Female</b>	103	84.4%	53	89.8%	50	79.4%
<b>Unanswered</b>	3	2.5%			3	4.8%
<i>Marital Status</i>						
<b>Divorced</b>	2	1.6%	2	3.4%	0	
<b>Single</b>	32	26.2%	20	33.9%	12	19.0%
<b>Married</b>	64	52.5%	34	57.6%	30	47.6%
<b>Widow</b>	1	0.8%			1	1.6%
<b>Separated</b>	1	0.8%	1	1.7%		
<b>Unstated</b>	12	9.8%	2	3.4%	10	15.9%
<i>Education</i>						
<b>Advanced Diploma</b>	4	3.3%			4	6.3%
<b>Bachelor’s</b>	45	36.9%	23	39.0%	22	34.9%
<b>Diploma</b>	36	29.5%	23	39.0%	13	20.6%
<b>Certificate</b>	13	10.7%	5	8.5%	8	12.7%
<b>Master’s</b>	12	9.8%	4	6.8%	8	12.7%
<b>Doctoral</b>	3	2.5%			3	4.8%
<b>Not answered/invalid</b>	9	7.4%	4	6.8%	5	7.9%
<i>Occupation</i>						
<b>Laboratory</b>	6	4.9%			6	9.5%
<b>Lecturer</b>	3	2.5%			3	4.8%
<b>Midwife</b>	5	4.1%			5	7.9%
<b>Nursing*</b>	68	55.7%	33	55.9%	35	55.6%
<b>Pharmacy</b>	1	0.8%			1	1.6%
<b>Student**</b>	7	5.7%	4	6.8%	3	4.8%
<b>Personal Support Worker</b>	13	10.7%	13	22.0%		
<b>Others</b>	16	13.1%	8	13.6%	8	12.7%

\*11 of the nurses are also lecturers. \*\*Student includes midwife student, auxiliary nurse student, and others.

The dominant age group of the migrants was from 30–49 years of age and accounted for more than half of the participants. More than 8% of the Nigerian sample did not state their age, an omission due to cultural differences that exist in Nigeria where most people do not disclose this information about themselves; even children do not know their parents’ age as a way of

respecting elders. Over half of the total participants were married. Almost four out of five participants in Canada had earned a diploma or a degree in Canada. Participants who were either Registered Nurses or Registered Practical Nurses were classified under the nursing field and accounted for two-thirds of the total participants in Canada and Nigeria, which is roughly equal to the share of health care workers globally who are nurses.

#### 5.1.1 Descriptive Analysis of Canada Participants

This section describes the results of the analysis of the 59 Canadian respondents' data. Health care workers from Nigeria in the Canadian sample extended in age from under 30 to over 60. The largest number (19 or 32%) fell in the 40–49 age range. In addition, 53 (or 90%) of the sample were female, and 6 (or 10%) were male. The gender representation most likely is explained by the difference in the total numbers of male and female professionals in certain health care industry dominated by women (e.g. nursing), where there is a preponderance of females. 58% of the Canadian sample were married, and over 78% held a diploma or degree. Also, 56% of the participants were in the nursing field as either a nurse or an RPN. This is a highly educated mainly female sample.

#### 5.1.2 Descriptive Analysis of Nigeria Participants

This analysis of the Nigerian sample is based on the demographic characteristics of the 63 Nigerian respondents. 30% of the participants stated their age was between 30–39 years old, 79% were female, and 35% held a bachelor's degree. Health care workers represented a broad spectrum of the profession, but 55% of them were in the nursing field. All participants came from different geographical locations in Nigeria. Compared to the Canadian-based sample the Nigerian sample was not as highly educated and was less feminized, but the number of nurses in the sample were similar.

### 5.1.3 Descriptive Analysis of Key Informants

Eight key informants in Canada and three in Nigeria were interviewed. They were employers, community leaders, and social group activists interviewed either face-to-face, by email, or by telephone. Questions were structured with the goal of collecting data on their perceptions regarding the effect of out migration on their profession and their communities.

### 5.2 Findings

Table 21, provides an overview of how data related to each research objective was analyzed. While the objectives are reported as being discrete, there is considerable overlap among them. Further, participants' responses to interview questions often addressed more than one theme. In these cases, the interview data are described where they appear to fit most logically.

*Table 21 – Overview of analysis by objectives*

<b>Objectives</b>	<b>Corresponding Sources</b>	<b>Analysis/Reporting Procedures</b>
<b>Objective 1.</b> <i>To understand the skilled migration discourses as they relate to Nigerian health care workers' own perspectives.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Demographic information sheet</li> <li>• Surveys</li> <li>• Interviews</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Summary of descriptive statistics</li> <li>• Analysis of quantitative and qualitative data</li> <li>• visual representation of data</li> </ul>
<b>Objective 2.</b> <i>To contribute to the academic and professional literature on the development consequences of skilled out migration from Nigeria.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Surveys</li> <li>• Interviews</li> <li>• Secondary data</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Frequency counts and percentages</li> <li>• Coding and queries</li> </ul>
<b>Objective 3.</b> <i>To look at the occupations of migrant health care workers pre- and post-migration to determine the development consequences of migration for individuals and for sending and receiving states.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Surveys</li> <li>• Interviews</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Frequency counts and percentages</li> <li>• Coding and queries</li> </ul>
<b>Objective 4</b> <i>To understand the effect of migration on individual health care workers and understand the consequences that migration has on their non-immigrant counterparts.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Interviews</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Coding and queries</li> </ul>
<b>Objective 5.</b> <i>To understand if participating in transnational activities (e.g., remittance by migrants) actually fuels more migration and creates a migration chain.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Surveys</li> <li>• Interviews</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Frequency counts and percentages</li> <li>• Coding and queries</li> </ul>
<b>Objective 6.</b> <i>To refine and propose a conceptual framework for studying skilled migration.</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Surveys</li> <li>• Interviews</li> <li>• Secondary data</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Frequency counts and percentages</li> <li>• Coding and queries</li> <li>• Framework design and refinement</li> </ul>

**5.2.1 Objective 1: *To understand the skilled migration discourses as they relate to Nigerian health care workers' own perspectives***

This section begins by looking at the skilled migration discourse for all participants in Canada and Nigeria to determine with which of the discourses participants identified when thinking about the consequences of skilled migration. Since skill identification could vary based on participants' own background, responses were analyzed according to demographic variables to determine whether there were any correlations between respondent demographic attributes and the skilled migration discourse.

**5.2.1.1 Skilled migration discourse for all Participants**

Figures 13 and 14 show pie charts of the participants' responses regarding which skilled migration discourse they identified with as most strongly explaining their own migration or the migration of those they knew. The pie charts were coded so that the negative discourse have the lighter shade and the darker shades represents the positive discourse. In Figure 13, four out of five skilled workers in Canada identify with the positive lexicon (brain gain), with more than one-third identifying with the brain-train lexicon. In Figure 14, the pie chart shows that 88% of the participants identify with the positive discourses.



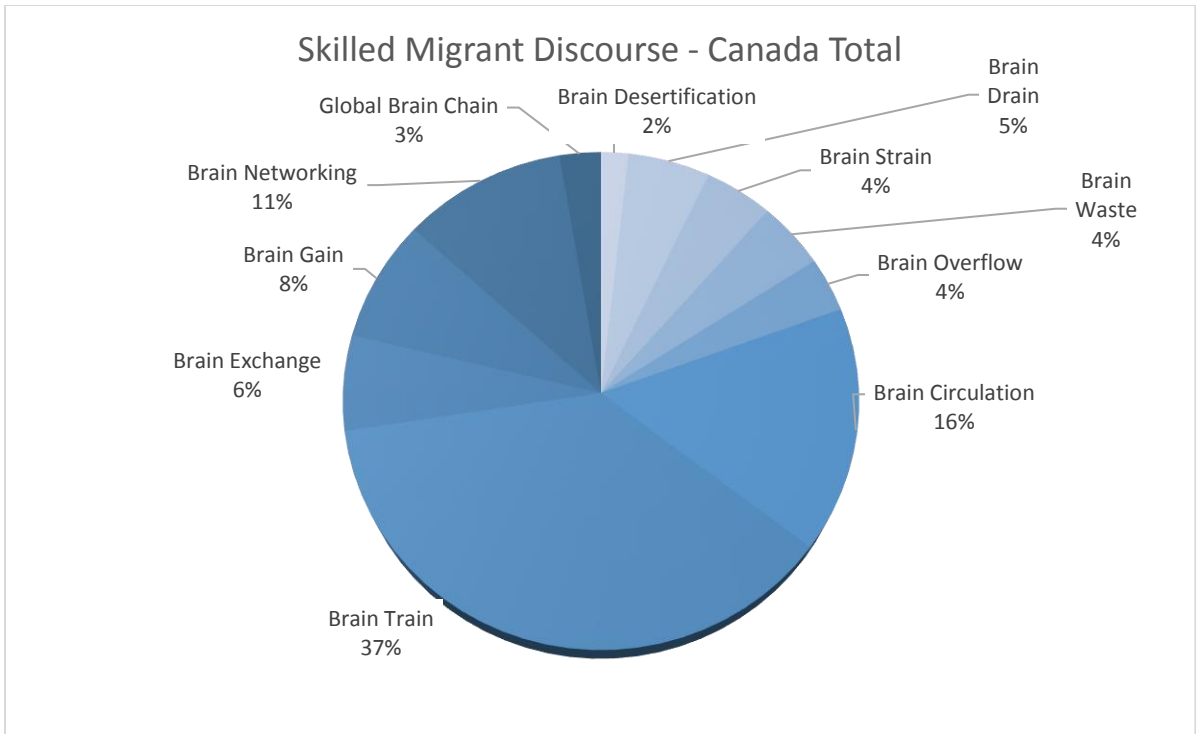


Figure 13 – Skilled migration discourse Canada Total

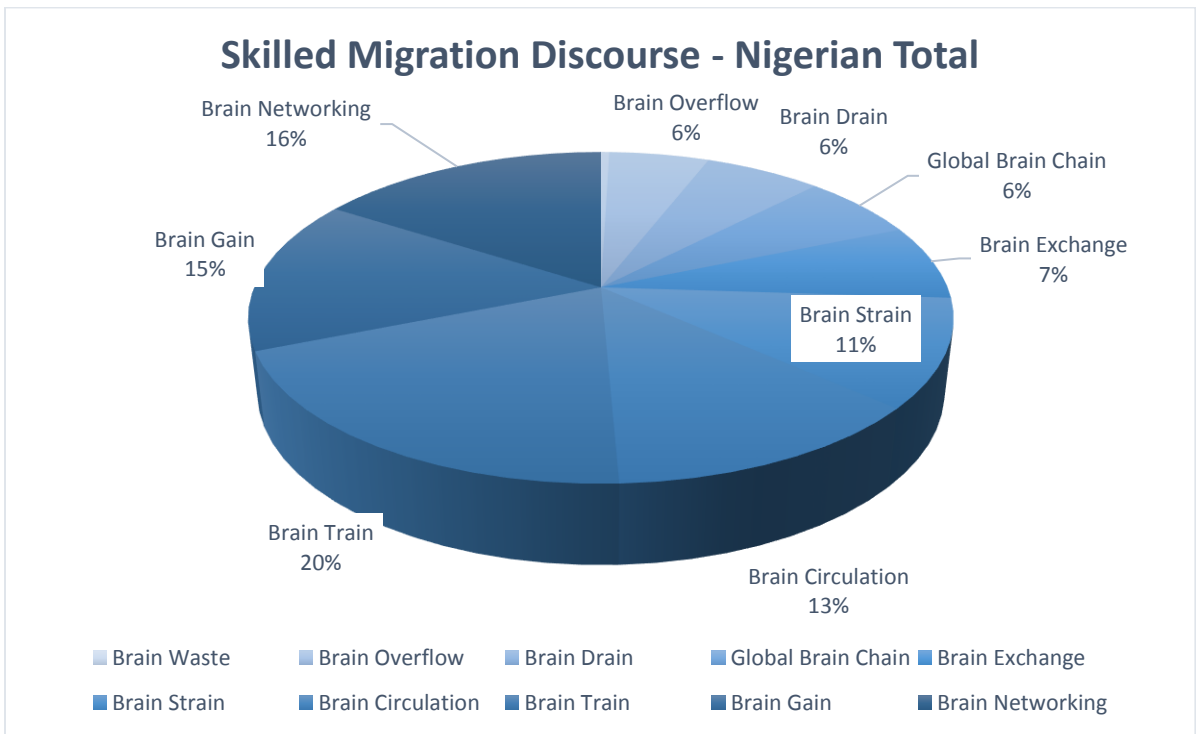


Figure 14 – Skilled Migration Discourse Total Nigeria

### 5.2.1.2 Skilled migration discourse by Occupation

#### 5.2.1.2 Skilled migration discourse by Occupation

In this section, the participants' responses to the skilled migration discourse are broken down by occupation to determine if there is any correlation between the participant occupation and the skilled migration discourse with which they identify. The results are presented in Tables 22 and 23, and Figures 15 and 16. Table 22 shows that more than one-third of the health care workers in Canada identify with the brain train discourse while another 15% identify with brain circulation. Figure 15 also shows that brain train is consistently the dominant skilled migration discourse identified by participants in all occupation categories. The second most preferred skilled migration discourse for nursing and personal support workers is brain circulation. Table 23 illustrates a difference between the Canadian and the Nigerian samples, since 75% of the total participants identify with the brain train discourse and more than 60% sample identify with brain networking and brain exchange.

Furthermore, Figure 16 offers evidence that brain train is the dominant skilled migration discourse for the nursing, midwives, and laboratory occupational groups. Students in Nigeria, however, seem to identify equally with four different discourses – brain circulation, brain train, brain networking, and brain drain. This might reflect indecision or ambiguity regarding migration decisions at this stage of their professional training.

Table 22 – Skilled Migration Discourse by occupation – Canada data

	N	Brain Desertific	Brain Circulatio	Brain Train	Brain Drain	Brain Exchange	Brain Gain	Brain Networki	Brain Overflow	Brain Strain	Brain Wlecto	Global Brain
<b>Nursing</b>	61	0	10	24	2	4	5	8	3	3	0	2
<b>Student</b>	6	0	1	3	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0
<b>PSW</b>	27	2	7	8	2	1	2	3	0	1	1	0
<b>Others</b>	19	0	0	7	2	2	1	1	1	1	3	1
<b>Total</b>	113	2	18	42	6	7	9	12	4	5	5	3

Table 23 – Skilled Migration Discourse by occupation – Nigeria data

	N	Brain Desertification	Brain Circulation	Brain Train	Brain Drain	Brain Exchange	Brain Gain	Brain Networking	Brain Overflow	Brain Strain	Brain Waste	Global Brain Chain
<b>Nursing</b>	35	1	15	23	4	7	20	21	5	10	0	5
<b>Others</b>	8	0	1	4	1	1	2	2	0	1	0	0
<b>Laboratory</b>	6	0	4	5	3	3	4	4	0	3	0	2
<b>Midwife</b>	5	0	5	6	4	3	4	4	4	5	0	3
<b>Lecturer</b>	3	0	2	2	0	1	2	2	1	0	0	1
<b>Student</b>	3	0	2	4	2	2	3	4	3	4	0	3
<b>Pharmacy</b>	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
<b>Total</b>	61	1	29	45	14	17	35	37	13	23	0	14

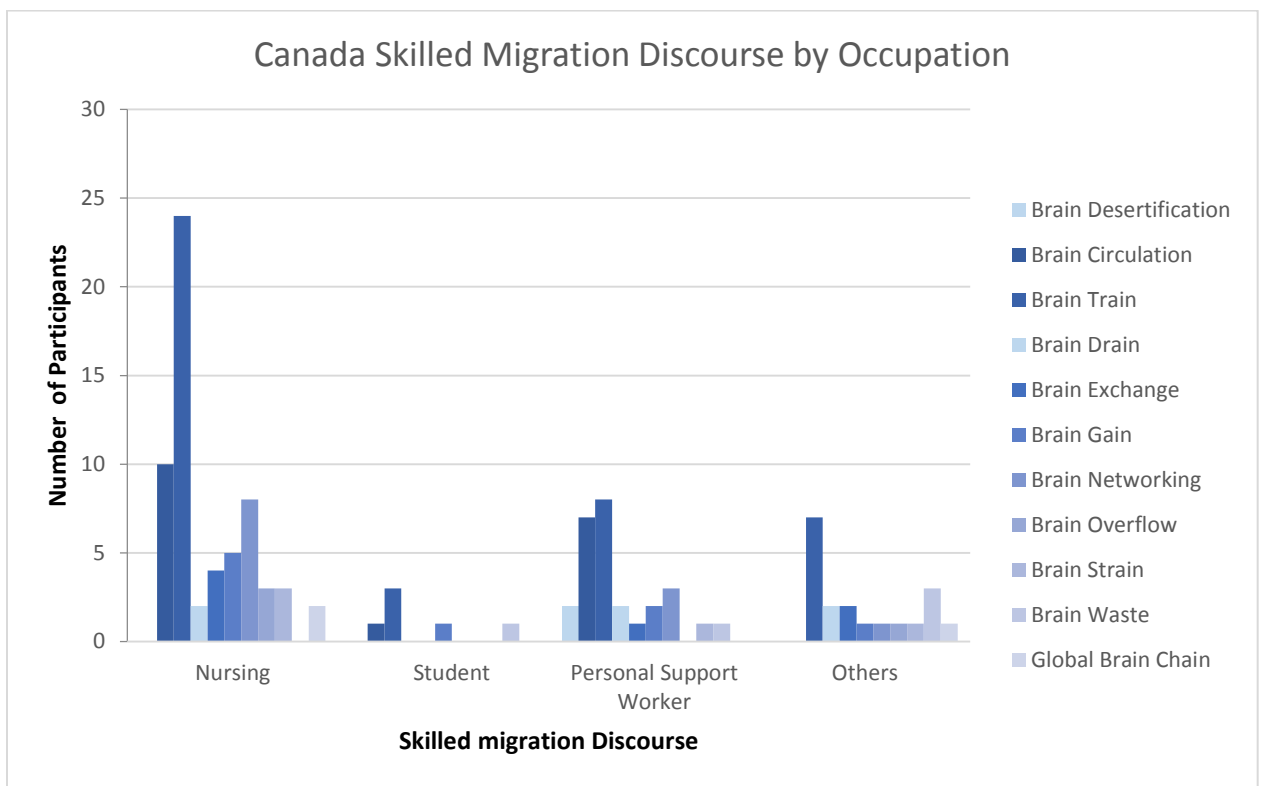


Figure 15 – Skilled Migration Discourse by Occupation Canada

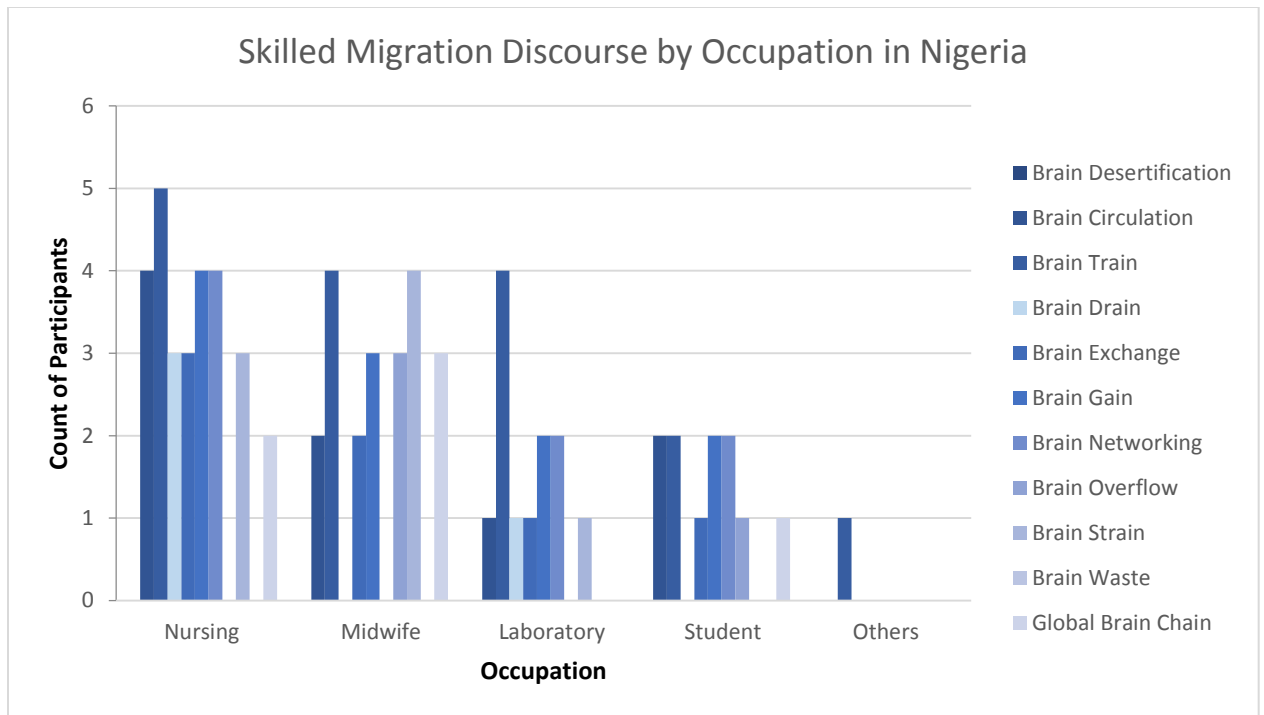
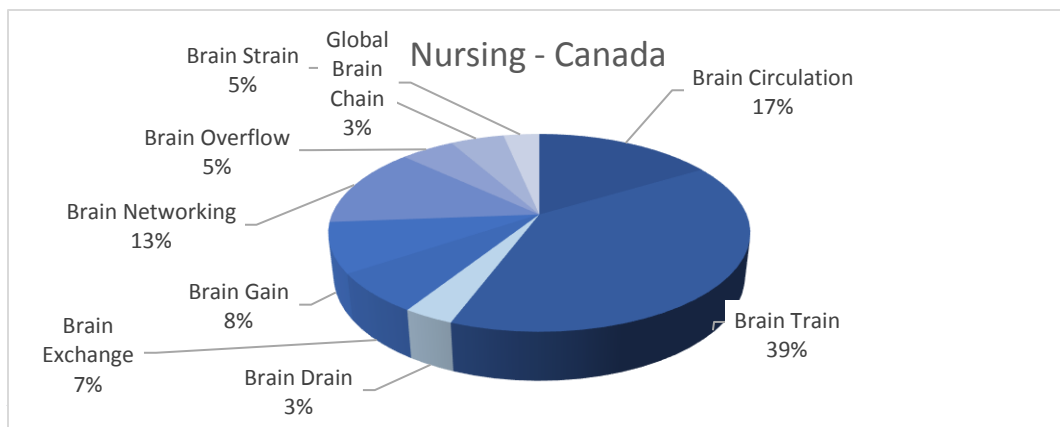


Figure 16 – Skilled Migration Discourse by Occupation Nigeria

Having described findings concerning the skilled migration discourses across occupations, the next few sections will look at each occupation in greater detail.

#### 5.2.1.2.1 Nursing

Figures 17 and 18, show the percentage of participants who identify with a particular skilled migration discourse. Based on the data illustrated in Figure 17, the dominant skilled migration discourse that Canadian participants' aligned with in the nursing profession appears to



be brain train, which accounts for 39% of responses, followed by brain circulation and brain networking. However, for Nigerian participants in the nursing field there does not appear to be any one most preferred skilled migration discourse, as documented in Figure 18.

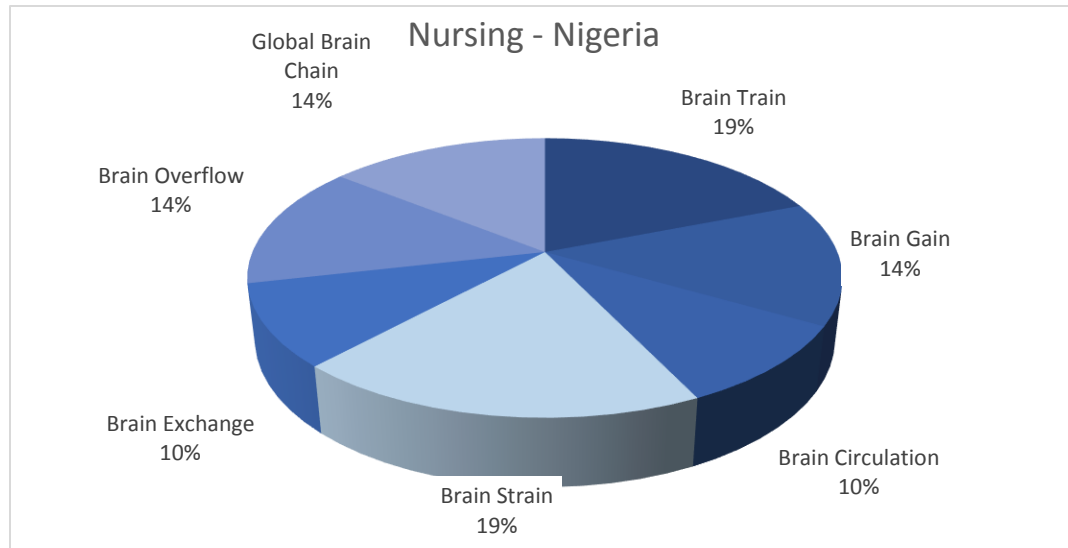


Figure 18 – Skilled migration Discourse for Nigeria Nursing

#### 5.2.1.2.2 Students

Figures 19 and 20, contain the data received from student participants in each country and the skilled migration discourses they associated with. Figure 19 demonstrates that half of the students in the Canadian sample identified brain train as the main discourse they aligned themselves with, followed by three others—brain circulation, brain waste, and brain gain—equally distributed. Interestingly, none identified with most of the negative brain drain (beyond brain waste). Figure 20, illustrating results from students in the Nigerian sample, demonstrates quite different results. Nigerian students did not align with any single dominant lexicon. Interestingly, the percentage of participants who identified with brain train (migration for

education purposes) equals the percentage who identified with brain strain.

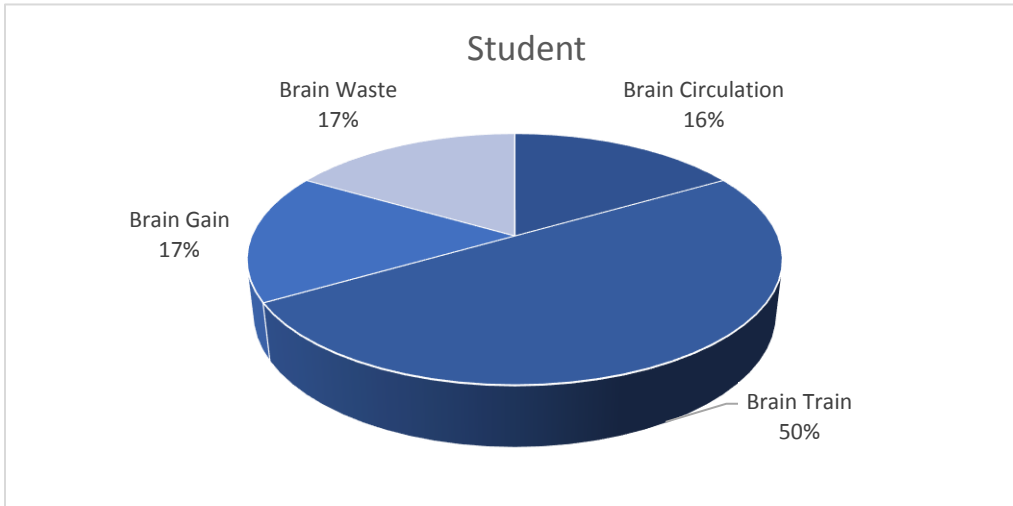


Figure 19 – Canada Skilled Migration Discourse for current students

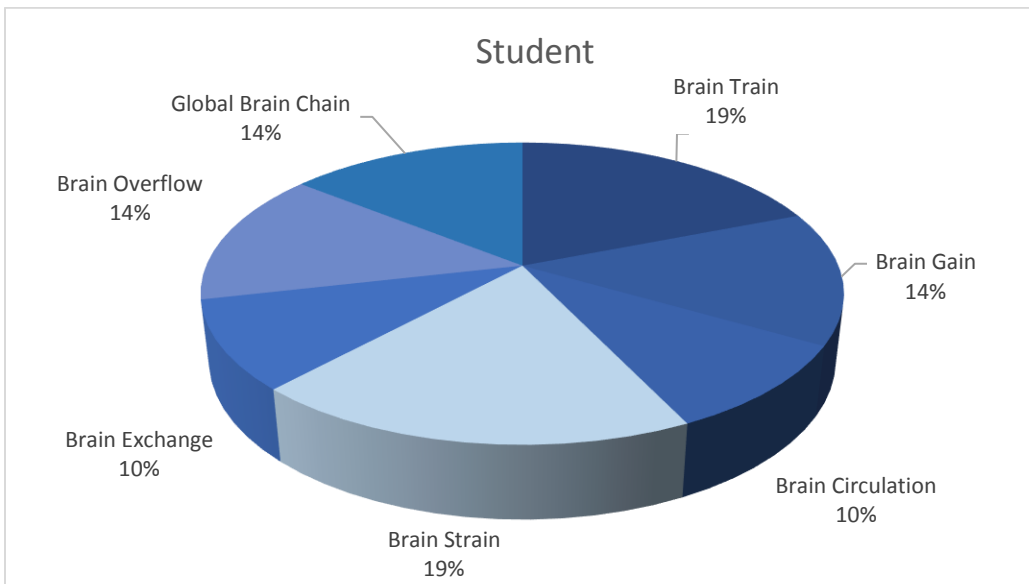


Figure 20 – Nigeria Skilled Migration Discourse for Students

### 5.2.1.2.3 Midwife

Figure 21, shows data from the midwives’ responses. This data represents the participants from Nigeria only, as none of the participants in Canada were in that field. There is no dominant skilled migration discourse, but a combination of brain train, brain gain, and brain circulation

accounts for almost half of the participants at 49%, while the negative lexicon accounts for only 24%.

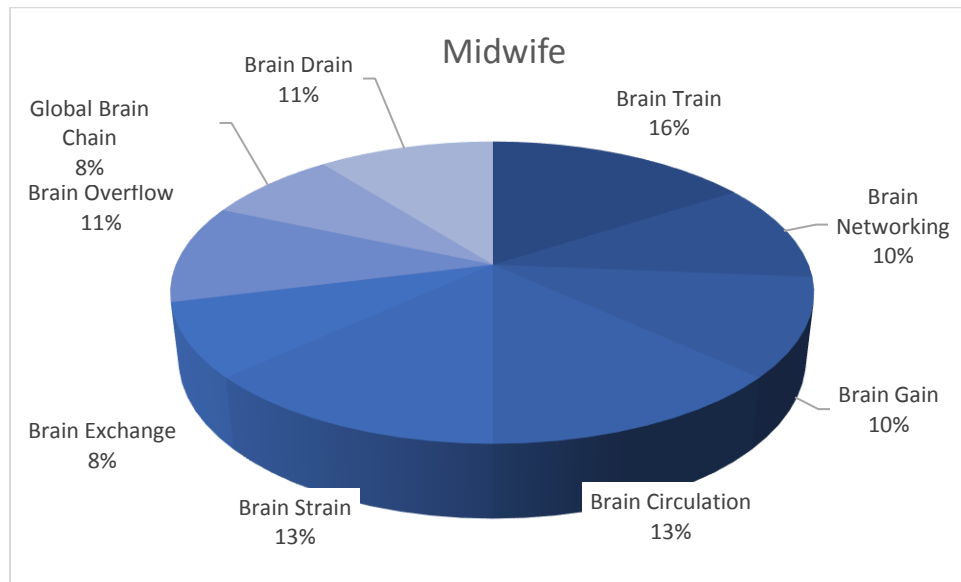


Figure 21 – Nigeria Skilled Migration Discourse for Midwives

#### 5.2.1.2.4 Personal Support Worker

Personal support workers who could have been previously nurses in Nigeria were interviewed in Canada only, and the data from their responses is shown in Figure 22. This pie chart reveals brain train to be the dominant discourse, as 30% of the participants identified with that. In addition, 26% of personal support workers also identified with brain circulation, indicating the movement of skilled workers benefits both countries.

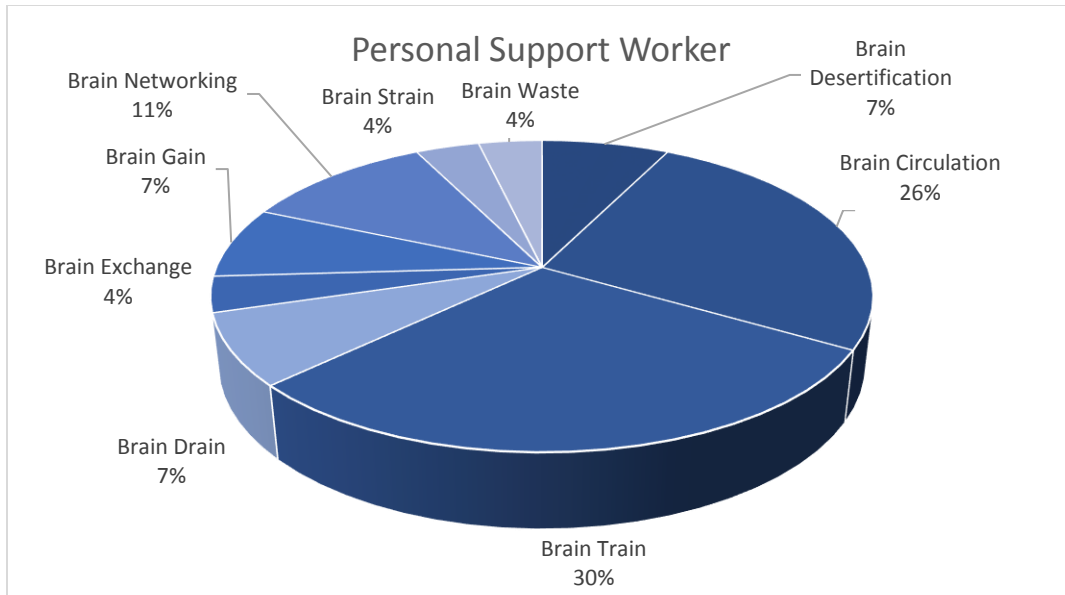


Figure 22 – Canada Skilled migration discourse for Personal Support Workers

#### 5.2.1.2.5 Laboratory Technologists

Figure 23, shows the results of the survey of laboratory technology workers from Nigeria. Again, there is no dominant skilled migration discourse, though the positive lexicon is quite evident and the negative lexicon accounts for only 22% of responses.

