“Africa’s Secret Weapon?”: A Case Study of Diaspora-Homeland Collaborations in Nigerian Higher Education

By

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Abstract

Diaspora-homeland academic collaborations have become a central concern for key stakeholders in Nigerian higher education and international development organizations because they view the intellectual diaspora as a potential solution to long-standing educational issues. Yet relatively little is known about these collaborations from the perspective of participating scholars. This dissertation begins to fill this void by examining the role of diaspora-homeland collaborations in the capacity building and internationalization of Nigerian higher education. Based on a qualitative, multi-sited case study, entailing the use of interviews, observations, document analysis, and a survey with U.S.- and Nigeria-based scholars, this study explores motivating factors for participating in diaspora engagement initiatives, participants' experiences within these initiatives, and the challenges such efforts face and produce.

My findings indicate that diaspora-homeland collaborations are perceived to yield positive results in terms of capacity building and internationalization at Nigerian universities. My study also highlights the centrality of competitiveness and social capital in shaping motivations for and experiences participating in these collaborations. Further, my findings suggest that diaspora-homeland initiatives encounter and generate challenges that jeopardize their efficacy. Based on my research, I argue that while participants generally perceive their engagements to be effective, failure to address foundational challenges threatens the success and sustainability of these initiatives and may perpetuate Nigerian universities' dependence on external interventions and leave them further marginalized in the global knowledge economy. The study contributes to the conceptualization of diaspora-homeland higher education collaborations and provides significant insights for policymakers and academic partners who want to approach them

in ways that are mutually beneficial and do not exacerbate inequalities between scholars and institutions.

Dedication

In loving memory of my father, Barrister E. Kalu Ejibe (1940-2013). You are ever-present in my heart. Even in your absence, your affirmations keep me grounded.

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Chapter 1: Introduction and Context

The African diaspora is heralded by many as "Africa's secret weapon" for the development of the continent (Kajunju, 2013). While literature on the contributions of the African diaspora often focuses on their financial remittances, international development actors, African governments, and African universities have, in recent years, increasingly recognized the diaspora's potential for "intellectual remittances," which they seek to harness for higher education development, knowledge production, and internationalization, defined here as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (Knight, 2003, p. 2). Despite the increasing centrality of diaspora engagement in international educational development efforts, little is known empirically about the challenges and successes experienced in such projects. This multi-sited, qualitative case study seeks to examine the role of the U.S.-based African diaspora in the capacity building and internationalization of higher education in Nigeria and the implications of diaspora engagement for Nigeria's place in the "global knowledge economy."

Problem Statement

Due to years of neglect and internationally-enforced disinvestment (Fischer & Lindow, 2008; Teferra, 2013; Jaumont, 2016), higher education institutions that played vital roles in development in other regions were stifled in African countries, such as Nigeria (Collins, 2013). Today, the higher education systems of many African countries are still struggling to recover from the extensive resource cuts and the related mass emigration of African academics to the United States and Europe. These factors, among others, have severely impaired Africa's higher education infrastructure, capacity, funding, and student enrollment, making it difficult for African

institutions to compete in the knowledge economy (Teferra, 2008a; Zeleza, 2013). In Nigeria, for example, the higher education sector is unable to accommodate its rapidly growing population, and a rising number of Nigerian students are pursuing higher education abroad (UNESCO Institute for Statistics, 2018). Even with an admission rate of less than 20 percent (Akinyemi & Bassey, 2012), Nigerian universities have an average student to staff ratio of 40:1 (Tettey, 2010, Abiodun-Oyebanji, 2012) due to a dearth of qualified academic staff. As this example demonstrates, there are considerable supply, demand, and resource constraints, which together are leading to extensive "brain drain" and lack of internal capacity to generate knowledge for development.

Amid growing international concerns about the condition of African universities and their ability to produce knowledge, which is widely regarded as a necessity for development (Mohamoud, 2005), many U.S. foundations are re-engaging in efforts to support higher education capacity-building in Africa. As foreign aid has proven problematic and insufficient to address long-standing educational development challenges (Moyo, 2009), they have turned to diaspora-led initiatives as a potential solution to the challenge of sustainable development.

The Global Migration Group, consisting of 17 United Nations (UN) agencies, the World Health Organization (WHO), the International Organization for Migration (IOM), and the World Bank, was formed in 2006 to leverage international migration for development. In 2011, the World Bank published *Diaspora for Development in Africa* (Plaza & Ratha, 2011), which explored the merits of African diaspora engagement and provided recommendations for increased diaspora-driven development. The same year, the U.S. Department of State, in partnership with USAID and the Calvert Foundation, initiated the International diaspora Engagement Alliance (IdEA), which promotes and supports diaspora-centered initiatives for social and economic

development. In 2013, the IOM, as part of its Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA) program, launched its "3Es for Action" campaign "to enable, engage and empower transnational communities as agents for development" (IOM). This campaign was well-aligned with MIDA's goal of leveraging diaspora engagement to facilitate development in their countries of origin (Ndiaye et al., 2011).

The Carnegie Corporation of New York currently funds four diaspora intervention initiatives in Africa, one of which is the Carnegie African Diaspora Fellowship Program (CADFP), established in 2013, which connects African diaspora academics based in the United States and Canada with higher education institutions in their home continent for the purpose of curriculum development, graduate student and junior faculty mentoring, and collaborative research (Moock & Namuddu, 2017). In collaboration with the Citizens and Diaspora Directorate (CIDO) of the African Union and with funding from the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Institute of African Studies at Carleton University (Canada) organized a continental forum on the role of the diaspora in higher education, research, and innovation in Africa in November 2019, which convened a variety of stakeholders[1] of African higher education to discuss diaspora engagement in African higher education. Many of these efforts focus on the role the diaspora can play in supporting educational development, specifically through higher education-focused initiatives.

In addition to international actors, continental stakeholders have made noteworthy efforts to engage the diaspora for development. In 2003, the African Union Commission (AUC) recognized the diaspora as the "Sixth Region of Africa," and the organization has since launched

[1] Stakeholders present at the forum included homeland and diaspora scholars, diaspora-exchange program administrators, African government officials, higher education leaders, and AU Commission representatives.

numerous regional and international initiatives to mobilize the diaspora for socio-economic development on the continent (Kamei, 2011). In light of the challenges that characterize many educational systems across the continent, the AUC established a Continental Education Strategy for Africa spanning 2016-2025 (CESA 16-25) with the goal of generating human capital to drive sustainable development on the continent and help it become a competitive player in the global knowledge economy. CESA 16-25 recognizes the diaspora as a resource which should be mobilized to help achieve that goal.

Across the African continent, several countries (e.g., Nigeria, Ethiopia, Ghana, and South Africa) have implemented national policies and initiatives to attract highly-skilled members of the diaspora back to their home countries to serve in teaching, research, and administrative roles. In 2007, Nigeria's National Universities Commission (NUC) established the Linkages with Experts and Academics in the Diaspora Scheme (LEADS) to support the federal government's goal of transforming the higher education sector and mitigating brain drain. Furthermore, in 2014, Nigeria collaborated with the International Organization for Migration (IOM) to administer a national survey with the aim of identifying and recruiting members of the Nigerian diaspora in the education field to contribute to the development of the Nigerian education sector.

At the institutional level, several African universities actively attempt to recruit diaspora scholars to participate in higher education capacity-building efforts. The University of Ghana, Witwatersrand University (South Africa), and Kwara State University (Nigeria), for example, progressively pursue linkages with diaspora scholars for higher education capacity building and internationalization. The increasing centrality of diaspora engagement in higher education development initiatives warrants an assessment of the effectiveness of diaspora-homeland

academic collaborations and an analysis of both homeland and diaspora scholars' experiences in those collaborations. National and institutional initiatives in Nigeria, along with the country's status as both the top country of origin for African-born immigrants in the United States (Echeverria-Estrada & Batalova, 2019) and the most popular destination country for formal diaspora-homeland higher education partnerships in Africa (Moock & Namuddu, 2017), make Nigeria a prime site for studying diaspora engagement in African higher education.

Introduction of the Study

This project draws on anthropological and sociological studies of education, development, and diaspora as well as decolonial thinking, which recognizes the "colonial entanglements of knowledge" (Takayama, Sriprakash, & Connell, 2016), challenges western epistemic hegemony, and encourages epistemic diversity. This study foregrounds the perspectives of U.S.-based diaspora scholars and Nigeria-based scholars in an examination of diaspora-homeland higher education collaborations and their implications for capacity development and internationalization at Nigerian institutions. It employs a decolonial lens to make visible the colonial legacies and present-day manifestations of coloniality (Mignolo, 2012) in Nigerian higher education spaces and in diaspora-homeland interactions.

Few scholars have explored the engagement of the African academic diaspora in higher education in Africa. Teferra (2010) suggests that "Northern"-based African diaspora scholars may be a bridge between their institutions in their countries of residence, which purportedly generate and disseminate knowledge from the "core," and those in their countries of origin, which are often in the intellectual, political, and economic "periphery." Findings from Zeleza's (2013) studies on the topic indicate that diaspora academics play an important role in the

internationalization of African higher education by facilitating academic mobility of students and scholars and, in some cases, contributing to technological innovations and resource generation for African universities. However, their desire to engage with African higher education institutions is often hindered by a variety of institutional and societal barriers, such as inadequate organizational infrastructure, lack of financial and administrative support, and impractical expectations. Both scholars highlight the inherent inequality in these diaspora-homeland partnerships, which mirror the inequalities between nations and institutions in the "global North" and "global South.[2]"

Research Questions

Guided by a critical constructivist paradigm and a decolonial lens, this study addresses the central research question: What is the role of diaspora engagement in the capacity strengthening and internationalization of higher education in Nigeria? More specifically, I explore the following sub-questions:

1. What factors motivate scholars' participation in diaspora-homeland collaborations, and what are the perceived effects of diaspora engagement on internationalization and capacity strengthening at Nigerian universities?

2. What are the experiences of scholars engaged in diaspora-homeland collaborations, and how do Nigeria-based scholars perceive and receive diaspora scholars, and vice-versa?

3. What challenges do diaspora-homeland higher education initiatives face and present?

[2] My use of the terms "North" and "South" reflects the terms frequently used in international partnership literature to "highlight geo-economic differences" and does not seek to reinforce colonial geographical hierarchies (Mlambo & Baxter, 2018, p. 34).

To answer these questions, I conducted a Nigeria- and U.S-based qualitative case study from October 2018 to November 2019. Data collection included in-depth interviews, participant observations, document analysis, and a survey.

My research findings indicate that homeland scholars were primarily motivated to participate in diaspora-homeland collaborations by the prospect of improving their competitiveness and visibility, whereas diaspora scholars' participation was largely driven by the desire to "give back" to their place of origin. Generally, participants viewed their collaborations as an effective means to promote internationalization and capacity building at Nigerian institutions. I also found that diaspora scholars' insider-outsider positionality shaped their experiences in and perceptions of these initiatives as well as how homeland scholars perceived and received them. Additionally, my findings reveal that diaspora-homeland initiatives face several (financial and infrastructural, and relational) challenges and not only fail to adequately address the issues but, in some cases, exacerbate them, thereby leaving Nigerian institutions further disadvantaged in the global higher education economy.

Overall, I argue that although diaspora-homeland collaborations are generally perceived to yield positive results in terms of capacity building and internationalization, the success and sustainability of these initiatives are jeopardized by their failure to address foundational issues and the absence of an institutional-level or systemic focus. Drawing on decolonial theory, I further posit that the notion of diaspora as development is founded on coloniality, which recognizes the diaspora as agents of development while failing to acknowledge (and sometimes suppressing) the agency of homeland scholars. The presence of coloniality in diaspora-homeland

collaborations, therefore, perpetuates deficit-based perceptions of homeland scholars and institutions.

Significance of the Study

This study contributes to the limited existing literature on diaspora engagement in African higher education. It provides a valuable contribution to the understanding of how Nigerian institutions can engage in collaborative development and internationalization efforts in ways that do not leave them further marginalized in the "global knowledge economy." It also adds to the conceptualization of this understudied phenomenon and offers a deeper understanding of the dynamics between local and diaspora scholars as well as other aspects of their experiences. This study provides data for the development of institutional and national diaspora-related educational policies and practices as well as international diaspora engagement initiatives. This research generates recommendations for Nigerian universities and international organizations supporting diaspora-homeland academic partnerships on how to optimize them and improve their sustainability. As such, the study may inform future institutional and national diaspora-related educational policies and practices as well as international diaspora engagement initiatives. While recognizing the heterogeneity of Africa and its higher education systems, I contend that insights derived from this case study of diaspora engagement in the Nigerian higher education system may be applicable to other African contexts with similar colonial backgrounds and contemporary sociopolitical and economic issues that have influenced their educational systems and positioned them at the margins of the global knowledge economy.

Research Context

To facilitate a clear understanding of the context in which this study took place, this section provides a historical overview of contemporary higher education in Africa and its colonial ties. It then situates Nigerian higher education within that broader landscape to demonstrate how the colonial legacy shaped the country's higher education system and continues to manifest in various ways that diminish Nigerian institutions and their scholars' intellectual contributions.

Regional Overview: History of Contemporary Higher Education in Africa

Higher education in Africa predates colonial rule (Teferra & Altbach, 2003; Teferra, 2008a; Jowi, 2009; Collins, 2013; Teferra, 2016); the University of Timbuktu in present-day Mali is one example of Africa's ancient higher education institutions[3] (Teferra & Altbach, 2003; Teferra, 2008a). The traditional forms of education that preceded European invasion and occupation of Africa became casualties of colonization. Colonial powers were generally against education in their colonies except for the purpose of upholding a colonial, Eurocentric agenda. They feared that educating the colonized would ultimately lead to a rebellion against colonialism (Teferra, 2007).

In what Teferra (2008a) refers to as the Europeanization of higher education in Africa, some colonial powers—mainly the British—established western-style institutions in their colonies. The flagship universities now known as Makerere University (Uganda) and University of Ibadan (Nigeria) were among several higher education institutions established in British colonial Africa. The formation of these institutions marked the beginning of contemporary higher

[3] Other examples are Al-Azhar University in Egypt and the University of Al-Karaouine in Morocco.

education in Africa (Collins, 2013). In creating these universities, colonial powers sought to further control their subjects through the use of a colonial language of instruction as well as curricula and books that represented and reinforced their oppressive ideologies (Teferra, 2008a). The legacy of colonialism is evident in present-day educational systems across Africa as higher education is still heavily influenced by the policies imposed by foreign powers during the colonial era. Most higher education institutions in Africa are modeled after the system of their former European colonizers and continue to use a colonial language as the language of instruction (Teferra, 2008a).

The establishment of many premier universities in Africa generally occurred in close proximity to independence, which was in or around 1960 for most former colonies (Wolhuter & Wiseman, 2013). Higher education in this era was highly prioritized and generously funded by the newly-independent states as well as external sources, such as development foundations and donor agencies (Sehoole, 2008; Teferra, 2013). This was known as the golden age of African higher education (Semali, Baker, & Freer, 2013). However, the prioritization and liberal funding were short-lived and soon upended by social, economic, and political instability in many post-independence African states (e.g., Nigeria, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and Angola). The educational sector in these countries was not spared the brutal and detrimental effects of these issues. While some higher education systems on the continent were still recovering from the effects of their nation's civil war(s), political unrest, and other devastating circumstances, they received another blow.

In the 1980s and 1990s, higher education in Africa was drastically defunded[4] following the World Bank's erroneous report purporting that primary education would yield a higher rate of return on investment than higher education and be more impactful for poverty reduction (Teferra, 2013; Koehn & Obamba, 2014). International development organizations subsequently pushed forward a development agenda focused on primary education, cut their funding to higher education in Africa, and—through structural adjustment programs imposed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank—restricted African nations from investing in their own higher education systems (Teferra, 2008a; Mugimu, 2009; Robertson, 2009; Teferra, 2013; Jaumont, 2016).

Collins (2013) argues that owing to the inaccurate assessment of the World Bank, institutions that had been critical for the development of other regions were repressed in Africa. Certainly, other factors, such as the mass exodus of African academics, neoliberal policies, and the mismanagement of funds by government officials (Semali et al., 2013), have had a negative impact on higher education in Africa, but Teferra maintains that the decision to defund higher education has been the most impactful on the current state of Africa's institutions, which are still reeling from the effects of that ill-fated decision. Later studies would disprove the World Bank's report, but by then extensive damage had already been done to higher education in Africa (Teferra, 2013; Koehn & Obamba, 2014). Among other factors, the years of financial neglect eroded the capacity of African higher education institutions in Africa and left many of them fragile and unequipped to meet the demands of their rapidly growing student population (Semali et al., 2013).

[4] See Figure 4 on p. 147 for an overview of education budget allocations in Nigeria over the years.

Attempts to strengthen the capacity of African higher education institutions through international collaborations should take into consideration the historical and contemporary factors that have directly or indirectly shaped institutional conditions and capacity. Some of the challenges that plague African institutions—and diaspora-homeland collaborations—emanate from deep-rooted issues that can be traced back to the colonial era. It is, therefore, imperative to understand how colonialism has shaped education on the continent and how the presence of coloniality in the global knowledge economy leaves African institutions marginalized and undervalued.

National Context: Colonial Legacy of Higher Education in Nigeria

Fajana (1972) describes the tumultuous journey to the establishment of a university in Nigeria. The "self-interest" of the British empire was explicitly at odds with the "nationalist aspirations" of Nigerians and other West Africans living under British colonial rule (p. 323). British colonialists believed that the purpose of education in the colonies was to train those who would assist them in governing the colonies (Fajana, 1972; Teferra, 2008a; Collins, 2013) and whose education would not erode their subservience. Nigerians, on the other hand, desired a university of equal academic standards as those in Britain (Fajana, 1972). The colonizers opposed the establishment of a university in Nigeria and other West African colonies because it posed "a great risk to their own tenure and they were certainly not prepared to allow Africans to displace them in their enviable positions as masters" (p. 329).

In the late 19th century, a combination of Nigerian nationalist and Pan-Africanist agitators proposed the creation of a university in Nigeria, but it was not until 1932 that the country saw the establishment of Yaba College and subsequently University College, Ibadan (UCI)—which was

affiliated with the University of London—in 1948. Heyward-Rotimi and Owoeye (2018) explain that the establishment of higher education institutions in Nigeria "was not a philanthropic gesture nor one to support Nigerians' pursuit of knowledge. It was an extension of remote management through British indirect rule" (p. 223). Poloma and Szelényi (2018) add that the British educational policies were steeped in "racist and colonial ideologies" (p. 6). Unfortunately, even the realization of a university in Nigeria was bittersweet as the institution quickly launched discriminatory policies and practices that rendered it yet another site of subjugation for Nigerians. For instance, UCI reportedly paid Nigerian staff members less than Europeans with comparable qualifications (Fajana, 1972, p. 339). In 1962, UCI became a full-fledged university, now known as the University of Ibadan (one of my research sites for this study).

Since its independence in 1960, Nigeria's higher education system has experienced many changes. As the first Nigerian head of state, Nnamdi Azikiwe sought to redress the British colonial legacy in the nation's higher education system by turning to American higher education models, specifically land grant institutions and historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs) (Poloma & Szelényi, 2018). Azikiwe's view of the U.S. as a potential "antidote" to the legacy of British coloniality led to the "uncritical adaptation of US curricular and pedagogical approaches"—what Poloma and Szelényi describe as the Americanization of African higher education—thereby further entrenching coloniality into Nigerian higher education (ibid., p. 10). As the self-appointed, lifetime vice-chancellor of the University of Nigeria, Nsukka (UNN), Azikiwe's influence was particularly visible at that institution. In light of the growing "critical racial consciousness and national identity among Nigerians…accompanied by the rejection of Euro-American cultural domination" (p. 12), Azikiwe called for the Nigerianization of the curriculum,

pushing for the inclusion of indigenous history, culture, and faculty. These indigenization efforts were cut short by the military coup in 1966, which overthrew Azikiwe's government and precipitated the Nigerian civil war (1967–1970).

From the 1960s through the 1980s, Nigerian universities had a reputation of excellence at home and abroad (Jibril & Obaje, 2008; Otonko, 2012). Due to some of the aforementioned factors—including the defunding of African higher education—and repressive military regimes, they have not consistently maintained that reputation throughout the years. Since its early days, Nigeria's higher education system has expanded exponentially; it is now comprised of 44 federal, 48 state, and 79 private institutions (National Universities Commission). In spite of this growth, the system is still grappling with the aftermath of colonialism and the ways in which it geo-political hierarchies have contributed to its marginalization in the global knowledge economy.

Overview of Chapters

The purpose of this study is to understand the role of diaspora-homeland collaborations in the revitalization of higher education in Nigeria. This study applies a decolonial lens to make visible the colonial legacies present in Nigerian higher education, the global knowledge economy, and between academic institutions and scholars in the global North and global South. The following chapter (Chapter 2) reviews the relevant bodies of literature and the concepts that ground this study. In Chapter 3, I describe the research sites as well as the study design and methodology.

The next three analytical chapters directly address the research questions. Chapter 4 explores the factors that motivate participation in diaspora-homeland collaborations and demonstrates that participants perceive the initiatives as effective catalysts for capacity building

and internationalization. My research findings indicate that homeland scholars' primary motivating factor for participation in diaspora-homeland collaborations was the prospect of improving their global competitiveness and visibility. Diaspora scholars, on the other hand, were motivated by the desire to "give back" to their place of origin and, to a certain extent, the desire to gain access to homeland scholars' local expertise and recruit international students. Generally, participants viewed their collaborations as an effective means to promote internationalization and capacity building at Nigerian institutions. Based on these findings, this chapter argues that motivating factors for participants in these initiatives are largely rooted in cooperation and competitiveness, two central paradigms of internationalization (van der Wende, 2001; Rumbley et al., 2012; Wadhwa, 2016). The findings presented in this chapter draw on and contribute to existing literature on internationalization of higher education and migration and development.

Chapter 5 posits that dynamic notions of home, belonging, and identity shape participants' expectations and experiences in diaspora-homeland collaborations. In this chapter, I describe participants' experiences in diaspora-homeland higher education initiatives and explore the implications of diaspora scholars' insider-outsider positionalities for these collaborations. Data presented in this chapter illustrate how participants' perceived identities are framed as facilitating or limiting factors for diaspora-homeland initiatives. The chapter also draws on social capital theory to highlight the role of the diaspora in connecting Nigerian institutions to various resources and how perceptions of social capital and proximity to power, often linked to the diaspora's outsider positionality, can influence participants' experiences in the collaborations.

In Chapter 6, my findings indicate that actors' and stakeholders' high hopes of achieving sustainable educational development through diaspora engagement may be overly optimistic. This chapter discusses the ways in which financial, infrastructural, and relational challenges shape the collaborations and the extent to which the diaspora engagement initiatives address or potentially exacerbate them. Here, I argue that failure to adequately address foundational issues in Nigerian higher education contributes to the limited success and sustainability of diaspora-homeland collaborations.

Chapter 7 concludes this dissertation with a summary of the research findings, which are expounded upon in the preceding chapters. My findings reveal that diaspora-homeland collaborations are generally perceived to yield positive results in terms of capacity building and internationalization at Nigerian (and U.S.) universities. However, both the success of these initiatives and their sustainability are uncertain due to varying measures of success among involved actors and the individual-level emphasis of the interventions with little to no institutional-level or systemic focus. Based on these findings, I then describe the implications for theory, policy, and practice, providing recommendations for key actors engaged in diaspora mobilization on ways to approach these collaborations more productively. Ultimately, I posit that diaspora-homeland collaborations must take a reparative approach, which explicitly acknowledges and seeks to address inherent inequalities between North and South partners.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

This chapter provides a review of the relevant bodies of literature and the concepts that ground this study on the role of diaspora-homeland collaborations in the internationalization and capacity building of higher education in Nigeria. I begin with an overview of the literature on higher education and development to lay the groundwork for understanding African higher education institutions' standing in the global knowledge economy and the position from which they approach diaspora-homeland collaborations and other internationalization initiatives. I then review scholarship on migration and development, paying special attention to the concepts of transnationalism and diaspora. Next, I review literature on internationalization of higher education. To do this, I trace the evolution of internationalization as a concept and a practice, highlighting the ways in which coloniality materializes in the form of deeply-rooted inequalities in the internationalization process. Collectively, the scholarly works and concepts included in this literature review provide a framework for understanding how they shape my inquiry and where this study is situated within those bodies of literature.

Higher Education and Development

Historically, higher education was highly valued in Africa, where ancient higher education institutions preceded colonial rule (Teferra & Altbach, 2003; Teferra, 2008a; Jowi, 2009; Collins, 2013; Teferra, 2016). Even as European colonizers leveled traditional forms of education on the continent and introduced western forms of education that reinforced a colonial agenda, Africans clamored for the establishment of higher education institutions in their countries (Fajana, 1972). During the colonial era, education was central to the inculcation of oppressive colonial ideologies. In the wake of independence, "Africanizing" and expanding (or establishing) their higher

education system was part of the post-independence development strategy for some African countries (Sehoole, 2008; Weeks, 2008; Jowi, 2009; Teferra, 2013). Africanization entailed adopting strategies that would promote national pride and replacing foreign lecturers with local staff (Weeks, 2008). Higher education in this era enjoyed high prioritization and generous funding, but this was short-lived. Internationally-enforced disinvestment in higher education—along with the social, political, and economic issues that African countries had to grapple with—triggered catastrophic effects for the development of African higher education (Teferra, 2013).

African universities are still reeling from the detrimental effects of the decision to defund higher education in the 1980s and 1990s—a decision based on the erroneous report stating that primary education would yield a higher rate of return than tertiary education. By pushing forward an agenda focused on primary education, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and other major funders restricted African nations from investing in their higher education systems (Teferra, 2013b; Jaumont, 2016; Fischer & Lindow, 2008). Today, international development organizations and other international actors acknowledge the central role of higher education in knowledge production and development. Amid growing international concerns about the condition of African universities and their ability to produce knowledge for development, many development organizations are now engaged in efforts to support higher education development in Africa.

Ultimately, the World Bank's invalid report was disproven by subsequent studies, but extensive damage had already been done (Teferra, 2013; Collins, 2013; Koehn & Obamba, 2014). African higher education institutions had been repressed due to the lack of funding and mass emigration of scholars (Collins, 2013), and in their fragile state, they were unable to meet the

demands of their growing population (Semali et al., 2013). In recent years, educational efforts have shifted back to higher education, which is now regularly cited as a means to achieve socio-economic development.

Owing to the rise of the knowledge economy in the late 1990s and early 2000s (Sehoole, 2008; Collins, 2013; Teferra, 2013), higher education reemerged as one of the most significant determinants of social and economic development (Mohamoud, 2005; Collins, 2013; Teferra, 2013; Jaumont, 2016). Due to this reemergence and the recognition of universities as sites of knowledge production, African universities are now attracting significant interest from international development actors (e.g., U.S. foundations and the World Bank) who believe that improving higher education on the continent will improve its development potential (Fischer & Lindow, 2008; Jowi, 2009). In spite of this increased interest, sustainable educational development has proven to be elusive. While student enrollment in African universities has grown exponentially in the past 20 years (Jaumont, 2016), development of higher education systems on the continent has not matched this pace.

Several efforts have been undertaken for the purpose of facilitating higher education development in Africa. One such effort is the establishment of the Partnership for Higher Education (PHEA). In 2000, a group of U.S.-based foundations[5] collaborated to form PHEA with the goal of supporting higher education development in selected African countries[6] through

[5] The PHEA was initially comprised of these four foundations: the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the MacArthur Foundation, and the Carnegie Corporation of New York. The Hewlett Foundation, the Mellon Foundation, and the Kresge Foundation later joined the consortium.

[6] The nine countries selected to receive support from the PHEA were: Egypt, Ghana, Kenya, Madagascar, Mozambique, Nigeria, South Africa, Tanzania, and Uganda.

curriculum reform, faculty and staff training, and other capacity-building initiatives (Matos, 2006; Teferra, 2013). The coalition pledged $100 million over a five-year period (Teferra, 2007). By the time the partnership concluded two five-year phases and disbanded in 2010, it had spent $350 million providing financial support to 49 universities across Africa (Teferra, 2013). The PHEA had hoped to address issues such as poor infrastructure, low educational quality, and weak institutional management. While it is debatable whether the consortium's joint contributions over the years led to sustainable development in all of those areas (Shabani, 2008), its educational technology initiative was quite successful in improving access to and integration of information and communication technology (ICT) at select African universities (Atuahene, 2013). Uncertainties about the sustainable effects of such a massive, decade-long effort reinforce existing questions about how to achieve sustainable educational development. As those questions persist, so do the efforts.

Supported by recommendations from the African Union, the British Council, and other organizations, the United Nations (UN) moved to include higher education in the post-2015 development agenda[7] (Friesenhahn, 2014). Furthermore, the turn to "knowledge-driven economic growth" (World Bank, 2002, p. 23) has prompted international and continental actors and stakeholders to invest in highly-skilled members of the African diaspora as drivers of educational, and ultimately socio-economic, development in African countries. Several of these investments are described in the preceding chapter (Introduction). Informed by this body of literature, I approach my research with the understanding that sustainable development has

[7] The 2030 sustainable development goals (SDGs) include a target to ensure equal and affordable access to technical, vocational, and tertiary education (UN).

been a consistent challenge for African higher education systems. My study of homeland-diaspora collaborations in Nigerian higher education generates insights to inform the ways in which these initiatives may be leveraged more effectively for sustainable and equitable higher education development.

Migration and Development

As evidenced in the previous section, higher education is generally considered a critical factor in lasting economic growth. Hence, the migration of highly-educated people is arguably extremely detrimental to their home countries (Rizvi, 2005). Dumont (2012) states that Africa loses an average of 10.2 percent of its highly-educated population to emigration per year, making brain drain is a serious threat to Africa's attempts to become a valued contributor to the global knowledge network (Jowi, 2009). Additionally, the depletion of Africa's highly educated population will lead to an even greater crisis for African higher education institutions already struggling with a shortage of qualified faculty.

Knight (2008c) maintains that African nations and universities have attempted to mitigate brain drain and its effects but have not had much success. Increasingly, they are turning to Africans in the diaspora in hopes of turning brain drain to brain circulation. In response to emigration-induced brain drain, several African countries and universities, often with international support, are creating or strengthening diaspora networks in an attempt to reverse effects of brain drain by encouraging brain circulation, the transnational flow of human talent between countries (Welch & Zhen, 2008; Glick Schiller et al., 1995; Tung, 2008), through the transnational engagement of their citizens living in the diaspora.

Transnationalism

Glick Schiller et al. (1992) define transnationalism as "the process by which immigrants build social fields that link together their country of origin and their country of settlement" (p. 1). Waldinger (2013) adds that,

> Immigrants are so often in-between here and there, keeping touch with and trying to remain true to the people and places that they have left behind, while simultaneously shifting loyalties and allegiances to the place where they actually live. (p. 770)

There is a general consensus among scholars of transnationalism that the concept "represents a novel perspective, not a novel phenomenon" (Portes, 2003, p. 874). Existing literature conveys a shift in the rhetoric about immigrant transnationalism. While early studies framed the phenomenon as being negative and detrimental to the full integration of immigrants into the U.S. society, more recent studies have validated it as an asset capable of creating a bridge between the countries of origin and settlement and transforming brain drain, a permanent loss for the country of origin, to brain circulation.

By conducting a comparative ethnography of transnational immigrants from St. Vincent, Grenada, Haiti, and the Philippines, Glick Schiller et al. (1995) examined factors that induced transnational engagement and the subsequent effects across diverse groups (p. 48). They identify racism in the U.S. as a factor that instills a sense of political and economic insecurity in immigrants and drives them to seek a form of security by maintaining connections to their home countries. The authors also cite nation-building projects in both the home and host country as a factor that fosters transnationalism by demanding the political loyalty of immigrants to the countries with which they maintain ties. They posit that immigrant transnationalism is a response by immigrants who find "full incorporation" into their host countries undesirable or impossible (p. 52). Portes

(2003) acknowledges that immigrant incorporation influences transnational engagement but also counters Glick Schiller et al.'s (1995) characterization of transnational immigrants , stating that "assimilation" and transnationalism are not in conflict "since it is often the better established and more secure immigrants who engage in these activities" (p. 887). Portes (2001; 2003) further claims that, due in part to the anthropological research methods employed by earlier researchers, the prevalence of the phenomenon was overstated; more recent quantitative studies (Portes et al., 2001; Guarnizo & Portes, 2001) have quantified the existence of transnationalism among immigrants and clarified that not all immigrants are transmigrants,[8] as the majority of them do not regularly engage in transnational activities.

As mentioned earlier, the prospect of turning brain drain into brain circulation is one of the features of transnationalism. However, based on interviews with international students from India and China, Rizvi (2005) problematizes the concept of brain circulation by arguing that it does not occur in a "neutral" space but in one "characterized by uneven distribution of opportunities and by asymmetrical flows of power" (p. 190). As such, efforts to turn brain drain into brain circulation might inadvertently replicate and reinforce unequal global power dynamics. While Glick Schiller et al. and Rizvi make significant contributions to the literature on immigrant transnationalism, their studies highlight the need for more studies on transnationalism among the African diaspora. Portes (2003) writes:

> The significant impact that the remittances and contributions of expatriates can make to the development of local communities has been well-documented in field studies…,[but] the ramifications of the phenomenon and the forms that it can take in different countries

[8] Transnational migrants or transmigrants are rooted in their host countries yet simultaneously maintaining linkages to their countries of origin, which enables them to link their countries of origin and settlement (Glick Schiller et al., 1995).

> are not yet fully understood [especially beyond] economic and political transactions. (p. 888).

In this regard, my study contributes to scholarship on transnational immigrants by examining the ways in which transnational diaspora networks are leveraged for internationalization and capacity building in Nigerian and U.S. higher education.

