

Diaspora Engagement in Development

**An Analysis of the Engagement of the Nigerian
Diaspora in Germany and the Potentials for
Cooperation**

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1. INTRODUCTION

In scientific and political debates, the discourse on migration and development has received increasing attention in recent years. De Haas (2012) discusses the body of literature on migration and development as having fluctuated between pessimism and optimism. In the 1950s and 60s, for example, the perception of migration and development was largely positive as it was seen as a virtuous circle leading to less migration in the long-term (Castles, 2008). This view changed in the 1970s and 80s, when a pessimistic view took over where migration was seen as a vicious circle in which the gap between developed and developing countries only becomes larger. More recently the pendulum has started to swing towards a more positive assessment again, where topics like 'brain gain' and 'brain circulation' are at the center of discussions. Different aspects of migration, such as the role of diaspora, have surfaced and there is a sense of recognition that migrant communities can contribute to the development of their countries of origin through economic, social as well as political transfers.

Diaspora engagement is, however, highly specific to individual diaspora communities and their interests, aspirations, institutions and sources of identities. Such factors can influence if and how diaspora communities engage in development in the home country. Other contextual aspects of the host country - including policies and legal regimes that help shape opportunity structures - likewise play a role in shaping forms of diaspora engagement. Diaspora mapping exercises are essential tools in generating data on the internal composition and heterogeneity of diaspora populations as well as for gaining insight into how diaspora communities are structured and mobilized. Such information is key in drafting policies, initiatives or programs that seek to make use of the unique strengths and competencies of the diaspora. This is true of both countries of origin and destination, as both require nuanced understandings of who the diaspora is before they can craft any policy that appropriately addresses the diaspora.

The population of Nigerian nationals or individuals of Nigerian descent who live in Germany is uncertain. Data provided by the Federal Office for Statistics (Statistisches Bundesamt) indicates that there were around 42,000 individuals with a Nigerian migration background residing in Germany in 2013 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2014d). This includes both Nigerians still holding Nigerian citizenship as well as those that have naturalized and hold German citizenship. It also includes both first and second generation migrants, defined by whether they were born abroad or in Germany. It is likely that this is still an under-estimation of the actual volume of people of Nigerian decent due to irregular migration. This rough overview of the Nigerian diaspora in Germany gives an indication of its complexity. Despite uncertainty about the size and composition of the Nigerian diaspora in Germany, there are some signals that the Nigerian community is robust and has significant organizational capacities and willingness to engage with policy practitioners in joint development activities. A diaspora mapping exercise is therefore necessary to better understand how the Nigerian diaspora has evolved in Germany, how the diaspora is organized and what interests the diaspora has in development cooperation.

Based on a request of the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), this study examines the characteristics of the Nigerian diaspora in Germany, the level and structures of their organizations and their existing and potential engagement in development. Moreover the potential for cooperation between diaspora organizations and the German Development Cooperation will be identified. Accordingly, the study addresses the following research questions:

1. How is the Nigerian diaspora in Germany comprised? What are the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Nigerians in Germany?
2. What are the organizations, networks and umbrella associations that structure the Nigerian diaspora in Germany? How do they interact with each other and the Nigerian and German governments?
3. What different social, cultural, economic and/or political activities do Nigerian diaspora organizations carry out to promote development in their country of origin? Which contextual factors shape and influence the engagement?
4. What are the needs and goals of the Nigerian diaspora? What are the needs of the German Development Cooperation in this context? What are the potentials for collaboration?

This study adopts a broad definition of the term “diaspora”. When discussing the Nigerian diaspora, this study refers to “groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin – their homelands” (Sheffer, 1986). This includes any Nigerian or individual of Nigerian descent that has a relationship with Nigeria and, therefore, also an interest in the country. As such the diaspora is not defined by citizenship, place of birth, ethnicity or time spent abroad, but it is rather about self-identifying as being Nigerian and belonging to the Nigerian diaspora.

2. METHODOLOGY

This study was carried out in the form of an explorative study using a mixed-method approach. As a first step, desk research was conducted in order to review the existing literature on the concept of diasporas and their engagement in the home country. In addition, existing statistical data and documents on the Nigerian diaspora in Germany were analyzed. Subsequently, semi-structured interviews were conducted with actively engaged members of the Nigerian diaspora. Interviews were carried out between December 2014 and February 2015. The majority of interviews were conducted via phone or Skype, while one interview was also conducted in person.

The main unit of analysis for this study is Nigerian diaspora organizations in Germany. Diaspora organizations can be defined as “complex, formal, informal or semi-formal organizations that articulate and pursue goals that are asserted to be representative of the interests and aspirations of ‘the diaspora’ as a whole” (Bush, 2008). As such these organizations represent pools of aggregated interests and claim representation of their members and are therefore helpful tools to generate information on the diaspora in general. Diasporas are, however, not a homogenous group, which means that selection of participants is important in order to ensure that a range of different organizations, views and opinions are covered.

In order to gain an overview of the existing organizations of members of the Nigerian diaspora in Germany, different channels were used. First, a search was conducted in the common register portal of the German federal states, which is a database that has records of all registered associations in Germany. In this search several relevant keywords were used in order to cover a variety of organizations. Besides Nigeria as a keyword itself, a list of keywords comprising the different Nigerian states and common ethnicities was used and the search resulted in 75 results. The disadvantage of this register is that it often only lists the

city in which the organization was registered and only in some cases also an address. In addition, when organizations become inactive they are sometimes not de-registered and, as a consequence, still came up in the conducted search. It was, therefore, necessary to search for these organizations on the internet to find contact information and details on the activities of the organizations. This search additionally uncovered another 58 organizations that were not registered. In total, 133 organizations were identified. A list of further seven organizations was provided by GIZ to complete the mapping activity. Table 1 provides an overview of the numbers of Nigerian diaspora organizations in Germany that were identified during the process of this study. As it shows, 50 of the 140 organizations were declared inactive as no contact information or information about their activities could be found. For 90 of the organizations a phone number and/or e-mail address was found and they were therefore classified as being an active organization¹. These organizations were subsequently informed about the study and invited to participate. Out of the contacted organizations, 53 did not respond to the request, while 8 organizations responded indicating that they either had no time to take part in the research or were not interested. Two organizations had agreed to an interview, but could then not be reached at the agreed time. Out of the 90 contacted organizations, 17 finally agreed to participate in an interview, which leads to a response rate of 19 per cent. During the interview with one of the organizations it became clear that they actually do not fit the criteria for the study as they are in fact based in the United States rather than Germany. As a result this interview is not further considered in this report.

Furthermore, 10 organizations were not interviewed themselves, but interviews with umbrella organizations they are represented by were conducted and within them information collected about these local chapters of the bigger organizations. Therefore, overall 30 per cent of the organization considered to be active are represented in the findings of this study.

During the process of researching these organizations, it appeared that they could be classified as being a 1) cultural organizations, 2) development organizations, 3) student associations or professional organizations or 4) political organizations. This classification is based on their main aim or activities, but does not mean that they might not also engage in other areas. For example, both cultural and professional organizations often also run small development projects in Nigeria. The classification did, however, prove to be useful and was therefore applied throughout the study.

¹ Based on the low response rate, it may be assumed that these organizations may partially also be inactive. When phones were not answered and emails remained unanswered, it was not clear whether someone is still responsible for these accounts. It was, however, not possible for the researchers to make a differentiation between organizations that did not respond due to this reason and those that did not respond due to having no time or no interest in the study. As such a further distinction cannot be made.

Table 1: Overview of Nigerian Diaspora Organizations Found, Contacted and Interviewed

	Type of Organization				Total
	Cultural	Development	Student or Professional	Political	
Organizations identified	95	33	8	4	140
Inactive	32	13	2	3	50
Contacted	63	20	6	1	90
No response	38	10	4	1	53
No interest or time	6	2	0	0	8
No-show for interview	2	0	0	0	2
Interview	7 (10*)	7 (8**)	2	0	17 (10*)

Note: * Information was collected for several local organizations during interviews with the respective national headquarters.

** During one interview it became clear that the organization does not meet the selection criteria of this study, it is therefore not included in the analysis.

As a result, the majority of the findings presented in this study relate to the organizations for which contact information (phone, email or a web presence) was available. After the identification of key contacts through desk research, snowball sampling was applied to generate further contacts within the Nigerian community. At the end of each interview, respondents were asked to name other individuals or organizations that might be willing to participate in the study. This allows researchers to access respondents using multiple entry points which decreases the likelihood of receiving a biased account when only snowball sampling is used (McKenzie & Mistiaen, 2007). In the case of this study, however, interviewees often did not know of other Nigerian diaspora organizations unless they were part of a bigger umbrella network and then referred to the other member organizations. On the other hand, the research did reach saturation in terms of the information gathered as common themes in the responses appeared and little new information that was not specific to the respective organization, was collected towards the end of the interview period.

It has to be mentioned also that some of the organizations identified and included in this study, may not be defined as diaspora organizations in a strict sense. This refers to organizations that were started by one or more Nigerians living in Germany, but involve mainly German members. Based on their activities this was not always clear before talking to them. While this kind of organization may not be at the core of this study, their activities are still relevant and strongly encouraged by members of the Nigerian diaspora in Germany. Five of the conducted interviews took place with this kind of organization as they proved to be among the most active ones in terms of specific projects that were implemented in Nigeria and in responding to the request for an interview.

One notable omission from the interviews is the German chapter of the Nigerians in Diaspora Organization (NIDO). Several attempts via email and phone were made to get in contact with the representatives of the organization, but remained unsuccessful. While it was therefore not possible to talk to a NIDO representative directly, as much information about the organization as possible was collected from the interviews with respondents that knew about NIDO as well as on the internet. The findings will therefore still refer to NIDO as it is a rather important stakeholder in the Nigerian diaspora in Germany.

In total, 17 in-depth interviews with representatives of different diaspora organizations were carried out. At one of the interviews two representatives were present. The majority (75.0 per cent) of the persons interviewed were male. Looking at their reasons for migration, five respondents migrated for education opportunities in Germany and three came to Germany because they were dissatisfied with the situation in Nigeria and were looking for a better future. The others migrated for political or family reasons. While some of the respondents have been in Germany for more than twenty years, others just recently arrived.

Table 2: Interview Participants

Code	Gender	Reason for Migration	Year of Arrival in Germany	Place	Date
1	Male	Better future	1998	Phone	04.12.2014
2	Male	Family reasons	1994	Phone	04.12.2014
3	Male	Education	1998	Phone	12.12.2014
4	Female	Education	2005	Regensburg	06.01.2015
5	Female	Family reasons	1995	Phone	10.01.2015
6	Male	Political reasons	2004	Phone	12.01.2015
7	Male	Better future	1992	Phone	14.01.2015
8	Male	Better future	1994	Phone	15.01.2015
9	Female*	N/A	N/A	Phone	19.01.2015
10	Male*	N/A	N/A	Phone	20.01.2015
11a	Male	Education	2012	Phone	21.01.2015
11b	Male	Education	2012	Phone	21.01.2015
12	Male	N/A	N/A	Phone	21.01.2015
13	Male	Political reasons	2004	Phone	26.01.2015
14	Male	Education	2009	Phone	26.01.2015
15	Female*	N/A	N/A	Phone	29.01.2015
16a	Female*	N/A	N/A	Phone	10.02.2015
16b	Male*	N/A	N/A	Phone	10.02.2015
17	Male	Political reasons	1997	Phone	12.02.2015

Note: *These interviewees were not Nigerians themselves, but were either married to a Nigerian, a close acquaintances of a Nigerian or were second generation migrants.

The interviews were conducted using an interview guide, which can be found in Annex 1. The interview guide was divided into five main sections:

- 1) Respondent information: In this part of the interview questions were asked about the respondents' characteristics, their role in the respective organization, their migration history and relationship to Nigeria as well as about the perception of the Nigerian diaspora more generally.
- 2) Basic Organizational Information: This part of the interview served to collect information about the history of the organization, its main mission, legal status and participation in a network of organizations.
- 3) Overview of the Organizational Structure: The questions in this part of the interview investigated the formal structure of the organization and gathered information about potential staff, the organization's members as well as about the funding of the organization.

- 4) **Current Organizational Activities:** Questions in this part of the interview aimed at collecting information about the organization's different activities in both Nigeria and Germany as well as cooperation with other stakeholders in Germany and/or Nigeria (other diaspora organizations, NGOs, government authorities, etc.) in these activities.
- 5) **Future Plans:** The questions in the final part of the interview dealt with specific activities planned in the (near) future, further aspirations as well as potentials for cooperation.

In general, the sequence of the questions was flexible in order to be able to adjust the interview to the individual situation during each interview. With the permission of the interviewees all interviews were recorded. Afterwards the interviews were transcribed to allow for comprehensive analysis of the collected qualitative data. In the data analysis phase the data was coded in a way that allowed to summarize and structure the information obtained through the interviews according to themes and contents addressing the research questions of this study.

In addition to the interviews with diaspora organizations, one semi-structured interview with a GIZ staff member was conducted. This interview was important in order to understand the work of GIZ in the field of migration and development. The information obtained in this interview serves as background knowledge for the authors and is directly reflected in section 5.2.

The approach used by this study comes with some limitations that should be acknowledged. The explorative approach applied in the study is useful in order to contribute to the understanding of the Nigerian diaspora in Germany and its engagement in development and seeks to identify potential for constructive involvement and cooperation with the institutions of the German Development Cooperation. It is, however, clear that the study is not representative of the whole Nigerian diaspora in Germany. Due to the channels used to contact diaspora organizations, it can be assumed that the list of Nigerian organizations is not exhaustive. Organizations without a web-presence are likely to have been missed as have those not easily identifiable as Nigerian. The study is more representative of more active and open organizations. In addition, the timeframe (December 2014-January 2015) of the field work conducted for the study also might have led to the non-response of some organizations to the request for an interview due to the holiday season falling in this period. Potential interview partners indicated having no time during this phase of the year, when old activities were wrapped up and new ones started. More importantly, it has to be considered that the work of diaspora organizations is predominantly done on a voluntary basis beside the regular employment and family obligations, which further limits willingness to give up time for an interview. A final challenge in this research was the issue of trust and getting access to the target group. In general investing the time to build a relationship and talking to potential respondents multiple times over a longer period of time is often necessary to encourage participants to share information, perceptions and visions; however, with the limited time available for the study this was not feasible with all Nigerian organizations in Germany.

3. THE NIGERIAN DIASPORA IN GERMANY

As discussed above, diaspora engagement is highly specific to individual diaspora communities and their interests, aspirations, institutions and sources of identities. These factors may have an impact on the existence, type and volume of diaspora engagement in development in the home country. It is, therefore, important to understand the circumstances under which the Nigerian diaspora in Germany may engage in such activities. This section provides a short overview of emigration trends from Nigeria more generally, before turning to a description of the characteristics of the Nigerian diaspora in Germany. This analysis serves as a basis for analyzing the qualitative data obtained through the interviews.

3.1. EMIGRATION HISTORY OF NIGERIA

Nigerian emigration is characterized by a diversity of flows, including cross-borders movements, labor migration as well as highly skilled migration to a large variety of destination countries. Nigerians constitute the largest population of migrants from developing countries in Africa to industrialized countries in Europe and elsewhere (IOM, 2009).

Migration from Nigeria can be summarized in four main waves (de Haas, 2006; ICMPD & IOM, 2010):

1) First wave: 1914 – 1960s

During the colonial and immediate post-colonial period, the main destination country of Nigerians was its colonial power, the United Kingdom (UK), particularly with the aim of attending universities there. After Nigeria gained independence in 1960, these migratory movements continued. Next to the UK, the United States of America (USA) became an important destination country for Nigerians migrating for education, business and work purposes. In addition, low-skilled Nigerians migrated to other, often neighboring, African countries during periods of civil unrest.

2) Second wave: 1960s – 1980s

Following the oil crisis and a considerable increase in oil revenues, Nigeria turned into a destination country for African migrants during this period. However, following the decrease in oil prices in the beginning of the 1980s, political instability and rise of civil unrest, Nigeria expelled large numbers of migrants and turned from a net immigration country to a net emigration country. During the same period Nigerians also increasingly started to migrate to countries such as Ghana, Cameroon, Gabon, Botswana and South Africa.

3) Third wave: 1980s – 1990s

Following further civil unrest, many highly skilled Nigerians left due to poor remuneration and human insecurity. While in the 1960s, Nigerian emigrants commonly returned after completing their studies, the economic downturn in the 1980s alongside other factors resulted in an increase of permanent migration from Nigeria.

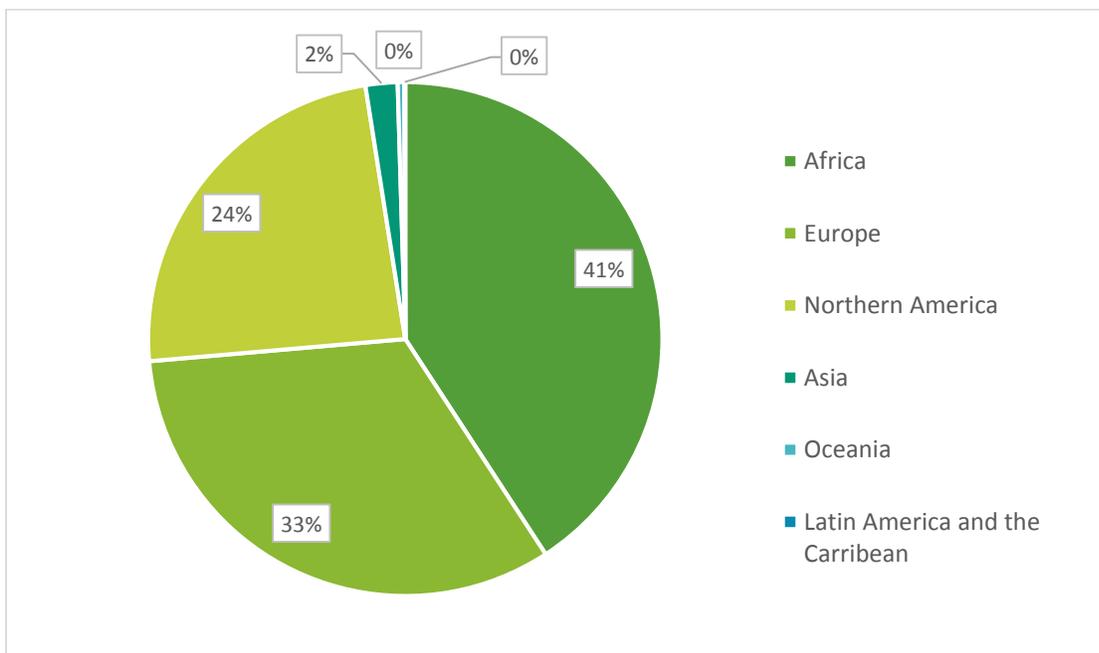
4) Fourth wave: 1990s - today

In the 1990s, Spain, Italy and Ireland gained importance as destination countries for Nigerians, as did South Africa as of 1994. At the same time, the nature of Nigerian migration movements changed, from predominantly temporary migration to permanent settlement. Due to increasing migratory pressures, contemporary Nigerian emigration to Europe also encompasses large numbers of undocumented migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers, groups which more often are exposed to the risk of becoming subject to exploitation and abuse (i.e. victims of trafficking, smuggling, etc.). Highly skilled migration is one main feature of Nigerian international migration today.

