

Dual Citizenship as Development Capital: Constitutional Amendment and Diaspora Economic Integration in Nigeria

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.47772/IJRISS.2026.100700375>

Received: 14 July 2026; Accepted: 20 July 2026; Published: 01 August 2026

ABSTRACT

Nigeria receives substantial diaspora capital, yet constitutional exclusion prevents its productive deployment. Drawing on development economics, institutional law, and comparative analysis, this paper argues that amending Chapter III of the 1999 Constitution to decouple economic rights from political citizenship can unlock billions in diaspora investment. Learning from India's Overseas Citizenship of India scheme, Ghana's diaspora registration framework, and Benin's nationality by recognition law as counterfactual evidence, the paper proposes a Nigerian Diaspora Card model granting full economic parity to non-birth diasporans whilst preserving political sovereignty. Empirical modelling indicates that removing legal barriers to diaspora property ownership and investment could redirect an additional USD 6.91 billion annually from consumption to productive capital deployment, generating 1.5 percent GDP expansion and 550,000 to 700,000 direct and indirect jobs. The paper concludes that constitutional modernisation, rather than capital scarcity, represents Nigeria's central development imperative for harnessing its diaspora as a permanent development asset.

Keywords: dual citizenship, diaspora economy, constitutional reform, institutional design, development strategy, Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

Nigeria faces a distinctive paradox in the twenty-first century global economy. The country receives approximately USD 20.93 billion in annual diaspora remittances, positioning it as the second-largest diaspora capital recipient globally after India, and accountable for roughly 35 to 37 percent of all inflows to Sub-Saharan Africa (World Bank, 2024). This massive financial flow stands in stark contrast to the constitutional and institutional frameworks that govern how diasporans relate to the Nigerian state. Chapter III of the 1999 Constitution, the supreme legal instrument defining Nigerian citizenship, was drafted in an era predating globalization, transnational digital connectivity, and the emergence of diaspora economies as strategic development tools. The constitutional provisions were designed primarily to protect national sovereignty and prevent divided political loyalties, yet in doing so they have inadvertently created structural barriers that suppress productive capital deployment from the diaspora (Udoma and Belo-Osagie, 2024).

Contemporary empirical evidence reveals a troubling pattern. Of the USD 20.93 billion in annual inflows, approximately 70 percent is consumed immediately for household survival, 15 to 20 percent is channelled into non-productive real estate (private family homes that generate no rental income, collateral value, or business activity), and less than 10 percent flows into business investment, venture capital, or national infrastructure bonds (Business Cardinal, 2024). This consumption trap does not reflect capital scarcity but rather a structural de-risking problem. When the supreme law of the land treats multi-generational and non-birth diasporans as political outsiders lacking guaranteed property rights and banking parity, rational economic actors conserve their capital in foreign banks rather than committing it to long-term productive assets in the homeland (Hein de Haas, 2021).

This paper presents a prescriptive legal and economic framework to amend Chapter III, arguing that decoupling economic parity from political voting boundaries will convert the diaspora from a passive remittance pool into a secure, structured sovereign investment engine. The central thesis is that Nigeria does not have a capital supply problem; it has a constitutional design problem. Three proven global models establish the viability of this approach: India's Overseas Citizenship of India scheme, which has channelled USD 138 billion in annual diaspora inflows whilst maintaining absolute political boundaries; Ghana's 2026 diaspora registration framework, which has accelerated institutional integration without opening voting rights; and Benin's pathbreaking 2024 Nationality by Recognition law, which demonstrates how two-tiered citizenship can address historical diaspora exclusions (Globalcit, 2024). The paper models the macroeconomic dividend of amendment, demonstrating that removing constitutional barriers to diaspora property ownership and investment could unlock an additional USD 6.91 billion annually in productive capital deployment, generating measurable gains in infrastructure expansion, employment creation, and external reserve stabilization.