Diaspora

Over the years, the term "diaspora" has been applied in different ways. Originally used in reference to the Jewish population who fled persecution in their homeland, the concept evolved since the mid to late 20th century to encompass a broader group of immigrants, which now includes African immigrants in the postcolonial era (Binaisa, 2013; Edwards, 2001; Faist, 2010). Safran (1991) and Cohen (1987) maintain that the diaspora seek to return to or recreate the homeland. Sinatti and Horst (2015) describe this "essentialized" attachment to the homeland as a key factor in shaping diaspora engagement policies, which presume that "diasporas will naturally wish to contribute to the development of their homeland" (Page & Mercer, 2019, p. 324).

Binaisa (2013) argues that in previous understandings of diaspora, the group's enduring connection to the homeland was condensed to this "idea of return...[which] has proved insufficient to capture the complexity of engagement and…has been increasingly supplanted by transnationalism" (pp. 555-556). Faist (2010) agrees, stating that the notion of return has been superseded by "transnational mobility" and ongoing linkages (p. 13). Within the global development realm, the target diaspora group is primarily comprised of first-generation immigrants whom development actors seek to engage in the development of their original homeland (Page & Mercer, 2019). This study draws on historical and contemporary definitions of

diaspora to characterize U.S.-based African diaspora scholars engaged in Nigerian higher education.

Diaspora and Development

Even more central to this study than the evolution of the term "diaspora" is the "diaspora as development" framework on which diaspora engagement initiatives are founded. Mugimu (2009) suggests that the power to improve higher education in Africa lies within the highly-educated members of the diaspora. Furthermore, in 2013, CNN published an article which referred to Africans in the diaspora as "Africa's secret weapon" due to their embodiment of development potential (Kajunju, 2013). One of the challenges of this framework is that it tends to reinforce a hierarchical and colonial approach to development.

Since the 1990s, the relationship between diaspora and development has reemerged as a critical development policy issue, due in part to key development actors' desire to leverage diasporic remittances (Sinatti & Horst, 2015; Page & Mercer, 2019). Amidst debates on the efficacy of foreign aid, the diaspora—whose financial remittances eclipsed development aid—came to be recognized as agents for development (Sinatti & Horst, 2015). As Page and Mercer (2019) aptly observe, the prevalent thinking around diaspora and development is that "diasporas are a source of remittances to be leveraged, investment to be procured and human capital to be returned" (p. 320). The authors further state that one approach that countries of origin apply in hopes of generating financial and human capital investments from the diaspora is to focus on "diaspora groups with an appetite for philanthropy" (p. 321).

The emphasis on the diaspora's philanthropy frames their engagement as a unidirectional effort. This is exemplified in the excerpt below taken from Brinkerhoff's (2006) chapter on the benefits of diaspora mobilization:

> Diaspora members offer unique advantages in their efforts to contribute to the homeland. Recipients of knowledge transfer/exchange…note the advantages of diaspora-specific contributions deriving from the absence of language and culture barriers, and more specifically, their ability to better understand…the homeland context." (p. 127)

Brinkerhoff further notes that "beyond economic and career incentives, diaspora contributions may be framed, sometimes primarily, as philanthropy" (ibid.). This problematic conceptualization explicitly situates the diaspora as "givers" and those in the homeland as "recipients" of intellectual remittances.

The prevalent framing of countries in the global North as "developed countries" and those who reside there as embodying development potential acquired through "social osmosis" positions the diaspora as conduits of development—who can in turn transmit development to their places of origin—and thereby reinforces a colonial imagination of development (Page & Mercer, 2019, p. 322). This enables a unidirectional approach to diaspora engagement, which makes it challenging to achieve mutuality in those initiatives. Mlambo and Baxter (2018) posit that the Northern giver/Southern recipient conceptualization is "rooted in assumptions and practices of foreign aid" and reflects the "power asymmetries between institutions [and scholars] in the North and South" (p. 34). Further, they add that such framing "perpetuate[s] colonial dynamics" (ibid.).

Whereas Brinkerhoff portrays diaspora engagement as a philanthropic endeavor and appears to gloss over the gains of the Northern-based diaspora, Teferra (2013), Bouka (2018), and Mlambo and Baxter (2018) underscore the need to recognize the contributions of homeland

scholars and institutions and highlight the detrimental impact of the lack of reciprocity in North-South academic partnerships. Moreover, Zeleza (2013) suggests that the increasing reliance on the African diaspora as a solution to long-standing development problems is leading to the "valorization of diaspora engagement" (p. 3).

Raghuram (2009) posits that the migration and development framework is largely void of an understanding of the historical factors that have both shaped existing inequalities between countries and predefined "the spaces for/of development" (p. 113). Contemporary scholarship on transnationalism often fails to acknowledge the ways in which immigrants develop their countries of residence (Raghuram, 2009). For example, Patterson (2006) describes transnationalism as a phenomenon that yields development for countries in the global South. In contrast, Raghuram (2009) challenges the idea that development is something that flows only from the global North to the South. Raghuram (2009) goes further to point out multiple instances in which the contributions of immigrants have been instrumental in developing their countries of residence in the global North. Of such instances, the author writes, "we are never encouraged to think of it as development, only as transnational flows of capital" (ibid., p. 113). Therefore, Raghuram (2009) calls for us to challenge the prevailing one-sided discourse of development. Drawing on critical scholarship on transnationalism and North-South partnerships, my study joins in countering the framing of diasporic engagement as philanthropy and promotes equity-focused and partnership-oriented rhetoric and practice in such collaborations.

Internationalization of Higher Education

The transnational mobility of the diaspora is being increasingly leveraged for the internationalization of higher education. Internationalization, in its contemporary form, emerged

in the late 20th century (Altbach, 2016a). In the past three decades, it has become a vital part of higher education (Teferra & Knight, 2008; Knight & de Wit, 2018). While the concept itself is not new, its application to the field of education, particularly higher education, is relatively recent. Over the years, internationalization has evolved in many ways, including in its usage and definition. Before the 1980s, the use of the term had been limited to other sectors, such as political science and governmental relations. In the early to mid-1980s, its usage surged in the education sector. With its increased popularity came greater complexity. Debates about the definition of higher education internationalization have been ongoing since its inception, and according to Knight (2008b), there may never be a universally accepted definition, partly due to the fact that the phenomenon is both universal and context-specific (p. 214).

Various scholars have proposed different definitions in an attempt to capture the multidimensional essence of internationalization. In the 1980s and early 1990s, it was most often defined in terms of internationally-oriented activities at the institutional level, such as study abroad and language and area studies.[9] Knight (1994) contributed to the debate in the mid-1990s by proposing a definition that highlighted internationalization as a process.[10] By the late 1990s, van der Wende (1997) suggested that an institutional-level definition was too limited and offered a broader definition, incorporating globalization as a stimulus for higher education

[9] Arum & Van de Water (as cited in Knight, 2008b) defined internationalization as "the multiple activities, programs and services that fall within international studies, international educational exchange and technical cooperation" (p. 213).

[10] Knight (as cited in Knight, 2008b) suggested that internationalization is "the process of integrating an international and intercultural dimension into the teaching, research and service functions of the institution" (p. 213).

internationalization.[11] Considering the debates on the definition of the term, this study employs Knight's (2003) definition of internationalization as "the process of integrating an international, intercultural or global dimension into the purpose, functions or delivery of post-secondary education" (p. 2), but acknowledges that the continuous evolution of rationales, actors, providers, stakeholders and strategies of internationalization necessitates regular assessment of any given definition to assure that it corresponds to the current reality of the phenomenon (Knight, 2008b).

Research on the internationalization of higher education has grown tremendously in the last three decades. Previously, the study of internationalization was almost exclusively conducted by international education practitioners; in recent years, however, it has gained traction among academic scholars. Research in this field is often policy- and practice-driven and funded by external agencies and stakeholders ranging from internationalization agencies at the national level to governments and supranational organizations. The involvement of external funders tends to shape the course of the research to a certain extent (Huisman, 2007).

Internationalization is a complex, multidimensional, and interdisciplinary concept; hence, research on the internationalization of higher education draws on a wide range of disciplines and lacks a dominant "disciplinary, conceptual or methodological 'home'" (Kehm & Teichler, 2007, p. 234). Huisman (2007) notes that the multidisciplinary nature of the research conducted on internationalization makes it challenging to access existing literature. In addition to Huisman (2007), other scholars have addressed the availability of research on internationalization.

[11] van der Wende (as cited in Knight, 2008b) defined internationalization as "any systematic effort aimed at making higher education responsive to the requirements and challenges related to the globalization of societies, economy and labor markets" (p. 213).

Kehm and Teichler (2007) postulate that although English is the dominant language of science and scholarship, the majority of the literature on the internationalization of higher education is unavailable in English, as it is published by authors in China, France, Germany, Japan, Russia, southern Europe, and Latin America (p. 267). Consequently, available literature may not be representative of the entire existing body of literature. Other scholars of the field do not echo Kehm and Teichler's sentiments. In fact, de Wit and Urias (2012) state that although research and publications reveal growing diversity in the field, it is "still dominated by English-speaking researchers, publications, and resources from Europe and northern America" (p. 109). They also point out the previous "lack of comprehensive documentation" of research on higher education internationalization (p. 101). On this point, they agree with Kehm and Teichler (2007), who state that, in the 1990s, research in the field was unconsolidated.

The establishment of academic journals such as the Journal of Studies in International Education and International Higher Education remedied this challenge by providing access to the latest research on higher education internationalization across multiple disciplines. These journals allow for the cross-disciplinary analysis of research on internationalization, and they also provide a glimpse of prominent themes (e.g., student and staff mobility, institutional strategies, national policies, and cooperation and competition) in the study of the phenomenon. An analysis of available literature shows that methodological approaches to the study of internationalization have remained fairly consistent over the years. Researchers have employed a range of qualitative, quantitative, and mixed-methods study designs, and common modes of inquiry include case studies, in-depth interviews, document analyses, and surveys (Kehm & Teichler, 2007).

As detailed above, in the past three decades there have been changes in the definitions, rationales, and strategies of internationalization. Existing literature on internationalization continues to focus heavily on academic mobility (Knight & de Wit, 2018). Moreover, Knight and de Wit (2018) identify competition and status building as increasingly important characteristics of modern-day internationalization. They also note that economic and political rationales have surpassed academic and social/cultural rationales as primary motives for national-level internationalization policies.

Globalization

In the past 30 years, globalization has been the major driver of change in higher education (Knight, 2013b). Globalization is often used interchangeably with internationalization. While the two concepts are closely linked, they are not synonyms (Knight, 2008a). Like internationalization, globalization is a complex term with multiple definitions and a history of evolving components. Knight (2008a) defines it as "the process that increases the flow of people, culture, ideas, values, knowledge, technology, and economy across borders resulting in a more interconnected…world" (p. 4). Mitchell and Nielson (2012) describe internationalization as a process that higher education institutions engage in, whereas globalization "happen[s] to them" and the contexts in which they are embedded (p. 3). Similarly, Altbach (2016) describes globalization as being "largely inevitable in the contemporary world" (p. 83), and Altbach et al. (2016) point out that the forces of globalization are outside the control of higher education institutions.

Globalization impacts many sectors, including education, and it is a concept that is relevant to any discussion or study of higher education internationalization. There is ongoing debate about whether globalization begets internationalization or vice versa (Knight, 2013b).

While globalization is influenced by internationalization, many scholars agree that the former is the initial catalyst that induces the latter (Maringe, Foskett, & Woodfield, 2013; Altbach, Reisberg, & Rumbley, 2016). They highlight some of the major features of globalization, which include: growing integration of the world economy (through trade and transactions), expanding information and communications technology (ICT), the rise of an international knowledge network, global dominance of the English language, and the increasing movement of people across borders. These are some of the elements to which higher education institutions must respond through internationalization policies and practices. Because the effects of globalization vary among nations, institutions, and even localities, the internationalization strategies employed at the national, institutional, and local levels will also vary in specific contexts.

Internationalization Strategies

In recent times, internationalization strategies have become a popular concept in the study of the higher education internationalization. At the institutional level, internationalization strategies refer to the activities, initiatives, programs, and policies implemented to internationalize an institution. Strategies vary based on institutional resources and rationales, such as revenue generation, student and staff development, research and knowledge production, infrastructural development, educational quality improvement, development of strategic alliances, and advancement of international profile and reputation (Knight, 2004, 2008a, 2008b, 2012a; de Wit & Merkx, 2012; Maringe et al., 2013; Seeber, Cattaneo, & Huisman, 2016). Institutional (and national) rationales for internationalization are typically categorized as academic, economic, social/cultural, or political (Knight, 2004, 2008a, 2008b; Oyewole, 2009; de Wit & Merkx, 2012).

Internationalization rationales offer insight into the priorities, beliefs, and values of an institution (or nation) regarding the role and importance of the international dimension of higher education. They often reveal an institution's areas of need, challenges, potential strategies, perceived risks, and anticipated benefits (Knight, 2008a). Over the years, these rationales have evolved across different regions. In 2003, the International Association of Universities (IAU) launched a global survey on internationalization practices and priorities, which was administered to senior officers of higher education institutions in 95 countries representing every region of the world (i.e., Africa. Asia Pacific, Europe, Latin America and the Caribbean, the Middle East, and North America). Based on that survey, Knight (2008a) provides a regional analysis of internationalization rationales, revealing telling differences in the motivations driving internationalization in every region of the world.

In Africa, the top three institutional- level rationales were (in order of ranked importance): building research capacity, internationalizing students and faculty, and improving international profile. At the national level, the top three rationales were: building human resource capacity, forming strategic alliances, and strengthening competitiveness. Knight (2008a) notes that every other region except Africa ranked competitiveness as one of the top two national-level rationales. This is quite telling as it shows that African countries and institutions have more academic rationales while those of their counterparts in other regions are more economic. As institutions in the rest of the world move toward a competitive model, African institutions are not prepared to join the competition, which is inherently designed to favor powerful institutions in the "center," whose forms of knowledge, more often than not, overshadow those of institutions in the "periphery."

The second edition of the global survey conducted in 2005 confirmed the shift in rationales revealed in the first survey. It showed that while an economic rationale was highly ranked in North America, an academic rationale was dominant among African institutions (Jowi, 2009). In 2010, the IAU survey revealed that building research capacity was still the leading institutional-level rationale for higher education internationalization in Africa (Obamba, Kimbwarata, & Riechi, 2013). The 2013 installment of the IAU survey showed a shift in the main rationale for higher education internationalization in Africa from building research capacity to attaining higher national and international rankings (Egron-Polak & Hudson, 2014). This shift reflects the ever-growing emphasis on global university rankings, which incite a lopsided competition among institutions around the world by favoring some (English-speaking, economically privileged) institutions over others (Altbach et al., 2016). The latest iteration of the survey, conducted in 2018, revealed the continued presence of competitiveness among higher education institutions. It also showed a strong economic rationale among North American institutions, where internationalization has become more oriented towards the recruitment of fee-paying international students (Marinoni, 2019). Furthermore, the survey indicated that for African institutions, the most significant anticipated internationalization outcome is enhanced international cooperation and capacity building (ibid.).

The internationalization strategies employed by higher education institutions mirror their rationales. Institutions most often prioritize international-related activities that address the internal and external challenges they are facing. Using the resources available to them, institutions make rationale-driven decisions about internationalization strategies in order to attain benefits such as curriculum development, capacity building, infrastructural development,

and strategic alliances. Some of the main strategies include international student recruitment, study abroad, student exchange programs, faculty and staff mobility programs, visiting scholar programs, language and area studies, joint and double degree programs, branch campuses, and international academic partnerships (Knight, 2008b).

The majority of these strategies are forms of academic mobility, which is not surprising since academic mobility has long been at the forefront of internationalization. The beginning of the 21st century brought greater emphasis on academic mobility, which is one of the primary components of higher education internationalization (de Wit & Merkx, 2012; Altbach et al., 2016) and one of the most salient strategies of internationalization (Wadhwa, 2016). International student mobility is often the focus of studies on internationalization. Available data on the patterns of international student mobility affirm that the flow of students is mostly from Asian countries (China and India) to anglophone countries in North America, western Europe, and Australia (IIE Project Atlas, 2017; Altbach et al., 2016).

Although international student mobility remains the most prominent form of higher education internationalization, a combination of economic forces and a hostile political climate might lead to its decline. In fact, a report released by the Institute of International Education (IIE) Open Doors shows that enrollment of new international students in the U.S. fell by 3.3 percent in Fall 2016—the first decline in 12 years (Lee, 2017). This report, combined with the prediction of a greater international enrollment decline, stokes the fear of many U.S. institutions that the era of consistently robust international student enrollment might be coming to an end (Lee, 2017). Lee (2017) also suggests that the time for institutions of higher education to rethink their approaches to internationalization is now.

In the 2018 edition of the International Association of Universities (IAU) global survey on internationalization, strategic partnerships and international research collaboration were ranked by Africa-based respondents as the second most significant internationalization activity, after student mobility (Marinoni & De Wit, 2019). Mlambo and Baxter (2018) affirm that institutional partnerships are a critical internationalization strategy through which African (and North American) universities respond to the forces of globalization. In spite of their high importance, international partnerships pose a challenge for many African universities, which approach them and internationalization, more broadly, from an economically and historically disadvantaged position.

African institutions still struggle to be seen by their global counterparts as viable partners for institutional partnerships (Foulds & Zeleza, 2014). The IAU surveys have consistently shown that no other region prioritizes academic alliances with institutions in Africa. In the fifteen years between the first survey and the most recent, Africa has remained a low-priority region for international institutional partnerships. Even with the growing emphasis on diaspora-homeland collaborations as a potential solution to some of the region's enduring educational challenges, engagements between the academic diaspora and Africa-based individuals and institutions remain mostly informal (Foulds & Zeleza, 2014).

Mlambo & Baxter (2018) maintain that international (North-South) partnerships tend to mirror global hierarchies rooted in colonialism. This is due in part to participants' uncritical engagement in partnerships and their failure to critically examine the underlying beliefs shaping the partnerships (Koehn & Obamba, 2014). In examining the conceptualization of internationalization among western institutions, Buckner and Stein (2020) observe that

"internationalization is framed as apolitical and largely divorced from broader discussions of historical or geopolitical inequalities, ethical responsibilities, and alternative possibilities for engaging with and across difference" (p. 152). This suggests that western approaches to internationalization neither acknowledge nor seek to redress global inequalities.

Hegemony and Inequality

The themes of inequality and hegemony are rife throughout the literature on internationalization. This section considers these two concepts jointly to highlight that they are closely linked and mutually reinforcing. Altbach (2016b) argues that existing inequalities in the international knowledge network are deeply engrained, historically and systematically favoring already powerful nations and institutions. It is difficult to assess higher education internationalization without taking note of the economic and political power imbalance that often characterizes the global academic landscape. In the increasingly competitive model of internationalization, there is no equal playing field for countries and institutions. Africa approaches internationalization from an economically and historically disadvantaged position (Teferra, 2008b) and can become further marginalized in the process. Rumbley et al. (2012) point to the active recruitment of highly educated individuals from the economically disadvantaged countries to illustrate how internationalization can benefit "economically privileged" countries and institutions at the expense of others (p. 14).

Altbach et al., (2016) assert that "the academic world has always been characterized by centers and peripheries," and in the past few decades, inequality between higher education systems in low-, middle-, and high-income countries has intensified (p. 19). Application of the center-periphery (also known as core-periphery) concept to education is fairly recent, although

it has long been used in other disciplines to describe unequal international, and sometimes intranational, dichotomies (Altbach, 2016b). According to Altbach (2016b), “central” institutions are almost always located in high-income countries; they are generators and disseminators of original research; they enjoy high global rankings, and they serve as model institutions (p. 150). “Peripheral” institutions, on the other hand, are often located in low- and middle-income countries, although they can also be found in high-income countries. Altbach (2016b) describes them as “largely dependent on the central institutions for innovation and for direction” and generally not producers of knowledge (pp. 150-151). That description does not seem to take into account that academic contributions from the so-called “periphery” are often overlooked by the “center” (Teferra, 2013).

Several scholars of African higher education have expressed concerns about the risk of a western hegemonic influence over knowledge production in African universities (Zeleza, 2005; Teferra, 2013; Teferra, 2016), although this threat is not peculiar to Africa. Maringe et al. (2013) administered a global survey of internationalization to 500 universities in six geographical regions, and their findings show that universities in southern Africa and Asia perceive research partnerships as “a subtle way to legitimate and entrench western dominance in the academy” (p. 33). However, this perception of western dominance as a risk of internationalization did not prevent those universities from prioritizing partnerships as a strategy for internationalization. (Maringe et al., 2013, p. 33).

The remnants of colonialism can be seen in Africa’s higher education systems, which were modeled after those of European colonial powers and for which colonial languages continue to serve as the medium of instruction and knowledge production (Jowi, 2009). Colonialism and the

various forms of oppression that have come after it have created an unequal playing field which has left regions like Africa disadvantaged and marginalized in the global knowledge economy (Altbach, 2001). The dominance of a western-centered epistemological approach is a risk that African higher education institutions face when they engage in internationalization processes, such as international academic partnerships and research collaborations. Zeleza (2005) adds that western hegemony is present in the unequal partnerships that occur between institutions and scholars in the global North and their African counterparts.

Among IAU survey respondents from all six world regions, lack of funding was the highest rated challenge to internationalization (Egron-Polak & Hudson, 2014). In Africa, specifically, lack of sufficient funding has been crippling, not just for internationalization but for higher education as a whole. It is worth noting that although African respondents, along with respondents from other regions, identified lack of funding as the greatest obstacle to internationalization, they did not rank income generation among the top rationales for internationalization. Other regions did prioritize income generation (an economic rationale) while Africa continued to prioritize academic rationales even in a state of dire financial need.

Competition and Cooperation

Competition and cooperation have become the central paradigms of modern- day internationalization (van der Wende, 2001; Rumbley et al., 2012; Wadhwa, 2016). As institutions strive to attain high global rankings and status, cooperation initiatives are increasingly being replaced by a more competitive agenda (Knight, 2013a). The shift from cooperation to competition can be attributed to the shifting rationales for internationalization. While academic, political, cultural, and economic rationales have collectively driven internationalization for many

years, economic rationales are becoming increasingly important, and competition among higher education institutions, and even countries, is becoming more pronounced. Some of the most obvious manifestations of competition and commercialization in higher education internationalization are the recruitment of international students (van der Wende, 2001), the prominence of global rankings (Rumbley et al., 2012), and the expansion of the private sector (Maringe et al., 2013; Seeber et al., 2016).

Deardorff et al. (2012) identify shrinking public funding for higher education as a driving force of competition and commercialization of educational services. The idea of internationalization as a source of revenue is not new, but efforts to use it to generate funding have intensified in this present era. Some of the internationalization strategies employed by HEIs highlight the competitive and commercial aspects of contemporary internationalization. Such strategies include intensified recruitment of international students, franchising, creating branch campuses, and emphasizing high global rankings and status as a global university (Deardorff et al., 2012; Rumbley et al., 2012).

The proliferation of global university rankings in the 1990s highlights the competitive arena in which higher education institutions today exist. Institutions and academic programs are now engaged in fierce competition to attain high rankings (Deardorff, de Wit, & Heyl, 2012), and the English-speaking among them enjoy an advantage over those that are non-English-speaking. Because the ranking system favors anglophone countries and institutions, some world regions are almost entirely excluded from global rankings. In an attempt to achieve higher rankings and better compete with their anglophone counterparts, some universities in non-English-speaking countries integrate English into their institutional structure by offering English-language

programs, recruiting English-speaking students and scholars, or adopting English as their lingua franca. Critics of the ranking system argue that global rankings are methodologically flawed and designed to benefit well-funded and highly-esteemed anglophone institutions (Altbach et al., 2016). Global rankings, they posit, homogenize higher education institutions and reify western hegemony by reinforcing "existing hierarchies of status and power" (Larsen, 2016, p. 162).

(De)coloniality

In considering the internationalization of higher education in Africa, it is crucial to acknowledge the indelible impact of colonialism on African higher education systems. Sehoole (2008) and Teferra (2008a) assert that contemporary internationalization of African higher education is closely linked to the continent's colonial history, and Jowi (2009) reaffirms their arguments, positing that modern-day internationalization is "largely rooted in the historical dominance enjoyed by the global North" (p. 274).

Consequently, my theoretical framework is grounded in (de)coloniality. In contrast with colonialism, which entailed the physical presence of colonizers, coloniality operates as a "metaphysical process and as an epistemic project," to uphold the structures of power, oppression, and exploitation created by colonialism (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020, n.p.). With the end of colonialism in its form as a physically present empire, Africa is presumed to be in a postcolonial state. However, Grosfoguel (2007) challenges the idea that we live in a postcolonial world:

> One of the most powerful myths of the twentieth century was the notion that the elimination of colonial administrations amounted to the decolonization of the world. This led to the myth of a "postcolonial" world. The heterogeneous and multiple global structures put in place over a period of 450 years did not evaporate with the juridical-political decolonization of the periphery over the past 50 years. We continue to live under the same "colonial power matrix." (Grosfoguel, 2007, p. 219)

Grosfuguel rightly observes the neocolonial nature of our present world due to the continued presence of colonial power structures and hierarchies. The term “coloniality” was developed by Anibal Quijano in 1989 to capture the persistence and pervasiveness of unequal power relations, reinforced “through the imposition of modernity…and the imposition of a capitalist economy through globalization” (Adriansen & Madsen, 2019, p. 6). Quijano (2007) describes coloniality as “the most general form of domination in the world today” (p. 170). There is a consensus among decolonial scholars that coloniality is a “constitutive component of modernity” (Takayama et al, 2016) and that it represents the survival of “long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism” (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 243).

Coloniality is comprised of three key concepts: coloniality of power, knowledge, and being. Coloniality of power traces the origins of inequalities in the present-day global world order to the racial, social, religious, and geo-political hierarchies established through colonialism (Quijano, 2007; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013). This form of coloniality symbolizes the embeddedness of racialized power structures which continue to govern policies, practices, and ideas, thereby perpetuating the impact of colonialism. The concept of coloniality of knowledge explains that epistemology is deeply influenced by and entangled with colonial power (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). It brings to light the “politics of knowledge generation, and the fundamental question of who generates which knowledge and for what purposes” (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2013, p. 5). Poloma and Szelényi (2018) add that:

> The coloniality of knowledge is epitomized by the global dominance of the Euro-American university model and extended through the canonization of Western curriculum, the privileging of English in instruction and scholarship, and the fetishizing of global rankings and Euro-American accreditation. (p. 3)

Quijano (2007) associates coloniality of (economic and political) power with coloniality of knowledge. Shahjahan (2016) makes a similar connection and argues that international organizations perpetuate global inequities and coloniality through hegemonic epistemic practices that ignore colonial histories and "geopolitics of knowledge production" (697). In contemplating the effects of coloniality on higher education in Africa, Ndlovu-Gatsheni and Zondi (2016) postulate that it has served to "reproduce Eurocentrism in society and academy" (pp. 3-4). Maldonado-Torres (2007) highlights the pervasiveness of coloniality:

> [Coloniality] is maintained alive in books [and] in the criteria for academic performance, […] in the self-image of peoples, in aspirations of self, and so many other aspects of our modern experience. In a way, as modern subjects we breathe coloniality all the time and every day. (p. 243)

Maldonado-Torres's (2007) concept of coloniality of being echoes aspects of Fanon's (1961) notion of psychological violence, which Guilherme et al. (2018) define as "injury to a human being's psyche" (p. 418). Coloniality of being elucidates that the residual impact of imperial power transcends epistemology and the economy to also shape individuals' understanding of themselves and others (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Ndlovu-Gathsheni (2019) adds that colonialism "invades the mental universe of a people" (n.p.). As a result, coloniality is internalized by the colonizers and the colonized. Therefore, true decolonization must engage the psyche (Fanon, 1961; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020; Wa Thiong'o, 1992).

Maldonado-Torres (2006) defines decoloniality as "the dismantling of relations of power and conceptions of knowledge that foment the reproduction of racial, gender, and geo-political hierarchies that came into being or found new and more powerful forms of expression in the modern/colonial world" (p. 117). As this definition suggests, decoloniality is critical to the realization of an equitable world. In addition, Mignolo (2011) states that decoloniality counters

the “logic of coloniality” (p. 46) and makes possible the “re-construction and the restitution of silenced histories, repressed subjectivities, [and] subalternized knowledges” (Mignolo, 2007, p. 451). In alignment with Maldonado-Torres and Mignolo, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) posits that decoloniality seeks to redress the remnants of colonialism and the materializations of coloniality. Further, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2013) “identifies coloniality as a key hindrance to development in Africa” (n.p.).

Applying the concept of decoloniality to this study made visible the ways in which coloniality manifests in diaspora-homeland collaborations. Drawing on decoloniality, I was able to interrogate the impact of coloniality on these initiatives and determine that it jeopardizes the achievement of their purported goal of sustainable educational development. Moreover, I contribute to decolonial theory by developing the concept of proximity to power, which encapsulates the ways in which coloniality and capital intersect to inform perceptions of individuals within and beyond these collaborations.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Drawing on anthropological and sociological studies of education, diaspora, and development, this qualitative case study seeks to foreground the perspectives of U.S.-based diaspora scholars and Nigeria-based scholars in an examination of diaspora-homeland higher education collaborations and their implications for internationalization and capacity strengthening at Nigerian institutions. This project is guided by a decolonial lens, which makes visible the presence of coloniality in diaspora-homeland collaborations and within the context of Nigerian higher education. The overarching research question for this study is: What is the role of diaspora-homeland collaborations in the internationalization and capacity strengthening of higher education in Nigeria? In addition to this central question, I also pose the following sub-questions:

1. What factors motivate scholars' participation in diaspora-homeland collaborations, and what are the perceived effects of diaspora engagement on internationalization and capacity strengthening at Nigerian universities?

2. What are the experiences of scholars engaged in diaspora-homeland collaborations, and how do Nigeria-based scholars perceive and receive diaspora scholars, and vice-versa?

3. What challenges do diaspora-homeland higher education initiatives face and present?

Qualitative Case Study Approach

To address the research questions above, this study applies a qualitative case study approach, entailing in-depth, semi-structured interviews, participant observation, document analysis, and a survey. The Nigeria-based phase of this research was ethnographic in nature, and it involved immersing myself in the institutional environment to learn how the universities conceptualize and approach internationalization and diaspora engagement.

Research Context: Nigeria

Nigeria was chosen as the country site for this study for several reasons, including previous and current national and institutional initiatives for diaspora engagement in Nigerian higher education. Additionally, Nigeria's status as both the top country of origin for African-born immigrants in the United States and one of the most popular destination countries in Africa for scholar-exchange and visiting scholar programs make Nigeria a prime site for a case study of diaspora engagement in African higher education.

Research Sites

Nigeria-based fieldwork for this research was conducted at the University of Ibadan and the University of Lagos. These two universities were selected as research sites because they frequently host diaspora scholars for formal collaborations and have an office dedicated to facilitating international programs, partnerships, and scholar exchange—an uncommon feature among Nigerian institutions. To select appropriate sites for this study, I examined publicly available databases of formal initiatives for diaspora engagement and scholar exchange programs in Nigerian higher education to determine which institutions were the most popular sites for these collaborations. Due to the lack of similar data on informal collaborations, my decision-making process relied on available data on formal linkages. Ultimately, I selected the two most frequent host universities in Nigeria for formal initiatives as my research sites. To gain access to these institutions, I sent a letter to each one formally requesting permission to conduct my research at their campus. The letter explained the purpose of my research, the specific methods I intended to use, and the participants I hoped to recruit. One university also required me to send my research proposal, my curriculum vitae, and a letter of reference from my home

institution, the University of Wisconsin–Madison. Both universities formally approved my request to conduct research on their campus.

University of Ibadan (UI). UI is a large institution, with an estimated population of 40,000 students, located in the historic southwestern city of Ibadan, Nigeria. This institution is Nigeria's premier university. Established in 1948—during the British colonial reign—as University College, Ibadan, it was initially affiliated with the University of London. It became a full-fledged university in 1962, two years after Nigeria achieved independence (Fajana, 1972; Jibril & Obaje, 2008). Partly due to its origin as an affiliate campus of a foreign university, UI has a long history of international engagements. The Office of International Programmes (OIP) at UI works to support the university's internationalization efforts, including being a point of contact for visiting scholars.

University of Lagos (UNILAG). Located in the dynamic and populous southwestern city of Lagos, Nigeria, UNILAG has a population of approximately 55,000 students. Founded in 1962, it is part of the first generation of Nigerian universities. The Office of International Relations, Partnerships and Prospects (IRPP) at UNILAG is committed to building international relationships through outreach programs, global partnerships, and international scholar exchange. The IRPP also holds workshops to train high-level officials at other universities on how to establish an effective institutional office for international relations or strengthen existing offices for such purposes.

Initially, this study was designed to generate comparative data about diaspora-homeland collaborations from the two research sites. However, unexpected circumstances in the field, most notably, a three-month-long university strike, affected the conditions I encountered at each

institution and complicated the possibility of a comparative study. The strike, and consequent absence of visiting diaspora scholars, rendered observations of diaspora-homeland collaborations in action impossible. I also had varying levels of access and data at the two institutions. At one institution, my self-secured host unit was directly involved with internationalization efforts, including diaspora-homeland collaborations. At the other site, my assigned host unit did not focus on internationalization or diaspora engagement, and I had less access to site-specific data (e.g., meetings and documents) that were pertinent to my research.

Nonetheless, having multiple research sites allowed me to observe similarities and differences in the two popular sites for diaspora-homeland collaborations. For instance, I observed the ways in which financial and infrastructural challenges unfolded and how institutional bureaucracy operated at both institutions, which served as critical contextual information for this research. In hindsight, I believe that other factors (e.g., the type of collaboration participants are engaged in and the source and amount of funding) might be stronger bases for comparison than the institutions at which collaborations take place.

