

UNDERSTANDING THE EXULTATION OF THE AFRICAN DIASPORA AND THE EXERTION OF AFRICAN IMMIGRANTS

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Abstract: Not all migrants become Diasporas and not all Diasporas can be labeled as migrants.¹ With that understanding, it is therefore pressing to start this paper by trying to have the rudimentary understanding of what the diaspora means. From what we understand diaspora is a word of Greek origin meaning “to sow over or scatter.”² Before this time, the historical Jewish experience gave us the prototype for better explanation which means: compelled expulsion and dispersal, persecution, experience of loss and the quest to return.³

For a long time now, however, the word “diaspora” has been described as a term for internal identification among various ethnicities and groups who have migrated or ancestors migrated from one part of the globe to another or to many other places if you may.

As cited in many online scholarships and websites, most self-construed Diasporas do not stress the mournful aspects long attached to the orthodox Jewish, African, or Hispanic Diasporas; rather they find themselves in the euphoria of cultural creativity, social integration and sometimes utopian disposition.⁴

To identify with the diaspora encompasses a consciousness of, or sentimental attachment to, commonly declared origins and cultural connotations attached to them. Such origins and attachments usually dwell on ethno-linguistic, sectorial, religious, religion or other characteristics. Worry for development of the homeland and the misfortune of fellow diaspora members within or outside their community stems from the awareness and sentimental attachment.⁵

This definition gives rise to queries about the number of generations passed, extent of linguistic ability, degree of co-ethnic social relations, number of times of celebration of festivals, ethnic delicacies served or even style of apparels donned. The way ethnicity is paraded or displayed does not necessarily determine the degree at which someone might feel themselves a member of the diaspora community.

The effect of the African Diaspora is now more than ever being felt back in Africa. African diaspora now expends growing increasing influence on the domestic policies of the countries they have left, but still emotionally attached

¹ Oliver Bakewell, Which Diaspora for Whose Development? Some Critical Questions about the Roles of African Diaspora Organizations as Development Actors, 2019

² Steven Vertovec. Centre on Migration, Policy and Society Working Paper No. 13, University of Oxford, 2005 WP-05-13

³ ibid

⁴ Hazel Smith and Paul Stares. Diasporas in conflict: Peace-makers or peace-wreckers? United Nations University Press, 2007

⁵ Paper presented at the conference on ‘New Landscapes of Religion in the West’, School of Geography and the Environment, University of Oxford, 27-29 September 2000

to. One example is the Ghanaian Diaspora organizations in Europe and North America that have pushed for the government's approval of dual citizenship so as to get voting rights in the country. This request was granted in 2002 allowing Ghanaians of dual nationalities to participate in the electoral processes back home. Ghana is one of the African countries in which a third of its highly skilled and trained human capital live outside the country.⁶

This paper posits that despite the increasing number of diaspora literature, the glorification and exultation of the diaspora always override the conundrum of the diaspora members and intended members that sometimes get trapped in traffic; some making it through and some not too lucky.

It starts by exploring the various understanding and interpretations of the African diaspora, the economic and financial contributions of members of the diaspora; political influence, the gap between African culture and that of the homeland and how the schism has been a bottleneck. It further explores the aspiration of members of the diaspora to be engaged in policy domains concerning their homeland beyond just the scope of migration, integration and trade. It also takes a critical look at the dangers faced by migrants in their pursuit to get to a foreign land and be counted in the diaspora community.

Presently, many African governments acknowledge the need to grant special treatment to the demands of their Diaspora. They are equally looking at ways of guiding their citizens in their dealings and activities outside the shores of their homeland. Nigeria, for example, has an office designed specifically to advise the diaspora community under the Diaspora Commission Bill 2017.⁷

In the same vein, the Senegalese government also has its own institution for the diaspora under the ministry of foreign and diaspora affairs.⁸ The African Union (AU) is equally canvassing the African diaspora.

The AU plans to integrate the diaspora in its scheme of things to help create a better Africa that will make all Africans proud of their heritage anywhere they find themselves. The AU sees the diaspora as the sixth region of the continent.⁹ This zealous initiative no doubt indicates the value placed on the economic and transnational networking positions that African Diaspora now take up in the 21st century going forward.

Keywords: Africa diaspora, government, homeland, identity, integration, migration.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Attempts at diaspora clarification

The original interpretation of the diaspora has been expanded to cover other people outside of the historical recognition to Jews, Armenians and Greeks; since the 1950s going forward, the African diaspora tend to have gained scrutiny becoming the core of most discussions and scholarship on the diaspora issues.¹⁰ But to some other scholars,¹¹ however the African diaspora is as old as the diaspora concept itself. There has been evidence of initial dispersion of Africans to a period, not later hundred years ago. The modern diaspora is usually discussed in the context of movements of Africans in the 19th century but it started way before then, way before the Atlantic slave trade as well.

⁶ Rewriting the African Diaspora: Beyond the Black Atlantic Paul Tiyambe Zeleza African Affairs Vol. 104, No. 414 (2005), pp. 35-38

⁷ Published. "Diaspora Commission Law Recognises Role of Nigerians Abroad – Stakeholders." Punch Newspapers, punchng.com/diaspora-commission-law-recognises-role-of-nigerians-abroad-stakeholders/.

⁸ See Sonia Plaza and Dilip Ratha DIASPORA FOR DEVELOPMENT IN AFRICA, 2011

⁹ Goodhart, D. (2004) 'Too Diverse: Is Britain becoming too diverse to sustain the mutual obligations behind good society and the welfare state?' Prospect magazine, February 2004, available online at <http://www.geocities.com/jjrinist/DavidGoodhart-Immigration-Prospect.htm>.

¹⁰ Patterson, T. R., and R. D. Kelley. 2000. "Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World." African Studies Review 43: 11–45. doi: 10.2307/524719

¹¹ Palmer (2000) Palmer, C. A. 2000. "Defining and Studying the Modern African Diaspora." Journal of Negro History 85 (1–2): 27–32.