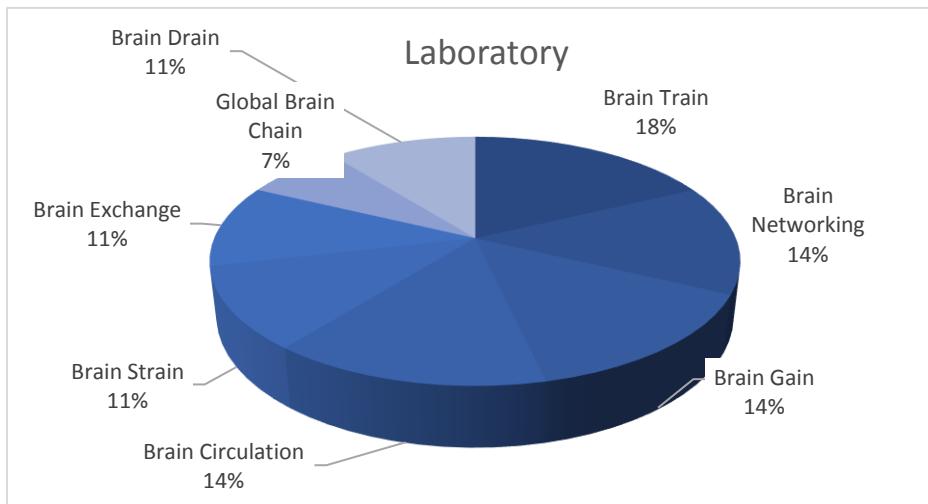


Figure 23 –Skilled migration Discourse for Laboratory Technologists in Nigeria



5.2.1.2.6 *Lecturer*

Figure 24 makes evident there is no dominant skilled migration discourse among the participating lecturers in Nigeria. One significant finding is that none of the respondents in this sample group selected the negative lexicons of the skilled migration discourse.

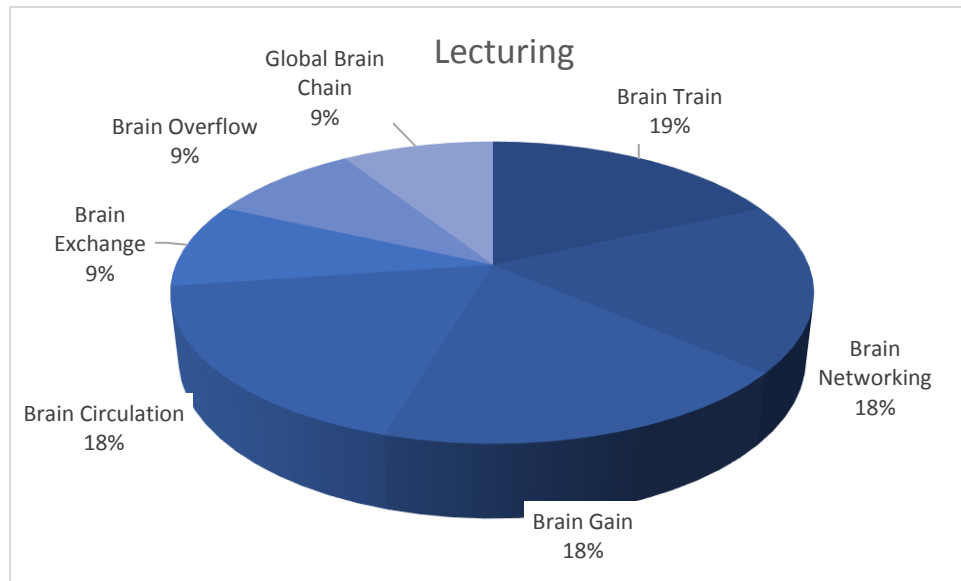


Figure 24 – Nigeria Skilled migration discourse for Lecturers

5.2.1.2.7 *Others*

Figures 25 and 26, present the data for all other health care professions in the Canadian and Nigerian samples. The pie charts are similar in that the dominant migrant skilled migration discourse is brain train, with which 37% of Canadian and 34% of Nigerian participants identify. Brain gain and brain networking, which are also positive lexicons, are more evident in Nigeria, while in Canada, the negative lexicons of brain drain and brain waste are more evident.

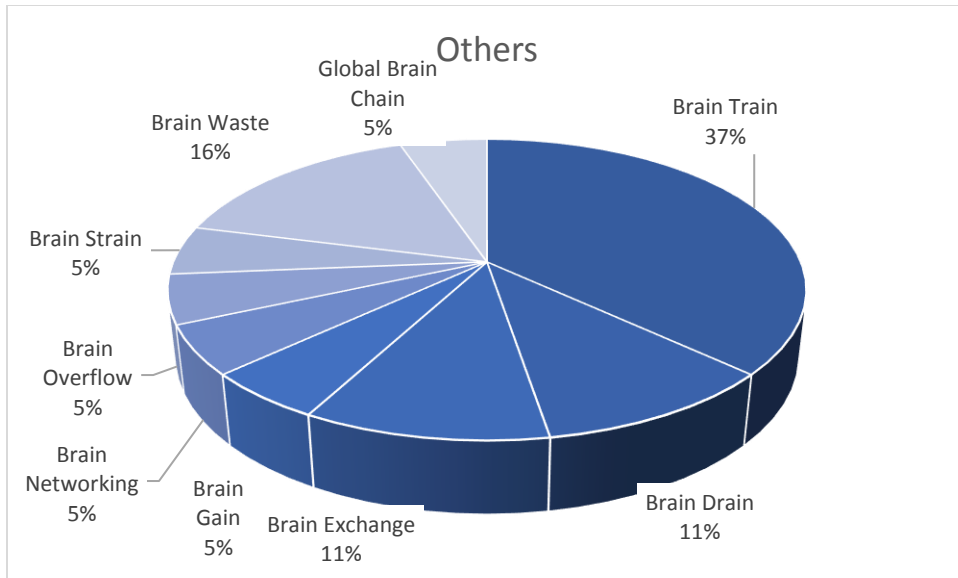


Figure 25 – Canada Skilled Migration Discourse for Other Professions

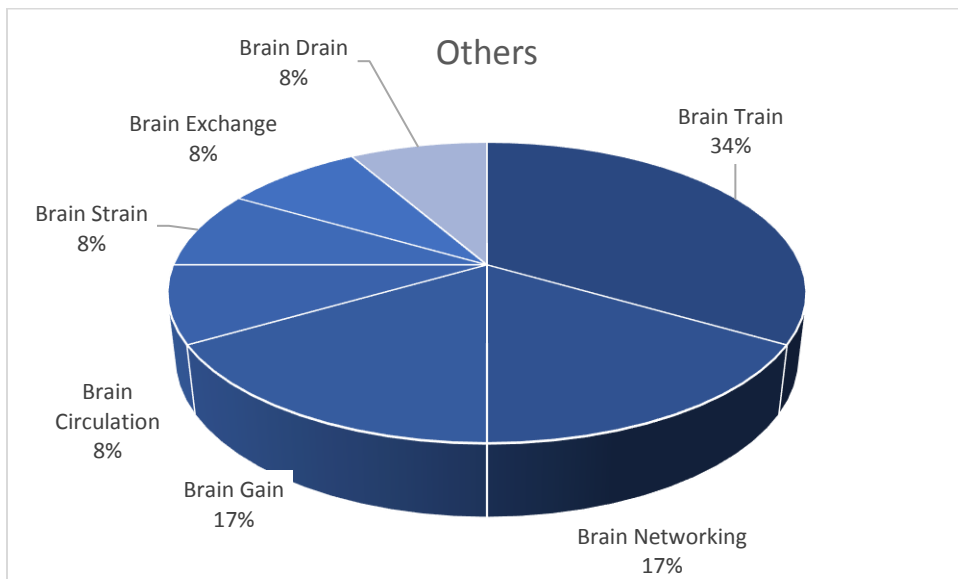


Figure 26 – Nigeria Skilled Migration Discourse for Other Professions

### 5.2.1.3 Skilled migration Discourse by Educational Levels

The relationship between participants' level of education and the skilled migration discourses they selected as most relevant are illustrated in Figures 27 and 28. Figure 27 demonstrates that participants with certificates and degrees identified with brain train more than

any other skilled migration discourse. Figure 28 shows that participants from Nigeria with a bachelor’s degree predominantly identified with the brain train lexicon, while a variety of discourses were chosen by Nigerians from other education levels with no single discourse significantly outnumbering the rest.

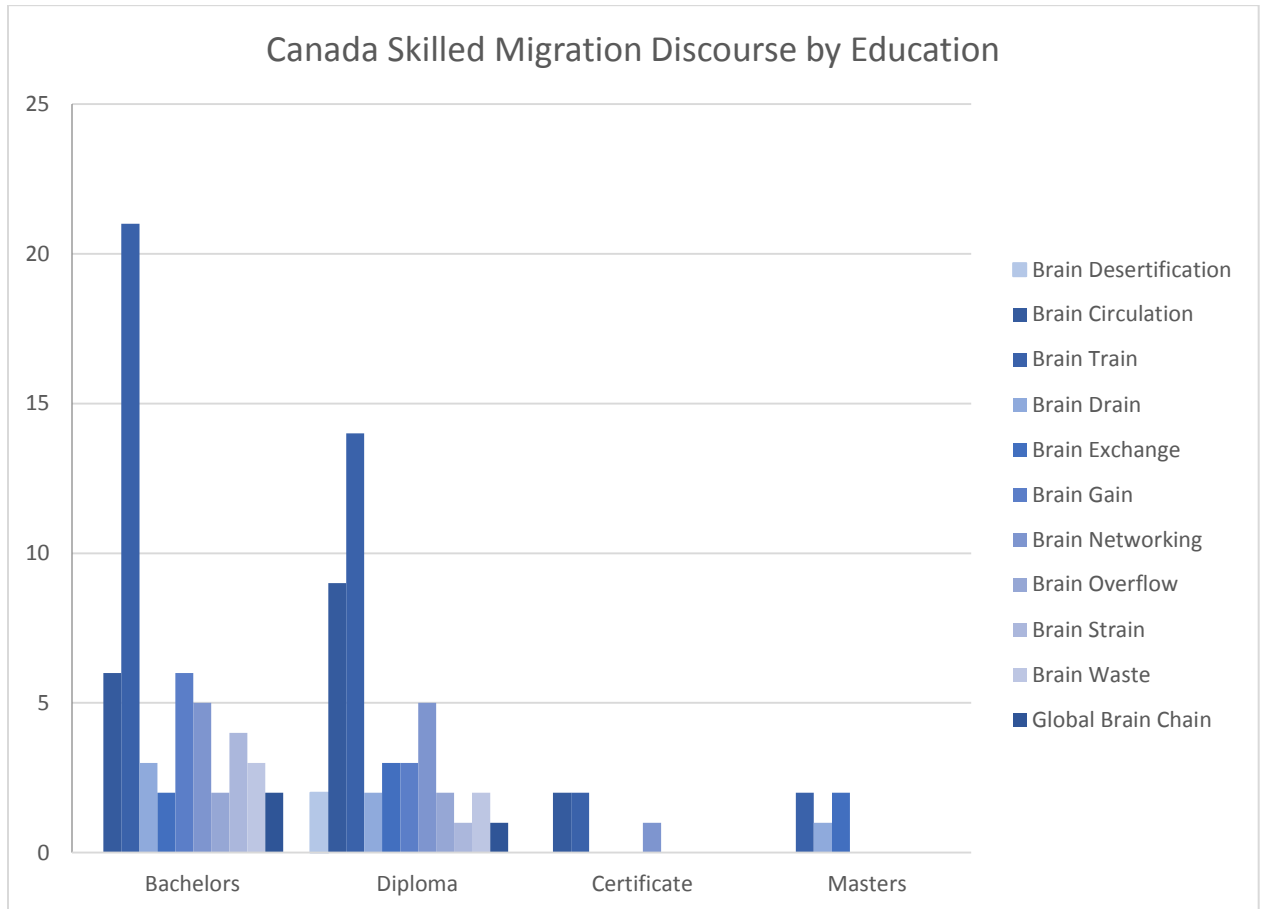


Figure 27 – Canada Skilled Migration Discourse by Educational Levels

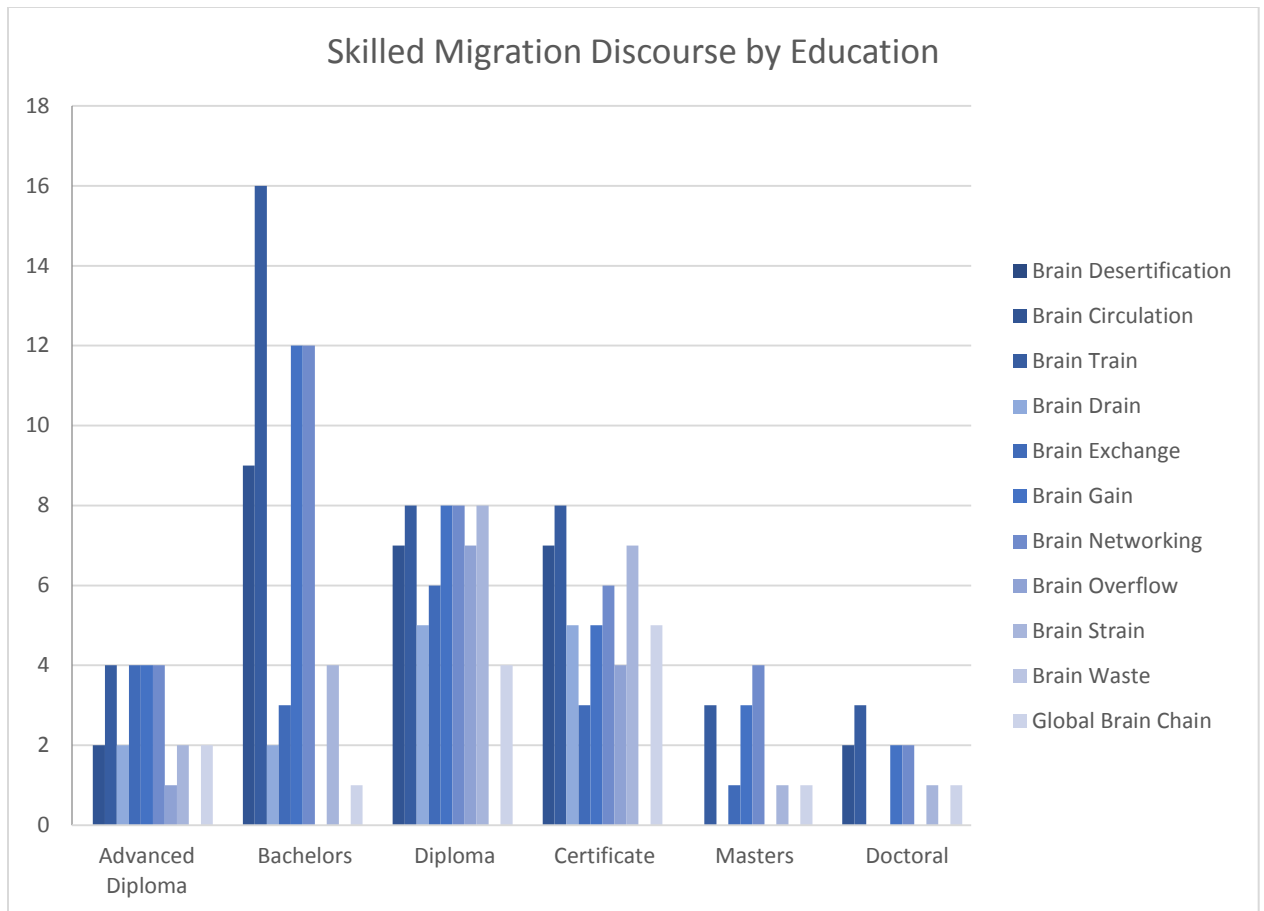


Figure 28 – Nigeria Skilled Migration Discourse by Educational Levels

### 5.2.1.3.1 Certificate

Figures 29 and 30 compare Nigerian and Canadian participants with certificates. As can be seen from Figure 29, certificate holders from Canada most often related to the positive skilled migration lexicons, with brain train and brain circulation accounting for 80% of these participants' choices. In Figure 30, however, the participants with certificates from the Nigerian sample do not demonstrate any dominant discourse choice.

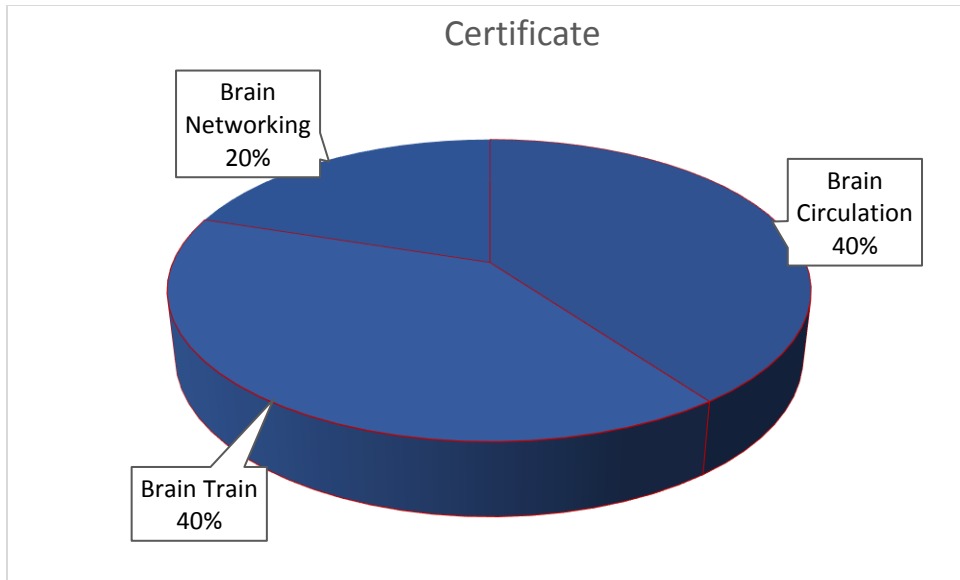


Figure 29 – Canada Skilled Migration Discourse for certificate holders

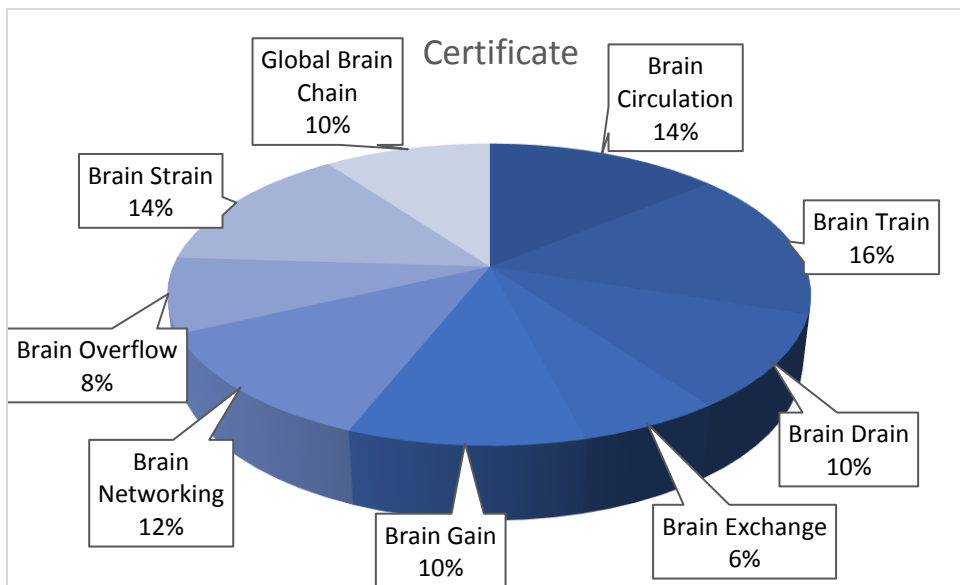


Figure 30 – Nigeria Skilled Migration Discourse for Certificate

#### 5.2.1.3.2 Diploma

Participants with diplomas show a slightly different result from those with certificates. Figure 31 demonstrates that most Canadian participants identified with the brain train discourse (32%), while only 18% of participants from Nigeria identified with that discourse. Thirteen Percent (13%) of participants from Nigeria (Figure 32) also identified with brain strain.

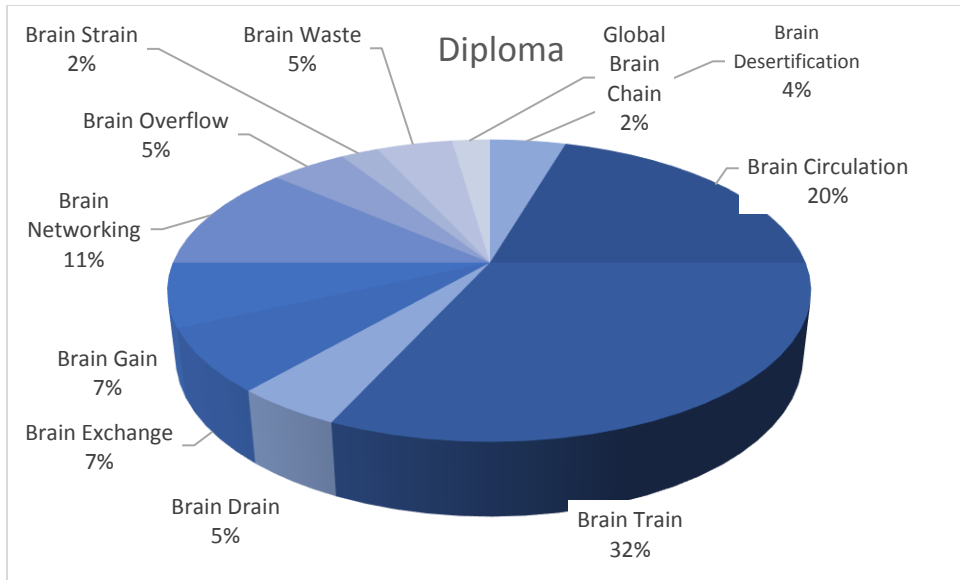


Figure 31 – Canada Skilled Migration Discourse for Diploma holders

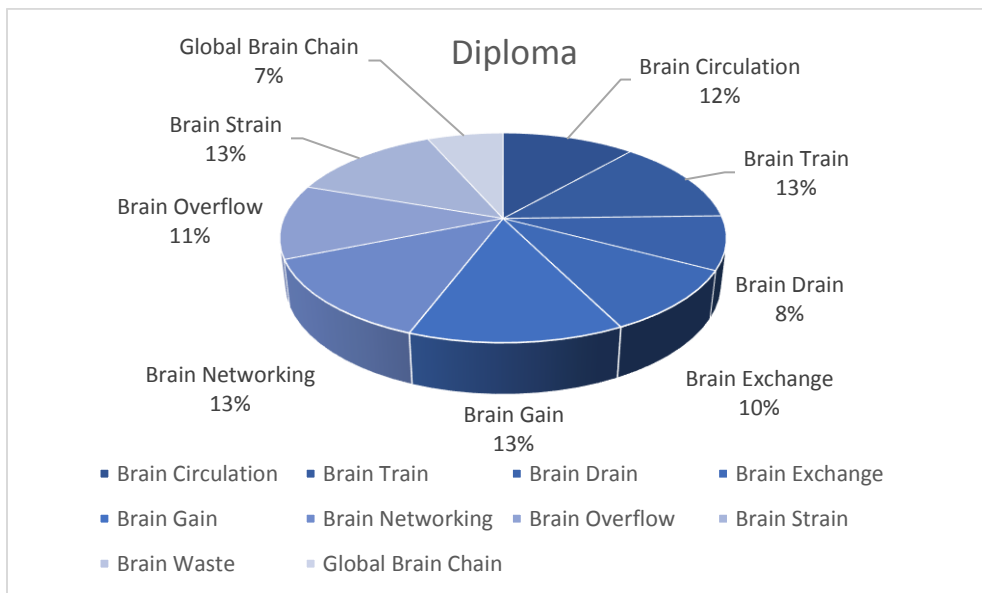


Figure 32 – Nigeria Skilled Migration Discourse for Diploma

### 5.2.1.3.3 Advanced Diploma

The data in Figure 33 shows that although Nigerian participants with an advanced diploma did not identify themselves with any single dominant skilled migration discourse, a majority identified with the positive lexicons of the skilled migration discourse.

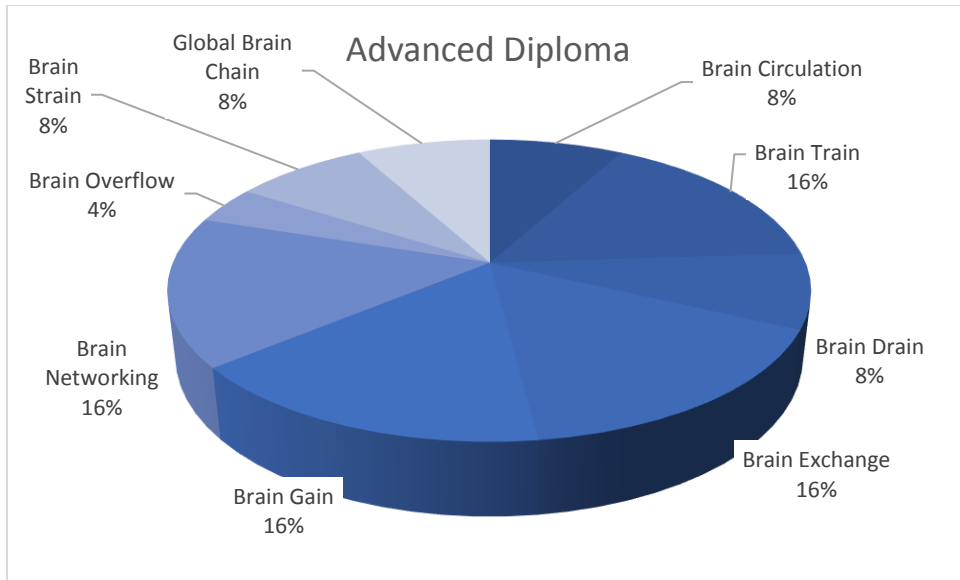


Figure 33 – Nigeria Skilled Migration Discourse for Advanced Diploma

#### 5.2.1.3.4 Bachelor's Degree

Participants with a bachelor's degree identified mostly with brain train in both Canada and Nigeria, as shown in Figures 34 and 35. In Canada, 39% of the participants identified with the brain train discourse, as compared to 27% of Nigerian participants.

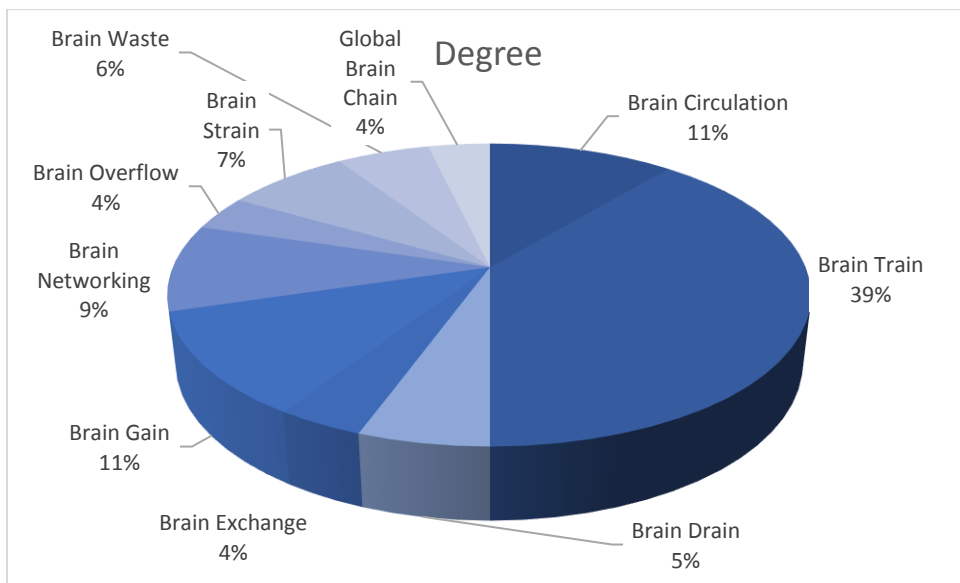


Figure 34 – Canada Skilled migration discourse for Degree holders

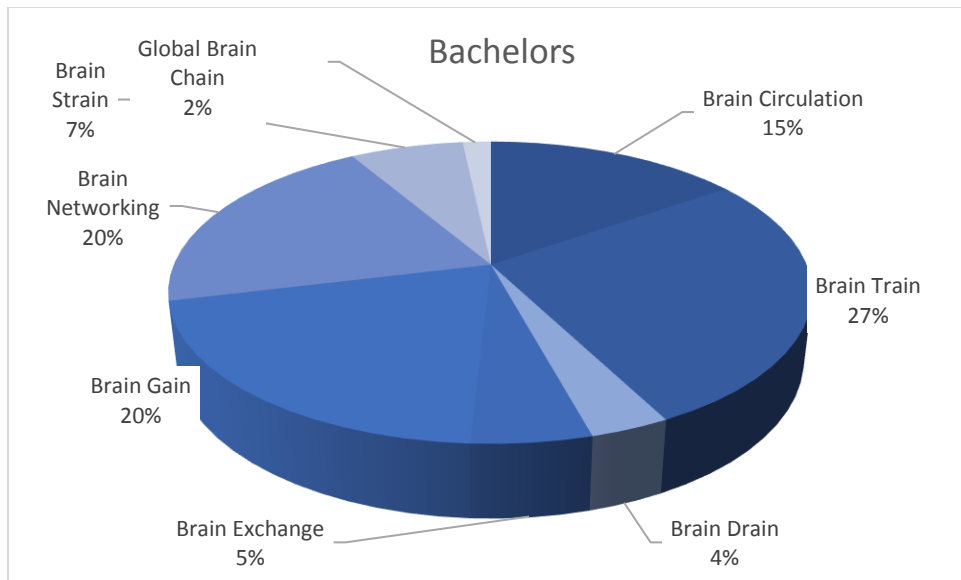


Figure 35 – Nigeria Skilled migration discourse for Bachelor's

#### 5.2.1.3.5 Master's

Most surprising is the data regarding participants with master's degrees. None of the Nigerian sample identified with the negative lexicons, and 31% identified with brain networking, as shown in Figure 36. In Canada, however, these participants identified mostly with brain exchange and brain train, each accounting for 40% of the participants' choices, with brain drain accounting for the other 20%, as shown in Figure 37.



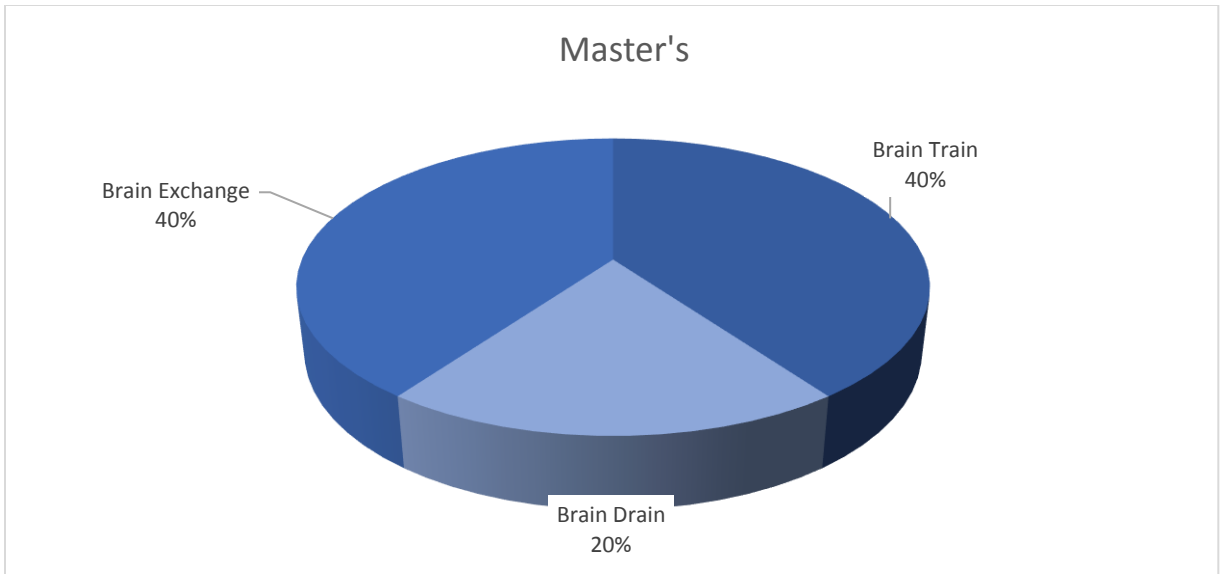


Figure 36 – Canada Skilled migration discourse for Master's Degree holders

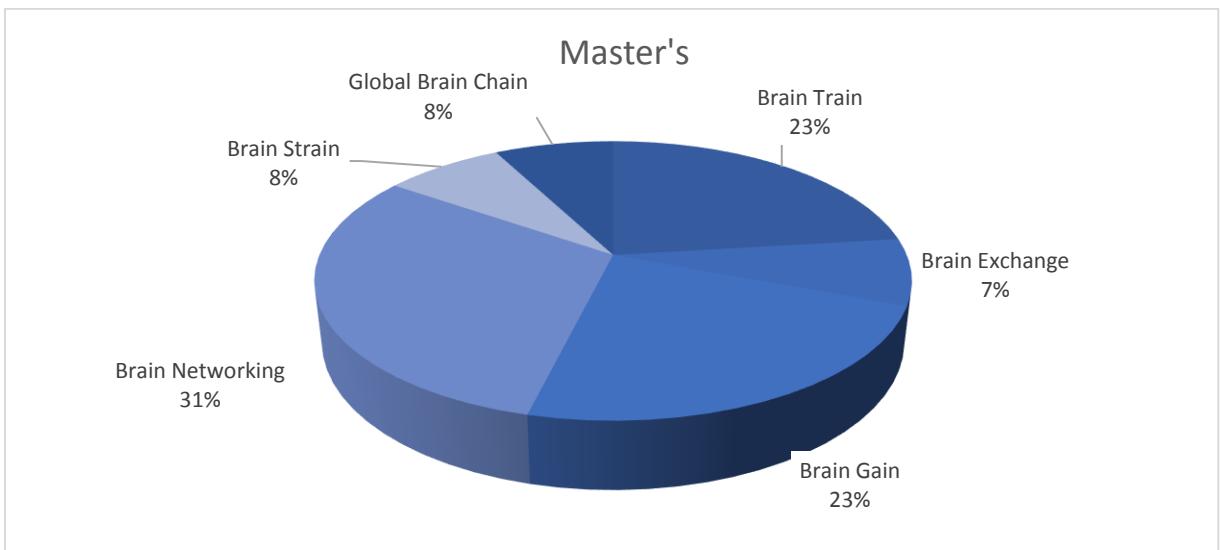


Figure 37 – Nigeria Skilled Migration Discourse for Master's Degree holders

#### 5.2.1.3.6 Doctorate

Participants with doctoral degrees from Nigeria identified most often with brain train, as shown in Figure 38.