Methods

Guided by a critical constructivist paradigm, this multi-sited, qualitative case study employed a variety of research methods to collect data to address the aforementioned research questions. Falaye (2018) states that a qualitative study is appropriate for several purposes, including when the research hopes to "[capture] a deep understanding of the 'lived experience' of individuals with the purpose of creating meaning from it" (p. 23). Maxwell (2013) adds that a qualitative study allows the researcher to understand how participants' "perspectives are shaped by, and shape, their physical, social, and cultural contexts" (p. viii). Because this research sought

to shed light on participants' experiences in diaspora-homeland collaborations as well as the factors shaping and shaped by their collaborations, a qualitative approach was deemed appropriate for the study. Furthermore, this study makes use of a case study approach—an in-depth investigation of a phenomenon within its natural context (Stake, 1995; Bartlett & Vavrus, 2017)—which Stake (2005) posits is frequently used to conduct qualitative research.

As mentioned previously, my fieldwork in Nigeria entailed an ethnographic approach. LeCompte & Schensul (2010) outline circumstances which necessitate the use of ethnographic research, including when there is a need to "explore the factors associated with a problem in order to identify, understand, and address them" or "identify and describe unexpected or unanticipated outcomes" (p. 36). The Nigeria-based fieldwork occurred over a period of eight months (October 2018–June 2019) at two higher education institutions, the University of Ibadan and the University of Lagos. This fieldwork involved collecting and analyzing documents and conducting face-to-face interviews and observations of scholars based at the two universities. The U.S.-based phase of this research, consisting of an online survey and telephone interviews with diaspora scholars all over the U.S., was conducted virtually over a period of four months (July 2019–November 2019). Collectively, these methods enabled methodological triangulation (Fielding & Fielding, 1986).

Preliminary Research. In preparation for the case study, I conducted preliminary research in the U.S. during summer 2018. Over a three-month period, I collected and analyzed virtually available documents and data related to diaspora-homeland higher education initiatives in Nigeria in order to build a database of existing initiatives and the scholars and institutions involved in them. During the course of my fieldwork at Nigerian universities, I continued to

develop this database with information provided by participants and interlocutors. The database included the names, contact information, home and host institutions, name and year of the initiative(s), and, when available, the length of the program.

Participant Recruitment. I used purposive and snowball sampling to recruit qualified individuals whose knowledge of and experiences in diaspora-homeland academic collaborations would help answer my research questions. The dataset I compiled during the preliminary research phase enabled me to use purposive sampling to identify and recruit eligible potential participants for my study. All participants were over the age of 18. Diaspora participants had to meet the criteria of being current or former citizens of any African country who were based in the U.S. and who had collaborated with scholars based at Nigerian universities. Because members of the African diaspora sometimes participate in development and internationalization efforts in African countries outside of their countries of origin, my study included diaspora members from any African country engaged in higher education initiatives in Nigeria. Homeland participants had to be faculty, staff, or affiliates of the University of Lagos or the University of Ibadan, who had engaged in formal or informal academic collaborations with African diaspora scholars. Snowball sampling relying on participants' social and professional networks was also used to identify additional potential participants.

Using purposive and snowball sampling, I invited former and current participants engaged in diaspora-homeland initiatives in Nigerian higher education—via email, phone calls, and face-to-face conversations—to take part in interviews, observations, and a survey. If no response was received from a potential participant contacted by email, I resent the email once. If an individual declined to participate, they were not contacted again. Those who agreed to participate were

contacted subsequently to schedule an interview. Some potential participants were approached in person. If they agreed to participate, I contacted them using their preferred method of communication (i.e., phone or email) to schedule an interview.

Prior to participating in study activities (i.e., interviews, observations, and survey), U.S.-based and Nigeria-based scholars were asked to confirm their eligibility. Only those who met the criteria listed above proceeded to participate in the study. Participants' consent was elicited prior to any data collection involving them. Nigeria-based participants were given time to review the consent form, ask questions if they had any, and sign it if they wished to proceed. For U.S.-based survey and interview participants, the consent process occurred digitally.

Recruitment Challenge. Due to the fact that the content of the database was largely dependent on publicly available data on formal initiatives, informal initiatives—which are often unreported at the institutional level—are underrepresented in this study. Carnegie African Diaspora Fellowship Program (CADFP) alumni are highly represented in the study. CADFP's detailed and publicly accessible record of past and current visiting scholars and hosts meant that I was able to identify and recruit many diaspora and homeland participants who had engaged in CADFP in Nigeria. The Fulbright Scholar Program was another useful source for the identification of scholars engaged in higher education collaborations in Nigeria. Because Fulbright is a scholar exchange program that is not specifically geared toward diaspora engagement, not all of the identified scholars were members of the African diaspora, and there was a chance that potential participants would be deemed ineligible to take part in the study.

Neither of my research sites was able to provide me with a record of international collaborations between diaspora scholars and those based at their institutions. In both instances,

it was unclear to me if my requests for those records went unanswered due to difficulties granting me access, because they simply did not exist, or for some other unstated reason. Informal and self-funded collaborations are vastly unrecorded and underreported. In reality, informal, individual initiatives outnumber formal ones (Zeleza, 2013), but because they are often undocumented, it was difficult to identify and recruit participants who had engaged in them. Also, limited available contact information made it difficult to reach several eligible homeland and diaspora scholars, several of whom had since left the institution where they were during the collaboration.

Two potential participants were excluded from this study. In one case, the individual was willing to have a conversation with me and answer all of my questions, yet he declined to participate in a formal interview and suggested that his boss should be the one invited to participate in my study. His refusal to participate officially was not due to a lack of desire; rather, he did not want to appear to be usurping his boss's authority. His office setting would have also made it difficult to participate in my study without his boss or other colleagues noticing. In another instance, I made the decision not to include an eligible potential participant who was identified through snowball sampling. During our introductory meeting, this individual repeatedly made inappropriate and sexually suggestive comments that made me uncomfortable. As a result, he was not invited to participate in the study despite having been involved in several diaspora-homeland collaborations.

Participant Overview. This study strived to represent both sides of diaspora-homeland collaborations. Considering the perspectives of diaspora and homeland scholars together yielded a panoramic understanding of their collaborations. Fifteen (15) Nigeria-based scholars were

recruited to participate in this study (Appendix D). They were comprised of faculty members across many academic disciplines and administrators. Thirteen (13) participants were men, and two (2) were women. 40 diaspora scholars took part in this study (Appendix E). 39 participated in the online survey, and 14 survey respondents also took part in an interview. One (1) diaspora scholar participated in an in-depth interview without completing the survey. Although all current and former citizens of African countries who met all the other criteria were eligible to participate in the study, 82% of participants explicitly identified themselves as members of the Nigerian diaspora. Like homeland participants, they were mostly men.[12] This group was comprised of faculty and staff from higher education institutions all over the U.S., 69% of whom had attended and/or graduated from a Nigerian higher education institution. In total, the study recruited 55 participants.

Interviews

Qualitative research places a strong emphasis on participants' insights and perspectives, and the flexible nature of semi-structured qualitative interviews allows interviewees to provide "rich, detailed answers" (Bryman, 2001, p. 313). To gain a deep understanding of scholars' experiences in and perspectives of diaspora-homeland higher education collaborations (RQ1 and RQ2), I conducted semi-structured, in-depth interviews with a total of 30 study participants—15 Nigeria-based scholars and administrators and 15 diaspora scholars. Interviews with Nigeria-based participants lasted between 30 and 90 minutes. Each interview began with a review of the informed consent form and ended with me asking if the participant had any additional thoughts

[12] The underrepresentation of women in my research sample is reflective of the limited participation of women in international partnerships due to factors such as gendered divisions of labor (Vabø, 2012; Zeleza, 2013).

to share or any questions for me. These interviews took place in each participant's office located at the research site.

With the exception of one diaspora participant, with whom I conducted a face-to-face interview in Nigeria, interviews with U.S.-based African diaspora scholars were conducted by telephone and were follow-up interviews to gain further insight about participants' online survey responses. As part of the survey, respondents were asked to indicate their willingness to take part in a follow-up interview with me. These follow-up interviews lasted between 15 and 35 minutes and made use of a semi-structured format. This allowed for open-ended and conversational interviews, which encouraged participants to be forthcoming about their experiences and perceptions. Personal interviews were an effective method to learn about participants' experiences in diaspora-homeland collaborations.

Interviews with homeland and diaspora participants answered all of the research questions by helping to ascertain the motivating and facilitating factors, challenges, benefits, and perceived effects of their collaborative efforts. Interviews were audio recorded with permission from the participants and transcribed. To maintain confidentiality and anonymity, all recordings were transcribed by the researcher alone, and all transcriptions, along with other research data, were anonymized by omitting all personal identifiable information and replacing participants' names with pseudonyms. In addition to recording interviews with participants, I also took notes during the interviews. These notes allowed me to immediately flag comments that stood out to me, and they helped to shape my follow-up questions based on the participants' previous statements.

The inclusion of the voices and perspectives of local scholars is essential to the decolonial approach (Adams, 2014); hence, 15 locally-based faculty and university leaders were interviewed to understand how they perceive the diaspora scholars and the collaborative efforts and also to learn about institutional efforts to facilitate diaspora-homeland partnerships. These interviews shed light on the dynamics of these collaborations as well as the perceptions of diaspora scholars and Nigeria-based scholars.

Survey

The final phase of my study was based in the U.S. Over a four-month period, I applied information derived from my initial document and data analysis as well as interviews with homeland scholars to design and administer an online survey for U.S.-based African diaspora scholars who had previously participated in an academic collaboration with their counterparts at Nigerian universities. The purpose of this survey was to learn about the factors that influence participation in diaspora-homeland higher education partnerships and the challenges they face. The survey helped to answer all of the study's research questions by soliciting information pertaining to scholars' motivating factors for participating in diaspora-homeland collaborations, their experiences in them, and their perception of the related benefits and challenges. It was distributed online to individuals identified in the aforementioned database. As mentioned previously, my study was not exclusive to the Nigerian diaspora. Rather, I included diaspora members from any African country as long as they had engaged in higher education initiatives in Nigeria.

An invitation to complete this survey was distributed via email to diaspora participants identified from my database, and it was also shared on Twitter. In total, 39 diaspora participants

completed the survey, and I conducted follow-up telephone interviews with 15 of them who were willing and able to speak with me. When possible, the survey was supplemented by an interview because as LeCompte & Preissle (1993) contend, "self-reports of behavior elicited through a survey sometimes are inaccurate indicators of actual behavior" (pp. 161-162). In multiple cases, there were discrepancies between survey and interview responses from diaspora scholars with regard to their participation in diaspora-homeland initiatives. Some scholars provided an inflated positive assessment of their experiences on the survey because they were reluctant to share a negative portrayal of a place they still considered as their home to unknown and untrusted researchers. It seemed that our written and verbal interactions along with my identity as a fellow member of the African diaspora made participants more comfortable being open and honest about their experiences during our interview. Hence, combining the two methods—survey and interview—strengthened the validity of the study.

Observations

Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) contend that "all social research is a form of participant observation, because we cannot study the social world without being part of it" (p. 111). Although I had planned on observing the day-to-day activities of diaspora-homeland partnerships, such as research and teaching collaborations as well as other interactions between diaspora and homeland scholars at the two universities, the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) strike[13] and the dearth of diaspora participants on site made such observations unfeasible. Instead, my observations focused on learning about the educational landscape in

[13] In response to the shortage of federal funding, ASUU embarked on a strike, which affected all public universities and brought instructional activities to a standstill.

Nigeria, understanding institutional approaches to internationalization and diaspora engagement, and identifying the benefits of diasporic collaborations and the challenges they face (RQ 3). As a visiting researcher, I had access to on-campus meetings that were relevant to my study. At my research sites, I observed meetings where topics including international student mobility, diaspora linkages, and international partnerships and collaborations were discussed among faculty and staff. These observations generated data on how scholars at Nigerian universities perceived their counterparts in the diaspora (RQ2) and some of the challenges with which they had to contend to engage in internationalization (RQ3.

Bryman (2001) highlights "naturalistic emphasis" as one of the advantages of participant observations because "the qualitative researcher confronts members of a social setting in their natural environments" (p. 329). As a result of meeting individuals and groups in their natural setting, "study participants can forget that the ethnographer is there to do research" (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010, p. 310). Hence, as a participant observer, I often reminded meeting attendees of my researcher status and asked them to inform me if they wished to keep any aspects of the meeting off the record. No one ever asked that I exclude any part of the meetings, but I exercised discretion nonetheless.

In addition to those meetings, I gained contextual knowledge by attending and observing two national conferences—Nigerian Education Innovation Summit (NEDIS)[14] and Nigeria's Annual Education Conference (NAEC)[15]—on education in Nigeria. Attending these events allowed me to

[14] NEDIS is an annual conference of education sector stakeholders convened by The Education Partnership (TEP) Centre (tepcentre.com).

[15] NAEC is an annual convening of internal and external education stakeholders organized collaboratively by the Nigerian Federal Ministry of Education, DFID-EDOREN, and the British Council (Nigeria-education.org).

understand the views of various stakeholders and actors (i.e., faculty, students, researchers, community members, government officials, development partners, and funders) on education in Nigeria and potential solutions for educational issues. Lastly, I participated in and observed the November 2019 Continental Forum on the Role of the Diaspora in Higher Education, Research, and Innovation in Africa,[16] which shed light on the ways in which different stakeholders and actors (i.e., homeland and diaspora scholars, government officials, and funders) conceptualize the role of the academic diaspora in African higher education innovation.

Document Analysis

Merriam (1988) posits that "documents of all types can help the researcher uncover meaning, develop understanding and discover insights relevant to the research problem" (p. 118). In addition to conducting interviews, observations, and a survey, I collected and conducted a content analysis of available documents, including but not limited to institutional internationalization agendas, journal articles, donor reports, program evaluation reports, and other documents pertaining specifically to diaspora engagement and more broadly to international partnerships at Nigerian universities. These documents provided insights about Nigerian institutions' and U.S. institutions' (i.e., foundations and HEIs) attitudes and approaches toward internationalization and diaspora engagement, and they shed light on the anticipated and achieved effects of these initiatives (RQ 1) as well as their challenges (RQ 3). My access to certain documents was limited either by institutional bureaucracy or by the fact that the documents simply did not exist. There was no accessible record of diaspora-homeland academic

[16] This forum was convened in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia by The Citizens & Diaspora Directorate (CIDO), African Union (AU) Commission and the Institute of African Studies, Carleton University (Ottawa, Canada). It was funded by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and CIDO-AU.

collaborations at either site. Due to conflicting information from different sources, it was unclear to me whether such records did not exist or were being strictly guarded.

Field Notes

Field notes are widely recognized as an integral feature of qualitative research (Phillippi & Lauderdale, 2018). As part of the research process, I took notes of my experiences and observations in the field. My field notes included a description of my research setting, a report of the activity or event I experienced, a record of the date and time of the occurrence, an account of the conversations and other interactions I engaged in, and the things that stood out to me in that moment. These notes allowed for ongoing reflection and analysis.

Data Analysis

Ongoing analysis is encouraged in qualitative research as a way to discover themes that may inform further data collection (Bryman, 2001). Therefore, I conducted ongoing analysis throughout the data collection process, which allowed me to identify emergent themes and accordingly pursue related lines of inquiry in subsequent data collection activities. I transcribed interviews, observational notes, and field notes in a process that involved engaging with and making meaning of the research data. Upon completion of data collection, I reviewed all amassed research data to gain a full sense of the information represented therein and to model the findings derived from the data into a story that answers the research questions guiding the study (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010).

My approach to data analysis was informed by a modified grounded theory approach (Charmaz, 2003). Embracing an iterative approach, I combined inductive and deductive approaches (Maxwell, 2013) to analyze data, using coding and thematic analysis to uncover

dominant themes. First, I conducted inductive analysis to permit identification of unexpected codes and themes. I then analyzed the same data using deductive codes derived from my conceptual framework and literature review such as: internationalization, capacity building, knowledge production, institutional infrastructure, financial and administrative support, and perceptions, among other factors influencing collaborations. My analysis emphasized recurring patterns and included a search for discrepant data (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010). I imported transcribed interviews into Atlas.ti Cloud for data analysis, but I ultimately discontinued use of this analytical software because I found it more suitable to analyze data manually using Microsoft Word.

Validity

Data collection involved methodological triangulation (Fielding & Fielding, 1986)—through the use of interviews, observations, a survey, and document analysis—as well as member checking (Bryman, 2001; Lincoln & Guba, 2000; Stake, 1995) to ensure validity of research data. To minimize participant reactivity and indications of researcher bias, I asked open-ended interview questions and designed the survey to be partly open-ended. Lastly, I checked for and included discrepant evidence in my analysis.

Researcher Positionality

Dwyer & Buckle (2009) contend that "as qualitative researchers we are not separate from the study… Instead, we are firmly in all aspects of the research process and essential to it…" (p. 61). Moreover, Falaye (2018) and Denzin and Lincoln (2000) add that in qualitative research, the researcher is the primary instrument. As such, I remained cognizant of my embeddedness in the study, and I have given much thought to how my positionality shaped my research experience

and the types of data I was able to collect. As a U.S.-based member of the Nigerian diaspora, I acknowledged my identity as an insider-outsider—a positionality which Dwyer & Buckle (2009) suggest is the only one that qualitative researchers can truly occupy:

> The intimacy of qualitative research no longer allows us to remain true outsiders to the experience under study and, because of our role as researchers, it does not qualify us a complete insiders. We now occupy the space between, with the costs and benefits this status affords (p. 61).

In certain spaces and situations, my positionality on the insider-outsider continuum shifted toward one extreme or the other, with varying implications. Merriam et al. (2001) confirm that both insider and outsider positions present benefits and challenges. My insider status enabled me to navigate and negotiate the methodological process with knowledge of social, cultural, and linguistic nuances. I had a deep understanding of how numerous factors, including age, gender, ethnicity, physical stature, socioeconomic status, and educational background, shaped interactions in the Nigerian context, and I anticipated that those factors would influence participants' and other community members' perceptions of me.

Being perceived as more of an insider than an outsider also meant that I had to sometimes prompt interviewees to explain things to me that they would ordinarily not explain to an insider. For example, one participant was initially resistant to the idea of expounding his statement that it was difficult to recruit international students because "most people don't want to come to Nigeria" (Prof. B, interview). When I asked him why, he insisted that the reasons were obvious to me. I suggested that while that may be the case, it would jeopardize the validity of my research to impose my understanding as a substitute for his intended meaning. Only then did he articulate his intended meaning, which was that the lack of a stable academic calendar deterred

international enrollments. For the record, this was not what I expected him to say, so our understanding was not as shared as he believed it to be in that moment.

In navigating the Nigerian higher education landscape as a researcher, I constantly had to decide which position to mobilize based on the potential implications for my study and which position would enable me to overcome present and anticipated challenges. My insider knowledge and familiarity with the general context were instrumental in building rapport with research participants and community members and in understanding the sociocultural context in which Nigerian higher education and diaspora-homeland partnerships are embedded. Because my research sites were located in southwestern Nigeria, which is part of Yorubaland, my knowledge of Yoruba language and culture was especially helpful. Although English was the language of instruction at my research sites, Yoruba was commonly spoken in offices, reception areas, corridors, and other formal and informal spaces. I observed meeting attendees sometimes use a Yoruba adage to get their point across. Even during interviews, a few homeland participants expressed a sentiment in Yoruba. My knowledge of Igbo language and culture was helpful in building rapport with community members and participants who were Igbo or had spent time in southeastern Nigeria and took advantage of the opportunity to demonstrate their language skills in conversation with me.

As mentioned previously, my Nigerian diaspora identity made some participants willing to be more honest with me in their interviews than on the survey, which had both my PI's name and my name on the first page (IRB consent form) and perhaps left some participants unclear about who would be at the receiving end of their responses. In the Nigerian context, names typically serve as an indicator of one's belonging to a particular ethnic group. My name, which

indicates an affiliation with two different ethnic groups within Nigeria, was often a topic of interest for participants and other community members, who would ask me to clarify my ethnic identity.

While my insider identity was beneficial to me in many ways, mobilizing an outsider identity sometimes yielded access and opportunities that my insider status did not. I was aware of how various factors could have implications for the way people perceived me and consequently affect my access to people and data in the field. In some situations and interactions, I found it necessary to foreground an outsider identity to overcome limitations to access that seemed to exist only for insiders. My own navigation of the insider-outsider continuum led me to take note of when, why, and how diaspora and homeland participants mobilized their own and their partners' various positionalities.

Like some of my diaspora participants, I was concerned about possibly contributing to a deficit rhetoric of Nigerian institutions and scholars. Recognizing my position as a Nigerian-born researcher based at a U.S. institution, I strive to avoid engaging in practices that may be harmful to the scholars and institutions involved in my research while also ensuring that I represent participants' experiences and accounts accurately.

Ethical Considerations

To conduct this study, I obtained Institutional Review Board (IRB) approval from the University of Wisconsin–Madison (UW–Madison) as well as institutional authorization from the University of Ibadan and the University of Lagos. Each participant had the opportunity to review the consent form prior to their participation. Both my invitation to participate and the IRB-approved consent form made it clear that participation in the study was entirely voluntary. The

form also stated that individuals may end their participation at any time without penalty. The consent form included a description of the research, what participation would entail, any associated risks and benefits, how participants' confidentiality would be protected, and contact details for the research team and the UW–Madison IRB.

LeCompte & Schensul (2010) note that complete anonymity cannot be guaranteed in ethnographic research because researchers know their participants and may be noticed by other community members in the course of interviewing and observing participants. Participation in this research presented a potential risk of breach of confidentiality and a risk of revealing personal, identifiable information. To minimize these risks, data was stored on a password-protected computer, and each participant was assigned a pseudonym. Interviews were audio recorded with participants' permission, and the audio recordings were transcribed by the researcher alone to maintain participants' confidentiality. Because the Nigerian research sites are named in this study, I take great care to describe participants in ways that do not compromise their confidentiality.

Limitations

As with any study, this study suffers from certain limitations. The biggest limitation was the challenge of recruiting participants in informal diaspora-homeland initiatives. According to Zeleza (2013), informal partnerships are more common than formal collaborations. However, by definition they are not formally documented. Therefore, I only learned about these informal efforts if I happened to stumble across them, and I could not do a methodical study of them. It is possible that informal initiatives differ in significant ways from the formal collaborations I studied. Second, I experienced difficulties locating eligible participants due to outdated or

missing contact information. Of the 100 people I wished to recruit for the study, I was unable to find reliable contact information for 14. The absence of these actors may have shaped my findings in ways I cannot adequately anticipate. Third, the restricted availability of and access to records of diaspora-homeland collaborations at the research sites is a major limitation of the study. Such records could have provided valuable documentation to further triangulate what I learned via interviews, and they could have helped me identify other partnerships to include in the study. Finally, while I initially intended to conduct extensive observations of collaborations in action as a data collection strategy, that was not feasible given the three-month academic strike, which limited the types of activities I could observe in the field.

Chapter 4

Motivating Factors for Engagement

At the forefront of diaspora-homeland higher education initiatives are the individuals who bring them to fruition—U.S.-based African diaspora scholars and Nigeria-based scholars. While formalized diaspora-homeland collaborations are fairly recent, diaspora intellectuals have long engaged in informal partnerships with their counterparts at Nigerian institutions, focusing on activities, such as curriculum development, research and teaching collaborations, and student and junior faculty mentoring. With funding from initiatives such as the Carnegie African Diaspora Fellowship Program (CADFP), Nigeria's Linkages with Experts and Academics in the Diaspora Scheme (LEADS), and the Fulbright U.S. Scholar Program,[17] diaspora scholars have been able to participate in a growing number of formal international engagements.

This chapter uncovers the perceived benefits of and motivating factors for diaspora-homeland collaborations (RQ 1). It argues that motivating factors for participants in these initiatives are largely rooted in cooperation and competitiveness, two central paradigms of internationalization (van der Wende, 2001; Rumbley et al., 2012; Wadhwa, 2016). To support this argument, this chapter presents three findings sections, two of which focus on the primary motivating factors from the perspectives of homeland scholars and diaspora scholars, respectively. The third findings section examines diaspora and homeland views on international student mobility as an outcome of these academic initiatives and analyzes the implications of international student mobility for Nigerian and—to a lesser extent—U.S. higher education

[17] Although the Fulbright program is not a diaspora engagement initiative, diaspora scholars sometimes utilize Fulbright fellowships to engage with Nigerian higher education institutions.

institutions. These three sections are followed by a supplemental section on scholars' perceptions of their counterparts' motives for participating in the collaborations. The findings presented in this chapter draw on and contribute to existing literature on internationalization of higher education, which is reviewed in depth in Chapter 2, by demonstrating the ways in which Nigerian universities' position in the global knowledge economy shapes their motivation for and approach to internationalization. I conclude the chapter with a summary of my key findings, which reveal that homeland scholars' participation in diaspora-homeland collaborations is primarily driven by the prospect of increased global competitiveness and visibility, where diaspora scholars seek to "give back" to their place of origin. In the concluding section, I discuss these findings and their significance, including the implications of a highly competitive global higher education arena for Nigerian institutions.

Homeland Perspectives

Across interviews, Nigeria-based faculty and administrators generally demonstrated eagerness for diaspora-homeland collaborations, and international engagements more broadly, motivated primarily by the desire to promote internationalization and capacity building. Interviews with homeland participants, along with an analysis of physical and virtual documents pertaining to international engagements at the research sites, revealed a strong desire to advance the competitiveness and visibility of their institution, scholars, and students. My study findings align with the results of previous International Association of Universities (IAU) surveys, which reveal capacity building, strengthening competitiveness, internationalizing students and faculty, and improving international profile as the top national- and institutional-level internationalization rationales in Africa. Hence, competitiveness and visibility are recurring

themes throughout this section. In many instances, scholars' motivating factors were shaped by their previous experiences in international collaborations and anticipated outcomes of future engagements.

Improved Global Standing

The global higher education arena is becoming increasingly competitive (Knight, 2013a). The manifestations of this heightened competitiveness include the prominence of global rankings and the emphasis on status as a global or world-class institution (Deardorff et al., 2012; Rumbley et al., 2012). Helms et al. (2015) state that,

> In some cases, internationalization policies are tied to initiatives to create 'world class' universities, generally raise the visibility and stature of the national higher education system on the world stage, and improve the status of a country's institutions in global rankings. Policies that deal with cross-border education and partnerships may be seen as contributing to these objectives (p. 7).

This section demonstrates the centrality of competitiveness and visibility in Nigerian universities' approach to internationalization, which is inclusive of international academic collaborations. Both research sites had a university-wide internationalization strategy, which was highly focused on increasing competitiveness and visibility of the institution, its scholars, and students. At the University of Ibadan (UI), the website for the Office of International Programmes (OIP) emphasizes the university's long-standing commitment to internationalization:

> The University of Ibadan has a long history of internationalization since its inception in 1948.[18] It has always made internationalization a top priority. This is encapsulated in its vision statement: to be a world-class institution for academic excellence geared towards meeting societal needs.

[18] It is noteworthy that the University of Ibadan (formerly University College Ibadan) was initially established during British colonial rule as an affiliate college of the University of London (see pp. 12-13 for additional information).

The OIP's website also spells out a mission which includes, "promoting a reputable international presence."

Similarly, the web page for University of Lagos's (Unilag) Office of International Relations, Partnerships and Prospects (IRPP) states:

> In order to sustain a global reputation, the University consistently seeks active collaboration with international institutions for various purposes which include: students and staff exchange programmes and curriculum development, joint conferences, research collaborations and others. The University of Lagos established the Office of International Relations, Partnerships and Prospects with the aim of promoting collaborations and linkages with foreign institutions and agencies.

In addition to IRPP's web page, my interview with a representative of the office revealed the importance of competitiveness in the institution's internationalization agenda:

> **DF**: I'm curious about the internationalization strategies. In addition to the exchange of scholars and students, what other strategies does the office, and the university at large, engage in?
>
> **IRPP**[19]: The University of Lagos's internationalization agenda is anchored on key goals, I would say objectives. The first one is to promote student and staff exchange between Unilag and partner institutions…The second one is to increase the competitiveness of our students in the global economy…The third one is to try to go into partnerships that can assist members of our faculty to increase their research visibility.

This individual's response conveyed Unilag's institutional-level emphasis on enhancing competitiveness and visibility through internationalization. Further, during my time at the University of Lagos, I observed a meeting during which Prof. A, an upper-level administrator reiterated the university's vision and mission. He said, "It is our vision to be a top-class institution…Our mission…is to provide a conducive environment for teaching, learning, research, and development, where staff and students will interact and compete effectively with their

[19] This participant's pseudonym is intentionally replaced with the office's acronym here, as other references to this individual may compromise their anonymity.

counterparts globally" (observation). His comment highlighted the significance of competitiveness in the institution's overall mission, which corroborated the data obtained through content analysis of IRPP's website and an interview with a representative.

The importance of internationalization and the prominence of global competitiveness and visibility transcend the institutional level in Nigeria. In 2018, the National Universities Commission (NUC), Nigeria's parastatal agency responsible for the development of the nation's universities, held a retreat focused on the internationalization of university education in Nigeria. A communiqué from that event explained that "globalization has made it politically, economically, socially and educationally compelling for Nigerian universities to pursue Internationalization of Higher Education (IHE), for global competitiveness." The communiqué also stressed the "need for Nigerian universities to enhance global visibility for improved ranking and easy access to grants and partnerships." These examples reflect the competitive context in which modern universities exist and approach internationalization.

Although neither of my research sites had an explicit strategy for diaspora engagement, interviews with university faculty and administrators revealed that they viewed collaborations with diaspora scholars as both a form of and a catalyst for internationalization. They generally believed that diaspora-homeland initiatives facilitate internationalization by improving the university's global visibility. During our interview, Prof. H at the University of Ibadan expressed this view:

> **DF**: What do you perceive as the effects of these collaborations on internationalization at this institution?
>
> **Prof. H**: Well, you know the university has always been interested in internationalization of programs here to be able to meet standards anywhere in the world…The university is

> very interested in being visible, you know, all over the world. And the ranking. The university is also concerned about the ranking.
>
> **DF**: Global rankings?
>
> **Prof. H**: Global rankings, yes. The university is very concerned, and what we realized is that in the past, most of our outputs, we had not put them on the [internet] at all. So, we have not been very visible on the global scene…If the [diaspora engagement] program is pursued seriously, I think it's going to make a lot of impact.

The belief that diaspora engagement can positively impact Nigerian universities' global visibility was shared by another University of Ibadan professor, Prof. I, who stated:

> [Diaspora-homeland collaboration] helps to drive [internationalization]…It helps to improve the [university's] profile globally; it helps to attract more attention to what we do on the continent. And then the effect is that more people come, and then there's a multiplier effect.

The notion that diaspora-homeland collaborations would multiply future international linkages was voiced by several participants. While there is currently insufficient evidence to support this idea, I acknowledge that the universities' status as a frequent host of diaspora scholars played a role in my decision making about research sites for this study. In selecting my two sites, I examined publicly available databases of formal scholar exchange programs and diaspora-homeland initiatives in Nigeria to determine which institutions were the most popular sites for these collaborations. In the absence of similar information regarding informal linkages, I selected the two most frequent host universities for formal initiatives as my research sites. It is possible that diaspora scholars may consider an institution's previous experiences hosting visiting scholars in their decision to engage, but my study findings show that 74 percent of diaspora-homeland collaborations were initiated based on a preexisting relationship between the diaspora fellow and the host institution, department, or scholar.

Several participants felt that diaspora-homeland collaborations would have a positive impact on their university's global standing, and they were driven by that optimism to participate in the initiatives. Prof. K expressed that:

> Part of the universal rating yardstick is that you should be able to collaborate. The rating criteria take [into consideration] the level of collaboration between universities, between individuals in different universities…So, University of Lagos is usually very eager to honor this kind of application. (Interview)

Prof. O, in our interview, described how the university's commitment to improving its global ranking pushed departments to host visiting scholars in spite of their financial precarity:

> If UI is to be a global player…you want that internationalization because it's part of the benchmarks, even for assessing universities. How many scholars did you bring into the university…? They all play a role in the global metric ranking. So, we are very much aware of that. That's why we have to go and find money anywhere to ensure that you do that.

Additionally, Prof. F, an upper-level administrator at one of the research sites stated,

> So funding or availability of resources could be a challenge, but…because we want to internationalize, we receive foreigners, not only diasporan Nigerians, but of course they form a substantial part of that…it's something that we like to do because we want to be a world-class institution. (Interview)

African universities struggle to be viewed as legitimate partners for international engagements (Foulds & Zeleza, 2014), and the desire to be valued members of the global knowledge economy compels Nigerian universities to host diaspora scholars even when they lack adequate resources to both host the fellow and optimize their visit. While aiming to strengthen the capacity of African universities, these collaborations can pose a financial risk by pushing institutions to contribute resources that they may not have.

Some homeland scholars conveyed an expectation that the exposure to different perspectives offered through diaspora-homeland linkages would help their institutions adopt practices that would lead to higher global rankings. According to Prof. D, "when you talk about

internationalization at the global level you are actually doing things [to] be globally competitive, and I think exposure to what obtains in other climes will actually bring us to that stage." Prof. G. added that through these collaborations, "we see things from a global perspective and see how things are done in other places…you can now strike a balance and have opportunities for best practices."

