

MIGRATION AND CO-DEVELOPMENT

# Social Remittances of the African Diasporas in Europe

*Case studies: Netherlands and Portugal*



**North-South Centre**  
of the Council of Europe



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# Acknowledgements

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**With the increase** of population movements, migration has become one of the key global challenges in the North-South Dialogue. Migration must be viewed as a phenomenon for producing opportunities and challenges for both home and host countries.

Migrants have been long recognised as an important factor of global development through their contribution to the economic development of the host countries and their financial remittances to the home countries.

In the framework of its migration and co-development programme, in 2006 the North-South Centre of the Council of Europe decided to launch a series of case studies and conferences on one aspect of the various dimensions of migration which is largely overlooked despite its critical significance: social remittances of Diaspora to their home countries.

The goal of this process is to generate information and raise policy awareness on social remittances of the African diaspora in Europe.

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This first report on cases from the Netherlands and Portugal was conducted and drafted by two experts: Dr. Abdullah Awil Mohamoud (team leader) and Monica Fréchet. I would like to thank them for their diligent and excellent work.

As part of the North-South Centre's working methods, applied research is complemented by dialogue between representatives of the "quadrilogue": governments and international organisations, parliamentarians, local and regional authorities and civil society. This approach seeks to establish a consensus over the main issues of the policy agenda and the fullest possible participation of the main stakeholders.

In this context, the final draft of this report was presented and discussed in a Conference "Co-development and democracy: the socio-political role of migrants" organised in May 2006 by the North-South Centre, the Directorate General of Social Cohesion and the Parliamentary Assembly (Committee on Migration, Refugees and Population) of the Council of Europe, in partnership with the Assembly of the Portuguese Republic and the Gulbenkian Foundation. The final version of this document has been enriched with the comments and suggestions from the partners of the "quadrilogue" (see Annexe II: the synopsis of the Conference proceedings and Annexe III: the list of participants).

Mr David Gakunzi has been co-ordinating all of this process.

**José Carlos Correia Nunes**  
Executive Director



# 1

## Conceptual and methodological framework

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**International migration** is one of the most important factors affecting economic relations between developed and developing countries today. In 2002 the United Nations report estimated that about 175 million people – roughly 3 percent of the world’s population – lived and worked outside the country of their birth. The remittances – money and goods – sent back home by these migrant workers have a profound impact on the living standards of people in the developing countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East.

Migrant remittances - defined as transfers of funds from migrants to relatives or friends in their country of origin - are now recognised as an important source of global development finance. They are the second largest source, behind foreign direct investment, of external funding for developing countries and they provide much sought after foreign exchange to recipient countries, while supplementing the domestic incomes of millions of poor families across the world. In 2002 the flow of international remittances to developing countries stood at \$72 billion, a figure which was much higher than total official aid flows to the developing world (Ratha, 2003)<sup>1</sup>.

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However, it is crucial to consider that migrants also send other types of remittances to their home country: *social remittances*. Social remittances merit attention for several reasons. Firstly, they play an important role in transnational collectivity formation. Secondly, they bring the social impacts of migration to the fore. And thirdly, they are a potential community development aid.

According to Levitt<sup>2</sup>, there are at least three types of social remittances: normative structures, systems of practice, and social capital. Normative structures are ideas, values, and beliefs. They include norms for behaviour, notions about family responsibility, principles of neighbourliness and community participation, and aspirations for social mobility. They also encompass ideas about gender, race, and class identity, as mentioned.

Systems of practice are the actions created by normative structures. These include how individuals delegate household tasks, and how much they participate in political and civic groups. They also include organisational practices such

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<sup>1</sup> Adams, R.H. & Page, J. (2003). *The Impact of International Migration and Remittances on Poverty*. Poverty Reduction Group. W.B. - Paper Prepared for DFID/World Bank Conference on Migrant Remittances, London, October 9-10, 2003.

<sup>2</sup> Levitt, Peggy. 2001. *The Transnational Villagers*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

as recruiting and socialising new members, goal setting and strategising, establishing leadership roles, and forming interagency ties.

Both the values and norms on which social capital is based, and social capital itself, also constitute social remittances. Authors like Bourdieu (1993), Putnam (1993) and Coleman (1988)<sup>3</sup> each understand social capital as a resource to collective action, the outcomes of which concern economic wellbeing, democracy at the nation state level, and the acquisition of human capital in the form of education, respectively; so are social remittances.

The narrowest concept of social capital is associated with Putnam<sup>4</sup> (Putnam 1993; Putnam and others 1993). This author establishes a set of “horizontal associations” between people: social capital consists of social networks (“networks of civic engagement”) and associated norms that have an effect on the productivity of the community.

Another view of social capital includes the social and political environment that enables norms to develop and shapes social structure. In addition to the largely informal, and often local, horizontal and hierarchical relationships of the first two concepts, this view also includes the more formalised institutional relationships and structures, such as government, the political regime, the rule of law, the court system, and civil and political liberties. This focus on institutions draws on North (1990) and Olson (1982), who have argued that such institutions have an important effect on the rate and pattern of economic development.

This study analyses what type of social remittances the population of African diaspora in Europe possesses and transfers to the promotion of an effective, responsible, transparent, accountable and democratic system of governance in Africa. The point of departure of this study is that Diaspora should be seen as a potential resource rather than as a concern: a potential human and social capital that can make a major contribution to the political and institutional development to the home countries of origin, far beyond sending money. It is in this context that this study views that the African diaspora constitutes one of Africa’s greatest offshore assets because of the potential of its considerable human capital. This study also addresses the issue concerning how the considerable social capital acquired by the African diaspora in Europe can be made available to the countries in Africa in the construction and upgrading of their governance institutions.

For the purposes of this paper, the understanding of Diaspora is very similar to the definition offered by G. Scheffer: “Modern Diasporas are ethnic minority groups of migrant origins residing and acting in host countries but maintaining strong sentimental and material links with their countries of origin—their homelands.”

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<sup>3</sup> Grootaert, C. (1998). *Social Capital: THE MISSING LINK? The World Bank. Social Capital Initiative. Working Paper No. 3*

<sup>4</sup> See Grootaert, C. (1998). *Social Capital: THE MISSING LINK? The World Bank Social Capital Initiative. Working Paper No. 3*

According to Safran<sup>5</sup> there are a set of characteristics that define a diaspora:

- The dispersal to two or more locations related to an original territory;
- The collective mythology of homeland shared by the group and transmitted through generations to come;
- Idealisation of return to the homeland;
- Ongoing relationship with the homeland.

One can say that Diasporas are a historical precursor of modern transnationalism. Portes<sup>6</sup> (1997) and others defined “*transnationalism*” as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. They call these processes transnationalism to emphasise that many immigrants today build social fields that cross geographic, cultural, and political borders.

The contemporary African diaspora from the continent now living in the EU countries is estimated to be around 3.3 million people. They occupy a bridge-building position that links the developed North with Africa. On the one hand, the African diaspora bring added value in the intercultural dialogue through their practices and initiatives aiming to facilitate common understanding and shared interest and values. All our interviews have emphasised the leading role played by migrants’ associations in promoting intercultural dialogue, ensuring multi-cultural best practice. However, such an awareness role should be better supported by a policy framework.

On the other hand, this strategic position enables the African diaspora to build up social, economic and political networks through which they can directly and indirectly channel wealth, information, innovative ideas, intellectual capacities, new technological skills and democratic political practices from the North to the South.

## » Aims and objectives of the study

The main aim of the study is to generate information and analysis and raise policy awareness of the largely untapped social remittances of the African diaspora which are as valuable as the financial remittances, although very little is currently known. The study is conducted to obtain baseline information about the considerable social remittances that the African diasporas in Europe have acquired and can be transferred to Africa for the promotion of viable governance and democratic political systems on the continent. Within this main aim, the study has the following five objectives:

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<sup>5</sup> Safran, W. (1991). *Diasporas in Modern societies: Myths of Homeland and return*. *Diaspora* 1 (1991): 83-99.

<sup>6</sup> Portes, A. (1997). *Globalization from Below: The Rise of Transnational Communities*. WPTC-98-01. Princeton University. An earlier version of this essay was published in W.P. Smith and R.P. Korzenwicz, *Latin America in the World Economy*, Westport, CN: Greenwood Press, 1996, pp. 151-168. See as well, [www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk](http://www.transcomm.ox.ac.uk)

- *To investigate and assess the existing social remittances that the African diaspora organisations, groups and individuals currently possess;*
- *To examine how the African diasporas use their accumulated social remittances (social capital) to contribute to the rebuilding of the post-conflict social institutions, political structures, public and private institutions, and the promotion of viable governance and democratic political life in their countries of origin;*
- *To ascertain challenges and constraints they have encountered in their attempts to transfer the social remittances they have possessed to their respective homelands;*
- *To explore policy mechanisms in place in the two countries of the case studies (Netherlands/Portugal) that facilitate or constrain the transfer of social remittances of the African diaspora to Africa;*
- *To identify entry points, strategic actors and practical steps where targeted policy interventions might be initiated by the policy makers both at country and at the Council of Europe (COE) and European Union (EU) level that facilitate a process in which the social remittances of the African diaspora in Europe can be systematically transferred to Africa in a sustainable and a large-scale manner.*

## » **Data and methods**

The empirical data of the study is gathered through interviews with several representatives of the African diaspora networks involved in transferring various forms of social remittances to their respective countries of origin in Africa. The study is two country case studies (Netherlands and Portugal). In each country, five African diaspora organisations have been interviewed. Conducting interviews is the ideal method when the empirical data available on the subject matter under study is very limited. It is also an ideal method when the research question is better answered by in-depth detailed information and when the chosen respondents possess particularly practical knowledge about the topic. Particularly, interviews provide an opportunity to learn more about opinions as well as facts. Furthermore, the study draws on the little available documentary material on the subject as well as the experience of diaspora organisations from other continents.