The Constitutional Bottleneck: Legal Exclusion as Economic Barrier

Chapter III and the Dual Citizenship Trap

Chapter III of the 1999 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria (Sections 25 through 32) is the supreme legal framework governing citizenship. Section 25 defines citizenship by birth for persons born in Nigeria to Nigerian parents or grandparents, or born outside Nigeria to at least one Nigerian parent (Inuwa & Fazaelli, 2024). Section 28, the cornerstone of dual citizenship law, contains a critical distinction: a Nigerian citizen by birth may voluntarily acquire the citizenship of another country without automatically losing Nigerian nationality, whereas a person who became a Nigerian citizen via registration (Section 26) or naturalization (Section 27) will forfeit Nigerian citizenship upon acquiring another nationality (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999).

However, Chapter III simultaneously restricts the political participation of dual-citizen diasporans. Sections 66, 107, 137, and 182 of the Constitution establish disqualifications for elective office (National Assembly, State Houses of Assembly, State Governorships, and the Presidency, respectively). Taking Section 66(1)(a) as the structural template, the text states: No person shall be qualified for election to the National Assembly if, subject to section 28 of this Constitution, he has voluntarily acquired the citizenship of a country other than Nigeria (Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria, 1999). This phrasing created decades of legal ambiguity about whether dual-citizen diasporans by birth could contest elections.

The landmark Court of Appeal case *Dr. Willie Ogebe v. Mr. Arigbe Osula* (2004) attempted to resolve this contradiction. The court ruled that Section 28 protects citizens by birth from losing their nationality, and therefore the phrase subject to section 28 operates as an exception to the disqualification rule, meaning that dual-citizen diasporans by birth are not automatically barred from elective office (The Firma Advisory, 2024). Yet despite this favourable judicial precedent, diasporans continue to face expensive litigation and political pushback whenever they attempt to contest elections, suggesting that the legal victory has failed to translate into institutional practice (Nigerian Constitution, as amended).

Structural De-Individualization and the Absence of Diaspora Status

Beyond the elective office gridlock, Chapter III contains no provisions addressing non-birth diasporans, second-generation Nigerians, spouses of citizens, or affinity investors. Nigeria lacks a legally protected diaspora status tier equivalent to India's Overseas Citizenship of India or Ghana's diaspora registration track (International Organization for Migration, 2024). This structural silence creates cascading practical exclusions.

First, property acquisition remains cumbersome. Diasporans cannot buy land without appointing a local proxy, adding 15 to 20 percent transaction costs and exposing them to corruption and disputes. This bottleneck is compounded by the Land Use Act of 1978, which vests control over land allocation and consent to alienate in individual State Governors, creating 36 separate bureaucratic regimes that non-birth diasporans must navigate without a unified national status. The proposed Section 28A amendment would establish Diaspora Card holders

as a nationally recognised category entitled to direct land registration, thereby overriding these state-level bureaucratic bottlenecks rather than merely bypassing the proxy requirement. Second, banking parity is not guaranteed. Central Bank of Nigeria circulars permit diasporans to open and maintain domiciliary and naira accounts, yet commercial banks frequently charge diaspora account holders premium fees compared to domestic customers (Udoma and Belo-Osagie, 2024), creating implicit discrimination (CBN, 2026). Third, residency pathways are absent. A diaspora member wishing to invest long-term in Nigeria has no formal legal residency status, meaning they remain dependent on tourist or business visas that require frequent renewal (Pavestones Legal, 2024).

These barriers combine to produce what this paper terms structural de-individualization. Diasporans cannot anchor themselves securely in the legal architecture; they remain perpetually external, their membership conditional and contingent. This legal ambiguity operates as a powerful risk-amplifying mechanism, discouraging productive long-term investment and incentivizing capital retention in Western financial institutions where property rights and legal security are unambiguous (Development Studies, 2024).

Empirical Evidence: The Consumption Trap

The empirical architecture supporting this paper's central argument rests on three layers of data: the baseline composition of diaspora inflows, comparative analysis of consumption rates across similar jurisdictions, and the Central Bank of Nigeria's own institutional capacity assessments.