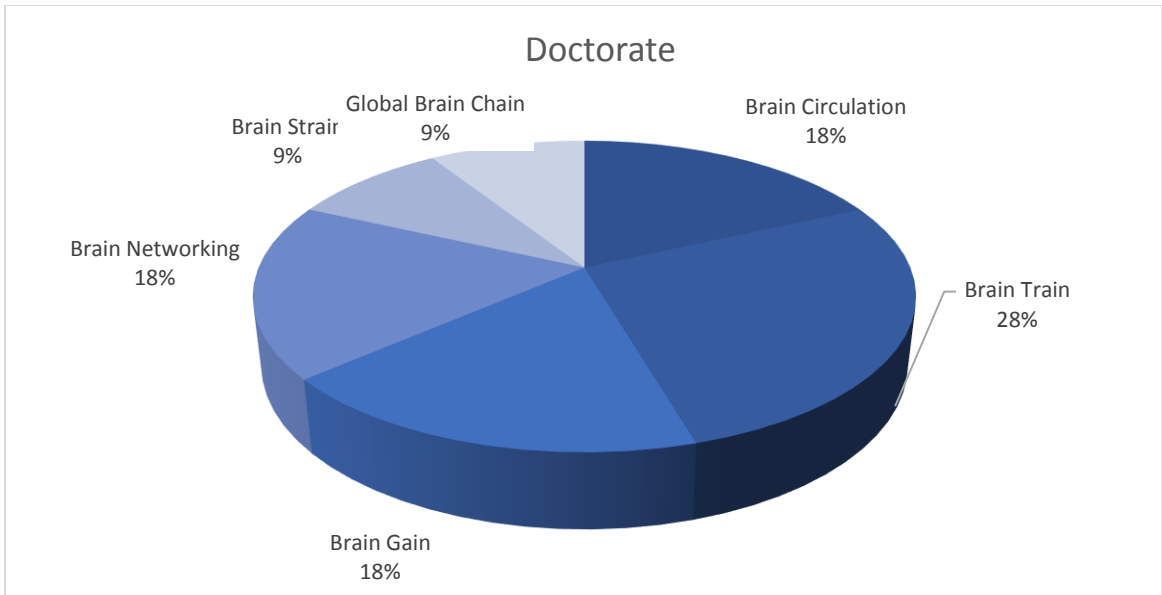


Figure 38 – Nigeria Skilled Migration Discourse for Doctorate Degree holders

#### 5.2.1.4 Skilled migration Discourse by Age

Figures 39 and 40 show the relationship between age groups and different skilled migration discourses. The brain train lexicon appears to be the most popular among all groups under 60 years of age.

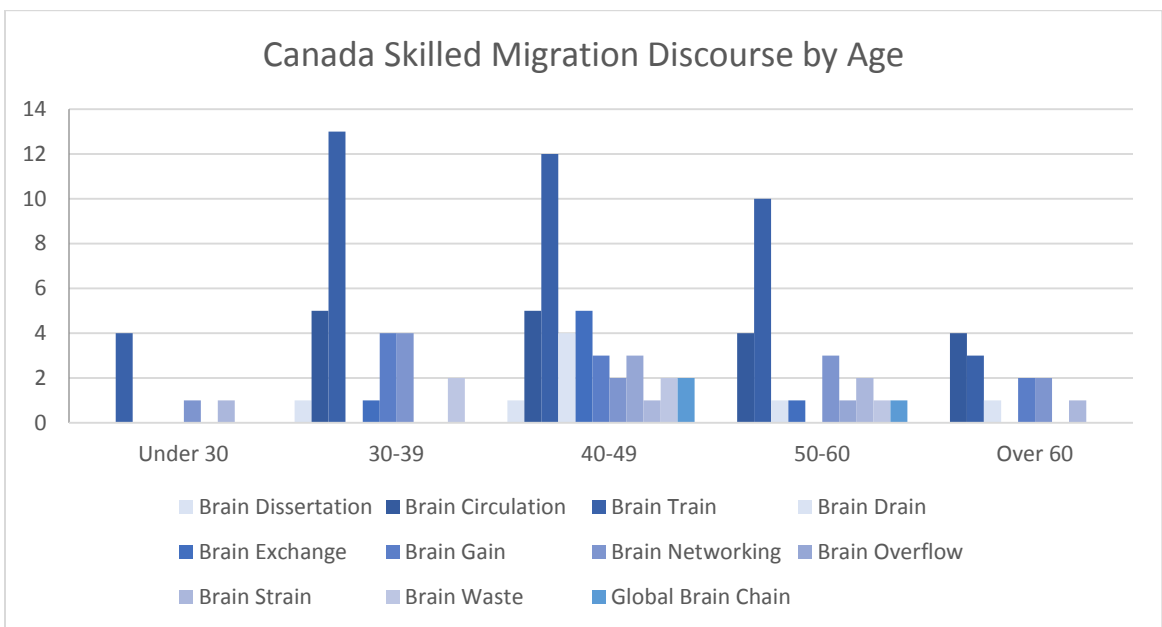


Figure 39 – Canada Skilled Migration Discourse by Age

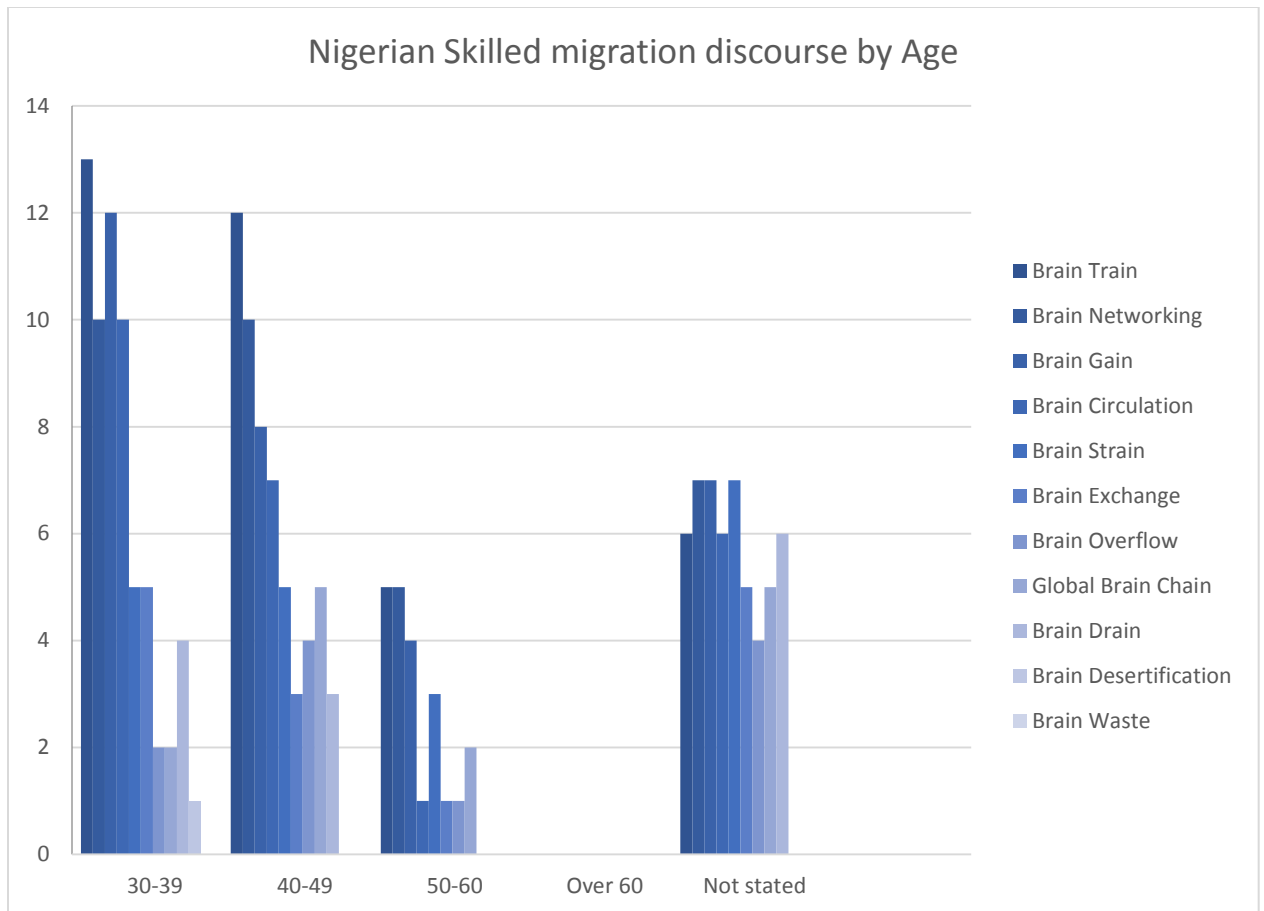


Figure 40 – Nigeria Skilled migration discourse by Age

#### 5.2.1.4.1 Under 30 years of age

The pie charts in Figures 41 and 42 document the proportion of participants under thirty years of age that identified with each skilled migration discourse, For this age group in Canada 67% identified with brain train, compared to less than half that amount (29%) for participants from Nigeria.

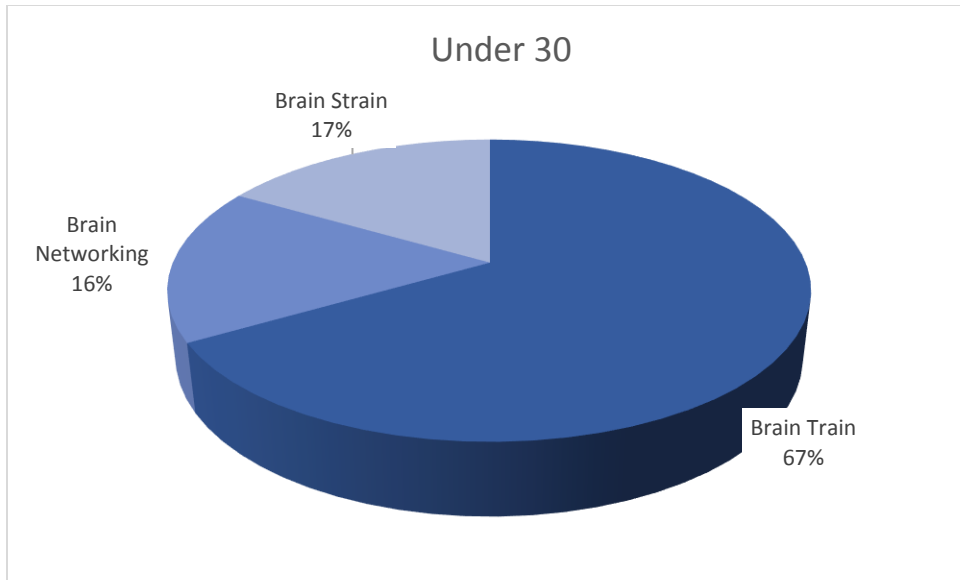


Figure 41 – Canada Skilled Migration Discourse for under 30 years of age

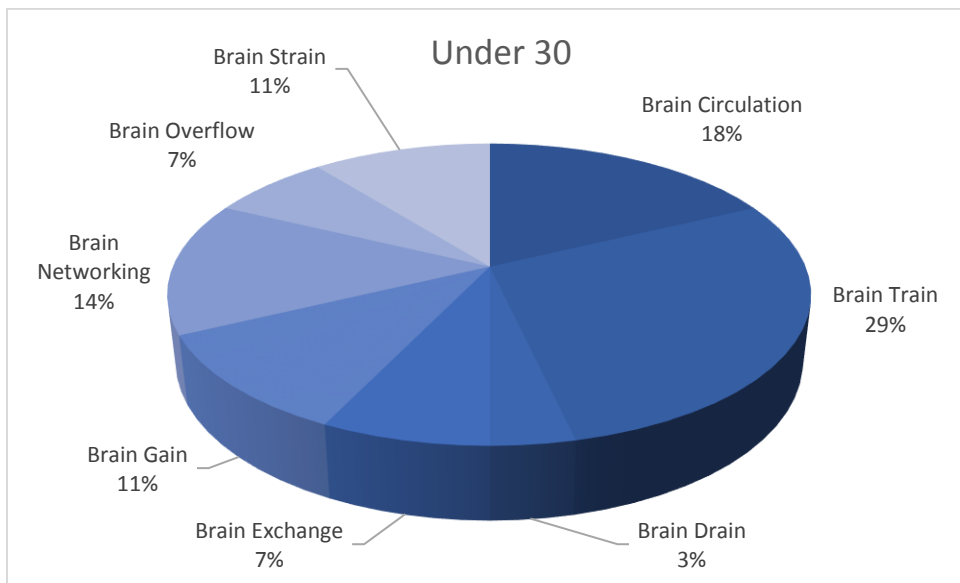


Figure 42 – Nigeria Skilled Migration Discourse for under 30 years of age

#### 5.2.1.4.2 30–50 years old

In this age group, 36% of Canadian participants identified with the brain train and 14% identified with brain circulation lexicon while 10% identified with brain gain and the same amount identified with brain networking, as presented in Figure 43. Participants from Nigeria differed from their Canadian counterparts, however, with 22% identifying with brain train, 16%

identifying with brain gain and 13% identifying with brain gain and brain circulation, as seen in Figure 44.

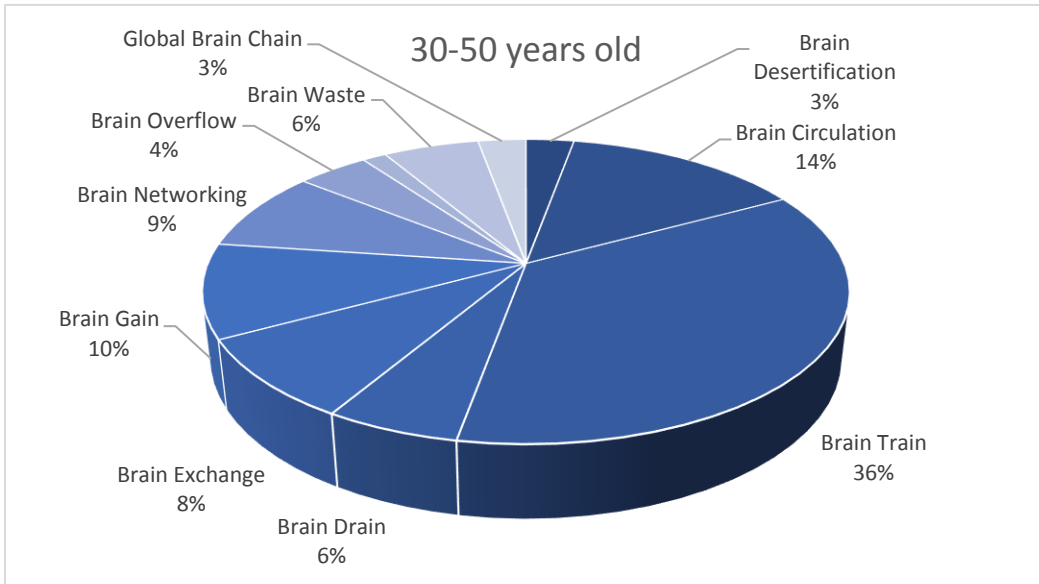


Figure 43 – Canada Skilled Migration Discourse for 30–50 years of age

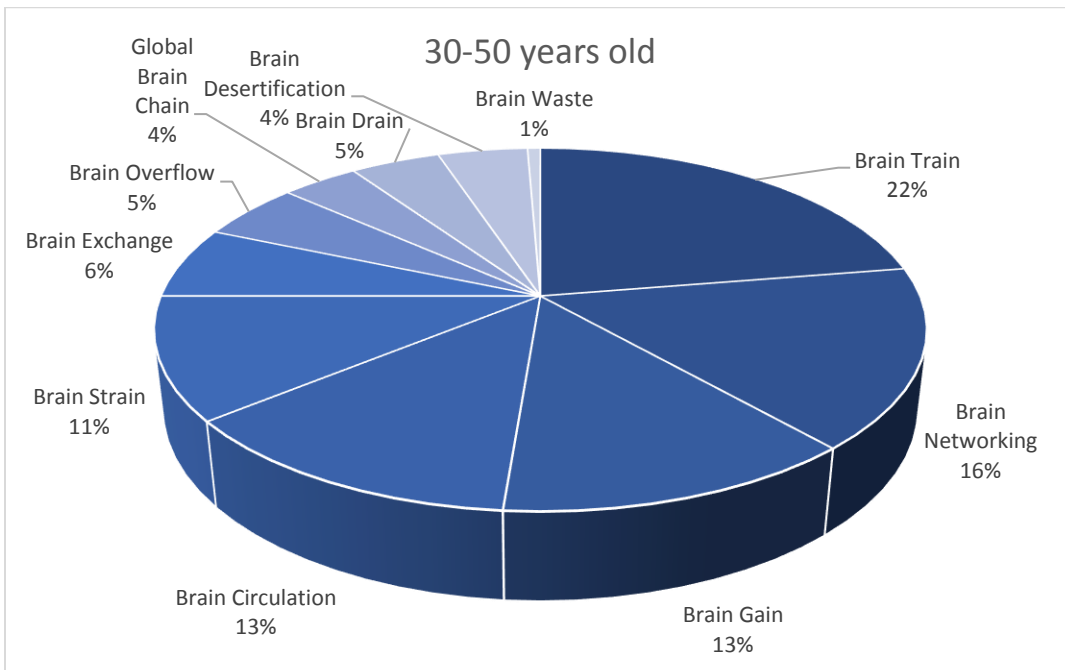


Figure 44 – Nigeria Skilled Migration Discourse for 30–50 years of age

5.2.1.4.3 *Over 50 years old*

For this age group, a little over one-third (35%) of the participants from Canada identified with the brain train lexicon while another 22% identified with brain circulation as shown in Figure 45, as compared to 24% of participants from Nigeria (Figure 46).

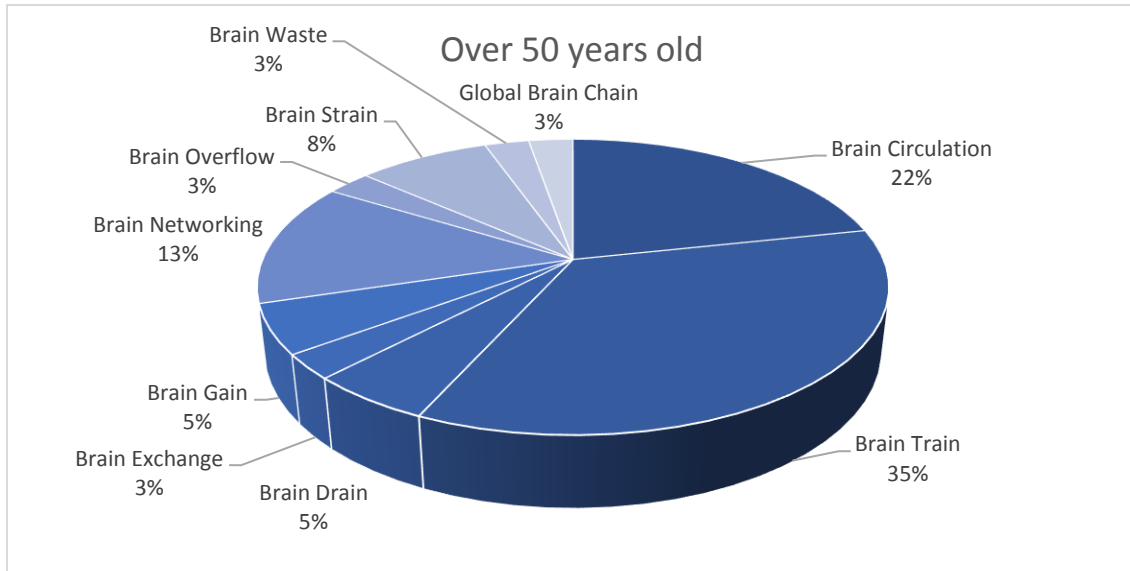


Figure 45 – Canada Skilled Migration Discourse for over 50 years of age

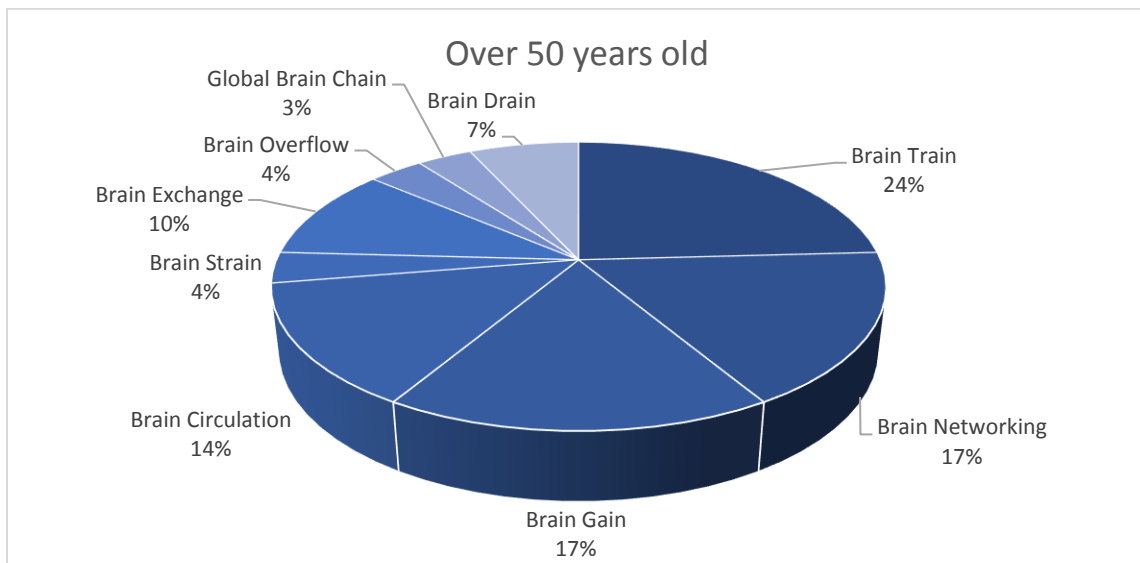


Figure 46 – Nigeria Skilled Migration Discourse for over 50 years of age

### 5.2.1.5 Skilled migration discourse by Marital Status

Participants' marital status was captured in the Canadian data, but collecting this demographic information proved to be challenging in Nigeria, where most prefer not to state their marital status. Figure 47, shows that the single, married, and divorced participants in Canada all identified most commonly with the brain train lexicon.

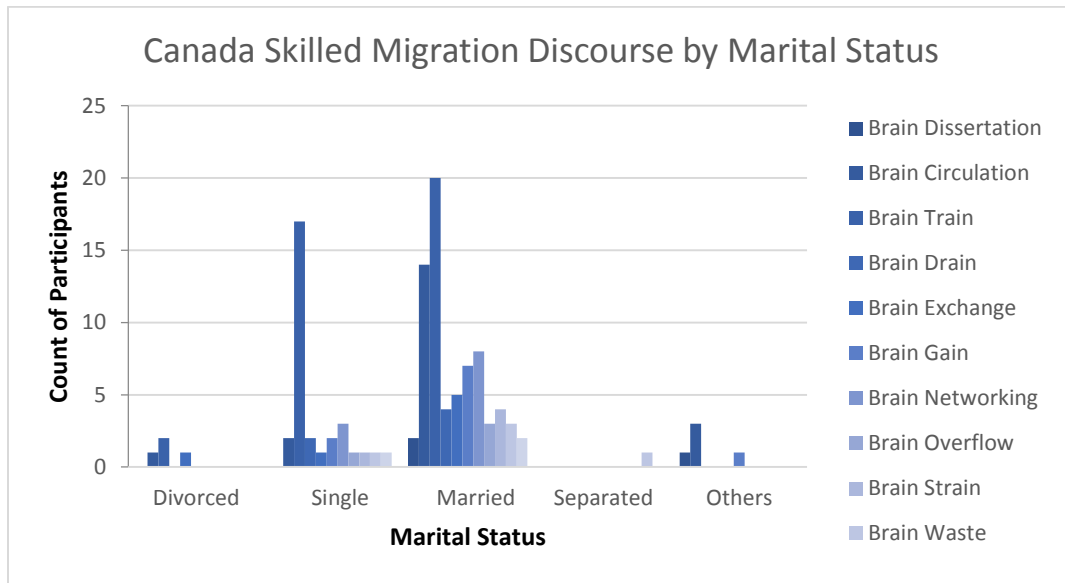


Figure 47 – Canada Skilled Migration Discourse by Marital Status

#### 5.2.1.5.1 Single

As seen in Figure 48, more than half of the single participants (55%) identified with the brain train discourse.

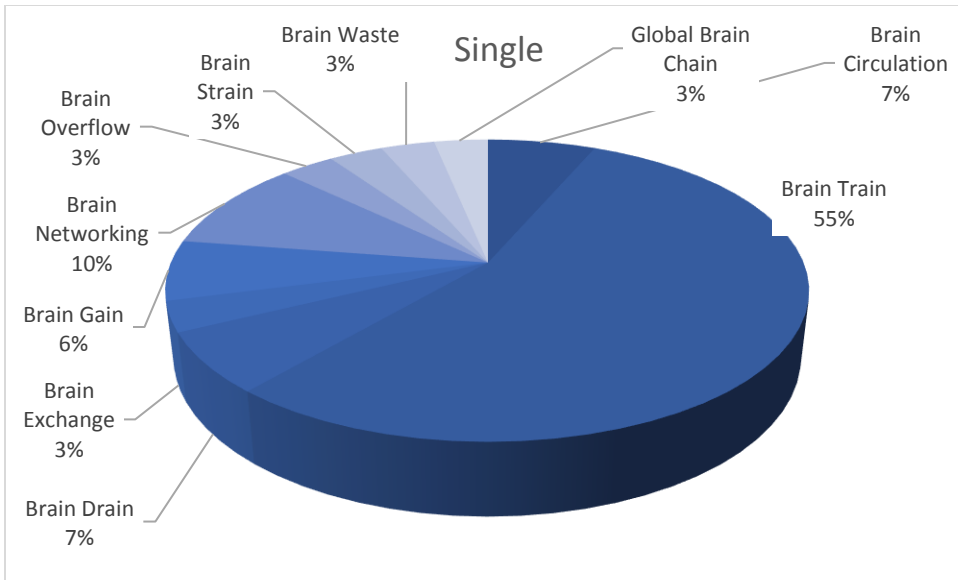


Figure 48 – Canada Skilled Migration Discourse by Marital Status – Single

#### 5.2.1.5.2 Married

For the participants who were married, a little more than one-fourth (28%) recognized the brain train discourse and another 19% identified with brain circulation.

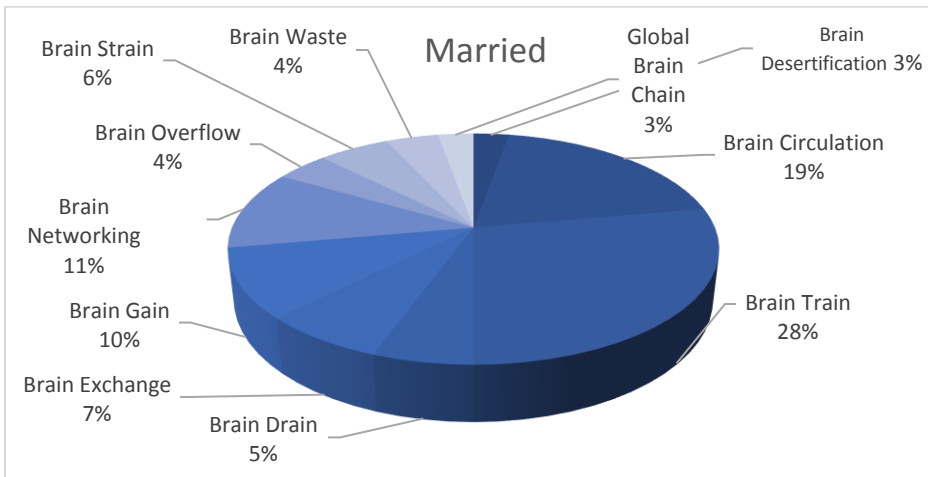


Figure 49 – Canada Skilled Migration Discourse by Marital Status – Married



### 5.2.1.5.3 Others

For the other marital statuses that were not easily classified, Figure 50, represents the distribution of participants' chosen skilled migration discourses. Two-thirds (60%) of the participants in this category identified with the brain train lexicon.

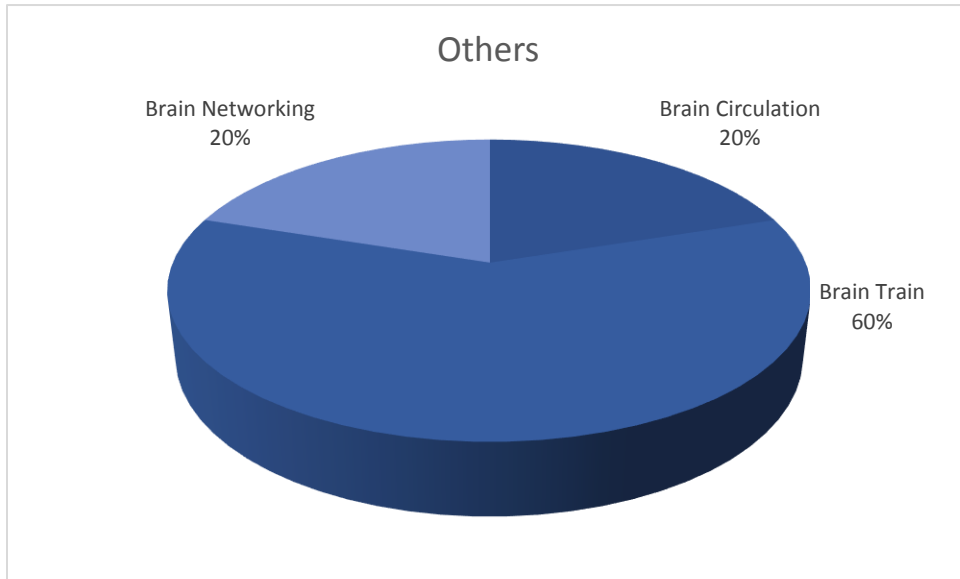


Figure 50 – Canada Skilled Migration Discourse by Marital Status – Others

### 5.2.1.6 Skilled migration discourse by Gender

Lastly, participants were grouped by their gender to detect any potential relationship between gender and the lexicon with which they identified. As seen in Figure 51, brain train was the dominant identified discourse for both males and females in Canada; my sample has small proportion of males, however, and there is too small to report it.

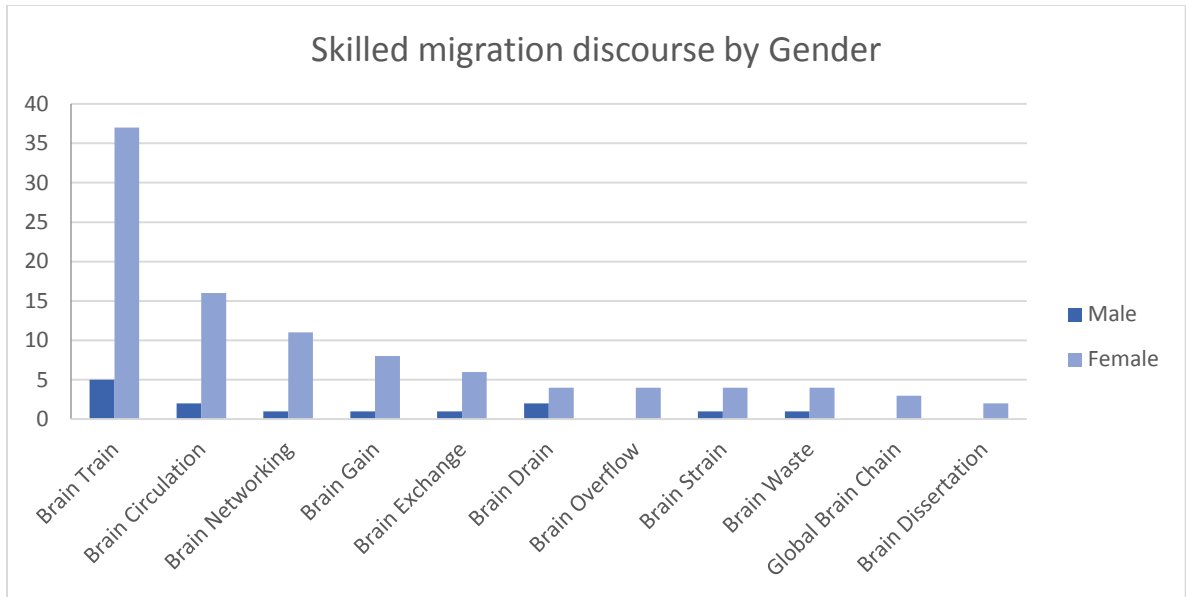


Figure 51 – Canada Skilled migration discourse by Gender

#### 5.2.1.6.1 Female

According to the data presented in Figure 52, 38% of female participants identified with the brain train lexicon and an additional 16% identified with the brain circulation lexicon.