The scope of this baseline study is currently limited to the two countries mentioned above but it can be widened to various other countries, notably France, Germany, Italy, Belgium and the United Kingdom, where African diasporas largely reside. This is imperative as undertaking wider basic research and collecting raw data would greatly improve our understanding of the nature, patterns and dynamics of the African diaspora social remittances interactions with regard to their respective homelands.

This study is just a starting point for a new research area which has thus far been overlooked despite its critical significance. This is the valuable social remittances that the African diaspora possess and can transfer to Africa for the promotion of a sound and a democratic public life. The study thus constitutes a “pioneering survey”.

## » **Structure of the paper**

The report is divided into six sections. The sections of the report are carefully designed in a manner which ensures a logical sequence starting from the generation of basic information about the social remittances possessed by the African diaspora to the implementation phase, the final end of the cycle.

The sections of the report are also designed in a manner that makes the social remittances of the African diaspora more visible and widely known, raises awareness among the different stakeholders concerned with the issue of migration (diaspora) and development, disseminates information and influences policies of the decision makers at different levels.

Section 2 assesses the existing social remittances that the African diaspora organisations, groups and individuals currently possess, be it academic qualifications, professional experiences and valuable transnational networks, new social and political values, etc.

Section 3 examines patterns and a range of modalities that the African diaspora organisations, groups and individuals use to transfer their social remittances to their countries of origin in Africa.

Section 4 investigates challenges and constraints that the African diaspora organisations, groups and individuals encounter in their attempts to transfer the social remittances they have possessed to their respective homelands.

Section 5 explores policy mechanisms in place in the two countries of the case studies (Netherlands/Portugal) that facilitate or constrain the transfer of the social remittances of the African diaspora to Africa. This section considers further policy instruments that can be adopted to facilitate the transfer of the considerable social remittances of the African diaspora organisations, groups and individuals to their respective countries of origin in Africa in a constructive and a large-scale manner.

Section 6 attempts to identify entry points, strategic actors and practical steps where targeted policy interventions might be initiated by the policy makers both at the CoE and EU level that facilitate a process in which the social remittances of the African diaspora in Europe can be systematically transferred to Africa in a sustainable manner. The final part presents the conclusion. It brings together the most important issues identified and examined in the sections of the report and draws a number of options for policy recommendations and proposals for a follow-up research project.



# 2

## Social remittances of the African Diaspora

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» **Social remittances are** defined, in this paper, as ideas, practices, mind-sets, world views, values and attitudes, norms of behaviour and social capital (knowledge, experience and expertise) that the Diasporas mediate and consciously or unconsciously transfer from host to home countries. African diasporas acquire social remittances through different ways. As the African diaspora interviewees pointed out, they acquired social remittances through formal education and training in the knowledge institutions in the host country. This formal education enabled some of the diaspora individuals to acquire high-level skills and specialised knowledge of valuable quality.

Also, the African diaspora interviewees stated that they obtained social remittances through professional expertise in work places in the host country. In addition to this experience, they also acquired values, norms and work ethics geared to deliver the services expected from them in an efficient manner. Furthermore, the African diaspora interviewees stated that they acquired social remittances by obtaining and internalising new social values, attitudes and norms of behaviour through their socialisation with the host society and the acculturation process they have undergone. As one interviewee expressed, these new social values and attitudes that diaspora mediates (as bridge-builders) between host and home countries can make them change agents in governance reforms in Africa.

Finally, the African diaspora interviewees said that they acquired valuable social remittances by constructing vast transnational networks (crosscrossing countries and continents), linking the process of globalisation to the local conditions of their respective countries of origin. Furthermore, the construction of transnational networks enables the individuals and groups in the diaspora communities to build up intersecting social, economic and political bridges that link their new places of residence with their original homelands. This is now possible thanks to the revolution in transport technology, which has made long distance travel very cheap and quick. The cheaper transportation allows the diaspora to make more frequent trips to their original homelands and enables friends and families to reciprocate these visits, thereby cementing the transnational ties. Also, the rapid and massive leaps forward in communications technology such as the Internet and e-mail and inexpensive phone calls enables widely dispersed diaspora to stay in contact cheaply and effectively in a constant manner for the first time in history. As a result of the expansion of inexpensive transportation and communications technology, the diaspora are now able to exert far greater influence on their homelands than ever before.

In general, the social remittances that the African diaspora possess and can transfer to Africa include innovative ideas, valuable transnational networks, knowledge, sound political contributions, policy reforms, valuable democratic habits and attitudes, appropriate peace-making ideas and practices, new technological skills, norms of behaviour, work ethics, social values and cultural influence. This means that the social remittances that the African diaspora individuals, groups and organisations possess are considerable, diverse and wide-ranging. Thus, these none-material social remittances are equally as significant as financial remittances or perhaps even more as it is suggested.<sup>7</sup> This reality thus urges us to approach both remittances in a combined manner for the formulation of appropriate policy so as to benefit them more effectively. As it now stands, the research and policy focus is in favour of financial remittances which are already devoted to ample research and policy attentions. This has created a serious imbalance as the social remittances dimension of the long-distance activities engaged by the diaspora is largely overlooked in research and policy considerations despite its critical significance. In other words, social remittances still remain a neglected aspect despite being the key to understanding how diaspora affect and modifies the social and political relations of those staying behind. As a result, social remittances have become an area where practices have become ahead of both research and policy considerations.

The interviewees explained that there are different kinds of social capital (i.e. knowledge, experience and expertise) that the African individuals in the diaspora have acquired that are badly needed in many countries in Africa. Similarly, there are different needs and priorities in each country in Africa determined by its specific internal conditions. Furthermore, there are different sorts of countries in Africa with different stages of institutional, social, political and economic development. This reality therefore requires the desegregation of the countries in Africa as this development, which has been in process since 1989, has now been concretely pronounced. A proper differentiation of the countries in Africa is thus warranted because of the intervention needs that would be mobilised from the social capital of the Africans in the diaspora.

This explanation advanced by the interviewees remains true. However, it raises important questions such as: what kind of social capital is needed, in what sectors and into which situations on the ground in Africa? For instance, today, there are a number of different Africas ranging from highly dysfunctional and wartorn to fairly peaceful, functional and democratic states that are making progress on several fronts.<sup>8</sup> Somalia and Botswana represent the opposite ends of the institutional, political, social and development spectrum.

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<sup>7</sup> According to Chukwu-Emeka Chikezie-Furgusson, "The value of skills/knowledge transfer will overtake the value of remittances. But we have to think demand pull, not Diaspora push (let's not repeat past development failures and mistakes)", (*West Africa* 13- 19 November 2000:13). Chukwu-Emeka Chikezie-Furgusson is the executive director and founding member of the African Foundation for Development based in London.

<sup>8</sup> Richard Joseph has advanced a similar argument when he noted that, "Africa has been heading in different directions simultaneously. That diversity has since accentuated and should be reflected in the design of new strategies". See further Richard Joseph. *Fresh Ideas for a Prosperous Africa*. Published on the Internet in May 2005.

The first category that Somalia represents is grappling with post-conflict institutional and governance reconstruction at the national, sub-national and local levels. These countries that are now undergoing post-conflict situations require a massive human capacity infusion to rebuild from scratch both the physical and institutional structures that the conflicts have already destroyed. In this respect, they need the priority of the diaspora interventions in the development situations in Africa.

Furthermore, in the case of the Netherlands, most of the African diaspora living here have come from the countries that are now undergoing post-conflict reconstruction processes such as Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), Eritrea, Ethiopia, Rwanda, Somalia and Sudan among others. This reality thus urges us to involve them proactively in the promotion of peace, political stability and the construction of viable governance in their countries of origin in Africa.

The second category of countries that Botswana represents is struggling with post-colonial institutional construction and governance consolidation. Some of these countries have already achieved tangible successes on several fronts as they have put in place fairly functioning and democratic states. Whilst some others are now in the process of putting in place viable institutions of governance and constitutionally based states. However, this second category of countries also requires capacity enhancement in order to strengthen, upgrade and consolidate the fairly functioning governance institutions they carefully constructed in the last four decades.

In short, both types of countries in Africa noted above will need to draw on the considerable social capital of the African diaspora for different needs. Whilst one type of countries need the social capital from the diaspora to reconstruct their social, political and governance institutions from scratch, the other type of countries require it to advance and upgrade the institutions of their states which are functioning fairly but not in a satisfactory manner.

Additionally, it was possible to analyse that, in the case of Portugal, most of the African diaspora are committed to an economic enhancement of their home countries by creating new economic development possibilities and dynamic social networks.

In the case of the Cape Verdian, Guinea Bissau and Senegal diaspora residing in Portugal, for example, it is clear that social capital is perceived as a resource to collective action for economic wellbeing. However the routes through which this social capital is channelled varies very much from context to context. Guinea Bissau, for example, benefits from its Diaspora supportive initiative in rural areas while the federation of Cape Verdian organisations works more for the promotion of Cape Verde entrepreneurial development and the enhancement of human capital.

The areas where the human resources of the diaspora can be effectively harnessed are diverse. For example, in areas of administrative rebuilding process the African diaspora professionals, who are in a position to deliver such expertise to Africa, are large enough in the Netherlands. For instance, there are many African diaspora professionals who are working as accountants, project coordinators, policy makers, social workers, administrators in different municipalities and local government institutions all over the country.