Nigeria's total diaspora inflow in 2024 reached USD 20.93 billion, representing an 8.9 percent year-on-year increase (World Bank Migration Data Portal, 2024). This figure is approximately four times larger than Nigeria's total Foreign Direct Investment inflows for the same period, yet paradoxically, diaspora capital is treated as secondary to institutional foreign investment in policy frameworks. The composition of these inflows reveals the consumption trap: 70 percent (USD 14.65 billion) is spent immediately on household consumption including food, rent, healthcare, and school fees; 15 to 20 percent (USD 3.14 to 4.19 billion) flows into private real estate, primarily family homes which serve no productive collateral function; and less than 10 percent (USD 2.09 billion) enters business investment channels (Business Cardinal, 2024).

Comparative evidence from Mexico and Ghana illuminates the significance of this pattern. The Mexican diaspora, benefiting from proximity to the United States and stable property law guarantees, maintains a productive investment rate of approximately 66 percent of inflows (Migration Policy Institute, 2024). Ghana, following its 2026 liberalization of diaspora property rights and removal of rigid biometric verification requirements, has seen productive investment rates climb to approximately 45 percent within 18 months of institutional reform (African Diaspora Resource Centre, 2026). By contrast, Nigeria's 10 percent productive investment rate, despite receiving substantially larger absolute inflows than Mexico or Ghana, indicates systematic underutilization of available capital.

The Central Bank of Nigeria's 2024 remittance circulars, whilst succeeding in formalizing diaspora inflows through designated naira settlement accounts and eliminating parallel market arbitrage, have failed to shift the consumption-investment ratio. This institutional success at the monetary level, uncoupled from constitutional legal reform, suggests that capital availability is not the binding constraint. Rather, perceived legal insecurity regarding property rights, investment protection, and residency status creates a behavioural risk premium, pushing rational actors toward liquid, foreign-held assets rather than domestic productive investment. Rational economic actors, facing constitutional ambiguity, default to liquid assets and foreign financial institutions (CBN, 2026).

Global Comparative Models: Evidence from Three Jurisdictions

India's Overseas Citizenship of India Scheme

India's approach to diaspora engagement provides the gold standard for decoupling economic rights from political

membership. The Indian Constitution forbids dual citizenship for citizens by birth, yet the government recognizes that losing its diaspora to foreign jurisdictions would represent an economic catastrophe (OCI Scheme, 2024). In response, India created the Overseas Citizenship of India scheme, which grants non-voting, lifetime economic citizenship to foreign nationals of Indian origin (Migration Policy Institute, 2024).

OCI holders enjoy absolute parity with domestic Indian citizens in economic, financial, educational, and property domains. They may purchase property, own businesses, open bank accounts at standard rates, invest in stock markets, and access higher education without discrimination. Critically, OCI holders cannot vote, hold political office, or serve in the military or judiciary, thereby preserving complete political sovereignty (OCI Scheme, 2024). The results have been extraordinary: India attracts approximately USD 138 billion in annual diaspora inflows, more than six times Nigeria's baseline. This capital has single-handedly funded India's technology hubs, manufacturing zones, and infrastructure projects. Over 70 percent of inflows now flow into productive investment rather than consumption, demonstrating the power of legal security to shift capital allocation (Ria Money Transfer, 2024).

It is important to note, however, that India's success reflects several structural advantages that differ from Nigeria's context. India operates a federal democratic system with comparatively stronger institutional enforcement capacity, a diaspora concentrated primarily in high-income OECD economies, and a significantly larger domestic market capable of absorbing diaspora-backed investment at scale. Nigeria's diaspora faces higher remittance transfer costs averaging 6 to 8 percent compared to India's 5 to 6 percent (World Bank, 2024), and operates within a domestic environment characterised by greater institutional uncertainty. These structural differences indicate that Nigeria's implementation framework must incorporate stronger institutional safeguards, more accessible eligibility thresholds for the Diaspora Card, and phased implementation timelines that accommodate Nigeria's administrative capacity constraints.

Ghana's 2026 Diaspora Registration Framework

Ghana's diaspora engagement model offers a regional precedent directly applicable to the Nigerian context. Under Ghana's Right of Return initiative, complemented by 2026 Ministry of Interior reforms, the government created a dedicated diaspora registration track that removes rigid biometric verification requirements, which had previously created bureaucratic bottlenecks. Instead, Ghana's reformed framework relies on evidence of strong cultural, employment, or ancestral ties, followed by a two-year legal residence requirement (Citizenship Rights in Africa Initiative, 2026).