Jibril and Obaje (2008) argue that internationalization activities are extremely beneficial at the institutional level, "potentially yielding significant improvements in access to higher education, quality of teaching, and expanded research opportunities, and therefore raising the university's profile in global rankings" (p. 354). Global university rankings—such as the Times Higher Education (THE) World University Rankings and the QS World University Rankings—do indeed measure internationalization in the form of international outlook (THE)[20] or international mix of faculty and students (QS)[21], although it does not carry as much weight as other performance indicators (i.e., teaching, research, and citations)—it accounts for only 7.5 percent (for THE) and 10 percent (for QS) of the ranking. While several participants believed that a large number of international engagements would inherently improve their global standing, the actual relevance of these initiatives to their global ranking is dependent upon the effectiveness of the collaborations in producing the anticipated benefits, such as capacity building in research and teaching as well as improved visibility, which might result in increased citations—all of which have a greater impact on their global ranking than international collaborations alone.

[20] THE rankings measure the proportion of international students (2.5%) and staff (2.5%) and international collaborations (2.5%), which together constitute 7.5% of the ranking (THE, 2019).

[21] The QS World University Rankings measure internationalization by institutions' ability to recruit international faculty and students. International faculty and student ratio, each 5%, comprise 10% of the ranking (QS, 2020).

The above-mentioned interviews demonstrate participants' awareness of the weight of global university rankings, which influence internationalization strategies as universities strive to attain higher rankings (Scott, 2013). They also validate Deardorff et al.'s (2012) assertion that higher education institutions and academic programs are now engaged in fierce competition to attain high rankings. Moreover, the interviews reveal that Nigeria-based scholars and administrators generally understood that their institutions approached internationalization and international engagements from a disadvantaged position due to lack of funding and resources, and they believed that diaspora-homeland collaborations help to promote internationalization by exposing participants to different educational perspectives and enhancing their university's visibility, global standing, and competitiveness, thereby making it more appealing and viable as a prospective partner for international collaborations and partnerships. Their responses underscore how the shortage of critical resources and funding has marginalized Nigerian universities and their scholars in the global knowledge economy. They also highlight how Nigerian universities' financial precarity could be exacerbated by internationalization and suggest that international collaborations can potentially deepen inequalities between scholars and institutions.

Opponents of the ranking system (Altbach et al., 2016; Collins & Park, 2016; Hazelkorn, 2013; Larsen, 2016; Shahjahan et al., 2017) posit that global rankings are methodologically flawed and intended to favor well-funded and highly-esteemed anglophone institutions. The most significant metric for the QS World University Ranking, for instance, is academic reputation, which comprises 40 percent of an institution's ranking (QS, 2020). Employer reputation is also worth 10 percent of the ranking, which implies that 50 percent of the ranking is based on

reputation[22] alone. This evidence supports Hazelkorn's (2013) argument that rankings mirror the priorities of the ranker and are, therefore, not objective, nor do they necessarily reflect the quality of education (p. 84). Altbach (2016b) maintains that existing inequalities in the global knowledge network are deeply engrained, historically and systemically favoring nations and institutions in the so-called global North. Collins and Park (2016) point out that "as a calculative regime, ranking systems work primarily through visibility" (p. 124). As such, global rankings tend to favor universities that already enjoy international prestige. Critics further posit that global rankings homogenize higher education institutions and reify western hegemony by reinforcing "existing hierarchies of status and power" (Larsen, 2016, p. 162).

Capacity Building

In addition to internationalization, homeland participants identified capacity building as a primary motivating factor for diaspora-homeland collaborations. Based on their experiences with visiting diaspora fellows, Nigeria-based participants perceived a positive effect on capacity building, especially in the areas of curriculum development, teaching, student mentoring, and junior faculty mentoring. This positive perception encouraged their continued engagement of diaspora scholars. Reflecting on his previous collaboration, Prof. O stated, "our curriculum has been enhanced through her visit here." He described in great detail how the diaspora fellow he hosted improved the graduate curriculum of his program by developing a combination of field-specific and research methodology courses, mentoring graduate students, and teaching them how to assess peer-reviewed articles. She also worked with faculty and staff in the host

[22] Academic reputation measures institutions' opinions of teaching and research quality at other universities, whereas for employer reputation, employers identify the institutions "from which they source the most competent, innovative, and effective graduates" (QS, 2020).

department to establish a research group for faculty and graduate students, which has continued to meet post-collaboration.

Prof. A viewed diaspora-homeland collaborations as an effective and affordable way to develop the curriculum. During our interview, he said,

> Impact [of the collaborations on capacity building] is good and should be encouraged because that's the only way we could have, the cheapest way really you know of getting emerging areas consolidated and then of course strengthening other areas.

Prof. L also expressed how instrumental collaborations with diaspora scholars were in establishing the curriculum for disciplines that were new in Nigeria and in providing teaching and learning resources:

> [This field[23]] actually is kind of nascent in Nigeria. It's new as a discipline in Nigeria. Very few universities have regular BSc in [the field]…Her own expertise is on this fieldwork practicum…Apart from this training now to professionalize [the field] practicum, she's bringing in books to us. (Interview)

Additionally, Prof. N conveyed her satisfaction with the perceived impact of her ongoing, multi-year collaboration. Her response illustrates that she and her diaspora partner were intentional about creating far-reaching and sustainable effects:

> What we did was to invite him over to come and train students, most graduate and staff in [quantitative] programming…So he trained the first set of students and then the second set of people. And what we have had people, particularly students, do now is train their own colleagues, which we did successfully…I'm not just reaching or impacting directly on my students alone, it's going across faculties. It's going across institutions. (Interview)

She described the trainings they offered as having a ripple effect across campus and the greater community. Its design was such that eventually the trainings would be a self-sustaining effort, no longer relying on the diaspora scholar's direct involvement to occur. This example as well as the

[23] The specific field is omitted for confidentiality.

previously-mentioned research group stood in contrast to other project results, which often dissipated after the end of the collaborations for a variety of reasons, mainly institutional bureaucracy and others, which will be addressed in the upcoming chapter on the challenges of diaspora-homeland initiatives.

Based on his past experience as an administrator in charge of overseeing diaspora engagement at his institution and as a host in a diaspora-homeland initiative, Prof. M cited the shortage of skills and resources endemic to the Nigerian higher education system as a reason to consider the diaspora as a valuable resource for the capacity building of Nigerian and African universities: "We're in a skills-shortage context…for a continent that is resource-strapped and especially so in the human capacity dimension…, you have to integrate [the diaspora] into the resource equation (Interview)." Speaking of the diaspora's contributions, he described how diaspora scholars donate equipment, time, and other resources to the university. Specifically, he recalled a particular individual who regularly came to his institution to teach graduate-level courses in the summer:

> He would come to Nigeria with his own money, teach the two courses at the master's level, expecting nothing in return, in fact, being given nothing. And he had been doing it for years, and he wasn't the only one. There were others…I saw what the diaspora was doing…The spirit of giving, service virtually for nothing in return. That was when we started talking about this whole thing as not a brain drain but a brain gain! Because in critical areas, a lot of the skills were being brought in literally free of charge. (Prof. M, Interview)

This participant raises the idea of diaspora engagement turning "brain drain" to "brain gain"—both are concepts that are discussed extensively in literature on transnationalism. As this body of literature is reviewed in depth in Chapter 3, this section considers transnationalism only as it pertains to the discussion at hand.

Moving away from the once prevalent view of emigration as a permanent loss of talent for the country or origin, the past three decades of studies on migration and development have drawn more attention to transnational immigrants—defined as those who are rooted in their host countries and simultaneously maintain linkages to their countries of origin (Glick Schiller et al., 1995)—and their potential to transform brain drain into brain circulation, "the global mobility of talent" (Welch & Zhen, 2008, p. 521). Interviews with homeland scholars (and diaspora scholars, as the upcoming section will demonstrate) exemplified this shift in the perception of emigration and its implications for the home country.

Increased Exposure to Resources and Opportunities

To a lesser extent than internationalization and capacity building, I found heightened exposure to resources and opportunities to be another motivating factor and benefit for homeland scholars. Through diaspora-homeland collaborations, Nigeria-based scholars were often made aware of international funding and professional development opportunities for themselves as well as study abroad, conference presentation, and publication opportunities for their students that they otherwise may not have discovered. Prof. M stated,

> There are so many opportunities that you may not even get to know. It could be somebody who visited that would post it, and these can be life- or career-changing…we've also benefited from alumni and diaspora people in the area of linking us with the global flow of resources…we got unbelievably overwhelming support from some of our diaspora people, colleagues. That led to major grants that funded new centers. (Interview)

Numerous scholars mentioned that they worked with diaspora scholars to apply for grants. While their applications were not always successful, they saw it as a worthwhile learning experience on grant-writing. Prof. O added that the visiting scholar he worked with "also disseminated

information about opportunities for international fellowships and scholarships" in addition to mentoring students (Interview).

Additionally, the collaborations would sometimes lead to a formal partnership, through the establishment of a memorandum of understanding (MOU), between the Nigerian host institutions and the diaspora scholars' home institutions in the U.S. During our interview, Prof. B said, "we've had MOUs initiated on our behalf by diaspora scholars…they have actually been very helpful in opening for us different worlds of opportunities that are otherwise not available to us." This idea that scholars in Nigeria do not have access to the same resources and opportunities as those in the U.S. was corroborated by diaspora scholars' accounts. Among the most notable testimonies to this effect was Prof. P's statement that "[diaspora and homeland scholars] have access to different resources, and we have different comparative advantages" (Interview). She expressed that homeland scholars have access to local knowledge and history, whereas U.S.-based diaspora scholars have access to resources, such as data and funding, necessary for conducting research and producing knowledge. She believed that "combining that local expertise and local knowledge with access to these resources would be an amazing boost to Nigerian universities" (Interview).

This section has revealed that homeland scholars' and institutions' participation in diaspora-homeland collaborations was primarily motivated by the prospect of increased competitiveness and visibility and less significantly by the desire for greater access to international resources and opportunities. This finding sheds light on how Nigerian institutions' marginalization in the global knowledge economy shapes their approach to internationalization and capacity building. Additionally, it highlights the highly competitive context in which higher

education institutions operate and the pressure institutions feel to achieve or maintain the status of a world-class institution.

Diaspora Perspectives

Survey and interview responses from diaspora scholars revealed that the main motivating factor for their participation in diaspora-homeland higher education initiatives was the desire to give back to their home country or continent. Less salient factors included the opportunity to collaborate with homeland scholars and to recruit international students. A few scholars also identified racism and xenophobia in the U.S. as a motivating factor, although it was not as prominent as expected based on literature on transnationalism as well as the current racial climate and recent surge of anti-immigrant sentiments in the U.S.

"Giving Back"

> "I feel morally obligated to help where I came from" (Prof. AL, interview).

Diaspora scholars viewed themselves as privileged and positioned to "give back" by contributing to capacity building and development of the Nigerian higher education system. The quote above is from an interview with a U.S.-based professor who reluctantly emigrated from Nigeria 30 years ago. He initially came to the U.S. to pursue his doctorate degree, after which he returned to Nigeria and became a university lecturer. As the father of young children, the erosion of educational quality and infrastructure as well as the unstable political situation in the country made it difficult for him to remain. Combined with the downturn of the Nigerian economy, those factors ultimately pushed him to leave. Although he did not want to leave the country, he believed it was the best option for his family and for his livelihood:

> If I could make a living in Nigeria, just a decent living…I don't need to be wealthy, I would still be in Nigeria now. And it really truly pains me that I can't. And so whatever

> opportunity I get, I will do whatever I can [to help]…I've been able to do things even now for Nigeria that I wouldn't have been able to do if I had just stayed in Nigeria. So, no regrets. (Prof. AO, interview)

In his roles as a professor and dean at his university, Prof. AO prioritized creating linkages between his home institution and HEIs in Africa and was able to establish an institutional partnership between his home university and host institution in Nigeria, which enabled the provision of resources and international training opportunities for Nigeria-based scholars. He participated in both informal, self-funded collaborations and the Carnegie African Diaspora Fellowship Program, through which he conducted workshops, research, and student and faculty mentoring.

In his survey response, Prof. AO indicated that he was motivated to participate in diaspora-homeland collaborations by the same factors that led him to return to Nigeria after completing his doctoral degree in the U.S. During our interview, I asked him what those factors were, and his response was:

> I'm not entire sure how best to put this, but I don't think I would be able to live with myself if I didn't go back. So, there was no question…It was important for me to go back, and I fully intended to stay in Nigeria.

Although he has lived in the U.S. for 30 years now, his sense of obligation to Nigeria has not waned. Like Prof. AO, other diaspora participants articulated feeling a sense of obligation to their home country. They expressed wanting to give back to a society and system that invested in them and "played a role in [their] development" (Prof. AQ, survey).

Several diaspora scholars from Nigeria were driven to participate in these interventions by what they described as shortcomings of the Nigerian higher education system, some of which impacted them negatively while they were still students and lecturers in the country. In his

interview, Dr. BA vocalized feeling compelled to contribute to Nigeria's higher education system in spite of his somewhat disappointing experience within it: "There's a need to contribute to the intellectual hub in Nigeria…to give back to the system even when the system has given you almost nothing. You still feel that responsibility."

As the examples below reveal, diaspora participants sometimes framed their desire to give back and their engagement in problematic ways:

> There's the burning desire in me to want to give back to my home country in terms of knowledge impartation…apart from the fact that the students are also receiving whatever part of me rubbed off on them, but seeing me doing that teaching in my home country gives me some innate joy. (Prof. AH, interview)

> The result of knowledge transfer is such that people on ground will get inspired by some things they learned from the fellows. (Prof. AP, interview)

These statements demonstrate the participants' objectification of knowledge and a view of Nigerian students and scholars as vessels into which they can deposit the knowledge they possess (Freire, 1996). By framing the collaborations as an opportunity to "impart knowledge," several diaspora scholars positioned themselves as givers and homeland scholars, student, and institutions as recipients. A number of homeland scholars also perpetuated this framing. In speaking about the perceived impact of the collaborations on knowledge production at his institution, Prof. A said, "[the impact] is great…in terms of knowledge production. [Diaspora scholars] come to infuse, not only on students but on the faculty who work closely with them." His comment reveals internalization of the idea that Nigeria-based faculty and students must rely on Northern-based scholars to generate scholarship and share it with them. This problematic framing and its implications are discussed in greater detail in Chapter 6.

Collaborations with Local Scholars

Several diaspora participants cited the desire to collaborate with local scholars as a motivating factor for their engagement in Nigerian higher education. These diaspora scholars benefited from access to local knowledge and expertise through their collaborations with homeland scholars, as the responses below demonstrate:

> With regards to research, those of us in the Diaspora do not have enough [local] knowledge about the issues of some of our research questions, so collaborating with researchers in the homeland helps to enrich the research process especially in asking the right questions and identifying the appropriate variables to use in our analysis. (Prof. Q, survey)

Prof. AL articulated on his survey that the "expertise of scholars in Nigeria in specific areas" was a motivating factor and a benefit of his collaborations. Another diaspora scholar, Prof. P, added,

> I think they [Nigeria-based scholars] have a comparative advantage because they have the local knowledge and they have the local context, and yet they're shut out of a lot of the kind of mainstream conversations or the international conversations on economic development in Africa because they don't have access either to visiting positions at the universities or research resources…There has been a lot of development work that has been done on Africa that, lacking the input of local African scholars, has led to some very unfortunate results and very unfortunate policy decision-making that was then implemented in African countries…I think that Nigerian scholars, local scholars especially have a huge advantage because of their access to local experiences and also their access to local history. (Interview)

This participant's comment acknowledges the value of Africa-based scholars' contextual knowledge and highlights one of the detrimental effects of their exclusion from critical conversations about the development of African countries. This aligns with Teferra's (2013) statement that "knowledge, innovation and discourse generated and developed by African universities, albeit meager, remain largely underutilized, and worse, often ignored." Considering their marginalization, it is no wonder that Nigerian scholars and institutions are eager to increase their visibility.

As someone who did not have preexisting relationships with Nigerian institutions and scholars, Prof. P articulated how Nigerian scholars' lack of visibility complicated her efforts to locate scholars working on topics of interest. Based on her experience, she suggested one way to mitigate the issue:

> People need to put their information online. It's so hard to find anybody's info. What are you working on? What is your research? What are you teaching? Like nothing…You go to the department…and you're like okay, so who is doing what? Can I see something that you're working on? You know, because I'm the one who's always fighting foreigners, oyinbo[24] people about how they never cite African scholars. Why aren't they inviting Africans to the conferences? Then I'm like okay, let's go find African scholars at the universities…and [they're] invisible…I actually came to [this Nigerian city] myself before, last year for a conference, and that's how I met people, people that I would not have found online. I had to come physically, but not everybody can do that…come multiple times to create relationships before [they] visit [to collaborate]. (Interview)

Prof. P noted that she was an advocate for the inclusion of African voices in academic publications and conferences. However, she found her efforts limited by Nigerian scholars' minimal or nonexistent online presence, which made it difficult to identify scholars and their work. Her comment highlights that visibility is a prerequisite for inclusion.

This section has demonstrated that diaspora scholars' participation in diaspora-homeland higher education collaborations was primarily motivated by the desire to "give back" to their home country or continent. To a lesser extent, the opportunity to collaborate with homeland scholars was also a motivating factor, along with the desire to recruit international students, which will be discussed in the following section.

[24] Oyinbo is a term used in Yoruba language and Nigerian Pidgin English to refer to white people or foreigners.

International Student Mobility

Jowi (2009) posits that internationalization in Africa is both a great opportunity and a great risk. One of the top-ranked risks of internationalization identified by African survey respondents in 2003 was brain drain. Sehoole (as cited in Rumbley et al., 2012) adds that outbound student mobility outnumbers inbound student mobility in most African countries, and few students return to their home countries or home institutions after engaging in studies abroad. In spite of the wide recognition of higher education as a means to facilitate economic growth, Semali et al. (2013) warn that emigration of highly educated individuals may impede the realization of that outcome. As such, brain drain is a serious threat to Africa's attempts to become a valued contributor to the global knowledge economy (Jowi, 2009). International student mobility was among the most salient forms of internationalization promoted by diaspora-homeland collaborations. This section examines diaspora and homeland scholars' perspectives of international student mobility as an outcome of diaspora-homeland collaborations.

Diaspora Perspectives - Inbound Student Mobility

Interviews with U.S.-based scholars illustrate that they and their institutions view the recruitment of international students from Nigeria as a desirable outcome of, and in some cases a motivating factor for, diaspora-homeland collaborations. As one of the top host countries for international students, the U.S. has measured the financial capital realized when higher education is appraised as an export (Rumbley et al., 2012). The United States hosted over one million international students in 2018 (Lu, 2020), and according to the U.S. Department of Commerce, they contributed approximately $41 billion to the U.S. economy. Today, international education is the nation's fourth largest export industry (Lu, 2020). The financial benefit of

recruitment in U.S. higher education is indisputable. The cultural advantages are also remarkable, although in the capitalist economy, they are often overshadowed by the financial benefits.

It is, therefore, not surprising that fifty percent of interviewed diaspora participants mentioned international student recruitment as a benefit of their engagement with Nigerian higher education institutions. Through the recruitment of international students, U.S. colleges and universities advanced internationalization and diversity at their institutions. In some cases, it was apparent that diaspora scholars' home institutions were more interested in leveraging diaspora-homeland initiatives for the recruitment of international students than in the collaborations themselves. Rarely was the interest in attracting international students accompanied by a desire to pursue a formal partnership with the host university in Nigeria. During our interview, diaspora scholar Prof. Q made the following statement about her home institution:

> My home university is not very internationalized. I do these things because I want to do them not because they want me to. They just don't get in my way. They appreciate the exposure it gives them to have someone from their institution traveling abroad and participating in conferences and exchange programs, but it's not something the institution prioritizes. They're mostly interested in trying to get me to use those collaborations to recruit students.

While her home institution did not prioritize internationalization or even encourage her participation in diaspora-homeland collaborations, they wanted her to recruit international students. Similarly, when asked if and how diaspora fellows benefit from diaspora-homeland collaborations, Prof. AP described how his diaspora-homeland linkages enabled him to recruit "good" students and racially diversify his home department:

> **DF**: I noticed that most of the benefits you listed are for those in Nigeria. Do you think that the fellows themselves, the diaspora fellows, benefit as well? And if you do, in what ways?

> **Prof. AP**: I think there are a lot of benefits for the [diaspora] fellows themselves. As a faculty in North America, it is very very difficult to get good students. So, having that connection allows you to be able to get good students…Bringing students from Nigeria helps to diversify my program here. When I was hired here in my department, I was the first person of color, as they call it, in the department. There was no single African or African American graduate student. Zero. As of today, there are seven African, African-American graduate students in the program. They are from all over the place, of course, mostly Nigerian. (Interview)

This response highlights that the recruitment of Nigerian students not only bolsters U.S. universities' international student numbers, it also boosts their diversity by increasing the population of Black students.

A third diaspora scholar, Prof. X, indicated that the recruitment of Nigerian students was a benefit for both U.S. and Nigerian institutions. During our follow-up interview, he explained why he believed that to be the case:

> I believe it's a benefit both ways…If we have many people who are encouraged to get advanced degrees, they'll be in a better position to go back again and be able to give back in several ways…So it's going to be beneficial to have some well-talented folks from back home coming here and doing great things. It's going to be beneficial to them and also to the institution, for example. It is also a great opportunity to identify and recruit talented students to pursue advanced graduate programs in [the] diaspora and contribute to Africa's development in the long run. (Survey)

These scholars do not inherently view the emigration of students from Nigeria as "brain drain," in part because they anticipate that it will ultimately yield "brain circulation"—"the global mobility of talent" (Welch & Zhen, 2008, p. 521), which would benefit Nigerian institutions. While this expectation implies that scholars participating in diaspora-homeland initiatives have a positive perception of the diaspora's actual and potential contributions to Nigerian higher education, one significant flaw is that it positions Nigerian universities as perpetually dependent

on external interventions, constantly relying on locals turned diaspora to "give back" and help address, among other challenges, the dearth of qualified academic staff.

Homeland Perspectives - Outbound Student Mobility

Turning now to homeland perspectives, several Nigeria-based scholars reported that their diaspora collaborators often facilitated international student mobility by helping Nigerian students gain the chance to complete short-term study abroad and research projects at U.S. universities, usually the scholar's home institution. In multiple cases, students' experiences at U.S. institutions would be long term, as they would stay to pursue advanced degrees there. Scholars who reported international student mobility as an outcome of diaspora-homeland collaborations often perceived it as a positive outcome.

Prof. H was among those who framed the outbound mobility of Nigerian students in a positive light. During our interview, he proudly discussed how several students from his department had been recruited by his diaspora collaborators:

> Prof. * took one of our, I mean made room for one of our students to come to the University of * and pursue a master's program there. And when the boy left, to show you that we are doing a good job here, the guy was so outstanding in the university over there that he got admission and scholarship to * University, one of those top universities in the U.S. Dr. * also helped in getting some of our students over there. I think we have about 4 or 5 now in both University of * and * University.

Like Prof. H, several other participants viewed the international recruitment of their students as a positive outcome. Prof. M was one of them. In our interview, he shared that his previous experience as a university administrator who oversaw student and scholar mobility made him optimistic that students and scholars who left Nigeria would ultimately return:

> Of course, part of the down—I don't think it's a downside—could be the tendency that those [students] being groomed, being impacted also will become part of the diaspora. It's a possibility, but for me, it's not negative because it's a plus…When we were in office

> [as administrators at the university], we were able to manage that, so, a lot of people we sent abroad eventually came back home.

Additionally, Prof. C, an administrator at the University of Lagos, perceived international student recruitment as a benefit that his institution could offer in international partnerships:

> There are quite a number of benefits, and those benefits are both ways. For universities coming from the U.S. or from Europe, for instance, the University of Lagos—we have a student population of [approximately] 60,000, and out of that student population, [they] can draw a sizable number of them for postgraduate programs. So, in terms of student recruitment, that is one area they can benefit. (Interview)

Collectively, the above-mentioned excerpts illustrate that the recruitment of Nigerian students by foreign institutions is viewed favorably by several, though not all, Nigeria-based scholars. It is noteworthy that over half of homeland participants completed an advanced degree or postdoctoral training in North America or Europe and afterwards returned to Nigeria. Their international educational background and experiences engaging with diaspora scholars who were largely committed to "giving back" may explain why homeland scholars viewed their students leaving for schools abroad as a positive opportunity for them to gain an international outlook and acquire skills that would eventually be advantageous for the Nigerian system.

There was, however, one dissenting voice. Prof. J felt that the outward mobility of students was bittersweet, and he reminisced about a time when Nigerian universities were better able to attract international students: "What happens [now] is people coming here to take students away to other countries—it's almost a negative thing—whereas before we used to be able to attract them" (Interview).

Brain Drain or Not? It is problematic that the very people being looked to as the potential solution for issues caused in part by emigration-induced brain drain are seemingly promoting further brain drain by recruiting international students from Nigeria to the U.S., with the hope

that they will ultimately facilitate brain circulation and engage in efforts to advance higher education in their home country. However, Rizvi (2005) problematizes the concept of brain drain, arguing that outward mobility does not always constitute brain drain, particularly in cases in which the migrant leaves the home country due to the unlikelihood of finding employment in their field of expertise, maintains valuable ties with the country of origin, or returns to the country of origin after gaining skills. "It is therefore misleading to interpret all kinds of transnational flows of people in terms of a singular problem, under the general rubric of the term 'brain drain'" (p. 182).

The present study provides one case in particular, which lends itself as a useful illustration of Rizvi's (2005) argument. A diaspora participant who was sponsored by his alma mater in Nigeria to obtain an advanced degree abroad returned to Nigeria upon completion of his degree to join the university's faculty. After teaching there for a few years, he ultimately found the economic and political instability in Nigeria unbearable and permanently emigrated to the U.S. During our interview, he said:

> It became clear that if I wanted to remain a professor, I would have to leave. If I wanted to be a rice merchant or cement merchant or things like that, then I could stay…So, I had to leave…unfortunately…If I could make a living in Nigeria, just a decent living…I would still be in Nigeria now…I've been able to do things even now for Nigeria that I wouldn't have been able to do if I had just stayed.

In this individual's case, his inability to make a decent wage in his chosen field was among the push factors that led to his departure, and although he left Nigeria over two decades ago, he has remained actively engaged in capacity strengthening and internationalization efforts at Nigerian universities and has leveraged his position at a U.S. institution to facilitate partnerships between U.S. and African higher education institutions.

When considered alongside Nigeria's high unemployment rate, overpopulated universities, and scarcity of resources at HEIs, the recruitment of Nigerian students may not be construed as brain drain, especially if those students remain connected to the country and eventually return to share their acquired skills. One may argue that the emigration of Nigerian students would help to alleviate some of the aforementioned factors. My participants' overall perception of the recruitment of Nigerian students as a benefit for both Nigeria and the U.S. supports Rizvi's position against the indiscriminate use of "brain drain" to describe outward mobility. The aforementioned factors make it clear that Nigeria and its higher education institutions lack the capacity to meet the needs of their dense population. Additionally, the anticipation of future remittances and engagement from diaspora members led the majority of diaspora and homeland participants to view the emigration of Nigerian students as an investment rather than as a loss.

It remains debatable whether the outward mobility of Nigerian students ultimately yields more loss or gain for the Nigerian higher education system and the economy at large. Whether this form of international mobility is framed as brain circulation or brain drain, it is clear that using diaspora-homeland collaborations to recruit students is an extractive, and potentially exploitative, approach to engaging with Nigerian universities, particularly in cases in which no institutional partnership exists between the diaspora fellow's home and host institutions.

Since previous efforts to mitigate brain drain (Knight, 2008) and attract members of the diaspora to return permanently have mostly been unsuccessful, diaspora-homeland collaborations provide a means for Nigerian higher education institutions to engage diaspora

scholars who are unlikely to return to Nigeria permanently but willing to contribute their expertise to strengthen the higher education system in collaboration with local scholars.

Perceptions of Scholars' Motives

This section supplements the previous sections on diaspora and homeland scholars' motivating factors by shedding light on how they perceived their counterparts' motives for participating in the collaborations. It is worth noting that participants were not asked about their counterparts' motives, yet several of them brought it up of their own accord.

Homeland Perceptions

Across interviews, it was evident that homeland scholars generally perceived that diaspora scholars were genuinely interested in and capable of helping them improve the capacity and quality of research and instruction at their institutions. A few homeland scholars described diaspora scholars' engagement as an expression of patriotism. They saw their collaborators as patriotic individuals dedicated to contributing to their country of origin and, in many cases, their former institution of affiliation (i.e., alma mater, former employer, or both).

To support his view of diaspora scholars as selfless participants in higher education initiatives, Prof. M alluded to some of the issues which visiting scholars had to navigate during the course of their in-person engagement: "The decision to come to Nigeria, even for Nigerians, is a very bold decision…Those are really self-sacrificing decisions to make in the midst of issues of security [and] lack of basic necessities." He also stated that diaspora scholars "come from a position of commitment and…feel highly motivated." Prof. A added that the "patriotic spirit" of Nigerian diaspora scholars made them appealing collaborators because they were eager to "give back."

In the midst of an overwhelmingly positive perception of diaspora scholars, some homeland scholars expressed a level of mistrust regarding their diaspora counterparts' motives, especially for those participating in formal initiatives in which visiting diaspora scholars were financially compensated. One homeland scholar in particular had quite a negative view of the diaspora. Prof. B, a professor and administrator at the University of Lagos, felt strongly that Nigerians in the diaspora left Nigeria for selfish and unpatriotic reasons, which also motivated their engagement: "the main reason why most Nigerian scholars go is to make more money…the ultimate goal for most of them is never patriotic…It's for selfish individual reasons. So, when they come back, it's not for patriotic reasons sometimes." He argued that while collaborations with diaspora scholars could offer great benefits, those benefits were not realized when they arrived with selfish intentions.

Although Prof. H at the University of Ibadan did not echo the insinuation that diaspora scholars were unpatriotic, he reiterated that benefits of diaspora-homeland collaborations would be hindered when diaspora scholars' participation was driven by selfish, ulterior motives. Specifically, he noted,

> It's possible you have some of them who just came home because they have relatives here—they may not even have time for what they have come for…I learned they're paid about $200 a day or something when they're here in Nigeria, and their flight is paid for by the Carnegie fellowship and so on…You can't get into people's mind and know whether they're really interested in making impact or they are seizing the advantage to benefit themselves. (Interview)

His statement reveals a suspicion that some diaspora scholars are not particularly interested in engaging in meaningful collaborations and participate in formal diaspora engagement initiatives primarily to capitalize on the financial compensation and provisions of the fellowship.

Surprisingly, one diaspora scholar's account supported Prof. H's suspicion. Diaspora scholar Prof. S felt that the lack of adequate resources at his host institution hindered the collaboration's effectiveness because he arrived there only to realize that he did not have access to necessary tools and that the environment was not conducive to achieving any of the proposed goals. He implied that some diaspora scholars were insincere about their motives and were only interested in the money they received for participating in the initiatives:

> I've heard of people that went; they were just there all through; they didn't do nothing. They were just there all through for the program then they came back. That is not my goal…What they're after is money; they're not after giving back. (Interview)

Diaspora Perceptions

Diaspora scholars were less vocal than homeland scholars on this topic, likely due to the fact that more diaspora participants were surveyed, and as a data collection instrument, surveys do not allow for the in-depth discussions that semi-structured interviews permit. There was, however, an underlying perception that Nigeria-based host scholars wanted to improve conditions at their institutions.

Like homeland scholars, the diaspora also expressed some doubts about what their Nigeria-based counterparts wanted out of the collaborations. Prof. Q stated,

> With some co-collaborators, it has taken years for us to get to a place where we understand each other and what we're trying to do together. For one person, it wasn't until after we won our second grant together that he really warmed up to our working together. Before that, when there wasn't any money in it for him, it was difficult to get him to be cooperative. (Interview)

Similarly, Dr. BA ascribed some homeland scholars' lack of interest to the fact that there was no financial compensation for them:

> That lack of you know enthusiasm in some of these things and what it might…people will ask you like "Is money involved?" You know, people just don't want to do things purely for intellectual enrichment. (Interview)

He had unsuccessfully tried to initiate an MOU between his home and host institutions and suspected that the effort foundered because there was no monetary compensation for homeland scholars. Another diaspora scholar, Prof. AD, also had an unproductive attempt at establishing an MOU. In speculating the reason why his effort failed, he said: "One thing I found out about people at home, if you develop an initiative that does not bring dollars into their pockets, they won't show any interest" (Interview).

This section has shed light on what diaspora and homeland scholars perceived their counterparts' motives to be for participating in these collaborations. Perceptions of financially-driven collaborators existed among both diaspora and homeland scholars, and in some cases, this created a sense of distrust among collaborators.

Discussion

For homeland and diaspora scholars, there were multiple factors driving their participation. In expressing their motivating factors, participants also reflected the perceived or desired outcomes of their partnerships. Homeland scholars revealed that their participation in diaspora-homeland collaborations was motivated primarily by the prospect of increased competitiveness and visibility and to a lesser extent by the desire for greater access to international resources and opportunities. They generally viewed collaborations with their diaspora counterparts as an effective approach to internationalization and capacity building.

Diaspora scholars, on the other hand, were largely driven by the desire to "give back" to their country or continent of origin. Less salient motivating factors included the opportunity to

collaborate with homeland scholars and recruit international students. Furthermore, participants' perceptions of their counterparts' motives were sometimes positive. In other cases, perceptions of unpatriotic or financially-driven motives created a sense of mistrust among collaborators. Overall, motivating factors for scholars in the homeland and in the diaspora reinforced the idea that diaspora-homeland initiatives have the potential to revitalize higher education in Nigeria.