Data on Nigerian emigrants is largely unavailable. Various Nigerian ministries and agencies have mandates related to migration issues, but they largely do not have the capacity to collect, collate and publish relevant migration data (IOM, 2009). The only information available is therefore that collected and published in destination countries. An additional obstacle to having a clear picture of Nigerian emigration is the large number of irregular Nigerian migrants, which makes assessing the total stock of the Nigerians abroad even more complex.

According to World Bank estimates for 2010, 1,000,523 Nigerians were residing abroad, which equals 0.6 per cent of the country's total population. As Figure 1 shows, Africa and Europe are the main regions of destination for Nigerians abroad. Nigerian international migrants often move to other countries of the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), such as Benin, Ghana, Niger and Côte d'Ivoire. Other African countries hosting a significant Nigerian population include Chad, Cameroon and Gabon. Outside the African continent, the main destination countries of Nigerians abroad are the United States and the United Kingdom. Other European countries hosting significant populations of Nigerians include Italy, Spain, Ireland and Germany, the country of interest in this study (World Bank, 2010).

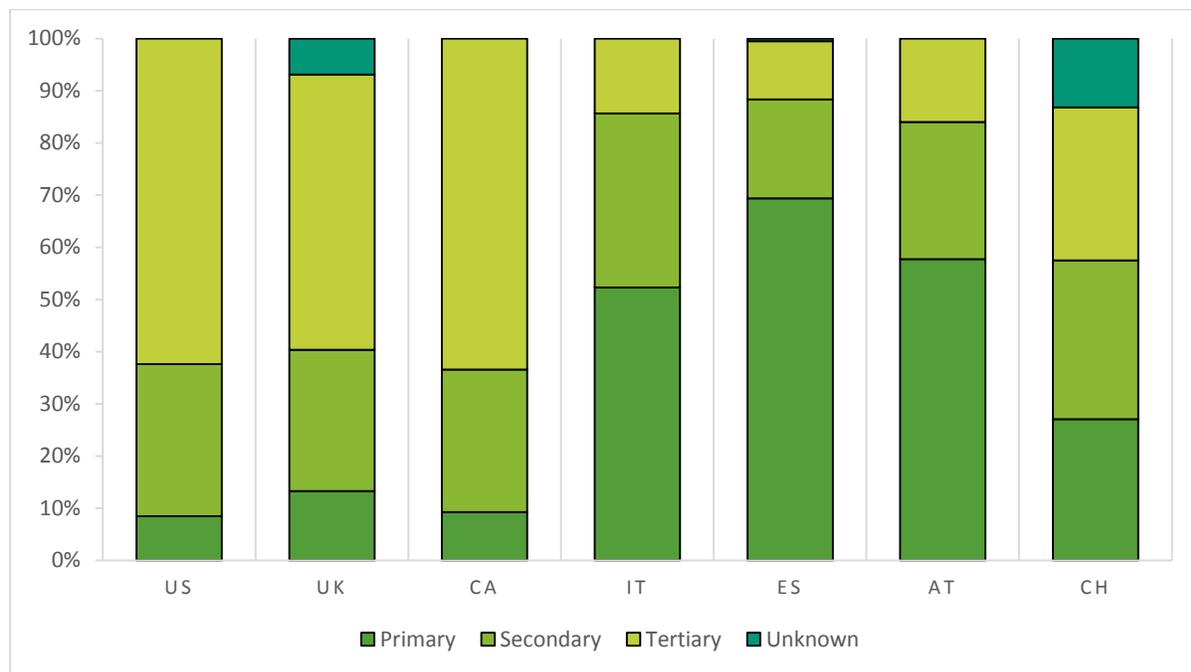
Figure 1: Destination Region of Nigerian International Migrants, 2010



Source: World Bank, 2010.

According to the World Bank, 10.7 per cent of the tertiary-educated Nigerian population had emigrated in 2000. Approximately, 10.8 per cent of physicians trained in Nigeria and 13.6 per cent of physicians born in Nigeria were not living and working in Nigeria in 2000. Additionally, 13.6 per cent of nursing staff is estimated to have left the country (World Bank, 2011). Figure 2 shows that there is a significant share of highly skilled individuals among the Nigerian immigrants in the United States, the United Kingdom and Canada. And while movements to continental European countries are smaller overall, they also show a very different skill composition, with low-skilled migrants more represented among the total migrant population (OECD, 2015). While this data is unfortunately not available for Germany itself, it is likely that the skill composition of Nigerians there is similar to that of Austria and Switzerland based on both the immigration regulations and possible language disadvantages.

Figure 2: Education Level of Nigerian Immigrants in Selected OECD-Countries, 2000



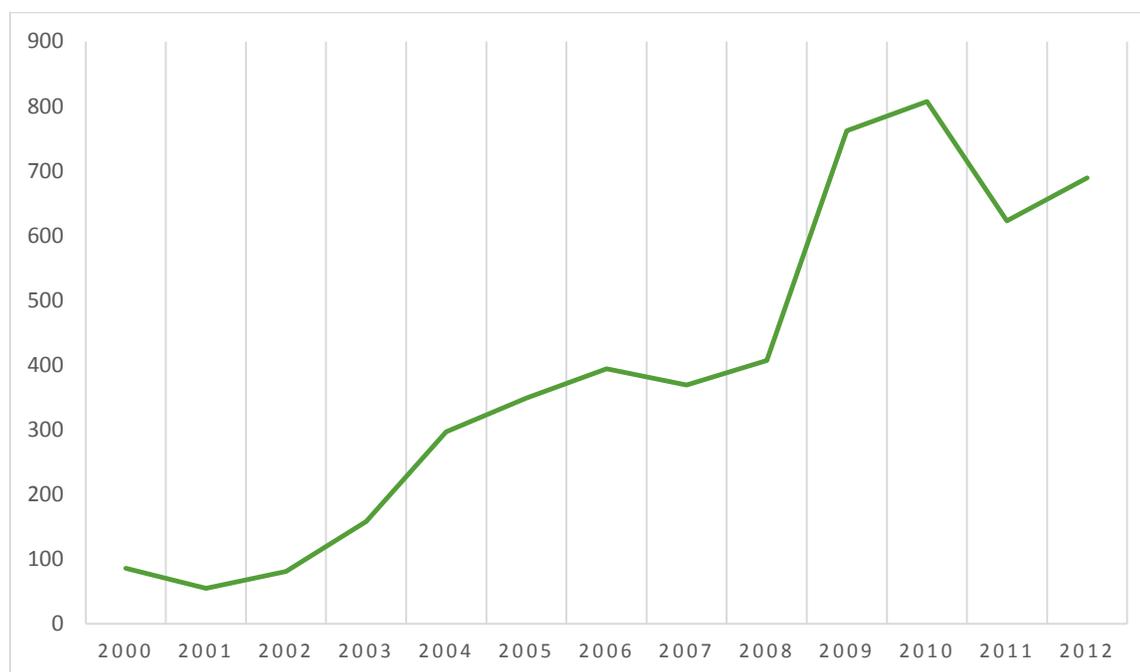
Source: OECD, 2014.

Although Nigerians migrate abroad from all parts of the country, there is evidence that major regions of origin are the South, South-East, North-Central and South-West of the country (ICMPD & IOM, 2010). Research on Nigerians in the United Kingdom has shown that the majority are Yoruba from the South-West and Ibos from the South-East constitute the bulk of the stock of Nigerians living in the UK and to a lesser extent the Ogonis and Edos from the South. Meanwhile the Edos are the majority of the human trafficking victims in Spain and Italy. The Hausas and other Muslim populations in the North are predominantly inclined to migrate to the Gulf States (de Haas, 2006). The clustering of migration movements of ethnic groups to specific locations may also have implications for the kind of organizations the diaspora establishes in the destination country. Data on the ethnic composition of the Nigerian diaspora in Germany is unfortunately not available, but other characteristics will be described in the following section.

Quantifying return migration to Nigeria is not possible. According to a World Bank report 3 per cent of the Nigerian emigrant population have returned. The report is based on primary surveys of migrants' households. The study finds that more than two-third of the returnees stayed abroad less than four years before they returned to Nigeria (Ratha et al. 2011). No data on countries of origin or on characteristics of return migrants, including their composition according to gender, age groups, level of education and profession could be collected at this stage.

One route for return for which some data is available is the Assisted Voluntary Return and Reintegration (AVRR) Program. While not representative of all return migration flows, Figure 3 shows that return through AVRR has increased significantly in the past decade. While 86 individuals returned to Nigeria in 2000, the number peaked at 807 some 10 years later (IOM, 2012).

Figure 3: Assisted Voluntary Return to Nigeria, 2000-2012



Source: IOM, 2012.

3.2. THE NIGERIAN DIASPORA IN GERMANY

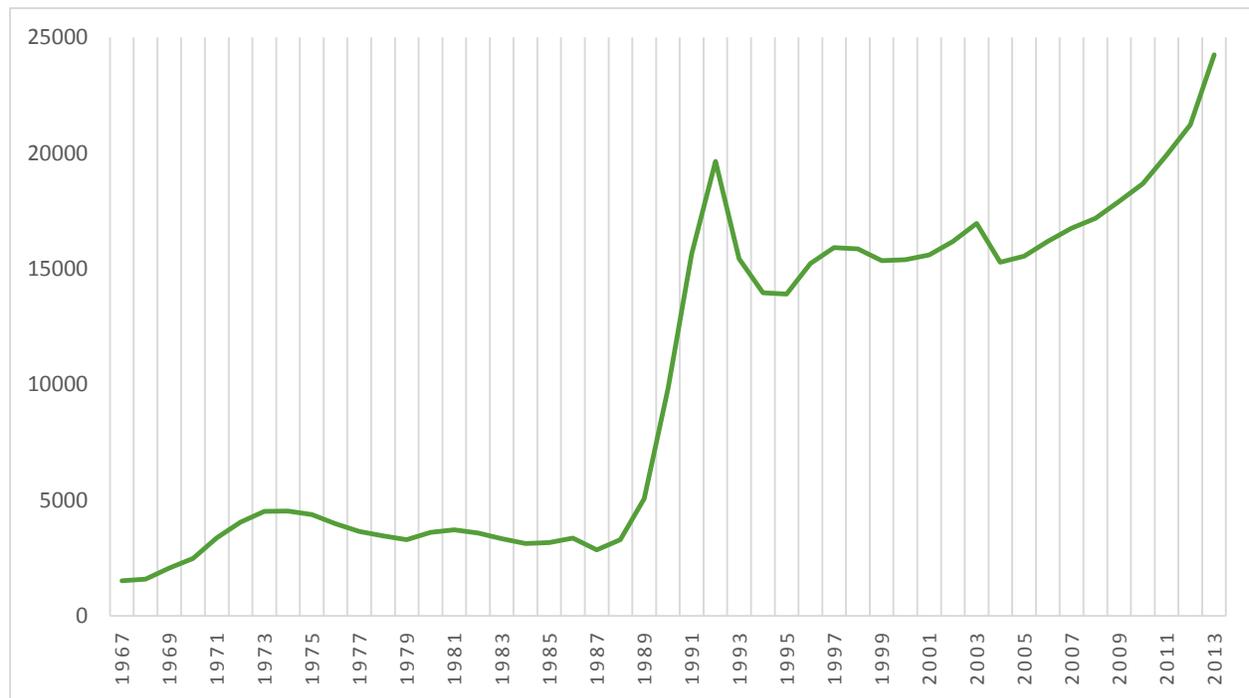
3.2.1 Size and Geographical Distribution of Diaspora Members

The population of Nigerian nationals or individuals of Nigerian descent who live in Germany is uncertain; as of 2005, Germany was considered the 7th-most-popular destination of Nigerian emigrants (Afolayan et al., 2008). Estimates by the Federal Statistical Office indicate that there were around 42,000 individuals with a Nigerian migration background residing in Germany in 2013 (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2014d). This includes both Nigerians still holding Nigerian citizenship as well as those that have naturalized and hold German citizenship. It also includes both first and second generation migrants, defined by whether they were born abroad or in Germany. It is likely that this is still an under-estimation of the actual volume of people of Nigerian descent due to irregular migration. While this estimate is rather encompassing of

different people with a Nigerian background, more detailed information is, with some exceptions, only available for those migrants that still hold Nigerian citizenship. While this is a major limitation, an analysis of the available data is still useful in order to gain an understanding of the people that migrated from Nigeria to Germany and therefore make up an important part of the population of interest for this study.

Figure 4 shows the development of the stock of Nigerians in Germany between 1967 and 2013. While there were only around 1,500 Nigerian citizens residing in Germany in 1967 this number increased significantly over time to 24,254 in 2013. The stock increased significantly in the early 1990s, a period in which asylum claims by Nigerians in Europe increased significantly overall (see section 3.1) with Germany and the United Kingdom as the main destination countries (Carling, 2006). While the annual numbers of asylum claims by Nigerians in Germany is only available from 1990 onwards (Table 3), the statistics contribute to the understanding of the significant increase in the overall stock of Nigerians in Germany in the early 1990s as the two figures increase in parallel until 1992, when the asylum claims peaked at more than 10,000 and the stock was close to 20,000. A decrease in the migrant stock to just around 14,000 Nigerians just two years later can be explained by significantly lower numbers of asylum-seekers arriving in Germany from Nigeria and the likely rejection of many applications of the bulk that filed for asylum in 1992. The sharp increase of asylum claims from Nigerians in Germany between 2012 and 2013 reflects a general trend in Europe. This is likely due to increased insecurity in the country due to the actions of Boko Haram (EASO, 2014).

Figure 4: Nigerian Citizens in Germany, 1967-2013



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2014c, 2015b.

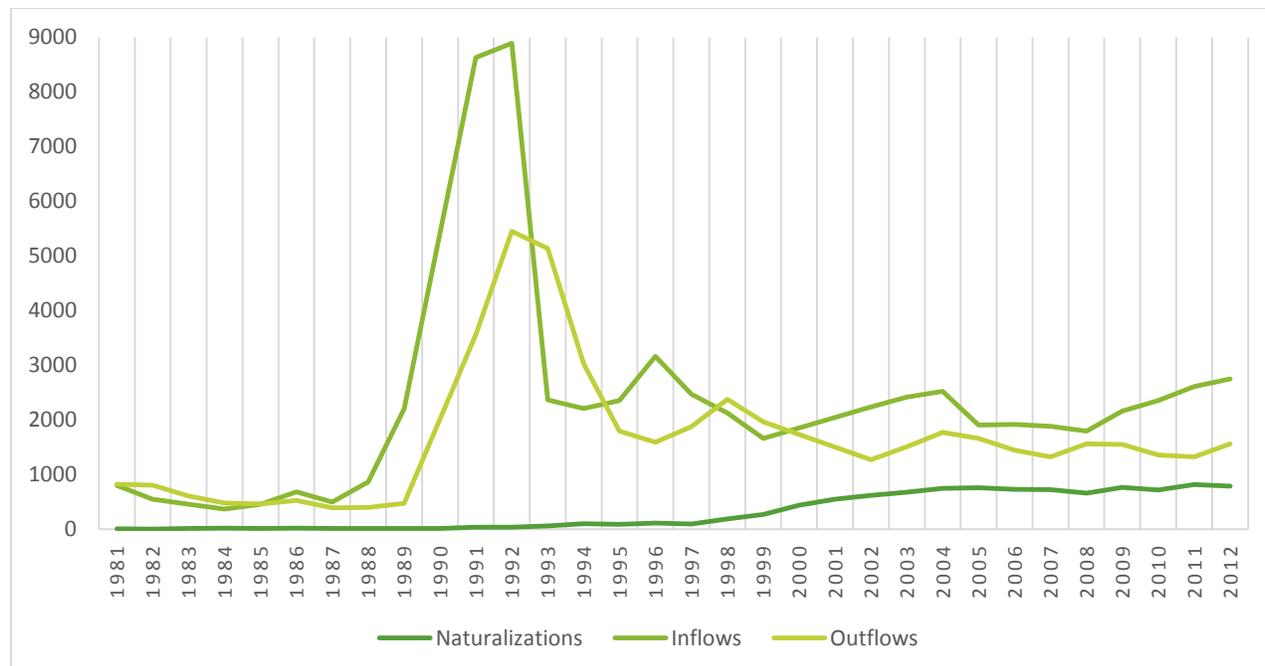
Table 3: Asylum Claims by Nigerians in Germany, 1990-2013

Year	Asylum Claims	Year	Asylum Claims	Year	Asylum Claims
1990	5,399	1998	664	2006	481
1991	8,358	1999	305	2007	503
1992	10,486	2000	420	2008	561
1993	1,083	2001	526	2009	791
1994	838	2002	987	2010	716
1995	1,164	2003	1,051	2011	759
1996	1,687	2004	1,130	2012	892
1997	1,137	2005	608	2013	1,923

Source: BAMF, 2015.

The significant increase of Nigerians coming to Germany in the early 1990s is also shown in Figure 5. The figure also illustrates, however, that in the years following those inflows, outflows were also significantly higher than in previous years. Overall between 1981 and 2012 there are several phases where outflows of Nigerians are higher than inflows, leading to the decrease in migrant stock described above. Another factor leading to the decrease in stock of Nigerian citizens in Germany are naturalizations. Once they obtain German citizenship, migrants from Nigeria are not included in the stock data presented above any longer. Figure 5 shows that the volume of naturalizations of Nigerians is rather low. Up until 1996 not even 100 Nigerians annually gained German citizenship. Since then the number has increased more or less steadily to 872 in 2012.

Figure 5: Inflows, Outflows and Naturalizations of Nigerians in Germany, 1981-2012



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2012, 2015a.

Note: Data for Inflows and Outflows is missing for 1990, 2000 and 2001.

The average duration of stay of Nigerian men in Germany is 9.1 years and that of women 6.4 years.

Table 4 provides a detailed overview of the different resident statuses held by the 24,254 Nigerian citizens residing in Germany in 2013. The majority had a temporary residence permit (42.8 per cent), while a little more than one fifth (21.7 per cent) had permanent residence status. The remaining Nigerian population held another form of residence status, including permanent residency in another European Union member state, allowing them to move freely to Germany. Another interesting observation in the table is that of the temporary residence permits issued, more than two third (69.2 per cent) were issued for family reunification, while only 7.4 per cent of permits were issued for education purposes and even less (2.4 per cent) for work. The remaining permits were issued for asylum (16.0 per cent) or other reasons (5.0 per cent). The table also shows that there are significantly more Nigerian men than women living in Germany. This is a first indication of the characteristics of the Nigerian diaspora in the country, which will be analyzed in more detail in the next section of this study.