The increasing reality of the diaspora discourse is not intended to be denied or relegated in this paper, but to add more thoughts to what is already out there. We have seen the migration of people in huge numbers to new places since the end of World War II. Most of the people that have made these journeys have permanently settled in their new home, therefore they can no longer be seen as immigrants; nor can their presence be ignored.¹² The community they form is so strong and sometimes their resistance to assimilate into their host country is so apparent that they cause new challenges to the host and sometimes to their sovereignty

There is distinctive understanding about the traits or uniqueness of the diaspora when we look into groups like the displaced Jews, Kurds, Palestinians, Albanian Kosovars, Indians and even the Chinese communities. These groups are usually classed as Diasporas; this is so because they share most, if not all, of the following attributes:

1. They, or their ancestors have been dispersed from a specific original base to one or more peripheral, or foreign, areas.
2. They retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original motherland—its physical location, history, and achievements and, often enough, pain.
3. They believe that they are not, and perhaps cannot be, fully accepted by their host community and therefore feel partly disaffected and insulated from it.
4. They regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their off-springs would eventually return—when conditions are improved.
5. They believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and development.
6. They continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethno-communal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined in terms of the existence of such a relationship. The absence of such a relationship makes it difficult to speak of transnationalism.
7. They share a common notion of “community” not only with the homeland but with ethnic clan in other countries.
8. They are willing to survive as a minority by maintaining and transmitting a cultural and/or religious heritage derived from their ancestral home.
9. In structuring their communities and adapting to their host community, Diasporas become themselves independent centers of cultural creation; yet their creations continue to contain certain ethno-symbols, customs, and traditions of the homeland.
10. Their cultural, religious, economic, and/or political relationships with the homeland are reflected in a significant way in their communal institutions.

The above description represents the ideal scenario when discussing the diaspora. But what about those groups and communities that do not necessarily share these attributes? The tag of diaspora should not be constrained to mainly ethnic communities whose members have escaped or have been coerced to flee from their home states and whose expatriation is stamped by collective anguish; e.g. Famine, political persecution, or genocide; furthermore, it may also be extended to those groups that had expatriated themselves of their own volition, for reasons of improved economic standard, political gain, or just mere adventure.¹³

Some academics have disagreed on the term diaspora and how it has been described in many quarters. The idea that its homogenous and carries historically fixed identity, as well as values and ideals within a dispersed people have been queried. Some of the questions raised are:

Who decides who belongs, and what are the criteria? Should it be based on original nation-state, religion, cultural, ethno-linguistic or other membership benchmark? Is descent the only clear term of admission — and for how many generations after migration does this admission last?¹⁴

¹² ibid

¹³ ibid

¹⁴ Nagel, C. (2001). Migration, Diasporas, and Transnationalism. *Political Geography*, 20(2), pp.247-256.

To avoid clashes of interests and have a defining understanding, claims and benchmarks assigned to diaspora bounds and admission should be self-imputed. It appears to be illegal or against one's rights for others to determine if a person is a part of the diaspora community even if he does not see himself as a member of such a group.

With the advent and fast growing pace of the technology, it is way too convenient now for groups and peoples to function as transnational communities for sake of keeping their identity and political sensitization. Additionally, we now have affordable air tickets, cheaper phone calls, Wi-Fi and satellite TV which have all made it so handy to stay in touch. No doubt, the expansion of diaspora-related websites attests to the firmness of common interests and identity.¹⁵

Resoundingly, it's crucial that we avoid the temptation that in conceiving diaspora, opinions and experiences shared within a dispersed population, despite their common identification, should be considered. This is commonly the case among the diaspora groups who migrated at different historical periods.

1.2 African diaspora worldwide

"People think if you describe someone with glistening brown skin you are writing about race, as if the whole of the African diaspora is in someone's brown skin" – Jamaica Kincaid

A Diaspora is a community of people residing outside their country of origin. Currently, African migrants are part of a large-scale, worldwide Diaspora or transnational community which is increasingly transforming as one of the major global forces shaping the trajectory and trends in the 21st century.¹⁶

What is known as African Diaspora today has been used by many scholars, policy-makers, historians to mean the descendants of Africa irrespective of where they reside.¹⁷ To some academics, it means the present emigration from the motherland, Africa. To the African Union (AU), The African Diaspora is that person of African descent domiciling in a foreign country outside the continent. This frequently used "African Diaspora" was first contrived in the 19th century, but became a trending phenomenon among the politician and academics in the 21st century.

One of the core reasons is the arduous size of the African Diaspora -- an estimated 175 million worldwide, ten million of whom are migrants from Africa. In 1965 an equivalent of 2.3 percent of the world population at the time were African migrants; in 1975 it was 2.1 percent and in 1985 it was 2.2 percent jumping to today's 2.9 percent of the world population today in just a decade.¹⁸

It is also important that we make a distinction between diaspora and migration. According to the International Organization for Migration, migration entails the movement of an individual or a group of individuals, either across an international border, or within a recognized state. It is the movement that involves people, it covers any kind of movement of people, irrespective of the length, formation or causes; it covers the movement of refugees, displaced persons, economic migrants, and people moving for other adventures.¹⁹

As a result, to be a part of the diaspora, migrants are expected to have positive contribution to the motherland. Although it is critical to mention that it is not only for that reason that there is a growing rate of African migrants in various parts of the world, even if it is sometimes perceived to be so. According to so many statistics, Europe is the second destination for African migrants (29.4% of the African migrants choose to go in Europe), with the U.S being the preferred option.²⁰

¹⁵ ibid

¹⁶ Sideri, E. (2008). The Diaspora of the Term Diaspora: A Working-Paper of a Definition. Transtext(e)s Transcultures, (4), pp.32-47.

¹⁷ Experience-africa.de. (2019). The ICD Experience Africa Program. [online] Available at: http://www.experience-africa.de/index.php?en_the-african-diaspora [Accessed 15 Jul. 2019].

¹⁸ ibid

¹⁹ Alex-Assensoh, Y. (2010). African Americans, African Immigrants and Homeland-Diaspora Development in Africa. African Diaspora, 3(2), pp.207-234.

²⁰ ibid

Below is lists of countries were people of African origin have settled the most:

1. Brazil - 55.9 Million

Brazil has an estimated 55.9 million people of African descent, making it the country with the largest African Diaspora population. The Portuguese started the slave trade during the 1550s, and they managed to trade over five million enslaved people from Mozambique, Congo, Angola, Nigeria, Benin, and Ghana. About 50% of those captured were brought to Brazil and forced to work on the mines and sugar plantations in northeastern parts of the country which includes the present day Bahia and Pernambuco states. The slave trade was the foundation of the economy of the country, and after it ended in 1888 many enslaved people settled in Brazil.

2. The United States - 46.4 Million

Although the Trans-Atlantic slave trade brought a majority of the slaves to the United States, many Africans also migrated to the United States voluntarily. Today, many people continue to emigrate from various countries in Africa to the United States. The number of African-born Americans has increased from 1,183,316 in 2000 to over 1,676,413 in 2010. The top countries of origin for the African-born people living in the United States include Kenya, Ghana, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Nigeria. The United States has an African Diaspora population of over 46.4 million people which is about 13.6% of the entire country's population.