With regard to assisting the formation of professional political parties in the countries in the post-conflict situations in Africa, the political experience gained by the many African diasporas, who have been groomed in political party politics at local government levels in the Netherlands, can be harnessed for this effort. For example, during the local elections in the Netherlands that were held on 7 March 2006, many African diasporas were elected to city, district and town councils across the country for the coming four years.<sup>9</sup> Some of them have already served four year terms in the past and gained a wealth of experience in the democratic practices of political wheeling and dealing at local government levels. A Ghanaian diaspora who was elected twice as city councillor in Amsterdam stated during an interview that the experience he and his colleagues of African origin elsewhere in the country had gained in practicing democratic politics at the local government levels in the Netherlands was an invaluable asset.

These African diaspora professionals have proven expertise because of the experience they have gained in working in such institutions for years, some of them for more than two decades. This is what was confirmed by some African professionals who migrated originally from Cape Verde, Ghana and Somalia that we interviewed have confirmed to us. They also expressed their willingness to share their professional expertise with the people on the continent by building the capacity of local civil servants through training if they are given the opportunity to do so.

Therefore, strategies should be envisaged so that the expertise and experience acquired by African diaspora councillors can be made available for the reconstruction of sound, legitimate and professional governance in Africa. According to this Ghanaian councillor, the transfer of this knowledge to Africa can be facilitated by setting up well-designed action-oriented projects geared for this particular target. In practice, these projects can be implemented on the ground by building the capacity of the framework of the political parties through the provision of training and organising seminars and workshops where the diaspora and the local leaders can share and exchange information, skills, new ideas and experience.

The African diaspora interviewed brought our attention to a large number of African diaspora who are educated and trained in the learning institutions in

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<sup>9</sup> Particularly, in the main cities of the country such as Amsterdam and Rotterdam, a great number of African migrants mainly from Cape Verde, Ghana and Morocco were elected as city councillors, which the Dutch media described as milestone in the local elections of the Dutch history.

the Netherlands and have acquired valuable skills but are largely marginalised. They are marginalised because their skills are either under-utilised in the Netherlands, as they are employed in jobs far below their qualifications, or not utilised at all as they are unemployed. A suggestion that one of the interviewees put forward was that, “the under-utilised and the un-utilised knowledge capital of the African diaspora in the Netherlands should be made available to Africa where it is badly needed through appropriately designed schemes and programmes before becoming wasted”.

The concern of some of the interviewees is that, if their skills are not used, they might ultimately lose them and that would make them unable to contribute to development both in the host country and in the homeland upon returning. They have even coined the term “brain death” to describe the status of their brainpower. As they explained, brain death is a unique problem normally over-looked and yet it happens here in the Netherlands and in other countries in Europe.

A concrete example they cited to prove the point is that a significant number of skilled Africans, both from Africa and in the diaspora such as engineers, accountants and nurses end up performing jobs far below their qualifications and intellectual capacity. <sup>10</sup>They become taxi drivers or perform poorly paid manual jobs in working conditions that are far from congenial, and thereby become de-skilled. This is tragic as the brain drain from Africa becomes only an additional manpower gain in Europe instead of brain gain, since it is under-utilised or not utilised at all.

Our interviewees in Portugal expressed the same concern, specifically on the spectre of brain-drain. As one interviewee put it: “the migration of highly skilled people imposes a cost to their country of origin in terms of provision of basic needs – access to education, and health care for example. At the same time it doesn’t always add value to the host country when the educated migrants are marginalised”.

The interviewees in Portugal also called for a promotion of policy and programmes encouraging social remittances. However, these programmes have proven to be very costly, in terms of sufficiently attractive salaries and resentment of these privileges by those who stayed at home.

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<sup>10</sup> This point is confirmed by employment analysts. For example, as World Markets Research Centre notes, “Educated Africans attracted to countries like the UK by the prospects of earning higher wages are often faced with disappointment and frustration on arrival due to red tape and immigration laws of the host country. There are thousands of Africans with PhDs. Doctorates, degrees, diplomas and certificates currently in developed countries who are being excluded from performing the jobs they are trained or qualified for, and doing manual, lowly-paid work instead. Acknowledging its need for migrant labour, the UK is currently considering relaxing its existing labour laws, with the idea of introducing a work permit system to help deal with the skills shortages”. For more information, see World Markets Research Centre: Africa In Focus 2002. “The Brain Drain – Africa’s Achilles Heel”. [http://www.worldmarketsanalysis.com/InFocus2002/articles/africa\\_overview.html](http://www.worldmarketsanalysis.com/InFocus2002/articles/africa_overview.html) [accessed 15 May 2005].

# 3

## Pathways Diaspora transfer social remittances

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**This section explores** pathways, patterns and a range of modalities of how African diaspora organisations, groups and individuals transfer their social remittances to their countries of origin in Africa. The African diaspora use different pathways (both informal and formal) to transfer their social remittances to their respective homelands.

The informal pathways take the form of exchanges namely through letter, telephone calls, emails, internet chats or videos. These informal contacts enable the diaspora to transmit social values, attitudes and norms that have a transforming impact on the prevailing notion of those who stay behind regarding social relations, ideas of political participation and practices, democracy and good governance, etc. A concrete example of an informal channel through which African diasporas transmit social remittances occurs when they communicate directly to family members, close friends or persons with whom they share mutual social ties about different kinds of political ideas and practices and encourage to emulate and pursue reforms in the homeland. In this particular case, the African diaspora transmits social remittances from the host country intentionally to a specific recipient or group of recipients in the homeland to influence their conduct in the political arena.

One of the informal pathways through which the diaspora transmit their social remittance to the people back home takes place when individuals in the diaspora return home permanently or for holidays and family visits. The ideas and social values that returning diasporas introduce to the people in the homeland are frequently accepted because of the higher social status that the diaspora carriers are accorded among the society. This is because of the wealth, knowledge and networks that the Diasporas acquired abroad which give them a tremendous prestige as well as power that comes from these resources."

The formal channels take place when the diaspora, using their own ties, contacts and social affiliations, meet and enter face to face talks with key political and social figures from the homeland when they visit the host country. This is what Somalis and Sudanese interviewed stated. Such meetings enable the diaspora to convince the influential power elites from the homeland to adopt

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"As Emmanuel Akyeampong, a Ghanaian scholar in the diaspora explains, "Diaspora is an important space to remake one's self, even to overcome the social liabilities of birth. The successful migrant returns home as an 'upper class' citizen, respected for her/his wealth" (Akyeampong, 2000:187). For more information, see Emmanuel Akyeampong. "Africans in the Diaspora: the Diaspora and Africa" Commissioned Article for Centenary Issue *African Affairs*(2000) 99: 395. p.183-215.

different political tactics and through this manner influence national politics. In this respect, social remittances transmitted by the diaspora, merit particular attention as this brings to the fore the social impact of diaspora activities on the social and political life in the home country. More importantly, as the social remittances are transferred through identifiable pathways mediated by the diaspora to specific audiences and target groups, policy makers and practitioners in the host country can purposefully channel certain kinds of information to specific groups with the intention of obtaining positive results in the homeland. The fact of the matter is that social remittances are under-capitalised human resource potential that can improve the social and political life in the home countries if they are purposefully harnessed.

Another modality through which the diaspora transfer their social remittances to the home countries is through the facilitation of transnational networks which benefits those who remain behind in different ways. For example, as some of the interviewees pointed out, the diaspora use transnational networks to mediate and smooth the connection of overseas businesses with businesses in Africa which can not afford to promote their domestic products and secure markets abroad.

These type of trade networks, facilitated by the diaspora, are the most valuable as most Africans in Africa now engage in informal trade for their livelihood. This is due to the shrinkage or collapse of the formal national economies in many countries in Africa. For example, informal trade is now the biggest market economy in Africa currently generating more than 60% of domestic wealth.<sup>12</sup>

Also, the African diaspora utilises transnational networks that it facilitates to support positive political forces in the homeland by transmitting valuable new political ideas and practices that help the promotion of a democratic political life in the homeland. The purpose is to nurture and inculcate democratic political habits in the minds of the political society that gradually neutralise the prevailing authoritarian tendency in the power politics on the continent. The eventual aim of this activity is to contribute to the process of promoting democratic political and governance habits in Africa.

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<sup>12</sup> "Employing 40 million people, or 60 to 70 per cent of the labour force in Africa and producing 25 per cent of its gross national product, the informal sector or the underground economy has been omitted from national planning, most importantly it has been neglected by structural adjustment policy makers, etc. The ILO reported that the informal sector absorbs 75 per cent of new entrants in the labour market. In recent years the ILO stated that the rate is even higher as public sector workers are retrenched and urbanization and population growth continue unabated." Xaba, Jantjie, Pat Horn and Shirin Motala. 2002. *The Informal Sector in Sub-Saharan Africa, Working Paper on the Informal Economy* (Geneva; Employment Sector, International Labour Office. October). p. 10

As one interviewee put it,

*Being a diaspora resident in the Netherlands and in other Western countries, we are privileged to live in democratic societies and are thereby exposed to democratic political dealings and practices. This experience enables us to transfer or bring back valuable new political ideas and practices that can help the promotion of a democratic political life in Africa.*

A significant communication tool noted by the interviewees for disseminating these valuable new political ideas and practices are online forums which are able to link various positive political forces, both in the homeland and in the diaspora, into organised discussion and action groups. This is a tangible example of how the diaspora provide support to the constructive forces on the ground struggling to restore order and political stability in the homeland.

Furthermore, the African diaspora transfer their social remittances by helping positive political forces at home to make contact with important and powerful political networks abroad. Some diaspora interviewed said they are members of the established political parties in the Netherlands. This strategic position enables them to facilitate valuable networks for the political parties in the homeland through the established political parties with which they are affiliated in the Netherlands. These networks thus boost the moral and political clout of the positive forces on the ground. This is also another tangible way that diaspora contribute to international efforts which impact positively on their respective homelands in terms of promoting democratic political culture and transparent systems of governance in Africa.