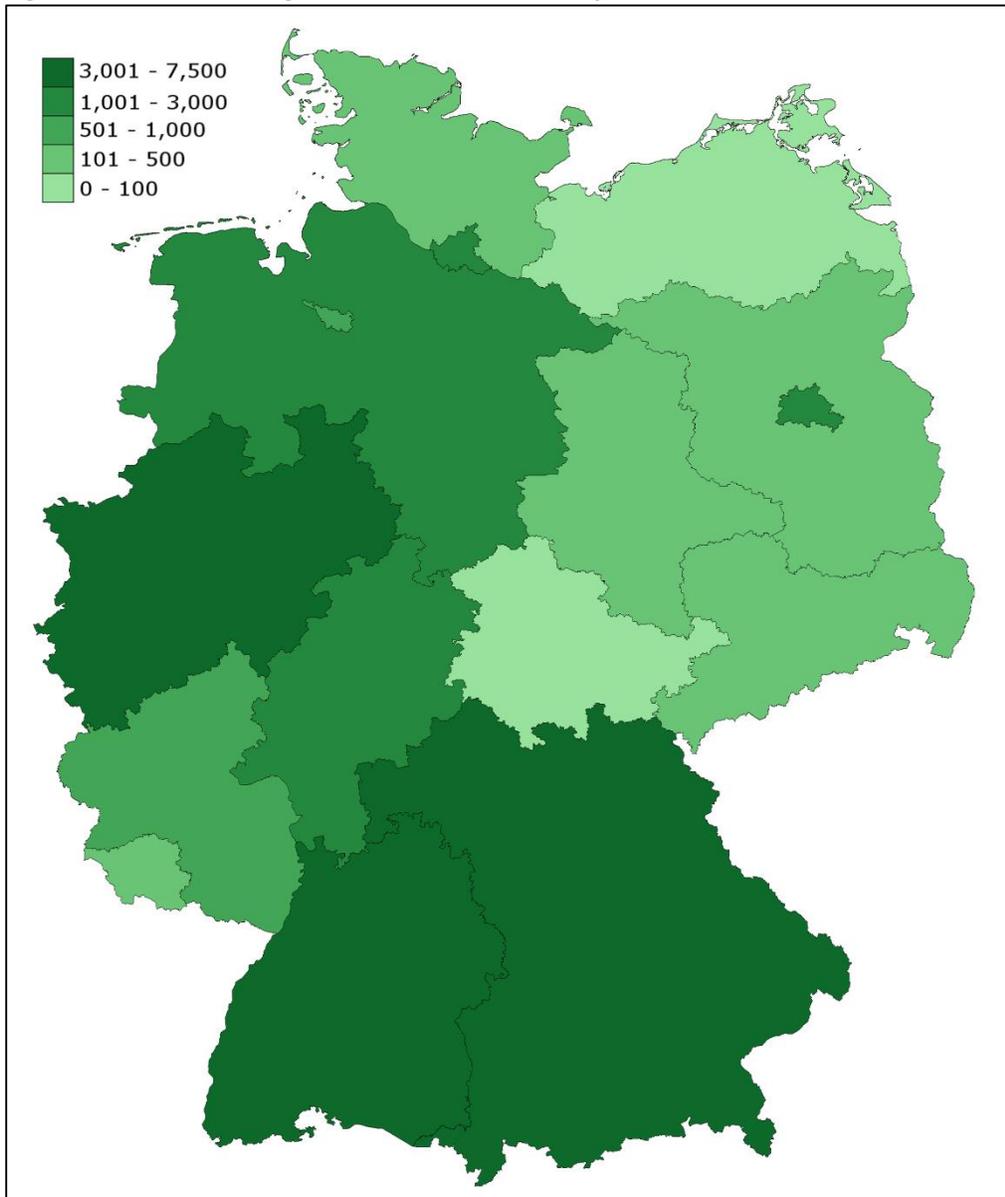
Table 4: Residence Status of Nigerian Citizens in Germany, 2013

	Male	Female	Total
Old Immigration Act (AuslG 1990)	439	124	563
Fixed time	104	53	157
Without time limitation	335	71	406
New Immigration Act (AufenthG 2004)	9,946	6,669	16,615
Limited Residence Permits	5,482	4,748	10,230
Education	595	161	756
Work	201	48	249
Asylum	915	724	1,639
Family reasons	3,451	3,625	7,076
Other	320	190	510
Permanent Settlement Permit	3,539	1,327	4,866
Other	925	594	1,519
Stateless Persons	5	3	8
Application	920	591	1,511
EU Mobility	495	192	687
Exceptional Leave to Remain	1,142	518	1,660
Residence Title for Specific Purposes	1,377	1,040	2,417
Without Status	1,353	959	2,312
Total	14,752	9,502	24,254

Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2014a.

Figure 6 shows the geographical dispersion of Nigerians in Germany. It appears that Nigerians are not concentrated in one specific city or state, but are spread across the country. There is not a single federal state in which not at least a small group resides. The smallest populations exist in Mecklenburg-Western Pomerania (28), Thuringia (79) and the Saarland (111). The largest groups of Nigerians can be found in North Rhine-Westphalia (7,041), Bavaria (4,720) and Baden-Württemberg (3,432). More than 60 per cent of the Nigerian citizens living in Germany in 2013 lived in one of these three states.

Figure 6: Location of Nigerian Citizens in Germany, 2013



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2015b.

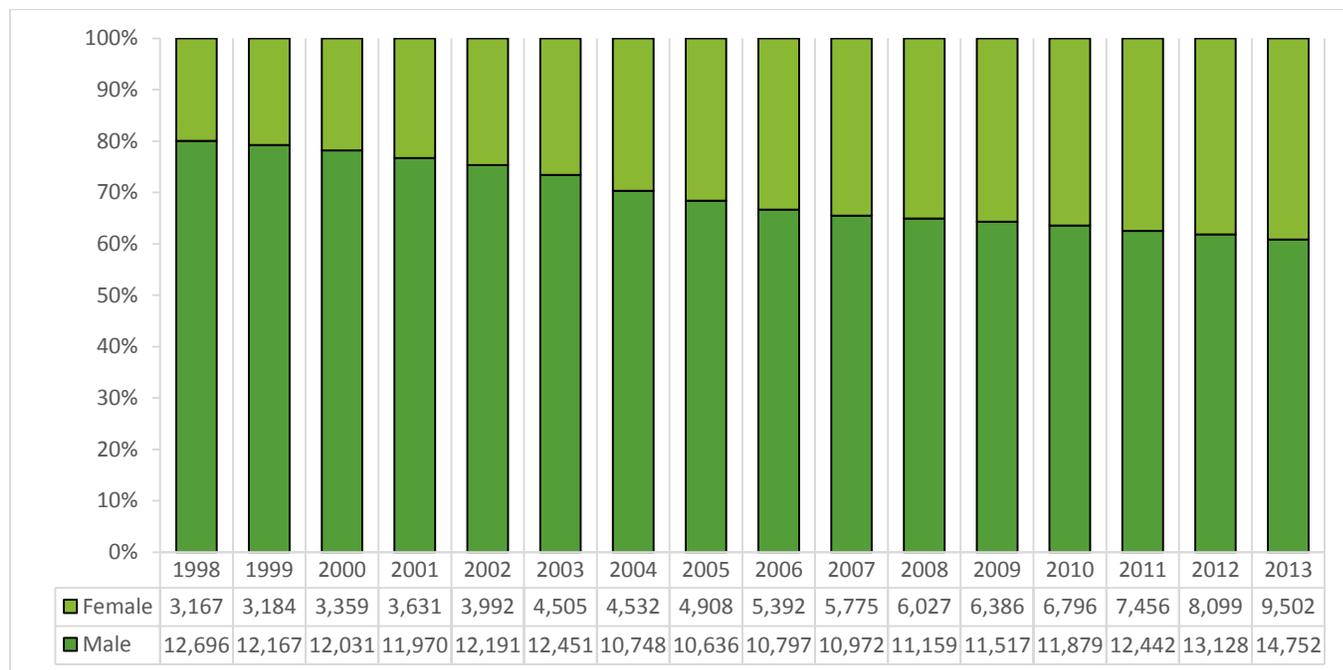
3.2.2 Demographic and Socio-Economic Characteristics of the Diaspora

This section provides an overview of data available on demographic and socio-economic characteristics of the Nigerian diaspora in Germany. Again, most of this data is based on citizenship rather than place of birth, which limits the representativeness of these statistics, but still provides an interesting picture of the population of concern.

Figure 7 shows the composition of Nigerian migrant stock in Germany by gender between 1998 and 2013. It can be seen that the gender balance of the Nigerian population in Germany did change significantly over these 16 years. In 1998 men made up exactly 80 per cent of the stock of Nigerian migrants, while women were the minority with only 20 per cent. In 2013 this looked different. While women were still the

minority, their share grew to 39.2 per cent over the years. The relative share of men accordingly decreased steadily over the years to 60.8 per cent in 2013.

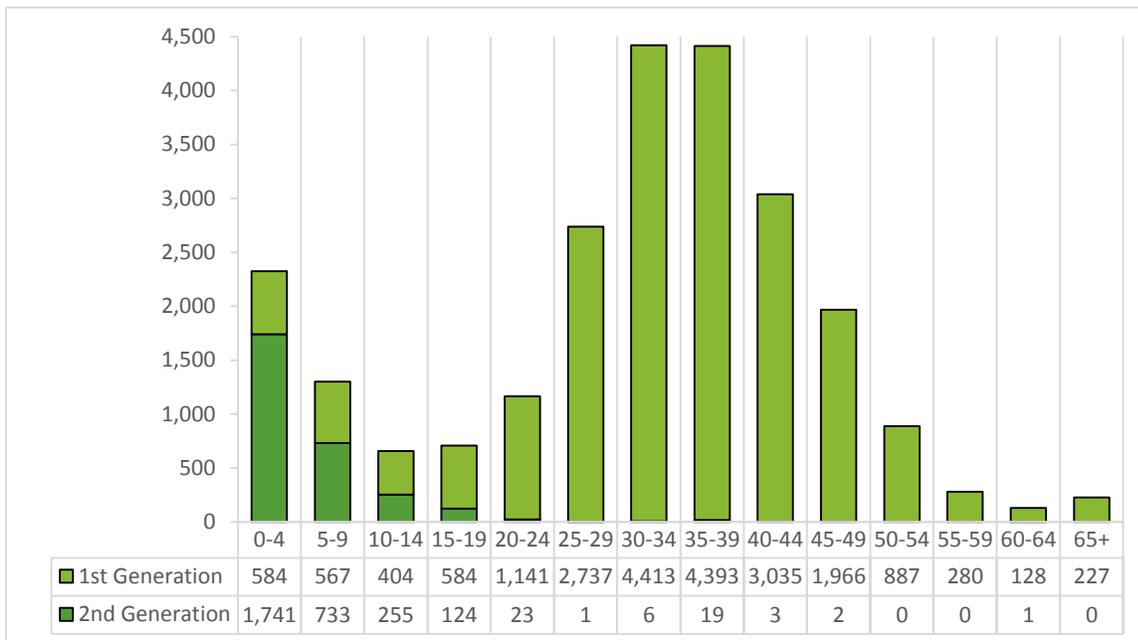
Figure 7: Nigerians Citizens in Germany by Gender, 1998-2013



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2015b.

While data on place of birth is not available for the population in Germany in general, details are provided on the place of birth of that part of the diaspora still holding Nigerian citizenship. The data describes those Nigerians that were born in Germany as second generation migrants and those that were born abroad, whether in Nigeria or elsewhere, as first generation migrants. Out of the 24,254 registered Nigerians in Germany in 2013 the vast majority (88.0 per cent) belongs to the latter category. There are, however, 2,908 Nigerian citizens that were born in Germany. They are on average very young – up to 19 (Figure 8) and it can be expected that the group of second generation Nigerians will grow with time as those Nigerians settling in Germany continue to have children. It is likely that the same applies to those that have taken up German citizenship, making the group of second generation immigrants from Nigeria even larger. Figure 8 shows the composition of the Nigerian diaspora (defined by citizenship) in terms of age groups and migrant generation. It shows that overall the majority of Nigerians in Germany are of working age. More than three quarters are between 20 and 59 years old. Of the remaining 22 per cent, the majority is below the age of 20 and to a large extent born in Germany to Nigerian immigrant parents. The average age of male Nigerians living in Germany is 33.2, while Nigerian women are on average younger with 28.0 years.

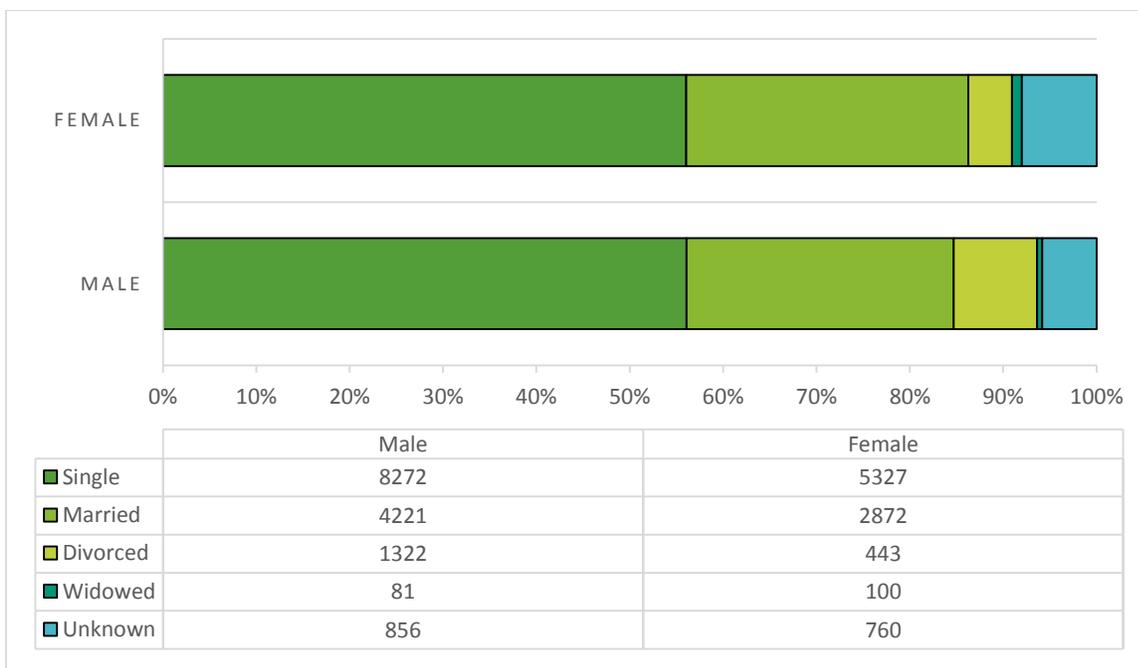
Figure 8: Nigerian Citizens in Germany by Age Group and Migrant Generation, 2013



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2015b.

Information is also available on the marital status of the Nigerians residing in Germany. Figure 9 shows that more than half of both women and men are single. The share is exactly the same for both genders at 56.1 per cent. In addition, 28.6 per cent of men and 30.2 per cent of women are married, while the rest is either divorced (men: 9.0 per cent; women: 4.7 per cent), widowed (men: 0.5 per cent; women: 1.1 per cent) or their marital status is not recorded (men: 5.8 per cent; women: 8.0 per cent).

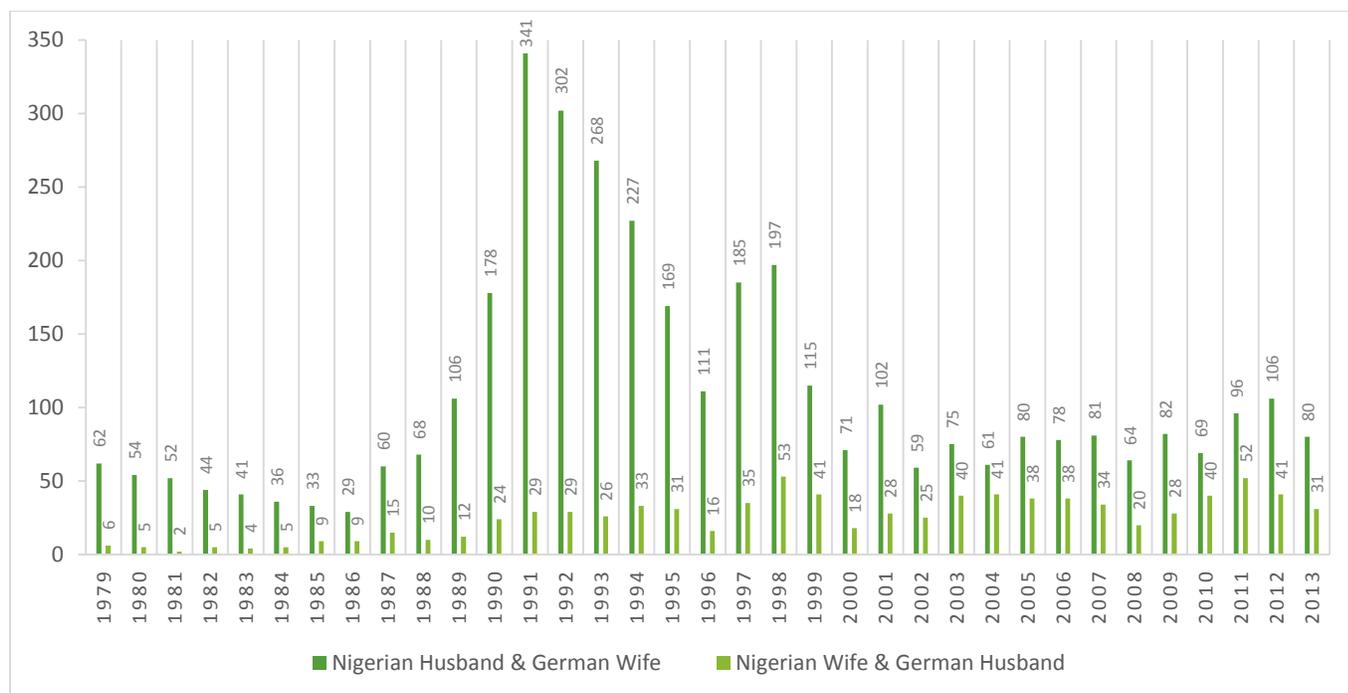
Figure 9: Marital Status of Nigerian Citizens Residing in Germany, 2013



Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2015b.