These findings contribute to existing literature on higher education internationalization by shedding light on how Nigerian institutions' position in the global higher education economy shapes their approach to internationalization and capacity building. They highlight Nigerian universities' desire to emerge from the margins of the global knowledge economy and underscore their need for inclusion and legitimacy. In so doing, these findings support Teferra's (2008b) statement that African institutions approach internationalization from an economically and historically disadvantaged position and can become further marginalized in the process. U.S. institutions' focus on international student recruitment as an outcome of diaspora-homeland collaborations aligns with Rumbley et al.'s (2012) argument that the active recruitment of highly educated individuals from economically disadvantaged countries is one way in which internationalization can benefit "economically privileged" countries and institutions at the expense of others (p. 14). Relatedly, these findings also indicate the need for approaches to internationalization and capacity building that do not further exacerbate the human capital shortage at Nigerian institutions by recruiting highly skilled individuals to the U.S.

Furthermore, Nigerian universities' emphasis on attaining higher global standing reflects the centrality of competition in contemporary higher education (Knight, 2013a). My findings,

therefore, support the idea that the highly competitive context in which higher education institutions operate places significant pressure on institutions to achieve or maintain the status of a world-class institution (Deardorff et al., 2012; Rumbley et al., 2012), even when they lack sufficient resources to pursue that goal.

This chapter also suggests that diaspora engagement initiatives are not just about mobilizing the intellectual capital of the diaspora; they also aim to mobilize the social capital of diaspora actors to achieve increased competitiveness and legitimacy through increased access to international opportunities and resources as well as recognition as viable sites for international collaborations. The following chapter explores in depth the ways in which social capital and insider-outsider positionalities shape diaspora-homeland collaborations.

Chapter 5

Home and Host: Positionality and Its Implications in Diaspora-Homeland Higher Education Collaborations

Despite the increasing centrality of diaspora engagement in efforts to revitalize African higher education, there is limited empirical data on participants' experiences in diaspora-homeland initiatives and the role of their positionality in shaping those experiences. Although previous studies of diaspora populations have highlighted the transnational networks and connections between the group and their places of origin, the ways in which the diaspora's identities shape the outcomes of diaspora-homeland collaborations remain unclear. The findings revealed in this chapter offer new insights on the implications of positionality and social capital for diaspora-homeland initiatives and reinforce the significance of transnational networks for leveraging diasporic engagement. Based on these findings, I develop the concept of "proximity to power" to describe the criteria used to make determinations about one's value based on their actual or perceived aggregate capital.

This chapter argues that dynamic notions of home, belonging, and identity shape participants' expectations and experiences in diaspora-homeland collaborations. In the course of their collaborations, scholars mobilize the diaspora's insider-outsider identities for various purposes. In the upcoming sections, I describe participants' experiences in diaspora-homeland higher education initiatives (RQ 2) and explore the implications of foregrounding diaspora scholars' insider and outsider positionalities for these collaborations. Drawing on data derived from interviews, survey responses, and observations, this chapter examines when, why, and by whom diaspora scholars' insider and outsider identities are strategically mobilized (or

suppressed) and the subsequent effects on their collaborations with homeland scholars and institutions. Data presented in this chapter illustrate how participants' perceived identities are framed as facilitating or limiting factors for diaspora-homeland initiatives. The data also shed light on how participants define positive and successful collaborations, which allows for an interrogation of their measures of success, particularly as they relate to those of other stakeholders.

This chapter begins with an overview of social capital theory to elucidate the importance of social networks in the viability of diaspora-homeland higher education collaborations. Next, drawing on the diaspora studies literature, I examine the concept of home to provide a framework for understanding participants' framing of themselves or their counterparts as insiders or outsiders in the collaboration sites and Nigerian society at large. Subsequently, I present the first findings section, which focuses on the primary factors—familiarity and preexisting relationships—that facilitate positive and successful collaborations, as identified by study participants, to demonstrate the implications of mobilizing diaspora scholars' insider status and local social capital. The second findings section draws on the concept of social capital to illustrate when and why homeland actors mobilize diaspora scholars' outsider identity. These two sections also describe participants' experiences in diaspora-homeland collaborations (RQ 2). The third and final findings section explores the conceptualization of the diaspora as a bridge between their places of origin and settlement and sheds light on how diaspora scholars envision themselves in the in-between space that they occupy. My findings indicate that diaspora scholars' positionalities and social capital shape their experiences in diaspora-homeland collaborations and the way homeland scholars perceive them. I also found that their

positionalities are leveraged strategically by homeland participants to benefit the host institution. I conclude the chapter with a discussion of these findings and their significance.

Social Capital

Diaspora scholars' insider and outsider identities grant them membership in different social networks and access to the capital or resources therein. Capital possession and mobilization shapes the possibilities and opportunities available to an individual (Bebbington, 2007; Grenfell, 2009). In the context of diasporic collaborations, participants' social networks and resulting social capital can have numerous implications for their experiences and outcomes. This chapter draws on social capital theory (Bourdieu, 1980; Bebbington, 2007) as it highlights the importance of social networks in diaspora-homeland higher education collaborations, the role of the diaspora in linking Nigerian institutions to various resources, and how perceptions of social capital can influence participants' experiences in the collaborations.

There is a general consensus among scholars that social capital refers to the actual or potential resources available to members a particular group. Bebbington (2007) and Rodrigues & Child (2012) also posit that mobilizing a certain network can facilitate non-members' access to resources available to members of that group. Drawing on Bourdieu, Bebbington (2007) further describes social capital as follows:

> [Social capital] is part of a system of social, economic and cultural structures, and cannot be dealt with out of context. This is so in several senses. First, and in the simplest sense, this social capital will be historically and geographically situated. Second, and more importantly, it can only be understood in terms of the distribution of resources and power relationships, of which it is a part and which it serves to reproduce – 'power relations are reflected in and reproduced by social networks' (Molyneux, 2002: 181). Social capital and political economy cannot, then, be separated. Third, and at least as important, social capital cannot be separated from norms and taken-for-granted assumptions that help naturalize the forms taken by social capital, and these are in turn reproduced by these

> forms of social capital – social capital and ideology thus cannot be separated. Frequently these ideologies are ones that endorse hierarchies and inequality. (pp.156-157)

Bebbington (2007) rightly points out that social capital is deeply intertwined with political economy, norms, and ideology, which can often reinforce oppressive hierarchies and structural violence.25 Hence, Nigerian institutions' desire to mobilize diaspora scholars' social capital should be examined in relation to the structural violence that the country and its institutions have been subjected to historically. This violence has been perpetuated through mechanisms such as political economy, norms, and ideology. While social capital grants access to resources, it simultaneously excludes non-members from accessing resources that are available to group members. In its exclusionary function, social capital can perpetuate structural violence.

As individuals with ties in both their countries of origin and residence, diaspora scholars are often positioned as insider-outsiders in both places. The diaspora's insider and outsider identities serve different purposes and are mobilized accordingly within the context of diaspora-homeland academic collaborations. Drawing on Bourdieu, Grenfell (2009) writes that capital is "symbolic and derives its power from the attribution of recognition" (p. 20). Based in the U.S., a country occupying a privileged position in the global political economy and the knowledge economy, which tends to mirror the unequal power dynamics in the former, African diaspora scholars are generally regarded by local actors and stakeholders as possessing more valuable social capital in academic collaborations than their homeland counterparts.

25 Mukherjee et al. (2011) define structural violence as "the systematic exclusion of a group from the resources needed to develop their full human potential" (p. 593).

Home

Home is the central theme in this chapter. Relatedly, notions of belonging and access are also explored. They prove to be useful concepts in considering participants' positionalities within diaspora-homeland collaborations. Existing diaspora studies literature contends that the ideation of home is an "anchor" for diaspora populations (Okeke-Ihejirika & Spitzer, 2005, p. 207). Cohen (1987) posits that attachment to and idealization of a homeland, which "always has some claim on their loyalty and emotions," are characteristic of the diaspora (p. ix) and that diasporic people usually seek to "restore [the] homeland to its former glory" (p. 185). Diaspora (and homeland) scholars sometimes referred to the past condition of Nigerian institutions as a desirable state. Several of them made references to how things were better in the past and expressed a longing to return to the golden age of Nigerian higher education. For example, during her interview, diaspora scholar Prof. P said that combining homeland scholars' local knowledge and diaspora scholars' resources "would catapult Nigerian universities back to the kind of top lists of schools that—at least if you talk to my mom, she says—they were in like the 60s." Even without witnessing the glory days of Nigerian higher education, the oral history provided by her mother allowed her to look simultaneously to the past and the future in expressing her hopes for diaspora-homeland collaborations—hopes which reflected a commitment to the "restoration of [her] original homeland" (Safran, 1991, p. 3).

In migration studies literature, the terms home and host country are often applied in reference to immigrants' countries of origin and settlement. Binaisa (2013) challenges the use of such binary terms and concepts which do not reflect the flexible notions of home and belonging and immigrants' versatile positionalities. Binaisa maintains that home and belonging are

"multiscalar, multispatial, and multidimensional in manifestation – to incorporate a wide range of phenomena and positionalities" (Binaisa, 2013, p. 559).

Okeke-Ihejirika and Spitzer (2005) posit that the concept of home must be revisited as individuals become more transnational and their identities more "deterritorialized" (p. 207). In their study of African immigrant identity, they frame the diasporic community as a "new homeland" rather than as a "host society," thereby acknowledging that diasporic people often have multiple homelands and allegiances. Ben-Rafael (2013) confirms that "one widely acknowledged aspect is their capacity to illustrate dual homeness" (p. 842). In the context of diaspora-homeland collaborations, especially for formal initiatives which explicitly use the terms "home" and "host" to differentiate participating institutions, these terms are complicated by the fact that many diaspora scholars are hosted at institutions located in their country of origin, and their home institutions are in the U.S., which is traditionally viewed as their host country or society.

Diaspora-homeland initiatives frame the original home as the host and the original host as the scholar's home, thereby rhetorically positioning diaspora scholars as outsiders by default. This contradicts the prevalent conceptualization of home in the Nigerian setting, wherein one's ancestral home is recognized as their true home and not where they reside (Adepoju, 1974; Abah & Okwori, 2002; Ogbuagu, 2013). During my time in the field, I observed a guest lecture at the University of Lagos. At the end of the lecture, audience members posed questions and comments, among which was Prof. B's declaration that "Home is not house," emphasizing that one's place of origin—not their place of residence— is their home. Safran (1991) maintains that in their homeland orientation, diasporic people perceive the ancestral homeland as "their true,

ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return—when conditions are appropriate" (pp. 83-84).

Among my survey participants, 65 percent identified both their African country of origin and the U.S. as their home. In acknowledgement of their multiple homelands, I avoid the home/host country dichotomy and adopt Okeke-Ihejirika & Spitzer's usage of original/new homeland. The home/host construct, as it relates to the countries of origin and settlement, is outdated, as it fails to acknowledge the "dual homeness" of the transnational diaspora (Ben-Rafael, 2013, p. 849). As many members of the diaspora establish themselves and their immediate families in the U.S., it becomes a new homeland for them, further expanding the notions of home and belonging. I maintain use of the "home" and "host" prefix in reference to sending and receiving higher education institutions so as to accurately portray scholars' affiliations with them within the scope of these collaborations.

The terms "insider" and "outsider" present the same challenge as "home" and "host." They tend to be used as binary terms when, in reality, affiliations exist on a spectrum. Eppley (2006) problematizes static and dichotomous insider-outsider categorization and argues that one's positionality is dynamic and falls within an insider-outsider continuum. Although Eppley's argument is focused on the positionality of ethnographers, it proves useful in understanding how research participants' positionalities can vary across time and space and be mobilized for numerous purposes and outcomes.

In diaspora scholars' lived reality, insider and outsider positionalities were fluid, situational, and relational, as indicated by their conceptualizations and articulations of home and belonging. Homeland participants expressed an appreciation of diaspora scholars as insider-

outsiders, who possessed both cultural competence to navigate local contexts and social capital—linked to their present affiliation with institutions in the country of settlement—that might promote the visibility and prestige of the host scholars and institutions. However, within diaspora-homeland initiatives, the diaspora's insider and outsider identities, which exist on a continuum, were sometimes mobilized by homeland collaborators in binary ways that failed to acknowledge the fluidity and multiplicity of individuals' identities.

Insider: "One of us"

In this section, I consider the ways in which the concepts of home and belonging shape participants' experiences in diasporic initiatives. Moreover, I interrogate the facilitating factors (i.e., familiarity and preexisting relationships) identified by participants and posit that they do not necessarily facilitate successful or positive collaborations, although they are purported to do so. By appealing to scholars' insider positionality, these factors tend to suppress diaspora participants' complaints about the unsatisfactory aspects of their experiences, thereby inflating the perception of collaborations as positive and successful.

With a few exceptions, homeland and diaspora scholars overwhelmingly described their collaborative experiences as positive, successful, and beneficial. They identified several factors which they believed facilitated positive and successful collaborations. The most salient among them were diaspora scholars' familiarity with the Nigerian higher education context and, relatedly, a preexisting relationship between diaspora and homeland collaborators.

By their accounts, homeland scholars mobilized diaspora scholars' insider status to emphasize that they perceived the fellows as belonging in that space (i.e, the department., the university, or the country) and to highlight their local social capital, which enables them to

navigate the challenges within the environment on the collaborations. Interviews revealed a general consensus among homeland and diaspora scholars that familiarity with the Nigerian higher education landscape was instrumental in overcoming obstacles that might have otherwise upended the collaborations. Seventy-four percent of diaspora survey responses indicated that their collaborations were initiated as a result of a preexisting relationship with the host institution or scholar. Sixty-nine percent of diaspora scholars were former students or alumni of the host institution or another Nigerian HEI; several were also former lecturers in the Nigerian higher education system and former colleagues of their hosts. Familiarity stemming from these preexisting relationships seemed to help foster positive collaborations between homeland and diaspora participants.

Like several homeland participants, Prof. J attributed his positive collaborative experience to the fact that the visiting scholar was in "familiar territory" as an alumnus of the host department, well-acquainted with the environment and its people. Similarly, Prof. E said his diaspora fellow's visit was "like a homecoming…it's more like he's one of us really, but it's just that he's out there in the U.S." Throughout the interview, he repeatedly emphasized that the diaspora scholar was an insider due to the fact that he was an alumnus of the department. His framing of the diaspora fellow as an insider who was geographically distanced from "home" suggests that he perceived him as belonging in that space. Ironically, in this case the diaspora scholar's host institution was viewed as his true home and place of belonging. The homeland host reported that because the visiting scholar was actually "one of [them]," he was received warmly and their collaboration was productive and successful in achieving the anticipated goals.

Homeland and diaspora scholars generally agreed that familiarity and a strong sense of commitment enabled the diaspora to easily adapt to some of the challenges they encountered in these collaborations. Prof. M, a homeland host, stated that the diaspora's high level of motivation meant that "things that would normally have put them down, they just find ways to adjust." During our post-survey, follow-up interview, diaspora scholar Prof. Q echoed this sentiment. When asked what factors made her collaborative experiences so positive and effective, as she had described them on the survey, she stated that it was "the decision to overlook many negative aspects and experiences to focus on [her] objective in being there."

In several cases, the situations which diaspora scholars needed to adapt to or overlook included the host institutions' failure to adequately provide agreed-upon arrangements, such as housing, transportation, and meals. For CADFP and LEADS fellows, their terms of agreement stipulated that host institutions provide accommodations and local transportation for diaspora scholars. Although homeland and diaspora participants' accounts sometimes differed regarding the extent to which the host institution made those provisions, both often referenced diaspora fellows' use of alternate arrangements either due to the institutions' inability to provide for them or owing to the visiting fellows' preference. For instance, homeland scholar Prof. K told me:

> We were supposed to, based on [administrative] approval, there is supposed to be some kind of fund, at least for [the diaspora fellow's] upkeep, the meals. That was not done. And because of the strike, the council could not meet to ratify, and the university could not do anything. So, she actually had to be on her own throughout. (Interview)

Another homeland host, Prof. H, shared that he had to make his personal car available for one of his diaspora fellows because the host university did not make provisions for his local transportation. In speaking of this diaspora scholar, Prof. H said that although he was a Nigerian, he was educated in the U.S., and "his expectation was much more than what we had on the

ground." In comparison, another diaspora scholar that Prof. H hosted had a house and car in the same city and did not need the university to provide housing and transportation. Of that scholar, he said, "we didn't have much [of a] problem with him." These comments suggest that diaspora scholars' familiarity with the host environment helped shape their expectations to be in line with the local reality and that scholars lacking that familiarity might arrive at their host institutions with unrealistic expectations, which, combined with the institutions' inability to meet them, might cause tensions and frustration in the collaboration. Prof. T conveyed in her survey response that "scholars must be flexible and willing to adapt to ensure a successful collaboration." This emphasizes that adaptability is essential for success and helps explain why host institutions valued visiting scholars who had the cultural competence and ability to adjust to the conditions on the ground.

Some diaspora scholars were required to make concessions that would have been more difficult for people without local ties or knowledge of local resources. Prof. AP grew up in the town where his host institution was located and still had family members in the area. He shared how this was advantageous to him during his collaboration:

> [The host institution] didn't do everything they said they were going to do, but I don't think I have any complaints…There was actually a week when there was no water running. So, coincidentally for me, it was the city where I grew up. My family was in town, so that kind of solved the problem. It wasn't difficult for me...For others who went to places where they had no family, that would be very challenging for them. (Interview)

Visiting scholars like Prof. AP with local familial ties were perceived as requiring less effort from the host institution in terms of orienting the scholar to the environment and oftentimes making certain provisions for them. These scholars' insider status was invoked, and their visits were framed as a homecoming because one who is returning home does not need to be treated like a

guest, thereby absolving the host of certain responsibilities. There was an unspoken expectation that, in the absence of university-provided essentials, they would mobilize the resources accessible to them as insiders with social and cultural ties.

One of the problems with the assumption that scholars visiting familiar territory need less orientation and provisions from the host is that people and places are not static. Local contexts are constantly changing, even for those to whom they were once familiar. Although Prof. AP had strong ties to the university and the locale, having spent over 30 years in Nigeria and previously working as a faculty member there, he shared that he faced challenges adjusting to the context upon his return:

> Going back after almost…13 years, a lot of things [had] changed. It was a completely new experience for me to learn how to interact with colleagues and how to understand what their problems are, see things from their perspective, and be able to proffer solutions that would actually have a meaningful impact. (Interview)

Similarly, Prof. AO said,

> I go back to Nigeria. I recognize things, but I don't recognize things…the last time I went…it became abundantly clear to me that the Nigeria I left and this Nigeria are [different]…I don't recognize it; it doesn't recognize me. (Interview)

Collectively, these statements highlight the insider-outsider space that members of the diaspora occupy. They and the homeland to which they return are simultaneously familiar and foreign. Prof. AO's sentiment affirms that home is not just a place; it is a place within a time,[26] which for him, is now in the past. While familiarity and preexisting ties seem to ease scholars' transition, they do not replace adequate orientation and provisions because, as the above excerpts demonstrate, even diaspora members with local ties might require reorientation. Invoking

[26] This is reminiscent of Dr. Foluke Adebisi's (@folukeifejola) tweet: "Some days I feel quite strongly that I want to go home. And then I remember that for me, like many others, home is not a place but a time." (May 20, 2020)

diaspora scholars' insider status without consideration of their needs as individuals who have changed since their emigration and who are returning temporarily to an evolved homeland can create unfavorable conditions which will negatively impact the collaborative experience.

Prof. S, in our follow-up interview, shared how the host institution's failure to make the expected provisions thwarted his research collaboration and compelled him to utilize his own resources:

> **DF:** [On the survey], You described your experience in a diaspora-homeland collaboration as "somewhat positive." What prevented it from being extremely positive?
>
> **Prof. S**: Based on what [the host institution] agreed to fulfill, getting there, they never did. One, and two, my purpose of going there is the research, but getting there, they do not have any equipment to even work on the research...
>
> **DF**: What types of things were they supposed to fulfill that they didn't?
>
> **Prof. S**: Based on the agreement with…Carnegie, [the host institution] needed to supply feeding, local transportation, accommodation, and everything you need on ground. Now, I tell you, let me tell you, close to 80 percent of the money, I spent it on myself.
>
> **DF**: You mean you provided it yourself?
>
> **Prof. S**: I did provide it myself. It was from me…I didn't have transportation over there. I used my car that I have over there. So, I just…forget about it. I don't want to discuss it. It's horrible…What I think is that if they're inviting an international person, they should make all necessary things available.

In addition to highlighting the effects of the host institution's inability to fulfill its obligations, Prof. S's response indicates that he viewed himself as an "international person." Although he had local ties and a preexisting relationship with the host institution and collaborator, he seemed to situate himself closer to the outsider end of the insider-outsider spectrum in the context of the diaspora-homeland partnerships. It is noteworthy that when asked to select all of the places (i.e., the United States, Nigeria, another African country, or other) he considered as his "home," this

participant selected only the U.S., demonstrating an absence of dual homeness. During our interview, I asked him about his response:

> **DF**: I noticed that you selected only the U.S. as a place you consider to be "home." I'm curious to know why that is.
>
> **Prof. S**: To me, my understanding is wherever you spend maybe close to 90 or 80 percent of your time, that's your home. So ever since…I've been there, I've been in Africa last [in] 2014, and I didn't even stay more than two months. And I don't know when I'm going there again. So, this [the U.S.] is where I spend most of my time, and I think that is home.

Although Prof. S came to the U.S. as a graduate student just over ten years ago, he had adopted a singular conceptualization of home and, unlike most diaspora participants, no longer considered his original homeland to be home. It appears that his host institution had hoped to mobilize his familiarity as an insider, whereas he did not enact an insider identity. This misalignment resulted in a frustrating and unpleasant experience for him.

For cases in which diaspora scholars lacked familiarity and preexisting relationships, they sometimes struggled to establish trust and rapport with their collaborators. Prof. Q, a diaspora participant in several formal and informal initiatives at her alma mater and other less familiar Nigerian institutions, spoke about how some of her collaborators thought she was there to take their jobs and were, therefore, unreceptive to her. Because they were unfamiliar with each other prior to the collaboration, there was a lack of trust, and they had to build a relationship conducive to working together. She relayed the challenge she faced and how she was able to overcome it:

> Some scholars thought we were there to take their jobs, so they weren't receptive. That's, of course, not true because we're only there for a few months…With some co-collaborators, it has taken years for us to get to a place where we understand each other and what we're trying to do together…I make a deliberate effort to build a personal connection with the people I collaborate with. I buy gifts for one person's wife, and when he knows I'm coming, he'll ask me to help him purchase some items [for which he reimburses me]. There's a student I supervised who has a [child] close in age to mine, so I bring some of my [child's] clothes for her child when I visit. Even when I'm there for a

> personal visit, she visits me at my parents' house because we have built that connection. That's something I do very deliberately. (Interview)

Recognizing that stronger rapport might facilitate better professional partnerships, she made a deliberate effort to build a personal connection with her collaborators and the students she worked with over the years. She reported that her efforts seem to have paid off, and her professional contacts now reach out to connect with her even when she is in the country for personal reasons.

Prof. F reiterated the sentiment that familiarity facilitated successful collaborations. He noted that "to the extent that [visiting scholars are] of African or Nigerian descent…they can understand the context better than if it were to be somebody who doesn't really have any affiliation with this part of the world" (Interview). Prof. A agreed, stating, "as Nigerians, it's easier because they understand our space." Prof. J added,

> Nigeria can be a challenge in itself. So, of course, coming here things don't work sometimes as they do in the U.S.…But I think in this particular case…because this is familiar, I mean he was a student here. He was a lecturer here before he left, so he's on familiar grounds. So that also helps a lot. (Interview)

In these statements, they reveal the belief that familiarity aids diaspora scholars in navigating the homeland environment and issues that may arise in the course of their collaborations. For this reason, host scholars seemed to appreciate being paired with diaspora scholars who were knowledgeable about the local terrain.

Prof. H suggested that diaspora fellows acquainted with Nigeria and Oyo State, specifically, were best prepared to "understand the situation on the ground [at UI]." He expressed doubts about whether a diaspora fellow originally from another part of Nigeria and lacking contextual knowledge of Oyo State could fully understand and navigate the environment.

His statement acknowledges that Nigerian universities are situated in cultural spaces whose navigation, for outsiders, requires intercultural competence. It also speaks to Nigeria's ethnic diversity and the fact that a person from one part of the nation might be unaware of the social, cultural, and religious norms and values that shape interactions within educational spaces in another region. Overall, the above-mentioned diaspora and homeland accounts demonstrate that familiarity and preexisting relationships as facilitating factors transcend diaspora scholars' understanding of the context and encompass their ability to cope with or without orientation and accommodations from the host institution.

Familiarity and Preexisting Relationships as a Double-Edged Sword

Although most participants confirmed that familiarity and preexisting relationships were facilitating factors, others suggested that those factors heightened tensions between homeland and diaspora scholars—the former, in some cases, perceiving the latter as selfish and unpatriotic for leaving the country and paternalistic in their approach to the collaborations. Because diaspora and homeland scholars were, in many cases, colleagues and comrades prior to the former's emigration to the U.S., some homeland participants felt betrayed and abandoned by their departure. Those unresolved tensions materialized as distrust and lack of cooperation, essentially sabotaging their collaborations. Diaspora scholar Prof. AD was an alumnus of his host university, and he believed that his collaborator, who was one of his former classmates, was resentful of the fact that he left for the U.S. Based on his account, this resentment resulted in the homeland scholar's refusal to actively participate in the collaboration. Prof. AD shared that,

> The guys out there are so jealous and when you asked them to work with you, they wouldn't. More specifically, the guy who graduated with me is also a full professor, and he and I were asked to teach a class. And when I get into his office to say "let us arrange how we are going to teach this class," then he gets up and says "Oh I'm about to leave

> the office. We can do that later." And this happened [multiple times]. We never actually got together to plan anything. (Interview)

From a homeland scholar's point of view, Prof. B expressed a bit of resentment towards diaspora scholars. Unlike Prof. AD, who claimed that homeland scholars' jealousy of the diaspora undermined their partnership, Prof. B placed most of the blame for unproductive collaborations on the diaspora's air of superiority:

> When diaspora scholars come here, it's like they're coming here to…teach us how to do scholarship…And this can be very annoying, especially when you sometimes know the antecedents of the so-called diaspora scholars before they left here, who all of a sudden turn around and begin to teach you…So it's not always a productive relationship, truly. Because there's usually a bias one side or the other before coming into it. And when you come into research with some prejudices or all that, you'll never get a good result from such. I think most times both sides are to blame, but more of the blame resides with the diaspora…Both sides have to change attitudes towards each other. (Interview)

He was particularly annoyed by his former colleagues who left Nigeria and eventually returned as "so-called" diaspora fellows only to approach their collaborations in a paternalistic manner. These examples demonstrate that familiarity and preexisting relationships do not always facilitate positive and successful collaborations. In these cases, they proved to be obstacles.

"It's still home."

Perhaps due to their affinity for "home" and their self-perception as insider-outsiders, some diaspora scholars, like Prof. AD, initially portrayed their experiences in diaspora-homeland collaborations as being more positive than they actually were. Several people avoided using a deficit rhetoric in their survey responses, but then described a negative experience during the interview. As a result, there was a discrepancy in some scholars' survey and interview responses to the question specifically asking them to describe their experience in diaspora-homeland collaborations. For example, on the survey, diaspora scholar Prof. Q selected the most positive

rating possible (extremely positive) to describe her experiences as a participant in diaspora-homeland collaborations, but during the interview, she said, "[It] was not a positive experience at all." She narrated multiple discouraging experiences, including the following:

> At [one Nigerian university], I was being housed in a 3-bedroom flat, but I was forced to vacate the flat for a weekend because [a Nigerian political figure] was visiting, and it was one of the nicest flats, so they wanted him to have it…They made me and my [family member] pack all of our things and vacate the flat. This was an extremely frustrating and embarrassing experience. (Interview)

This unpleasant and rather offensive encounter was not enough to dissuade her ongoing participation in diaspora-homeland collaborations, including self-funded initiatives because, as she put it, her "motivation is just to give back" to her home country. She made it clear that she decided to disregard the negative experiences so as to not be deterred from her objective. She also expressed resolve to continue to engage in future initiatives.

While giving examples of issues that he faced during the course of his collaborations with homeland scholars, Prof. AO asked me to exercise discretion in my representation of his shared experiences. He said, "please find a delicate way to put that because I don't want to disparage people" (Interview). Similarly, Prof. AD tried to avoid a negative representation of his collaborative experiences. He initially portrayed them as "neither positive nor negative" on the survey; however, during our interview, he described them as negative. He shared issues, such as uncooperative collaborators, difficulty receiving promised remuneration, that plagued the collaborations. Explaining why he misrepresented the experience on the survey, he stated multiple times that he "didn't want to sound negative because Nigeria is still home." Like Prof. Q, he expressed that the issues he encountered would not stop him from participating in future initiatives.

The high level of commitment generally demonstrated by diaspora scholars could be attributed to the fact that, for many of them, Nigeria was still home. As Cohen (1987) asserts, "idealization of the supposed ancestral home" is a key characteristic of the diaspora (p. 185). The desire to protect the image of their homeland by refusing to contribute to negative rhetoric about it may be construed as an act of patriotism as well as an act of resistance to the deficit rhetoric commonly promulgated about African higher education and Africans in general. Participants' concern for the portrayal of Nigerian HEIs and their scholars is well-founded, as African universities and scholars are often viewed in ways that amplify their weaknesses and overlook their strengths. They are often marginalized in the global knowledge economy, which tends to reflect and reinforce global hierarchies and inequalities.

Keeping the diaspora's affinity for their original homeland in mind, it is important to note that the collaborations' perceived effects on Nigerian higher education were consistently reported positively in both surveys and interviews regardless of whether participants' experiences were positive, negative, or neutral. Participants viewed the initiatives as successful and effective even when the initiative did not achieve the prescribed goals, as the interview excerpt and figures below illustrate:

> **DF**: Would you say the collaboration with Prof. * was successful?
>
> **Prof. M**: I would say yes. It was not successful in terms of our main target, and she herself felt that she wasn't successful in [that], and of course I also knew. But because we adapted quickly…in terms of other areas, I think it was quite successful.

Prof. M explained that although the diaspora scholar was an alumna of the host department, some scholars within the department felt threatened by her visit and became territorial of the academic space which was meant to be the core focus of the collaboration. As a result, they were

not able to accomplish the main goals of the project, and the diaspora fellow channeled her efforts towards working with other more receptive university units. In Prof. M's view, the fact that the diaspora scholar was able to redirect her efforts in a way he felt still benefited the university, although not in ways originally intended, made the initiative successful. Participants' shifting goals and ideas of success pose challenges for ascertaining how successful and effective their collaborations truly are. Participants' accounts imply that measuring their collaborations' success strictly by the extent to which they achieved their originally prescribed goals would lead to a lowered perception of success. This alludes to the importance of mixed methods in evaluating diaspora-homeland initiatives, as a quantitative survey alone would not uncover incongruencies between participants' measures of success and those of the diaspora engagement program.

This section has complicated the idea that familiarity and preexisting relationships naturally lead to successful or positive collaborations. It has illustrated that these "facilitating factors" tend to move diaspora participants to suppress complaints about the unsatisfactory aspects of their experiences, thereby inflating the perception of collaborations as positive and successful. Based on the aforementioned examples, diaspora-homeland collaborations may be less effective than they are portrayed to be by participants—an idea which shatters stakeholders' general perception of these initiatives as a potential solution to longstanding educational issues.

Figure 1. Diaspora scholars' perceptions of collaborations' efficacy (survey).

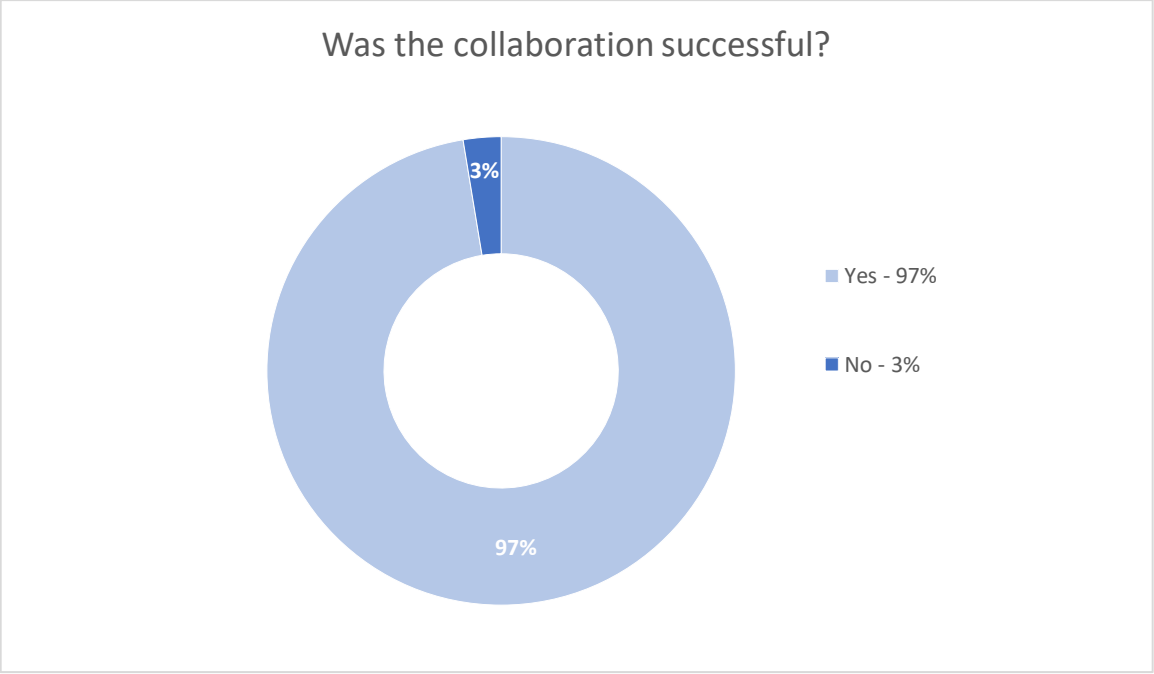

Figure 2. Diaspora scholars' perception of collaborations' success (survey).