3. Haiti - 10.1 Million

Afro-Haitians refer to all the citizens of Haiti of African descent. Many are the descendants of enslaved people who were once brought to Haiti by the French to work on plantations. The majority of these people came from West Africa and Central Africa mainly from Ghana, Nigeria, Cameroon, Angola, Sierra Leone, Benin and Senegal among others. Haiti has over 10.1 million Afro-Haitians which accounts for 95% of the nation's population.

4. Dominican Republic - 9.2 Million

Afro-Dominicans refer to all Dominicans of African ancestry. The number of Afro-Dominicans whose ancestors were brought from Central Africa and West Africa from the 16th to the 19th century is 9.2 million. The population also includes all the other immigrants from the French and Anglo Caribbean nations who came to the Dominican Republic during the 20th century. The majority of the immigrants are from Haiti. The Afro-Dominicans are the significant minority population in the country.

5. Colombia - 4.9 Million

The Colombians of African descent are known as Afro-Colombians. With an African Diaspora population of about 4.9 million, Colombia has the third highest population of African diaspora members in the western hemisphere and the fifth largest globally. Africans were brought as slaves by 1520s from various West African nations including Cameroon, Nigeria, and Ghana among others to replace the reducing population of Native Americans. They were forced to work on large haciendas, cattle ranches, sugar cane plantations and gold mines. Currently, people of African descent make up over 10.6% of the population of Colombia.

1.3 Who is a part of the diaspora?

In some situations, those that identify with the term diaspora are usually those that with long historical lineages like the African-American, Indian-American, Hispanic-American, Jewish-American, Chinese American et cetera. To this category of people, they identify with their present domicile but always connect with their ancestral homeland.

Each time the word diaspora is mentioned, the first thought is that of a dispersed people, but recently, that has been modified to include a community of people who live outside their country of origin or who share a common ancestry but ultimately maintain an active, vibrant connection. It is now known that the diaspora includes both the descendants and emigrants.²¹

²¹ Alliance, I. (2019). Am I Part of a Diaspora? | IdEA. [online] Diasporaalliance.org. Available at: <http://www.diasporaalliance.org/am-i-part-of-a-diaspora/> [Accessed 15 Jul. 2019].

In this day and age, we perceive the diaspora as mainly as a varied category of people with series of connections to their motherland,²² these people include migrant workers; dual citizens; citizens of the second, third and even further generation; and people in some instances with a common ethnic ancestry.

Nevertheless, some have criticized diaspora's expanded definition, arguing that universalizing the word leaches out its pathos. As Rogers Brubaker, a professor of sociology at University of California, Los Angeles points out: "If everyone is diasporic, then no one is distinctly so."²³ The experience of being scattered is central to the identity of the ethnic groups that the word has traditionally been used to describe, and some fear that the collective tragedy that these peoples experienced will stop being commemorated if every community lays claim to the word.

Like the people it was meant to describe, the word "diaspora" has been scattered while maintaining its original meaning's essence. One reason that "diaspora" has proliferated is that "immigrant" is an unsatisfying term. Immigrants are narrowly defined as people who take up long term or permanent residence in a new country. It is a term that describes a person's movement between countries but does not capture the enduring emotional attachments to the place he or she left. In contrast, the word "diaspora" allows the person who immigrated and all of their descendants to describe the meaningful connection they have to their country or region of heritage without diminishing the significance of their membership in the nation in which they reside.²⁴

Another reason for a broader interpretation of the diaspora concept is that more and more people are becoming members of the diaspora. With the growing acceleration of globalization, more and more people are migrating from their homeland to chase greener pastures in other places. This unlike many years ago, when people travel and cut ties, today's emigrants and their off-springs are thought to maintain close connections with the people and places they came from. With growing technology and low priced air and train tickets, emigrants are in constant communication with families and loved ones back in their country of origin.²⁵

Former U.S President Barack Obama in his book "Dreams of my father: A story of Race and Inheritance which became a best-seller narrated the diaspora story in a way many could relate.²⁶ In the book, he highlighted his close ties with the native land of his father, Kenya and how as a young man, he traveled to the country to gain a better understanding of his ancestral home. Many Africans that were equally born and raised outside their home of heritage have also embarked on such expeditions. Famous U.S music icon, Akon, though born in Senegal but raised in the U.S is one prominent African "diasporan" that has taken various steps towards connecting with his homeland also encouraging his peers to join.

Among Africans, particularly those living outside their homeland, the need for brotherhood and togetherness is always exhorted and that has helped families bond with their loved ones far and wide. These diaspora members always ensure that their cultural, religious and sometimes spiritual bonds are intact. By keeping such connection, they believe they are paying homage to their ancestors and at the same time preserving their heritage.²⁷

2. IMPACT OF ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTIONS OF THE DIASPORA

Funds from abroad are a critical part of Africa's economic growth, and many countries in the continent have received more money from the diaspora than they have through any other source including financial aid. The habit of remitting money to family members and loved ones is not peculiar to Africa and not completely new as well, however, this trend

²² see Christopher Stringer and Robin McKie, *African Exodus: The Origins of Modern Humanity* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1996

²³ Frank M. Snowden Jr., *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1970), p.184.

²⁴ Franklin, John Hope, and Alfred A. Moss Jr. *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*, 8th ed. New York: McGraw Hill, 2000.

²⁵ Jelloun, Tahar Ben. *French Hospitality: Racism and North African Immigrants*. Translated by Barbara Bray. New York: Columbia University Press, 1999

²⁶ Bhattacharya, S. (2009). *Globalization and a shrunken world*. Bloomington, IN: AuthorHouse

²⁷ Gordon, E. T. & Anderson, M. (1999). The African diaspora: Toward ethnography of diasporic identification. *The Journal of American Folklore*, 112(445), Theorizing the hybrid, 282-296. Accessed from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/541363>

has caught the attention of stakeholders and academics due to the enormous impact it has made and still making. Many developing economies have come to the realization that funds from the diaspora are indeed crucial to the socio-economic wellbeing of the people of the country. The advancement of technology has made it very convenient and easy to send money from any part of the world within a few minutes.²⁸

The amount of money received in Africa has continually increased and have drawn global attention. This is a fact considering the rise in money transfer outlets particularly in Europe and the U.S. Transfers to sub-Sahara Africa alone grew to \$37.8 billion in 2017; according to the World Bank and recent figures have it that it will hit around \$47.2 billion in 2019.²⁹ Equally, not surprising, Africa's largest economy, Nigeria led African receipts with \$22.3 billion in 2017 alone. Liberia was the African country for whom remittances accounted for the highest share of GDP at 25.9% in the same year.³⁰