The above data does not provide details on the respective partner of the Nigerian, i.e. whether they are or were with a Nigerian citizen, a German or someone from another country. Figure 10 shows the number of marriages that were registered in Germany between a Nigerian and a German citizen. More specifically, information on the number of marriages between a Nigerian man and German woman as well as between a Nigerian woman and a German man is provided. It can be seen that the number of German women marrying a Nigerian men is much higher than that of the opposite combination throughout all the years represented. Concretely, 3,782 Nigerian men married a German woman between 1979 and 2013. On the other hand, only 873 Nigerian women married a German man.

Figure 10: Marriages between German and Nigerian Citizens, 1979-2013



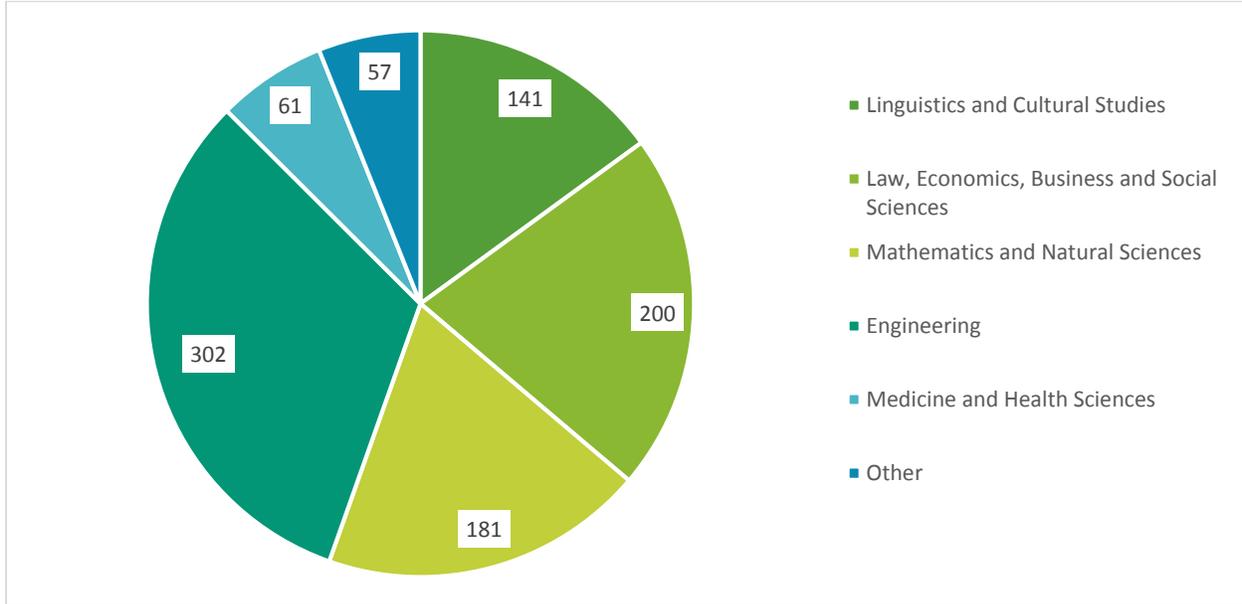
Source: Statistisches Bundesamt, 2014b.

Data on the employment status of Nigerians in Germany is limited. The Federal Office for Statistics provides some limited data from the 2013 Microcensus. The numbers are rounded and therefore only present a rough picture. According to this data, around one third of the Nigerians in Germany are not part of the labor force while the remaining two thirds are (Statistisches Bundesamt, 2014d). The Federal Employment Agency provides data on unemployment by country of citizenship. It shows that in January 2015, 2,770 Nigerians in Germany were classified as being unemployed. At the same time, 5,133 Nigerians were classified as job-seekers. Of the unemployed Nigerians, 64 per cent are male and 36 per cent are female. The majority of the unemployed (88.9 per cent) are in the age range between 25 and 50. On the other hand, only 2.7 per cent are between the ages of 15 and 25. Considering unemployment of immigrant youth is a topic often talked about in the media, it is interesting to see that the same percentage is 8.2 per cent for Germans and 7.5 per cent for all foreign nationals (Bundesagentur für Arbeit, 2015).

As mentioned in section 3.1, data on the education level of Nigerians in Germany is unfortunately not available. There is, however, some information on the group of Nigerians that are registered at an institute of higher education in Germany. In the winter semester 2013/2014, 942 Nigerian students were registered

pursuing tertiary education in Germany. Of these 679 were enrolled at a university, while 263 studied at a university of applied sciences (Fachhochschule) (BMBF, 2015). Figure 11 shows the field of study of these students.

Figure 11: Field of Study of Nigerian Students in Germany, 2013/2014



Source: BMBF, 2015.

As stated previously, it is a great challenge to provide a sound overview of the Nigerian diaspora in Germany. The main limitation is certainly the fact that data is available based on citizenship, but not country of birth. While this can partially be supplemented by looking at naturalizations, it still does not provide a full picture. Furthermore, more detailed statistics on socio-economic factors would be desirable particularly in terms of education and employment trends. The following section will contribute to an improved understanding of the current characteristics of the Nigerian diaspora in Germany with regards to the way they organize themselves and the ways they engage in Germany as well as back in their home country. It is, however, important to point out that further quantitative research should address this lack of comprehensive data in order to provide a sound basis for analysis and further policy-making.

4. NIGERIAN DIASPORA ORGANIZATIONS IN GERMANY AND THEIR ENGAGEMENT IN NIGERIA

4.1. OVERVIEW OF THE CHARACTERISTICS OF NIGERIAN DIASPORA ORGANIZATIONS

4.1.1 Overview of Active and Inactive Organizations

As shown in section 2 the detailed mapping process conducted for this study revealed 140 Nigerian diaspora organizations in Germany. However, 50 of these organizations are no longer active. There is no apparent trend or pattern as to when these organizations became inactive, and the age of inactive organizations varied from over 30 years to less than one year. Likewise still-functioning organizations were founded throughout the past three decades, with no apparent surge in organizational creation.

4.1.2 Types of Organizations

Nigerian diaspora organizations in Germany can be divided into four categorical groups based on their organizational purpose, as was explained in section 2: 1) cultural organizations, 2) development organizations 3) student associations and professional organizations and 4) political groups. Within the German context, cultural organizations make up the largest category (63 organizations). It became very apparent early on in the research process that Nigerians in diaspora strongly relate to their ethnic identity, in addition to and sometimes even in place of their Nigerian identity. This trend was most strongly evidenced within cultural preservation organizations in Germany. These groups are often created along ethnic or geographic lines and usually celebrate and practice the culture of a specific ethnic group, rather than of Nigeria as a whole. Beyond these cultural organizations, development organizations who task themselves primarily with development and humanitarian aid projects in Nigeria are the second most common type of group within the diaspora (20 organizations). Third, Nigerian student associations and professional organizations do exist within Germany, but are very few in number, with only six organizations located in Germany. Lastly, there is a distinct absence of organized political groups, with only one such organization found. Most organizations have the legal status of a registered association (eingetragener Verein).

4.1.3 Structure

The linkages between the diaspora organizations represent a complex web of connections. Some organizations reported being somewhat well connected as they were cooperating with numerous external bodies, while other groups were not even aware of others working in their field. It was found that the level of communication and cooperation with other organizations greatly corresponded to the type of organization, with cultural organizations and student/professional associations on average much more connected than development organizations. While representatives of development organizations were usually open to the idea of greater cooperation and sometimes even actively sought it out, it could be that their lack of ethnic or professional connections, by which the Nigerian diaspora is highly ordered, limited or stifled their efforts.

Two groups serve as umbrella organizations for a large number of Nigerians in diaspora in Germany: Nigerians in Diaspora Organization (NIDO) and Nigerian Community Germany. NIDO serves as a unifier for Nigerian professionals or businesspeople in Germany and is fairly exclusive in its membership, while Nigerian Community Germany proclaims to act as a linking mechanism for all Nigeria diaspora organizations in Germany, regardless of ethnic group or social class. However, Nigerian Community Germany mostly cooperates with cultural groups in practice and its proclamation of uniting all Nigerians was not always supported in discussion with other diaspora organizations. Some had heard of Nigerian Community Germany but were not in contact with them and others had not heard of Nigerian Community Germany at all. Given that the two large umbrella organizations of the Nigerian diaspora focus themselves around professional and cultural linkages, this could be another factor in the isolation and lack of communication found among development organizations.

In addition to these two large groups, there were also smaller umbrella organizations which were usually cultural in nature and therefore divided upon ethnic lines. These organizations often had branches in various Germany cities and a central location in Germany to serve as a national level head office. Beyond these structures, many diaspora organizations also functioned independently of any networks or associations.

4.1.4 Size

The size of organizational memberships did not seem to correlate with the purpose of organization nor its founding date. The majority of organizations have around 30 members, yet much smaller and larger organizations do exist. The smallest organization reported having seven members, while several larger organizations reported memberships ranging from 120 to 200 persons.

4.1.5 Financial situation

All of the organizations that participated in interviews reported working with very limited budgets. Most function predominately on membership dues, collected either monthly or annually. When totaled, these fees ranged from around 60 euros to 240 euros per member per year. For a mid-sized organization with about 30 members, this could mean an operating budget of as little as €1,800 per year. Some organizations supplement this primary income source through other avenues. Many levy one time initial registration fees for new members, ranging from 25 to 50 euros. Others take up one time collections for special events or to help members experiencing difficult financial situations. One group reported that if a member had a new baby for example, the monthly collection would go to that family that month. Lastly, several organizations reported that they earn a monthly income from compensated cultural performances and dances. Overall, the majority of organizations cited financial concerns as a main obstacle to achieving both short- and long-term goals.

4.1.6 Leadership

Although most organizations were relatively small and had extremely limited budgets, the majority of groups reported highly structured hierarchies of leadership. This hierarchy generally entails a president or chairman who represents the organization at all times and who makes decisions for the organization when it is not possible to convene the entire membership. Below the president or chairman, there are

often a vice president and various other executive positions, such as a secretary, a financial secretary, a treasurer and a public relations role. Candidates for these positions are usually selected through an election process and can remain in their positions for one, two or three years. Some organizations have also implemented special committees for whichever project they were working on at the time, which they staff with members who hold special project relevant knowledge. Interestingly, some organizations have also created a “council of elders” in which elderly members of the diaspora are asked to take on an advisory role and also provide arbitration in the case of conflict.

Decision making processes generally involve the entire membership of the organization, through a system of direct democratic voting. Even among organizations in which the executive leaders have more exclusive power in decision making, meetings are often held to discern the opinion of the general membership and to get advice on the issue at hand before coming to a decision. The majority of organizations have created a constitution or legal document which prescribed structural and procedural rules for how the organization should be managed, to which the leadership was bound.

4.2. THOUGHTS ON THE DIASPORA

During the research process, interview respondents were asked about their impressions and opinions of the Nigerian diaspora in Germany. When asked about the heterogeneity of Nigerians in Germany, all respondents emphatically stated that it is a very diverse and varied group in terms of socio-economic factors, political aspirations, religion, and ethnic divisions. Respondents repeatedly cited that Nigerians are connected in Germany primarily through their ethnic group or geographical state of origin in Nigeria. One respondent noted that collaborating with members of the same ethnic group is easier due to the long established traditions of intermarriage and religious practice that exist in Nigeria within an ethnic group. Another respondent noted that when a Nigerian first arrives in Germany, they are often helped with various integration tasks by a representative of their respective ethnic group or Nigerian state of origin. He also observed that within large ethnic groups, such as the Igbo for example, further divisions exist between the seven predominate states of Igboland and that Nigerians in Germany often group themselves further according to these lines. He stated:

“When I came here I met an African who directed me to where I would meet a Nigerian. Then I met this Nigerian. He in turn directed me to where I would meet somebody from my state... And then I met the person that came from my state and then he directed me to the person that came from my local government. And so it was from that place that I started learning how to survive in an anonymous land.”

Several respondents pointed out that these strong ethnic divisions have not always been so well established in Germany. They noted that in the early 1990s, when they had migrated to the country, there were relatively few Africans in cities such as Munich. One respondent stated that when he saw a person from Africa on the street in Munich, he probably knew that person, meaning that there were few African immigrants in Germany at the time. However, in more recent years the respondents noted that the increase in Nigerians and Africans in general coming to Germany has allowed diaspora members to break away into nationality and ethnicity based groups.

Respondents were next asked about how well they thought Nigerians in Germany were connected to Nigeria. Answers to this question varied considerably. All respondents agreed that Nigerians in Germany are very well connected to their families back in Nigeria. Some noted that it is very uncommon for a Nigerian to have all of his or her family members living in Germany and that this therefore encouraged strong connections to Nigeria.

The respondents made considerably fewer references to diaspora members having economic ties to Nigeria. Some noted that they support their families back in Nigeria if they are in need as best they can through monetary remittances and that many of their friends or acquaintances do the same. There was, however, hardly any mention of economic activities between the two countries on a more industrialized or institutional level. Those who did mention the bilateral trade fairs that take place both in Germany and in Lagos or foreign direct investment initiatives among the diaspora were representatives of professional or student associations.

Responses over the level of political ties and connections to Nigeria were somewhat split. Some respondents stated that most Nigerians in Germany have no political ties to Nigeria, while others insisted that many people do. The majority of respondents, however, stated that Nigerians in the diaspora are divided in their involvement in the political arena of Nigeria, with some being heavily involved and others not. Many people did note in their response to this question that they were concerned about the political system and some even noted that becoming involved in Nigerian politics is a dangerous endeavor. This theme is discussed at length in a later section of this chapter (section 4.3.4).

4.3. TYPES OF ORGANIZATIONS AND AREAS OF INVOLVEMENT

4.3.1 Cultural Organizations

As was noted earlier in the report, cultural organizations are the most common type of Nigerian diaspora group in Germany. Although many of these groups also carried out development projects in Nigeria, cultural preservation and celebration serve as their primary mandate as an organization.

4.3.1.1 Structure

As is the case in Nigeria, there are large numbers of ethnic and geographic identity groups represented within Nigerian diaspora organizations. It was found that cultural organizations within Germany are mainly structured along ethnic or geographic lines.

There are six umbrella organizations that have established different locations throughout Germany within this category. These include the Anambra State Progressive Union with three known locations, the Edo Community Germany with 12 known locations, the Enugu State Progressive Union with three known locations, the NDI-Igbo organization with eight known locations, the Nigerian Community Germany organization with 13 known locations and the Nzuko NDI Igbo organization with five known locations. Overall, the Igbo ethnic group featured the largest number of organizations, with 15 separate clubs, some of these with multiple locations. Additionally, the Edo and Yoruba ethnic groups also featured multiple organizations. Outside of umbrella organizations, there were many organizations with only one location

that did not belong to a central German umbrella association. These groups represented Lagos State, Delta State, Imo State, Ondo State and Ekiti State, as well as the Fulbe and Yoruba ethnic groups.

4.3.1.2 Membership

The memberships of cultural organizations often had several characteristics in common. In terms of gender, most of these organizations have predominately male memberships. Several organizations even reported having only one female member who is active in the group. Many organizations offered “family” or “affiliate” memberships, which were mostly utilized by wives who wanted to be involved in family events and social gatherings hosted by the club but did not wish to attend meetings or vote on issues. Most organizations cited the average age of their members to be around 30 to 40 years old, however, some cited having young and elderly people within their membership. Education levels varied widely within the memberships of cultural organizations, with some members having university degrees or specialized skills and others lacking training.

All of the founders of cultural organizations had been born in Nigeria and had migrated to Germany. Many have been in the country for over 20 years. In addition to the founders, the memberships of cultural organizations are primarily made up of first generation migrants from Nigeria. Only a few organizations featured a large percentage of Germans without a Nigerian background. Apart from minor children, almost no cultural organizations had second generation adult Nigerians who were born in Germany in their membership. This could suggest a disability of these organizations to stay alive after the initial migration stage. However, as Figure 8 in section 3.2.2 showed the second generation of Nigerian migrants in Germany is currently mainly under the age of 15. It therefore remains to be seen whether the second generation will engage more in this kind of organization as it grows and becomes older.

4.3.1.3 Projects and Activities

Cultural organizations most often identified their main organizational purpose as being cultural preservation and expression in Germany. In addition to this, many of these organizations run small development projects in Nigeria, although this is not their main purpose as an organization. Accordingly, many organizations within this category are often active in Germany and to a lesser extent in Nigeria.

The cultural activities of these organizations often involve traditional dance, food, attire and music from the group’s home state or region in Nigeria. Most often, the groups present at cultural festivals or days within Germany and often travel to a different city to do so. These activities are done with the purpose of maintaining a culture that many respondents felt would be otherwise lost in Germany. Some groups also stated their desire to introduce Germans to their culture and create “bridges” between the two groups through such exchange. Groups also reported meeting solely with other members to share food and dance together and to teach their children about their ethnic heritage. Several groups, including Igbo Forum e.V. and Igbo Cultural Organization Rheinland Hessen e.V. reported organizing Igbo language classes for their children who were born in Germany and also for German wives of Igbo men. Many groups have interesting and unique ideas for further cultural exploration and preservation, which will be discussed in the goals sub-section of this chapter.

Humanitarian aid and development work within Nigeria is also a secondary goal of many cultural organizations. This work is often smaller in scale than the work done by development organizations and usually revolves around providing education, hospitals, orphanages or other services that are often lacking

in Nigeria. Many times the development projects are funded solely by member donations. For example, Edo United Club e.V. München donates mattresses to a hospital in Benin City and NDI Igbo Germany donates bags of rice to villages in need. It is interesting to note that often times material items are donated instead of financial resources. Perhaps these types of donations are thought to be more secure against corruption.

It is also important to note how the Nigerian communities that receive aid are chosen by the various groups. Organizations often have personal contact or connections with both the locations and the people who would be either receiving or coordinating the gifts. It was frequently noted that this sort of internal verification was necessary in order to ensure that the aid would end up in the right hands. As most groups do have personal connections with the location or the people that receive their aid, this in turn means that most aid is given to the communities that members had grown up or lived in in Nigeria. Igbo Cultural Organization Rheinland Hessen e.V. implements an interesting system to decide how to distribute their aid in that once sufficient funding had been raised through membership donations, a sort of ballot is held in which members can vote on which community the aid should be sent to. The member who championed the winning community (usually his or her own origin community) then travels to the location to see what is most highly in need by the people there. The club's financial secretary then does a feasibility study on the project and once approved, the donations are sent through the winning member to ensure that they reached the people in need in the community. While these safeguards may have been designed to limit corruption and wasting of the groups precious resources, they also mean that in practice most development or humanitarian aid from cultural organizations tends to go to that organization's ethnic group back in Nigeria.

While many organizations stated that they hoped to help Nigerians in Germany integrate successfully into German society, only a few noted explicit activities that they were actually taking up to address integration issues. For example, the Nigerian Community Germany noted that in the past they had offered German language courses to their members but that currently, the courses offered by the German government to new immigrants are of very high quality and that they instead advise their members to enroll in those courses. The Nigerian Community Germany also reaches out to new arrivals in Germany to discuss education or employment related opportunities. A second organization, Nigeria IGBO Forum e.V., is examining why their children are performing, on average, poorly in school and want to remedy the cause of the problem.