Outsider: "The privilege of being from abroad"

During my time in Nigeria, there were several instances that highlighted the significance of perception and social capital. Due to my insider-outsider positionality, there were times when I was able to blend in, but in some situations, my behavior, appearance, speech, or other characteristics differentiated me and signaled to others that I was, in some ways, not one of them. This had numerous consequences in both social and academic settings. Conversations with local interlocutors and observations of interactions among individuals across various social strata reinforced the idea that, to some extent, one can influence how people perceive and possibly treat them by embodying and performing certain identities in given situations. A professor at my host institution assured me that people would be willing to help me during my stay, especially if they knew I was visiting from the U.S. Relatedly, another professor who was tasked with introducing me to everyone in my host department would always introduce me as "a visitor from the U.S." I never knew if it was because she could not remember anything else about me or because she thought other details were irrelevant, and the main point she wanted to get across was that I was "from the U.S." and should be treated accordingly. Findings presented in this section illustrate that diaspora scholars' outsider status provided them certain privileges in the Nigerian context and that host institutions sought to leverage the diaspora's affiliation with the U.S. to improve their legitimacy as sites for international partnerships and advance their standing in the hegemonic global knowledge economy.

One morning in April 2019, I took a taxi to my host campus to attempt to locate two faculty members whose contact information I was missing. I wanted to invite them to participate in my study, but I could not call or email them, so I used the only information available to me,

their academic department, to try to find them. Upon arrival at the department, I asked the secretary in the main office if I could have their email address or a phone number to reach them. I was told they couldn't share that information but I could check their offices to see if they were around. (They were not.) I left the department and returned to my apartment. From there, I called the department and, in an American accent, introduced myself as a visiting researcher from UW–Madison and asked for the professors' contact information. I was told to call back in 15 minutes and the information would be ready for me. I called back, and they expeditiously gave me the information I needed—the same information that I had been denied access to when I was likely perceived to be an insider.

This experience demonstrated that there were some privileges that one had to be foreign enough to access. Thus, in navigating the Nigerian higher education landscape as a researcher, I often had to decide which identity(ies) to mobilize based on the potential implications for my study. At times, I chose to enact my outsider positionality to bypass obstacles that seemed to exist for perceived insiders without a valued form of (social, economic, or cultural) capital. Although there was a preference or appreciation of scholars who were familiar with the locale, foreigners often received preferential treatment within the Nigerian social and academic context. Personal experiences, such as the one above, along with related accounts shared with me by research participants and interlocutors, made me cognizant of the existence of foreign privilege in that setting.

To describe the criteria used to measure one's value based on their actual or perceived aggregate capital, I employ the term "proximity to power." This concept encompasses foreignness, whiteness, social capital, financial capital, and all other forms of valued capital (e.g.,

access to funding, opportunities, and other factors that contribute to accrued power) one is perceived to possess, and it provides a lens through which to interpret the preferential treatment and privilege bestowed upon certain individuals in the context of international academic partnerships and beyond. The concept highlights hierarchies of power that are often unspoken yet ever-present in "postcolonial" contexts, wherein uncritical attempts to address systemic challenges ultimately fail to do so and, in the process, reproduce inequalities, which then require solutions. This vicious cycle can only be broken by reparative approaches to development that not only acknowledge the presence of racist hierarchies but actively seek to dismantle them (Sriprakash et al., 2019; Mlambo & Baxter, 2018).

Straddling the line between the foreign and the local, diaspora scholars were often viewed as "foreign enough" to be accorded certain privileges that were not available to many locals. Recounting her experience in an informal and self-funded diaspora-homeland collaboration, Prof. P described how she was received by her homeland collaborators:

> **DF**: During your collaborations with local scholars in Nigeria, how have you been received by them?
>
> **Prof. P**: I've been received very well actually. Umm people have been very welcoming…I feel like there's also like almost [slight hesitation], I have the privilege of being from abroad and maybe, at least talking to my colleagues who are based locally, that also gives me a little bit more clout in terms of people [being] more willing to listen to my ideas because again they perceive that I'm from the U.S., [so] they perceive that there is some advantage…They perceive that I'm more privileged, which I am definitely in terms of my access to resources and etc. But they also perceive or take my ideas more seriously maybe—which is problematic for sure, very problematic—than local scholars…because they perceive me to be an outsider in this world. (Interview)

Prof. P went on to say that although she was glad to see several scholars pushing back against the "colonial narrative within our knowledge systems," there were others who deferred to her

to share subject-matter expertise even though she was a junior scholar and they were seasoned scholars in the same field (Prof. P, interview). She said,

> Why should you defer to me, who is a junior person? You are like 20 years in the field, and…I mean you know more about these issues than me, so it's not like, you know, because I came from an American university…It makes no sense to me…I'm like trying to learn from you. (Interview)

Her experience reveals that homeland scholars seemed to hold her views in high esteem while trivializing their own expertise because she was seen as an outsider from a country occupying a central position in the global knowledge economy.

This case is an example of coloniality materializing in diaspora-homeland collaborations in the form of self-imposed subordination. In Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Freire (1996) asserts that "self-depreciation is another characteristic of the oppressed, which derives from their internalization of the opinion the oppressors hold of them…in the end, they become convinced of their own unfitness" (p. 45). In this regard, Freire echoes Fanon's (1961) view of psychological violence,[27] as a remnant of colonialism. Fanon writes extensively about the physical, psychological and structural violence inflicted upon the colonized and the long-lasting effects of that violence. Drawing on Fanon, Guilherme et al. (2018) adds that "these forms of violence have a deep impact on the identity and sense of worth of [colonized] populations, which affects their general perceptions and the way they see themselves and those who are similar" (Guilherme et al., 2018, pp. 417).

In certain instances, homeland scholars mobilized the diaspora's foreignness (outsider status) to underscore the university's internationalization efforts. At one of my research sites, I

[27] Guilherme et al., (2018) define psychological violence as "injury to a human being's psyche" (p. 418).

observed a meeting during which my host unit prepared to establish an academic journal and an editorial board. Those in attendance were tasked with coming up with a list of scholars to include as members of the board. Collectively, they decided that the scholars would be comprised of an equal number from within and outside of Africa, including African scholars in the diaspora. One of the meeting attendees said, "the outsiders are basically for status" (observation). Other attendees responded, saying that the inclusion of "outsiders" was "to internationalize it" (observation). Their statements reinforce that internationalization in this context is strongly tied to attaining status and capital, and in pragmatic recognition of western dominance in the global knowledge economy, they made a decision to engage in strategic internationalization.

Homeland scholars also leveraged diaspora scholars' outsider status to portray Nigerian universities as conducive spaces for international visitors. In speaking about the potential challenges of diaspora-homeland collaborations, Prof. E, who had earlier stressed his diaspora collaborator's insider status, reverted to terms that depicted him as an outsider. He stated that he perceived no challenges because the host campus loved visitors and was quite safe for the diaspora fellow since there had not been "any incidents against a foreigner." Prof. E also mentioned that the university would generally go above and beyond to help foreign visitors get settled and "even do what they wouldn't do for their fellow colleagues who come from Nigerian universities." When asked why he thought that was the case, he replied:

> People from this part of the world…we tend to favor visitors more than even ourselves. I wonder why that is. I don't know. But what I've always seen is the moment you see particularly a person of white umm [slight pause] the fairer you are actually, the more they receive you. (Interview)

While I was well-aware of the issue of colorism in Nigerian society[28], I was surprised by Prof. E's claim that it influenced how people were received at his institution. His statement implies that a visitor's perceived value and their reception at the university are, to an extent, determined by their proximity to whiteness. Colorism is a form of antiblackness and a manifestation of racist colonial legacies that are embedded in Nigerian society. It represents "colonial-era associations of power and privilege with white skin" (Vijaya, 2019) and, like racism, it frames white or fair skin as a form of capital.

This section has demonstrated the ways in which the diaspora's outsider status grants them privileges in terms of access, perception, and legitimacy in the postcolonial context of Nigeria. It has also revealed manifestations of coloniality in international collaborations, wherein Nigerian institutions seek to leverage diaspora scholars' outsider status for internationalization. Moreover, it introduced the concept of proximity to power to encompass the ways in which hierarchies of power are maintained through the valuation of various types of capital, which often privileges those proximate to the global North.

Insider-Outsider: "It's home, but it's not home"

Diaspora studies scholars often frame the diaspora as a link between their countries of origin and residence (Okeke-Ihejirika & Spitzer, 2005; Cohen, 1987). In the context of diaspora-homeland collaborations, they are frequently described as a bridge between their home and host

[28] My awareness of colorism in Nigeria is based on my experience living there and witnessing the privilege that Nigerian society bestows upon fair-complexioned people, particularly women. According to the World Health Organization, the use of skin-bleaching products has become a public health crisis in Nigeria and other post-colonial countries (Vijaya, 2019).

institutions. This section explores the conceptualization of diaspora scholars as a bridge and examines how they make sense of their positioning on the insider-outsider spectrum.

My findings support the idea that the diaspora serve as a bridge, not only linking individuals and institutions in their countries of origin and settlement, but also conveying ideas and opportunities between the two. As mentioned in the previous chapter, homeland participants, especially, revealed that diaspora-homeland collaborations offered them and their students increased access to opportunities for international training, study, grants, conferences, and publications.

When asked to describe the role of the diaspora in Nigerian higher education, homeland scholar and administrator Prof. A said,

> I see diaspora scholars as ambassadors of the university…at the moment in the U.S, we have a lot, quite a lot. I don't have the statistics to add, but we have a lot of scholars that are even former students and alumni or people that had been working in the University of * who are now working for example in the U.S. And their role is, they have a critical role to play. In first, helping to bridge the gap between us, that is institutions like the University of *, and institutions over there. They have worked there; they have studied there. They know our limitations; they know our capabilities. They know what we are able to achieve. They've been to the U.S., to Europe; they know the opportunities available, and they know how, what sort of things those institutions can do to assist us. (Interview)

In Prof. A's view, diaspora scholars' knowledge of U.S. and Nigerian higher education systems equipped them to act in an ambassadorial capacity and link institutions in the two countries. His response also acknowledges that Nigerian universities lack access to some of the opportunities available to U.S. and European institutions, and he believed that members of the diaspora were well-positioned to serve as a conduit for increased access to such opportunities.

Serving as intermediaries situates the diaspora in an in-between space, wherein they are, to varying extents, simultaneously local and foreign, insiders and outsiders. In This Bridge We Call

Home, Anzaldúa (2013) posits that inhabiting this middle ground can create a sense of displacement. For one participant in my study, that was certainly true. While the majority of diaspora participants interviewed for this study indicated that they felt a sense of belonging in both the U.S. and their country of origin—which, in most cases, was Nigeria—Prof. AO expressed that he did not consider anywhere as his home and felt estranged in both places. During our follow-up interview, he explained that his short-term visits to Nigeria confirmed that, despite his initial reluctance to leave the country, he had become so far-removed from it that it no longer felt like home. He found himself estranged from his original homeland and resistant to accepting the U.S. as his new homeland. He said,

> [Nigeria is] home, but it's not home. I've lived away for so long, it's not home anymore. And the truth is the U.S. will never be home…So, it's like I'm a stranger in both places…It's one of the hidden prices that immigrants like us pay—first generation immigrants—that I'm not sure people truly understand…we really don't belong anywhere.

Prof. AO's words poignantly capture his sense of displacement in both his countries of origin and settlement. Nevertheless, the sense of unbelonging did not deter him from settling in the U.S. and remaining actively engaged in Nigerian higher education through formal and informal partnerships.

Dr. BA also reported feeling out of place, but for him, that feeling was only present in the U.S. because he felt a strong sense of belonging in Nigeria. During our follow-up interview, he articulated that while he lived in the U.S., he was more heavily invested in Nigeria:

> Dr. BA: I am [a] person that has never ever imagined myself traveling out of Nigeria. So, it has never been my ambition to live abroad, sincerely. And so, I always feel like I'm living someone else's life, and that's why my other interests, politics, business, and every other thing…my investments…are really in Nigeria. I have more stake in Nigeria than I do in America.

> DF: Okay, so just following up on that last comment, do you intend to relocate to Nigeria? How do you navigate feeling like you're living someone else's life and staying in the U.S.?
>
> Dr. BA: You see, I've always been planning on relocating…The problem I have now is with my spouse…We go to Nigeria every two years, and she just can't deal with some of our bullshit…I can't really enjoy myself living elsewhere than Nigeria…You know, with all that craziness, there's something valuable about being in that place for me, and it's sentimental, of course.

For this participant and others, engagement in such initiatives was not just for the purpose of contributing to the revitalization of the Nigerian higher education sector; it was also to bridge a gap in their lives. Their engagement appeared to be a way to reconcile who they were with who they imagined themselves to be and to position themselves where they felt they belonged—even if only temporarily. Cela Hamm's (2016) study of the Haitian diaspora found that engagement in Haiti's higher education sector was a way for diaspora members to reconnect with the homeland and mitigate distance and the sense of displacement it generated for many (pp. 163-164). Several diaspora scholars in my study expressed that they had always envisioned themselves living and working in Nigeria. For these scholars, even though their reality was that they were living and working in the U.S., diaspora-homeland initiatives provided them an opportunity to temporarily explore an alternate reality in which they claim a place they imagined they would have occupied had they not left the country.

The evidence provided in this section supports the framing of the diaspora as a bridge between their countries of origin and residence and the institutions therein. This section also explored diaspora scholars' sense of belonging or displacement in the in-between space that they occupy as insider-outsiders and demonstrated that while some scholars felt an equal sense of belonging in both the U.S. and Nigeria, others felt a sense of displacement in one or both places.

Discussion

This chapter has explored the complex ways in which diaspora scholars' fluid, situational, and relational insider and outsider positionalities shape participants' experiences in and perceived outcomes of diaspora-homeland collaborations. It also uncovered the various purposes for which these identities were mobilized in the Nigerian higher education context and how they were framed as facilitating or limiting factors for diaspora-homeland collaborations. The findings revealed in this chapter offer new insights regarding the implications of positionality and social capital for diaspora-homeland initiatives and reinforce the significance of transnational networks for leveraging diasporic engagement.

Drawing on diaspora studies literature, I have demonstrated how diaspora scholars' ties to and idealization of their original homeland drive them to overlook the negative aspects of their collaborations with homeland scholars and institutions. My interrogation of the facilitating factors (i.e., familiarity and preexisting relationships) identified by participants raises questions about the extent to which those factors truly facilitate successful or positive collaborations and the reliability of participants' reports of successful collaborations. As a consequence of their desire to protect the image of their country of origin, participants sometimes hid the truth about their experiences. As a result, these factors tend to suppress diaspora participants' complaints about the unsatisfactory aspects of their experiences, thereby inflating the perception of collaborations as positive and successful. Similarly, homeland scholars generally considered their collaborations to be successful even when they did not achieve the prescribed goals. The implication of this finding, particularly for formal collaborations, is that we do not have a true picture of the effectiveness of these initiatives, which may in fact be less effective than they are

portrayed to be by participants—a notion which complicates stakeholders' general perception of these initiatives as a potential solution to longstanding educational issues.

This chapter also demonstrated the ways in which the diaspora scholars' outsider status grants them privileges in terms of access, perception, and legitimacy in the postcolonial context of Nigeria. It revealed manifestations of coloniality in international collaborations, wherein Nigerian institutions seek to leverage diaspora scholars' social capital and other forms of capital affiliated with their membership in the U.S. higher education system to improve their global standing through strategic international engagements. Diaspora and homeland scholars and their institutions gain some form of capital (i.e., social, human, economic, etc.) through the networks they foster with each other, although the gains of Northern partners are often overlooked (Teferra, 2013). Based on these findings, I developed the concept of "proximity to power" to describe the criteria used to make determinations about one's value based on their actual or perceived aggregate capital.

Furthermore, my findings support the idea that the diaspora scholars' insider-outsider positionality enables them to serve as a bridge, not only linking individuals and institutions in their countries of origin and settlement, but also conveying ideas and opportunities between the two. In the in-between space that they occupy as insider-outsiders, diaspora scholars demonstrated varying degrees of belonging or displacement. While some scholars felt an equal sense of belonging in both the U.S. and Nigeria, others felt a sense of displacement in one or both places. In the following chapter, I examine the challenges that diaspora-homeland collaborations face and present and, in doing so, further analyze some of the critical issues raised in this chapter.

Chapter 6

Challenges of Diaspora-Homeland Higher Education Collaborations

Key internal and external stakeholders in African higher education (i.e., international development actors, African governments and universities, and the African Union) are increasingly looking to diaspora-homeland higher education interventions as a potential solution for long-standing educational issues. Expanding domestic and foreign interest and investment in diaspora engagement initiatives demonstrate that these stakeholders have high hopes that international collaborative efforts will catalyze the advancement of higher education on the continent. However, my findings indicate that their optimism is somewhat misplaced. While the goals of formal diaspora-homeland collaborations include strengthening departmental and institutional capacity, stimulating systemic change, and generating symbiotic and sustainable partnerships with African universities (Moock & Namuddu, 2017), the reality of these collaborations sometimes fall short of the expectations of participants and other stakeholders due to challenges that the initiatives both face and generate.

Like other higher education systems around the world, the Nigerian system faces a myriad of challenges, including low enrollment, meager research output, inadequate funding, excessive bureaucracy, a shortage of qualified academic staff, and marginalization in the global knowledge economy. Some of these challenges not only hinder diaspora engagement efforts but also impede the effectiveness of educational interventions in promoting capacity strengthening, internationalization, and knowledge production. Within the framework that is promulgated about the goals and desired outcomes of these collaborations, we see successes around these three areas of interest, but we also see shortcomings. Based on interview, observation, and

survey data, this chapter argues that the inability to adequately address foundational issues in Nigerian higher education contributes to the limited success and sustainability of diaspora-homeland collaborations. While often successful at the individual level, they fail to create sustainable systemic change and may perpetuate Nigerian institutions' dependence on external interventions as well as their marginalization in the global knowledge economy.

The results presented in this chapter are divided into three sections, focusing on financial and infrastructural limitations, relational challenges, and hindrances to sustainability. Within those sections, I discuss the ways in which these challenges shape the collaborations and the extent to which the diaspora engagement initiatives address or potentially exacerbate them (RQ 3). Subsequently, I conclude the chapter by discussing the implications and significance of these findings.

Financial and Infrastructural Challenges

Financial and infrastructural issues are deeply intertwined in the Nigerian higher education context. Challenges emanating from monetary and infrastructural shortcomings were the most prevalent among those identified by homeland and diaspora participants. This section demonstrates the far-reaching implications of financial and infrastructural limitations and how they shape the viability and sustainability of diaspora-homeland collaborations. It also analyses the effects of diaspora-homeland initiatives' (in)ability to mitigate these challenges.

Financial Challenges

My findings indicate that inadequate funding limits Nigerian institutions' and scholars' ability to engage effectively in international collaborations and partnerships and can contribute to the impression that they have less to offer than their U.S.-based counterparts. This aligns with

the IAU's global surveys (administered from 2005 to 2018), which point to insufficient funding as the greatest barrier to internationalization efforts. Previous studies on North America-Africa university partnerships (Teferra, 2012; Teferra 2013; Zeleza 2013; Foulds & Zeleza 2014) also observed lack of funding to be a major challenge for African higher education institutions, which Teferra (2013) declares are "the most financially challenged in the world" (p. 20). It is not surprising then that Nigeria-based participants in my study overwhelmingly identified the lack of funding and educational resources as the top challenge for their engagement in diaspora-homeland collaborations.

Some homeland scholars expressed a sense of inferiority in relation to their lack of funding and inability to contribute financially towards joint research or other endeavors with diaspora scholars. During our interview, Prof. E expressed that the potential benefits of diaspora-homeland collaboration are "limitless," although the absence of funding limits homeland scholars' ability to engage in them as equal partners:

> The problem I've always seen [is that] if you come to the party, you must bring something to the table. Most of the time, when it comes to our side, saying "What are you bringing to the table apart from knowledge? Where's your cash?" And then we start complaining [that] we don't have the cash. That's also not too good in any relationship. At times, that's why we don't really optimize such relationships.

Prof. E's comment speaks to the effect of lack of funding on Nigerian universities' ability to contribute financially to international collaborations and to "optimize" them. Although he criticized the negative impact of homeland scholars' limited access to resources, his acknowledgement of their ability to contribute knowledge is quite notable in light of the epistemic erasure that often occurs in North-South academic partnerships (Bouka, 2018; Takayama et al., 2016). Even without adequate funding, he demonstrates resistance to the

pervasive positioning of Nigerian scholars and institutions as recipients, and not (co-)producers, of knowledge in academic literature and in popular discourse.

Prof. C, an administrator at the University of Lagos, highlighted the valuable, non-monetary contributions that Nigeria-based scholars bring to international research collaborations:

> [U.S. and European partners] can also benefit from international research collaboration. Sometimes, when you're doing research, you need local context. You might have the models; you might have the theories developed, but you need to validate these theories with different examples [in the] local context. And what we bring into that from Unilag, from Lagos, from Nigeria is something that you cannot get from any other place. Imagine the last time we had this Ebola crisis, you know. How did Nigeria manage to intervene and nip that problem in the bud? It's because of the capacity of the local researchers, the local health workers. So, that's an example of how others can learn…Ebola is not known in the U.S.; it's not known in Europe. It's like an African-based disease, and there you go. You have an African country that managed, you know, to put a lid on it. So, that is an example that Nigeria can provide, and that can improve maybe development of drugs or medicine for that kind of disease. (Interview)

In addition, Prof. F, an upper-level university administrator at the University of Ibadan, noted that there are other types of non-financial resources that may be of use in biological studies, for example:

> [U.S. institutions] have much better…resources than us, but we too should be able to bring something to the table. It cannot always be one-directional…[though] we may not be able to match them. There are some plants, for example, that are indigenous to tropical Africa. They may not even grow in any part of America…So, I believe if we work hard, there will be something for us to also…bring to the table. (Interview)

His statement acknowledges that his institution's budget limitations make it difficult to match the financial resources that resource-rich institutions are able to invest in international partnerships. It also suggests that Nigerian scholars' access to and knowledge of indigenous plant specimens are valuable contributions to international collaborations. This aligns with diaspora

scholars' accounts of gaining access to indigenous knowledge in a variety of fields as a motivating factor for partnering with Nigeria-based scholars.

With funding being a major issue for Nigerian universities in general, it inevitably proves to be an obstacle for internationalization of higher education in Nigeria. Jibril & Obaje (2008) state that due to the budgetary shortfall, university administrators are forced to seek alternative sources of funding or deny their institutions critical internationalization activities that could boost their academic standing and global reputation. Among diaspora participants in this study, Nigerian host institutions were the second highest source of funding for their collaborations (see Figure 3 below).

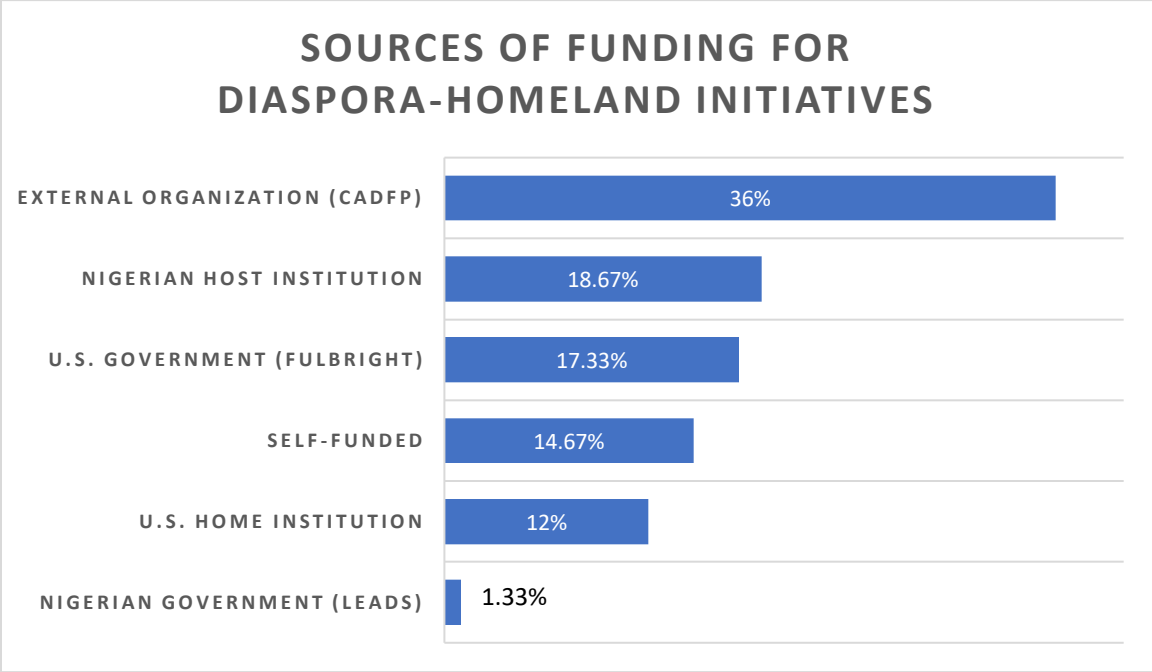

Figure 3. Diaspora-reported sources of funding for diaspora-homeland initiatives (survey)[29]

[29] Self-funding is likely underrepresented in this survey. Because informal, self-funded initiatives are under-recorded, it was difficult to identify and recruit their participants for this study.

It is noteworthy that the Carnegie African Diaspora Fellowship Program (CADFP)—which 36% of survey respondents identified as their source of funding—required cost-sharing in some form with the host institutions, which often committed to providing transportation and accommodation for the visiting scholars.

University Strikes. Nigerian federal universities are technically tuition-free, and as such, their ability to generate internal revenue through tuition fees is limited by the government. Jibril & Obaje (2008) maintain that although the nominal value of the federal budget[30] allocation for higher education has grown over the years, its actual value—when inflation and expanding enrollment are taken into account—has declined steadily since 1985 (p. 342). Governments fund what they value. Therefore, the Nigerian government's inability to adequately fund higher education suggests that it does not highly prioritize it.

The implications of higher education underfunding are far-reaching. In addition to limiting Nigerian institutions' monetary contributions to international partnerships, the financial crisis induced by government underfunding can abruptly interrupt university operations and collaborations (see Figure 4 below). The bid for increased public funding has frequently resulted in university strikes, which destabilize the academic calendar and undoubtedly impact students negatively (Olulobe, 2016). The findings shared in this section provide evidence of the adverse effects of academic strikes on internationalization activities, including diaspora engagement initiatives.

[30] The two research sites included in this study are federal universities, so I only discuss the federal budget because that is their source of public funding.

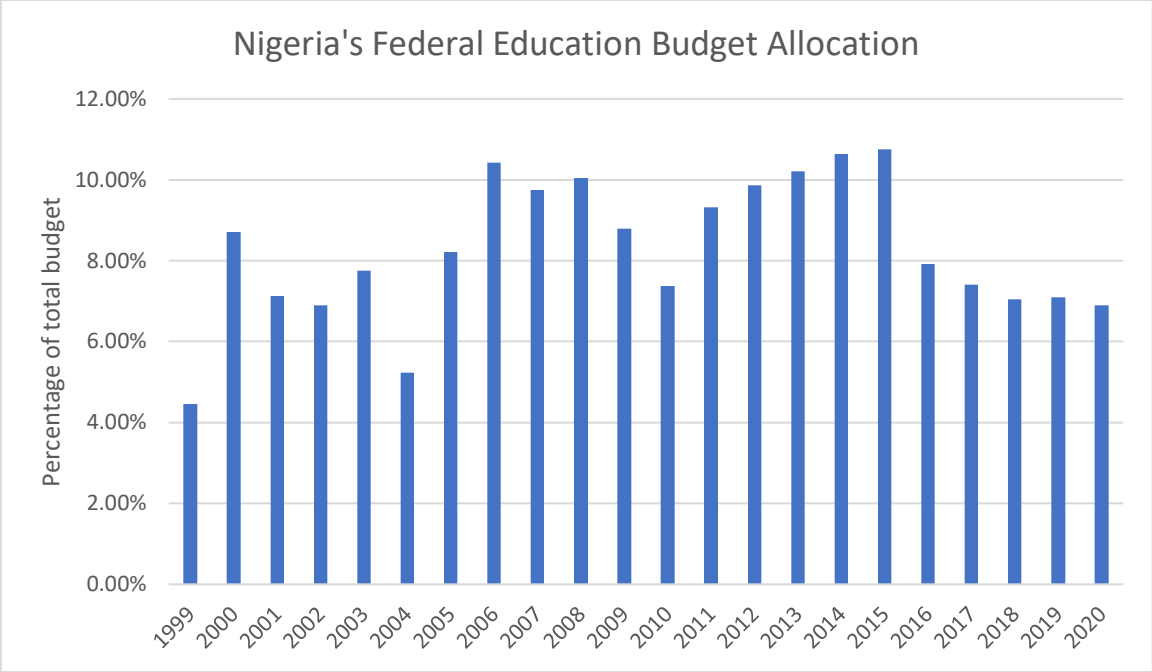

Figure 4. Overview of federal funding for education in Nigeria (1999-2020)[31]

(Data source: www.eduplana.com)

Upon arrival at my first research site, the University of Lagos (Unilag), I immediately observed a bustling campus teeming with cars and pedestrians undeterred by the merciless Lagos heat. Within two weeks, that would all change. In response to the government's failure to release outstanding funding for the revitalization of public universities, the Academic Staff Union of Universities (ASUU) announced an immediate and indefinite strike, bringing academic activities to a screeching halt at Nigeria's 90 public universities and affecting over 1.3 million students (Tade, 2018). I witnessed the once energetic campus grow increasingly desolate with each passing week. In some ways, it felt like a ghost town. The hustle and bustle that characterized the space just weeks prior was replaced by a near standstill and a palpable sense of familiar

[31] These percentages include funding for all levels of education (basic, secondary, and tertiary).

disappointment. This strike was the 13th of its kind since 1999, all ranging between 3 days and 180 days. Although ASUU strikes had become a somewhat expected feature of public higher education in Nigeria, it did not lessen the grief of students whose academic plans and goals were disrupted indefinitely.

When asked to describe how academic strikes affect their international partnerships and collaborations, study participants generally described them as a major challenge. In our interview, Prof. C said, "If there's something that has impacted negatively on relationships between Unilag and foreign partners, it is the strike…We've found that the strike is no good for international collaborations, and we've got to devise ways of addressing this." Prof. B added that the strike "disrupts everything." Citing the example of international students who were meant to join a new MA program at the university but were unable to do so due to the ongoing strike, Prof B. stated that recruiting international students was challenging for Unilag for a variety of reasons, including the lack of a "stable academic calendar." During a meeting which I observed, he went on to say that "the way ASUU kills the university system here, sometimes I feel that they're doing more damage than the government they're fighting" (Prof. B, observation). In describing the direct impact of academic strikes on diaspora-homeland collaborations, Prof. K said,

> When the [diaspora fellow] came, unfortunately she came some 2 to 3 weeks into a national academic staff strike, and the strike lingered throughout the time she was here…. We had one or two courses we wanted her to actually come and participate in, but that could not take place because the students were asked to go home.

This case exemplifies the ripple effect of underfunding on collaborations. The academic strike, which occurred in response to government underfunding of higher education, halted instructional activities and thereby rendered this teaching collaboration unviable.

To mitigate the effect of strikes on collaborations, Prof. A suggested "redirecting visiting scholars' activities and involvement from teaching to research and advising/mentoring [since] teaching is the main activity that is interrupted during strikes." I observed one such redirection when a self-funded diaspora scholar arrived at the University of Lagos in the midst of the strike and was unable to teach the courses she had been expected to teach during her visit. Instead, she was able to advise the university on a grant proposal and meet with graduate students to discuss their research. In spite of the detrimental effects of academic strikes identified by his colleagues, Prof. D acknowledged that "this strike appears to be the only way to force government" to provide the resources that public universities and their staff need.

Infrastructural Challenges

Another way in which the scarcity of funding manifests as a hindrance to international collaborations is in the form of infrastructural challenges (Zeleza, 2013). Among diaspora participants, insufficient infrastructure was the most salient challenge. Scholars' accounts indicate that inadequate labs, shortage of teaching and research resources, insufficient information and communication technologies (ICT), and unreliable electricity created an inconducive work environment and were impediments to the success and sustainability of their partnerships.

During our follow-up interview, diaspora scholar Prof. S shared how his host institution's lack of research resources shaped his experience: "My purpose of going there [was] the research, …but getting there, they [did] not have any equipment to even work on the research." Because he could not conduct research as originally intended, he reviewed the host department's Ph.D. program curriculum, which was not his main goal. Prof. S insisted that infrastructural deficiencies,

and the host institution's lack of transparency about (un)available resources, hindered the collaboration's effectiveness and rendered the environment inconducive to achieving the initiative's proposed goals.

Prof. I at the University of Ibadan identified funding as the main challenge that Nigerian universities are facing in terms of infrastructural development—another major challenge. During our interview, he pondered the role that diaspora programs could play in building institutional infrastructure:

> One of our major challenges here has to do with infrastructure. So, I really don't know how these programs should, could also assist us to put infrastructure in place. You don't need to give funds to anybody, I mean if you believe the management will be an issue. But we can articulate what we need. For example, as a department here, we can articulate what we need. We want the kind of relationship, the kind of intervention that will assist us to put that in place. I think that would also be useful in addition to knowledge transfer. I'm not diminishing the value of knowledge transfer, but at times, even when you're trying to bring in some knowledge and you don't have infrastructure with which to work, that becomes an issue.