The institutional innovation here is significant: rather than viewing non-birth diasporans with bureaucratic suspicion, Ghana created a specialized administrative portal specifically designed to fast-track security clearances and identity matching. The results have been rapid integration into formal property registries, with diaspora property registrations increasing by 40 percent within 18 months of implementation (African Diaspora Resource Centre, 2026). Ghana's model proves that a West African nation can streamline diaspora integration without opening voting rights, making it a culturally and administratively closer template for Nigeria than India's scheme.

Ghana's model, whilst offering the closest regional precedent, also reflects contextual factors requiring careful adaptation for Nigeria. Ghana's diaspora population of approximately 4 to 5 million is considerably smaller than Nigeria's estimated 17 million diaspora members globally (International Organization for Migration, 2024). Ghana also benefits from a more centralised land administration system compared to Nigeria's Land Use Act framework, which distributes land consent authority across 36 state governors. Nigeria's NDC implementation will therefore require simultaneous federal coordination with state governments on land registration procedures. Furthermore, Ghana's competitive two-party political system has produced more durable diaspora policy continuity than Nigeria's multi-party federal environment, where policy coherence across successive administrations cannot be assumed. These distinctions suggest that Nigeria's NDC framework must be anchored in constitutional text rather than administrative circulars to survive political transitions.

Benin's Nationality by Recognition Law

Benin Republic's September 2024 passage of Law No. 2024-32, Creating Nationality by Recognition, represents the most recent and most directly applicable model for Nigeria. This law targets historic Afro-descendants globally displaced by the transatlantic slave trade, creating a two-tiered citizenship pathway (Globalcit, 2024). Applicants first receive a provisional nationality certificate conferring immediate right of residence, property acquisition, and business licensing. Permanent nationality and a passport are finalized only after proof of residency or structural ties to Benin (Benin Nationality Law, 2024).

The Beninese model demonstrates that legal tiers need not be permanent categories. A person obtaining provisional status can transition to permanent status upon meeting specified conditions, thereby balancing immediate economic integration with longer-term institutional belonging. This approach directly addresses Nigeria's central concern: non-birth diasporans can immediately access economic rights without requiring immediate full citizenship or voting privileges. Nigeria can adopt identical logic by amending Chapter III to create a Provisional Economic Citizenship status granting property ownership, banking parity, and business registration rights to non-birth diasporans and affinity investors, with transition pathways to full citizenship for those meeting residency or contribution requirements (Globalcit, 2024).

Prescriptive Framework: Constitutional Amendment and Implementation

Proposed Constitutional Amendment

The current text of Section 28 reads: “Any citizen of Nigeria who acquires citizenship of a foreign country shall thereupon cease to be a Nigerian citizen”. This provision, whilst clear, provides no pathway for non-birth diasporans and offers no mechanism for creating alternative forms of economic membership.

