



Diaspora Mapping and Research Study in Five European Countries

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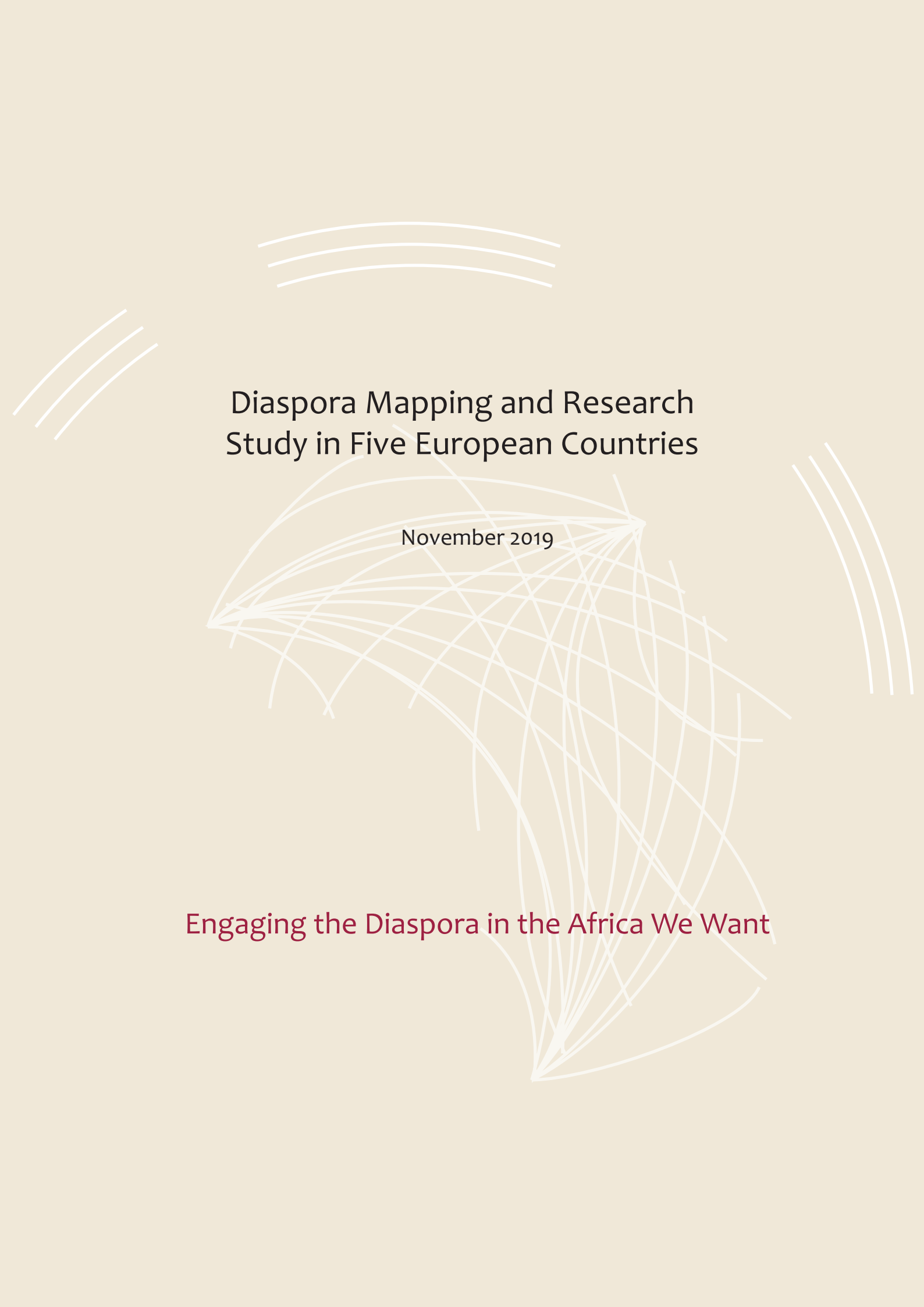
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November 2019

Engaging the Diaspora in the Africa We Want

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1 Introduction

1.1 Project Context and Objectives

Governments increasingly recognize the important role migrants and diasporas play in the socio-economic, political and cultural development of both host countries and countries of origin. They have long contributed to the latter through skill and technology transfer, development and humanitarian assistance, civil society development, trade, entrepreneurship, investments, and remittance transfers. Across Africa, governments are striving to harness these benefits for development by putting in place policies and institutions aimed to. Diaspora organisations on the other hand are slowly claiming their role as independent actors in the migration-development nexus and are increasingly sought after as partners in development cooperation.

Against this backdrop the African Union (AU), in its Agenda 2063, has called to *“invite and encourage the full participation of the African Diaspora as an important part of our continent, in the building of the African Union”*. Led by the Directorate of Citizens and Diaspora Organizations (CIDO), the AU has launched a range of initiatives to support both Member States and African diasporas to engage in a productive relationship. Similarly, many governments in Africa have created separate ministries and government units tasked specifically to strengthen diaspora relations.

Despite this growing enthusiasm, significant knowledge and capacity gaps still exist, with little research to guide policymakers in developing effective, inclusive and evidence-based policies. The need for more detailed

research is exacerbated by the fact that diasporas are heterogenous, complex and opaque communities with diverse interests, identities, values, resources and means of organisation.

In order to address the current lack of data, CIDO commissioned a Mapping and Research Study in five European countries with large African diaspora populations: Belgium, France, Germany, Netherlands and the UK.

Objectives of this study:

The report is meant to inform, guide and influence the development and implementation of effective diaspora policies and programs at continental, regional and national levels.

Specifically, the studies aim to:

- ✦ provide **socio-demographic** information on African diaspora populations and organisations;
- ✦ examine the **development activities** of African diaspora organisations in their home countries and on the broader African continent as well as **challenges and opportunities** for further engagement;
- ✦ provide insight into their knowledge of diaspora engagement initiatives in their home countries and Africa;
- ✦ produce recommendations for policymakers on how best to engage the diaspora in development initiatives, and how to best co-operate with diaspora organisations



1.2 Methodology

The five country studies contained in this report have been carried out using a mixed-methods approach. In a first phase extensive desk-research has been conducted to gather background information on migration patterns as well as demographic and socioeconomic characteristics of different diaspora groups. After the literature review and an analysis of multiple data sources a mapping of diaspora organisations was performed using public registers, online searches and snowball sampling. In addition, questionnaires were sent to selected diaspora organisations, experts and representatives of various embassies, followed by in-depth interviews. Individuals interviewed were either those recommended by survey respondents, organisations or identified through the review of literature as being active in development initiatives in either their home country or host country.

Questionnaire/ Interview Guide

Data on diaspora population:

- size, locations, level of education, professions and skills

Mandate and structure of diaspora organisation:

- name, founding year, location, size, socio-economic status of members, number and qualification of staff, resources and skills
- mandate and objectives, reach, area of activities

Involvement in development:

- Level of **awareness** of, and engagement with, national, regional and continental development strategies, diaspora engagement policies, plans or programmes.
- **Relationship** with Embassy/High Commission of the country of origin. Level of support received from Embassy/High Commission for diaspora engagement initiatives and projects.
- Key factors which encourage/discourage diaspora **participation** in the country of origin or the continent in general.
- Key concerns, **challenges** and opportunities within the diaspora relative to their engagement with home countries and the continent in general.

Defining the African Diaspora

The concept of “diaspora” has been continuously contested and redefined. The dispersal from an original homeland, sharing a sense of collective identity and the commitment to maintain a continuous bond to the country of origin, are often cited characteristics (Safran 1991; Cohen 2008). Diasporas combine “*roots and routes to construct (...) forms of community consciousness and solidarity*” within and between spaces (Clifford 1994). Diaspora formation is, however, not a necessary consequence of migration, but rather the result of specific processes of mobilisation within context-specific structures of opportunities and constraints (Sökefeld 2006). Hence, recent studies have highlighted the heterogeneous and dynamic nature of diaspora communities and their embeddedness in multiple contexts that go beyond the simplistic dichotomy of host vs. home country.

The African diaspora as defined by the African Union consists ‘of people of African origin living outside the continent, irrespective of their citizenship and nationality and who are willing to contribute to the development of the continent and the building of the African Union.’

This broad conceptualization presented challenges when confronted with the existing data available on African communities in most countries. Censuses and public registries often do not adequately capture the nuances of diaspora populations. This is compounded by a lack of clear definitions and classifications when it comes to concepts of nationality, origin and ethnic identity. Countries such as Britain might include ethnic affiliation in their datasets, their prioritization of “race”/“ethnic

identity” (e.g. “Black African”) over “country of origin” is however problematic, as it doesn’t include North Africans, who are often identified as Middle Eastern. In Belgium on the other hand, the collection of information on ethnic identity and, in some cases, even nationality is considered taboo. Although recent censuses across Europe have tried to capture the concept of “origin”, second and third generation migrants, naturalized citizens and of course irregular migrants are often not clearly identifiable in public records. At the same time, just being (the descendant of) a foreign-born national does not automatically qualify as being part of the diaspora. In practise, measuring diaspora populations as opposed to immigrant communities is not always

feasible.

Limitations of research

Previous studies have shown that diasporas are difficult populations to access and often reluctant to participate in research.¹ Given the informal structure of many diaspora communities and the lack of consistent official data, none of the five studies claim to be exhaustive. However, despite a certain selection bias and the limited number of samples, they offer valuable insights into the characteristics of different African diasporas in Europe, their means of organisations, challenges and potential for future development cooperation.

¹ Ionesu (2006), Mohogu (2006) and Taylor et al. (2014)



1.3 Key Recommendations

The report highlights the heterogeneous nature of the “African diaspora” and its unique and context specific relationship with both host countries and countries of origin. While there is a strong sense of African solidarity and responsibility towards the continent, a multitude of challenges remain that so far have limited the strategic involvement of diasporas in development processes.

Based on the findings of this study the following recommendations can be made:

Further research on diaspora populations

Successful diaspora engagement must be based on clearly identified goals in line with the capacities and needs of both diasporas and countries of origin. This in turn requires detailed knowledge of the diaspora’s internal structures, agendas and resources. To gain a better understanding of what each group has to offer, their respective interests, expectations and potential contributions, governments should invest in a continuous mapping of their diaspora populations and maintain an up-to-date inventory of available know-how and skills. This will help to formulate more effective communication strategies to find suitable partners for cooperation. While acknowledging the heterogeneity of diaspora communities, governments should strive to get to know, and build strong relationships with, all diaspora groups.

It is worth noting that irregular migrants, an often overlooked and underappreciated group, also provide significant contributions which merit further investigation.

Building relationships

Trust and credibility are key ingredients to establish a mutually beneficial partnership. Continuous dialogue, accurate two-way information-sharing and collaborations based on joint government-diaspora decision making are essential elements of building a positive relationship. For many Africans abroad this also includes granting external voting rights, dual citizenship and easy access to consular services.

While many diaspora organisations are eager to participate in the development of the continent, they do not feel that their contributions are sufficiently valued. Those that work directly in their country of origin are often met with unnecessary bureaucratic hurdles and suspicion by officials on the ground. Promoting a positive image of diaspora participation and facilitating good working relations with Embassies and government departments are likely to encourage more engagement.

Most organisations are not aware of existing continental, regional and national development strategies or diaspora engagement programmes. They largely work on the grassroot level, disconnected from governments and political institutions such as the African Union. In addition to weak relationships with formal political channels, diaspora organisations often lack the capacity to stay up to date about political developments. Hence, governments should take a more active approach in reaching out and sharing their strategies and policies, especially in areas of mutual interest such as education, health or rural development.

Overall, governments need to be more proactive, engaging and creative in their communication efforts, especially if they

intend to reach younger and often better skilled second- and third-generation migrants. This could include building a stronger online presence. There are clear indications that those parts of the diaspora with the most resources and skills, are also more difficult to engage, and generally reluctant to cooperate with, what they find, are inefficient governments.

Mobilisation and participation

In order to enable diasporas to become valuable partners for development, African governments need to first ensure that their basic needs abroad are met. This includes facilitating their integration in host societies in close cooperation with host governments. Effective integration has been shown to have a positive impact on diasporas abilities to mobilize resources for their home communities.

Cultural events, youth programs and language classes, study visits and exchange programs as well as high-level functions, conferences and networking events sponsored by the respective embassies are effective means for governments to keep their diasporas engaged and connected to the homeland.

Diaspora organisations and individuals can contribute valuable skills, experiences and insights to development strategies. Consequently, governments should provide institutionalized channels of participation that actively involve diaspora organisations in the formulation, implementation and monitoring of development initiatives. This requires establishing institutions at various levels to facilitate communication with diaspora organisations and coordinate policies and follow-up support.

Strengthening capacity

The ability of diasporas to engage in development depends in part on their capacity to do so. Yet a majority of organisations faces significant capacity gaps in terms of funding, skills, and human capital. States can support the professionalisation of diaspora groups by offering trainings in management and fundraising, sharing information on current policies and developments, providing funding for diaspora interventions and creating opportunities for networking and collaboration.

Creating a conducive environment

Lack of good governance, rule of law and trustworthy institutions coupled with high corruption and lengthy bureaucratic processes are key obstacles to diaspora engagement. Improving the functioning of social, legal, economic, and political institutions, alongside access to basic services and markets are crucial for creating a conducive environment for development. Proactively addressing structural failures has the potential to restore trust in governments, making it more attractive for diaspora members to invest in and/or return to their home countries. The reduction of bureaucratic hurdles and a closer cooperation with government departments in the country of origin will have also have a strong positive impact on diaspora engagement. Governments should start by decreasing transaction costs for remittances and opening up opportunities for trade and investment. In addition, strengthening networks between innovators, entrepreneurs and investors at home and abroad can create new business opportunities, increase brain circulations and reduce the effects of deskilling.

2 Belgium

2.1 Introduction & Methodology

While the African diaspora of Belgium remains a minority, it has grown steadily over the last twenty years. The diaspora organisation landscape is extremely dynamic and dense. It is rare to meet people who are not involved in this field of community associations. Those who are, often engage in two organisations or more.

The following mapping exercise covers 156 French-speaking and 55 English-speaking African organisations. To gain insights into their mandates, outreach, funding, membership structures, development concept and relationship with their country of origin/Africa and Belgium an online questionnaire was developed. It was completed by 25 organisations including the top ten largest Diaspora organisations. The results show that few of the African diaspora organisations are aware of development programmes in Europe and Africa either on a national or on a continental level. Likewise, a minority of community group agents are actively engaged with supranational institutions. However, connections with African countries are present. In addition, a wide range of collaborations have been highlighted. The study includes an overview of the five most important African diasporas, examining the waves of migration of different diasporic groups, their reasons for movement, how they organized

themselves in communities or networks and succeeded in integrating in Belgium.

After collecting the answers from the questionnaire, the study drew a typology based on the political opportunity structure typology of Chaudhary and Moss.¹ A series of tables summarize the results and forms the basis for this report's recommendations on future development strategies. They consider not only the political context/policies/relationships but also the social and cultural context in which diasporic organisation mobilise resources in spite of significant local constraints.

Mapping of diaspora organisations

Based on a search of various national, provincial and local registries, databases or information portals containing records of associations and groups such as CRIC (centre regional d'intégration), CBAI Bxl, CAI Namur and CRVI, as well as expert interviews, around 200 organisations were identified. The main means for connecting with diaspora organisations, however, was the snowball method (FB and events organised by the diaspora). Out of the 200, 145 were sent an online questionnaire, which was completed by 25 organisations. The questionnaire intended to gather insights into their level of awareness of national, regional and continental development strategies as well as the diasporic engagement through policies, plans and programmes.

The study focuses on six categories of African diaspora organisations: African-based organisations, Congolese-based organisations, Rwandan-based organisations, Burundian-

¹ R. Chaudhary A. and D. M Moss. 2016. Triadic political opportunity structures: Re-conceptualising immigrant

transnational politics Working Papers, Paper 129, May 2016

based organisations, Cameroonian organisations and Guinean organisations. The organisations can be further differentiated in terms of their primary identity (national, (pan)African), mandate (diasporic, diplomatic, political, religious, civic, etc.) and outreach (Belgium, European diaspora, diaspora at large, home country, African continent) and their various interactions with the country of origin and/or Africa.

From the five African communities selected for a more detailed analysis the Congolese, Rwandan and Burundian were chosen for their shared history with Belgium. The Congo (Democratic Republic of Congo, DRC) was Belgium's only colony and Rwanda and Burundi were the two trusteeships of Belgium after the First World War. Guinea and Cameroon on the other hand were selected for their demographic weight. Their populations have increased rapidly over the past few years and are now important yet overlooked diaspora groups. Apart from demographic data, there is little information on the Burundian, Rwandan, Cameroonian or Guinean groups. The Congolese on the other hand has been examined through a wide range of topics.

Key individuals

In addition to the questionnaires, embassies were also approached and inquiries were made with regards to demographics (number of citizens with African and/or Belgian citizenship), programmes implemented by the Embassy or the country of origin for the diaspora (return or investment in the country

of origin) and contribution of the diaspora to the country of origin (concrete examples and main obstacles). Several experts were also consulted including contacts at MIDA (Migration for development in Africa), IOM (International Organisation for Migration), diasporic experts working with European networks such as Afford² and Adept³ and diaspora experts for the related diasporas.

2.2 Historical Migration Patterns and Forms of Organisation

The African diaspora in Belgium originates mainly from the sub-Saharan part of the continent. While the sub-Saharan migrant population forms a minority in Belgium (1% of the population) and in Europe (4% of the continent), it has grown steadily over the last twenty years. This demographic feature is closely linked to historical factors.

Until the early 1960s Africans from former colonies, whether the Congolese (colonised from 1885 until 1960) or the Rwandans and Burundians (under trusteeship from 1918 until 1962), were hardly welcomed in Belgium. Even when the country needed immigrant labour after the Second World War, the state chose to first bring in European immigrants (Italians) and then North African immigrants (Moroccans in particular) rather than sub-Saharan.

As a consequence, the few sub-Saharan Africans who reached the European continent were Congolese coming as temporary students⁴, "évolués", domestic workers following their employers, members of

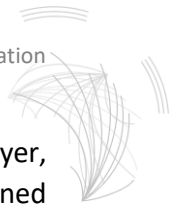
² <http://www.eunomad.org/en/eunomad-et-ses-membres/les-membres/470-afford-en>

³ <http://www.adept-platform.org/>

⁴ Etambala M. A. 1989. Présences congolaises en Belgique, 1885-1940: exhibition, éducation,

émancipation, paternalisme, KU Leuven: doctoral dissertation;

Etambala M. A. 2011. Des écoliers congolais en Belgique 1888-1900 – Une page d'histoire oubliée, Paris: l'Harmattan.



volunteer corps, such as Paul Panda Farnana⁵ – the first intellectual and Pan-Africanist Congolese (1888-1930) - or sailors, catechists and metis (descendants of relationships between local people and the colonial masters⁶).

In the aftermath of the Second World War fewer than 2000 Africans and only ten Congolese were residents in Belgium.⁷ With around 700 Congolese staying as “invited guests” for a period of six months, the 1958 World Exhibition held in Brussels - two years before Congos Independence⁸ - was a turning point in terms of a collective Congolese presence in Belgium. After the exhibition, some remained in Belgium and were joined from the 1960s onwards by male students, sometimes accompanied by their wives, sailors, tourists, diplomats and civil servants on training missions, whose living standard were significantly higher.⁹ Among those were representatives of the *Société financière de développement* (SOFIDE), the *Gécamines*, the *Miba* in Brussels, the *Office national des transports* (ONATRA), the *Office de fret maritime* (OGEFREM) and the former Air-Zaïre which became Lignes aériennes congolaises (LAC). However, in 1960, when Congo first gained independence, fewer than 20 Congolese, all of whom were men, held a

university degree and no doctor, lawyer, engineer or professor had been trained (Ndaywel, 1998, Young, 1965).

The idea of a common transnational space that would have allowed Congolese, Rwandans or Burundians, to move freely between Africa and Europe, as happened in the United Kingdom and to a lesser extent in France was discussed during the decolonisation process, but never materialized. There were, however, several agreements of cooperation between Belgium and Congo, and to a lesser extent with Rwanda and Burundi, to provide support to students as well as corporate or government executives.¹⁰

So it is not surprising to note that in 1970, a little more than 5,000 Congolese (at that time defined as Zairians) resided in Belgium,¹¹ where they constituted a minority in comparison with the Moroccans and Turks who joined the labour force in large numbers from the 1960s onwards.

The diversification of the migratory flow in the 1990s and into the 2000s, and the arrival of Congolese immigrants, refugees or asylum seekers has not resulted in any specific policies directed towards this group. Despite three generations of Congolese now living in Belgium and at least two decades of community organisation propagating for

⁵ Tshitungu A. 2011. Visages de Paul Panda Farnana Nationaliste Panafricaniste Intellectuel Engagé, Paris: L’Harmattan.

⁶ Jeurissen, L. 2003. Quand le métis s’appelait mulâtre. Société, droit et pouvoir coloniaux face à la descendance des couples eurafricains dans l’ancien Congo Belge (Cahiers Migrations, no 29). Louvain-La-Neuve: Academia Bruylant.

⁷ Kagné B., Martiniello M. 2001. L’immigration subsaharienne en Belgique. Courier hebdomadaire du CRISP, no. 1721, 50p.

⁸ Ndaywel ê Nziem I. 1998. Histoire générale du Congo, Bruxelles: De Boeck: 531

⁹ Demart S. 2013a. Histoire orale à Matonge (Bruxelles): un miroir postcolonial, Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales, 29(1):133–55.

Demart S. 2013b. Emeutes à Matonge et . . . indifférence des pouvoirs publics? Brussels Studies, Numéro 68, 1er juillet 2013, www.brusselsstudies.be.

Demart S., 2013c (ed.), “Congolese migration to Belgium and postcolonial perspectives” (eds.), African Diaspora, vol. 6

¹⁰ Kagné B. Gosselin G., Laveau J.-P. Immigration, stratégies identitaires et mobilisations politiques des Africains en Belgique. Ethnicité et Mobilisations Sociales. 2001, Paris: L’Harmattan; :207–43

¹¹ Kagné and Martiniello op. cit.: 9.

recognition and equality, the Congolese, and Afro-descendants overall, are globally absent from the public forum. It is as if the concept of “poorly-qualified immigrant worker” (Moroccans, Turks, Italians, etc.) is directing the institutional mindset about integration policies as well as the research agenda of the social sciences.

In comparison with the rich literature on Moroccans and Belgian-Moroccans,¹² the sub-Saharan diaspora has been overlooked. The lack of academic interest in the Black-African diaspora may be explained by their marginalized position in society, as well as by the low presence of Belgian academics with a sub-Saharan background. However, a growing number of studies have recently highlighted the existence of a Black/African diaspora in Belgium.

In the 1990s, dissertations written by Congolese students provided the first empirical data highlighting the immigrant community and the difficulties they encountered in terms of housing, employment, documentation and care.¹³ In the early 2000s, Kagne wrote a very rich series of articles on the Congolese and more broadly

on sub-Saharan Africans in Belgium offering valuable demographic data about the recent settlement of this diaspora.¹⁴ The late 2000s and especially the early 2010s onwards witnessed the emergence of a series of anthropological and sociological works exploring the various dimensions of the sub-Saharan migratory and post-migratory dynamics, mainly in the French speaking part of the country.

The Congolese presence was examined through a wide range of topics: political participation,¹⁵ community activism,¹⁶ or remittances.¹⁷ New areas of interest, dominated by the human and social sciences, have also emerged such as social care.¹⁸

Diaspora organisations and political participation

The community landscape of African diaspora groups dates back to the 1990s and it is extremely dynamic. It initially developed within the Francophone diaspora (from Central Africa), mainly in Brussels. As other diaspora groups from Central Africa, West Africa and to a lesser extent East Africa arrived to join the Congolese, Flanders (and in

¹² Martiniello M., Rea A., Dassetto F. Immigration et intégration en Belgique francophone. Un état des savoirs. 2007 Louvain-la-Neuve: Academia-Bruylant

¹³ Lusanda N. « Y a-t-il des immigrés zaïrois en Belgique? ». Agenda Interculturel, CBAI. 1993;(n° 112):4–8; Mayoyo B. T. Migration Sud/Nord, levier ou obstacle ? Les Zaïrois de Belgique. Cahiers africains. 1994;13.

¹⁴ Ibid.; Kagné and Martiniello, 2001, op.cit.

¹⁵ Demart, Sarah & Bodeux, Leïla, Postcolonial Stakes of Congolese (DRC) Political Space: 50 Years after Independence, in : Demart, Sarah , éd., Congolese Migration to Belgium and Postcolonial Perspectives. N° sp. de: African Diaspora, vol.6, 2013, p.72–96

¹⁶ Grégoire N. Identity Politics, Social Movement and the State: ‘Pan-African’ Associations and the Making of an ‘African Community’ in Belgium, African Diaspora, 2010; 3(1):159–81; African Diaspora 6 (2013) 21-45; Bolya, S. C., Godin, M. & Grégoire, N., 2013. “Le Kivu, c’est notre

Alsace-Lorraine, Monsieur !” Femmes d’origine congolaise dans l’espace public et contraintes de la dénonciation en situation postcoloniale, African Diaspora, (6), pp. 97-121.

¹⁷ Statistical data about remittances: International Remittance Senders Household Survey, Munzele & Sander, 2005 ; De Bruyn & Wets, 2006; Soenen, Helke, Lodewijk Berlage et Johan Leman, 2004. Money in Motion. A Qualitative Study of Transfers of Ecuadorian and Congolese Migrants. Rapport de recherche, Conseil interuniversitaire flamand (VLIR).

¹⁸ Lizin O. 2013, Analyse des pratiques, représentations et interactions des acteurs investis dans les projets mutualistes internationaux De Bruxelles à Kinshasa, de Kinshasa à Bruxelles : Solidarco et MNK OEuvre de Santé, Mémoire présenté en vue de l’obtention du diplôme de Master en Sciences de la Population et du Développement à finalité approfondie.



particular Antwerp) became the third most important area for African immigrants and their descendants to live in.

The different patterns of integration in both the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium (Flemish region) and the French-speaking part of Belgium (Francophone region) impact the way the diaspora is organised. Flemish policymakers require the African diaspora to be organised into networks and umbrella groups of associations in order to gain formal recognition and access to funding.

Brussels and Wallonia tried to implement similar policies but without offering access to funding or recognition. As a consequence, attempts to federate the African organisation in Brussels failed by contrast with the position in Flanders.

The organisational landscape, both formal and informal, has always been very dynamic with student circles, women's associations and political groups, followed by professional organisations, refugee communities, theatre companies, music groups, religious organisations and choral societies. Community structures were built around shared national, regional or ethnic origins and common interests.¹⁹ Scholars have explored this field of community associations through various lenses.

Grégoire (2010)²⁰ examined in particular how non-profit organisations were created with the aim of mobilising people of sub-Saharan African descent under a common 'Pan-African' banner. The idea of creating an 'organised' and united 'African community' she argued, 'is

shared by a great number of community leaders, who also deplore the competitive climate that pitches associations against one another in their search for funding or recognition of their status as 'the' legitimate representative of 'the African community'. Manco et al highlighted the chronic underfunding of this organisational landscape in comparison with North African-based associations.

Demart and Bodeux (2013) looked at the political landscape since Independence.²¹ According to their findings, consecutive migratory waves after the 1960s have not only modified the political cartography of the diaspora but also the modes of political participation. The 2000s have seen a significant reorganisation of the transnational political space into a much more explicit, not to say virulent, opposition to Belgian and Congolese state monopolies. The violent attacks on Congolese personalities and elites by the *Combattants* (a pressure group specific to the diaspora) and the harsh criticism towards Belgian and Western experts illustrate this trend very well. Blogs and social networks have a subversive reach vis-à-vis mainstream media, but they are also prone to spread disinformation within the diaspora.

While men largely dominate this political field, political activism is also supported by female activism as Bolya et al. (2013) have shown in their analysis of a parliamentary session where women implicitly mobilised a shared history in order to argue in favour of a Belgian military

¹⁹ Kagné and Martiniello 2001: 35-38

²⁰ Grégoire N. Identity Politics, Social Movement and the State: 'Pan-African' Associations and the Making of an 'African Community' in Belgium, *African Diaspora*. 2010;3(1):159-81

²¹ Demart S. avec Bodeux L. 2013. *Postcolonial stakes of the Congolese political fields (DRC) in Belgium, 50 years after the Independence* in Demart S. "Congolese migration in Belgium and postcolonial perspectives" (eds.), *African Diaspora*, vol. n°6 : 72-96.

intervention in their home country.²² These women have become activists because rape and sexual torture are major weapons in the war that has been going on in Eastern DRC since 1998. The historical perspective they invoke sheds a particularly useful light on the skills acquired during (post-)migratory trajectories as well as those “inherited” from the home country.

Simon Turner (2007) explored transnational activities of the Burundian diaspora and how political participation from abroad has been transformed over various periods of time and political regimes in the diaspora.²³ He explores how at the end of the 2000s the diaspora in the new political environment of democracy and reconciliation has had to redirect its position *vis-à-vis* the home country and attempt to redefine its own *raison d'être*.

He also points out how the struggle for recognition was not merely aimed at the authorities in Burundi but also at a wider audience vaguely termed ‘the international community’ or simply ‘the big nations’. They would lobby parliamentarians, NGOs, church organisations and the general public. The same process was observed in 2011 among the

Congolese diaspora when demonstrations against Kinshasa turned into riots in Brussels.²⁴

Cultural and religious organisation

The religious sphere and in particular the evangelical and Pentecostal movements have been well-documented,²⁵ in particular the desire for churches to integrate and develop “the virtuous citizen” as a religious marker. Their relation to politics in the country of origin and more recently in Belgium has been addressed, but we know little about transnational networks. Pastors are often mobile within Europe and between Europe and Africa, yet churches have in general no institutional link with Congolese/African churches. Kimbanguist churches are equally concerned about inclusion but they are also oriented towards the country of origin and in particular the holy city Nkaba in Congo, to which they send money. There is no data about African sub-Saharan mosques.

The cultural and artistic landscape of the African diaspora is very rich but often overlooked. There is a brisk circulation of artists moving between Africa and Europe through Belgian/European institutions or in other ways.²⁶ Congolese artists are very

²² Bolya, S. C., Godin, M. & Grégoire, N., 2013. “Le Kivu, c’est notre Alsace-Lorraine, Monsieur !” Femmes d’origine congolaise dans l’espace public et contraintes de la dénonciation en situation postcoloniale, *African Diaspora*, (6), pp. 97-121.

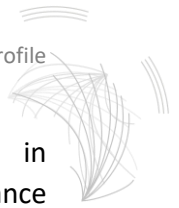
²³ Turner, S. 2007a. ‘The precarious position of politics in popular imagination: the Burundian case’. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, 1(1): 93–106 ; Turner, S. 2004. ‘Under the gaze of the “big nations”: refugees, rumours and the international community in Tanzania’. *African Affairs*, 103(411): 227–47.

²⁴ Demart S. Histoire orale à Matonge (Bruxelles): un miroir postcolonial. *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*. 2013a;29(1):133–55.

Demart S. Emeutes à Matonge et . . . indifférence des pouvoirs publics? *Brussels Studies*. 2013b Numéro 68, 1er juillet 2013, www.brusselsstudies.be.

²⁵ Demart S. 2014. « La participation politique des chrétiens d’origine congolaise (RDC) à Bruxelles » in Mazzocchetti J. *Migrations subsahariennes et conditions noire en Belgique : à la croisée des regards*, Collection Anthropologie prospective, Academia Bruylant, Louvain-la-Neuve : 429-454 Meiers B. 2013. *Le Dieu de maman Olangi. Ethnographie d’un combat spirituel transnational*. Louvain-la-Neuve: Académie-L’Harmattan; Mélice A. 2013. *Prophétisme, hétérodoxie et dissidence. L’imaginaire kimbanguiste en mouvement*. Liège: Thèse de doctorat

²⁶ Demart S. Abrassart G. 2016. “Créer en postcolonie. 2010-2015- voix et dissidences belgocongolaises”, *Bozar books/Africalia*, 330p.



involved in creating new narratives about Africa, the Congo, the colonial legacy of Belgium, and violence in Eastern Congo.

Development activities

While mobility and return have been addressed by social sciences, there is little data documenting these phenomena from a demographic point of view (Flahaux, 2015). In addition, the reorientation of migratory flows towards other Western destinations such as Canada²⁷ is another important development, which highlights the diminishing role of Belgium (and Europe) in the economy of Congolese, and maybe African, mobility. Although there is no reliable data, an analysis of TV reports on DTNC (national television in Congo) shows differences in terms of return and entrepreneurship between diaspora from Europe and diaspora from North America.

There are studies on the remittances from Congolese, Rwandans and Burundians which highlight their ongoing connection to their home countries but tell us little about how these are used in the country of origin.²⁸ Likewise, Flahaux, Mangalu and Rakotonarivo (2014) have explored the relations with the country of origin through the importance of remittances

Recent studies have focused on social care in Congo through micro-insurance schemes

initiated within diaspora circles and in collaboration with Belgian insurance companies. These allow diaspora members to take out insurance for their families in DRC. There is a double advantage to that, as the insurance gives access to care for a certain number of family members in the South, while also providing a framework for controlling “remittances” from the diaspora (i.e. the amount sent and its use in the South).

2.3 Demographic Profile

There is little public data on the composition of foreign-born populations or their descendants in Belgium, as most official data does not record national or ethnic identities. In addition, the literature often differentiates between sub-Saharan and North Africa, which is counted as part of the Middle East.

Up until the end of the 1980s, sub-Saharan immigrants remained a highly mobile minority.²⁹ It was only in the early 1990s that the African community became visible.³⁰ During the late 1990s 1757 Congolese, 219 Burundian, 159 Rwandan and 595 Cameroonian students resided in Belgium. Since then, sub-Saharan migration, mainly from Central Africa, has dramatically increased. This rapid growth was not particular

²⁷ Demart S. 2016. « Leaving Europe- How the second migration of the Congolese (DRC) illuminates the European cosmopolitanism », ed. J. Narayan & G. Bhabra, *European Cosmopolitanisms: Colonial Histories and Postcolonial Societies*, International Library of Sociology series, Routledge

²⁸ Lututala B. L'élargissement de l'espace de vie des Africains : comment le pays des 'oncles' européens devient aussi celui des 'neveux' africains. *Revue Tiers-Monde*. 1997:333–46; Berlage, Leman & Soenen 2004; De Bruyn & Wets 2006a, 2006b; DGOS/IOM. 2006; Muteta 2005

²⁹ Demart S. 2013a. Histoire orale à Matonge (Bruxelles): un miroir postcolonial, *Revue Européenne des Migrations Internationales*, 29(1):133–55 ; Demart S., 2013c (ed.), “Congolese migration to Belgium and postcolonial perspectives” (eds.), *African Diaspora*, vol. 6

³⁰ Morelli A. 1994. « Les Zaïrois de Belgique sont-ils des immigrés? Belgique/Zaire: une histoire en quête d'avenir » In G. de Villers, *Cahiers Africains/Afrika Studies*, 9-10-11:152–4.

to Belgium as it is also observed in France³¹, Spain³² and the United States³³.

While the sub-Saharan populations make out about 130,000 persons, not including descendants of immigrants born in Belgium with Belgian citizenship, the Moroccan community remains the largest African immigrant group. Starting in 1960s Belgium and Morocco signed several bilateral agreements to regulate the flow of labor migrants from the South. As a consequence, there are now more than 400,000 persons of Moroccan origin (at least one parent born with Moroccan nationality) living in Belgium.³⁴ Within the North African category, Algerians, Tunisians and Egyptians are only present in very small numbers.

When dual citizenship is allowed (i.e. the diaspora from Rwandan, Burundian and Guinean), official figures may be more accurate as people do not have to choose between two citizenships and are far easier to count. The “second generation” of immigrants are recorded as Belgian and regular censuses do not seem to have any questions about heritage. Furthermore, it is a well-known fact in the Congolese diaspora that men, in particular educated men, seem more reluctant to acquire Belgian nationality than Congolese women.

For these reasons, embassies tend to give numbers significantly higher than do demographers. By combining data from different sources it can be estimated that

there are currently: 60,000 Congolese, 40,000 Rwandan, 10,000 Burundians, 25,000 Cameroonians and 20,000 Guineans. These figures include both holders of African and Belgian citizenship.

As mentioned, the sub-Saharan African diaspora groups increased rapidly from the 2000s onwards, with an annual growth rate of 9%. 40% of those came from Congo, although this figure is gradually decreasing. As a consequence, their significance has also diminished: they formed 50% of the overall diaspora in the early 1990s and 38% in 2010. Today, three-quarters of new sub-Saharan immigrants come from parts of Africa other than DRC. Rwanda, Cameroon and Guinea have undergone the most significant rise over the past few years. Among all sub-Saharan immigrants since 1995, half are asylum seekers. The proportions vary across regions: 40% from Cameroon, 50% from DRC and almost 75% from Rwanda or Guinea.³⁵

Gender distribution

The gender distribution as of 2010 is fairly uniform with 50.3% men and 49.7% women. Most countries, especially former colonies, show a growing feminisation of migration, with the exception of Benin, Sierra Leone and Niger, where men represent more than 60%.