In the continent, the growing impact of diaspora economic contribution is hardly discussed or reported in the news and the reason is partially due to government's apprehension that the people might see them as not performing if the money that runs the economy is hugely generated from outside.³¹ Most of these leaders deliberately underreport the true impact of the diaspora contribution to their GDP for fear of the impact motivating the diaspora to influence local policies. This is true even in countries like Somalia and Liberia that depend highly on foreign remittances for economic sustenance.³²

We live in the period of enormous global human and capital flows, and it is no gain saying that the impact of the diaspora to the development of the economies of their home countries has been mammoth. Africa remains the region where the funds from outside its shores have done more good to the country and people that elsewhere in the world. It is believed that over 40% of Africans still live in poverty and the diaspora has steadily tried to push change this appalling situation.³³

The current 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development of the United Nations³⁴ explains the huge input of migrants and diaspora for attaining sustainable economic development. It stresses the need to understand how funds from the diaspora can be utilized for advanced development financing by reducing remittance costs and mobilizing diaspora savings and mutual remittances.

The Addis Ababa Action Agenda on financing new sustainable development goals that was elaborated during the Summit of 2015 among other things fashioned out a way to reduce transfer cost to at least 3% by 2030. The leaders of various African countries outlined the desire to spread and improve development financing from the domestic as well as private means, indicating that innovative schemes were required for harnessing and investing transfers for national development.³⁵

The consistent flow of capital into Africa is a welcome development in the light of the constant diminishing of aid flows from Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries to low-income countries in the continent. Funds transfers to Africa are among the most expensive in the world according to reports.³⁶ As of 2015, the global cost of sending \$200 averaged at about 8% of the amount remitted, but in the case of Africa, the costs of transfers remained very close to 12% as reported by the World Bank.

²⁸ Kosse, A. and Vermeulen, R. (2013). Migrants' Choice of Remittance Channel: Do General Payment Habits Play a Role?. SSRN Electronic Journal.

²⁹ Makina, D. (2012). Migration and Characteristics of Remittance Senders in South Africa. *International Migration*, 51, pp.e148-e158.

³⁰ Faini, R. (2007). Remittances and the Brain Drain: Do More Skilled Migrants Remit More?. *The World Bank Economic Review*, 21(2), pp.177-191.

³¹ Myambo, M. (2019). Bloody Diaspora Theory for the Twenty-First Century: African and Asian Heritage Migrants Return. *Diaspora*, 20(2), pp.123-144.

³² *ibid*

³³ African Union (2014). Common African Position (CAP) on the Post-2015 Development Agenda. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia

³⁴ The World Bank. Migration and Development Brief. April 2015.

³⁵ African Union (2014). Common African Position (CAP) on the Post-2015 Development Agenda. Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

³⁶ North-South Center of the Council of Europe (2006). Social Remittances of the African Diasporas in Europe. Lisbon

There are many other ways the diaspora connections are of huge importance to the homeland and this can be termed “social remittances” which could take the form of skills, doctrines, ideas, philosophy that are transferred back to the migrants’ homeland.³⁷ These are not just important development instruments, but also add immensely to transnational mutual formation through democratic ideas and attitudes, skills, management practices and even doctrines.³⁸

The transnational social capital structure is a socially and culturally designed methodology, which is hinged on the norms and ties of trust and mutuality.³⁹ By engineering organizational study and transfer of knowledge, migrants’ mutual organizations can boost partnership between public and private sectors.

The diaspora community members collectively put funds together through different development enterprises and networks for the improvement of the wellbeing of the people back home. Some of these enterprises and networks may include motherland community associations, ethnic associations, business associations, professional associations, welfare and refugees groups, virtual outfits et cetera.⁴⁰

With such organizations increasing, the study of the effect of collective remittances to the development of the homeland and its people is still not common within the academia.⁴¹ It is believed that funds from abroad can instigate conflicts and at the same time can be used beneficially for development. Some experts have said that the prolonged Somalia war that ended a few years ago was hugely fuelled by the diaspora who has interests in the affairs of their homeland.⁴²

It is therefore imperative that when we examine the impact of remittances flowing into the continent, we should not only focus on the adversity it could bring, but also on the positives that hugely comes with it.⁴³ With a well-articulated mechanism, the diaspora can positively influence countries even when in crisis; this can take the form of education, skills transfer and emergency assistance.⁴⁴

Ensuring that there is a conducive policy atmosphere for facilitating the efficacy and transparency of diaspora transfers as well as their constructive use is paramount to a rewarding post-crisis rebuilding and national development. Most countries in the continent are also encouraged to promote regulatory mechanisms that would expedite low-cost transfers among people of a nationality living in the diaspora, as well as providing them the best avenues to acquire the cheapest and most effective financial services. Policy resolutions are also required by the institutions of the homeland to integrate transfers into broader national development strategies and financial democracy programmes.⁴⁵

3. THE DIASPORA’S PARTICIPATION IN POLICY ACTIONS: A RIGHTS-BASED METHOD

There have been continuous discourses for the vindication of the diaspora’s voice to policies in their home country, which some suggesting that their involvement should be monitored. But some others have come up with opposing views, arguing that the member of the diaspora may have the right to dual citizenship, therefore recognizing him in his ancestral home might have more positives than negatives.

³⁷ Levitt, P., and D. Lamba-Nieves (2011). “Social Remittances Revisited.” *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies* 37(1): 1-22

³⁸ Antwi-Boateng, O. (2012). “The Transformation of the US-Based Liberian Diaspora from Hard Power to Soft Power Agents”, *African Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 13

³⁹ Eckstein, S. and A. Najam (2013). *How Immigrants Impact Their Homelands*. Duke University Press.

⁴⁰ Plaza, S. and D. Ratha (2011). “Harnessing Diaspora Resources for Africa.” In *Diaspora for Development in Africa*, ed. S. Plaza and D. Ratha, 1-54. Washington, D.C.: The World Bank.

⁴¹ Sorensen, N., Van Hear, N. and P. Engberg-Pedersen (2003). “Migration, Development and Conflict: State-of-the-Art Overview.” In *The Migration-Development Nexus*, ed. N. Van Hear and N. Sorensen, 5 50. UN and the International Organization for Migration.

⁴² Lindley, A. (2009). “Between ‘Dirty Money’ and ‘Development Capital’: Somali Money Transfer Infrastructure under Global Scrutiny.” *African Affairs* 108: 519-539.

⁴³ Lubkemann, S. (2008). “Remittance Relief and Not-Just-For-Profit Entrepreneurship: the Case of Liberia.” In *Diasporas and Development: Exploring the Potential*, (ed.) Jennifer M Brinkerhoff. London and Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers

⁴⁴ Kleist, N. and I. Vammen (2012). *Diaspora Groups and Development in Fragile Situations*. DIIS Report 09.