4.3.1.4 Cooperation with Other Bodies

Overall, cultural organizations reported varying levels of cooperation with other bodies. Some groups, such as Nigerian Community Germany, seem to be in contact with many different organizations (though by no means all of them), while other organizations are fairly isolated. However, all cultural organizations that participated in the interview process reported some level of cooperation or contact with external bodies. Some organizations, such as Nigeria Edo Club United München e.V., reported cooperation on actual projects only with the other branches of the same organization. However, with 12 known locations of the club, this cooperation should not be discounted. The group reported that they themselves handle smaller scale projects without the involvement of the national level body, but work together with other locations for larger scale cultural events or development projects. Other groups reported working collaboratively on cultural projects within Germany. For example, Igbo Cultural Organization Rheinland

Hessen e.V. noted that they were working together with the Igbo Community Organization Freiburg to build a cultural center in Freiburg. Throughout the interviews, it became clear that with the exception of the Nigerian Community Germany group, cooperation also usually takes place along ethnic lines.

Contact with the Nigerian Embassy in Germany was only noted by a handful of organizations. While the Nigerian Community Germany expressed that they have a very good working relationship with the Embassy, other groups seem only to be in contact sporadically and are not actually cooperating with the Embassy on any particular projects. The most common form of interaction with the Nigerian Embassy is inviting the Ambassador to attend an event organized by the group.

Cooperation with the German government or authorities was much less common among cultural groups. Of the few rare examples identified during the interview process, Nigeria IGBO Forum e.V. expressed that it intends to register its female members with the local women's council so that they can be involved in city level decision making. However, some groups also expressed weariness over the idea of cooperation with the German government or international NGOs. A fear of excessive bureaucracy was commonly noted. One organization also expressed that they had cooperated with German lead organizations in the past and had been disappointed by the experience.

4.3.1.5 Future Goals

Many of the organizations share similar goals for the future and most of these goals revolve around both the cultural and development activities of the organizations. A common goal was the building of a cultural center so that both German and Nigerian youth could share and exchange culture and heritage. For example, the Friends of Yoruba Culture organization's main goal for the future was to build such a center, where they could house artefacts and pieces with cultural significance from Nigeria. The founder of the organization noted that such a center would give him peace of mind in that after his passing, his work could be preserved and carried on by the next generation.

Organizations often coupled a cultural goal with a goal for their development projects in Nigeria, most often taking the form of increasing and expanding the current level of aid. For example, the Nigerian Edo Club United München e.V. wishes to extend their aid to a Nigerian hospital, from the current state of sending mattresses and toiletries to creating a mobile clinic that could visit different villages. Another group, NDI-Igbo Germany Frankfurt, wishes to extend their current program of donating one bag of rice each month to in the future digging a bore hole and creating a dependable fresh water supply for a community. Some groups also expressed a desire to go beyond humanitarian aid and develop avenues to transfer best practices and knowledge from Germany to Nigeria, but none had actually begun with this work yet.

4.3.2 Development Organizations

After cultural organizations, development organizations are the second most common type of Nigerian diaspora organization in Germany. These types of organizations are much less structured than their cultural counterparts, with no overarching umbrella organizations or associations found. Additionally, development organizations differ from cultural organizations in regards to their membership. The membership of development organizations often times includes Germans with no Nigerian background, while this is rare in cultural organizations. Additionally, membership of development organizations

includes a much higher proportion of females than are present in the memberships of cultural organizations.

4.3.2.1 Projects and Activities

Most of the projects and activities undertaken by the development organizations center on education and health. Within the educational sphere, organizations often work to increase Nigerian children's access to education, in addition to improving the quality of education. Starting a school and providing sponsorships or sponsorships to enable students to attend is an activity taken up by many organizations. Of the organizations that participated in interviews, UDAMA and Miracle's Hilfsprojekt e.V. had started schools in Nigeria and currently sponsor children who either have no parents or would be otherwise unable to attend school due to a lack of funding. The schools are also located in areas that have poor access to traditional government schooling centers. If organizations could not afford to start a school, another popular activity is to sponsor children through donating money to pay for school fees. For example, Nigeria Vater Abraham Foundation works to support women who have been widowed by donating money for their children's school fees, as well as for books, uniforms and other support. Other activities undertaken by multiple organizations included providing transportation to schools, ensuring that warm meals are served during the school day, running occupational training programs for older children such as a computer course and also offering German/Nigerian student exchanges. Many organizations providing educations support voiced their opinion that education was vital to actually changing a society as it enabled children to support themselves and lead happy lives once they are older.

Health services are also an area on which a lot of development aid centers. Many of the organizations that provide education support also provide limited health care for the children at their schools. These organizations are also hoping to expand their schools by building hospitals in the future to better address health issues in Nigeria. Beyond this, the African Union and Friends of Africa in Diaspora (AUFAD) group is currently undertaking several interesting activities related to health services in Nigeria. The group donates medical supplies such as prostheses to the Disabled Persons office in Benin City, as well as donating glasses and other supplies such as syringes to the central hospital there. They also offer a first aid and accident training course for Okada (motorcycle) riders, due to the high accident rate in the city.

Beyond health and education, several organizations also support children's orphanage homes in Nigeria. The Nigeria Akwa Mmiri group runs a children's home in which children with no parents or who are in undesirable living situations can stay. The organization also sponsors some of the children's school fees and hopes to be able to provide some basic health services in the future. The AUFAD organization also donates school materials and rice to an existing orphanage that depends on the support of others to function. Many of the organizations that currently run schools in Nigeria, such as Miracle's Hilfsprojekt, hope to add orphanage homes to their projects in the future to provide more comprehensive services for the children.

Lastly, economic support is the least common type of development aid provided. The Human and Environment e.V. has a small microcredit program and the Vater Abraham Foundation provides microloans to widows who have viable business ideas. The organization has found the loans to be very successful in helping the widows to be able to support themselves and hopes to be able to expand the number of loans given in the future. The organization also hopes to hold a class for widows without a business idea to educate them on possible business opportunities in their area.

As was the case with the cultural organizations, it was also found that development organizations usually only donate to people or institutions that they know and trust. Some organizations use personal contacts from friends and family back in Nigeria to ensure that their donations end up in the right hands. Others feel that the only way they can ensure the proper use of their donations is to fly to Nigeria themselves and implement the projects first hand. Some project founders also expressed frustration in not being able to find reliable staff to run their projects while they were back in Germany, complaining of corruption and tasks being reported as completed when they are not.

4.3.2.2 Funding

Similar to the cultural organizations, funding mechanisms and sources for the development organizations are very limited. Many run simply off of member donations and therefore have very limited budgets. One of the schools constructed in Nigeria, ran by Miracle's Hilfsprojekt, is even supported solely by the founder's personal salary. Although some organizations have received several one-off donations from external organizations or private donors, these are sporadic in nature and not a reliable source of funding.

4.3.2.3 Cooperation with Other Bodies

Cooperation with other bodies among development organizations was extremely limited, sometimes even non-existent. Numerous organizations in this category had no cooperation with other development organizations or with larger NGO development organizations and some organizational founders were even surprised to learn that there were other organizations with similar goals and activities working in Germany. Only three of the development organizations that participated in the interview process reported having contact with external organizations. Two of these noted that they have contact with or have received small amounts of support from the Catholic Church or from the parents of their children's classmates. A third organization, Third City Mission e.V., reported a higher than average level of cooperation, as they had previously worked with the GIZ and had also received funding in the past from a European Union women's initiative and from state level government bodies in Germany. However, the organization's founder noted that for the past two or three years they had not been able to secure funding for their next project, which had accordingly severely limited their development efforts. This illustrates that even organizations who have an existing network and that have successfully cooperated with larger funding organizations in the past still face extreme financial issues in trying to achieve their organization's goals.

Cooperation with the Nigerian government is also very limited. Some organizations cited finances as a major obstacle, as they had heard that it would be very expensive to register their organization with the Nigerian government. One founder of a school in Nigeria is even concerned that working with the Nigerian government would lead to problems, as the interviewee had a strong anti-corruption stance and feels that this would not bode well with Nigerian officials.

4.3.3 Student Associations/ Professional Organizations

There are only a handful of student associations and professional organizations within the Nigerian diaspora in Germany. The largest of these organizations is NIDO, which claims to be the unifier of all Nigerian professionals, entrepreneurs and businesspeople in Germany and also has locations around Europe and in North America. All of the organizations interviewed within this category are in contact with

NIDO and some have even attended NIDO meetings. The membership of student associations and professional organizations differs significantly compared to the other categories of organizations. The membership is more exclusive in that only Nigerian university students, scholars, professionals, entrepreneurs or businesspeople can take part. Yet, it is notable that the memberships of these types of organizations are made up of people from various ethnic groups, originating from all different parts of Nigeria. Representatives from these groups recognize the ethnic divides that are so prevalent in cultural groups and feel that their organizations are more unified in nature. One organizational representative stated:

“Within student organizations there is not much of those differences and they see themselves as one. And within the body of the professionals like NIDO, they see themselves as one, but when it boils down to Nigerian Community Germany, I think they are disintegrated. There is an association for Igbo people, a Yoruba association and they see themselves as different entities.”

While ethnic diversity in student associations and professional organizations can lead to greater cooperation and coordination, it is also likely that members of these groups originate from a similar socio-economic background in Nigeria. Accordingly, the feelings of closeness that stem from sharing a similar ethnic background could in this case be replaced by feelings of closeness of sharing a similar socio-economic upbringing.

4.3.3.1 Projects and Activities

The activities and organizational goals of student associations and professional organizations have some common strands but also differences. Among the student associations, the activities of the Nigerian Students Hohenheim group go far beyond studying. The students in this group use group meetings as a platform for social and economic networking. Information is exchanged during their group meetings and some members have been able to set up business deals together. The group also acts as a support group to newly arriving Nigerian students in that it helps them establish their new lives in Germany. Lastly, representatives mentioned that they also work to give potential students back in Nigeria correct information about the experience of studying in Germany, as they noted there is a stereotype in Nigeria among potential students that Germany is a racist country where Nigerian students are mistreated and have a hard time communicating. The students work to correct this perception. The student association also doubles as a professional network, as alumni of the group remain within the membership.

Professional organizations carried out many of the same activities that student associations did. NIDO, the largest of the professional networks, also focuses its activities on economic and social networking between the diaspora and NGOs, private businesses and the Nigerian government. For example, the organization organizes large trade fairs in Nigeria to excite possible investors and introduce potential business partners. NIDO also works with the Nigerian government by providing technical advisors who act as partners during the design and implementation phases of social projects within Nigeria. Other professional organizations, such as the Nigerian Scholars in Germany group, have a more global ambition in that they want to promote nation building, the need for education and to complete worldwide service projects.

4.3.3.2 Funding

Funding mechanisms among student associations and professional organizations are often more advanced and developed than can be seen in cultural or development organizations. While all of these organizations collect membership fees and use these to fund their activities, some had also managed to secure corporate sponsors for their events.

4.3.3.3 Future Goals

The goals of student associations and professional organizations usually revolve around incorporating more Nigerians into their network and increasing their networking power. With this increase in power, it is thought that other aims, such as cultural preservation or development projects both in Nigeria and worldwide could be improved and expanded. The Nigerian Students Hohenheim group hopes to create a unified Nigerian student organization for the whole of Germany, so that more information could be shared and more Nigerians could become involved.

4.3.4 Political Activities and Organizations

There is a distinct lack of overtly political organizations within the Nigerian diaspora in Germany. In fact, only one such organization was located. Some of the founders of the cultural, development, student or professional organizations stated that they partake in advocacy or campaign work dealing with Nigerian politics. One organizational founder works to uncover the rampant corruption in Nigerian politics by posting educational and informational articles and news reports onto social media outlets. Another worked to mobilize Nigerians in Europe to support an opposition party in Nigeria. One respondent felt that Nigerians in the West even had a responsibility to fight corruption in Nigeria due to their enhanced access to technology. He stated:

“We Nigerians in Germany, because we have access to modern technology more, that means we are able to follow events in the world quickly. In Nigeria, [there is] no electricity to power a computer or a laptop. So it is not easy to get things like us ... We are highlighting the corruption and the impunity of our government leaders.”

Despite this involvement, whenever organizational representatives openly discussed their political aspirations or work, the interviewee was always sure to make it very clear that this work was done on an individual basis and was not affiliated with the organization in any way. The one exception to this trend seems to be activities around Boko Haram. Many organizations reported that they had rallied their memberships to show opposition to this group and to express solidarity with the 273 young women that were kidnapped from Northern Nigerian in 2014. Several organizations had even written the Nigerian Embassy in Germany to express their opinion that the government should do more to rescue the young women.

Curiously, the only overtly political organization within the Nigerian diaspora in Germany is a pro-Jonathan group called the Goodluck Jonathan Support Group. This group is based in Nigeria and has branches throughout the world. It works to rally local populations in support of President Jonathan’s re-election campaign and raises campaign financing for the cause. The fact that there are no easily locatable anti-government Nigerian diaspora groups in Germany, yet a high degree of anti-government sentiment points to the idea that people are afraid to express such sentiments. One respondent even stated:

“Many of us do what I do [work with the Nigerian opposition party] because we are really not scared about losing our lives. And the majority of them [Nigerians in Germany], they are happy to just live their lives the way it is and they are scared of politics. So they are connected to their families, but most of them are not wanting to associate with the political situation in Nigeria.”

Such a fear of political involvement is damaging to the diaspora and to Nigeria in that large segments of the population remain unrepresented and the government is seen as something not to be trusted or associated with. This theme will be discussed in more detail in the limitations section of the chapter.

4.4. LIMITATIONS OF THE DIASPORA

Nigerian diaspora organizations in Germany carry out important work. In doing so, they face many limitations that stop them from reaching their full potential. The limitations they face can be divided into two categories; limitations experienced primarily in Germany and limitations experienced primarily in Nigeria. Of the limitations experienced in Germany, the three main obstacles for diaspora organizations are ethnic divisions within the diaspora, a lack of human capital and advanced skills and a lack of financial resources.

The strong ethnic divisions that exist within the Nigerian diaspora in Germany have been mentioned throughout this study. While these divisions predominately afflict cultural organizations, these types of groups make up the largest category of organizations, hinting at the scale of the obstacle. The ethnic divisions in the diaspora are problematic for numerous reasons. In regards to integration and social issues, many Nigerians face similar issues and, therefore, a more inclusive body to address those issues would be beneficial in achieving the greatest results. Additionally, Nigerians who do not belong to large ethnic groups such as the Igbo, the Edo or the Yoruba might feel excluded from diaspora events, as an association for their specific ethnic group might not exist in Germany. Working together as Nigerians instead of as Igbos or Edos is sometimes seen as a worthwhile but unachievable goal among organizational representatives. When asked if working across ethnic lines could be positive, one representative stated:

“It would be very beneficial, but this is one of the biggest problems we have, because ... even among the Igbos we still have our groups that from this part of Igboland, and you have from that part. So that’s one of the biggest tasks I have because there have even been talks with other organizations, even trying to get all Africans together since we are facing similar problems, social, economic and integration problems here. But that seems to be like a dream for now.”

Accordingly, working together as Nigerians could help to identify common problems and to redirect limited resources to the areas most in need.

Another widespread issue experienced by the diaspora organizations was a lack of human capital or necessary skills. Expertise in areas such as fundraising, marketing, accounting or networking is very much in need by the majority of the organizations surveyed. When asked about the possibility of cooperating with larger organizations for their development project in Nigeria, one organizational representative stated:

“We are not scared of it, we just think it will be too much work to do then, writing and appealing, so we just do the little what we can afford without too much protocols.”

Such expertise could enable organizations to navigate complex bureaucracies, secure more stable and generous funding sources and also increase their cooperation among one another to magnify their results.

Lastly, financial resources were cited by all organizations as a major obstacle to achieving their goals. When asked of their goals for the future, many organizations shared innovative ideas to better the lives of diaspora members and also of Nigerians in Nigeria. Yet these ideas would often only be possible if the organization were to secure funding partners. Nigerian diaspora organizations in Germany run almost exclusively on small membership donations and are manned by volunteers who often also have full time jobs and families. Accordingly, some organizational representatives spoke of feelings of “burnout” or exhaustion from doing so much with so few resources.

Nigerian diaspora organizations in Germany are also restricted by limitations that they experience in Nigeria. These limitations mostly revolve around the unstable and corrupt political situation in Nigeria. Accordingly, many organizational representatives did not trust the Nigerian government and were therefore, discouraged from working with it or from involving it in their development projects. One organizational founder stated:

“The Nigerian government today, the officials, they are too corrupt. And this corruption is really affecting the growth of the country. Any time we hear that the German government gives millions of euros to Nigeria for one development project or whatever, all of us, we believe the money is gone. They will not use it for the project. They will steal the money. So we are very, very concerned about that, because those of us who are exposed to another way of doing things, like in Germany, we [ask] why couldn’t our government people also be accountable?”

This excerpt highlights the need to involve the diaspora in dialogue between the German and Nigerian governments, as they hold insider knowledge of the political system in Nigeria and through their own work, have found ways to avoid some of the pitfalls of such a system.

Corruption in Nigeria is not only limited to the political system but is thought by many diaspora members to be an ever-present element of organizational culture in the country. This has led many organizational leaders and representatives to express frustration over the lack of dependable project partners to be found in Nigeria. Some organizational founders only made donations or continued work on projects in Nigeria when they could actually fly back to the country themselves. This obviously requires a huge amount of time and financial resources that could be going to the actual project instead. One organization had a member move back to Nigeria and that member now functions as a trustworthy project partner in Nigeria. The project founder stated:

“Now when we have a plan to do a new project in Nigeria, I don’t need to fly to Nigeria myself anymore. And before that was for us kind of a barrier if I needed to get to Nigeria, I must go to Nigeria myself to do it. But now, because other members have moved back to Nigeria now, for us it is an improvement. I don’t need to buy my ticket to Nigeria anymore.”

For organizations that do not have former members in Nigeria, they must rely on personal contacts or family and friends to get work done. A representative from another organization noted:

“It is important to know the people you work with in Nigeria... It is extremely important to have people there you know, you can trust and that are honest. Otherwise you can have bad experiences. People making big promises and then later realizing they just wanted the money and then disappeared. Especially in Nigeria, unfortunately that is the truth.”

The barriers created by such high levels of mistrust and corruption were sometimes overwhelming for diaspora organizations, making expanding a development project an even more difficult task.

The limitations faced by Nigerian diaspora organizations in Germany have clear and negative impacts on the amount of progress that can be achieved. Yet some barriers are simpler in nature and require fewer resources than others. The dedication, generosity, commitment and insider knowledge of the diaspora makes it an extremely valuable asset to Nigerians everywhere. These qualities also highlight the many opportunities that exist for cooperation with the German government.