This finding applies more particularly to the African diaspora in the Netherlands whose home countries are politically stable and relatively democratic, than to those originating from countries currently in post-conflict situations in Africa. This is what the Ghanaians in the diaspora in the Netherlands, from Cape Verde, and diaspora in Portugal have affirmed during the interviews we conducted. Both groups are actively involved in contributing to the reform of political institutions and in advancing the democratisation process in their respective home countries. They transfer their knowledge, experience, expertise and networks through long-distance activities, exchanges of visits between them and the political and influential figures from the homelands or through the mediation of the Embassies in the host country.

In the Netherlands, some of the interviewees stated that they transfer their social remittances back to the homeland by acting as pressure groups in the host country. They carry out this role through the Dutch civil society organisations to which they are linked so as to influence the political developments in their respective African homelands. The argument that some of the interviewees advanced, is that they want to promote democratic and well-functioning public institutions that are accountable to the people, transparent, and respect the freedom of expression and protest.

The African Diaspora interviewed further added that they lobby in the host country to support the positive forces in their homelands such as peace activists, human rights actors and organisations, journalists, civic-minded community associations and constructive political elites, among others.

In the case of the Cape Verdian diaspora in Portugal, the construction of strong networks such as the Cape Verdian Federation of NGO's constitutes a strong pressure group in favour of the integration of their community in the host country. Also, this Federation of NGO's tries to facilitate the development of new co-operation strategies with the home country by promoting workshops and conferences between Portugal and Cape Verde.

The above discussions have briefly identified certain pathways, patterns and a range of modalities through which the African diaspora organisations, groups and individuals transfer their social remittances to their countries of origin in Africa. African diasporas have constructed the pathways identified both through formal and informal channels to facilitate their long-distance interactions with the homelands. Thus, the Diasporas have already prepared the ground work and laid down linking bridges that can be built on while contemplating further routes through which can be transferred social capital from Europe to Africa. The pathways and patterns that the diasporas use to transfer their social remittances to the home countries are not always visible because they are mediated by persons rather than institutions. However, if some of the pathways such as telephone calls should remain interpersonal, some others can be institutionalised.

At the moment, African diasporas transmit their social remittances to home countries in an *ad hoc*, limited and sporadic manner. This can be improved by making it more structured so as to become sustainable. Furthermore, the current pathways used by the diaspora need to be professionalised, strengthened and enlarged so as to become efficient routes of transmitting knowledge, know-how, expertise and networks to Africa. They also need to be recognised, valued and formally used by the government institutions and the mainstream development organisations in the host country. This could be realised if the pathways through which the African diasporas transmit their social capital to the home countries are strategically integrated into the routes through which donor agencies and government institutions in the host country channel human resources to Africa.

# 4

## Challenges and constraints in transferring social remittances

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**There are a number** of challenges as well as constraints that the African Diaspora organisations interviewed have encountered in their attempts to transfer their social remittances to home countries. The challenges stated are prevalent both in the host country as well as in home countries, although they are different in many respects. The main challenges in both the host and the home countries are the lack of environment conducive to promoting the African diaspora's contributions to development in all of its multi-facets. The constraints concern mainly the lack of capacity, both institutional and organisational, of the African diaspora organisations to transfer their social remittances more effectively and in a large scale manner to their countries of origin. Therefore, the combined effects of both challenges and constraints are gravely hindering the diaspora to make their considerable social capital available for the development efforts in Africa.

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### » Challenges in the host country

The challenges in the Netherlands and Portugal, where the African diasporas interviewed reside, are multifarious. The first challenge is the political disinterest of the social capital of the African diaspora residing in the country. The political disinterest results from the non-existence of knowledge and information about the social capital that the Africans in the diaspora have acquired in the host country. Normally, knowledge informs policy. Unfortunately, the existing knowledge about the African diaspora in the Netherlands mainly relates to their cultural practices such as religion, identity formation, informal social networks and the manner in which they organise their social relations in a foreign environment.

One reason is the lack of interest from the Africa oriented research institutions in the Netherlands to study the development aspect of the long-distance interactions of the African Diaspora with Africa. This also occurs in Portugal. There are a relatively small number of studies conducted with the purpose of analysing the bilateral relations between home and host country.

Another reason relates to the contemporary policy discourse on Africa in general and the African Diaspora, in particular in the Netherlands, that is still

largely shaped by a perspective informed by identity, cultural, anthropological, historical and idiosyncratic orientations.<sup>13</sup>

This has therefore resulted in a dearth of documented information about the economic, political, transnational networks and human resources potential of the African Diaspora that can be tapped into for the benefit of Africa.<sup>14</sup> And this is the reason that we still know very little about the social remittances, that the African Diaspora organisations and individuals transfer to Africa as a form of capacity building contribution. Therefore, with regard to social remittances, the knowledge base necessary for policy formulation is still very limited.

According to an interviewee from a Cape Verde resident in Portugal:

*“The promotion of social remittances and the dissemination of this concept among populations, is essential. Most of the people not know what social remittances are. They know about financial remittances, but not social remittances.”*

The second challenge is the downgrading of the social capital acquired by the African Diaspora in the Netherlands. This is however a problem which is widespread in many different sectors, particularly the development sector. This has therefore resulted in the exclusion of the skilled and qualified African diaspora in finding a meaningful employment in the mainstream development organisations in the Netherlands involved in the development efforts in Africa.

Similarly, the downgrading of the professional capacity of the skilled Africans in the Netherlands has also prevented them from being sent to their countries of origin as expatriate experts in a formal way. Since the beginning of this year, the situation has changed slightly. However, some interviewees still feel that this new collaboration is not based on equal partnership. As one interviewee expressed,

*“The mainstream development agencies do not want to utilise the knowledge, expertise and experience that the African diaspora organisations have already acquired in the Netherlands. In fact, what they want from us is to profit from our intimate knowledge of local conditions, social situations, contacts and transnational networks that we have constructed and facilitate between the Netherlands and our home countries”.*

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<sup>13</sup> See Ineke van Kessel and Nina Tellegen, (eds.), *Afrikanen in Nederland*, Amsterdam: Koninklijk Instituut voor de Tropen, 2000. For a good overview of this discussion, see Dorinde Brands, *Trends in Africanist (Academic) Research in the Netherlands* (Leiden: African Studies Centre, 2001).

<sup>14</sup> The limited research and publications on the African diaspora that are currently available are mainly produced in the United States. They largely focus on the traditional subjects such as history, anthropology, identity and culture with little emphasis on contemporary challenges that African societies now face. Unfortunately, these utility-less subjects that do not add much value to finding solutions of the most pressing challenges that African societies are grappling with today still remain predominant in contemporary research discourse on Africa and the African diaspora in the Netherlands and in the West as a whole.

This lopsided relationship that the interviewee eloquently worded needs to be addressed if the African diaspora organisations are to be seen as valuable partners in the development efforts regarding Africa. This particular challenge can be better addressed if the skills and the professional capacities of the Africans in the diaspora are recognised and valued.

The third challenge is the prevailing perception which sees the Diasporas solely as a source of financial remittances.<sup>15</sup> This perception gives an unjust impression, as if the major contribution of the Diasporas to the home countries is mainly transferring remittances which are largely used for consumption purposes. It also denies the intellectual capital of the Diasporas as it fails to see them as human resources.

Furthermore, it unjustly overshadows other important roles that the Diasporas play in promoting the overall developments in their respective homelands. Examples are the valuable contributions that the diaspora organisations, groups and individuals transfer to their countries of origin which have a positive impact on policy reforms, social change and democratic processes. This is what the British House of Commons International Development Committee suggested, “in calculating the costs and benefits of migration, and designing policies to make migration work better for poverty reduction, governments should not only focus solely on factors which can be valued in monetary terms. Migration can lead to political, social and cultural changes in the countries of origin – and indeed in host countries – as people become aware that other ways of life, and other ways of organising society and politics, are possible”.<sup>16</sup> Nonetheless, the prevailing one-sided focus of the Diasporas as a source of funds makes it impossible for them to make visible other forms of development activities they are involved in regarding homelands which also require research and policy attentions.

## » Challenges in the home countries

The challenges in the home countries are complex and variable. However, few examples will be cited here. The most critical challenge is mainly poor governance and the lack of an enabling environment featuring such conditions as personal freedom, basic civic rights, democracy and the rule of law. “Well governed, Africa will persuade a lot of us even to return home and contribute to the development of the continent, since this provides the basis for a nation both individually and collectively to use its creative potential optimally and to prosper economically, intellectually and culturally even if the country is poor”.

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<sup>15</sup> “Beyond seeing migrants (Diasporas) as a source of resources for development and reconstruction, steps could be taken to give Diasporas a more active voice. These could include involving Diasporas in international forums to co-ordinate resources flows from donors and from Diasporas for development and reconstruction. In addition, Diasporas could be allowed greater influence in peace building and reconciliation efforts”. (Nyberg Sørensen, Van Hear and Engberg-Pedersen 2002)

<sup>16</sup> House of Commons International Development Committee. 2004. *International Development – Sixth Report, Migration and Development: How to make migration work for poverty reduction* (London; The Stationary Office by Order of the House. 29 June) Online at: <http://www.publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200304/cmselect/cmintdev/79/7902.htm>

This remark is of particular significance, judging from the growing motivation among the interviewees to impart knowledge, professional skills and networks and thereby contribute positively to the development of Africa. There can be no gain by saying that better governance will create an enabling environment that will persuade some of the skilled Africans in the diaspora to contribute much more, than is the case now, to the overall development on the continent in a different manner, including temporary or permanent returns. As *The Economist* explains, “Given opportunities and political stability, good leadership and the rule of law, many of those who would otherwise leave a developing country will stay and some of those who left will return”.<sup>17</sup>

Another challenge is the unwillingness of the governing elites in some of the home countries to reach out to and seek the assistance of skilled and professionals Africans in the diaspora for the development of national institutions. This obstinacy has already cost a lot for the continent as it has kept away the considerable benefits that could have been gained from the still untapped social capital of the Africans overseas.