Geographical distribution

40% of the African sub-Saharan diaspora reside in Brussels (bilingual), 32% in Flanders

³¹ Lessault D., Beauchemin C., 2009, « Ni invasion, ni exode : Regards statistiques sur les migrations d'Afrique subsaharienne », *Revue européenne des migrations internationales*, 25(1), p. 163-194.

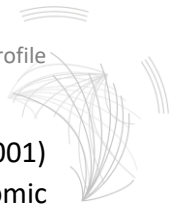
³² MPI, 2009

³³ Terrazas, 2009 cited by Schoumaker B. et Q. Schoonvaere. 2014 *L'immigration subsaharienne en Belgique – Etat des lieux et tendances récentes in*

Jacinthe Mazzocchetti, *Migrations subsahariennes et condition noire en Belgique. A la croisée des regards*, éd. Mazzocchetti, Jacinthe, première édition (Investigations d'Anthropologie Prospective; 8), Academia: Louvain-La-Neuve

³⁴ Schoumaker B. et Q. Schoonvaere. 2014 *op. cit.*

³⁵ Schoumaker B. et Q. Schoonvaere. 2014, *op.cit.*



(Dutch-speaking) and 28% in Wallonia (French-speaking). 75% of the francophone diaspora from sub-Saharan Africa are living in Wallonia and Brussels while more than 70% of the (anglophone) Ghanaian immigrants are living in Flanders.³⁶ Linguistic reasons explain this spatial distribution as well as social and family networks and diasporic organisation in Europe (i.e. presence of Ghanaian diaspora in the Netherlands). Qualitative approaches show that there is a growing internal migration towards Flanders due to housing facilities as well as to integration strategies for children, as Flanders is economically stronger than Wallonia.

Education and employment

In general, the sub-Saharan diaspora is a very educated group. Yet, there are internal variations. Demographers have shown that the Congolese, the Rwandan and the Cameroonian groups are well-educated, while this is not the case for the Guineans (or the minority of Tunisians or Algerians). No data are provided for the Burundians or other diaspora groups.

Forty percent of sub-Saharan immigrants (25 years old and upwards) have a higher level of education (post-secondary). This proportion is higher than that of Belgians or other immigrants from the South. However, and despite the fact that gathering of ethnic and racial statistics is not allowed in Belgium, demographic data produced in 2010 by the Centre for Equal Opportunities and Opposition

to Racism (and based on data from 2001) showed a paradoxical socio-economic integration pattern among the Congolese, as they do have on average the highest level of education yet the lowest level of employment in Belgian society.³⁷

In comparison with other OECD countries, Belgium seems to have particular difficulties to face with regard to the integration of its immigrants and their offspring in areas such as employment, housing and education. These problems stem from discriminatory practices.³⁸ International indicators show that the Flemish and Francophone education systems find offering equal education opportunities to immigrant children difficult,³⁹ and that the differences in integrating immigrants and 'natives' into the labour market are more pronounced in Belgium than in most other OECD countries.⁴⁰ For that reason, the European Council advised Belgium to focus its labour market activation policies towards people with a migrant background.

A Report published in 2011 highlighted the ongoing existence of colonial stereotypes stating that Blacks were perceived as more "reliable", "honest" and "tolerant", but also more "lazy", "subordinate" and less "civilized" than other minority groups. Even though the report validated the claims of structural racism by sub-Saharan diaspora groups, no recommendations were made for specific public policies.⁴¹

Although they suffer less unemployment than men, women face a high level of deskilling.⁴²

³⁶ Schoumaker B. et Q. Schoonvaere. 2014, op.cit.

³⁷ Schoonvaere Q. 2010. Etude de la migration congolaise et de son impact sur la présence congolaise en Belgique: analyses des principales données démographiques, Brussels: Groupe d'étude de Démographique Appliquée; CEOOR/UCLouvain.

³⁸ Economic and Social Council 2006

³⁹ OECD 2006; Jacobs et al. 2009; Jacobs & Rea 2011

⁴⁰ OECD 2012, De Keyser et al. 2012

⁴¹ Rapport annuel Discrimination/Diversité 2013, centre pour l'Egalité des chances.

⁴² Vause Sophie, Toma Sorana, *Traduit par* Richou Camille, « Peut-on parler de féminisation des flux migratoires du Sénégal et de la République

According to Vause, women are 60% more likely to be deskilled than men and they are mainly employed in domestic service while men have more varied job opportunities.

Only two very small-scale studies allow for a comparison among young individuals and only for those of Congolese and Rwandan descent.⁴³ However, the results of these studies are revealing insofar as, despite the fact that their parents have a similar level of education, Rwandan adolescents do better in school than their Congolese counterparts.⁴⁴

2.4 Five African Diaspora Populations

The Congolese diaspora

Waves of migration

As previously described, the early presence of Congolese in the field of African migration to Belgium dates back over a century, yet the settlement and diasporic organisation has only occurred quite recently. Nonetheless, it is by far the most important in terms of African diasporic organisations.

The first wave of immigration relates to developments during the 1950s and 1960s. Due to the racial politics of colonisation, the country needed to develop a socio-professional elite which was to be facilitated by increased student mobility from 1960 until the late 1980s. Colonisation had caused a human capacity gap both in the political sphere as well as the public institutions of Congo. Training in Western institutions,

particularly in Belgium, was seen as the solution. As a consequence, as soon as they had graduated in Brussels, Leuven, Ghent or Liège, African students went back to their home country to enter public service. Studying in Belgium became the best port of entry into Congolese politics. For this reason, Congolese did not settle, nor did they invest in Belgium. This is why, for example, the famous Congolese neighbourhood in Brussels, Matonge, is not actually owned by Congolese or sub-Saharan immigrants although its “culture” is clearly Congolese. More than four decades after the creation of this neighbourhood, there is not one Congolese (or African) who owns their own retail outlet (cafe, restaurant, grocery, hairdresser, music shop, etc.) apart perhaps from a nightclub or restaurant.

Until the end of the 1980s, the Congolese remained a highly mobile population, developing a quite unprecedented social and symbolic appropriation of the former colonial metropolis Brussels. While there was intense two-way traffic, with five flights a week connecting Kinshasa with Brussels, seeking refugee status was unthinkable for Congolese since this would be synonymous with shame and scandal in their home country.⁴⁵ During the early 1990s, Congolese mobility gradually ceased as the Zairian state completely stopped providing scholarships.

Officially, after the closing of borders in 1974, Belgian law prevented Congolese students from working. Some then crossed the border and settled in France while others managed to

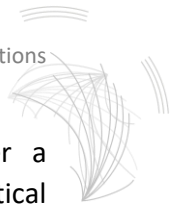
démocratique du Congo ? », *Population*, 1/2015 (Vol. 70), p. 41-67.

⁴³ Foyer 2010. De Congolese jongeren aan het woord. Een kijk op de schoolse en sociale situatie van Congolese jongeren in Brussel. Brussels: Foyer. 2010. Rwandese jongeren op Brusselse scholen. Het verhaal

van de Rwandese jongeren en hun ouders over naar school gaan en leven in Brussel. Brussels: Foyer.

⁴⁴ Postcolonial citizenship, consortium of ULG, UCL, VUB, Fondation Roi Baudouin, 2016-17

⁴⁵ Mayoyo 1994, op.cit.; Demart 2013, op.cit.



get by through illegal work or with support from their partner's job, often in domestic work. In contrast to the general trend, the Congolese were (and still are) more present in France than in the former metropolis during the 1990s.⁴⁶

So far, three generations can be identified. The first generation which came during the 1960s and the 1970s, mainly as students and diplomats or civil servants. Many of them returned to their home country, some later travelled back to Belgium for medical reasons or remained there to raise their children. This relatively small second generation sometimes shares the same age bracket with the second wave of immigrants who came to Belgium during the 1980s and 1990s. The descendants of these two groups of diasporic people constitute the third generation.

Organisations and activism

The political activism of this diaspora started with the first generation as opponents of Mobutu's regime as well as politicians of the regime who had personal conflicts with the president. The latter often went back and forth between Brussels and Kinshasa, depending on their political fortunes. The protest movements abroad became institutionalised after the creation of the single-party in 1971. The students were the most committed protestors. Once the Congo returned to a multiparty system, dozens of parties were created including some in the diaspora. From the early 2000s, the second generation joined the political landscape especially around a pressure group called the *Combattants* (Fighters) known for their violent opposition to Kabila's regime in Kinshasa and its partisans in the Congolese diaspora. They

are not a structured group but rather a pluralist, conflictual and transnational political movement.

Meanwhile, political activism vis-à-vis the Belgian state has emerged since the mid-1990s. Claims for recognition, equality and integration have been the focus of several organisations with both a Congolese and a sub-Saharan African background. In a first instance, they stem from youth issues, addressing the insecurity generated by the documentation issues of their parents and the lack of a social and cultural infrastructure, resulting in them taking to the "streets". Gang issues came to be a major challenge for the diaspora during the late 1990s which led to different forms of activism, through lobbying and community structures.

Since then, the diaspora has gradually organised around social objectives reflecting community issues such as housing and employment as well as racial discrimination, colonial crimes inclusion. Umbrella organisations and organisations with different mandates and outreach started to highlight the colonial roots of discrimination experienced individually and collectively. African history before the encounter with Europe, enslavement and colonisation started to be taught to the young and the elders as part of memory work but also as identity work. A few years ago, new identities emerged on the Belgian scene such as Afropean, Afropolitan, Black Europeans, etc. New organisations and networks have been created with the aim of mobilising people of sub-Saharan African descent under a common Black-Afro-descendant identity banner. Intersections of race, class and gender then emerged within second/third generations as a

⁴⁶ Lututala 1997, o.cit.

major challenge for recognition within and outside the diaspora.

Problems of unity have been central to these diasporic dynamics from the very beginning. In the French-speaking part of Belgium, attempts to federate Congolese- and African-based organisations have systematically failed, while in Flanders very structured umbrella organisations took shape. Passing on the Congolese languages (Lingala and Swahili and to a lesser extent Kikongo and Tshiluba) is another major identity issue and several supplementary schools for young people have been created with this aim.

Networking and business-oriented organisations are becoming more and more visible and they often develop across Belgium, Europe and more recently in Africa. Networks oriented towards the country of origin and Africa are not related to the political and economic landscape only, but also to the cultural landscape. This reflects the mobility and high-level of connectivity between people.

Finally, there are also several media outlets, all in French (radio and website), that bring together people from different generations within the Congolese diaspora and beyond (mainly the West-African diaspora).

Since the early 2000s, several politicians of Congolese origin, men and women, became visible in Belgian politics. Evangelical churches often support them initially but the lack of feedback from the diaspora eventually leaves them disconnected from it. Yet there is a significant number of Belgian Congolese, men and women, in several political parties, mainly at the municipal level and some at the federal and Senate level. Meanwhile, around 200 churches and prayer groups have been

established by Congolese pastors or preachers since 1984.

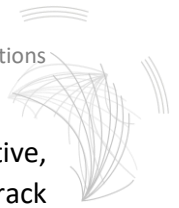
The Cameroonian diaspora

Waves of migration

Like the Congolese, the Cameroonian diaspora shows a high level of education and the presence of both Cameroonian-based organisations and Black-African organisations.

The first Cameroonians in Belgium came in the early 1980s and were students on Cameroon government scholarships to study medicine, polytechnic engineering or dentistry. This nucleus of Cameroonian diaspora members made Belgium a possible alternative for migration or study trips alongside more fashionable destinations such as France. Until the early 2000s, other Cameroonian students joined them, to study medicine or engineering but also pharmacy. From the early 2000s, the Cameroonian state stopped providing scholarships. This left students in conditions of hardship and subsequently changed the profile of new coming students. They struggled to register at a Belgian university from Cameroon so that they can acquire a visa. This wave of students generally participates in shorter courses, graduating after 2 or 3 years at the university and find it much more difficult to complete their studies given the need to find a day job.

Due to the low level of Belgian inclusion for the Afro-descendants, this diaspora suffers equally from a high level of deskilling and unemployment. While the first generation may have obtained skilled work, the second has a hard time finding training and employment. More recently however, a significant number of Cameroonians are seeking a career in nursing, either as part of a



retraining or first-time study of new arrivals. While the training can give access to documentation for those without status, it also gives better opportunities to find a job.

Finally, illegal immigrants arrived in Belgium during the 2000s. They generally don't have any formal education, but they happened to be good entrepreneurs. Even when they have resolved their documentation issues they remain within their initial circles and develop different kinds of business in Cameroon. Significant amounts of money seem to be involved here.

Organisations and activism

While many African-based organisations originate within Cameroonian circles, there is also a wide range of organisations which are established on a village-basis, sometimes two organisations for a single village. Solidarity and mutual aid are central, and they sometimes involve collective remittances sent to the village or region of origin. Other organisations are far more structured and explicitly Africa/Cameroon-oriented in their activities. Large donations are therefore collected (mainly within Belgian circles) which are then sent to the country of origin for specific activities or education. Economic forums were also organised on two occasions by one organisation in order to contribute to the development of Cameroon.

Many diasporic activities involve cultural activities (meetings with music), and a language school for the young was opened recently. A couple of churches were formed led by Cameroonian pastors but in general the Cameroonians attend the Congolese churches. There are no mosques. A few politicians joined Belgian parties and stood in municipal elections. Three seem to be currently involved while a dozen can be identified (as former

politicians, activists and not representative, etc.). Two very active websites in French track information about Cameroon, Africa and its diaspora in Belgium and Europe. Finally, there are rather more English-speaking Cameroonians in Flanders than in Wallonia/Brussels.

The Rwandan diaspora

Waves of migration

Three waves of migration characterise the Rwandan diaspora, which is the most concentrated in Belgium. Like the Congolese diaspora, the Rwandans did not have access to Belgium before Independence. Prior to the 1950s, they were present in even smaller numbers than the Congolese.

The first generation came from 1959-60 onwards and was mainly made up of students. The second generation migrated from 1973 when Habyarimana took over power and from 1994 the third and more important generation in terms of demographic weight migrated during and after the genocide, fleeing from massacres and refugee camps. Politicians and high-ranking military officers joined them in a second stage, fleeing from the military dictatorship.

While prior to 1998 the Rwandans who were in Belgium came mainly from the upper classes, almost two decades later a more diversified population has been appearing.

Organisations and activism

The field of Rwandan associations is still divided along ethnic lines, even within the second generation. There are organisations linked to the embassy, while a wide range of organisations and political movements are associated with the opposition even if they are

apolitical. When an organisation brings together people from different ethnic backgrounds (i.e. Hutus and Tutsis) there is inevitably a tacit political agreement (i.e. against the Kigali regime).

The two, very different and opposing claims addressed to the Belgian state and to the international organisations are on the one hand, the recognition of Tutsi genocide and on the other, the recognition of the fact that the victims in 1994 came from the different ethnic groups in the country (Tutsis, Hutus, Twas) and the need to reconsider the notion of genocide.

Apart from political activism against the Rwandan government, this diasporic landscape shows an overrepresentation of cultural activities. The transmission of Rwandan culture to the younger generation is of major importance for the Rwandan diaspora: dance and language (Kinyarwanda) are taught by many organisations. By keeping their culture alive, Rwandans abroad remain connected to their country of origin, both symbolically, by nurturing a common Rwandan identity, as well as practically, through long-distance communication and travels. However, Hutu people say they can't return to their country of origin for political reasons.

There is no particular advocacy for stronger integration or versus racial discrimination in Belgium. Rwandans are generally not associated with sub-Saharan Africa-based organisations and do participate in their struggles. Either they consider this activism as completely utopian or as secondary in their order of priority.

Some observers, however, believe that the discrimination faced by the second generation will eventually lead to a radicalisation process.

Finally, and this is one of the remarkable particularities of the Rwandan diaspora, there

are a variety of professional networks. Generally Rwandan men are very well-educated, yet they face a high level of discrimination in the labour market. As a response the community built ethnic niche markets, in particular in the taxi sector. The Rwandan union, for instance, is the third largest in the country. Community solidarity also affects other sectors where individuals manage to facilitate the integration of their fellow countrymen in informal ways. Apart from one journalistic website opposed to Kigali, there are a couple of existing media outlets (radios and website) in Kinyarwanda. There are no Belgian politicians of Rwandan origin. Lastly, there are a couple of churches founded and led by Rwandan pastors although many Rwandan people attend the Congolese churches.

The Burundian diaspora

Waves of migration

Due to the racial politics of the colonisation, the Burundians also came to Belgium only from the 1950s onward and only for study trips, reserved to the elite. According to Turner, the first generation of Burundians in Belgium had fled Burundi following the genocidal violence in 1972 and were joined in the late 1980s by a number of Hutu postgraduate students who were in Belgium on government grants.

In the late 1990s, the diasporic picture became more diverse as new groups of Burundians arrived. Many were Hutu who had been politically active, but there were also a number of Hutu and Tutsi human rights activists, journalists and other non-partisan critics of the government. Unlike previous waves, they were equally critical of the opposition. Finally, many young Hutu and Tutsi from elite families



arrived simply because life was getting very difficult in Bujumbura and they saw better opportunities in Belgium. Belgium again is home to the largest Burundian population in Europe.

Simon Turner observed that Hutu and Tutsi do not mix at all which seems still to be the case. According to individuals who were interviewed, the situation has not changed that much, apart from the second generation who do try to reach beyond ethnic divisions.

Several people who were interviewed spoke of high levels of suspicion, not only among people from different ethnic groups, but also within each group due to regional and class factors. Diaspora leaders highlighted how difficult it is for them to bring people together and to make them say what they genuinely think, even on basic issues. Others mentioned that they were unable to reach any Burundian audience and get people involved in diasporic activities.

Organisations and activism

80% of the organisations seem to be politically oriented towards the country of origin. Like the Rwandan diaspora ethnic conflicts are reflected in the community organisation. It is not as clearly split as the Rwandan community, and mobilising people is a widespread concern.

The second generation tries to overcome these divides in recently formed organisations, in particular within student circles. There is a well-developed network of professionals involving both men and women. Its aim is to encourage the creation of business and enterprises in Burundi by the diaspora.

There is no particular claim regarding integration, racial discrimination or shared history between Belgium and Burundi.

Burundian activists are generally not associated with sub-Saharan African-based associations and do not feel concerned by their claims. Youth, particularly students born both in Belgium as well as in Burundi have recently created a movement whose aim is to lobby against the regime of Bujumbura while overcoming ethnic and regional divides within the Burundian diaspora.

The sole Belgian politician from the Burundian diaspora, a woman, left politics after a couple of years and went to London. As far as this study is aware, there are no Burundian churches.

The Guinean diaspora

Waves of migration

The Guinean diaspora is by far the most recent as well as the least studied and least known. Demographers and censuses show, however, that the number of Guineans in Belgium is growing, and it could become the second largest sub-Saharan African diaspora after the Congolese.

According to interviews with community group leaders, the Guinean diaspora dates back to the early 2000s. A second generation is emerging, with a majority being not older than 15-16 years.

This diaspora is characterised, in contrast to the four previous groups, by a low level of education and high rate of illiteracy. The reason for Belgium as the destination is not clear, yet there is an obvious divide between the elite who chose France as a point of destination and the diaspora in Belgium, which mainly consists of entrepreneurs and lower-class people. This seems to be related to ethnic division, as the Peul, which form the majority

of Guineans in Belgium, were long excluded from Guinean politics.

Organisations and activism

The community field is organised along geographical lines down to the village/ neighbourhood level. Ethnic membership is also said to be important (Peul, Malinke, Soussou).

Organisations are not federated into an institution despite the existence of a “president of the Guinean diaspora of Brussels” who was self-appointed in 2000 and recognised by a Guinean minister on the occasion of a meeting with the Guinean diaspora of Belgium. However, there is a senior member of the community who is informally recognised as a symbolic authority and members of the diaspora often consult him. Accordingly, it may be said that organisations do work in networks although very informally.

Several politicians from the diaspora, mainly men, came to prominence in the public sphere as candidates or representatives for various Belgian political parties. Several Guinean mosques were established in Belgium in the form of prayer groups. The risk of fundamentalism is not absent in the community. Serious suspicions among people have also been pointed out as a legacy of Guinean politics.

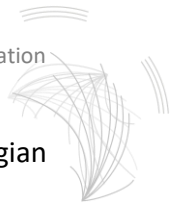
2.5 Diaspora Engagement by Country of Origin

Three of the 25 organisations that completed the questionnaire mentioned being aware of policies put in place by their country of origin. The main initiative they mentioned is the organisation of conferences by their own embassies on various topics such as health or

economics. Two mentioned their own involvement in the country of origin (DRC).

Table 1 Known Diaspora Engagement Policies

Programmes	Social networks
DRC	
One-week travel of a dozen young people from Benelux to DRC for meeting with ministers, visiting institutions, etc. (2014)	
Conferences e.g. on health, entrepreneurship	None
Diaspora board/Ministry of Foreign Affairs	
Economic forum organised by the embassy	
Rwanda	
Diaspora board /Ministry of Foreign Affairs	
“Come and see” programme (early 2000s).	Churches
Economic forum organised by the embassy	
Burundi	
Diaspora board /Ministry of Foreign Affairs	None
Cameroon	
Diaspora board /Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Ethnic networks (Bamileke)
Guinea	
Diaspora department /Ministry of Foreign Affairs	Ethnic networks (Peul)



2.6 Policy Awareness and Diaspora Participation

Awareness of development strategies in Africa

Few of the diaspora organisations are aware of development strategies in Africa, either at national, regional or continental level.

Among the organisations interviewed, few were able to mention an African development strategy. When they did, it was mainly at the national level. Interviewees are entirely unfamiliar with regional and continental development strategies and they often believe that they are practically non-existent.

Awareness of development strategies in Europe

Similarly, with respect to Europe, only few organisations are aware of national (Belgian) and continental (European) development strategies: a fifth of the interviewee population said they were aware of development strategies within Belgian policies and European Union policies, but they did not specify which one. It seems like only a minority of organisations, those whose leaders frequently rotate between Europe and Africa, know of these development strategies and policies and have integrated them into their plans and programmes.

A significant number of the interviewees consider that European and also Belgian development strategies are biased, as they hardly include the Afro-descendants who have lived in the country for one or two generations.

This apparent lack of information might be a result of capacity gaps due to insufficient

funding and limited interactions with Belgian institutions.

The results of the questionnaire show that African organisations are underfunded. They received almost no finance for their administrative operations. Most funding is earmarked for specific activities. Half of the organisations that answered the questionnaire mentioned other funding sources such as membership, income from events, private funds and sponsors, individual support from honorary members and royal foundations.

Table 2 Known Development Initiatives

Local partnership
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Municipal or regional funding for a programme or activity which may include activities in/ with African countries ▪ Diasporic organisations and networks
European Union
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ European-wide African Diaspora Platform for Development (EADPD) ▪ African Foundation for Development (AFFORD) ▪ Africa-Europe development platform (ADEPT) ▪ General Coordination of Immigrants for Development (CGMD)
Belgian cooperation
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ WBI (Wallonia Brussels International) ▪ Migration for Development in Africa (MIDA)

Awareness of diaspora policies and programmes

Cooperation between diaspora organisations and Africa-based partners happens mainly outside institutionalized programmes or

government policies. Short- and long-term collaborations cover women's associations (DRC, Burundi, Rwanda), artists (DRC), employment and professional networks (Burundi), support for development projects (DRC, Rwanda), NGO support for Rwandan refugees based in DRC and local Burundian associations. Remittances are regularly mentioned as a way to participate in the real economy of African countries outside of specific policies.

One of the interviewees mentioned having been actively engaged with supranational institutions, in particular the European Networks of Afro-descendants or African diaspora such as the European-wide African Diaspora Platform for Development (EADPD) whose objective it is to promote contributions of the diaspora as a development actor in Africa (2011-13)⁴⁷ or the CGMD (General Coordination of immigrants for development) whose aim it was to federate the 128 immigrant associations in order to reinforce political and institutional cohesion and increase the impact of the diaspora in terms of remittances, development and mobility or labour.⁴⁸

A minority of respondents mentioned MiDA but are not involved with it. MiDA was established in the late 1990s, as a response to the African brain drain. Part of its mission is to develop sustainable relations between Africa and its diaspora settled in Europe. As part of IOM (International Organisation for Migration), this programme aims to develop and reinforce the institutional capacity of African key sectors.

2.7 Challenges and Opportunities of Diaspora Participation

Encouraging factors

Political factors

- ✦ Stability
- ✦ Willingness of African states to collaborate with the diaspora
- ✦ Being part of the ethnic majority in power
- ✦ Dual citizenship
- ✦ Voting abroad

Economic factors

- ✦ Financial support for project
- ✦ Availability of funding for the organisation's operational costs
- ✦ Community or professional networks

Administrative factors

- ✦ Legal documentation in Europe
- ✦ Institutionalised point of contact in the country of origin
- ✦ Participation in bilateral/cooperation projects
- ✦ Access to development programmes in Europe and in Africa

Social and cultural factors

- ✦ Efficient partners in Africa
- ✦ Understanding local "habits and customs"
- ✦ Knowledge of the national language
- ✦ Sector/contextual knowledge
- ✦ Africa as a success story of return

⁴⁷ <http://www.icmpd.org/our-work/capacity-building/migration-development/ongoing-projects/european-wide-african-diaspora-platform-africa-europe-platform/>

⁴⁸ <http://migration4development.org/en/projects/coordination-g%C3%A9n%C3%A9rale-migrants-d%C3%A9veloppement-premi%C3%A8re-experience-organisations-solidarit%C3%A9>



Inhibiting factors

Political factors

- ✦ Insecurity and lack of political stability
- ✦ Threats by political opponents
- ✦ Ethnic favouritism
- ✦ Lack of unifying national narrative
- ✦ (African, diasporic or European) media disinformation
- ✦ „Afrobashing” in Europe

Economic factors

- ✦ Difficulties in sending donations
- ✦ No support for diasporic initiatives
- ✦ Poor management of development aid
- ✦ Economic opportunism vis à vis diasporas
- ✦ No secure investment environment

Administrative factors

- ✦ Documentation in Europe
- ✦ Slow administrative procedures
- ✦ Lack of trust towards/ support from the embassies
- ✦ Lack of information
- ✦ Outdated skills due to the deskilling/ unemployment trajectories in Europe

Social and Cultural factors

- ✦ Negative representation of the diaspora
- ✦ Suspicion experienced in home countries
- ✦ Necessity of intermediaries in transactions

Key concerns, challenges and opportunities

Key opportunities

- ✦ Entrepreneurship
- ✦ Communication technology
- ✦ Politics during electoral transition
- ✦ Business: car, minerals, clothing, real estate, renewable energies
- ✦ Universities and education
- ✦ Private and international companies
- ✦ Public institutions
- ✦ Arts and culture

Key concerns

- ✦ Lack of unity among Africans at home and abroad
- ✦ Racism from North Africans towards sub-Saharan and Black Africans
- ✦ Right to vote abroad, dual citizenship
- ✦ Lack of organisation within diaspora
- ✦ Lack of information and efficient networks
- ✦ Lack of trust among diasporas
- ✦ Lack of trust in the country of origin in terms of use of money
- ✦ Economic opportunism towards diaspora
- ✦ Insecurity
- ✦ Corruption, lack of democratic institutions

Key challenges

- ✦ Corruption
- ✦ Professionalisation of diasporic sector
- ✦ Productive collaboration between diaspora and their embassies
- ✦ Social fragility of afro-Belgians

- ✦ Developing networks in Africa
- ✦ Developing entrepreneurship skills
- ✦ Business with local people

Development opportunities structure

In order to draw a picture of the development opportunity structure, I refer to the concept of *political opportunity structure* from Chaudary⁴⁹, in which he analyses the ways in which various forms of homeland-oriented transnational political activities are embedded in receiving, origin and transnational political opportunity structures.

The political opportunity structure concept is intended to emphasise how immigrant Transnational Political Action is influenced and shaped by a number of external factors. The approach highlights some of the key dimensions that need to be taken into consideration in sending and receiving countries as well as the transnational sphere. Immigrant integration policies and institutional infrastructures including co-development policies constitute key components of the receiving-society's Political Opportunity Structure, which in turn can facilitate or hinder immigrant Transnational Political Action.

Table 3 Development Opportunity Structure

Receiving Country	
Political context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Low inclusion ▪ Low access to local/national politics ▪ Lack of co-development policies/ initiatives linked to the diaspora

Social & cultural context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Mode of organisation of diasporic associations (diversity, collaborations, wide range of activities, importance of African identities/ culture) ▪ Self-funding skills ▪ Search for socio-economic opportunities abroad
Origin-country	
Political context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Autocracy and contested democracy ▪ Conflict and post-conflict environment, political crises ▪ Dual-citizenship and lack of external voting rights
Social & cultural context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Socio-economic opportunities in the country of origin ▪ Collaborations with local NGOs and diverse movements (youth, gender, etc.).
Transnational POS	
Political context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Low level of awareness and engagement with supranational organisations/ institutions/programmes ▪ Lack of inclusion in bi-lateral relations
Social & cultural context	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Transnational networks (entrepreneur networks, gender networks, political networks, ethnic networks etc.) ▪ Mobility of the diaspora and transnationalisation of families ▪ Plurality of community medias

⁴⁹ op.cit.



2.8 Recommendations

Most of the people who were contacted for this study welcomed this initiative and looked forward to the forthcoming African Union initiatives. Most diaspora communities share the objective of supporting their home countries and the continent as a whole, both at the individual and collective level. At the same time, however, they want to be acknowledged as independent actors.

Hence, states shouldn't simply ask how diasporas can contribute to existing development strategies but rather how initiatives that originate from the diaspora could be best utilized to develop both, African countries and African diaspora groups.

The bulk of remittances and donations is not channelled through specific development programmes. Nevertheless, there is a widespread desire and need for investment in Africa and some original projects have recently emerged as part of development strategies at different levels.

A relevant example is a community project, which supports Congolese-Africans born in Belgium who face delinquency issues (i.e. school dropout, family dropout, risky behaviour, gang membership, etc.) by organizing short and long-term trips to Congo. This Congolese-based organisation has observed that visiting Africa has three positive effects, which help young people break with "bad practices": leaving an environment that fosters negative perceptions of Afro-descendants; connecting with their African origins; and finding themselves in a strict environment which parents cannot always provide given their living conditions in Europe. The organisation (which was informally developed by a large number of families in

Belgium and France) applied to various calls for funding, but despite the fact that the organisation lobbied representatives of African origin, the project did not succeed.

States need to address information and capacity gaps to increase awareness of and access to existing diaspora policies, plans and programmes.

To limit the negative effects of brain drain, states should embrace the creative potential within their diaspora. Providing information, funding and training to support innovative ideas for development and connecting investors with entrepreneurs can help harness that potential. For example, a 31-year-old man of Congolese origin created a Facebook page for Afro-descendants but lacks the funds to go live. In the absence of an African platform that connects good ideas with African sponsors, he was advised to go to the Chinese and American embassies find support.

In order to improve connections between the diaspora and the homeland, it is important to build trust and avoid reproducing stereotypical images on both sides. Making narratives about successful development initiatives and return more visible could be one way of encouraging diasporas to be more engaged.

2.9 Conclusion

The five African communities selected for this study, the Congolese, the Rwandan, the Burundian, the Guinean and the Cameroonian, each show different types of organisation in relation to their motives and modes of migration. It was also illustrated that the community group landscape is dynamic, both in terms of numbers and in the diversity of their activities.

The results of the questionnaire indicate that the level of awareness of development strategies in Europe and Africa is quite low. This relates more generally to issues of marginalisation within Belgian institutions, high levels of discrimination in society, and underfunding of diaspora organisations. As a consequence, subscriptions, private donations, or crowdfunding emerge as informal alternatives for many of the organisations. The questionnaire also shows that the top ten of diasporic organisations are scarcely engaged in the policies, plans and programmes of African countries either at the national, regional or continental level. A search for other organisations specifically oriented towards development strategies, without connections to the community of professional networks is needed. These may have better access to information and development strategies programmes in African or European states.

A wide range of development practices in different areas were identified including awareness raising, culture, social interaction, development, business, gender, youth, lobbying and education. The factors facilitating and encouraging diaspora participation are numerous and concern the fields of politics, society, economy, and administration. While political and military stability and a formal institution dedicated to questions of diasporic investment/activities in the country of origin are very important, these are often inadequate.

The development opportunity structures show the constraints for diaspora engagement both in Belgium (low inclusion, low access to receiving-country local politics, lack of co-development initiatives) and in the country of origin (political system, relative stability and diaspora engagement policies). It also

illustrates the ability of the diaspora to overcome constraints by mobilising internal resources and transnational networks.

It would be interesting to compare the development strategies led by the African diaspora within and outside European/African programmes. It is also extremely important to produce information about plans, policies and programmes for the diaspora, accessible to as many organisations/people as possible.

3

3 The United Kingdom

3.1 Introduction & Methodology

Following the trend of research on diaspora engagement, there have been a number of studies on African diaspora groups in the UK such as Van Hear, Pieke and Vertovec's (2004) report on the role of the UK-based diaspora in development and poverty reduction in their home countries (Van Hear et al., 2004); James, Sawyerr and Emodi's (2014) paper on Nigerian health and education professionals in the UK (James et al., 2014) and Hassan, Musse, Jama and Mohamed's (2013) study on the Somali diaspora in England and Wales (Hassan et al., 2013). While these mapping studies of diaspora communities provide useful insights into characteristics of various African diaspora communities and their level of engagement with the country of origin, there is still a lack of studies that provide a general overview of African diaspora populations and their organisations in the UK.

This study compiles existing information on various African populations in the UK and collects the experiences of diaspora organisations working on a national, regional, and continental level in Africa. While this research attempts to provide an overview of African diaspora populations as a whole, it is worth noting that diaspora communities are not homogenous, as scholars working with diaspora populations have shown (Sinatti & Horst, 2014). Due to the general lack of data, this study does not offer a comprehensive overview of African diaspora populations in the UK. Also, the small sample of respondents interviewed makes it difficult to generalise the findings of this research. Rather, the study aims to contribute to the literature on African

populations in the UK by gathering the demographic information available and providing an insight into the experiences of the diaspora organisations interviewed.

The study employed a mixed-method approach beginning with desk research which reviewed the literature and statistical data available on African Diaspora populations in the UK. The research used census data from the four countries of the UK (England, Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland) obtained from the Office of National Statistics (ONS) for England and Wales, National Records of Scotland (NRS) for Scotland and the Northern Ireland Statistics and Research Agency (NISRA) for Northern Ireland. In addition to the literature review and data analysis process, an internet search was conducted to identify African diaspora organisations for semi-structured qualitative interviews. These interviews took place between February and March 2017. Additional interviews were also conducted with representatives of African embassies and High Commissions in London.

Mapping of diaspora organisations

The first step in the search for diaspora organisations was conducted using the Charity Commission's database. The Charity Commission registers and regulates charities in two of the four countries of the United Kingdom (England and Wales). An additional search was carried out on the Scottish Charity Regulator, the equivalent body in Scotland. The researcher then filtered out UK-based NGOs working in African countries from the diaspora organisations, resulting in over 500 organisations. Many of the organisations had inactive websites or did not provide contact details. An internet search sought to identify organisations pursuing diaspora engagement initiatives at a national level in their home

countries or at a regional or continental level in Africa in general. This proved to be particularly challenging as the vast majority of organisations found were community organisations in the UK or small hometown associations from the countries of origin. The researcher also consulted AFFORD's directory of 180 African Diaspora Development Organisations, seventeen of which had already been found via the internet search. AFFORD provided valuable advice for potential organisations that may fit the search criteria. A total of 64 organisations were contacted.

The diaspora organisations approached for this research often had several aims and activities. However, they can be divided into seven categorical groups based on their main activities:

- **Media organisations:** focusing on news and entertainment for African diaspora communities.
 - **Community welfare:** focusing on the welfare of their diaspora communities in the UK.
 - **Development:** focusing on development activities in their home countries or in Africa in general. This category includes organisations which have development projects e.g. in health, education, agriculture, business development, training and capacity-building, as well as organisations whose activities involve advocacy and/or contributing to policies in their home countries or in Africa.
 - **Cultural:** focusing on celebrating or promoting national culture.
 - **Private sector:** organisations working with or investing in the private sector in their home countries. This includes organisations working in recruitment and job creation.
 - **Professional:** refers to organisations set up to support professionals from African diaspora communities.
- **Religious** institutions and organisations supporting African diaspora communities.

Out of the 64 organisations contacted, a total of 23 organisations could be reached and agreed to participate in the study. In addition to the interviews with the diaspora organisations, an interview was conducted with the Scotland Malawi Partnership (SMP), an organisation which coordinates links between Scotland and Malawi. The SMP, though not a diaspora organisation, was chosen for the support it offers to Malawian diaspora organisations in Scotland (and the UK in general).