5. POLICY INFLUENCE ON NIGERIAN DIASPORA ACTIVITIES

5.1. NIGERIAN POLICIES TOWARD THE DIASPORA

As briefly shown in section 3.1, migration from Nigeria is diverse and significant in volume. Unlike many other countries with such a sizeable diaspora, Nigeria currently does not have a diaspora engagement policy² in place: “One of the key features of the Nigerian government’s engagement with its diaspora is the absence of programmatized terms of engagement in the form of a diaspora engagement policy” (Wapmuk et al., 2014).

Even though no diaspora engagement policy exists, the Nigerian government has made efforts over the years to build a relationship with the members of the diaspora. However, until this day the discourse on migration and development in Nigeria remains complex. While the government is increasingly recognizing the potential of the Nigerians living abroad, many Nigerians in the diaspora have a general feeling of distrust towards the Nigerian state. This seems to be the result of years of repression and neglect and is, therefore, unlikely to change overnight (de Haas, 2006). In addition, the heterogeneity of the Nigerian diaspora along ethnic and/ or state lines that was found in Germany, appears to be a more general characteristic. Wapmuk et al. (2014) discuss that terms often used to describe a country’s diaspora, such as homogeneity, cultural belonging and a sense of commitment, do not necessarily apply to the Nigerian diaspora. It is shaped by the multiethnic and pluralistic character of Nigeria and the historical and contemporary disputes over resources, power, etc.

In addition, the term diaspora is used differently by different Nigerian actors and there is not one agreed definition that is in use. It is of particular interest that there does not appear to be consensus on the

² Diaspora engagement policies are a primary channel through which migrant source states are interacting with ‘their’ diasporas. These policies take a wide range of formal and informal manifestations, from symbolic and rhetorical appeals to the loyalty of emigrants and their descendants, to measures aimed at capturing and channelling a share of the migrant remittances that now dwarf global development aid, to new citizenship provisions that extend beyond state borders, to formal governmental institutions that harmonize and oversee the myriad ways in which states impact on, and are impacted by, diasporas (Oxford’s Diasporas Programme, 2015).

inclusion of different generations of migrants and those that give up Nigerian citizenship. This is in part due to the variety of authorities involved in the management of migration and engagement with the emigrant population. These government authorities can broadly be classified into those 1) increasing the migration management capacity of Nigeria, 2) recognizing the diaspora and building relationships with and capacity of the diaspora to facilitate their engagement for development of Nigeria and 3) working towards the fulfilment of regional and bilateral migration management agreements (Binaisa, 2013). The main government authorities dealing with the diaspora in one way or another are summarized in Table 5, before the development of some of the key organizations and initiatives will be elaborated upon below. Due to the nature of diaspora engagement activities by the Nigerian government this section may not be exhaustive, but does give an impression of the kinds of activities undertaken.

Table 5: Key Diaspora Actors in Nigeria

Actor	Key Responsibilities relating to Migration
Ministry of Foreign Affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Responsible for consular matters, including the protection of the interests and rights of Nigerians migrants abroad. • Preparation of bilateral agreements, joint commissions, etc. pertaining to migration with foreign countries. • Repatriation of destitute Nigerians. • Issuance of passports, travel certificates and seafarers' identity cards in missions abroad.
Special Assistant to the Vice President on Youth, Migration and Humanitarian Services (<i>Appointed by the President</i>)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Deal with issues pertaining to migration. • Promote the involvement of emigrant communities into the Nigerian development process.
National Planning Commission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Determine and advise the Federal Government on issues pertaining to national development.
Nigerians in Diaspora Organization (NIDO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Encourage the Nigerian diaspora to engage at home. • Serves as a platform for the mobilization of all Nigerians abroad, especially professionals.
Nigerian National Volunteer Service	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintain a dialogue with emigrant communities. • Mobilize Nigerians abroad for capacity building activities. • Liaise with Nigerian diplomatic missions abroad, non-governmental organizations, professional networks and community based organizations, with the aim to involve Nigerian emigrant communities into volunteering activities for national development.
Central Bank of Nigeria	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Oversees the implementation of monetary and exchange policies and the management of the country's financial sector. • Its research division undertook a nationwide survey on remittances, covering money transfer organizations, commercial banks, exchange bureaus and travellers at airports.
Nigeria Investment Promotion Commission	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Promote, facilitate and coordinate investments in Nigeria, also from abroad.
Committee on Diaspora Affairs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Foster the link with Nigerians living abroad and strengthen relations between emigrant communities and their country of origin for the purpose of national development.

Sources: ICMPD & IOM, 2010; IOM, 2009.

Historically it was in 1999, after Nigeria had returned to democratic rule, that President Olusegun Obasanjo made strong efforts to engage the Nigerian diaspora. He held dialogues with Nigerians abroad on several occasions and officially recognized the diaspora as valuable stakeholders and partners in the country's development (Wapmuk et al., 2014). One of the results of these meetings was the establishment of the *Nigerians in the Diaspora Organization (NIDO) Worldwide* in 2000. Consequently, NIDO established a network of branches in Nigerian embassies around the world as well as destination country-specific websites. Until this day NIDO has branches across Europe, the United States, Canada as well as Asia and Africa (de Haas, 2006). In Nigeria, NIDO was initially situated in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, but was later moved to the Office of the President where an Administrative Secretariat oversees and coordinates its activities. The main aim of NIDO is to establish and institutionalize the relationship between Nigeria and Nigerians abroad. It is the focal point for diaspora engagement in development of Nigeria (Wapmuk et al., 2014).

In 2001, the *Directorate of Technical Cooperation in Africa (DTCA)* was established with the aim of attracting professionals of Nigerian or more generally African descent to invest their knowledge, skills and expertise into the development of Africa. The DTCA is partially funded by the Nigerian government. Its creation is based on the recognition of the brain drain from many African countries and the fact that millions of highly skilled Africans, including Nigerians, live abroad. DTCA's programs are, therefore, attempting to create an enabling environment and opportunities for Nigerian and other African professionals to invest in the economies of Africa; with the aim of bridging the widening economic and scientific gap between Africa and the rest of the world (DTCA, 2015).

In 2003, the *Nigerian National Volunteer Service (NNVS)* was established as another institution aiming to engage the diaspora in the development of Nigeria. The headquarters of NNVS are housed in the Office of the Secretary to the Government and the organization has offices across all states of Nigeria. It aims to mobilize and harness the knowledge, skills and experiences of the diaspora. One of the key activities of the NNVS is the organization of the annual *Science and Technology Conference*, which aims at attracting skilled Nigerians from abroad to attend. In 2005 the NNVS held the first annual Science and Technology Conference between Nigerians at home and abroad in Abuja. It was at this forum that the former President Obasanjo declared July 25th of every year as *Nigerian Diaspora Day* (Wapmuk et al., 2014). This was seen as a way to draw attention to diaspora engagement and to encourage Nigerians abroad to engage in their home country (ICMPD & IOM, 2010). Diaspora Day was then first celebrated in 2006 at the same time as the annual Science and Technology Conference took place. There was a notable increase in attendance as in 2005 only 76 Nigerian diaspora members attended the conference and this number increased to 200 just one year later. It should be mentioned that these conference meetings of diaspora members in Nigeria did have tangible outcomes. One example is the signing of a Memorandum of Understanding on aiding medical missions to Nigeria between the Association of Nigerian Physicians in America (ANPA) and the Medical Association of Nigerian Specialists and between the General Practitioners in the British Isles (MANSAG) with the Nigerian Ministry of Health (Wapmuk et al., 2014).

Two further initiatives by the Nigerian government addressing the diaspora and its potential were set up in 2007. The *Linkage with Experts and Academics in the Diaspora Scheme (LEADS)* was started specifically to engage the diaspora in transforming the educational sector. The program aims to attract experts and academics of Nigerian origin that live abroad to join an institute of higher education for a period of three to twelve months. Engagement is possible in a number of disciplines: The scheme is limited to the

following disciplines: Information and Communications Technology (ICT), Management Science and Business Administration, Mathematics, Medicine and Dentistry, Mining Engineering, Natural Sciences, and Oil and Gas Engineering (National Universities Commission, 2015). Another concrete example of diaspora engagement in education was also established in 2007. The *African University of Science and Technology* in Abuja is a Pan-African Center of Excellence. Its objective is to train African scientists and engineers that will be able to contribute positively to the development of Africa. Within the programs of the university there is significant utilization of diaspora networks, specifically of contacts with African scientists teaching and researching at some of the best universities across the world (African Diaspora Policy Center, 2011).

A unique feature of the Nigerian government is the establishment of the *House Committee on Diaspora Affairs*. The Committee was set up in 2009 and is currently comprised of 29 members of the House of Representatives. It is a way for the legislative branch of the government to engage in diaspora relations in the Federal House of Representatives. According to the Committee it is the only parliamentary body of its kind in Africa. A key function of this Committee is to initiate new policies aiming at engaging the diaspora and harnessing their potential for development (House Committee on Diaspora Affairs, 2015).

In 2010, the House Committee on Diaspora Affairs initiated a Bill for an Act to establish the *Nigeria Diaspora Commission*. The Nigeria Diaspora Commission would operate as a one-stop establishment in the management of diaspora matters. The Commission's responsibilities would include the coordination and organization of a system of collaborations with Nigerians in diaspora to facilitate their contributions to the development of Nigeria through identifying, preserving and mobilizing the human, capital, social and material resources and expertise of the diaspora members (Wapmuk et al., 2014). The Bill was only recently passed in the House of Representatives and it therefore remains to be seen how this Commission will develop and how its activities will work in practice (Akinwumi, 2014). It appears, however, that this would be a step in the direction of joining the different efforts made towards the diaspora by the Nigerian government.

Over time different topics were addressed in the dialogues between the government and the diaspora. One of them was the right to *dual citizenship*. In 2002, it was decided that someone who is Nigerian by birth is allowed to acquire the citizenship of another country without giving up their Nigerian citizenship. As such Nigerians living abroad still are able to hold their Nigerian citizenship if they do not choose to forfeit it (Mberu & Pongou, 2010).

A further point of discussion between members of the diaspora and the Nigerian government for many years has been the *right to vote*. This is one of the key demands of the Nigerian diaspora as they desire increased participation in Nigerian politics. As the 2015 General Elections are coming up shortly this is currently on the agenda again. As during previous elections, the diaspora reiterated its call on the Independent Electoral Commission (INEC) and the Nigerian government for their inclusion as voters. This is, however, a difficult topic to address in a context where managing elections and voter count are challenging even within the country. As such, at least for now, the rights extended to the diaspora do not include voting rights (Wapmuk et al., 2014).

In conclusion it can be said that Nigeria has adopted a multifaceted approach to the issue of engaging the Diaspora in development. Rather than having one diaspora engagement policy that bundles all policies and institutions addressing Nigerians abroad, there is a variety of different initiatives. It is likely that

Nigerian policymakers could also benefit from further research on the networks, ideas, activities, skills, plans, etc. of members of the Nigerian diaspora.

5.2. DEVELOPMENT AND DIASPORA ENGAGEMENT POLICIES IN GERMANY

In Germany, the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) is responsible for formulating, steering and monitoring development cooperation. It devises long-term strategies and defines the rules of implementation, manages the cooperation with partner countries as well as international and non-governmental organizations. For the execution of its projects, BMZ commissions so-called “implementing organizations”. The main implementing organization is the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), the German government-owned agency responsible for implementing international cooperation projects as well as for giving technical advice to BMZ and other ministries.

Germany and specifically GIZ have been engaged in international cooperation with Nigeria since 1974. GIZ was initially represented by an office in Lagos until 2003, but since 2004 it has maintained a country office and four project offices in the new capital Abuja. At present, GIZ has around 25 seconded staff, 100 Nigerian and regional experts and four CIM experts working in Nigeria. In 2002, the Nigerian and German governments decided to focus on projects promoting sustainable economic development. In addition, GIZ in Nigeria is active in the energy sector, agriculture and regional integration (GIZ, 2015b).

While German development cooperation overall addresses many different topics, migration and diasporas play a special role in these activities. The main idea behind the German development cooperation in relation to migration is to not necessarily see it as a separate topic, but rather integrating it into regular development cooperation (GIZ Staff member, personal communication, January 26, 2015). Within German development cooperation this is done based on the idea of using the potential of migrants for the migrants themselves, for their countries of origin as well as their countries of destination. Migration is seen as something that cannot be stopped and its benefits should therefore be maximized to facilitate this “triple win” situation (BMZ, 2010). This is done by matching interests and taking advantage of already existing synergies. Such synergies may, for example, arise when there is an overlap between the work of diaspora organizations and development cooperation in the country of origin. As such migrants are not just the beneficiary of German development aid, but are recognized themselves as actors or partners in such activities (Bonin, 2014).

The topic of migration and development and specifically diaspora engagement first came to the policy agenda in the mid-2000s, when the German government increasingly recognized these migrant potentials. In 2003, GIZ hosted two conferences on “Migration and Development” with the aim of gaining a better understanding and overview of diaspora communities in Germany, a necessary pre-condition to identify opportunities for cooperation. As a result, several programs and projects were established in order to promote transnational activities of the migrant communities in Germany (Ragab et al., 2013). When migration was first integrated into the development work of GIZ, the focus was very much on two specific topics: working with the diaspora and the facilitation of remittances transfers. In this initial work it became clear that migrants were more likely to engage in development activities in their home country, the more integrated they were in Germany (Bonin, 2014).

In subsequent years, the work in the field of migration and development became broader and encompassed many other topics, including private sector development through migration, migration policy advice to partner countries, development-oriented labor mobility as well as linkages between e.g. climate change and migration or rural development and migration. It is the aim to support migrants throughout all steps of the migration cycle, including the pre-departure phase, in the destination country Germany as well as upon return to the home country (Bonin, 2014).

In 2006, BMZ commissioned GIZ to establish the “Sector Project Migration and Development” (Sektorvorhaben Migration und Entwicklung), which has an advisory role to authorities dealing with migration and development issues at the federal (in particular the Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ)), state and municipal level. Moreover, the Sector Project builds networks with migrant organizations in Germany, promotes their projects and offers workshops on various aspects of migration and development (GIZ, 2015a). Since 2011, the Sector Project is a part of The Center for International Migration and Development (CIM). CIM is a joint operation between GIZ and the Federal Employment Agency (Bundesagentur für Arbeit). It is the competence center for global labor mobility in the international cooperation activities of the German government. CIM taps the potential that global migration offers for sustainable development. At the core of CIM’s work is the Program “Migration for Development”, which consists of four individual program components addressing the linkages between migration and development (Bonin, 2014; CIM, 2015; GIZ Staff member, personal communication, January 26, 2015):

1) Returning Experts

The Returning Experts Program component offers support to highly skilled migrants in Germany wishing to return to their country of origin and work in a development related capacity. The program places migrants in many countries that are of interest to German development cooperation. Annually around 200 returning experts are supported by facilitating job placements in the home country. Wage top-ups are paid to migrants that go into jobs that are relevant for development. In the case of Nigeria 27 returning experts have been placed between 1994 and now.

2) Promoting the Development Activities of Migrant Organizations

This program component supports migrants in Germany that jointly want to engage in development activities in their home country. Migrant organizations can submit proposals to receive funding, training and capacity development in order to implement their projects. In addition, CIM supports the networking of migrant organizations with each other, with businesses and political actors within Germany as well as in other European countries. In order to qualify, migrant organizations have to be legally registered as non-profit associations. In addition, they have to show that either a) at least 50 per cent of their members are people with a migration background³, b) at least 50 per cent of the management board members have a migration background or c) at least 50 per cent of those involved in the project have a migration background.

³ People with a migration background either a) were not born within the current territory of the Federal Republic of Germany and migrated to the country since 1950s, b) do not have German nationality or c) have parents (or one parent) that fulfill(s)

3) Migrants as Entrepreneurs

This program component supports migrants who want to establish a business in their home country. They may do so either upon return from Germany or transnationally while still residing in Germany. CIM supports such potential entrepreneurs through information provision, training, coaching and networking; it does, however, not provide funding. The training starts in Germany through group seminars that are designed for the specific country context. This is followed by an individual business plan coaching provided by a German start-up center. In the respective home country local CIM-advisors provide support with administrative procedures, information on funding opportunities and help with establishing a network. The component is currently running in Morocco, Cameroon and Georgia, but is likely to be expanded to other countries soon.

4) Policy Advice

Within this component CIM identifies the specific counselling needs in the field of migration and development in priority countries and provides support with the design of appropriate implementation measures.

Next to GIZ there are also other actors in Germany working to realize the potentials of migration for development. One of these is the Service Agency Communities in One World (Servicestelle Kommunen in der einen Welt). The Service Agency is the German government's competence center for local development cooperation, providing advisory and other services to municipalities and other local actors since 2001. One of the specific projects focuses on Migration and Development at the Local Level. Within this project the Service Agency Communities in One World aims to strengthen municipal development cooperation, improve intercultural expertise in municipalities and promote integration of migrants. This is the basis for the support of diaspora organizations who build bridges and new links between Germany and their home country. They receive advice and training as well as networking opportunities (Service Agency Communities in One World, 2015).

Another service diaspora organizations could benefit from is bengo. This center was set up by BMZ in order to facilitate the access of NGOs to German development funds. In addition to providing funding, bengo advises NGOs on all matters related to project applications and administration (Engagement Global, 2015).

Besides these federal initiatives, there are several programs at the state level. For instance North Rhine-Westphalia supports transnational engagement by providing capacity building activities and financial resources (Ragab et al., 2013). In general, there are several policies and programs that support migrants that want to engage in development in their home country, whether as an individual or as part of a diaspora organization. Particularly for the latter the aim is to provide funds, to foster their professionalization and to improve their networks. While services of GIZ/CIM, the Service Agency Communities in One World and BENG0 are similar in many aspects, efforts are undertaken by the different agencies to ensure that their work complements each other in order to avoid double efforts (GIZ Staff member, personal communication, January 26, 2015).

condition a) or b). The migration background should be from a developing or emerging countries in order to qualify for assistance.

6. POTENTIALS FOR COOPERATION

When taking into account on the one hand the work that diaspora organizations are engaged in and the challenges they face in doing so and on the other hand the approach and needs of German development cooperation, several forms of potential cooperation can be identified:

Strengthening and capacity-building of Nigerian diaspora associations in Germany

In order to enable the existing diaspora organizations to implement projects that will aid the development of Nigeria, many of the organizations could benefit from training and coaching. Seminars and workshops on topics like proper management of an organization, project design and management as well as fund-raising would be very valuable for many of the organizations. Several diaspora organizations also mentioned the importance of their presence on the internet and a lack of skills to properly design a website. This may be another potential area for training. Germany could follow a similar route to the Netherlands here by investing in the professionalization of the Nigerian diaspora in Germany.