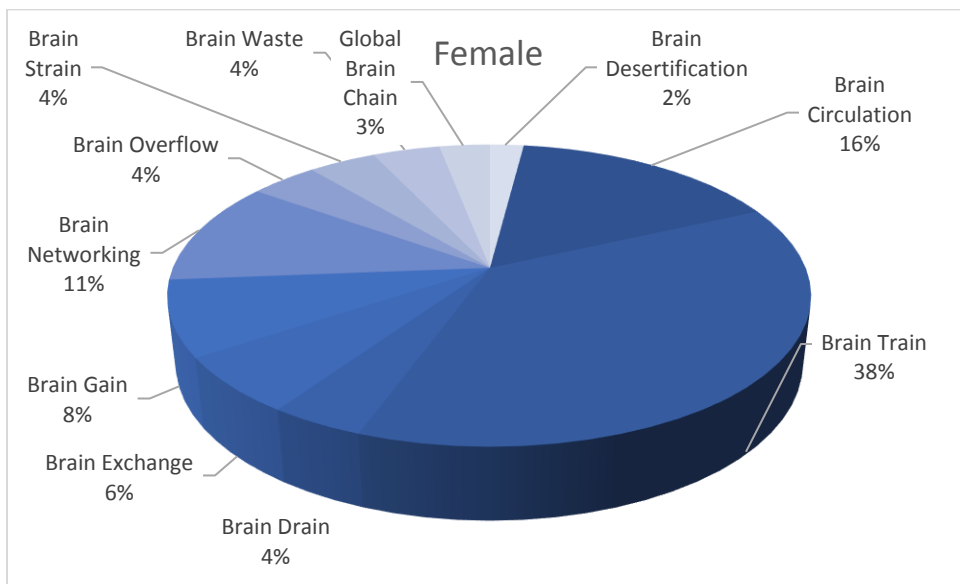


Figure 52 – Canada Skilled Migration Discourse by Sex – Female

5.2.1.6.2 *Male*

Figure 53 shows 36% of the male participants identified with the brain train lexicon, while 15% identified with brain circulation. Surprisingly, 14% of the male participants identified with brain drain in comparison to only 4% of their female counterparts.

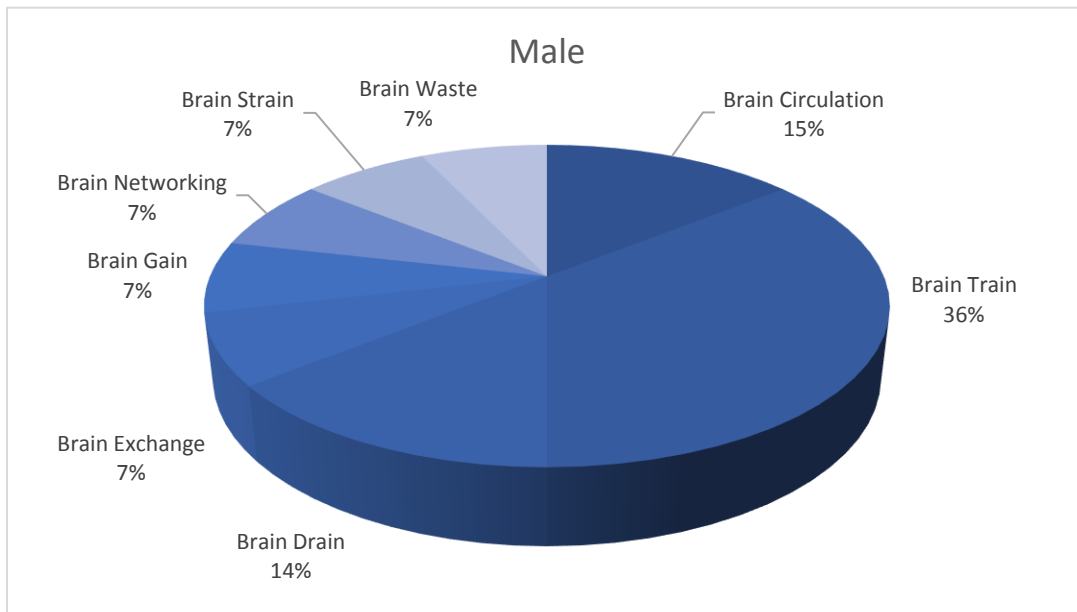


Figure 53- Canada Skilled migration discourse by Sex – Male

Research Question 2: Value Exchange and Extraction

**5.2.2 Objective 2: To contribute to the academic and professional literature on development consequences of skilled migration from Nigeria (an understudied population)**

**4.3.3 Migration Networks**

More than two-thirds of the respondents (69%) indicated they had an affiliation with some kind of network. The bar chart in Figure 54 indicates that faith-based associations are most evident, accounting for a total of 66% of the associations respondents indicated.

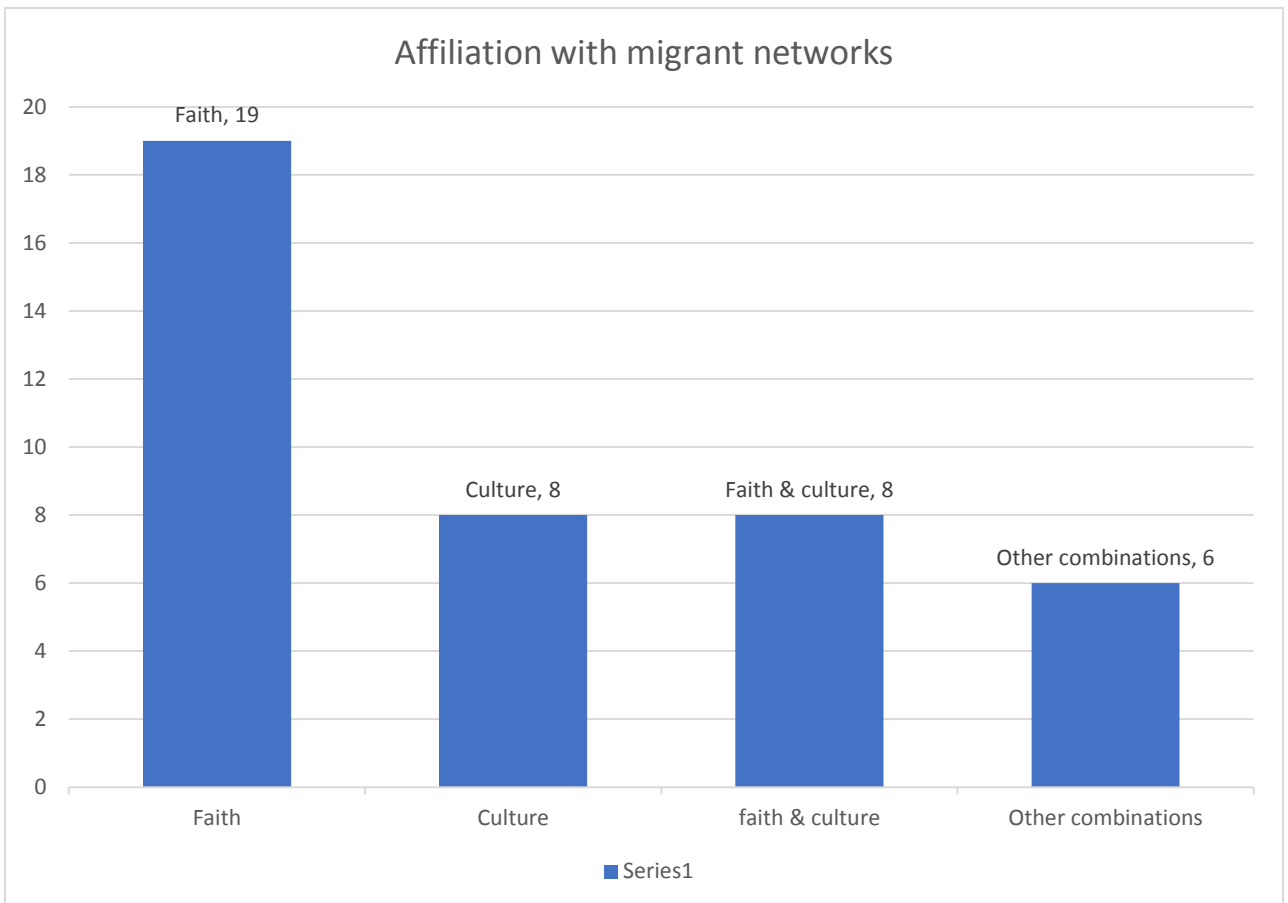


Figure 54 – Community Affiliation

When asked why they join networks, participants offered several different responses. Figure 55, illustrates the emergent themes in the responses concerning joining migrant networks.

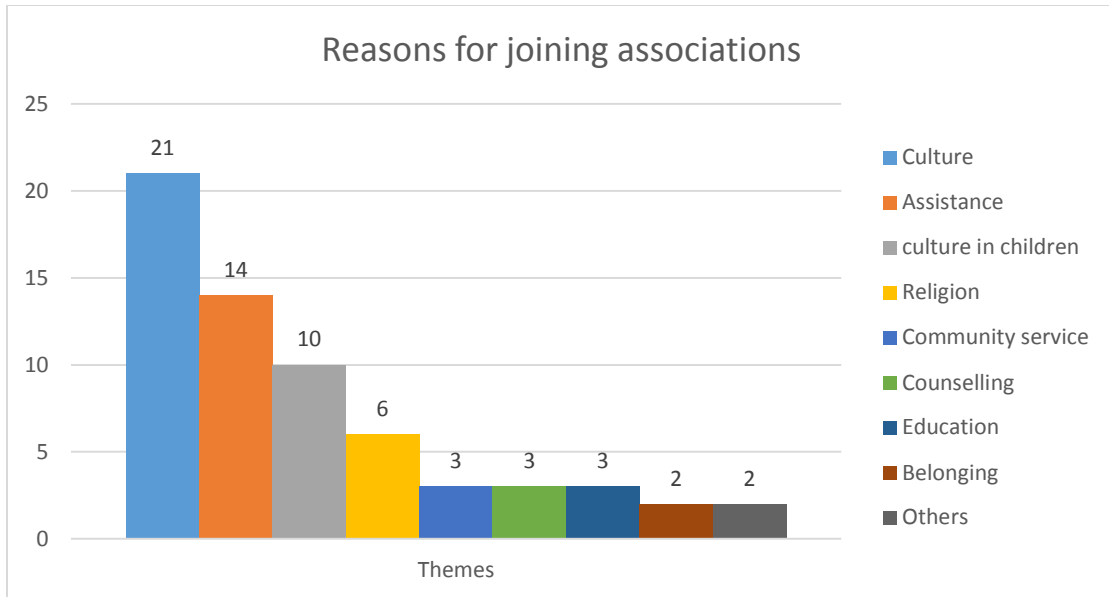


Figure 55 – Community Affiliations as to the reasons for joining the migrant networks

From the data in Figure 55, it is apparent that they want to stay close with people of the same culture the main reason why respondents joined a network.

#### 5.2.3.4.1 Migrant Networks

When asked if they affiliate with an association, 69.4% of the participants answered yes, they belong to an association, as shown in the pie chart in Figure 56. By far, faith-based associations were the most popular among participants, with more than 85% belonging to faith- or faith-and-culture-based networks.

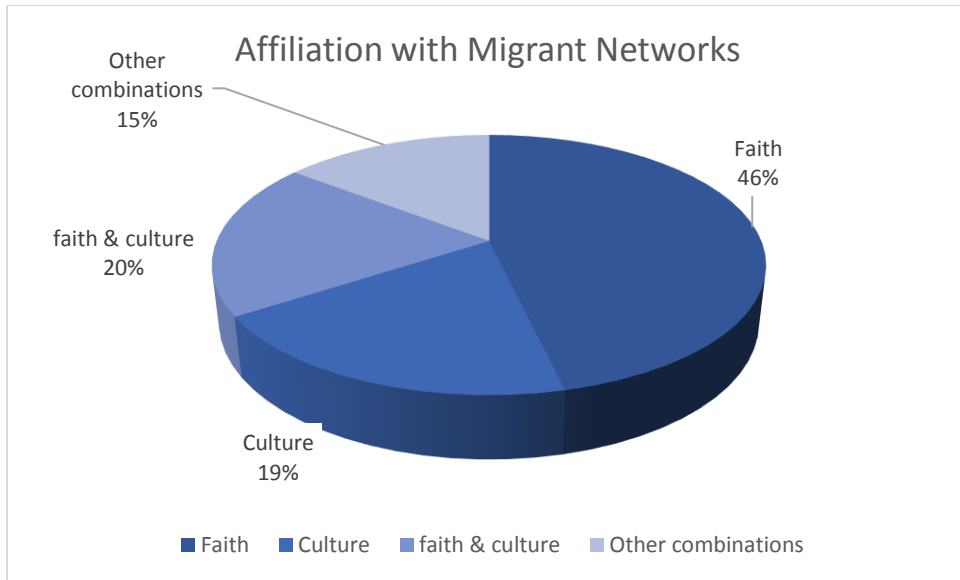


Figure 56 – Participants’ affiliation with migrant networks

Participants were also asked for their reasons for joining a network or an association. The themes from their responses are summarized in Figure 57. The majority of participants agree with the statement that belonging to a migrant network is a necessity. Figure 57 showcases culture as the main reason for joining a network. Assistance and Religion are also prominent in the reasons given. Other reasons include to access opportunities to socialize, to relieve stress, for educational purposes, to improve quality of life, and teamwork. The prominent themes from these findings are discussed in more detail in the remainder of this section.

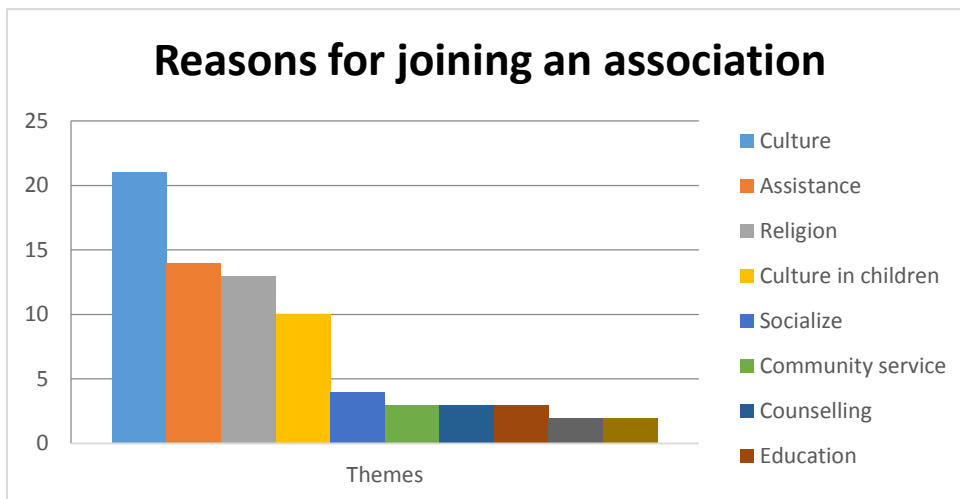


Figure 57 – Reasons for joining associations

## Culture

Culture, including children’s culture, is one of the main themes mentioned by participants when asked why they join an association or a migrant network. It was brought up by 31 out of 59 respondents. Table 24, documents in greater detail some of the reasons respondents gave for joining the networks.

*Table 234 – Reasons for joining migrant networks – Culture*

<b>Participant ID</b>	<b>Reasons for joining the organization</b>
<b>5</b>	Cultural promotion
<b>7</b>	For me not to forget my culture
<b>11</b>	It enables me to mix and relate with people from my cultural background
<b>13</b>	Engage my children in our cultural practices
<b>14</b>	Promote my culture
<b>20</b>	To stay in touch with my culture
<b>22</b>	Not to forget my [root]
<b>29</b>	To serve God with my people from same language and culture
<b>35</b>	To keep up with my roots
<b>37</b>	They are the people from my husband’s culture.
<b>44</b>	They were the ones that help us to get settled and connect us with people from Nigeria

One interviewee said: “To worship and stay in contact with my friends. Also to make sure my children know their culture and have a chance to marry from that culture. These days, we have intercultural marriages more than intra-cultural, and it’s affecting the kids and their parents” (Female, nurse, over 60 years of age).

## Assistance

Other responses to the question about why participants chose to belong to a migrant network include receiving financial and other assistance. As one interviewee put it, “To praise my God and for financial assistance. While in school, my church provides some money and counselling to those in need” (Female, PSW, under 30 years of age). Another commented, “In terms of faith-based, my church supports every family in prayers and help them to achieve their dreams” (Female, student, 40–50 years of age).

Another participant elaborated that “they were the ones that help us to get settled and connect us with people from Nigeria” (Female, student, 40–50 years of age). Another interviewee said she joined for support services, saying “You know, they speak your language, they understand where we are coming from, they understand this country and what is needed to be successful here.” (Female, Nurse, 30–40 years of age). With further probing, she recalled an encounter with members of her husband’s community and stated:

I didn’t even invite myself to the community when I lost my husband; someone told them, and they reached out to me. Even my husband is part of a different social group, and they came around as well. The money to transfer his corpse home and my fare were donated to us since we just came to Canada then. (Female, nurse, over 60 years of age)

### Community Service

Another prominent theme found in the data on reasons for joining networks is community service, being able to give back to one’s community. Table 25 contains responses regarding community service that resulted from the survey.

*Table 25 – Reasons for joining migrant networks – Community Service*

<b>Participant ID</b>	<b>Reasons for joining the organization</b>	<b>Description</b>	<b>Years in Canada</b>
<b>2</b>	To help the my community here and in Nigeria	Female, Nursing, 50–60 years	5
<b>9</b>	Want to help people and gain more knowledge about Nigerian Association	Female, Nursing, 30–40 years	5
<b>22</b>	To help through charity works	Female, PSW, 50–60 years	3
<b>23</b>	Community development	Female, Retired, over 60 years	6
<b>32</b>	To make a difference by giving back to my community. (helping those in need)	Female, Nursing, 50–60 years	15–20
<b>33</b>	To make a difference in the community	Female, Nursing, 40–50 years	Over 20

### Religion

Religion also featured in participant remarks on this topic. Table 26, provides a summary of the relevant responses given by the survey participants. It shows that some just want a sense of belonging while others go to church to fulfill a Christian responsibility and give back to God.



*Table 246 – Reasons for joining migrant networks – Religion*

<b>Participant ID</b>	<b>Reasons for joining the organization</b>
<b>1</b>	To serve God
<b>6</b>	Going to church
<b>8</b>	I was born and raised in the church. Going to church is part of what it means it be a Christian
<b>13</b>	This is to socialize with my people and engage my children in our cultural practices. In terms of faith-based, my church supports every family in prayers and help them to achieve their dreams
<b>24</b>	My faith is a very essential part of my life; it is important that I fellowship with other believers of the same faith
<b>29</b>	To serve God
<b>38</b>	I am in the choir at my church. I worship God with my voice

One interviewee also mentioned the need to belong, stating, “In this place, you need to go somewhere to feel belong and fellowship God with other believers. It’s biblical too” (Female, nurse, 30–40 years of age). Another interviewee stated she goes to church to serve God; when she further elaborated, she mentioned, “Yes, every week, we go to worship and thank him for his mercies over us” (Female, nurse, 30–40 years of age). Additional responses include the notion that faith-based association provides empowerment: “The church is a gathering where we pray and send our petition to God. This has been making me strong despite my predicaments” (Female, dental assistant, 50–60 years of age).

Using several internet searches, I have compiled a list of some of the available Nigerian networks and their mission statements. At least 97 formal knowledge networks were identified in Canada (see Appendix S), and these ranged in size from a few hundred to a few thousand members. These networks were categorized into three types: social, ethnocultural (Ethnically/territorially delimited), professional, and religious. It is important to recognize that the number of religious organizations (churches or mosques) whose pastors are Nigerian are in the hundreds; however, only limited information is available for many, such that only a small portion of these organizations were included in the summary table 27.

Table 27 – Migrant Networks

	<b>Total – n=94</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Social</b>	25	27%
<b>Professional</b>	13	14%
<b>Religious</b>	4	4%
<b>Ethnocultural</b>	49	52%
<b>Political</b>	1	1%
<b>Not listed</b>	2	2%

Some of the migrant networks and community leaders from the organizations listed in the summary table above and appendix s were interviewed as key informants to collect information about the difference between Nigerian professionals and other migrants, and to determine whether any of these differences were attributable to migration. The data contained themes ranging from easy adaption to increased educational levels from certificates to diplomas, lack of youth mentorship, inability to collaborate with one another, and placing limitations on themselves, among others.

One key informant interviewee reflected that Nigerian migrant professionals are goal-oriented and focused. They have the mindset and determination to attain their desired level career-wise within a very short period of time. Most of them sacrifice whatever it takes to get certified in Canada rather than holding petty jobs just to survive, in contrast to migrants from other national groups who might more readily choose to take alternate career routes in order to make ends meet. In a nutshell, according to this key informant, Nigerians love to study and stay informed. Hence, they would do whatever it takes to get them into the career level they believe they deserve (Key Informant Interview: Participant 5)

Another key informant interviewee pointed out another difference in Nigerian migrants, saying “One thing that I notice among Nigerian Professional migrants that is different from migrants from other countries is that Nigerians do not mentor their youth and do not patronize

each other”. (Key Informant Interview: Participant 10). Nonetheless, there was evidence of professional collaboration in the data (see below).

When asked about changes they noticed since Nigerian migrants arrived in Canada, some key informants noted the lack of value placed on marriage or family. One referred specifically to the role of fathers as parent figures, saying it was present here in Canada but absent in Nigeria. He remarked, “Migration creates awareness and exposure [for] most African community. Lots of things that is taken for granted are made accessible.” This key informant felt men now see the importance to be in their children’s life rather than leaving the job of parenting mainly to the women (Key Informant Interview: Respondent 5).

Key informants also discussed the distance between Nigerian migrant communities members due to the higher number of migrants now compared to the early 1990s. Some stated there was a lack of support for one another, unlike back in Nigeria, where everyone is seen as having responsibility for raising the community’s children. Several interviewees mentioned their concerns about the ability of the Nigerian migrant community to work together, with one commenting, “The challenge I have with our community members is getting them to work collaboratively as one body and with love” (Key Informant Interview: Participant 4).

Another theme found in the data from key informant interviews is political involvement. One key informant mentioned the need for Nigerians to get involved in politics, asserting:

There is a need for a paradigm shift for our community to have a political voice. In the past, immigrants have steered away from having their interests advocated for in the corridors of power. However, the last elections indicated that the Nigerian community is leaning towards this change. Four Nigerians ran for political offices, both federally, provincially and municipally in Ontario. It was a clear indication that change is near for the community.” (Key Informant Interview: Participant 6).

Interviewees also offered comments on the nature of Nigerian immigrant networks and how the development of skilled migration might change the type of networks or networking activities Nigerian immigrants might develop.

One interviewee said that:

Nigerian professional migrants are goal-oriented and focused. They have the mind set and determination to attain the level in career wise within a very short period of time. Most of them sacrifice whatever it takes to get them certified in Canada rather than doing petty jobs to survive. While most other ethnics are found taken alternate route to making ends meet. In a nutshell, Nigerians love to study and stayed informed. Hence, they would do whatever it takes to get them in the level they believe they deserve. (Key Informant Interview: Participant 5)

Another agreed:

We are beginning to witness the rise in the Nigerian Professional migrants. Recently, there was an establishment of a Council of Nigerian Lawyers. This is a glimpse of the future we look forwards to. We have other professionals, such as doctors, realtors, politicians, etc. Though there is progress, we are yet to achieve great strides such as Black Business Professional Association. (Key Informant Interview: Participant 7).

Several others mentioned that Nigerians do not want to work together:

Some Nigerians don't want to lend helping hands to another Nigerian because of past bad experience. I notice that Indians and Chinese don't have the same problem Nigerians have with one another because they work together. They do not need anyone outside their community to get the help they require (Key Informant Interview: Participant 4).

When asked what changes have they noticed since the migrant workers got to Canada, some state that these migrants place no value on marriage/family, and there is distance in the community due to a higher number of migrants now compared to the early 1990s.

One respondent reflected on the role of fathers as a parent figure in Canada, and the ability this creates for women to continue in education, which is absent in Nigeria:

Migration creates awareness and exposure to the most African community. Lots of things that are taken for granted are made accessible. Further, our people are exposed to the importance of education. Back in Africa, most matured women especially, give up in education, while great number of them now are back in school and having degrees in various fields like Nursing and social work. To also add to this, the availability to go back to school is available which encourage most adult in relative to African where there is no government assistance program. Also, the involvement of mostly fathers in the life of their children has increased due to exposure and the educational aspect of the modern society. Men now see the importance to be in their children's life rather than leaving the job mainly to the women (Key Informant Interview: Participant 5).

**5.2.3 Objective 3: To look at the occupations of migrant health care workers pre- and post-migration to determine the development consequences of migration for individuals and for sending and receiving states**

This section begins with an overview of the report of my findings documented in tables and charts illustrating the migration streams used by migrants who enter Canada, the people they migrate with, and identifying whose idea it was to migrate. The migrants' pre- and post-migration occupations and education will also be presented. This section finishes by looking at migrants' intentions and advisers from sending states, advice from migrants about migrating, and advice given by other migrants in the receiving state.

*5.2.3.1 Overview of the Nigerian Migrant sample in Canada*

Table 28 presents an overview of the migrants who participated in this study, how they migrated, and who they migrated with. Even though the sample identified themselves as skilled migrants, a little less than one-third (29.1%) of the participants migrated through the skilled worker class, the majority (36%) migrated under the family class category. A little more than half (53.6%) migrated with their families, while another 35.7% migrated alone. When asked whose idea it was to migrate, 45.3% of them said it was their spouse's idea, while 18.9% of them gave credit to other family members.

Table 258 – Participants and their migration experiences

	Count of Participants	%
<b>Migration Stream</b>		
<b>Family</b>	20	36.4%
<b>Skilled Worker</b>	16	29.1%
<b>Visitor</b>	7	12.7%
<b>Other</b>	7	12.7%
<b>Student</b>	5	9.1%
<b>Migrated with</b>		
<b>Family</b>	30	53.6%
<b>Self</b>	20	35.7%
<b>Spouse</b>	6	10.7%
<b>Whose idea</b>		
<b>Spouse</b>	24	45.3%
<b>Self</b>	13	24.5%
<b>Other family</b>	10	18.9%
<b>Parent</b>	6	11.3%

When asked how long they have been in Canada, 37% of participants stated they had been here for about 5–9 years while another 36% reported being here for under 5 years. The pie chart in Figure 58, shows the full results.

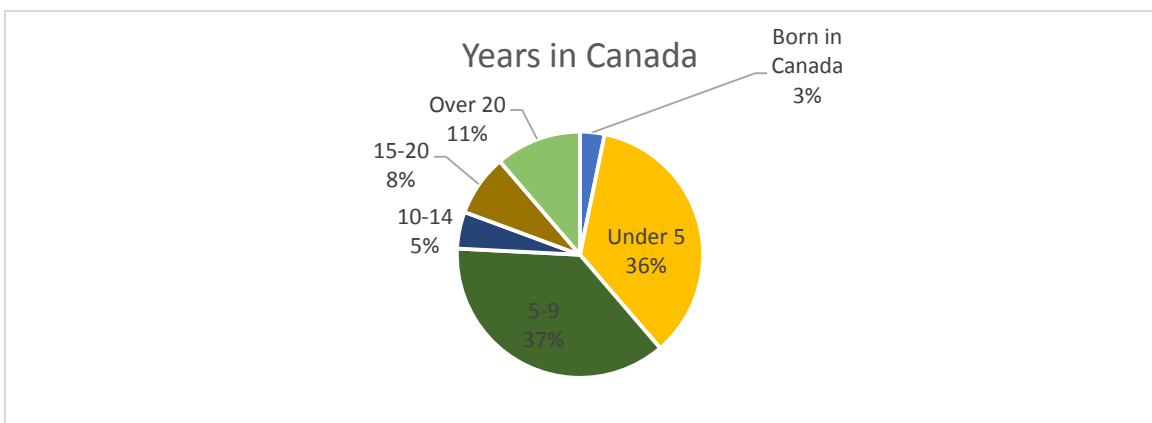


Figure 58 – Participants' Years in Canada

### 5.2.3.2 Education before and after migration

Overall, 83% of participants said they acquired new skills after migration while 76% stated they gained new credentials. This is a noticeable finding, as most of the participants are skilled workers who had already acquired knowledge and qualifications before migrating.

Figure 59 uses a stacked column to show the results based on education before and after migration. The figure clearly shows there is a notable increase in levels of education after migration. Before migration these migrants were health care workers where, 16% of the participants had a certificate while 19% had a diploma and an additional 19% had an undergraduate degree. After migration, the migrants were able to upgrade their credentials. As a result, the percentage of migrants with a certificate changed to 1%, while those with a diploma increased to 24%, and 33% of the participants held a bachelor's degree.

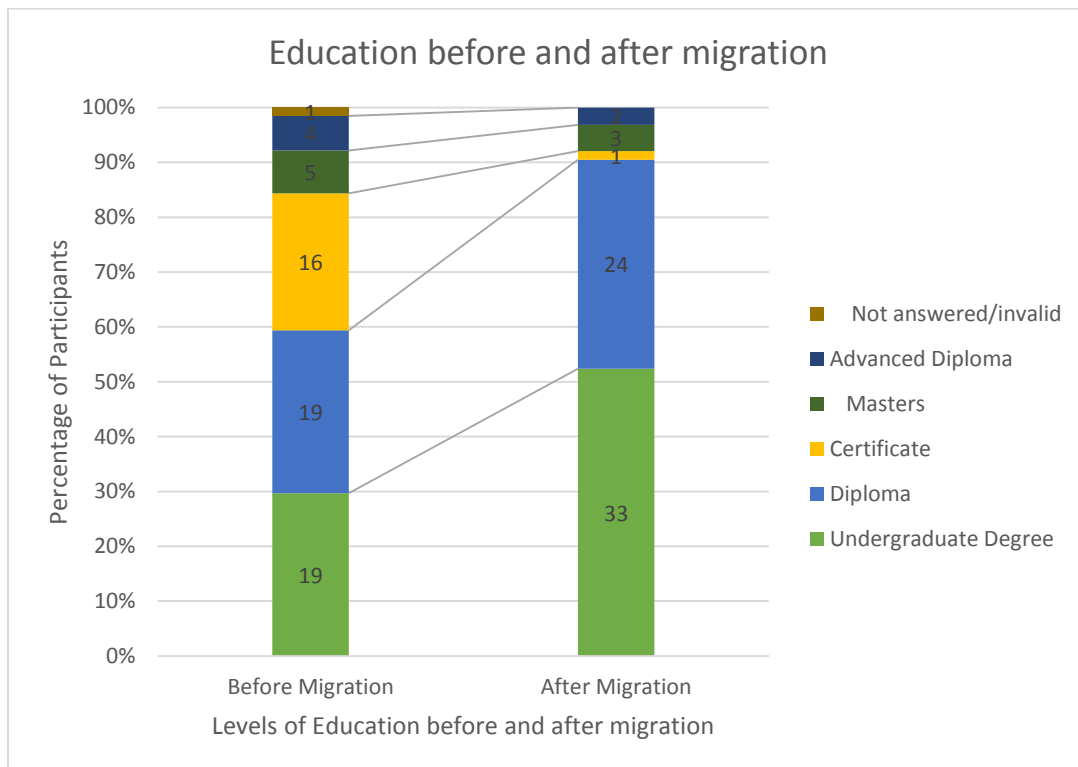


Figure 59 – Education before and after migration

### 5.2.3.3 Occupation before and after migration

The participants were asked about their occupations before and after migration as presented in the stacked column chart shown in Figure 60. It demonstrates the finding that participants were engaged in nursing as well as teaching, training, and several occupations tagged as “others” not necessarily included in the health field. But after migration, a new occupation – personal support worker (PSW) – emerges, and twice as many people work in the health field which were prior nurses or people from other sectors. This could be seen as deskilling since PSW is a diploma program and seen as less qualified than RPN or RN that requires a bachelor’s degree.

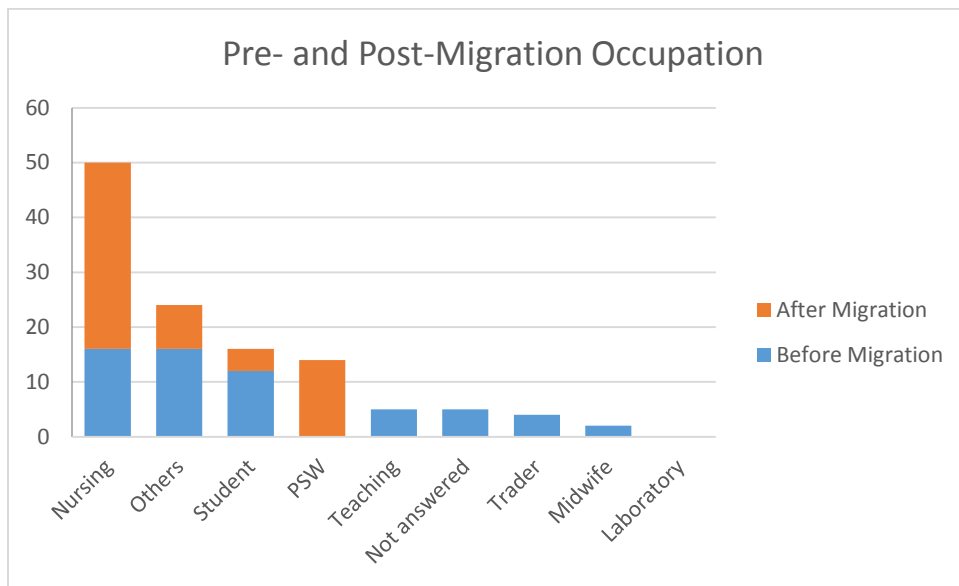


Figure 60 – Pre- and Post-Migration Occupation

### 5.2.3.4 Consequences in the Receiving State

In order to determine the consequences for individual migrants in the receiving state, the participants were asked if they belonged to a migrant network, their reasons for joining the network, and whether anyone had approached them about migrating and the advice they gave such people.