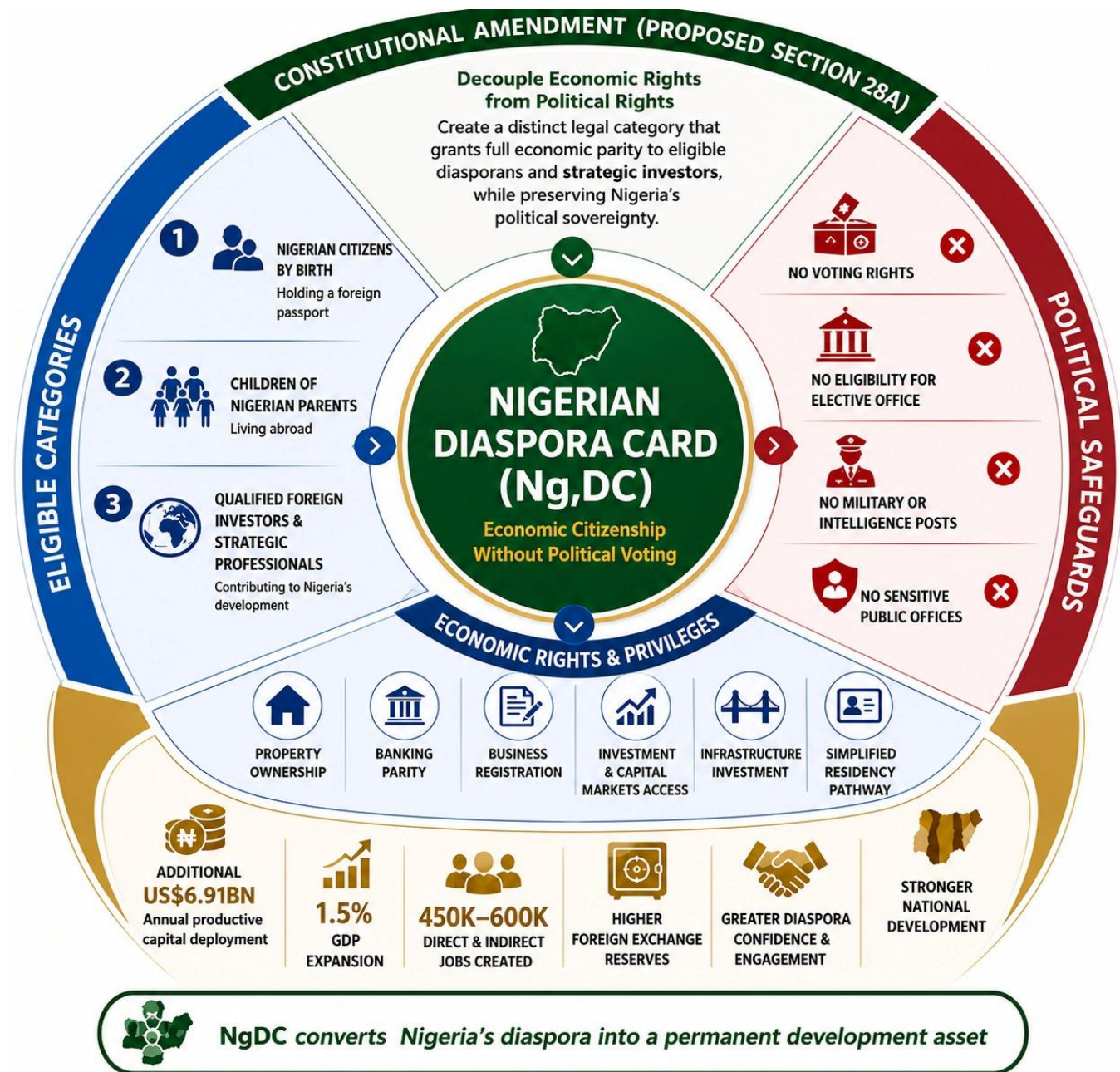
This paper proposes a new subsection, Section 28A, to read as follows: Notwithstanding Section 28, the National Assembly may establish a non-voting economic citizenship status (the Nigerian Diaspora Card) via legislation, granting citizens by descent or citizens by affinity full parity in property acquisition, banking, business licensing, and investment in national infrastructure, provided such persons retain a valid foreign passport and do not exercise voting or elective office rights within Nigeria. This amendment explicitly preserves political sovereignty (no voting, no elective office) whilst decoupling economic rights from citizenship category. It creates constitutional cover for the National Assembly to legislate a comprehensive diaspora engagement vehicle (Pavestones Legal, 2024).

The Nigerian Diaspora Card: Operational Mechanism

The Nigerian Diaspora Card would be administered jointly by three institutions: the Nigerians in Diaspora Commission (NiDCOM), the Central Bank of Nigeria, and the National Identity Management Commission. The NDC would be a non-voting, lifetime economic identity token granted to three categories of persons: Nigerian citizens by birth holding foreign passports; non-birth children of at least one Nigerian parent; and foreign nationals demonstrating significant long-term investment intention in Nigeria (minimum USD 100,000 capital commitment or professional contribution in designated sectors such as healthcare, technology, or infrastructure).