His statement demonstrates a need and desire for infrastructural advancement to facilitate diaspora-homeland projects. Furthermore, it upholds a view of Nigerian institutions as recipients of knowledge—a problematic perception that will be addressed in an upcoming section of this chapter focused on relational challenges.

Additionally, during an observation at one of my research sites, I witnessed a group of scholars struggling to set up for a presentation because there was no internet connection in the meeting room. At the same site, the offices that were provided for resident and visiting scholars had unreliable Wi-Fi due to a faulty modem. At both research sites, I observed multiple scholars using personally-provided internet because what the institution provided was insufficient for

their needs. Similarly, numerous diaspora scholars identified substandard internet access as an obstacle to their productivity at the host institution.

Poor infrastructure not only affects in-person collaborations, it also limits the possibility of virtual cooperation and the extent to which co-collaborators can continue their efforts beyond the duration of diaspora scholars' visits to Nigerian universities. Several diaspora participants confirmed that lack of adequate technological infrastructure at Nigerian institutions does not support distance-based collaborations. In describing the challenge of virtual connectivity, Prof. X said, "I would've loved to do something via Skype, but I understand that the internet is not very strong back home. So, we've been mostly communicating via email" (interview). Another participant, Prof. AD, suspected that technological challenges thwarted his attempt to teach an online course at his host institution:

> At [host university], I was given a class to teach. I indicated I was going to teach it online, and we had two doctoral students. I don't know what challenge [the institution] had, but they weren't responsive. So, eventually I just abandoned the class. (Interview)

With virtual mobility gaining relevance and popularity, Nigerian institutions may become further marginalized in the global knowledge economy if they do not address their technological deficiencies and strengthen their capacity to engage in virtual exchanges. The following interview excerpt further illustrates the limitations posed by the lack of adequate technological infrastructure as well as the potential impact of investing in ICT at Nigerian institutions for effective virtual collaborations:

> **DF**: You also mentioned that you are engaged in both in-person and virtual collaborations. Could you describe the virtual collaborations? I'm interested in the formats that these take.
>
> **Prof. U**: Well, virtual in the sense that once in a while, we have telephone conferences, and we have video conferences. The challenge of doing the virtual [collaborations] is that

> they don't have a lot of bandwidth, a lot of technology at that [Nigerian host] institution, but we do it once in a while…chat and follow up about ideas…We're unable to [connect] virtually as much as we're able to do face to face…The virtual takes place by email most of the time and occasionally, we have telephone calls. It's very difficult—their Wi-Fi there doesn't work well, and to pay for data is very expensive [for Nigerian scholars].
>
> **DF**: Do you believe that with better technological advancements in that region, virtual collaborations would be strengthened?
>
> **Prof. U**: Oh, absolutely! In fact, there could be a situation where we can maybe team teach a course in which both our students here [in the U.S.] and the students in Nigeria can take part…If funding can be obtained, those are ideas that could be implemented.

Collectively, my findings support Zeleza's (2013) assertion that African universities often lack the necessary infrastructure to effectively support visiting diaspora scholars and facilitate joint projects and that infrastructural development is a necessity to "maximize mutual benefits" of diaspora-homeland engagements (p. 6). Furthermore, my findings indicate that, in the absence of significant efforts to address financial and infrastructural challenges, diaspora-homeland collaborations perpetuate Nigerian institutions' dependence on external interventions.

Diaspora Engagement in Lieu of Government Support? Due to the perceived success of diaspora-homeland initiatives in Nigerian higher education, some participants were tempted to overlook government underfunding of the system. However, it is important to recognize that diaspora-homeland collaborations do not absolve the government of its responsibility; they should occur in tandem with government investment in higher education, not as a replacement for it. In the absence of sufficient funding, the notion of diaspora-homeland collaborations as a potential solution for issues within Nigerian higher education is a fallacy.

Most participants were optimistic about the impact of diaspora-homeland initiatives. When asked to name the benefits of diaspora-homeland collaborations, many of them included potential benefits for the institution and the Nigerian higher education system at large; although

those outcomes were yet to materialize, they had high hopes that they would. While I admire the participants' optimism, they may have overly ambitious expectations of what their collaborations can achieve without adequate government support. In an interview, Prof. M expressly stated that he expected change in the education system to be driven by diaspora engagement and not by the government:

> The government is too distracted, so the impetus for change, for innovation will probably come more from this interface [with the diaspora]. And that's why I think it's important that the interface is nurtured and carefully groomed so that we can begin to see alternative pathways to a better education system rather than one that just thinks government—government is not going to do anything. Those in government…don't have much of a stake in higher education, but the diaspora does have a stake. Many of them are operating in their educational platform. Those who are not have gone through our education…so they understand the system. And we need to give them the platform to more effectively become part of the solution or the search for the solution.

Although it is prudent to leverage diaspora engagement to address educational issues in Nigeria, the mantle of educational development cannot be carried by diaspora-homeland collaborations alone. Even the most successful initiatives cannot achieve systemic change in isolation. Moreover, considering the ruinous defunding of higher education in previous decades, efforts to strengthen the system should include strategic financial investment, which diaspora engagement initiatives are not designed to provide. The pressure on African higher education institutions to improve has largely not been accompanied by sufficient funding to do so. As diaspora scholar Prof. AN noted in his survey response, the "regulatory agencies, e.g., the National Universities Commission and the Federal Ministry of Education, are themselves not committed to changing the status quo."

In their statements at the 2019 Continental Forum on the Role of the Diaspora in Higher Education, Research, and Innovation in Africa, Dr. Saleem Badat and Prof. Adam Habib cautioned

that external funding for diaspora engagement initiatives will not last forever and that state support is necessary to sustain these efforts. They called for a systemic approach to diaspora engagement, linking diaspora programs to specific educational development challenges, and for state-funded, partnership-based policies and practices. Their statements support Jibril & Obaje's (2008) position that foreign-funded internationalization activities are limited in their longevity and must eventually be supported by local resources to become sustainable (p. 354). My findings indicate that, in the absence of significant efforts to address foundational challenges and design partnerships to achieve systemic changes, diaspora-homeland collaborations may leave Nigerian institutions marginalized in the global higher education economy and perpetuate their dependence on external interventions.

A significant reason why diaspora-homeland initiatives do not absolve the government of their responsibility is that they do not address the lack of funding endemic in Nigeria's public universities. Formal diaspora-homeland initiatives that seek to address shortcomings in Nigerian higher education notably do not attempt to alleviate the financial issue. While participants described numerous benefits of diaspora-homeland collaborations, those benefits rarely addressed the financial and infrastructural limitations the collaborations faced. This calls into question the extent to which diaspora engagement programs are designed to redress foundational issues that are the root of other educational problems. An analysis of the Carnegie Diaspora Initiative Review reveals that,

> Diaspora initiatives…are not explicitly geared to addressing issues of university systemic change…While the programs make numerous references to national and global development impact as an ultimate goal, the immediate focus is largely on curriculum development, training high quality research standards, output, and dissemination. (Moock & Namuddu, 2017, p. 59)

Hence, diaspora-homeland initiatives by design offer solutions that do not directly facilitate the deeper remediation that is required to achieve the desired developmental impact.

Although formal diaspora engagement initiatives are not designed to amend systemic issues directly, some collaborations yielded educational resources (e.g., books, computers, and lab equipment) for the host institution. In one instance, diaspora scholar Prof. AH facilitated sending lab equipment as part of a formal partnership between his home and host institutions. In another instance, diaspora scholar Prof. AL, without any formal initiative or partnership, coordinated the donation of eight boxes of books from his home institution to a university he described as his "academic home in Nigeria." During this scholar's tenure as a CADFP fellow, he secured supplemental funding from Carnegie to cover half of the cost to host a workshop at his host institution. The workshop was executed successfully, and through registration fees, the host department was able to generate revenue, which enabled it to bear the remaining cost. My study findings indicate that the generation of financial resources for host institutions was not a common outcome of diaspora engagement.

Not only is the financial state of Nigerian institutions often left unaddressed by diaspora engagement, but the funding approach of formal initiatives presents its own set of challenges. The Carnegie African Diaspora Fellowship Program (CADFP), for instance, supports diaspora fellows with a stipend but does not provide any funding to the host scholar or institution. With host institutions' financial precarity, there is sometimes an issue of inadequate research funding, which limits scholars' ability to engage in effective research collaborations and strengthen the institution's research capacity (Moock & Namuddu, 2017, p. 17). Although the program offers supplemental funding for academic workshops and other activities facilitating knowledge

generation, host scholars and institutions cannot request these funds directly. Diaspora scholars must apply for the funds, which are supplied to them if the application is approved. This situates the diaspora as financial gatekeepers and reinforces Mlambo & Baxter's (2018) point that "historically, funding for North-South partnerships has often been provided and controlled by the Northern partners" (p. 34).

Furthermore, the lack of compensation for host scholars or institutions can create tension in the relationship between them and visiting scholars, who are generously compensated. In his survey response, diaspora scholar Prof. BC indicated that one of the challenges of the collaboration was that "diasporas are provided [financial] incentives, [and] unfortunately many local collaborators are not funded…resulting in [their] lack of motivation." Likewise, Prof. AC shared that "there was a little resistance by certain individuals who felt there was financial benefit for me and not for them in my fellowship." By paying the visiting scholars but not the hosts, these programs position the diaspora as providers of knowledge and skills and the host institutions and scholars as recipients of those provisions, who require no further compensation. These collaborations thereby relegate Nigerian institutions and scholars to the status of beneficiaries instead of equal partners—a consequence of the diaspora-driven development narrative on which these initiatives are founded—replicating an unequal power dynamic between diaspora and homeland scholars.

Unequal Partners: Relational Challenges

Building on the premise that internationalization, like globalization, can reinforce existing inequalities between universities in resource-rich and resource-poor countries (Altbach, 2001, 2016), this section illustrates how inherent inequalities between countries transcend the national

level to permeate relationships and interactions between institutions and individuals in the homeland and the diaspora. Institutions and scholars in the U.S. tend to have greater access to funding and resources and are situated in a context that has historically enjoyed more power and privilege. This privilege is often mistaken as superiority. As such, U.S.–Africa collaborations seem to be often underpinned by the general perception of U.S. institutions as being superior to their African counterparts.

Consequently, one challenge of "North-South" university partnerships is the view of global South institutions (and scholars) as the primary or sole beneficiaries (Teferra, 2012). I observed a guest lecture at the University of Lagos, during which an audience member and professor at the institution asked the UK-based presenter if scholars in the global North still view African scholars as having little to nothing to contribute. His question highlighted the underlying deficit-based view of African scholars based on the continent and the perception of foreign-based scholars as superior intellectuals—a manifestation of coloniality, which, in the aftermath of colonialism, reinforces oppressive conceptualizations of African people and Africa as a whole.

From a decolonial lens, the legacy of colonialism is evident in Nigeria's present-day educational system, which has been heavily influenced by policies imposed upon it by foreign powers during the colonial and postcolonial eras. Like many higher education institutions on the African continent, those in Nigeria were initially modeled after the system of their former European colonizers and continue to use a colonial language as the language of instruction (Teferra, 2008a). Prof. E alluded to the effects of this epistemic hegemony in our interview:

> Over the years, I think a lot of harm has been done to the educational system. First, I would say we don't have a system we own ourselves. When I was growing up, I went to secondary school for five years, and then subsequently it changed to six years because some felt "oh, let's adopt another system." It was strictly British when I was growing up,

> then at some point became half British, half American…And then, only God knows what next is being planned. So, until we have a system we own…it's more of a systemic thing, but let's hope it will get better.

His comment reveals that those foreign educational systems are held as ideals to be replicated, and in some ways, this allows education to act as a conduit to uphold geopolitical hierarchies of knowledge.

The history of inequalities between North-South institutions can obscure the possibility of reciprocal, mutually beneficial partnerships (Mlambo & Baxter, 2018). Historically, the North has feigned the role of savior to the South, and it can be challenging to imagine new possibilities. Even when North-South collaborations purport to be equal partnerships, they often replicate preexisting inequalities, which can jeopardize reciprocity. The power imbalance between participating institutions and scholars provides a dubious foundation for equitable partnerships; therefore, diaspora-homeland initiatives claiming to be equal must explicitly strive to dismantle hierarchies that reinforce inequality.

Partly due to deficit-based perceptions entrenched in coloniality, African universities struggle to be recognized as legitimate partners for international collaboration (Knight, 2008; Foulds & Zeleza, 2014) and as valuable members in the global knowledge economy, which often overlooks their academic contributions (Teferra, 2013). The lack of acknowledgement of African scholars' intellectual productivity—reminiscent of Freire's (1996) banking concept of education[32]—positions them as recipients of knowledge generated by global North scholars. It is unsurprising then that in their survey and interview responses, many diaspora scholars and a few

[32] "In the banking concept of education, knowledge is a gift bestowed by those who consider themselves knowledgeable upon those whom they consider to know nothing" (Freire, 1970, p. 53).

homeland scholars described Nigeria-based scholars and institutions as the primary beneficiaries of diaspora-homeland collaborations (see Figure 5 below). This finding aligns with Mlambo & Baxter's (2018) assertion that, despite North-South partnerships' "intent for mutuality and reciprocity, the narratives of both West African and U.S. participants reinforce inequitable hierarchies" (p. 33).

In my interview with homeland scholar Prof. M, he explained why he felt diaspora-homeland initiatives were unequal:

> I think it's largely an unequal exchange…Of course, there could be emotional dimensions or hidden, invisible dimensions where inequality might actually mean that the diaspora person gets more than the hosts. But in terms of the visible dimensions…I think the diaspora elements bring more to the [table]…imagine the guys who come in the summer with their own money.

His statement shows that while inequalities may manifest in different ways in these initiatives, he believes that the unequal partnerships tend to favor the host institutions. Additionally, his reference to diaspora scholars who take part in informal, self-funded collaborations demonstrates how money, or the lack thereof, can shape participants' perspectives of their collaborators and serve as an indicator of value in these relationships. When diaspora scholars self-fund their collaborations, they are viewed as benevolent, and when they engage in formal, externally-funded initiatives, they are also seen as partners whose value is acknowledged through financial remuneration. In both instances, diaspora contributions are generally more widely recognized than their gains. Underfunded and uncompensated, Nigerian institutions and scholars, on the other hand, are often framed as constant recipients of external benevolence.

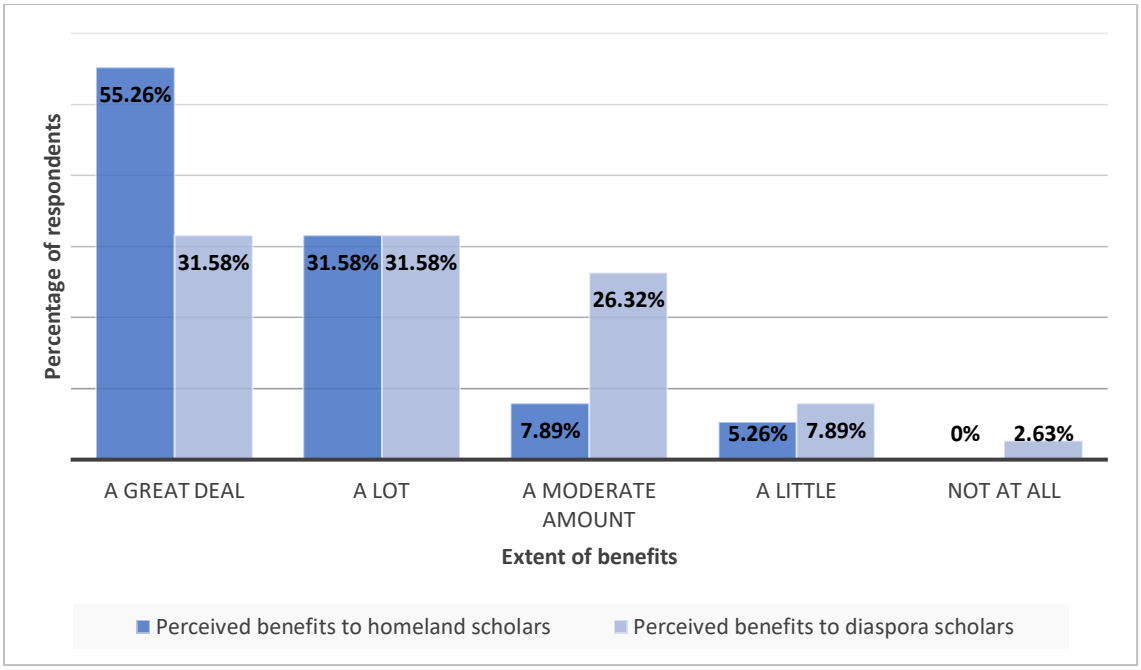

Figure 5. Diaspora scholars' perception of the extent of benefits for participants (survey)

Teferra (2012) pushes back against the notion of global South partners as the sole beneficiaries of North-South partnerships, contending that global North institutions and individuals also benefit from them, although their gains are far less documented than those of their global South counterparts. It is worth noting that partnerships do not have to yield identical benefits for both partners to be reciprocal (Samoff & Carrol, 2004; Mlambo & Baxter, 2018). While each partner's contributions may differ, they are valuable nonetheless.

Prof. X was one of the diaspora scholars who indicated on the online survey that their Nigeria-based counterpart(s) benefited more from the collaboration than they did. During our follow-up interview, I asked why he believed that to be the case, and he responded, "I was doing this with the intention mostly to give back to the community, so I would say that is what influenced me in answering the question that way." Prof. X is not unique in being motivated by the desire to "give back." In fact, that was the most salient motivating factor for diaspora

participants in these initiatives. While the desire to participate in the advancement of one's place of origin is laudable, "giving back" becomes problematic when it rests on the assumption that there are little to no reciprocal benefits for the diaspora, resulting in a one-sided approach to what should be a mutual collaboration. This frames their participation as philanthropy rather than partnership and perpetuates the harmful trope of Africa as a "land of absence"—a perception that Takayama et al. (2016) cite as an example of the "epistemological legacy of colonialism" (pp. S3-S4). Similarly, Mlambo and Baxter (2018) add that such framings "perpetuate colonial dynamics" (p. 34).

Bouka (2018) problematizes the idea of international, collaborative research as a capacity strengthening strategy for non-Western institutions and argues that such initiatives can "become sites for structural violence of knowledge production" when they fail to recognize the intellectual contributions of "local" scholars. Mlambo & Baxter (2018) aptly state that "while the material realities of African higher education indicate the need for capacity-building initiatives in a very practical form, this does not imply the absence of knowledge among African faculty" (p. 50). Through the erasure of Southern partners' intellectual contributions, these partnerships constitute epistemic violence masquerading as benevolence. As the nature of diaspora-homeland collaborations goes beyond knowledge production, so does the threat of hegemony. While Northern participants may not intend to patronize their Southern counterparts, envisioning and describing themselves as "givers" while failing to acknowledge that they are also beneficiaries reflects a one-sided and hegemonic approach to their collaborations, which contradicts the rhetoric of mutuality that formal initiatives promote.

During our interview, homeland scholar Prof. B complained about the "paternalistic" attitude of some diaspora visitors:

> When diaspora scholars come here, it's like they're coming here to legislate, pontificate, and teach us how to do scholarship, and for us, this is uncalled for. It's never in the spirit of collaboration. It is usually in the spirit of "I tell you what to do…You guys are doing nothing here. We do all the scholarship there [in the U.S.]"…[Rather] let's have inflow and outflow of ideas…There are things to learn from each other.

His comment highlights the friction that can arise in the relationship between homeland and diaspora scholars when the latter approach the collaborations in ways that replicate the unequal power dynamics that exist between their home and host countries and the historically deficit-based Northern approaches to development efforts in the South.

Even the most well-intentioned initiatives can reinforce inequalities between institutions and scholars. CADFP, for instance, strives to counter one-sided, inequitable North-South partnerships. The program involves the host institutions from the conception of the collaborative projects. Eligible African institutions are able to submit a project request based on institutional needs in the areas of curriculum co-development, graduate student mentoring and training, and research collaboration and capacity strengthening. Along with their proposal, they may request a specific diaspora scholar to work with or allow the program to match them with a qualified fellow. The effort to incorporate African institutions as equal partners, even in the application process, is commendable. In one important aspect, however, CADFP reifies the lack of reciprocity that it seeks to counter. As described in the previous section, the program's approach to funding reinforces inequality between homeland and diaspora scholars. By providing funding only to the diaspora scholars, the program design jeopardizes the very idea of the collaborations as being equal and mutual.

Sustainability

One of the ways in which formal collaborations seek to strengthen institutional capacity is by increasing curriculum offerings. In some cases, this was done successfully, and the results have been sustainable. Homeland scholar Prof. N described her collaborative experience as a "mutually rewarding" opportunity for both her and her diaspora partner to "give back" to the local community through student training and cross-institutional collaborations (interview). She also explained how she and her diaspora partner have built on the initial collaboration's success with the hope of creating a sustainable and impactful training program for a specific data analysis and programming software:

> The first time, we had 40 [attendees]…The second time, we had more people…For the third one, we'd have two parallel classes running, and those who were trained in the first and the second groups, cohorts, would be assistant trainers, and that would work better… I'm not just reaching or impacting directly on my students alone. It's going across faculties [departments]; it's going across institutions.

Due to the scholars' joint vision of achieving maximum impact, their collaboration was designed to create a self-sustaining initiative that would ultimately no longer rely on the diaspora scholar's direct involvement to continue.

Similarly, Prof. O reported a successful and sustainable outcome. The diaspora scholar with whom he worked helped bring about changes in the department that have outlasted the collaboration. One of the results of their collaborative initiative was,

> The formation of research group for students…[which] still holds up till now. Students are still attending because two of our faculty and staff worked with her in that developmental process, and when she left, they took over the project. (Interview)

These two examples demonstrate that sustainability can be achieved when the collaborations are designed and executed with continuity and self-sustainability in mind.

In other cases, participants reported that the efforts were not able to last beyond the duration of the fellowship due to a variety of factors, including short fellowship period, lack of institutional support to implement changes, shortage of qualified staff to teach proposed courses, and bureaucratic administrative structures. In most instances, the collaborations are departmental, not institutional-level, initiatives, so there is no institutional mandate to maintain the work started, especially when the administrator who approved it has been replaced. This can leave homeland and diaspora participants frustrated and discouraged. Homeland scholar Prof. M described how an abrupt turnover in administration stalled the progression of his and his diaspora partner's efforts:

> [The collaboration] was very successful, but since then, there hasn't been much development, I think because…we had this sudden change of DVC (Deputy Vice Chancellor)…Of course, part of the challenge is to manage the politics of institutions and also to ensure that despite personnel change at the level of management, some of the key things are sustained.

Diaspora scholar Prof. AL also raised the issue of sustainability in his survey response. When asked to describe his concerns, he said,

> One of the things that need to happen is that when you are talking about sustainability, there needs to be some predictable level of income coming in. One of the biggest achievements at [a Nigerian university] was getting a major grant...That helped that set up a center within the College of [omitted], but…how do you keep it going? I see that particular center struggling with those issues right now. The main driver behind it…has taken an appointment elsewhere…whatever efforts they were championing—while they're gone or when they leave finally—continuing those efforts [will] be an issue.

Prof. AL's statement reveals how lack of funding as well as administrative turnover can affect the sustainability of capacity-building efforts.

The issue of sustainability is not unique to educational development efforts. Critical postcolonial literature on international health development initiatives in Africa (Benton &

Dionne, 2015; Moon et al., 2017) shows the establishment of parallel or vertical health systems[33], yet a shortage of critical institutional capacity building in the form of comprehensive health systems. As is the case with so many of these programs and development models, the mechanisms for engaging in these programs individualize. The desired outcomes are achieved, but because they are individualized, it is difficult to achieve sustainability.

While diaspora scholar engagement temporarily addresses Nigerian universities' human resource shortage to a certain extent, it does not offer a long-term solution to improve faculty recruitment and retention. There is a need for diaspora engagement initiatives to take a more systemic approach in order to strengthen institutional capacity and achieve results beyond the individual level. Through the establishment of complementary programs, such as the University Administration Support Program, Carnegie has made noteworthy progress toward moving their initiatives from a purely academic model to one that also addresses systemic issues in African higher education.

Failure to Institutionalize Partnerships

According to participants' and community members' accounts, the majority of international academic collaborations in Nigerian higher education are informal and individual-level initiatives. The prospect of attracting more international institutional-level partnerships was one of the motivating factors for homeland participants in diaspora-homeland collaborations. This section describes how frequently diaspora-homeland collaborations resulted in the initiation of a formal institutional-level partnership between U.S. and Nigerian institutions; in so doing, it also highlights discrepancies between the participants' desired outcomes and actual outcomes

[33] These are health programs designed to attend to specific populations and illnesses (Benton & Dionne, 2015).

of the initiatives in terms of the collaborations leading to institutional partnerships. Although establishing international institutional partnerships was one of the most salient anticipated benefits expressed by homeland participants, the diaspora-homeland collaborations included in this study did not frequently lead to institutional partnerships. In their review of Carnegie-funded diaspora initiatives, Moock and Namuddu (2017) observe that "partnerships between host and home institutions are generally viewed by Carnegie, the IIE selection committees, and the [Advisory Council] as secondary priorities" (p. 9).

My study findings indicate that while diaspora-homeland collaborations sometimes led to a formal partnership, through the establishment of a memorandum of understanding (MOU), between the Nigerian host institutions and the diaspora scholars' home institutions in the U.S., this was not often the case. Figure 6 below shows that in approximately 75.7 percent of cases, there was no preexisting or resulting MOU between the home and host institutions. In 18.9 percent of cases, there was a preexisting MOU, and in the remaining 5.4 percent, there was no MOU at all.

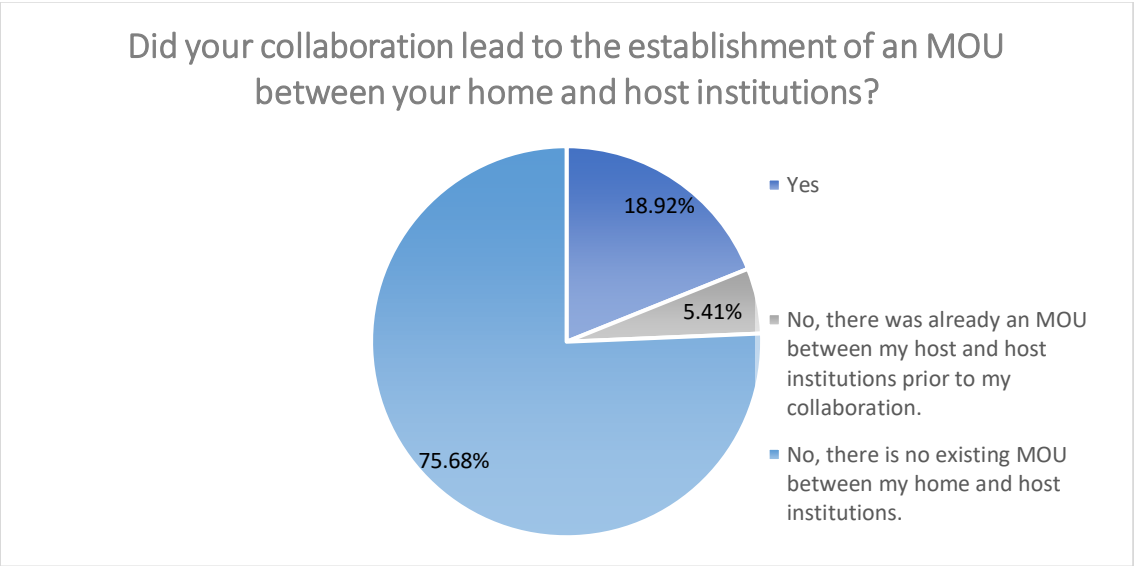

Figure 6. Presence of MOU between U.S. (home) and Nigerian (host) institutions (survey)

I found that diaspora scholars did not often attribute the same level of importance to formal institutional partnerships as homeland scholars. Nigeria-based scholars generally expressed a desire for international partnerships, which they saw as beneficial in several ways. A professor at the University of Lagos explained, "we've had MOUs initiated on our behalf by diaspora scholars…they have actually been very helpful in opening for us different worlds of opportunities that are otherwise not available to us." As mentioned earlier, diaspora scholar Prof. AH established an MOU between his home and host institutions, an agreement which facilitates the transfer of lab equipment from the U.S. institution to the Nigerian university, thereby strengthening the latter's scientific capacity.

On the other hand, several diaspora scholars reported that they were either discouraged from pursuing an MOU by their home institution's lack of interest in partnering with the host institution or by the bureaucratic process of establishing a formalized partnership. One diaspora participant shared that there was no MOU between his home and host institutions due to:

> Lack of desire from my own institution…I think they in Nigeria are…willing to go into an MOU, but I'm not so sure of how easy it would be to get it into place from my own end. That's why I haven't really pursued it that much. (Prof. U, interview)

Another diaspora scholar felt that an MOU was inconsequential and would only complicate what had been a smooth individual-level collaboration thus far:

> It looks like, from my impression, sometimes when MOUs are signed, it could just be a document, another document sitting on the shelf a lot of times. People never act on them…For example, my administration here, they believe that interaction between faculty members [is] going to make things happen…instead of trying to make something so formal…and then it might make things not to run as smoothly as previously…So that is already sufficient instead of having some formal document. (Prof. X, interview)

This participant's view of MOUs as a futile endeavor is a stark contrast to the perception of Nigeria-based scholars and administrators, who hoped that diaspora-homeland collaborations would improve their institutions' visibility and prospects for future international partnerships.

Similarly, the excerpt below from my follow-up interview with diaspora scholar Prof. AL reinforces the idea that U.S. institutions and scholars sometimes view MOUs with Nigerian institutions as not only futile but potentially detrimental to an already operational—although informal—relationship:

> **DF:** Hearing about the deep relationship you have with UI and Unilag, I'm a bit surprised that there's no MOU between your home institution and those institutions. Is that due to a lack of desire from the institutions or are there other factors?
>
> **Prof. AL:** There are other factors. I think clearly if I wanted to do an MOU with the universities, I'm sure that my colleagues there would gladly push them through…We here [in the U.S.], we are a small school, relatively speaking…we're not a large institution. So, it's not so much that [the host institutions] are not willing to do it or that they can't do it. It's just that on this side, we've been a little bit hesitant.
>
> The lack of an MOU has not in any way, shape, or form impeded our ability to do things…An MOU could just trigger a whole bunch of administrative wahala [problems] here. So, instead of triggering the noise, we just keep operating.

Even without an MOU in place, Prof. AL reported that he had been able to visit the host institutions, host visiting scholars and students from there, and donate educational materials—all of which led him to believe that an MOU was unnecessary.

Diaspora and homeland participants' divergent perceptions of the significance of formal institutional partnerships reflect a difference of priorities and privilege. Whereas Nigerian universities seek to achieve greater legitimacy through international partnerships and collaborations, U.S. institutions occupy a position of privilege that enables them to forego formal institutionalized partnerships because things are already "running smoothly." These findings

align with the results of the IAU surveys administered over the past 16 years, which have consistently shown that the African region is underprioritized by all other regions for international academic partnerships.

While seemingly reluctant to partner with Nigerian universities and potentially help them build their institutional capacity, U.S. institutions appear to be eager to leverage diaspora-homeland collaborations to recruit Nigerian students. Rizvi (2005) calls into question the idea that the "globally integrated knowledge economy" in which transnational diaspora networks operate are any less exploitative of the global South than the less globalized economy of the past (p. 190). The above-mentioned examples suggest that diaspora networks can be exploited by U.S. institutions to extract talent from Nigerian institutions, which are already suffering from a shortage of qualified academics.

In one discrepant case, diaspora scholar Prof. * described his unsuccessful attempt to establish an MOU between his institution and multiple Nigerian institutions. While details of this case have been omitted to protect the participant's confidentiality, it is worth noting that the proposed MOU stipulated the recruitment of international graduate students from Nigerian institutions to attend the diaspora scholar's home institution. According to the diaspora participant, none of the Nigerian institutions approached with this MOU agreed to it.

Another scholar, Prof. AP, explained that he was actively working on establishing an MOU with his Nigerian host institution:

> **DF**: Is there an MOU between your home and host institutions?
>
> **Prof. AP**: Umm no. We wanted to. We started the process; it got stalled. From my university here, there's an associate dean for diversity that is looking for collaboration, and I've also reached out again to them at the same [Nigerian] institution, and this seems

> to be doing well. Hopefully, it's going to yield something good, which I believe is just building on the relationship I have with them already from the Carnegie fellowship.

What is most striking to me about this participant's response is the reference to his institution's associate dean for diversity in a discussion about a prospective formal international partnership that makes no mention of the university's international office which, according to his institutional website, leads such international endeavors. This implies that Prof. AP and his university, a predominantly white institution (PWI), view a partnership with the Nigerian university as a diversity-building effort and suggests that they hope to leverage the partnership for international student recruitment. Furthermore, his comment that "bringing students from Nigeria helps to diversify my program here" reinforces that idea.

These cases illustrate the prominence of international student recruitment as a motivating factor for U.S. institutions seeking to establish U.S.–Nigeria higher education partnerships. This section as a whole has explored issues of sustainability in diaspora-homeland collaborations and examined the reasons why they often remain individual-level collaborations instead of becoming formal institutional partnerships.