⁴⁵ *ibid*

The critics of the participation of the diaspora in domestic matters in their home country have queried the loyalty of citizens with dual nationality, citing that they can switch camp at the slightest of opportunity. However, some observers have kicked against that, insinuating that such argument could also be made for those that have totally forfeited their motherland in exchange for a new one. Therefore, it's not sure how a person in the diaspora would swing just based on single or dual nationality.⁴⁶

Given the above position, it is therefore not too simple to hold the view that they should alienate themselves totally from policy actions back home, this will sound outrageous. With this uncertainty, therefore, the position of the diaspora needs carefully scrutiny. It is not atypical to see them negotiating for all types of involvement in policy making in both their newly settled home and home country. The place of the diaspora cannot be overemphasized considering the enormous financial contributions to make to the homeland; this is evident when you look at the staggering figure of annual remittances into a place like Africa.⁴⁷

Members of the diaspora who are mostly citizens of their host countries; usually in tiny groups as they always appear, are not deprived of any rights that apply to other citizens of their adopted country.⁴⁸ In some countries, particularly those in the Nordic region like Sweden, Denmark, Finland et cetera, the rights they accord the diaspora is more or less the same with the citizens of the host country. In some cases, they even have the right to vote in local elections, therefore influencing policies in a foreign land.⁴⁹

The loyalty of the diaspora to home country disparaged, and that explains why more often than not, political decisions made by their host country cannot be said to be of no interest to them. The diaspora is always concerned with the trend of events back home and what other countries do or intend to do to them always arouse concern.

Some of the instances of actions like this can be seen when members of the diaspora mobilize themselves to petition or demonstrate the involvement of host country in the internal affairs of their home country, particularly during political unrest. What this means, therefore, is that the diaspora is not completely excused to the host country's political decisions that have or might have impact on his home country, which by extension might directly affect his country mates politically, economically or even socially.⁵⁰

No arguing that the rights of the family member of the diaspora may not be enshrined in the legal framework or may not be mandatory observations of the host country, since the diaspora member is not entirely a citizen,⁵¹ nonetheless, the host country still owe it as a duty to carry out political decisions that will not negatively affect the population in general and by extension the diaspora community that consists of people that are legally and culturally integrated into the host country society.

According to various scholars, a rights-based method does not overlook, but strives to make a special enlightening of, the tenacious system of marginalization or alienation of even the smallest minority in most communities. In that vein, arguing that minority citizens have no privilege to rights and should be shut out in political decision making is misbegotten.⁵² A case for the African diaspora contributing to policy actions that affect their homeland stems from their rights as minority groups whose rights should not be breached.

⁴⁶ Brubaker, R. 2005. "The "Diaspora" Diaspora." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 28: 1–19. doi: 10.1080/0141987042000289997

⁴⁷ Chávez, K. R. 2011. "Counter-Public Enclaves and Understanding the Function of Rhetoric in Social Movement Coalition-Building." *Communication Quarterly* 59: 1–18. doi: 10.1080/01463373.2010.541333

⁴⁸ Zeleza (2005 Zeleza, P. T. 2005. "Rewriting the African Diaspora: Beyond the Black Atlantic." *African Affairs* 104: 35–68. doi: 10.1093/afraf/adi001

⁴⁹ ibid

⁵⁰ Cornwall, A. 2008. "Unpacking "Participation": Models, Meanings and Practices." *Community Development Journal* 43: 269–283. doi: 10.1093/cdj/bsn010

⁵¹ ibid

⁵² Cornwall, A., and C. Nyamu-Musembi. 2004. "Putting the "Rights-based Approach" to Development into Perspective." *Third World Quarterly* 25: 1415–1437. doi: 10.1080/0143659042000308447

The rights-based method ensures that resources be shared equitably, and the marginalized also should be able to discharge their rights regarding such resources.⁵³ These rights regarding resources can mainly be manifested largely be expressed when the diaspora have the clout to contribute to policy actions in their host country regarding their home country.

4. INCREASING NUMBER OF AFRICAN MIGRANTS AND RISKS THAT SHOULD BE SCRUTINIZED

4.1 The increasing number in people movement to Europe and the U.S

Most of the discourse about migration, particularly when it relates to Africans, is dominated by the horrendous scenes we see reported on TV from Libya and deadly Mediterranean voyages. However, this trend has not changed much; Africans are still desperately in search of new homes and beginnings.

International expedition from Africans, particularly those from the south of the Sahara has not abated in the past couple of decades, in fact, records have it that the number of people trying to get out of the continent continues to rise by the year; and their destinations are mostly Europe and the U.S. These adventurers end up as refugees in some cases and lawful permanent residents in other cases.⁵⁴

Important to note, is that Africa hosts more refugees than Europe does and this is so because of the incessant and non-ending civil conflicts going on in countries like South Sudan, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Mali, The Cameroons and even Northern Nigeria. Reports have it that close to 5 million African refugees are scattered in various countries within the periphery of Africa, with Uganda being the biggest host.⁵⁵

According to a Pew Research Center report and other related reports, the reasons for mass movement of Africans vary from individual to individual and in many cases from country to country based on circumstances. The paths they also take to get their desired port of call also vary. Europe has been the biggest recipient of African migrants in recent decades and that number was amplified by the influx of about 1 million asylum seekers between 2010-2018. Norway and Switzerland have reportedly hosted more international students and resettled refugees, mostly through family reunion.⁵⁶

According to the reports from the U.S Department of Homeland Security and the U.S State Department, about 100,000 people from sub-Saharan Africa were received as refugees between 2010-2017. This number make up the over 400,000 people settled in the U.S from various warring countries around the globe.⁵⁷ About 190,000 refugees were granted lawful permanent residence on the grounds of relations with American citizens; while over 120,000 more were received through the U.S diversity visa scheme.

There is no gain saying that at the moment, more and more young Africans want to leave the continent, not only those from crisis ridden countries, but equally from relatively peaceful countries. The issue has always been that of “greener pasture” considering that over 40% of people living in poverty globally are from Africa. The stagnation of most of the economies and the increasing unemployment rates has been responsible for this. Countries like Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal, The Gambia, and Liberia have more young people desperately in need of improved life outside the shores of the continent.

Among the Africans in Europe, Nigeria, Ghana, Senegal and Kenya make the bulk of migrants there, but in the U.S, the story is a bit different, Africans there are diverse with sub-Saharan Africans dominating.⁵⁸ Others with a significant number residing in Europe are from South Africa, Somalia, Senegal, Angola, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Cameroon.