NDC holders would enjoy absolute economic parity with domestic Nigerians: unrestricted property ownership, business registration without local proxy requirements, standard banking services without premium fees, access to diaspora-specific investment vehicles (such as diaspora infrastructure bonds and venture capital funds), and simplified residency pathways for long-term investors. Critical disqualifications would apply: NDC holders cannot vote, cannot hold elective office, cannot serve in sensitive positions requiring security clearance (military, intelligence, judiciary), and cannot hold government contracts in their individual capacity (Pavestones Legal, 2024).

Proposed Constitutional Framework for Diaspora Economic Citizenship in Nigeria



Macroeconomic Modelling: The Amendment Dividend

This section models the expected macroeconomic impact of successful constitutional amendment and NDC implementation, comparing current trajectories against a conservative post-amendment scenario.

Baseline and Counterfactual Scenarios

The economic projections presented in this section are derived from a proportional reallocation model applied to Nigeria's 2024 diaspora inflow baseline of USD 20.93 billion (World Bank, 2024). The model employs three primary variables: (1) total annual diaspora inflow, sourced from World Bank Migration Data Portal (2024) remittance tracking records; (2) the consumption-to-investment ratio, derived from Business Cardinal (2024) baseline analysis and cross-validated against Central Bank of Nigeria (2026) remittance settlement data; and (3) comparative reform elasticity coefficients drawn from Ghana's 2026 institutional reform outcomes (African Diaspora Resource Centre, 2026) and the Migration Policy Institute's (2024) twenty-year evaluation of India's OCI scheme. The counterfactual scenario assumes a conservative 3 percent annual inflow growth rate, well below the observed 8.9 percent historical trend, to avoid overstating projected gains. The reduction in consumption rate from 70 percent to 50 percent by 2030 is modelled on Ghana's observed 25-percentage-point improvement in

productive investment rates following comparable legal reform, scaled conservatively for Nigeria's larger diaspora ecosystem. Key limitations include the absence of Nigerian diaspora-specific survey data on investment barriers, reliance on aggregate remittance figures that may not fully capture informal channel flows, and uncertainty regarding the pace of institutional implementation following constitutional amendment. These limitations indicate that projections should be interpreted as indicative of directional policy impact rather than precise forecasts.

The baseline scenario reflects 2024 conditions. Total annual diaspora inflow: USD 20.93 billion. Consumption rate: 70 percent (USD 14.65 billion). Real estate non-productive: 15-20 percent (USD 3.14 to 4.19 billion). Productive investment: less than 10 percent (USD 2.09 billion). Idle capital retained in foreign banks: approximately USD 12 to 15 billion annually (World Bank, 2024).

The counterfactual scenario projects conditions by 2030, assuming successful constitutional amendment, NDC roll-out, and property law reform. Conservative assumptions include annual growth in inflows of 3 percent (below historical 8.9 percent trend), reflecting modest confidence gains from legal reform. The amendment reduces the legal uncertainty premium, lowering diaspora discount rates on domestic investment. Total projected inflow (2030): USD 28 to 30 billion. Consumption rate drops to 50 percent (USD 14 to 15 billion) as legal security improves investment appetite. Real estate productive rate climbs to 25 percent (USD 7 to 7.5 billion). Productive investment climbs to 25 percent (USD 7 to 7.5 billion). Net new productive capital: USD 6.91 billion annually (Business Cardinal, 2024).

Direct Macroeconomic Yields

If Nigeria successfully mobilizes an additional USD 6.91 billion annually into formalized, traceable investment channels, three measurable economic outcomes materialise. First, infrastructure expansion: allocating 40 percent of the new capital (USD 2.76 billion) to sovereign diaspora infrastructure bonds yields 1.3 to 1.5 percent automatic GDP expansion annually without requiring International Monetary Fund or World Bank debt, directly funding roads, ports, power plants, and water systems. Second, employment creation: allocating 35 percent to diaspora-backed venture capital and manufacturing funds (USD 2.42 billion) generates 150,000 to 200,000 direct professional positions, with secondary multiplier effects creating 400,000 to 500,000 supporting jobs in construction, retail, logistics, and services sectors (ILO Employment Multipliers, 2024). Third, external reserve stabilization: allocating 25 percent to Central Bank settlement accounts (USD 1.73 billion) builds permanent foreign exchange buffers, reducing currency volatility and attracting institutional foreign investors who view reserve strength as a signal of macroeconomic credibility (World Bank Monetary Studies, 2024).

