Building bonds for migration and development. Diaspora engagement policies of Ghana, India and Serbia

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▶ To cite this version:

Simona Vezzoli, Thomas Lacroix. Building bonds for migration and development. Diaspora engagement policies of Ghana, India and Serbia. [Research Report] International Migration Institute, Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). 2010. <halshs-00820771v2>
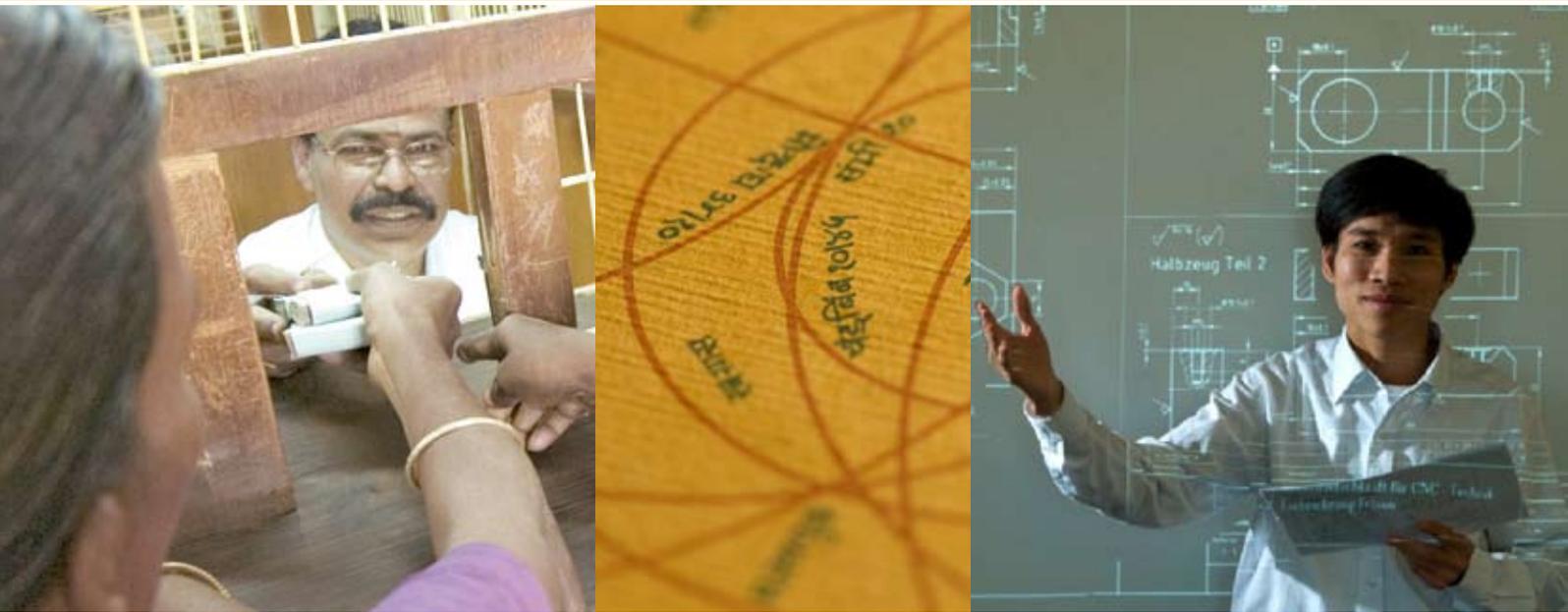
HAL Id: halshs-00820771

https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00820771v2

Submitted on 31 Mar 2016

Building bonds for migration and development

Diaspora engagement policies of Ghana, India and Serbia

gtz | Migration and Development

On behalf of
Federal Ministry
for Economic Cooperation
and Development

IMI International Migration Institute
researching international migration in the 21st century

Discussion Paper

Building bonds for migration and development

Diaspora engagement policies of Ghana, India and Serbia

Acknowledgements

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1 Executive summary

Origin countries' governments are increasingly adopting policies to attract the resources of their migrants and their communities to stimulate development. These policies, sometimes referred to as 'diaspora engagement policies', range from securing the rights and protection of migrants while they are abroad, to strengthening the migrants' sense of national identity and their linkages to the origin country and promoting remittances, financial investments and contributions to development. This study examines migrant communities and organisations from three countries – Ghana, India and Serbia – and explores how the governments of these countries have perceived 'their' respective migrants and, more specifically, the way in which these governments have attempted to engage migrants and their organisations in the interest of national development.

The strategies adopted demonstrate various levels of commitment to policies for migrants. At times governments accommodate the needs of migrants into existing policies; other times they design new policies to support the specific needs of migrant communities and some other times they decide not to introduce any national policy to engage the diasporas. In fact, recognizing the value of migrants does not necessarily translate into concrete policies that welcome them to take part in national development. The present study focuses specifically on how origin country governments have formulated and implemented four specific policies:

I   **Facilitation of remittance transfers and finance investments.** Several countries have introduced policies to encourage official remittances including increasing the competition among money transfer services leading to reduced transfer fees, expanding the banking and transfer service networks to reach remote areas, and introducing remittance receivers to banking services and savings schemes. In some cases these changes have occurred thanks to financial reforms introduced by governments to open the market to competition and liberalise the foreign exchange. Many obstacles still exist to channel remittances from informal to formal services, not the least the persistent lack of trust of some migrants towards their government and, more generally, the fact that transferring money formally often provides more advantages to the government and service agencies than to the migrants.

II **Promotion of migrants' investment in small-to-medium size enterprises (SMEs) in the origin countries.** SMEs represent an exciting potential both for migrants and their origin countries. Most countries, including Ghana, India and Serbia, are willing to dedicate resources to either create institutions to support migrants' enterprises or to promote public events to encourage the diasporas to become part of a transnational network of entrepreneurs. However, the general investment climate in the origin countries continues to be the principal concern of migrants interested in SME development and overall most of the entrepreneurial activities supported by migrants in origin countries are still the result of autonomous activities of individual migrants rather than specific investment programmes.

III **Encouraging the transfer and circulation of skills.** The government of India has created a systematic method to attract the skills and the human capital of its diaspora for the development of various sectors of the Indian economy. Ghana's main concern remains the health sector and it is acting to prevent the departure of its health professionals as well as on attracting Ghanaians abroad to provide temporary service in the national health system. Serbia's interest in this area has not yet been matched by actual policies. The future outcomes of the policies enacted by India are awaited as they will provide valuable lessons for other countries.

IV **Implementation of collective development projects initiated by migrant organisations.** Migrants' potential for development has always been present and migrants have participated in development activities independently or as part of migrant associations for decades. By and large, collective development projects continue to be designed and implemented by migrants and their associations without the intervention of international development agencies or governmental bodies. In the Serbian case, the diaspora has requested the government to provide greater guidance to migrant

associations so that they can direct their resources to areas of need. India has recently established an institution to provide such guidance. The case of Ghana offers an alternative view as migrant associations are reluctant to participate in large projects where they do not know personally local actors, particularly if government agencies are involved. As a result, the Ghanaian government's strategy so far has been to showcase the achievements of migrant organisations' projects rather than to intervene.

The study also identifies certain aspects that seem to affect the way in which origin country governments respond to their diasporas:

▶ Government's perceptions of its own migrants shape the manner in which migrants are described in public discourse, whether they are seen as a positive or negative force and, as a consequence, whether they are included or excluded from national policy. A country's migration history and trends greatly influence these perceptions and will shape the strategy adopted by a government towards its migrant communities.

▶ The historical relations between a government and its migrants and their communities abroad greatly determine the policy approach taken by a government. Migrant communities that have historically been suspicious of the government's intentions will require much more reassurance from the state that its activities are promoted in the genuine interest of migrants. Establishing positive linkages will be much less difficult for governments that have maintained contact with their migrant communities over time.

▶ The contributions that migrants can make to development may appear to easily fit into a country's national interests. However, it can be difficult for a government to include migrants in its national development plan as migrants add an extra set of interest to existing arrangements. Origin country governments also have the delicate task to find a good balance between the rights provided to migrants and nonmigrants.

▶ Even when a government sees value in engaging its diasporas and believes that a long-term collaboration with migrants could lead to development, it might not have the necessary resources or the institutional capacity to design, implement and evaluate diaspora engagement policies. These policies in fact require the participation of various government departments, which must reach agreement to design cohesive policies and coordinate their implementation. Such availability of time and resources might not always be available in countries where there are more pressing national priorities.

▶ A country's level of development and, even more importantly, a government's commitment to improvement through economic, financial, and social reforms seem to have a strong effect on the outcomes of diaspora engagement policies. Persistent low transparency and accountability, extensive bureaucratic processes and high levels of corruption reduce migrants' interest in becoming involved in development. In some countries, migrants' lack of trust in the government will discourage them from becoming involved in development, particularly when migration and development initiatives involve government agencies.

▶ Pressure from governments and international agencies might push origin countries that are not interested or ready to engage migrants to commit to diaspora engagement policies. These activities seldom turn into action or last beyond the initial period of funding.

Government policies to support migrants' involvement in development, as much as migration and development initiatives promoted by international development agencies, must be designed with a clear understanding of the characteristics of the migrants they are meant to support, of the historical relations that exist between the government and its migrants, and the interests and the objectives of the diasporas. Migrants should be given the opportunity to negotiate their own role in national development and to influence development policies. In the end, to be appealing, policies to engage migrants should provide added value not only for the government and its specific projects, but also for migrants who often go beyond their personal call of duty to lend a hand in the development of their origin country.

2 Introduction

In recent years, great expectations have grown of the potential contribution that migrants and diasporas can make to development in their countries of origin. This has led to an increasing number of governments in origin and destination countries to develop policies to engage migrants in development plans. This paper explores some of the initiatives adopted by three countries of origin – Serbia, India and Ghana – and makes a preliminary assessment of their effectiveness and the lessons that can be learnt from their experiences.

The new focus on migration and the role of migrants in development is a reflection of a wider re-evaluation of the complex relationship between migration and development over the last decade. This has generated a vast array of academic and policy literature (for a small sample see International Development Committee 2004, Taylor 1999, Castles and Delgado Wise 2008, Skeldon 1997), conferences, initiatives and programmes, including the UN High Level Dialogue on Migration and Development and the inter-governmental Global Forum on Migration and Development. Without rehearsing the arguments in any detail, this new literature has emphasised a much more positive relationship between migration and development than that which was prevalent in the 1970s and '80s (de Haas 2008, Bakewell 2008b, de Haas 2006).

Several reasons underlie this shift towards a more optimistic view of migration in relation to development. First, there is the economic value of remittances and the financial and entrepreneurial investments by migrants, which is not only growing in scale but is also increasingly recognised. Second, in the light of general debates about the effectiveness of traditional forms of development cooperation (Castles and Delgado Wise 2008), migrants are increasingly seen as a new, "bottom up", development "resource" (de Haas 2008). It is widely anticipated that they could introduce new approaches to development practice and potentially lead to partnerships between states, development agencies and migrants in development cooperation. It is now widely believed that migrants possess knowledge and transnational experience that can be a positive input in the formulation of more effective development policies (Newland 2009b).[1]

The surge in attention on migration and development over the past decade has tended to focus on what receiving states, international organisations and development agencies can do to enhance the contributions of migration to development (de Haas 2006). However, much less attention has been paid to the strategies being adopted by governments in countries of origin to encourage the participation of migrants in development. Such 'diaspora engagement policies' (Gamlen 2006) are the focus of this study.

The extent to which, and the ways in which governments reach out to their migrants vary enormously. An increasing number of origin countries have implemented policies to extend rights to migrants (e.g. dual citizenship laws and regulations to allow migrants to vote in origin country) in parallel with efforts to facilitate migrants' relations with origin communities. Some governments have made long-term official commitments by creating national policies and institutions (e.g. the Serbian Ministry for Diaspora and the Ministry for Overseas Indian Affairs) and creating mechanisms to channel migrants' resources into development activities. Others, like the government of Ghana, have taken a more cautious approach. Through pilot initiatives, government actors (such as the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre) are beginning to interact with migrant organisations and to define a role for migrants in national development strategy. In doing so, they are testing some migration and development concepts without making long-term commitments.

This study aims to contribute to an improved understanding of diaspora engagement policies by analysing the nature and impacts of the migration and development policies of the governments of Ghana,

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1 Diaspora groups are consulted by country offices of the UK's Department for International Development (DFID) when these offices are formulating country assistance plans (Newland 2009b).

India and Serbia. These countries offer three diverse examples with very different histories, emigration patterns and development needs. They serve to illustrate a broad range of diaspora engagement policies adopted in different contexts. A comprehensive analysis would need to cover a much larger set of countries but this is beyond the scope of this current study.

The paper first provides an overview of the migrant communities of Ghana, India and Serbia. Section 4 gives a brief survey of migrant organisations based on the experiences of Ghanaians in Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, the UK and the USA; Indians in the UK; and Serbians in Germany, the UK and the USA. The section focuses on the development activities of these organisations. Section 5 examines why governments have decided to engage with migrants living abroad, and section 6 explores the diaspora engagement polices implemented by some governments in origin countries. Section 7 analyses the policies and projects created by the governments of Ghana, India and Serbia and any initiatives implemented by migrant communities within the policy framework or in parallel to it. Special attention will be given to the policies and activities introduced in each country to encourage remittances, enterprise development, transfer of skills and collective development. Section 8 presents the available evidence on the effectiveness of such government and migrant associations' initiatives and section 9 draws conclusions from the experiences of the three case study countries and identifies lessons for the future.

The paper draws on a broad range of sources including existing, but limited, scholarly literature and information from governments, implementing agencies, migrant associations and information published on websites, in the media and on agency reports. This information was supplemented by data collected through a few interviews and correspondences with migrant organisations and government officials.

3 Migrants or diasporas?

Twenty years ago diaspora was a word that was rarely used in relation to contemporary migration. Today it is in common use. In many of the current discussions about migration and development, the term 'diaspora' is often used quite loosely to refer to communities of migrants from the same origin country. This stands in contrast to the academic literature which has debated the concept of diasporas over many decades. While there is no one definition, scholars generally agree that in order to qualify as 'diasporas', migrant communities should display several characteristics. These include a history of dispersal from a homeland; a collective memory and idealisation of this homeland; an ongoing connection or idea of return; a strong group consciousness and a difficulty to integrate in the receiving countries (Cohen 2008). These can be summarised as dispersion, group boundary maintenance, and homeland orientation (Brubaker 2005).

This more nuanced notion of diaspora emphasises the importance of time in establishing a diaspora, an aspect that is lost when the term is used interchangeably with migrants. Many migrant communities that have been described as diasporas are in fact comprised of recent waves of emigrants whose history is still too recent to determine whether they may or may not become *de facto* diasporas (Cohen 2008). Some of the groups that we today call diasporas may indeed see many of their members return, become fragmented or integrate fully into the host society. It is important to emphasise, therefore, that not all migrant communities automatically form diasporas.

This clarification is important for the study of 'diaspora engagement policies' (Gamlen 2006). There are important differences between emigrants whose identities and activities revolve around maintaining connections to the homeland and those for whom this is a relatively small element of life in the adopted country. These divergent ways of experiencing migration exist in most migrant communities and too much generalising would overlook the complexity of migrants' experiences and the different degrees to which they feel connected to origin societies.

In this paper we will use the terms migrant, emigrant and migrant communities, unless there are indications that the group is characterised by a clear diasporic consciousness. For instance, when there is a self-identification with a group consciousness, the term diaspora should be applied (cf. Cohen 2008). Given the proliferation of the diaspora term in policy discourse, this distinction is hard to maintain in the face of its use by governments and many other groups to describe their initiatives.

3.1 Ghanaian migrants, the African diaspora and the Ghanaian diaspora

Ghanaian migrants are dispersed in about 33 countries around the world and form an international community of between 1.5 and 3 million people, or 7–13 percent of Ghana's population (Quartey 2009, Twum-Baah 2005). From the 1950s Ghanaians were emigrating to train as civil servants or to obtain high level degrees (Mazzucato and Kabki 2009). With the economic downturn from the mid-1960s until the mid-1980s more people left for Nigeria and Cote d'Ivoire, and also further away to countries in Europe, North America, the Middle East and Asia in search of political and economic security (Higazi 2005, Nieswand 2009). Over the years Ghanaian migrants have established vibrant migration networks with large communities in five countries: the USA, the UK, Germany, Italy and the Netherlands (Mazzucato and Kabki 2009).

Data on the number of Ghanaian migrants vary greatly, but the latest official statistics indicate that there were over 67,000 Ghanaians in the United States in 2000,[2] almost 97,000 in the UK in 2006,[3]

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2   Some sources put this figure as high as 300,000 (Orozco 2005).

3   The 2001 census recorded 56,000 Ghanaians in the UK (Van Hear, et al. 2004).

38,400 in Italy in 2008,[4] 20,636 in 2004 in Germany[5] and 12,196 in the Netherlands (Quartey 2009).[6] These figures would likely be much larger if they included undocumented migrants.[7] This is important when we recall that, in spite of their irregular status, undocumented migrants contribute to the Ghanaian transnational networks and to development by sending remittances (Higazi 2005).

There is great diversity among Ghanaian migrants who come from many different areas of the country and left Ghana at various times with different motivations, interests, capacities and concerns (Zan 2004). The education levels of Ghanaian migrants range from highly educated and skilled professionals to low-skilled workers (Mazzucato and Kabki 2009, Quartey 2009). Ghanaians in the US and the UK tend to have higher education levels than those in Germany, Italy or the Netherlands (Mazzucato and Kabki 2009, Orozco 2005).