Key individuals

Three key individuals in diaspora development were approached based on advice from AFFORD. One did not respond to emails whilst one agreed to a brief informal conversation which provided useful insights into the diaspora development in the UK. One of the key individuals was interviewed for this research. In addition, nine African Embassies and High Commissions were contacted for this study. Only the Embassy of Zimbabwe and the High Commissions of Nigeria, Kenya, Ghana and Uganda could be reached and agreed to participate in the study. The qualitative interviews attempted to address the following questions:

- Data on diaspora populations: size, locations, level of education, professions and skills, organisations (including a list of the top organisations)
- The diaspora engagement policies and initiatives of the High Commissions and Embassies



- Types of support offered to the diaspora communities and diaspora organisations
- Knowledge of the types of diaspora-organised development projects/initiatives in the country of origin and level of support offered by the High Commissions and Embassies to the various diaspora organisations pursuing such initiatives

3.2 Historical Migration Patterns

While the presence of Africans in Britain dates back to the Roman period, the documentary evidence available traces the history of Africans from the sixteenth century onwards (Adi, 1998). The Africans who regularly visited or resided in Britain during this period were mostly seamen, manual labourers and also children as aristocratic ‘pets’ (Killingray, 1994:2-4). The majority of Africans lived in major slaving ports in London, Liverpool and Bristol. By the eighteenth century, African communities could be found in parts of London, Liverpool, Bristol, Hull, Manchester, Bedfordshire, and Yorkshire (Akyeampong, 2000). During the nineteenth century, though most Africans coming to Britain were still seamen or manual labourers, there was a growing group of African students from elite families who had been sent to Britain for education and to be trained as clergy, doctors, traders and lawyers. This trend continued up to the twentieth century, a period during which more Africans came to Britain to study, with some visiting Britain in official capacities as vital parts of the colonial establishment (Killingray, 1994). As Emmanuel Akyeampong (2000) has reported, the number of African students in Britain increased from an estimated 45 in 1927 to 70 in 1940. These numbers increased by the early 1950s, when the number of African students in Britain rose to 2,000 (Akyeampong, 2000). Likewise, the

number of Africans ‘born in Africa’ or ‘of immediate African parentage’ residing in Britain rose from 4,540 in 1911 to 5,202 by 1931. This number doubled to 11,000 by 1951 (ibid.).

Although British immigration laws became more restrictive following the end of colonial rule in Africa, immigration numbers began to rise again in the 1960s and 1970s as various newly independent countries in Africa began to experience economic and political instability (Killingray, 1994). Huge numbers of African migrants arrived in Britain as of the late 1980s onwards (Werbner, 2010). The backgrounds of these migrants were diverse, “from wealthy Nigerians and Ghanaians to rural migrants and refugees from Somalia and Zimbabwe” (The Economist, 2016). By 2011, as the UK census shows, Africans in the UK outnumbered Caribbeans to become the largest of the two Black British groups (Pears, 2012).

3.3 Demographic Profile

The data available in the UK does not offer precise numbers on the overall size of the African diaspora groups (Aspinall, 2011), particularly when taking the African Union’s broad definition of the African diaspora into account. The data collected in the 2011 census by the ONS (England and Wales), the NRS (Scotland) and NISRA (Northern Ireland) cover ‘country of birth’ and ‘passports held’ (which can be used as proxies for nationality) as well as ethnicity (which can be used as a proxy for cultural and home ties). However, these categories have serious limitations, particularly when considering the second/third generation Africans who may not have an African country as their country of birth, nor have additional African passports. In

addition, the ethnic category for Africans in the UK is 'Black African' which does not include a breakdown of the different African nationalities. This creates a multitude of issues for identifying members of the African diaspora groups and there have been many critiques on representing a diverse population as a homogenous group (Bhopal, 2002). Likewise, the African High Commissions and Embassies contacted for this research do not hold accurate numbers on their diaspora populations.

Census data on the Black African population in the UK

Data from the 2011 Census show that the number of residents in England and Wales is 56 million. 13 % of the 7.5 million people that were born outside of the UK were classified as Black/ African/ Caribbean/ Black British. The population of Black/ African/ Caribbean/ Black British who were born in the UK make up 0.7% of the total UK born population in England and Wales (ONS, 2015:1). In Scotland, the population of Black Africans is 29,638, amounting to 0.6% of the total population, whereas in Northern Ireland the number is 2,345, equivalent to 0.1% of the population (Aspinall & Chinouya, 2016).

The Black African ethnic group is one of the UK's fastest growing populations, having doubled in size in each decade between the 1991 and 2011 censuses (Jivra, 2012). The highest concentrations are in the London boroughs of Southwark, Newham, Lambeth, Lewisham and Croydon. Outside London, Black Africans mostly live in Birmingham, Leeds and Milton Keynes. The gender distribution remains fairly uniform (51.5% females and 48.5% males).

Table 1 shows the breakdown of UK and non-UK born recorded in the Black African

category, as well as the total number of people in the Black/African/ Caribbean/Black British categories (inclusive of Black Africans).

Table 1 Population of Black Africans in England and Wales

Ethnicity	UK born	non-UK born
Black African	323,000	666,000
Black/African/ Caribbean/Black British	873,000	992,000

Source: 2011 Census analysis: Ethnicity and religion of the non-UK born population in England and Wales: 2011.

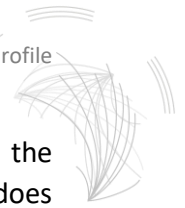
Age and gender distribution of Black Africans in England and Wales

Table 2 shows the age and gender distribution for people in the Black African ethnic category (both the UK and non-UK born). Unlike the age distribution in many of the African born populations, the inclusion of the UK born population results in a large number of people in the 0-15 age group (30.1%). The gender distribution remains fairly uniform (51.5% females and 48.5% males).

Table 2 Age and gender of Black Africans in England and Wales

Age group	Females	Males	Total
0–15	148,015	150,220	298,235
16–34	176,281	158,481	334,762
35–54	152,996	142,444	295,440
55–64	19,194	18,022	37,216
65 +	13,343	10,632	23,975
Total	509,829	479,799	989,628

Source: 2011 Census Table DC2101EW: Ethnic group by sex by age.



Geographic distribution

Of 989,628 in the Black African category, 573,931 live in London. The highest concentrations are in the boroughs of Southwark, Newham, Lambeth, Lewisham and Croydon.

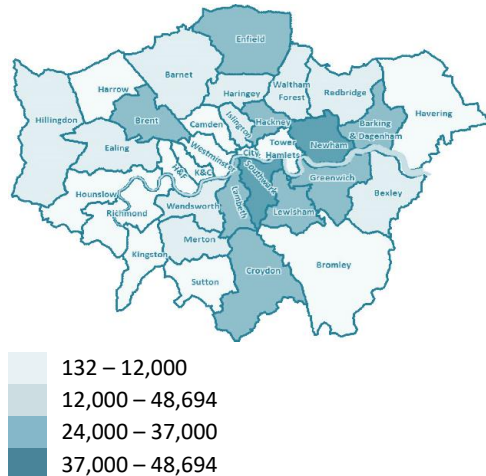


Figure 1 Location of Black Africans in London, 2011

Source: Data taken from the 2011 Census Age by detailed ethnic group by sex for London wards Commissioned Table CT0225

Outside London, Black Africans mostly live in Birmingham, Leeds and Milton Keynes.

Limitations of Black African category

The 2011 Census Analysis (ONS, 2015) on ethnicity, religion and country of birth in England and Wales revealed that approximately 50% of the people who listed an African country as their country of birth also identified themselves as 'Black African'. The rest identified as 'Asian/Asian British' or 'White British' (ibid.). Similarly, most of the South African born population in England and Wales 'identified as White (84%) and over two fifths identified as White British (44%)' (ibid.). Also, 69% of Kenyan born, 68% of Tanzanian born and 58% of Ugandan born 'identified as Asian' (ibid.). This makes the ethnic category of 'Black African' problematic for identifying Africans in the UK as it does not show Africans

of White and Asian ethnicities. Also, the information available on Black Africans does not include a breakdown of the country of origin. In addition to reducing the diversity of Africans to the racial category of 'Black', the Black African ethnic category also assumes a homogenous identity for all Africans of different nationalities, ethnicities, and diasporic generations (Aspinall, 2012).

African diaspora population based on country of birth

Data from the 2011 census on country of birth indicate that there were 5,581 African born in Northern Ireland, 46,742 in Scotland and 1,312,617 in England and Wales. An overwhelming majority of the latter population resided in England (1,290,611) and 47% of this group lived in London.

Tables 3 – 6 show the top ten African countries in the 'non-UK born' category of the 2011 UK census. It is evident that the highest number of African born in the UK are consistently from certain countries with colonial ties; in particular, South Africa, Nigeria, Zimbabwe, Kenya, Ghana and Somalia.

Table 3 Top ten countries of the African-born population in Northern Ireland

Rank	Country	Number of people
1	South Africa	1,847
2	Zimbabwe	657
3	Nigeria	543
4	Kenya	301
5	Zambia	285
6	Egypt	195
7	Sudan	165
8	Ghana	162
9	Algeria	132
10	Guinea-Bissau	115

Source: NISRA Census 2011 Table: Country of Birth – Full Detail: QS206NI.

Table 4 Top ten countries of the African-born population in Scotland

Rank	Country	Number of people
1	South Africa	10,607
2	Nigeria	9,458
3	Zimbabwe	4,666
4	Kenya	2,743
5	Ghana	1,658
6	Zambia	1,637
7	Somalia	1,591
8	Libya	1,327
9	Egypt	1,322
10	Uganda	986

Source: NRS Census 2011 Table: AT 003 2011 – Country of birth (detailed), Scotland.

Table 5 Top ten countries of the African born population in England and Wales

Rank	Country	Number of people
1	Nigeria	191,183
2	South Africa	191,023
3	Kenya	137,492
4	Zimbabwe	118,348
5	Somalia	101,370
6	Ghana	93,846
7	Uganda	59,815
8	Mauritius	41,324
9	Tanzania	35,237
10	Egypt	29,821

Source: Census 2011 Table: QS213EW, Country of birth (expanded), regions in England and Wales.

Table 6 Top ten countries of the African born population in London

Rank	Country	Number of people
1	Nigeria	114,718
2	Somalia	65,333
3	Kenya	64,212
4	Ghana	62,896
5	South Africa	57,765
6	Uganda	32,132
7	Mauritius	23,779
8	Zimbabwe	21,309
9	Sierra Leone	17,245
10	Tanzania	16,156

Source: Census 2011 Table: QS213EW, Country of birth (expanded), regions in England and Wales and London Datastore Infographic – World in a City <https://data.london.gov.uk/census/infographic-world-in-a-city/>, last accessed 12 October 2016.

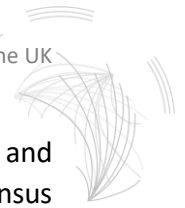
The census data on ‘passports held’ in England and Wales follow similar trends to the data captured in the country of birth category, with the top six African nationalities remaining the same.

In sum, the current data available does not offer a comprehensive overview of Africans in the UK; however, one can get a general estimate through piecing together information from various sources such as the census, reports and academic literature. It is also worth noting that perhaps the current statistical information available does not sufficiently capture the complexities of the African diaspora population because of the varied definitions of terms such as ethnicity.

Table 7 Top six nationalities of the African population in London

Rank	Nationality	Number of people
1	Nigeria	112,397
2	South Africa	59,750
3	Zimbabwe	48,712
4	Ghana	46,660
5	Kenya	15,514
6	Somalia	1,172

Source: Census 2011 Table QS212EW: Passports held (detailed), local authorities in England and Wales.



3.4 Top Six African Populations in the UK

This section examines the top six African-born diaspora populations in England and Wales as identified in the census data on country of birth, including data on age and gender, as well as geographical distribution (regions/cities with the highest concentrations). These populations come from Nigeria, South Africa, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Somalia and Ghana.

Nigerian diaspora in the UK

Nigerians (West Africans) have regularly visited or resided in Britain since the sixteenth century (Adi, 1998) and, in more recent times, there is also a long history of Nigerian students from elite families studying in Britain. Nevertheless, the large-scale Nigerian emigration to Britain began only in the late 1960s during the Biafran War (Nigerian civil war). The number of Nigerians in Britain further increased from the mid-1980s as a result of a decline of the country's oil-based economy, coupled with economic difficulties due to the implementation of structural adjustment programmes introduced by the IMF, and a general oppressive political environment (Van Hear et al., 2004). The Nigerian born population is one of the UK's largest non-UK born populations, ranking seventh among the top ten non-UK born in England and Wales (ONS, 2012). While the 2011 Census only recorded 543 Nigerians in Northern Ireland, 9,458 in Scotland and 191,183 in England and Wales, the numbers are estimated to be much higher due to irregular patterns of migration. The Nigeria High Commission in the UK stated it would be difficult to estimate the precise numbers but that there have been claims of the numbers

being anywhere between 500,000 and 2,000,000 people. Furthermore, the census figures do not include second or third generation Nigerians (James et al., 2014).

Table 8 shows a breakdown of the Nigerian born population in England and Wales in five age groups as well as their gender. The vast majority is seen to be in the 16–34 and 35–54 age groups, whereas the gender distribution is roughly uniform with 48.7% females and 51.3% males.

Table 8 Age and gender of Nigerians born in England and Wales

Age group	Females	Males	Total
0–15	7,771	7,741	15,512
16–34	36,460	37,384	73,844
35–54	38,386	42,715	81,101
55–64	5,671	6,127	11,788
65 +	4,760	4,168	8,928
Total	93,048	98,135	191,183

Source: Census 2011 Small Population Tables
Commissioned Tables CT0562 to CT0566.

As with most of the African populations, the highest concentration of Nigerians is in London with the boroughs of Southwark, Greenwich, Lewisham, Newham, Barking & Dagenham and Bexley recording the highest numbers. Outside London, the highest concentration is found in Manchester followed by Essex (particularly, Thurrock) in the periphery of London.

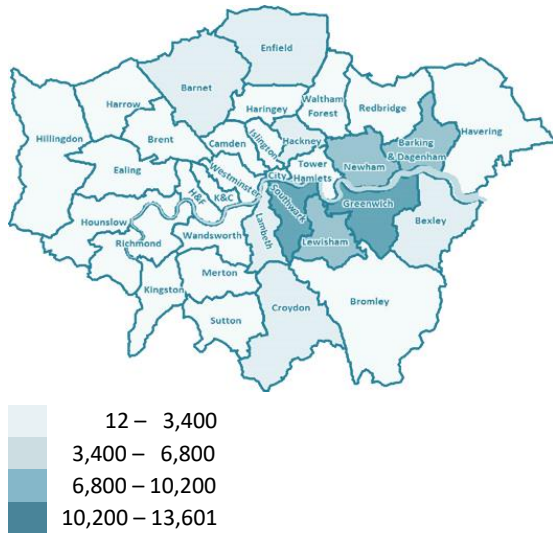


Figure 2 Location of Nigerian born in London, 2011

Source: Data taken from the 2011 Census Commissioned Table CT0226.

South African diaspora in the UK

The UK has been one of the main destinations of South African born, particularly the White population, since the early twentieth century (Sveinsson & Gumuschian, 2008). Common language and cultural ties, as well as Britain’s need for skilled medical staff, have contributed to the growing numbers of South Africans in the UK (ibid.). The number of South African born in Northern Ireland is 1,847, in Scotland 10,607 and 191,023 in England and Wales. They are ranked eighth among the top ten non-UK born in England and Wales (ONS, 2012). A large number of South Africans hold British passports due to British ancestry which is one of the main factors for the UK being a popular destination for South Africans (Sveinsson & Gumuschian, 2008). However, this also makes it difficult to have an accurate number of South African nationals in the UK.

Table 9 shows a breakdown of the South African born population in England and Wales in five age groups as well as their gender. As with the Nigerian born, the majority is in the 16–34 and 35–54 age groups with a rather

uniform gender distribution: 51.4% females to 48.6% males.

Table 9 Age and gender of South African born in England and Wales

Age group	Females	Males	Total
0–15	7,055	7,195	14,250
16–34	38,164	40,209	78,373
35–54	33,405	31,876	65,281
55–64	9,810	7,244	17,054
65 +	9,681	6,384	16,065
Total	98,115	92,908	191,023

Source: Census 2011 Small Population Tables Commissioned Tables CT0562 to CT0566.

London records the highest numbers of South Africans who are mostly concentrated in the more affluent areas (BBC, 2009b), particularly in the boroughs of Wandsworth, Merton, Barnet, Richmond upon Thames and Camden. The highest concentration outside London is found in Greater Manchester, Milton Keynes, and the Surrey borough of Elmbridge bordering London.

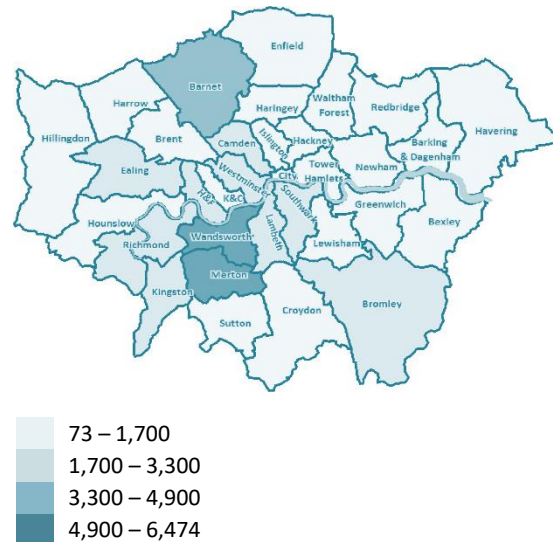
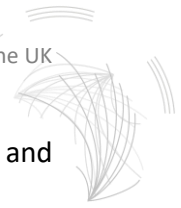


Figure 3 Location of South African born in London, 2011

Source: Data taken from the 2011 Census Commissioned Table CT0226.



Kenyan diaspora in the UK

Kenyan migration to the UK is comprised of three distinct groups. The first group consists of ethnically South Asians who migrated to the UK in the 1960s and 1970s. The second group are mostly Black Africans who arrived in the UK as economic migrants, whereas the third group is a small population of Kenyan born whose parents were British civil servants in Kenya prior to independence (BBC, 2009a). Also, a large number of Kenyan migrants arrived in the UK as refugees in the 1980s due to political unrest in Kenya (IOM, 2010). The current census figures show that the number of Kenyan born in Northern Ireland is 301, in Scotland 2,743 and 137,492 in England and Wales. However, the Kenya High Commission reported an estimated 200,000 Kenyans in the UK in 2013. Table 9 shows a breakdown of the Kenyan born population in England and Wales in five age groups as well as their gender. Unlike Nigerians and South Africans, there is a shift towards the age groups of 35–54 and 55–64. The gender distribution remains fairly uniform with 51.2% females and 48.8% males.

Table 10 Age and gender of Kenyan born in England and Wales

Age group	Females	Males	Total
0–15	1,927	2,034	3,961
16–34	10,810	9,507	20,317
35–54	32,641	30,235	62,876
55–64	16,353	17,248	33,601
65 +	8,694	8,043	16,737
Total	70,425	67,067	137,492

Source: Census 2011 Small Population Tables Commissioned Tables CT0562 to CT0566.

London continues to be the area with the highest concentration of Kenyans who mostly reside in the boroughs of Harrow, Brent, Barnet, Hounslow and Ealing (see Figure 4). The highest concentrations outside the capital

are in Leicester, Greater Manchester and Birmingham.

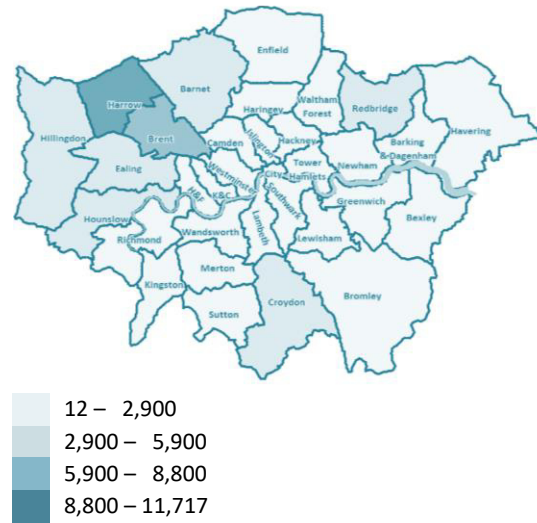


Figure 4 Location of Kenyan born in London, 2011
Source: Data taken from the 2011 Census Commissioned Table CT0226

Zimbabwean diaspora in the UK

A mapping exercise of Zimbabweans in the UK, conducted by the IOM, described three phases of Zimbabwean migration to the UK (IOM, 2006). The first wave was soon after independence in 1980 when an estimated 50,000 to 60,000 White Zimbabweans emigrated to the UK. The second wave occurred between 1990 and 1997 when many professionals, such as teachers, nurses and doctors, emigrated due to hardships experienced as a result of structural adjustment programmes recommended by the IMF and World Bank in 1990. The third wave of migration, from 1998 onwards, was due to the unstable political situation in Zimbabwe.

According to the 2011 census, the number of Zimbabwean born in Northern Ireland is 657, in Scotland 4,666 and 118,348 in England and Wales. However, the Zimbabwe Embassy in London estimated the population at 500,000

based on the same IOM mapping study of UK's Zimbabwean communities (ibid.).

Table 11 shows a breakdown of the Zimbabwean-born population in England and Wales in five age groups as well as their gender. Similar to Nigerians and South Africans, most of the Zimbabwean population is within the 16–34 and 35–54 age groups. Despite the reasonably uniform gender distribution, the percentage of females in the population is the second highest among the six African-born groups reported here with 54.7% females and 45.3% males.

Table 11 Age and gender of Zimbabwean born in England and Wales

Age group	Females	Males	Total
0–15	6,412	6,233	12,645
16–34	24,628	20,040	44,668
35–54	26,066	21,858	47,924
55–64	5,220	3,898	9,118
65 +	2,431	1,562	3,993
Total	64,757	53,591	118,348

Source: 2011 Census Table DC2109EW. Country of birth by sex by age (regional).

Unlike the other five African-born populations, the highest concentration of Zimbabweans is in the southeast region of England and mostly in Milton Keynes. In London, the highest concentrations are in the boroughs of Croydon, Merton and Lewisham, whereas outside London and Milton Keynes, the highest number of Zimbabweans can be found in Greater Manchester, Leicester, and Hampshire.

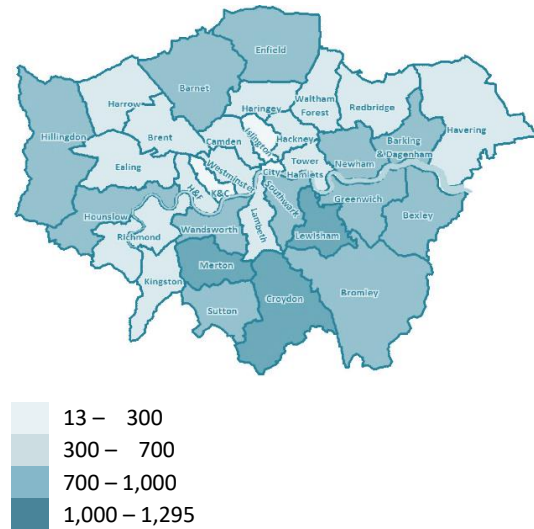


Figure 5 Location of Zimbabwean born in London, 2011

Source: Data taken from the 2011 Census Commissioned Table CT0226.

Somali diaspora in the UK

Somalis have had a long history of migration to the UK dating back to the 1800s when merchant navy sailors worked in British ports in East London, Cardiff, Bristol and Hull (El-Solh, 1991; Van Hear et al., 2004). Upon the decline of merchant navy roles in the UK, some Somalis relocated in search of work to industrial cities such as Sheffield. Groups from northwest Somalia, formerly the British Protectorate of Somaliland, migrated to the UK prior to the war in Somalia in the 1980s whereas, after the outbreak of war, a large number of Somalis arrived in the UK as asylum seekers or to reunite with families already in the UK and settled in areas with existing Somali communities. The numbers of Somali refugees further increased in 1991 when the Somali Republic collapsed. The census figures show 88 Somali born in Northern Ireland, placing them thirteenth out of the African-born populations in Northern Ireland. The number of Somali born in Scotland is 1,637 and the figure rises to 101,370 in England and Wales (Table 12). Consistent with the other



African born populations (excluding Kenya), most Somalis are in the 16–34 and 35–54 age groups. Their gender distribution shows the highest number of females out of the six African born populations with 56.3% females and 43.7% males.

Table 12 Age and gender of Somali born in England and Wales

Age group	Females	Males	Total
0–15	6,558	7,122	13,680
16–34	23,868	18,298	42,166
35–54	21,139	15,159	36,298
55–64	1,944	1,817	3,761
65 +	3,533	1,932	5,465
Total	57,042	44,328	101,370

Source: Census 2011 Small Population Tables Commissioned Tables CT0562 to CT0566.

The highest concentration of Somali born in England and Wales is in London, particularly in the boroughs of Brent, Ealing, Newham, Haringey and Enfield. Outside London, the highest number of Somali born are found in Birmingham, Greater Manchester and Bristol (one of the ports where historically Somalis settled).

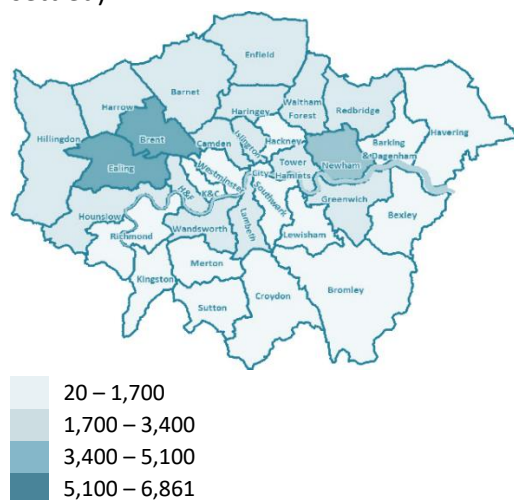


Figure 6 Location of Somali born in London, 2011

Source: Data taken from the 2011 Census Commissioned Table CT0226.

Ghanaian diaspora in the UK

Ghanaians, like other West African peoples, have had a long history of migration to the UK dating back to the sixteenth century and elite families had a tradition of educating their children in the UK (Adi, 1998). However, Ghanaians have mostly settled in the UK since the 1960s (Vasta & Kandilige, 2007) and there are now second and third generation British-Ghanaians (Krause, 2008), forming, together with Nigerians, the UK’s largest West African communities (Van Hear et al., 2004:12). Large numbers of Ghanaians also arrived in the UK in the 1980s due to political events and economic instabilities related to structural adjustment programmes directed by the IMF (Rimmer, 1992; Van Hear et al., 2004).

The 2011 Census reports 162 Ghanaian born in Northern Ireland, 1,658 in Scotland and 93,846 in England and Wales. Nevertheless, through their self-registration scheme, the Ghanaian High Commission in the UK estimated that there are approximately 800,000 Ghanaians in the UK, adding that this number does not capture all Ghanaians in the UK. Krause (2008) has also noted that ‘numbers [of Ghanaians] differ depending on the source - Ghanaian radio stations in London speak of over a million Ghanaians in the capital’ (Krause, 2008:237).

Table 13 shows a breakdown of the Ghanaian born population in England and Wales in five age groups as well as their gender. As with most of the other African born populations examined, the majority of Ghanaians are in the 16–34 and 35–54 age groups with the two genders being fairly equi-distributed in the population: 51.9% females and 48.1% males. Despite the estimated 800,000 registered Ghanaians through the Ghana High Commission self-registration scheme, the

mission has no breakdown available by gender or age.

Table 13 Age and gender of Ghanaian born in England and Wales

Age group	Females	Males	Total
0–15	2,162	2,085	4,247
16–34	15,105	13,716	28,821
35–54	22,937	20,779	43,716
55–64	5,754	5,571	11,325
65 +	2,771	2,966	5,737
Total	48,729	45,117	93,846

Source: Census 2011 Small Population Tables Commissioned Tables CT0562 to CT0566.

The highest concentration of Ghanaian born in England and Wales is in London with the boroughs of Croydon, Southwark, Newham, Lambeth and Enfield showing the largest numbers (see Figure 7). Outside London, the highest concentrations are in Milton Keynes, Greater Manchester and Birmingham.

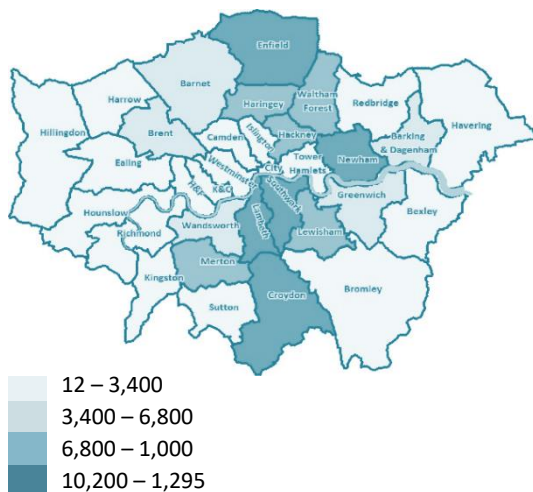


Figure 7 Location of Ghanaian born in London, 2011

Source: Data taken from the 2011 Census Commissioned Table CT0226.

Professional and educational profiles

This section discusses the educational and professional profiles of the selected six African diaspora populations using information gathered from literature and the census, interviews with High Commissions and Embassies as well as interviews with various diaspora organisations. Nonetheless, it has been difficult to find detailed information on the educational and professional profiles of Africans in the UK. Overall, the main finding is that the information which exists is patchy or anecdotal and does not offer an accurate picture of the educational and professional profiles of the various African diaspora groups.

Figure 8 shows the education level of the Black African ethnic group according to the 2011 Census data¹. Though there is a high share of tertiary level educated individuals between the ages of 25 and 64, 41% of African graduates in the UK are in non-graduate jobs (The Economist 2016).

¹ The 2011 Census data uses 7 categories to record the data for 'Highest level of qualification'. These categories are: No qualifications, Level 1, Level 2, Apprenticeship, Level 3, Level 4 and Other qualifications. The researcher adapted these terms for the ease of the reader to the following:

- Level 1: Below basic secondary level education
- Level 2: Basic secondary level education
- Level 3: Above secondary level education
- Level 4: Tertiary

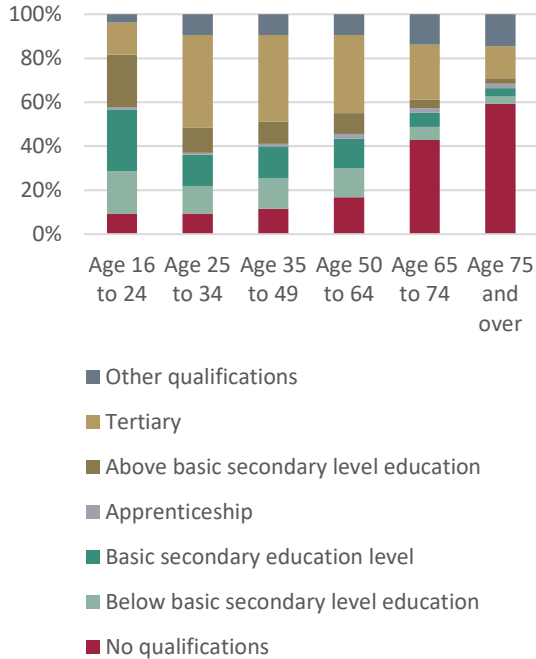


Figure 8 Education level of Black Africans in England and Wales

Source: Table DC5202EW: Highest level of qualification by ethnic group by age.

Though there is a high share of tertiary level educated individuals between the ages of 25 and 64, 41% of African graduates in the UK are in non-graduate jobs (The Economist, 2016).

Figure 9 shows the economic activity of Black Africans in England and Wales. The data reveals that 35% of the population, aged 16 or over, are in full-time employment, 13% in part-time employment, 10% are economically active but unemployed and 32% are economically inactive. Also, the data collected on self-employment shows that 4% of Black Africans are full-time self-employed, compared to 2% that are part-time self-employed.

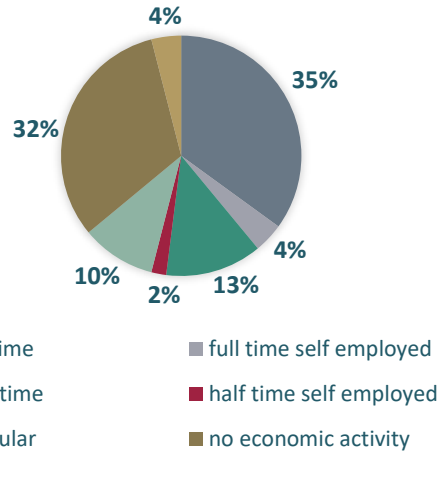


Figure 9 Economic activity of Black Africans in England and Wales

Source: Census 2011 Table DC6201EW: Economic activity by ethnic group by sex by age.

It is noteworthy that the information available on occupation and industry in the 2011 census used broad categorisations on the main activity of the respondent's employer or business which makes it difficult to retrieve detailed information on the professional profiles and occupation sectors of Africans in the UK. Nevertheless, the information available on the ethnic category of Black Africans reveals that 13.4% of Black African men were in the wholesale and retail trade, 11.6% were in administrative and support services activities and 15.2% were in human health and social work activities (Aspinall & Chinouya 2016). In contrast, many Black African women were registered as working in human health and social work activities (38.5%), 11.1% were in wholesale and retail activities and 9.1% were in the education sector (ibid.). According to the analysis on ethnicity and the labour market in England and Wales, 54% of Black African men and approximately 59% of Black African Women work in low skilled jobs such as administrative

and secretarial occupations, caring, leisure, sales and customers service, and other elementary occupations (ONS, 2014). While the employment situation of Black African women does not deviate much from the overall average, the number of Black African men in low skilled occupations lies 20 percentage points above the national average.

Figure 10 shows that the highest number of African born in full-time employment are South Africans (55.9%) compared to the Somali born who have the lowest number in full-time employment (11.9%). Out of the six African populations, Somali born also have the highest number of ‘economically inactive’ (48.6%) and economically active but unemployed (15.4%). As discussed in an article by The Economist, the unemployment rate for Black Africans is particularly high among the Congolese and Somali communities (The Economist, 2016). Also, a report by the Council of Somali Organisations (Osman et al., 2015) revealed that Somali refugees faced difficulties finding employment in the UK when they arrived, despite having qualifications and experience of ‘white-collar’ jobs back in Somalia (ibid.:1– 2). Those who were able to find jobs were often employed in low level, elementary occupations such as ‘social work, health and human services, customer service, administration, transportation and storage’, whilst others were likely to provide cleaning services or work in manual labour (ibid.).

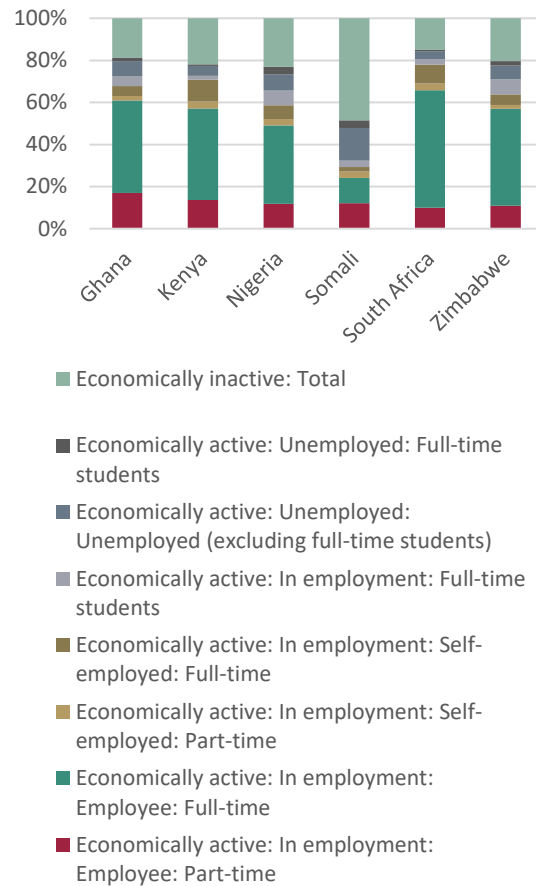


Figure 10 Economic activity of the top six African born populations in England and Wales

Source: Census 2011 Small Population Tables Commissioned Tables CT0562 to CT0566 and information for Zimbabwe was retrieved from Census 2011 Table DC6208EWr-

OECD DATA² on the education level of the six African born populations in the UK reveals that a significant percentage of Nigerian born have tertiary level education, followed by South Africans. On the contrary, Somali born had the lowest percentage of tertiary educated and the highest percentage of Primary level education. Figure 12 also shows that Somali born had the lowest percentage in Professional occupations and the highest percentage in Elementary occupations in

² OECD data is based on the population censuses of OECD countries for the 2000 census round.



contrast to South Africans who had the highest percentage for Professional occupations and the lowest percentage for Elementary occupations.