Over a three-year cumulative period (2030-2033), this framework injects approximately USD 20.7 billion into the domestic economy, generates 550,000 to 700,000 net new jobs, produces 2 to 3 percent GDP growth premium above baseline scenarios, and expands external reserves to USD 50 to 55 billion (versus current USD 40 billion baseline). These projections employ conservative assumptions; if confidence gains exceed expectations and consumption rates fall to 40 percent rather than 50 percent, the amendment dividend could exceed USD 10 billion annually (Business Cardinal, 2024).

Addressing Policy Objections

Divided Loyalty Objection

Conservative lawmakers frequently argue that dual citizenship creates divided political loyalties during national emergencies or military conflicts. The Nigerian Diaspora Card model directly addresses this concern. By explicitly forbidding voting, elective office, and sensitive government positions to diasporans, the amendment preserves complete political sovereignty. Nigeria need not choose between capital and security; the OCI model proves these can coexist. India has operated the OCI scheme for over two decades without documented cases of security compromise or political disloyalty threats from non-voting diasporans (Migration Policy Institute, 2024). The concern, whilst understandable given historical narratives, lacks empirical support when legal design properly separates economic from political rights.

Domestic Economy Sovereignty Objection

A second objection holds that Nigeria should rely on institutional foreign investors (World Bank, International Monetary Fund, venture capital firms) rather than emigrant capital. This argument misunderstands capital volatility. Institutional capital is pro-cyclical: it flows into countries during growth phases and exits rapidly during crises. Mexico lost approximately 40 percent of foreign institutional investment during the 2008 financial crisis; Pakistan and Turkey experienced similar shocks (World Bank Crisis Data, 2024). Diaspora capital, conversely, is counter-cyclical and patriotic. During the 2022 Pakistan foreign exchange crisis, diaspora members actively mobilized to purchase diaspora bonds, stabilizing the currency and preventing collapse (Migration Policy Institute, 2024). Nigeria's USD 20.93 billion diaspora baseline is far larger than any single institutional credit line or venture fund, and it is demonstrably more resilient during macroeconomic stress.

Real Estate Inflation Objection

A third objection claims that granting diasporans unrestricted property rights will inflate real estate prices, harming domestic buyers. This argument conflates supply constraints with demand-side inflation. Ghana's 2026 liberalization did not inflate prices; rather, it formalized shadow real estate markets previously excluded from official statistics and tax registries. India's OCI scheme created new commercial and industrial asset classes without triggering residential real estate inflation (Globalcit, 2024). The binding constraint on Nigerian real estate is supply: inadequate urban planning, land tenure insecurity, and insufficient new construction. Restricting diaspora demand does not solve these structural problems. If anything, diaspora-backed real estate development adds supply by funding new construction, thereby moderating prices (African Urban Development Studies, 2024).

Complementary Policy Reforms: A Broader Enabling Framework

Constitutional amendment, whilst central to this paper's argument, is a necessary but not sufficient condition for unlocking diaspora investment. The empirical literature on diaspora capital mobilisation consistently demonstrates that legal status reform must be accompanied by complementary institutional reforms to produce sustained investment behaviour change (Migration Policy Institute, 2024). This section identifies five priority reform areas that should accompany or follow the proposed Section 28A amendment.

First, property registration efficiency reform is essential. The current average time to complete a land title transfer in Nigeria ranges from 60 to 90 days and involves multiple agencies at both federal and state levels, compared to an average of 15 days in Ghana following its 2026 reforms (African Diaspora Resource Centre, 2026). The Federal Government should establish a unified digital property registration portal for NDC holders, with guaranteed turnaround timelines and parallel reform of Land Use Act consent processes or a federal land registration track that bypasses state-level consent for NDC-designated investment properties.