5.2.3.4.2 *Migration Inquiry from Non-Migrants*

Migrants are sometimes ask in about their migration experience or asked to give migration advice to those still in Nigeria. A noteworthy percentage (75%) of the respondents had also been asked questions by their non-migrating counterparts in Nigeria about migrating to Canada.

The participants were then asked about the responses they gave to their non-migrant counterparts when they asked for advice. The responses are presented in Table 29, which shows that most of the advice provided was positive.

*Table 269 – Advice given to non-migrant counterparts*

<b>THEME</b>	<b>NUMBER OF RESPONSES</b>	<b>ADVICE GIVEN</b>
<b>BETTER OPPORTUNITIES</b>	11	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• To better their life, I advised them to pursue their dreams</li> <li>• For better future and education, the advice I give them is that is a good thing to do</li> <li>• Canada is a good place to migrate to, great opportunities are here to improve life</li> <li>• Canada is not easy to make money but with good education and hard work you can succeed.</li> <li>• I encouraged them to pursue their dreams for better opportunities</li> <li>• Education and other opportunities</li> <li>• Canada is good for immigrants that want to succeed</li> <li>• Education advancement and job opportunities</li> <li>• Opportunities and advancement</li> <li>• Canada is a land of opportunities where they can achieve their dreams</li> <li>• Unlimited opportunities for career advancement</li> </ul>
<b>OFFERED ASSISTANCE</b>	7	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• That they should apply and I will assist if I can in any way</li> <li>• I advise them to avoid illegal migration</li> <li>• Through the Canadian immigration system as a visitor, student, foreign worker or family class</li> <li>• Skilled worker. I told them to go to <a href="http://cic.gc.ca">cic.gc.ca</a> website for information</li> <li>• I advised them to visit the Canadian website for information and requirements before starting</li> <li>• Give them the links to go and be able to go through legally</li> <li>• Since they are nurses, I told them to make sure they bring all their credentials and paper work before applying.</li> </ul>

<b>NOT ADVISABLE</b>	4	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Stay in Nigeria; not rosy here</li> <li>• If they are currently living well and comfortable in Nigeria, they should not bother about migrating to Canada because you are coming to start all over again</li> <li>• I always told them, it's not advisable if they have a good job fetching them daily living in Nigeria</li> <li>• I told them to do their homework. It's not easy, but some of them don't listen, then when they get here, they start complaining to you.</li> </ul>
<b>IMPROVED SAFETY</b>	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• For security and better life</li> <li>• Safety reason, protection and employment</li> <li>• Education, safety, children education</li> </ul>
<b>EDUCATION</b>	1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Be willing to acquire more knowledge</li> </ul>
<b>SHORT TERM VISIT</b>	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• They should only come on vacation and see if they can cope with the situations here, especially if they have a good job in Nigeria</li> <li>• Keep their job if they have a good one and come for vacation once in a while</li> <li>• I told them it's not easy. If they have a good job, they should come only to visit and go back to their jobs</li> </ul>
<b>FAMILY</b>	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It's a wonderful thing to do. Better life, wonderful for families with kids</li> <li>• Education, safety, children education</li> <li>• That it's a good place to raise kids</li> </ul>
<b>FLEXIBILITY</b>	2	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• My advice is that whoever wants to relocate to Canada should learn a vocational job and be ready to "return to school" for better acculturation and socialization</li> <li>• Must be willing to put their status aside and go for their main goal</li> </ul>

One interviewee mentioned that she offered opportunities for her non-migrant counterparts to experience what Canada looks like: "I told my friends to come and visit with their family for vacation for a week. After a week, they are the ones that told me they cannot live here" (Female, nurse, 30–40 years of age).

Religion is again reflected in the range of responses received. One participant mentioned: "Old people ask me how they can join their children here. I tell them to pray and believe, God will come through for them like he did for me" (Female, PSW, over 60 years of age).

Another interviewee who lives in Canada while her husband lives and works in Nigeria also mentioned that;

I told my family and friends not to think about it. Biblically, it's not good for a man to be

alone, [never mind] a woman with her kids. I want to live as a married woman with my husband, but he always asks me to sacrifice for our kids and their education (Female, nurse/teaching, 30–40 years of age).

**5.2.5 Objective 5: To understand if participating in transnational activities (e.g., remittance by migrants) actually fuels more migration and creates a migration chain.**

In order to achieve this objective, the list of transnational activities were shown to the participants on paper and read out for them, so they could specify which ones they were currently participating in. The histogram displayed in Figure 61, and data in Table 30, illustrate levels of participation in transnational activities. There are no significant differences in the levels of participation in transnational activities. There are no significant differences in the levels of participation, except the low participation in politics - 22.0% in Nigeria (NG-Political), and 10.2% in Canada (CA – Political). Although these people voted, they did not run for office.

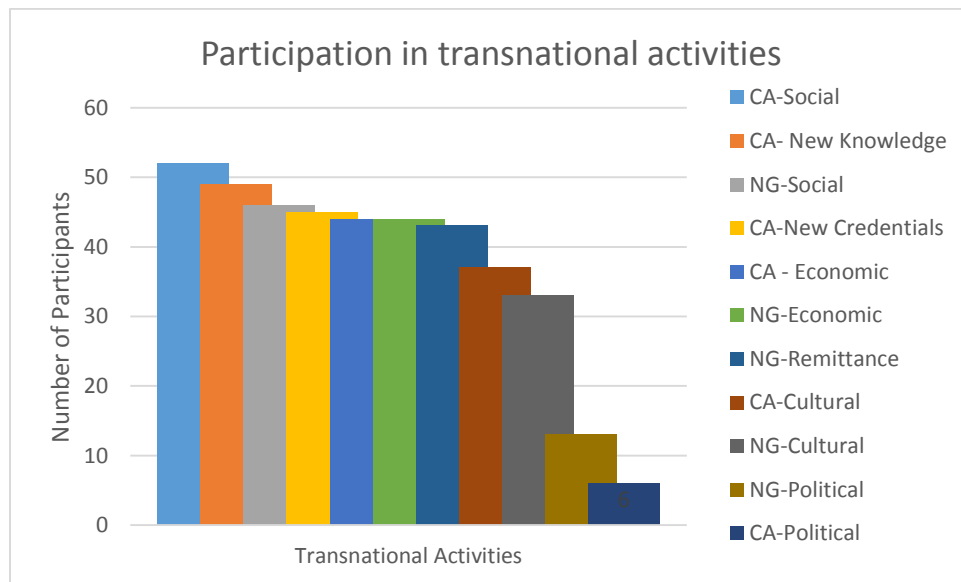


Figure 61 – Participants’ participation in transnational activities

Table 30 – Overall participation in transnational activities in Canada (CA) and Nigeria (NG)

	N=59	%
CA-Social	52	88.1%
CA- New Knowledge	49	83.1%
NG-Social	46	78.0%
CA-New Credentials	45	76.3%
CA - Economic	44	74.6%
NG-Economic	44	74.6%
NG-Remittance	43	72.9%
CA-Cultural	37	62.7%
NG-Cultural	33	55.9%
NG-Political	13	22.0%
CA-Political	6	10.2%

#### 5.2.5.1 Transnational Activities by Profession

The tables below demonstrate the breakdown of participation in transnational activity by profession, level of education, age, marital status, and gender. The next section then examines if there are any relationships between them.

The results in Table 31, are fairly consistent across the professions, except that only 50% of students participated in economic activities in Canada, and 100% of the Personal Support Workers participated in the social activities in Canada. When asked about cultural activities, there were no significant differences between nurses and PSWs; however, only 50% of the students and ‘other’ professions participated. Also, when asked about gaining new credentials and adding new knowledge, 92.3% of the PSW agreed with that statement. Regarding sending remittances to Nigeria and participating economically, 100% of participants in the ‘other’ professions agreed with that statement; surprisingly, none of them participated in cultural or political activities in Nigeria. Finally, all the students participated socially in Nigeria.

Table 31 – Participation in transnational activities by profession in Canada (CA) and Nigeria (NG)

	Nursing		Student		PSW		Others		Total
	N=32	%	N=4		N=13		N=8		
CA - Economic	26	81.3%	2	50.0%	10	76.9%	6	75.0%	44
CA-Social	28	87.5%	3	75.0%	13	100.0%	0	0.0%	44
CA-Cultural	21	65.6%	2	50.0%	10	76.9%	4	50.0%	37
CA-Political	2	6.3%	1	25.0%	3	23.1%	0	0.0%	6
CA- New Knowledge	28	87.5%	3	75.0%	12	92.3%	6	75.0%	49
CA-New Credentials	26	81.3%	3	75.0%	12	92.3%	4	50.0%	45
NG-Economic	22	68.8%	3	75.0%	10	76.9%	8	100.0%	43
NG-Remittance	23	71.9%	3	75.0%	9	69.2%	8	100.0%	43
NG-Social	25	78.1%	4	100.0%	10	76.9%	7	87.5%	46
NG-Cultural	16	50.0%	2	50.0%	10	76.9%	0	0.0%	28
NG-Political	6	18.8%	1	25.0%	3	23.1%	0	0.0%	10

#### 5.2.5.2 Transnational Activities by Education

The results regarding participants engaging in transnational activities and their levels of education are displayed in Table 32. In Canada, groups with different levels of education seem to express different economic participation. All participants with master's degrees participated economically in Canada, compared to 78.3% of those with degrees or diplomas, and only 40% of those with certificates. This is not the case for economic or remittance participation in Nigeria, where 82.6% of the participants with degrees participated economically. When asked about social participation in Canada, the reverse is true: 100% of the participants with certificates participated socially and gained new credentials, while 66.7% of those with master's degrees were socially active with new credentials. Also, all certificate holders agreed they had acquired new knowledge and gained new credentials, while none of those with master's degrees agreed.

Table 32 – Participation in transnational activities by education

	<b>Degree</b>		<b>Diploma</b>		<b>Certificate</b>		<b>Masters</b>		<b>Totals</b>
	N=23	%	N=23		N=5		N=3		
<i>CA - Economic</i>	18	78.3%	18	78.3%	2	40.0%	3	100.0%	41
<i>CA-Social</i>	18	78.3%	22	95.7%	5	100.0%	2	66.7%	47
<i>CA-Cultural</i>	16	69.6%	14	60.9%	2	40.0%	2	66.7%	44
<i>CA-Political</i>	3	13.0%	3	13.0%	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	7
<i>CA- New Knowledge</i>	17	73.9%	21	91.3%	5	100.0%	0	0.0%	43
<i>CA-New Credentials</i>	15	65.2%	21	91.3%	5	100.0%	2	66.7%	43
<i>NG-Economic</i>	19	82.6%	18	78.3%	1	20.0%	2	66.7%	40
<i>NG-Remittance</i>	18	78.3%	18	78.3%	1	20.0%	2	66.7%	39
<i>NG-Social</i>	18	78.3%	19	82.6%	4	80.0%	2	66.7%	43
<i>NG-Cultural</i>	11	47.8%	16	69.6%	2	40.0%	1	33.3%	30
<i>NG-Political</i>	5	21.7%	6	26.1%	0	0.0%	1	33.3%	12

### 5.2.5.3 Transnational Activities by Age

Table 33 shows participation by age group. It is evident that the older the age group, the greater the participation rate. Participants who are 60 years of age and over had an 80% or greater participation rate in all transnational activities except for politics. Surprisingly, 80% of that age group still gained new credentials by improving and converting their certificates and diplomas to undergraduate degrees. In addition, 100% of participants under 30 years of age participated socially, while only 25% of them participated culturally and economically in Canada and Nigeria.

Table 33 – Participation in transnational activities by age

	Under 30		30–40 years old		40–50 years old		50–60 years old		Over 60		Total
	N=4		N=16		N=20		N=14		N=5		
<i>CA - Economic</i>	1	25.0%	13	81.3%	15	75.0%	11	78.6%	4	80.0%	44
<i>CA-Social</i>	4	100.0%	13	81.3%	17	85.0%	13	92.9%	5	100.0%	52
<i>CA-Cultural</i>	1	25.0%	10	62.5%	10	50.0%	11	78.6%	5	100.0%	37
<i>CA-Political</i>	0	0.0%	3	18.8%	1	5.0%	1	7.1%	1	20.0%	6
<i>CA- New Knowledge</i>	3	75.0%	12	75.0%	17	85.0%	13	92.9%	4	80.0%	49
<i>CA-New Credentials</i>	3	75.0%	11	68.8%	15	75.0%	12	85.7%	4	80.0%	45
<i>NG-Economic</i>	1	25.0%	12	75.0%	14	70.0%	13	92.9%	4	80.0%	44
<i>NG-Remittance</i>	0	0.0%	14	87.5%	12	60.0%	13	92.9%	4	80.0%	43
<i>NG-Social</i>	2	50.0%	14	87.5%	15	75.0%	10	71.4%	5	100.0%	46
<i>NG-Cultural</i>	2	50.0%	11	68.8%	10	50.0%	6	42.9%	4	80.0%	33
<i>NG-Political</i>	0	0.0%	5	31.3%	6	30.0%	1	7.1%	1	20.0%	13

Table compiled from data collected. CA – Canada, NG - Nigeria

#### 5.2.5.4 Transnational Activities by Marital Status

As seen in Table 34, participation in transnational activities varied with marital status.

Participants who were divorced or separated, or who identified as having ‘other’ marital status had 100% participation economically in Nigeria and Canada and remitting to Nigeria, while only between 40% and 50% of those who were single participated economically in Nigeria, including ‘other’ activities, such as cultural activities and remittance. Surprisingly, 70% of the married participants gained new credentials in Canada.

Table 34 – Participation in transnational activities by marital status

	Divorced		Single		Married		Separated		Others	
	N=2	%	N=20		N=33		N=1		N=1	
<i>CA - Economic</i>	2	100.0%	13	65.0%	26	78.8%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
<i>CA-Social</i>	2	100.0%	18	90.0%	28	84.8%	1	100.0%	1	100.0%
<i>CA-Cultural</i>	1	50.0%	11	55.0%	24	72.7%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
<i>CA-Political</i>	0	0.0%	0	0.0%	6	18.2%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
<i>CA- New Knowledge</i>	2	100.0%	18	90.0%	26	78.8%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
<i>CA-New Credentials</i>	2	100.0%	17	85.0%	23	69.7%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
<i>NG-Economic</i>	2	100.0%	11	55.0%	29	87.9%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
<i>NG-Remittance</i>	2	100.0%	9	45.0%	29	87.9%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
<i>NG-Social</i>	2	100.0%	15	75.0%	27	81.8%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
<i>NG-Cultural</i>	2	100.0%	8	40.0%	21	63.6%	0	0.0%	1	100.0%
<i>NG-Political</i>	1	50.0%	3	15.0%	9	27.3%	0	0.0%	0	0.0%

5.2.5.5 Transnational Activities by Gender

Although gender seems to have had much effect on participation in transnational activities, as presented in Table 35, it is rather inconclusive as the number of male participants in the study is too low. Surprisingly, though, 81% of females gained new knowledge and credentials, compared to 33% of males. Also, 33% of males participated economically in Canada, compared to an 83% participation rate in Nigeria while 68% of the female participants also seemed to be more culturally active in Canada compared to their male counterparts.

Table 35 – Participation in transnational activities by gender

	Male		Female	
	N=6	%	N=53	
<i>CA - Economic</i>	2	33.3%	42	79.2%
<i>CA-Social</i>	4	66.7%	48	90.6%
<i>CA-Cultural</i>	1	16.7%	36	67.9%
<i>CA-Political</i>	0	0.0%	6	11.3%
<i>CA- New Knowledge</i>	3	50.0%	46	86.8%
<i>CA-New Credentials</i>	2	33.3%	43	81.1%
<i>NG-Economic</i>	5	83.3%	39	73.6%
<i>NG-Remittance</i>	4	66.7%	39	73.6%
<i>NG-Social</i>	3	50.0%	43	81.1%
<i>NG-Cultural</i>	2	33.3%	31	58.5%
<i>NG-Political</i>	1	16.7%	12	22.6%



**5.2.6 Objective 6: To understand the effect of migration on individual health care workers and understand the consequences that migration has on their non-immigrant counterparts.**

In order to document the consequences of migration upon health care workers, participants were asked to reflect on their lives before migrating. The narratives suggest that some migrants had a positive and successful lifestyle, while some migrated due to a change in their situation. According to their narratives, some of the health care professionals felt they were living a successful life before migration. As one interviewee said, “Before migrating to Canada, we were very successful. We had money, we live comfortably. We had house helpers, people serve my family daily.” (Interview: Participant 2). Another stated, “Before migrating I was living in luxury. My husband was a bank manager, and I was previously working in the bank and later left that job to stay home with my children” (Interview: Participant 13). Many respondents left situations of gainful employment before migrating: “I had a supermarket close to University of Ado Ekiti, and it’s one of a kind there that carries everything and also has a café/ relaxing atmosphere for the students to hang out” (Interview: Participant 7). Another stated, “Before migrating I was the leader of the group of women that pray for people ready to give birth. They come to our clinic and we pray for them, then we help them deliver their babies and praise God on their behalf after delivery” (Interview: Participant 18). Some respondents revealed that rather than personal contexts, migration was seen as key for the future of their children, “Myself and my husband were working at a hospital in the city then. We decided to move in order to raise our boys in a better environment” (Interview: Participant 12).

Some respondents migrated due to changes in personal circumstances:

I was always a positive person knowing that with hard work, I can achieve many things. I had a family and to cut the long story short, myself and my husband had a disagreement and his extended family and money were some of the issues, we decided to go our separate ways. My children ended up with him as per our tradition and I was by myself” (Interview: Participant 19).

### *Events upon Migrating.*

Various participants made implicit and explicit reference to their experiences settling down in Canada. The major themes that emerged from the narratives are: Adjustment, Career Change/Education, Family Separation and challenges in getting their professional registration.

### *Adjustment.*

In participants' accounts of the events upon migration, adjustment is one of the major themes. Some participants found it difficult to adjust. One participant described her experience adjusting in a positive way:

Everything here looks and feels different: the people, the food, the school, [and] the roads. I felt like I can accomplish a lot here than where I came from. I went to the bank, I saw how orderly people are in line waiting for their turns. This was very different from where we came from (Interview: Participant 14).

This view is echoed by another participant: "Overall, it's positive; I was able to adjust to the weather, cold, and the Canadian way of doing things like coffee." (Interview: Participant 16).

Yet, another participant said; "It's manageable, I am sponsoring my family to join me here while I am making some money. It's not as much as I would love, but its equivalency is more than I was making as a doctor back home so I am grateful to God for that" (Interview: Participant 15).

A survey respondent echoed this: "When we got to Canada, life was not as it is now. It was difficult to understand the language, culture, dynamics, licensing that both myself and my wife started doing odd jobs (sewing) for people until we got our license" (Survey: Respondent 43).

### *Education/Career Change.*

Another prominent theme is the participants' ability to adjust to a new environment by increasing their level of education and changing their career. The majority of participants saw education and career change as positive. "Life today is different. I went back to school and finish school at York. Got a job as a nurse. Due to work location, I had to move to Mississauga because

my parents live in Pickering.” (Interview: Participant 3). Several respondents noted the useful assistance they gained from immigrant service providers:

When I reached here, I did not know anyone. I was in a hotel and then started using technology to look for housing and jobs. I was referred to YMCA and they helped me with my resume and job applications. I eventually found a job. After 2 years, I went back to school and continue working. (Interview: Participant 4).

Many felt the frustration of having to start over again with their career: “I studied finance but I never really use my diploma to do anything other than my business. I had to go back to high school after applying to Humber College and no admission and then start all over.”(Interview: Participant 7).

Some respondents reported they were advised about their careers, and they followed the advice. As one respondent put it, “While here, I learnt that some courses are more lucrative, so I switched and I completed the Personal Support Worker Diploma instead until I get papers and I can pursue my Registered Nursing degree” (Interview: Participant 14). When she was asked why she made this career change, she answered that she did it for the job prospects and that her parents preferred her career change, although this seems like a process of deskilling, these migrants did not see it as such. Another received advice with regard to changing their occupation, but in this case to move into nursing:

R: When we reached here, couple of my husband’s friends came to our house to give me the lesson of my life.

I: What do you mean by that?

R: They told me health care, e.g., nursing or RPN, is the only lucrative job I can do here when I told them I am an accountant from back home. (Interview: Participant 13).

Another reflected on her experience of moving from being a physician in Nigerian to becoming a nurse in Canada:

On getting here, I realized it’s a good place to raise my family so as I was in school, I started processing my application as a doctor and very soon I realized it’s not going to be

as easy as I thought. After few months, I changed my program to the RPN so I can graduate and provide for my family. (Interview: Participant 15)

Another participant saw it as a need to be met later: “I have been working and sending money home. I know I need to upgrade but I will wait to do that later” (Interview: Participant 6).

#### *Family Separation.*

Separation from family members is also one of the emergent themes from the data. One participant who left her husband and her children due to an argument with her spouse reflected on her experience of being separated from her children:

I cannot stop thinking about my children back home and the lives I used to live. I didn't tell anyone I was travelling, so I was not able to contact anyone on getting here. Here too I live like an alien; it's difficult to trust anyone since my friend of 20 years betrayed me back home. How do I trust people you just meet? (Interview: Participant 19).

Others also mentioned their relationships with their husbands. As one respondent says,

My husband also has to go back to Nigeria to his job in order to support us financially. I live as a married-single lady but God has been helping me. Before I migrated, I was very attached and close to my husband. He is the one that I always cry to, now I have to wait for sometimes 6 hours to talk to him and I am not as close to him anymore. (Interview: Participant 5).

Another respondent revealed, “My husband brought me to Canada and after a few months, he left for Nigeria” (Interview: Participant 11). One survey respondent mentioned that they had to separate their family to survive: “We returned our children to Nigeria and picked up survival jobs for us to settle down and return to school” (Survey: Respondent 13). Another respondent blamed her parents, stating, “When we got here, a lot happened. It looked like my parents were not prepared. They constantly argued which I have never seen before. I had to go get a job at Burger King to help them out and get away from the house” (Interview: Participant 3).

#### *Registration.*

An ability to get licensed in Canada was also one of the major themes in this study. Some respondents mentioned their inability to get a job in their fields due to licensing issues. One

respondent said, “I was able to get a job as a nurse while my husband pursued his registration as a doctor in Newfoundland. After the registration, we moved to Ontario and he opened his family practice clinic” (Interview: Participant 12). Another explained, “I was not able to get a job as a microbiologist but because I have my mom at home to take care of, I apply for a job as a customer service representative and I have been doing it since” (Interview: Participant 6).

Another also asserted there were no equivalencies: “As a PSW, because Nigeria license was not equivalent since my nursing is a diploma not a degree” (Interview: Participant 4). Another participant related that her licensing issues were due to her inability to produce her credentials to the Canadian registrar. She said: “I didn’t bring all my credentials, and where I was living and working before I got married was very far from where my husband is. After years of frustration, I decided to go back to school now that my son is four years old” (Interview: Participant 11).

Some survey respondents also reflected on their family situation while settling down. One wrote: “I was in Canada without my husband and son trying to make ends meet. I have all my family here but they are all struggling as well, they couldn't help me. Eventually I sponsored my spouse and son after 15 years.” (Survey: Respondent 29).

Survey respondents were also asked about their arrival experience. Some responses were similar to those of the interviewees, but there were also other themes that emerged from the survey. Table 36, documents the prevalence of these themes in the survey responses. At the top of the list is the ability/inability to secure a job in one’s field; some respondents mentioned they received assistance from family, friends, and institutions such as churches and the government.

Table 36 – Events upon migration – Survey response

Themes N= 44	n	Percentage	Selected Narratives
<i>Job</i>	29	65.9%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Unable to work for almost 6 months due to an underage child (son), later applied for work permit with acceptance, started to work with agency in the factory (Survey: Respondent 14)</li> <li>• Didn't have to get a job. I was sowing and making hair for people while looking for job and my husband was able to get a job. (Survey: Respondent 30)</li> <li>• That both myself and my wife started doing odd jobs (sowing) for people until we got our license (Survey: Respondent 40)</li> </ul>
<i>School</i>	22	50.0%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It was challenging at first adjusting to the high school system (Participant 9)</li> <li>• I already have some family friends here in Toronto, they put me through and ask me to go for upgrading so I can do nursing which I did (Participant 32)</li> <li>• I started working in the factory and went back to school as a RN (Survey: Respondent 38)</li> </ul>
<i>Settlement</i>	16	36.3%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Settling down wasn't easy. I was not able to work at the beginning to support my husband. Constantly crying since we moved from Germany, now in Canada and still trying to make ends meet. (Survey: Respondent 39)</li> <li>• We had a rough time settling down with not enough money and no job (Survey: Respondent 44)</li> <li>• My husband sponsored us but was having a hard time when I came so I started working as soon as I got there to help out (Survey: Respondent 34)</li> </ul>
<i>Assistance</i>	11	25.0%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I was in Canada without my husband and son trying to make ends meet. I have all my family here but they are all struggling as well, they couldn't help me. Eventually sponsored my spouse and son after 15 years (Survey: Respondent 29)</li> <li>• I already have some family friends here in Toronto, they put me through and ask me to go for upgrading so I can do nursing which I did (Survey: Respondent 32)</li> <li>• I got assisted by social welfare, also with supports of closed families and church (Survey: Respondent 14)</li> </ul>
<i>Adjustment with family</i>	9	20.4%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• On getting to Canada, it was a bit rough. Children were small and in school. My husband was able to go to school for International trained accountant and got a job at the bank (Survey: Respondent 35)</li> </ul>
<i>Difficult/Challenging Immigration Status</i>	7	15.9%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Settling down in Canada was very difficult and I was not able to secure a job on my field. (Survey: Respondent 16)</li> </ul>
<i>Immigration Status</i>	6	6.8%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Myself and my spouse came from London England under the skilled worker (Survey: Respondent 42)</li> </ul>
<i>Lack of Canadian Experience</i>	3	6.8%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It's not easy getting a job on your previous field and with no Canadian experience you head nowhere (Survey: Respondent 22)</li> <li>• It was difficult to get a job when my family landed in Canada. This is because so many places we went, we were told we had no Canadian experience. We returned our children to Nigeria and picked up survival jobs for us to settle down and return to school(Survey: Respondent 13)</li> <li>• Getting a job was though because employer will be asking for Canadian Experience from you coupled with other things that come with settlement. (Survey: Respondent 10)</li> </ul>
<i>Differ from Expectation</i>	3	6.8%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• It was a complete different notion and I decided to almost start all over in the aspect of education and job (Survey: Respondent 3)</li> </ul>
<i>Licensing</i>	2	4.5%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I wrote the CNO for 2 days and working with an agency, very frustrating (Survey: Respondent 6)</li> </ul>

### *Consequences of Migration*

The international health care professionals from Nigeria were asked about the consequences of migration as they had experienced them. The major themes listed below represent the narratives that emerged: More Education, Increased Independence, Children, Loneliness and Challenges.

#### *More Education*

Most survey respondents and interviewee participants felt more accomplished in their educational level after their migration:

Today, I feel accomplished. I went to high school and finished as a Registered nurse at York. I am currently searching admissions to the master's program. I am grateful to Canada, some of my friends in Nigeria spent 8 years doing a 3–4 year degree because of labour dispute strikes, but I didn't have to do that. (Interview: Participant 9)

Some respondents had nursing as an occupation after they had moved to Canada, and their experiences were seem as common among other Nigerians now resident in Canada, who saw migration as a chance to remake their occupational identity.

My life today is way better. Now that I think about it. It was at the beginning that was rough. I didn't know where to go to how to get things done. Now I am a registered nurse, and I am thankful to Canada for giving me that opportunity to further my studies which wouldn't have been possible in Nigeria. (Interview: Participant 7).

Women were especially grateful for the opportunity to relaunch a career after rearing children:

“I am more exposed, more educated and feel more successful in my career and as a mother. I went back to school, now I have my master's and teach part time” (Interview: Participant 4).

Another participant echoed the comments of several respondents about the quality and opportunity of continuing studies and education in Canada regardless of age: “Sky is the limit about education. While I was in school, I saw old mummies and ladies studying to get better and I am more committed to my education [now] rather than when I was back home.” (Interview: Participant 14).

Even if participants themselves were not interested in further education, the educational orientation of Nigerians in Canada was commented on in terms of the opportunities it presents for the next generation: “Yes, Nigerians we love to go to school and study more; the ability to be thinking about more knowledge. In Nigeria, I used to say let my children read the rest” (Interview: Participant 13).

Education and social change was also linked to broader forms of social and civic engagement in Canada. Another interviewee said that she now “knows there are different beliefs and rights and [I] take people as they are, e.g., LGBT, other religions, food music. All these are because of migration” (Interview: Participant 4). Another interviewee echoed the notion of having gained from the positive influence of her new country: “I am not just a nurse now but I am the general manager of my husband’s clinic where I am responsible for not just saving lives but staff. Canada gave us an opportunity” (Interview: Participant 12).

Several participants also commented about their educational experience. A survey respondent commented that a “Quality educational system played a great role in what I am today. Awareness of cultural diversity, which I would have gained back in Nigeria, but [have] gained in greater extent upon migration” (Survey: Respondent 2). A key informant also mentioned:

Many of my community members have been able to take advantage of the diverse nature of Canada. Many of them have navigated to another career when they could not find fulfilment in their original career. By so doing, they have overcome the barriers that clog the wheel of progress for many. Migrating to Canada makes many immigrants embrace some of Canadian culture, such as respect for law and order. Most of my community members now have better understanding of their rights and obligations as citizens of a free state. (Key Informant Interview: Participant 3).

#### *Decreased level of Dependency*

Participants also noted that they were more independent after migrating and found they could do things by themselves rather than relying on people to do things for them.

My life today is that I have gained independence. I can take care of my own family without any extended family’s help. I go to work, make money to support my family and



take care of my own children without asking my husband for money. (Interview: Participant 2)

Another respondent observed that in Canada, one must ask questions: “I noticed that Canada is yours to discover. If you don’t say anything or ask, no one will ask or help you. I have learnt to ask lots of questions and get answers before embarking on things” (Interview: Participant 17).

One participant also commented on working and going to school at the same time: “It’s in this country that I know students must work at the same time going to school. This is not the case in Nigeria” (Interview: Participant 16).

Another reflected about her being able to do things on her own; “Today I am grateful to God for giving me a good job as a PSW, a nice house that I own, a car and my children are all doing well in school even without my husband being around us, he died 5 years ago right when we got here” (Interview: Participant 8).

### *Children*

Some participants asserted that they migrated for the life, education, and future of their children. One participant said,

On getting here, I realized it’s a good place to raise my family so as I was in school, I started processing my application as a doctor and very soon I realized it’s not going to be as easy as I thought. After few months, I changed my program to the RPN so I can graduate and provide for my family. (Interview: Participant 15)

Another interviewee also said,

In Canada, they are rights and responsibilities. The little I know now, if it was here, I will have access to my children, I will be able to go and see them and nurture them, back home, women are like slaves, they give birth to the kids but their dad and his family has rights over them. Things are changing nowadays but not like what is available here in Canada. (Interview: Participant 19).

### *Loneliness*

Some of the participants reflected on their experiences while here and their ability to get support from people. As an interviewee mentioned; “On getting here, some of our friends that we knew before deserted us. They were nowhere to be found and will not pick their calls. Restaurants

and hotels became our survival until we finally got a place” (Interview: Participant 5). This sense of isolation was evident for other respondents, but after a few years in Canada this period of settlement was placed into perspective, potentially lessening their memory of the hardship:

Getting here, I felt dejected. I didn’t have a chance to say hello and bye to my friends. Phone service was not like now and I lost all of them [friends]. I made some friends shortly after I arrived in Toronto... only now some of my friends are finding me on Facebook and getting my contact. (Interview: Participant 9).

Other respondents mentioned permanent separation from their family members and tragedies that connected with their migration to Canada. One states, “I didn’t even want to ever recollect this. It was the hardest part of my life. My husband died the 2<sup>nd</sup> day we got to this country” (Interview: Participant 8).

For many respondents their migration was a life event that marked other moments of significance for them. They traced key events in relation to the migration event: “I am a mature woman now. I understand how as a mother, we have to live a sacrificial life for our children. Since being in Canada, I lost my mother and had two children and raised them on my own.” (Interview: Participant 11).