Some studies argue that the majority of Ghanaian migrants do not intend to migrate permanently by pointing to evidence that few seek citizenship in the residence country and that most retain strong contacts with family and the community in Ghana over long time periods (Stocchiero 2008, Peil 1995). On the other hand, many Ghanaian professionals in the US, for instance, appear to have longer-term settlement plans as they have obtained citizenship (Higazi 2005). In Italy, Ghanaian families tend to find long-term employment, settle down permanently and visit Ghana infrequently (compared to other migrant groups such as the Senegalese). In Europe and the US, studies have shown that most Ghanaians regularly send remittances, maintain contacts with the family and the community and demonstrate financial interest in Ghana (Stocchiero 2008, Orozco 2005).

While there is no official definition of the Ghanaian diaspora (Quartey 2009), the term diaspora has been applied either very broadly or very narrowly. Ghanaian state agencies often use diaspora to refer to all people of African descent, particularly focusing on the African-American diaspora. The government has been keen on attracting Afro-Americans back to their 'roots', in an effort to also attract their resources and potential foreign investment. At the other end of the spectrum we find a much narrower description of the Ghanaian diaspora which includes only Ghanaian citizens who have left the country to reside in Europe and North America, in particular neglecting the large communities of Ghanaian living elsewhere in Africa (Zan 2004, Bakewell 2008a).

3.2 Indians abroad: a global diaspora

With over 25 million people, the Indian community abroad is the second largest diaspora in the world, amounting to approximately 2 percent of the Indian population (Castles 2008, MOIA 2009). Indian migration is rooted in British colonial history as India provided the human resources to administer, exploit and control the colonies. After the Second World War, Indian communities were found all over the Anglophone world and beyond: Eastern Asia (Malaya, Myanmar), South and Eastern Africa (Uganda, Kenya, Tanzania and South Africa), Australia, North America, Fiji, Ceylon, Mauritius, Guyana and the Caribbean Islands (Trinidad, Jamaica and Dutch Suriname).

After India's Independence in 1947, the Indian migratory system underwent a complete transformation.

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4   Istituto Nazionale di Statistica, Demografia in Cifre, available at http://demo.istat.it/altridati/rilbilstra/, accessed on November 24, 2009.

5   The German Foreign Office reports a figure of 50,000, available at http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/diplo/en/ Laenderinformationen/01-Laender/Ghana.html, accessed on November 24, 2009.

6   In the Netherlands, 18,000 first-generation Ghanaians were officially registered in 2003, but unofficial estimates already accounted for 40,000 individuals (Mazzucato and Kabki 2009).

7   The great discrepancies in the reported numbers highlight the difficulty in assessing the number of Ghanaians outside of Ghana, the number of Ghanaian descendents as well as undocumented Ghanaian migrants. In Germany, the number of Ghanaian migrants decreased from about 25,000 in 1992 to 20,600 in 2006, which appears to be due to several causes including restrictive immigration policies, economic difficulties after Germany's reunification, a shift from asylum seeking to undocumented status and naturalisation (Nieswand 2009).

The dominantly South-South circulation reoriented South-North. From the 1950s onward, the United Kingdom, the USA and Canada attracted low-skilled workforce from South Asia. These flows increased in the 1960s and the 1970s with the arrival of Indians expelled from Africa by newly independent states (mostly Kenya and Uganda). The restrictive immigration policy implemented in the UK after 1962 hampered the temporary migration which had prevailed so far. The closure of borders accelerated settlement and the concomitant arrival of women and children through family reunification. This spurred the formation of immigrant communities. From the early 2000s onwards, a large highly-skilled migration wave of engineers, students and doctors arrived in Europe and North America, diversifying further the profile of the Indian Diaspora. High-skilled emigration reached a peak during the internet boom of the early eighties and late nineties (104,543 Indians entered the US in 2001 with a H1-B visa[8]). Nowadays, 90% of unskilled labour flows are directed to Gulf countries (UAE, Qatar, Kuwait, Oman and Saudi Arabia). This migration started in the mid-seventies with the oil boom and attracts migrants from Kerala and Southern India who mostly return after the completion of their contract.

Overseas Indians in the World

Legend

2 000 000
1 000 000
20 000
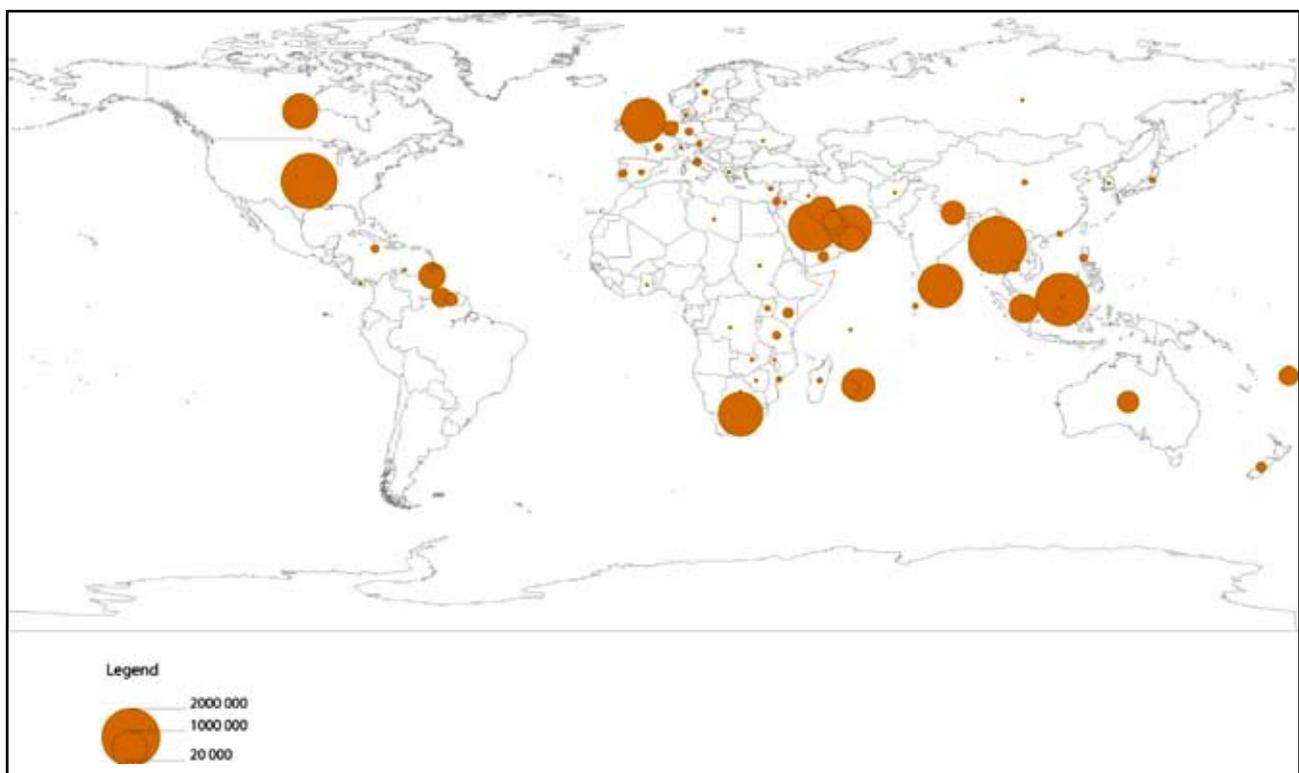
Source: Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA), 2009

The map above, based on the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs' data, gives a representation of the often-quoted 25 million people located in 110 countries that are part of the Indian diaspora as perceived by the government. There is no formal definition of the term diaspora as used by the Indian government. However, a reading of the governmental brochures, discourses and MOIA literature shows that the term is very broadly understood as the population of Indian origin and descent living abroad. The expression "third generation diaspora" is also quite common and seems to indicate the limit in which the diaspora is defined. However, the term diaspora is also frequently associated with development and investment. In practice, the term seems to have a more restricted meaning and refer only to the people likely to remit money and skills to their origin country or to lobby in favour of India's interests. In this line the term diaspora is generally used in normative assertion: "the diaspora must, should…" and so

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8   US DHS, Yearbook of immigration statistics, 2001.

forth. The term is therefore associated with a series of duties rather than with rights. Other terms, such as People of Indian Origin, which puts a greater emphasis on individual status rather than on the collective, are preferred when the issue of rights is addressed.

3.3 Serbian migrants and their descendants

The government of the Republic of Serbia defines the Serbian diaspora as "all people who consider Serbia their homeland and who identify with Serbian culture and language, regardless of whether they have Serbian citizenship or they belong to the second and third generation of emigrants, whether they are living overseas or within our region, whether they are Serbs or national minorities who live in Serbia".[9] The government of the Republic of Serbia claims 3.5 million individuals to be part of the Serbian diaspora.[10] While these figures cannot be verified, there is little doubt that the Serbian diaspora is large compared to the population of 7.5 million resident in Serbia in the 2002 census.[11] This reflects a long history of migration from Serbia which has created longstanding Serbian communities in several countries in Europe, North and South America and Australia, some dating back to the 18th century. The majority of Serbian communities found today are the result of four main migration waves through the 20th century.

The first wave from 1912 to the 1920s was of ethnic Serbs emigrating in search of better economic opportunities and quality of life in the United States, and later in Australia, Canada, Brazil and Argentina (Schierup 1995). A second migration wave occurred after World War II when the formation of the communist federation of Yugoslavia in 1946 led to an outflow of anti-communist Serbs, who settled mainly in Western Europe and North America (Baraulina et al. 2007, Spoerri 2009, Pryke 2003). The third wave of international migration occurred during the 1960s until the 1970s as about half a million workers, many originating from the rural areas of Yugoslavia, joined the guest worker programmes in the Federal Republic of Germany and Austria: over one third were from Serbia (Fassmann and Münz 1995, Baraulina et al. 2007, Schierup 1995).[12] Many remained in Western Europe but some used the diasporic links to join the existing trans-oceanic Serbian communities that had been created after WWII (Spoerri 2009).

The dissolution of Yugoslavia and the beginning of the war in the Balkans in 1991 triggered the fourth wave of Serb emigration. The conflict led to the forced displacement of about 700,000 Yugoslav nationals (Kogan 2003 cited in Spoerri 2009), which included large numbers of ethnic Serbs. The Serbian Ministry of the Diaspora estimates that up to 500,000 Serbs might have migrated as a result of Milosevic's rule, the economic sanctions and the enforcement of military service.[13]

Today the largest Serbian community outside of Serbia is in the United States, where the count reaches up to one million,[14] followed by Germany (700,000), Austria (250,000), Canada (250,000), Australia

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9   Website of the Ministry for Diaspora, Government of the Republic of Serbia. Available at http://www.mzd.gov.rs/Eng/Ministry/ SectorDetails.aspx?id=48&color=true&cid=461, accessed on July 21, 2009. In spite of the catch-all use of diaspora, the Serbs who have not moved from their native land but, due to the change of political borders, are now residing in Serbia's neighbouring countries do not seem to be the target of Ministry's activities.

10   This figure includes second and third generations, many of whom have the citizenship of the countries of immigration (Consulate General of the Republic of Serbia). The stock of emigrants for Serbia and Montenegro in 2005 was just a little under 2,300,000, as reported by the World Bank's *Migration and Remittances Factbook 2008*. Available at http://siteresources.worldbank.org/ INTPROSPECTS/Resources/334934-1199807908806/ Serbia& Montenegro.pdf, accessed on November13, 2009.

11   Serbian Government, available at http://www.srbija.gov.rs/pages/article.php?id=36, accessed on November 3, 2009.

12   This number does not include the dependents who joined the guest workers.

13   Website of the Ministry for Diaspora, Government of the Republic of Serbia. Available at http://www.mzd.gov.rs/Eng/Ministry/ SectorDetails.aspx?id=48&color=true&cid=461, accessed on July 21, 2009.

14   The Consulate General of the Republic of Serbia in the U.S. indicates that Chicago is 'the largest Serbian city' outside of Serbia with over 200,000 Serbian nationals. Records show the presence of Serbians in the city as early as 1910.

(130,000) and the UK (70,000)[15] (Baraulina et al. 2007). Many Serbs who emigrated in earlier periods left with higher qualifications, and generally found employment as medical doctors, teachers, engineers, journalists, university employees and entrepreneurs of mid-size businesses both in Germany, the UK and the USA.[16] At the other end of the spectrum are the unskilled workers who joined the guest worker programmes in the 1960s and 1970s with the intention of returning Yugoslavia at the end of their contracts. Many of these 'temporary' workers ended up settling permanently and integrated into the work environment. Integration at work has often not translated in the social upward mobility of the children of these Serbian migrants, who, in Germany for example, have not acquired higher education and struggle to advance their social status (Baraulina et al. 2007).

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15 Estimate of the Serbian Council of Great Britain, available at http://www.serbiancouncil.org.uk/, accessed on December 5, 2009.

16 "Diaspora in the World", Consulate General of the Republic of Serbia in the USA, available at http://www.scgchicago.org/english/Diaspora_archive.htm, accessed on November 3, 2009.

4 Migrant organisations

While the focus of this paper is on the diaspora engagement policies of states, we will see below that many of these entail collaboration at some level with migrant organisations. It is therefore important to give a brief overview of the vast array of organisations that have been established by migrants from the case study countries. Migrant organisations in Europe only started to be studied seriously in the late 1980s (Catani and Palidda 1987, Jenkins 1988, Rex, Joly and Wilpert 1987, Vermeulen 2006). Researchers highlighted the dual function of immigrant organisations: on the one hand, to mediate between communities and the receiving society, in particular facilitating the settlement of members, while on the other hand preserving an immigrant identity (Cheetham 1988). Since the mid-1990s, the growing interest in transnational migrant activities highlighted a third dimension: their bridging function with origin countries.

A wide range of associations have been formed by migrants from each of the case study countries considered here. These associations can be categorised in a number of cross-cutting ways. First, we can consider their membership. Some have been created on the basis of shared national origins, but the membership of many others is based on other criteria such as culture, area of origin or ancestral hometown, religious and ethnic membership, being alumni from the same school, profession or political affiliation.

Both the UK and the US have over 1,000 Indian organisations each (Khadria 2008, Van Hear, Pieke and Vertovec 2004). The largest organisations have branches in various settlement countries, thus creating an interlocked diaspora-wide civil society. These Indian organisations are clustered in distinct, but interconnected, organisational categories structured according to religious, ethnic (caste) or political background.[17] In 2004–5, there were about 100 different Ghanaian associations in the UK (Van Hear et al. 2004) and 200 in the US (Orozco 2005). In Italy, Ghanaian migrants have created several large associations often linked to cities of residence (Stocchiero 2008). The Serbian consulate in the United States estimates that there are about 1,300 Serbian associations today scattered across five continents, with a concentration in Europe, North America and Australia.

In addition to national organisations, many Ghanaian and Indian associations draw together individuals through networks originating from their village or town of origin. The base of the overseas Indian civil society is formed by a plethora of more or less formal village networks (among Sikhs) and caste organisations (among Hindus). Home town associations (HTA) that bring together Ghanaians originating from the same village have been formed in many countries where large numbers of Ghanaians have settled. In the UK, Italy and the Netherlands, numerous HTAs have been established but they tend to be quite small with a limited access to resources (Van Hear et al. 2004, Stocchiero 2008, Mazzucato and Kabki 2009). Such HTAs have become the subject of considerable interest in the migration and development debates as, in addition to social gatherings, mutual support and welfare, many HTAs are involved in development activities in their areas of origin. Hence, they are often seen as important interlocutors for states as they embark on diaspora engagement policies.

There is less discussion of HTAs being formed by Serbian emigrants. This is perhaps not surprising given the much smaller scale of the country, the higher levels of industrialisation, and the nationalist identity focused primarily on one group, Serbs, sharing a common language and religion – in contrast to the diversity of India and Ghana.

Studies of Serbian migrant organisations have tended to categorise them by their primary objectives rather than their membership. For some the focus is to provide welfare and support to co-nationals or co-ethnics in the country of settlement. As early as 1914, Serbians in the United States had started to

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17 Material on the Indian associations largely rests on the research done within the *Transnational Migrant Organisation* programme funded by the Volkswagen Foundation. The programme includes partners from the Universities of Bochum, Oxford, Granada and Warsaw. See http://www.imi.ox.ac.uk/research/transnational-migrant-organisations.

form welfare organisations with primarily a humanitarian focus, but also to promote Serbian identity and culture.[18] Many of the Indian migrants associations have similar aims of easing integration while preserving cultural cohesion. Other organizations tend to prioritise political activities. These are relatively numerous and important for the Indian diaspora due to the troubled history between the diaspora and the Indian government. With the improvement of the socio-professional situation of Indian emigrants, a large number of business and professional organisations emerged in the nineties.

The scale and spread of the Indian diaspora across the world has resulted in a complex web of migrant associations many of which are involved in a range of transnational activities. Three types of involvement can be identified: first, political activities to support political movements abroad either financially or through awareness-raising campaigns; second, network activities, such as international meetings by organisations affiliated to transnational federations or networks; third, development and/or philanthropic activities. This last group constitutes the bulk of transnational activities of Indian organizations ranging from village-based organisations to large development NGOs.

For the purposes of this paper, the most important migrant associations are those concerned with development in their country of origin, such as the HTAs in India and Ghana already mentioned above. Among Serbian emigrants, development first became a major focus as a response to the destruction in the wars in the former Yugoslavia in the 1990s. Among highly educated Serbians in Germany, new Serbian associations emerged which were heavily involved in infrastructural development projects but their activities have reduced significantly since the end of the conflicts (Baraulina et al. 2007). Such organisations were also concerned to rehabilitate the image of Serbia abroad. In 1990 the Serbian Unity Congress (SUC) was created in the U.S with the goal to protect Serbian heritage, to promote "the democratisation and reconstruction of Serbian territories", and to promote a positive image of Serbians and Serbia. [19]

The extent to which the governments of origin make contacts with migrant associations vary enormously. During the communist period, state's consular offices played a key role in setting up Yugoslavian clubs among migrant guest workers in Germany in the 1970s, which would help to preserve the migrants' loyalty to the state and their cultural identity in preparation for the migrants' return. These ceased to exist with the disintegration of Yugoslavia and were replaced by Serbian and Croatian clubs, whose existence is however insecure due to financial problems and the low level of organisation (Baraulina et al. 2007).