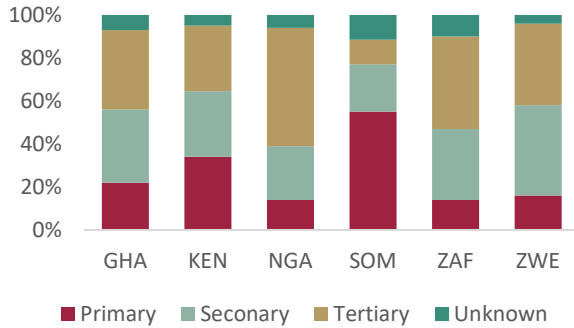


Figure 11 Education level of the six African born populations in the UK, 2000

Source: OECD 2011

Information provided through existing mapping studies, while not representative, offers some insight into the types of occupations of the African diaspora. For example, the IOM study on Nigerian Health and Education professionals focused on professionals from these sectors, though the same report also noted that, apart from these sectors, Nigerians (including second and third generation) are in a variety of professions, including finance and banking, investment management, information technology, accounting, engineering and architecture (James et al. 2014).

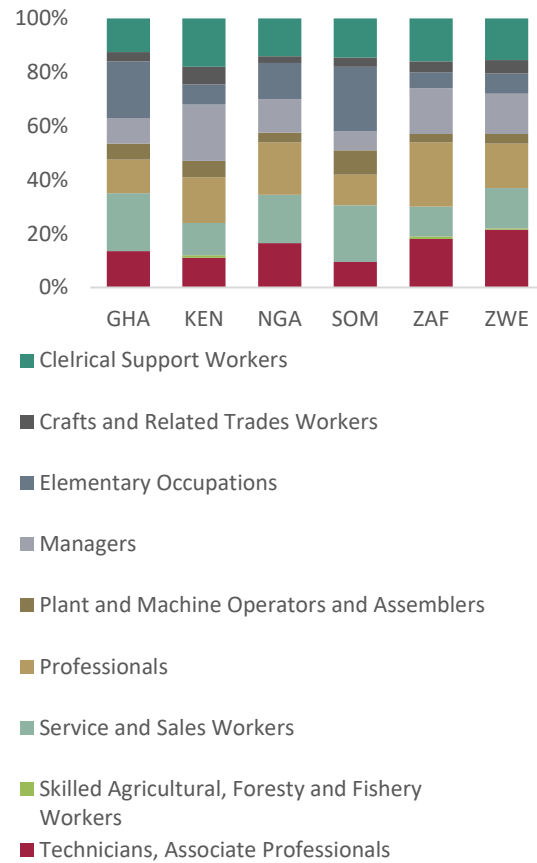


Figure 12 Occupation of the six African born populations in the UK, 2000

Source: OECD 2011

The respondents from a Somali Diaspora Mapping Exercise were in various occupational sectors including health, education, public sector, agriculture and the legal sector (Hassan et al. 2013); nevertheless, the sample was not comprehensive. Likewise, in the IOM's Zimbabweans Mapping Exercise (IOM 2006) the authors cited an article in the Observer newspaper which listed several professions, including doctors, teachers, nurses, engineers and even cricketers among the occupations of Zimbabweans in the UK (The Observer 2003)³. Zimbabwe was also

³ cited by IOM, 2006, p.18

ranked in the top ten emigration countries of tertiary-educated in 2010/11 (World Bank Group 2016). Finally, the Runnymede report on South Africans in the UK listed finance, business, IT and health and social work among the common occupational sectors for South Africans in the UK (Sveinsson & Gumuschian 2008).

INTERVIEWS with representatives at the High Commissions and Embassies also produced little information on the educational and professional profiles of their diaspora population. The Ghana High Commission in London has a Skills Database where members from the diaspora can register their professional information and the Kenyan Ministry of Foreign Affairs attempts to collect information on the professionals in the Kenyan diaspora. However, these sources are not comprehensive lists of the educational and professional profiles. Also, it has not been possible to obtain this information on overall numbers for this research. However, the representative at the Kenya High Commission in London named health (nursing, doctors, pharmacists) and education (teaching in secondary and university sections) as being among the most common occupational sectors for Kenyans in the UK, though no source was given for this information.

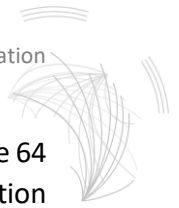
The representative at the Nigeria High Commission said that there was a diverse range of education levels and professions among Nigerians in the UK and that they are employed in all sectors including an educated elite in health, education, business and the UK Home Office.

The findings from the interview at the Zimbabwe Embassy in London were similar. In particular, the representative interviewed named the health sector as the 'number one

employer of Zimbabweans in the UK' and mentioned that there is a high number of Zimbabweans in nursing, referring to reports on the number of Zimbabwean nurses in the National Health Service (NHS). He also listed accounting, finance, engineering and the legal sector as other popular occupational sectors for Zimbabweans in the UK. He estimated that '99% of Zimbabweans in the UK are literate, and that most have secondary school level education or a professional qualification besides the basic level of education'.

The 23 diaspora organisations interviewed did not have comprehensive information on the level of education or professional profiles of their diaspora communities. In general, the organisations were only able to provide broad statements about the breakdown of different occupational categories within their group but they were not able to provide numbers.

The health sector was one of the most commonly cited occupational sectors by the representatives from the High Commissions and Embassies. According to NHS Data the top five qualified African nationalities in nursing, midwifery and health visiting staff are Zimbabweans, Nigerians, Ghanaians, South Africans and Kenyans (Chalabi, 2014). South Africans make up the largest number of African doctors in the NHS (5,073 practitioners) and are ranked fourth in the General Medical Council's list of top 20 countries of qualification, followed by Nigerians in fifth place (4,681 practitioners) (GMC, 2017). Moreover, data from the NHS reveal that Egypt, Kenya and Ghana are represented in the top five of African countries in terms of numbers of doctors in the NHS (Chalabi, 2014). This information does not include second or third generation immigrants who were born and received their qualifications in the UK and the data set seems



incomplete as the nationality of a large number of staff was unknown.

Conclusion

The information available from the census data suggests high levels of education among the Black African population of working age (between the ages of 25 to 64). Likewise, the OECD data on the six African born populations in the UK shows that they have high levels of education, particularly among the South African and Nigerian born. The census data also revealed that most African born of working age were in employment, though Somali born had the largest numbers of economically inactive individuals. According to the OECD data, South African and Zimbabwean born were the top two African born populations in highly skilled professional roles. As previously mentioned, it has been challenging to obtain comprehensive information on the professional profiles and common occupational sectors of Africans in the UK. This information is necessary to better understand the socioeconomic characteristics of Africans in the UK and more research is needed to address this lack of comprehensive data.

3.5 Policy Awareness and Diaspora Participation

The 64 diaspora organisations approached for this research were divided into seven categorical groups based on the main activities of the organisations. These categories are media, community welfare, development, cultural, private sector/investment, religious and professional/networking. Information on the main diaspora engagement activities of the organisations, their size (in terms of membership), number of staff, and sources of

funding is provided in the Annex. Out of the 64 organisations 23 were interviewed in addition to one key individual and representatives from five African Embassies and High Commissions.

Engagement with country of origin and Africa

The level of engagement with the country of origin, or the continent in general, varied across the different diaspora organisations. Through their experience working on projects and policy initiatives, large diaspora organisations, such as AFFORD, have engaged with several African countries and have access to high level officials and governments, as well as continental agencies like the AU. They also have the most resources in terms of funds, expertise, experience, and international contacts and the widest reach of all the diaspora organisations interviewed for this research. Other organisations with access to government departments at national level through their activities include:

- **AFRUCA** – Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Ministry of Education in Nigeria. AFRUCA also worked closely with the National Agency for the Prohibition of Trafficking in Persons (NAPTIP), a nationwide, multidisciplinary anti-trafficking agency in Nigeria.
- **CANUK** – Federal government in Nigeria.
- **CAMEROON FORUM** – Prime Minister's office, Cameroon.
- **DFAD** – Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Zambia.
- **ENTRAIDE** – Ministry of Education and Ministry of Planning and Monitoring Implementation of the Revolution of Modernity in DR Congo.
- Future of Ghana (**FOG**)/Me Firi Ghana –

Diaspora Liaison Office, the President's Office in Ghana.

- **MAUK** – Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Malawi.
- **MIND UK** – Ministry of Health and Ministry of Education in Malawi.
- **NIDO** – Federal government in Nigeria.
- **SEF** – Federal Government of Somalia.
- **TOSHPA** – Ministry of Health and Sanitation in Sierra Leone.
- **UDHF** – Ministry of Health in Uganda.

The other diaspora organisations interviewed for this study had access to higher education institutions (e.g. MANSAG, GDDA and The Global Native), key communities or individuals (e.g. World G18 Somalia), charitable organisations (e.g. Zimbabwe Community Association) or private sector industries (e.g. Change Nigeria Project) through their diaspora engagement activities in their home countries. Africa Oracle has access to key diaspora individuals, international institutions and African diplomatic staff as part of its advocacy work in diaspora engagement.

Level of awareness of development strategies and diaspora engagement policies, plans or programs

The diaspora organisations' level of awareness of development strategies and diaspora engagement policies plans or programmes at national, regional and continental levels varied greatly. Generally, organisations with greater awareness of development strategies and diaspora policies tended to be the ones with high-level access to government departments and staff or non-governmental agencies with a national or continental reach. AFFORD showed awareness of continental-level strategies such

as the AU's Agenda 2063, as well as national development strategies in various African countries, such as Ethiopia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Ghana and Nigeria. UDHF, through partnering with other East African diaspora organisations specialising in healthcare, is aware of health-related development strategies in its home country, Uganda, as well as in Kenya and Tanzania. Other organisations such as DfAD, MAUK, MIND UK, SEF, Me Firi Ghana/ FOG, TOSHPA, AFRUCA, Entraide, and Cameroon Forum have knowledge of national development strategies within their specific fields through their work with government departments (e.g. diaspora policies, health, education, children's rights and business development).

Some organisations are aware of national development strategies through their relationship and contacts with academic institutions in the countries of origin. For instance, The Global Native has a memorandum of understanding with the Institute of Development Studies at the National University of Science and Technology (NUST) in Zimbabwe which provides them with current knowledge of development strategies and policies in Zimbabwe.

Smaller organisations often stated that they faced some challenges in acquiring knowledge on developmental strategies or diaspora policies in the countries of origin or in Africa in general. One of the main issues cited is linked with difficulties of accessing this information from the relevant diplomatic missions in the UK. For example, the representative from Africa Oracle said that she relies on her personal research into national and continental strategies and not through information that is provided by the Embassies and High Commissions in the UK. As she explained:



“Embassies and High Commissions have a huge role in creating that level of awareness as the nation’s representatives in the UK. How else are we supposed to get information about these policies? We, in the diaspora, are not privy to AU [African Union] meetings or governmental meetings unless we work in those sections, so I’ll throw back a question and ask how are we supposed to have that level of awareness? More needs to be done to engage with the diaspora and collaborate with them.”

Having easier access to information on key development strategies and diaspora policies at African Embassies and High Commissions in the UK can enable the diaspora to develop greater awareness of national and continental development priorities and strategies.

3.6 Challenges and Opportunities of Diaspora Participation

During the interviews, the respondents were asked to reflect on their experience of diaspora engagement in their countries of origin, or in Africa in general, and discuss the key factors which encourage and discourage diaspora participation. While responses were varied, the general trend was that the challenges the organisations faced during their diaspora engagement work in the country of origin influenced their responses for the factors that discourage diaspora participation.

Key factors encouraging diaspora participation

Passion

Having a passion for, and sense of commitment to, the country of origin and the continent in general, as well as an interest in their culture and heritage, were among the top reasons the organisations gave for pursuing their work. One organisation commented that their work gave them a sense of being close to home. Another driving force was a sense of familial duty. For example, as another organisation remarked, feeling that their work was helping their ‘brothers and sisters’, motivated the organisation to continue their work despite the challenges they faced.

Having their knowledge and experience valued

Some organisations found encouragement in having their insight and contribution as professionals from the diaspora valued. For example, one organisation commented that working in partnership with UK organisations on projects in the country of origin, having their local knowledge and experience valued by these organisations and getting funding for their diaspora activities (including a conference on their diaspora engagement projects in April 2017) were all motivational factors.

Good working relationship with Embassies and High Commissions and government departments

Having a good working relationship with national level representatives both in the UK (through Embassies and High Commissions) or at government departments in the country of origin/at continental level (AU), appeared to

encourage the work of the diaspora organisations. As one of the organisations said, having built a rapport and a positive working relationship with partners in the relevant ministries in the home country enables them to easily access information which they need for the organisation's work. Similarly, the role of the Embassies and High Commissions in supporting events organised by the diaspora organisations, and their willingness to facilitate access to the relevant government departments, is very important for building productive working relationships between the diaspora organisations and governments in the country of origin. As the representative from one of the organisations commented:

"I remember when I first started the engagement with global health. The Ministry of Health were frustrating us, the diaspora here. The government didn't think we were serious, they were not interested. She's [the High Commissioner] been very good at championing and showing that we were very helpful and keen to be involved and removing that kind of stigma around the diaspora."

Seeing the impact of their work

The Global Native is an Industrial Provident Society (a cooperative) where its members invest their savings into providing farming equipment and transport for rural farmers in Zimbabwe. They receive returns on their investments when farmers use their equipment. The organisation also has a training scheme which has trained 7,000 farmers and 50% of these farmers are productive. For them, seeing the results of their impact in the local community in Zimbabwe and how it has inspired members of the Zimbabwean diaspora in the UK to pursue similar initiatives is a significant motivating factor.

Supportive family

For the Change Nigeria Project, the financial support from her family and friends in the UK, in terms of donating to the project through their subscriptions, is vital for her diaspora participation work. The same holds for the assistance she receives from family in Nigeria through giving her access to their office in Nigeria for the organisation's meetings. She also named having a supportive and proactive project partner in Nigeria as a big source of encouragement.

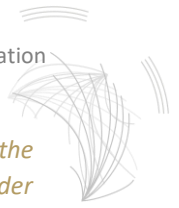
Inspiration from the achievements of other diaspora populations

Some of the organisations used the achievements of other diaspora populations, such as the Mexican and Indian diasporas' contribution to the development of their countries of origin, as inspiration for what they can achieve in their own home countries and in Africa in general. The representative from one of the organisations interviewed cited the work of the Indian diaspora in developing the IT industry in India as one of the key factors that encourages his diaspora participation activities, as it is an example of what can be achieved through a coordinated effort at diaspora engagement.

Key challenges and factors that inhibit or discourage diaspora participation

Difficult working environments in the origin country

As previously mentioned, the relationship between the diaspora and key actors in the country of origin can be complicated. Some of the diaspora organisations commented that they were treated with suspicion by civil servants in their home countries. For instance, one of the



organisations which has a good relationship with their High Commission in the UK is still having to deal with suspicion from the government in the home country despite the efforts of the High Commissioner. Likewise, one organisation has found it difficult getting support from their Embassy in the UK and the government in the home country due to their suspicion of people from the diaspora. The representative interviewed said:

“Many people from the diaspora left the country because of the political situation; because of that the government is quite suspicious of people from the diaspora trying to go to [the home country]. I think that’s the problem. I can see where they are coming from, but it doesn’t help people who want to go and do development work or who want to do tourism.”

Generally, being treated with suspicion can be a strain on the diaspora’s willingness to engage with their countries of origin or Africa in general.

DIFFICULTIES WORKING WITHIN GOVERNMENT STRUCTURES

Another common challenge the diaspora organisations faced whilst implementing their projects and activities was due to difficulties working with or within government structures in African countries. These include lengthy and obscure bureaucratic processes, ‘*lax attitudes*’ of civil servants, corruption and lack of governing structures to support businesses. For example, one organisation described the process of registering their project in the home country challenging. As they explain:

“In order to do anything, you need to get permission from the government and it’s not straightforward. You need to jump through hoops, and sometimes use your private connections in order to get through the hoops. For example, here in the UK when you need to register a charity the

process is well known, what you need to do. In [the home country] there is a process officially in order to register but no one seems to follow that process, so they tell you it’s free but you need to pay something for someone to speed the process up, that is a major problem.”

Likewise, lengthy bureaucratic systems can be discouraging for people in the diaspora seeking to set up businesses in the country of origin. As one of the organisations commented, depending on the country, it can be a ‘*bureaucratic nightmare*’ trying to register a business in Africa. They gave Ethiopia as an example of a country with complex procedures for registering businesses whereas, in Rwanda, a business can be registered within 48 hours. Nevertheless, as the Chairman of one of the organisations said, lack of functioning structures, especially in the judicial, financial and taxation systems, as well as land tenure (anything to do with ownership) and law enforcement can be particularly discouraging for diaspora participation in their home countries. Corruption in government structures was also cited as both a constraint in terms of implementing projects and a discouraging factor for diaspora participation in the home country in general, as one organisation mentioned with regards to their work in the home country. These examples show that strong and effective government structures in the countries of origin are perceived by the diaspora organisations interviewed as essential for diaspora participation.

Difficulties dealing with civil servants, particularly when the diaspora organisations have experienced what they call a ‘*lax attitude*’ to their work, was another factor which they found inhibited diaspora participation in the home country. One organisation gave an example from their experience working in their home country, of arriving to a meeting

with a representative at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs to find that the person was not in, despite having set up a meeting. They also had difficulties contacting The Diaspora Desk who, they say, were slow in responding to the organisation when they first started contacting them. The organisation has also missed an opportunity to work on an IOM-funded diaspora repatriation project in collaboration with the office responsible for diaspora affairs due to a lack of organisation on the part of the institution. They, therefore, were not able to mobilise and this project did not come to fruition. Similarly, another organisation also mentioned difficulties accessing key policymakers as one of the challenges for their work in an African country.

It is noteworthy that two diaspora organisations have avoided working with the government in their home countries based on the perception that government structures are laborious and restrictive. They found working directly with local project partners more fruitful than pursuing partnerships with the government. As with all the examples presented in this section, the difficulties the organisations faced with navigating the systems in place can be restrictive for diaspora participation at a national level in the country of origin.

Political instability

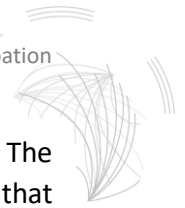
Unstable political situations or security risks in the country of origin was a key challenge for five of the organisations interviewed for this research. For two of the organisations the political situation in their home countries has been challenging for their work on the ground. One of the organisations commented that the political issues, along with the economic climate in the home country, are big deterrents for diaspora

engagement activities in the country. Another organisation commented that the marginalisation of certain groups in the country of origin is a significant obstacle to diaspora participation. They said that the UK diaspora needs assurance that the marginalisation of these groups will not continue. One of the organisations discussed how the precarious political situation in the home country has affected their work. The representative interviewed was unable to travel to the country in December 2016 for the organisation's work and said, *'the situation in [the home country] is volatile at the moment, so you need to think twice before planning to go'*. Similarly, another organisation expressed concerns regarding the security in their home country for a development project to revive six fishing villages which they are currently planning.

Lack of resources (funding and capacity)

Nearly all the diaspora organisations interviewed named lack of resources as a key challenge for their work and a discouraging factor for diaspora participation in general. Most of the difficulties were related to having insufficient funds to implement their projects to the fullest or the struggles diaspora organisations faced trying to apply for funding in the UK. Even large organisations with previous success of securing funding from large British and international donor agencies, have found funding applications challenging. One of the organisations said that there is structural inequality within the development sector with regards to diaspora organisations accessing funding from large donor agencies like DfID. The process is very technical and time consuming, as they explain:

"[The funding application] requires a very high level of technical expertise; large NGOs have whole



departments dedicated to writing funding applications to complex donors like DfID. So DfID, for example, would say we welcome and encourage applications from diaspora groups, but the playing field is so unlevelled that it's not a realistic prospect. It's actually caused a certain amount of bitterness and frustration within the diaspora sector because we have been encouraged to bid and compete for resources, against small or big NGOs and unsurprisingly we tend not to win."

Many of the diaspora organisations interviewed for this research are small, volunteer-run organisations who do not have the time, technical expertise or capacity to dedicate to complex funding applications. Some of the diaspora organisations that have attempted to apply for funding have found the process frustrating. As one organisation commented whilst reflecting on previous funding applications, 'it's not about what you can do but how well you can write. It's been difficult'. They have had a few unsuccessful funding applications which he found not only time consuming to produce but also frustrating not knowing what funders really wanted due to the lack of feedback.

Other key concerns

Managing expectations of the donors with the reality on the ground

Another key challenge for diaspora organisations, which one of the organisations identified, relates to managing the deadlines of the funders despite the difficulties they face on the ground. They gave examples of the experience of other diaspora organisations who have had to deal with an initial lack of community interest or infrastructural problems in the home country, such as power cuts and connectivity issues, that led to projects taking longer than planned. Still, donors in the UK expect reports regarding the

implementation of the project. The representative interviewed explained that these situations can be very stressful for the diaspora organisations as they have to manage the expectations of the donor who are not aware of the realities on the ground. She said that these types of scenarios can be very discouraging for diaspora engagement initiatives.

Social remittances not being valued

A key concern for some of the diaspora organisations interviewed was that social remittances, in terms of volunteering skills and expertise, were not being valued as a form of diaspora engagement. Africa Oracle observed that too much emphasis is placed on financial remittances in the migration and development debates with regards to the contribution of the diaspora in Africa. As the representative interviewed explains:

"They should be mindful that the diaspora is not just about remittances, everybody talks about remittances and how remittances by Africans is greater than aid. But remittances are not strategic, they don't help create jobs, it's from hand to mouth, it doesn't change the status quo. Something different needs to be done and the only way to do something different is to engage the diaspora and to work in partnership, not just think that when money is needed, we send money, no."

Similarly, AFFORD advises African and European governments and the AU against treating the diaspora like a 'cash cow', saying 'don't just follow the money, you're missing multiple tricks here, a lot of what the diaspora contributes is more about skills transfer, volunteerism, political capital, social capital'. These diaspora organisations argue that the current emphasis on financial remittance over social remittance risks not only missing other important resources the diaspora has to offer to the country of origin, but also presents the

possibility of discouraging diaspora participation. This is particularly the case for the second and third generations. The representative from one of the organisations interviewed, himself a second generation African, observed that the second generation is currently not being properly engaged in diaspora participation debates. They have what he calls 'valuable currency - time'. With their expertise, they can contribute in terms of volunteering, mentoring, consulting, NGO work, etc. His observations resonate with the findings from a study by AFFORD on young people's level of diaspora participation in Africa which revealed that young Africans were more likely to volunteer their time and skills rather than donate financial resources (Orefuwa & Chowdhury, 2014). These accounts show a strong need to value and tap into the various social resources that the diaspora has to offer.

Relationship with High Commissions and Embassies

As previously mentioned, having a good working relationship with the Embassies and High Commissions from the countries of origin is a key factor in facilitating diaspora participation. Generally, organisations that had high levels of access to the Embassies and representatives of the country also tended to be the ones with access to government departments or non-governmental agencies at a national level in the home country or Africa in general. This section will examine how the diaspora organisations described their relationships with national representatives from African countries. In particular, five organisations had difficulties either accessing or getting support from the Embassies and High Commissions from the country of origin. For instance, one organisation has made

several attempts to contact their High Commission for support and has found them generally unresponsive.

In contrast to the experiences described above, twelve of the diaspora organisations interviewed for this research described their relationship with Embassies and High Commissions as supportive, although most of them admit it took some time and effort to get access to the national representatives. For example, one organisation explained that, after a lot of work building their credibility, relations with their High Commission have become progressively better. They said 'when you knock on the door every day, eventually someone will open the door. We've been knocking on the door for seven years'. The diaspora organisations listed three main ways in which the Embassies and High Commissions provide assistance: attending events, enabling the diaspora organisation to host events on their premises, and facilitating access to relevant government departments in the country of origin. For example, one organisation reported that the High Commission is very interested in their work, actively supports their activities and visits their events often. The High Commissioner makes it his duty to be physically present at events and offers his support if they ever need his help. The organisation said that he was very instrumental in setting up one of their projects. However, the diaspora organisations also remarked that there are areas which need work. Although another organisation also complimented the efforts of their High Commission in facilitating the involvement of the diaspora in diaspora policies, they say that the level of communication could be improved. The representative interviewed commented that the organisation has been asking the High Commission to facilitate an



invitation to the Minister of Foreign Affairs to visit the UK but the organisation is not being acknowledged. Similarly, one organisation praised the efforts of the staff at their High Commission but recognised that resources and capability at the High Commission are low and it would appear that the staff are not supported to fulfil their roles fully.

Some organisations chose not to involve the High Commission and they preferred to work directly with their local project partners in the home country. On the other hand, for another organisation, the uncertain situation of the national representative in the UK has been one of the main issues they have tried to address. The organisation has been campaigning for an ambassador to be sent to the UK and they hope to coordinate with future diplomatic missions for their development work in the home country.

AFFORD, which generally has a good relationship with various African Embassies and High Commissions in the UK, acknowledges that it can be difficult for smaller diaspora organisations to access these institutions. AFFORD is currently working on a resource for the diaspora to get access to key people involved in diaspora engagement at High Commissions and Embassies as well as relevant government departments in their home countries. These resources will be published shortly.

3.7 Diaspora Engagement by Country of Origin

As mentioned, representatives from the Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya and Uganda High Commissions as well as the Zimbabwe Embassy in the UK were interviewed for this study. This section will discuss the findings from these interviews.

Knowledge of the diaspora populations

The High Commissions and Embassy interviewed do not have precise numbers on the diaspora population nor empirical data on skills and professional profiles. The Ghana High Commission has a self-registration database of Ghanaians in the UK with an estimated 800,000 Ghanaians registered on that database. They also have a skills database website where members of the diaspora can register their skills. The Kenyan High Commission briefly discussed a directory of Kenyan professionals in the UK. However, the High Commission does not have access to the data as it goes directly to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Kenya.

Generally, the High Commissions and Embassies interviewed do not have lists of diaspora organisations with the exception of the Kenya High Commission which lists fifteen diaspora organisations. The representative interviewed said that these organisations mostly support the diaspora communities in the UK or do small-scale community projects in Kenya. The High Commission does not share the list with external parties. The Ghana High Commission estimated that there are over 50 associations in the UK. The representative interviewed described these organisations as mostly hometown and village associations and said he knew of no organisations working at a national level in Ghana.

The High Commissions and Embassies do not have the resources to handle the number of requests they receive from diaspora organisations. For instance, the Nigeria High Commission advises diaspora organisations to register with the Nigerian umbrella diaspora organisation, CANUK, as the High Commission itself tends to deal with leaders of these large organisations. In a similar way, the Ghanaian

High Commission deals directly with the leaders of the National Council of Ghanaian Unions in the UK which is an umbrella organisation for Ghanaian cultural associations.

Diaspora engagement policies and initiatives

The aforementioned High Commissions and Embassies are working closely with diaspora policies from their home countries. For example, the Ghanaian High Commission is working with the mandate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in Ghana to encourage businesses to invest there. The High Commission is currently implementing outreach projects to promote the Ghanaian government's current policy of 'One District, One Factory', and thus the current diaspora engagement drive is one that is more focused on investment. The representative interviewed explained that they do not normally work with charitable and volunteer organisations as these organisations usually identify issues they want to work on and pursue their own projects. The Kenya High Commission also engages with the diaspora policies in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and assists the diaspora with trade and investment opportunities in Kenya. Likewise, the Uganda High Commission works closely with the Diaspora Desk at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, focusing on strategic cooperation in business and finance as part of its diaspora engagement objectives. The Zimbabwean Embassy works with diaspora policies which is a portfolio currently under the Ministry of Macro-Economic Planning and Investment Promotion in Zimbabwe. Like the other High Commissions interviewed for this research, its focus is mostly on encouraging the diaspora to invest in Zimbabwe. The representative from

the Nigeria High Commission reported that Nigeria is in the process of developing a diaspora policy and at the end of 2016 appointed a Senior Special Advisor to the President on Foreign Affairs and Diaspora. Currently, there is a draft of the National Policy on Diaspora Matters and a bill in the Nigerian senate to establish a Diaspora Commission. This commission will provide the framework for Nigeria's diaspora engagement initiatives.

Level of support offered to the various diaspora organisations

As shown in the interviews with the diaspora organisations, the Embassies and High Commissions, in general, support diaspora organisations through attending their events, providing access to their grounds for diaspora organisation events or through facilitating access to relevant government departments. The study found that the current support offered by the High Commissions and Embassy that were interviewed focused more on trade and investment and on providing assistance to individuals who wanted to invest in the country of origin. Nevertheless, they also assisted diaspora organisations in pursuing development projects by facilitating access to key policymakers and government offices and by providing services like customs waiver certificates for goods exported for charities.

3.8 Recommendations

Opportunities for future work

When asked to discuss opportunities for diaspora engagement in the country of origin or in Africa in general, some of the diaspora organisations interviewed expressed the need for greater involvement of the AU in diaspora engagement. There is a perceived 'gap



between the AU and the diaspora' as one of the organisations remarked. Likewise, the key individual in diaspora development interviewed for this study, commented that the AU needs to develop diaspora policies. He added that they also need to try to build the capacity of diaspora organisations in order to better contribute to Africa's development. As an example, he argued that the AU could support existing organisations through training and by supporting them to build a team to produce and deliver projects that are in line with the Sustainable Development Goals for their countries. He suggested that the AU and the member states also need to share their strategies and policies on areas such as education, agriculture and governments' development priorities. Also, these organisations are eager to learn more about the AU's strategies for negotiating trade deals with the UK in the wake of Brexit and how the diaspora can participate. This presents an opportunity for the AUC to address these needs and develop relevant policies and strategies.

Part of the work that the AUC could do also involves dealing directly with diaspora organisations. AFFORD has also suggested that there is a need for greater understanding of how to work with small diaspora organisations. As they explained, continental organisations, such as the AU, need to understand the structure and dynamics of small diaspora organisations. They said:

What the diaspora are doing the most is at the grassroots level, at the micro level. Within migration and diaspora research we have this missing middle concept and how to join up the dots between the micro level stuff that we know is going on and the macro level stuff, the data, particularly on remittance flows. But for organisations like the AU, or for governments

in Africa or Europe, the challenge is how to access this middle area because that's the national level area; but more work needs to be done on the grassroots level.

As the examples presented in this research have shown, diaspora organisations are passionate about their work but they are struggling with accessing funding and with how to maximise their input whilst working through challenges of accessing key individuals at the Embassies and High Commissions, or key policymakers in the country of origin. One of the organisations has suggested that one potential task for the AU could be to collaborate with organisations to develop frameworks that would optimise diaspora engagement programmes, such as training embassy staff and Civil Servants on how to work with the diaspora. Also, another key area to address would be the improvement of the AU's communications to make it easier for various stakeholders to get in touch. As one of the organisations said, the AU needs to 'move beyond research and talk directly to the diaspora', implying that more work is needed to close the gap between the AUC and diaspora organisations.

African governments and the African Union

African governments realise the role of the diaspora in development and many of them have been working on policies and strategies to harness the resources available in the diaspora. However, more work is needed to improve diaspora engagement. Firstly, African governments and the AU need to gain a better understanding of the structures of diaspora organisations; how they can contribute to development strategies in the home countries and Africa and where their limitations lie. The focus may need to shift from searching for large organisations with a national reach to

approaching smaller organisations that are currently working on small-scale development projects; understand how best to support them with their work and to assist them with expanding their activities.

Secondly, there needs to be better understanding of, and appreciation for, social remittances. The financial contributions of the diaspora have been widely recognised in migration and development debates in Africa, but diaspora organisations and individuals also have valuable skills, experience and insight to contribute to development strategies. Hence, one recommendation could be to pay more attention to these various forms of social remittances and how to capitalise on them for development.

It would appear that the second and third generation Africans are not being engaged in diaspora participation. The census data shows that this is a significant population, however, it may be difficult to identify. Therefore, more research is needed to understand the characteristics of this group. African governments could work closely with diaspora organisations with access to these communities in order to reach out to them. It is worth noting that these communities are potentially more likely to participate in diaspora engagement through volunteering their skills and expertise, thus it may be important to have policies and programmes in place to better access the particular resources they have to offer.

African governments also need to improve institutions and structures in order to enable easier access to key civil servants and policymakers both in the home countries and in the Embassies in the UK, including equipping staff with the resources and capacity to better

assist diaspora organisations. Institutional practices may need to be assessed and modified to make them more transparent and easier to navigate for diaspora engagement.

It is also essential that donors and mainstream development organisations have a greater understanding of the difficulties diaspora organisations face when applying for funding. These organisations could develop strategies aimed at improving access to funding and create more opportunities to collaborate with diaspora organisations.

4

4 The Netherlands

4.1 Introduction & Methodology

Diaspora have increasingly become recognised as a part of civil society and strategic partners in the development process. In 2007, Morocco's then minister of General and Economic Affairs stated that Moroccans abroad "are no longer considered simple remittance providers for the origin country, but real actors of economic and social development and economic ambassadors of Morocco in their receiving countries".¹ This perspective should be an integral philosophy of home country governments seeking to engage their diaspora. Beyond the financial capital that diaspora avail, they are also a source of social and human capital for home countries.

The aim of this study is to provide an overview of the African diasporic landscape in the Netherlands, with recommendations for policy makers in homeland countries on how best to engage diaspora communities. For various reasons as discussed in the methodology section below, this report is not exhaustive. The report however provides a broad mapping of the Dutch African diaspora and serves as a good starting point for further in-depth research in this important area of focus.

To ensure depth and breadth in mapping African diaspora in The Netherlands the following methods were utilised:

On-line Survey: An on-line survey was administered. 90 diaspora individuals/organisations were invited to participate of

which 14 responded. The survey findings were a good complement to the secondary data available on diaspora organisations in the Netherlands, their level of engagement and the kinds of activities in which they engage. The survey responses were equally valuable in the identification of other organisations to include in the study.

Skype interviews: A total of 6 Skype-Interviews were held based on a version of the on-line survey.

In-depth interviews: Were sought with the Embassies of the 5 largest African populations. However, only the Ghanaian embassy and the Cape Verdean consulate were available. The Somali embassy is based in Belgium. Instead an in-person interview with the umbrella organisation the Federation of Somali Associations Netherlands (FSAN) was held.

Review of literature and policy and program documents: The study also included a review of various literature including academic research papers, handbooks, country specific research, organisation websites of African diaspora groups in The Netherlands as well as programme documentation such as workshops reports.

Respondents of the on-line survey and respective interviews were primarily senior level representatives such as the chairman or senior programme personnel with substantive knowledge of the organisation and its future focus.

¹ Cited in Belguendouz 2010 in French as extracted from Bilgili and Weyel (2012)

4.2 Demographic Profile

This section of the report presents the results of the analysis of African diaspora in The Netherlands. The findings presented in this section are based on various quantitative data as obtained from the Netherlands Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS), Eurostat, OECD statistics and analysis of the online survey and in-depth interviews. Throughout, the respective data is triangulated with various secondary data as applicable.

The African diaspora in The Netherlands

In 2016, 22%² of the Dutch population consisted of foreign-born persons. Of this population, 17% (641,753) were of African origin. As a proportion of the total population the African diaspora constitutes 4% of the Dutch population.³

Age distribution

Analysis of the data indicates that 58% of the African population in the Netherlands is between the age of 20 to 65 years of age (see Figure 1 below). The age group 20 years and younger make up 37% of the population. Those 65 years and older constitute 5% of the population.

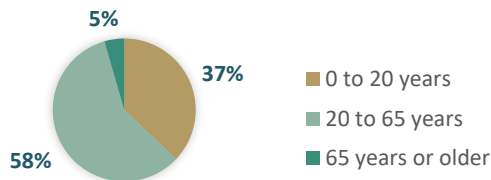


Figure 1 Age distribution of African populations in The Netherlands, 2016

Source: CBS Statline (2016)

² The total population amounts to 3,752,291 (CBS, Statline (2016)).

Gender and generation

Males represent a slight majority of the African diaspora with 52% males and 48% females (ibid). Half the African diaspora population in The Netherlands is second generation diaspora.

Table 1 African population in The Netherlands by generation and gender, 2016

	Females	Males	Total
1 st generation	150,311	170,205	320,516
2 nd generation	158,104	163,133	321,237
Total	308,415	333,338	641,753

Source: CBS Statline (2016)

Age and generation

In 2016, 84% of first-generation Africans in the Netherlands were between the age of 20 and 65 years. This indicates that the first generation makes up the largest proportion of the African labour force in the Netherlands.

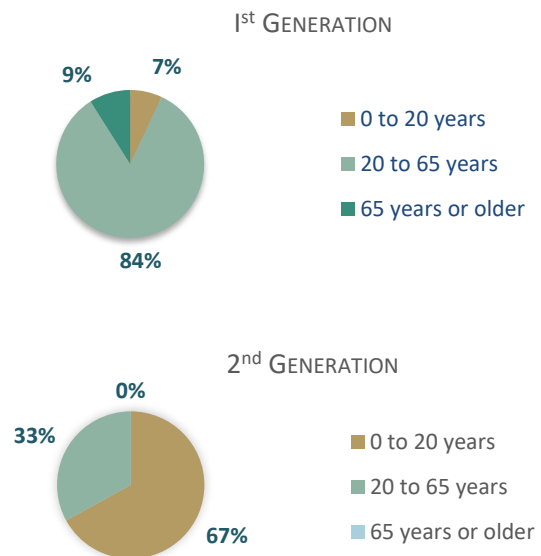
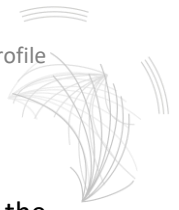


Figure 2 Age and generational distribution of African populations in the Netherlands, 2016

Source: CBS Statline (2016)

³ The current population of the Netherlands is 16,979,120 in 2016 (CBS, Statline (2016))



7% of first-generation Africans were 20 years and younger, while 9% were 65 years and older. In contrast, in the same year, 67% of the second generation was 20 years of age or younger, while 33% was between the ages of 20 and 65.