*Table 37 – Consequences of migration – Survey response*

<i>Themes</i> <i>N= 44</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>Percentage</i>	<i>Selected Narratives</i>
<i>Education</i>	13	29.5%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yes I like the changes, got a chance to explore great education, good opportunities in Canada (Survey: Respondent 9)</li> <li>• I am more knowledgeable, the African mentality is not there since I am more aware with the western world. No discrimination within the race (Survey: Respondent 14)</li> <li>• Being a nurse has made me more compassionate. serving people in their most vulnerable time and caring for them has broadened my knowledge to understand different culture and beliefs (Survey: Respondent 16)</li> <li>• I have grown more mature now. I appreciate the good education that I got in Canada (Survey: Respondent 40)</li> <li>• Healthy living and priorities. Also increase in knowledge (Survey: Respondent 29)</li> <li>• The most important thing is that I learnt to manage my income very well compared to when I was in my country (Survey: Respondent 13)</li> </ul>

<i>Independence</i>	5	11.3%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I am independent, listen carefully and speak kindly. Toronto make me to be an active listener (Survey: Respondent 8)</li> <li>• I am more hardworking due to the busy schedule and no assistance whereas there's a lot of assistance back home ( Survey: Respondent 20)</li> <li>• I know the difference of the 2 worlds. I was more comfortable in Nigeria with help from family and friends (Survey: Respondent 44)</li> <li>• My life has changed in positive ways. Increase independence life, satisfaction, greater autonomy. Living in Toronto contributed to the aforementioned (Survey: Respondent 21)</li> <li>• I am more hardworking due to the busy schedule and no assistance whereas there's a lot of assistance back home (Survey: Respondent 20)</li> </ul>
<i>Busy lifestyle</i>	4	9.1%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• More orderly life, Jam-packed life activities everyday (Survey: Respondent 10)</li> </ul>
<i>Interaction with people</i>	4	9.1%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• My interaction with people from different geographical location (Survey: Respondent 4)</li> <li>• Awareness of helping less privileged people planning ahead of time. Some things are due to consciousness of being a blessing to others (Survey: Respondent 24)</li> </ul>
<i>Diversity awareness</i>	3	6.8%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Awareness of helping less privileged people planning ahead of time. Some things are due to consciousness of being a blessing to others (Survey: Respondent 24)</li> <li>• Awareness of cultural diversity which I would have gained back in Nigeria but gained in greater extend upon migration (Survey: Respondent 5)</li> <li>• I am more organized and appreciate other people's way of life and culture (Survey: Respondent 17)</li> </ul>
<i>Loneliness</i>	3	6.8%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Yes, it's a bit lonely, Nigeria is much more alive in terms of having friends. Here is work, work, work and use it to pay bills (Survey: Respondent 22)</li> <li>• Living alone, so stressful, if I am back in Nigeria, the situation will be better off (Survey: Respondent 6)</li> <li>• Yes, it's a bit lonely, Nigeria is much more alive in terms of having friends. Here is work, work, work and use it to pay bills (Survey: Respondent 22)</li> </ul>
<i>Ways of thinking</i>	3	6.8%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Everything – way of thinking, education, life of my children (Survey: Respondent 35)</li> </ul>
<i>Patience</i>	2	4.5%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I learn to never give up on anything that I know in life. Music was my least thing in Nigeria and now my main source of income in Canada. (Survey: Respondent 43)</li> </ul>
<i>Security</i>	2	4.5%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Security, good health coverage, good life and freedom of speech. Protection for woman and children etc. yes (Survey: Respondent 15)</li> <li>• Yes a lot has changed in my life since I move to Canada, I have freedom of thinking, security and freedom of speech ( Survey: Respondent 18)</li> </ul>

The consequences and changes survey respondents' experienced since migration are collated and presented in Table 35. Education was the most frequently discussed changes. The interview participants and survey respondents reveal similar themes. Survey respondents also mentioned being independent, the busy lifestyles, interaction with people, increased diversity awareness, increased sense of security, changes in ways of thinking, and negative feelings such as loneliness.

Survey respondents were also asked to describe their life today. The following themes emerged from the survey as summarized in Table 38.

Table 38 – Life today as described by survey respondents

Themes	n	Percentage	Selected Narratives
<i>Better than before migrating</i>	11	25.0%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Very blessed by God with good health, 3 beautiful children, 2 boys, 1 girl. We are Canadian citizens and I have a full time job and a beautiful house. All glory to God (Survey: Respondent 15)</li> <li>• I don't want to settle for less, continually improve, I am still pursuing my dreams (Survey: Respondent 8)</li> <li>• My life is focused, I am in the process of working towards fulfilling my purpose in life (Survey: Respondent 24)</li> </ul>
<i>Improved career</i>	8	18.2%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• A totally changed person. I have a career in nursing, my children are doing great in school (Survey: Respondent 13)</li> <li>• I have a band (music) and I am a producer and promoter for entertainment. I am also an employer and a nurse (Survey: Respondent 43)</li> </ul>
<i>Education</i>	8	18.2%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• I am accomplished with a degree and a good job ( Survey: Respondent 44)</li> <li>• Migrating to Canada has exposed me to difficult thing in life especially living with people of other culture (Survey: Respondent 17)</li> </ul>
<i>Family</i>	8	18.2%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Life is better now, 1 child married, 2 finished their degrees with awards, 1 in 3rd year university and 1 in high school living at home (Survey: Respondent 35)</li> <li>• It getting better. Now with 2 kids in the house I am busy looking after them. I am still not working due to high child care costs. (Survey: Respondent 42)</li> <li>• It's difficult to have the balance in life if you don't have the entire family circle. Here in Canada, however, life is good. (Survey: Respondent 16)</li> </ul>
<i>Faith</i>	4	9.1%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Very stressful being a single parent with 3 kids, but I blessed God and coping with all the stress (Survey: Respondent 6)</li> <li>• I am loving it, because I have Jesus Christ as my mediator, maker and savior (Survey: Respondent 2)</li> </ul>
<i>Stressful</i>	2	4.5%	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Very stressful being a single parent with 3 kids (Survey: Respondent 6)</li> </ul>

#### 5.2.4.2 Consequences of Migration on Non-Migrant Health Care Workers in Nigeria

In order to understand the effects of migration on non-migrant health care workers in Nigeria, research in Nigeria included interviews and surveys with Nigerian based health care workers, who were asked several questions including their motivation for studying in the health care field and their migration intention. A majority (81%) of the Nigerian sample said they intended to migrate, as presented in Table 37. However, further analysis showed that when they

were asked whether they had talked with anyone overseas about migration, only 39% said yes; the rest answered no.

#### 5.2.3.5.1 Migration Intention

Table 39 – Participants’ migration intentions

		<b>Information Inquiry with Intention</b>	
<b>Migration Intention</b>		Yes	No
<b>Yes</b>	51 (81%)	20 (39%)	26
<b>No</b>	12 (19%)	1	6
<b>Information Inquiry</b>			
<b>No</b>	35 (56%)		
<b>Yes</b>	22 (35%)		
<b>N/A</b>	6 (9%)		

Interestingly, Table 39, shows more than half of Nigerian participants (56%) did not seek information from their migrant counterparts overseas. Table 38, shows the countries to which Nigerian participants are willing to travel. Canada hails as a preferred destination, with interest from 60% of the participants, followed by the United States with 23% interested in migrating there.

Table 40 – Participant countries of destination interest

<b>Country</b>	<b>Number of Responses</b>	<b>Percentage of Responses</b>
<b>Canada</b>	34	60.7%
<b>USA</b>	13	23.2%
<b>UK</b>	5	8.9%
<b>Other EU country*</b>	3	5.4%
<b>Other African countries</b>	1	1.8%

*Counts of the country of destination – multiple responses. Others include Belgium, Ireland, and Switzerland.*

When it came to their occupational choice, and why they had selected the health care field, religion and faith were the most frequently mentioned motivations for studying in the health field. Another prominent theme was making a difference. In making sense of their career choice, all of the participants started by locating their story within the context of making a difference. Their stories were framed by their understanding of health care as a virtuous and honourable profession. The narratives position career choice as an altruistic decision and portray health care as a ‘helping’ career. As one interviewee said, “I can tell you. When someone feels sad in everything and when you reach a place, and you are happy, you will keep going there. I like to joke with people so I like to come and interact with people” (Interview: Participant 19). Another echoes this:

Any good nurse will not want to see such thing to occur. It’s always joy when the woman comes and she is labour and you said don’t worry before you know it, baby will come and baby comes we all shout halleluiah, thank God, mother is alive and baby is alive (Interview: Participant 3).

Several participants described a life-long desire to help others, and many viewed their profession as a calling from God to serve other people. One interviewee stated, “Nursing is a calling to serve humanity for me. I also love their uniform and how they always look neat and nice. They have more knowledge about health and how to save lives than any other profession” (Interview: Participant 18). Another echoed this, remarking, “God should help us. Everyone complains that they do not like how nurses treat them at the hospital so I wanted to help in saving lives. I do not like when I hear people that pregnant woman did not survive.” (Interview: Participant 23)

Several others mentioned their earthly and spiritual parents as motivators for joining the health care field. One interviewee explained:

My father wanted me to become a nurse or midwife, but my dad passed on so I went for hair dressing and I have my own shop so my pastor said I cannot be doing ministry work with hair dressing and I kept dreaming and doing pregnant woman deliveries when in my sleep. So I seek the advice of my pastor and I attended school to become a midwife. (Interview: Participant 22).

Another respondent also mentioned that her profession is a ministry for her. She explains:

I used to dream and see nurses in their uniform, before I got married, I was an auxiliary nurse, I used to dream and I never take it seriously and everything was going down so I went to my pastor and my pastor said God has called me to become a midwife so I went and did the state course. (Interview: Participant 9).

Another respondent remarked, “Nursing to me is a gift from God. I dreamt about being a nurse. I spoke to my pastor and I was advised to go through it and that with hard work and prayer, nursing will become a reality” (Interview: Participant 17).

One respondent referred to her health care work as hospitality:

Hospitality is a nice duty; that means attending to patient, I so much like it, even right from young age. As people are coming in, we have to save life, from further injuries and infections, some comes with different complaints, our job is to attend into any one of them without being concessions. (Interview: Participant 6).

Table 41 summarizes the other reasons interviewees gave for joining the health care field.

*Table 27 – Motivation for joining health care field – Nigeria*

<b>Theme</b>	<b>Number of Respondents</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
<b>Religion</b>	17	37.8%
<b>Make a difference</b>	16	35.6%
<b>Uniform</b>	5	11.1%
<b>Experience</b>	2	4.4%
<b>Prior knowledge</b>	2	4.4%
<b>Rewarding</b>	2	4.4%
<b>Parent</b>	1	2.2%

Interviewees were asked if they were interested in migrating from Nigeria, as discussed in Section 5.2.4, but when queried specifically about their travelling interests, the majority put faith in God as their number one determinant of whether or not to migrate. As one interviewee expressed, “I will pray over it that God should lead me and I will follow the spirit of God who will leave me to choose one” (Interview: Participant 9). Another interviewee concurred: “As you

see me, I can speak French, I was born in Ivory Coast, but I will go to where God wants his glory to shine, even if it's a local place in Nigeria, I will go there.” (Interview: Participant 9)

### 5.3 Chapter Summary

This fifth chapter has presented the empirical findings from all data collection sources, which aimed at learning about migrant health care professionals from Nigeria and the consequences of their migration on them and on their non-migrant counterparts. A detailed account of findings from modified surveys, the semi-structured and key informant interviews has been provided in this chapter.

The subsequent chapter provides a discussion of the findings obtained from the three data collection sources. The chapter will highlight a number of parallels that can be drawn between survey data, interview findings and key informant interviews. Interpretations of the data are offered together with a comparison of empirical findings to the relevant literature.



## CHAPTER 6 – ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS

The purpose of this study was to gain an in-depth understanding of the lived experiences of health care migrants from Nigeria now living in Canada and their individual perceptions of their skilled migration discourse and migration experience. An additional question sought to determine if migrants fuel more migration through their transnational activities, and how the perceptions of Nigerian health workers in Nigeria might be informed by transnational practices. In order to contribute a unique and previously underdeveloped perspective to the literature on skilled migrant experiences, I chose to pursue a micro-analysis of the experiences of these migrant workers in terms of how they perceived their own migration, and how they participated in transnational activities that might reproduce skilled emigration from Nigeria.

Using a qualitative research approach allowed me to delve deeper into “how people make sense of their lives, experiences, and their structures of the world” (Creswell, 1994, p. 145). Using modified surveys, semi-structured interviews, and key informant interviews to collect data from a total of 59 skilled workers in Canada, 63 in Nigeria, and 13 key informants in Canada and Nigeria combined.

Analyzing data from the modified open-ended survey, the interviews and my field notes elicited major themes that were central to understanding and communicating the migrant experience and how the consequences of migration were perceived by these skilled migrants. The final step in my analysis synthesized all of the data together in order to fully address the research questions and objectives, which were:

***(a) Which discourses of skill exchange are most meaningful to Nigerian health care workers in Canada?***

- i. To understand the skilled migration discourse as it relates to Nigerian health care workers’ own perspectives

***(b) How is this process of value exchange and extraction structured by transnational connectivity?***

i. To contribute to the academic and professional literature on development consequences of skilled migration from Nigeria (an understudied population). –

Discussed in Chapter 4

ii. To look at the occupations of migrant health care workers pre- and post-migration to determine the development consequences of migration for individuals and for sending and receiving states.

iii. To understand the effect of migration on individual health care workers and understand the consequences that migration has on their non-immigrant counterparts.

iv. To understand if participating in transnational activities (e.g., remittance by migrants) actually fuels more migration and creates a migration chain.

***(c) How does this research contribute to current concepts regarding skilled migration?***

v. To refine and propose a conceptual framework for studying skilled migrants.

6.1 Research Question 1: Skilled Migration Discourse

The first research question asks, ***which discourses of skill exchange are most meaningful to Nigerian health care workers in Canada?***

Skilled migration has been examined through the lens of several different theories, with linear push-pull being the most popular. However, Koser & Salt (1997) argued that we need micro-level analysis that takes macro factors such as social, institutional, economic, and geographical factors into account using an integrated model. This study sets out to assess the importance of individual, micro-level analysis of the migrants and their own interpretations of the structural skilled migration discourses that are in use today. The result from Objective 1 (To

understand the skilled migration discourse as it relates to Nigerian health care workers' own perspectives) is useful in answering this question.

### **6.1.1 Objective 1: To understand the skilled migration discourse as it relates to Nigerian health care workers' own perspectives**

In this research study, I looked to see if there is any relationship between these discourses and occupation, educational level, marital status, gender, and age. I found that participants from a majority of occupation groups identified mostly with the brain train (brain for educational purposes) lexicon, and surprisingly, neither students nor teachers identified with any negative lexicon. The level of education was also seen to affect the dominant lexicon. Brain train was the most frequently reported overall, but those with a higher level of education also saw themselves as having cultural capital to transfer to their country of origin, and as such identified with the brain exchange, as suggested by William and Balaz (2003).

The findings of this research reveal that a large majority of the participants identified with the positive lexicons of the skilled migration discourse, and of these fully one-third identified with brain train as the dominant discourse. Furthermore, occupation does not seem to influence the dominant skilled migration discourse that is identified by the sample, as brain train emerged as the dominant skilled migration discourse across all occupations in the Canadian sample. No single dominant skilled migration discourse emerged in the Nigeria sample. Respondents who are currently students or educational lecturers did not identify with *any* negative skilled migration discourse, which might reflect the tendency of those active in the education field to resist seeing educational pursuits as anything but virtuous, worthy of investment and ultimately positive.

Based on a participant's level of education, brain train, brain circulation, and brain exchange emerged as the dominant discourses perceived as explaining their own experiences of migration.

The higher the level of education, the more likely it was that a respondent would favour the discourse of brain exchange. Perhaps this indicates the greater value more highly trained respondent placed on their own expertise and the potential for their skill to be demanded in both their current and former home.

The type of discourse participants identified most strongly with differed by age. While younger participants identified more with the brain train lexicon, older participants favoured brain networking and brain circulation more than brain train because of their commitment to people back home, or to those who migrate back and forth for work and business. All respondents under 50 years of age in Canada identified with the brain train discourse, suggesting that they saw themselves on a career path that was still in motion. Participants aged 50 to 60 identified with the brain networking discourse, rather than the brain train discourse; this may reflect their feeling that they had reached their potential and were now ready to put their skills to use rather than continue to develop them.

There was no noticeable difference between either gender or marital status and the skilled migration discourse, except for those males who identified with brain drain, which could be as a result of having to provide for their families back home. There seemed to be little or no difference between males and females regarding choice of skilled migration discourse

Participants who were migrant workers from Nigeria ranged in age and came from a wide variety of occupational backgrounds to become health care workers in Canada. A majority had diplomas or degrees before migrating, and most participants were married women who migrated with their families. The results of this study indicated that Nigerian health migrant workers in general identified with optimistic perspectives on migration and development. More than one out of three participants in Canada identified with the brain train lexicon discussed by William & Balaz (2003), while a significant number of others identified with brain circulation, stating that they would be travelling back and forth as the knowledge carriers similar to the process discussed

by Saxenian (2006). Surprisingly, one out of five of those in Nigeria identified with the same lexicon, believing they will migrate for educational purposes, while others identified with the other optimistic lexicons such as brain circulation, brain gain, and brain networking.

## 6.2 Research Question 2: Value Exchange and Extraction

The second research question asks, *how is this process of value exchange and extraction structured by transnational connectivity?*

The analysis of the four objectives below gave some insight into this question.

### **6.2.1 Objective 2 – To contribute to the academic and professional literature on development consequences of skilled migration from Nigeria (an understudied population).**

Information about Nigerian diaspora, skilled workers from Nigeria, migration pathways, and contributions as international educated health professionals was presented in Chapters 2 and 4 and will be included in this section of the report.

Statistical and secondary data analysis revealed that the population of Nigeria continues to grow and accounts for 2.48% of the world's total population, and 43% are 15 years of age or younger. Nigeria is one of the top 20 source countries for all migrants to Canada and ranks in the top 15 source countries for permanent residents. Migrants from Nigeria mostly contribute economically as skilled workers and international students. Nigeria ranks 8<sup>th</sup> (2.56%) as a source country for international students and in 2015 5.5% of Canadian students came from Nigeria, yet relatively less is known about Nigerian migrants, compared to other lead countries of immigration to Canada such as India, China, or the Philippines. Over a third of Nigerian migrants to Canada came through the family class, followed by 29% as skilled workers, 13% as visitors, and 9% as students in the Statistics data. Nigeria placed in the top 10 source countries for health

care workers in registered practical nursing (5<sup>th</sup>), pharmacy (9<sup>th</sup>), dentistry (9<sup>th</sup>), laboratory technologists (4<sup>th</sup>), and optometrists (2<sup>nd</sup>). Although the migrants in this study classified themselves as skilled migrants, they mostly come to Canada through the family unification program with their families but still refer to themselves as skilled migrants.

**6.2.2 Objective 3 – To look at the occupations of migrant health care workers pre- and post-migration to determine the development consequences of migration for individuals and for sending and receiving states.**

An initial objective of the project was to determine the development consequences of migration in both sending and receiving states. More than eight out of ten migrants agreed they had gained a new skill or acquired new knowledge in Canada. The results also show there was an increase in the level of education for Nigerian migrants once they get to Canada. My findings are in line with Lowell et al. (2004), who elaborated on how a diaspora creates knowledge and skill transfer and overcomes barriers to flow. It also echoes research on other locations that highlights how Nigerian immigrants are a relatively well educated group.

In the Canadian sample, one of the likely consequences of migration for Nigerians included joining a migrant network, which is in line with previous research by Curran and Rivero-Fuentes (2003). Case studies by Meyer (2001) reveal the importance of connections (human mediation) in the migration process. The case study found that highly skilled migrants do not have strong ties to their host country; they do not register or join associations' specific to their country of origin in their destination country. Meyer's findings differ from my current findings presented here, in which one-in-three Nigerian migrants were also members of migrant faith-based, cultural, ethno-cultural and or educational networks in Canada. These migrants reported they joined the networks primarily to maintain their culture and instill that culture in their

children. Other reasons included assistance, religion, ability to socialize, to relieve stress, education, teamwork, and to improve quality of life.

It should be noted that not all faith-based networks could be classified as strictly Nigerian associations; however, I was able to locate 97 other ethnocultural/ social/ professional associations that serve this community. The fact that the majority of networks are ethno-cultural means that the community does not have open access. Potential members are allowed to join only by the characteristics they have by birth or through marriage, which creates deep divisions within Nigerian (Diasporic) society. Several of these associations assist with settlement, counselling, empowerment, and spiritual prayers to help migrants get comfortable with their environment. Some even provide financial assistance for those who are in need, and members are always encouraged to contact each other and pray together or offer any assistance to newcomers to Canada. Some migrant networks empower their members to pursue their dreams. As one key informant mentioned:

One major reason why women join this group is the fact that they get to meet and relate with people who are living a life they dream of and esteem – facilitators involved in training and programs are role models in various admirable capacities in life. Women find candid support and hope to become who they want to become. Trainings and mentorship are ongoing at no cost to community members and various support is available to meet their needs. Women found the strength to pursue and attain their goals with support every step of the way. (KII, Participant 3)

Three out of four respondents stated they had been asked questions about migrating to Canada by people in Nigeria. The responses given to the non-migrant counterparts include offers to help them, better education, it's safe here, it's a good place to raise families, or better opportunities here in Canada. Some of them said they do not advise others to make plans for a permanent stay but rather to make a short-term visit.

There are also consequences for migration in the sending states, not just the receiving states. Eight out of ten of the health care workers in Nigeria interviewed for this study intended to migrate, although only half of them had actually inquired about migrating. When asked, most of

them referred to religion as the major factor impacting their choice, stating that God will direct them to wherever He wants them to go. These statements demonstrate a not-uncommon belief in Nigeria, where many people have faith that such things will happen at God's appointed time. Even when they say they plan to migrate, I had to ask them twice to tell me more about their plans (e.g. country of destination, why they want to migrate). Most answers were along the lines of 'I will go if God wants me to go.' I then asked them, 'What if God gave you an open check to choose?' Surprisingly, a majority of them named Canada as their country of interest. When I asked why, they usually gave no particular answer. However, their choice may have been impacted by my own presence, and the fact that at the time of data collection, there were several promotional campaigns on television in Nigeria about express entry and Canada needing health care workers. Either of these factors might have influenced respondents' choices. Also, as Komolafe (2003, 2) noted:

Nigerian migrants move predominantly to the countries where they are more likely to adjust rapidly in terms of being able to understand the host country's language, to secure gainful employment and to reunite with members of their family, friends, or associates with other people from their country of origin.

For the half of Nigerian participants who said they had been advised about travelling, 78% of them reported being advised by family or friends. Surprisingly, institutional networks such as recruiters, immigrant consultants, and professional associations did not appear to play a role in this.

These participants were also asked why they might want to leave their country and migrate. Their answers included better pay, education, job satisfaction, children's education, and assistance. Most of these reasons were consistent with reasons mentioned by other authors, except for the education of their children. This might be because of Nigeria's challenging educational system in which there are overpopulated classes, an insufficient number of schools, strikes that tend to prolong children's education, and a high ratio of students to lecturers (Adeyemi & Adeyemi, 2014; Oni, 2000). It has been suggested that emigration sometimes occurs because of



“oversupply” or over-education (Pellegrino, 2001), but this does not appear to be the case for this sample.

Also, it has been documented elsewhere that poor leadership is another reason people migrate out of Nigeria (Omonijo, 2011), but this was not mentioned by the participants in this study. A possible explanation for this might be the change in the country’s leadership that took place during the time of this data collection, and promised Nigerians an open, honest, and positive government.

### **6.2.3 Objective 4 – To understand the effect of migration on individual health care workers and understand the consequences that migration has on their non-immigrant counterparts.**

Analyzing the data from these two overarching research objectives yielded several interrelated themes presented in Section 5.2.4 of Chapter 5.

With respect to the second research question, the effect of migration on health care workers was explored by describing the migrant’s life before migration, events upon migration, and changes they experienced since migration. It was found that these results are consistent with the findings of other studies and suggest that migrants tend to struggle when they reach their country of destination. Most participants described themselves as having led successful lives before migrating, even helping others. They reported having migrated for a specific reason such as improving the future for their children, rather than an inability to get a job in their field, as suggested by several other studies. On arriving in Canada, study participants stated they faced social challenges such as adjusting to the system, inadequate assistance, and family separation. For some, their greatest challenges were employment-related: career change, the inability to get jobs in their fields, licensing issues, and a lack of Canadian work experience.

Social challenges were a prominent theme for most of the migrant respondents. They discussed everything from orderliness in a bank, to education and helping children with their homework, to taking care of their family while in school as students or as workers without the assistance of the extended family members they would have had back home. In Nigeria, some of these migrants had maids or even extended family members living with them, helping them with household chores, and taking care of the children, while the wives focused on going to work and taking care of the family. This was not the case for migrants here in Canada.

Some participants explained that they struggled because they were separated from their children or spouses. Most of these women were married and normally asked their husband's advice in making decisions; now they had to rely on technology and phone calls to communicate and seek such advice.

An inability to get jobs, a lack of Canadian work experience, licensing issues, and career change were also important themes. Most of these migrants were from different fields, but on getting to Canada, they were either advised to join the health field by families or friends, or they found they needed to go back to school to study something lucrative after they were not able to secure a job in their previous occupational field such as nursing, teaching, banking, lab technologists and so on. This finding initially corroborates the ideas of Bauder (2003), who suggested that Canada is devaluing immigrant labour. This temporary situation forces the migrants to go back to school, but after finishing school, they possess greater social capital than when they came to Canada which challenges Bauder's regarding the extent of brain wasting that was occurring for this group of migrants.

The study data shows clearly that some participants did not know what to expect when leaving their country of origin. A participant in the nursing field said she forgot to bring her credentials with her to Canada. When I asked if she could arrange to send it, it seemed almost impossible to her: she went to school in her parents' state, and then she got married and moved to

another region; now she is in Canada. She explained that the schools in Nigeria are not organized enough to ask for your credentials online; she has to go in physically and request them in person. As of this writing, this participant is undertaking a nursing program again at an Ontario college after almost five years of remaining idle.

Since their migration, most participants attributed positive outcomes in their lives to the impact of their move. Participants stated they have seen positive changes in their careers, they are more independent, and their educational credentials have increased. This outcome is contrary to that of Bauder's (2013), rather than wasting the skills of migrants, in this case of Nigerian health workers it appears many used migration as a route to enhancing their training. Admittedly most of these migrants were originally trained in Nigeria and re-trained in Canada to fit its labour market, but their own interpretations of this process were mostly perceived in positive terms of overall skills improvement. Participants also reported they gained other knowledge on topics such as LGBT issues, mental health, cross-cultural awareness, freedom of speech, democracy, gender equity, healthy eating, health, and safety; they feel this information would not have been readily available to them in Nigeria. As several studies have expressed, the knowledge of all of these elements (democracy, freedom of speech, etc.) may also allow the migrant to become an agent of change in the country of origin (c.f Pellegrino, 2001 and Iredale, 2002) but there is empirical data to support this.

When I asked a key informant about travelling, she mentioned that everybody in Nigeria wants to travel overseas and that most have spent a good deal of money to be able to leave (Researcher's Diary, April 29, 2015). Contrary to expectations, this study did not find the formation of a migration mentality as a consequence of studying health care for those in Nigeria. As Connell and Conway (2000) noted, some migrants might go into the health field specifically to secure a passport overseas. This study's respondents, in contrast, named religion, their ability to make a difference, and the symbolism of the uniform as their most important reasons for

seeking medical education. Participants in the Nigerian sample mentioned religion and faith more than any other reason for going into the health care field (38%). For some, their pastor suggested they go into the field; others were attracted to health because of a lack of success in a previous field. Most of them described their job as a calling. Most of the migrants also rely on their church or pastor to assist them in praying and seeking the face of God before making a major life decision. These results are consistent with those of other studies (such as Hagan & Ebaugh, 2003; Kalu, 2010, Mensah et al, 2013) and suggest that religious institutions play a major role at every step of the migration process. This result may be explained by the fact that Nigerians generally are very dependent on religion as a way of coping with the stress of migration.

Surprisingly, even Nigerian immigration officers and passport agents were given time to go to pray at churches during work hours. When I went to renew my passport, I noticed that a church is inside the passport office. As I waited, a bell rang, and I saw some of the officers going into a different area of the building. Shortly after, I heard them singing and playing drums. This service lasted for about 30 minutes. I inquired if other people could join them, and I was told yes, it was just like any other church (Researcher's Diary, August 26, 2016). This would not happen in a public or government office in Canada. I witnessed the same thing while I was conducting interviews at a health center in Canada with many Nigerian migrants. A church was attached to the health center, and while doing my interview, I saw four women praying and I had to excuse myself. When I came back, I was told they were praying for someone in the delivery room (Researcher's Diary, Aug. 23, 2016).

An ability to make a difference (cited by 36% of participants) was also a prominent theme in the data concerning why people join the health care field.

**6.2.4 Objective 5 – To understand if participating in transnational activities (e.g., remittance by migrants) actually fuels more migration and creates a migration chain.**

Findings discussed previously in the literature review have documented the ways that transnationalism allows migrants to develop and sustain multi-stranded relationships (economic, social, cultural, and political) that are borderless (Basch et al. 1994). This, in turn, spurs further participation in transnational activities that link the country of destination to their country of origin. The findings of this study corroborate the ideas of Spoonley et al. (2003), who suggested that transnationalism translates into movement of people, circulation of people, circulation of capital, and circulation of ideas (p. 35–38).

The results of the current study indicate that seven out of ten health care workers, but only 50% of students in Canada, participated in transnational activities except for accepting political appointments. Occupation seems to affect participation rate as students, personal support workers, and people in other professions did not participate economically, but 100% of these participants reported engaging in social activities. This result may be explained by the fact that these migrants do not have access to much money in Canada but can maintain social connections through the use of social networking sites.

Similarly, educational level, age, marital status, and gender also affected participants' ability to participate in transnational activities. All the master's degree holders participated in economic activities, while all the certificate holders participated socially. However, only 40% of the latter category participated economically. Surprisingly, there was a high participation rate for older respondents (60 years of age and older) in all activities. Participants under 30 years of age reported participating socially. Another important finding was that every participant who was single reported sending remittances and participating socially, in contrast to those who were divorced. Seven out of ten married respondents reported gaining new credentials, and thus it can

be assumed that bringing their families along with them to Canada did not affect their ability to further their education.

Migration status also seemed to affect participation, so that differences appeared between pre- and post-migration distributions for both males and females. Only 33% of the male respondents participated economically in Canada, while males in Nigeria boast an 83% economic participation rate. This could be because the norm for Nigerian is to provide and take care of their families financially. This result was not the same for females; however 81% of females in the Canadian sample reported having gained new knowledge.

Potential migrants in the source country were aware of their counterparts participating in transnational activities, and one participant mentioned they wanted to travel overseas to reach greener pastures and make more money like other migrants had. However, this study reached no conclusions about whether participating in transnational activities fuels more migration.

### 6.3 Research Question 3: Skilled Migration Concepts

The third research question asks, how does this research contribute to current concepts regarding skilled migration?

The analysis of the last objectives below gave some insight into this question.

#### **6.3.1 Objective 6 – To refine and propose a conceptual framework for studying skilled migrants**

One of the objectives of this study was to suggest a conceptual framework for studying skilled migrants by comparing their skills before and after migration. The framework (figure 62) contends that based on a migrant's skilled migration discourse identification and their participation in transnational activities, it can be determined whether the migrant had a positive or negative experience and the effect of that on their non-migrant counterparts can be predicted.

Figure 66, revisits the framework.

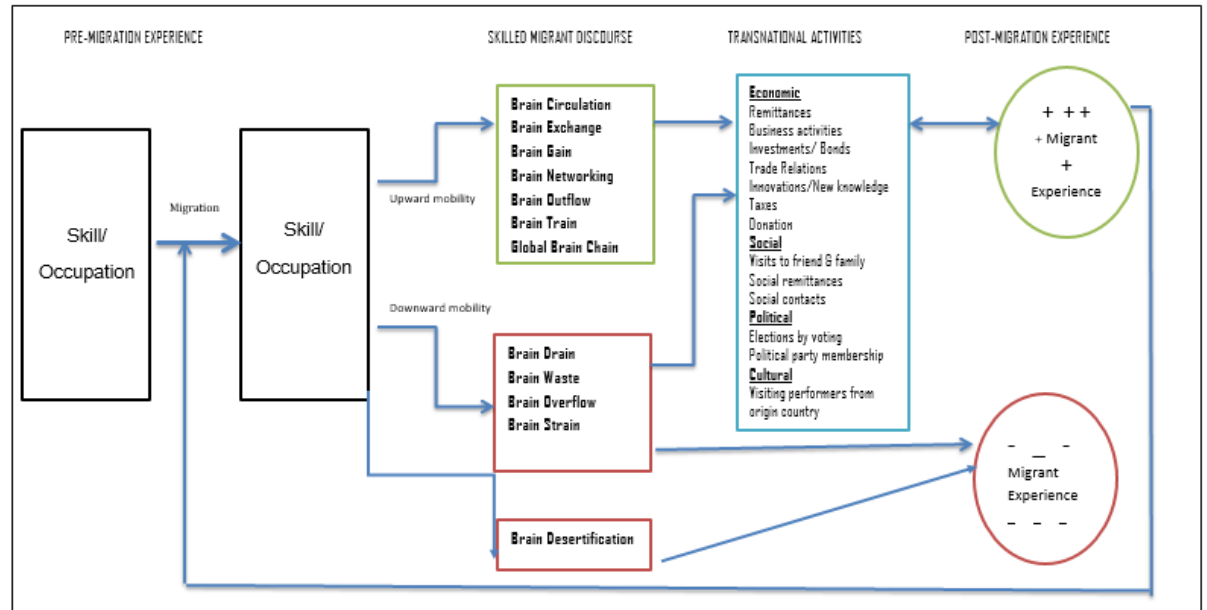


Figure 62 – Proposed Conceptual Framework

Interestingly, in ten cases of this study in which a migrant’s prior occupation was compared to their current occupation, potential migrants from the country of origin perceived these participants as having had a positive migrant experience and asked them for information about migrating to Canada. There were five study participants who participated in transnational activities and had not been asked about migration to Canada. One of these participants was single while the other four were married, and three of them possess degrees in nursing, while one was a personal support worker and the other worked at a factory. One possible explanation for the change in career is that the three people that left Nigeria when they were under 30 years of age but they are now nurses.

Of the three participants who identified with the negative skilled migrant lexicon, two of them participated in transitional activities. They were asked by others about migrating to Canada, but the one participant who did not participate in transnational activity was not.

The study also found seven participants who did not participate in transnational activities. Six of these participants identified with the positive brain lexicon, but only one of them – a midwife in Nigeria who became a personal support worker in Canada – was asked by others about migrating to Canada; the rest were not asked. These results therefore need to be interpreted with caution.

Iredale (2002) showed that that the “mode of incorporation” experienced by highly skilled migrants in New Zealand had been transformed from one of “advantaged” (experiencing upwards mobility) to one of “handicapped” (facing an unfavourable reception). Portes and Borocz (1989, 618-619) tagged their mode of incorporation as handicapped, neutral, and advantaged, while Castles (2002) identified modes of incorporation as assimilation, differential exclusion, and multiculturalism. Applying these conceptualizations to this study reveals that the mode of incorporation for these Nigerian migrant participants in Canada was “advantaged”. The advantaged mode is one where the migrant experiences upward mobility (as explained by Urry, 2010) due to social, economic, or political factors.