The current Ministry of Diaspora in Serbia is keen to support the activities of associations, especially those that aim to rectify the image of Serbia in the world.[20] Its efforts to create a collaborative space for Serbian migrants have contributed to the formation of new networks of migrant associations. In 2006, a new assembly for Serbian organizations, "Serbian Diaspora", was founded in Munich. It aims to strengthen the relations between Serbians in Germany and Serbia, promote business and support infrastructure projects. In the north of Germany a league of the Serbian Diaspora was established bringing together Serbian associations from eight cities in the north of Germany. A platform connecting Serbian organisations was also created at the European level to encourage the collaboration among Serbian organizations internationally (Baraulina et al. 2007). Both the government and Serbian organisations seem to share an overall optimistic view of the prospects for Serbia which seems to translate into an inclination to participate in the long-term development of Serbia (Baraulina et al. 2007, Novinscak 2009). It is important to note here that some Serbian organisations are particularly concerned with the welfare of ethnic Serbs, rather than with people of Serbian nationality, whether they are located in Serbia or in Ser-

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18 "Diaspora", Consulate General of the Republic of Serbia in the USA, available at http://www.scgchicago.org/english/diaspora.htm, accessed on November 3, 2009. Additional information on this organization is available only in Serbian at www.snd-us.com.

19 Information on this organization can be found at www.suc.org.

20 Website of the Ministry for Diaspora, Government of the Republic of Serbia. Available at http://www.mzd.gov.rs/Eng/Ministry/SectorDetails.aspx?id=48&color=true&cid=461, accessed on July 21, 2009.

bia's neighbouring countries. The activities of these organisations typically reflect a strong interest and a specific position in the politics of Serbia.

Over the last ten years, the Ghanaian government has made greater efforts through is embassies to work with migrant organisations, who it sees as the channel through which representatives of the Ghanaian migrant communities can be identified worldwide (Nieswand 2009). In particular, it has encouraged the consolidation of the numerous associations under larger umbrella organisations. For example, in the UK, the Ghana Union comprises 50 Ghanaian groups and provides information and advice for the Ghanaian community, and other African communities as well, mainly providing information on services (Van Hear et al. 2004). In Italy, the Council of Ghana Nationals Associations in Italy (COGNAI) acts as a large umbrella organisation, which unites most associations, and which reports to the Ghanaian Embassy in Rome (Stocchiero 2008). The Union of Ghanaian Organisations in Germany (UGAG) was created in 2003 in Berlin and has a growing membership base that went up from 15 local associations in 2005 (Nieswand 2009) to 21 associations today (Schmelz 2009).

In spite of the high visibility of such large Ghanaian organisations, most development projects are promoted by individuals and smaller organisations. Several factors might explain why such activities often arise in small scale organisations. Ghanaian migrants prefer to engage in development initiatives that are based on personal knowledge of the individual members in the community in Ghana, because they function more informally with less structured roles,[21] and they promote projects in partnership with trusted local leaders in the origin community. Despite or perhaps *because of* the informality of their activities, their effectiveness is high (Mazzucato and Kabki 2009).

So far, the Indian state diaspora policy has not had any sizeable effect on the Indian civil society abroad. Interviews with Indian migrant organisations show that such organisations either ignore the opportunities offered by the different schemes or declare having received no response to their request for support. Some organisations just declared having desire to liaise. It should be stressed, however, that these interviews were carried out with Punjabi-led organisations, a community that has a past of tense relationships with the central government.

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21 Such as the absence of membership fees or the obligation to attend regular meetings.

5 Why states engage their 'diasporas'

5.1 State interests and state obligations

Although much more attention is dedicated to the immigration policies of destination countries, also governments of origin countries are concerned with migration and often attempt to exert influence on their emigrants and their communities abroad (Gamlen 2006). Two main reasons explain why origin country governments design policies to reach out and extend services to migrants abroad, one pertaining to state *interests*, the other to state *obligations* (Gamlen 2008).

For some governments, emigrants are first and foremost citizens who belong to their state and are part of their constituency. The fact that they happen to be located outside national boundaries does not diminish the government's responsibility towards them. As members of the state they have claims to protection and to citizenship rights (Bauböck 2008). For other governments, citizenship does not automatically translate into a responsibility for the state to provide services and grant rights to migrants. Rather, once migrants have reached the receiving country, they become part of the destination country's jurisdiction, often disregarding their (regular or irregular) status and their need for protection. Sometimes governments may follow a 'policy of no policy' strategy which declines to acknowledge and hence support migrants.

For some governments, emigrants represent a resource to be tapped in pursuit of national interests. The recent migration and development debate has emphasized the idea that migrants can play vital roles in the development of their origin countries. Seizing this as an opportunity for transformation, many governments of developing and developed countries have introduced new discourses according to which migrants are welcome or even expected to contribute.[22] Consequently, they have designed policies to attract migrants' investments, increase remittance transfers, and encourage the transfer of their know-how. However, implementation of such policies is seldom straightforward and their effectiveness is contested. For some governments, it is the urgency of reducing the departure of skilled professionals and to promote 'brain gain' that have awakened their interest in engaging their migrant communities abroad in an effort to benefit from their professional, social and human resources. In an attempt to reap quick rewards, however, some states focus on 'extracting obligations' from emigrants, disregarding emigrants' own concerns about rights and protection (Gamlen 2006). As Cohen (2008: 172–73) highlights, extending rights to emigrants lends them a voice that may be used to criticise or undermine home country governments, who are therefore often reluctant to give ground.

However, such 'coercive' approaches not only tend towards exploitation, but are also unlikely to meet cooperation from migrants. In fact, the level of trust between governments and migrant communities is often already weak and such an approach could further undermine governments' chances of successfully engaging migrants. Governments who have taken a more balanced approach – where there is more give and take between the government and its migrants – seem to attract long-lasting commitment from their migrants. However, as the case of India (and Mexico and China as well) demonstrates, the government was careful to dedicate sufficient time and resources to nurture the trust and design and implement policies that would be suitable to Indian migrants. A five-person committee was tasked to map the size, location, skills, capacity and willingness to engage of the Indian diaspora for two years. This effort produced a 600-page report that included profiles for 22 countries and recommendations on the issues

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22 In the introductory brochure launching the *Maison des Congolais de l'Etranger et des Migrants* (MCDEM) by the Democratic Republic of the Congo, President Joseph Kabila Kabange was quoted saying *"Si les autres diasporas de par le monde ont pu développer leur pays d'origineu, il est temps que la diaspora congolaise participe au développement du pays, en gardant spirituellement et matériellement un lien fort avec la mère-patrie"*, making the assumption that diasporas support development and emphasizing the obligation of Congolese migrants in developing their country of origin. The MCDEM was created in January 2009 as a sub-ministry level institution part of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is funded by the Swiss Confederation, and executed by the International Organization for Migration (http://www.mcdem.cd/projet.php).

important to the diaspora. The Ministry for Overseas Indian affairs was created in 2004 on the basis of one of these recommendations (Rannveig Agunias 2009). Serbia has also embarked on a comprehensive dialogue with its diaspora and it is in the process of creating a network of activities to sustain a long-term dialogue with Serbians abroad and their descendants. The case is different with Ghana, where the government has granted some rights to Ghanaian migrants, but overall the commitment to non-resident Ghanaians has been much more modest and more mired at harnessing their economic resources.

5.2 Shifting perceptions about migrants

Even when governments recognize their responsibility towards migrants, their perceptions of migrants vary. Migrants are generally valued if they relieve pressure from the origin country's unemployment or welfare services, if they send remittances or invest, or if they act as mediators or lobbyists in diplomatic relations with receiving countries. On the other hand, origin country governments can view their migrants as unpatriotic, leaving their countries when they are needed the most. Attitudes can also shift from positive to negative if migrants gather resources, become more organised and, hence, become politically influential and a potential threat to the status quo (Mohan 2008). Such perceptions can shift over time as the interests of governments change, the relations with migrant communities become more complex and diplomatic relations with receiving countries adapt.

The case of Italy is an evocative example. Since the political unification of the Italian peninsula and throughout the long history of Italian emigration, the country has seen phases of migration accompanied by variations of its emigration policy that has reflected the various cultural, religious and political forces at play (Tomasi 1979). Since the late 1800s emigration from Italy was seen as a welcome safety valve in view of the high levels of poverty and unemployment. The onset of the Fascist government in the early 1920s triggered a change. Seeing emigration as an embarrassment, the Fascist government abolished the use of the term 'emigrant' from its political discourse. At the same time, the existing migrants and their communities abroad were seen as an excellent tool for the government to extend its political ambitions beyond Italy (Cannistraro and Rosoli 1979). By the 1970s, having realised that migrants contributed to Italy's development, policies were introduced to increase their participation in the Italian political system and regulations adopted to facilitate migrant remittances. However, Italian migrants also started to be seen as a drain on the country's labour force and discussions emerged on how to curb this century-old problem (Tomasi 1979). Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, as the economy grew and demanded large numbers of unskilled workers, Italy transformed from a net emigration into a net immigration country. In recent years, emigration, alongside immigration, is once again on the political agenda as Italy is experiencing significant emigration of professionals and highly skilled individuals. This new wave of emigrants has been described as a loss of resources for the country, missed investment opportunities and a detriment to the country's potential future growth. This has prompted the government to create a programme named *ControEsodo –Talenti in Movimento (*Against the Exodus – Talents in Motion), which encourages the return of 'talented' individuals to Italy. The initiative offers tax breaks to Italians who are less than 40 year old, have resided abroad for at least two years and are returning to Italy to open a small business or be employed in Italy. Italians abroad appear to be responding almost unanimously, highlighting that the obstacles to return are not only high taxes and low pay, but also "lack of seriousness in the workplace and a greater need of respect of important values like honesty and meritocracy." [23]

The case of India also provides a valuable insight in the ways in which government attitudes towards emigrants shift according to changing interests and ideologies. For a long time the Indian authorities paid little attention to emigrants, partly due to the Nehruvian doctrine of non-alignment (Lall 2003, Khadria 2008). India's official position towards its migrants was that emigrants were deserters of their country and a harmful force that was at odds with the country's interests (Cohen 2008, Castles 2008,

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23 Additional information available at http://www.controesodo.it/.

Khadria 2008). Today, on the contrary, they have been redefined as "angels of development" (Castles 2008) to whom the country's government has made a firm commitment by creating permanent institutions and dedicating resources for services that cater to their needs at the national and local level (Rannveig Agunias 2009). The Indian government's belief in the development power of migration has pushed it to engage with big business to promote the training of Indians in specific sectors, such as IT, to prepare and export this skilled workforce to countries such as the US, where emigrants learn new skills and earn money, which can be redeployed and contribute to the growth of the Indian industry (Cohen 2008). The growing economic and political influence of these emigrants had led to India's nurturing approach towards its populations overseas. The Indian diaspora, including Non-Resident Indians (NRIs) and Persons of Indian Origin (PIOs), among whom a substantial scientific community, has also become a source of great pride for the government of India (Khadria 2008).

In the one hundred and fifty years of Italian emigration, emigrants have been welcomed, praised or criticised as their 'residence' in another country has been used to advance political agendas with international ambitions and to promote national development. The same can be said for India, where high-skilled migrants have ceased to be considered as just a harmful drain of resources to be celebrated as champions of the country's development. Both cases highlight that a discussion of policies to engage migrants cannot be made in a vacuum, but must consider the ideological, political and historical context and the real limits within which governments are able to operate to protect or exert obligations from their migrants.

5.3 Constraints on diaspora engagement policies

States frequently encounter internal constraints if they decide to engage their citizens abroad. For instance, the vision in which migrants' contributions are valued can create an imbalance whereby the migrants receive preferential treatment while the constituents residing within the country are granted fewer opportunities (Gamlen 2008). The creation of many 'migrant' institutions by governments over the past decade demonstrate the clear political will to support migration and development initiatives (Rannveig Agunias 2009). Yet one must ask what share of resources should be allocated to such initiatives in countries where resources are limited and the needs of the (nonmigrant) population are huge (Waldinger 2009). This reflection is even more crucial when we realise that migrants can also be perceived as having abandoned their country, as individuals who have acquired their own agenda and who in any case are often wealthier than non-migrant citizens (Rannveig Agunias 2009, Waldinger 2009).

International constraints limit the efforts of origin country governments as well. The location of a government's citizens outside its borders only allows the origin country governments to extend some degree of influence to its emigrant population but it cannot control them. In the Mexican case, for instance, the government has actively engaged with the migrant communities in the United States but has not been able to resolve their problems (such as resolving the precarious status of undocumented migrants), which remain largely under the jurisdiction of the United States government (Waldinger 2009). Despite the sending governments' intention of protecting and providing opportunities for its migrants, implementing such policies can be highly problematic.[24] Sending country government must operate cautiously and ensure that consular activities and initiatives that empower migrants do not interfere or challenge domestic affairs in the receiving country (Waldinger 2009, Rannveig Agunias 2009, Gamlen 2008). In fact, the engagement of the sending state "encounters the resistance of receiving states and their peoples, uncomfortable with both the intrusion of foreign states and the visible manifestation of the migrants' foreign attachments" (Waldinger, 2009: 38).

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24 An example is offered by the case of the Turkish government's attempt to circumvent the single citizenship rule in Germany (Castles and Delgado Wise 2008).

In addition to internal and international constrains, there is a third type of limitation that origin country government must address when creating diaspora engagement policies. This pertains to the individual freedom of citizens to exit a territory and avoid the authority of its government if a migrant so desires (Gamlen 2008). For instance, the way in which past Moroccan governments monitored the activities of its emigrants to contain political dissent, under the pretext of 'helping' them, was an act that could be seen as a violation of the migrants' freedom of exit and choice to sever their relations with the country of origin.

When considering approaches to involve migrants in national affairs, origin country governments need to have a genuine understanding of the characteristics and perspectives of migrants and the relations that they have developed with the authorities in destination countries. The following section will look at the types of policies that origin country governments have designed to engage their migrants.

6 Engaging migrants: exploring the options

Having looked at the reasons that might motivate state governments to acknowledge the role of and provide services to migrants, we now turn to the ways in which origin country governments can do so in practice. This section will highlight types of policies that aim to engage migrant communities by using the typology developed by Alan Gamlen in his review of over 70 states' policies (Gamlen 2006), in which he identified three broad policy areas.

The first area pertains to capacity building policies, which generally have two goals: a) to create a transnational identity that is linked to the homeland; and b) to generate the institutions that can reach out to migrants and support and manage their activities (Gamlen 2006). Such policies aim at creating a sense of national identity and at fostering the need and desire among migrants to maintain contact with origin countries along with the infrastructure to do so. Several government initiatives that cater to the Indian migrant communities all over the world are examples of such a policy. For instance, in 2009 the Indian High Commissioner to Trinidad, Tobago launched a bi-monthly journal to facilitate exchanges within the community of Indian origin and also with the Trinidad and Tobago population. The Indian mission in Dubai has launched a weekly radio programme to complement a monthly magazine that provide information on the latest development in India and events that relate to the 1.5 million expatriate Indians that form the Indian community in the United Arab Emirates (ODI 2009).

Source: Government of Serbia,
Ministry for Diaspora website

In 2003, the Republic of Serbia created the Ministry for Diaspora to expand the services already provided by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The Ministry for Diaspora, in collaboration with the Ministry for Culture, has been very active in attempting to foster greater unity among the Serbian diaspora as well as their links with the homeland.[25] To convey this message, two ministries organised a conference on Media in Diaspora in June 2009 gathering 50 Serb media outlets from four continents. The ministries indicated that the Republic of Serbia will be more responsible to its citizens at home and abroad, and that the ministries will act as partners for the Serbian media abroad (ODI 2009). This national strategy to foster relations between the diaspora and the motherland was publicly strengthened as the Minister stated that the Ministry has an obligation to inform Serbians who live abroad.[26] Such a strong message has not been developed by the Republic of Ghana, which, however, has been promoting a stronger connection to non-resident Ghanaians through the work of the embassies which organise events that gather and present the activities of the Ghanaian community abroad (Henry and Mohan 2003).

The second policy area involves the extension of rights to migrants residing outside national boundaries. Relevant policies include the political incorporation of migrants either through allowing dual citizenship and the provision of expatriate passive and active voting rights. Other examples include policies to grant migrants access to civil and social services (Gamlen 2006). In this vein, the Republic of Ghana passed a dual citizenship law and, more recently, provided Ghanaian migrants with the right to vote in elections in Ghana. So did the Republic of Serbia, which has also extended legal rights to Serbians abroad allowing them to participate in elections. Rather than providing dual citizenship to the Indians who have lost their Indian nationality, the Indian government has created a new legal status, the "Person of Indian Origin" with partial rights within the Overseas Citizenship of India (OCI) scheme. Unlike the other two governments, India has recently taken concrete steps to protect the welfare of Indian workers abroad by signing bilateral agreements on labour mobility and social security agreements with destina-

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25 The Ministry for Diaspora's logo is in the shape of a heart, with a home drawn inside accompanied by the phrase 'Serbia is **your** home' (bold in original), available at http://www.mzd.sr.gov.yu/Eng/Default.aspx.