This is the reason that, compared with Asian countries, African countries, generally have not fully taken advantage of their diaspora.<sup>18</sup> The success of the Asian countries, particularly China and India in attracting their Diasporas has to do with the enabling domestic environment which they have created, such as stable governance, policy openness, economic reform, basic infrastructure as well as specific incentives. These are some of the lessons that African can learn from Asia in its attempt to put in place a favourable environment that can persuade the diaspora to participate in the development of the continent.

A third challenge is that many countries in Africa have not yet developed national strategies and policies specifically targeted towards involving the diaspora in the development efforts of the continent. However, developing policies and practical measures at the national level is a primary priority for engaging with the diaspora.

Furthermore, to benefit the social remittances of the Diasporas, African countries need to build effective links with them. They also need to identify realistic and feasible mechanisms that could be adopted in sustainable collaborations.

More importantly, African governments should define feasible programmes that persuade and encourage the effective involvement of the diaspora in the development efforts in Africa. This, however, requires undertaking serious research on projects developed elsewhere, particularly in Asia, that have

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<sup>17</sup> *The Economist*. “Outward bound: Do developing countries gain or lose when their brightest talents go abroad?”, September 28, 2002: 24-30.

<sup>18</sup> For a discussion on this issue, see the Global Coalition for Africa (GCA) 2005. “Policy Forum on Migration and Development in Africa”, a background paper for a conference held in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, January 26-27, 2005. GCA Document/no.2/01/2005.

encouraged the greater involvement of diasporas in the development of their countries of origin. This is to see what initiatives have worked and what conditions and factors contributed to their success.

However, despite the prevailing complex challenges noted above, positive developments unfolding in Africa are worth noting here. This is an aspect that some of the diaspora interviewees raised. According to them, there are now attempts aimed at creating an enabling environment that will entice the diaspora from African to participate in the overall development of the continent. For instance, there are policies in place at both continental and country levels geared to reconnect African diaspora with their homelands in order to enhance the intellectual capital, transnational networks, financial resources and business acumen of the African countries. These policies have been put in place in response to the sharp increase in the migration of skilled personnel and the serious human resource constraints that many countries in Africa are now facing.

At the continent level, the African Union (AU) and the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad) are now courting the African diaspora.<sup>19</sup> This means that the continent as a whole is adapting to changing times and wants to reap the benefits from the resources available within its huge diaspora population abroad. For instance, one of the policy goals of the AU is to involve the diaspora more actively in its endeavours to promote democracy and development in Africa. In so doing, the AU recognises the diaspora as a force for positive change on the continent and is attempting to forge a partnership for the benefit of Africa.

Similarly, Nepad, attempting to reach out to the diaspora, also calls for the establishment of a reliable and continental database on the brain drain to determine the magnitude of the problem and promote collaboration between the diaspora and those on the continent. An important Nepad priority that is of particular interest to this project is the proposal to develop the human resources capacity of Africa and reverse the brain drain. Furthermore, under Nepad, African leaders explicitly call for the creation of the 'necessary political, social and economic conditions that would serve as incentives to curb the brain drain'.

At the country level, so far a few countries in Africa such as Ghana and Eritrea have made certain policy concessions that grant the diaspora dual nationality and voting rights in their respective countries.<sup>20</sup> Ghana in particular is one of the African countries in which a third of its highly educated and trained human capital live abroad.<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>19</sup> See the article of James Butty, 'African Union: Reaching out to the Diaspora', *West Africa* (20th- 26th January 2003):25.

<sup>20</sup> See further the original document of the New Partnership for Africa's Development (Nepad), October 2001.

<sup>21</sup> Eritrea is one of the most advanced, perhaps because about 90% of eligible Eritreans abroad voted in the 1993 referendum on independence. Diaspora Eritreans then helped to draft the constitution, which guarantees them voting rights in future elections. (*The Economist* January 4, 2003: 27)

Similarly, the Nigerian President has now appointed a special advisor for the Diaspora.<sup>22</sup> Likewise, the governments of Mali and Senegal have created Ministries of Foreign and Diaspora Affairs, particularly devoted to managing and facilitating relations with nationals living abroad. Furthermore, a few others on the continent such as Liberia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone have already held several diaspora conferences to discuss and explore ways in which the diaspora can contribute meaningfully to development in the homelands. Cape Verde is also a country strongly involved with its diaspora.

Thus Africa, at both the continental and country levels, is now addressing vexing policy issues that have previously frustrated the Africans in the diaspora and made it impossible for them to contribute to the economic and intellectual development on the continent. If Africa achieves a policy change that creates an enabling environment, this will definitely facilitate a process which entices the diaspora to reconnect with the continent. However, the success of this policy remains to be seen. The reality today is that most African countries do not yet have incentives policies directed to their Diaspora, nor guaranteed migrants' rights.

## » **Constraints in the African diaspora organisations**

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The constraints are mainly the lack of capacity of the African diaspora organisations, both institutional and organisational, to transfer their social remittances more effectively and in a large scale manner to their countries of origin. Both in Portugal and in the Netherlands, African diasporas still operate on the margins of the host societies because of the weak social, economic and political position in which they find themselves in their new homeland.

Moreover, the development of strategies with the main objective of promoting the integration of immigrants and the recognition of the importance of diaspora is essential. Host societies, such as Portugal and the Netherlands, need to accept this transnational reality in which they are presently living.

Additionally, the organisations established by the African diaspora suffer from severe capacity constraints. Firstly, they lack the capacity to make their activities more visible to the wider public. Secondly, their social organisations are still weak and remain informal. Thirdly, African diaspora organisations lack the channels to gain access to useful information and networks. Fourthly, compared with other migrant organisations, African associations are linked marginally with the main-stream development agencies.

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<sup>22</sup> Olusegun Obasanjo himself is initiator of the Nigerians In Diaspora Organization (NIDO). The initiative was prompted by the recognition of the huge reserve of knowledge and expertise accumulated by the Nigerians residing outside Nigeria and the contributions they could make to the socio-economic development of their country. In order to tap these offshore talents and resources, the Nigerian Government in 2001, through its Embassies and High Commissions around the globe, set out to encourage Nigerians in the diaspora to come together under an independent umbrella, to contribute to development efforts in Nigeria. For further information, see <http://www.nido-nl.org/about.html>.

As mentioned, the problem of weak institutional capacities and organisational deficiencies is a constraint faced by most of the African diaspora organisations in Portugal and in the Netherlands. This is what the organisations interviewed have openly admitted. As one interviewee narrated, “All the African Diaspora organisations lack sufficient project writing skills, capacity to organise activities and management expertise. That capacity has not yet developed. This is the reason why we often hire very expensive consultants to write project proposals and also help us with organisational tasks”. Compounded with the capacity constraint, is the fact that most African Diaspora run their respective organisations purely on a voluntary basis alongside their daily work.

Capacity building is an all round activity with multiple acts reinforcing each other that require different levels of interventions. This means that effective capacity building interventions must be geared to building management capacity, project management skills, development quality project proposals, report writing, financial accountant and training for fundraising skills of the African diaspora organisations in the host countries.

In Portugal, a common worry expressed by our interviewee is how best to increase the migrants associations’ capacity; another is the improvement of the hosting environment.

In the Netherlands, new project developments under the migration and development theme from several domestic mainstream organisations have received considerable subsidies from the Minister for Development Cooperation. Some of these funds can be used to invest in the strengthening of the institutional and organisational capabilities of the African diaspora organisations in the country. This is important if the migration and development projects that are now springing up like mushrooms in many countries in Europe are also geared to build up the capacity of the African diaspora organisations, so as to operate as professional development agencies from the host to the home countries.

Furthermore, upgrading and professionalising the delivery capacity of the diaspora organisations of their social remittances to their respective home countries, has an additional advantage. For example, building professional diaspora organisations can create a possibility to selectively integrate some of the parallel activities already undertaken both by the African Diaspora organisations and the mainstream development agencies in a more complementary manner. There are obvious advantages that can be gained in joining forces and undertaking joint projects between the mainstream donor agencies and the diaspora organisations for the development in Africa. As one interviewee stated,

*“if we are one of the stakeholders in such a project we will help ensure its sustainability. This commitment will continue after the financial support from the donor agency dries up. This is for the simple reason that we partially own the project and that ownership forces us to continue investing in it. In addition to this, the social and cultural affinities we share with beneficiaries on the location have a compelling obligation for us that we would remain involved in the project for a long period of time”.*

# 5

## Policy mechanisms in place in the host country

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**The extent to** which migrants enhance social remittances may depend on the policy framework of the host country. Portugal's first steps in terms of migration policy were set forth in the early 1990s as a result of various domestic and external factors. These included the growth of migration flows, the visibility of social problems facing migrants, such as unemployment and poor housing, and advocacy by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) and immigrant associations to defend immigrant rights and demand a more proactive attitude on the part of the government and civil society. Additionally, policy in the 1990s was shaped by Portugal's membership in the European Union.

In 1996, as a result of pressures from NGOs and immigrant organisations for a specific government body to address immigrant issues, ACIME (the High Commissioner for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities) was created. Two years later, in 1998, the COCAI (Consultative Council for Immigration Affairs) was also created. Under the ACIME chairmanship, the Council convenes representatives of the recognised immigrant associations, NGOs, organisations of entrepreneurs, major trade unions, and the State Secretary for Portuguese Communities of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

ACIME has produced a national plan for migration based on three pillars: improving the information available to immigrants through the creation of a national system of immigration support, increasing the availability of public services to immigrants, and supporting research that may improve the understanding of the situation of immigrants and ethnic minorities.