The conceptual frameworks showed there is a relationship between the three migration concepts – Skilled Migrant Discourse and Transnationalism because those that participated in transnational activities indicated and were seen as having a positive experience which will in turn fuel more migration.

#### 6.4 Connection to the Research Questions

Nigerian skilled migrants to Canada have been increasing and deserve critical attention. Investigating how health care migrants who are part of the skilled labour migrant group understand their individual experience in light of the dominant academic discourses about skilled migration is at the core of this research project. To accomplish this task, I posed two main questions designed to not only serve as a procedural map for the investigation, but moreover to



structurally search for meaning through the lived experiences of the migrants. The following relates my findings to the research questions in an effort to describe the essence of the phenomenology by weaving in the emergent themes from the objectives of my study.

**Which discourses of skill exchange are most meaningful to Nigerian health care workers in Canada?**

My first research question cut to the fundamentals of the brain lexicon debates and their micro-analysis by examining how migrants perceive their own journeys in this lexicon. Most participants in this study, in Canada and in Nigeria, identified with the optimistic brain discourse. Brain train was the most common discourse among all the skilled migrants from Nigeria except for the older age groups who identified more with brain networking and brain circulation.

**How is this process of value exchange and extraction structured by transnational connectivity?**

My second research question delved into the meaning and the consequences my participants associated with how they perceive and experience their migration here in Canada and the effect of transnational activity on their experience. The migrants in this study overall saw themselves as being more knowledgeable, more independent, and more literate after migrating to Canada. Before coming to Canada, it is evident these migrants had the social capital to leave their country. They often left their country with their family members but had a different expectation upon leaving their country than what they experienced going through the actual migration process. This result falls in line with the findings of Benson-Rea and Rawlinson (2003). Participants reported going through times of adjustment while in Canada, often with the assistance of migrant networks. Most of them went back to school to further their education and they participated in transitional activities in Canada and Nigeria. After the whole adjustment process, most migrants were judged to have had a positive migrant experience by their non-

migrant counterparts, who often asked them about migrating to Canada. Migrants who did not participate in transnational activities, however, were not asked about migrating to Canada.

### **How does this research contribute to current concepts regarding skilled migration?**

My third research question looks at connecting the skilled labour concepts (skilled migrant discourse, transnationalism and remittance) in order to contribute to the growing literature on skilled migration. By comparing the skill before migration and after migration and using migrants lived experience; it is evident that transnationalism contributes to the positive experience which might be a cumulative effort together with integration training e.g. bridging programs funded by the province of Ontario.

## 6.5 Chapter Summary

This chapter presented the analysis of findings organized around the research questions with its specific objectives and linked to the relevant literature presented in Chapter 2. It concluded by connecting the analysis of findings to the research questions. Next, Chapter 7 presents the conclusion, limitations of the study, implications, and recommendations for further study.

## CHAPTER 7 – CONCLUSIONS

This final chapter highlights the contributions of this research to the field of study, but also considers the study's limitations. The aims and objectives, as introduced in Chapter 1, are revisited and addressed, as well as the criteria for the methodology. The chapter provides a conclusion for the overall study using the integrative approach suggested by Koser and Salt (1997) and looking at concepts such as skilled migration discourse, transnational activities, and remittances rather than theories. The chapter concludes by providing suggestions for further research.

### 7.1 Contribution to the field and significance of the study

This dissertation performed a multi-level analysis investigating the experience of individual Nigerian migrant health care workers in Canada. In this narrative inquiry, the aim was to investigate the movement of migrant health care workers and the effect of migration on the migrants and their non-migrant counterparts (see Chapter 1, Section 1.3). The secondary objective was to document information about Nigeria as an understudied population in Canada. Qualitative studies are needed to (a) truly understand what is happening (or not) from the viewpoint of health care workers in reference to their migrant experiences. In an era of increased influx of migrants, migrant voices are essential for understanding their experiences and the connections between their country of origin, their experiences at their destination, and the consequences of their migration.

This research project involved a purposeful sample of 137 health care workers in Canada and Nigeria, as well as key informants, using modified surveys and interviews; it also included secondary data analysis. The respondents reflected on the skilled migration discourse with which they most identified, their life before migration, and their experiences at their country of destination, including the types of support they received and the consequences of migration.

The results of this inquiry show that although Nigeria has a growing population (over 186 million) and accounts for almost 3% of the world's population, it also has a younger population (almost half are 15 years old). Empirical findings shows that most Nigerians come to Canada through either family unification; a temporary foreign worker, international student, or visitor visa; or as a refugee claimant unlike previous literatures that connotes they come as skilled migrants. Most join a faith- or culture-based migrant network upon arrival to maintain their culture or get assistance during their settlement process. Nigerian migrants consistently rank as a top 10 source country in the health care professions in Canada, which includes occupations such as international medical graduates, internationally educated medical laboratory technologists, international registered practical nurses, international educated pharmacists, and international educated optometrists.

The younger Nigerian health care migrants participating in this study identified most with the brain train (migrating for educational purposes) skilled migration discourse, while older participants identified with brain circulation and brain networking, and see themselves as agents of change, a paradigm that connects the origin to destination. This finding closely relates with health care workers from India that identifies with Brain Circulation (Walton-Roberts & Rajan, 2013) and opposite of the findings from other studies that identified with brain drain e.g. South Africa (Crush, 2002; Mattes & Mniki, 2007), Zimbabwe (Chikanda, 2010), China (Neir & Webster, 2012) and Philippines (Battistella & Leas, 2013).

A second major finding was that study participants appeared to be having positive experiences in Canada, in spite of the challenges. Although some of sample had been economically successful in Nigeria, they migrated for various reasons, often with their families. Some also went back to school to upgrade their work qualifications. While in Canada, they went through an adjustment period where they struggled with issues such as school, settlement, family dynamics, lack of a job, lack of Canadian work experience, and licensing issues. Their accounts

tell the stories of how they were able to survive through the assistance of friends and families. In addition to this support, migrants benefited from the additional help provided by migrant networks in terms of financial assistance, community service, and religious or spiritual fulfillment. Most participants expressed the feeling that although the adjustment time was challenging, the most important consequences of their migration were that they increased their education, improved their careers, and felt more independent. These achievements notwithstanding, some still mentioned loneliness and feeling separated from their significant others or other family members, which mitigated their success to some degree.

This study revealed that most participants engaged in transnational activities. Those who did so were asked by others for information and advice about migrating to Canada, and they most often responded by suggesting the country was a good place for safety, education, raising a family, enjoying short-term visits, and accessing better opportunities, this could in turn fuel more migration. Some participants reported offering assistance to other migrants. However, there were eleven (11) participants accounting for 18.6% who reported they did not advise people to migrate if they have a good job or are living comfortably in Nigeria.

Non-migrant counterparts in Nigeria often stated they were considering migrating for better pay, education, assistance, and job satisfaction. However, they did not identify migration as their motivation for joining the health care field; rather, they stated their choice was more related to religion, having the ability to make a difference, the uniform, prior knowledge and experience, and parental influence.

The findings of this study enhance our understanding of Nigeria and the experience of health care workers migrating from that country. They add to the body of literature on Nigeria which is inadequate right now, since migrant Nigerians as a population are understudied in Canada. Overall, this study strengthens the idea that micro-analysis of migrant experience can yield a unique result that is different from the macro-analyses that are normally conducted with

migrant groups. This brought to light the perception of migrants themselves and their experiences rather than macro structural focused research.

The findings from this study also made several contributions to the current literature. Firstly, the implied assumption is that the Diaspora group is homogenous and can be effectively represented by sample of individuals who belong to that group. However, in the case of Nigerians previous literature found that there is deep ethnocultural division among the Nigerians at home and in the diaspora, and my research findings support this with the number of ethnically delimited Nigerian networks that existed in Canada and key informant interview responses.

Individuals in the Nigerian Diaspora are interested in remaining involved with their countries of origin, which isn't necessarily the case in South Africa. The Nigerian government has taken a step further by creating two organizations in the Diaspora to help its citizens involve in developmental initiatives back home. Additionally, the Nigerians are interested in doing philanthropy work but they challenges due to their ethnic differences and motivations. Through the creation of forums they can interact and promote development in the home nation. For example, social media and virtual learning platforms could be promoted to allow advanced training and specialist course dissemination in Nigeria. At the same time, Canadian groups can help with the technical logistics and accreditation systems that might facilitate enhanced training systems in Nigeria. Access to enhanced training through updated videos subsidized by Canadian development funds might help Nigeria to retain talent.

In addition to ethnically oriented groups and migrant networks, religious organizations serve as a central point of contact for expatriates within Canada, and it provides the link for establishing transnational connections. Most Nigerians have membership in more than one of the various organizations which lead to well-functioning communication and networking among the migrants from the same culture.

## 7.2 Limitations of the study

This study was limited to the lived experiences of Nigerian international health care migrants in the greater Toronto area. Narratives are, by nature, limited to the experiences of those who participate in the study. And although it is possible for readers to transfer those descriptions to other settings because of shared or similar situational characteristics (Creswell, 1998), generalizability is not appropriate and additionally, other important limitations need to be considered:

1. Due to the small unique sample available for interviews (as compared to the sample of survey respondents), results may not be generalizable beyond the specific population from which the sample was drawn. However, it should be pointed out that it was not the aim of this study to conduct a quantitative analysis with statistical validity that would allow generalizability; rather, my goal was to use participants' lived experiences in producing their narratives.
2. Due to the failure of some interview participants and survey respondents to answer with full honesty, results might not accurately reflect the opinions of all members of the included population.
3. More respondents chose to complete the open-ended surveys rather than the semi-structured interviews which would have yielded more in-depth data for analysis. This might be due to the conservative nature of some of the respondents evident in their cultural practices or the fact that most people want to keep their information or experience private which limited the ability to a comprehensive narrative analysis with this group.
4. Recruitment of overseas participants was limited to three major cities in Nigeria due to time and financial constraints. Although several studies do support research in big cities, results from respondents in other cities might be different and findings may not be representative of the wider nation.

An additional limitation of the study may be inherent in the data collection process. Since information obtained during an interview is largely dependent on the interviewee and what he or she is willing to share, the nature of the data collected during interviews is limited to each individual's perspective and lived experiences. Patton (2002) stated that perceptual data are in the eye of the beholder. However, this study's triangulation of data through the use of modified surveys and key informant interviews helped to verify results and to support the relevance of the themes identified in the interview transcripts.

### 7.3 Implications of the findings

My study presents a portrait of health care migrants who migrated to Canada and live in the Greater Toronto Area and their counterparts in Nigeria. Their stories developed a foundation of knowledge surrounding how migrants experience their transition in terms of current discourses about skilled migration. It is from the rich descriptions evolving from the migrant stories that I draw my recommendations for further research. Back in the early stages of my project, I proposed that this study would have implications for institutions, licensing agencies, policy makers, employers, and migrants. The migrants' voices, expressed through their lived experiences, was always present as I explored and defined the phenomena that appeared. This essence now serves as the basis for my recommendations.

While I explored how migrants experience and understand the consequences of their migration, my study's findings compel further investigation into a deeper understanding. Additional foci, differing methodologies, and expanded samples are considerations for researchers as they continue investigating skilled migrants and work to further seek understanding and define gaps in the scholarly literature. My research offers a starting point that now encourages further exploration.

This study of Nigerian Diaspora has brought a new dimension to the Diaspora debate, adding to the conceptual discussion on the micro-study of the Diaspora which reinforces the



notion that the Nigerian and African Diaspora can be studied at the multi-level. The present study confirms previous findings and contributes to additional evidence which suggests that Nigeria is undermining its Diaspora; hence this study has the following policy implications. Firstly, the role of Diaspora as a major area of intervention for promoting migration and development linkages has been noted. Thus, we need better information on the Nigerian Diaspora and its transnational engagements. There is limited information on the expatriate issue, contributions that Nigerian Diaspora has made, the role of women, second generation, and the functioning of migrant networks in Canada and Nigeria.

Secondly, the Nigerian government through the help of the consulate in Canada should hold consultation meetings with Nigerians. It should be done to encourage and solicit their support in developing both Canada and Nigeria, and to collate the list of interested parties that will be willing to collaborate with the countries.

Thirdly, every effort should be taken by the Nigerian government to involve the second generation of its immigrants and young professionals in the current and future development of the country. This group will be promising advocates for Nigerian-Canadian and American-African relations. These groups of second-generation immigrants are often bicultural, and they often represent a resource for voluntary development-policy work, and they can become involved in the social, cultural, and economic promotion initiatives for development of Nigeria. Many young second-generation immigrants with Nigerian or African background have intercultural intermediaries and want to be actively involved and help in solving the problems. Participation in summer exchange programs and organizing conferences among second-generation Nigerians and their peers in their mother country on the theme of Diaspora and migration could provide trendsetting motivations.

#### 7.4 Recommendations for further research

The nature of a narrative inquiry is to simply share a common experience of those willing to relate that experience. Those who participated in this study shared rich and detailed information about their common/lived migration experience. Some of the themes and perceptions in this study corroborate the themes found in the literature regarding migrants and their experiences at their countries of destination. However, this research has also uncovered many questions in need of further investigation. The findings of this study could be extended by research in the following areas:

1. Develop a cross-national study in Canada and Nigeria involving more migrant health care workers or other professions.
2. A follow-up study of the lived experiences of other migrants to get a greater understanding of the outflow of Nigeria to other countries (e.g. United States, United Kingdom) could be developed, which would strengthen, counter, or illuminate new information relative to themes that have emerged from this study.
3. It would be interesting to compare experiences of individuals within the same family by asking for a referral from their family members here in Canada to see if indeed transnational activities create migrant mentality.
4. A new study collecting the experience of individual migrants from other countries (Philippines, China and India) will also be useful as a comparison.
5. A micro-analytical survey could focus on remittance to see if there are relationships between the levels of skills or education and the type or amount of remittance sent; also, follow up could document the effect of the actual remittance on the family members back home.
6. A policy implications document could be developed on how Nigeria might develop the skills of its youthful population in order to 'export' labour to the ageing western world

and encourage them to act as transnational migrants who might become potential investors and change agents for development.

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## APPENDIX

### Appendix A – Recruitment

#### REQUEST FOR VOLUNTEERS

Sheri Adekola, a doctoral candidate at Wilfrid Laurier University, Waterloo, Ontario Canada, in the Department of Geography and Environmental Sciences Program, needs volunteers for her dissertation research study aimed at a better understanding the impact of migration on health care workers and their individual perceptions about the migration process. Micro-analysis has largely been ignored in the migration literature where most of the studies are generally macro in nature.

A better understanding of the factors that contribute to their positive experience could help institutions (schools) in identifying, planning for, and providing support and services to increase student intake and graduation rates. Additionally, this knowledge could help licensing agencies (e.g. CNO) to attract and license more health care workers. A third kind of benefit is that it could help employers who hire internationally trained health care workers to retain talented workers and turn their migration intention into retention.

Sheri is seeking health care workers who migrated to Canada from Nigeria and in the Metro or Greater Toronto Area. During data collection and in the final report, the identity of the participants will be kept confidential by replacing names with pseudonyms. Each participant will be asked to complete a short background questionnaire and if opted to participate in a face-to-face or a telephone interview, at an agreeable time and place, which will take approximately thirty minutes. A copy of the executive summary of the thesis will also be provided to you upon request. This is a chance for you to tell your story about your experiences as an immigrant and help expand the research and understanding of the effects of migration on immigrants.

If you are willing to participate in this study please fill out this questionnaire and return it to me. You can also contact me at (647 833-7930) or via email [ADEK388@WV.LAURIER.CA](mailto:ADEK388@WV.LAURIER.CA).

\*\*\*\*\*Please fill all pages and read and sign page #5 and include your name for a chance to win an IPAD\*\*\*\*\*

*Thanks for your time!*

Appendix B – Letter of Introduction

**INTRODUCTION: (this will be read to the participants before the interview) –**

What you share in this interview will be kept confidential. You may be identified in the study report in a way that will not reveal your individual identity such as, "an internationally educated nurse said," or " a nursing student said," so please tell me what you really think and feel; this will be the most helpful in trying to find out how your experience went and developing suggestions for improving immigrants experience in the future. I will be tape recording the interview to make sure that we have an accurate record of your views and I also will be taking a few notes for the same purpose.

Do you agree to allow me to tape-record this interview?

If NO: I will now turn off the audio recorder

I will then ask for permission to take notes and continue with the interview protocol

If YES: Thank you, I will proceed with the interview

**INTERVIEW INFORMATION**

**Date of interview:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Time:** from \_\_\_\_\_ to \_\_\_\_\_

**First Name:** \_\_\_\_\_ **MI:** \_\_\_\_\_ **Last Name:** \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix C – Informed Consent form

### WILFRID LAURIER UNIVERSITY INFORMED CONSENT STATEMENT

#### Migration as a positive agent of change: A transnational geographer's approach. By Sheri Adekola (and advisor: Margaret Walton-Roberts)

You are invited to participate in a research study. The purpose of this study is to investigate the movement of migrant health care workers and understand the effect their migration process has on the individual health care workers from Nigeria and their non-immigrant counterparts (people left behind). *This study is being conducted by a doctoral candidate in the Department of Geography & Environmental Services at Wilfrid Laurier University.*

#### **INFORMATION**

You are being invited to take part in this survey or interview because you are recognized as a migrant health care worker or student. Here in Canada, about 30 participants will be contacted/interviewed and about 30 people will be interviewed in Nigeria. The interview/survey will take approximately thirty minutes of your time. If you opt for interview- It will be audio-taped (with permission). Also if necessary, a follow-up/clarification interview of 20 minutes might be requested at a later date. If you wish, a copy of the tape and study will be provided to you. As noted, the tape and transcription will be used as a data to document my research.

#### **RISKS**

There are no anticipated risks involved with participating in this interview.

#### **BENEFITS**

Participating in this survey/interview, may or may not have any immediate or direct benefits. A copy of the Executive summary of the findings will be available upon request.

#### **CONFIDENTIALITY**

All documents will be identified only by code number and kept in a locked filing cabinet. Transcript files will be saved with a password known only to the interviewer. You will not be identified by name in any reports of the completed study. The raw data may include your name and/or other identifiers, such as a code, which can be used to link the data to your name.

#### **COMPENSATION**

In order to defray the costs of inconvenience, each participant who successfully completes the study will be entered in a draw to win a TABLET (Canada) and each participant in Nigeria will be provided the customized study T-shirt. The odds of winning depends on the actual number of participants. Prize will be drawn on the last day of study and winners will be notified via phone # and/or their email address.

#### **CONTACT**

If you have questions at any time about the study or the procedures, you may contact the researcher, Sheri Adekola at adek2880@mylaurier.ca and (647) 833-7930. This project has been reviewed and approved by the University Research Ethics Board with tracking #4111. If you feel you have not been treated according to the descriptions in this form, or your rights as a participant in research have been violated during the course of this project, you may contact Dr. Robert Basso, Chair, University Research Ethics Board, Wilfrid Laurier University, (519) 884-1970, extension 4994 or rbasso@wlu.ca

#### **PARTICIPATION**

Your participation in this study is voluntary; you may decline to participate without penalty. If you decide to participate, you may withdraw from the study at any time without penalty. If you withdraw from the study, every attempt will be made to remove your data from the study and have it destroyed. You have the right to omit any question(s) or procedure(s) you choose.

#### **FEEDBACK AND PUBLICATION**

The results of the research will be used for my thesis and might be disseminated in books, journal articles and presentations. A copy of the research written summary will be available for the participants upon request at the conclusion of the study. Once collected the data may be kept indefinitely.

#### **CONSENT**

I have read and understand the above information. I have received a copy of this form. I agree to participate in this study.

Participant's signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date \_\_\_\_\_ Name for IPAD draw only \_\_\_\_\_

Appendix D – Sample Questionnaire used in Canada

**BRAIN DRAIN OR BRAIN CIRCULATION?**  
**A TRANSNATIONAL CASE STUDY OF NIGERIAN MIGRANT HEALTH CARE WORKERS**

**PARTICIPANT QUESTIONNAIRE**

Age at migration     Born in Canada     Under 20     20-39     40-50     50-60

Marital Status at migration     Single     Married     Divorced     other \_\_\_\_\_

Sex                     Male                                     Female

Current age:     under 30     30-39     40-50     50-60                     over 60

Which tribe are you from     Hausa     Ibo     Yoruba     Benin     Fulani     other \_\_\_\_\_

**Pre-Migration (Nigeria)** ***\*\*these questions pertains to your condition in Nigeria\*\****

Education: \_\_\_\_\_ Occupation/industry \_\_\_\_\_

# of Dependants \_\_\_\_\_

City of Residence before migration \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

**Migration method**

Family class     Skilled worker     Temporary worker     Business class     visitor/student     other

Who did you migrate with? \_\_\_\_\_

Whose idea what it to migrate?     Yourself     Spouse     Family     Others

What happened when you reached here – settling down, getting a job etc

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

**Post Migration (Canada)** ***\*\*these questions pertains to your condition in Canada\*\****

**Years in Canada**

Born in Canada

Under 5 years     5-10     10-15     15-20                     over 20

Education: \_\_\_\_\_ Current occupation/industry \_\_\_\_\_

# of Dependants \_\_\_\_\_

Canadian city of Residence \_\_\_\_\_ Why that City \_\_\_\_\_

Do you belong to any Nigeria Association? Yes No

If Yes is it Faith Based  Culture based Educational  Professional  Other \_\_\_\_\_

What was your reason for joining the association?

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How would you describe your life today?

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What things can you observe about yourself that are different after you migrated to Canada?, Do you think these changes have happened because of living in Toronto or Canada.

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Has anyone in Nigeria asked you information about migrating to Canada? | Yes No

If yes, what reasons/advice did you give them

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Do you participate in any of these events or activities here? Looking at the typology of activities below which of these activities do you participate in Canada?

**In CANADA (please check all that are applicable)**

I donate to charities	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I donate to other community organizations	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I participate in political rallies	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I participate in political demonstrations	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I mobilize political contacts	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I am a member of a social club	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I attend social gatherings	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I have links with religious and refugee organizations	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I contribute to Nigerian Newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I participate in discussion groups	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I am active on social media sites	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I participate in events that promotes culture	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I have gain new educational credentials	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I have Acquired a new knowledge	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I visit performers from Nigeria	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never

Do you participate in any of these events there? Looking at the typology of activities below which of these activities do you participate in Nigeria?

**Backhome in NIGERIA (please check all that are applicable)**

I sent money home	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I make other contributions (education, health, clothes etc)	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I have other investments	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I donate to charities	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I pay taxes	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I purchase government bonds	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I participate in business activities	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I purchase into government programs	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I have trade relations	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I participate in new innovations	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I participate in elections	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I am a member of a political party	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I visit friends and families	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I maintain social contacts through different social medias	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I contribute to Newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I attend cultural events	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never

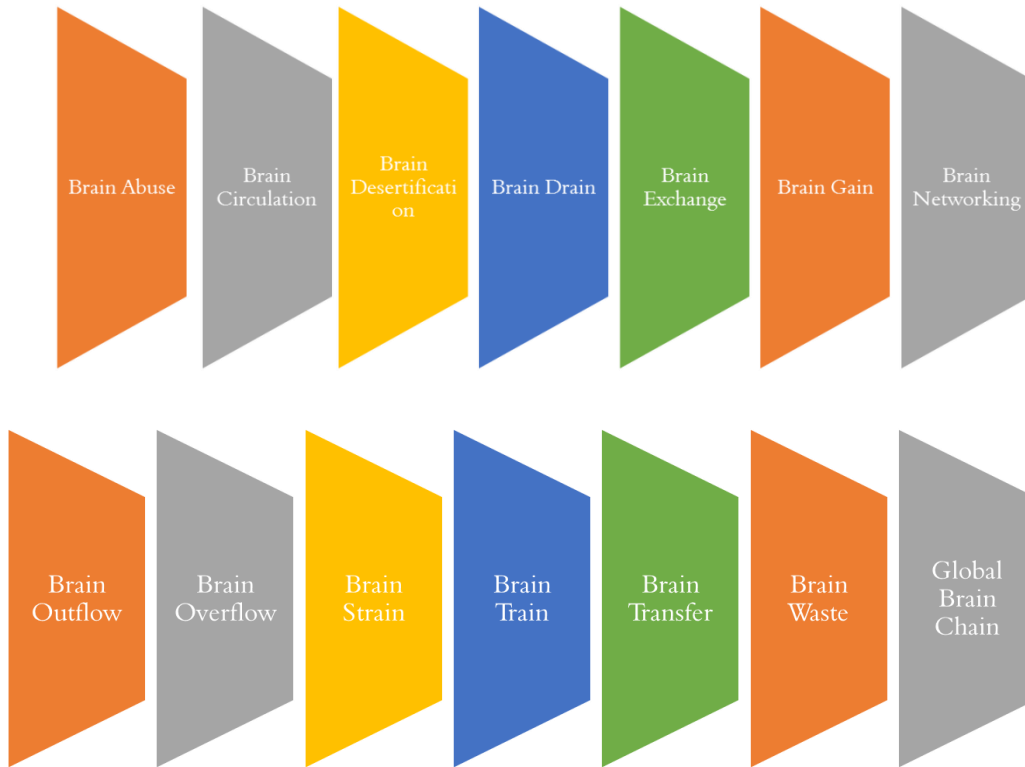
**Looking at the Brain Circulation typology which one of these will you consider evident in your situation right now?**

*Please check one of the statement that is most applicable in your situation, if there is more than 1, please rank them as 1, 2,*

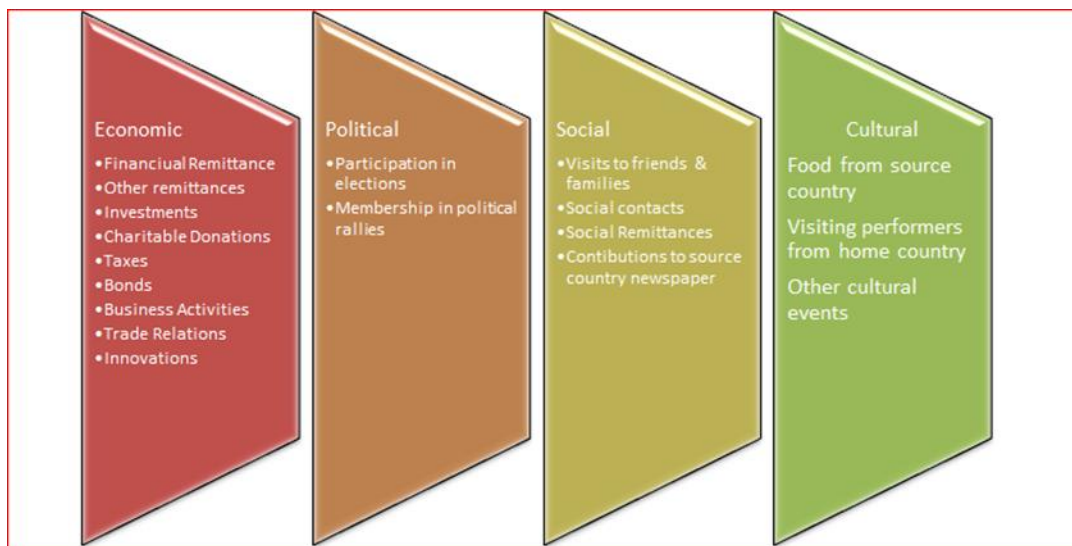
<b>BD</b>	I do not feel like returning to Nigeria and I do not return or sustain any ties with those who stayed in Nigeria
<b>BC</b>	I travel between Canada and Nigeria for business, work and investment purposes
<b>BT</b>	I came to Canada to acquire more knowledge and keep in contact with people back home and will move back to Nigeria
<b>BD<sub>2</sub></b>	I migrated from Nigeria due to my inability to sustain a job in my field
<b>BE</b>	I was able to get a job when I got to Canada, I fit in without additional education
<b>BG</b>	My migrating to Canada is an addition to Canada due to my previous experience
<b>BN</b>	I am committed to people back home, I collaborate with other health care workers and I can return back to my previous job if I wish
<b>BO</b>	While in Nigeria, I migrated because I was under employed or unemployed
<b>BS</b>	My migration had an adverse consequences on my company or job back home
<b>BT</b>	I migrated for educational purposes and to gain more training in my field
<b>BW</b>	Since being in Canada, I have not been able to find employment in my field but I am not willing to go back to Nigeria
<b>GBC</b>	I consider my migration a positive and a also a negative to my job and profession

Printed Aids

(a) Skill Discourse



(b) Transnational Activities







Have you inquire/ ask for information about migrating to Canada? Yes No

Have you been advised by any friends, family members or recruiters about migration?  
Friends  Family member Professional Associations  Immigrant consultant  Recruiters

If yes, what reasons/advice did they gave you

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Looking at the typology of activities below which of these activities do you participate in Nigeria? (please check all that are applicable)

I provide for my extended family	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I make other contributions (education, health, clothes etc)	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I have other investments	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I donate to charities/NGO	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I pay taxes	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I purchase government bonds	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I participate in business activities	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I purchase into government programs	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I have trade relations	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I participate in new innovations	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I participate in elections	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I am a member of a political party	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I visit friends and families	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I maintain social contacts through different social medias E.g. facebook, whatsapp etc	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I contribute to Newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I attend cultural events	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never

Looking at the Brain Circulation typology which one of these will encourage you to migrate

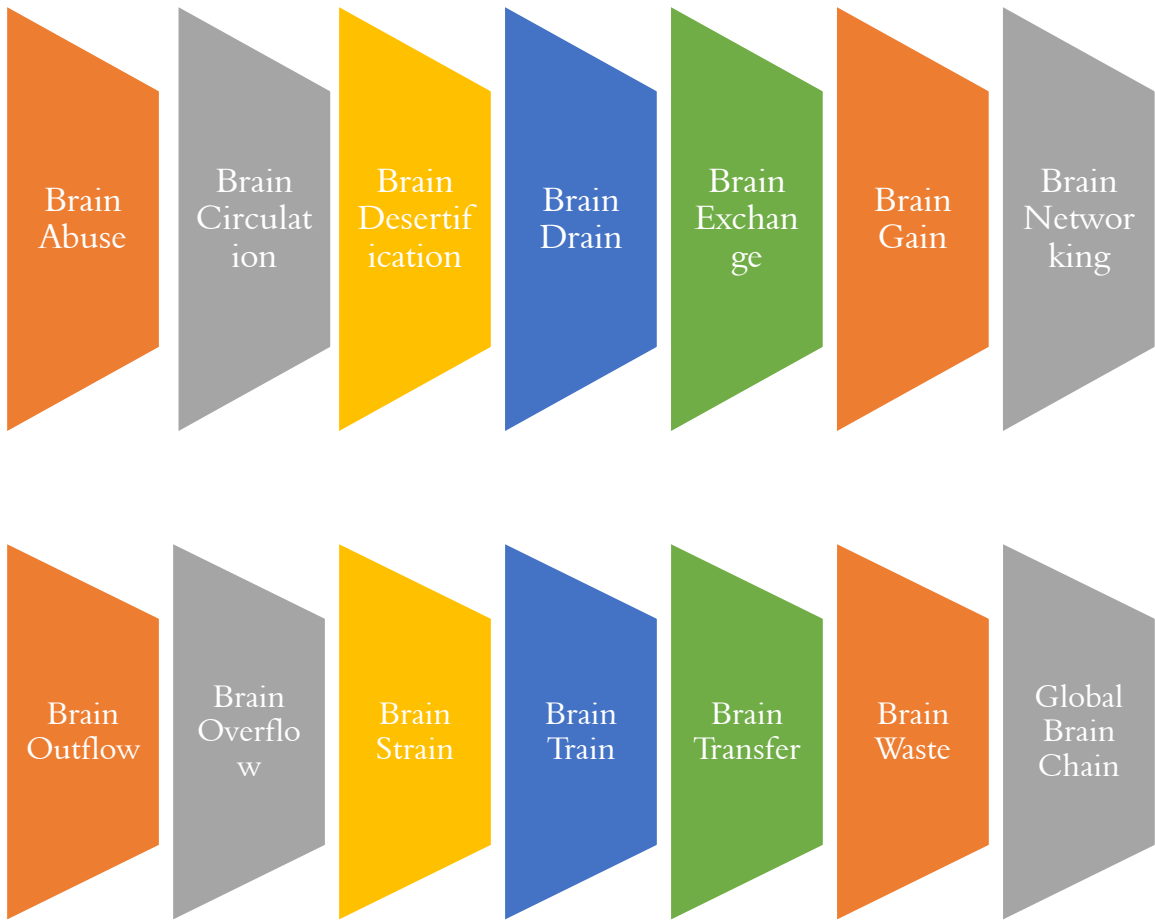
<b>BD</b>	I do not feel like returning to Nigeria and I do not return or sustain any ties with those who stayed in Nigeria
<b>BC</b>	I travel between Canada and Nigeria for business, work and investment purposes
<b>BT</b>	I came to Canada to acquire more knowledge and keep in contact with people back home and will move back to Nigeria
<b>BD2</b>	I migrated from Nigeria due to my inability to sustain a job in my field
<b>BE</b>	I was able to get a job when I got to Canada, I fit in without additional education
<b>BG</b>	My migrating to Canada is an addition to Canada due to my previous experience
<b>BN</b>	I am committed to people back home, I collaborate with other health care workers and I can return back to my previous job if I wish
<b>EO</b>	While in Nigeria, I migrated because I was under employed or unemployed
<b>ES</b>	My migration had an adverse consequences on my company or job back home
<b>BT</b>	I migrated for educational purposes and to gain more training in my field
<b>BW</b>	Since being in Canada, I have not been able to find employment in my field but I am not willing to go back to Nigeria
<b>GBC</b>	I consider my migration a positive and a also a negative to my job and profession

Looking at the typology of activities below, which of these activities will you participate in at the destination country?