Discussion

Diaspora-homeland higher education initiatives involve various stakeholders invested in driving diaspora engagement in Nigerian higher education. For stakeholders at the national and international levels, the primary aim is purportedly to build institutional capacity of Nigerian universities and promote knowledge-based, socio-economic development. This chapter has covered the main challenges within the Nigerian higher education system that threaten the success and sustainability of diaspora engagement initiatives. Challenges emanating from financial and infrastructural shortcomings were the most prevalent among those identified by

homeland and diaspora participants, and they had far-reaching implications for the viability and sustainability, or lack thereof, of diaspora-homeland collaborations. The findings presented in this chapter reveal that financial and infrastructural challenges limited the productivity of diaspora-homeland engagements, underscored inequalities between Nigerian and U.S. institutions and scholars, and destabilized the educational environment due to academic staff strikes. Without adequate government and institutional support, participants and stakeholders hold overly optimistic expectations of the role of diaspora-homeland collaborations in addressing issues within the Nigerian higher education. Hence, my findings support Jibril & Obaje's (2008) argument that foreign-funded educational initiatives are limited in their longevity and must eventually be supported by local resources to achieve sustainability.

Moving away from the often deficit-based rhetoric on African higher education, this chapter also discussed the ways in which the design and implementation of diaspora-homeland initiatives can exacerbate existing challenges (e.g., lack of funding) and create new ones (e.g., tension between paid fellows and unpaid hosts). While formal initiatives hope to achieve systemic change, they are not designed to directly address systemic issues. Rather, they seem to anticipate that individual-level collaborations will ultimately lead to institutional-level and systemic change. Although diaspora scholar engagement temporarily addresses Nigerian universities' human resource shortage to a certain extent, it does not offer a long-term solution to improve faculty recruitment and retention. This finding highlights the need for diaspora engagement initiatives that take a more systemic approach in order to strengthen institutional capacity and achieve results beyond the individual level. Moreover, diaspora engagement

initiatives do not address the financial state of Nigerian institutions, and in some cases, the funding approach of formal initiatives presents its own set of challenges.

My use of a decolonial lens made visible the ways in which coloniality materializes in the Nigerian higher education context and in international academic collaborations. In spite of the rise of the knowledge economy, there is still a struggle for African universities to be recognized as sites of knowledge production as they continue to be framed as recipients instead of co-producers of knowledge. Even when they are rhetorically acknowledged as equal partners in knowledge-generating initiatives, in practice, the partnerships are often approached by Northern partners as philanthropic endeavors, not symbiotic collaborations. My findings support Mlambo & Baxter's (2018) assertion that there is a need for North-South partnerships to resist deficit-based framing of Southern partners and engage in practices that emphasize mutuality even when there are vast disparities in available resources. Diaspora-homeland initiatives need to acknowledge the presence and influence of coloniality and strive to disrupt policies and practices that uphold western superiority and epistemological hegemony.

Furthermore, the findings presented in this chapter confirm that Nigerian universities are not prioritized by U.S. scholars and institutions as potential international partners. Although establishing international institutional partnerships was often a priority for homeland participants, the diaspora-homeland collaborations included in this study did not frequently lead to institutional partnerships. Diaspora scholars' accounts revealed a greater emphasis on the recruitment of international students than on establishing formal institutional partnerships between Nigerian and U.S. institutions. This finding reflects a difference in the institutional needs and priorities of U.S. and Nigerian HEIs.

This chapter has explored the critical challenges that diaspora-homeland collaborations face and present as well as the implications of those challenges for the success and sustainability of such initiatives. In relation to the overarching research question, this chapter demonstrates that the role of diaspora engagement in the capacity strengthening and internationalization of Nigerian higher education is limited due to the failure to adequately address challenges that hinder the success and sustainability of diaspora-homeland collaborations.

Chapter 7: Summary, Implications, and Conclusion

Drawing on anthropological and sociological studies of education, diaspora, and development, this qualitative case study has examined diaspora-homeland higher education collaborations and their implications for internationalization and capacity strengthening at Nigerian institutions. In light of the increasing centrality of diaspora engagement in international educational development efforts, this study provided empirical data on the successes and challenges of such initiatives. The overarching research question that guided this study is: What is the role of diaspora-homeland collaborations in the internationalization and capacity strengthening of higher education in Nigeria? In addition to this central question, I also posed and answered the following sub-questions:

1. What factors motivate scholars' participation in diaspora-homeland collaborations, and what are the perceived effects of diaspora engagement on internationalization and capacity strengthening at Nigerian universities?

2. What are the experiences of scholars engaged in diaspora-homeland collaborations, and how do Nigeria-based scholars perceive and receive diaspora scholars, and vice-versa?

3. What challenges do diaspora-homeland higher education initiatives face and present?

I employed an ethnographic case study approach, entailing in-depth, semi-structured interviews, participant observation, document analysis, and a survey to address the research questions above. This project was guided by a critical, constructivist paradigm and a decolonial lens, which made visible the presence of coloniality in diaspora-homeland collaborations and within the context of Nigerian higher education. This chapter concludes the dissertation with a review of my major research findings and their significance. It also provides recommendations for key stakeholders in diaspora-homeland collaborations and potential directions for future research.

Summary of Findings

Homeland and diaspora scholars reported multiple factors driving their participation in diaspora-homeland collaborations. Their motivating factors also reflected their perceptions of the collaborations' effects on internationalization and capacity strengthening at Nigerian universities. For homeland scholars, the most salient motivating factors were (in order of significance) the prospect of increased competitiveness, heightened visibility, and greater access to international resources and opportunities. Generally, homeland scholars perceived these collaborations as an effective approach to capacity building and internationalization, which was key to their desire to improve their global standing and perception as a viable partner for international partnerships. Diaspora scholars, on the other hand, were largely driven by the desire to "give back" to their country or continent of origin. Less salient motivating factors included the opportunity to collaborate with homeland scholars and recruit international students. Overall, the motivating factors expressed by scholars in the homeland and the diaspora support the idea that diaspora-homeland initiatives have the potential to revitalize higher education in Nigeria.

While homeland scholars and institutions were concerned with improving their global rankings, attaining greater inclusion and legitimacy in the global knowledge economy, and establishing international partnerships, diaspora scholars' home institutions in the U.S. were more interested in recruiting international students from Nigerian institutions. These findings indicate the need for approaches to internationalization and capacity building that do not further exacerbate the human capital shortage at Nigerian institutions by recruiting highly skilled individuals to the U.S. Moreover, the findings reflect the centrality of competition in

contemporary higher education (Knight, 2013a) and support the idea that the increasingly competitive global higher education arena pushes institutions to achieve or maintain the status of a world-class institution (Deardorff et al., 2012; Rumbley et al., 2012), even when their resources are insufficient to attain that goal.

My study found that diaspora scholars' insider and outsider positionalities shaped participants' experiences in and perceived outcomes of diaspora-homeland collaborations. These fluid identities were mobilized for various purposes in the Nigerian higher education context and were framed, depending on the situation, as facilitating or limiting factors for diaspora-homeland collaborations. Diaspora scholars' insider identity and local social capital were often mobilized to frame their engagement as a "homecoming," and position them as individuals familiar with the Nigerian higher education context. Such positioning assumed that they arrived with realistic expectations for the collaboration and implied that they were capable of navigating the context with or without the host institution's assistance. In this sense, their insider status was described as a facilitating factor for successful and positive collaborations. Drawing on diaspora studies literature, I argue that diaspora scholars' ties to and idealization of their original homeland drive them to overlook the negative aspects of their collaborations with homeland scholars and institutions. Consequently, they may report the collaborations as being more positive and successful than they were. Similarly, homeland scholars generally considered their collaborations to be successful even when they did not achieve the desired goals. The implication of this finding is that there are uncertainties regarding the effectiveness of these initiatives. The idea that they may be less effective than they are portrayed to be by participants shatters stakeholders' general

perception of these initiatives as the potential long-awaited solution to enduring educational issues.

Moving now to diaspora scholars‘ outsider status, I found that it grants them privileges in terms of access, perception, and legitimacy in the postcolonial context of Nigeria. Nigerian institutions sought to strategically leverage diaspora scholars' social capital and other forms of capital associated with their status as U.S.-based scholars to bolster their global standing and portray themselves as conducive sites for international engagements. My findings also demonstrated that although diaspora and homeland scholars and their institutions gain one or more forms of capital (i.e., social, human, economic, etc.) through the networks they foster with each other, the gains of Northern partners are often overlooked (Teferra, 2013). These outcomes confirm the presence and influence of coloniality in diaspora-homeland collaborations.

Furthermore, my findings support the conceptualization of the diaspora as a bridge between their places of origin and settlement. Their insider-outsider positionality enabled them to convey ideas and opportunities to individuals and institutions in both places. In the in-between space that they occupy as insider-outsiders, diaspora scholars' exhibited varying degrees of belonging or displacement. While some scholars felt an equal sense of belonging in both the U.S. and Nigeria, others felt estranged in one or both places. These findings demonstrate the fluidity of home and belonging and reinforce the significance of transnational networks for leveraging diasporic engagement.

Several challenges threatened the success and sustainability of diaspora-homeland initiatives. Challenges related to financial and infrastructural shortcomings within the Nigerian higher education system were the most salient ones identified by homeland and diaspora

participants. My findings indicate that financial and infrastructural challenges limited the productivity of diaspora-homeland engagements, underscored inequalities between Nigerian and U.S. institutions and scholars, and destabilized the educational environment by provoking academic staff strikes. Hence, I suggest that stakeholders' optimism that diaspora-homeland collaborations will facilitate sustainable educational development is misplaced. My findings of inadequate funding and infrastructure corroborate those of Zeleza's (2013) studies. I extend Zeleza's discovery by adding that in the absence of efforts to address critical foundational challenges, diaspora-homeland collaborations may perpetuate Nigerian institutions' dependence on external interventions.

The design and implementation of diaspora-homeland initiatives also posed unique challenges. While formal initiatives expressed a desire to achieve systemic change, they were not designed to directly address systemic issues and effect change on that level. This finding highlights the need for diaspora engagement initiatives to take a more systemic approach to strengthen institutional capacity and achieve results beyond the individual level.

My findings further reveal that Nigerian scholars struggle to be perceived as equal partners in diaspora-homeland collaborations, which are often approached by Northern partners as philanthropic endeavors, not symbiotic collaborations. Among study participants, Nigeria-based scholars and institutions were repeatedly framed as recipients instead of co-producers of knowledge. My findings support Mlambo & Baxter's (2018) assertion of the need for North-South partnerships to resist deficit-based framing of Southern partners and engage in practices that emphasize mutuality and reciprocity even when there are vast differences in available resources.

Moreover, my findings confirm that Nigerian universities are not prioritized by U.S. scholars and institutions as potential international partners. Although Nigerian institutions often hoped that diaspora-homeland initiatives would lead to the establishment of international institutional partnerships, the collaborations included in this study frequently did not result in institutional partnerships. Based on diaspora scholars' accounts, they and their institutions placed greater emphasis on the recruitment of international students than on establishing formal institutional partnerships between Nigerian and U.S. institutions. This finding reflects a difference in the institutional needs and priorities—and the internationalization rationales—of U.S. and Nigerian HEIs.

Implications for Literature

Existing literature on higher education internationalization does not often focus on African settings. My study contributes to this body of literature by shedding light on how Nigerian institutions' position in the global higher education economy shapes their approach to internationalization. This research also contributes to scholarship on transnational immigrants by examining the ways in which transnational diaspora networks are leveraged for internationalization and capacity building in Nigerian and U.S. higher education. Drawing on critical scholarship on transnationalism, my study challenges the framing of diaspora engagement as philanthropy rather than partnership. Furthermore, this study adds to the limited diaspora studies literature focusing specifically on diaspora engagement in African higher education. It provides a valuable contribution to the conceptualization of diaspora-homeland higher education collaborations and the understanding of how Nigerian institutions can engage in collaborative

capacity building and internationalization efforts in ways that do not leave them further marginalized in the "global knowledge economy."

This study critiques the diaspora as development framework, which perpetuates unidirectional North-South partnerships, in which scholars and institutions in the global South are positioned as recipients and those based in the North are framed as producers of knowledge and agents of development. In the design and implementation of diaspora-homeland collaborations, there should be recognition of and investment in homeland scholars' agency for development. There should be greater emphasis on generating resources for homeland scholars to impact change in their higher education systems, particularly as the duration of diaspora visits and the possibility for effective virtual collaborations are limited.

While diaspora-homeland collaborations are perceived as being effective for internationalization and capacity building, my study suggests that, in their present form, they are not the anticipated answer to longstanding educational development challenges. Although they are often reported to be successful at the individual level, they fail to create sustainable systemic change and may perpetuate Nigerian institutions' dependence on external interventions and their marginalization in the global knowledge economy.

The positive effects and sustainability of these initiatives are often limited by infrastructural and institutional challenges, as well as coloniality, which must be addressed to effectively leverage diaspora networks for educational development efforts and enable Nigerian (and other African) universities to engage in international partnerships without becoming further marginalized. Uncritical engagement in North-South collaborations generally, and diaspora-homeland initiatives specifically, will serve to reproduce historical inequalities and perpetuate

the deficit framing of Southern institutions and scholars. As such, the mobilization of the diaspora for higher education development in Nigeria (and elsewhere) should be examined in relation to the structural violence that the country and its institutions have been subjected to historically. Moving forward, approaches to such collaborations should be restorative in nature, as failure to take an intentionally critical and restorative approach to these collaborations leaves room for them to exacerbate existing challenges and create new ones for host institutions.

Drawing on decolonial theory, I interrogated the impact of coloniality on diaspora-homeland collaborations and determined that it impedes their ability to achieve sustainable development by reinforcing inequitable power hierarchies that rely on the continued subjugation of the global South to maintain the dominance of the global North. One of the ways in which this is achieved in diaspora-homeland collaborations is through the privileging of the forms of capital that diaspora scholars (are thought to) possess. I contribute to decolonial theory by developing the concept of "proximity to power" to capture how coloniality and capital intersect to inform perceptions of individuals within and beyond these collaborations. Proximity to power describes the criteria used in measuring one's value based on their actual or perceived aggregate capital. The concept encompasses all the forms of capital one is perceived to possess and provides a lens through which to interpret the preferential treatment and privilege bestowed upon certain individuals in the context of international engagements. Proximity to power acknowledges hierarchies of power and inequitable opportunities associated with one's positionality in a given context. It also acknowledges that those who (are perceived to) possess valued forms of capital are viewed as empowered (e.g., agents of change)—this is how proximity to power manifests in the diaspora as development framework.

Implications and Recommendations for Policy and Practice

This study generates insights for key actors (i.e., scholars, universities, governments, and international organizations supporting diaspora-homeland academic partnerships) on how to optimize them, improve their sustainability, and leverage them for sustainable and equitable higher education development. Based on those insights, I make the following policy and practice recommendations:

1. *There should be greater public investment in the Nigerian higher education system.*

   While Nigerian institutions encouraged international engagement, that encouragement was not often accompanied by the funding needed to facilitate such engagements. I found that Nigerian institutions were often eager to host international scholars even at the risk of exacerbating their financial precarity due to the belief that it would help them become "world class" universities, yet Horta (2009) states that a national ''world class'' university cannot be attained and sustained without strong public funding (p. 402). Nigerian universities lack sufficient government funding to support their goals. Hence, my findings support Jibril & Obaje's (2008) argument that foreign-funded internationalization activities are limited in their longevity and must eventually be supported by local resources to achieve sustainability.

2. *Generation of funding should be one of the priority areas of these initiatives.*

   With lack of funding being such a critical challenge in the Nigerian higher education context, initiatives hoping to achieve sustainable development should seek ways to mitigate that challenge. Some scholars collaborated to write joint grant proposals and

conduct for-profit workshops, which generated funding for the host unit. Such endeavors should be highly encouraged.

3. *Technological capacity building should be prioritized so as to enable and encourage virtual diaspora engagement.*

   The expansion of information and communication technology (ICT) and virtual mobility options in recent years has made it possible for African countries and institutions to engage in academic collaborations with members of the diaspora. Current infrastructural challenges at Nigerian institutions, however, limit their ability to take advantage of virtual diaspora engagement as well as other opportunities that rely on access to advanced technology.

4. *Development efforts should recognize and equip homeland scholars as potential agents of development.*

   The focus on diaspora engagement as a potential solution to educational issues becomes problematic when the diaspora scholars are positioned as benevolent experts and their homeland counterparts as recipients. This reinforces the narrative of development as something only Northern individuals and entities are capable of achieving. Raghuram (2009) challenges the notion of development as something that flows from the global North to the global South, and Sinatti and Horst (2015) call for diaspora engagement initiatives to reconceptualize development. I affirm these scholars' positions, as it is important that diaspora-homeland interventions are approached in ways that do not reify western hegemony and perpetuate coloniality.

For Nigerian institutions, specifically, I recommend the following actions:

5. *Establish both an internationalization strategy and a diaspora engagement strategy.*

   Currently, diaspora engagement initiatives at Nigerian universities are largely informal and remain at the individual level, due in part to the lack of formal channels of engagement. Although the establishment of an internationalization agenda is becoming more common among Nigerian institutions, they often lack an institutional plan for diaspora engagement. Such a plan should take into consideration the institution's needs, strengths, and challenges. It should also include clearly articulated institutional-level goals for these collaborations as well as an evaluation plan to ensure those goals are being met. This would allow Nigerian universities to take ownership of diaspora-homeland collaborations as a capacity-building effort and maximize their impact by approaching them in ways that address the institution's specific needs.

6. *Strengthen alumni and diaspora networks to more effectively engage members of those networks in capacity-building and internationalization efforts.*

   The establishment of a diaspora engagement strategy will require Nigerian institutions to strengthen their alumni and diaspora networks. This necessitates more efficient record-keeping and purposeful outreach efforts on the part of Nigerian institutions. It also calls for institutions to be more student-centered and intentional about creating a positive learning environment for students, who may then be more inclined to engage with the university as alumni.

7. *Improve the collection and accessibility of data on both formal and informal academic collaborations.*

The absence of a comprehensive and accessible database of informal diaspora-homeland collaborations means that their prevalence and impact are unclear. This lack of clarity makes it difficult to leverage these initiatives for sustainable capacity building. The reason these collaborations often remain unrecorded is that they occur at the individual-level. It is, therefore, crucial for Nigerian institutions to centralize their efforts, which can be facilitated by a diaspora engagement strategy. This would promote better record-keeping of all types of diaspora engagement and allow universities to conduct evaluations and observe patterns, which would allow for a reflexive approach to leveraging homeland and diaspora scholars' joint efforts for institutional capacity building.

For foundations sponsoring diaspora engagement initiatives, I recommend:

8. *Improving evaluation mechanisms to account for inflated perceptions of successful and positive collaborations.*

   Evaluations for diaspora-homeland collaborations are mostly survey based. Due to my finding that diaspora participants were often reluctant to speak negatively about their experiences on the survey, I recommend mixed methods evaluations and evaluation teams that include members of the African diaspora and homeland populations, who may be able to elicit more honest responses from participants than those who are (perceived to be) non-members.

9. *Inclusion of a self-sustaining component for collaborative initiatives.*

   Prospective fellows' proposals should account for existing tools at the host institution (or department) or those that will be established during the fellowship period to drive and sustain the efforts in the post-fellowship phase.

10. *Taking a reparative approach to designing and implementing diaspora-homeland initiatives.*

    As my findings revealed, coloniality manifests in various ways in diaspora-homeland collaborations, which may potentially exacerbate the financial precarity of Nigerian institutions. Key actors seeking to leverage diaspora engagement for higher education development in Africa should take a reparative approach to educational development that accounts for the historical injustices and structural violence enacted upon the country's higher education systems and countries and the enduring hierarchies of power established through those injustices (Sriprakash et al., 2020). Such an approach must strive for reciprocity and equity among collaborators.

Directions for Future Research

This study raises a range of questions that could be productively pursued in future research. The first is a U.S.-based version of this research. Although this study was particularly interested in Nigerian universities, it managed to uncover some of the implications for diaspora scholars' home institutions in the U.S. Future studies should conduct an in-depth examination of the implications of diaspora-homeland collaborations for diaspora scholars' home institutions in the U.S. Second, future research should explore how reductions in physical mobility will influence diaspora-homeland collaborations. Time will tell if virtual academic mobility will eventually surpass physical mobility and what effects that would have on institutions around the world. This may lead to further marginalization of education systems that lack adequate technological resources to engage in a primarily virtual mode. Third, considering how the COVID-19 pandemic has negatively impacted U.S. higher education institutions financially, subsequent studies should

also examine if and how other countries' perceptions of U.S.-based institutions (and scholars) have shifted in light of their current crisis-induced financial precarity. Lastly, because intraregional migration of Africans outnumbers their extra-regional migration, ensuing research should explore the perceived effects of diasporic engagement when the diaspora members are based in other African countries and not in the global North.

Conclusion

This dissertation has examined the role of diaspora-homeland collaborations in internationalization at Nigerian universities and, to a limited extent, U.S. institutions, and it argues that such initiatives drive internationalization at participating institutions but can also reinforce inequalities between Nigerian and U.S. universities. The overly competitive nature of contemporary internationalization significantly shapes Nigerian universities' perceptions of and approaches to collaborations and partnerships. In striving to internationalize and emerge from the margins of the global knowledge economy, they can sometimes engage in practices and relationships that leave them further marginalized. Overall, diaspora-homeland collaborations are perceived as contributing to the capacity building and internationalization of Nigerian universities. However, these collaborations will not lead to sustainable development on their own. Both the success of these initiatives and their sustainability are uncertain due to shifting measures of success among involved actors and the individual-level emphasis of the initiatives with little to no institutional-level focus. Unless diaspora-homeland collaborations explicitly seek ways to address the issues that hinder their effectiveness, they may ultimately perpetuate the problems they hope to resolve and leave Nigerian institutions further marginalized in the global higher education economy.

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Appendices

Appendix A: Semi-structured Interview Protocol

The **purpose of this study** is to examine the role of the U.S.-based African diaspora in the development of higher education in Nigeria and the implications of diaspora engagement for capacity building and internationalization at Nigerian institutions.

This study asks:
RQ1: (How) does African diaspora engagement influence capacity building and internationalization at Nigerian universities?
RQ2: What challenges do diaspora-driven higher education initiatives face?
    RQ2.1: How do Nigeria-based scholars perceive and receive diaspora scholars, and vice-versa?
RQ3: What factors facilitate diaspora-homeland collaborations?
RQ4: What do diaspora-homeland collaborations look like in practice?

Interview description:
The semi-structured, in-depth interviews will ask U.S.-based scholars and Nigeria-based faculty and staff to describe their experience in a diaspora-homeland higher education partnership. Interview questions will cover a range of topics, namely: facilitating factors, challenges, risks, benefits, and effects of diaspora-homeland partnerships, especially in terms of capacity building and internationalization.

Interview Questions (U.S.-based scholars):

1. (a) Are you a current or former citizen of an African country? (If so, specify which country.)
   (b) Are you based in the United States?
   (If respondent answers no to either of these questions, the interview will end since the individual does not meet the criteria for participation.)
2. What diaspora-homeland higher education initiative did you participate in/are you participating in? Is it an institutional or individual initiative?
3. What factors motivated you to participate in a diaspora-homeland partnership?
4. Briefly describe your experience as a participant in a diaspora-homeland partnership.
5. How were you received by your Nigeria-based co-collaborators?
6. What do you perceive as the benefits of diaspora-homeland partnerships?
7. What do you perceive as the risks of diaspora-homeland partnerships?
8. What do you perceive as the challenges of diaspora-homeland partnerships?
9. What do you perceive as the effects of diaspora-homeland partnerships on knowledge production at Nigerian universities?
10. What do you perceive as the effects of diaspora-homeland partnerships on internationalization at Nigerian institutions?

Interview Questions (Nigeria-based participants):

1. Are you a faculty member, staff member, or affiliate of a Nigerian higher education institution? (If respondent answers no, the interview will end since the individual does not meet the criteria for participation.)
2. What diaspora-homeland higher education initiative did you participate in/are you participating in as a co-collaborator?
3. Briefly describe your experience as a co-collaborator in a diaspora-homeland partnership.
4. How did you receive your U.S.-based co-collaborators?
5. What do you perceive as the benefits of diaspora-homeland partnerships?
6. What do you perceive as the risks of diaspora-homeland partnerships?
7. What do you perceive as the challenges of diaspora-homeland partnerships?
8. What do you perceive as the effects of diaspora-homeland partnerships on knowledge production at Nigerian universities?
9. What do you perceive as the effects of diaspora-homeland partnerships on internationalization at your institution and Nigerian institutions generally?

Appendix B: Observation Guide

The **purpose of this study** is to examine the role of the U.S.-based African diaspora in the development of higher education in Nigeria and the implications of diaspora engagement for capacity building and internationalization at Nigerian institutions.

This study asks:
RQ1: (How) does African diaspora engagement influence capacity building and internationalization at Nigerian universities?
RQ2: What challenges do diaspora-driven higher education initiatives face?
RQ2.1: How do Nigeria-based scholars perceive and receive diaspora scholars, and vice-versa?
RQ3: What factors facilitate diaspora-homeland collaborations?
RQ4: What do diaspora-homeland collaborations look like in practice?

Observation description: The purpose of observations is mainly to ascertain what diaspora-homeland collaborations look like in practice. Observing activities such as research collaborations, teaching, mentoring, and other interactions between diaspora scholars and Nigeria-based faculty, staff, and students, will enable me to discern the dynamics of diaspora-homeland partnerships.

Guide

Researcher name: Start time:
Date of observation: End time:

Subject of observation:	Notes
Describe event being observed (lecture, presentation, research collaboration, etc.).	
Where is the event?	
Describe the subject's actions during the event.	
Describe the interaction between diaspora scholars and Nigeria-based faculty and staff at the event (if applicable).	
Are there any visible challenges in the diaspora-homeland collaboration(s) observed?	

Appendix C: Survey Protocol

Q1 **UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN–MADISON**
Research Participant Information and Consent Form

Title of Study: African Diaspora Engagement in Nigerian Higher Education

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH
You are invited to participate in a research study about African diaspora engagement in Nigerian higher education. The purpose of this research is to examine the impact of diaspora-homeland collaborations on internationalization and capacity building at Nigerian universities.

This survey will be administered to U.S.-based African diaspora scholars who are previous or current participants in an academic collaboration with scholars at Nigerian universities.

In accordance with UW–Madison's campus policy, research data will be kept for at least seven years after the conclusion of the study.

WHAT WILL MY PARTICIPATION INVOLVE?
If you decide to participate in this survey, you will be asked to answer questions on a range of topics, namely: facilitating factors, challenges, benefits, and effects of diaspora-homeland collaborations. The survey can be completed in approximately 15–20 minutes.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS TO ME?
Participation in this research presents a potential risk of breach of confidentiality and a risk of revealing personal, identifiable information. To minimize these risks, data will be stored on a password-protected computer, and each participant will be assigned a pseudonym.

ARE THERE ANY BENEFITS TO ME?
There are no direct benefits to participants in this study.

HOW WILL MY CONFIDENTIALITY BE PROTECTED?
To minimize the potential risk of breach of confidentiality, data will be stored on a password-protected computer, and each participant will be assigned a pseudonym. While there will likely be publications as a result of this study, your name will not be used.

WHOM SHOULD I CONTACT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?
You may ask questions about the research at any time. If you have questions about the research after your participation today, you should contact the Student Researcher, Diana Famakinwa, at famakinwa@wisc.edu.

If you are not satisfied with the response of the researcher, have more questions, or want to talk with someone about your rights as a research participant, you should contact the Education and Social/Behavioral Science IRB Office at 608-263-2320.

Your participation is completely voluntary. If you begin participation and change your mind, you may end your participation at any time without penalty.

By proceeding to complete this survey, in whole or in part, you indicate that you are 18 years of age or older, have read and understood this consent form, and voluntarily consent to participate. Please print a copy of this page for your records.

Click "Next" to begin survey.

Q2 Are you a current or former citizen of an African country?
- Yes (please specify which country or countries)
- No

Q3 Do you live in the United States?
- Yes
- No

Q4 Have you participated in a diaspora-homeland higher education collaboration in Nigeria or with scholars based in Nigeria?
- Yes
- No

Q5 At what U.S. institution(s) are you a faculty member, staff, or affiliate?

Q6 What is your role/position at the above-mentioned U.S. institution(s)?

Q7 What is your academic field?

Q8 In what diaspora-homeland higher education collaboration(s) did you participate? (Select all that apply.)
- Informal collaboration
- Carnegie African Diaspora Fellowship Program
- CODESRIA's African Diaspora Support to African Universities Program
- Nigeria's Linkages with Experts and Academics in the Diaspora Scheme (LEADS)
- Other (please specify) _____

Q9 What was the nature of your participation? (Select all that apply).
- Research
- Teaching
- Student mentoring
- Faculty mentoring
- Other (specify below) _____

Q10 What factors motivated you to participate in a diaspora-homeland collaboration?

Q11 How was the collaboration initiated? (Select all that apply.)
- Through a previous relationship with the co-collaborator(s)
- Through a previous relationship with the host institution
- Through a scholar-institution matching process overseen by the funder(s)
- Other (please specify) _____

Q12 How was your collaboration funded? (Select all that apply.)
- Self-funded
- Funding from your U.S. institution
- Funding from your host institution in Nigeria
- Funding from the Nigerian government
- Funding from the U.S. government
- Funding from an external organization (please specify) _____
- Other (please specify) _____

Q13 Which of the following activities did you engage in during your collaboration? (Select all that apply.)
- Collected research data
- Conducted workshops
- Established or maintained research contacts at host institution
- Established or maintained research contacts at other Nigerian institution(s)
- Established connections between individuals at host institution and my U.S. institution
- Co-authored a publication with Nigeria-based scholars
- Co-led a conference presentation with Nigeria-based scholars
- Other

Q14 Did the collaboration produce any of the following? (Select all that apply.)
- Published article in an academic journal
- Conference presentation
- Book or book chapter
- Other _____
- None of the above

Q15 Did you produce any of the above in collaboration with scholars at your host institution in Nigeria?
- Yes _____
- No

Q16 Did your collaboration lead to the establishment of a Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) between your home and host institutions?
- Yes
- No, there is no existing MOU between my home and host institutions.

No, there was already an MOU between my home and host institutions prior to my collaboration.

Q17 At what Nigerian institution(s) were your co-collaborators based?

Q18 Where did the collaboration(s) take place? (Select all that apply.)
In person
Virtual

Q19 How long did your collaboration last? (Indicate number of days, weeks, months, or years.)

Q20 Is the collaboration still ongoing?
Yes
No

Q21 How would you describe your experience as a participant in a diaspora-homeland collaboration?
Extremely positive
Somewhat positive
Neither positive nor negative
Somewhat negative
Extremely negative

Q22 To what extent do you believe your collaboration benefited you?
A great deal
A lot
A moderate amount
A little
Not at all

Q23 To what extent do you believe your collaboration benefited your Nigeria-based co-collaborators?
A great deal
A lot
A moderate amount
A little
Not at all

Q24 How effective was the collaboration in achieving the desired goals?
Extremely effective
Very effective
Moderately effective
Slightly effective
Not effective at all

Q25 Was the collaboration successful?
- Yes
- No

Q26 What do you perceive as the benefits of diaspora-homeland collaborations?

Q27 What do you perceive as the challenges of diaspora-homeland collaborations?

Q28 What is your gender?

Q29 Please select your age range.
- Under 21
- 21–30
- 31–40
- 41–50
- 51–60
- Over 60

Q30 At what age did you emigrate from your African country of origin? (Please answer only if applicable to you.)

Q31 Where do you consider as your "home?" (Select all that apply.)
- The United States
- Nigeria
- Another African country (please specify) _____
- Other _____

Q32 Are you willing to participate in a brief follow-up interview with the Researcher?
- Yes
- No

Q33 Please provide your name, email address, and phone number.

Appendix D: Overview of Nigeria-based Participants

Nigeria-based Scholars				
		University of Ibadan	University of Lagos	Total
Position	Faculty	7	5	12
	Faculty & Administrator	1	2	3
Gender	Female	1	1	2
	Male	7	6	13
Total		8	7	15

Appendix E: Overview of U.S.-based African Diaspora Scholars

U.S.-based African Diaspora Scholars		
Category		Number of Participants
Country of Origin	Nigeria	33
	Benin	1
	Gambia	1
	Ghana	1
	Uganda	1
	Undisclosed	3
Total		40
Former Student/ Alumnus of Nigerian HEI	Yes	27
	No	13
Total		40
Gender	Female	11
	Male	27
	Undisclosed	2
Total		40
Age Range	21-30	1
	31-40	7
	41-50	3
	51-60	13
	Over 60	14
	Undisclosed	3
Total		40
Mode of Participation	Survey Only	25
	Survey & Interview	14
	Interview Only	1
Total		40

Appendix F: Content Reviewed for Analysis

Content Reviewed for Analysis	
University of Ibadan – Office of International Programmes (OIP)	OIP website
	OIP mission statement
	Internationalization agenda
	OIP magazine
	Online partnership reports
University of Lagos – Office of International Relations, Partnerships, and Prospects (IRPP)	IRPP website
	IRPP mission statement
	Internationalization agenda
	Map of international partnerships
	IRPP brochure
National Universities Commission (NUC)	NUC website
	NUC internationalization communiqué (2018)
	Linkages with Experts and Academics in the Diaspora Scheme (LEADS) webpage
Carnegie Corporation of New York (CCNY)	CCNY Higher Education in Africa grants web pages pertaining to CADFP and CODESRIA diaspora programs
	Commissioned studies and resulting articles
Carnegie African Diaspora Fellowship Program (CADFP)	CADFP website
	Call for applications
	Project guidelines
	Database of participants (2014-2019)
	Diaspora initiative review (2013-2016)
	Alumni report (2019)
CODESRIA African Diaspora Support to African Universities Program	Website
	Database of participants
Continental Forum on the Role of the Diaspora in Higher Education, Research, and Innovation in Africa (2019)	Commissioned studies
	Forum program booklet
	Executive summary
	Forum proceedings