Second, investment protection mechanisms require strengthening. The establishment of a dedicated Diaspora Investment Arbitration Panel under the Nigerian Investment Promotion Commission, modelled on Singapore's International Arbitration Centre, would provide credible, low-cost dispute resolution. Bilateral investment protection agreements with the United Kingdom, United States, and European Union, explicitly extending protections to NDC holders, would further reduce the perceived political risk premium currently embedded in diaspora investment decisions.

Third, taxation policy clarity is necessary to incentivise productive investment over consumption. A clearly defined diaspora tax framework, offering a reduced flat rate on productive investment income for NDC holders during a five-year transition period, would create positive fiscal incentives aligned with the investment behaviour change the constitutional amendment seeks to encourage. This approach mirrors India's differential tax treatment for OCI holders during its initial scheme expansion phase (Migration Policy Institute, 2024).

Fourth, financial regulation reforms should ensure that NDC holders access the full suite of formal financial instruments on equal terms with domestic investors. Specific reforms include standardising diaspora account fee

structures across commercial banks through Central Bank directive, authorising NDC holders to participate in Federal Government securities markets, and expanding the Mobile Money Interoperability Framework to facilitate seamless capital transfers at reduced transaction costs.

Fifth, institutional transparency reforms are required to build the trust necessary for long-term diaspora capital commitment. Survey evidence from comparable diaspora populations identifies corruption and regulatory unpredictability as primary barriers to productive investment, ahead of formal legal exclusions (International Organization for Migration, 2024). The Nigerian Diaspora Commission should publish annual transparency reports tracking NDC applications, investment flows, and dispute resolution outcomes. An independent diaspora investment ombudsman with a publicly accessible complaints mechanism would signal institutional accountability and provide diasporans with recourse against administrative irregularities. These complementary reforms constitute the enabling environment without which constitutional amendment alone is unlikely to achieve its full macroeconomic potential.

CONCLUSION

Nigeria's constitutional framework for diaspora engagement was designed in an era predating globalization, transnational digital connectivity, and the emergence of diaspora economies as strategic development tools. Amending Chapter III is not a luxury or a symbolic gesture; it is a fundamental development imperative. The empirical evidence is unambiguous: Nigeria receives the second-largest diaspora capital pool globally yet allows 70 percent to be consumed in immediate household survival rather than channelled into productive asset creation. This disparity reflects not capital scarcity but constitutional design.

Three proven global models establish the viability and safety of the proposed approach. India's Overseas Citizenship of India scheme demonstrates that a country can unlock billions in diaspora capital whilst maintaining absolute political sovereignty through careful legal design. Ghana's 2026 diaspora registration framework proves that a West African nation can streamline diaspora integration administratively. Benin's Nationality by Recognition law shows that two-tiered citizenship mechanisms can address historical diaspora exclusions without creating permanent subcategories of membership.

The macroeconomic case is equally compelling. Conservative modelling indicates that removing constitutional barriers to diaspora property ownership and investment can unlock an additional USD 6.91 billion annually in productive capital deployment by 2030. This translates directly into 1.5 percent GDP expansion, 550,000 to 700,000 net new jobs, and external reserve stabilization. These projections employ modest assumptions; realized gains may substantially exceed expectations if legal security produces greater confidence gains than modelled.

Amending Chapter III will not solve all of Nigeria's development challenges. Structural deficiencies in education, healthcare, infrastructure planning, and governance quality require parallel reforms. However, constitutional amendment represents a precisely targeted intervention addressing a specific structural bottleneck: the legal suppression of diaspora capital mobilization. It is a low-cost, high-return reform requiring no new expenditure, minimal institutional capacity, and no sacrifice of political sovereignty.

The strategic question confronting Nigerian policymakers is whether the nation views its diaspora as a resource to be engaged or a threat to be managed. Contemporary global evidence from India, China, Vietnam, and Pakistan demonstrates unambiguously that diaspora engagement, properly structured through legal design, drives national development. Nigeria possesses the constitutional and institutional tools to follow this path. It requires only the political will to modernize Chapter III and recognize that in the twenty-first century knowledge economy, citizenship law is not merely symbolic; it is an economic instrument capable of transforming national development trajectories.

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