26 "Media in Diaspora, Media for Diaspora", Radio Srbija, available at http://glassrbije.org/E/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=7684&Itemid=32, accessed on September 10, 2009.

tion countries.[27] Despite the governments' best intentions, these examples show the practical difficulties encountered in implementing these policies. For instance, the Serbian administration failed to inform migrants of the opportunity and procedures to vote. And even Serbian migrants who wanted to vote were required to report twice to the consulate office, once to register to vote and one time to vote, without the option of using absentee mail voting. As a result, many migrants were not able to participate in the 2004 elections (Baraulina et al. 2007).

The third and last policy area is what Gamlen (2006) describes as 'extracting obligations' from migrants, where governments design policies to maximise the contributions of migrants to economic development goals. Some of these initiatives focus on financial transfers to facilitate the flow of remittances or direct remittances towards investment schemes in small-to-medium enterprises (SME). Others focus on encouraging migrants to contribute human resources, such as providing professionals skills to development initiatives or lobbying power for causes supported by the government of the origin country. Many origin countries have been experimenting with these policies - from Mexico's *tres por uno* programmes that originated in the 1970s, to new initiatives such as India's appeal to affluent Non-Resident Indians to contribute to the welfare of distressed citizens living outside the country, mainly in the Gulf countries (The Economic Times 2009).

It is important to remember that governments have limited resources and that their diaspora engagement policies are typically limited to specific areas. For instance, a government largely interested in formalising remittance flows might not necessarily be interested in creating a permanent diaspora institution. At the same time, in light of the heterogeneity of migrant communities and the various interests they represent, state governments often target a priority group for which policies are designed (DRC 2009). India, for instance, has prioritised policies to encourage diaspora entrepreneurs and highly skilled individuals to invest in India (Newland 2009b). In the case of Ghana, policies focus on poverty reduction and encouraging investment for economic development, with a gradual shift from the former to the latter objective. Although in Serbia economic development is high on the agenda, the creation of a positive image of Serbia abroad seems to drive many of the government's diaspora engagement activities.

While each country has its own priorities, in practice these three types of policies are often interlinked, as we will see in the next section, when we turn to a more detailed exploration of the diaspora engagement policies adopted in Ghana, India and Serbia. [28]

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27 Indian migration policy aims to maximise the benefits of migration by facilitating overseas employment of workers. This is partly done at the state level through bilateral agreements on labour mobility and social security. India signed memoranda of understating with the UAE (2006), Kuwait (2007), Qatar (2007), Oman (2008) and Malaysia (2009) on the protection and welfare of workers. Social security agreements have been or will be signed with most European Union countries. In order to orient workers willing to emigrate, the Indian Council of Overseas Employment has been created with the mandate to inform potential migrants about employment opportunities abroad and implement skill up-grading programmes in order to adapt labour offer to labour demand. This effort includes information campaigns highlighting the dangers of illegal migration. In this prospect, a toll-free line has been set up to record grievances experienced by emigrants in the migration process and to provide migrants with advice.

28 For an overview of the institutions created in 30 origin countries and some lessons learnt to improve the state capacity and the implementation of migration and development policies, see Rannvaig Agunias 2009.

7 Diaspora engagement policies in practice

Migrants' financial and other contributions to their families and communities of origin are obviously not new phenomena. However, what is new is that governments of origin and destination countries have increasingly recognised the potential development contributions of migrants and have developed policies to encourage migrants' involvement in development.

In the past decade, development agencies and receiving countries in the developed world have acknowledged the connection between migration and development and have commissioned studies on how the role of migrant communities in development activities in origin countries can be encouraged (de Haas 2006). A study funded by the UK Department for International Development (DfID) examined how migrant communities in the UK could contribute to development of origin countries. The main recommendations included making the life of migrants more secure in their host communities by granting them rights; facilitating financial remittances through lowering transfer fees; encouraging migrants to invest in their origin countries; and supporting initiatives that reduce poverty and bring about change for the poor in the origin countries (Van Hear et al. 2004).

A few areas of interest have been targeted by development agencies and receiving countries and increasingly by origin country governments. The visibility and the obvious macroeconomic importance of surging remittances have particularly captured the attention of governments, international organisations and financial institutions all over the world. Policies to facilitate the transfer of remittances have been embraced in several destination countries by negotiating more effective and faster transfers and lower fees. Some origin country governments have also introduced policies that encourage official remittances transfers by extending their national financial network and allowing greater competition in the money transfer sector.

Remittances are not of interest as an end in itself. The financial value of migrants takes shape in various forms such as through direct investment in business, portfolio investment in the stock market, government bonds, pension funds in the origin country and the transfer of pensions from origin to destination countries (GTZ 2009, Newland 2009a).

Considering the high level of engagement of migrants in self-employment and business development, there has been a flourishing of ideas on how to support migrants to set up small enterprises in origin countries, to integrate potential migrant entrepreneurs in networks that can support their initiatives via access to credit and non-financial resources, and to facilitate the transfer of skills and business know-how across borders.

The following country-specific sections will take into consideration the policies that have been introduced by the countries in our case-studies and any concrete projects that the government has designed to implement such policies. These will be integrated with any initiatives that might have been implemented by the migrant communities either within the policy framework or in parallel to it. Each section starts with a discussion of how governments have established a relationship with migrants – what might be called capacity building policies (see section 6 above). It then looks at the different policies and initiatives that have been introduced under four broad headings: remittances, enterprise development, transfer of skills and collective development. The timelines in annexes 1–3 simplify the complex picture described in this section by presenting the most important policies and initiatives implemented in Ghana, India and Serbia over the last decade.

7.1 The Ghanaian approach to migration and development

The Ghanaian government's commitment to a number of international declarations on international migration and development (Mensa-Bonsu and Adjei 2007) might be interpreted as an indication that migrants have been accepted as serious stakeholders in Ghana's development strategy. The 2010 budget of the Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning (MFEP) reconfirms that the Ghanaian government will facilitate the creation of a national migration and development policy, establish a database of Ghanaians in the diaspora, and develop mechanisms to attract migrants' human resources.[29] However, few concrete policies have been promoted by the government to entice migrants' participation in the development of Ghana so far.

Until the 1990s the Ghanaian government paid little or no attention to Ghanaian migrants, seeing them as individuals who had deserted their country and a potential political threat (Nieswand 2009, Mazzucato and Kabki 2009). This attitude only changed in the late 1990s with the onset of a new regime and a growing recognition of the scale of remittances. From 2000 the government has set out to appeal both to the sense of patriotism of migrants as well as to their specific affiliations to ethnicity or hometowns (Mohan 2008).

Marking this change of attitude was the 2001 Homecoming Summit which acknowledged the contributions of Ghanaians abroad and aimed to help Ghanaian migrants and Afro-Americans to (re)discover their roots in Ghana (Nieswand 2009, Mazzucato and Kabki 2009, Mohan 2008, Zan 2004). The summit was promoted by the newly-created Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC), a government-funded initiative, which brought together 500 Ghanaian migrant businessmen to promote their investment in Ghana (Mazzucato and Kabki 2009). In 2003, the Non-Resident Ghanaian (NRG) Secretariat was established as part of the GIPC to coordinate the potential investments of the diaspora (Nieswand 2009).

The enthusiasm for drawing migrants into development extended to the 2003–2005 Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (GPRS), which proposed the creation of a Non-Resident Ghanaians Fund for Poverty Reduction with the objective to gather migrants' contributions for poverty reduction projects. The fund would be managed jointly by the Ghanaian government and representatives of the Ghanaian community abroad so as to guarantee transparency. Curiously, the fund would partially serve to cover shipping expenses needed to deliver goods donated by Ghanaian migrants worldwide, a service that the Ghanaian government announced it would provide at its own expense as a sign of appreciation for the contribution of migrants.[30] There is no evidence that this fund has been implemented and it is no longer mentioned in the more recent GPRS 2006–2009 (Republic of Ghana 2005).

In 2006, the Ghanaian Ministry of Tourism was renamed as Ministry of Tourism and Diasporean Relations and in the same year the Ministry of the Interior also added the Migration Bureau/Unit to coordinate the various national institutions to manage migration and to build migration into national development activities (Nieswand 2009, Schmelz 2009).[31] Little evidence exists of the Migration Unit's work or of the inter-agency Migration Commission to which the Unit was to provide advice. With the change of government in 2009, the diaspora was dropped from the name of the Ministry of Tourism.

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29 "Budget 2010", Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Republic of Ghana, available at http://www.mofep.gov.gh/documents/budget2010.pdf, accessed on December 15, 2009.

30 GPRS 2003–2005 available at http://planipolis.iiep.unesco.org/upload/Ghana/PRSP/ Ghana%20PRSP%202003%20 Vol%201.pdf, accessed on December 8, 2009.

31 The Bureau/Unit was created in 2006 as an attempt to have inter-ministerial cooperation. A Committee, which was formed in 2008, has been tasked to design a National Migration Policy. It appears that the Bureau/Unit was created as a condition for Ghana to become a member of IOM. "Emigration from Ghana: a motor or brake for development". Keynote address by Hon. Papa Owusu-Ankomah, MP, Minister of Interior at the 39th Session of the Commission on Population and Deveopment. New York, 4th April 2006. Also, "Interior Ministry to Establish Migration Unit", The Statesman, September 7, 2006, available at http://www.thestatesmanonline.com/pages/news_detail.php?section=1&newsid=387, accessed Dec 13, 2009. See also http://www.thestatesmanonline.com/pages/news_detail.php?section=1&newsid=6522, accessed on December 22, 2009.

Therefore, it seems the Ghanaian state's attempts to engage with their migrants and the broader diaspora are starting to wane.

Outside Ghana, the efforts to engage diaspora seem to have been more substantive. In particular, the Ghanaian government has attempted to institutionalise relations with the diaspora through its embassies which promote the work of hometown associations and other Ghanaian organisations located in areas of concentration of Ghanaian migrants (Mohan 2008). For example, the High Commission in London organises annual events to disseminate information to the Ghanaian community, such as changing laws or investment procedures. National associations such as the Ghana Union in the UK have become channels to disseminate information downwards from the government to Ghanaian communities in the UK (Henry and Mohan 2003). The top-down approach taken by the Ghanaian government is also visible in Italy, where the Ghanaian Embassy has been interested in learning about the organizations promoted by Ghanaians in the Italian territory. COGNAI, the Council of Ghana Nationals Associations in Italy, reports to the Ghanaian Embassy in Rome (Stocchiero 2008). To date it is unclear to what extent there is dissemination of information upwards from the associations to the government (Henry and Mohan 2003).

The relations between the Ghanaian government and its migrants are not without difficulties. Migration is often discussed in terms of its negative forms such as 'brain drain' and discussions are often just in reference to migration from Ghana to the global North, while little attention is given to the intensity of South-South migration and the potential benefits that migration can bring (Zan 2004). Notably, a tension exists between the desire of the government to seek migrants' financial investments and the limited rights that it is *concretely* willing to grant. This tension is exacerbated by a general lack of trust that the migrants have towards the Ghanaian government and the ability of the government to create a favourable development and investment climate (Mohan 2008).

Positive signals were given by the government with the enactment of the Dual Citizenship Act (Act 591) and the Citizenship Regulations 2001, which allow Ghanaian citizens to acquire a second nationality without losing their Ghanaian citizenship. The act has led to a total of 5,903 Ghanaians obtaining dual citizenship from January 2003 to August 2008, with an almost 50 percent increase of applications in 2007–2008 (Quartey 2009).[32] The introduction of dual citizenship is expected to facilitate the engagement of Ghanaian migrants in local politics in Ghana and a more efficient management of their investments in Ghana (Quartey 2009). However, it is rather unclear whether this policy alone will lead to increasing investments by migrants (DRC 2009).

A strong debate among Ghanaian migrants ensued, particularly in the US, in response to the failure of the Ghanaian government to allow the diaspora to vote in Ghanaian elections.[33] The Diaspora Vote Committee was formed as a response to present the view that Ghanaian migrants should be granted political rights to match their economic contributions. Through its work, the Committee was able to get the voting franchise extended to Ghanaians abroad through the Representation of the Peoples (Amendment) Act of 2006 (Mohan 2008, Nieswand 2009). However, the diaspora vote did not take place in the 2008 election, as only Ghanaians registered in Ghana were allowed to do so (Quartey 2009).

7.1.1 Remittances and channelling financial resources

In 2007, total remittances to Ghana reached US$ 6.89 billion, up from US$ 5.78 billion in 2006. Of this amount, US$ 3.7 billion consisted of private remittances, that is to individuals and NGOs, an

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32 Two thousand and four hundred Ghanaian migrants had received dual nationality in the 3 years (2003–2006). Keynote address by Hon. Papa Owusu-Ankomah, MP, Minister of Interior at the 39th Session of the Commission on Population and Deveopment. New York, 4th April 2006.

33 The diaspora campaigned to allow voting of Ghanaian migrants abroad without the requirement to register and reside in Ghana for 6 months before the election.

increase of almost 2 billion from 2006 (Quartey 2009). These numbers do not account for unofficial remittances, which are difficult to calculate, but are thought to account for as much as 65% of total remittances (Higazi 2005, Mazzucato, van den Boom and Nsowah-Nuamah 2004). Much like many other migrant communities in Africa, Ghanaian migrants utilise the official banking system and transfer agencies, but also courier and cash-in-hand systems (Higazi 2005, Stocchiero 2008) that often offer reliable, cheaper and faster services. As a result difficulties abound in the recording of international remittance transfers. In 2002, conservative estimates put remittances at 8 percent of Ghana's GDP (Mazzucato et al. 2004).

According to the Ghana Living Standards Survey (GLSS) and data from the Ghana Transnational Networks research programme, between 16 and 28 percent of remittances are sent by migrants to finance the construction of houses[34] and businesses, while about 11 percent is sent to pay for ceremonies such as funerals[35] and for collective development projects (Mazzucato et al. 2004). Data from this study indicated that there is a significant correlation between remittances and living standards (Mazzucato et al. 2004). Other studies have also found that remittances have an impact on the growth of the private sector, as remittances are used to finance small-to-medium scale enterprises (Quartey 2009).

Given the overall importance of remittances, the Ghanaian government has set out to facilitate remittance transfers, reduce costs, and increase the share of remittances sent through formal channels.[36] New regulations have been implemented to reduce legal and procedural constraints and in 2008 the Bank of Ghana introduced the e-ZWICH payment system to facilitate cash withdrawals and card transactions even in rural banks.[37] A recent government study also recommended that the government should implement a Remittance Programme to provide information to migrants on formal remittance channels and offer grants to financial service providers to expand services to rural households and ease the delivery of remittances across the country. This project is in the early stages of implementation.[38]

An initiative has been promoted by the Ghanaian government, and other donors, to streamline development assistance activities within the government operations and the GPRS II: the Ghana Joint Assistance Strategy. Because one of the GPRS II objectives is to develop the rural banking sector, this could also boost remittances. An improved rural banking sector will decrease transfer costs, facilitate transfer procedures and increase overall flexibility. Such an initiative could, in parallel, also help to channel more remittances into formal channels (as also stated in the GPRS II) (Chappell and Glennie 2009).

It is unclear what types of financial services will be developed and what percentage of remittances the government is expecting to redirect to support socio-economic development initiatives. Some Ghanaian embassies have promoted their own initiatives to harness the resources of migrants for specific activities. The High Commission in Sierra Leone launched the 'A Dollar a month for Ghana' initiative and the High Commission in the UK instituted the 'Five Pounds No Balance Police' initiatives to help the Ghana Police Service purchase basic tools. While these initiatives show creativity and true engagement with

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34 Particularly meaningful in Ghana and among Ghanaian migrants is ownership of the house, which is a symbol of a person's achievements. It is typical to find houses built by migrants either in the communities of origin or in Accra (Orozco 2005, Mazzucato and Kabki 2009).

35 A multiplier analysis of the expenses for funerals indicated that 40 percent went to businesses in Accra to pay for the coffin, T-shirts, the mortuary, ambulance services, dancing company, transport, and video production; 20 percent was spent in Kumasi, another large urban centre, for the rental of chairs and mattresses, tailors, transport services; 20 percent was spent in the village and nearby villages for vegetables and meat, local brewers; and the remaining was spent by the migrant in the receiving country to make arrangements and to travel to the celebration. Even these types of expenditures, which have often been described as non-productive, can have important economic impact, particularly in small rural towns (Mazzucato 2005).

36 "Emigration from Ghana: a motor or brake for development". Keynote address by Hon. Papa Owusu-Ankomah, MP, Minister of Interior at the 39th Session of the Commission on Population and Deveopment. New York, 4th April 2006.

37 National Payment System Reform (e-ZWICH), Bank of Ghana, available at http://www.bog.gov.gh/ index1.php?linkid=183&adate=28/01/2008&archiveid=1102&page=1, accessed on December 15, 2009.

38 "Budget 2010", Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, Republic of Ghana, available at http://www.mofep.gov.gh/documents/budget2010.pdf, accessed on December 15, 2009.

migrant communities, they are neither sustainable nor part of a systematic strategy to include migrants in development plans (Zan 2004).

Ghanaian migrants have a high tendency to maintain a savings account in Ghana and, in doing so, they contribute to the nation's savings ratio. It would be feasible for migrants to shift some of these funds into investment schemes that offer favourable terms. Some of the schemes offered could be used to stimulate SME development in rural areas, which are often backed by microfinance institutions and small rural banks. In addition, savings by NRGs should also function as guarantees for Ghanaian banks which in turn should be able to extend loans to migrants and help them establish a credit history in Ghana (Orozco 2005).