Supporting the various types of Nigerian diaspora organizations

Throughout the process of the research it appeared that Nigerian diaspora organizations can be classified along the lines of their main activities, such as cultural organizations, development organizations, student associations or professional organizations and political organizations. While the engagement in development is not the main aim of all of these different types of organizations, there is still potential for them to engage in this kind of activity. Organizations facilitating the integration of Nigerians in Germany may also be relevant as it is often argued that there is a reinforcing link between integration and diaspora engagement. This is based on the argument that integration enables individuals to obtain the resources and networks necessary to be actively engaged. In addition, civic engagement often reinforces equal participation, enables empowerment and improves capacities of human and social capital. Consequently, transnational engagement can increase civic, political and possibly even socio-economic integration (Koser, 2007; Warnecke, 2010). This means that cultural activities and integration assistance provided by the Nigerian diaspora organizations should also be considered for support. This may facilitate that Nigerian diaspora organizations that do not primarily focus on development issues can still be valuable partners in the promotion of the development of Nigeria in the long-term.

Involve Nigerian diaspora members in the design of programs for the Nigerian diaspora

A significant share of the Nigerian diaspora in Germany is interested in supporting the development of their home country. Naturally they are also very knowledgeable about the country and its cultural, political, social and economic context. It became very clear during the course of this research that ethnic and regional divisions play an important role in the diaspora as it does in Nigeria. A foreign actor working in Nigeria and developing programs for the country, could therefore benefit from involving knowledgeable and highly skilled members of different sub-sets of the diaspora population.

Furthermore, the existing components of the Program Migration for Development hold potential for cooperation between CIM and Nigerians in Germany to increase their engagement in the development of their home country, if the required capacity in Nigeria to facilitate this is created:

Promoting the “Development Activities of Migrant Organizations” program component

In general, there was little to no awareness of the programs of GIZ or CIM and specifically of this component for migrant organizations among the organizations interviewed. However, there are organizations already implementing projects and those that would like to if they had the financial and human resources. As most of these would qualify for this component of CIM’s Project Migration for Development and there could be a mutual benefit of their participation in the program component, providing information on it and gaining access to the Nigerian diaspora is one important step to raise awareness of CIM and its work with and for migrants. Participation of CIM in events organized by Nigerian diaspora organizations can help to gain broader access to the target group. Moreover, social media can be used to spread information on programs and workshops offered by CIM.

Promoting participation in the “Returning Experts” program component

While not all members of the Nigerian diaspora would be suitable for this program component, there is a subset of the population that has a lot of potential for successful participation. As the country with the biggest group of foreign students enrolled at a German institute of higher education, there is a pool of upcoming graduates. Interview respondents indicated that they will return to Nigeria after completing their studies unless specific opportunities open up in Germany. Such graduates could be potential program participants. Diaspora organizations, in particular student and professional associations, and their networks may be a good point of advertisement for the program component and may be able to assist in the identification of potential participants.

Support business establishment of diaspora members in Nigeria

The overall focus on of German development cooperation in Nigeria is on promoting sustainable economic development. A crucial part of achieving this are small- and medium enterprises that create employment opportunities and contribute to economic growth and development. In general, Nigerians are seen as being creative and having an entrepreneurial spirit, making them good candidates to establish businesses in Nigeria. Whether they return to run the business or invest in it and then have a family member or friend manage the daily business, this may be a good way for Nigerians in Germany to contribute to economic growth of their home country. One of the organizations interviewed for the study was providing start-up loans on a very small scale to individuals in Nigeria and reported this to be a successful endeavor. The small business grants enabled the recipients to establish a livelihood for them and their families and become independent of outside assistance. As such this was seen as a successful strategy. While more research would need to be done on the potentials of the Nigerian diaspora to engage in this kind of activity, it should be investigated by CIM whether the Migrants as Entrepreneurs program component can be expanded to Nigeria.

Support the activities of diaspora in Nigeria by developing the capacity of CIM in Nigeria

Nigeria was recently identified as an additional focus country for CIM's 'Migration for Development' Program. For this purpose additional funding has been made available by BMZ. As discussed in the above paragraphs, several of the programs run by CIM could be expanded to Nigeria to increase the engagement of the diaspora in development of the country. For this purpose it would be important to have a CIM staff member working specifically on the Migration for Development components on-site in Nigeria. It was repeatedly mentioned throughout the interviews how important it is to have someone in Nigeria that can be trusted when cooperating on any kind of development project. As such an advisor is essential. Currently the CIM advisor in Cameroon also covers the Nigerian context. With the expansion of the programs, this will not be sufficient anymore and a designated CIM advisor for Nigeria will be necessary. This should be someone that understands the Nigerian context very well, but also has an understanding of the German context and what it means to migrate in the first place and then to return.

In addition to the potentials for engagement with the Nigerian diaspora in Germany directly, it is also important to ensure that there is an infrastructure in place to facilitate this kind of engagement in Nigeria. As section 5.1 showed, the current situation in terms of diaspora engagement is rather fragmented and in combination with the existing skepticism of the diaspora organizations in terms of engaging with the Nigerian government, this might be an obstacle to a fruitful cooperation. It may therefore be worthwhile for GIZ/CIM to consider engagement in a policy dialogue with the Nigerian government. In line with the Policy Advice component of the Program Migration for Development, support could be offered to the responsible authorities with designing a comprehensive diaspora engagement policy for Nigeria.

On a larger scale the German government could even look into options for scaling up their engagement with Nigeria on migration issues. An inspiration here could be the migration partnership that the Swiss government has with Nigeria. Migration partnerships are an instrument of bilateral cooperation on migration between two countries. They are flexible and individually adjustable in order to mutually address the needs and interests in migration of both partner countries on a long-term basis but without a pre-defined timeframe. They address issues like the promotion of orderly migration, return and readmission, reintegration, border controls, capacity building in migration management, etc. as well as migration and development. In the case of the Swiss migration partnership with Nigeria, the comprehensive approach to migration issues has proven to be working well and is highly valued by the partners on both sides (Siegel et al., forthcoming).

7. CONCLUSION

While the exact population of Nigerian nationals or individuals of Nigerian descent who live in Germany is uncertain, it is clear that it is a rather large group with a great deal of potential. Those Nigerians coming to Germany are often relatives of Nigerians already living in the country, asylum-seekers or students. By now there is also a second generation of Nigerians in Germany that will continue to grow in the coming years. This study showed that within the Nigerian diaspora and particularly among Nigerian diaspora organizations there is interest and potential in contributing to the development of the home country with little knowledge of current German government initiative to engage the diaspora. As the Centre for International Migration is looking to expand their activities to Nigeria, it should consider in what ways this potential could be beneficial and what forms of collaboration could be used as outlined in the previous section.

It is, however, important to understand that the Nigerian diaspora in Germany is not a homogenous group. It is rather a very diverse and varied group in terms of socio-economic factors, political aspirations, religion and ethnic divisions. This study finds that Nigerians in Germany are primarily connected through their ethnic group or geographical state of origin in Nigeria. As a consequence many of the Nigerian diaspora organizations in Germany can be classified as being cultural organizations. In addition, a number of development organizations were identified. Student associations and professional organizations as well as political groups are much less common in comparison. These different groups often carry out activities in Germany and some also in Nigeria.

The Nigerian government at this stage does not have a clear diaspora engagement policy and a systematic approach on cooperation with the diaspora appears to be lacking. At this stage there is no one authority with the mandate to effectively reach out to the diaspora and with sufficient resources to do so. Often measures directed to the Nigerian diaspora are not sufficiently known by diaspora members. In addition, a lack of trust in the Nigerian state is evident among the members of the diaspora. Therefore, it is still necessary to improve and coordinate these measures as well as implement further ones in order to fully tap into the potential of the diaspora in Germany as well as more generally.

On the other hand, within German development cooperation the linkages between migration and development have been acknowledged and are mainstreamed into the work of e.g. GIZ. Within this approach migrants are not just the beneficiary of German development aid, but are as such recognized themselves as actors or partners in such activities. This opens doors for the cooperation with diaspora organizations or individual diaspora members. The Migration for Development Program by CIM has several components which are suitable for increasing the diaspora engagement of Nigerians.

While many of the diaspora organizations show an interest in Nigeria and its development, only a smaller share of the organizations carry out development-related activities in Nigeria. These are mostly organizations that have a specific project as their sole purpose, such as a children's home or a school. However, many other organizations declared an interest in engaging in the development of Nigeria. Areas of interest were particularly the education and health sectors as well as overall poverty reduction. Knowledge transfers and the transfer of best practices were also mentioned as desired. Increased capacity is, however, a pre-condition for such activities.

Matching the needs and plans of the Nigerians diaspora and the activities of the German Development Cooperation GIZ, the analysis showed that there are several ways in which both sides could benefit and the promotion of developmental activities of the Nigerian diaspora could be improved. However, in order for this potential to be realized, it could be worthwhile to gain a further understanding of the challenges that diaspora members face in the engagement in Nigeria. A main challenge is certainly posed by corruption, which was repeatedly mentioned by respondents throughout this study. A suggestion for further research based on this finding, is therefore to investigate the ways in which diaspora members navigate corruption in the country. In this context it would be interesting to look into diaspora members in different countries of destination in order to understand the potentially different approaches to engagement. Ultimately it would be interesting to see in how far and in what ways diaspora engagement may lead to changes in nepotism, bribes, etc. in the country and therefore contribute to development through another channel in the long-term.

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ANNEX 1: NIGERIAN DIASPORA ORGANIZATIONS IN GERMANY

CULTURAL ORGANIZATIONS			
Name	Established	Main Aims and Activities	Web Address
Africa-Positive e.V.	1998	Main aim: Integration of Africans living in Germany. Main activities: Publishing a magazine that works to highlight positive things in Africa.	http://www.africa-positive.de/
Akwa Ibom State Association of Nigeria Germany e.V.	2012	Main aim: Not clear. Main activities: Not clear.	http://akwaibomassociationger.hpage.com/
Anambra Progressive Union Berlin/ Brandenburg e.V.	2008	Main aim: Not clear. Main activities: Not clear.	http://apubbev.webs.com/
Anambra South Senatorial Union Germany e.V.	2009	Main aim: Promote Igbo culture and cooperation with other ethnic groups. Main activities: Not clear.	http://www.assug.org/
Anambra State Progressive Union Nürnberg	2009	Main aim: To promote life of love, peace, unity, togetherness, justice, co-operation, understanding, and above all, progress among our state Anambra and our fatherland Nigeria. Main activities: Providing a secure and open space for members, promoting cultural and general welfare, enabling common interest among members, providing charitable aid when necessary.	http://s422227272.website-start.de/
Association of Lagos State Origin (Nigeria) Hamburg e.V.	1997	Main aim: Increase involvement of Nigerians abroad in Nigerian issues at home, increase cooperation between Nigerians and German authorities, promoting the Nigerian image abroad. Main activities: Not clear.	http://association-of-lagos-state-origin-hamburg-ev.com/

Common Cause Nigeria	Not clear	Main aim: Peace, unity, good-image and civil liberties. Activities: Not clear.	https://www.facebook.com/pages/Common-Cause-Nigeria-CCN/130376347132769
Delta State-Nigeria e.V.	2000	Main aim: Promote cultural understanding between Delta State and Germany, contribute to Nigerian development. Activities: Engaging humanitarian organizations to help the needy in Nigeria and working with the Delta State government to promote development.	http://deltastate.eu/index.php/about-us
Deutsch-afrikanische Kooperation (DAKO) e.V.	2004	Main aim: DAKO's founding members are convinced that development should first and foremost mean an investment in constructive education and awareness, as a means for preserving culture and a way of life. Main activities: Not clear.	http://www.dako-ev.de/en/home/
Deutsche Nigerian Union Bremen	Not clear	Main aim: Improving the Nigerian community in Bremen and in Germany. Activities: Not clear.	https://www.facebook.com/DeutscheNigerianUnionBremen/timeline
Edo Community e.V. Kassel	2002	Main aim: Edo State economic expansion; reduce disease epidemic outbreak and ensure that the less privileged ones have access to basic education. Activities: Financial help to members and families in tough times, help with integration into Western culture and society, arranging conferences, promoting cultural exchange, providing humanitarian help to disadvantaged people in Nigeria. Donating material resources to a hospital in Nigeria, supporting leprosy victims.	http://www.edocommunitykassel.com/index.php/en/
Edo Community Germany	2001	Main aim: Foster cooperation and unity among Edo peoples in Germany and Nigeria and support general societal welfare. Activities: Donates goods to charity organizations in Nigeria, organizing cultural festivals in Germany.	http://www.edocommunity.com/
Edo Union Bremen e.V.	Not clear	Main aim: Not clear. Activities: Not clear.	N/A

Edo Union Freiburg	1996	<p>Main aim: Promote Edo culture and understanding within Freiburg.</p> <p>Activities: Serve as a medium for information exchange between member, moral support and motivation to disadvantaged Edo peoples, assist the government in providing health education and other things to Edo peoples in rural communities, and create channels of exchange between Edo and Germans. Organizing youth soccer tournament in Nigeria, donating medical supplies to hospitals, organizing seminars and events for cultural exchange in Germany.</p>	http://www.edounionfreiburg.de/?lang=EN
Edo United Club e.V München	2000	<p>Main aim: Promotion of Edo culture and peoples.</p> <p>Activities: Supporting members in their wellbeing in Germany, promoting Edo arts and culture, promoting friendly relationships among members, giving charitable and humanitarian assistance to people. Yearly cultural festivals, cultural fashion show, birth, naming and marriage celebrations, and hospital renovations through volunteering.</p>	http://www.einewelthaus.de/edo-united-club-e-v-munchen/
Edo United Essen e.V.	1999	<p>Main aim: To reach out to all Edo people to form partnership to put together our resources to help the less privileged in Edo state e.g. the Orphans.</p> <p>Activities: Providing forum for social and cultural interactions among members, encourage cooperation with other social organizations with similar objectives, organize arts exhibitions and traditional culture, make charitable contributions to promote welfare in general Edo state.</p>	http://www.edounitedessen.com/index.html
Egbe Isedale ati Iloiwaju Omo Yoruba Germany	Not clear	<p>Main aim: The promotion and encouragement of Yoruba tradition, cultural, heritage and the education of the public to its benefits.</p> <p>Main activities: Not clear.</p>	http://www.omo-yoruba.com/
ENUGU FORUM e.V. South West Germany	Not clear	<p>Main aim: To foster unity, progress and development among Enugu state indigenes that reside in South West Germany.</p> <p>Main activities: Offering support to members, promoting cultural heritage, donating charitable services.</p>	http://enuguforumsouthwestgermany.org/

Enugu State Indigenes NRW	Not clear	<p>Main aim: To promote unity and integration among the members.</p> <p>Main activities: Promoting traditional social and cultural values, reporting human rights abuses in Enugu state, organizing social events and fund raising ceremonies to support development in Nigeria, advisory services and counselling for new members.</p>	http://www.esin-nrw.de/
Enugu State Progressive Union and Friends e.V.	Not clear	<p>Main aim: Not clear.</p> <p>Main activities: Not clear.</p>	http://enuguprogressive.org/index.html
Enugu State Progressive Union München e.V.	Not clear	<p>Main aim: Not clear.</p> <p>Main activities: Not clear.</p>	www.enuguprogressive.org
Enugu State Union Hamburg Germany	2005	<p>Main aim: To promote unity and integration among the members.</p> <p>Main activities: Promoting traditional social and cultural values, reporting human rights abuses in Enugu state, organizing social events and fund raising ceremonies to support development in Nigeria, advisory services and counselling for new members.</p>	http://enugustateunion-hamburg.com/
Friends of Yoruba Culture e.V.	1997	<p>Main aim: Promotion and preservation of Yoruba culture, aiding Nigerians in need.</p> <p>Activities: Cultural events, aid and materials donations to Nigeria, knowledge dissemination, anti-corruption publications. Paying for and arranging doctor's visits, delivering medications to Nigeria, organizing religious festivals and religious teaching, art exhibition, Yoruba art teaching, Yoruba dancing. Yoruba cultural teachings, Yoruba language teaching.</p>	http://www.muenster.org/iyaduyor/projects.htm
I.C.F-Igbo Contact Forum e.V.	Not clear	<p>Main aim: Promote Igbo culture in Germany and undertake humanitarian activities.</p> <p>Activities: Not clear.</p>	http://www.i-c-f.net/index2.html
Igbo Association, Ingolstadt	Not clear	<p>Main aim: Not clear.</p> <p>Main activities: Not clear.</p>	N/A

IGBO Community Union Freiburg e.V. (Nigeria)	Not clear	Main aim: Not clear. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A
Igbo Community Union Southwest Germany e.V.	2001	Main aim: Foster unity among Umuigbo (and others) and to promote Igbo / Nigeria's Arts, Image, Culture and Tradition in an objective manner including various social activities within and outside the Federal Republic of Germany. Main activities: Cultural activates in Germany and collecting donations to support general welfare in Nigeria. Accepts donations and sponsorships for needy in Nigeria, sends members to visit welfare projects in Nigeria, running a cultural dance group, running an Igbo language course.	http://igbounionfreiburg.com/
Igbo Congress, Bonn	Not clear	Main aim: Not clear. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A
Igbo Congress, Stuttgart	Not clear	Main aim: Not clear. Main activities: Not clear.	http://www.igbo-congress.com/
IGBO Cultural Organisation Rheinlandpfalz – Hessen e.V.	2003	Main aim: Promoting Igbo culture, tradition and language. Main activities: Monthly meetings, giving cultural dance presentations and performances, financially supporting a primary school in Nigeria, collaborating with another organization to create a cultural center in Freiburg.	http://www.icogermany.de/
Igbo Cultural Organization e.V. Mannheim	Not clear	Main aim: Not clear. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A
Igbo Cultural Union Münsterland eV.	Not clear	Main aim: Maintenance and preservation of Igbo culture and traditions. Main activities: Community involvement, information dissemination, education. Providing social services, cultural entertainment educational conferences, civic activities, understanding and opportunity through network of connections, educational programs for social empowerment.	http://www.igboculturalunion-muenster.org/