Geographical distribution

71% of the African diaspora in the Netherlands lives in the Randstad area. The Randstad is made up of the City of Almere (with 2% of the African population), The North of Holland (with 26%), South Holland (with 32%) and Utrecht (with 11%).⁴ Within the Randstad the largest populations can be found in the cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht. Outside the Randstad, the province of North Brabant (Tilburg in particular) has a sizable population of African diaspora and is home to approximately 11% Africans.⁵

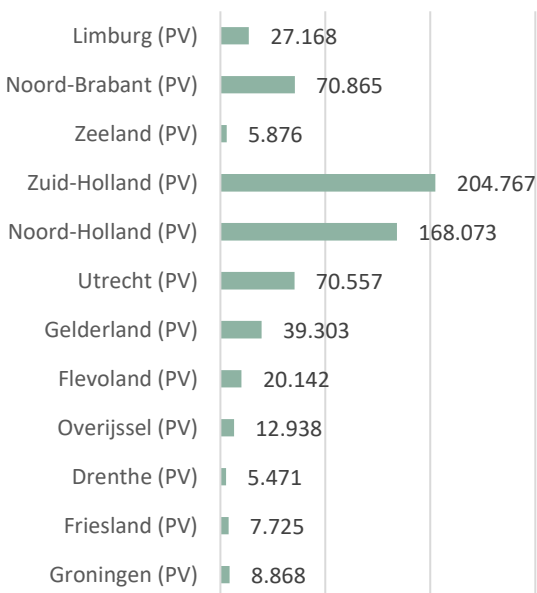


Figure 3 Geographic distribution of African populations in The Netherlands, 2016

Source: CBS Statline (2016)

Educational and professional profiles

A detailed statistical breakdown of the educational profile of Africans in the Netherlands was not easily obtainable. The data was only aggregated to the level of Dutch natives, western foreigners and non-western foreigners. Asians are included within the category of non-western foreigners. Triangulation of data however indicates that education levels among the African population in the Netherlands is significantly lower than the native Dutch population particularly among the first-generation diaspora.⁶

Research shows that the level of labour market activity is greatly dependent on the level of education. Consequently, low educational attainment is a great barrier to labour market participation for African diaspora in The Netherlands. This is coupled with insufficient Dutch language skills which is an important element of labour market participation in the Dutch context. Non-western foreigners with higher education are more likely to be unemployed than their Dutch counterparts which is in part due to insufficient language skills.⁷ Between 1998 and 2002, approximately half of the non-western foreign population in the Netherlands had primary school level education. There are however indications that this is changing. In 2016 more school age migrant children went to higher secondary school than in previous years.

It is important to note that, as a heterogeneous group differences in educational attainment exists across countries due to the diversity in migration histories⁸ of diaspora populations.

⁴ CBS, Statline (2016)

⁵ Ibid

⁶ CBS, Statline (2016a and b), Melsers et al.

⁷ CBS, Statline (2016b)

⁸ For example, in the case of the Somali, Burundi and DRC to name a few, the current diaspora population are a by-product of violent conflict in their countries of origin.

In this regard, education levels and labour market participation rates are likely to differ significantly across the African diaspora.

The analysis of the professional profile of African diaspora in The Netherlands, based on Eurostat Data as per the 2011 census, indicates that the top 5 occupational sectors of African populations in The Netherlands were:

- Administrative and support activities: Often undertaking elementary jobs;
- Human health and social work;
- Wholesale and retail trade; repair of motor vehicles and motorcycles;
- Manufacturing and;
- Accommodation and food service

In 2015, remittance flows to Sub-Saharan Africa is estimated to have mounted to US\$ 35.2 billion while that to the Middle-East and North Africa amounted to US\$ 50.3 billion.⁹ In 2016 it is forecasted that remittance volumes will increase at a weak pace.¹⁰ Beyond the mainstream socio-economic development benefits, diaspora remittances have also become important in instances of natural disaster and humanitarian crisis. Remittances therefore continue to play an important role in the economies of recipient countries, contributing significantly to Gross Domestic Product (GDP).

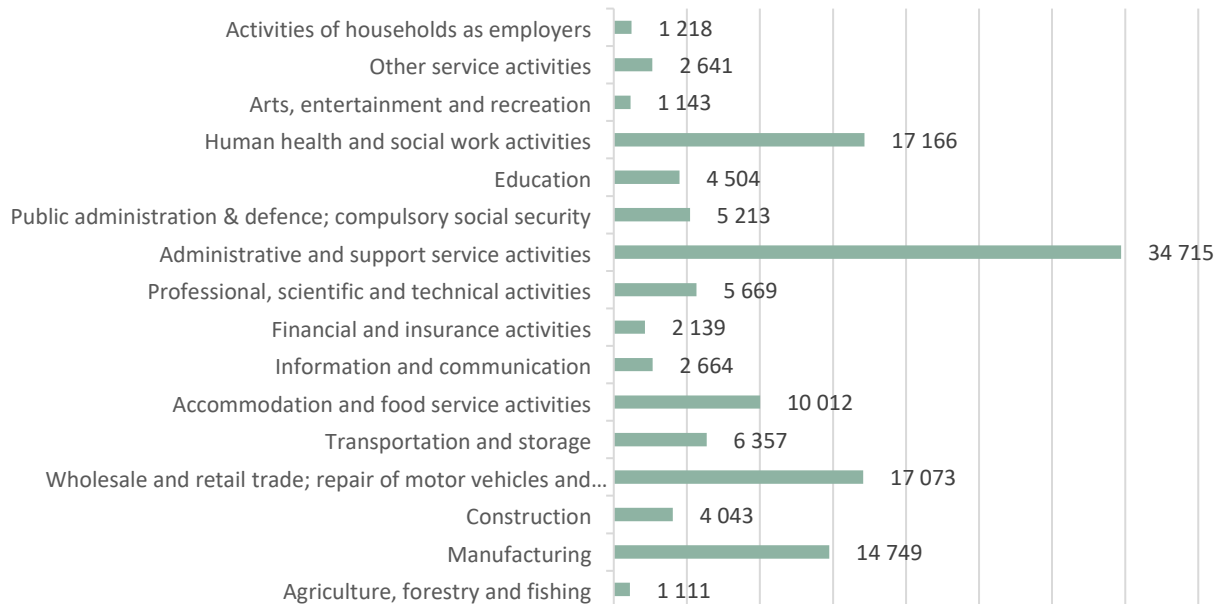


Figure 4 African populations in The Netherlands by Occupational activity, 2011

Source: EU Population Census 2011, Eurostat 2016

⁹ <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2016/04/13/remittances-to-developing-countries-edge-up-slightly-in-2015> and World Bank.2016.Migration and Development Brief Accessible: <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/661301460400427908/MigrationandDevelopmentBrief26.pdf>

¹⁰ <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2016/10/06/remittances-to-developing-countries-expected-to-grow-at-weak-pace-in-2016-and-beyond> <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/661301460400427908/MigrationandDevelopmentBrief26.pdf>

For example, in the context of Egypt¹¹ and Uganda,¹² diaspora remittances contribute to 25% of GDP, while in the case of Cape Verde¹³ approximately 20%. Overall remittances remain important to many African countries, with continued effort made by governments to better capitalise on these flows.

Research on the remittances market in the Netherlands by Mohogu (2006) found that in 2004 among the African¹⁴ diaspora:

- Those with closer ties to the Netherlands remitted less;
- Women and the less educated were more likely to remit and;
- Despite the higher costs, diaspora remitted through formal channels due to speed and reliability.

In 2015 the five top remittance corridors among the Dutch African population were: Morocco (US\$ 426m), Nigeria (US\$ 149m), Egypt (US\$ 67m), Ghana (US\$ 51m) and Tunisia (US\$ 16m) (See Figure 5 below).¹⁵ In the same year, several other¹⁶ African diaspora not captured in Figure 5 remitted between 1-4 million. Beyond the costs associated with remittances, an equally important issue is the generational nature of remittances, and the implications for the future of remittances. In the absence of a second-generation diaspora that is committed

to remitting, sustaining current levels of flows presupposes a continued outflow of Africans who then constitute a fresh population of first-generation migrants with strong moral obligation/ties to Africa. No data regarding remittances by the Somalian population in The Netherlands was available in the dataset obtained. However, this is likely to be key remittance corridor. In 2012 collectively the Somalian diaspora was estimated to have remitted US\$ 1 billion annually.¹⁷

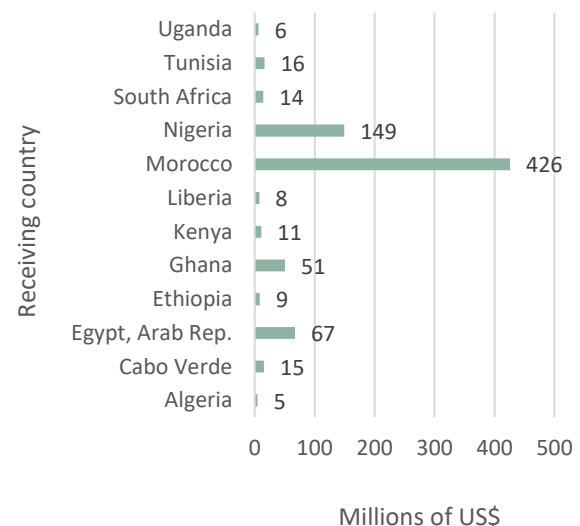


Figure 5 Remittance outflows from The Netherlands to select African countries, 2015

Source: World Bank (2016b)

¹¹ Taylor et al. (2014)

¹² <http://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2016/04/13/remittances-to-developing-countries-edge-up-slightly-in-2015> and World Bank.2016.Migration and Development Brief Accessible: <http://pubdocs.worldbank.org/en/661301460400427908/MigrationandDevelopmentBrief26.pdf>

¹³ Estimate based on interview with the Consular General on 13 February 2017

¹⁴ This does not include North Africa

¹⁵ World Bank.2016b. Migration and Remittances Data. Accessible at:

<http://www.worldbank.org/en/topic/migrationremittancesdiasporaissues/brief/migration-remittances-data>
The remittance data is for 2015, disaggregated using host country and origin country incomes, and estimated migrant stocks from 2013.

¹⁶ These countries are: Burundi, Cameroon, Cote d'Ivoire, Gambia, Guinea, Madagascar, Malta, Mauritius, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierra Leone, Tanzania, Togo

¹⁷ Briggs, P.2012. Somaliland with Addis Ababa & Eastern Ethiopia. Bradt Travel Guides.

4.3 Top Five African Populations in The Netherlands

Among the AU member¹⁸ states, Cape Verde, Egypt, Ghana, Somalia and South Africa represent the five largest African populations in The Netherlands. The largest African population in The Netherlands is of Moroccan origin and makes up 60% of the Dutch African population. At the time this research was being undertaken, Morocco was not a member of the AU therefore the analysis below excludes Morocco.

Among the top 5 countries the largest population group are the Somalis who accounted for 6% of Africans living in The Netherlands in 2016. Egypt and Ghana both comprise 4%, while Cape Verde and South Africa are both approximately 3% of the total African population in The Netherlands (See Figure 6 below).

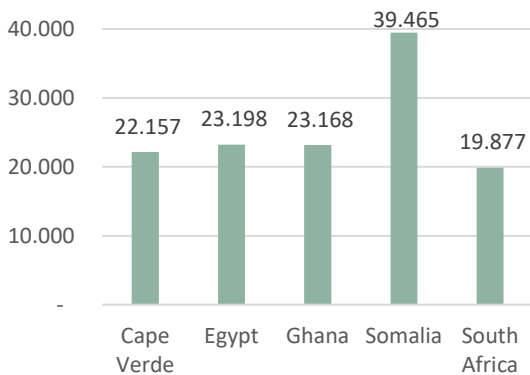


Figure 6 Five largest African populations in the Netherlands by country of origin, 2016

Source: CBS, Statline (2016)

Gender, age and generation

Examination of the gender composition of the top 5 diaspora populations indicates that there is relative gender balance in four of the populations as per Figure 7 below. The one

exception is the case of Egypt. The Egyptian population in The Netherlands is significantly gender unbalanced with 61% males as compared to 39% females. In the case of Somalia 51% of the population are men and 49% women. The reverse is found in the Ghanaian population with 49% males and 51% females. In the case of Cape Verdean and South African both populations consisted of 48% males and 52% females.

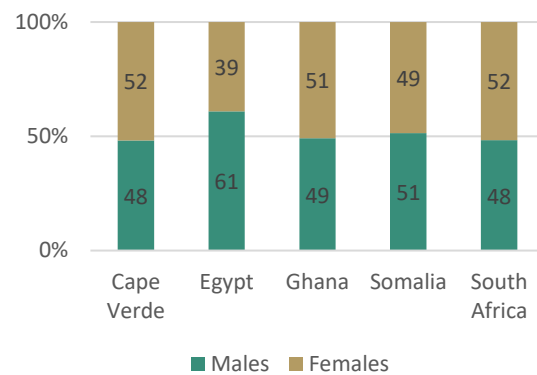


Figure 7 Five largest African populations in The Netherlands by gender, 2016

Source: CBS, Statline (2016)

Collectively the 5 countries have a relatively young population. In keeping with the general findings above, all 5 countries have a relatively large working age population (see Figure 9). Among the first generation, 40% or more is between the age of 20 and 65 years. Within this generation, with the exception is Somalia, the population aged 20 and younger is less than 10%. In the second generation, the proportion of those between 0-20 years is greater than those 20 to 65 years of age.

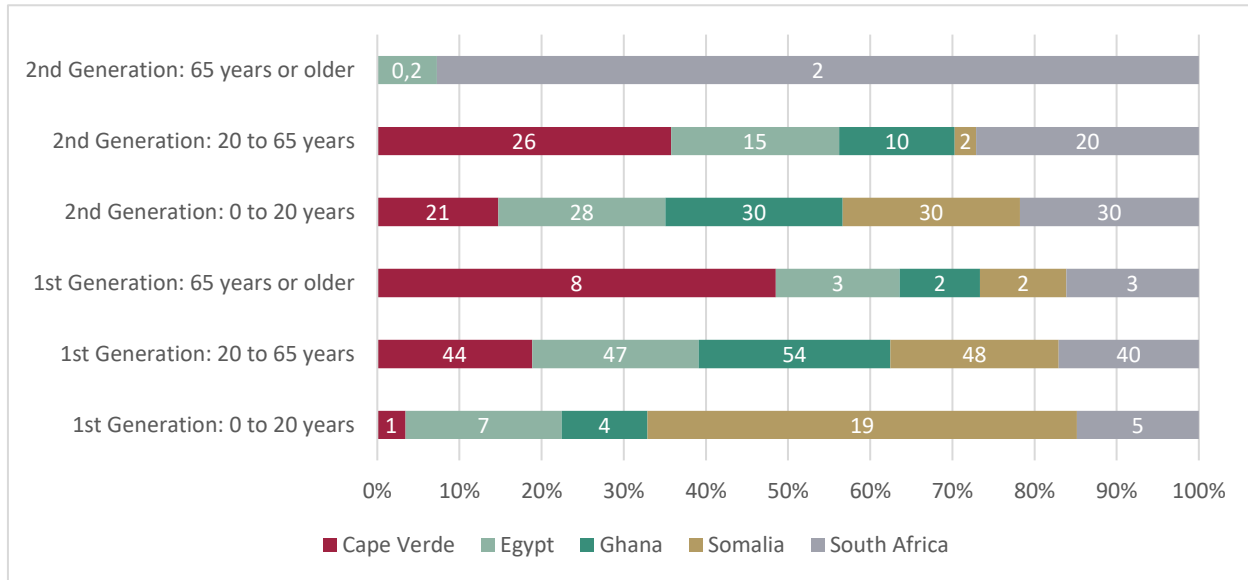


Figure 8 The five largest African populations in the Netherlands by age and generation, 2016

Source: CBS, Statline (2016)

Geographical distribution

Approximately 72% of the top 5 African populations in the Netherlands live in the Randstad (See Table 2 below). As discussed, the Randstad is made up of Almere and the provinces of South-Holland, North Holland and Utrecht. South and North Holland is home to the largest African populations. Together these two provinces are home to 56% of the Dutch African population. Within the Randstad, Amsterdam followed by Rotterdam and then The Hague host the largest populations. Outside the Randstad Tilburg (North Brabant) remains the city with the largest African populations among this group of countries.

Table 2 Geographic distribution of the 5 largest African populations by province, 2016

Province	EGY	GH	CV	SOM	SA	African
Groningen	389	163	268	1.149	545	8.868
Friesland	369	114	84	1.006	490	7.725
Drenthe	364	45	18	835	394	5,471
Overijssel	430	184	35	1.361	1.009	12.938
Flevoland	922	1.478	140	793	697	20.142
Gelderland	1.039	591	76	3.699	1.820	39.303
Utrecht	1.249	641	107	2.859	2.000	70.557
Noord-Holland	9.408	13.834	1.278	5.866	5,148	168.073
Zuid-Holland	6.065	4.581	19.887	11.269	4.828	204.767
Zeeland	264	60	40	637	401	5.876
Noord-Brabant	1.855	1.162	181	8.014	1.895	70.865
Limburg	844	315	43	1.977	650	27.168

Source: CBS Statline (2016)

4.4 Diaspora Organisations: Structure and Activities

Diaspora organisations in the Netherlands have been in existence for more than three decades. Within this period, there has been a substantive growth in the number of organisations established within respective communities. Research shows that the more a diaspora is integrated in the host country, the better they are able to undertake development activities in their home county.¹⁹ That is, integration and participation in the host country significantly influences the ability of diaspora organisations to function in the home country.²⁰

It is difficult to establish the exact number of African diaspora organisations operating in the Netherlands. At present, no extensive database exists. In 2007 van Heelsum (2007) found that most African organisations were among the Ethiopians, Eritreans, Sudanese and Somali communities. This is likely to have changed, but not by much. Review of various listings of African organisations in the Netherlands indeed reveals a prevalence of organisations within these population groups. Ong'ayo (2014b) estimated that in 2012 there were 115 Ethiopian organisations in the Netherlands. The Federation of Somali Associations Netherlands (FSAN) has a membership of approximately 56 Somali organisations and estimates²¹ that there is likely to be as many as 76 Somali organisations in the Netherlands. In the past decade, there has also been an increase in organisations among the Ghanaian and Nigerian communities. Within the Ghanaian diaspora, Ong'ayo (2014a) estimates that there are

approximately 245 diaspora organisations. The website of the Nigerian National Association - The Netherlands (NNA-NL) had a membership of 35 registered organisations as at February 2017. There are likely to be more organisations that are not members of NNA-NL. Overall it is safe to say that there are a vast number of formal and informal diaspora organisations operating at various levels in the Netherlands.

This section of the report provides an analysis of the results of the on-line survey and interviews with members of the diaspora. The findings below are in line with various research carried out on specific country diaspora organisations in the Netherlands such as that by Ong'ayo (2014a) on Ghanaian organisations; Ong'ayo (2014b) on Ethiopian organisations; Meerts et. al. (2012) on Ghanaian, Moroccan and Surinamese diaspora organizations and; Adenekan-Koevoets (2011) on Nigerian organisations to name a few.

Structure of organisations

Diaspora organisations in The Netherlands operate in a relatively conducive policy environment. This makes it relatively easy for organisations to be legally established as either NGOs/foundations (*stichtingen*) or Associations (*vereniging*) at the Dutch Chamber of Commerce.

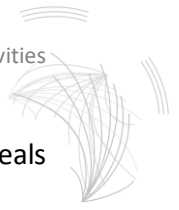
In their various forms, diaspora initiatives in The Netherlands fall within three broad categories namely: 1) cultural and social organizations; 2) development organizations and; 3) political groups with some level of overlap in many instances. This is in keeping with the typology of diaspora organisations globally.²² These organisations can be further

¹⁹ ADPC (2014)

²⁰ Ong'ayo (2014a)

²¹ Interview with the Programme Manager

²² Taylor et. al. (2014)



sub-categorised into those that work primarily in the Netherlands to support integration etc., and those that operate transnationally and are focused on promoting development in their home countries.

Within communities several initiatives operate in parallel along the lines of various affiliations/interest. The level of organisation among and between diaspora groups differs considerably. While registration of organisations is relatively easy, organisations also operate informally along the lines of Hometown Associations (HTA). HTAs enable diaspora from the same hometown to maintain ties with and to support that hometown. In-depth interviews suggest that a large proportion of diaspora organisations in the Netherlands are likely to fall into this category.

The data suggests that the African diaspora in The Netherlands is fragmented and “only lightly connected, with associations proliferating along country, regional, ethnic lines.”²³ To facilitate greater unity umbrella organisations have been established over the years to address this issue. However, in part due to the heterogeneous nature of diaspora within and across communities, challenges exist in bringing about the unity sought. In addition, the divides in communities due to ethnic struggles in the home country are often carried over and exacerbated in the diaspora making unity difficult.

Characteristics of diaspora organisations

This section of the report outlines the key characteristics of African diaspora organisations in the Netherlands. The section is based on analysis of the survey data and desk research including review of the websites

of various organisations. The analysis reveals that:

MOST ORGANISATIONS ARE LED BY MEN

Although there is relative gender balance among the diaspora, analysis of the survey results indicates that more men (79%) initiate diaspora organisations than women (21%). While not conclusive it is interesting to note that the chairpersons of the organisational websites reviewed confirm the findings of the survey. The organisations led by women focused primarily on enhancing the wellbeing of women on issues of health, livelihoods development and gender-based violence.

MEMBERS OF DIASPORA ENGAGED IN INITIATIVES ARE WELL INTEGRATED INTO DUTCH SOCIETY AND MOST HAVE LIVED IN THE NETHERLANDS FOR 15 YEARS OR MORE

Survey respondents are well integrated in Dutch society and have been in the Netherlands on average of 15 years, with some being in the Netherlands for as long as 30 years. 71% of respondents expressed that they were well integrated into society while 29% felt they were moderately integrated. Integration in society, and Dutch language skills are noted to be a fundamental aspect of navigating Dutch society.

ALL RESPONDENTS HAVE STRONG CONNECTIONS TO AFRICA

All survey respondents expressed that they maintain a strong connection to Africa and were in contact with family and friends. It is important to note that most respondents were between the 47-59 years of age with the youngest being 34 and 36 years. These findings tally with the observation that most of the Dutch African labour force is comprised of

²³ ADPC (2014)

first-generation diaspora who indeed still have strong ties to their home countries.

MOST ORGANISATIONS HAVE EXISTED BETWEEN 11- 20 YEARS

As Table 3 below indicates that 35% of survey respondents represented organisations that have been operational for more than ten years. An equally significant proportion (25%) have been operational for between six to ten years.

Table 3 Age of diaspora organisations according to survey respondents

Age of organisation	Per cent
Less than 2 years	15 %
Two to five years	15 %
Six to ten years	25 %
Eleven to twenty years	35 %
more than 20 years	10 %

Note: N=20

MOST ORGANISATIONS ARE VOLUNTEER DRIVEN BUT STILL HAD WIDE OUTREACH

Almost all organisations (70%) that participated in this study are volunteer driven; while 25% had between 2-5 paid staff who supported implementation. 10% of organisations had between 5-15 paid staff. The organisations with paid staff worked primarily on a project basis. On average organisations had between 2-70 volunteers depending on the size of the organisation. The lack of full-time staff among diaspora organisations has implications for professionalism and capacity of diaspora organisations.

Respondents reported having a diverse outreach. On the one hand organisations had an outreach of between 50 to 450 individuals. On the higher end respondents reported that they reached between 1000 to 5000 plus

individuals with their interventions. Organisations that had the greatest outreach were primarily members-based associations, umbrella organisations or had large projects in their country of origin facilitating wider outreach.

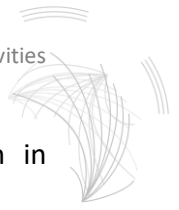
Table 4 Thematic focus of diaspora organisations

Peacebuilding	Economic development
Human Rights	Poverty reduction
Gender issues	Livelihoods development
children's rights	Integration support
Environmental issues	General Welfare
Education	Health
Rural development	Youth development
Microcredit	Community investment
Media	ICT, Technological transfer

MOST ORGANISATIONS ARE RUN BY PRIVATE FUNDS OR MEMBERSHIP SUBSCRIPTIONS

Besides being primarily volunteer driven, most organisations are managed through membership subscription in the context of community associations. A key challenge among organisations is therefore limited funding which impacts on the range of their support and the sustainability of organisations as well. The development funding environment is fast changing with less development funding available for small organisations with insufficient track records of success.

Within this study only one organisation expressed that core funding was not an issue, and this organisation attributed their unique position to a good track record that dates to the 1980's.



ORGANISATIONS UNDERTAKE MULTIPLE CROSS-CUTTING ACTIVITIES

Most organisations undertook a broad range of activities that can be broadly grouped into socio-cultural and economic activities. All organisations engaged in cross-cutting activities covering several thematic areas as captured in Text Box 1. For example, one organisation could be found to provide a relatively wide spectrum of support which includes youth development alongside women's microcredit, education, health etc. The categorisation provided is based on survey responses and a review of the websites of various organisations as per the accompanying database to this paper.

Analysis of the literature further indicates that political and religious associations are prevalent among the diaspora communities.

ORGANISATIONS ENGAGE IN BOTH THE HOST AND HOME COUNTRY

Survey respondents were predominantly engaged in transnational development activities that targeted development in their home country. 70% of respondents had projects based in their home country; while 30% were targeted at diaspora in The Netherlands.

MOST ORGANISATIONS ARE NOT PART OF AN UMBRELLA ORGANISATION BUT COLLABORATE WITH OTHER ORGANISATIONS

Fifty-five per cent of respondents were not part of an umbrella organisation. Within the sample, 30% of organisations were umbrella organisations. 95% of organisations indicated that they collaborated with other African diaspora organisations while all organisations collaborated with Dutch organisation or

organisations in their country of origin in implementation of their interventions.

ORGANISATIONS HAVE LIMITED KNOWLEDGE OF THE AFRICAN POLICY ENVIRONMENT

Analysis of the survey results indicates that there is limited knowledge of national, regional and continental development strategies and diaspora engagement policies among the African diaspora. Only 20% of participants were aware of the AU's Agenda 2063 and the Citizens and Diaspora Directorate (CIDO).

Media outlets

African diaspora's use of social media to influence development is vast to the extent that social media has become a powerful political power and a great tool for cross-border collaboration.²⁴ Diaspora embeddedness in social networks shapes the thoughts and actions of whole communities in terms of community unity and identity at home and in the diaspora. Social media is a powerful means through which the diaspora express themselves, dialogue and even advocate and lobby for change in their home and host countries. Websites, TV and radio stations are medians through which the diaspora engage, dialogue and exchange ideas. "Facebook, Twitter and other forms of social media are bringing African voices and new, varied narratives to the forefront. And, what's even more remarkable, is that these online platforms are not being used for simple pontification and acerbic commentary (although there's a fair bit of that as well). These tools are also being used to replace staid

²⁴ Bosah, G.2014 and <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development->

[professionals-network/2013/feb/06/african-diaspora-social-media-tms-ruge](https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2013/feb/06/african-diaspora-social-media-tms-ruge)

development paradigms, by organising and developing African-driven institutions.”²⁵

Among the African diaspora in The Netherlands, various social media outlets are in use: websites, radio stations and TV stations. Various diaspora organisations’ websites, TV, chat rooms and radio stations are central to engaging with communities and broadcasting homeward. Diaspora media outlets are more prevalent in countries with sizable diaspora communities who have access to the technological tools to facilitate their use, among for example diaspora in developed countries such as USA, UK, Australia and Canada.

Among the survey respondents of this study, 95% had an organisation website and/or a Facebook page. Within the sample, 20% operated on-line radio services. The various media outlets provide diaspora with the opportunity to gain access to the latest news from their respective home countries; encompassing politics, economic, social and business news; engage in social affairs, express opinions and go so far as to offer global news and call-in radio programs. Also prominent in these medians is information on key issues of relevance to diaspora populations as regards their well-being in the country of residence, ranging from political to social issues that may affect the community. Detailed information on the various media outlets among the African diaspora in The Netherlands is provided in the excel database that accompanies this paper.

Ten active diaspora organisations

As discussed, several diaspora organisations exist in the Netherlands. In many instances, however, organisations that existed on paper were not functional. Some interviewees suggested that this is in part due to a lack of funding, and the volunteer driven nature of diaspora organisations. The upcoming list of organisations was collected through direct recommendation from respondents as well as past research.

Adopting the selection criteria of Ong’ayo (2014), all organisations that were: 1) formally registered with a board; 2) had functional websites; 3) had been active in the Netherlands for a minimum of 3 years and; 4) active in Dutch society and/or the country of origin. Organisations identified were therefore reassessed through review of websites and interviews with representatives where possible. An equally important criterion applied was the extent to which survey respondents or interviewees made reference to the organisations as those they knew to be active.

Keeping in mind that diaspora organisations are often in flux, some of the more active diaspora organisations in the Netherlands in no particular order are: 1) Himilo Relief and Development Association (HIRDA); 2) SANKOFA; 3) African Young Professional (AYP); 4) The Ugandan Community Netherlands (UCN); 5) Stichting Ethiopia Morgen (SEM); 6) Landelijke overlegorgaan Afrikanen in Nederland (LOA); 7) African Diaspora Policy Centre (ADPC); 8) Sierra Leone Central Union (SLCU); 9) Federation Somali Associations

²⁵ <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development-professionals-network/2013/feb/06/african-diaspora-social-media-tms-ruge>



Netherlands (FSAN) and; 10) Kenyan Diaspora Community in the Netherlands (KDCN).

The 10 organisations provide a wide spectrum of support to their respective communities and/or facilitate development in their home country through various community level interventions. ADPC is the only organisation that operates at the policy level, providing support to African governments on diaspora policy. In the European context, ADPC provides for African diaspora in the areas of peacebuilding and lobby & advocacy. LOA on the other hand, focuses primarily on facilitating the well-being of Africans in The Netherlands.

4.5 Challenges and Opportunities of Diaspora Participation

Based on the survey results and interviews this section presents the challenges faced by diaspora organisations in the Netherlands who took part in this study. The section also discusses the opportunities perceived by working in the sector.

Challenges

Through the survey and interviews, the study sought to understand the policy and operational challenges that diaspora experience in implementing their organisation's mandate.

Lack of resources (funding and capacity)

Most small organisations have limited access to funding. Many organisations currently function based on personal funds from its members.

In addition, African diasporas suffer from insufficient management skills. The first-generation of African immigrants was largely

made up of workers, with lower education levels than their Dutch counterparts. A lack of Dutch language skills further hinders integration, opportunities for self-improvement, and the ability to manoeuvre within society.

Social challenges

Highly qualified African immigrants are often less committed to engage in community initiatives.

Discrimination in Dutch society also hinders access to key circles of influence.

Inhibiting factors

Political constrains

The restrictive nature of migration policies at national and at local level and the legal status of migrants puts limitations on what they can do in society. Similarly, Africans often lack sufficient protection from home governments, resulting in insecurity about their futures.

Social constrains

The diversity and resulting fragmentation of the African diaspora limits collaboration among organisations.

In general, narratives documenting diaspora engagement and development initiatives in countries of origin are rare, leading to a lack of awareness and recognition both within and outside the diaspora.

Furthermore, issues of exclusiveness, discrimination and stereotyping of Africans negatively affects the ability of diaspora organisations to engage at certain levels.

Perceived Opportunities

Through their respective activities, respondents expressed a variety of opportunities with regards to participating in the development of their home country.

Economic

- Facilitating avenues for diaspora investments and initiatives thanks to their knowledge of the country, language and culture coupled with knowledge from the host country
- Business mediation between country of origin and country of residence facilitating more home-grown entrepreneurship
- Propelling Africa's development through joint enterprise ventures with Dutch companies, with diaspora as interlocutors

Support for Communities

- Improvements in the welfare of communities through promotion of amenities such as energy, housing projects etc.
- Supporting rural development through education and empowerment of communities through agricultural innovation and entrepreneurship
- Utilizing the knowledge gained abroad to improve communities and thereby reduce the effects of brain drain

Social and political change

- Promoting human rights and supporting efforts towards peacebuilding and reconciliation
- Increasing cultural diversity and learning in home and host countries
- Influence Africa policies in host countries

Greatest achievements

Overall despite the challenges experienced, the survey findings reveal that the African diaspora in the Netherlands are making valuable contributions to their country of origin. Some of the greatest achievements cited by respondents include:

- In Burundi more than 700 community leaders have been trained as peace mediators in their villages. The organisation has also built a Peace centre in the North of Burundi.
- Project contributed to successful integration through improvements in the welfare of African children in the Netherlands, the well-being of undocumented immigrants and police dialogue with African communities.
- Another organisation supported Ebola orphans and other vulnerable children in Sierra Leone.
- There have also been various investments in education in Africa for example support provided to 600 children in Nigeria to enable them to finish their primary schooling.
- Headways were also made in Ghana by supporting rural women in setting up businesses in the poultry sector through the provision of microfinance and training.
- Many initiatives have successfully carried out humanitarian relief projects in Africa.
- Diaspora organisation also engage in lobbying to bring the challenges that Africans face in the Netherlands to the personal attention of the King and Queen of the Netherlands, Parliament and other institutions such as the Roman Catholic church. Select organisations are actively working towards getting the Dutch



government to invest in diaspora initiatives.

4.6 Diaspora Engagement by Country of Origin

Consular networks are one of the most important points of contact that country governments have with their diaspora. They provide the opportunity of governments to gain basic knowledge on their diaspora and to begin to engage in two-way communication. Equally important is facilitating the support that diaspora may require in the context of ensuring their well-being in the country of residence.

Given the fact that only 2 interviews with the home country consular networks was held, it is important to keep in mind that the findings below are far from representative but rather indicative of how select home countries engage with their diaspora. The interviews with the Ghanaian²⁶ embassy and the Cape Verdean²⁷ consulate suggest that the two home country governments...

1. ...placed diaspora engagement high on their development agenda. Both countries have implemented migration policies. Ghana formally adopted its policy in April 2016. In addition, both countries are said to have provisions for external voting for legislative and presidential elections.

2. ...focus on maintaining contact with their diaspora and ensuring their welfare in the Netherlands to the extent possible. This is done in part through the consular services provided such as issuance of passports, support for returnees or those in difficult situations etc. In addition, there is an active

effort to directly engage with diaspora communities for example through town hall style meetings. The Ghanaian embassy also hosts functions for high level delegates from Ghana to which diaspora members are invited. Activities with both the Ghanaian embassy and Cape Verdean consulate extend to Independence Day celebrations in the Netherlands. Overall the level of engagement varies depending on the issues to be addressed.

Both country governments have a keen interest in engaging the second-generation diaspora. Both representatives interviewed related that the second generation does not have strong ties to their country of origin and are in fact hard to engage. Often the youth do not attend events. The Cape Verdean consul attributed this in part to a lack of Creole and Portuguese language skills among the youth, many of whom only speak Dutch.

Ghana plans to focus its future diaspora engagement efforts on reducing the fragmentation within the community by facilitating an umbrella organisation that can sufficiently represent the community.

The level of engagement with diaspora is in part determinant on the budget available to undertake activities and events.

The interviews with the consular network of both countries also highlighted the challenges experienced in diaspora engagement.

Cape Verde: Lack of language skills among the second-generation diaspora was expressed as the greatest challenge to engagement. Another challenge expressed was insufficient motivation among the community to

²⁶ The interview was held with the First Secretary/ Consular Affairs Mr. Obed N.Y. Sarpong.

²⁷ The interview was held with the Consul General Mr. Belarmino Monteiro Silva.

participate in various aspects of Cape Verde's development.

Ghana: Lack of centralised data was noted as the greatest challenge. Data on the diaspora is currently fragmented and spread across organisations. Furthermore, this data is not digitalised. In this regard, there are plans to move towards a digitalised embassy with better coordinated data.

This study further sought to establish where the embassies and consulate felt the AU would be of assistance in their engagement efforts:

- Facilitate better communication between African governments.
- Work with the Dutch government to better manage migration issues and support towards integration of migrants.
- At the continental level, the AU should focus on improving regional dynamics. This should extend to facilitating/advocating for free travel in Africa to mutual benefit of the member states.

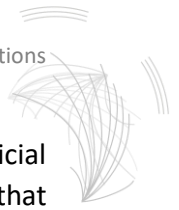
4.7 Diaspora Views on the AU

While there was limited knowledge about the African Union and their diaspora engagement efforts to date, when asked how the AU could support the African diaspora, several recommendations were put forward. Survey respondents and interviewees expressed that the AU should:

- Strive to engage with the diaspora and share information regarding what the AU is doing to support the Africa diaspora. Here the AU should actively include diaspora in its development agenda and sensitise home governments on its importance.
- Support the institutionalisation and professionalization of diaspora offices

within home country governments, with greater emphasis placed on the gender dimensions of diaspora engagement.