⁵³ *ibid*

⁵⁴ Mallett, R. and Hagen-Zanker, J. (2018). Forced migration trajectories: an analysis of journey- and decision-making among Eritrean and Syrian arrivals to Europe. *Migration and Development*, 7(3), pp.341-351.

⁵⁵ Momodu, S. (2019). Uganda stands out in refugees hospitality: The country hosts the largest number of refugees in Africa — more than a million. *Africa Renewal*, 32(3), pp.18-19.

⁵⁶ Jalles, J. (2017). Tax Buoyancy in Sub-Saharan Africa: An Empirical Exploration. *African Development Review*, 29(1), pp.1-15.

⁵⁷ *ibid*

⁵⁸ Gimmenez-GGmez, J., Walle, Y. and Zewdu, Y. (2017). Trends in African Migration to Europe: Drivers Beyond Economic Motivations. *SSRN Electronic Journal*.

Some compatriots of these sub-Saharan migrant populations in the U.S. and Europe have enlarged more than others. Reports from the U.N estimates that between 2010-2017, the total number of Somali migrants in Europe swelled by over 80,000 people, additionally, that population was increased with the inclusion of Eritreans that are now almost 40,000 residing in Europe as of 2018.⁵⁹

When you look at destinations, as of 2017, nearly three-quarters (72%) of Europe's sub-Saharan immigrant population was settled in just four countries and these were: the U.K (1.27 million), France (980,000), Italy (370,000) and Portugal (360,000). In the U.S., migrants from sub-Saharan Africa can be found across the country, with 42% in the American South, 24% in the Northeast, 18% in the Midwest and 17% in the West.⁶⁰

4.2 A scheme that risks lives: African migrants and risks that should be scrutinized

The U.N.'s universal declaration of human rights stipulates that "everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own" (Article 13.2).

The events of recent years in Africa are not a secret, it is well understood that migration is big business and those that benefit the most are agents and the police or what some might describe as immigration officers. In the past couple of decades, we have witnessed mass exodus of Africans crossing the Sahara Desert aided by merchants, transporters and even the police.⁶¹ This group of people has made the quest for migration more attractive to the people, therefore increasing the risks and potential accidents as we have seen in the past. Since corruption is an undeniable reality, some smugglers collaborate with the police to pass people through with little or no concern for their welfare afterwards.

The fundamental mistake in the newly adopted scheme of Europe to tame irregular migration was the launch of the Trust Fund for stability and addressing of causes of irregular migration and displaced person in Africa. This initiative has gone ahead to criminalize migration stemming out of Africa with more stringent legislation. The one thing they missed out was the boomerang effect of this measure. Now, the merchants and transporters are designing new ways of crossing passengers at higher risks. An average of seven people dies each day trying to cross the Mediterranean as reported by the U.N refugee agency, the UNHCR in 2018.⁶²

In 2015 in Niger alone, 48 bodies were found in the desert, including 34 children. Another 20 were found in June 2016, 44 in May 2017 and 52 in June 2017. With the numbers rising, this might just be the microcosm of a bigger situation. The figure might have been reduced significantly by the police to avoid criticisms from keen observers; the EU and most international organizations are also complicit.

The international criminalization of trans-regional movement in Africa has increased the risks and danger for many people that now pursue protection and assistance from criminal organizations. They pay heavily to get to the North of the Sahara and ultimately to Europe. Most of them pay in cash, while those not too buoyant,⁶³ and pay with their freedom. This is one of the many risks the tightening of legislation comes with. This arrangement reached by the EU and their African counterparts have hugely affected local economic agents and even the migrants who feel unwelcome at home.⁶⁴

⁵⁹ Data analysis of the 2015 American Community Survey indicates a higher number of Nigerian and Kenyan immigrants living in the U.S. than UN data in 2017. The UN's estimates do differ at times with country-specific figures. Nonetheless, estimates from the UN were used to ensure comparability across countries and regions

⁶⁰ Pew Research Center analysis of the 2018 American Community Survey

⁶¹ Molinari, C. (2018). The EU and its Perilous Journey Through the Migration Crisis: Informalisation of the EU Return Policy and Rule of Law Concerns. SSRN Electronic Journal.

⁶² Hayden, Sally. "Six People Died Every Day Crossing the Mediterranean in 2018." The Irish Times, The Irish Times, 29 Jan. 2019, www.irishtimes.com/news/world/europe/six-people-died-every-day-crossing-the-mediterranean-in-2018-1.3775105.

⁶³ United States Foreign Policy towards Sub-Saharan Africa. (n.d.). The SHAFR Guide Online. doi:10.1163/2468-1733_shafr_sim230050012

⁶⁴ See BRIEFING EU policies – Delivering for citizens

The desire to leave Africa by young people in search of a new life will not end soon as most African countries still toil with inflation, unemployment and budget deficits. They will continue to make the hazardous voyage towards Europe since this appears to be the most feasible to them at the moment.⁶⁵

For the EU and African leaders, the core of their meetings center around financial matters with little or no attention paid to human rights and risks associated with tough legislation on African migrants. The conditions are getting worse in Africa and also not getting in any better in Europe with the criminalization of movement of people from Africa.

The EU gives voting money to projects in Africa and supporting corrupt African leaders in propagating a legislation that further risks the life of the African youth. The crux of the matter is that no one really cares and the victims are those running away to seek improved life for themselves and families. The governments of Africa should focus more in channeling resources towards development of industry, start-ups for young people, education et cetera to cutback these migration risks.

5. THE CONUNDRUM OF THE AFRICAN IMMIGRANT

Dissecting the African people's movement, one thing is pertinent, this movement is not peculiar to only the people from the continent, like many other people in the past and present, mobility of people is a human phenomenon. Africans will continue to move like the Indians to the United Arab Emirates, the Mexicans to the U.S, Indonesians to Australia et cetera. So, isolating the Africans in this discourse would mean doing the academia no justice.

Not all African migrants sojourn just for ambition or adventure, many are forced to travel because they are left with little or no choice, particularly in conflict inflicted countries like witnessed in South Sudan, The Democratic Republic of Congo, Mali and recently, Cameroon.⁶⁶ Some of these countries have been marred by terrorist attacks among other civil unrests. Since 2003 radical religious organizations have risen to 300 percent since 2010, leaving many African governments with the trouble of containing exclusive social groups.

Pastoralism and groups emerging from that line of endeavour have been the most affected as many of them struggle with conforming to urban lifestyle and growth of services in the economy. In Nigeria, for example, the government since the last 6 years has struggled to contain the menace of herdsmen, forcing people living in those troubled domains to flee for safer life elsewhere.