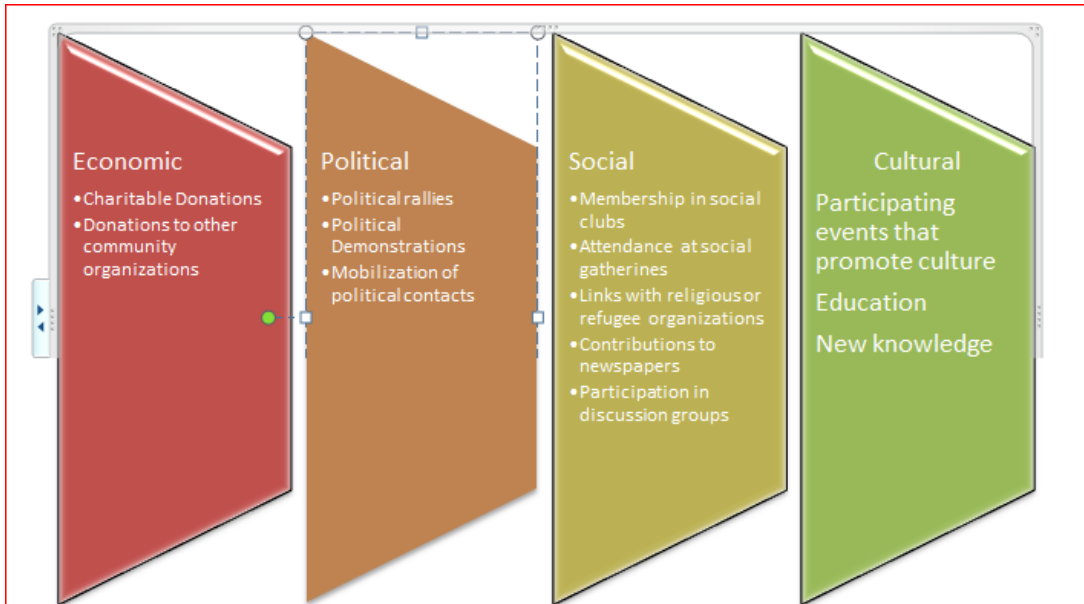
Donate to charities	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
Donate to other community organizations	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
Participate in political rallies	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
Participate in political demonstrations	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
Mobilize political contacts	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
Membership in social, professional club	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
Attend social gatherings	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
Have links with religious and refugee organizations	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
Contribute to Nigerian Newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
Participate in discussion groups	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
Become active on social media sites	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
Participate in events that promotes culture	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
Gain new educational credentials	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
Acquired a new knowledge	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
Visit performers from Nigeria	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never

Printed aids

(a) Skill Discourse



(b) Transnational Activities



Appendix F - Background Questionnaire used with Interviews

PARTICIPANT QUESTIONNAIRE

Title \_\_\_\_\_ First Name \_\_\_\_\_ Last Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Email \_\_\_\_\_

Phone # \_\_\_\_\_

Age: under 30    between 30-39    between 40-49 50-59    over 60

Educational background \_\_\_\_\_

Present Occupation \_\_\_\_\_ Previous \_\_\_\_\_

Years in Canada \_\_\_\_\_

City of residence Nigeria \_\_\_\_\_

Mode of Migration \_\_\_\_\_

How often do you visit Nigeria \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix G – Interview Guide - Canada

- 1) Can you please tell me about yourself
- 2) What was your life like before migrating to Canada?
- 3) Whose decision was it to migrate?
- 4) How long have you been living in Canada?
- 5) What was the migration process like
- 6) What happened when you reached here – settling down, getting a job etc
- 7) How would you describe your life today?
- 8) What things can you observe about yourself that are different after you migrated to Canada?, Do you think these changes have happened because of living in Toronto or Canada.
- 9) Looking at the Brain Circulation typology (see appendix J), which one of these will you consider evident in your situation right now? Do you participate on any cultural events here? Looking at the typology of activities (see appendix K), which of these activities do you participate in?
- 10) Which people do you stay in contact with people in Nigeria
- 11) Do you normally go back to Nigeria, if yes, what is the reason for visiting?, how often and for how long?
- 12) Have you advised any friends or family in Nigeria about Canadian Immigration? Please tell me about it

## Appendix H – Interview Guide - Nigeria

- 1) Tell me about yourself
- 2) What is your education and current occupation
- 3) What motivates you to study that field?
- 4) Are you interested in migrating out of Nigeria? If so why?
- 5) If you had to travel, which country will it be and why that country?
- 6) Do you know anyone in that country?
- 7) Have you been advised by any friends, family members or recruiters about migration
- 8) Looking at the Brain Circulation typology (see appendix J), which one of these will you consider evident in your situation right now?
- 9) Looking at the typology of activities (see appendix K), which of these activities will encourage you to migrate?

## Appendix I – Key Informant Interview Guide

Tell me about your involvement in the community?

Is this a \_ faith based \_\_\_\_ cultural or \_\_\_\_\_ Professional association?

From your knowledge and experience in the community, what are some of the reasons people join your association

In your opinion what are the changes you have noticed among your community members since migrating to Canada?

Which of these changes will you attribute to migration?

What differences do you notice among Nigerian professional migrant that is different from migrants from other countries?



Appendix J – Brain Typology

**Looking at the Brain Circulation typology which one of these will encourage you to migrate**

<b>BD</b>	I do not feel like returning to Nigeria and I do not return or sustain any ties with those who stayed in Nigeria
<b>BC</b>	I travel between Canada and Nigeria for business, work and investment purposes
<b>BT</b>	I came to Canada to acquire more knowledge and keep in contact with people back home and will move back to Nigeria
<b>BD2</b>	I migrated from Nigeria due to my inability to sustain a job in my field
<b>BE</b>	I was able to get a job when I got to Canada, I fit in without additional education
<b>BG</b>	My migrating to Canada is an addition to Canada due to my previous experience
<b>BN</b>	I am committed to people back home, I collaborate with other health care workers and I can return back to my previous job if I wish
<b>BO</b>	While in Nigeria, I migrated because I was under employed or unemployed
<b>BS</b>	My migration had an adverse consequences on my company or job back home
<b>BT</b>	I migrated for educational purposes and to gain more training in my field
<b>BW</b>	Since being in Canada, I have not been able to find employment in my field but I am not willing to go back to Nigeria
<b>GBC</b>	I consider my migration a positive and a also a negative to my job and profession

Appendix K – Transnational Activities

Do you participate in any of these events there? Looking at the typology of activities below which of these activities do you participate in Nigeria?

**Backhome in NIGERIA (please check all that are applicable)**

I sent money home	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I make other contributions (education, health, clothes etc)	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I have other investments	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I donate to charities	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I pay taxes	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I purchase government bonds	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I participate in business activities	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I purchase into government programs	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I have trade relations	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I participate in new innovations	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I participate in elections	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I am a member of a political party	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I visit friends and families	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I maintain social contacts through different social medias	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I contribute to Newspapers	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never
I attend cultural events	<input type="checkbox"/> Always <input type="checkbox"/> Sometimes <input type="checkbox"/> Never

**Looking at the Brain Circulation typology which one of these will you consider evident in your situation right now?**

*Please check one of the statement that is most applicable in your situation, if there is more than 1, please rank them as 1, 2, /*

<b>BD</b>	I do not feel like returning to Nigeria and I do not return or sustain any ties with those who stayed in Nigeria
<b>BC</b>	I travel between Canada and Nigeria for business, work and investment purposes
<b>BT</b>	I came to Canada to acquire more knowledge and keep in contact with people back home and will move back to Nigeria
<b>BD<sub>2</sub></b>	I migrated from Nigeria due to my inability to sustain a job in my field
<b>BE</b>	I was able to get a job when I got to Canada, I fit in without additional education
<b>EG</b>	My migrating to Canada is an addition to Canada due to my previous experience
<b>EN</b>	I am committed to people back home, I collaborate with other health care workers and I can return back to my previous job if I wish
<b>EO</b>	While in Nigeria, I migrated because I was under employed or unemployed
<b>ES</b>	My migration had an adverse consequences on my company or job back home
<b>ET</b>	I migrated for educational purposes and to gain more training in my field
<b>BW</b>	Since being in Canada, I have not been able to find employment in my field but I am not willing to go back to Nigeria
<b>GBC</b>	I consider my migration a positive and a also a negative to my job and profession

### Canada Interview

**Interviewee:** [07]

**Interviewer:** Sheri Adekola

**Date and Time:** [08/07/2016][4.15pm]

**Location:** Brampton

**File information:** Notes

**Link to field notes:**

What was your life like before migrating to Canada?

I had a successful business back home.

I: Wow nice. What kind of business?

R: I had a supermarket close to University of Ado Ekiti and its one of a kind there that carries everything and also have a café/ relaxing atmosphere for the students to hang out.

1. [What was the migration process like](#)

My husband was in Canada, so he sponsored all of us to come and join him.

2. [What happened when you reached here – settling down, getting a job etc](#)

Oh my Jesus. I should have stayed in Nigeria and have him come over there instead. It was very very or should I say extremely difficult for us. My children were bringing homework from school every day which I don't normally have to go with them. I wasn't able to get a job. I studied finance but I never really use my diploma to do anything other than my business. I had to go back to high school after applying to Humber College and no admission and then start all over.

3. [Describe your life today?](#)

My life today is way better. Now that I think about it. It was at the beginning that was rough. I didn't know where to go to how to get things done. Now I am a registered nurse and I am thankful to Canada for giving me that opportunity to further my studies which wouldn't have been possible in Nigeria.

4. [What things can you observe about yourself that are different after you migrated to Canada?, Do you think these changes have happened because of living in Toronto or Canada.](#)

Everything. I would say I lost respect when I first came because I was never taken seriously in any

association of friends, they say things like “you just came, what do you know?” Now they say ask Bose what she thinks. I have more respect than I had before.

5. What is the reason for joining that association?

To worship and stay in contact with my friends. Also to make sure my children know their culture and have a chance to marry from that culture. This days, we have inter-cultural marriages more than intra-cultural and its affecting the kids and their parents.

6. What advice did you give them?

I told them to do their homework. It's not easy but some of them don't listen, then when they get here, they start complaining to you.

7. Looking at the brain discourse typology, which ones better reflect how you feel?  
Looking at the activities, select the activities that you do participate in:

\*\*See excel\*\*

Appendix M – Sample Interview Excerpt Nigeria

**Interviewee:** [02]

**Interviewer:** Sheri Adekola

**Date and Time:** [08/22/2016][3:13]

**Location:** Prince Williams Hospital-Maternity services, Ibadan

**Video file information:** [MAH00016][09:59] Voice 002, 12.22

**Link to field notes:**

**Link to follow up interview transcript:**

**I:** [Tell me about yourself](#)

My name is xxxxxxxx from Oyo State. I am 19+, I graduated Senior Secondary School from Dode College Ijegan, Lagos and applied to nursing school last year but I did not get in so this year, I tried it again and I decided to come here to get training rather than sitting at home so I came here for training why I am expecting the admission lis and get some knowledge about it.

**I:** [Why did you select the nursing profession?](#)

**R:** Because I don't like it when I see people in pain and I think with this, I can rescue lives, God gives me the strength

**I:** So only nurses rescue lives, doctors rescue lives, police officers rescue lives?

**R:** I mean in hospital base. Doctors too rescue lives but nurses are more closer to the patients than doctors.

**I:** What are you classified as?

**R:** Trainee

**I:** Ok thank you

**I:** So how long have you being doing this?

**R:** Going to 3 month now

**I:** How are you liking it

**R:** I like it. Yah

I: You meet many people

R: Yes

I: Pregnant ones, ill ones

R: I met pregnant women, em..Different types of cases that comes in

I: Alright so have anyone talk to you about travelling overseas, or are you thinking about travelling overseas?

R: Nobody

I: [Are you thinking of travelling](#)

R: I pray I do one day

I: Do you want to or not

R: I wish to

I: Where would you like to go if you had to go somewhere?

R: I don't have any knowledge about overseas, so I don't have anywhere precisely because I don't have anywhere precisely because I don't have any knowledge here, I only know about Nigeria.

I: OK

T: But do you have anybody outside Nigeria as a family friend that you have contact?

R: I have

T: Which part of the continent

R: I think she is in Spain

I: And the person didn't talk to you about travelling?

R: Well she is just a friend to my mom. We talk once in a while

I: Oh OK

I: So when you said you wish to travel, why do you wish to travel, you do not have knowledge about the place, you just wish to go

R: This work is like learning more, its not that you stay in a place, you just have to go out and add knowledge to what you know

I: Add knowledge thank you

R: Ok alright

I: So I know you've only being doing this for 3 months, what **motivates you to come everyday** and to continue to processing your nursing school admission, now that you have tried it, you've seen people in pain, the happy ones and still processing the admission

R: One this is just that what you determine, can never be changed, even though the circumstances is not that OK, your decision can not be changed, coming here, its OK everything is fine. And at least Before I don't know how to do some things although its not that I run away from blood, when I was still little, I run away from blood but when I was growing up I wills till become a nurse one day so let me just stay. Everytime I see blood, I say I must see it, but when I came here, it gave me another boldness to face any case that comes in.

I: Yeah because for me I still run away from blood, I was running away from blood and I still run away from that. That's good thanks

I: If any of this statement pertain to you, let me know, I will ask some statement, if it pertains to you, please let me know, if not, it's OK too. Looking at the brain circulation typology which will you consider evident in your situation

I: I do not feel like returning to Nigeria and I do not return or sustain any ties with those who stayed in Nigeria I will come back [BD]

R: I will return

I: I travel between Canada and Nigeria for business, work and investment purposes [BC]

R: For Work, so that is a good statement

I: I came to Canada to acquire more knowledge and keep in contact with people back home and will move back to Nigeria

R: Yah and I can still stay over too

I: I migrated from Nigeria due to my inability to sustain a job in my field [BD2]

R: I have not searched for nursing job before so I don't really know

I: I was able to get a job when I got to Canada, I fit in without additional education [BE]

R: I dint know about them or how they do their things

T: I think you didn't get the question, technically you are still a student and you will need more education, as of today do you need additional education

R: Yes I need

I: My migrating to Canada is an addition to Canada due to my previous experience [BG]

R: Yes

I: I am committed to people back home, I collaborate with other health care workers and I can return back to my previous job if I wish [BN]

R: Yes

I: While in Nigeria, I migrated because I was under employed or unemployed [BO]

R: I am still a trainee

I: My migration had an adverse consequences on my company or job back home, they will feel your absence [BS]

R: Yes

I: I migrated for educational purposes and to gain more training in my field [BT]

R: Yes

I: Ok, then I have few more questions. Looking at the typology of activities, which activities will encourage you to migrate?

I: I provide for my extended family

R: No

I: I make other contributions (education, health, clothes etc)

R: No

I: I have other investments

R: No

I: I donate to charities/NGO

R: No

I: I pay taxes

R: No, I am not working yet

I: I purchase government bonds

R: No

I: I participate in business activities

R: No, not really, like personal business, Yes

I: I purchase into government programs



R: No

I: I have trade relations

R: No

I: I participate in new innovations

R: Yes

I: I participate in elections

R: No

I: I am a member of a political party

R: No

I: I visit friends and families

R: Yes

I: I maintain social contacts through different social medias e.g. facebook, whatsapp etc

R: Yes

I: I contribute to Newspapers

R: No

I: I attend cultural events

No, I don't really go out like yet.

I: Do you have any questions for me

R: No thank you.

Yes we are done. Thank you for your time and for allowing me to interview you so I can complete this study. And for somewhere like you, where you get there, they will have known more about the nursing field and it will be easier as well. See you at the top

R: You are welcome ma

## Appendix N – Research Ethics Board Clearance Initial

20202017

Wilfrid Laurier University Mail - REB Clearance Notification



Sherifat Adekola <adek2880@mylaurier.ca>

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### REB Clearance Notification

1 message

REB@wlu.ca <REB@wlu.ca>

Mon, Aug 18, 2014 at 3:09 AM

To: "Ms. Sherifat Adekola (Principal Investigator)" <ADEK2880@mylaurier.ca>

Cc: "Margaret Walton-Roberts (Supervisor)" <mwaltonroberts@wlu.ca>, REB@wlu.ca



August 18, 2014

Dear Sherifat,

REB # 4111

Project, "BRAIN DRAIN OR BRAIN CIRCULATION? – A TRANSNATIONAL CASE STUDY OF NIGERIAN MIGRANT

HEALTH CARE WORKERS"

Expiry Date: July 08, 2015

The Research Ethics Board of Wilfrid Laurier University has reviewed the above proposal and determined that the proposal is ethically sound. If the research plan and methods should change in a way that may bring into question the project's adherence to acceptable ethical norms, please submit a "Request for Ethics Clearance of a Revision or Modification" form for approval before the changes are put into place. This form can also be used to extend protocols past their expiry date, except in cases where the project is more than two years old. Those projects require a new REB application.

Please note that you are responsible for obtaining any further approvals that might be required to complete your project.

If any participants in your research project have a negative experience (either physical, psychological or emotional) you are required to submit an "Adverse Events Form" within 24 hours of the event.

According to the Tri-Council Policy Statement, you must complete the "Annual/Final Progress Report on Human Research Projects" form annually and upon completion of the project.

All the best for the successful completion of your project.

(Useful links: [ROME0 Login Screen](#) ; [ROME0 Quick Reference Guide](#) ; [REB webpage](#))

Yours sincerely,

Robert Basso, PhD  
Chair, University Research Ethics Board  
Wilfrid Laurier University

/pb

## Appendix O – Research Ethics Board Clearance Renewal

20202017

Wilfrid Laurier University Mail - Modification to REB Project



Sherifat Adekola <adek2880@mylaurier.ca>

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### Modification to REB Project

1 message

REB@wlu.ca <REB@wlu.ca>

Fri, Jul 24, 2015 at 8:24 AM

To: "Ms. Sherifat Adekola (Principal Investigator)" <ADEK2880@mylaurier.ca>

Cc: "Margaret Walton-Roberts (Supervisor)" <mwaltonroberts@wlu.ca>, REB@wlu.ca



July 24, 2015

Dear Sherifat,

REB # 4111  
Project, "BRAIN DRAIN OR BRAIN CIRCULATION? – A TRANSNATIONAL CASE STUDY OF NIGERIAN MIGRANT HEALTH CARE WORKERS"  
REB Clearance Issued: August 18, 2014  
Expiry / End Date: July 08, 2017

I have reviewed the changes (New end date – July 8, 2017) to the above proposal and determined that they are ethically sound.

If the research plan and methods should change in a way that may bring into question the project's adherence to acceptable ethical norms, please contact me as soon as possible and before the changes are put in place.

(This letter has been issued on behalf of Dr. R. Basso, by Paul Barnard, Research Compliance Officer.)

(Useful links: [ROMEO Login Screen](#); [ROMEO Quick Reference Guide](#); [REB webpage](#))

Yours sincerely,

Robert Basso, PhD  
Chair, University Research Ethics Board  
Wilfrid Laurier University

/pb

Appendix P– Nigerian Migrant Networks in Canada

<i>Canadian Association of Nigerian Lawyers</i>	2013	National	All	<a href="http://canadiannigerianlawyers.ca/">http://canadiannigerianlawyers.ca/</a>	Professional	CANL’s goals include serving the Nigerian community’s legal needs, as well as fostering affiliations or associations with other Nigerian professional association, with the aim of meeting the legal needs of the Nigerian community and beyond
<i>Able Brothers Nigeria Club of Toronto</i>	NA	Toronto	Ontario	<a href="http://www.ablebrothersclub.com/">http://www.ablebrothersclub.com/</a>	Ethnocultural	The objective of the organization is to establish a sense of community for the natives of Edo State in The Greater Toronto area of Canada. Able Brother’s club of Toronto is committed to fostering and uplifting the Edo community, its culture, social values and promoting interaction with other Africans, Afro-Canadians and the community
<i>Anambra State Association of Canada</i>	NA	NA	NA	NA	Ethnocultural	NA
<i>Anambra State Progressive Association</i>	NA	NA	NA	NA	Ethnocultural	Anambra State Progressive Association is organized exclusively for charity, relief of poverty, education and other purposes beneficial to the community. The association shall carry such charitable activities as it deems fit within and outside Canada. No part of the net earnings of ASPA Canada shall inure to the benefit of, or be distributable to its members, trustees, officers, or other private persons, except that the association shall be authorized and empowered to pay reasonable compensation for services rendered and to make payments and distributions in furtherance of the purposes set forth in Article I thereof. The association shall not enter into any transaction or arrangement that might benefit the private interest of any of its officers or directors that violates applicable provincial and federal and provincial laws governing conflict of interest application to non-profit and charitable organizations. The board of directors and executive council shall adopt policies and procedures as appropriate and necessary to ensure the association operates in a manner consistent with its charitable purposes and does not engage in activities that could jeopardize its tax-exempt status.
<i>Association of Friends</i>	NA	NA	Ontario	NA	Social	NA
<i>Association of Nigerian Canadian Professionals &amp; Entrepreneurs</i>	2015	NA	Ontario	<a href="http://www.ancpe.ca">http://www.ancpe.ca</a>	Professional	Our mission is to assist in providing a platform for individuals to meet and participate in events that create tremendous values.

<i>Association of Northern Nigerians in Canada</i>	NA	NA	NA	<a href="http://www.annic.org/">http://www.annic.org/</a>	Ethnocultural	To build a strong and united community where we can all contribute to the development of our community here in Canada and Nigeria.
<i>Canadian Organization For Human Rights And Democracy In Nigeria</i>	NA	NA	NA	NA	Professional	NA
<i>Canadian/African Democratic Movement For Nigeria (Cadmn)</i>	NA	NA	NA	NA	Professional	NA
<i>Democratic Alliance For Nigeria In Canada</i>	NA	NA	NA	NA	Social	NA
<i>Ebony States Canadian Association</i>	NA	NA	NA	NA	Ethnocultural	Ebonyi State Association Canada is a strong united association in Canada that operates on the basis of "Onye ayana Nwanneya". We strive to demonstrate the values of Ebonyi state while in Canada. Ebonyi State is in the south-eastern part of Nigeria, Its capital and largest city is Abakaliki. Afikpo is the second largest city. Other major towns are EDDA, Onueke, Nkalagu, Uburu, Onicha, Ishiagu, Amasiri and Okposi. It is one of the six new states in Nigeria created in 1996; Ebonyi was created from the of old Abakaliki division of Enugu State and old Afikpo division of Abia State.
<i>Edo State Association Of Nigerians In Canada</i>	NA	NA	NA	NA	Ethnocultural	NA
<i>Edo State Multicultural Services</i>	NA	NA	NA	NA	Ethnocultural	NA
<i>Edocan Social Club (Toronto)</i>	NA	NA	NA	NA	Social	NA
<i>Efon Alaye Cultural Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	

<i>Egbe Omo Ife Cultural Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	
<i>Egbe Omo Yoruba Manitoba</i>			Manitoba	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/egbeomoyoruba.manitoba">https://www.facebook.com/egbeomoyoruba.manitoba</a>	Ethnocultural	
<i>Ekimogun Cultural Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	
<i>Ekiti Kete Canada Inc</i>		Toronto	Ontario	<a href="http://www.ekitiketecanada.com">www.ekitiketecanada.com</a>	Ethnocultural	We, the Residents of Canada, Canadians of Ekiti descent and indigenes here in Canada, desiring to come together as one, in unity deemed it necessary to organize ourselves into one body for the purpose of contributing our own quota towards the development of our great state (Ekiti State) and also for the benefit of our members here in Canada individually and jointly. We hereby resolve to constitute ourselves into a non-partisan body/entity, make and give ourselves the following constitution
<i>Eko Indigenes Club Of Canada</i>	2010		Ontario	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/Eko-Indigenes-Club-Of-Canada-276811649036469/">https://www.facebook.com/Eko-Indigenes-Club-Of-Canada-276811649036469/</a>	Ethnocultural	EKO Indigenes Club is a social and cultural club constituted primarily to promote and protect the interest of its members and community at large.
<i>Enugu State Association in Canada</i>					Ethnocultural	
<i>Esan Akugbe Association Of Canada (Essac)</i>					Ethnocultural	Is An Association Established To Promote The Social-Cultural Values Of Esan People In Particular, Edo State, Nigeria And Other African Countries.
<i>Esan Akugbe Association Of Canada Inc.</i>					Ethnocultural	

<i>Ibadan Descendant Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	
<i>Ibo Development Association of BC</i>			British Columbia	<a href="http://www.ndigbo.net/">www.ndigbo.net/</a>	Ethnocultural	
<i>Idanre Cultural Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	
<i>Ifon Omima Cultural Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	
<i>Igbo association calgary</i>		Calgary	Alberta		Ethnocultural	
<i>Igbo association edmonton</i>		Edmonton	Alberta		Ethnocultural	
<i>Igbo association of victoria</i>		Victoria	British Columbia		Ethnocultural	
<i>Igbo Canada</i>		National	All		Ethnocultural	
<i>Igbo cultural association of saskatoon</i>	2001	Saskatoon	Saskatchewan	<a href="http://www.icassask.ca">www.icassask.ca</a>	Ethnocultural	
<i>Igbo union of Canada</i>		National	All	<a href="http://www.igbouunioncanada.com/">www.igbouunioncanada.com/</a>	Ethnocultural	
<i>Ijebu Heritage Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	
<i>Ijesa Progressive Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	
<i>Ijesa Progressive Association Of Canada</i>					Ethnocultural	
<i>Ika Cultural Association Of Nigeria – Toronto</i>					Ethnocultural	

<i>Ikorodu Descendant Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	
<i>Ile-Oluji Cultural Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	
<i>Isokan yoruba Ottawa</i>		Ottawa	Ontario	<a href="http://www.isokan.yoruba.org">www.isokan.yoruba.org</a>	Ethnocultural	<b>Isokan Yoruba Ottawa</b> is a socio-cultural group of Nigerian Yorubas that live in Ottawa (Canada's Capital) and its environs. We are a non-profit organization established to fulfill the following mission statements: (a) Preserve and promote our cultural heritage, values and traditions as part of the Canadian mosaic. (b) Protect and assist in the well-being of individual members in good standing within the association.
<i>Kwara Descendant Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	
<i>Movement For Social Justice In Nigeria</i>					Social	
<i>Movement For The Survival Of Ogoni People Canada</i>					Ethnocultural	
<i>Ndi-Imo Canada</i>				<a href="http://www.igbounioncanada.com/tag/ndi-imo-canada-inc">http://www.igbounioncanada.com/tag/ndi-imo-canada-inc</a>	Ethnocultural	We are indigenes of Imo State Nigeria residing in Canada and we recognize the need to form ourselves into an association for the benefit of one another and in the interest of the development of our new home, Canada and our ancestral home of Imo State, Nigeria. Ndi Imo Canada is an umbrella association for all organizations, groups, and of person of Imo State Nigeria origin resident in Canada. The organization is owned by and belongs to all indigenes, peoples and citizens of Imo State, Nigeria resident in Canada who comply with the registration and membership sections of our constitution.
<i>Nido (Nigerians In Diaspora Organization) Toronto Chapter</i>					Social	
<i>Nigeria Association of Calgary</i>	1994	Calgary	Alberta	<a href="http://www.nca-calgary.com/">http://www.nca-calgary.com/</a>	Social	The mission of the NCAC's mission is to meet the needs of all Nigerians based in Calgary Alberta.



<i>Nigeria Canada Development Association of British Columbia</i>			British Columbia	<a href="http://ncdab.c.ca/">http://ncdab.c.ca/</a>	Professional	The Nigerian Canadian Association of British Columbia is a non-profit and non-partisan association dedicated to work with Nigerian-Canadian as well as others residing in British Columbia for the purposes of ensuring their full integration and participation in Canadian society.
<i>Nigeria Canadian Association</i>		Toronto	Ontario	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/ncadinner2013/">https://www.facebook.com/ncadinner2013/</a>	Social	Our mission is to promote the spirit of oneness, patriotism, a united community, and cooperation among Nigerians in the Greater Toronto Area (GTA).
<i>Nigeria Eagles Soccer Club Of Toronto</i>					Social	
<i>Nigeria Foundation</i>					Social	
<i>Nigeriaforhaiti Relief Organization</i>					Social	
<i>Nigerian Association (Hamilton-Wentworth And District)</i>					Social	
<i>Nigerian Canadian Association Edmonton</i>	1985	Edmonton	Alberta	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/Nigerian-Canadian-Association-of-Edmonton-168537949897948/">https://www.facebook.com/Nigerian-Canadian-Association-of-Edmonton-168537949897948/</a>	Social	To promote a united Nigerian Community in Edmonton by providing services that create tremendous values to our members
<i>Nigerian Canadian Association For Community Development</i>					Social	

<i>Nigerian Canadian Association Ottawa</i>		Ottawa	Ontario		Social	
<i>Nigerian Canadian Christian Ministers Forum</i>	2004	National		<a href="http://nccmf.org/">http://nccmf.org/</a>	Religious	Promoting the convocation of Pastors, Ministers and Churches of Nigerian heritage for the propagation of the gospel of Jesus Christ, spiritual growth and maturity as well as community development.
<i>Nigerian Canadian Money Market Association (Ncmma)</i>				<a href="http://urlm.co/www.ncmma.org">urlm.co/www.ncmma.org</a>	Social	
<i>Nigerian Canadian Multi Service Centre</i>				Not Available	Social	
<i>Nigerian Canadian Muslim Association</i>		National	All	WWW.NIGERIANCANADIANMUSLIM.COM	Religious	The Nigerian Canadian Muslim Association (NCMA) seeks to be a community in which all Muslims can come together on a common platform to worship ALLAH, where the Qur'an, the Hadith; the teaching and practice of Prophet Muhammad; (P.B.U.H.), is the fundamental principle of our faith
<i>Nigerian Canadian Organization (Windsor)</i>	2005	Windsor	Ontario	<a href="https://groups.yahoo.com/group/NCOW/info">https://groups.yahoo.com/group/NCOW/info</a>	Social	The Nigerian Canadian Organization of Windsor is an organization of Nigerians resident in Windsor and Essex County, Ontario, Canada. It seeks to promote the socio-cultural awareness, education, participation, integration, and equality of people of Nigerian descent within the multi-cultural mosaic of Canada.
<i>Nigerian Canadian Political Education Action Committee</i>					Political	
<i>Nigerian Canadian Resettlement Centre Of Toronto Canada</i>					Social	

<i>Nigerian Canadian Reunion Corporation</i>					Social	
<i>Nigerian Canadian Truckers Association Canada Incorporated</i>					Professional	
<i>Nigerian In Diaspora Organization Canada</i>	2004	National	All	<a href="http://www.nidocanada.com/">http://www.nidocanada.com/</a>	Professional	
<i>Nigerian Islamic Community Centre</i>					Religious	
<i>Nigerian Nurses Association Of Canada</i>				<a href="http://nannn.a.org/">http://nannn.a.org/</a>	Professional	To improve the health and well-being of Nigerians at home and abroad.
<i>Nigerian Uhen Youth Association Toronto Ont North America</i>						
<i>Nigerian Women's Association Of Hamilton Wentworth And District</i>					Social	
<i>Nigerian-Canadian Muslim Association</i>					Religious	
<i>Nigerian-Canadian Teachers' Association</i>					Professional	

<i>Ogbomoso Cultural Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	
<i>Oha Ngwa Canadian Association</i>					Ethnocultural	
<i>Olumo Progressive Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	
<i>Osun Descendant Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	
<i>Owerri Zone Community in Toronto</i>					Ethnocultural	OZCIT is a non-profit, non-political, non-religious and non-racial community association. The Community serves as a common forum for all indigenes of Owerri Zone living in Toronto Canada and provides a concerted front for fostering unity, social and economic well being of all its members and thus creates a sustainable relationship among Owerri people
<i>Owo Community Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	
<i>Oyemekun Cultural Association</i>			Ontario		Ethnocultural	
<i>Peoples Club Of Nigeria International - Toronto Branch</i>					Professional	
<i>Prestigious Ladies Support Club Of Nigerian-Canadian</i>					Professional	
<i>Queens of Nigerian-Canadian</i>	2009		Ontario	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/ncqueens/">https://www.facebook.com/ncqueens/</a>	Social	The Queens of Nigerian-Canadian Community (The Queens) is a not-for-profit organization that became into existence 4 years ago but was registered on November 04, 2009 with the Ministry of Government Services and the Ontario Corporation Number is 1806569.
<i>Society Of Canadian-</i>					Professional	

<i>Nigerian Engineers</i>						
<i>South-South Forum Of Nigerians In Canada (Ssfonic)</i>					Social	
<i>The Canadian Association of Nigerian Physicians and Dentists</i>	2001	National	All		Professional	
<i>The Delta Entrepreneurial And Professional Non-Profit Group Of Ontario Inc.</i>					Ethnocultural	
<i>The Delta Mill Society</i>					Ethnocultural	
<i>The Delta State Cultural Association Of Nigeria In Toronto Canada</i>					Ethnocultural	
<i>The Nigerian Canadian News</i>	2006			<a href="http://www.nigeriancanadiannews.ca/">http://www.nigeriancanadiannews.ca/</a>	Social	To impact positively on our readers/clients and the Canadian society at large, by providing reliable and good quality information that would help promote knowledge of the Nigerian heritage, inform, educate, empower and entertain
<i>The Nigerian Canadian Association of Fort McMurray</i>	2007	Fort McMurray	Alberta	<a href="http://www.ncafm.ca/index.php">http://www.ncafm.ca/index.php</a>	Social	The Nigerian Canadian Association of Fort McMurray [NCAFM] was formed in early 2007 to promote the image of Nigeria and her cultural values
<i>United Nigerians In Canada</i>					Social	
<i>Yoruba Community Association</i>		Toronto	Ontario	<a href="http://www.yorubasinCanada.org/">http://www.yorubasinCanada.org/</a>	Ethnocultural	

<i>Yoruba Community Association Edmonton</i>			Manito ba	<a href="https://www.facebook.com/Yoruba-Community-Association-YCA-in-EdmontonABCANADA-183339254860/">https://www.facebook.com/Yoruba-Community-Association-YCA-in-EdmontonABCANADA-183339254860/</a>	Ethnocultural	Yoruba Community Association (YCA) is a non-profit organization with the sole objective of advancing Yoruba culture and heritage in Edmonton metropolis in Canada. YCA is committed to developing family enrichment programs
<i>Youth For Better Nigeria</i>					Social	
						Our focus is to educate Calgarians on the culture of Nigerians and to also provide support to all Nigerians based in the province.