Besides this progress, our interviewees pointed out several questions:

- *The need to continue developing a more supportive host environment for example, by extending Portuguese citizenship to children with foreign parents who are born in Portugal and certain rights of migrants, for example, allowing them to vote in local elections;*
- *The need to give more support to the work of migrants associations and recognise their contribution and skills;*
- *The relationship between migration and development still needs to be improved, especially concerning social remittances.*

In the Netherlands, the current policy mechanisms in place regarding migration and development are largely directed at how the financial remittances transferred by the Diasporas can be facilitated. There is still a need to develop a comprehensive policy proposal that addresses, in a balanced manner, all the dimensions of the migration and development issues such as the social remittances possessed by the Diasporas.

Furthermore, our interviewees pointed out the need to associate migrants and to use their knowledge, experience and expertise when drawing up such policies in order to ensure that the outcome reflects the actual reality of the migrants and their specific challenges. The fact that migration generally has a positive effect on developing home countries has given rise to a conflict between the objectives of development cooperation policy and those on migration policy, which focuses on controlling migration to Europe. In many countries, the migration policy is more about controlling and regulating the flows of migrants rather than development through the migrants already in the country.

In short, there is a need to draw up policy reports on migration and development which addresses the question of how the social capital of the Diasporas can effectively be harnessed for the development of their countries of origin. In this effort, diaspora researchers and experts should be included and given the opportunity to conduct research on the subject that produces timely information and analysis which contributes to the formation of sound policy positions and strategies regarding migration and development issues in both the host and the home countries.

In consequence, each host country should draft a country policy strategy paper. This would be a Migration and Development Strategic Paper (MDSP). This country policy strategy paper should be a bottom-up developed proposal that is concretely informed by the expertise, experience and the long-distance development activities already engaged in by the migrants living in the host country. Based on this real practical experience of the migrants rather than abstract academic publications, the country policy strategy paper should propose realistic and feasible mechanisms for facilitating the effective harnessing of the considerable resources of the migrants for the development of their respective home countries.

The country policy strategy paper should also recognise and design practical interventions on how the pathways and transnational networks that the migrants have already constructed and transfer their social remittances to the homelands can be formally used, supported, strengthened and expanded. Furthermore, the country policy strategy paper should appreciate that migrants are the strategic actors and agents for this particular kind of development and should be empowered to claim the ownership and thereby play the most central role in the process.

# 6

## Diasporas as strategic actors for practical implementation

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» **Migrants should be in the** driving seat regarding migration and development projects initiated in the host countries. They should have ownership and they should be empowered through effective capacity building to exercise these ownership rights. This is because migration and development is their thing. It is part of their real-life experience as they are the critical strategic actors who are making it possible. It is also an issue which concerns them directly as they exercise it in practice and have already been engaged in different forms and on multiple scales.

Furthermore, it is also an area in which the migrants have already developed knowledge, practical expertise and experience, and constructed pathways and transnational networks which gives them a comparative advantage of a far greater degree than the traditional mainstream development organisations. In this respect, migrant groups and organisations in the host country provide the most appropriate entry points, strategic actors and organisations at which concrete activities and actions can be initiated.

Moreover, migrant individuals, groups and organisations are, in practice, the most appropriate channels through which migration and development projects can be effectively implemented in their respective homelands. It should also be noted that any migration and development projects that the diasporas, as strategic partners and stakeholders, do not from the outset participate in its conception, formulation and also its practical implementation, is unlikely to achieve the expected results, even if it is correctly designed. This, in hindsight, is what past experience of development cooperation projects in other areas has taught us.

In the Netherlands, the concern aired by the migrant organisations interviewed is about the new projects that the mainstream development organisations are now developing for the money which the Dutch government allocated to migration and development projects. There is nothing wrong in developing new projects if they are focused on aspects which have not yet been tapped.

However, the concern is that the projects which migrants have already set up and have been implementing in their countries of origin have not been considered for assistance from the migration and development funds. This has given the migrant organisations the feeling that their projects are not worthy of contributing to development in the home countries. They also feel that the development cooperation efforts they mediate between the host and the

home countries are not appreciated, either by the government or by most of the mainstream development agencies.

In fact, it would be more sensible if some portions of the migration and development funds were allocated to supporting the strengthening of the institutional and organisational capacities of the migrant organisations in the country. This would be through training, job coaching and organising workshops where information, expertise and experiences are exchanged. The capacity building support which most of the migrant organisations are in dire need of could help upgrade their capabilities to perform well and thereby enhance the implementation capacities and the effectiveness of their development projects in the homelands.

Perhaps, what is now urgently needed is a policy initiative undertaken both at country and at the CoE and EU level that recognises Diasporas as strategic actors in the implementation of the migration and development projects in their respective countries of origin. This policy instrument should also encourage and support, in a very tangible way, the migrant expertise and the migrant organisations to take the lead in this effort in different ways, such as gathering information about their development related activities and documenting them, formulating policy options and strategies and proactively playing a predominant role in the practical implementation activities. Furthermore, such policy instruments should draft directives that make mandatory the collaboration and coordination of the mainstream development agencies and the diaspora organisations on migration and development related initiatives.

This collaboration effort could be facilitated as has been suggested elsewhere if incentives were created, such as a Partnership Fund, which would make it possible for the mainstream development agencies and the migrant organisations in the host country to engage with each other in a complementary and constructive way.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>23</sup> See the report on "the contribution of UK-based diaspora to development and poverty reduction", produced by the ESRC Centre on Migration, Policy and Society (COMPAS), University of Oxford for the Department for International Development (DFID), April 2004.

# 7

## Conclusion and policy recommendations

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» **The migration and** development field has different aspects. These different dimensions on the subject contribute to the development in countries in Africa in several ways. For example, African diaspora individuals, groups and organisations already contribute to the development in their countries of origin through community oriented projects, through investment in local businesses, through the building and facilitating of valuable transnational contacts and networks with those who remain back home; and through the transfers of badly needed social remittances in the building and strengthening of the political and governance institutions.

The report has identified pathways, patterns and a range of modalities that the African diaspora organisations, groups and individuals have already constructed and use to transfer their development oriented initiatives to their countries of origin in Africa. These time-tested pathways that the Diasporas mediate are important routes for the current migration and development initiatives undertaken by the mainstream development agencies in the host countries, such as the Netherlands and Portugal.

The report has addressed several of the challenges and constraints, both in the host and home countries, that limit the participation of the diaspora groups and organisations in the development efforts of their countries of origin in Africa. The challenges and constraints that the report highlighted need to be addressed at different policy levels both in the host and home countries, in order to maximise the development benefits of the migration and development initiatives and programmes.

The report focused particularly on one aspect of the migration and development dimension which is largely overlooked, despite its critical significance. This is the considerable social remittances that the African diasporas in Europe have acquired and which can be transferred to Africa for positive social change purposes. The study has attempted to contribute to the ongoing policy discussion on the migration and development field regarding Africa from this neglected aspect because of its considerable importance.

Other suggestions address the importance of social remittance exchanges. Part of them occurs when migrants return to live in or visit their communities of origin and when non-migrants visit those in the receiving country. The direct contact between migrants and those who stay behind is very important for the transference of social remittances.

However, migrants face tremendous difficulties in returning to their communities of origin due to their legal status in the host countries.

Therefore, it is important that host countries facilitate legalisation and promote cooperation strategies regarding migration issues and bilateral protocols with the countries of origin, such as municipality's geminations.

The establishment of co-development transnational networks could enhance the transference of remittances. For this reason, it seems appropriate that governmental institutions should provide the means for the creation of such networks.

The fact that migrants are seen only as workers and not as political actors can constitute an obstacle in the recognition of their capacity in the promotion and transference of democratic values.

The right to vote and be elected in the host countries can be a positive sign for the home countries for the endorsement of an effective, responsible, transparent, accountable and democratic system of governance in Africa. It is therefore important that governments create new policies and legislation that increase the participation of the communities. Although immigrants contribute in societies through their precious labour and in civil society in their associations, it seems determinant that they could also contribute politically.

Moreover, African diaspora organisations, groups and individuals should provide a contribution to the policy proposals regarding migration (diaspora) and development formulated by the host country. Although, in the case of Portugal, there is an anti-discrimination and equality committee composed of immigrants NGOs and other civil society organisations<sup>24</sup> (CICD), and also an Institute that supports development,<sup>25</sup> it seems appropriate that a new national non-governmental commission should also embrace the issue of diaspora and development. This commission, in partnership with research centres should elaborate policy proposals regarding co-development between host and home countries. Foreign students should also be more involved in these networks.

Additional studies should focus on the overall impact that social remittances have in the home countries, taking into account the point of view of individuals and families, and not only NGO leaders. Other studies should focus on the distribution of the social remittances in the different sectors: social, economic, civil and political.

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<sup>24</sup> This commission is linked with ACIME

<sup>25</sup> IPAD see [www.ipad.mne.gov.pt](http://www.ipad.mne.gov.pt). This governmental institution mission is the cooperation for development which is a priority of the Portuguese foreign policy, where values of solidarity and respect for human rights are important. The public coordination aid to development is assured by IPAD. Its action has the purpose of promoting economic, social and cultural development of the Portuguese speaking countries, as well as the improvement of the living conditions of their populations.

A more objective approach should also be made towards gender dynamics. The migration movements are changing: more women are leaving their countries alone. Women are enhancing the economy worldwide.

The importance of social remittances and the promotion of new types of business in the new countries should also be analysed. It seems fundamental to comprehend the impact that foreigner experiences have in the creation of new types of business in the formal and informal sector, in migrants' countries of origin.

The scope of this baseline study is currently limited to Portugal and the Netherlands but it needs to be widened to various other countries, notably France, Germany, Italy, Belgium and the UK where African diasporas largely reside. This is imperative as undertaking wider basic research and the collecting of hard data would greatly improve our understanding of the nature, patterns and dynamics of the African diaspora social remittances interactions with regard to their respective homelands. Also, further empirical research enables us to acquire sufficient and deeper knowledge on the subject.