Igbo Forum e.V.	2014	<p>Main aim: Building bridges between Nigerians in Germany and Germans to enable more educational and life opportunities for the children; working against racism and discrimination in Germany.</p> <p>Main activities: Cultural activities and integration work in Germany. Meetings and deciding on future activities (organization is relatively new).</p>	http://www.igboforum.de/
Igbo na Enyi e.V., Nürnberg	Not clear	<p>Main aim: Not clear.</p> <p>Main activities: Not clear.</p>	N/A
Igbo Union, Augsburg	Not clear	<p>Main aim: Not clear.</p> <p>Main activities: Not clear.</p>	N/A
Igbo Union, Kassel	Not clear	<p>Main aim: Not clear.</p> <p>Main activities: Not clear.</p>	N/A
Igbo Union, Koblenz	Not clear	<p>Main aim: Not clear.</p> <p>Main activities: Not clear.</p>	N/A
Igbozurume Germany e.V.	Not clear	<p>Main aim: Restore the lost dignity of Igbo people (ndi Igbo) while promoting the Igbo culture and tradition in diaspora.</p> <p>Main activities: Not clear.</p>	https://www.facebook.com/IgbozurumeGermany/timeline?ref=page_internal
Ika Union Berlin	Not clear	<p>Main aim: Not clear.</p> <p>Main activities: Not clear.</p>	https://www.facebook.com/IKA.Union.Berlin/info?tab=page_info
Imo-State Cultural & Welfare Association Germany	2011	<p>Main aim: To unite and promote the Imo welfare and culture in Germany and beyond.</p> <p>Main activities: Not clear.</p>	https://www.facebook.com/pages/Imo-State-Cultural-Welfare-Association-Germany/256552101057067?sk=timeline&ref=page_internal

Ndi-Igbo Bielefeld	Not clear	Main aim: Representing Igbo group interests in Germany. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A
Ndi-Igbo Bremen	Not clear	Main aim: Representing Igbo group interests in Germany. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A
Ndi-Igbo Düsseldorf	Not clear	Main aim: Representing Igbo group interests in Germany. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A
Ndi-Igbo Germany (NIG)	2012	Main aim: Represent Ndi-Igbo interests in Germany (Umbrella organization), encourage goodwill between Igbo peoples and Germans. Main activities: Cultural activities and group events. Meets with locations throughout Germany quarterly, cultural dance practice every 2 months, family barbeque, end of year party.	http://www.ndiigbogermany.de/index.php/en/home
Ndi-Igbo Giessen	Not clear	Main aim: Representing Igbo group interests in Germany. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A
Ndi-Igbo Hamburg	Not clear	Main aim: Representing Igbo group interests in Germany. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A
Ndi-Igbo Karlsruhe	Not clear	Main aim: Representing Igbo group interests in Germany. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A
Ndi-Igbo Mönchenglabach	Not clear	Main aim: Representing Igbo group interests in Germany. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A
Ndi-Igbo, Aachen	Not clear	Main aim: Representing Igbo group interests in Germany. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A

Nigerian Association Rhein/Main Area e.V.	Not clear	Main aim: Not clear. Main activities: Not clear	N/A
Nigerian Community Augsburg e.V.	1999	Main aim: Celebrating Yoruba and Igbo culture. Main activities: Maintaining and publishing traditional Nigerian cuisine costumes, music and dances. Quarterly meetings and a spring cultural festival.	http://www.nigeriancommunity-augsburg.com/
Nigerian Community Bayern Munich e.V.	Not clear	Main aim: Uniting Nigerians in Germany and fostering cooperation to develop Nigeria. Main activities: Not clear.	https://www.facebook.com/NigerianCommunityBayerMunichEvr9514
Nigerian Community Germany	1989	Main aim: Uniting Nigerians in Germany and fostering cooperation to develop Nigeria. Main activities: Reaching out to smaller Nigerian organizations in Germany to foster cooperation, encouraging FDI from Germany to Nigeria. Chapter meetings, advocacy for Nigerians in Germany, taking on specific cases of wrongdoing against Nigerians in Germany, organize demonstrations on issues in Nigeria (for example against Boko Haram).	http://nigeriancommunitygermany.com/
Nzuko Igbo Bergischeland	Not clear	Main aim: Not clear. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A
Nzuko Ndi Igbo Cologne e.V.	2001	Main aim: Promote Igbo culture in both Nigeria and Germany. Main activities: Advance Igbo people in both Nigeria and Germany, organize socio-cultural gatherings to promote exchange between German and Igbo culture, help members to integrate in Germany.	http://www.ndiigbocologne.com/en/
Nzuko Ndi Igbo Heilbronn e.V.	Not clear	Main aim: Promoting Igbo cultural heritage. Main activities: Not clear.	http://www.igbo-heilbronn.de/
Nzuko Ndigbo Ruhrgebiet e.V. Essen	1999	Main aim: Promote Igbo culture in Germany and unity and cooperation among Nigerians in Germany.	http://www.nzuko-ndigbo.org/

		Main activities: Cultural events, contributing to general welfare and assisting the needy in Nigeria.	
Nzuko Ndi-Igbo, Hannover	Not clear	Main aim: Not clear. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A
Nzuko Umuigbo, Osnabrück	Not clear	Main aim: Not clear. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A
Ondo and Ekiti State Progressiv Union of Nigeria in Hamburg e.V.	1982	Main aim: Helping disempowered or disadvantaged peoples. Main activities: Collects donations, provides material support for schools and hospitals.	http://www.ondoekitigermany.com/history.php
The African Tide Union e.V. Dortmund	2010	Main aim: Integration of African migrants into German culture while also celebrating African cultures. Main activities: Sewing project, holiday fund drive, international women's day, Nigeria-Germany business exchange.	http://www.africantide-union.de/
The Concerned Nigerians Germany	Not clear	Main aim: Advocating for Nigerians around the world and promoting Nigerian development. Main activities: Participates in demonstrations against the mistreatment of Nigerians, empowering Nigerians to request their human, civil and political rights.	http://www.concerned-nigerians.org/
The Fulbe Union (Baden-Württemberg) e.V.	Not clear	Main aim: Providing a platform for the Fulbe residents in Germany to meet and exchange ideas as well as to enable them communicate their culture to their host citizens in particular and to the public in general. Main activities: Singing Fulbe songs, promoting customs and practices in daily life and festivities, involve children in Fulbe cultural heritage, promote language.	http://www.fulbeunion.com/

DEVELOPMENT ORGANIZATIONS			
Name	Established	Main Aims and Activities	Web Address
African Union and Friends of Africa in Diaspora*	Not clear	<p>Main goal: Provide protection and support to IDPs in Nigeria through vocational training, education and health care support.</p> <p>Activities: Donating financial and monetary resources to Nigeria and running facilities and services in the country. Running an orphanage and school in Edo State, making financial and material donations, provide medical care and family planning, running a driving safety course, providing prostheses to amputees.</p>	http://www.aufadtryst.org/index.html
Akwa Mmiri e.V.*	2011	<p>Main aim: Provide living space for orphaned children and those from difficult family situations. Enable children to go to school in Nigeria.</p> <p>Activities: Financing children's education through donations and sponsorship, running a children's home to house homeless children and adolescents. Support ongoing operations and educational opportunities / sponsorships in the Children's Home, running a foundation for women/single parents, promoting education and training of nuns, constructing a meeting centre.</p>	http://www.ddlproject-germany.com/index.php/projekte/akwa-miri
Beginn e.V.*	2005	<p>Main aim: Helping the people of Nanka Nigeria by meeting educational and health needs.</p> <p>Activities: Sponsoring an orphanage and a leprosy colony in Nanka, Nigeria, asking for donations from members to support these projects. Providing occupational training programs, contributing financial resources for the maintenance of buildings and facilities, covering costs of medical care for people in Nigeria.</p>	http://www.beginn-ev.de/
Behindertenhilfe Nigeria	1989	<p>Main aim: Helping disabled and neglected Nigerians and opening dialogue between Germans and Nigerians.</p> <p>Main activities: Encouraging village businesses, erection of public water supplies, support of health centers, disabled centers and schools in addition to encouraging sponsorships of children from poor families.</p>	http://www.amankuta.de/

CLEAN-AFRICA e.V.	2008	<p>Main aim: To actively drive the promotion of sustainable development in Africa.</p> <p>Main activities: Creation of Sustainable Healthy Communities in Africa, through Socio-Economic and Environmental Empowerment by supporting those in disadvantaged areas in the communities where they are and making them sustainable.</p>	http://cleanafrica.org/clean/
Enyiduru - Projekt Nigeria e.V.	1996	<p>Main aim: Providing education and educational resources.</p> <p>Main activities: Finances school fees for some 70 Nigerian children, maintaining an education center, constructing/ maintaining a new elementary school, providing drinking water, providing hot school meals.</p>	http://www.enyiduru.de/
Förderkreis "Therapeutic Day Care Centre" Enugu/Nigeria e.V.	2002	<p>Main aim: Not clear.</p> <p>Main activities: Not clear.</p>	http://www.foerderkreis-tdcc.de/TDCC/Home.php5
Förderung internationaler Begegnung Reiki-Nigeria e.V.	1995	<p>Main aim: Maintenance of a Reiki clinic in Nigeria, also functions as an orphanage and educational center.</p> <p>Main activities: Sponsorship of children living in the orphanage, travel to the clinic.</p>	http://www.reiki-klinik-nigeria.com/deutsch.html
Förderverein St. Kizito's Gymnasium Nigeria e.V.	2011	<p>Main aim: Improving the St. Kizito school and providing educational opportunities for students.</p> <p>Main activities: Exchange, education, purchasing resources. Exchanges between Germany and Nigeria, providing opportunities for students to learn German, promoting environmental awareness.</p>	http://www.saintkizito.com/
Förderverein UDAMA - Kinder-Schulprojekt in Nigeria e.V.	2006	<p>Main aim: Builds and supports schools in Nigeria.</p> <p>Main activities: Collects donations in Germany to pay children's school fees in Nigeria. Supporting the students in the school.</p>	http://www.udama.de/

Hand in Hand - Nigeria Selbsthilfeprojekte	1999	<p>Main aim: Helping the people of Orlu by meeting labor, educational and health needs.</p> <p>Main activities: Projects to allow women to work, built a fountain, sponsorship of children, health center.</p>	http://www.menschen-leben-kirche.de/kirche-und-welt/nigeria-hand-in-hand/
Help Point International	Not clear	<p>Main aim: Not clear.</p> <p>Main activities: Not clear.</p>	N/A
Human & Environment e.V.	2002	<p>Main aim: Improve the living conditions of the rural poor in Nigeria.</p> <p>Main activities: Promoting a respectful and equal dialogue between people of African descent and Bremer population through course offerings, developmental information events of diverging "Africa" issues and participation in Bremen Development Policy Network (BEN). Donating goods and services to disadvantaged people in Nigeria.</p>	http://www.human-and-environment.org/index.html
Imole-Lichtstärke Hilfe Für Nigeria e.V.	2013	<p>Main aim: Not clear.</p> <p>Main activities: Not clear.</p>	N/A
Mircale's Hilfsprojekt	2011	<p>Main aim: Support disadvantaged children in Nigeria.</p> <p>Main activities: Advocating for development policy in Germany, financial and material donations from members and non-members. Bring children on the school bus to school, paying for children's school fees and school supplies, general support for children.</p>	http://www.miracle-hilfe.de/
Nigeria Hilfswerk e.V.	1968	<p>Main aim: Not clear.</p> <p>Main activities: Not clear.</p>	N/A
Stiftungs- und Förderverein zur Unterstützung der Ausbildungschancen von Kindern und Jugendlichen in Mbaise/Nigeria (SFV	2005	<p>Main aim: Improving educational and general life outcomes for children in Nigeria.</p> <p>Main activities: Support of schools, child sponsorship program, building and maintenance of a school, creating of a training workshop that offers a computer course. Support of schools, child sponsorship program, building and</p>	http://www.ausbildungshilfe-mbaise.de/

Ausbildungshilfe Mbaise/Afrika) e.V.		maintenance of a school, creating of a training workshop that offers a computer course.	
Third City Mission e.V.	1997	Main aim: Improve the lives of the urban and later rural poor in communities across Africa. Main activities: Rural income generating through cassava and vegetable production in five communities, Edo State of Nigeria.	N/A
Vater Abrahams Waisenhaus Lagos e.V.	2008	Main aim: Provide assistance to children without homes in Nigeria; enable children to go to school. Main activities: Financing children's education through donations and sponsorship, with a specific focus on children of widowed women. Sponsoring families that cannot afford school fees so that children can go to school. Running a children's home. Start-up funding for a small number of widowed women.	http://vaterabrahamswaisenhaus.de/
Organization identified as not based in Germany during interview (one of the co-founders lives in Germany)			
Maa-Bara Development Network	Maa-Bara Development Network	Maa-Bara Development Network	Maa-Bara Development Network

STUDENT ASSOCIATIONS AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

Name	Established	Main Aims and Activities	Web Address
Association of Nigerian Authors in Germany	Not clear	Main aim: Not clear. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A
Nigeria Union of Student Bielefeld Eviron	Not clear	Main aim: Uniting and caring for Nigerian students. Main activities: Information exchange between Nigerian students in Germany, promotion of the Nigerian image in Germany.	http://www.bielefeld-interkulturell.de/index.php?id=298
Nigerian Scholars in Germany	2013	Main aim: It is a body that provides an enabling and conducive platform for its members to connect with one another, exchange ideas and views on matters that concerns the interest of its members while also identifying and harnessing (Nigerian) talents for the betterment of Nigeria, its host country (Germany) and the world. Main activities: Networking seminars, cultural events, attending events of other diaspora groups.	http://nisig.de/ https://www.facebook.com/NigerianScholarsInGermany
Nigerian Students Hohenheim	2012	Main aim: Provide a networking platform for Nigerian students and to help new Nigerian students. Main activities: Networking seminars, cultural events and attending events of other diaspora groups.	https://www.facebook.com/NigerianStudentsHohenheim https://www.uni-hohenheim.de/institution/nigerian-students-association
Nigerians in Diaspora Organisation (Germany)	2004	Main aim: Nigerian national development. Main activities: Expert networking, societal advocacy, education, culture, healthcare, technological and economic empowerment projects.	http://www.nidogermany.org/
Ondo State Students' Union of Nigeria in Hamburg	Not clear	Main aim: Not clear. Main activities: Not clear.	https://www.facebook.com/pages/National-Association-of-Ondo-State-Students-National-Body-/158153497591101

POLITICAL ORGANIZATIONS

Name	Established	Main Aims and Activities	Web Address
Goodluck Support Group	Not clear	Main aim: Ensure that Goodluck Johnathan succeeds in his avowed determination to deliver high-value dividends of democracy to the people of Nigeria. Main activities: Not clear.	N/A

ANNEX 2: INTERVIEW GUIDE

A. Respondent Information

1. What year did you migrate to Germany?
2. What were the reasons for your migration?
3. What is your position in the organization? What does this position entail?
4. How long have you been in this role?
5. Can you tell me some details about the Nigerian Diaspora in Germany?
 - a. Is it homogeneous or heterogeneous (in terms of socio-economic factors, ethnicity, political aspirations, religion)
 - b. Are there strong ties/networks within the Nigerian diaspora in Germany, and in other countries?
 - c. What is the relationship to Nigeria? Are there strong connections? What is the relationship to the state?

B. Basic Organizational Information

1. In what year was this organization started? [*Potential follow-up/prompts: Have you been with the organization for much of/not much of its history? Have you seen it change much in the time you've been here?*]
2. Why was the organization started, and why at that time? [*In other words: What was the original purpose of the organization, and why did you/the creator of the organization decide to create an organization to meet that purpose?*]
3. What would you say is the goal or the “core mission” of the organization? Has it changed over time? [*Alternatively: Could you sum up your organization for me in one or two sentences? What is the essence of your organization?*]
4. What kind of organization do you consider [name of organization]? For instance, would you consider it a political organization, a professional network, a religious organization, etc.?
5. Is your organization registered?
 - a. As what kind of entity is your organization registered? [Example: Non-profit organization, non-governmental organization, limited liability company, microfinance firm, etc.]
6. Is your organization listed in some kind of public registry, like on a business registry or an organization roster from the embassy/consulate of Nigeria? If someone was interested in finding your organization, how could they do it?
7. Is the organization part of any larger networks of organizations, like an umbrella organization for all Nigerian diaspora organizations, or a transnational migrant platform, or something similar? Why or why not?

C. Overview of Organization Structure

1. What is your organization's structure? Is there a board of directors, steering committee, or any other type of strategic decision-making body?
 - a. If there is a strategic decision-making body, who sits on it? [*In other words: what kind of people with what kinds of interests lead the organization?*]
 - b. How are these positions chosen?
2. Does your organization have staff? *If yes:*
 - a. How many?
 - b. Are they temporary or permanent?
 - c. What functions do the staff have? [For instance, is there a financial manager, a director, a volunteer coordinator, a project coordinator, etc.?]
 - d. What kinds of time commitments does the organization's staff have? Are they full-time, part-time, or a mix?
 - e. Are the staff volunteers, or are they paid?
 - f. What is turn-over like of staff? [*In other words: is there the chance for institutional memory to build up, or is staff turnover high?*]
3. What is the size of your organization's membership (excluding staff)? Does this include both active and inactive members? (What is the size of both groups?)
4. Is the size of your membership consistent, or does it fluctuate?
5. What is the composition of your membership? What is the distribution in terms of:
 1. Gender
 2. Age
 3. Generation (e.g., first, second, etc.)
 4. Ethnic group
 5. Other characteristic [Education or skill level]
6. What kind of members does your organization want to attract?
7. How does someone become a member of your organization?
8. How is your organization financed?

D. Current Organization Activities

1. What do you consider the main purpose of the organization?
2. What does your organization do? Could you say more about its core activities? [Prompt: Does your organization have fund-raising events, and if so, for what causes? Does your organization have a mentorship program? How does your organization engage with the wider Nigerian community?]
3. Have these core activities changed over time?
4. Where do these activities take place? For instance, are some activities run exclusively from Germany while others take place in Nigeria?
5. Why have these activities become the focus of your organization? What inspired these activities?

6. Aside from these “core activities”, what other sorts of actions or events does your organization take part in? [Alternate formulation: In a typical year, what activities will your organization have carried out?]
7. Are any of your organization’s activities run in cooperation with other organizations or institutions, either in Germany or somewhere else? If so, which ones and how? [*In other words: does your organization cooperate with others to execute certain activities?*]
8. Do you cooperate with other Nigerian organizations? Why or why not?
9. How does your organization interact with stakeholders in Nigeria? Does your organization support any specific group in Nigeria?
10. How do your members interact with the organization and with each other? [For instance, are there member meetings, and if so, when do they occur? Is there an internet platform?]

E. Future Plans

1. What would you like to see the organization achieve in the future? [For instance, what are its short/medium/long-term goals?]
2. Is there anything that would stop your organization from reaching these achievements? [*In other words: What are its key challenges/obstacles?*]
3. Do you (or the leadership of the organization) have specific plans for the organization in the near future?
 - a. Do these plans represent a new direction for the organization or a departure from what you’re doing now? [*If so: what inspired you to make these plans?*]
 - b. Is there anything specific you (or the organization) will need to make these plans a reality? [For instance, will the organization need its membership to grow? Will the organization need an institutional partner in the home country?]
4. Do you see potentials for cooperation with the German Development Cooperation (For instance, BMZ, GIZ)?
5. If yes, through which means/forms?
6. Is there anyone else in the organization who you think I should speak with?