- Support professionalisation of diaspora organisations, build their capacity and engage them in African developments. Most diaspora local organisations have good project and business ideas, but do not know how to make business or project plans. Many of these good ideas are not realised due to lack of fund-raising skills, knowledge establishing good business partnerships, networking skills and language barriers.
- Recognise the value and contributions of the diaspora in development of their home countries.
- Support funding and manpower development of diaspora organisations.
- Facilitate enhanced well-being of Africans in Europe through better negotiation with European governments.
- Strong backing of promising Africans who can lead others into a better life in the Netherlands and Africa.
- Create close working relations and bring African talents back home to Africa.
- Establish a working platform to recognize and encourage talented Africans.
- Connect the diaspora with key players in the capital market.
- Support civil society organizations at grassroots levels in Africa, facilitating a conducive policy and institutional environment for operating in the home country. In so doing, facilitating the efficient establishment of diaspora organisations in Africa.
- Support (existing) frameworks for Diaspora engagement in Humanitarian Relief.



4.8 Conclusion and Recommendations

In the context of the African diaspora in The Netherlands, findings of this study indicate that various diaspora communities have initiated and are undertaking various interventions to support the well-being of Africans in the Netherlands or development in Africa/or their home country. This is currently being driven primarily out of personal moral obligations that diasporas feel towards their home countries. Indications are that the diaspora is somewhat disconnected from their home country governments while remaining attached to their respective communities, which is the main driving force behind their engagement at present. The impact of interventions is limited by financial and capacity constraints on the organisational level. The findings clearly reveal limited knowledge of home country strategies and programmes by the diaspora which suggests the need for more strategic dialogue and information sharing between home governments and the diaspora.

The African diaspora remain relatively invisible even though there has been a mushrooming of organisations over the past few years. This situation can in part be explained by the fact that many organisations operate informally with limited access to decision making circles. The findings also reveal that coordination among the diaspora is weak within and between communities due to internal divisions. Better coordination and cooperation among diaspora organisations has the potential to significantly improve funding opportunities and the impact of projects/interventions.

This study did not focus on undocumented and refugee African diaspora in the Netherlands as

this population is not considered in official statistics. There are, however, indications that undocumented immigrants also make noteworthy financial contributions to family members at home.

It is well established that diaspora have much to offer in terms of development in their home countries. This has resulted in home country governments adopting various strategies to tap into the potential that rests within their diaspora. In many instances, there are great expectations of the outcomes of these engagements. Evidence from select countries shows that with inclusive strategies and diaspora centred programmes, home countries are indeed benefiting substantially from their diaspora in various sectors. At the same time, the path towards these gains needs direction, trust built on two-way communication that yields mutual benefits in the context of multiple partnerships at various levels. It needs to be a give and take relationship in the context of a conducive institutional and policy environment.

Various studies have made several worthwhile recommendations to sending country governments regarding the engagement of their diaspora. Considering the findings of this report, the following recommendations for policymakers of home countries are put forward:

- Better knowledge of their diaspora populations: At individual country level, this should encompass further **in-depth research/mapping** of the African diaspora to establish: i) current education background and skill-sets of the African diaspora; ii) the organisational challenges of diaspora organisations in form of a needs assessment and; iii) while protecting the identity of individuals, gain a better

understanding of undocumented migrant populations.

- **Better insight into the second-generation diaspora** is important in terms of tapping into the full spectrum of Africa's diaspora. With parents who still maintain a connection to Africa, re-igniting an African identity within the second generation could go a long way towards knowledge transfer and continued financial investment in Africa. Attracting the youth through public internship programs and cultural image building are perhaps mechanisms through which this can be achieved.
- **It remains important to maintain dialogue with the diaspora** to instil continued trust and collaboration between the diaspora and African governments. Efforts at this level should be enhanced to create meaningful relationships that keep the diaspora informed of policy developments in Africa, while strategically collaborating with the diaspora to adopt diaspora led development programmes that meet the needs of both parties.
- Home governments should **strengthen institutional arrangements, policies and programs** facilitating engagement. Here South-South corporation which includes exchange visits to countries who are further ahead in the process and technical assistance thereafter provide mechanisms with which to successfully implement strategies.
- To ensure success, diaspora engagement strategies should not be undertaken in isolation but be well integrated into the national development planning process.
- Continued efforts should be directed at **enhancing coordination and networking among diaspora** interventions within

between communities as well as with external organisations. Improving coordination of diaspora organisations will improve coherence in programming and boost the legitimacy/credibility of diaspora initiatives.

- Several good practices and lessons learned already exist but remain under documented. Diasporas are a complex and non-static group. Home governments should invest in proper evaluation and documentation of interventions to facilitate evidence-based programmes that are responsive to the changing needs of both sides.

5 France

5.1 Méthodologie

La démarche de l'étude a été basée sur une approche exploratoire, conduite, non pas sur un échantillon statistiquement représentatif, mais sur une base qualitative tenant compte à la fois du poids démographique, des liens individuels entretenus avec les pays d'origine en Afrique et des actions institutionnelles menées en Afrique à partir de la France.

Ainsi, est-elle partie d'une revue de la littérature et des statistiques disponibles sur la diaspora Africaine en France.

La **recherche documentaire a porté sur** les aspects suivants :

- Les études pays sur la diaspora Africaine en France et en Afrique;
- Les bases de données sur les organisations et structurations de la diaspora: associations simples et faîtières;
- Les porteurs de projets de création d'entreprise en Afrique et en France;
- Les données officielles de recensement de la diaspora en France;
- Les liens entretenus avec les pays d'origine à travers notamment des visites périodiques, des envois de fonds et des projets mis en place;

La recherche documentaire a été complétée par des entretiens et des enquêtes individuelles et collectives procédant par des questionnaires instruits en vis-à-vis et par téléphone ou adressés par courriel et à travers les réseaux sociaux, aux membres des organisations de la diaspora Africaine et à leurs dirigeants, aux Ambassades et Consulats des pays Africains en France.

Ces enquêtes ont porté sur les aspects suivants:

- Individuels: informations générales, formation et parcours professionnel, apport au développement de l'Afrique, difficultés rencontrées et besoins d'appui et d'accompagnement, appartenance à une association et besoin d'être impliqué dans les activités de CIDO.
- Organisationnels: informations générales sur l'organisation, apport au développement de développement de l'Afrique: *intégration/droits de l'Homme formation/renforcement de capacités ; Information/ Communication / accès aux NTIC, Développement local, Education, Accompagnement et réalisation de projet, Santé/handicap Business & Développement, entreprise, épargne crédit, Recherche et sensibilisation sur l'Afrique, Culture/action socioculturelle, Echange et Transfert de compétences Environnement /Développement durable, Agriculture et développement rural, Insertion professionnelle, Jeunesse Genre, migration féminine et développement, Tourisme solidaire, Eau et Assainissement ; besoin d'accompagnement et de lien avec CIDO ;*
- Ambassades et Consulats des pays d'origine: services à la diaspora, politique de coopération au développement et besoin de contact avec CIDO.

Le temps consacré à la consultation et les ressources mobilisées n'ont pas permis de tenir compte, de manière proportionnelle, de l'exacte répartition de la diaspora dans les différentes Régions de France et des actions en Afrique. Le recueil des données s'est donc fait de manière ciblée visant la mise en évidence les dynamiques de structuration de la diaspora Africaine en France en lien avec

l’Afrique. Le questionnaire, composé aussi bien de questions dites « fermées » que de questions ouvertes, a fait l’objet d’un test préliminaire de validation des questions.

Le traitement des données a consisté à faire un premier contrôle de continu lors de la réception des questionnaires avant de réaliser le programme de saisie, la saisie des questionnaires, l’apurement du fichier, la tabulation qui s’est faite à travers un logiciel Excel simple.

5.2 Les traits caractéristiques de la diaspora Africaine en France

Dans les années 60, les migrations internationales vers la France participaient à la reconstruction de France de l’Après-Guerre et par la suite « aux trente glorieuses ». Elles répondaient à la fois à un appel de main-d’œuvre ouvrière (Algérie, Maroc, Mali, Mauritanie et Sénégal) et à des conditions de vie très difficiles mais également les ambitions personnelles et collectives qui amènent les populations à partir. Les flux à partir de la Vallée du fleuve Sénégal (Mali, Mauritanie et Sénégal) se sont amplifiés dans les années 70, avec des années de grande sécheresse entraînant famine et disettes. Le Nord voit arriver les émigrants écologiques, qui fuient les conséquences de la désertification, alors qu’avec la crise pétrolière, intervenait en France l’arrêt officiel de l’immigration de travail qui, de circulaire avec des fréquents aller-retour et de remplacement intergénérationnel, va devenir une

immigration d’installation avec enracinement. Ce qui constitue une grande part de la diaspora actuelle:

1. Des individus vivant en célibat dans les foyers d’immigrés¹ avec des familles restées au pays. Ce qui explique un très fort attachement au pays d’origine qui reçoit la grosse part des revenus. Malgré l’arrêt officiel de l’immigration de travail, la catégorie de diaspora Africaine se renouvelle à travers l’immigration clandestine et les régularisations qui s’en suivent. Rien qu’à voir l’occupation des foyers d’immigrés qui ne cesse de croître. « Si, aujourd’hui, la population des foyers tend à se diversifier, pour beaucoup de leurs habitants âgés, ces lieux d’exil au départ temporaires sont devenus des points d’ancrage définitifs »².
2. Des migrants ayant procédé au regroupement familial en se faisant rejoindre leur famille en France, ce qui donne lieu à la diaspora des générations issues de l’immigration dont l’attachement à l’Afrique est plus volontaire à travers des soutiens ponctuels à la famille élargie et des investissements collectifs et/ou individuels;
3. Des anciens étudiants africains en provenance notamment du milieu urbain, venus étudiés en France avec ou sans bourses y sont restés à la fin des études soit parce qu’ils y ont trouvé un mieux rémunérateur, soit parce qu’ils n’ont pas pu trouver de travail en Afrique. C’est

¹ Le foyer de travailleurs migrants (FTM) est un type de logement social créé en France avec le soutien de l’État au milieu des années 1950, pendant la guerre d’Algérie pour héberger les travailleurs nord-africains. Héritiers de la politique de logement patronale ou philanthropique des travailleurs isolés mais aussi de l’encadrement colonial des populations « indigènes », les foyers ont servi ensuite de mode de logement

privilegié pour les immigrés isolés issus des anciennes colonies magrébines puis sub-sahariennes (Mali, Mauritanie, Sénégal) dans les années 1960 et 1970.

² Jacques Barou: Hommes & migrations, revue française de référence pour les dynamiques migratoires n°1295, 2012



notamment le cas de la diaspora Béninoise, Burkinabé, Camerounaise, Ivoirienne, et Congolaise, etc. Les politiques d'ajustement structurel dans beaucoup de pays Africains, ont conduit à « la fuite des cerveaux » alimenté à la fois par le chômage des nouveaux diplômés et la décompression de la fonction publique. Les meilleurs techniciens, ingénieurs, professeurs, médecins, artistes quittent leur pays à la recherche d'un emploi rémunérateur souvent peu qualifiant à défaut d'une reconnaissance de la valeur de leurs capacités. Ces flux de compétences se combinaient avec celui des étudiants en France à la fin d'études. Puis dans les années 80, ce sont les entrepreneurs, commerçants et négociants frappés par la crise des fonctions publiques qui partent.

4. Les réfugiés constituent une autre catégorie de la diaspora africaine résultant des crises socio-politiques ou de guerres, (Angolais, Burundi, Congo RDC, Rwanda, etc.). Privés de liens avec le pays d'origine à leur arrivée en France, les réfugiés finissent par contribuer au développement de l'Afrique autant que les autres composantes de la diaspora dès que leur situation et celle du pays sont stabilisées.

Quel avantage pour l'Afrique ?

Les études mettent en lumière l'implication des diasporas africaines à titre de partenaires (formels ou informels) dans les projets de développement local dans les régions, villes et villages d'origine.

Et de fait, dans un contexte où la diaspora Africaine intervient dans un cadre de mobilité géographique et géoéconomique, elle peut avoir un rôle important pour l'Afrique en

matière de solidarité internationale et de développement.

Donc, malgré la longue liste noire des causes de l'émigration africaine, le phénomène peut constituer un gain pour les pays d'origine dans la mesure où la formation professionnelle et intellectuelle qu'acquière les membres de la diaspora dans leur « pays hôte » peut contribuer, de près ou de loin, aux projets de développement local dans le pays d'origine. D'ailleurs leurs actions sont souvent remarquables dans les activités d'économie sociale où les associations diasporiques prennent des initiatives, seules ou en partenariat avec des mouvements associatifs du Nord.

Ainsi, les transferts de compétences, des technologies et de fonds peuvent représenter une source appréciable de de dynamique de développement.

Les partenariats entre les Africains de la diaspora, les collectivités territoriales, l'Agence Française de Développement, les mouvements associatifs ou les organisations non-gouvernementales (ONG) de la France jouent également un rôle important dans le développement local de l'Afrique. Leurs interventions permettent par exemple de doter des pans entiers de villages et de localités d'infrastructures de base, c'est-à-dire d'école, de dispensaires, de centres de santé, de réseaux électriques et d'adduction d'eau potable. La diaspora Africaine participe également à des activités d'économie sociale, comme le développement de microentreprises, des microfinancement.

Il ne faut pas manquer de souligner non plus que l'émigration des travailleurs qualifiés et des professionnels draine généralement des richesses privées nationales dans le pays d'accueil. Selon la Revue Internationale des

sciences Sociales, portant sur le « Nomadisme des scientifiques et nouvelle géopolitique du savoir » (n° 168), 34% de ces richesses se trouveraient actuellement dans les pays hôte de ces diasporas. En bref, les Africains de la diaspora contribuent pour une part non négligeable à l'effort de développement du continent.

Celle à qui on pense le plus: Diaspora science et technologie

Depuis les 20 dernières années, le développement des nouvelles technologies et l'évolution de la science ont permis à certaines diasporas scientifiques de jouer un rôle important dans le développement et le renforcement de la capacité scientifique du pays.

Dans le contexte de la mondialisation, ces diasporas représentent un facteur potentiel de développement. Pour exemple, Le programme "Transfert de connaissance par les expatriés nationaux" – TOKTEN (Transfer of Knowledge Through Expatriate Nationals) qui est une modalité du PNUD a permis d'atteindre les résultats suivants au Mali³: **563** consultants potentiels répertoriés; **169** structures bénéficiaires répertoriées; **838** missions réalisées; **33** thèses de doctorat soutenues et **22** autres en cours; **18** accords interuniversitaires et d'autres en cours de préparation. Un programme TOKTEN est en place également en Guinée et au Sénégal .

5.3 Données statistiques

Des statistiques sur la diaspora en France sont fournies à la fois dans les documentations par pays, les documents généralistes et

multilatéraux et les recensements officiels de l'Institut national de la statistique et des études économiques (INSEE). Toutefois ces dernières se limitent généralement aux étrangers laissant de côté la diaspora de nationalité française. Le dernier recensement faisant ressortir le nombre d'immigrés Africains est celui de 2014:

Tableau 1 Répartition par pays de naissance

Algérie	773742	29,82%
Maroc	721963	27,83%
Tunisie	265549	10,24%
Sénégal	91949	3,54%
Côte d'Ivoire	78480	3,03%
Cameroun	76369	2,94%
Mali	68826	2,65%
Congo	61793	2,38%
Congo (Rép. Dém., ex-Zaire)	74630	2,88%
Madagascar	53403	2,06%
Maurice (île)	32024	1,23%
Comores	30893	1,19%
Guinée (Rép. de)	31179	1,20%
Angola	19759	0,76%
Mauritanie	15824	0,61%
Autres pays d'Afrique	197904	7,63%
Ensemble	2594287	100,00%

Ces statistiques montrent que les ressortissants des pays de l'Afrique et notamment du Maghreb, sont largement les plus nombreux représentant plus des 2/3 de l'ensemble de la diaspora Africaine en France. Cela s'explique, à la fois, par la proximité géographique et l'ancienneté de l'immigration Algérienne en France qui remonte au début du siècle dernier (1900). Viennent ensuite les ressortissants de l'ensemble des pays Francophones d'Afrique, les pays Anglophones et Lusophones étant peu

³ Selon Dr Abdramane Sylla, Ministre des Maliens de l'Extérieur

représentés en dehors de l'Angola figurant parmi les 15 premières diasporas selon les chiffres du recensement officiel.

Le profil socio-économique

Il faut toutefois noter que ces chiffres ne comprennent pas les membres de la diaspora Africaine nés en France et encore moins les sans-papiers qui ne sont pas du tout recensés.

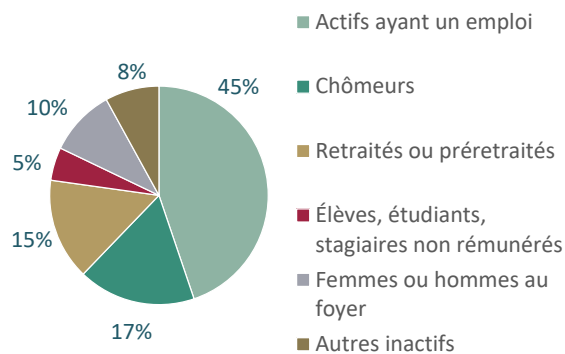


Figure 1 Répartition selon la situation professionnelle

Tableau 2 Répartition selon la situation professionnelle

Situation professionnelle	Nombre	Pourcentage
Actifs ayant un emploi	1123932	44,80%
Chômeurs	436560	17,40%
Retraités ou préretraités	376899	15,02%
Élèves, étudiants, stagiaires non rémunérés	122828	4,90%
Femmes ou hommes au foyer	248055	9,89%
Autres inactifs	200681	8,00%
Ensemble	2508956	100,00%

Source : Insee, RP2014 exploitation principale, géographie au 01/01/2016

Il ressort de ce tableau que le moins de la moitié de la diaspora Africaine en France est active avec un emploi et que taux de chômage au sein de la diaspora dépasse 17% contre 10%

pour l'ensemble de la France.

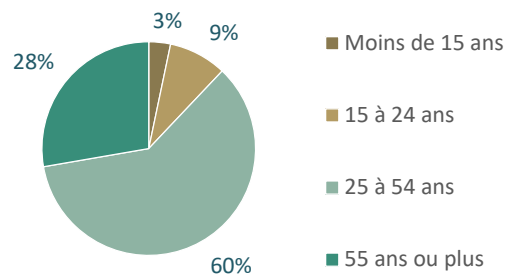


Figure 2 Répartition selon l'âge

Source : Insee, RP2014 exploitation principale, géographie au 01/01/2016

Les transferts financiers

L'appartenance à la diaspora implique des liens avec les pays d'origine en Afrique ou avec l'Afrique dans son ensemble. Par conséquent, l'étude a également cherché à déterminer ce lien.

Les liens de la diaspora avec l'Afrique sont multiples et variés selon les communautés. Ces liens vont de l'affinité culturelle à des projets durable, un changement de résidence vers l'Afrique, ou en passage par des visites fréquentes et des transferts de fonds périodiques.

Le montant des transferts financiers de la France vers chacun des pays Africains est le critère retenu au niveau des données statistiques pour déterminer le lien avec le pays d'origine.

Tableau 3 Estimations bilatérales des envois de fonds en millions d'USD pour 2015

Pay	USD	Pay	USD
Afrique du Sud	5	Kenya	6
Algérie	1.638	Liberia	2
Bénin	23	Madagascar	374
Burkina Faso	5	Mali	140
Burundi	1	Maurice	67
Cameroun	60	Maroc	2.172

Cap Vert	-	Mauritanie	
Centre Afrique	-	Mozambique	1
		e	
Comores	106	Niger	7
Congo	-	Nigeria	109
Congo RDC	1	Rwanda	7
Côte d'Ivoire	55	Sao-Tomé et Príncipe	
Djiboutie	19	Sénégal	457
Egypte	156	Seychelles	1
Ethiopie	7	Tanzanie	1
Gabon		Tchad	
Gambie	5	Togo	44
Ghana	22	Tunisie	1.380
Guinée	14	Uganda	2
Guinée Bissau	3		
Total			6.890

Source : Banque Mondiale 2016

5.4 Cartographie des Diasporas

Trois types d'enquêtes ont été réalisés dans le cadre de l'étude :

1. L'enquête auprès d'un échantillon représentatif de la diaspora Africaine en France ;
2. L'enquête auprès des organisations de la Diaspora : Association, ONG, coopératives et entreprises de la diaspora ;
3. L'Enquête auprès des Ambassades et Consulats des pays Africains en France.

Chacune de ces catégories ont donné lieu à l'élaboration d'un questionnaire diffusé auprès des intéressés par courrier et pour les particuliers, à travers les réseaux sociaux.

Résultats

1247 personnes de la diaspora ont répondu aux questionnaires de l'enquête dont 632 pour

le 'questionnaire individuel' et 518 pour le 'questionnaire des organisations'. 51 pour les 'Ambassades et services consulaires' qui ont été contactés par envoi de questionnaires et par appels téléphoniques.

Résultats de l'enquête individuelle

Les 632 réponses de l'enquête individuelle ont été traitées sur la base des critères suivants:

- Tranches d'âge: 18 à 24 ans, 25 à 54ans et 55 ans et plus
- Le genre
- Situation familiale
- Région d'origine en Afrique
- Motif de l'arrivée en France
- Lien avec le pays d'origine
- Niveau d'étude
- Situation professionnelle
- Spécialisation
- Difficultés et besoins d'accompagnement

Les 4 premiers critères se recoupent avec les statistiques de l'INSEE présentées ci-dessus qui nous semblent plus proche de la réalité que les résultats de notre enquête qui elle, est non exhaustive. Le traitement des résultats de l'enquête sur la base des 6 autres critères permet de compléter et d'affiner les statistiques officielles de l'INSEE sur la diaspora Africaine en France.

Tableau 4 Motif de l'arrivée en France

Vacances	Etudes	Familial	Travail
72	192	101	267
11%	30%	16%	42%

La recherche de travail est le motif principal pour 42% des réponses, suivi de 30% pour le



motif des études, 16% pour le regroupement familial et enfin 11% pour motif de vacances. L'expérience montre que le motif qui mène à l'installation en France est en réalité lié au besoin d'obtenir un visa même s'il est vrai que certains ont sans doute changé d'avis au cours de leur séjour. C'est notamment le cas de beaucoup d'étudiants qui arrivent avec un visa de long séjour, mais qui s'installent du fait des difficultés d'insertion professionnelle dans leur pays d'origine ou tout simplement parce qu'ils ont trouvé un emploi mieux rémunéré en France.

Tableau 5 Fréquence des visites dans le pays d'origine

Très souvent	Rarement	Jamais
428	179	25
68%	28%	4%

Tableau 6 Niveau d'étude

Sans niveau	1er Cycle	2ème Cycle	3ème Cycle	Doctorat
209	164	152	95	12
33%	26%	24%	15%	2%

33% des personnes qui ont répondu à l'enquête ne sont pas scolarisés. Il s'agit notamment de personnes qui ont eu un parcours d'immigration de travail en partance des zones rurales de forte émigration (Maghreb, vallée du Fleuve Sénégal etc). Mais de nombreux jeunes de la diaspora ont fréquenté l'école et certains ont atteint le niveau universitaire même s'ils n'occupent pas un emploi correspondant à leur niveau.

Tableau 7 Situation professionnelle

Employé	Indépendant	Etudiant	Retraité
368	82	128	54
58%	13%	20%	9%

Concernant la situation actuelle des personnes enquêtées, 58% sont employés, 20% sont étudiants, 13% sont indépendants et 9% sont retraités. Ce résultat confirme que la plupart des membres de la diaspora sont orientés vers des emplois salariés. Les entrepreneurs Africains viennent rarement s'installer en France contrairement à la diaspora Asiatique. Toutefois, on trouve de nombreuses entreprises appartenant à des personnes originaires d'Afrique du Nord.

Souvent confrontée à des difficultés d'accès à un emploi salarié, la diaspora Africaine est également source d'initiatives, de création de richesse grâce à l'effort des membres de la diaspora eux-mêmes ou d'autres personnes d'origine Africaine. Ces initiatives relèvent de l'activité d'entreprise, de l'économie marchande, même si elles ne prennent pas forcément la forme d'une entreprise légalement reconnue comme telle.

Les activités développées par les entrepreneurs de la diaspora participent, à la fois, à la valorisation de leur potentiel humain et économique - savoir-faire, compétences professionnelles et ressources financières capitalisées au pays d'origine ou d'accueil - et à l'émergence dans la société d'accueil, de nouveaux modes et habitudes de consommation. C'est ainsi que se développe dans certaines grandes villes comme Paris et Marseille, un espace économique entre immigrants Asiatiques et Africains. Constitué de réseaux bien segmentés et fonctionnant de façon autonome, cet espace permet la circulation de nombreux produits entre l'Afrique, l'Europe et l'Asie. Il offre aux produits concernés – gombo, noix de cola, banane plantain, jus de gingembre – un débouché qu'ils auraient beaucoup de mal à trouver autrement sur le marché international. C'est également un facteur

d'insertion sociale en « fournissant des produits rares à des prix avantageux » et permettant ainsi aux couches les plus basses de la population de satisfaire leurs besoins de consommation tout en maintenant leur capacité d'épargne et de création d'emploi.

Par conséquent, la circulation de produits et de savoir-faire, les entreprises dynamiques et sources de croissance entraînent des pratiques économiques qui font que, les migrations internationales conduisent à l'émergence d'une classe d'entrepreneurs à prendre en compte et à promouvoir dans l'économie nationale et internationale.

Tableau 8 Domaines de compétence

Domaine	Choix
Construction/Ingénieur	73
Education/Formation professionnelle	67
Télécommunications/Media	61
Santé	52
Administrative/Gestion	66
Finance/Bancaire	56
Manufacture/Production	77
Agriculture	57
Recherche	51
Autre	72
Total	632

Tableau 9 Besoins

Formation professionnelle ciblée sur votre projet	184	29%
Aide financière pour l'achat des infrastructures pour réaliser votre projet	229	36%
Financement de voyage	157	25%
Informations sur les possibilités d'insertion professionnelle dans votre pays d'origine	62	10%
Total	632	100%

Résultats de l'enquête auprès des organisations de la diaspora Africaine en France

Le concept de diaspora implique des liens avec les pays d'origine, mais aussi et surtout une dynamique organisationnelle permettant d'intervenir dans le domaine du développement et notamment pour la réalisation de projets d'intérêt général.

Aussi, l'étude s'est attachée à cartographier les organisations de la diaspora Africaine en France en leur adressant un questionnaire spécifique. Les résultats de cette enquête se caractérisent par une très grande polarisation sur la Région Parisienne qui accueille le siège de la plupart des organisations de la diaspora et en Afrique de l'Ouest où près de la moitié des organisations de la diaspora identifiées interviennent.

La concentration en Région Ile-de-France qui accueille plus de 70% des organisations qui ont répondu au questionnaire d'enquête et notamment à Paris qui accueille plus d'un quart de ces organisations s'explique à la fois par :

Une plus forte concentration des membres de ces organisations en Région Ile-de-France où se situe un plus grand nombre des foyers des travailleurs migrants qui ont pour mission d'accueillir des travailleurs isolés d'origine étrangère. Un certain nombre d'organisations ont même leur siège dans ces foyers.

La volonté d'être plus près des administrations centrales, des Ministères et des Ambassades et Consulats également concentrés dans la Capitale.

Ces résultats font apparaître en même temps une grande diversification dans l'établissement et l'objet de ces organisations. Ainsi, les membres de la diaspora Africaine



sont à l'initiative ou engagés dans des organisations dans pratiquement tous les départements des France. Ce qui montre un vrai dynamisme et un fort engagement citoyen dans les actions d'intérêt général.

Quant aux modes de structuration, les différences vont de l'inscription de la dénomination de l'organisme, de l'adresse, de la date de création, des noms des responsables ou des personnes de contact, des coordonnées téléphoniques et électroniques, à des informations sur les projets menés, les difficultés rencontrées et l'expression des besoins.

Tableau 10 Cartographie des acteurs de la diaspora par département en France

01 - Ain - Bourg-en-Bresse	1
06 - Alpes Maritimes - Nice	3
07 - Ardèche - Privas	1
13 - Bouches-du-Rhône - Marseille	14
14 - Calvados - Caen	4
18 - Cher - Bourges	1
2B - Haute Corse - Bastia	1
21 - Côte-d'Or - Dijon	2
22 - Côtes d'Armor - St-Brieuc	1
25 - Doubs - Besançon	7
27 - Eure - Evreux	5
29 - Finistère - Quimper	3
30 - Gard - Nîmes	1
31 - Haute Garonne - Toulouse	9
33 - Gironde - Bordeaux	8
34 - Hérault - Montpellier	1
35 - Ille-et-Vilaine - Rennes	10
36 - Indre - Châteauroux	1
37 - Indre-et-Loire - Tours	2
38 - Isère - Grenoble	1
42 - Loire - St-Étienne	1
44 - Loire Atlantique - Nantes	6
45 - Loiret - Orléans	2

47 - Lot-et-Garonne - Agen	1
49 - Maine-et-Loire - Angers	1
51 - Marne - Châlons-sur-Marne	1
54 - Meurthe-et-Moselle - Nancy	2
55 - Meuse - Bar-le-Duc	1
56 - Morbihan - Vannes	2
57 - Moselle - Metz	2
59 - Nord - Lille	11
60 - Oise - Beauvais	4
61 - Orne - Alençon	1
67 - Bas-Rhin - Strasbourg	2
68 - Haut-Rhin - Colmar	2
69 - Rhône - Lyon	19
71 - Saône-et-Loire - Mâcon	1
74 - Haute Savoie - Annecy	2
75 - Paris - Paris	130
76 - Seine Maritime - Rouen	8
77 - Seine-et-Marne - Melun	16
78 - Yvelines - Versailles	38
80 - Somme - Amiens	3
83 - Var - Toulon	1
86 - Vienne - Poitiers	1
87 - Haute Vienne - Limoges	1
89 - Yonne - Auxerre	3
90 - Territoire de Belfort - Belfort	1
91 - Essonne - Evry	14
92 - Hauts-de-Seine - Nanterre	36
93 - Seine-St-Denis - Bobigny	73
94 - Val-de-Marne - Créteil	38
95 - Val-D'Oise - Pontoise	18
TOTAL	518

Tableau 11 Répartition par Régions de France

Auvergne-Rhône-Alpes - <i>Lyon</i>	25	4,83%
Bourgogne-Franche-Comté - <i>Dijon</i>	13	2,51%
BRETAGNE - <i>Rennes</i>	16	3,09%
Centre-Val-de-Loire - <i>Orléans</i>	7	1,35%

Corse - <i>Ajaccio</i>	1	0,19%
Grand-Est - <i>Strasbourg</i>	10	1,93%
Hauts-de-France - <i>Lille</i>	18	3,47%
Ile-de-France - <i>Paris</i>	363	70,08%
Normandie - <i>Rouen</i>	18	3,47%
Nouvelle-Aquitaine - <i>Bordeaux</i>	11	2,12%
Occitanie - <i>Toulouse</i>	11	2,12%
Pays-de-la-Loire - <i>Nantes</i>	7	1,35%
Provence-Alpes-Côte-d'Azur - <i>Marseille</i>	18	3,47%
TOTAL	518	100,00%

Les pays d'origine ou d'intervention en Afrique

La répartition selon les pays d'intervention reflète à la fois l'histoire des parcours migratoires de certaines régions d'Afrique; les besoins de développement local dans certains pays et le dynamisme organisationnel de certaines communautés de la diaspora.

Tableau 12 Répartition par pays d'intervention en Afrique

Afrique	37	Ghana	5
Algérie	14	Guinée	18
Angola	7	Guinée Bissau	7
Bénin	8	Madagascar	36
Burkina Faso	22	Mali	84
Burundi	4	Maroc	24
Cameroun	46	Mauritanie	9
Cap Vert	6	Mozambique	5
Centre Afrique	6	Niger	6
Comores	25	Nigeria	20
Congo	10	Rwanda	6
Congo - RDC	19	Sao-Tomé et Príncipe	5
Côte d'Ivoire	8	Sénégal	43

Djiboutie	4	Tchad	4
Ethiopie	4	Togo	7
Gabon	6	Tunisie	9
Gambie	4	Total	518

Tableau 13 Cartographie par Région d'intervention en Afrique

Afrique Centrale	96	19 %
Afrique de l'Est	79	15 %
Afrique du Nord	47	9 %
Afrique du sud	11	2 %
Afrique de l'Ouest	257	50 %
Tous les pays Afrique	28	5 %
TOTAL	518	100 %

Les réponses à l'enquête sur les organisations indiquent une forte concentration de leur intervention en Afrique de l'Ouest et notamment au Mali, au Sénégal, au Nigeria et en Guinée. D'autres pays comme le Cameroun en Afrique Centrale et Madagascar et Comores en Afrique de l'Est, connaissent un nombre relativement élevé d'organisations de la diaspora.

Si cette répartition reflète globalement les traditions et les trajectoires migratoires des différents pays africains, le nombre d'acteurs de la diaspora intervenant dans certains pays comme le Mali, le Maroc et le Sénégal semblent être sous-évalués. Ces chiffres peuvent évoluer très sensiblement avec la poursuite de l'exercice de cartographie.

En effet, pour beaucoup de régions d'Afrique, les organisations de la diaspora constituent un prolongement, en France des organisations communautaires et des sociétés d'origine de la diaspora. Cela est encore plus vrai pour la diaspora d'origine africaine qui véhicule et



renforce les liens de solidarité ancestrales caractérisant les sociétés africaines.

Servant, en effet, celles-ci servent de support aux migrations internationales et elles viennent renforcer les relations de solidarité intra et intercommunautaire qui constituent le premier filet de sécurité à l'arrivée dans les pays d'accueil: prise en charge, information, orientation, aide dans la recherche d'emploi. Quel que soit son caractère informel, cette forme de solidarité est d'autant plus forte qu'elle permet de faire face aux difficultés d'insertion socio-économique dans le nouvel environnement d'accueil.

Ainsi, se forme le terreau pour les organisations de la diaspora dont le point de départ est la constitution de caisses d'entraide. Il s'agit en réalité de constituer des fonds permanents pour certains types de sinistres dont les coûts, relativement élevés en occident, peuvent difficilement être couverts avec des apports occasionnels et spontanés: obsèques, rapatriements, maladies graves.

Les organisations de la diaspora (formelles ou informelles) sont créées pour prévenir tout d'abord de tels sinistres, mais aussi pour réaliser des projets tels que la construction de lieux de culte tels que des mosquées. Si ces premières actions paraissent être de nature contre-productive au regard du coût d'opportunité élevé des placements et investissements correspondants, leur caractère consensuel en font des véritables bases fondamentales des organisations formelles. Ces dernières entreprennent par la suite des actions plus productives en plus des réalisations d'infrastructures sociales indispensables qui ne sont pas disponibles en milieu rural d'un certain nombre de régions d'Afrique—: écoles, dispensaires, maternités,

aménagements hydro-agricoles et coopératives céréalières.

A côté de cette forme d'organisation qui réunit des personnes d'une même origine villageoise, urbaine ou ethnique, il se forme des associations dites nationales. Elles sont de composition transversale, à caractère plus syndical, et elles se consacrent à la défense des droits des immigrés, à leur intégration en France et à l'association avec le mouvement de solidarité internationale. A cela s'ajoutent les associations d'intérêt commun: associations de jeunes, de femmes etc.

Les organisations de la diaspora sont, ainsi, le reflet de la composition des populations issues de l'immigration. Si les associations nationales et professionnelles ont très tôt adopté une structuration formalisée et une démarche de regroupement avec d'autres associations de même type, il faut attendre le début des années 1980 pour voir les associations villageoises se déclarer sous la Loi de 1901 qui régit les associations en France. Elles se sont ensuite regroupées en associations inter-villageoises puis en fédérations nationales et internationales. Les associations de femmes ont suivi le même cheminement sauf qu'elles restent davantage axées sur une solidarité de proximité et sur des actions d'intégration.

De création plus récente, les associations de jeunes issus de l'immigrations associent leur vie dans les quartiers de résidence avec le besoin d'une solidarité internationale. Ces associations de jeunes mobilisent davantage de Français (d'origine immigrée ou non) et utilisent d'autres modes d'actions que celles des associations communautaires traditionnelles.

Cette évolution d'ensemble se traduit par un rapprochement entre associations villageoises et de quartier et associations nationales d'une

part, et associations d'immigrés et associations de jeunes issus de l'immigration, de l'autre.