Within Africa, there has been continuous struggle for peace, limiting local residents to opportunities thereby forcing migration with many of them now facing expulsion in their newfound settlements. Since the independence of many African countries, Africans have been expelled fellow Africans from different countries more than 35 times as reported by the U.N UNHCR.⁶⁷

There is also no shortage of educated Africans in the diaspora. These are the groups that travel by air and not through the deserts or in small boats in the sea. It is recorded that one in every six university graduates in the diaspora left their country of origin for the purpose of improved education. This makes Africa the home to the highest number of educated migrants.⁶⁸

The highly skilled Africans account for 35% of Africans leaving the shores of the continent, one of the highest in the world. This might explain why remittance transfer continue to skyrocket, with the current record standing at over 40 billion U.S dollars in 2018 alone, which is about 4% of the combined GDP of Africa.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ See Julie Choe. African Migration to Europe: Without a common policy on migration, Europe is struggling to accommodate rising levels of immigrants from Africa. July 9, 2007

⁶⁶ "Unpacking the Relationship between Migration and Development to Help Policymakers Address Africa-Europe Migration." Center For Global Development, www.cgdev.org/blog/unpacking-relationship-between-migration-and-development-help-policymakers-address-africa.

⁶⁷ Lopes, Carlos. "Africa and the Immigration Conundrum." The New Times | Rwanda, 13 July 2016, www.newtimes.co.rw/section/read/201682.

⁶⁸ ibid

⁶⁹ See Global Economic Prospects Realizing the Development Promise of the Doha Agenda, 2004

To that effect, Africans see migration as a positive phenomenon. It has contributed largely to the growth of homeland economies, with those transported through slavery many centuries ago also playing their parts in meaningful ways.

Global demographics are evolving so fast that it is difficult to maintain the wealth distribution patterns we are now accustomed to. It is a struggle to show to the people that austerity measures are not the panacea to the dual problems of large African debts. The majority of African countries are now devising mechanism to tap the full potential of their citizens living in the diaspora.⁷⁰

The number of debts which confronts every polity in the region is worrisome and calls for urgent solutions; with the diaspora substantial seen as a support. As a continent with the youngest population in the world, governments need to pay more attention on the wellbeing of their citizens outside their shores and engage with them more closely to ensure that the many troubles they face in foreign land are alleviated.

The demographic boom in Africa should be seen as a huge benefit. African policymakers should, however be apprised, that the faith of these young Africans will depend on investments on human capital. There is no promised land anywhere without work and proper planning.⁷¹ Describing international migration is to describe cross-border connections: the cord connecting fastening sending and receiving countries is a significant aspect of the migration experience.

This issue is the outcome of investigations highlighting the ways in which international migration cuts across national borders to produce a range of dynamic cross-border ties. No walls being erected in any part of the world will forestall such a phenomenon. Therefore, it is expected that governments improve education, transportation, technology and overall public infrastructure to help influence more positive migration and transnational social connectivity and contrariwise.⁷²

A more optimistic perception, hope to see migrants playing the role of bridges and connectors between host countries and homeland. Policy actions should be geared more towards the provision of markets, sources of investment and expertise, additional, help guide public discourse; design progressive reform plans and helps implement reforms and new projects. Migrants are acquiring modern competences, and this should be seen as leverage.⁷³

Therefore, it is expected that arbitrary legislations and policies should be scrapped and more protection accorded immigrants to allow them equal opportunities in their new found home. Every migrant should be entitled to the inherent freedom and space deserving of every human. The need to solve the immigration conundrum is admissible and can no longer be overlooked.

6. CONCLUSION

This paper has illuminated the euphoria of the African diaspora and the dangers of migrants in their quest to be integrated into the larger "common community", which could be called the diaspora. The African diaspora is not imposing.⁷⁴ It is a group of diverse, multifaceted and multigenerational demographic spreading all over the globe and social-economic and cultural position.

Many members of the diaspora today left the motherland or were bred abroad for multiple reasons. Some of these as highlighted before includes war, conflict; lack of job opportunities yet this people maintain ties with their country of origin. There are also cases of those that were born and raised in the diaspora but have kept connection with their ancestral home by all available means. These people travel, learn local language or start transnational businesses.

⁷⁰ See Africa and the immigration conundrum: Speech by Carlos Lopes at the opening of the AU Executive Council in Kigali | 13 July 2016

⁷¹ Joseph Chamie And Luca Dall'Oglio. INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND DEVELOPMENT Continuing the Dialogue: Legal and Policy Perspectives, 2008

⁷² See The U.N Migration Agency: WORLD MIGRATION REPORT 2018

⁷³ Bosniak, Linda (2000) "Citizenship Denationalized (The State of Citizenship Symposium)," Indiana Journal of Global Legal Studies: Vol. 7: Iss. 2, Article 2. Available at: <http://www.repository.law.indiana.edu/ijgls/vol7/iss2/2>

⁷⁴ 224, et al. "Defining the Diaspora's Role and Potential with Africa (a Response to 'What's Diaspora Got to Do with It?') - By Semhar Araia." African Arguments, 2 Mar. 2017, africanarguments.org/2012/01/12/defining-the-diasporas-role-and-potential-with-africa-a-response-to-whats-diaspora-got-to-do-with-it-by-semhar-araia/.

Africa as a whole has over 35 million international migrants; this is a huge number even with the exclusion of undocumented migrants and second and third generation migrants. These people continue to contribute in one way or the other to the development of their homeland, with economic support being on top of the list. Migrant remittances to Sahara Africa alone grew to \$37.8 billion in 2017; according to the World Bank and recent figures have it that it will hit around \$47.2 billion in 2019.

This paper has identified the efforts of African countries in reaching out to the diaspora. Countries like Nigeria, Senegal, Ghana, Ethiopia, Tanzania, Uganda and South Africa have initiated several programmes to incorporate their citizens living in the diaspora as partners in national development. These countries have well supported institutions that constantly try to engage with the members of its diaspora.⁷⁵

These programmes have taken different dimensions; most of the countries now have immigration and diaspora affairs under the ministry of foreign affairs or ministry of internal affairs, some even have it under the ministry of youth and women development.⁷⁶ These entities are charged with the assignment of harnessing the potential of the diaspora and ensuring that their presence is felt back home. However, these efforts hitherto have not yielded the desired results as more as the government and the members are expected to work in closer ties for maximization of prospective benefits

While we give credit to African countries that have so far made serious efforts at connecting with the diaspora, it is important to state that the diaspora is neither the silver linen of economic growth nor the cure for Africa's multiple woes. The thirst to tap into the diaspora potential should not derail governments of the need to continuously look inward for home-grown solutions to problems. The need for sound and responsive leadership is crucial⁷⁷ merged with prudent management and responsible governance. The challenge, therefore, is for these governments to garner experiences and resources from the diaspora while meticulously looking for long lasting solutions more internally.⁷⁸

In relating with their Diasporas, African countries must be aware of some backlash that might arise internally if too much attention is paid to the outside and little to the inside. There are cases where the diaspora groups are seen as more attractive than the local groups. An example can be cited with the situation in Liberia as recorded by some scholars⁷⁹, There is this notion among the locals in Liberia that the government is only interested in the privileged members of the diaspora wishing to return home to reclaim lost assets after the protracted civil war in that country.