The difficulty inherent to the measurement and identification of social remittances is also acknowledged in this study. Therefore, wider empirical research on the issue is required and more diverse case studies in the different countries in Europe will be mandatory, in order to acquire sufficient and intensive knowledge on the subject.

The objective is to develop knowledge on the subject that is sufficient enough for appropriate policy formulation regarding the African diaspora and the development in all of its multi-facets and not only limited to the financial remittances aspect.

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# Annexe

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## *Guiding Questions for the Interviews*

### **Question 1.**

What are the kinds of social remittances (i.e. knowledge, skills, experience, networks) that the African diaspora organisations, groups and individuals have acquired in the host country which are badly needed in their home countries of origin?

### **Question 2.**

What are the patterns and range of modalities that the African diaspora organisations, groups and individuals use to transfer their social remittances to their countries of origin in Africa?

### **Question 3.**

What are the policy challenges in the host country that hinder the transfer of the social remittances of the African diaspora to Africa?

### **Question 4.**

What are the policy mechanisms in place in the two countries of the case studies (Netherlands/Portugal) that facilitate or constrain the transfer of the social remittances of the African diaspora organisations, groups and individuals to their respective countries of origin in Africa? How can the existing policy mechanisms formulated by the host country be improved to effectively facilitate the transfer of the considerable social remittances of the African diaspora organisations, groups and individuals to Africa in a constructive and large-scale manner?

### **Question 5.**

Who are the actors that implement in practice the policy proposals regarding diaspora and development (i.e. capacity and institutional aspects of the development) that the host country adopted? Are the African organisations, groups and individuals included in the implementation process?



# Annexe

Lisbon, 18 - 19 May

## ***Migration and Co-development Workshop***

Co-development and democracy\*

### ***Synopsis of proceedings***

## **Foreword**

**1** A workshop entitled “Co-development and democracy” was organised in Lisbon from 18 to 19 May 2006 by the European Centre for Global Interdependence and Solidarity (North-South Centre), the Directorate General of Social Cohesion and the Parliamentary Assembly (Committee on Migration, Refugees and Population) of the Council of Europe, in partnership with the Assembly of the Portuguese Republic and the Gulbenkian Foundation. The workshop brought together 100 northern and southern participants from parliaments, governments and civil society organisations, as well as representatives of local authorities.

**2** The proceedings of the workshop concentrated on the following questions:

- The need for an integrated approach to the management of migration-related issues;
- Co-development as a process of linkage between migration and development;
- Interaction between co-development and democratic processes;
- Importance of transfers;
- Question of social remittances and mobility of skills;
- Problem of refugees;
- Integration: what is at stake.

**3** This synopsis reiterates the main points and the principal conclusions and proposals that came out of the workshop.

## **Determinations and diagnoses**

**4** Although ***migration is a constant of history***, migration movements have lately grown in extent and diversity. This phenomenon persists for economic as well as demographic reasons. Demographic forecasting increasingly

\* Organised by the European Centre for Global Interdependence and Solidarity (North-South Centre), the Directorate General of Social Cohesion and the Parliamentary Assembly (Committee on Migration, Refugees and Population) of the Council of Europe, in partnership with the Assembly of the Portuguese Republic and the Gulbenkian Foundation.

envisages, among other possibilities, that of relying on international migration trends to counter the effects of ageing of the population in Europe and meet manpower requirements.

**5** The migration phenomenon concerns both the northern and the southern countries. Each year, citizens of the southern countries leave home in search of better living conditions or to flee conflict situations.

**6** The crucial concern today for the international community is to manage this complex phenomenon so as to harness its energy to development and North-South dialogue. While a lot of intellectual effort has been devoted in recent years to sketching out an international scheme of governance of migration, the limited success of action hitherto must be acknowledged.

**7** Countries of origin and arrival by no means turn the positive effects of migration movements to full account, because **migration policies are still based** predominantly on a **fragmentary, reactive approach**. It is urgent to transcend these policies tied to electoral considerations, to adjust them to a comprehensive, coherent vision founded on respect for human rights and identification of long-term interests.

**8** The need to **broaden the scope of this approach to development issues** is also crucial, for the challenge is twofold: both coping with urgent situations and addressing the questions that compel emigration, such as poverty.

## Migration and development

**9** **The link between migration and development** is complex. While poverty is a push factor in migration flows, on the other hand promotion of development – particularly by maximising the impact of migrants' capital transfers and social remittances – can be an effective weapon against poverty.

**10** Without supplanting development policies and international co-operation, migrant's **capital transfers** make an appreciable contribution to the **fight against poverty**. This is not only because they are allocated to essential expenditure (food, housing, clothing) but also because, by way of local development projects and creation of enterprises, they generate positive long-term impacts.

**11** The macro-economic impact of these transfers may be hard to assess, but they remain **a significant source of foreign currency for the countries of origin**. In certain countries, such things as official development assistance, direct foreign investment and even export yields markedly exceed the financial contributions from abroad. Repatriations of emigrants' cash holdings to a country like Cape Verde, for instance, are estimated to be worth 16 times more than the national export earnings.

**12** The question of the **high transfer costs** for migrants' remittances nonetheless remains a great hindrance when it is to be channelled into the productive sectors. In some cases, this cost can reach up to 25% of the amounts transferred. This reality prompts many migrants to use informal channels to circumvent the high charges of the official circuits.

**13** The impact of these transfers cannot be maximised unless a favourable environment is created in the countries of origin. **The impact of the remittances remains dependent on the quality of governance** in the countries of origin and on the macro-economic policies being applied.

**14** Financial transfers nevertheless have a **number of limitations**:

- They do not necessarily converge towards the most deprived populations;
- They may instil a culture of dependency in the beneficiaries;
- They can encourage the practice of consuming imported goods;
- In a generational context, studies show that second generations are less inclined than their parents to make these transfers;
- They can arouse the urge to migrate in young skilled persons.

## Mobility of skills

39

**15** The question of brain drain and loss of skills from the South to the North is a major concern for the countries of origin. Expatriation of skills has increased by 300% from 1995 to the present. As a result, today Benin has more doctors in France than at home, Ethiopia has lost 75% of its specialised workforce over the last ten years, there are more Malawian nurses in the United Kingdom than in Malawi, and one-third of Africa's intelligentsia lives outside the continent.

**16** Highly qualified migrants leave home for a combination of reasons, particularly in order to gain better possibilities of work and existence. The host countries also encourage the brain drain through targeted systems of recruitment and selection that attract the most competent and gifted elements from the Southern countries.

**17** Although mobility of skills has a beneficial effect in some cases, "brain drain" is an impediment to sustainable development, hence the need to provide the conditions under which emigration of skills can yield returns by a net gain in skills through policies conducive to their mobility.

**18** In other words, how is the circulation of skills to be made equitably beneficial for southern and northern countries alike? Or, how can we "maximise the movement of grey matter" to harness it more satisfactorily to development, and thus to co-development, both in the countries of origin and in the receiving countries?

## Diasporas and transformation of social and political life in the countries of origin

19 Irrespective of financial assets, migrants also have acquired knowledge, practical skills and professional experience, and possess a network of social relations adding up to the gain of a certain **human capital**. If placed at the disposal of the countries of origin, these acquired skills, ideas and practices can play a part in **transforming social and political life**.

20 The experience of several countries – particularly Timor Leste - shows the importance of the role to be performed, for example, by refugees **in particular** and **diasporas generally** in the **advent or restoration of democracy** in the home countries of these expatriates, especially through their actions to further democratic ideas, practices of tolerance towards differences, and receptiveness to questions of human rights.

21 In many cases, migrants or refugees are prompted to leave their countries of origin by the desire to **live in a setting where democracy is real**, and society is genuinely free and equitable, better administered, safe and devoid of conflict.

22 When better integrated into their host societies, migrants and refugees are better equipped to work for the improvement of the political environment in their countries of origin.

23 **The affiliation of migrants to two realms** carries an **added potential** in cultural terms both for the countries of origin and for the host societies. This aspect of belonging to several places put them in the position of intercultural mediators, ambassadors and activators. Knowing more of their abilities and potential, and promoting these multiple roles in the host society and in the home society, is definitely a source of enrichment for everyone.

24 **Relations between diasporas and their countries of origin** are sometimes **difficult** and stamped with distrust. Attention should nevertheless be drawn to positive trends in recent years with the creation in several countries of government departments responsible for diaspora issues. The African Union's decision to regard the African Diaspora as its Sixth Region is also a step in this direction.

## Co-development policies

25 By helping the energies of diasporas to be mobilised for the development of their countries of origin; **co-development policies** enhance the interaction between migration and development. Here co-development is taken to mean a **system of development** associated with a **multi-partnership** approach seeking to include public and private players in

both the North and the South, who act at various levels (local, regional, national and international), and **involving migrants**.

**26** The introduction and success of co-development policies nevertheless depend on a number of preconditions:

- Co-development cannot take place except within a **framework recognising migrants' rights**;
- Co-development policies must be consistent with a civic and economic rationale and be **dissociated from policies of assisted return**;
- They must be founded on **involvement of migrants** and their associations;
- They must **stem from dialogue with migrants** and countries of origin.

**27** Co-development policies, by boosting local development through decentralised co-operation and direct participation of residents, also strengthen the **link between development and democratisation**. They enable local populations to take hold of the debate on development, and to tackle the difficulties of social and political transformation.

**28** Furthermore, **migrants' associations form settings in which a certain brand of transparent democratic governance is learned**. The emergence of community-based structures also fosters democratic advances negotiated with the traditional order, as well as the ability to form opinions and take action in migrants and in the populations benefiting from their projects.