Tableau 14 Cartographie des activités

Secteurs d'intervention	No.
Développement local	61
Education	53
Santé/handicap	49
Culture/action socioculturelle	46
Intégration/ Droits de l'Homme	45
Echange Afrique/Europe et Transfert de compétences	42
Accompagnement et réalisation de projet	31
Business & Développement, entreprise, épargne crédit	29
Agriculture et développement rural	26
Jeunesse	22
Environnement /Développement durable	21
Genre, migration féminine et développement	18
Eau et Assainissement	18
Formation/Renforcement de capacités	15
Insertion professionnelle	15
Information/ Communication / accès aux NTIC	13
Recherche et sensibilisation sur l'Afrique	7
Tourisme solidaire	7
TOTAL	518

Résultats de l'enquête auprès des ambassades et consulats des pays Africains en France

Certaines Ambassades et consulats ont très bien accueilli la démarche salutaire de cartographier la diaspora africaine. Ils estiment que l'étude peut venir en appui au travail d'identification et de mise en réseau de leur diaspora. C'est notamment le cas de

l'Ambassade du Niger qui a été la toute première à répondre au questionnaire et qui « *attache un grand intérêt à cette thématique que la Commission de l'Union Africaine se propose d'analyser et d'exploiter dans l'intérêt des pays membres de l'Union* ». L'Ambassade de l'Ouganda a pu fournir le nombre de ressortissants enregistrés au 31/12/2016, soit 317 personnes, sans compter les naturalisés, les sans-papiers, et les 180 membres répertoriées pour la liste des invités régulièrement présents aux événements de l'Ambassade et du Consulat, même s'il n'y a souvent qu'environ 80 qui répondent à ces invitations.

Ces ambassades travaillent en étroite collaboration avec leur diaspora à travers les réseaux et collectifs d'organisations pour une meilleure concertation sur la mise en place de structures représentatives de l'ensemble de leur diaspora. C'est avec ces structures que des démarches sont prises pour l'inscription des ressortissants auprès des services consulaires, les réponses aux sollicitations, le soutien aux organisations de la diaspora et la participation aux politiques publiques du pays.

Une deuxième catégorie d'Ambassades et de consulats travaillent avec les organisations de la diaspora répertoriées auprès de leurs services mais estiment que la question du nombre d'inscriptions est très sensible en cette période de crise migratoire.

5.5 Conclusion et Perspectives

Le traitement de la documentation sur la diaspora Africaine en France et des questionnaires d'enquête et d'entretien remplis a permis une cartographie de la diaspora composée essentiellement de



travailleurs, d'étudiants, d'entrepreneurs, de retraités et de chômeurs.

La diaspora Africaine de France est alimentée par une immigration de travail à laquelle s'ajoute des étudiants restés en fin d'étude et le regroupement familial.

Elle participe à l'enrichissement de la France par le travail, la consommation et l'entrepreneuriat et elle participe, en retour, au développement de l'Afrique par l'apport de compétences, les transferts financiers et la mise en place de projets.

Si l'accent est souvent mis sur les transferts financiers estimés à deux fois plus que l'aide publique au développement, ces transferts ne portent que sur environ 15% des revenus de la diaspora. Ce qui montre bien que les 85% sont dépensés en France et participent, de ce fait, à l'enrichissement de la France.

Seules les politiques publiques des pays d'origine peuvent permettre de mieux valoriser ces transferts au profit du développement de l'Afrique en:

- ✦ Orientant une bonne part des transferts de fonds vers des investissements productifs
- ✦ Favorisant la consommation de la production locale
- ✦ Valorisant l'apport de compétences de la diaspora
- ✦ Soutenant les projets par des études de faisabilité et l'accompagnement sur projets de développement et de création d'entreprise en Afrique.

En termes de perspectives, vue l'évolution permanente de la diaspora Africaine, il serait important d'organiser une veille et la collecte permanente des informations dans chaque pays. Ce qui permettrait de compléter et de mieux affiner cette étude de cartographie qui

est perfectible grâce aux mises à jour et en fonction des demandes de divers groupes-cibles intéressés.

6 Germany

6.1 Introduction & Methodology

The overall size of the African diaspora in Germany is difficult to determine, as available statistical data is limited and dispersed. The German Federal Statistical Office provides two annual reports that are particularly relevant for this study: the Central Register of Foreigners which provides information on citizenship, resident status, duration of stay, marital status and age for all registered foreign nationals; and the more comprehensive micro census¹, which additionally covers persons with a migratory background, meaning that “s/he or at least one of his/her parents did not acquire the German citizenship at birth”² and includes a broad array of socioeconomical data. There is little distinct information on African nationals relating to their educational background, socio-economic situation, or employment and labour market situation. Therefore, it was necessary to consider and compare data from different sources.

To find out what motivates or discourages diaspora groups in their engagements in Africa, structured interviews with representatives of African Diaspora organizations, associations, media and community leaders were conducted. The study focuses on associations that aim to improve socio-economic issues, those with more experience in providing services, and those with professional and functioning structures.

Furthermore, questionnaires were sent to African Diplomatic Missions in Berlin.

The requests for interviews were sent to a total of 75 addresses. 31 associations were interviewed between October 2016 and January 2017. It is regrettable that only two of the African Embassies in Berlin chose to participate in the course of this research.

6.2 Demographic Profile

The following chapter provides information about the African diaspora in Germany, its potentials, level of awareness, commitment and capacities among others. Given the heterogeneous nature of any diaspora, the conclusions derived from this study are limited. African Diaspora in Germany comprises numerous communities and organisations of varying size. This report focuses on the largest ones.

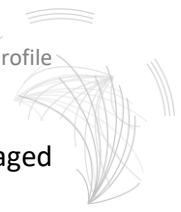
The African population in Germany is relatively small, but it is growing. The number of people from Sub Saharan Africa was estimated at 200,000 to 300,000 in 2013 by the ICERD.³ This is, however, a very rough estimation. It does not include people from North-Africa nor German citizens of African descent. Furthermore, it deviates strongly from the data provided by the Federal Statistical Office. According to the 2015 micro census Germany was home to 631,000 people of African origin⁴ in 2015, including at least 405.000 first generation migrants. A more precise account can be derived from the Central Register of Foreign Nationals (AZR) which puts the actual number of Africans at 429,048.

¹ The micro census is a representative survey, carried out each year among one per cent of the German population (around 80.000 respondents)

² Statistisches Bundesamt, Fachserie 1 Reihe 2.2, 2015, p. 20.

³ Article 9 of the International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination (ICERD) in the 19-22th report of the Federal Republic of Germany

⁴ The micro census, Federal Statistics Office



However, the Federal Statistical Office does not include individuals who have been naturalized in other non-African countries before immigrating to Germany. They also exclude third generation migrants. Hence, the size of the African diaspora population could be significantly higher.

Gender and age distribution

The African population in Germany is predominantly male. This is due to the fact that migration from Africa to Germany and other European countries in the 1960s and 1970s was largely driven by the demand for labour. In the following years, reasons for migration diversified including family reunification, studies or to escape political and economic instabilities. These different motivations have impacted demographic trends of African migrants in Europe. With more and more women migrating, male domination has continuously decreased since 1980 (Schmelz 2009). In 2000, only 35 % of African migrants were female. By 2015 this number had increased to 38 %, whereas the gender ratio for the overall migrant population remained unchanged. In the Ghanaian diaspora the feminization of migration has accelerated so much so, that the proportion of women reached 52.6 per cent in 2007 (GIZ 2016, p. 12). Similar trends can be observed among other African communities in Germany.

The share of African people in Germany of working age (from 18 up to 64 years old) is significantly higher in comparison to other age groups. In 2015, according to the Federal Statistical Offices, 213,962 African individuals were between 18 and 35 years old. In the same

year 141,090 African individuals were aged between 36 and 65.

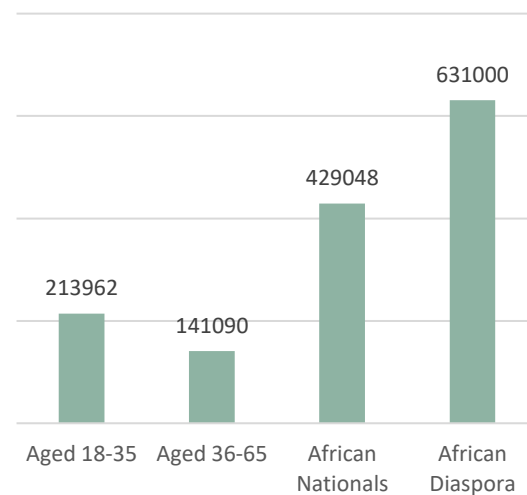


Figure 1 African population in Germany by age

This demographic composition diverges from the aging German population. The Federal Statistical Office (Status 9/02/2017) indicates that in 2011 only 25 per cent of the German population is aged between 18 and 40 years old.

Geographic distribution

Geographically, African people mainly live in the State of North-Rhine Westphalia (NRW) and in other major big cities like Berlin, Hamburg, Munich, Stuttgart and Frankfurt. The concentration of Africans in NRW is related to the fact that many guest workers went to work in the lignite mines in NRW and stayed there. Their presence attracted their relatives and/or acquaintances that joined them later.

According to the respective state or city registries in 2014 there were 23,918 African nationals living in Berlin⁶, 21,113 in Cologne⁷,

⁵ Statistisches Bundesamt 9/02/2017

⁶ Statistisches Jahrbuch Berlin 2015, p. 49

⁷ Statistisches Jahrbuch Köln 2015, p. 37

17,155 in Hamburg⁸, 15,402 in Frankfurt⁹ and 14,434 in Munich.

The biggest community in Berlin is made of Libyan nationals (3.452 individuals), followed by Egyptians (2.537), Nigerians (2.091), Cameroonians (2.076), and Ghanaians (2.018).

In Hamburg the Ghanaian population forms the largest African group with 5.451 individuals. It is followed by Egyptians (1.803), Togo (1.212), Nigerians (1.206), and Tunisians (1.158).

In Cologne, Moroccans constituted the largest African community with 6.701 individuals, followed by Tunisians (3.619), Nigerians (1.208), Algerians (970) and Congolese from the DRC (847).

In Frankfurt there was a distinct domination of Moroccans with 5.873, followed by Eritreans (2.421), Ethiopians (1.433), Ghanaians (1.214), and Tunisians (686).

In Munich¹⁰ the principal community is that of Tunisians totaling 1.858, followed by Nigerians (1.448), Somalis (1.436), and Moroccans (1.388).

These numbers, however, only include individuals holding an African citizenship.

Educational and professional profile

On the labour market African migrants are confronted with significant barriers (Nohl et al. 2010). The employment situation of first-generation migrants is in many cases precarious. Benndorf (2008) finds that in the years of 1998-2005 African nationals were more affected by unemployment than both native Germans and other migrant groups.

Many worked under difficult conditions or hold menial jobs, that are generally not covered by social insurance. In addition, their average income remained below that of other population groups (see Benndorf 2008).

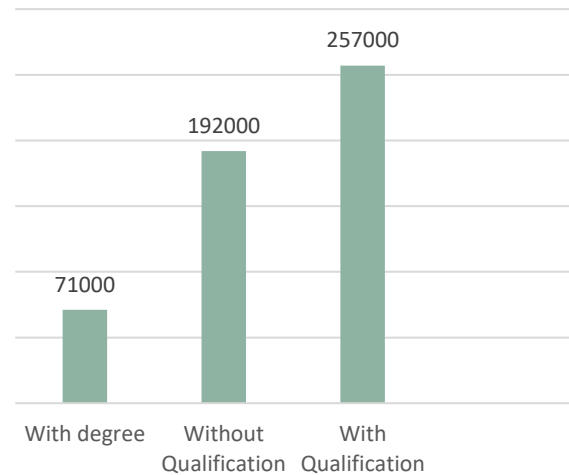


Figure 2 Qualification and employment situation

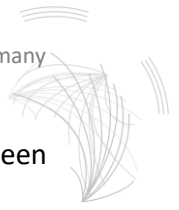
This trend, however, appears to have changed. According to micro census data from 2015 48 per cent, in the relevant age group, possessed recognized vocational or academic qualifications. The 2015 data also shows, that 75 per cent of the African origin population holds a secondary level education and among those 126.000 have a high school diploma ("Abitur"). On top of that 71.000 graduated from University mainly with degrees in natural sciences and engineering. This is especially the case for Cameroonians and Moroccans (see GIZ 2016a; GIZ 2016b). Both groups have the highest rate of graduations from German universities (GIZ 2016b, p. 14).

86 per cent of those able to work held a job in 2015, with only 17 per cent working in low-

⁸ Statistisches Jahrbuch Hamburg 2015/2016, p. 31

⁹ Statistisches Jahrbuch der Stadt Frankfurt am Main 2016, p. 26 - 27

¹⁰ Jahreszahlen 2014 ("jaz2015"), p. 24.



earning positions with no social security benefits.

6.3 Top Five African Populations in Germany

The African diaspora consists of several different groups with diverse interests, aspirations, organisations, and identities. This may have an impact on their participation, type and capacity of commitment in defending or promoting their interests in Germany and also in the development of their home country.

Table 1 The largest communities of African nationals in 2015

Moroccan	72.129
Eritrean	40.069
Nigerian	37.404
Tunisian	30.696
Ghanaian	29.590
Somali	23.350
Egyptian	22.979
Algerian	20.505
Cameroonian	19.800
Ethiopian	14.510

The 10 communities indicated above total 311,032 individuals or 73 % of the overall African population in Germany. These figures are, however, only an approximation since they do not include naturalized citizens of African origin, people of African descent in the second or third generation or undocumented immigrants.

The following chapters provide in detail information on five African diaspora communities, chosen based on their importance, not only in number, but also with regard to their high level of education and prominence of individual members. For this

reason, the Cameroonian community has been preferred over the Eritrean one.

Moroccan diaspora in Germany

The Moroccan diaspora is the largest migrant group in the landscape of the African diaspora in Germany, well ahead of other groups from Tunisia, Nigeria and Ghana according to the Federal Statistical Office. In 2015, 171.000 people with a Moroccan background resided in Germany. Out of those 72.129 held Moroccan citizenship while 57 % were German passport holders (including 17 % with dual citizenship) and 43 % were born in Germany.

Morocco is one of the world's leading emigration countries with an estimated 10 % of the population residing outside their homeland (Lacroix 2005; Martin et al. 2006). The importance of Moroccan migrants living abroad is considerable. According to World Bank estimates, personal remittances amounted to 6.9 billion USD in 2015, 6.8 % of the Moroccan Gross Domestic Product. Accordingly, remittances have been considerably higher than the official development assistance, which made up 1.5 billion USD in the same year (World Bank 2015). Moroccan migrants contribute to their home country's development also through numerous social, cultural, political and educational activities (GIZ 2016b, p. 6).

Geographic distribution, age, education and employment structure

Moroccan migrants and their descendants mainly live in the federal states of Hessen and North Rhine-Westphalia (Bouras-Ostmann 2014; GIZ 2016b, p. 13). In those states, they primarily reside in the cities of Frankfurt am Main (Hessen) and Düsseldorf (NRW) (GIZ 2016b, p. 6).

With an average age of 30 years the Moroccan community is almost 15 years younger than the average population as a whole. The percentage of females is reported at 45 %.¹¹

The available data on education levels paints an uneven picture: While 40 % of persons of Moroccan background held a university entrance qualification in 2015, 31 % possessed no school-leaving qualification at all.¹² Despite being the largest group of African students at German universities, the number of Moroccan students and university graduates has steadily decreased over the last ten years.¹³

With the positive development in education levels, people of Moroccan descent progressively enter the labour market in more appropriate positions, for example the service sector (see GIZ 2016b, p. 13, Kathima Bouras-Ostmann 2014, p. 45-49). Despite this positive evolution the unemployment rate among the Moroccan population remains very high. At 26.9%, the unemployment rate among Moroccans in Germany is three times higher than the unemployment rate among German citizens (8.1 percent) (see Bouras-Ostmann 2014, p. 47-48; GIZ 2016b, p. 13).

Moroccan organisations in Germany

People of Moroccan descent in Germany are usually engaged in religious or cultural communities. In addition to the numerous communities that have been existing since 1960s, some organisations of highly qualified Moroccan migrants have been founded in

recent years. This is the case of the DMA, Deutsch-Marokkanische Akademiker (Association of German Moroccan Academics). It was created in 2012 and connects about 1000 students and graduates in Germany (see GIZ 2016b, pp. 18-19).

Another important association among Moroccans is the DMK, Deutsch Marokkanisches Kompetenzennetzwerk (German-Moroccan Competence Network). It was founded in Berlin in 2007, on the initiative of the Moroccan Embassy in Germany. It links highly qualified Moroccan migrants throughout Germany (see GIZ 2016b, p. 19). According to data from the DMK website (status 11/12/2016), the network has 700 members in the IT, automotive, social and cultural sector, as well as in the field of renewable energies and environment, and research and teaching. Most of them reside in Southern and Western Germany. DMK carries out numerous development projects (see GIZ 2016b, p. 20).

Tunisian diaspora in Germany

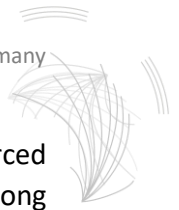
According to the information from the German Federal Statistical Office (Status 17/11/2016), there were 30,696 Tunisian nationals registered in Germany in 2015. 67 % of them were male and 33% female. A high proportion of Tunisians are aged under 35 years. Considering the regional distribution, the majority of Tunisians in German live in North

¹¹ Statistisches Bundesamt, Fachserie 1 Reihe 2.2, 2015, p. 65

¹² „Abitur“ and „Fachabitur“; Statistisches Bundesamt, Fachserie 1 Reihe 2.2, 2015, p. 178

¹³ The official student statistics of the Federal Central Statistics Office does not account for Germans of Moroccan origin. It does however differentiate between Moroccan nationals that attained their university entrance qualification in Germany

(„Bildungsinländer“) and abroad („Bildungsausländer“). In the semester of 2006/07, there were 7.016 students with a foreign and 915 with a German high school diploma. Both numbers decreased to 4.805 and 642 in the semester of 2015/16. Graduation numbers also shrunk from 455 and 67 to 408 and 52 respectively. Statistisches Bundesamt, Fachserie 11 Reihe 4.1, 2007; 2016; Statistisches Bundesamt, Fachserie 1 Reihe 4.2, 2007; 2016.



Rhine Westphalia, followed by Bavaria, Baden-Württemberg and Hesse.

The Tunisian Diaspora is heterogeneous regarding its education, profession, and skills (Schmelz 2010). Ragab et al. (2013) identified three categories of Tunisian migrants in Germany on the basis of the period of their emigration, motives of migration and their socioeconomic situation. The first category consists of guest workers who arrived in the 1960s and members of their families, who joined them later. Most of the less qualified immigrants were or are employed as workers and they still make up the majority of Tunisians (Ragab et al. 2013, p. 14). There is a significant number of Tunisians in Germany that are self-employed (Boubakri 2010). The migrants of the second category moved to Germany for education. Part of them stayed after their studies or vocational trainings. The third category is made up of the children of the first category.

Contrary to the first category, Tunisians from the other categories obtained educational opportunities. Hence, the number of Tunisians students at German University and high schools has increased significantly (Katterbach 2010) and so has the educational level of Tunisian migrants in Germany (see Ragab et al. 2013). Overall, people from the last two categories also fare better in their employment and socioeconomic status.

Tunisian Diaspora organisations and their engagement in Development

According to the studies of Katterbach (2010), Ragab et al. (2013), and Schmelz (2010) Tunisians living in Germany are engaged in civic and political activities in their home country, within the Tunisian community in Germany, German organisations and German political parties (Ragab et al. 2013, p. 19). The

recent political change in Tunisia reinforced the awareness and sense of belonging among Tunisians in Germany, particularly among young people and raised their willingness to contribute to the political, economic, cultural, and social development of their country of origin (Ragab et al. 2013, p. 19).

The revolution in Tunisia clearly had an impact not only on the country itself, but also the diaspora abroad. Some people and associations got directly or indirectly involved in the revolution and its aftermath. Whereas some organizations or individuals, especially those who were linked to the former government, disappeared or stopped their activities, others have emerged or reoriented and/or improved their activities (Ragab et al., p. 19; Own findings).

Tunisian organisations in Germany can be classified as political, academic/student, business/professional or social/cultural (see Ragab et al. 2013). Most of those organisations are small and operate on a local and voluntary basis.

Ghanaian diaspora in Germany

The studies of among others Buschke (2014), GIZ (2016a), Nieswand (2009), Melt (2009), Schröder (2006), as well as the Federal Statistical Office provide important information on the Ghanaian diaspora in Germany. Different sources agree on the fact that Ghanaian population in Germany has changed significantly in recent years. According to data from a study commissioned by Federal Ministry for Economic cooperation and Development (GIZ 2016a, p. 11) the number of Ghanaians in Germany between 2006 and 2014 has increased by 30 %. According to the Federal Statistical Office, 29,590 persons with Ghanaian nationality

were officially living in Germany in 2015. Some studies (Lenz 2003; GIZ 2016a, p. 12; Mazzucato 2007; Schmelz 2009, p. 7; Vizzoli/Lacroix 2010) suggest that there are around 30,000 to 40,000 unregistered Ghanaians living temporarily or permanently in Germany. In total, the population with Ghanaian background in Germany could therefore be estimated up to 80,000 people (see GIZ 2016a, p. 12). As in other cases of African communities, the Ghanaian population in Germany is young.

Professional and Educational Profile

According to the GIZ (2016a, p. 13), almost 8,500 Ghanaian nationals were registered as regularly employed in March 2015, whereas 2,914 were listed as unemployed. Taking into account the study conducted by Andrea Schmelz (2009), it can be noted that the living conditions and income situation of a large part of Ghanaians in Germany has not improved significantly between 2009 and 2015. Numerous Ghanaians remain employed in the low-wage sector and many other have no jobs and survive on social benefits (GIZ 2016a, p. 38). The majority of those looking for a job do so in the sectors of health care, security, maintenance, transport, hotel industry, food and beverage production, tourism and sport, transport and logistics and metalworking (GIZ 2016a, p. 13). As those occupational areas do not require a higher level of qualification, it can be assumed that a large number of Ghanaians may not hold academic qualifications.

Geographical distribution

Most of Ghanaians live in the state of North-Rhine Westphalia (NRW) and in the cities of Hamburg, Bremen, Berlin, as well as in Frankfurt/Main (see GIZ 2016a, p. 13).

Ghanaian Organisations

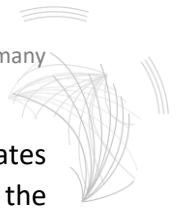
The Ghanaian community has set up an abundance of African churches. Along their religious activities, they also engage in social and charity work.

Other Ghanaian organisations call themselves "Ghana Unions" or "Ghana Councils" and are members of the UGAG¹⁴ (see GIZ 2016a, p. 17).

Many of these associations have existed for more than 15 years (see GIZ 2016a, p. 20; Schmelz 2009; Schröder 2006). Their objectives embrace maintaining contact and strengthening relations with the country of origin, providing material and financial support to the region of origin, implementing smaller developmental projects, working on social participation and integration of their members in Germany (GIZ 2016a, p. 21).

The Ghanaian organisations have the same problems that face other African organisations: They have limited financial resources and low qualified personnel. Some Ghanaian People interviewed regret the fact that there are a lot of qualified Ghanaians, but very few of them are involved in their organisations. They believe that there is a gap between the successfully established academics and professionals and the unskilled people of Ghanaian origin and wish it would be closed. Only then could the Ghanaian diaspora contribute effectively to the development of

¹⁴ More about UGAG can be learnt below in the section on African Organisations in Germany



their African home country and their own community.

Nigerian diaspora in Germany

The Nigerian population in Germany increased significantly in 1990s as a consequence of the political instability in Nigeria. During that time, a large number of Nigerian nationals left their country and some of them came to Europe seeking for asylum (see Carling 2006, GIZ/CIM 2015). According to the data from the Federal Statistical Office (Status 11/11/2016), 37,404 Nigerian nationals were residing in Germany in 2015.

The Nigerian population is dominated by men, with only 39% women, although their number has progressively increased (see GIZ/CIM 2015, p. 19). The Nigerian population in Germany is young. Around 77% were under 40 years old in 2015 (see Federal Statistical Office, status 12/12/2016). In terms of age groups, the majority of Nigerian population in Germany are of working age. 71% of them were between 18 and 49 years old in 2015 (id.).

Like other African communities, people of Nigerian descent are concentrated in some cities or states than in others. In 2015 those were the states of North-Rhine Westphalia (25%), Bavaria (17%), Baden-Württemberg (17%) and Hessen (10%) (See Federal Statistical Office, status 21/11/2016).

There is no available data on the education level of the community.

Nigerian Diaspora organisations

According to GIZ/CIM (2015, p. 23) the Nigerian organisations in Germany can be classified into four categories: cultural organisations, student or professional associations, development organisations, and

political ones. GIZ/CIM (2015, p. 28) indicates that cultural organisations make up the biggest portion, followed by development organisations, and student or professional associations. Only one organisation with clear political orientation has been identified. Regarding the form of organisation, the development associations are less structured than the cultural ones (GIZ/CIM 2015, p. 28). There is a will to bring the Nigerian community in Germany under one umbrella organisation. This umbrella project is advanced by NIDO (Nigerian in Diaspora Organisations). It intends to unite all Nigerian entrepreneurs, businesspeople and professionals in Germany.

NIDO Germany is a branch of NIDO-Worldwide and present across the world (Haas 2006). Its main intention is to strengthen the link between Nigerians in the diaspora and their motherland. The Nigerian Government emphasizes its commitment to Nigerians abroad and their contribution to the development of Nigeria (GIZ/CIM 2015, p. 34; Wapmuk et al. 2014).

Cameroonian diaspora in Germany

In 2015, 19,800 Cameroonian nationals were registered in Germany. There is also a growing number of Cameroonians, who have been naturalised and henceforth hold the German citizenship (GIZ 2016c).

The numbers of women among the Cameroonian diaspora has risen significantly in recent years and in 2015 reached 44% (Federal Statistical Office, Status 11/12/2016). The average age of Cameroonians in Germany has been steadily around 28 years over the past decades (GIZ 2016c). There is a clear link between the reasons for migrating (studies) and the age of Cameroonian migrants.

Most of Cameroonians in Germany live in the states of North-Rhine Westphalia (NRW), Baden-Württemberg, Berlin, Hessen and Saarland and the cities of Berlin, Hamburg, and Bremen. In NRW, they live mainly in the cities of Dortmund, Essen, Cologne and Wuppertal. There are also many Cameroonians in Baden Württemberg who live predominantly in Stuttgart, Mannheim and in Esslingen. In Hessen, the Cameroonians live mostly in Gießen, Frankfurt and Darmstadt (GIZ 2016a). Many others live in Munich in the state of Bayern.

Many Cameroonians move to Germany to study (GIZ 2016c; Schmelz 2007). The Cameroonian students' group was one of the top 9 most relevant groups among the foreigners studying at German universities and colleges. It was one of the biggest from the whole African continent along with the Moroccan one. Cameroonians study mainly engineering and natural sciences, while some are also found in social sciences, economics and management as well as Linguistics and Arts (GIZ 2016c).

According to GIZ (2016c, p. 9), only a small proportion of Cameroonian citizens in Germany are unemployed as most of them are already well educated or migrate to pursue further studies.

Cameroonian Diaspora organisations

There is a considerable number of Cameroonian organisations in Germany. GIZ (2016c) classifies Cameroonian associations in 6 categories: cultural and social associations, international and development-oriented organisations, professional networks, student and academic associations, alumni and elite networks, and political organisations. Although there have been efforts to bring the Cameroonian associations under one

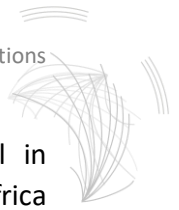
umbrella, these efforts have so far been unsuccessful. The Cameroon Diaspora Network Germany (CDN.G) has been trying to do this for several years. The *Challenge Camerounais*, which is a socially and culturally grounded association tries to fill this gap, but its activities are discontinuous. Like in other communities the Cameroonians, who took part to interviews emphasized the need for an increased cooperation among them.

6.4 Top Ten Diaspora Organisations

There are numerous formal and informal African associations and organisations in Germany. They have been founded with different objectives and orientations, like professional, cultural, social, religious, political ones. Whereas some of them have existed and been active since several years, many others only exist on papers. Internal disputes have contributed to a fragmentation of the organisational landscape.

Some of those associations are small and have less than 20 members. Others are relatively big and have a membership of more 500 members. Some Africans are active in different clubs at the same time. It is worth noting that official membership numbers do not always reflect the visibility and importance of the association (see Schmelz 2009; own investigation 2016).

The limited financial and human resources are common problems of the African associations. Many of them collect either no membership fees or only an insignificant financial contribution, and they lack skills on marketing and fundraising strategies. Some associations receive donations, which are collected at cultural events or other celebrations. Rarely, African organisations apply for and receive significant funds from the government or



municipalities. Most African associations have no annual budget provisions. They work in many cases exclusively on a voluntary basis.

Most African organisations do not have formal offices from where they can run their activities. They depend on German NGOs or other institutions to provide the space for their meetings, consultations or other activities. In most cases they can be reached only via private addresses and / or mobile phone numbers of the board members. Only few organisations publish regular and transparent reports on their activities and projects. The African Organisations communicate mostly via websites, but also via social media platforms and blogs.

Despite constraining working conditions, there are small, medium and larger associations that are run professionally. They cooperate with state and local governments and manage to successfully acquire funding for their small domestic activities and their development projects in Germany or / and Africa.

The following list of top ten African diaspora organisations was selected based on six criteria: (1) assertion of being an umbrella organisation; (2) the impact of their activities; (3) the number of members; (4) a relatively solid and structured organisation; (5) presence and accessibility of the leading team; (6) official office and website-presence.

Organisations which lack three out of these six criteria have not been taken into account. The organisations that have been selected to be presented in this report are: ISD (Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland); Central Council of African Communities; BMA (Bundesvereinigung Mandatsträger Afrikanischer Abstammung); UGAG (Union of Ghanaian Associations in Germany); NIDO (Nigerians in Diaspora Organisations); Afrika

Center, Berlin; African Christian Council in Hamburg; African Medien Zentrum; Africa Positive; TANG (The African Network of Germany).

ISD (Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland)

The Initiative Schwarze Menschen in Deutschland (Initiative of black people and people of colour in Germany) is a non-profit organisation, registered as an association. It does not define itself as an African organisation per se, but as an organisation of black people and people of colour. This name is clearly politically motivated, as the organisation intends to promote the interests of people, who are marginalized or discriminated in German society, not limited to Africans. Its mandate and tasks include representing the interests of black people and people of colour in Germany; promoting a positive identity among black people and people of colour; promoting awareness among black people and people of colour; supporting and organizing the networking of black people with regard to their organizations and projects; fighting against racism and discrimination; political lobby for black people and people of colour.

The ISD is the oldest organisation presented in this study. It has been founded in 1986. It was initiated by people of African descent in search of their roots with the aim to define and develop their own identity (Wiedenroth-Coulibaly 2004). The co-founders of the ISD wanted to promote the dignity and rights of black people in Germany and strengthen their social and political integrations (Oguntoye et al. 1986, p. 11). They wanted to counter racism, isolation and discrimination practised against black people in Germany. The ISD encourages people of colour to actively claim

their place in society by sharing their stories and experiences. The organization managed to set up a network of associations, groups and individuals at local, regional and federal levels. Groups, initiatives and individuals affiliated with the ISD can be found across Germany, although the exact number of members is unclear.

It is difficult to talk about ISD without saying anything about its feminist sister organisations ADEFRA, *Black Women in Germany*. It was founded in the mid-1980s and has been registered as an association since 1994. Adefra in the Ethiopian language Amharic means a courageous woman (Ani 2004). For ISD and ADEFRA, the struggle for the rights of black people and people of colour in the society, goes along with a struggle for the promotion of all marginalised people including women.

The objectives of the ADFRA and ISD are largely identical. The only difference is that ADEFRA is more oriented towards women. Its activities focus on the political education, empowerment and network building of women and girls.

Central Council of African Communities

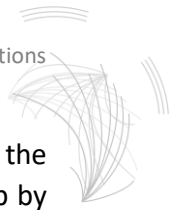
The Zentralrat der afrikanischen Gemeinde (in English the Central Council of African Communities) is an umbrella organisation uniting 53 African organisations. Compared to the ISD this is a new organisation. It was founded in 2012. Its objectives don't diverge much from those of the ISD. The Central Council sees itself as an umbrella association representing and defending the social, cultural, political and economic interests of the African Diaspora in Germany.

The Council works to strengthen the integration of people of African descent and foster intercultural understanding within

society. Different from the ISD the Council also strives to contribute to the development of Africa. It aims to be more involved in development policies and wants to strengthen the self-empowerment of Africans and blacks in Germany. The organisations works in the following areas: Living conditions and realities of people of African origin; integration in German society; African refugees and Asylum seekers; education with focus on African-German history and promotion of German language and African mother tongues; fighting against racism from a perspective of African and black people; development and economic cooperation with Africa and among African diaspora; research on and rewriting of the colonial history.

BMA (Bundesvereinigung Mandatsträger Afrikanischer Abstammung)

The BMA, Bundesvereinigung Mandatsträger Afrikanischer Abstammung (Federal alliance of elected representatives with African descent) is an association of persons with African descent who have been elected for public office at different political levels. It was created on the November 6th 2016 with the following mandates: (1) encouraging participation of people of African descent in the political life and at different levels of the society in Germany; (2) encouraging encounters, cohabitation and understanding between Germans and people of African descent living in Germany, in particular through cooperation in the political, economic, cultural, educational areas, as well as on issues relating to migration, development, science and research. The association intends to promote development cooperation and international relations between Germany and African countries; (3)



empowerment of mandate holders regardless of their political affiliations and strengthening of organizations, groups and individuals of African descent at all generational levels; (4) promotion, networking and qualification of people of African descent, as well as recognising their contributions to the development German society and make them visible; (5) the Association aspires to fulfil its purposes through tolerance, on the basis of ideological, religious and political neutrality, and in the exercise of civic responsibility in the society; (6) promoting human rights and equal opportunities for disadvantaged groups; (7) considering the United Nations Decade for People of African Descent from 2015 to 2024 and working on its implementation.

At the moment of research, the association was still in the process of legal registration. As it has just recently been founded, it has not yet conducted any activity. It intends to reach its goals through: Regular networking meetings and information events, exchange and mutual support among members of the association; exchange with external actors; making statements on important social and political issues; recognising distinguished people of African descent; taking suggestions for the integration and participation of all migrants in Germany, encouraging people of African descent to naturalization.

The big difference of the BMA from other organisations is its explicit political character. The members of the BMA are already involved in German politics. I.e. they are members of German political parties. It differs from the ISD and the Central Council of African Communities, as the latter might engage in political processes as organisations, but their members are not necessarily members of any German political party. This fact can be an advantage for the BMA as its members bring

their political experiences into the organisation. But it can also be a handicap by introducing political partisanship.

UGAG (Union of Ghanaian Associations in Germany)

UGAG (Union of Ghanaian Associations in Germany) presents itself as an umbrella organisation of all Ghanaian Associations in Germany. It claims to be a non-political, religiously neutral and non-profit organization. UGAG is open to all Ghanaian associations and religious bodies. It was created in 2003 and is formally based in Cologne.

The main aim of UGAG is to assist Ghanaians in Germany and initiate development projects in Ghana. Their proclaimed mandates include: supporting and co-ordinating activities of member-associations; representing and serving as a voice for Ghanaian Associations at different levels; functioning as a medium and link between the Ghanaian Community and the Ghanaian State mainly through its Embassy in Germany; promoting integration and harmonious cohabitation as well as maintaining good intercultural relations between Ghanaians and Germans on one side, and between Ghanaians and members of other communities living in Germany on the other side.

The UGAG aspires to strengthen its cooperation with other Ghanaian diaspora organisations at the international level. Its most successful activities so far include: Having permanent and improving contacts with the Ghanaian Embassy in Germany; negotiating with Lufthansa and other airlines to improve flights to and from Ghana; organising cultural events in Germany with an international character; linking the Ghanaian diaspora to the development of Ghana;

organising lectures and workshops to educate and update Ghanaians living in Germany on pension issues, banking and investment opportunities in Ghana as well as returnee programmes; taking part in different activities relating to immigration, integration and reintegration issues; projects to support development and education in Ghana. As part of the latter initiative UGAG launched the Ghana Solidarity Fund with the objective to support school children in Ghana whose parents cannot afford paying fees.

Negotiations with the German and Ghanaian governments on pension benefits for returnees are still ongoing. UGAGs popularity has deteriorated over time. The association does not only experience financial problems, but also growing disapproval among the wider diaspora. UGAG is not recognised by all Ghanaians as an umbrella organisation and has only 12 member organisations. At the same time is well known among Ghanaians and a major actor on the political field in Germany and Ghana (see GIZ 2016a, p. 38).

NIDO (Nigerians in Diaspora Organisation)

The Nigerians in Diaspora Organisation (NIDO) in Germany was founded in 2000. It is registered as a non-profit organisation. NIDO Germany is a member of the NIDO in Europe and therefore one of several chapters of NIDO across the world. The Membership of NIDO Germany is selective. The association is not much interested in common Nigerians without any particular educational or professional background (GIZ/CIM 2015, p. 23). NIDO Germany is open to Nigerian professionals, academicians, entrepreneurs, individuals with a certain level of education, as well as to

commercial companies and corporate organisations based in Germany. NIDO seems to be a well organised platform for Nigerian intellectuals, professionals, policy makers and entrepreneurs overseas.