The private sector has noted this high inclination to save among Ghanaian migrants and, hence, diaspora-specific financial products are starting to appear on the market. The Databank Group is offering the Databank Homecoming Account to Ghanaians residing abroad who have obligations to meet in Ghana. These accounts can be used to establish capital for a business or for the purchase of a house in Ghana or be used as collateral for a bank loan among other options.[39] Similarly, SEM Capital Management Limited has been offering Individual Managed Accounts (IMA) which enable individuals to save and invest through an investment portfolio and Investment Disbursement Accounts (IDA). The latter allow migrants to meet recurring obligations such as remittances or other payments occurring in Ghana.[40] These products appeal to migrants by securing a protected and trusted way to manage funds in Ghana, allowing them to manage at once their investments and remittance obligations. In both cases, however, the accounts must be maintained in cedis (the Ghanaian national currency), exposing migrants to a foreign exchange risk in case of a depreciation of the cedi.

7.1.2 Ghana as the 'Gateway to Africa'

The 2001 Homecoming Summit led to the creation of a five-point action plan which highlighted certain requirements for international business to blossom: 1) stable governance; 2) trustworthiness of employers; 3) simplification of administrative procedures; 4) reduction of barriers for land acquisition and for imports; and 5) ensuring that Ghanaians abroad interested in investing are also given political rights.

Since then, the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre has been identifying Non-Resident Ghanaians (NRG) and their organisations and providing information on investment procedures and opportunities in Ghana. In addition, it conducted a study and organised outreach activities in six German cities in order to foster links with organisations in Germany and skilled Ghanaian migrants interested in returning. Similar activities were also planned for Ghanaians residing in the Netherlands.[41]

The Ghanaian community in the UK seems to be very interested in investing in Ghana. The 'Ghana Expo 2003' took place in London to facilitate links between Ghanaians in the UK and businesses in Ghana (Van Hear et al. 2004). This four-day event was lauded for promoting partnerships in trade and investments, but no evaluation on long-term impacts are available. Further similar events have been held in the US.[42]

Another investment summit was held in 2007 in Ghana, but it is difficult to tell if the summits in 2001 and 2007 and any of the other events have had a positive effect on investments by Ghanaian migrants

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39 See http://www.databankgroup.com/index1.php?linkid=147, accessed on December 15, 2009.

40 Brochure "Managed Individual Accounts for Non-resident Ghanaians" by SEM Capital Management Limited, available at http://www.semfinancial.com/Capital/brochures/Brochure%20-%20MIA%20for%20Non-resident%20Ghanaians.pdf, accessed on December 10, 2009.

41 GIPC Annual Report 2005 available at http://www.gipc.org.gh/UserFiles/File/annual_reports/ Annual_Report_2005.pdf, accessed on December 9, 2009.

42 "Expo Africa Storms Atlanta Again" by Modern Ghana News available at http://www.modernghana.com/print/87124/1/expo-africa-storms-atlanta-again.html, accessed on December 11, 2009.

(Mohan 2008). Nonetheless, these events have helped to highlight specific concerns that preoccupy Ghanaian migrants, namely corruption and bureaucratic complexities which make investments often too risky (Mohan 2008).

In 2007, the Ghana Opportunity Network was set up with the objective to provide 'easy access to credible information' to NRGs and other potential investors. Its website (www.ghana opportunity.com) provides access to information on investment opportunities, incentives, money transfer companies and diaspora-specific financial products and it also provides advisory services to potential investors.[43]

7.1.3 Transfer of skills and promotion of 'brain gain'

Ghana has been one of the countries strongly affected by the loss of well educated and highly trained personnel. The Ghanaian education and health sectors in particular have been increasingly affected by the emigration of qualified staff to developed countries. Already in 1995, professional organisations reported that 60 percent of doctors left Ghana; in 2002, the percentage had increased to 90 percent (DRC 2009). In 2002, the Ghanaian Economy Report found that, between 1993 and 2002, 3,157 health workers left the country, equal to over 31% of all health care professionals trained in Ghana during the same period of time.[44]

In the face of this 'brain drain', the Ghanaian government has focused on measures to expand the supply of skilled people and then to reduce the levels of emigration. Based on an initiative to expand health training promoted by the World Bank, the Ghanaian government invested US$ 2 million in 1998 to increase the number of its health professionals. In 2004, 6 years after the beginning of this program, the number of trained health workers had increased from 550 to 1,500.[45]

Several studies have shown that the departure of skilled migrants can only partially be ascribed to wage differentials. Professionals lament of poor working conditions, poor management of staff, and better opportunities for employment and professional development abroad (Chappell, Sanchez and Shah 2009). The Ghanaian government attempted to address these issues by improving the working conditions and the pay of doctors and nurses. In 2003 it expanded opportunities for postgraduate training of doctors in country by establishing the Ghana College of Physicians and Surgeons. The government has not just relied on incentives but also deterrents. For nurses, it is has introduced measures to ensure that those who have been trained with public funds work for the Ministry of Health for five years or repay the cost of training. Such a mechanism has not been set up for doctors, although their time requirement to work as house officers has also been increased (Buchan et al. 2009, Mensah, Mackintosh and Henry 2005).

7.1.4 Collective initiatives

Although in general collective remittances account for a small share of migrants' contribution to development, Orozco (2005) estimated that Ghanaian HTAs in the US still account for the contribution of 5 to 10 percent of the total US aid to Ghana.[46] The Ghanaian government has not implemented any policies to support or channel collective remittances but this has not deterred Ghanaian migrants' intense activity in their own development initiatives. Through HTAs, many Ghanaian migrants support infrastructural development such as the building of roads, the construction or remodelling of hospitals and school buildings, supply of equipment to hospitals, the construction of markets, electrification of villages as well as humanitarian initiatives to collect and ship clothes and school books to Ghana, and to

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43 Ghana Opportunity Network website, available at http://www.ghanaopportunity.com/index.php, accessed on December 11, 2009.

44 Ghana: Special report on struggle to stop exodus of doctors and nurses, Accra, 3 Oct 2003. Available at www.irinnews.com, accessed on December 1, 2006.

45 Sagoe K, Stopping the migration of Ghana's health workers, Accra: 2004.

46 This estimate is calculated on the basis of an annual donation of USD 10,000 per HTA for about 300 HTAs in the US working in Ghana (Orozco 2005:43).

support orphans and victims of catastrophes (Mohan 2008, Henry and Mohan 2003, Nieswand 2009, Orozco 2005, Van Hear et al. 2004).

Some Ghanaian migrants are active in promoting development initiatives that aim to reduce poverty or meet other social development objectives.[47] The government has tried to stimulate such activities primarily through the work of the Ghanaian Embassies, such as the High Commission in London, which organises events in the city to raise money for schools and clinics and to promote insurance schemes that allow Ghanaian migrants in the UK to take out an insurance that covers medical care of a dependent in Ghana (Van Hear et al. 2004).

This highlights how many of these charitable activities are substitutes for the government's lack of service provision. Although migrants play a positive role, their contributions have somehow shifted the responsibility for bringing about 'development' from governments to migrant associations because of their presumed self-help development capacity. This new development approach is likely to be welcomed by leaders of migrant associations who can gain an even greater privileged status in comparison to the individuals "at home" (Nieswand 2009).[48]

Important lessons on the types of development activities and partnerships pursued by Ghanaian HTAs have been revealed by a study carried out by the London-based African Foundation for Development (AFFORD) and the SEND (Social Enterprise Development) Foundation of West Africa in 2004 (Zan 2004) The study selected to look at three types of partnerships that were developed between a migrant organisation in the UK and, in Ghana: 1) civil society organisations; 2) a decentralised governmental body; 3) a traditional chieftaincy.

In the first case, the interventions typically focused on education, health, micro-finance and training and were found to be effective when promoted within family and friendship circles. Such initiatives were informal and did not rely on organisational structures, which can be a problem for the sustainability of the projects. Greater formality was noticed when a non-local migrant engaged in development in a community different from his/her own. Overall, all these initiatives were found to be successful in meeting their objectives, but suffered from weak organisation, which reduced transparency and accountability and hampered the local community (Zan 2004).

When migrant organisations associated with local government bodies, such as the District Assembly, the projects focused on social and economic infrastructural development. These initiatives produced effective partnerships and positive results. However, such partnerships were more difficult to establish as they required more time and dedication from local authorities, which do not necessarily have long-term development plans and might also not be willing to involve migrants in their activities (Zan 2004).

The last type of partnership distinguished by the AFFORD/SEND study consisted of development projects supported by local traditional chiefs and were sponsored by ethnic/hometown migrant organisations. These migrant organisations benefited from having strong group cohesion and an ability to raise significant funds, but they suffered from being formal and hierarchical. By reinforcing the power of traditional chieftaincies these projects had the potential to raise conflict with modern democratic institutions such as the District Assembly. These activities were also not aligned with any other development activities implemented by the District Assembly and other development agencies (Zan 2004).

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47 One of the many examples is the International NGO BAAKO YE Project Inc., based in New York City, which has been providing community building and self-help services for the poor in Akyem Abenase and other areas in Ghana, building a day care and grade schools, sponsoring children for their education, providing microcredits to families and improved health care services. In an event held by the NGO in May 2009, an appeal was made to Ghanaian migrants in the U.S. to remember that Ghana is home and to take advantage of their newly acquired financial resources, their education and their experience to support the development of their communities of origin. Available at http://www.modernghana.com/news/219364/1/diaspora-ghanaians-told-to-support-the-development.html, accessed on November 24, 2009.

48 See Nieswand 2009 for a description of the symbolic importance of 'diasporic development rituals' in promoting the image of diasporas as benevolent development actors.

A recent study on the relationships between Ghanaian migrant communities in the Netherlands and the communities at home has produced additional evidence on the difficulties that could be encountered by national policies that attempt to direct collective development initiatives by migrants. Ghanaian migrants in the Netherlands are involved in formal and informal HTAs that support large projects, such as for the support of the building of new marketplaces, or small-scale initiatives, such as the electrification of villages or the creation of funds to cover the tuition fees for the best students. Small HTAs tend to rely on the trust that has been established over time with local partners, while larger HTAs and their projects in larger communities might involve more stakeholders, require longer periods for implementation and trigger power struggles that can jeopardise the project.[49] As a result, smaller informal HTAs and smaller *ad hoc* development projects tend to be more effective than larger projects (Mazzucato and Kabki 2009). The informality of these activities might however make them less sustainable.

7.2 The genesis of the Indian diasporic policy

The early 1980s mark the start of the Indian authorities' engagement with its emigrants. At this time the legislation, which dated back to 1922, was modified to set up the contemporary legal framework and measures were taken for the protection of nationals abroad. The 1983 Emigration Act created the Protector General of Emigrants (PGE). A second surge of legislative work was spurred by the deficit of the balance of payment in 1991 which provoked the fast removal of overseas Indians savings from national banks. At this time the government adopted a series of measures meant to ease investment in India, but still excluded political opening and dual citizenship in spite of claims from the diaspora (Lall 2003).

A further step was taken when the Ministry of External Affairs convened a high level committee in 2000 to study the possibility of establishing a new legislation. The resulting Singhvi report provided numerous insights on the skills and capacity of the Indian diaspora in over 20 countries and concrete suggestions, such as the need to create institutions for the diaspora and to formalize the role of the diaspora by issuing identification cards. In 2004, a Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs (MOIA) was constituted to implement the new policy. The three categories of its mission are: 1) framing the departure flows; 2) providing protection to overseas Indians; and 3) enhancing the development impacts of the diaspora.

In response to persistent claims for dual citizenship, the government introduced the Overseas Citizenship of India (OCI) scheme. Beside the status of Non Resident Indian (NRI), the OCI created a new title with the view to formalise a legal bond with persons having lost their Indian nationality, the "Person of Indian Origin" (PIO). Both statuses grant the expatriates a series of rights in the economic or educational domains, but still exclude the right to vote from abroad.

In order to enforce the diasporic strategy of the Indian state, a series of *ad hoc* institutions have been constituted to assist the MOIA in its missions since 2007:

▶ The Overseas Indian Facilitation Centre (OIFC), a not-for-profit trust in partnership with the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII), to serve as a one-stop-shop for economic engagement, investment and business.
▶ The India Development Foundation of Overseas Indians (IDF), a not-for-profit society to serve as a credible single window to facilitate diaspora philanthropy and lead overseas Indian philanthropic capital into India's social development effort.

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49 Larger projects also tend to be implemented in larger communities, where the elite might be able to secure resources from various sources. This gives them the freedom to choose to access or decline migrants' contributions. Alternative sources for development might be preferred to migrants' contributions as migrants can be in direct competition to the status quo in a way that other donors are not (Mazzucato and Kabki 2009).

▶ The Indian Council of Overseas Employment (ICOE), a not-for-profit society to serve as a strategic 'think-tank' on matters relating to overseas employment markets for Indians and overseas Indian workers.

▶ The Global Indian Network of Knowledge (Global-INK), an electronic platform that will facilitate transfer of knowledge with the objective of leveraging the expertise, skills and experience of overseas Indians.

▶ The Prime Minister's Global Advisory Council, to serve as a high-level body to draw upon the talent of the best overseas Indian minds wherever they might reside.

▶ Overseas Indian Centres (OIC) at the Indian Missions at Washington and Abu Dhabi, to begin with, to serve as field formations on matters relating to overseas Indians.

The government's strategy also incorporates a series of measures meant to foster the bonds between expatriates and "mother India". First is the *Pravasi Bharatiya Divas* (PBD) – or Day of Non-resident Indians – which is the flagship event of the MOIA. Since 2003, every year it gathers diaspora representatives and Indian officials with the aim to honor high-profile Indians for their exceptional contributions to their professions. The PBD 2009 was attended by over 1500 persons. A second initiative is the "Tracing the roots" programme established in 2008 which intends to ease access of NRIs to genealogical data on their ancestors. A third initiative is the "Know India Programme" which targets diaspora youth in the age group of 18–26 years and offers them the possibility to tour India to raise their awareness on the different facets and the progress of the Indian economy, industry and culture. The latest evidence of the Indian government's commitment to foster the links between the Indian diaspora and their mother country is the plan to establish the first PIO/NRI University for the benefit of children of overseas Indians. The MOIA is responsible for the creation of the university, which is planned to be opened in Bangalore.

7.2.1 Facilitated remittances and financial products for NRIs

The Indian exchange regime, which strongly restricted the possibility to remit money to India, was liberalized in 2000. Today, India is the first beneficiary of migrant remittances before China and Mexico. Their amount nearly trebled during the last decade, increasing from US$ 15.8 billion in 2001 to US$ 43.8 billion in 2008 (MOIA 2009) with 44 percent coming from North America, 24 percent from Gulf countries and 13 percent from Europe (Chishti 2007). The growth of remittances has been ascribed to greater competition among money transfer organizations (MTOs), the reduced reliance on informal remittance channels, the larger numbers of skilled professionals sending remittances and the overall improvement of the Indian economy (Chishti 2007).

While the Indian government has had a rather hands-off strategy towards remittances, it has regulated many aspects of deposit schemes since the 1970s. Within the scope of these policies, Indian banks created deposit accounts exclusively for NRIs which have offered high interest rates, exempted deposits from taxes and have permitted NRIs to repatriate the funds in the foreign currency denomination in which the deposits were made. Family members could, in turn, withdraw money locally in rupees. The government also launched several bond schemes aimed at NRIs: the Resurgent Popular bond in 1998, the Millennium India bonds in 2000, which could also be redeemed by family members in India in rupees or repatriated by migrants in foreign currency. Evidence indicates that significant amounts of these bonds were redeemed in India (Chishti 2007), forming therefore an alternative remittance channel.

7.2.2 Financial and entrepreneurial development

Contrary to remittances, Foreign Direct Investment (FDI) from the Indian diaspora has remained notoriously weak: US$ 2,470 billion in 2004 compared to US$ 52,740 billion for China (Roy and Banerjee 2007:3). The limited flows of FDI to India are linked to the investment barrier imposed by the Indian

planned economy and the resistance of Indian industrial cartels (Lall, 2003: 132). Typically, diaspora investments are either in bank deposits or in short-term portfolio investments. Three quarters of the total investments are concentrated in three states: Maharashtra (Bombay), Andhra Padresh and Delhi (Roy and Banerjee 2007: 9).

In this context, the government set up a new institution in charge of stimulating emigrants to invest, the Overseas Indian Facilitation Centre (OIFC). The OIFC is a not-for-profit trust managed by the Confederation of Indian Industry. The centre aims to facilitate business partnerships between overseas Indians, Indian states and the private sector. It will maintain a database of Overseas Indians, the Diaspora Knowledge Network (DKN). The Centre has organised meetings with potential investors in Singapore in 2008 and plans to extend this initiative to other countries. In parallel, the government has enforced a range of tax deductions for overseas migrant investors (see the Compendium on investment opportunities in India, released by the OIFC).[50]

To facilitate financial inflow, the Government of India has also created a portal, 'the national portal of India', which has one section dedicated to the needs of the Indian diaspora, including extensive information on business procedures, taxation, opportunities for overseas Indians and other investment opportunities.[51] Non-state efforts to promote business in India also exist, such as the website IndiaOneShop.com, which was set up by a group of Indian professionals in Dubai in 1998 and provides business leads to encourage businesses worldwide to invest in India by providing information and insights on doing business in India.[52]

7.2.3 Transfer of skills: global INK

The Global Indian Network of Knowledge[53] is an electronic network connecting people of Indian Origin from a variety of disciplines with knowledge users in India which was launched in 2009. The key objective of the network is to tap into the knowledge base of the diaspora to foster technological innovation in India. Global INK is meant to become a virtual think tank that will facilitate knowledge transfers from abroad without requiring the need of overseas experts to relocate. Its primary focus is to enable the youth in India's rural and urban middle class to become entrepreneurs.