It is therefore critical that African governments stay conscious of the way they treat the diaspora viz-a-viz the locals. They need to make the country very attractive for the diaspora to be hopeful and the locals to be appreciative. The need to always unite the people should be paramount. The diaspora also has a duty to persuade the government of their homeland to promulgate policies that will give home to those at home and inspire those outside to see the need for a return.

While we have witnessed the attempts of African governments to make the diaspora an important player in its developmental goals they have not in general incorporated migration and development matters into their overall development agendas.

It could be said that these governments have been applying highly cosmopolitan two-way blueprint of engaging the diaspora as a separate development ally from their other traditional partners, but it can also be argued that the case is not

⁷⁵ Zan, Samuel. 2004. "One Nation, One People, One Destiny? The Ghanaian Diaspora's Contribution to National Development Using Diverse Channels." London: African Foundation for Development. http://www.afford-uk.org/resources/download/one_nation.pdf.

⁷⁶ Ammassari, S. 2006. "From Nation-Building to Entrepreneurship: The Impact of Elite Return Migrants in Cote d'Ivoire and Ghana." Paper presented at the International Workshop on Migration and Poverty in West Africa, University of Sussex, United Kingdom, March 13–14

⁷⁷ Argunias Rannveig, Dovelyn, and Kathleen Newland. 2007. "Circular Migration and Development: Trends, Policy Routes, and Ways Forward." Migration Policy Institute, Washington, DC. April.

⁷⁸ ibid

⁷⁹ Lubkemann, S. C. 2008. "Remittance Relief and Not-Just-for-Profit Entrepreneurship: The Case of Liberia." In *Diasporas and Development: Exploring the Potential*, ed. J. Brinkerhoff. Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers.

so because of the absence of strong state institutions.⁸⁰ For weaker economies, the engaging of the diaspora should be seen as pivotal and governments should always design schemes to sustain this relationship.⁸¹

It is estimated that there are about 150 million migrants in the world, and of this number, about 50 million are thought to be Africans. The number is rising and there is no indication of it slowing down in the foreseeable future, therefore, the management of migrants has been niggling and poses one of the crucial challenges for countries in the world, particularly in this 21st century.

For the past few years, the migration conundrum has been gaining momentum not only continentally but also international, with governments of Africa and the EU in particular always clashing on policies on Africa migrants. No matter what resolutions are reached, there is the need for a broad and balanced approach to migration, with attention on migration realities and phenomena as well as ties between migration and other fundamental economic, social, cultural and humanitarian complications.

African governments are keen to see barriers to free movement of labour dismantled and continue to push industrialized economies to have a serious discourse on the subject matter. At the World Trade Organization (WTO), governments of African member countries and those from other developing countries are making a case that just as trade in goods, services and information have been opened up, so should the flow of labour, a sector in which developing countries hold an advantage and from which they could earn significant revenue.⁸²

Irregular migration is also an avenue for a growing youth population that are usually confronted with dearth of job opportunities and social frustration. Governments who are keen on negotiating forced returns should be cautious as this comes with huge risks. Mali had a deal with the EU worth U.S \$160 million to help expedite Malian returns from Europe in 2016, the deal fell through when the Malian people made it clear to the government that it was unacceptable and the government withdrew from the deal.⁸³

Governments of Europe must be aware that this has ramifications. It does not only undermine democracy but also compromises human rights,⁸⁴ at the end. These policies and agreements only aggravate the situation which is opposite of what is intended. There is, therefore, the need for intelligent migration management to avoid angering the people and triggering any form of political brouhaha.

Therefore, a country's acceptance of a forced return deal does not necessarily yield expected results. One example is Ethiopia.⁸⁵ Ethiopia had a deal with Norway to return back migrants but this has not been too effective, in fact the return rate of Ethiopians fell from 11% in 2012 to 9% in 2017, which is 5 years after the deal was reached.

The EU is already spending over €2 billion to help African countries with border management and addressing the so-called primary causes of migration. Pledging huge amount of money is the easiest part, enticing, and it pleases policy-makers on both sides of the fence. But the jury is still out on the efficacy of this idea.⁸⁶

⁸⁰ https://www.knomad.org/sites/default/files/2017-09/DfD_FullReport.pdf

⁸¹ ECA (Economic Commission for Africa). 2006a. Economic Report on Africa 2005: Meeting the Challenges of Unemployment and Poverty in Africa. Addis Ababa: United Nations Economic Commission for Africa. UNCTAD (United Nations Conference on Trade and Development). 2006. "Least Developed Countries Report: Developing Productive Capacities." United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, Geneva.

⁸² "African Migration: from Tensions to Solutions | Africa Renewal." United Nations, United Nations, www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/january-2006/african-migration-tensions-solutions.

⁸³ "Pressure Grows on Africa to Take Back Its Migrants - World." ReliefWeb, reliefweb.int/report/world/pressure-grows-africa-take-back-its-migrants.

⁸⁴ Out of Africa. Why People Migrate | ISPI - Ispionline.it. www.ispionline.it/it/pubblicazione/out-africa-why-people-migrate-17911.

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⁸⁶ "The Other Migrant Crisis - Protecting Migrant Workers against Exploitation in the Middle East and North Africa." The Other Migrant Crisis - Protecting Migrant Workers against Exploitation in the Middle East and North Africa - | IOM

While this kind of funding would allow the governments of Europe to initiate positive processes on migration and politicians agreeing to the forced return, the risk is that these billions will end up in the wrong hands and therefore amount naught.⁸⁷ The EU would be better off having a round table *tete-a-tete* with their African counterparts to agree on a few important areas where significant changes can be achieved in the short and long terms.

Therefore, it is expected that arbitrary legislations and policies should be dumped and more protection yielded to immigrants to allow them equal opportunities in their new found home. Every migrant should be entitled to the inherent freedom and space deserving of every human. The need to solve the immigration conundrum is permissible and can no longer be overlooked.

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