The objectives and activities of NIDO are clearly oriented towards development. The organisation aims to contribute to the economic and infrastructural advancement of country of origin. It wants to enhance the Nigerian socio-economic development and civil society. The vision of NIDO which can be read on its homepage¹⁵ is the following:

“We believe that Diaspora Nigerians can make substantial contribution in the development of Nigeria through programs, policies, and advocacy. NIDO, the official representative of Nigerians in Diaspora Germany would like to exploit possibilities of know-how, economic exchange, expertise and resources that will positively contribute to Nigeria's development.”

At the German level this vision should be realised through: Promoting the spirit of patriotism among Nigerians living in Germany; encouraging the participation of Nigerian diaspora in the Nigerian development; networking, societal advocacy, lobbying, and promoting a positive image of Nigeria in the international arena; enhancing education, culture and healthcare; supporting technological and economic empowerment projects; linking Nigerians and their organisations abroad with their home government as well as with others organisations and business company in Nigeria; taking part in development policy making and in its implementation in Nigeria; advising different actors technically on social, economic, cultural issues.

¹⁵ <http://www.nidogermany.de/index.php/about-us/our-vision.html>



NIDO proclaims to represent Nigerians in diaspora and to be the single representative body recognized by the Nigerian Federal Government as an umbrella organisation of Nigerian citizens and associations abroad. It is actually based in Nigeria, but it emphasises that it is not financed by the Nigerian Government. NIDO is recognised by the Nigerian authorities and it collaborates with the Nigerian embassies and missions in several countries. The respondents during this study said that NIDO introduces policy propositions to the Nigerian government in different domains and at different levels and channels contributions of the diaspora to the development of their country of origin. They added that NIDO intends to offer opportunities for participation of Nigerian diaspora in the advancement of Nigeria. But no examples of concrete initiatives and their impact could be given.

As NIDO is seen as an exclusive organisation for professionals and intellectuals many other organisations are members of another umbrella organisation called Nigerian Community Germany. According to GIZ/CIM (2015, p. 23), the Nigerian Community Germany also claims to bring together all Nigerian organizations without regards to ethnicity, social status or the level of education. It collaborates mainly with cultural, social and religious groups. GIZ/CIM (2015, p. 23), however, points out that the aim of uniting all Nigerians has never been universally accepted and several associations chose to work independently.

Afrika Center, Berlin

The Afrika Centre Berlin sees itself as a place of encounter and consultation for people from Africa and Berlin. Established in 1996, the “Afrika Centre” Berlin is a place of awareness raising and support for Africans. It is sponsored and run by the “Afrikamissionare-Weiße Väter¹⁶ e.V.”, under the patronage of the Archdiocese of Berlin.

Above all, the Centre offers intercultural exchanges to promote better understanding of the culture, mentality and religion of African peoples. It sees itself at the service of the African community in Germany, with a focus on Berlin. The Afrika Centre offers its spaces to various African groups and organisations, like the association of Lawyers who work with asylum-seekers and the African employment agency AYEKOO.

Contrary to many other African organisations, the Afrika Centre is not run by Africans. The managing team is made up of four persons, two of which are members of the “Missionaries of Africa”. They have many years of working and living experience in various East African countries. In addition, the team includes an experienced lawyer and a permanent employee¹⁷ of African origin. The Centre organises African project days in nursery schools, primary and secondary schools and in parishes; holds seminars for young adults from Africa and Germany, who want to exchange ideas and knowledge and share experiences about topics like integration and job opportunities; offers intercultural trainings to students of the Police Academy, Lichtenberg; provides German courses for

¹⁶ Afrikamissionare- Weiße Väter are called The Missionaries of Africa in English. They are an international religious order of the Catholic Church.

¹⁷ The employee is an African PhD Candidate at the Department of City development and Mobility at the Free University of Berlin. He is employed at the African Center on a part time basis.

African migrants; advises Africans on issues such as residence status and medical services¹⁸; offers spiritual guidance and pastoral care to prisoners; and organizes meetings of Afro-European families to share their experiences and challenges.

The Afrika Centre also networks and collaborates with other migrant organizations and medical institutions in Berlin. Together with Caritas the Centre runs the Afri-Ca-Fe project which offers an opportunity for African refugees to get in contact with the African community in Berlin and ease their integration into society. It organises monthly meetings on relevant topics like German law for refugees, German health system, German educational system, social life in Berlin. It also participates in the 5-days Africa festival – KENAKO, which takes place once a year on Alexander Platz, Berlin.

The Afrika Centre has a skilled team and runs structured projects with relative stable financial means. It could conduct more activities, if it had had more financial resources. But challenges also arise from the large diversity within the African Community in Germany. A representative of the Africa Centre explained that the Centre tries to strengthen communication and interactions between diverse groups focussing on common interests and avoiding the predominance of some over others.

ACCH (African Christian Council in Hamburg)

The African Christian Council Hamburg (ACCH) proclaims itself to be a bridge to the African community in Hamburg. It is the governing council for over 60 African led churches in Hamburg and in the neighbourhood. The Council targets more than twenty-thousand immigrants of African descent living in the area and expects to extend its activities in other parts of Germany and abroad.

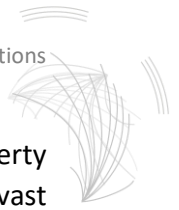
It strives to help Africans in need. Its website proclaims:

“That’s where we come in, to use the power of love and the truth of the Bible as a council to help them. The council believes in the transformation that Africans can become good parents again, that law breakers can turn around to become good leaders in the society, drug addicts can turn into ministers of the Gospel and good citizens, depressed kids getting the hope that they need and that God will use us to effect changes in the life of the Africans in Hamburg”.

The ambitions of the ACCH go beyond pure religious activities. The Council is already engaged in social and cultural activities and has a strong influence on the political life in Hamburg. It works to facilitate the integration and participation of Africans in German society; to organise inter-denominational services, seminars and conferences; to promote and strengthen the spiritual, moral awareness and social welfare of Africans; and to strengthen the identity of Africans and their contribution to German society.

¹⁸ Afrika Center offers legal advice and assistance free of charge to members of the African community in Berlin. This assistance relates to humanitarian stay and residence permit due to different reasons like medical treatment, studies, marriage, work permit; Migration in EU etc. The Center gives also legal assistance in case of residence permit without having a passport, abuse in

marriage, family reunion; debt; rent debt; it advises pregnant women without health insurance coverage, supports people under threat of deportation despite severe diseases like HIV infections; it gives assistance on residence permit status for prisoners after release, etc.



The ACCH-Members are not all African. The Umbrella organisation declares to be interdenominational, multi-cultural and multi-racial.

AMZ (Afrika Medien Zentrum)

Afrika Medien Zentrum (Africa Media Center) is based in Berlin and was founded with the aim of promoting intercultural exchange among Africans with their different cultural background. It is committed to fight racism and discrimination through education and promotion of the real image of Africa.

AMZ declares that its activities and projects aim to correct the negative image of Africa, as portrayed by much of the media, with a more realistic coverage of Africa and the everyday life of Africans.

The activities of the AMZ are addressed to people living in German speaking countries (Germany, Austria and Switzerland).

It conducts various projects and covers many issues including African development. It has continuously organized the annual KENAKO Africa Festival, regular conferences, workshops, traveling exhibitions and film reviews on Africa. AMZ also publishes the African magazine LoNam and the online sports magazine "African Challenge". The AMZ also houses an African reading room.

Africa Positive

The association Africa Positive was founded in 1998 with the goal of contributing to the integration of Africans and other new citizens living in Germany. With its magazine Africa Positive wants to promote an optimistic and encouraging image of Africa representing a counter narrative to the mostly negative media coverage. The organisation criticizes that most media outlets feature one-sided

reports on wars, refugees, hunger, poverty and diseases despite the fact that the vast African continent is made up of very diverse countries.

Africa Positive reports on the everyday life of Africans in Germany and Africa, successful personalities of African origin, arts, political and economic developments. It provides a forum for discussion and dialogue between Africans and Europeans, especially Germans.

In addition to the Africa Positive Magazine, the association is running other projects such as AFRIDO, "Africans in Dortmund" which activities include participation, political and civic commitment, community empowerment, professionalization and strengthening of association activities, and promotion of solidarity and mutual support between Africans.

TANG (The African Network of Germany)

TANG (The African Network of Germany) was founded on the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the Organization of African Unity with the aim of connecting people of African descent living in Germany. TANG asserts that its work focuses on the integration of people of African descent in Germany and on consolidating German-African relations. TANG participates in regular dialogues on the topic integration and carries out integration and development projects. While the organisation claims to work with 500 associations, most respondents of this study have never heard of the network.

The African Network intends to represent the interests of Africans in Germany, building a bridge between German, African and European authorities and other political or civil society organizations. It aims to promote integration and equal participation in social

and political affairs and to connect Germany with African states.

The network expects to reach its goals through: supporting its member associations in all areas related to its objectives and tasks; providing professional work and secure administration; not being affiliated to any party, trade union, religious community or ideology; being committed to a non-discriminatory world and to humanity and international understanding on the basis of general human rights.

6.5 Policy Awareness and Diaspora Participation

There are several types of engagement of the African Diaspora living in Germany with their countries or continent of origin including volunteering, philanthropy, remittances, investment in business, marketing, advocacy and lobby work Philanthropy, volunteering and advocacy.

As shown, there are many African organisations, both formal and informal ones, involved in the development of their communities in Germany as well as in Africa.

Most African organisations are socio-cultural and / or religious in nature. Their activities consist of promoting solidarity amongst Africans in Germany and celebrating their culture and religion; helping Africans particularly new arrivals integrate into life in Germany; and promoting cross-cultural exchange between Germans and Africans. Several organisations explicitly mentioned the importance of solidarity in the context of overcoming challenges relating to life in diaspora.

In terms of transnational activities, some African Diaspora groups in Germany

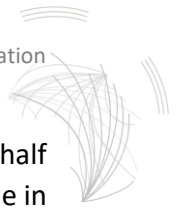
cooperate with other African Diaspora groups in other countries. Many organisations have development goals, such as improving the situation of street children in countries of origin, providing all children from specific communities with the opportunity to attend school or making the families in countries of origin self-reliant. In many cases this cooperation is based personal and familial relationships between members, their ethnic or geographical origin, but also their relationship with the governments of the countries of origin or their representations in Germany.

Some organisations run a wider variety of activities in Africa. These are for example religious associations, which offer social and educational services to their members and initiate financial help to affiliated churches in Africa. Others prefer to concentrate their energy on a single issue such as education.

The events and activities of African diaspora organisations include the African festival or Africa-days which are organised with the aim of bringing people together and promoting cross-cultural exchange. Additionally, these organisations create awareness and organise seminars to inform the German public about Africa and/or their respective home countries.

Marketing, investment and remittances

In addition to socio-cultural and spiritual activities, private individuals and/or some diaspora organisations also carry out economic and developmental activities. Such activities cover, among others, the advertisement and marketing of products from their home countries and advising on investment opportunities in their countries of origin. The Ghanaian, Nigerian, Kenyan, and Cameroonian diasporas have been especially



active in this regard. They hold events about working and investing in their countries of origin that targeting both Africans and non-Africans living.

Many Africans in Germany invest in Africa or contribute to its development through remittances. According to the World Bank (2011), remittances are the continent's largest source of net foreign inflows after foreign direct investment (FDI). Remittance inflows to Africa quadrupled in the 20 years since 1990, reaching nearly \$40 billion (2.6 percent of GDP) in 2010 and surpassing development aid.

Morocco, Nigeria, Egypt, Liberia, Lesotho, Comoros, Gambia, Senegal, Cape Verde, Seychelles, Mauritania are among the biggest receiving African countries of remittances in general (see The World Bank Group 2016). Relating to Germany, Morocco and Ghana count amongst the highest receiving African countries as reported by GTZ (2007).

Awareness of African development strategies

Most interview respondents are not at all aware of African Union policies and the Agenda 2063. They are sceptical regarding the framework strategies taken by NEPAD (New Partnership for Africa's Development) and other regional and continental initiatives. European policy initiatives such as Economic Partnership Agreements are viewed mainly negatively.

Respondents generally feel that African interests are underrepresented in international institutions such as United Nations, World Bank, IMF and WTO. Hence, development strategies laid out by these organisations are not seen favourably. They argue that the IMF, World Bank as well as bilateral and multilateral development

cooperations have existed for more than half a century, but their results are barely visible in Africa. The scepticism also stems from the fact that many initiatives do not match up with local realities.

African governments are not seen as active players in driving the development of the continent, but rather appear to be at the mercy of outside forces. Respondents are well aware of the growing presence of China and other Brics-states on the continent. Despite these new developments African states are not yet masters of their own future.

While respondents strongly believed that Africa could be prosperous, new ideas and approaches are deemed necessary. Strong institutions and rule of law are seen as crucial to attain sustainable development.

Respondents suggested different ideas on how they could contribute to the development of Africa. They see the African Diaspora as one of the key actors in that development and expressed their desire to establish development projects in Africa and/or work with German and/or African development organisations.

Some plan strategically to first grow their current activities in Germany and then extend them to Africa. They want to strengthen their collaboration with different stakeholders in Germany before they export their activities to Africa.

However, many Africans living in Germany are also very critical of the way many African countries are led and are therefore hesitant to get more formally involved in development activities.

Due to their close connection to family and friends in their countries of origin, diasporas

possess valuable knowledge of the needs and priorities of local communities.

Level of awareness of diaspora policies, plans or programs

Overall the diaspora is not aware of existing policies, plans or programs facilitating diaspora engagement. This contrasts with the willingness among many to participate in the development of their countries of origin.

There is a great lack of information about the migration and diaspora policies of the AU and African national governments, their objectives, guidelines, and measures taken. Respondents were not aware that the African Union Commission has a Directorate dedicated to Citizens and Diaspora Organizations (CIDO). Furthermore, they did not know that the African Union considers diaspora engagement a strategic priority.

6.6 Challenges and Opportunities of Diaspora Participation

Encouraging factors

- Strong commitment on part of the first generation of African immigrants to contribute to their communities in the country of origin
- Knowledge about local environment and living conditions as well as personal connections to communities. Hence, ability to function as facilitators between development initiatives in Germany and Africa.

Discouraging factors

Administrative factors

The biggest challenge most organisations face is a lack in qualified staff and human capital as high skilled migrants tend to be less involved in diaspora organisations. Limited fundraising and management skills further hinder the organisations development and its ability to enter collaborations with more professional partners. Most organisations rely on small scale donation and lack to finances to expand their activities, let alone to Africa.

Social factors

Lack of engagement among the more qualified second and third generation of immigrants poses another challenge for many organisations. Many respondents spoke of a deep generational divide due to the different life experiences. Young people are said to view their parents' generation as having failed to develop their societies and are therefore less inclined to follow them in their activities. At the same time, they themselves lack the first-hand knowledge and experience in manoeuvring the African environment. Furthermore, the mode of thinking and acting differs greatly between generations. Many young people were raised in German society and culture, offering them life tools different from those of their parents. The younger generation does not want to be stuck in old structures perceived as paternalistic and argue that their context, needs and visions do not match with those of their parents. Younger respondents pointed out that they want to launch their own initiatives and are more concerned with successfully integrating into the societies they are living in.

In addition to the generational divide, ethnic and political divisions, compounded by years



of exclusive policies in Africa, limit the diaspora ability to pool resources and speak with one voice.

Political factors

Many organisations feel that they are not being treated as an equal partner in development cooperations between Germany and African countries. They accuse the formal structures of German development cooperation of not being transparent and not including them in their programmes.

The same is said for African governments. Migrants are often not sufficiently recognised as potential partners by their home countries.

In addition, respondents bemoan a lack of policies and coordinated programs aimed to include the diaspora. At the same time, home governments are only interested in their financial contributions without offering any real participation in the decision-making process.

Political instability, lack of security and rule of law were also mentioned as inhibiting factors for more engagement in Africa. Bad governance, mismanagement and corruption severely hamper the ability and willingness of diaspora members to invest in development projects, especially through formalized channels. With little power to monitor the proper implementation and sustainability of projects, development initiatives can inadvertently compound corrupt structures. Investors need reliable institutions and trustworthy partners that guarantee

Years of authoritarian rule and suppression of dissent has destroyed the trust between governments and their citizens abroad. In many African countries, civil societies and citizens participation in public affairs are weak. One respondent noted:

“Why could I do business in country where I would have nothing to say, if my business partner steal (sic!) me? Why should I get involved in matter of a country, which does not understand anything about freedom of speech, human rights, civil and citizen rights or democracy? Why should I invest in a county, where I have nothing to say?”

Economic factors

In addition to high corruption on all levels and the lack of reliable institutions, monopolization of the economy in the hands of small ruling elites discourages diasporas from investment in African economies.

Limited human capacity and highly skilled labour, due to outdated education systems pose another challenge for potential business ventures.

Key concerns, challenges and opportunities of the African diaspora

The diaspora acknowledges that their contributions are increasingly recognized both by the German government and their countries of origins. Their participation must now be professionalized which involves more funds and personnel.

Respondents see a great opportunity in the fact Germany and Europe recognise that, for many reasons, their future is linked to the African one (see BMZ 2017). In addition, the German government is trying to decentralize its development cooperation and bring it to the local level, where the African Diaspora organisations are. They on the other hand want to seize this opportunity to negotiate their future role in the formulation and implementation of development policies. To bring this issue on the local political agenda, is now one of the big challenges of the African Diaspora.

At the same time respondents complain about the lack of comprehensive policies on migration, return and reintegration.

6.7 Recommendations

Although each country and region faces specific challenges, some generalized recommendations can be made based on the observations above:

- creating a conducive environment for business and trade;
- strengthening democratic institutions and good governance;
- opening avenues for diaspora participation in the development process;
- improving communication between diaspora, development partners, African governments and the African Union
- empowering diaspora organisations

Making business more attractive

There is an urgent need in Africa to attract and stabilise small and middle-sized private investments, which create jobs. More than the state and more than large firms, small and middle-sized enterprises generate employment. The diaspora could play a key role in connecting German companies to Africa's labour market in a way that benefits local communities.

Business friendly policies should focus on quality education and finance schemes, especially in rural areas. To attract new investors, reliable institutions, an independent judiciary and a functioning social security system are key factors.

In addition, Africa should accelerate interregional and inter-continental

integration, the free movement of people, goods and capital and reduce barriers to trade.

It is important to remember that members of the African diaspora in Germany are not wealthy themselves. They have limited resources and will carefully consider where to invest them.

The transfer of remittances at affordable costs is another major challenge for many members of the diaspora. Inadequate financial and regulatory infrastructures have allowed a handful of service providers to build monopolies and charge unreasonably high fees. Together with Member States, the African Union should work to improve the reach and competitiveness of financial infrastructures, provide microfinance and investments schemes and decrease overall transaction costs. Positive examples in this regard are Egypt and Morocco.

Democratic institutions, human rights and good governance

Africa has great development potentials due to its demography, natural resources, and vast lands for agricultural production. The African diaspora is willing to participate in the realization of these potentials, but only if the fruits of its labour are to the benefit of the whole population and not just a small elite. Economic development has to be human-centred.

Democratic institutions and rule of law are necessary to guarantee security and fair competitiveness. It must be accompanied by measures of respect for civil and human rights and permitting a strong and independent civil society. Good governance involving participation and full inclusion of all population groups will attract investment of



the African Diaspora which keeps ties with the population in the areas it comes from.

Without good governance, a decisive fight against corruption is not possible. And without an eradication of corruption, development is not possible.

The African Union and regional organizations should play a greater and more energetic role in conflict regulation, democratization processes and the creation of legitimate institutions in member-states.

Including diaspora in development cooperation

The African diaspora in Germany has the potential to play a key role in the development of its countries of origin. Its members can transfer know-how, skills and technologies acquired in Germany back to Africa. They can link German entrepreneurs with African markets using their networks and first-hand knowledge of local communities. Interesting investment areas include the construction of renewable and decentralized energy, the modernisation of agriculture and life-stock, providing access to German finance services.

To seize on this potential, the diaspora must be recognised as an equal partner by both countries of origin and German development actors. Local, regional and national governments should be sensitised to the positive contributions migrants and their descendants make and be encouraged to actively seek out collaborations with diaspora groups in social, political, cultural and economic projects.

Any meaningful development cooperation should involve diaspora actors, sending and receiving countries. Programs should be developed with the involvement of all partners

including local institutions such as municipalities or counties, local populations, civil society, non-governmental organizations, citizens' cooperatives, and others. A multilateral cooperation, actively involving migrants, could give all actors a sense of security and ownership.

To be sustainable, diaspora groups should also be involved in the planning, monitoring and evaluation process of the cooperation. It is well placed, together with local actors, to build trust and engage with local communities, identify priorities and garner the impact of development projects.

Within Germany the diaspora could function as a valuable partner and advisor between African and German governments. The African Union could facilitate these dialogues.

Strengthen communication and outreach

So far, there are no consistent databases on African Diaspora groups. Such databases are however necessary to devise effective engagement strategies. They should include qualifications, competencies and resources of groups and individuals, as well as an up-to-date list of active associations and existing initiatives and projects.

At the same time, the African diaspora is only sparsely aware of national or continental development strategies. The African Union, thanks to its supranational character, could inform and engage diaspora groups on the most promising projects, allowing members to invest in projects outside their country of origin if the political or economic situation there is not suitable.

Information on funding and support structures provided by African governments and the AU, as well as existing development programmes

and possible areas of cooperation is not easily accessible. This is especially true for investment and business opportunities and fiancé schemes for small and medium-sized entrepreneurs.

Close relations and communication between the AU, African governments and the diaspora is necessary to close the gaps. Information centres at chambers of industries and commerce in cities with a large concentration of African diaspora populations could be a first step. These centres could then identify and support innovative business ideas and entrepreneurs. Regular events and publications could be used to inform the diaspora as well as the German business community on business opportunities and development projects in Africa. Furthermore, providing a platform to connect skilled and less skilled members of the diaspora for peer learning and mutual support could counteract deskilling.

Empowering diaspora organisations

Diaspora organizations open to participate in development programmes should be supported in the capacity building and professionalization of their organisations and activities. This includes trainings in areas such as PME (Planning, Monitoring, and Evaluation), finance, fundraising, public relations, lobbying, and networking, but also opportunities to network.

7 Annex

7.1 Belgian Diaspora Organisations

French-speaking organisations

ORGANISATION	MANDATE	OUTREACH	
Collectif mémoire coloniale et lutte contre les discriminations	Racial discrimination, recognition of African and colonial history	Présences noires Conseil des Communautés Africaines en Europe du côté néerlandophone Nouveau système artistique asbl Ewala Bel'afrika impact sud	Recognition Black presence in Belg Federating Francophone African community Consultancy and promotion of Afri cultural activities Sending phone cards to Africa media Afro-descendants/ Belgians Education and development Young Afro-descendants
Change asbl	Racial discrimination and youth delinquency	Brussels Europe diversity associations Africas platform of Antwerp	Racial discrimination Federating African organisations in Flanders and Antwerp
Moja (Conseil général des Africains de Belgique)	Federating African associations	Federation of Anglophone African	Federating Anglophone African organisations in Flanders (see below)
Massimadi asbl	Fighting for gay, lesbian rights of Afro-descendants	Radio Campus: l'arbre à palabre Reflets sud	Radio TV broadcaster
Ethno tendance Fashion	Promoting the fashion design of Afro-descendants	Vox africa Radio kif	TV broadcaster radio
Roots Events Asbl	Organising event among Afro-descendants and connecting people	L'africain La nouvelle afrique	magazine journal
CCAEB (Conseil des Communautés Africaines en Europe et en Belgique)	Federating African associations	Notre afrik Campus Congo Bana Congo	Afro-descendants European Afro-descendants Political lobby against Kinshasa Political lobby against Kinshasa
Dialogue Afrique Europe Asbl	Development and micro-projects in Africa, integration of Africans in Belgium.	Firefec	Fighting against violence towards Eastern Congo
Macédoine asbl	Education North and South	Mwinda Kitoko	Recognition of the talents of young descendants in Flanders
African Diaspora Network in Europe (ADNE)	Federating African diaspora and political lobby/ European union	Cercle des Etudiants Congolais de l'ULB	African women Student organisation
Renaissance africaine	Promoting entrepreneurship	Aire de Femmes asbl	Supporting women's organisations while connecting African and European expert women in Belgium
Share	Fight for the rights of immigrants	Ba Yaya/Bamko asbl	Youth delinquency, racial discrimination, gender, political lobby
Empathy day	Connect the Afro-descendants to collect donations for Africa	Urafiki wa Fesa asbl	African women, Belgian institutions
Collectif des femmes africaines du hainaut	Solidarity, integration, citizenship and development in Africa	Carrefour des jeunes africains	Afro-descendants professional Youth delinquency
BMWA	Professional – financial accounting	Medes	Integration, homework club
Meridia Partners	Advocacy EU-African public affairs		
Iday	Health and education		
Gams	Fighting against sexual mutilations		
SANAA Afterwork le rendez-vous des afros créatifs	Networking among Afro-descendant entrepreneurs		
Jaada	Network African private sector		

Le manguier en fleurs	Integration, homework club, socio-cultural activities	Debout congolais	Young Afro-descendants	Political lobby against imperialist/politics against Congo
Creative district	Provides storage space for start-ups, media, and more	Radio m'boté	Afro-descendant entrepreneurs	Congolese radio
Nord-Sud	Culture	Radio panik	Congolese	Congolese radio
Asso de vieux football	Football veterans	Radio airlibre	Congolese football veterans	Congolese radio
Asso de vieux	Ancient solidarity festivals	Les amis de wetsi	Congolese veterans	Independent Activist web
Asso régionales	Regional association Kasai	Sango ya Congo	Congolese from Kasai region	Website info
Asso régionales	Regional association Kisangani	Africana	Congolese from Kisangani	Congolese radio
Asso régionales	Regional association Western province	Café Congo	Congolese from Western province	Promoting Congolese culture
Bana leuven/ UCL	Student circles		Congolese students	
Inzia	Restaurant, cultural activities	hip hop family	Congolese/ Afro-descendants	Culture, hip hop dance
Orthografrik	Spelling competition from Afro-descendants	Cheik Fita	Young Afro-descendants	Independent Activist web
Ciproc	Employment support Brussels	Jambo news	Congolese and everybody	Dance ballet
Ascades	Football club for Afro-descendants	Isimbi asbl	Young Afro-descendants	Solidarity, teaching Kinyarwanda, organising holidays for young Rwanda Belgium
Mangue citron	Fashion designer	Corwabel asbl	Afro-descendants	organising holidays for young Rwanda Belgium
Skin fama	Musical production company	Afribel Umutsama asbl	Afro-descendants	Ballet
Contre tendance	Production of dance, theatre, teaching	Beproud	Afro-descendants	Networking to connect students w established experts of the diaspora
Femme d'avenir et les enfants asbl	Solidarity, development	Rwandan Diaspora in Belgium	Afro-descendants	Association related to Rwandan Er
Kiliswathi asbl	Teaching Congolese language	(DRB Rugari)	Afro-descendants	Association related to Rwandan Er
Ed. Mabiki	Publishing	ASBL Mpire		Commemoration, reconciliation & resilience post-genocide
Mémoires vives asbl	Congolese women's memory (art exhibition)	Neteve asbl	Afro-descendants and wider audience	Promoting East-African culture in B
Digital African woman	Encouraging/Supporting African women in Tech	Rwanda adoptie	African women	Pb with adopted people in Belgium Rwandan origin
Bana mboka	Political lobby against Congolese government	Pola	Congolese	Recognition of artists
Diasporama	Political lobby against Congolese government	Inyange asbl	Congolese	Ballet dancing
Nameless congo	Political lobby against Congolese government	Ihanika, amarebe	Congolese	Ballet dancing
Label hope	Abandoned animals: protection, education	(Réfugi)	Congolese	Women/democracy Rwanda
Como Congo asbl	Congolese audio-visual experts	Expirent union	Congolese	Union of taxi drivers of Rwandan o
Cfcpj collectif femmes	Congolese Women's right and peace	cercle des étudiants rwandais de Louvain-la-Neuve	Congolese women	Students circle
Diascongo	Congolese TV	Ikondera	Congolese	Rwandan radio

Itahuka	Rwandan radio	Flacs	Rwandan	Arts and culture of Afro-descendants festival
umuvugisi	Rwandan radio	Associations baling du Benelux asbl	Rwandan	Regional association
Umuhanusi	Rwandan radio	Nyangasam asbl	Rwandan	Ballet
Umuseke	Rwandan radio	Violences faites aux femmes	Rwandan	Women's rights
Young Burundian professional	Networking among professionals	Cartel	Burundian entrepreneurs	Umbrella organisation
Amicale d'Associations de Burundais pour la Coopération et le Développement	Development in Burundi	ASBL KALARA	Burundian	Donation of books for Africa
Jeunesse Ubuntu	Consciousness and lobbying of young Burundian people/political situation in Burundi	Jeunesse Camerounaise (JCAM)	Young Burundian entrepreneurs	Youth movement
		Association des Médecins Burundi, politique Belgique (MedCamBel)	Burundian women	Professional network
Collectif des femmes des femmes pour la paix et la démocratie au Burundi (kira ubise, kase asbl)	Denouncing abuses in Burundi lobby	Camer.be	Burundian	Website journal
Burundi roots	Promoting Burundian culture and language	Djigui	Burundian /Belgian	Regional association
Burundi aisbl	Development in Burundi	Association des Ressortissants de la Basse-Guinée	Burundian	Regional association
Diaspora Burundaise de Belgique	Connecting Burundian diaspora	La maison Guinée de Belgique	Burundian	Regional association
Nos frères de soutien dans la culture au Burundi	Connecting Burundian diaspora	Association Guinée	Burundian	Regional association
Burunlais et Tutsi-Hutu	Connecting Burundian diaspora	Pottal Fii Bhantal Fouta-Djallon	Burundian	Regional association
Association commémoration Burundi	Connecting Burundian diaspora	Cercle des Etudiants Guinéens en Belgique	Burundian	Student circles
B&B danse Burundi	Burundian culture	Action en terre soussou	Burundian	Regional association
CLIIR	Human rights and political lobby against Kigali	Association des Ressortissants de la Basse-Guinée	Rwandan, Afro-	Regional association
Asbl FEDA (Fondation Espoir d'Afrique et Rwanda pour tous)	Solidarity development	La maison Guinée de Belgique	descendants, Belgians	Regional association
Cercle des Etudiants Camerounais - CERCA - ULB	Student circles		Cameroonians students	
Association camerounaise des Bassa-Mpoo de Belgique	Regional association	English-speaking organisations		
Banen asbl	Regional association		Cameroonians	
Vitrine africane	Magazine promoting African organisations	PROVINCE ANTWERP	BRUSSELS REGION	Afro-descendants
Jeunesse camerounaise de Belgique (JECAB)	Youth organisation	Acasia vzw	Cameroonians Belgium	ANB – Association of Nigerians
Brukmer.be	Journal website	Angolo Community Development centre	Cameroonians/ Afro-descendants	African Diaspora for Freedom of Religion
CEBAPH (Cercle Belgo-Africain Pour la Promotion Humaine)	Human rights	Women Dev Awareness, Guidance & Challenge VZW	Afro-descendants	(ADEO)
Nyangasam.be	Cameroonian Ballet		Asante Akim Cameroonians	Association vzw
Asso poh lah	Regional association	Asso poh BarCwa	Asante Akim Cameroonians	Association vzw

Best Antwerp FC	Brong Ahafo Association
Brotherhood	Church of the Lord (Brotherhood) vzw
CAAD vzw	Ewe Association vzw
Christ Heart Lovers	Ghana Council
Concerned Ghanaian Parents in Antwerp Association	Ghana European Youth congress (GEYC)
Enidasoo Ne Ewurade VZW	Goodwill Association (voorheen Baako Ankonam vzw)
Fyga Federation vzw	High Society vzw
Ibo Federation	Kwabere ne Sekyerekro ye kuo vzw
Ingwee vzw	Manding Foli
Kwahu Asaase Aban Associaiton vzw	Mfantseman Association
Makobi	Nigerian women Association
Nananom Association in Belgium	Britavoice vzw
Northern Ghanaians Association in Belgium vzw	Otumunwanyi Ibo Women Association
Okyeman Association	Parliamentary Club Nigeria
Pain vzw	The Food bridge
Roakus	Voice of Women International
Royal Club of Antwerp	
Sierra Leone Welfare Association Antwerp (SLAWA)	
Sunny Foundation	
Wassaman	
Yirikan	
Yoruba Club	
PROVINCE EAST FLANDERS	
Acres of Hope	
Afrika at home vzw	

De Zwaluw vzw
Doyi Doyi vzw
Embracing life vzw
Ette Ibibio vzw
Isaro vzw
Kassoemai vzw
Kingdom Ambassadors
Klankkleur

7.2 UK Diaspora Organisations

Name	Type of organisation	Diaspora engagement	Membership	Staff	Funding
Africa Oracle	Media	Advocacy, policy	10,000 online followers, 500 New sletter subscribers	1 staff/founder	Grants, consultations
AFFORD	Development	Business development, capacity building, policy	N/A ^(a)	15-20 staff	Grants
Africans	Community	Advocacy,	Over 25,0	20 staff	Grants,

Unite again st Child Abuse (AFRU CA)	y welfa re	polic y	00 bene ficiar ies in the UK	200 volun teers	traini ng, expe rt repo rts	
Came room Foru m	Devel opme nt	Busin ess devel opment	Over 500 mem bers	Over 20 volun teers	Mem bershi p fees, grant s, busin ess donor s, indivi dual donor s	
CANU K	Cultur al	Advo cacy, polic y	120 Nige rian asso ciati ons	14 execu tive staff (volu nteer s)	Donat ions from Nigeri an Busin ess	
Chang e Nigeri a Proje ct	Privat e sector / Inves tment	Traini ng/ Recr uitment	N/A	2 staff (foun der and part ner) 3 volun teers	Fundr aising event s, empl oyers' contri butio n ^(b)	
Diasp ora for Africa n Devel opme nt	Devel opme nt	Advo cacy, polic y	N/A	4 core staff (volu nteer s)	Grant s	
Entraide	Com munit y welfa re	Educ ation	400 servi ce user s	3 staff ^(c) 4 truste es	Grant s	

						(volu nteer s)	
Futur e of Ghan a (FOG) /Me Firi Ghan a	Devel opme nt	Advo cacy, polic y		8,50 0 subs cribe rs ^(d)		1 staff 7 volun teers	Donat ions from indivi duals
GDDA	Profe ssion al/ Netw orkin g	Healt h		Over 100 mem bers			In the proce ss of recrui ting secret ariat
Mala wi Associ ation UK (MAU K)	Cultur al	Advo cacy, polic y		7 mem ber orga nisat ions		10 volun teers	Fund raisin g event s
MANS AG	Profe ssion al/ Netw orkin g	Healt h		170 mem bers		8 execu tive com mittee (volu nteer s)	Mem bershi p fees, donat ions from mem bers in UK and Nigeri a
MIND UK	Devel opme nt	Train ing, capa city buildi ng		Over 100 mem bers		6 board mem bers (volu nteer s)	Grant s
Musli m Associ ation of	Religi ous	Advo cacy		Appr ox. 300 mem bers		7/8 staff Appro x. 24 volun	Donat ions, mem bershi p

Nigeria UK (MAN UK)				teers ^(e)	fees, grants
Nigerians in the Diaspora Organisation (NIDO)	Cultural	Advocacy, policy	Over 500 members	13 volunteers	Membership fees, Corporate sponsorship for larger projects and events
Somali Economic Forum (SEF)	Private sector / Investment	Investment	Approx. 11/12 members	6 volunteers	Membership fees, consultancies
The Global Native	Development	Advocacy, Investment	25 members	1 staff 7 volunteers ^(f)	Members' investments
TOSH PA	Development	Health	50 members	50 volunteers	Fundraising activities, individual donors, grants
Royal African Society	Development	Advocacy, policy	Approx. 1,000 members	10 staff ^(g)	Income from journal subscription,

UDHF	Development	Health	50 members	5 staff	Grants
World G18 Somalia	Development	Advocacy	N/A	2 volunteers ^(h)	Community fundraising / donations
Zimbabwe Community Association (ZCA)	Community welfare	Advocacy, education, capacity building	Over 5,000 members	9 volunteers ⁽ⁱ⁾	Fundraising events, grants

Types of organisations and their diaspora engagement activities

- (a) Not a membership organisation but it is one of Europe's largest diaspora development organisations.
- (b) The employers are expected to pay 50–100% for the trainees.
- (c) 2 full-time, 1 part-time.
- (d) Reach of 8,500 subscribers. The subscriber base stems from the Me Firi Ghana clothing line from the earlier days and earlier efforts via social media, their website, email mailing lists etc. The new (paid) membership network (Me Firi Ghana) is in Beta mode and mostly made up of members from FOG Top Under 30 pioneers publication.
- (e) 18 executive members and 6/7 management board staff.
- (f) 1 full-time staff, 2 volunteers working 1 day a week and 5 trustees who are actively engaged in e.g. organising events, representing the charity at meetings, etc.
- (g) Full-time: 6 staff members; part-time: 4 staff members. They hire freelancers when they hold their cultural festivals or other events.(h) They collaborate with other Somali diaspora groups in the UK, Germany, Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, United Arab Emirates, Australia and the USA.
- (i) 9 permanent/regular voluntary staff members but, for big events, the organisation solicits more volunteers



One Africa, One Voice, One Message