7.2.4 Collective remittances for development

There has been a wide array of private development initiatives spurred by wealthy individuals or kinship networks for the benefit of their place of origin. Development projects such as the building of schools, hospitals, sport centres and places of worship have sprung up since the nineties in the main emigration regions such as central Punjab and Gujarat. In the UK only, a platform of migrant NGOs, Connection for Development, listed over 300 Indian-led migrant organisations of development. These associations are scattered all over the United Kingdom (see map below), revealing the dynamism of the Indian diaspora in development issues. The same organisational behavior has been observed in the US (Kapur 2003).

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50 See www.oifc.in/pdf/Compendium-MOIA.pdf, accessed on November 24, 2009.

51 See http://india.gov.in/, accessed on November 24, 2009.

52 See http://www.indiaonestop.com/, accessed on December 11, 2009.

53 See https://globalink.in/login/IDKN/home.asp, accessed on November 24, 2009.

Indian development organisations in the UK

Source: Connection for Development 2008

Personal donations to charitable causes have steadily increased, reaching a peak of US$ 2.6 million in 2007. In 1996, the earthquake in Gujarat triggered massive spontaneous donations from the diaspora. In the aftermath of this shock, myriad of small NGOs mushroomed, some of them dedicated to channel spontaneous philanthropy (Asian Foundation for Philanthropy). In the late nineties, several organisations leveraging funds among wealthy emigrants were alleged to support extremist movements and religious violence (Van Hear et al. 2004).

Personal gifts and donations to religious organisations and charitable institutions in India ($million)
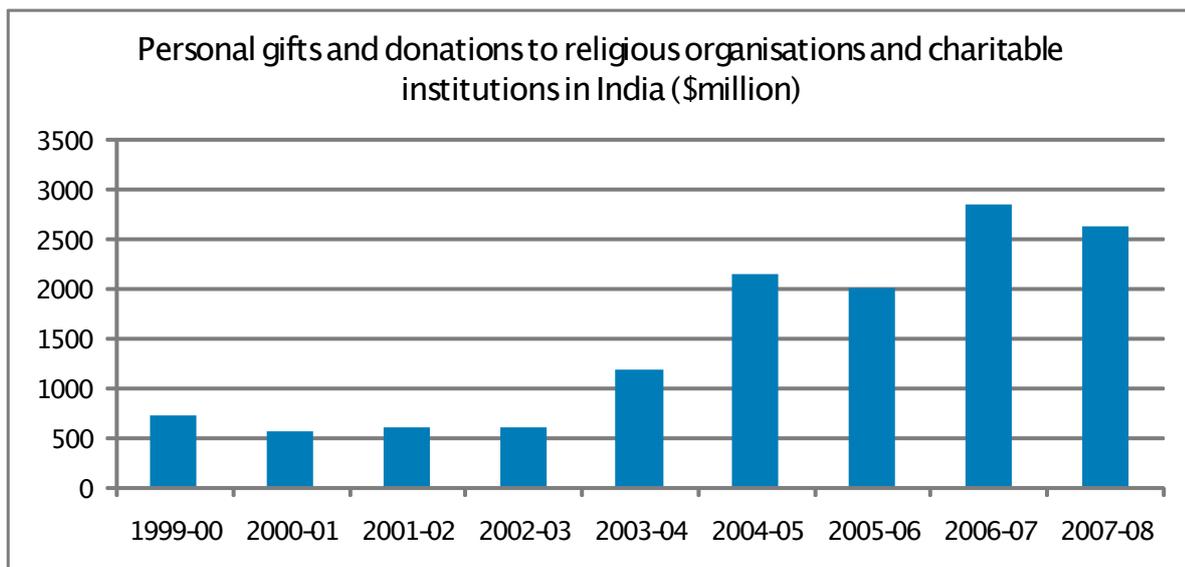
Source: RBI Bulletin, March 2009, Invisibles in India's Balance of Payments: An Analysis of Trade in Services, Remittances and Income

In 2008 the federal government set up the Indian Development Foundation (IDF) of Overseas Indians. The Foundation is meant to identify credible philanthropic organisations, networks and programmes, and provide single window facilitation for potential donors. At the state level, the government of Punjab (GoP) has initiated a co-funding programme of development projects on the model of the Mexican *tres-por-uno*. The Plan Scheme NRI-1/2.35 was launched in 2005 allowing the matching of 50 percent of the grant by the GoP and 50 percent by NRIs. The scheme was modified in 2008 to increase the government's matched funding to 75 percent of the total project budget.[54] The scheme has supported, so far, only a handful of projects due to the NRIs and the local population's lack of awareness of the programme. Evidence of the GoP's delays in providing the matched funds could harm the future development potential of this scheme.[55]

7.3 The Serbian Diaspora as a State Partner

Establishing relations between the government and its migrants is not a new strategy in Serbia. The former Yugoslav government maintained rapport with its migrants by creating and financially backing social, cultural and sports clubs in the destinations countries. Migration and development policies were also already in place in the 1970s, when a complex policy was implemented to encourage the return of migrants turning them into a 'factor of development' (Schierup 1995).[56] Today the relations between the government of the Republic of Serbia and the Serbian diaspora worldwide continue to be dynamic.[57] Serbian migrants, particularly in the US, established a dialogue with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs which led to the creation of a Council of the Diaspora in 2001. The Council functioned as a consultative body for the Serbian government on diaspora issues and contributed to the establishment of the Ministry for Diaspora in 2003 (Baraulina et al. 2007, Rannveig Agunias 2009).[58]

The Ministry for Diaspora has a comprehensive strategy carried out by its four departments: 1. Culture, Education, Science and Sport; 2.Economic Affairs; 3. Status Issues; and 4. Public Relations. The Ministry's stated goals are to extend protection and voting rights to Serbian citizens living abroad and also to enhance the relations between the Republic of Serbia and its citizens, including migrants and their descendants living abroad. In addition, the Ministry aims to inform migrants of Serbian politics, foster their ties with the Republic of Serbia and to prepare them for their eventual return.[59]

The first few years of the Ministry for Diaspora were not marked by activities of particular importance or effectiveness (Baraulina et al. 2007). Starting in 2008, however, the Serbian government, possibly encouraged by US$ 5.2bn of remittances sent by Serbian migrants (ODI 2009), has organised a number of concrete events involving migrants, civil society, development agencies, banks, entrepreneurs and the media. In November 2008, the International Conference on Serbian Diaspora and Homeland Development took place in Belgrade to discuss the role that the Serbian diaspora could play in Serbia's

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54 See http://pbplanning.gov.in/annualplan2007–08/NRI%20Affairs.pdf, accessed on December 20, 2009.

55 See http://www.tribuneindia.com/2009/20090731/punjab.htm#3, accessed on December 20, 2009.

56 In a language that resonates today's migration and development discourse, it was envisioned that: '[The policy] should, through systematic cooperation between central and local agencies in sending and receiving countries, stimulate training, organized return and productive reintegration in the country of origin of skilled workers. It should turn returning migrants' remittances into an economic booster through organized productive investment in industrial enterprises, in cooperative ventures, in local infrastructure, in modern small business and in a well-planned modernization of agriculture' (Schierup 1995).

57 The dissolution of Yugoslavia and the civil wars that ensued have been largely seen as a result of nationalistic efforts to consolidate the territories occupied by Serbs into a Greater Serbia. The Republic of Serbia has been very keep in adopting mechanisms to repair the damage done to the image of Serbia and the Serbian diaspora is central in many of the activities given their role as unofficial ambassadors for Serbia.

58 "Diaspora", Consulate General of the Republic of Serbia in the USA, available at http://www.scgchicago.org/english/diaspora.htm, accessed on November 3, 2009. Additional information on this organization is available only in Serbian at www.snd-us.com. See also Ministry for Diaspora, Government of the Republic of Serbia, http://www.mzd.gov.rs/Eng/Contents/ContentPictAboutNumb.aspx?id=48.

59 *Idib.*

development.[60] The conference produced a set of recommendations including 1) the need to foster the migrants' trust in the banking system; 2) encouraging the use of formal transfer and investment channels; 3) attracting the return of skilled Serbians abroad; 4) capacity building training for relevant officers of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs who interact with the diaspora; and 5) the necessity to formalize the role of the diaspora by introducing a diaspora law (Ministry for Diaspora and UNDP 2008).

At the end of 2009, the first Law on Diaspora was adopted by the Republic of Serbia. The Law creates a formal legal framework to regulate the relations between the diaspora and the Serbian government rather than relying on case-by-case solutions. The main institution created by the new policy is the Assembly of the Serbian diaspora and Serbs in neighboring countries, which will include 45 delegates.[61] The drafting of the bill has been described as a joint project of the diaspora, Serbs in the region and the state with the involvement of a large number of organizations and individuals. In a news brief, the Director of the Serbian Institute for Public Diplomacy described the new Law on Diaspora as "the long-awaited step towards pulling the Serbs in Diaspora to their country" (Serbian Institute for Public Diplomacy 2009).[62]

The Ministry for Diaspora has also organized events to strengthen the connection between the diaspora and the homeland. Important on the Ministry's agenda is the event "Vidovdan Days of Diaspora and Serbs in the Region" which every year attracts Serbians from all over the world and emphasizes their role as unofficial ambassadors to promote the unity of Serbia, the image of Serbia abroad and to introduce change in Serbian policies (Serbian Institute for Public Diplomacy 2009, EDC 2009). Language courses, which are another important element on the Ministry's programme for the maintenance of national identity, have also been promoted.[63] In 2008, the Ministry sent 3,000 Serbian textbooks to Serbian schools for children in the Diaspora[64] and in April 2009, the first supplementary school for Serbian language learning opened its doors within St. Thomas' church in Johannesburg, South Africa.[65]

The Ministry for Diaspora also intends to start a pilot initiative, called "Friends of Belgrade University", in Chicago in order to establish a partnership between Belgrade University and the Serbian diaspora in the US. The Ministry will finance the start-up and maintenance costs for a liaison office in Chicago with the objective to raise funds from Belgrade University alumni living in the US (Ministry for Diaspora and UNDP 2008).

The positive outcomes of the partnership between the Serbian government and its diaspora have encouraged the Ministry to continue fostering these relations and invite Serbians abroad to suggest new policies that appeal to the diaspora.[66] As it pursues its candidacy for the European Union membership, the Republic of Serbia has ascribed an important role to migrants. The government has introduced several institutional reforms to align its policies with European standards, which include regulations that com-

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60 The Ministry for Diaspora requested technical assistance from UNDP from March to December 2008 to support effective policy planning in linking migration and development. The International Conference had the objective to provide the Ministry with a set of recommendations that the Ministry could develop into its own action plan. The budget for this capacity building activity was US$ 50,000 (UNDP 2008).

61 "Sreckovic: Law on diaspora represents a turning point". Radio Srbija, October 8, 2009, available at http://glassrbije.org/E/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=8666&Itemid=26, accessed on October 21, 2009. A document on the new Diaspora Law is available in Serbian http://www.europeandevelopmentcentre.eu/ ZAKON_ZOD.pdf.

62 The website of the Serbian Council in Great Britain gave migrants the opportunity to comment on the draft Diaspora Law, see http://www.serbiancouncil.org.uk/.

63 It is worth remembering that financial support for such education stopped at the dissolution of Yugoslavia (Baraulina et al. 2007).

64 The distribution of Serbian textbooks in schools in Croatia and Macedonia could be potentially incendiary to the delicate relations among the republics in the Balkans. See Ministry for Diaspora, Government of the Republic of Serbia, http://www.mzd.gov.rs/Eng/Contents/ContentPictAboutNumb.aspx?id=48, accessed on October 8, 2009.

65 *Ibid.*

66 Telephone conversation with Ms. Lidija Dimitrijević, Chief of Staff in the Diaspora Minister's Office on October 13, 2009. In addition, a registration mechanism for Serbian organizations has been set up by the Ministry. The registration form is available in Serbian at http://www.europeandevelopmentcentre.eu/ obrazac_prijave_organizacije.pdf.

mit the Serbian government to inform and support Serbs abroad. A technical training to prepare EU-funded projects was held in Stuttgart, Germany, from October 30–November 15, 2009 as a first phase of the project "Serbia in Europe", which aims to teach Serbian migrants and their organisation writing techniques to develop project proposals seeking European funds.[67] At the same time, some Serbian organisations, such as the European Development Centre in Italy, are also positioning themselves to act as mediators between the European Union and the government of Serbia (EDC 2009).

7.3.1 Financial reforms and improved channels to remit

In 2004, the National Bank of Serbia (NBS) reported an estimated US$ 2.4 billion in total remittances, corresponding to about 11 percent of Serbia's GDP (De Luna Martinez, Endo and Barberis 2006).[68] From the late 1990s to 2009, the remittance inflows to Serbia have increased tenfold, largely due to a set of reforms promoted by the NBS and the Government of Serbia.

The extreme political and economic instability experienced by Serbia during the 1990s were addressed by the government with drastic reforms. Since 2001, banks have been privatised, market-based interests have been instituted, prices and the exchange rate have become stable, the Law on Foreign Exchange Operations has been liberalised, and deposits are now guaranteed by the government up to EUR 50,000. In a short time, these reforms have contributed to restoring some of the population's confidence in the domestic economic and financial system (Pinkulj 2009). In addition, the government introduced specific measures directed at Serbian migrants. For instance, non-resident Serbians can now obtain mortgage loans for the purchase of real estate in Serbia and new money transfer companies have been allowed to operate in the country.[69] The government is also planning other amendments such as giving non-residents the opportunity to act as guarantors for residents' credit transactions (Pinkulj 2009).

The NBS has also made progress in tracking and disseminating data on inflows and outflows of remittances. While improvements can still be made, the remittance data include input from all authorized institutions, including banks, Eurogiro, money orders and Western Union (Suki 2006).[70] Overall, it has been observed there are no legal or regulatory obstacles that currently prevent remittance transfers to occur through official channels. Neither are there major legal obstacles that prevent remittances to be directed into financial services and productive investment (Suki 2006).

These reforms have yet to affect the ways in which Serbians transfer money, as about half of the remittances to Serbia are still sent through informal channels (De Luna Martinez et al. 2006). This preference is partially explained by the high costs and long transfer times of official channels, the proximity of Serbia to EU countries of settlement, but also to the ongoing limited trust of Serbian migrants in the banking system (Baraulina et al. 2007, Suki 2006, Pinkulj 2009, Lerch, Dahinden and Wanner 2006, Novinscak 2009, GTZ 2009).[71] Serbian migrants find it particularly advantageous to use bus and travel companies to transfer remittances because the money arrives directly at the receiver's home, which is particularly relevant if receivers reside in remote areas far from bank branches or money transfer outlets (Lerch et al. 2006). This draws attention to a weak financial infrastructure in the more isolated areas of Serbia (Gide Loyrette Nouel 2006).

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67 "Training of Serbian diaspora to prepare projects for EU funds", Radio Srbija, November 15, 2009, available at http://glassrbije.org/E/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=9031&Itemid=26, accessed on November 21, 2009.

68 Data provided by the Balance of Payments Unit of the NBS. The NBS estimates the amounts transferred informally by using data provided by money exchange outlets in Serbia (De Luna Martinez et al. 2006).

69 In addition to Western Union, Money Gram now operates in Serbia, as well as Komercijalna banka, who specializes in mobile telephony. In 2009 the Serbian Post Office also introduced a fast money transfer service (Pinkulj 2009).

70 It is likely that the new money transfer operators also provide data to include in NBS statistics, but this cannot be confirmed at this time.

71 Despite having a well-developed banking system, Serbian migrants' trust in it is still weak and migrants prefer to hold their savings outside of Serbia. Many Serbian migrants lost all their savings when, in the 1990s, the Serbian government decided to seize all current accounts in the country to finance the war (Baraulina, Bommes et al. 2007, GTZ 2009, Novinscak 2009).

Two additional reasons for the prevalence of informal remittances are Serbian migrants' unfamiliarity with financial services and the banks' weak marketing efforts to reach out to Serbian migrants. The conference "Remittances for Serbia – migrants as customers of financial institutions" held in Belgrade in March 2009[72] highlighted these problems and presented some necessary steps to increase knowledge on remittance transfers and financial services in the migrant communities. The Swiss State Secretariat for Economic Affairs (SECO) has published a brochure to spread information on formal money transfer options; GTZ, in cooperation with the Frankfurt School of Finance and Management, has developed a similar service online with www.geldtransfair.de; and the bank Hypo Alpe Adria is promoting "intra-group payments" which facilitate international payments for account holders within their banking system in seven countries in Europe, allowing same-day transfers and providing other favourable conditions (GTZ 2009, Hypo Group Alpe Adria 2007, SFM University of Neuchatel, IOM and EBRD 2007).

7.3.2 Entrepreneurial development

The Serbian diaspora has showed only marginal interest in developing business activities in Serbia (Lerch et al. 2006).[73] The lack of interest has been attributed to a risky and unsafe economic environment, corruption, criminality, a general lack of trust in the government, and the absence of a business-minded culture in Serbia.[74] In addition, over the years many Serbian migrants have developed strong commitments in destination societies, which do not allow them to travel as frequently as necessary to develop and grow an enterprise in Serbia.

In this context, the Serbian government has made significant investments to improve its infrastructure, legal system and financial services with many reforms that align Serbian policies to European Union standards. The government is encouraging the Serbian diaspora to invest and contribute more to support small to medium enterprises (SME) and generate employment (ODI 2009). To jump-start the process, the Ministry for Diaspora has entered into a dialogue with Serbian migrants by financing events, such as the annual Diaspora congress in Belgrade, and visits of officials to the various Serbian communities around the world. Although the Ministry's focus is primarily on high-skilled, socially- and economically-established Serbians who can contribute financial resources to Serbia, the Ministry is also trying to establish a broader network that includes all Serbian migrants.