**29** **Implementation of co-development projects** often encounters certain **obstacles** including:

- Migrants' limited access to loans;
- Unfavourable administrative environment in the host countries;
- Absence of democratic governance in the countries of origin;
- The question of integration.

**30** Participation of migrants and their associations in co-development projects aids their fuller integration into the host societies. In return, the migrants' integration reinforces their action to further the development of their countries of origin.

## Integration: what is at stake?

**31** While a number of European countries have made efforts to apply integration policies, progress still has to be achieved in many areas. Over and above cultural interaction, **the crux of integration** is also **access to social rights in the spheres of employment, housing, protection, health and education**. Access is crucial because, unless these five fundamental rights are exercised, the individual's other rights including civil and political rights are imperilled.

32 While **integration is a two-way effort to adapt** - the diasporas to the host societies, and they to the diasporas – it also has better-informed public opinion as its medium. It is therefore **necessary to promote access to plain, factual information** for public opinion in order to achieve a more positive climate and a dispassionate debate on migration phenomena.

33 Owing to the multidisciplinary and transnational character of migration, the question of the coherence of policies has to be addressed at a national, regional and global level. Coherence of policies is necessary to ensure that the development benefits of migration movements are maximised at minimum human, social and administrative cost.

## Coherence of policies

34 In most **countries**, migration questions are **in the remit of different ministries and public bodies**. To avoid duplication of initiatives and guarantee the application of more coherent policies, interdepartmental dialogue is necessary at both national and local level.

35 **At the regional level – north and south alike** – action is in hand to establish frameworks for common, proactive policies on migration issues. **At the level of the European Union**, a common approach has already been defined but still requires **coherence to be established between the different fields of action**. It could also be enhanced by taking into account the **work already carried out by the Council of Europe** in the sphere of migration.

36 **In other regional contexts**, Africa especially, **similar efforts** are in progress. The African Union is holding consultations and defining a common policy stance on migration questions.

37 **The migration challenge has become a global issue, requiring global responses in a context of dialogue**. Hence the need to promote arrangements at the interregional and international level for consultation among the countries of origin, transit and destination on migration issues.

38 Quite plainly, in order to be profitable, such dialogue should also include, besides governments, local authorities, parliaments, international solidarity associations and migrants themselves.

39 **The role of parliamentarians is fundamental** as they can help introduce legislation affording a propitious and protective environment for migrants' rights. They can also encourage governments to back institutional reforms taking into account the concerns of migrants.

## Proposals for action

### **40** *Co-development policies should:*

- Dissociate co-development policies and policies for assisted return;
- Promote the recognition of migrants as agents of development;
- Recognise migrants' associations as full-fledged international solidarity associations;
- Encourage partnership between the associations and communities of the regions of origin with migrants' associations and other international solidarity associations;
- Support action by migrants' associations to aid the development of their villages and their region;
- Establish, at the European level, financing machinery to fund co-development schemes;
- Facilitate migrants' access to microcredit by strengthening self-administered loans and savings funds;
- Encourage the foundation and development of guarantee fund systems to back up migrants' initiatives.

### **41** *Mobility of skills and social remittances*

43

*It is desirable to:*

- Assist mobility of skills by circular migration;
- Promote the compilation of databases on diasporas;
- Consolidate the support given to the initiatives of diasporas by creating an environment conducive to their settlement;
- Encourage the participation of diasporas in the development of their countries by establishing suitable co-operation frameworks;
- Foster co-operation with diasporas and assist their networks and organisations in managing their co-development programmes;
- Facilitate the temporary provision of experts with an immigrant background.

### **42** *Capital transfers*

*It is desirable to:*

- Encourage the adoption of policies and measures aimed at reducing the cost of transactions for migrants' remittances of funds to their countries of origin;
- Encourage local authorities and banking establishments to facilitate the spending of migrants' savings on local development projects;

- Stimulate the action of associations for the furtherance of projects using capital transfers to alleviate poverty and bring sustainable development to the countries of origin;
- Encourage the modernisation of financial systems in the countries of origin.

#### **43 Demands of co-development and democracy:**

- Promote decentralisation and decentralised co-operation;
- Aid the emergence and consolidation of migrants' organisations at the institutional level;
- Encourage practices of partnership among international solidarity associations and local authorities as part of the decentralised co-operation;
- Encourage migrants' participation in devising co-development policies and projects;
- Deliver financial and administrative support to co-development projects;
- Draw young people, women and their organisations into active roles in the co-development process;
- Guarantee genuine participation, through participatory democracy, of individual citizens, associations, civil society and immigrants especially in preparing, implementing and evaluating co-development projects.

44

#### **44 Coherence of policies on migration**

*Within the state systems, it would be desirable to:*

- Encourage the creation of synergies between the various departments and ministries responsible for migration questions;
- Make migration policies part of development priorities;
- Encourage the drafting, in each country, of a political paper on guidelines and conditions for the application of a policy interconnecting migration and development;
- Promote legal frameworks both to protect migrants and to foster co-development;
- Recognise migrants with projects to offer as agents of development;
- Ensure that migrants and their families enjoy respect for their human rights;
- Abide by the international rules for the protection of refugees;
- Address the problems specific to women migrants and to trafficking in women;
- Introduce anti discrimination policies.

**45** *At the regional level:*

- Promote the processes and platform of North-South dialogue on questions relating to migration and to development policies;
- Encourage the establishment of regional and multilateral structures for co-operation with regard to migration;
- Encourage international and regional organisations to place co-development policies on their agendas;
- Make co-development an integral part of development co-operation policies;
- Ensure that migrants' associations are taken into account in the institutional dialogue machinery (Cotonou Agreement, NEPAD, etc.);
- Aid the free movement of migrants with co-development projects;
- Encourage the adoption of regional migration policies founded on the common core of international treaties dealing with human rights;
- Further the adoption of an international convention on co-development setting out the main lines of action and a co-development ethic based essentially on the promotion of human rights.



# Annexe

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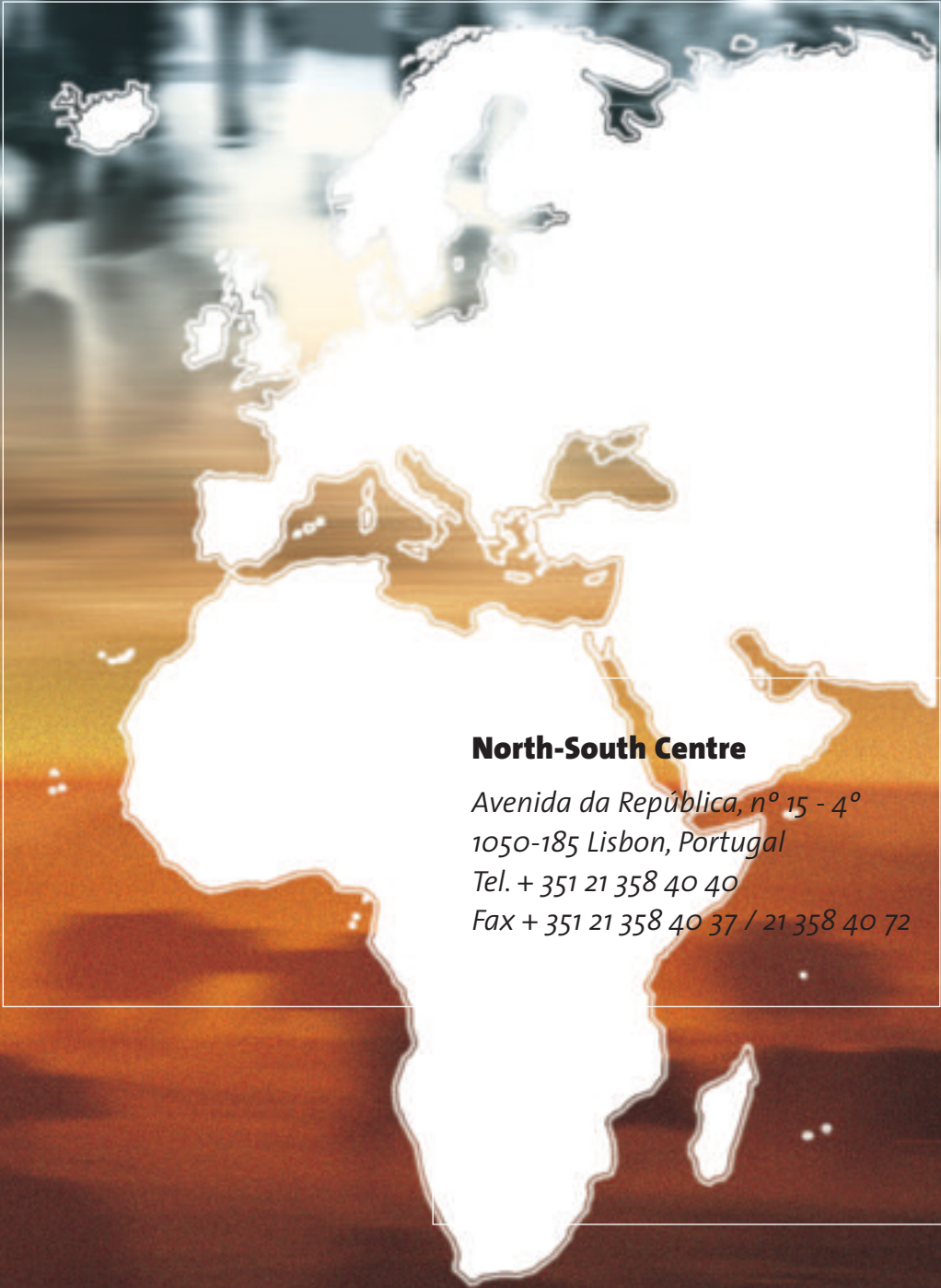
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