Despite the reluctance of Serbian migrants to set up their own enterprises in Serbia, research suggests that remittances play a significant role in supporting enterprises in Serbia. A survey of businesses in Serbia and Montenegro showed that 28 out of 160 businesses benefited from remittances sent by friends and family abroad. Remittances financed about 30 percent of the start-up costs thereby alleviating the lack of credit needed by new businesses. However, the capital-raising role of remittances seems to be diminishing. Today enterprises seem to be able to meet their credit needs through bank loans that are more accessible to small businesses than in the past (Pissarides, Sanfey and Tashchilova 2006).

Particularly valuable for business development and fostering exports is the transfer of specialised knowledge on product standards that migrants working in specific industries might possess. Meeting the production standards set by destination countries is often an obstacle preventing the exportation of goods to the European Union. A project carried out by GTZ in Serbia aimed to address this obstacle

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72 The event was commissioned by the German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development and organized by the GTZ in cooperation with the Frankfurt School of Finance and Management and the National Bank of Serbia.

73 The Serbian diaspora in the US has demonstrated greater interest in this area. A USAID-Serbian Unity Congress (SUC) project was started in 2005 to support business development in Serbia. Functioning as a mentoring programme to link Serbian professionals, mainly living in the US, to the business community in Western Serbia, the partnership allowed SUC to identify Serbian professionals who could contribute, while USAID provided the links to existing businesses in Serbia through its economic development programmes. An event was held in 2007 to report on the work of the first three Serbian-American mentors (Embassy of the United States in Serbia 2007), but neither further information on this project nor its results are available.

74 Some migrants stated that the socialist mentality, which does not encourage private enterprise, is still common in Serbia (Lerch et al. 2006).

by providing Serbian producers with information on EU product standards so as to promote the export industry toward EU countries.

As an alternative to SME development, migrants familiar with specific product requirements (e.g. in the EU) could contribute in providing know-how and in playing a role in marketing Serbian products in destination countries. Other migrants have been using their skills as consultants for Serbian companies by supporting the creation of branches of Serbian companies in Germany. Some migrants also act as mediators for companies based in the destination country that want to invest in Serbia (Baraulina et al. 2007). All these innovative initiatives are the result of spontaneous activities by individual Serbian migrants rather than the specific result of government policy targeted at migrants.

7.3.3 Skills transfer initiatives

The government of Serbia and the Ministry for Diaspora have not created any specific initiatives to curb 'brain drain', to promote the return of young highly qualified migrants or the circulation of Serbian migrant researchers and professionals.[75] Nonetheless, there is a growing interest in attracting the skills of the Serbian diaspora particularly in the health sector and academia.[76]

The Serbian City Club in London (described in more detail in section 7.3.5) seems to have launched the first coordinated effort to support skill transfer. The Club has started the project "Brain Drain Reversal" with the aim to support Serbian professionals who want to return to Serbia permanently or temporarily by liaising them with potential employers and organizations that can facilitate their return.[77] The Club collaborates with the other two main Serbian organizations in the UK - the Serbian Society and the Serbian Council of Great Britain - and these three organizations have been actively reaching out to the Serbian government. Their last visit to Belgrade in January 2009 led to a promise by the Minister for Diaspora to collaborate with Serbian organizations in the UK. Such visits allow the organizations to liaise with potential employers in Serbia and to establish a network of professional Serbians seeking to return to Serbia and a large pool of potential employers who might be seeking to employ Serbians with international experience.

7.3.4 Collective initiatives

Little attention has been paid to the capability of the Serbian diaspora to contribute to collective development projects. In the recommendations following the International Conference on Serbian Diaspora and Homeland Development (November 2008) organized by the Ministry for Diaspora and UNDP, the Ministry was advised to collect ideas for community development and the promotion of employment from migrant communities.[78] The ministry has begun a registration system to create a databank of Serbian organisations interested in providing financial or in-kind support to development initiatives. To promote more effective and sustainable development, the ministry intends to provide migrant organisations with access to the evaluations of past development projects. The only evidence of the implementation of this initiative so far consists of a registration form and instructions on the website of the Serbian organization European Development Centre.[79]

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75 These types of initiatives were recommended at the International Conference on Serbian Diaspora and Homeland Development in November 2008, available at http://www.cimiglobal.org/files/ Recommendations.pdf, accessed on July 21, 2009.

76 In a phone conversation with Ms. Lidija Dimitrijević, Chief of Staff in the Diaspora Minister's Office, the Ministry invites high-skilled Serbians to get in touch with the government and to be involved in creating policies of all types that are inviting for the Serbian diaspora.

77 See http://www.serbiancityclub.org/en/scc_reports/view/69, accessed on December 8, 2009. More information also available on the SUC's report for the Belgrade Trip, http://www.serbiansociety.org.uk/BelgradeTripReport.pdf.

78 In this document, development projects were given limited attention. It is unclear if this might be a reflection of the Serbian migrants' ongoing limited interest in supporting development projects or if it reflects the government's position.

79 The information is available only in Serbian. See http://www.europeandevelopmentcentre.eu/diaspora.htm.

Serbian migrants have supported development activities in Serbia, albeit strongly concentrated in humanitarian projects during periods of crisis. Serbians all over the world mobilised in the late 1990s and during the Kosovo war to provide humanitarian support and, to the extent possible, to develop the infrastructure in Serbia. Individuals contributed by making small donations and organising shipments of clothes and medicines to Serbia and many activities were carried out by collectives. Serbian clubs became involved in transporting relief articles directly to the areas where these goods were needed. The participation was high and the initiatives lasted beyond the initial period of humanitarian crisis (Baraulina et al. 2007).

Since the stabilisation of the conditions in Serbia, however, the activities of Serbian associations have primarily shifted back to their original focus on promoting the interests and quality of life of Serbians in the countries of destination rather than on developmental initiatives in Serbia. In the UK, the three main Serbian organisations are not involved in development projects as they are primarily focused on promoting Serbian culture and in lobbying for the position of Serbian migrants in the UK. In Germany, a project by a Serbian association based in Germany is being supported by the German development agency *Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit* (GTZ) GmbH as part of their 'Pilot programme to promote migrant organisations' projects'. The project supports the creation of a centre to promote the use of renewable energy. The pilot programme will end in 2010 and it is too early to report results either on the project or on the effectiveness of this partnership between migrant associations and local partners in Serbia with the support of an international development agency.[80]

7.3.5 Youth initiatives

An International Diaspora Youth Leadership Conference, supported by the Ministry for Diaspora, took place in June 2009 in Belgrade. The conference aimed to create awareness and promote understanding between the Serbian youth in Serbia and in the diaspora. The event, entitled 'Building Bridges through Preparing Tomorrow's Leaders Today', fosters leadership among young Serbians in various sectors such as development, history, identity, culture, health, education, poverty and violence. The positive outcomes of the conference have led to the planning of the 2010 International Diaspora Youth Leadership Conference, which will take place in Toronto.[81]

The annual International Diaspora Youth Leadership Conference is also the venue for the 'Top 30 Under 30 Serbian Young Entrepreneurs' initiative, which is an award programme honoring young Serbians under the age of 30 who have made great achievements in various industries, from high-tech and executives to restaurant owners and professionals. The programme offers these young entrepreneurs a mentorship with established business leaders and promotes them as role models for all young Serbians.[82]

Serbian youth worldwide have also shown interest in creating ties with the Serbian government, in supporting the development of Serbia and improving the living conditions of Serbs. The charity organisation 'Serbs for Serbs' was established by young Serbians in the US who volunteer their time and money to alleviate poverty for Serbs in and outside of Serbia. While the Serbian diaspora in the US plays an important role in the organisation, also Serbs in Serbia participate in their projects as donors and volunteers. In the past, the organisation has sought funding from the Serbian Ministry for Diaspora, but to date it runs its operations solely on private charitable donations. The members of this organisation are

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80 For more information, visit the webpage http://www.gtz.de/en/themen/wirtschaft-beschaeftigung/15647.htm and see the project's flyer http://www.migration4development.org/sites/m4d.e makina-eu.net/files/Pilot_Flyer _en.pdf.

81 The International Diaspora Youth Leadership Conference website available at http://future globalleadership.com/2009/index.php, accessed on July 21, 2009.

82 "Top 30 Under 30 Serbian Young Entrepreneurs" available at http://futuregloballeadership.com/ 30under30.php, accessed on December 13, 2009.

outspoken about their political views and feel that their role is necessary to fill a gap left by the government, who, in their view, fails to assist Serb families living in deep poverty.[83]

In the UK, the Serbian City Club was established about a decade ago by young Serbian professionals who began to meet regularly to discuss issues important to the Serbian community. The club has evolved into a networking group of approximately 800 Serb professionals who meet regularly. Between 100 and 120 individuals attend each meeting. Many participants are Serbians in London, but the network is slowly branching out to other areas of the UK. While the club is still mainly based on friendship, it now also acts as a resource centre that links individuals with business and employment opportunities for Serbians in the UK, but also for Serbians who are returning to Serbia or for Serbians who want to work in the UK.[84]

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83 Information available at http://www.srbizasrbe.net/english/, accessed on October 21, 2009.

84 Interview with Natasha Kocis held on November 23, 2009. More information on the Serbian City Club is available on its website www.serbiancityclub.org.

8 Evidence of effectiveness and impact of diaspora engagement policies

Identifying the impact of any development programme remains a major challenge for actors engaged in this field (Bakewell 2003) and there should be no expectation that things will be any easier as we consider evaluating the impact of diaspora engagement policies. If anything, it is likely to be more difficult as we are concerned with policies that have been recently introduced and which have not undergone independent and rigorous evaluations to assess their outcomes and their impact on development. Such policies are also complex as they draw on the activities of a wide range of different actors, working with different levels of formality in both their constitution (for example, NGOs, informal groupings, government affiliated associations) and their operating procedures, which may not entail any formal development experience. Such initiatives move far beyond the world of objective oriented planning or logical frameworks that are so widely used in development practice (Bakewell and Garbutt 2005).

There are a number of fundamental difficulties that need to be addressed in order to develop a reasonable framework for the evaluation of the development impact of diaspora engagement policies.

First, it is important to reach some consensus about the expected form of development that can be generated by these policies. For example, the project initiated by members of the Somali diaspora in Scandinavia and the UK (Somscan UK) with support from the Danish government (DANIDA) aimed to build high-quality houses in Somaliland for Somalis repatriating from Europe. How far such an initiative should be considered as development is open to question (Kleist 2007, Van Hear et al. 2004). This consensus may be even harder to achieve in considering diaspora engagement in development as there are likely to be even more actors with disparate sets of interests involved.

Second, the aims of the policies need to be clear. This can be illustrated by reference to the *tres por uno* in Mexico which has been hailed around the world as a potential model for encouraging migrants' contribution to development projects. However, it is important to bear in mind that it was never designed as a development programme. The concern was with sustaining migrants' relationship with Mexico and their origin communities. To some extent, the actual projects implemented might be of marginal significance for the successful implementation of the programme. The fact that the funds were used for prestige projects in the migrants' home towns, with questionable 'developmental' benefit, does not necessarily undermine its utility in sustaining relationships.

Lack of policy clarity can also conceal politically motivated 'hidden agendas', as illustrated by the cases of Croatia and Ecuador. The government of Croatia implemented a policy plan that included the adoption of a new citizenship law which has granted Croatian citizenship to 1.5 million Croatians worldwide. As most of the new citizens reside in neighboring Bosnia-Herzegovina, these policies appear to camouflage the Croatian state's desire to extend its sovereignty over the much contended territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina (Ragazzi 2009). The government of Ecuador has been promoting return migration policies, which highlight the contributions made by migrants and reinforce their sense of belonging to Ecuador by emphasizing their 'Ecuadorianness'. The government's expected objective, however, is not the return of migrants *per se*, which is known to be unlikely. The state is rather interested in strengthening the government's image abroad and at home with the specific goal to distance itself from the previous regime (Boccagni and Lagomarsino 2009).

The positive relationships that policies may create between the diaspora, the origin country government and the local communities may obviously yield a positive impact on development in the longer term, but that leads to the third challenge: working out attribution across often long impact chains. As noted above, there has been a lot of excitement about the potential contribution of migrant and diaspora investments in their country of origin. What is less clear is whether those investments are a symptom or a cause of development. People of Indian Origin are now investing in India because it has a healthy environment for investment. To some extent, a virtuous cycle of investment boosting confidence,

encouraging more investment may be established, but this does not help address the question of the impact of migrants' remittances on development. There is much evidence to suggest that they are an essential ingredient but teasing out the relationship between cause and effect is much more difficult.

Such concerns call into questions recent attempts to assess the impact of diaspora and migration policies on development. A mapping system has been suggested by the UK's Institute for Public Policy Research based on eight 'areas of development' that are considered to be affected by migration, which include economy, education, health, gender, wider social areas (other than education, health and gender), governance, environmental sustainability and disaster relief (Chappell and Sriskandarajah 2007, Chappell and Glennie 2009). This system provides a broad list of potential areas of policy impact, yet it does not offer guidance on how we can attribute specific change to explicit policies.

What is feasible is first of all to learn from the selected cases by looking at the cohesiveness and coordination of the policies, particularly with development strategies, and to observe the reaction of the targeted diasporas to these policies. We will then draw on the existing literature to identify the (albeit limited) evidence for the impact of diaspora engagement policies on development in relation to the oft cited benefits of their engagement, namely the transfer of knowledge, skills, social and economic remittances.

8.1 Diaspora policies' cohesiveness and coordination and the responses of the diasporas

Evidence seems to suggest that when governments enact an array of cohesive and coordinated policies that include strengthening the sense of national identity, extending protection to migrants, and creating institutions and mechanisms for migrants to connect with the origin country results tend to be positive (Gamlen 2006). When a government adopts a national policy that truly acknowledges migrants by establishing concrete mechanisms for engagement and by giving migrants a voice, migrants gain confidence that the government is taking their role seriously (Orozco 2005). Furthermore, governments are advised to coordinate migration policy and development strategies as well as national and local policies to increase policy effectiveness (Mensa-Bonsu and Adjei 2007). Transforming this evidence into actual cohesive and coordinated policies is very challenging for most state governments, particularly when they might not have access to the necessary resources and policies require input from and negotiation among various government bodies. As a result, governments often design policies that are partial and promote government interests upon which agreement can be more easily reached.

The commitment to migration and development that is displayed by the Ghanaian government in public discourse is not followed by the implementation of concrete national policies that support Ghanaian migrants. Rather than introducing any concrete policy to encourage the involvement of non-resident Ghanaians in various sectors of Ghanaian affairs (Quartey 2009), *ad hoc* initiatives are introduced without any policy coherence and coordination. The Ministry of Tourism is appealing to migrants' national identity and ties to their family and hometown to strengthen the migrants' connections to Ghana, but in practice, the government seems to favour a *laissez-faire* approach in which migrants find their own way to contribute to development. Particularly welcome are migrant organisations or hometown organisations which, with their 'self-help' style, fit perfectly in the overall Ghanaian development strategy (Mohan 2008). In this context, the government favours the promotion of smaller initiatives with primarily an economic objective designed and implemented by its Embassies and the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre. While the requests of Ghanaian migrants to be represented were met with the enactment of the dual citizenship and voting rights laws, NRGs continue to receive mixed signals about their role in the future of Ghana. The strong economic focus of the government's outreach activities, the continued merging of the Ghanaian diaspora with the African-American diaspora as possible sources of foreign investment, and the failure to turn promises into concrete actions continue to foster lack of trust in the government's intentions and explains Ghanaian migrant communities' preference to support development through small-scale initiatives targeting small communities in Ghana (Mohan 2008, Mazzucato and Kabki 2009).

In India, most policies aiming to foster the development outcomes of migration are at their inception or will be implemented in the years to come. The Ministry of Indian Overseas Affairs itself has been in existence for only four years. Even if it is too early to assess the India's diaspora engagement policies, the government has proven a strong will to tackle the various dimensions of diaspora/India relationships. Within five years, India has set up one of the most comprehensive diasporic policies in the world. However, this dynamism does not entirely dissipate the contention between India and its diaspora. For half a century, Overseas Indians' rights have been ignored and their claims dismissed. The current policy continues to set aside the political rights of NRIs. A recent independent survey conducted by www.Indiareunited.com suggested that 85% of NRIs are in favour of parliamentary representation (Van Hear et al. 2004:15). Instead, the current policy has largely confined the roles of overseas Indian to cultural and financial matters.

The Law on Diaspora approved at the end of 2009 is the culmination of the path taken by the Serbian government over the last decade. Historical ties between the government and the Serbian diaspora worldwide and the presence of well-established, educated, wealthy and politically savvy diaspora members, particularly in the US, have enabled the creation of a partnership that includes the government, the diaspora, and also international development agencies. The recent implementation of the Ministry for Diaspora and the Diaspora Law do not allow any comprehensive evaluations of their outcomes, but the years 2008–2009 have seen the promotion of a number of public events and activities, such as the promotion of Serbian language schools and conferences to promote the image of Serbia and Serbian youth leadership, that are part of the Ministry's agenda. The government's diaspora-specific activities, accompanied with its willingness to allow diaspora voting rights, and its commitment to reforming the economy, financial system and improving the national infrastructure demonstrate the Serbian government's coordinated approach to national development. While the Serbian diaspora is aware of the many problems that still exist in Serbia, it seems to react positively to the serious role it has been ascribed by the government, particularly as the government continues to encourage Serbian migrants' contribution to design diaspora-friendly policy-making. This approach seems to be fostering greater levels of trust of the government among the Serbian diaspora.

8.2 Remittances and financial investment

Today India is one of the most successful remittance-receiving countries in the world. The impressive volume of remittances has been attributed to the improvement of remittance channels in conjunction with the professionalization of migrants and the overall improvement of the Indian economy. The Indian government has also ensured that NRIs would have access to appealing schemes to save foreign currency in India.

For the government of Serbia, an important aspect of its diaspora policy is to increase the financial contributions of migrants through official remittances and investment. This interest has been demonstrated by the consultative dialogues that the government has sponsored, which have emphasized a desire to increase the amounts of remittances sent through official channels and foreign investment. The Ghanaian government shares the same concern and it has started to design programmes to facilitate transfers by lowering fees, extending the quality of services offered and extending the networks to rural areas where many recipients reside. It is important to note, however, that channelling remittances from informal to formal channels is not of utmost importance for migrants who send money to support relatives, build a house, support a small businesses or for celebrations and often do not see these transfers as a form of development but rather as a kinship obligations or a form of insurance for the migrants' potential future return to the origin country (Nieswand 2009, Henry and Mohan 2003, Mazzucato et al. 2004). Faced by this divergent understanding of remittances, official transfer services must create products that offer clear advantages to migrants – i.e. convenience, favourable transfer rates and secure savings schemes that allow migrants to build a credit history in the origin country.

Underlying the rapid remittance growth experienced by India has been the NRIs' improved perceptions of the country's future, fostered by the economic reforms introduced by the government. In a similar fashion, Serbia has been introducing reforms to liberalise the economy and to welcome the contributions that the diaspora can make in the financial and business sectors. On the contrary, the efforts of the government of Ghana to facilitate remittances and investment have not been accompanied by significant reforms that tackle the concerns of migrants – i.e. bureaucratic business practices, lack of transparency and corruption.

8.3 Entrepreneurial development

One of the most stimulating areas of migrants' contributions to economic development is the creation and growth of SMEs in countries of origin. The knowledge that some migrants possess of the business practices and procedures in the origin and destination countries and their access to a transnational network present clear advantages. However, not all migrants possess an understanding of business, a risk-taking attitude or an entrepreneurial spirit. Developing transnational enterprises also requires expendable capital and a considerable commitment of personal time and resources, such as the need to travel frequently to the origin country to manage a business and to foster business relations.

One of the dilemmas faced by institutions that wish to encourage entrepreneurial development among migrant communities is whether to design specialized services to fit migrants' needs or if existing services should be used to support migrant would-be entrepreneurs. Both approaches have been tried and have given mixed results. In fact, more important than the approach chosen, is the willingness of institutions to negotiate genuine partnerships with migrants, understand their needs, provide suitable incentives, educate and guide them through the mechanisms of the financial system and advice them appropriately (Suki 2006).

Encouraging migrants to invest and to promote the development of small-to-medium size enterprises is an interest shared by the three countries in this study. Ghana and India have created institutions to support this, the Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) and the Overseas Indian Facilitation Centre (OIFC) respectively. These activities are also supported by the creation of online portals (i.e. the national portal of India and the Ghana Opportunity Network), which provide valuable one-stop-shops to migrants requiring information for potential overseas investors. The OIFC's main activity has been to promote an 'Investor Interactive Meeting' in 2008, to which the response seems to have been positive (MOIA 2009). The GIPC has released reports that demonstrate its engagement with migration organisations to investigate their investment potential in Ghana, yet it is difficult to assess the impact of its activities. The events promoted to encourage international investment in Ghana (Homecoming Summits and GhanaExpos) do not seem to have led to any growth of investments and business enterprise creation by Ghanaian migrants. The Non-Resident Ghanaian Secretariat established in 2003 to encourage these forms of investment also seems to be absent from any discussions.

Only since the end of 2008 has the Serbian government encouraged a dialogue among the government, Serbian and foreign entrepreneurs and potential investors among the Serbian diaspora. These events are giving the government the opportunity to demonstrate to the Serbian diaspora that that the political and economic environment in Serbia has improved and is less risky. Through these activities the government has also been able to foster greater trust among the Serbian migrant communities. While the overall response of the Serbian diaspora seems to be positive, even in this case, any evaluation would be premature.

8.3.1 Transfer of knowledge and skills

The government of India has introduced a comprehensive approach to structure the transfer of skills from the diaspora to national development through its two recently-adopted institutions: Global-INK, which engages migrants as knowledge partners; and the Prime Minister's Global Advisory Council, which aims to tap the resources available among the diaspora for national development. Serbia's outreach to the skills of the diaspora has been much more informal and while in public discourse government officials encourage diaspora contributions, no formal mechanisms have been implemented to date by the government.

In Ghana, the government has acted to encourage health professionals to continue practicing their professions in the Ghanaian health system. The country has acted as a test ground for programmes designed by international organisations, such as the MIDA Ghana Health projects, which support the temporary return of doctors to Ghana. The evaluations of these projects offer some valuable insights as these initiatives appear to offer migrants the opportunity to use their skills to support the development of their country of origin and at the same time to gain respect in the destination countries. Their participation is also beneficial to the Ghanaian institutions as their knowledge of the culture, language as well as the organisational culture and the environment allow them to quickly understand problems and identify capacity shortfall (Newland 2009b). No other initiative has been implemented independently by the Ghanaian government to encourage the transfer or circulation of skills.

8.3.2 Engagement in collective development activities

The establishment of the India Development Foundation of Overseas Indians at the end of 2008 provides a structure to channel the Indian diaspora's resources for philanthropic projects. Although no official evaluation of the foundation's work is available at the moment, the information gathered from the Punjabi-led organisations in the UK indicates that they are either not familiar with the work of the foundation or its existence has not materialised in any specific activities in practice.

Serbian migrant organisations are beginning to react to the first activities of the newly-launched initiative by the government of Serbia to establish a database of Serbian diaspora organisations interested in development. This initiative does not appear to be highly structured, as in the case of India, or very central to the national agenda. Yet this policy responds to the requests that were brought forward by the Serbian diaspora and its organisations, confirming that a dialogue between the Serbian government and the Serbian diaspora is being nurtured.

To support collective development projects, the government of Ghana introduced two instruments: 1) a Non-Resident Ghanaian Fund to which NRGs could channel funds for philanthropic purposes; 2) an active engagement between the Ghanaian embassies and migrant organizations in destination countries. There is lack of further information on the Fund and whether it ever materialised. Its viability must be questioned in light of the migrants' lack of trust in the government which is likely to deter many Ghanaian migrants from contributing to such a fund.[85] The Fund is also unlikely to attract a large amount of the funds which are donated via HTAs, as these often support activities of a personal nature, such as funerals (Mohan 2008, Mazzucato and Kabki 2009), which are not seen as development or poverty reduction projects *per se* but as family or community obligations.

Following the second line of engagement, the Ghanaian Embassies have been reaching out to NRGs and their organisations. Their role is often limited to encouraging the formation of national umbrella organisations and to promoting annual events to raise funds for parallel development initiatives. In practice, however, Ghanaian migrant organisations still seem to promote spontaneous development

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85 The government indicated that the Fund would be jointly managed by the government and representatives of the Ghanaian diaspora The question of how these representatives will be selected and if migrants will identify them as representing their interests is another possible obstacle in the effective implementation of the fund.

projects which target the improvement of conditions for their family, friends and communities rather than national development, with little regard of any state actions to promote such engagement (Mohan 2008).

Overall the level of government engagement with migrant organisations is still weak in all three countries. The extensive experience gathered by migrant organisations in their own development projects offers valuable insights into potential areas of government/diaspora collaboration and warning signs of potential difficulties of this development model. Evidence shows that the development of partnerships of migrant organisations with government agencies and international development agencies should be encouraged, but stakeholders must be cautious as migrant organisations, government bodies and development agencies might 1) have different objectives; 2) hold diverse ideas of development; and 3) hold different views of the project's potential impact (Orozco 2005). Clear objectives and an active and well-defined role for the migrant associations help the associations to improve their capacities in development. This, in turn, can lead to a better impact of development projects.

In the past, development initiatives based on partnerships with migrant organisations have showed that migrants can make valuable contributions to poverty alleviation (Stocchiero 2008). Governments' attempts to formalise this role can be positive, as long as migrants are not limited to be resource suppliers but are valued for their experience in development activities. Migrant-led development projects are not immune to the difficulties that affect agency-led development efforts, such as the lack of a national development strategies, weak institutions and scarcity of public funds, which can lead to the unsustainability of the initiatives (Stocchiero 2008, Zan 2004). Ultimately, migrants' contributions to development – as individuals or acting in a collective – will also fail to be sustainable without a combination of economic reforms, improved governance, more transparent accountability systems, and an open environment that honestly invites migrants as partners into the national development process.

9 Conclusions

This study examined migrant communities and organisations from three countries - Ghana, India and Serbia – and explored how the governments of these countries have perceived their respective migrants and, more specifically, the way in which these governments have attempted to engage migrants and their organisations in the interest of national development. In particular, the study assessed how these governments have formulated and implemented four specific policies: 1) to facilitate remittance transfers; 2) to promote migrants' investment in small-to-medium size enterprises in the origin countries; 3) to encourage the transfer and circulation of skills; and 4) to support the implementation of collective development projects initiated by migrant organisations.

The potential of migrants to foster development in origin countries is no longer debated. It is important to emphasise that most positive development contributions by migrants occur at the individual level independently or irrespectively of government interference or development strategies. The fact that most remittances and other development contributions are driven by the interests and needs of migrants themselves and their families does not mean that they do not contribute to human development.

For instance, through remittance expenditure on housing, consumption and small scale businesses, Ghanaian migrants have significantly improved the living standards and contributed to the development and economic growth of small rural communities and to the education of family members. In addition, they have initiated charitable acts to equip hospitals and provide some of the basic services that the government does not provide, particularly in rural areas. Serbian migrants in Western Europe have transferred remittances through informal channels for decades, which were particularly important as a lifeline through the turbulent years of the civil war, and have provided humanitarian aid throughout the 1990s and early 2000s. The Indian diaspora's momentous investments in India occurred without any specific government policy to regulate or channel remittances. Rather, they were the result of a generally more favourable investment environment and concomitant economic growth, which improved the image of India as a place with a future, and has compelled many Indian migrants to invest.

When development processes are already affected by migrants' own initiatives, how can we isolate the impact of diaspora engagement policies on development processes? To what extent do these policies effectively boost migrants' involvement in development activities? To what extent are these policies able to enhance the development potential of migration?

The three countries under study offer three very different cases. Serbian migrant organisations have a long history and a long-standing interest in promoting links with Serbia. The government has never imparted negative labels on Serbian migrants and tried to maintain strong ties with migrant communities already in the 1970s. The institutionalisation of diasporas' engagement into national policies that we see today needs to be understood in this historical context. This might explain the quick reaction by the government in implementing the recommendations by the Serbian Unity Congress to develop a Ministry for Diaspora and to enact a Diaspora Law within less than a year from the moment it was suggested at an international conference. A more general effort to enhance the legal and financial systems has also led to the introduction of reforms to liberalise the financial market, facilitate remittance transfers and reduce barriers to foreign investment.

In the cases of Ghana and India, the perceptions of governments about migrants have changed from negative to positive over the past two decades. The countries have differed significantly in the strategies adopted to engage migrants. The government of India has first dedicated time and resources to conduct studies to learn more about its diaspora and its needs before investing in the development of institutions to support, assist, accompany, encourage, and protect migrants. In parallel, India was set on a more general development path through investments in the economy and education. This had already created a more generally favourable development environment that has allowed the diaspora engagement policies

to *accelerate* the pace in which migrants had started to engage with India. However, it would be naïve to expect that without a more general development dynamic creating an attractive investment environment overall, specific diaspora engagement policies could have been successful.

The government of Ghana has made more modest changes and while it has publicly acknowledged that migrants make valuable contributions to the development of Ghana, it has failed to implement specific and effective policies. Migrants are described as stakeholders on paper, but little evidence of the development of true partnerships with migrants and migrant organisations is visible. To make matters worse, the government continues to include both non-resident Ghanaians and persons of Afro-American (not necessarily Ghanaian) descent living in the Americas on an equal basis as the beneficiaries of its policies. The government's preference to continue addressing the African diaspora in general, in spite of the Ghanaian diaspora's requests to be considered separately, damages migrants' trust in the government, who quickly recognise that the Ghanaian government is much more interested in the financial resources of Afro-Americans than in the full engagement of its 'own' Ghanaian diaspora.

The case studies indicate that policies seem to work better when governments have a realistic understanding of the diaspora communities including their characteristics, preferences, capabilities and financial abilities. This allows governments to develop policies that match the abilities of migrant communities and the types of development initiatives that they prefer to implement. Policies also seem to be more effective when they emanate from a government's genuine interest in migrants' well-being and if governments show a genuine willingness to listen to them. This involves taking into account their preferences rather than governments trying to 'impose' their own ideas about development strategies and practice. Migrants possess a wealth of knowledge based on their personal experiences, in overcoming arduous conditions and in providing support for their families and friends even when they themselves face hardship. They might not have been trained as 'professional' development workers and they might not have been involved in policy-making processes, but it should not be assumed that government or development agencies have necessarily better knowledge or more 'objective' interests when they promote migration and development policies.

It is too early to tell to which extent the policies recently adopted by the Indian and Serbian governments will affect positively the involvement of migrants and their communities with the social and economic development of origin countries and if their newly created institutions really provide a framework that facilitates initiatives created by migrants (Newland 2009b). However, it is likely that if both countries continue on their growth and stability path, these diaspora engagement policies might accelerate these positive developments. In the case of Ghana, the lack of cohesive diaspora engagement policies might not necessarily be a sign of government failure but rather a conscious decision. Evidence shows that migrants increase their engagement with the origin country when the country's general conditions and prospects improve. Preliminary findings also suggest that national diaspora engagement policies that include migrants in an opportunistic manner are likely to be unsuccessful. With this understanding, the Ghanaian government might perhaps prefer to concentrate its efforts to promote the country's sustained economic growth and to enhance the trust of non-resident Ghanaians in the government before committing resources to involve them in national development strategies. Ironically, at that point, diaspora engagement policies might no longer be a necessity as migrants are likely to autonomously take part in Ghana's bright new future.

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Annex 1:
Timeline of the Ghanaian government's diaspora engagement policies

Policies implemented by the Ghanaian government to engage its migrants

Category		
Health	Preparing a greater number of health professionals	Establishment of the Ghana College of Physicians and Surgeons
		Introduced deterrents to retain health professionals
Social	Promoting better working conditions for health professionals	Diaspora-specific accounts by Databank and other firms / The Bank of Ghana introduces the e-ZWICH system
Economy	Ghana Investment Promotion Centre (GIPC) / Homecoming Summit	GhanaExpo in London / GhanaExpo in Atlanta / Expo Africa in Atlanta / Non-resident Ghanaians Secretariat (within GCIP) / Homecoming Summit / Remittance Programme
		Ghana Opportunity Network
Development		High Commissions in the UK and Sierra Leone promote own initiatives / Migration Bureau/Unit in Ministry of Interior / Ministry of Finance & Economic Planning to facilitate diaspora policy in 2010
Politics	Embassies in destination countries support HTAs	Representation of the Peoples (Amendment) Act - Act 699
	Government encouraging the creation of umbrella organisations for HTAs / Dual Citizenship Act	Inclusion of Non-Resident Ghanaians in GPRS & creation of the Non-Resident Ghanaians Fund for Poverty Reduction (2003-2006) / Ministry of Tourism and Diasporean Relations / Ministry of Tourism - no longer of Diasporean Relations
Diaspora		

Migrant organisations have regularly engaged in humanitarian, infrastructural and poverty reduction projects in partnership with civil society organisations and local authorities

| 1998 | 1999 | 2000 | 2001 | 2002 | 2003 | 2004 | 2005 | 2006 | 2007 | 2008 | 2009 |

Legend: Government initiative | Private initiative in Ghana | Diaspora initiative

Annex 2:
Timeline of the Indian government's diaspora engagement policies

The policies of the Indian government to engage its migrants

	Health												

Health

Social

Economy

Since 1970s : NRI deposit accounts

Liberalisation of exchange regime

Overseas Indian Facilitation Centre (OIFC)

Indian Council of Overseas Employment

India Development Foundation of Overseas Indians

Development

Government of Punjab: Plan Scheme NRI-1/2.35 - 50/50 contributions

Government of Punjab: Plan Scheme NRI-1/2.35 - 75/25 contributions

Prime Minister's Global Advisory Council of PIOs

Politics

1983: Emigration Act creates the Protector General of Emigrants

Creation of the Person of Indian Origin (PIO) status

Ministry of Foreign Affairs commissions a study for a new legislation for diaspora

Creation of the Ministry of Overseas Indian Affairs

Overseas Citizenship of India (OCI) scheme for PIOs

PIO/NRI University in Bangalore

"Tracing the roots" programme

"Know India Programme"

Overseas Indian Centres (OIC)

Global Indian Network of Knowledge (Global-INK)

Diaspora

Pravasi Bharative Divas

Migrant organisations have regularly engaged in humanitarian, infrastructural and poverty reduction projects in partnership with civil society organisations and local authorities

1998 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009

Legend: Government initiative   Diaspora initiative

Annex 3:
Timeline of the Serbian government's diaspora engagement policies

Policies implemented by the Serbian government to engage its migrants

Health

Social

Economy — Reforms to banking, financial regulations and opening of market

Development — International Conference on Serbian Diaspora and Homeland Development — Diaspora Youth Leadership Conference — "Serbia in Europe" project — Launch of database of migrant organisations

Politics — Establishment of the Ministry for Diaspora — Law on Diaspora — Vidovdan days of Diaspora and Serbs in the Region

Diaspora — Council of the Diaspora — In time of crisis, migrant organisations have regularly engaged in humanitarian, infrastructural and poverty reduction projects in times of crisis — Serbian City Club launched its "Brain Drain Reversal"

1998 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009

Legend   Government initiative   Diaspora initiative

One World

German Development Policy